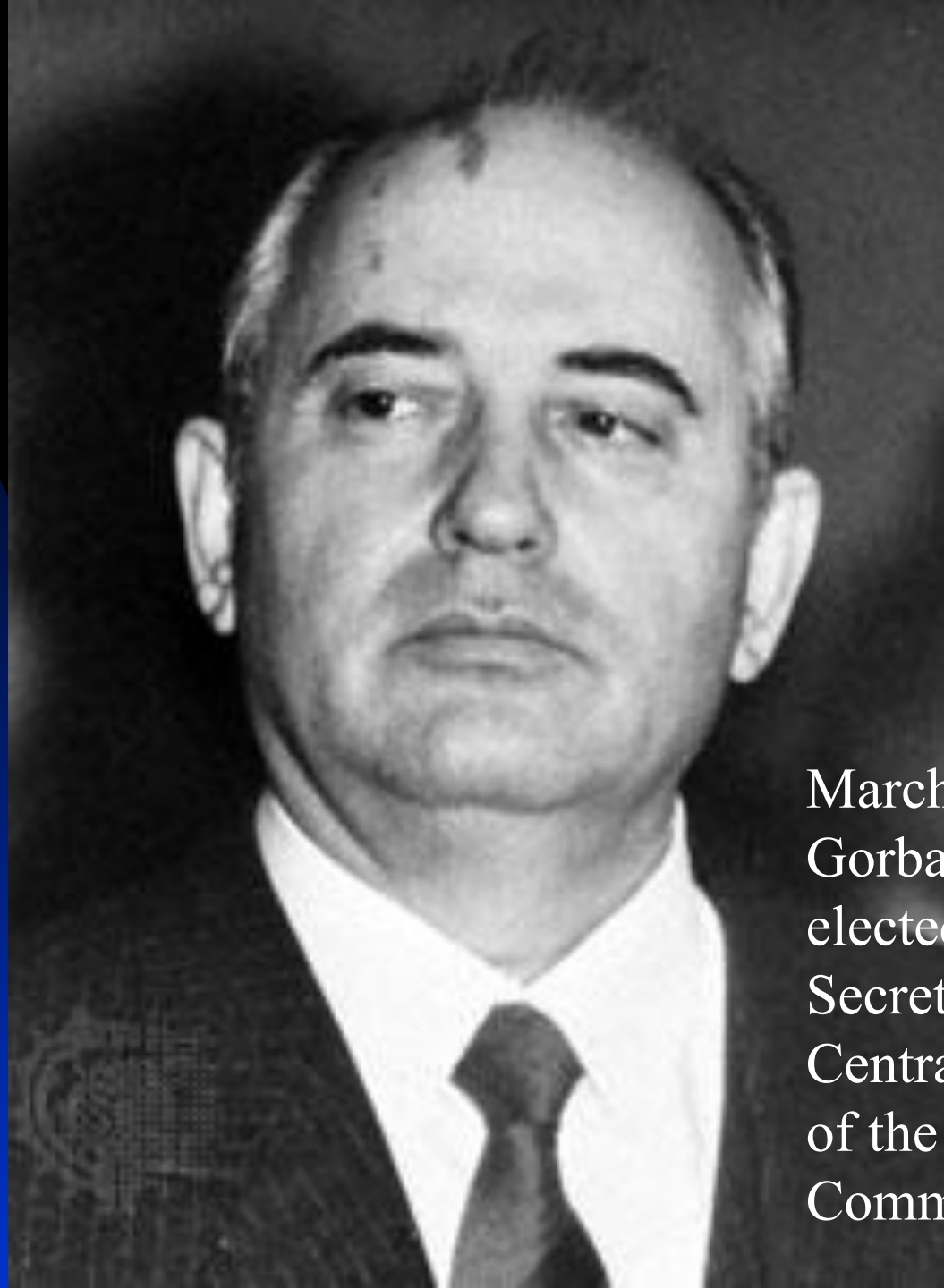


Mikhail  
Gorbachev: a  
Soviet Life,  
Part II





March 11, 1985:  
Gorbachev is  
elected General  
Secretary of the  
Central Committee  
of the Soviet  
Communist Party

- Gorby on need for reform, disarmament
- <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=595W4JJHa2U>

