



End of the Cold War

Why.

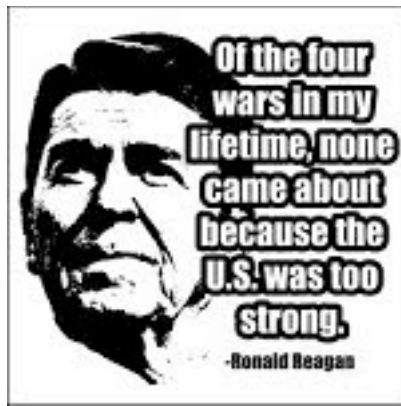
- **KISS**: No world power had collapsed so quickly and definitively w/out a war until USSR (763)
 - Overextension of borders, military, economy
 - Leaders unwilling to face obvious domestic problems



Jeez, just get done
with it already – RR

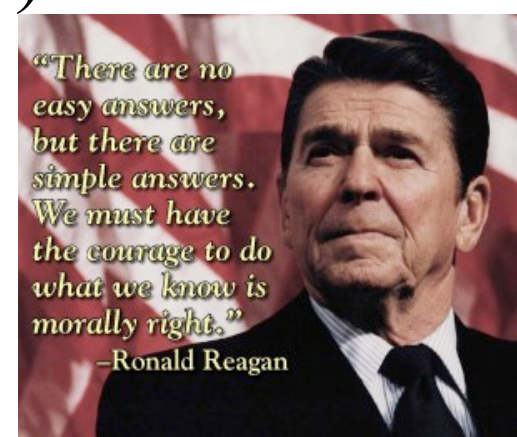
Ronald Reagan – Unlikely Hero

- KISS: Knew just enough to get by on foreign policy, but had a leader's sense of direction & strength of convictions (765)
- Conceptually, same ideas as Nixon & Ford, but execution was better: use exceptionalism to drive FP
- 1983 – “**Evil Empire**” speech
- Ended détente → “crusade & conversion”
 - Fear of Armageddon brings USSR to table → more direct conversation than any previous US President.



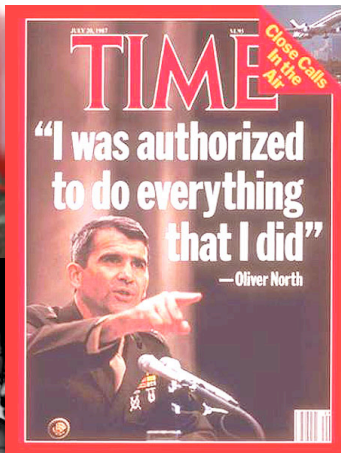
Reagan's Goals

- Pushes for final outcome through relentless confrontation (Machiavellian) (771 “Fantasy”)
 - First postwar president to take offensive ideologically & geostrategically → Communism could be defeated
- #1: Combat Soviet pressures until expansion stops
- #2: Rearm to stop Soviet strategic superiority
- **KISS**: Takes Wilsonianism to its ultimate conclusion by actively promoting democracy (773)



Reagan Doctrine

- US would help anti-communist counter-insurgencies wrest their respective countries out of Soviet sphere
 - Armed forces in Angola, Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Iraq, & humanitarian aid in Cambodia
- Helping them embodied Richelieu → helping enemy of my enemy → Similar to Truman Doctrine (774)

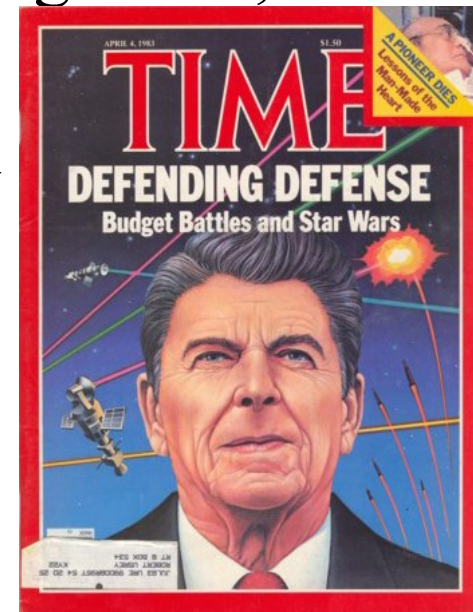
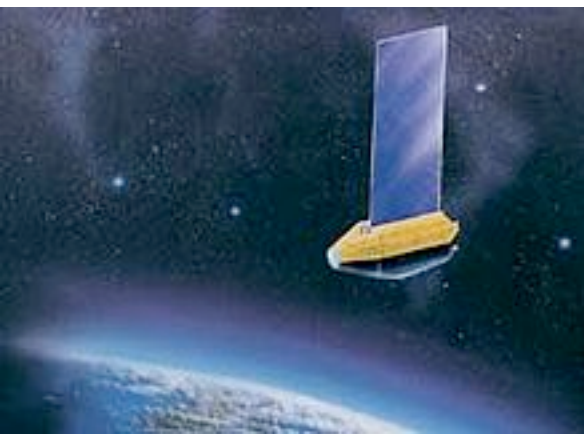


How to End a Cold War (775-82)

- NATO deploys intermediate range missiles in EUR
 - Rebirth of US arms buildup
 - Bridges gap in deterrence
 - Moscow threatens to walk out of peace talks → tries to become the side of peace in EUR against bellicose USA
 - **Mitterand** (FRA) & **Kohl** (GER) stand by US



