

## INDEX

- Able Archer maneuvers, 74–75  
ABM. *See* anti-ballistic missile  
Abrasimov, Petr, 76  
Academy of Sciences, 144, 314  
    Club of Voters of, 285  
Adamishin, Anatoli, 180, 243n18  
Adenauer, Konrad, 232  
Afanasiev, Yuri, 286n29, 303n63,  
    317  
Afghanistan, 169–73, 188  
    Andropov and, 163  
    antiterrorism in, 61  
    Brezhnev and, 163  
    Carter and, 11–15, 102  
    coup in, 11, 163–65  
    CPSU and, 44  
    détente and, 14, 15, 40–41, 162  
    Dobrynin and, 163  
    Geneva Accords and, 130  
    Gorbachev and, 128–31, 146,  
        170–73  
    Gromyko and, 65, 163  
    KGB and, 163, 164  
    mujahedeen in, 1  
    Pakistan in, xv  
    Poland and, 76  
    U.S. and, xxi, 186  
    USSR and, ix, xv, 1, 5, 11, 14, 46,  
        65–66, 75, 79, 128–31, 142,  
        146, 155, 159–60, 162–65,  
        167–171, 173, 180, 184, 185,  
        188, 207  
    Ustinov and, 163  
    warnings about, 65  
Africa, 19, 65–66, 149–50, 153,  
    155–162  
    Carter and, 160–61  
    China and, 160  
    Cuba in, 15, 157–59  
    national liberation movements  
        in, 66  
    in third world, 79  
    unrest in, 153, 157–58  
    USSR in, 1, 5, 11, 13, 44–46, 52,  
        65, 66, 79, 102, 155, 162–65,  
        177  
    warnings about, 65. *See also* An-  
        gola; Egypt; Ethiopia  
Akhromeev, Sergei, 81–82, 171  
    Gorbachev and, 121  
ALCM missiles, 49, 51  
Aleksandrov-Agentov, Andrei, 14,  
    70, 164  
Algeria, 156  
Allen, Richard, 65, 110  
    in Group B, 48  
All-Union KGB meeting, 72  
American Committee for a United  
    States of Europe, 203  
*American Diplomacy and the End  
    of the Cold War* (Hutchings),  
    197, 216  
American Enterprise Institute, 65,  
    65n2  
Amin, Hafizullah, 11, 163, 164  
Amin, Idi, 160  
*ancien régime*, 277, 288, 292

- Andreotti, Giulio, 136, 238
- Andropov, Yuri, xix, 63, 64, 65, 75, 76, 88, 115, 159, 185, 186, 195, 268
- Afghanistan and, 163, 169
- diplomacy, 7
- INF deployments and, 31
- KGB and, 72–73
- on Middle East, 79, 83–84
- Reagan and, 2, 26–27, 41, 66, 70, 90–91, 93, 94, 103, 105, 220
- on SDI, 72, 93, 101
- third world and, 79, 178
- Angola, 157–59, 161, 167, 168, 180, 188
- anti-Communists in, 158
- KGB and, 159
- U.S. and, 160, 184, 186
- anti-ballistic missile (ABM), 42, 50
- Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, 22, 67, 100, 101, 107
- congressional rejection of, 53
- U.S. withdrawal from, 59. *See also* Strategic Defense Initiative
- anti-Communists, 302
- in Angola, 158
- Democratic Union as, 282
- Nixon as, 64
- in Reagan administration, 65
- Reagan as, 90, 172
- Thatcher as, 172
- Yeltsin as, 276–77, 288, 290–95, 308, 314
- antimissile defense system. *See* Strategic Defense Initiative
- Arafat, Yasser, 156
- Arbatov, Alexei, xv, xxii, 4
- on Gorbachev, 8
- Arbatov, Yuri (Georgi), 132
- Armenia, 287
- al-Asad, Hafez, 77, 79, 80
- USSR and, 80
- ASAT systems, 42
- Ash, Timothy Garton, 200–201
- astrodynamics, 55
- Austria, Hungarian border and, 257, 260
- Baghdad Pact, 151–52
- Bahr, Egon, 134
- Baker, James, xv, 226, 227, 265, 271
- German unification and, 234, 236, 249–251, 257, 265
- Gorbachev and, 120–21, 139, 257, 271
- perestroika and, 137
- balkanization, 137
- Ball, James, 83
- Baltic republics, 197, 223, 257, 259n6, 264, 271, 284, 287, 297, 298, 324. *See also* Estonia; Latvia; Lithuania
- Bates, Robert, 274
- Belarus, 299
- Belovezhskaia Pushcha Accords, 324n22
- Berlin Wall, 135
- Bush, G.H.W. and, 270–71
- German unification and, 272
- opening of, 232–33, 235, 252, 257, 261, 262, 264, 266, 267, 270, 272, 297n55, 300, 307
- Bessmertnykh, Aleksandr, 93, 229, 230n2

- Bil'ak, Vasil, 196  
Bishop, Maurice, 31  
Blackwill, Robert, 235, 236, 240n14  
Bogomolov Institute, 198  
Bokser, Vladimir, 303n63  
Boldyrev, Yuri, 285  
Bolshevik Revolution, 42  
bombers  
    B-1, 67  
    B-1B, 49  
    Backfire, 51, 68  
    Bear, 69  
    Blackjack, 69  
    in Global Shield, 74  
    Tu-22M, 51  
Borodin, Pavel, 322  
Brakov, Evgeni, 314, 315  
Brandenburg Gate, 252  
Brandt, Willy, 134, 207, 227, 260  
Branson, Louise, 277  
Bremer, L. Paul, III, 98n12  
Bretton Woods system, 192  
Brezhnev Doctrine, 7  
    renunciation of, 132, 258  
Brezhnev, Leonid, xv, xix, 7, 185,  
    187, 189, 195, 260  
    Afghanistan and, 75, 76, 163, 164  
    death of, 26  
    failing health of, 79, 80  
    foreign policy of, 112, 114, 152,  
        180, 268  
    Nixon and, 11, 15, 114  
    propaganda and, 169  
    Reagan and, 41, 102, 103  
    on socialism, 184  
Brown, J.F., 197  
Brutents, Karen, 6, 158, 163, 164,  
    181  
Brzezinski, Zbigniew, 160–61, 162  
Buckley, William, Jr., 106  
Bulgaria, 133, 134, 193, 195–96,  
    198, 218  
    in crisis, 242  
Bureau of Intelligence and Re-  
    search, 69  
Burt, Richard, in Group B, 48  
Bush, George H.W., xvii, xix, 34,  
    48, 99n15, 121, 216, 225, 226,  
    238, 256, 270, 297n55, 324n22  
Berlin Wall and, 270–71  
German unification and, 136,  
    216, 217, 232–35, 246–250,  
    252, 253  
Gorbachev and, 2–3, 116, 136,  
    137, 139, 176, 180, 188, 210,  
    216, 233, 235, 236, 239, 240,  
    242, 243n18, 257, 262, 264, 268  
perestroika and, 137  
statesmanship of, 192  
Thatcher and, 9, 210, 246  
Bush, George W.  
    disarmament agreements and, xv  
    Putin and, xiv  
Byrd Amendment, 136  
Cambodia, U.S. and, 180, 186  
Camp David accord, 157, 165, 167,  
    174  
capitalism, 114, 118  
    Russian, 300  
    socialism and, 117  
    Yeltsin and, 276, 293–94  
Carter, Jimmy, xxi, 1, 11, 13, 165,  
    204  
    Afghanistan and, 102