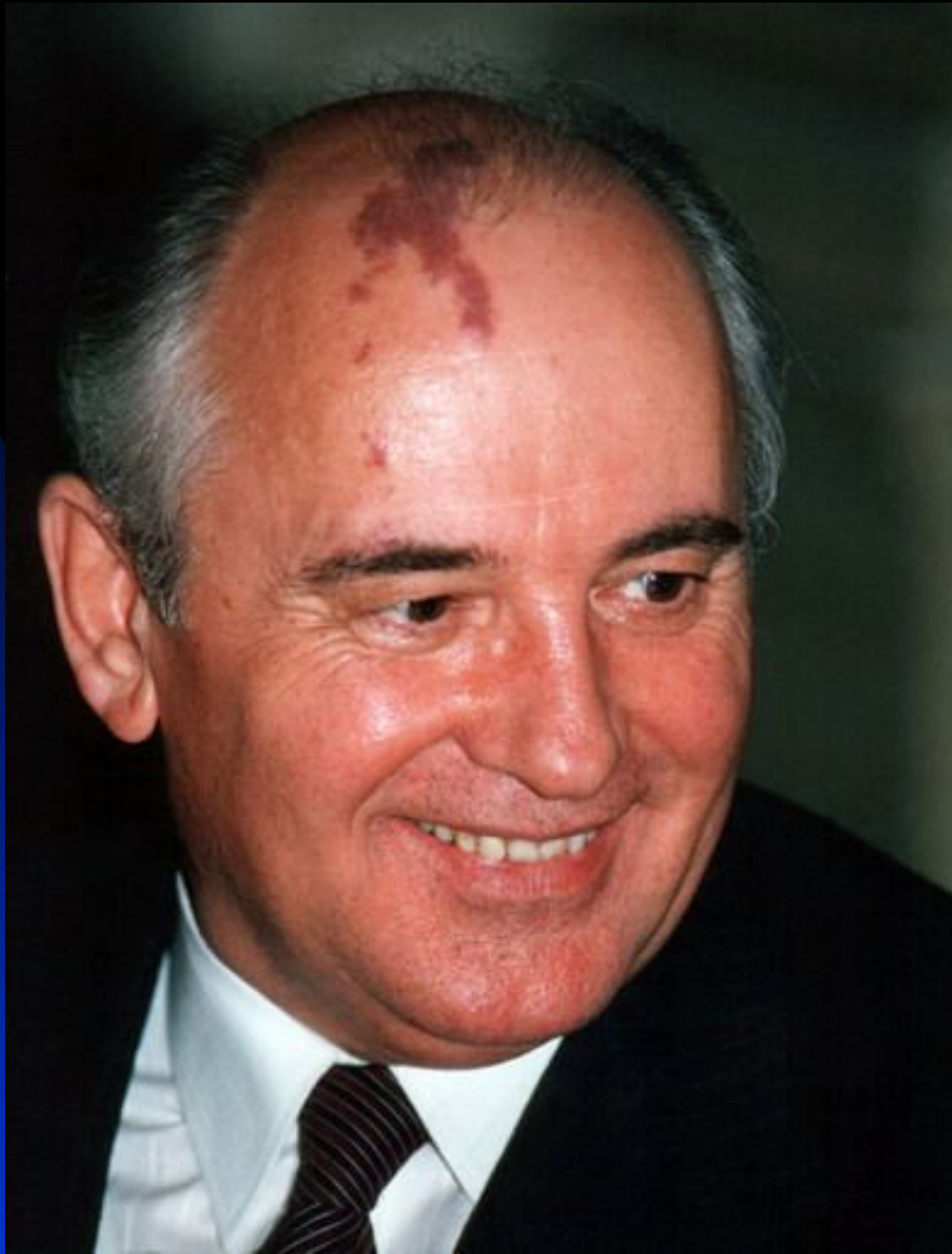


**LIFE**

London, 1983. British Premier Margaret Thatcher: “I think we can do business with Mr. Gorbachev”









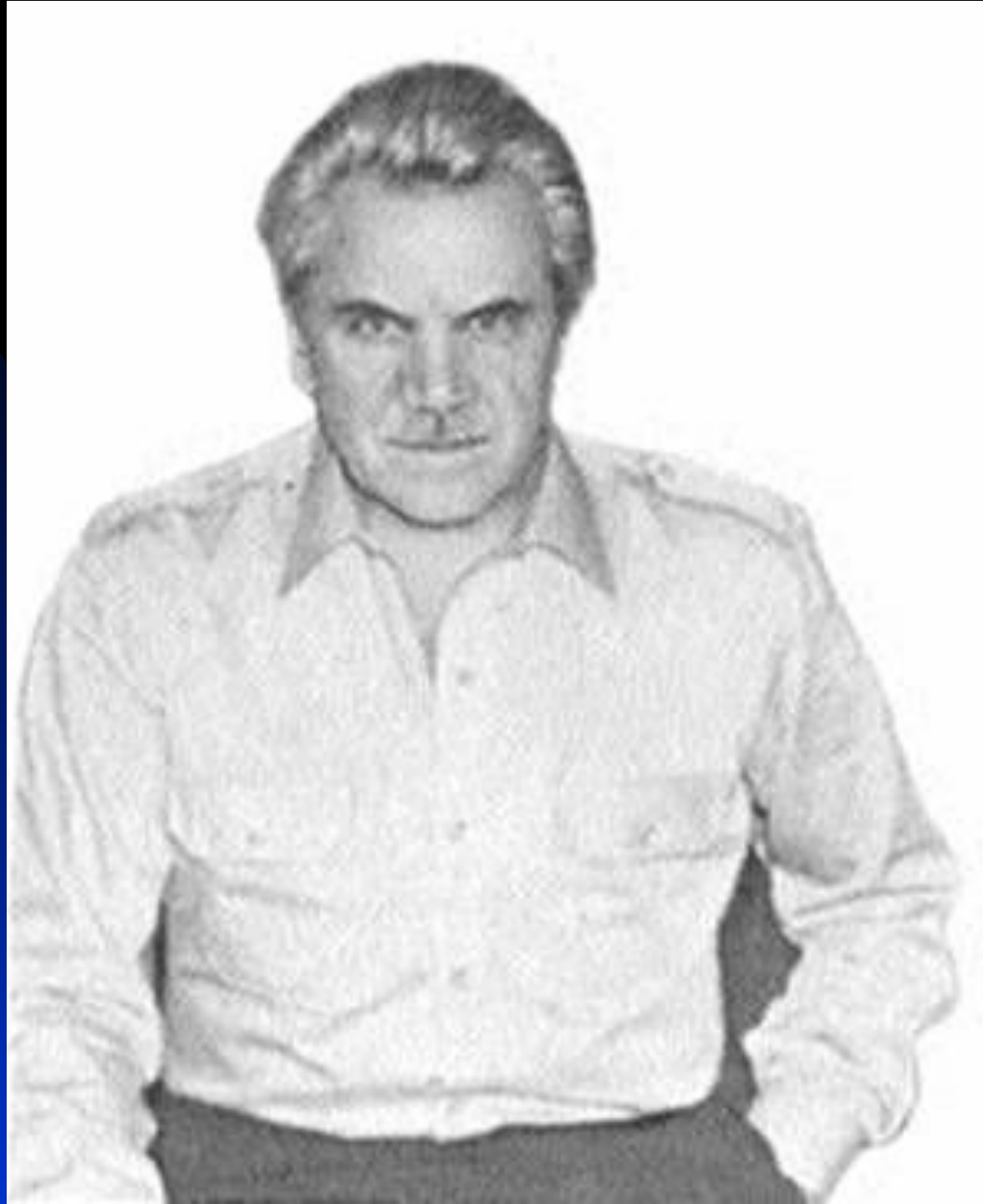




Aleksandr Yakovlev



Edouard Shevardnadze



Anatoly  
Chernyaev



Georgy Arbatov

- 1985-86. **The launching of perestroika.** Cautious attempts at reforms, with the main emphasis on the economy.
- 1986-88: A more decisive policy of market reforms, accompanied by **glasnost, liberalization, and political reform**

## Options for reform

- Soviet socialism can only be **revived** through the creation of a **market mechanism** and political liberalization (presented as **democratization**)
- **Linkages** between economic and political reforms
- At first – **priority of economic** over political
- Economic reform **impossible** without political liberalization
- Political liberalization leads to the emergence of **political divisions** within the Party and society – rise of **pluralism** as a natural condition
- Managing a pluralistic society requires political democracy

- **Novoye myshlenie** (new thinking) – reform of the international system, also used to refer to reformist thinking in the USSR
- **Perestroika** (restructuring) – a comprehensive overhaul of the Soviet system, involving **all areas** of public policy
- **Glasnost** – a shift to an open information order
- **Demokratizatsiya** (democratization) – building a new Soviet political system

