

George Mason University

History 387, Section 009
Wednesdays, 7:20-10:00 pm

Spring Semester 2012
Innovation Hall 204

The “Third World” and Decolonization in the Cold War, 1945-1991

Instructor: Professor Scala

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Office: Robinson Hall B, 373B

Office hours: Wednesdays, 6:00-7:00 pm (and always open to questions through email)

Course description:

This course examines the process of “Third World” decolonization in the context of the Cold War (1945-1991). Students will be familiarized with the diverse developmental paths followed by former European colonies as they strove to become politically independent and culturally autonomous nation-states in the great era of decolonization following the Second World War. Particular attention will be paid to how the Cold War clash between the United States and the Soviet Union—the predominant international relations issue of the period—shaped the process of decolonization around the globe as well as how events in the developing world in their turn influenced the course and character of the Cold War. The course will generally proceed chronologically, but will zero in on the experience of individual countries and regions (Korea, Egypt, Cuba, Vietnam, southern Africa, Afghanistan, and others) in order to examine the dynamics of Cold War decolonization in greater detail.

Class meetings will vary in format to include lecture, discussion, and occasional film and audio clips. The reading and analysis of primary sources will form a central component of the course, and students will be expected *actively* to engage with the primary sources and to take part in class discussions on them.

Required Texts (available for purchase at the Mason bookstore as well as online):

- Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times*, Cambridge University Press 2007 (ISBN-13: 978-0521703147)
- Jussi M. Hanhimäki and Odd Arne Westad, eds., *The Cold War: A History in Documents and Eyewitness Accounts*, Oxford University Press 2004 (ISBN-13: 978-0199272808)

Please note that a large number of course readings are not found in these texts—they are either available through hyperlinks provided under the lists of weekly readings or will be made available on our course Blackboard site.

Log into Blackboard at the following URL:

<https://mymasonportal.gmu.edu/webapps/portal/frameset.jsp>

All readings are to be completed *by the start of the class under which they are listed* in the course schedule.

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The instructor reserves the right to revise the syllabus provided students are given timely notification of relevant changes.

Grade Breakdown and Course Assignments

Grade Breakdown:

Participation and weekly reading questions: 20%

Map quiz: 10%

Film analysis of *I Am Cuba*: 20%

Mid-semester paper: 20%

Final paper: 30%

Participation (20% together with weekly reading questions): *Active participation* in class discussions is a vital element of this course. It is an important part of your grade but, more importantly, it will help deepen your understanding of the material. Please come to class prepared to discuss the assigned readings for the week—and if you're not present in class, you of course can't participate in discussion!

Weekly reading questions (20% together with participation): You are required to turn in a *typed* list of five questions on the assigned readings *every week* (except when a larger writing assignment is due). The questions should address some of the main themes and issues covered in the weekly readings while demonstrating that you have done the readings in a conscientious and thoughtful manner. You are not required to provide answers to the questions, but you should come to class prepared to present and discuss your questions as well as those of your classmates. The weekly reading questions are to be turned in before the start of each class and will be graded on a simple check system (check=satisfactory, check plus=outstanding, check minus=unsatisfactory).

Map quiz (10%): A map quiz comprising ten items will be held in class on February 8. A list of items that may appear on the quiz will be distributed in class a week beforehand.

Film analysis of *I am Cuba* (20%): We will watch the 1964 film *I Am Cuba* by Soviet director Mikhail Kalazatov in its entirety (split between the classes of February 15 and 22). You will be required to write a five-page critical analysis of the film due February 29. A detailed writing prompt will be distributed in class two weeks prior to the due date.

Mid-semester paper (20%): A seven-page mid-semester paper will be due on March 28. A detailed writing prompt will be made available two weeks prior to the due date.

Final paper (30%): In lieu of a final exam, a final paper of eight to ten pages will be due on May 10. A detailed writing prompt will be made available two weeks prior to the due date.

