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
• 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

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 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)