- Carter, Jimmy (*continued*)  
 Africa and, 160–61  
 Reagan and, 13  
 USSR and, 63, 67
- Carter-Brezhnev Project, 158
- Casey, William, 34, 65, 68  
 in Group B, 48
- Castro, Fidel, 158–159
- Ceaușescu, Nicolae, 134, 240
- Cecchini Report, 203–4
- Center for Strategic and International Studies, 65
- Central America, 166, 180, 188  
 El Salvador, 168. *See also* Nicaragua
- CFE treaty. *See* Conventional Armed Forces in Europe Treaty
- CFSP. *See* Common Foreign and Security Policy
- Charter for Europe, 137
- Charter of Paris, x, 191
- Chechnya, 321
- chemical weapons, 136
- Cheney, Richard, 236
- Chernenko, Konstantin, xxii, 115, 116, 133, 191–92, 195, 219  
 Reagan and, 41
- Cherniaev, Anatoli, xii–xiii, xx, 6, 200, 241n17, 242, 243, 258, 259, 264–65, 266, 267, 271, 272  
 new thinking and, 141–43  
 on Reykjavik, 8
- China, 152n2, 225  
 Africa and, 160  
 Russia and, 62  
 threat of, 152–53  
 U.S. and, 184  
 USSR and, ix, 42–43, 142, 152, 159–60, 187
- Chubais, Anatoli, 319
- Churchill, Winston, 217, 275
- CIA Estimate, 68
- Clark, William P., 98
- class struggle, 38, 45, 114, 152, 180  
 Gorbachev and, 6–7
- Club of Voters, 285
- CMEA. *See* Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
- Cobra Dane program, 85
- Committee of 19, 282, 289
- Committee of Scientists for Peace, 44
- Committee on the Present Danger, 48, 65, 65n2
- Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), 205
- communism, 18, 113  
 collapse of, 40, 277, 288  
 in Czechoslovakia, 277  
 eventual victory of, 45, 161  
 goals of, 66  
 in Poland, 202, 215, 277, 302  
 Reagan on, 18–19, 97  
 reform, 231  
 Yeltsin and, 301, 304, 306–7, 325.  
*See also* anti-Communists
- Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), 44, 46, 72, 114, 116–18, 140, 145, 151, 158, 163–64, 169, 198, 201, 244, 277, 279, 280–85, 289–92, 301–2, 308–13, 319–20, 325
- Afghanistan and, 44

- Gorbachev and, 5, 8, 116–17, 280–81
- Grishin and, 145
- nomenklatura of, 5
- Yeltsin in, 277–78, 288n34, 312–13
- complex of 1941, 47, 115
- Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), 59
- compromise
- by Gorbachev, 53
  - new thinking and, 113
- Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), 5, 88, 121, 205, 209, 236
- review by, 30
- Congressional Medal of Honor, to Reagan, xiii
- Conquest, Robert, 277
- Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty, 53, 58, 92
- conventional arms, 42, 56, 60–61, 96, 120–21
- agreement on, 137
  - reduction of, 44, 92
- “Costs of Non-Europe, The” (Cecchini Report), 204
- Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), 206, 222, 223
- Council of Ministers, 44
- coup
- in Afghanistan, 163–65
  - in Russia, 138, 276, 296, 298–300, 299n56, 304, 307, 321
  - in South Yemen, 165
- CPSU. *See* Communist Party of the Soviet Union
- Cradock, Percy, 271
- Crocker, Chester, 180
- CSCE. *See* Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
- CTBT. *See* Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
- Cuba, 15, 166
- in Angola, 157–59, 180
  - financial aid to, 133
  - Kennedy, John F. and, 38
  - Khrushchev and, 114
  - missile crisis in, 63, 220
- Czechoslovakia, 75, 133, 193, 195–96, 198–99, 218, 225
- communism in, 277
  - in crisis, 242
  - military withdrawal from, 127
  - Prague Spring, 196
- Dashichev, Viacheslav, 187
- Dead Grip system, 72
- defense industry
- in USSR, 42–43, 115. *See also* military-industrial complex
- de-ideologization, xiv, 6n7, 113
- of interstate relations, 149, 167, 169
  - of Soviet foreign policy, 113, 118
- DeLauer, Richard, in Group B, 48
- Delors, Jacques, 204–5, 205n27, 206, 246–47
- democracy
- in Poland, 75
  - Reagan and, 59
  - USSR and, 59
  - in Warsaw Pact, 2
- Yeltsin and, 276, 293–94, 320–23, 325

- Democratic Russia, 288–91, 293,  
299, 302, 304, 317  
founding of, 303n63
- Democratic Union, 282  
as anti-Communist, 282
- Deng Xiaoping, x  
*derzhavnye*, 45
- détente, 14–15, 43, 162, 180, 181,  
260  
Afghanistan and, 40–41, 162  
collapse of, 40–41, 155–65  
divisible, 207–9, 224–25  
Germany and, 213–14  
Kissinger and, 110, 153  
Nixon and, 153  
Reagan and, 66, 108  
SALT I and, 40–41  
Soviet notion of, 149, 152  
of superpowers, 1, 180–81  
third world and, 152, 155–65,  
187  
U.S. and, 153–55
- deterrence, 35, 96, 108  
MAD and, 100
- Deutschlandpolitik*, 213–14
- Diakhovski, Aleksandr, 164
- Dimona Nuclear Research Center,  
81
- diplomacy, 5  
by Andropov, 7  
confrontational, 119  
Gorbachev and, 135, 259, 267,  
272  
new thinking and, 258  
preemptive, 272  
by Reagan, 7  
strength and, xx–xxiv  
by U.S., 155  
by USSR, 177  
by Western Europe, 220
- disarmament, 9, 51, 53, 57, 89, 91,  
116–17, 126, 226  
Gorbachev and, 172  
negotiations on, 65  
nuclear, xv, 58, 138
- Dmitriev, Viktor, 303n63
- Dobbs, Michael, 276
- Dobrynin, Anatoli, xx, 178, 258  
Afghanistan and, 163  
Haig and, 66  
O'Neill and, 37n26  
Reagan and, xxi, 27, 39, 70
- Doder, Dusko, 277
- domino theory, 166
- Dulles, John Foster, 203
- Duma, 309, 317–22, 326  
dissolution of, 322
- Dumas, Roland, 244n21, 250
- East Germany, 134, 193, 195–96,  
198–99, 202, 209, 215, 218,  
232, 240, 250–53, 255  
Hungary and, 201  
USSR and, 231. *See also*  
Honecker, Erich
- Eastern Europe, 132–34, 177, 197,  
204–06, 208, 213, 215, 216,  
218, 224–27, 268, 288  
assessments of, 198–202  
in crisis, 192–98  
Finlandization of, 199  
Gorbachev and, 112, 120, 132–  
34, 138, 196–97, 199, 200, 220,  
222, 260