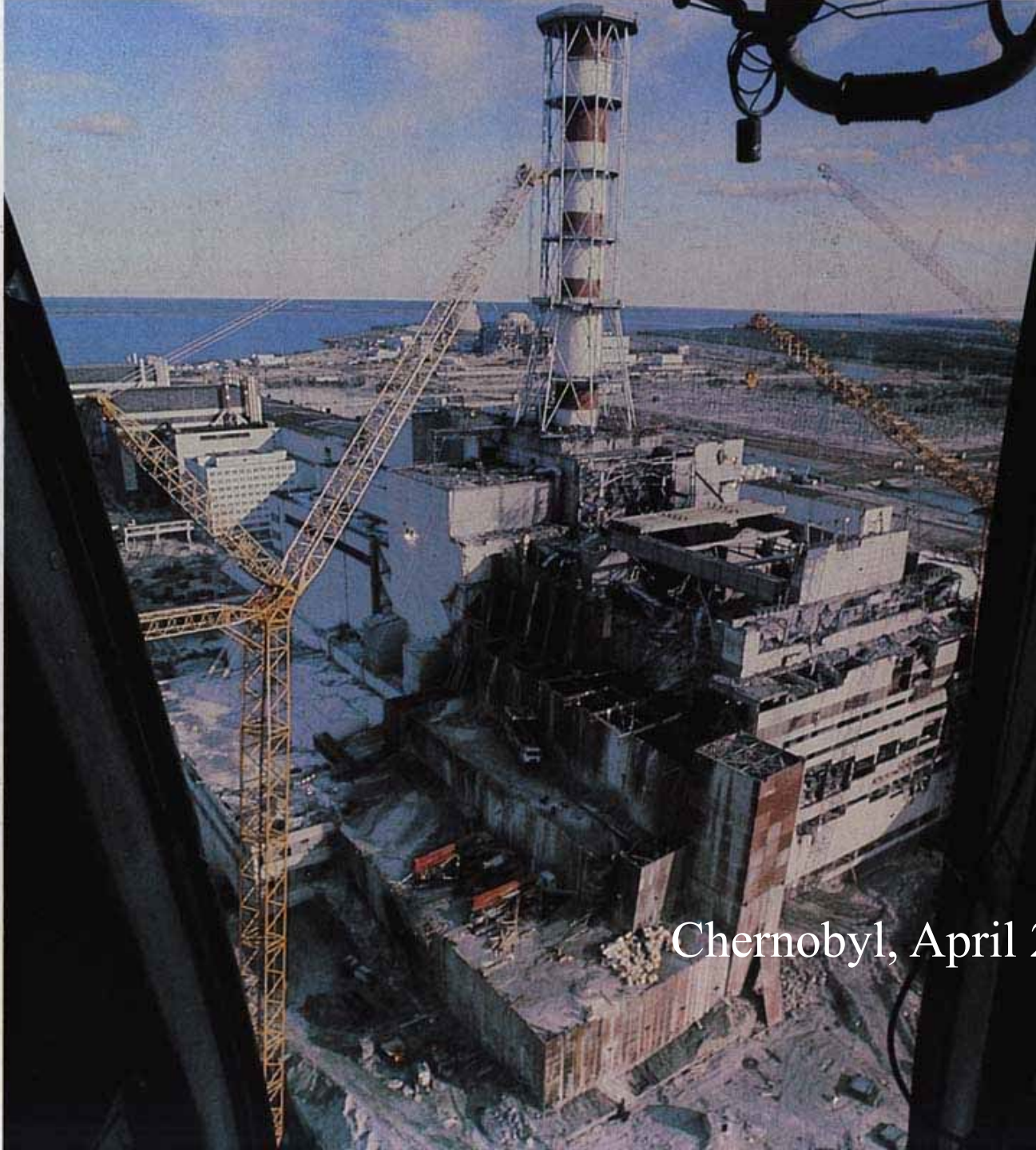
## Which forces supported the reform process?

- The **spectrum inside the Party**: from anarchists to monarchists
- The **Party-state bureaucracy** – mostly conservative, fearful of change – potential loss of power and privilege
- The **managerial class** is interested in greater autonomy, limited market freedom
- The **intellectuals**: overwhelming support for liberal reform, democratization
- **Rank-and-file Party membership** predominantly in favour of Gorbachev's reforms
- The **ideological legitimacy** of democracy
- The working class
- Nationalists in non-Russian republics









Chernobyl, April 26, 1986

## Negotiating an end to the Cold War

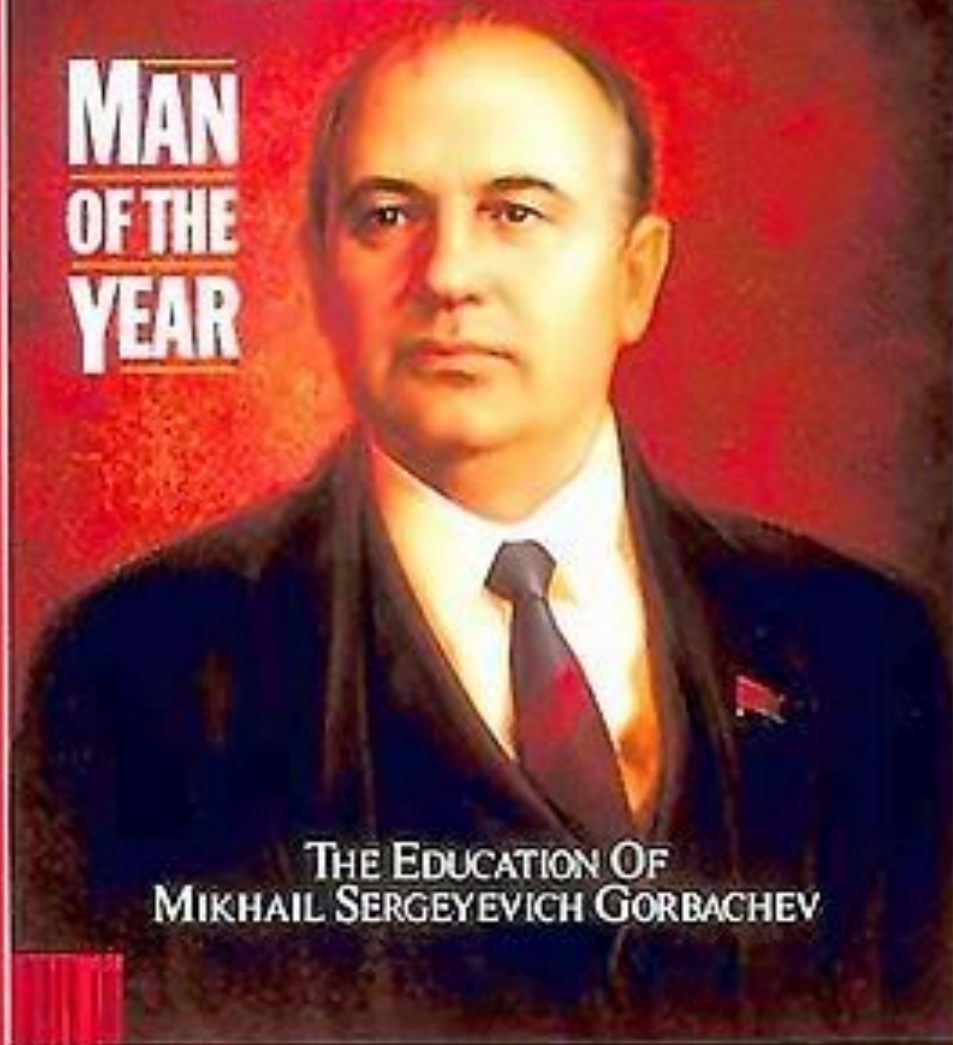
- The **threat of nuclear war** as the overriding issue
- The Cold War was **undermining the Soviet system**
  - ◆ The **economic burden**
  - ◆ A militarized state ensured **bureaucratic paralysis**: society lacked basic freedoms, the state was losing its capacity to govern
  - ◆ The atmosphere of confrontation with the West was **stifling impulses** for necessary reforms, imposing ideological rigidity
  - ◆ Soviet domination of Eastern Europe was now seen as an obsolete, counterproductive policy. Lessons of Czechoslovakia (1968) and Poland (1980-81). Reforms in Eastern Europe are necessary for Soviet reform.
- Solution: **New Thinking**, a plan to negotiate an end to the Cold War to assure security and free up Soviet and East European potential for reform. “The Sinatra Doctrine”

