

# WEEK 8

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The last days of the Cold War

# Cold War Triumphalism



“[Reagan] began with a common-sense conviction that the Soviets were not a people to be contained but a system to be defeated. This put him at odds with the long-held view of the foreign-policy elites in the '60s, '70s and '80s, but Reagan had an old-fashioned sense that Americans could do any good thing if God blessed the effort. Removing expansionary communism from the world stage was a right and good thing, and why would God not smile upon it?”

-Peggy Noonan, Reagan speech writer

# Inconvenient Cold War questions

- If the arms race wore down the USSR, why is its replacement still armed to the teeth?
- If the Cold War ended with a triumph for democracy, when will Russia actually become one?
- Does our economic experience over the decade qualify as a “triumph of free market capitalism”?



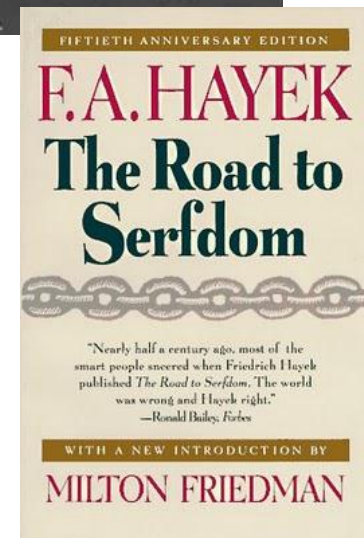
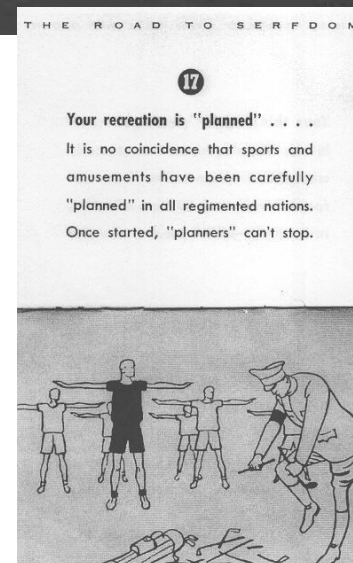
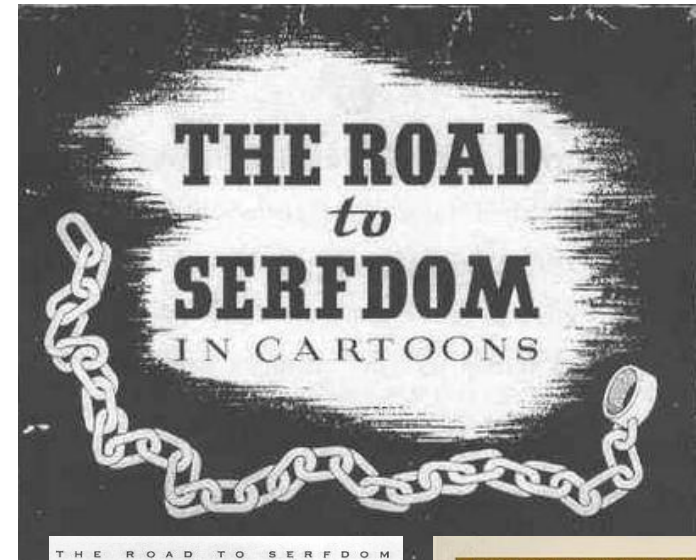
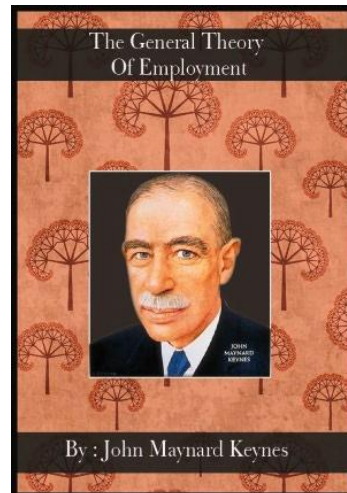
# The aging of Europe



- By 1970s, much of Europe's tax base had retired
- Netherlands: # of employed men 60-64 drops from 81 to 58 percent
- Many fewer citizens paying taxes

