

HOW OUR LEADERS ENDED ONE COLD WAR

AND THEN STARTED ANOTHER

ОКОНЧАНИЕ <ХОЛОДОЙ ВОЙНЫ>:
ПОВОРОТНЫЕ МОМЕНТЫ

МОСКВА, 26 МАРТА 2019 г.

Jack F. Matlock, Jr.



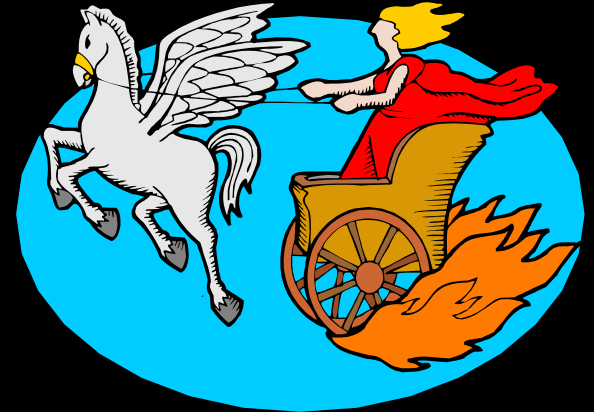
How is it that we have moved,
in a quarter century
from the confidence that enveloped the world
when the Cold War ended, the Berlin Wall came down,
And President George H. W. Bush proclaimed a “new world order,”
to the talk of a new Cold War today?



There are many reasons,
but one of the most fundamental
is our failure to understand the lessons
the end of the Cold War
and the collapse of the Soviet Union
should have taught us.



MYTHS



MYTH ONE

The Cold War ended with the collapse of the Soviet Union.

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No!

MYTH ONE

The Cold War ended with the collapse of the Soviet Union.

**No, because the Cold War ended well before
the Soviet Union broke up.**

MYTH TWO

Western (especially U.S.) military and economic pressure defeated Communism.

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NO!

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Western (especially U.S.) military and economic pressure defeated Communism.

No, because Mikhail Gorbachev
maneuvered the Communist Party out of power.
He could not have done so if the arms race had continued.
Communism collapsed from within.

MYTH THREE

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(and the “war on terror” can thus be considered World War IV).*

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NO WAY!

MYTH THREE

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(and the “war on terror” can thus be considered World War IV).*

The Cold War was totally unlike World Wars I and II.
There was no direct conflict between the U.S. and USSR.
Neither side surrendered.
Its negotiated end benefited both sides.
The so-called “war on terror,”
is totally different from both world wars and the Cold War.

MYTH FOUR

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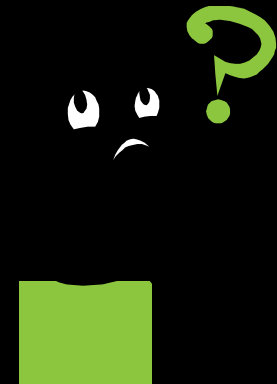
NO!

MYTH FOUR

Russia was defeated in the Cold War.

The Russian Federation of today was not a party to the Cold War.
The Soviet RSFSR was subordinate to the Soviet Union
and not a sovereign state.
Its elected leaders helped to end the Cold War,
and also to break up the USSR.

WHY
DOES
IT
MATTER?



IMPLICATIONS OF MYTH ONE

[The Cold War ended with the collapse of the Soviet Union.]

The mistaken idea
that an authoritarian system can be brought down
by military and economic pressure from the outside.
Actually, external pressure usually strengthens a dictator.

IMPLICATIONS OF MYTH TWO

*Western (especially U.S.) military and economic pressure
defeated Communism*

**Implies that the Communist Party lost control of the Soviet Union
because of military and economic pressure from the outside
rather than by Gorbachev's attempt to reform the system.**

**This distorted view gave rise to the false notion
that American power could transform other nations.**

IMPLICATIONS OF MYTH THREE

*The Cold War was, in effect, World War III
(and the “war on terror” can thus be considered World War IV).*

**Leads to the false notion that metaphorical wars
can be won by the same methods as real wars.**

IMPLICATIONS OF MYTH FOUR

Russia was defeated in the Cold War.

Nourishes the idea
that Russia is a defeated nation,
and is not worthy of being a part of the “West.”

MISTAKEN CLAIM

We (the "West") won the Cold War.

NO!

Everybody won!

The Soviet Union was not "defeated."

The Cold War ended on terms that benefitted all countries.

REALITIES

*Negotiations brought the Cold War to an end,
not military and economic pressure.*



*The Cold War would not have ended if the United States had insisted
on "regime change" rather than a change of behavior.*

THREE GEOPOLITICALLY SEISMIC EVENTS

1.

The Cold War ended.
(1988-89)

2.

The Communist Party lost control of the Soviet Union
(1989-91)

3.

The Soviet Union shattered into 15 independent states.
(December, 1991)

**These events were connected, but separate,
and had different causation.**

HOW DID THEY HAPPEN?