- Most Favored Nation status to, 206
- velvet revolutions and, 132, 134, 316
- Western Europe and, 131–2, 138, 209–15, 219. *See also* Baltic republics; Bulgaria; Czechoslovakia; East Germany; Hungary; Poland; Romania; Yugoslavia
- Economic and Monetary Union, 203
- Egypt, 154
- U.S. and, 184
- USSR and, 156, 156n7, 157, 157n8, 165, 166, 177
- Eisenhower, Dwight D., 96, 203
- El Salvador, 166
- Elbe, Frank, 252
- elections
- antigovernment sentiments and, 315n12
- Gorbachev and, 294
- in Lithuania, 287n31
- of Reagan, 34n25, 63
- to Russian Congress of People's Deputies, 287–92
- in USSR, 280–81
- Yeltsin and, 281–84, 294, 318–19, 321–22
- encirclement, 151–52
- energy exports, controversy in, 62
- EPC. *See* European Political Cooperation
- equilibria phenomena, 273–74
- Estonia, 284
- Ethiopia, 158, 160, 161, 173
- EU. *See* European Union
- Europe, 191–227
- divisible détente and, 207–9
- between superpowers, 218–27
- U.S. troops in, 238n10
- USSR integration into, 259. *See also* Eastern Europe; Western Europe
- European Community (EC)
- 203–7, 210–12, 235–39, 245, 247, 249
- Cecchini Report, 203–4
- Eastern Europe and, 206–7
- EC Council, 206
- PHARE program, 205
- European confederation, 131–32, 138, 139, 196, 243, 259
- European Political Cooperation (EPC), 205
- European Union (EU), 202, 203, 235
- European world order, 138
- evil empire, 1, 2, 70, 88, 103, 166, 172, 191, 307
- unlabeling of, 127
- excessive use of force, 60
- exports, to USSR, 12
- Falin, Valentin, 160, 241, 243n18, 258, 265
- financial aid
- to Cuba, 133
- to USSR, 232, 264
- first-nuclear-use doctrine, 58, 61, 70, 72
- 500-Day Plan, 293
- Ford, Gerald, 16

- fortress under siege, 114–15  
 four-part agenda, 37, 99, 99n15  
 Four-plus-Two plan, 265  
 France, 82, 202n23, 204, 209, 211–  
   13, 215, 243n18, 246–8, 250,  
   253  
   *See also* Mitterrand, François  
 freedom of press, 280  
 Front of Steadfastness and Con-  
   frontation, 167  
 Fukuyama, Francis, 236
- G7, 139  
 Gaddis, John Lewis, 97, 192  
 Gaidar, Egor, 293n44, 319  
 GATT, 137  
 Gdlian, Telman, 282, 285–86,  
   286n29, 289, 315n12  
 GDR. *See* East Germany  
 Genscher, Hans-Dietrich, 9, 136,  
   212–14, 229n1, 234, 242n18,  
   244, 246–47, 250, 252  
   Gorbachev and, 134, 243–45, 261  
 Georgetown University, 65n2  
 Georgia, 287  
 Gerasimov, Gennadi, 196  
 German Democratic Republic  
   (GDR). *See* East Germany  
 German unification, xvi–xviii, 4, 6,  
   9–10, 57, 141, 212, 213, 215,  
   229–72  
   Baker and, 234, 236, 249–251,  
   257, 265  
   Berlin Wall and, 272  
   Bush, G.H.W. and, 136, 216, 217,  
   233  
   Gorbachev and, 112, 132, 134–  
   36, 138, 240, 242, 266, 269  
   Great Britain and, 132, 246, 253  
   Kissinger on, 235  
   Kohl and, 9, 134, 256  
   Malta summit and, 257  
   new thinking and, 266–67  
   pace of, 252  
   principles of, 237  
   from Russian perspective,  
   255–72  
   timing of, 230
- Germany  
 military withdrawal from, 127  
 in NATO, 6, 74, 135, 230–31,  
   263–64  
 Shevardnadze on, 262. *See also*  
   East Germany; German uni-  
   fication; Kohl, Helmut;  
   Schmidt, Helmut; West Ger-  
   many
- Germany Reunified and Europe  
 Transformed: A Study in State-  
 craft* (Zelikow and Rice), 255
- Gierek, Edward, 207  
 GKChP. *See* State Committee for  
   the State of Emergency  
 GKES. *See* State Committee on  
   Foreign Economic Coopera-  
   tion
- glasnost, 125, 167, 174–75, 276  
 GLCMs. *See* ground-launched  
   cruise missiles  
 “Global Competition and the De-  
   terioration of U.S.-Soviet Re-  
   lations, 1977–1980” (Carter-  
   Brezhnev Project Confer-  
   ence), 158  
 Global Shield, 74  
 globalization, 10, 141–48



- Goebbels, Joseph, 259
- Goldwater, Barry, 110
- Gorbachev, Mikhail, xvii–xix, 8,  
25–30, 53, 56, 175, 183, 185,  
189, 193, 209, 211, 213, 220,  
222, 227, 227n7, 229, 233, 294,  
296, 303, 309, 312n9, 323n21
- Afghanistan and, 128–31, 146,  
170–73
- Akhromeev and, 121
- Baker and, 120–21
- Bush, G.H.W. and, 2–3, 121, 136,  
176, 236, 239, 240, 243n18,  
257, 264, 268
- on class struggle, 6–7
- common European home, 131–  
32, 138, 139, 196, 243, 259
- diplomacy and, 135, 259, 267,  
272
- Eastern Europe and, 132–34,  
195–97, 199, 200, 207, 218–24,  
226
- elections and, 294
- foreign policy of, 111–41
- Genscher and, 243–44, 261
- German unification and, 134–36,  
215, 233, 239n13, 240, 241n17,  
242, 245, 247–48, 255–72, 266,  
269
- as global statesman, 267
- Gorbymania, 211, 213
- Grosz and, 221
- Honecker and, 259, 260
- Hungarian–Austrian border and,  
201, 257
- Hungary and, 201
- Kissinger and, x, 206, 226
- Kohl and, 134, 215, 235, 240,  
241, 243, 243n18, 251, 256–57,  
259–61, 268
- Middle East and, 174
- Mitterrand and, 122, 245–46
- Nixon and, 122
- optimism of, 269
- popularity of, 60
- Raisa, 313
- Reagan and, xxiii–xxiv, 38–39,  
106, 116, 117, 122–24, 139,  
179, 180, 222
- as revolutionary leader, 308
- SDI and, 119
- Shevardnadze and, 144, 263, 265
- Shultz and, xxii, 116, 125–26
- Soviet press and, vii–viii
- statesmanship of, 192
- Ten-Point Plan and, 242–44,  
261–62, 268
- Thatcher and, 111, 132, 226
- third world and, 149, 167, 175,  
179–81, 183
- in *Time*, 116
- transformative role of, 141–48
- at United Nations, 111–12, 127–  
28, 146, 256
- Yeltsin and, 276–82, 291, 293,  
297, 299, 315, 316. *See also*  
new thinking
- Gordievsky, Oleg, 32n23
- Gosplan, 44
- grain sales, to USSR, 12, 28
- Great Britain, 132, 209, 212, 215,  
220, 246
- German unification and, 248,  
250, 253
- See also* Thatcher, Margaret