- America's commitment to Strategic Defense (SDI)
 - **KISS**: Topples balance of deterrence again in US favor
 - Majority of media/academics against it (779-80)
 - RR continues support on political grounds → trying to bring about the abolition of nuclear war
 - Opposite Soviet reaction than what most predicted → opened the door to arms control
 - **KISS**: Reagan's paradox: wants to build arms, SDI in hope nuclear war never occurs, avoid Armageddon, but this is a signal he won't use them (782)
 - Soviets can't test this b/c they're too weak



Soviet Transition

- Brezhnev (dies '82)→ Andropov (dies '84)→ Chernenko (dies '85)→ Mikhail Gorbachev



Soviet Problems (1985) (790)

- Relations w/ West
- Relations w/ CHN
- Strains in satellite orbit
- Renewed arms race
- Stagnation of domestic econ/pol



Mikhail Gorbachev (1985-91)

- Personality: (785)
- Made valiant effort to update strategy, get nukes out of GER, and weaken NATO (**Common European Home**) (791)



Reykjavik Summit (1986)

- Agree in principle to reduce all strategic forces by 50% in 5yrs & destroy all ballistics in 10yrs.
 - Tough position for allies → US & USSR making decision
 - BUT Gorby presses for end to SDI → RR leaves room & cancels agreement.
- Later, both dismantle 50% & agreements were reached to take missiles out of EUR
- **KISS**: RR had turned what had been a marathon into a sprint (784); Couldn't've sustained it without USSR collapse (785)



Glasnost & Perestroika (788-96)

- G – Political liberalization & “Openness” → gain intellectual support
- P – Econ reform & restructuring to gain **technocrats**
- 1986 – **27th Party Congress** – “**New Thinking**” – Gorby’s new approach to FP → Wilsonian interdependence against Marx/Lenin (787-88)
- Dec. ’88 @UN – Huge cuts to military; pacifies CHN w/leaving Mongolia (791)
 - **KISS**: Kennan right all along!



“God Help Me
to Survive this Deadly Love”

China

- Gorby Extended peace & friendship in '86 →
 - Get out of AFGH, tell VIE to get out of CAM, withdraw from Sino-Soviet border, then we'll talk.
 - Bad luck: Tiananmen Square Riot/Massacre happened when Gorby arrived to negotiate (May '89)



Eastern Bloc

- Called for more nationalized, democratic reforms
 - Gorby couldn't invoke Brezhnev Doctrine b/c of all his improvements w/ NATO → abandons it entirely by 1989 in favor of “**Sinatra Doctrine**”
 - KISS: Liberalization proved incompatible with communist rule (794)



Mr. Gorbachev, Tear Down This Wall

- Nov. 1989 – Wall Falls → 1990 – Reunified GER in NATO → Every communist gov. overthrown in Bloc → Warsaw Pact is dead.

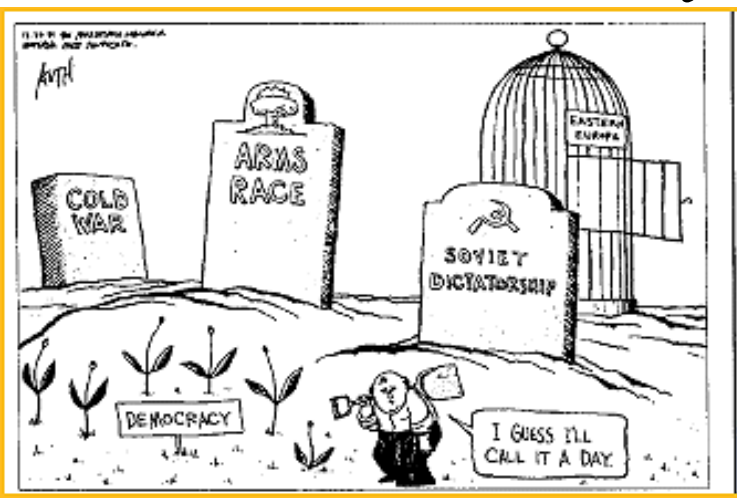


How did We Get to 1991? (787)

1. USSR's only allies in E. EUR after CHN leave & they're more of a drain than a help
2. 3rd World exploits costly & inconclusive
3. US arms buildup, SDI too costly to compete with
4. Gorby's gambles fail (795-96)
 1. Liberalization would modernize USSR
 2. Then, USSR could hold onto Superpower status
 3. Liberal communism doesn't work (796)
5. Neither G or P work b/c infrastructure for freedom didn't exist → "Over 25, wasted your life." (797)
6. Shift of power from Party to regional entities → "Army of clerks"; "Sins of Russian history came home to roost" (798)

Fall of Gorbachev

- **KISS**: Too fast & too slow (799)
- 1990 – Baltics secede, the the rest fall
- **12/25/1991** – Coup attempt by army & **Boris Yeltsin** in '91 → Fails, but Russia declares independence.
- West liked him so much, they defended legality of communist constitution that put him in office (786)
- Jan. 1992 – Gorby forced to resign → W. to Yeltsin



Was the USSR ever really a threat?

- Victory by *idea* of democracy (799)
- Marxists (Halliday) (800)
- Soviet Revisionists (Dashichev) (800)
- Shevardnadze (801)
- Looking back to Kennan (801)
- Kissinger: No. (799 & 802-803)