JANUARY 4, 1988

\$2.00

# TIME

**MAN  
OF THE  
YEAR**



THE EDUCATION OF  
MIKHAIL SERGEYEVICH GORBACHEV



Geneva,  
November 17,  
1985: “A nuclear  
war can never be  
won and should  
never be fought”

- **Gorbachev on his first meeting with Reagan:**
- “My talks with Reagan were intensive, substantive, and at times emotional – but, what is very important, frank and, as we were getting to know each other better, friendly. Our debates were especially passionate when we discussed human rights, regional conflicts, and the ill-famous SDI. But by the time our meeting was coming to the end, I felt: we can do business with Reagan.”
- *Zhizn' i reformy*, vol. 2, p. 14

## Results of the Geneva Summit:

- Start of the dialog
- Main points of agreement:
  - ◆ No to nuclear war
  - ◆ No nuclear superiority





Hofde House, site of the Reykjavik  
Summit, October 11-12, 1986





## Results of the Reykjavik Summit:

- Discovered mutual interest in deep cuts in nuclear offensive arms
- Elimination of all INFs a real possibility
- SDI a major obstacle to agreement



Washington, December 8, 1987



Gorbachev and Reagan sign a treaty to ban all medium-range ballistic missiles (The INF Treaty)

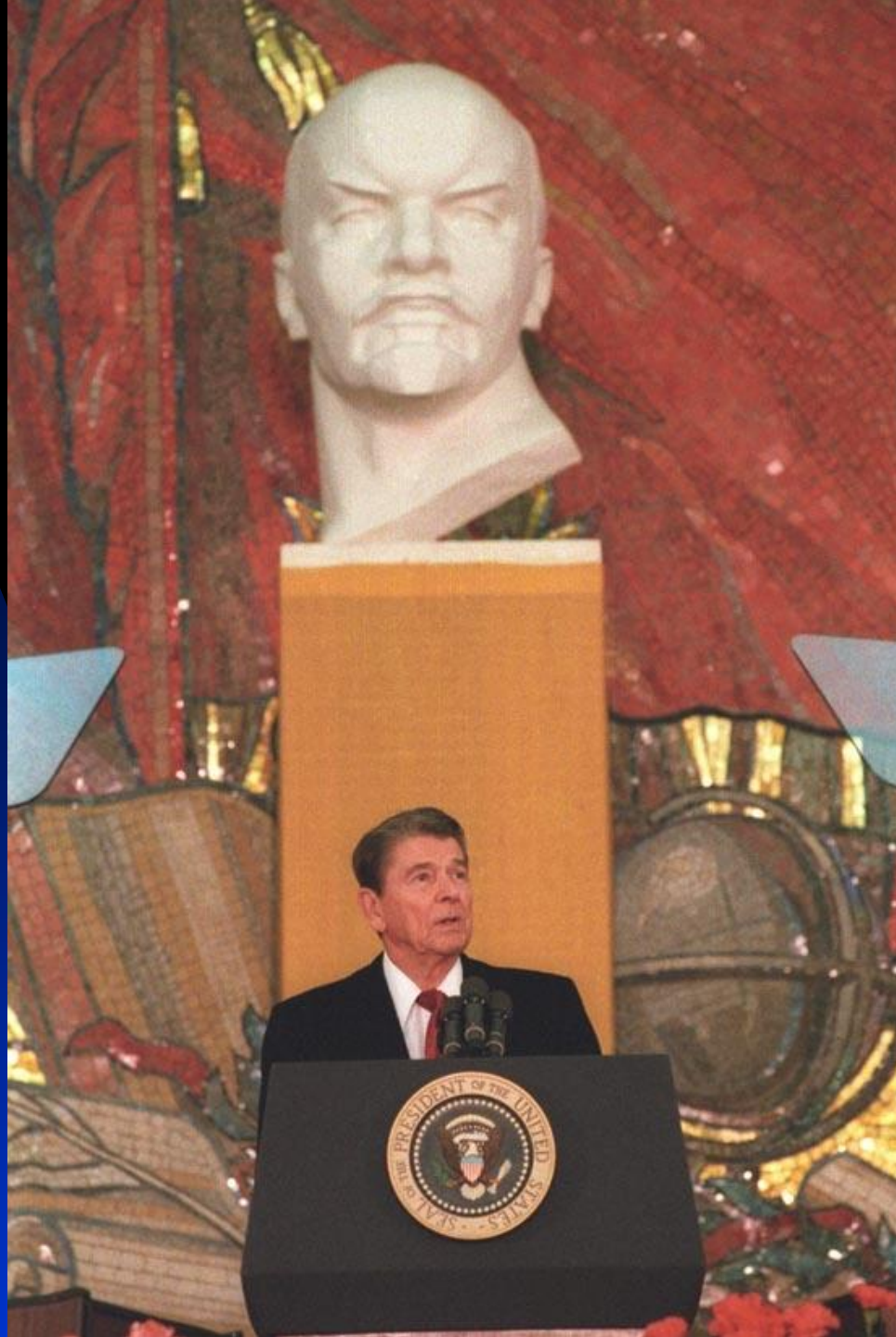




May 1988:  
Reagan in  
Moscow,  
declares the  
Cold War  
over







Addressing  
students at  
Moscow  
State  
University



December 7, 1988



- ◆ 1989:

- First democratic election in USSR
- Emergence of democratic opposition
- Fall of communist regimes in Eastern Europe

- ◆ 1990:

- Democratic elections in the 15 Soviet republics
- Republics push for sovereignty
- Gorbachev's desperate attempts to maintain control

- ◆ 1991:

- Escalation of conflict between conservatives and democratic reformers
- **The August coup** and the paralysis of the Soviet state.
- Dissolution of the Soviet Union.





Poland, Feb. 1989: Roundtable talks between government and opposition









June 1989:  
Solidarity  
wins all but 1  
seat in free  
elections to  
Polish  
Parliament



June 1989: Hungarian officials open border with Austria

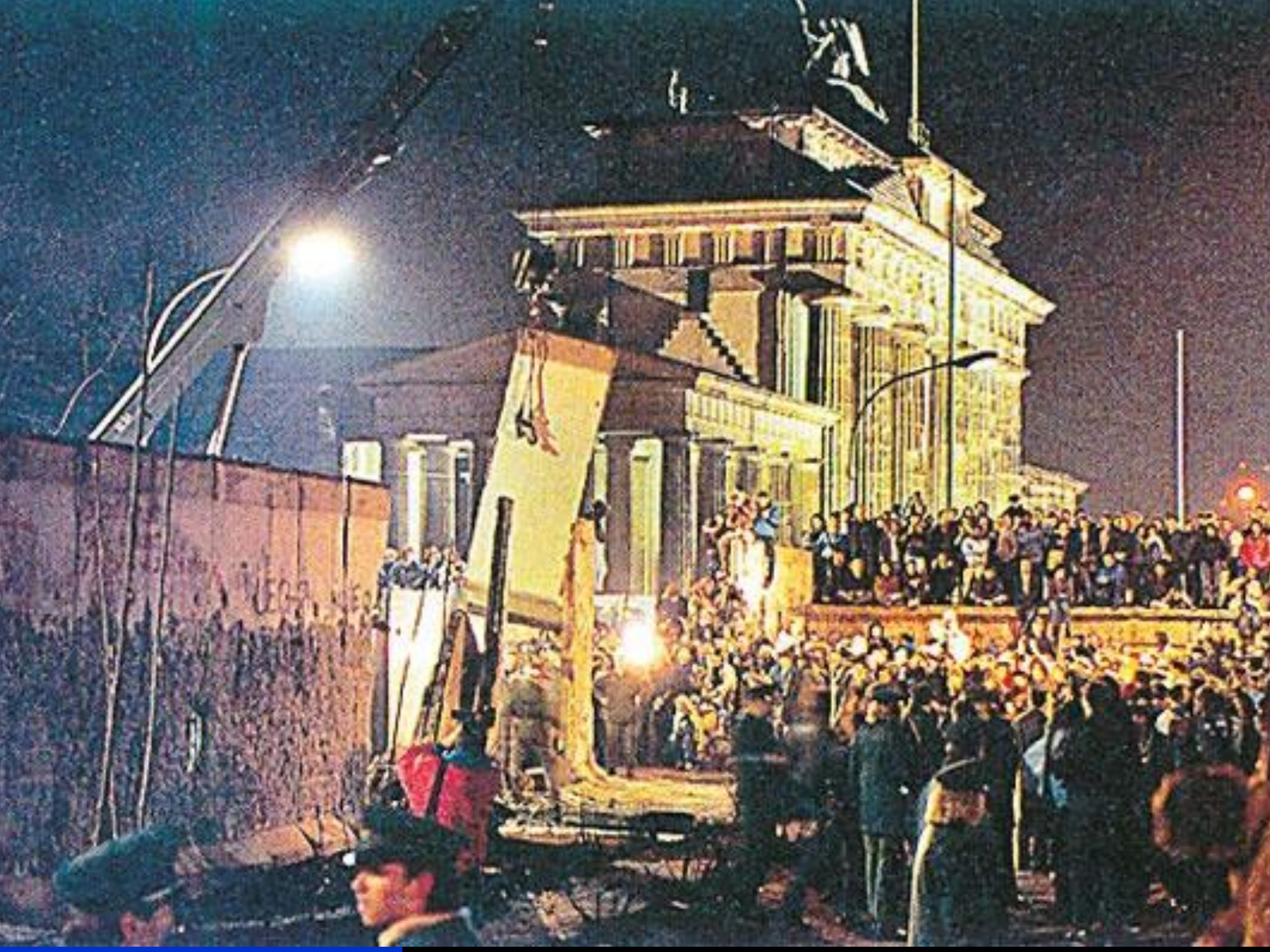


Gorbachev in Berlin, October 1989

**LIFE**



November 1989: the fall of the Berlin Wall, symbol of Cold War division of Europe