Course Policies and Info

Office hours: Students are strongly encouraged to come to the instructor's office hours to discuss questions pertaining to the assigned readings, lecture, class discussions, grading, written assignments, and anything else you may need help on. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to ask! I'm more than happy to provide you with help outside of class, but *you* need to take the initiative to get the process started. And feel free to contact me by email with any questions or concerns as well.

Academic Integrity: George Mason does not tolerate plagiarism, which is defined as using someone else's words or ideas without acknowledgment. Submitting plagiarized work is grounds for failure of an assignment or, if serious enough, failure of the course, and all instances of plagiarism will be reported to the George Mason Honor Committee.

To be certain that you are not plagiarizing, you need to document citations in your written work with footnotes and in a works cited page at the end of your paper in accord with the guidelines of the *Chicago Manual of Style*. Please be aware that helping others to cheat is also a form of cheating.

You all know what cheating is when you see it, so do yourself a favor and simply do not do it. Visit the site of the Office of Academic Integrity to see the definition of what constitutes plagiarism and what the consequences are as well as to view the honor code: <http://honorcode.gmu.edu/>

Submitting written assignments: All written assignments must be submitted in *hard copy* and *at the start of the class at which they are due*. Electronic versions will not be accepted for any reason. Written assignments will be graded down 1/3 of a grade for each day late (e.g. a B+ becomes a B if the paper is one day late).

Laptops in class: Laptops are allowed in class *for the express purpose* of taking notes. Using a laptop for any other reason (e.g. checking Facebook, playing flash games) not only prevents you from engaging the material but also distracts those around you, so please show consideration for your classmates and do not engage in this disruptive behavior.

Cell phones: Please turn your cell phone off or turn it on silent when you are in class. There is no legitimate reason to use your cell phone during class—it only distracts the person using it as well as everyone around him/her. Please be a mature, considerate adult and do not use your cell phone in class (this includes texting, of course).

Internet usage: Your output in this class should be based upon your own original reading and understanding of the course materials, and completion of assignments for this course does not require consultation of outside materials. Any non-assigned Internet sources consulted *may only be used as a supplement to course materials* (i.e. for background information and never as your sole and/or main source of information).

Accommodations for students with disabilities: If you are a student with a disability and you require academic accommodations, please notify the instructor and contact the Office of Disability Resources at 703-993-2474 or <http://ods.gmu.edu/>. All academic accommodations must be approved and arranged by the office.

Punctuality: Please arrive to class on time and return to class after breaks at the time indicated by the instructor. Tardiness is disrespectful to your fellow classmates and disrupts the learning process, so show consideration and be punctual. Consistent tardiness will result in a lowering of your participation grade. Failing to return to class after breaks will likewise negatively impact your grade.

The Writing Center: You have a wonderful resource in your disposal in the form of the Writing Center, where you can review your written work with a trained tutor. Why not take advantage of this valuable service for your written assignments for this class? For more information and to schedule an appointment, go to: <http://writingcenter.gmu.edu/>

Counseling and Psychological Services: One's mental health can significantly impact one's academic performance. If you would like to meet with a trained counselor to address any psychological issue, contact Mason's own Counseling and Psychological Services at: <http://caps.gmu.edu/>

University policies: For comprehensive coverage of official university policies, go to: <http://universitypolicy.gmu.edu>

Diversity: Diversity is a great pedagogical asset and significantly enriches the learning process for all

involved. The university consciously strives to promote diversity in all its forms, and this commitment is taken seriously in this course. For the university's full diversity statement, see:

http://cte.gmu.edu/Teaching_at_Mason/DiversityStatement.html

Global Understanding course: This course fulfills the university's general education requirement in Global Understanding. All Global Understanding courses are to address at least three of the following learning outcomes. Upon completing the course, students will be able to:

- Develop understanding of global patterns and processes and their interaction with society
- Demonstrate understanding of the interconnectedness, difference, and diversity of a global society
- Identify, evaluate and properly cite resources appropriate to the field, such as audio/visual/online/print materials, or artifacts
- Apply awareness of global issues to a consideration of individual or collective responsibilities within a global society
- Devise analytical, practical, or creative responses to global problems or issues

Course Schedule and Readings

Week 1 (January 25) Course Introduction: The Cold War and the Making of the "Third World"

Readings (to be skimmed):

– Westad, 1-86

Week 2 (February 1) The Cold War Goes Global: The Sino-Soviet Alliance and the Korean War

Readings:

– Westad, 86-97

– Mao Zedong, *On Guerrilla Warfare*, 41-50, 88-114 (on Blackboard)

– Kim Il Sung, On the Establishment of the Workers' Party of North Korea and the Question of Founding the Workers' Party of South Korea, 1946 (<http://www.marxists.org/archive/kim-il-sung/1946/09/26.htm>)

– Mao Zedong, The People's Democratic Dictatorship, June 1949 (<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1949mao.html>)

– Acheson on the Communist Triumph in China, 1949; NSC-68: American Cold War Strategy, 1950 (on Blackboard)

– Hanhimäki:

Chapter 6 introduction (176-179)

6.3 Stalin Meets Mao Zedong, December 1949 (183-185)

6.6 Truman on Korea, June 1950 (187-188)

6.8 The Chinese Counter-Attack, November 1950 (191-192)

6.14 Mao Zedong's Notes on Sino-Soviet Affairs, December 1959 (202-203)

Week 3 (February 8) Searching for a Third Way: The Bandung Conference and the Rise of the Non-Aligned Movement, the Algerian War

MAP QUIZ IN CLASS

Readings:

- Westad, 97-131
- Proclamation of the Algerian National Liberation Front, November, 1954 (<http://historicaltextarchive.com/sections.php?action=read&artid=10>)
- Hanhimäki:
 - 11.1 Sukarno Speaks at Bandung, 1955 (349-351)
 - 11.2 Millikan and Rostow: Priorities for US Foreign Policy, 1957 (351-354)
 - 11.5 Khrushchev on National Liberation, 1961 (358-360)
 - 11.10 Joint Soviet-Algerian Communiqué, 1964 (369-371)
 - 14.4 Covert Operation Plans in Iran and Guatemala, 1953-1954 (452-457)
- Jawaharlal Nehru, Speech to Bandung Conference Political Committee, 1955 (<http://www.fordham.edu/Halsall/mod/1955nehru-bandung2.html>)
- Anwar Sadat, Afro-Asian Solidarity and the World Mission of the Peoples of Africa and Asia, 1957 (<http://www.fordham.edu/Halsall/mod/1957sadat-afroasian1.asp>)
- Mouloud Feraoun, *Journal, 1955-1962: Reflections on the French-Algerian War*, 15-24, 59-62, 81-89, 103-105, 156-159, 169-173, 188-189, 198-205, 229-234, 241-252, 274-276, 294-296 (on Blackboard)

Week 4 (February 15) Africa, Unite! Decolonization in Africa and Pan-Africanism

Readings:

- Westad, 131-143
- Kwame Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 80-84, 91-95, 125-129, 222-228, 259-275, 476-487 (on Blackboard)
- All-African People's Conference: Resolution on Imperialism and Colonialism, Accra, December 5-13, 1958 (<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1958-aapc-res1.asp>)
- Nnamdi Azikiwe Speaks on the Role of Nigeria and other African States in World Politics, 1959 (<http://www.blackpast.org/?q=1959-nnamdi-azikiwe-speaks-role-nigeria-and-other-african-states-world-politics>)
- United Nations: Declaration on Granting Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, 1960 (<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1960-un-colonialism.asp>)
- Haile Sellasie, Statement to the Inaugural Summit of the Organization of African Unity, 1963 (<http://rastaites.com/speeches/africa.htm#Summit>)
- Hanhimäki:
 - 11.4 Harold Macmillan: Winds of Change, 1960 (356-358)
 - 11.7 Lumumba's Last Message and Death, 1960 (362-365)
 - 11.8 Kennedy and Mobutu, 1963 (365-367)
 - 11.9 Frantz Fanon: The Wretched of the Earth, 1961 (367-369)
- CLIP: Fela Kuti, "Africa, Center of the World" (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mGiHw7TQgMw>) – NOTE: You can fast-forward to 8:50 if you would like to skip directly to the start of the lyrics)

