**Topic 5: The Cold War**

**Title and Author of Packet:**

**Chapter 30: The End of the Cold War: Reagan and Gorbachev**

**Kissinger**

**Major Theme: Origins of the Cold War**

| Ideological Differences | - In his first press conference, Reagan said the SU was an empire prepared “to commit any crime, to lie, to cheat.”  
- In 1983, Reagan called the SU “the evil empire” |
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<td>Mutual Suspicion and Fear</td>
<td>From Wartime Allies to Post-War Enemies</td>
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| Historiography | - “Reagan had been elected in reaction to a period of America’s seeming retreat to reaffirm the traditional verities of American expansionism”  
- “The rhetoric of Reagan’s first term marked the formal end of the period of detente. America’s goal was no longer a relaxation of tensions but crusade and conversion.” |

**Major Theme: Nature of the Cold War**

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<th>Ideological Opposition</th>
<th>- “The details of foreign policy bored Reagan. He had absorbed a few basic ideas about the dangers of appeasement, the evils of communism, and the greatness of his own country.”</th>
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| Superpowers and Spheres of Influence | The following resulted in American worry over the strength of the SU:
- collapse of Indochina in 1975 (US retreats from Angola)
- surge in expansionism by the SU
- Cuban military forces had spread from Angola to Ethiopia in tandem with thousands of soviet troops
- Vietnamese troops supported SU
- Iran taken over by anti-American party that held 52 American troops hostage |
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| Alliances and Diplomacy in the Cold War | - On Sept. 28, 1984, Gromyko visited Reagan at the white house. Reagan hoped to remove the Soviet leaders’ suspicions of the US.
- Reagan “meant to reach his goal by means of relentless confrontation”
- The Reagan Doctrine: “the US would help any anticommunist counterinsurgencies wrest their respective countries out of the Soviet sphere of influence.”
- The Reagan administration dispensed aid to Poland, Islamic fundamentalists, in Afghanistan, and to tribal warlords in Africa. |
| Historiography | -“Reagan understood the mainsprings of his society, whereas Gorbachev had completely lost touch with his.”
-“No world power had ever disintegrated so totally or so rapidly without losing a war” (In regards to the SU)
- caused by “its own history (that) had tempted it to inexorably toward overextension”
-“Quite simply, the SU was neither strong enough nor dynamic enough for the role its leaders had assigned it”
- bloated imperialism
- inability to consolidate gains (military & economic) |
| Major Theme: Development and Impact of the Cold War | Global Spread of the Cold War from its European Origins
Cold War Policies of Containment, Brinkmanship, Peaceful Coexistence, Détente |
### Role of the United Nations and the Non-Aligned Movement

### Role and Significance of Leaders

### Arms Race, Proliferation and Limitation
- Reagan restored the B-1 bomber and began the development of the MX missile.
- The defenses of Europe and the US became “coupled” meaning that the SU would not be able to attack either area without incurring an unacceptable risk of a general nuclear war.
- Reagan offered to trade American intermediate-range missiles for the Soviet SS-20s.
  - The Soviets did not accept the offer so Germany released its intermediate-range missiles.
- In Dec 1988, Gorbachev had given up on the long-term gains almost within his grasp and retreated to making unilateral reductions in the Soviet armed forces.

### Social, Cultural, and Economic Impact

### Historiography
- “Reagan's most fundamental challenge to the SU proved to be his military buildup.”
- “The two strategic decisions which contributed most to the ending of the Cold War were NATO’s deployment of American intermediate-range missiles in Europe and the American commitment to the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)”
- The paradox of technical experts at the time: they convinced themselves that politicians are reckless and would bomb recklessly. In response, the scientists made bombs so destructive that the leaders wouldn’t use them lest risk a “nihilistic military strategy of civilian extermination”
  - mutually assured destruction

### Major Theme: End of the Cold War
| Break-Up of Soviet Union: Internal Problems and External Pressures | • The SDI program was largely opposed by the majority of American citizens and intellectuals because it threatened to put entire publics at risk in exchange for any kind of alliance and assisted the theory of Mutual Assured Destruction. The SDI program, however, did help spur disarmament between the United States and the Soviet Union.  
• Centralization played a large part in the collapse of the Soviet Union because those that were in charge of centralized production had no idea what demand might be and had no way of adjusting their programs once these had been established. As a result, inefficient bureaucracy was prevalent and "the Soviet Union had reverted to the early history of the Russian state; it had turned itself into a gigantic Potemkin village." Gorbachev recognized these inefficiencies, and by trying to alleviate the problems of the system, helped create the system's very downfall.  
• Gorbachev’s liberalization program was based on two aspects, glasnost (political openness) and perestroika (structuring). These two ideals sometimes clashed with each other because of the lack of infrastructure for personal expression and helped instigate more calls for liberalization and democracy.  
• The breakup of the Soviet Union help create a debate over the role over American internationalism and isolationism, and to what extent the Cold War had really existed or whether the Soviet Union had really been a threat. |
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| Breakdown of Soviet Control Over Central and Eastern Europe | “The communist rulers of Eastern Europe were thus caught in a vicious circle. The more nationalist their foreign policies, the greater became the demands for democratization; the more they democratized, the more intense would be the pressures to replace them.”  
• The rulers of Eastern Europe were caught in an insoluble quandary. In order to alleviate their domestic pressures, they had to pursue a more national policy, however, because Eastern governments were seen as puppets of the Kremlin, they were forced to also assert their independence from Moscow, which encouraged calls for democratization and new leadership. This vicious cycle eventually spurred into the collapse of Soviet control over Eastern Europe. |
| Historiography | “Gorbachev had staked everything on two propositions: that liberalization would modernize the SU, and that the SU would then be able to hold its own internationally as a great power.” |