Prague, November 1989











**LIFE**



Bucharest, December 1989: Ceausescu's last speech



Bucharest, December 1989



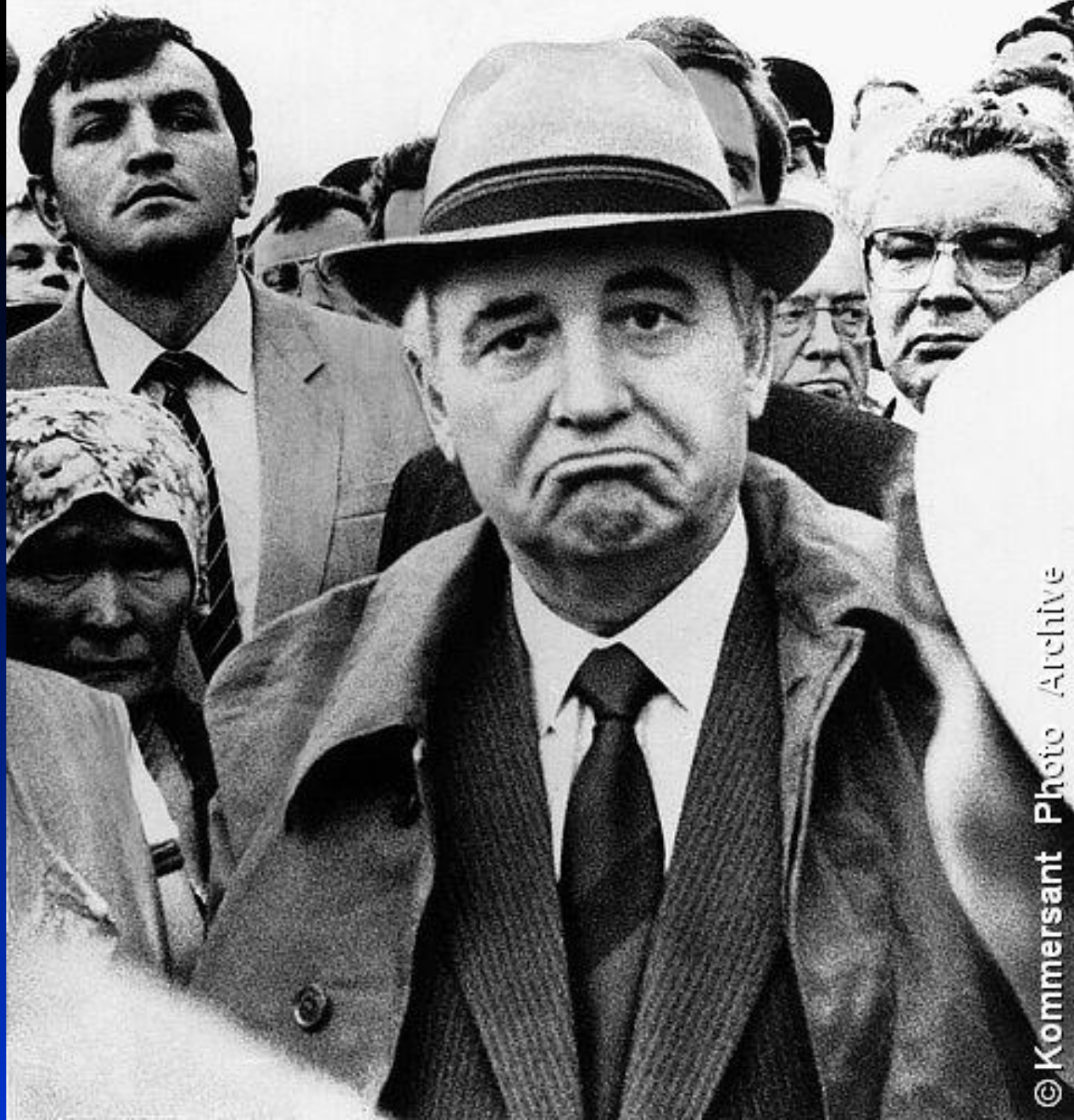
Russian miners strike, 1989











© Kommersant Photo Archive



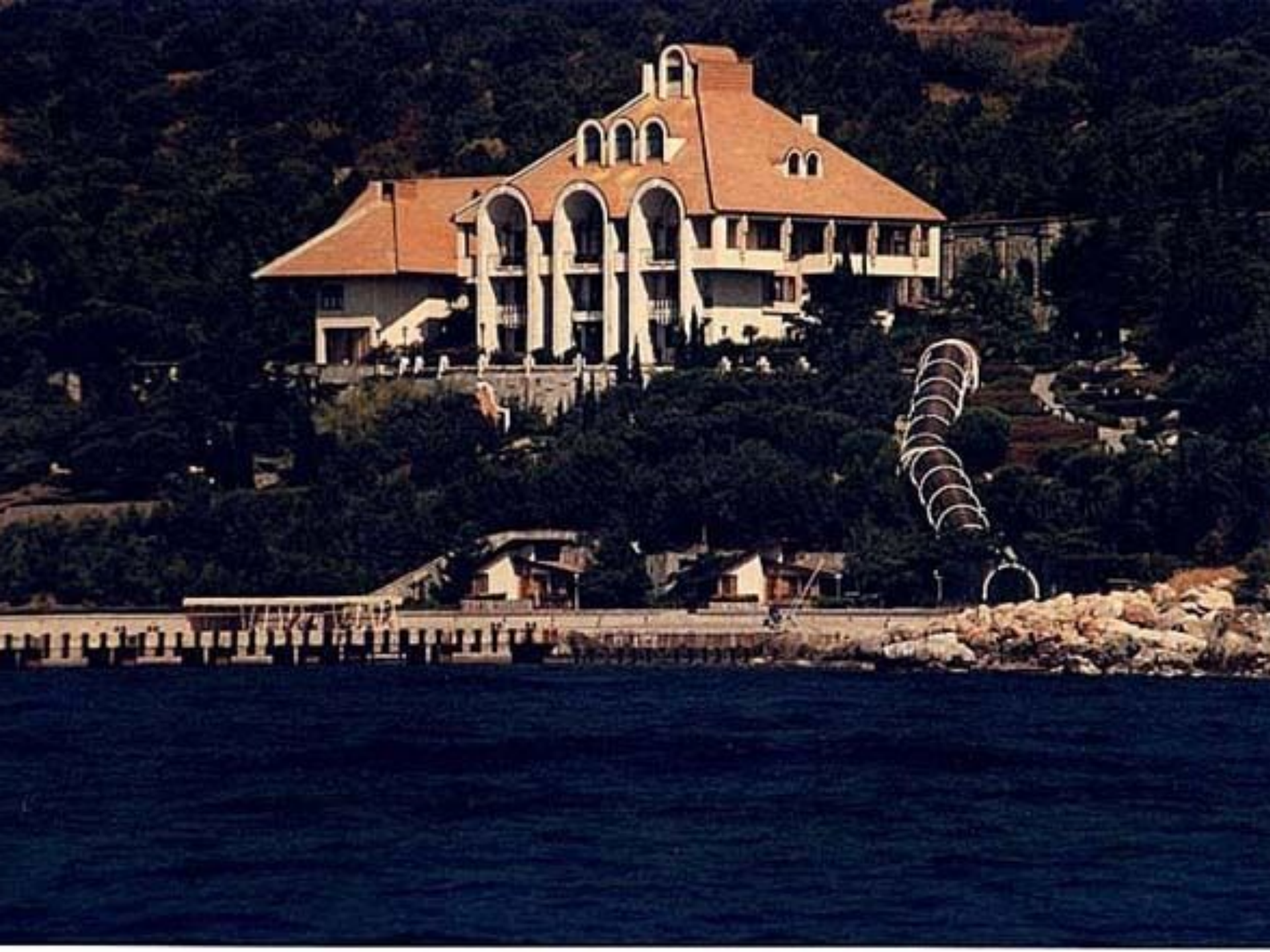
Two bears in one lair



The plotters of August



London, July 1991: G-7+1





Moscow, August 1991











ЕЛЦИН  
12 МАЙ



















After the coup, Gorbachev was rapidly losing power to Boris Yeltsin



December 1991: the three men who dissolved the Soviet Union, left to right: Presidents Kravchuk of Ukraine, Shushkevich of Belarus, Yeltsin of Russia