1.

The Cold War ended on terms negotiated by Reagan and Gorbachev, completed by George H.W. Bush and Gorbachev. It took two to tango, and by 1989 they danced to the same music.

2.

The Communist Party lost control of the Soviet Union when Gorbachev maneuvered it out of control with democratic reforms. He did so when the CPSU began to resist perestroika.

3.

The Soviet Union shattered into 15 independent states when Russian president Yeltsin conspired with the leaders of Ukraine and Belarus to dissolve the Soviet Union. The United States hoped Gorbachev would create a voluntary federation of the Soviet republics other than Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

FIRST GEOPOLITICAL TRANSFORMATION

ENDING THE COLD WAR:
Reagan's Framework for Negotiation

REAGAN'S FRAMEWORK FOR NEGOTIATION

The "How to Proceed"

1. Realism
2. Strength
3. Dialogue

Shultz testimony June 1983

REAGAN'S FRAMEWORK FOR NEGOTIATION

The "What Do We Want?":
A Four-Part Agenda:
Cooperate to:

1. Reduce Arms
2. End Conflict in Third Countries
3. Respect Human Rights
4. Improve Working Relationship

Reagan's Speech of 16 Jan 84

REAGAN'S FRAMEWORK FOR NEGOTIATION

NOT ON THE AGENDA:

1. Challenging Legitimacy of Soviet System
2. Military Superiority
3. Forcing Collapse of Soviet System

REAGAN'S FRAMEWORK FOR NEGOTIATION

Reagan's Comments

- Gorbachev will be tough negotiator; must justify his agreements to Politburo.
- Most important: restore trust.
- U.S. too upfront re human rights. Can harm, not help, victims.
- Must make clear to Gorbachev: we do not want an arms race, but if he insists on one, he will lose it.
- "Whatever we achieve, we must not call it victory."

FIRST GEOPOLITICAL TRANSFORMATION

ENDING THE COLD WAR:
Gorbachev's Response

ENDING THE COLD WAR: Gorbachev's Response



Agreed to meet in Geneva (November, 1985)

1. - Expanded exchanges
2. - 50% reduction nukes, but with conditions
3. - No progress re human rights or regional conflict



Reykjavík Summit (October, 1986)

1. Close to agreement to eliminate nuclear weapons
2. - Gorbachev tried to “kill” SDI and refused to agree to **eliminate** ballistic missiles
3. - Little progress re human rights or regional conflict

1987: Gorbachev accepts mutual agenda, agreements follow rapidly as perestroika gathers momentum.

REAGAN IN MOSCOW - MAY, 1988

Reporter: "Is this still an evil empire?"

Reagan: "No, that was another time, another era."



GORBACHEV'S UN SPEECH

December 7, 1988

"Common interests of mankind" not class struggle.
Countries have freedom of choice of political system and alliances.
Soviet military to be reduced by half a million troops.



BERLIN WALL TAKEN DOWN

November, 1989

Reagan demanded it, but Bush helped Gorbachev to enable it!



BUSH-GORBACHEV, Malta

December, 1989

- "We no longer consider each other enemies."
- The Soviet Union will not intervene in Eastern Europe.
- The U.S. will not "take advantage" of changes there.



THE GERMANIES UNITE--1990

Baker to Gorbachev: "Assuming there is no expansion of NATO to the East, not one inch" ...[wouldn't it be better to have a united Germany in NATO]. *February, 1990.*

"Two plus four" agreement signed September 12, 1990.



SECOND GEOPOLITICAL TRANSFORMATION

CPSU Loses Control of USSR



CPSU Loses Control of USSR 1989-1991

1988: Reform “Theses” at CPSU Congress; Reagan Visit

1989: Elections: Yeltsin wins big in Moscow

1990: Presidency Established; Lithuania declares independence

1990: Independence movements grow in non-Russian republics

1991: Attempted Coup d’Etat fails in August



THIRD GEOPOLITICAL TRANSFORMATION

USSR Breaks Up December 25, 1991



USSR Breaks Up

December 25, 1991

1990-91: Gorbachev tries to negotiate a voluntary federation, with President Bush's support, but

In December, the leaders of Russia, Ukraine and Belarus meet and decide to liquidate the Soviet Union.

On Christmas Day, 1991, the Russian tricolor replaces the hammer and sickle over the Kremlin.

Boris Yeltsin, the president of the Russian Federation, receives the release keys of nuclear weapons.

1992

Europe is free and undivided.

Economic collapse in Russia, Ukraine and most ex-Soviet republics.

U.S. and the "West" declare victory.

U.S. sets out to make the world over.

SINCE 1992

Leaders of U.S. and Russian Federation gradually lost sight of the basic truth that enabled Gorbachev, Reagan and Bush I to end the Cold War: “A nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought.”

Unwise actions and counterproductive reactions have created a dangerous revival of tensions even though the most basic interests of both countries are compatible.

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