Week 5 (February 22) Guerrilla Warfare in Latin America and the Superpowers on the Brink: The Cuban Revolution and the Cuban Missile Crisis

Readings:

- Westad, 143-180
- Augusto César Sandino, Political Manifesto, 1927 (on Blackboard)
- Che Guevara, *Guerrilla Warfare: A Method and Message to the Tricontinental* (on Blackboard)

- Fidel Castro, *The Declarations of Havana*, 79-120 (on Blackboard)
- Hanhimäki:
- Chapter 12 introduction (379-381)
- 12.1 Kennan on Communism in Latin America, March 1950 (381-383)
- 12.2 Juan José Arevalo on American Imperialism (383-385)
- 12.4 Nixon and Castro on the Future of Cuba, April 1959 (387-390)
- 12.5 Khrushchev on Soviet Support for Cuba, July 1960 (390-391)
- 14.8 CIA Plan to Overthrow Castro, 12 April 1961 (467-470)
- 12.7 Soviets and Che Guevara on Cuba's Prospects, 26 April 1961 (396-398)
- 15.1 The Cuban Missile Crisis, October 1962 (483-487)
- 15.3 President Kennedy's Call for Détente, June 1963 (490-493)
- CLIP: Che Guevara, Address to the General Assembly of the United Nations, December 1964 (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-ekfej_kmHQ)

Week 6 (February 29) The Pains of Separation: Pakistan and India

FILM ANALYSIS OF *I AM CUBA* DUE IN CLASS

Readings:

- Muhammad Ali Jinnah, various readings (on Blackboard)
- Mohandas Gandhi, Independence and Sorrow (on Blackboard)
- Jawaharlal Nehru, Marxism, Capitalism, and Non-Alignment (<http://www.fordham.edu/Halsall/mod/1941nehru.asp>) and *Discovery of India*, 583-597, 611-614 (on Blackboard)
- Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Reply to Nehru and Menon, 1963 and India's Aggression, 1965 (on Blackboard)
- Indira Gandhi, various readings (on Blackboard)
- CLIP: News Reel on Independence of Pakistan and India (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hYRY6hmcOms>)

Week 7 (March 7) Cold War Quagmire: Southeast Asia and the Vietnam War

Readings:

- Westad, 180-194
- Ho Chi Minh, *Down with Colonialism!*, 37-38, 123-127, 139-140, 177-190, 194-199, 209-216 (on Blackboard)
- Hanhimäki:
- Chapter 7 introduction (209-210)
- 7.1 Ho Chi Minh's Declaration of Vietnamese Independence, 1945 (210-213)
- 7.2 The Geneva Conference: The American View, 1954 (213-214)
- 7.5 Lyndon B. Johnson on His Options in Vietnam, 1964 (218-220)
- 7.6 Le Duan's Letter to the South, 1965 (220-223)
- 7.8 The Vietnamese War, 1969 (224-225)
- 7.10 Mao Zedong on Vietnam, 1970 (227-229)
- 7.11 Kissinger in Moscow and Beijing, May-June 1972 (229-233)
- 7.14 The Fall of Saigon, 1975 (239-240)

Week 8 (March 14) SPRING BREAK—NO CLASS

Week 9 (March 21) Third World Solidarity in the First World: The New Left and Black Power in the US

Readings:

- *The Port Huron Statement of the Students for a Democratic Society* (<http://www.h-net.org/~hst306/documents/huron.html>) – NOTE: section entitled “The Individual in the Warfare State” can be skimmed)
- Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America*, vii-xii, 2-56, 164-177 (on Blackboard)
- Kwame Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, 421-428 (on Blackboard)
- Hanhimäki:
 - 7.9 Norman Mailer on the March on the Pentagon (226-227)
 - 13.11 Malcolm X on the United States and the World, 1964 (435-438)
- CLIP: Country Joe McDonald, “I-Feel-Like-I’m-Fixin’-To-Die Rag” (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LbdeCxJmcAo>)
- CLIP: James Brown, “Say It Loud (I’m Black and I’m Proud)” (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2VRSAVDlpDI>)

Week 10 (March 28) Cold War Intermission: “Peaceful Coexistence” and Superpower Détente

MID-SEMESTER PAPER DUE IN CLASS

Readings:

- Westad, 194-206
- Gustavo Gutiérrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics and Salvation*, 1-42, 79-99, 287-308 (on Blackboard)
- Hanhimäki:
 - Chapter 15 introduction (481-483)
 - 15.3 President Kennedy’s Call for Détente, June 1963 (490-493)
 - 15.6 Four Chinese Marshals on Sino-Soviet-American Relations, July 1969 (499-503)
 - 15.7 Anatoly Dobrynin on US Interest in Détente, July 1969 (503-506)
 - 15.8 Kissinger and Triangular Diplomacy, 1971-1972 (506-512)
 - 15.9 The United States and the Soviet Union Agree on the ‘Rules’ of Détente, May 1972 (512-513)
 - 15.10 Kissinger on the Prospects of Soviet-American Relations, May 1973 (513-514)
- The Two German States in the United Nations, September 19, 1973 (http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=922)
- The Helsinki Final Act, 1975 (on Blackboard)

Week 11 (April 4) The Middle East in the Cold War: Pan-Arabism, Zionism, and the Palestinian Question

Readings:

- Gamal Abdel Nasser, *Egypt’s Liberation: The Philosophy of the Revolution*, 11-114 (on Blackboard)
- The Balfour Declaration, 1917; State of Israel Proclamation of Independence, 1948; The Suez Crisis, 1956; The Eisenhower Doctrine, 1957; President Nasser on Zionism and Israel, 1960-1963; Golda Meir: A Call for Disarmament, 1962; Nasser’s Resignation Broadcast, 1967; The Palestinian National Charter: Resolutions of the Palestine National Council, 1968; The Yom

Kippur/Ramadan War, 1973; OPEC and the World Economy, 1961 & 1975; Peace between Egypt and Israel, 1977-1979; West Bank Palestinians: Reactions to Camp David, 1981; Defense Minister Ariel Sharon: Israel's Security, 1981 (on Blackboard)

Week 12 (April 11) Africa at the Boiling Point: The Cold War in Southern Africa and the Horn

Readings:

- Westad, 207-287
- Hanhimäki:
- 11.13 Poem by António Agostinho Neto, 1960 (376-377)
- 13.12 The Resistance against Apartheid, 1978 (438-439)
- 16.1 The Angolan Revolution, 1975-1976 (518-528)
- 16.9 SCC Meeting on the Horn of Africa, March 1978 (542-544)
- Amílcar Cabral, Guinea and Cabo Verde against Portuguese Colonialism, 1961 (<http://www.marxists.org/subject/africa/cabral/1961/gcvpc.htm>)
- Rhodesia: Unilateral Declaration of Independence Documents, 1965 (<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1965Rhodesia-UDI.asp>)
- Toivo Herman Ya Toivo, Freedom for Namibia, 1968 (<http://www.blackpast.org/?q=1968-toivo-herman-ja-toivo-freedom-namibia>)
- Desmond Tutu, God-Given Dignity and the Quest for Liberation, 1973 (<http://www.blackpast.org/?q=desmond-tutu-god-given-dignity-and-quest-liberation>)
- Oliver Tambo, Speech at FRELIMO Mass Rally, 1982 (<http://anc.org.za/show.php?id=4404>)
- Samora Machel, Every Revolution is a Contribution to Marxism, 1983 (<http://www.blackpast.org/?q=1983-samora-machel-every-revolution-contribution-marxism>)
- The Derg and Mengistu Haile Mariam, Unity: Foundation of Our Independence and Strength, 1988 (on Blackboard)
- Nelson Mandela, Address to a Rally in Cape Town on his Release from Prison, 1990 (<http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=4520>)