December 25, 1991: Gorbachev  
resigns:

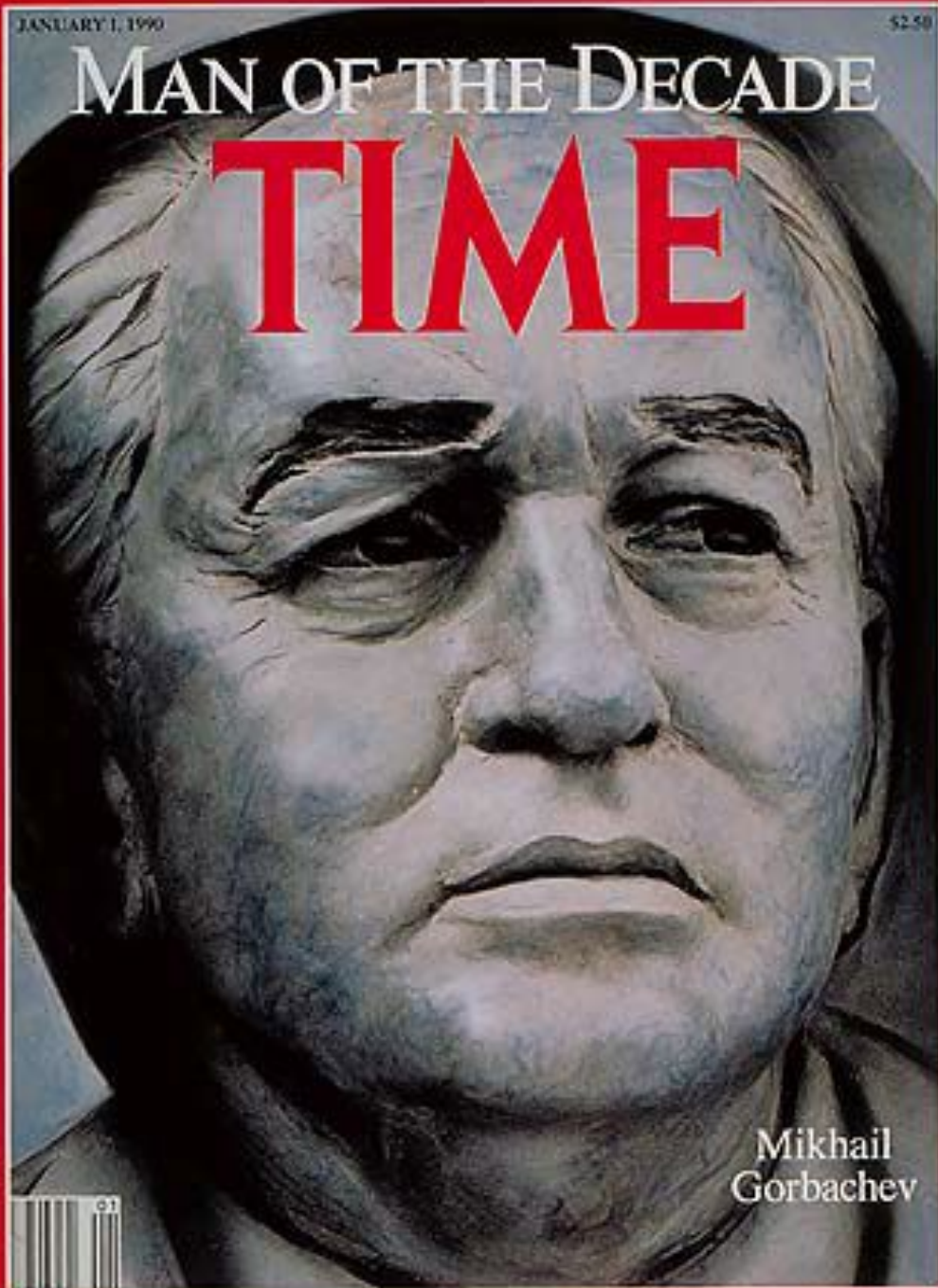
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=028gd8Sn3m0>

