The End of the Cold War

PS 142A.12
Summary

- Attempted reform and ultimate collapse of the Soviet Union ended the Cold War
  - Disintegration of Soviet sphere of influence in 1989 decisive turning point
  - Also ended the Cold War in Central America
- NATO and EU enlargement greatly expanded the Liberal International Order
Did it Fall or was it Pushed?

- Economic and political decay within the Soviet Union caused the system to collapse
  - Reagan reciprocated Gorbachev’s “outreach” to the West, permitting reforms to proceed
- The United States challenged the Soviet Union in a second Cold War, causing it to “surrender”
  - Military competition (remember NSC-68) finally worked
Economy of the Soviet Union

- Centralized planning of goods and services
- Good at mobilizing underemployed resources in agriculture into industry
- Planning not appropriate for modern industrial and consumer economy
- High rates of military spending did not produce civilian “spin offs”
- Became increasingly dependent on oil and gas exports
Soviet Economic Growth, 1928-1970
Soviet Economic Growth, 1950-1989
Soviet Economy, 1913-1990

Evolution of growth in several countries, 1913-1990

- United States
- Japan
- Finland
- Western Europe
- Spain
- Soviet Union
Perestroika (Restructuring)

- “Old guard” finally passes
  - Brezhnev dies in 1982, succeeded by Yury Andropov and Konstantin Chernenko
  - Believed economic stagnation could be remedied by greater worker discipline and less corruption
- Gorbachev assumes power in 1985 and launches Perestroika
  - Moved to a quasi-market system in 1987-1988
  - Economic chaos follows
  - Summer 1988 Gorbachev decentralizes economic policy to local soviets
Glasnost (Openness)

- Broader participation to overcome political and bureaucratic inertia
- Allowed more freedom of expression and public debate
- Nonetheless, centralized political authority in new presidency
- New Parliament: Congress of People’s Deputies
- Removed constitutional provision that Communist Party of the Soviet Union was the sole legal political organization
The “Second” Cold War

- Soviet defense spending 25% of GDP
- Embroiled in Afghanistan
- Reagan increases defense spending from $1.1 to 1.5 trillion; 40% increase
  - Combined with tax cuts, federal budget deficit increases to $200bn per year
- U.S. developing Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI or “Star Wars”)
  - Anti-ballistic missile defense system
- Proposes to station new Intermediate Nuclear Forces in Europe
  - Soviet Union deploys SS-20 missiles in 1976
  - U.S. threatens new INF deployment, first arrive in Nov. 1983
CHART 2

Historical Defense Spending

AS A PERCENTAGE OF GDP

Vietnam War, 1959–1975

Korean War, 1950–1953

Wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, 2001–
“Mr. Gorbechev, Tear down this Wall”
Breakthrough

- At Reykjavik Summit (Oct. 1986), Reagan and Gorbachev
  - Agree to “double-zero,” eliminating all INF weapons in Europe
  - Gorbachev proposes to eliminate 50% of all strategic arms, contingent on ending SDI.
  - Reagan counters with proposal to eliminate all ballistic missiles within 10 years, but insists on SDI to counter remaining threats

- Surprising overlap led to INF treaty in Dec. 1987 eliminating missiles with 310-3110 mile range
  - U.S. formally withdrew from treaty in Aug. 2019
Gorbachev Repeals the Brezhnev Doctrine

- Ex post justification for invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968
  - “When forces that are hostile to socialism try to turn the development of some socialist country towards capitalism, it becomes not only a problem of the country concerned, but a common problem and concern of all socialist countries.”

- Gorbachev refuses to use military force when Poland holds elections in June 1989 and Solidarity defeats Polish United Workers Party
Fall of the Berlin Wall

- With collapse of communism in Poland, Hungary democratizes
  - Dismantles border with Austria, allowing East Germans to cross to the West
- Mass demonstrations in East Germany led to fall of regime and wall in November 1989
  - Leipzig demonstrations
  - Socialist Unity Party leader Erich Honecker issues “shoot to kill” order for Oct. 9 demonstration
  - Gorbachev visits and urges restraint
  - Troops refuse to fire; Soviet troops in East Germany ordered not to intervene
Fall of the Berlin Wall

- Nov. 9, 1989 demonstrations lead to collapse of the wall
- Oct. 30, 1990, two Germanies reunited
Collapse of the Soviet Union

- Boris Yeltsin, then President of the Russian SFSR, rallies public and coup collapses
- Gorbachev resigns and communist party dissolves (Dec. 1991)
- Republics declare independence and Soviet Union dissolves
Before and After
Reagan Doctrine (1985): The Second Cold War in the Americas

“Our mission is to nourish and defend freedom and democracy, and to communicate these ideals everywhere we can. We must stand by all our democratic allies. And we must not break faith with those who are risking their lives—on every continent, from Afghanistan to Nicaragua—to defy Soviet-supported aggression and secure rights which have been ours from birth. Support for freedom fighters is self-defense.”
El Salvador

- U.S. backs government against rebels (FMLN-umbrella group)
  - Insists on elections; right wing party nearly wins in 1982; U.S. nullifies election
  - Tries again in 1984, electing U.S.-backed Jose Napoleon Duarte (defeated by right wing in 1988)
  - U.S. military advisors direct the war
- War lasts 1980-1992
  - 75,000 casualties; 85% committed by Salvadoran armed forces and death squads
  - UN negotiated peace agreement Jan. 1992
Nicaragua

- Sandanistas seize power from Somoza in 1979
- Leftist government opposed by the U.S., turns to Cuba and Soviet Union for support
- U.S. secretly funds and trains the Contras
- CIA mines harbor in 1983, Congress retaliates by cutting all funding for Contras
- Administration countered by secretly selling weapons to Iran and using the proceeds to fund the Contras
  - Oliver North given immunity; Elliot Abrams pleads guilty to misdemeanors
- Sandanistas lose 1990 elections (with lots of help from U.S. and CIA)
End of the Cold War and Enlargement of the LIO

- Germany unified
- NATO expanded
- European Union enlarged
German Reunification

- Critical negotiations between German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Gorbachev
  - Germany would remain in NATO (no troops in East)
  - Germany accepts postwar borders (giving up any claim to former German areas of Poland)
- Germany officially reunified on Oct. 3, 1990
NATO Enlargement

- Controversy over incorporating new members into collective security arrangement v. “poking” the bear
- Conflicting views on whether West committed not to expand in the negotiations over German unification
- Required market and democratic liberalization
- Membership Action Plan
  - Settle international, ethnic, and territorial disputes
  - Contribute to NATO's defense and missions
  - Possess sufficient armed forces to meet commitments
  - Secure sensitive information
NATO Enlargement

- 1999: Czech Rep., Hungary, Poland
- 2004: Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia
- 2009: Albania, Croatia
- 2017: Montenegro
- 2019: North Macedonia
Institutions must guarantee:
- democracy, rule of law, human rights
- functioning market economy
- ability to fulfill obligations of membership

Current members must agree to new members.
The New Liberal International Order

- Between NATO and EU, many former Soviet states are embedded into the liberal international order
  - NATO as collective security organization
  - EU membership requires common market and agreement to WTO rules
  - EU ascension criteria ensure respect for democracy and human rights
- Europe turns inward in period of consolidation; U.S. turns outward