# From Keynes to Hayek

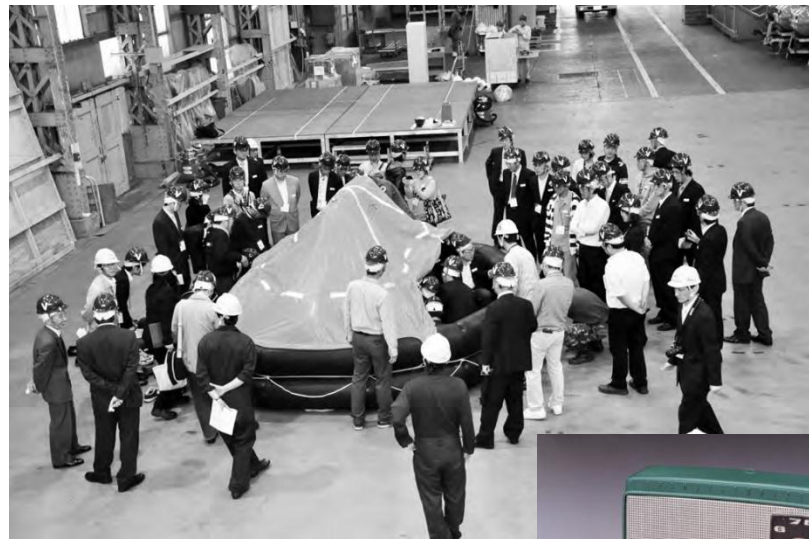
- Governments become skeptical of state stimulus strategies funded by progressive taxation
- Opt for “supply side” economics based on tax breaks



# Contrasts in work culture: Britain and Japan



British Labor militants demonstrate against their own budget cutting government in the 1979 “Winter of Discontent.”



A group of Japanese workers watch a demonstration of their collectively assembled inflatable life raft.



# Rise of Margaret Thatcher

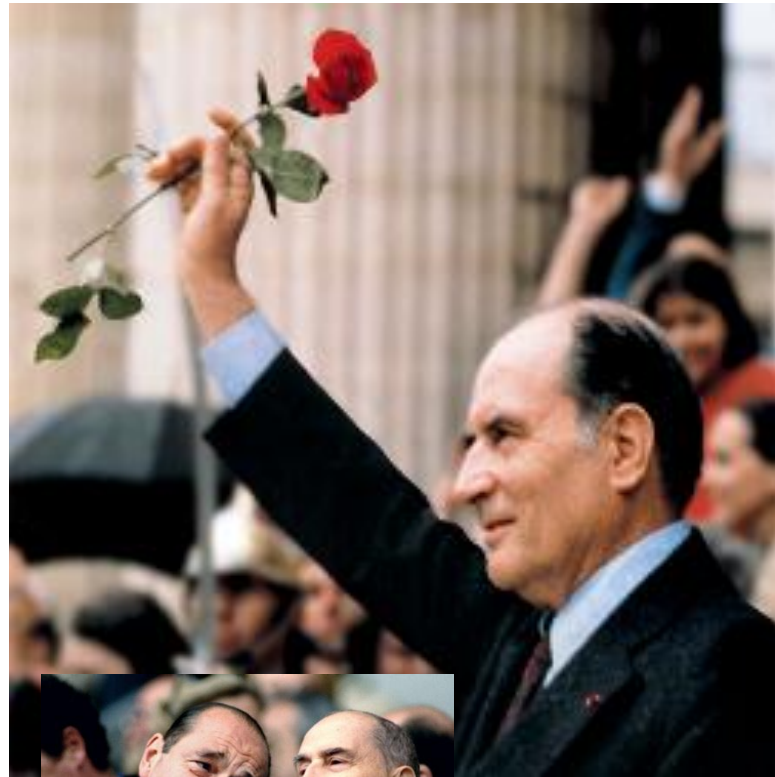
- As Conservative Prime Minister, Thatcher deregulated the British economy
- 3.2 million British lost state subsidized jobs
- Yet she centralized government authority over planning, education, and health care



“There is no such thing as society. There are individual women and men, and there are families.” – Margaret Thatcher

# Mitterrand: the budget cutting socialist

- Franc collapses upon his election
- Winds up slashing government programs to compensate for lost tax base
- Creates coalition government with right winger Jacques Chirac



(above) Mitterrand;  
(left) with Chirac



# Jimmy Carter – the insider as outsider

- As President, Carter was never able to reconcile the electorate's expectations of government with its increasing distrust for government.