Week 13 (April 18) The Rise of Political Islam: The Iranian Revolution and the Soviet War in Afghanistan

Readings:

- Westad, 288-330
- Early Ideologues of Islamic Radicalism (on Blackboard)
- Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, *Islamic Government*, 18-28, 78-94 (on Blackboard)
- Hanhimäki:
- 16.11 Reasons to Invade Afghanistan, December 1979 (546-547)
- 16.13 Brzezinski on the Soviet Afghan Intervention, December 1979 (550-552)
- 17.4 The Iranian Hostage Crisis, 1979 (561-562)
- 17.5 Ayatollah Khomeini's Message, 1980 (562-564)
- 17.6 Islamism in Afghanistan (564-567)

Week 14 (April 25) The "Second Cold War": The End of Détente and the Reagan Offensive

Readings:

- Westad, 331-363

– *Nicaragua: The Sandinista People's Revolution. Speeches by Sandinista Leaders*, 22-38, 184-192, 381-390 (on Blackboard)

– Hanhimäki:

Chapter 16 introduction (516-518)

12.10 Nicaragua 1979 (405-407)

12.11 The Reagan Doctrine in Central America, 1983-1984 (407-410)

16.12 NATO's Double-Track Decision, December 1979 (547-549)

17.7 The Soviet War in Afghanistan (567-568)

17.10 The Reagan Challenge, 1982 (573-575)

17.11 The Soviet Union in Difficulties, May 1983 (575-578)

– CIA, Memorandum from DDI Robert M. Gates to DCI William J. Casey, December 14, 1984

(<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB210/3-Gates%20Memo%2012-14-84.pdf>)

– NSC, Oliver L. North Memorandum, "Release of American Hostages in Beirut," April 4, 1986

(<http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB210/16-Diversion%20Memo%204-4-86%20%28IC%2002614%29.pdf>)

– Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger on Liberation Theology, 1984 (<http://www.christendom-awake.org/pages/ratzinger/liberationtheol.htm>)

CLIP: President Reagan, Evil Empire Speech, March 1983

(<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=do0x-Egc6oA>)

Week 15 (May 2) Armageddon Averted: The End of the Cold War and the Emergence of a Multi-Polar World

– Westad, 364-407

– Hanhimäki:

Chapter 18 introduction (590-593)

17.5 Gorbachev and Perestroika, 1987 (586-588)

18.1 The Soviet Withdrawal from Afghanistan, February 1989 (593-595)

18.6 The Fall of the Berlin Wall, November 1989 (602-605)

18.8 The Malta Summit, December 1989 (607-609)

19.3 Samuel P. Huntington on the Coming "Clash of Civilizations" (639-641)

19.5 Legacies of the Angolan War, January 1997 (644-646)

19.8 Korean Family Reunion, August 2000 (650-651)

19.9 China Joins the World Trade Organization, September-November 2001 (651-654)

19.10 Interview with Osama bin Laden, 1999 (654-658)

19.11 The War on Terrorism and the Lessons of the Cold War (658-659)

YOUR FINAL PAPER MUST BE TURNED IN TO MY MAILBOX (IN ROBINSBON HALL B, 359) NO LATER THAN 5:00 PM ON THURSDAY, MAY 10, 2012