- Grenada, 31–32, 91  
 Gribkov, Anatoli, 178  
 Grinevsky, Oleg, xi, xix, xxii, 5, 7, 93–96, 98, 101, 110  
   conventional arms and, 121  
 Grishin, Viktor, 145, 278, 309, 310, 312n9  
 Gromyko, Andrei, xx, xxii, 64, 76, 79, 80, 119  
   Afghanistan and, 163, 164, 170  
   Haig and, 65  
   KAL-007 and, 88  
   Shultz and, 30, 89–90  
 Grosz, Karoly, 200, 201  
   Gorbachev and, 221  
   Honecker and, 208n36  
 ground-launched cruise missiles (GLCMs), 21n14, 50, 55  
 Group B, 48  
 Group of Seven, x  
 GRU, surprise attack and, 72
- Haig, Alexander, 17, 21, 65  
   Dobrynin and, 66  
   Gromyko and, 65  
   in Group B, 48  
   as secretary of state, 25  
 Havel, Vaclav, 277, 302  
 Hayek, Friedrich, 277  
 Helsinki Final Act, 15, 237, 247  
 Helsinki Process, 114, 208  
 Hersh, Seymour, 87  
 Hitler, Adolf, 242n18, 244, 259, 275  
 Hoffman, Stanley, 154  
 Holloway, David, xii, xx  
   on Gorbachev, 10  
*Homo Sovieticus*, 151
- Honecker, Erich, 75, 76, 134, 207, 214n47, 222, 224, 259–60  
   Gorbachev and, 259  
   Grosz and, 208n36  
 Hoover Institution, 65, 65n2  
 Hough, Jerry, 316  
*Human Events*, 108  
 human rights, 37, 89, 289  
   Reykjavik summit and, 124–25  
   in USSR, 15, 114. *See also* Pentecostals  
 Hungary, 75, 133, 191, 193, 194, 197–200, 201, 208–9, 218, 221, 231, 270  
   Austrian border and, 257, 260  
   East Germany and, 201  
   investment in, 195–96  
   Kohl and, 260  
   military withdrawal from, 127  
   refugees in, 231  
 Huntington, Samuel, 162, 165  
 Hurd, Douglas, 250  
 Husak, Gustav, 196, 221  
 Hussein, Saddam, 3, 137–38, 140, 175, 176  
 Hutchings, Robert, xv, 5, 197, 216, 218–27  
   on Thatcher, 9  
 Hyland, William, 215n49
- ICAO. *See* International Civil Aeronautics Organization  
 ICBMs. *See* intercontinental ballistic missiles  
 ideology of opposition, 284  
 Ikle, Fred, 65n2  
   in Group B, 48

- Iliushenko, Aleksei, 321  
 IMEMO, 44, 115  
   Yakovlev and, 144  
 IMF. *See* International Monetary Fund  
 imperialism, 114, 142, 151, 160, 178, 180  
   to encircle Russia, 155  
   propaganda about, 151  
   by U.S., 66, 124, 169  
   by USSR, 26, 98  
 India, 177  
 INF. *See* intermediate nuclear forces  
 INF treaty, x, xv, 44, 53, 126–27  
   conclusion of, 92  
   negotiations on, 30, 123, 124  
 informals, 282  
 INF-SRF, 52, 53  
*institutchiki*, 115, 144  
 Institute of Europe, 44, 132  
 Institute of U.S. Studies, 44  
 intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), 22, 23, 49, 68, 74  
   introduction of, 50–51  
   prohibition of, 136  
   of USSR, 69  
 interdependence, new thinking and, 112  
 intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF), 1  
   double zero, 52, 55  
   deployment of, 30–31, 55  
   negotiations on, 20–21, 44, 56, 204  
   zero option, 52  
 International Civil Aeronautics Organization (ICAO), 29, 85, 86n19  
 international law, new thinking and, 113  
 International Monetary Fund (IMF), 139  
 Inter-Regional Group of People's Deputies (MDG), 285–86, 316–17  
 “Intervention in Afghanistan and the Fall of Détente, The,” 163  
 Iran, 41, 156, 165, 170, 305  
   controversy in, 62  
   Iran-Iraq War, 175  
   Kissinger and, 154  
   Nixon and, 154  
   Reagan and, 166  
 Iran-Iraq War, 174, 175  
 Iraq, 52, 156, 305  
   Iran-Iraq War, 174, 175  
   Kuwait and, x, 3, 138  
   U.S. intervention in, 59, 61  
 ISKAN, 115  
 Islamic fundamentalism, 166, 175  
 Israel, 79–82, 104, 155  
   Egypt and, 156–57  
   Kissinger and, 154  
   Nixon and, 154  
   U.S. and, 82, 156  
   USSR and, 156, 174–75  
 Ivanov, Nikolai, 282, 315n12  
 Jackson-Vanik Amendment, 59, 136  
 Jakes, Milos, 196  
 Japan, 77

- Jaruzelski, Wojciech, 19, 75, 202  
 Jefferson, Thomas, 277  
 John Paul II (pope), 91  
 Jones, T. Harding, in Group B, 48
- Kadar, Janos, 201, 222  
 Kadarism, 201  
 KAL-007  
     Gromyko and, 88  
     Reagan and, xxii, 87–89  
     shooting down of, 29–30, 31, 54,  
     84–85, 86n19, 88–90
- Kamenski, General, 85  
 Kant, Immanuel, 115  
 Karmal, Babrak, 11  
 Kastrup, Dieter, 247  
 Kataev, Dmitri, 289  
 Kazannik, Aleksei, 316n14  
 KC-135 airplane, 85  
 Kennedy, John F., 183  
     Cuba and, 38  
     Khrushchev and, 54  
 Kennedy, Paul, 47  
 KGB, 33, 44, 46, 65, 82, 298, 304,  
     322  
     Afghanistan and, 163, 164  
     Andropov and, 72–73  
     Angola and, 159  
     assessments by, 55  
     Reagan and, 34, 34n25  
     surprise attack and, 72
- Khalq (People's) Party, 162  
 Khasbulatov, Ruslan, 316n14, 319  
 Khomeini, Ayatollah, 165  
 Khrushchev, Nikita, xv, 149  
     Cuba and, 114  
     Kennedy, John F. and, 54  
     at United Nations, 114
- Kirienko, Sergei, 322, 323  
 Kissinger, Henry, xvi, 155, 160, 162  
     détente and, 110, 153–54  
     on German unification, 235  
     Gorbachev and, x, 206, 226  
     Israel and, 154  
     Middle East and, 154, 157  
 kitchen cabinet, 48  
 Kliuchevski, Vasili, 62  
 Kohl, Helmut, xii, xvi, xix, 214,  
     215, 220, 232, 233, 238, 239,  
     247, 251  
     German unification and, 9, 136,  
     237, 239, 240, 246, 248, 251,  
     252, 253, 256, 267, 269, 270  
     Gorbachev and, 134, 215, 235,  
     240, 241, 243, 243n18, 251,  
     256–57, 259, 260, 261, 268  
     Mitterrand and, 235, 245,  
     245n21, 246  
     Ten-Point Plan and, 234–35,  
     242–44
- Komchatov, Vladimir, 289  
 Kondrashov, Sergei, 159  
 Konstantinov, Ilia, 292n42  
 Korea, 183, 188, 305. *See also* KAL-  
     007; North Korea  
 Korean airliner. *See* KAL-007  
 Kornienko, Georgi, 14  
 Kosygin, Alexei, xx  
     foreign policy of, 114  
 Kovalev, Sergei, 319  
 Kozyrev, Andrei, 187–88, 325  
 Krenz, Egon, 223, 231–32, 239n13,  
     241, 242  
 Kriuchkov, Vladimir, 173, 263  
 Kuwait, Iraq invasion of, x, 3, 138  
 Kvitsinski, Yuli, 21, 22, 241