JANUARY 1, 1990

\$2.50

MAN OF THE DECADE

TIME



Mikhail  
Gorbachev







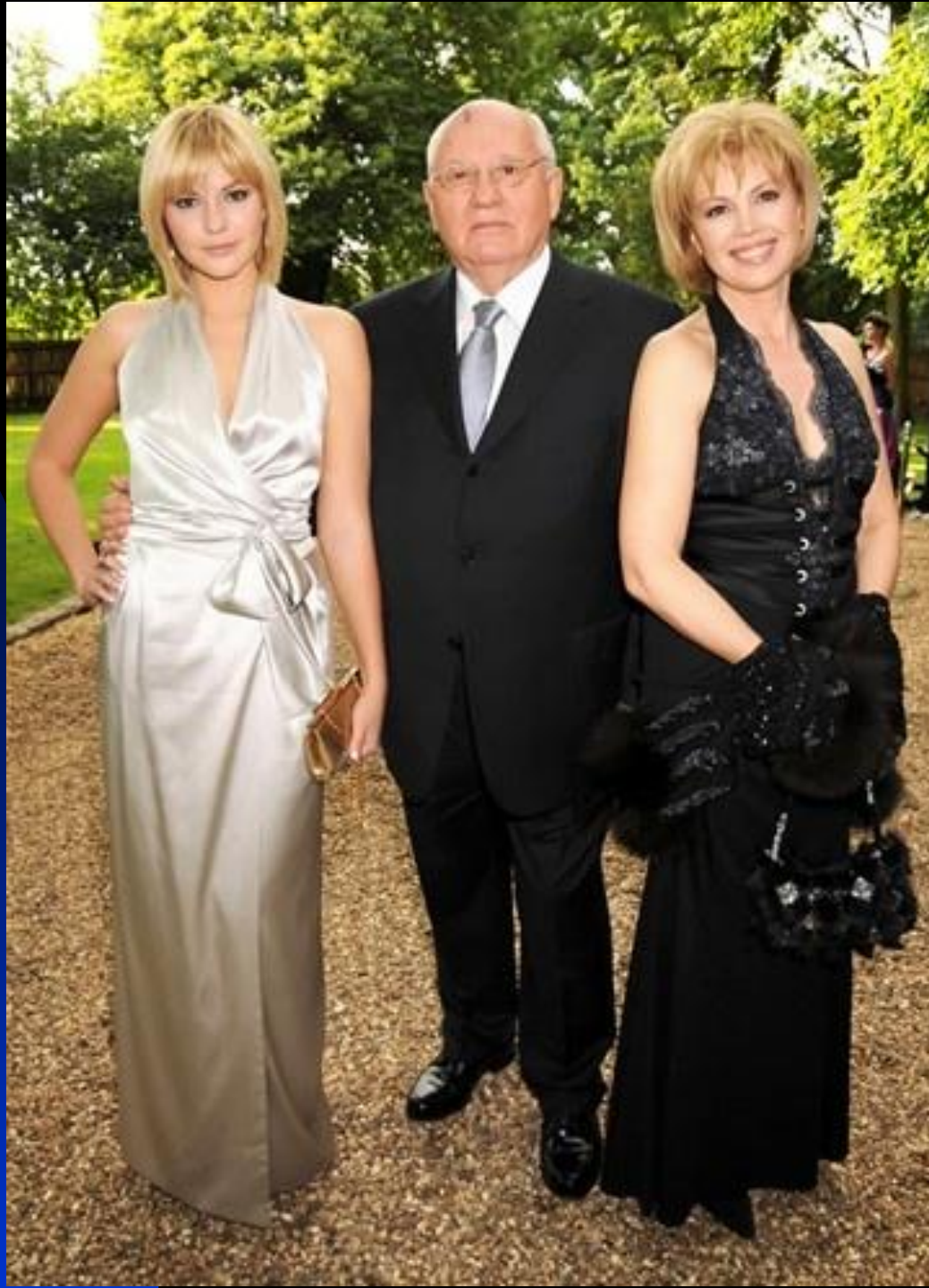




23 4 2009





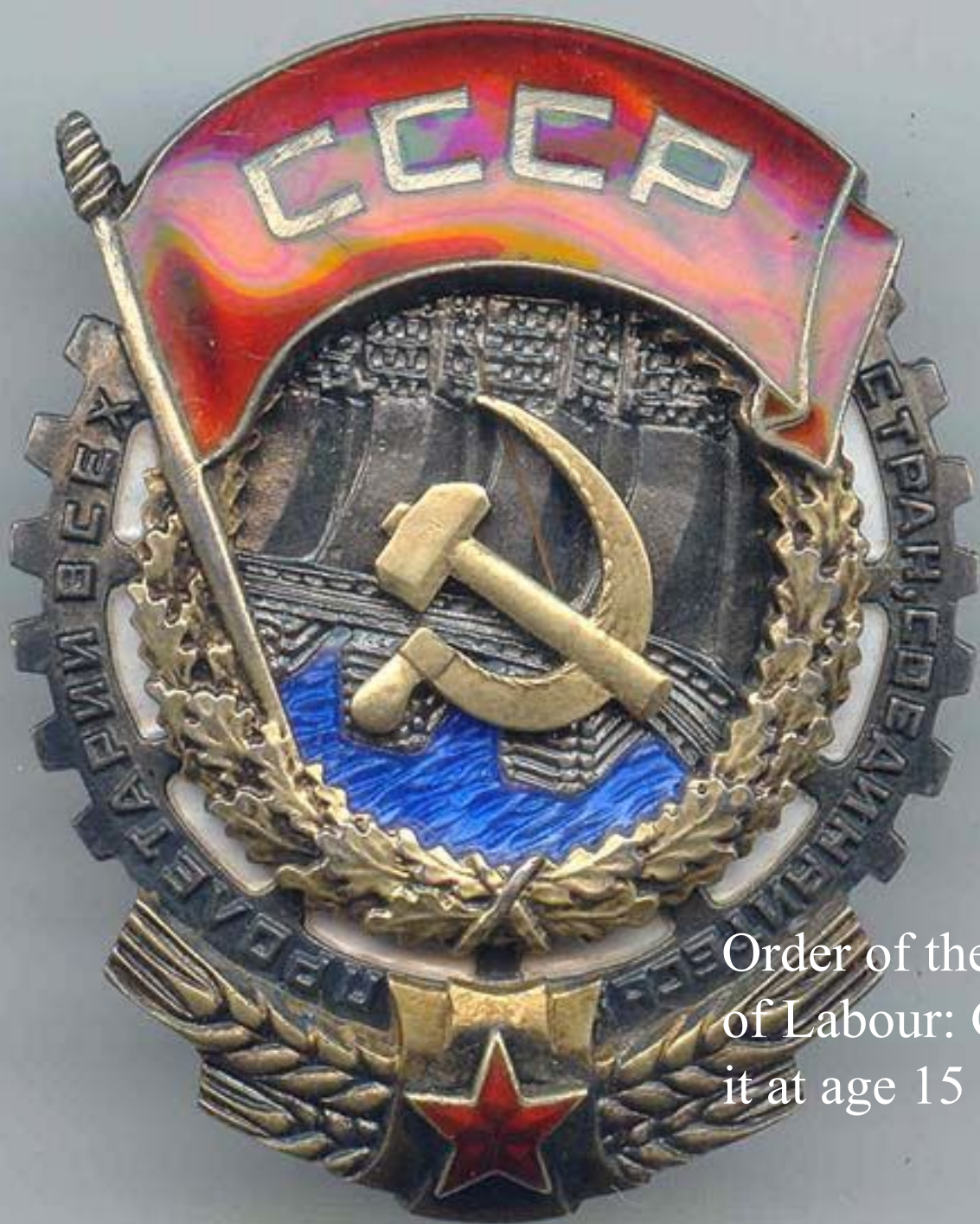


With daughter  
Irina and  
granddaughter  
Nastya

- March 2, 2011: Russia marks Gorbachev's 80<sup>th</sup> birthday:  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YUWUUnYC0XY>



On his 80<sup>th</sup> birthday,  
Gorbachev was  
awarded an Order of St.  
Andrei – Russia's most  
honourable decoration



Order of the Red Banner  
of Labour: Gorbachev got  
it at age 15

- Gorbachev, March 2, 2011:
- “I have never expected to live this long. I thought that eighty years was an impossible age. Raisa and I had a plan to live till year 2000, and that’s it. Because we had already experienced so much, lived so many lives. Not just one life, not two or three, but maybe five or seven exciting lives. That is just too much for one man.”





Toronto, 2005