# Ronald Reagan

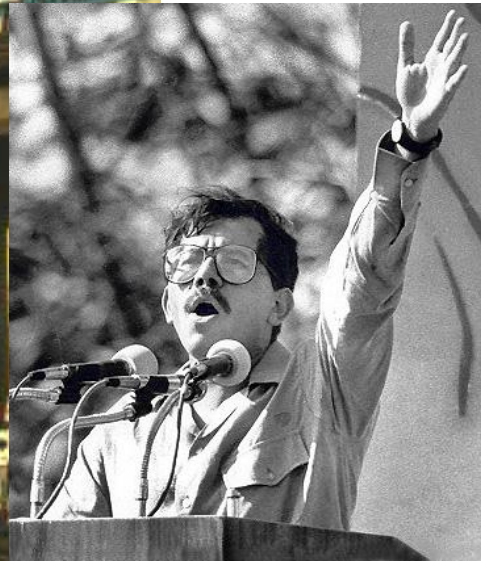
- The Reagan administration cut taxes and social programs
- but drastically increased the Pentagon budget
- creating a huge Federal deficit and debt



“Government is not the solution to our problems. Government *is* the problem.”  
(below: The Pentagon)



# Revolution in Nicaragua, 1979



**Daniel Ortega, President of  
Nicaragua, 1980**

# U.S. intervention in El Salvador and Nicaragua

- El Salvador wracked by Civil War over land reform
- Right wing death squads terrorize the country
- U.S. increases military aid to El Salvador's military, insisting government is not behind death squads
- CIA mines Nicaraguan harbors and supports "Contra" insurgents

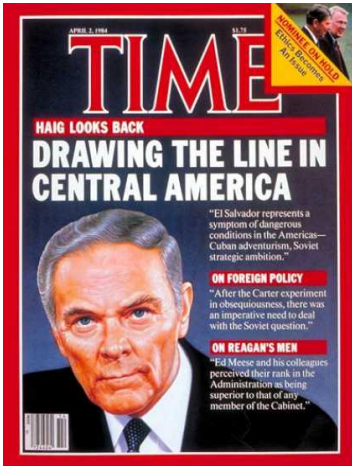


**Jose Napoleon Duarte of El Salvador; a corpse from the El Playon death squad field.**

# Jeanne Kirkpatrick: National Security Adviser

- Authoritarian regimes are bad, but they can be internally reformed, and they support capitalism
- Totalitarian regimes are worse because they cannot be reformed from within





Alexander Haig (top left) encouraged President Reagan to aggressively pursue the overthrow of leftist rebels in El Salvador and the government of Nicaragua via The Contras (bottom left); US invades Grenada in 1983 (right)



# The Reagan Doctrine, 1985

- “Support for freedom fighters is self defense.”
- Direct U.S. military intervention against communist regimes
  - Went way beyond Truman’s call for financial support of anti-communist regimes



# Crisis in Lebanon, 1982-1983



Massacres of Palestinians in Sabra and Shatila followed Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon; when the US arrived to preserve order, terrorists bombed a US embassy and a Marine camp (below), killing hundreds.





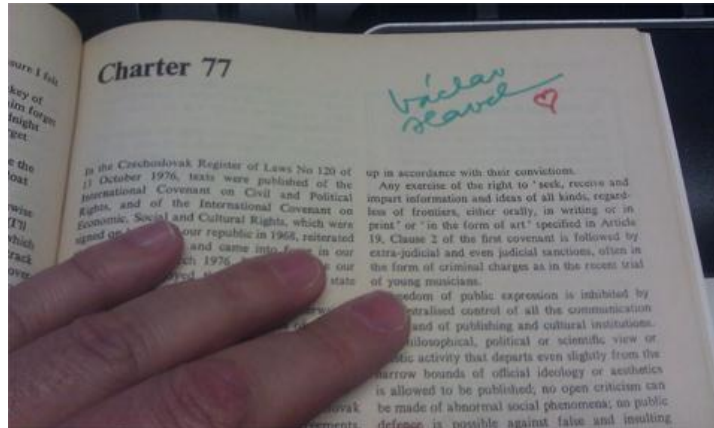
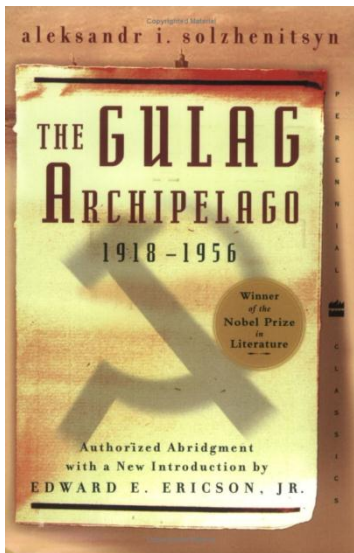
# Iran-Contra, 1986-1987