- Landsbergis, Vytautas, 224
- Latin America, 15, 19, 149, 153, 161, 179  
national liberation movements  
in, 66  
USSR and, 46, 66. *See also* Central America
- Latvia, 284, 296, 298
- launch-on-warning system, 55
- Lebanon, 53, 166  
attack on marine barracks in, 83  
civil war in, 175  
Israeli invasion of, 80  
U.S. troops in, 82–83
- Lebed, Aleksandr, 315n13
- Legvold, Robert, 181
- Lehman, John, 65n2  
in Group B, 48
- Lenin, Vladimir, 38, 45, 161, 163, 182  
goals of, 42
- Leninism. *See* Marxism
- Lévesque, Jacques, 258, 260–61
- Lewis, Samuel, 166
- Libya, 156
- Ligachev, Egor, 262, 263, 278, 309–10, 312n9
- linkage, xxi–xxii  
Nixon and, 99  
Reagan and, 16  
rejection of, 99
- Lithuania, 224, 233, 284, 296, 298, 323n21  
elections in, 287n31
- long-range theater nuclear forces (LRTNF), 21n13
- LRTNF. *See* long-range theater nuclear forces
- Lubbers, Ruud, 238
- Lukianov, Anatoli, 298
- Luzhkov, Yuri, 318
- Macmillan, Harold, 211
- MAD. *See* Mutual Assured Destruction
- Madrid Conference, 139
- Malta summit, xvii, 2, 136–37, 233–36, 239–40, 243n18, 247, 257, 262, 264, 268, 270–71  
German unification and, 257  
Gorbachev at, 257
- Mariam, Mengistu Haile, 158, 173
- Marshall Plan, 203
- Marxism, 18, 45, 97, 113, 118, 128, 152n2, 158, 185, 186
- Matlock, Jack F., Jr., xii, xxii, 40, 45, 48–50, 52–55, 98, 170  
on Reagan, 7–8
- McFaul, Michael, xix, 5–6  
commentary on, 305–25
- MDG. *See* Inter-Regional Group of People's Deputies
- medium-range nuclear forces (MRF, MNF, MRNF), 21n13
- Memoirs* (Gorbachev), 39
- Middle East, 8, 63, 77, 138–39, 156, 166–67  
Andropov on, 83–84  
Arab-Israeli War, 155  
Gorbachev and, 174  
Grinevsky and, 5  
Iran-Iraq War and, 175  
Kissinger and, 154  
Nixon and, 154  
potential war in, 79, 81–83

- Middle East (*continued*)  
 Reagan and, 166  
 USSR and, 78, 177  
 wars in, 81. *See also* Afghanistan;  
 Egypt; Iran; Iraq; Israel; Leba-  
 non; Syria
- MIG-21, 157n8
- Midgetman missiles, 49
- military-industrial complex, 122  
 Russian coup and, 298, 304  
 in U.S., 64, 71, 122  
 in USSR, 114, 132, 143
- Mirski, Georgi, xiv, xxiii, 4–5,  
 182–89
- MIRVed missiles, 22, 51, 53, 67  
 of USSR, 68
- Missile and Outer Space Problems  
 Sector, 72
- missiles  
 ALCM, 42  
 anti-ballistic, 42, 50  
 crisis with, 63  
 cruise, 67  
 FROG, tactical ground rocket,  
 156n7  
 GLCMs, 21n14, 50, 55  
 Midgetman, 49  
 MX, 23, 67  
 Pioneer, 76, 77  
 S-200 (SAM-5), 80  
 SA3, 156n7  
 SLCM, 49  
 SS-4, 76  
 SS-5, 76  
 SS-16, 51  
 SS-18, 68  
 SS-19, 68  
 SS-20, 21, 21n14, 44, 53, 68, 76–  
 77, 125  
 SS-24, 69  
 SS-25, 69  
 SSBNs, 49, 67  
 tactical, 52, 74. *See also* intercon-  
 tinental ballistic missiles;  
 MIRVed missiles; Pershing II  
 missiles  
 ZSU-23-4, anti-aircraft gun, 156n7
- Mitterrand, François, xii–xiii, xvii,  
 xix, 204, 211, 212, 248, 250,  
 265, 266, 269
- Gorbachev and, 122, 245–46,  
 249, 267
- Kohl and, 235, 245, 245n21, 246,  
 247, 249
- Thatcher and, 246
- MNF. *See* medium-range nuclear  
 forces
- Modrow, Hans, 232, 239n13, 240,  
 241, 242, 245, 250, 251, 252
- Moiseev, Mikhail, 121
- Montesquieu, Baron de, 115
- morality, new thinking and, 113
- Moscow City Party Committee,  
 310, 311n7, 312, 313
- Moscow Initiative Group, 316
- Moscow Popular Front, 283–84
- Moscow-Berlin axis, 272
- Most Favored Nation status  
 to Eastern Europe, 206  
 to USSR, 136
- MPLA, 158
- MRF. *See* medium-range nuclear  
 forces
- MRNF. *See* medium-range nuclear  
 forces

- mujahedeen, in Afghanistan, 1, 130
- Murashev, Arkadi, 286n29, 317–18
- Muslim fundamentalists, in Russia, 60
- Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD), 23, 95
- deterrence and, 100
- Reagan and, 100, 106–8
- rejection of, 101
- Muzykanski, Aleksandr, 289
- MX missiles, 23, 67
- My Years with Gorbachev and Shevardnadze* (Palazhchenko), ix
- Namibia, 180, 188
- Nasser, Gamal Abdel, 156, 174
- National Intelligence Estimate, 199, 221
- national liberation movements, 41, 46, 115, 159, 286
- in Africa, 66
- in Baltics, 271
- USSR and, 65–66
- National Review*, 108
- National Security Council, 88, 96, 99, 108, 197, 235
- National Security Decision Directive (NSDD)
- NSDD-32, 67, 95–98, 98n12
- NSDD-59, 100
- NSDD-61, 100
- NSDD-75, 96n7, 98–100, 98n11, 98n12, 109, 110
- NSDD-85, 100
- nationalism
- dangers of, 137
- in Russia, 61
- NATO, 57, 58, 61, 72, 77, 127, 138, 202n23, 204, 222, 235, 238n10, 239, 268–69
- cohesion of, xxiv
- on conventional arms, 137
- expansion of, 61, 272
- Germany in, 6, 135, 230–32, 234, 236, 237, 244, 246, 247, 248, 249, 251, 263–64, 266, 269
- maneuvers by, 74
- Russia in, 295
- Warsaw Pact and, 42, 92, 240
- Yugoslavia and, 52, 59
- Nemeth, Miklos, 193, 201, 260
- Nemtsov, Boris, 310n6
- neutron bomb, 41, 66
- new thinking, xi–xiv, 116–28
- achievements of, 128–40
- Cherniaev and, 141–43
- compromise and, 113
- diplomacy and, 258
- economic integration and, 13
- German unification and, 134–36, 138, 258–260, 266–67
- Gorbachev and, 111–148, 167, 183, 209, 211, 216, 225–26, 258, 266, 267
- human rights and, 124–25, 137, 148
- interdependence and, 112
- international law and, 113
- morality and, 113
- nuclear weapons and, 112, 116, 117, 122–23, 142, 219, 220
- origins of, 112–16
- Reagan and, xii–xiii
- Western Europe and, 209, 215

- Nicaragua, 166, 173–74  
 U.S. and, 186
- Nicholson, Arthur, xii
- Nitze, Paul, 22, 28, 65n2, 108  
 in Group B, 48
- Nixon, Richard  
 as anti-Communist, 64  
 Brezhnev and, 11, 15, 114  
 détente and, 110, 152, 153, 207  
 Germany and, 227  
 Gorbachev and, 122  
 Iran and, 154  
 Israel and, 154  
 linkage and, 99  
 USSR and, 67
- nomenklatura*, 44–45, 280, 286,  
 309, 312, 319, 325  
 of CPSU, 5, 311n7  
 in Eastern Europe, 132–34  
 Yeltsin and, 291, 309n4, 311n7,  
 312, 312n8, 316–18
- nonproliferation, 62
- North Korea, 42, 305
- NSC-68 report, 108
- NSDD. *See* National Security Decision Directive
- nuclear freeze movement, 105
- nuclear weapons, xxii, 192, 211  
 elimination of, 95, 105, 107, 117,  
 118  
 new thinking and, 112, 116, 117,  
 122–23, 142, 219, 220  
 proliferation of, 59  
 Reagan and, 95, 105, 109  
 tactical, 74  
 in West Germany, 248
- Nudel, Ida, 104
- Odom, William, 307n3
- Ogarkov, Nikolai, 74, 81, 163
- oil, 154, 162, 193  
 control of, 77–79  
 OPEC and, 43  
 rising price of, 61, 156, 193  
 in Siberia, 133
- Olympics, 11  
 Romania and, 208, 225
- O'Neill, Thomas, 37n26
- OPEC embargo, 43
- Organization for European Economic Cooperation, 203
- Osipovich, Gennadi, 86
- Ostpolitik*, 207, 213, 214, 227, 232
- pact-building, 151
- Pakistan, 129, 170, 171, 177  
 in Afghanistan, xv
- Palazhchenko, Pavel, ix, 10
- Palm, Viktor, 286n29
- Palme Commission, xi
- Pamiat* groups, 282–83
- Paris summit (1990), 137
- peace movements, 31, 105  
 in Europe, 21–22
- Pearson, David, 87
- Pentecostals, xxi, 2, 27, 103–4
- perestroika, 5, 120, 125, 129, 130,  
 131, 134, 135, 137, 167, 169,  
 171, 172–73, 174, 175, 179,  
 218, 219, 221, 222, 259, 264,  
 269, 270, 276, 280  
 U.S. and, 137, 139  
 Yeltsin and, 276
- Perle, Richard, 65n2  
 in Group B, 48



- Pershing II missiles, 21n14, 50, 55, 67–68, 118  
 in Germany, 31, 33
- Petrov, Nikolai, xix, 7
- PHARE. *See* Poland/Hungary Aid for Restructuring of Economies
- Pioneer missiles. *See* SS-20 missiles
- Pipes, Richard, 65n2, 109  
 in Group B, 48
- PLO, 156, 174
- Poland, 19, 43, 65, 191, 193, 194, 195, 197–200, 202, 207, 209, 215, 218, 226, 248, 270, 277  
 Afghanistan and, 76  
 communism in, 202, 215, 277, 302  
 democracy in, 75  
 Gierek and, 207  
 investment in, 195–96  
 Roundtable Agreement, 194, 202, 215  
 Solidarity, 19, 75, 194, 202, 294  
 USSR and, 65, 75–76, 194n4, 239
- Poland/Hungary Aid for Restructuring of Economies (PHARE), 205
- Polianski, Dmitri, 313
- Polozkov, Ivan, 315
- Poltoranin, Mikhail, 313
- Ponomarev, Boris, 151, 162–63
- Ponomarev, Lev, 289, 291n38, 303n63
- Popov, Gavriil, 286n29, 290, 317
- Primakov, Evgeni, 132, 152n2, 157, 167, 170, 171, 309, 322n17, 325
- proliferation, of nuclear weapons, 59
- propaganda  
 about imperialism, 151  
 about Yeltsin, 315  
 anti-USSR, 73  
 Brezhnev and, 169  
 of USSR, 32–34
- Prunskene, Kazimira, 224
- Putin, Vladimir, 45, 58, 147, 318, 322n17  
 anti-terrorism and, 61  
 Bush, G.W. and, xiv  
 disarmament agreements and, xv
- rational choice theory, 274
- razriadka*, 15
- Reagan Doctrine, 186
- Reagan, In His Own Hand* (Skinner, et al.), 109
- Reagan, Ronald, xix, 34, 41, 47, 48, 54, 56, 57, 64–66, 69–70, 94–110, 172, 184, 188, 191, 203, 204  
 Andropov and, 2, 26–27, 41, 90–91, 105, 220  
 as anti-Communist, 90, 172  
 Brezhnev and, 41  
 Carter and, 13  
 Chernenko and, 41  
 on communism, 18–19, 97  
 Congressional Medal of Honor to, xiii  
 democracy and, 59, 97  
 détente and, 66, 94, 108  
 diplomacy by, 7, 102  
 Dobrynin and, xxi, 27, 39, 70  
 Gorbachev and, xxiii–xxiv, 38–39, 106, 116, 117, 122–24, 139, 179, 180, 188, 222

- Reagan, Ronald (*continued*)  
 KAL-007 and, 87–89  
 KGB and, 34, 34n25  
 landslide victory of, 63  
 linkage and, 16, 17  
 Middle East and, 77, 166  
 military and, 15–16  
 negotiations and, 101–5  
 new thinking of, xii–xiii  
 planning of, 7–8  
 realism of, 36  
 reelection of, 34n25  
 on SALT II, 16, 105  
 SDI and, 93, 100  
 strategy of, 24–25, 93–102  
 third world and, 91, 166  
 warmonger, cast as, 34, 155  
 zero option by, 52  
 realism, 36  
 Reed, Thomas C., 96  
 refugees, in Hungary, 231  
 revanchism, in Russia, 61  
 Reykjavik summit, xxiii–xxiv, 8, 57,  
 106, 122–25  
 Western Europe and, 204  
 Rhodesia, 160–61  
 Rice, Condoleezza, xvi, xix, 3, 4,  
 10, 255, 264, 266, 269, 270  
*The Rise and Fall of the Great  
 Powers* (Kennedy, P.), 47  
 Rodman, Peter, xxiii, 7  
 Romania, 134, 195–96, 198, 206,  
 209, 231, 239  
 in crisis, 242  
 Olympics and, 208, 225  
 Romanov, Grigori, 145, 310, 312n9  
 Roosevelt, Franklin D., 275  
 Ross, Dennis, 236, 265  
 Rostow, Eugene, 65n2, 108–9n36  
 in Group B, 48  
 Roundtable Agreement, 194, 202,  
 215  
 Rowny, Edward, 65n2  
 in Group B, 48  
 RC-135 airplane, 85  
 Russia  
 autonomy of, 292  
 China and, 62  
 coup in, 138, 276, 296, 298–300,  
 299n56, 304, 307, 321  
 foreign policy and, 59  
 military-industrial complex in,  
 296, 298  
 Muslim fundamentalists in, 60  
 nationalism in, 60, 61  
 in NATO, 295  
 revanchism in, 61  
 secessionism and, 224. *See also*  
 Gorbachev, Mikhail; Putin,  
 Vladimir; Russian Federation;  
 Yeltsin, Boris  
 Russian Congress of People's Dep-  
 uties, 298–99, 301  
 elections to, 287–92  
 Yeltsin and, 315  
 Russian Federation, 285, 291  
 creation of, 3  
 as sovereign state, 292  
 Ruskoi, Aleksandr, 316n14  
 RYAN-Nuclear Missile Attack, 72  
 Ryzhkov, Nicolai, 284, 315–16  
 Sadat, Anwar, 155, 156–57, 174  
 Sakharov, Andrei, 19, 172–73, 289,  
 301