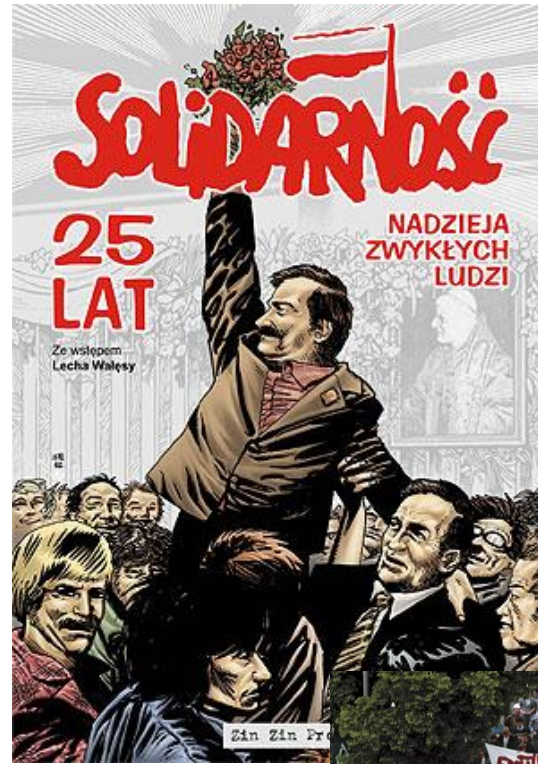
Lt. Colonel Oliver North, testifying before Congress; Reagan and Attorney General Edwin Meese disclosing the scheme at a press conference

- Money obtained from arms sales to Iran had been secretly sent to the Contras for use in Nicaragua
- Despite the fact that Congress had passed laws barring the use of such aid to overthrow the Nicaraguan government





Top: Alexander Solzhenitsyn;  
bottom: the text of Charter 77 signed by Vaclav Havel;  
above: The Plastic People of the Universe



Above: John Paul II with Polish Solidarity leader Lech Walesa; left: Polish General Wojciech Jaruzelski, who declared martial law in response to Solidarity on December 13, 1981.

# Afghanistan: the USSR's Vietnam



- Soviet Union occupies Afghanistan for nine years
- 15,000 USSR troops die
- Perhaps as many as one million Afghans perish



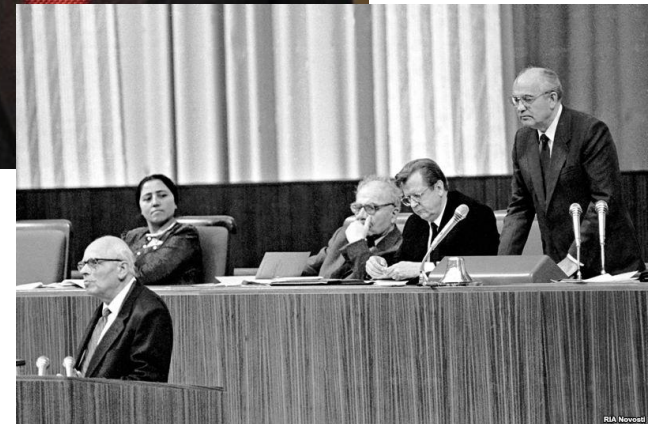
Funerals of Leonid Brezhnev, Yuri Andropov, and Konstantine Chernenko

# Mikhail Gorbachev

- Establishes policies of “glasnost” (openness) and “perestroika” (restructuring) for the Soviet Union
- Withdraws USSR from Afghanistan



Wreckage from  
the Chernobyl  
disaster



# Reagan/Gorbachev INF treaty of 1987

- Both sides agreed to removal of intermediate and short range nuclear missiles (Intermediate Nuclear Force missiles) in eastern and western Europe





September 12, 1989: Following negotiations between Solidarity and the government (left), Solidarity candidates win most unreserved seats in Poland's national assembly; non-Communist contender Tadeusz Mazowiecki (below) becomes Prime Minister.



# Hungary's quiet revolt



*Members of the Government formed a Guard of Honour next to Imre Nagy's coffin. Budapest, 16 June 1989.*

Following a formal burial for murdered Prime Minister Imre Nagy, Hungary announced free elections and took down electrified fences along its borders; East Germans soon flocked to the country en route to the west.





# November 9, 1989: Berlin Wall comes down



Germany reunified on October 3, 1990, now celebrated as German Unity Day

# Czechoslovakia's Velvet Revolution



Vaclav Havel greeting supporters in Prague in 1989.

- Czechoslovakia freed itself from Communism, but also split into two nations: Slovakia and the Czech Republic



# Romania: the dictator falls

- Protesters, many of them Hungarian, swarm the party headquarters of Nicolai Ceaușescu
- The Army joins the revolt, arresting Ceaușescu and executing him on Christmas Day, 1989



# Revolt of the Baltic states, 1989



# Boris Yeltsin, Russian nationalist



Radical democrat Boris Yeltsin thought that Gorbachev wasn't moving quickly enough towards democratization, but when the Kremlin old guard attempted a coup, he rushed to Gorbachev's support, urging his followers to stand down Soviet tanks.