- death of, 318  
 deportation of, 165  
 MDG and, 285, 286n29  
 Yeltsin and, 314
- SALT. *See* Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty
- SALT I, 1, 13–14, 67  
 détente and, 40–41  
 Reagan on, 16  
 suspension of, 12  
 verification in, 16–17, 17n6
- SALT II, xxi, 16, 17, 19, 105, 108n36  
 as dead, 50  
 transparency of, 52  
 verification in, 52
- “SALT II and the Growth of Mistrust,” 159
- sanctions, against USSR, 1, 12, 28, 28n21, 29
- Sandinistas, 165, 173–74
- Saudi Arabia, 154, 156, 167
- Schifter, Richard, 243n18
- Schmidt, Helmut, xx, 207
- Scowcroft, Brent, 217n54, 225, 234, 235, 236  
 perestroika and, 137
- SDI. *See* Strategic Defense Initiative
- SDI-killers, 56
- SDP. *See* Social Democratic Party
- Seleznev, Gennadi, 309, 322
- self-determination, 237, 238, 247, 256
- September 11 attack, 300
- Sestanovich, Stephen, 185–86
- Shabad, Anatoli, 292n42
- Shakhnazarov, Georgi, 143, 145, 178, 199, 221
- Sharonin, Viacheslav, 72–73
- Shcharansky, Anatoli, 89–90, 102–4
- Shelepin, Aleksandr, 313
- Shemiaev, Lev, 289
- Shevardnadze, Eduard, xix, 120, 121, 168, 173, 175, 296, 227, 243  
 on Germany, 242n18, 244, 257, 258, 262, 271, 272  
 Gorbachev and, 144, 263, 265  
 Hungarian-Austrian border and, 257  
 resignation of, 296  
 Soviet press and, vii–viii
- short-range nuclear forces (SNF), 211
- Shultz, George, xvi, 10, 139  
 consensus-building by, 34  
 Gorbachev and, 116, 125–27  
 Gromyko and, 30, 89–90  
 KAL-007 and, 86, 88–90  
 NSDD-75 and, 98, 99n14  
 as secretary of state, 25, 54, 103–4
- Silvanskaia, Marina, 198
- Single European Act, 202, 203, 204n26, 206  
 Title III of, 205
- Skinner, Kiron K., xii, xxii
- Skuratov, Yuri, 321
- SLBMs, 49  
 of USSR, 69
- SLCM missiles, 49
- Smirnov, Nikolai, 77–78

- SNF. *See* short-range nuclear forces
- Sobchak, Anatoli, 285, 286n29, 318
- Sobianin, Aleksandr, 319
- Social Democratic Party (SDP), 260
- socialism, 134, 148, 150, 152n2, 154
- Brezhnev on, 184
  - capitalism and, 114, 117
  - crumbling of, 177
  - dismantling of, 267–68
  - eventual victory of, 38
  - prestige of, 161
  - questioning of, 175–76
  - reform of, 5–6
  - social-democratic concept of, 143
  - third world and, 158, 169, 178
- Socialist Orientation of the Liberated Countries* (Brutents, et al.), 185
- Soiuz-83 maneuvers, 74
- Solidarity, 19, 75, 194, 202, 294
- Solov'ev, Vladimir, 115
- SORT. *See* Treaty on Strategic Offensive Reductions
- South Yemen, 156, 165
- “Soviet Capabilities for Strategic Nuclear Conflict, 1982–1992,” (CIA Estimate) 68
- Soviet Congress of People's Deputies, 281, 285, 299
- Soviet Union. *See* USSR
- Staar, Richard, 65n2
- Stalin, Joseph, xv, 38, 45, 114, 116, 161, 196, 268, 275
- Stankevich, Sergei, 283–85, 286n29, 290, 317
- Star Wars. *See* Strategic Defense Initiative
- Starovoitova, Galina, 286n29, 317
- State Committee for the State of Emergency (GKChP), 297–98
- State Committee on Foreign Economic Cooperation (GKES), 46
- State Planning Committee, 44
- Stepashin, Sergei, 322n17
- Stevenson Amendment, 136
- The Story of a Treacherous Deal* (Primakov), 157
- Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT), 94, 160. *See also* SALT I; SALT II
- Strategic Arms Reductions Talks (START), x, xv, 1, 44, 52–53, 53
- negotiations on, 30
  - START I, 52–53, 58, 91, 138
  - START II, 58, 325
  - START III, 58.
- Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), 1, 23, 44, 55–56, 70–72, 172
- ABM treaty and, 50
  - Andropov on, 93, 101
  - curtailment of, 53, 57
  - Gorbachev and, 119
  - MAD and, 100, 106
  - non-influence of, 57
  - Reagan and, 93, 105–7
  - sharing of, 106
  - USSR dissolution and, 147–48
- Stroev, Egor, 309
- Stroganov, Boris, 72
- Strougal, Lubomir, 196

- submarines, 69  
 Sudan, 156  
 Suez Canal, 155  
 Sumon, Petr, 321  
 superpowers, 40, 42, 52, 90  
   détente of, 1, 180, 224  
   Europe between, 191–227  
   Middle East and, 154  
   moves by, 101  
   negotiations by, 94, 105  
   nuclear weapons of, xv  
   Soviet perspective on, 218–27  
   third world and, 149, 162  
   U.S. as, 219–20  
   USSR as, 71, 114, 219, 271  
 Suslov, Mikhail, 45  
 Sverdlovsk Oblast, 278, 314  
 Syria, 156  
   USSR and, 77–84, 174  
  
 tactical missiles, 52, 74  
 Talbott, Strobe, 52  
 tanks, 46  
 Taraki, Mohammad, 163, 164  
 Tarasenko, Sergei, 159  
   on Germany, 241n17, 262, 263,  
   265, 271  
 TASS, 88, 97  
 Teltschik, Horst, 214, 215, 220, 225,  
   239, 243n18, 248, 250, 265  
 Ten-Point Plan, 234–35, 240, 268  
   Genscher and, 243–44  
   Gorbachev and, 240, 242, 243–4,  
   261  
   implementation of, 251–52  
   Kohl and, 234–35, 242–44  
  
 terrorism, 60, 61  
   as common enemy, 300  
   Haig accusations about, 65–66  
   September 11, 61, 300  
 Thatcher, Margaret, xii, xvi–xvii,  
   xix, 2, 184, 204–5, 205n27,  
   210, 220  
   as anti-Communist, 172  
   Bush, G.H.W. and, 9, 246  
   Germany and, 210–11, 238, 239,  
   246, 248, 249, 265, 266, 269  
   Gorbachev and, 111, 132, 226,  
   227n7, 267  
   Mitterrand and, 246  
 theater nuclear forces (TNFs),  
   21n13  
 third world, 149–81, 182  
   alliances with, xiv  
   Andropov and, 79, 178  
   crises in, xxiii  
   détente and, 155–65  
   fatigue with, xiv, 5  
   Gorbachev and, 173, 175, 179–  
   81, 183  
   Reagan and, 91, 188  
   socialism and, 158, 169, 178  
   superpowers and, 149, 182  
   U.S. and, 153–55, 188  
   USSR and, 41, 45, 46, 115, 129,  
   149–81, 168, 182, 187, 189  
 Tiutchev, Fedor, 269  
 TNFs. *See* theater nuclear forces  
 Tolstoy, Leo, 115, 306  
 Topol-M ICBM system, 56  
 Tocqueville, Alexis de, 17  
 Treaty of Rome, 203, 247  
 Treaty on Strategic Offensive Re-  
   ductions (SORT), 58, 59, 61

- Trident SSBNs, 49, 67  
 Trident-2 SLBMs, 49  
 Troianovski, Oleg, 160, 178  
 Trube, Sergei, 289  
*Tsar Boris* (NTV production), 313  
 Turkey, 81  
 Two-plus-Four plan, 232–33, 257, 265
- Ugly American, The* (movie), 182  
 Ukraine, 197, 223–24, 299  
 unification. *See* German unification  
 unilateral advantage, 15  
 unilateral military intervention, 61  
 UNITA rebels, 167  
 United Nations  
   Gorbachev at, 111–112, 127–28, 146, 256  
   Khrushchev at, 114  
 United States (U.S.)  
   ABM treaty and, 59  
   Afghanistan and, xxi, 186  
   Angola and, 186  
   Cambodia and, 186  
   China and, 184  
   containment policy of, 97, 108, 109, 155, 177  
   diplomacy by, 155  
   Egypt and, 184  
   Europe and, 53, 202–3  
   imperialism by, 66, 88, 117, 124, 169  
   Iran and, 59, 61  
   Israel and, 82, 154, 156  
   Lebanon and, 82  
   Nicaragua and, 186  
   perestroika and, 137  
   as superpower, 153–55, 219–20  
   third world and, 153–55, 182, 183, 188
- USSR  
   in Afghanistan, 1, 5, 11, 44–46, 52, 65–66, 75, 79, 128–31, 142, 146, 155, 162–65, 167–73, 180, 184–85, 188, 207  
   in Africa, 13, 45–46, 66, 142, 152–53, 155, 160–62, 168, 178  
   al-Asad and, 80  
   China and, ix, 42–43, 62, 159–60, 187  
   defense industry in, 42–43  
   democracy and, 59, 179  
   diplomacy by, 177  
   dissolution of, 3, 56–57, 96–97, 109–10, 139–41, 147–48, 295–300, 299  
   East Germany and, 75, 127, 138, 231  
   Eastern Europe and, 112, 120, 132, 134, 138, 198–200, 221, 226–27  
   economy in, 130, 137, 142, 144, 149, 167, 171–72, 177, 179, 184, 187, 193, 196, 219, 223, 263–64, 276  
   Egypt and, 156, 156n7, 157n8, 165, 177  
   elections in, 280–82, 287–91  
   European integration of, 259  
   as evil empire, 1, 2, 70, 88, 103, 127, 166, 172, 191, 307  
   exports to, 12  
   financial aid to, 232

- Great Britain and, 132, 220  
Grenada and, 32  
human rights in, 114  
in IMF, 139  
in India, 177  
Israel and, 174–75  
KAL-007 and, 29  
Latin America and, 66, 161, 168,  
178  
national liberation movements  
and, 65–66  
negotiations with, 101–5  
Nicaragua and, 173–74  
Nixon and, 67  
peace offensive, 210  
Poland and, 65, 75–76, 194n4,  
239  
poverty in, 115  
propaganda against, 73  
propaganda of, 32–34, 169  
sanctions against, 1, 12, 28,  
28n21, 29  
Syria and, 77–84, 174  
third world and, 41, 45, 46, 115,  
129, 149–82, 187, 189  
Western Europe and, 131–32  
in World Bank, 139. *See also* An-  
dropov, Yuri; Brezhnev, Leo-  
nid; Gorbachev, Mikhail;  
Khrushchev, Nikita; Russia;  
Stalin, Joseph  
United Workers Front, 282  
Ustinov, Dmitri, 20, 66–68, 71–72,  
75–76, 79–81  
Afghanistan and, 163  
KAL-007 and, 87–88  
Utkin, Anatoli, xiii  
Vance, Cyrus, 94, 160  
Varennikov, Valentin, 163  
velvet revolutions, 132, 134, 316  
verification, of SALT II, 16–17,  
17n6, 52, 105  
Vietnam, 15, 129, 153, 183, 184  
aftermath of, 31–32, 41  
USSR and, 42, 52  
Vietnam syndrome, 41, 167  
Vladivostok Agreement, 16  
Walesa, Lech, 277, 302  
walk in the woods, 53  
Walters, Vernon, 249, 270  
Waltz, Kenneth, 274  
*Wandel durch Annäherung*, 232  
*Wandel durch Kraft*, 232, 261  
*War and Peace* (Tolstoy), 306  
war of the blind, 63  
Warsaw Pact, 6, 204, 208, 222, 223,  
224, 226, 239n13, 244, 268  
on conventional arms, 137  
democracy in, 2  
disbanding of, 57, 138, 225, 307  
maneuvers by, 74  
NATO and, 42, 92  
Warsaw Treaty Organization, 218,  
221, 225  
Watergate, 184  
Weinberger, Caspar, 30, 34, 65, 66,  
68  
in Group B, 48  
KAL-007 and, 88  
Weingast, Barry, 274  
Weizsäcker, Richard von, 134  
Wenders, Wim, 269  
West Germany, 207, 209, 212–15,  
224, 227, 253, 266

- West Germany (*continued*)  
 eagerness of, 215  
 nuclear weapons in, 248  
 Thatcher and, 210–11
- Western Europe, 192, 202–7  
 diplomacy by, 220  
 Eastern Europe and, 133, 219  
 new thinking and, 131–32, 138, 209, 213  
 Reykjavik summit and, 204.
- Wilson, Woodrow, 182
- World Bank, 139
- World Trade Organization (WTO), 59
- Wörner, Manfred, 268
- Yakovlev, Aleksandr, 173, 198, 241, 244, 258, 263, 271  
 IMEMO and, 143–44
- Yakunin, Gleb, 289, 291n38, 303n63
- Yalta, 209, 212
- Yazov, Dmitri, 121, 173, 263
- Yeltsin, Boris, xix, 7, 60, 140, 223, 224, 242, 273–325  
 as accidental rebel, 277–79  
 activism of, 323n21  
 as anti-Communist, 276–77, 288, 290–95, 308, 314  
 attempted suicide of, 279  
 capitalism and, 276, 293–94  
 as cold war's end catalyst, 273–325  
 communism and, 301, 304, 306–7, 325  
 CPSU and, 277–78, 288n34, 312–13  
 democracy and, 276, 293–94, 320–23, 325  
 Democratic Russia and, 288–91  
 elections and, 281–84, 294, 313–19, 321–22  
 firings by, 311, 311n7  
 Gorbachev and, 60, 136, 277–82, 291, 297, 315, 316, 324  
 liberalization under, 5–6  
*nomenklatura* and, 316  
 perestroika and, 276  
 propaganda about, 315  
 Sakharov and, 314
- Yom Kippur War, 38, 155
- Yugoslavia, 198, 206  
 NATO and, 52, 59
- Zakharov, Gennadi, xii
- Zaslavski, Ilia, 286n29, 318
- Zelikow, Philip, xvi, xix, 4, 235, 255, 264, 266, 269, 270
- zero option, 52
- Zhivkov, Todor, 75, 134, 222
- Zia-ul-Haq, President, 129
- Ziuganov, Gennadi, 319
- Zoellick, Robert, 236, 252, 252n35, 265
- Zubok, Vladislav, xiii