



Building Relationships
Changing the status quo
Adapting
Charisma
Ideology
Willingness to take risks

How do they
Move

From this...
To this



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Wooster High School
IB History of the Americas II, 20TH
Century Cold War– Seniors

Lesson Title: *Did Ronald Reagan End the Cold War? A discussion of Cold War Historiography*

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Appropriate for either 12th Grade IB History of the Americas or 11th Grade AP US history

US History Standards:

- *Social Studies Skills – content literacy, historical analysis and interpretation*
- *Content Standard H3.0 - Social Responsibility & Change - Students understand how social ideas and individual action lead to social, political, economic, and technological change.*
- *Content Standard H4.0 - International Relationships & Power - Students understand the interaction and interdependence of nations around the world. Students understand the impact of economics, politics, religion, and culture on international relationships.*
 - *H4.[9-12].2 Discuss the key people, ideas, and events of the Cold War era and analyze their impact on economic and political policy in the United States.*
 - *H4.[9-12].3 Analyze how international policies contributed to the end of the Cold War.*
- *Content Standard C16.0 - Global Relations - Students explain the different political systems in the world and how those systems relate to the United States and its citizens*
 - *C16.[9-12].3 Identify and analyze U.S. **foreign policy** in dealing with international issues, i.e., diplomacy, economic policy, humanitarian aid, and military intervention.*

Discussion Questions:

- *Lesson contains overall discussion questions which follow, but the lesson also contains individual readings which contain thought provoking scaffolding questions (found at the end of each reading)*
- **ECONOMIC:** *What role did the Soviet Economy have on the collapse of the Soviet Union? Did the U.S. play a role in this situation? What evidence is provided from your reading (find quotes-lines)?*
- **NUCLEAR:** *What was the role of the arms race, arms reduction talks, nuclear deterrence, and SDI (Strategic Defense Initiative) in bringing about the end of the Cold War? What specific events, treaties, and weapons can be used as evidence (find quotes-lines)?*
- **CHARISMA:** *What role do charm, charisma and personal engagement of the actors involved play in ending the Cold War? Find specific evidence of these factors and the role they played (find quotes-lines).*
- **IDEOLOGY:** *What role does the origins of the Cold War (predecessors, beliefs, philosophy) play in the ending of the Cold War? Find evidence of ideology (find quotes-lines) and its role in communisms ultimate demise.*
- **CHANGE:** *How much did major shifts in thinking, a willingness to change strategy and beliefs, and a willingness to change the status quo play a role in ending the Cold War?. Find evidence (quotes-lines) of Reagan and Gorbachev attempting to change the status quo, evidence showing shifts in earlier thinking, and a willingness to change.*
- **HISTORIOGRAPHY:** *What is the overall argument of your assigned historian as to who won the Cold War? (In class discussion: What is the historiography of the ending of the Cold War, how have views changed over time from 1989 to now? Try to break down all of the major arguments of how historians have interpreted the ending of the Cold War. You'll need at least three distinct arguments for your final writing activity.)*

FACILITATOR QUESTIONS – Individual students are assigned group facilitators (groups of 5) and the facilitators are to generate their own questions (3 level 2 or 3 questions) as well as my questions: If any of the factors were removed from the formula, would the Cold War still have ended? Take Reagan out...would it still have ended? Why? What about Gorbachev, what if you removed him from the formula? What if the Soviet economy was strong would it still have collapsed? Explain? Was the end of the Cold War inevitable? Why did Gorbachev win the Nobel Peace Prize and not Reagan?

Engagement Strategy:

Structured Academic Controversy - Small Group with Facilitator Model

Student Readings:

Documents 1 – 5 divided among students (1 reading per student in each group)

1. John Lewis Gaddis, from *The United States and the End of the Cold War: Implications, Reconsiderations, Provocations* (Oxford University Press, 1992) . For full length text go to <http://www.austincc.edu/jdikes/Cold%20War.pdf>
2. *The Economist*. The man who beat communism. Ronald Reagan was fond of a nap and no intellectual. Oddly enough, he had what it took. Jun 10th 2004 | from the print edition. For more detailed research: <http://www.economist.com/node/2747709>
3. Kirkpatrick, Jeane J., Beyond the Cold War. *Foreign Affairs*, 00157120, 1989/1990, Vol. 69, Issue 1 MAS Ultra - School Edition. Jeane J. Kirkpatrick is Leavy Professor of Government at Georgetown University and Senior Fellow at the American Enterprise Institute. She is author of a forthcoming book, *The Withering Away of the Totalitarian State*. For more detailed research go to <http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/detail?vid=14&hid=11&sid=66b32649-7758-4fe6-8dae-7e46a7897d2b%40sessionmgr15&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWhvc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#db=ulh&AN=9003121158>
4. Talbott, Strobe. "Russia, Global Governance, Europe, Governance." Rev. of *Jack F. Matlock Jr.'s Book, Reagan and Gorbachev: How the Cold War Ended*. *New York Times* 1 Aug. 2004. Print. For more detailed text go to http://www.brookings.edu/articles/2004/0801russia_talbott.aspx
5. Nye, Joseph S. "Gorbachev and the End of the Cold War." - *Harvard*. Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, 5 Apr. 2006. Web. 15 Apr. 2012. <http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/1531/gorbachev_and_the_end_of_the_cold_war.html>.

Various documents analyzed by students prior to discussion activity (through previous lessons)

6. Ronald Reagan's "Evil Empire" Speech. Remarks at the Annual Convention of the National Association of Evangelicals in Orlando, Florida. March 8, 1983. http://www.reaganfoundation.org/bw_detail.aspx?p=LMB4YGHF2&h1=0&h2=0&sw=&lm=berlinwall&args_a=cms&args_b=74&argsb=N&tx=1770
7. Ronald Reagan's Address to the Nation on the Meetings with Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev in Iceland, October 1986. Full text of this speech: http://www.reaganfoundation.org/bw_detail.aspx?p=LMB4YGHF2&h1=0&h2=0&sw=&lm=berlinwall&args_a=cms&args_b=74&argsb=N&tx=1771
8. Reagan's "Star Wars" Speech, March 23, 1983
9. Reagan's Address to the Nation and Other Countries on the United States-Soviet Relations, January 16, 1984 (<http://www.reagan.utexas.edu/archives/speeches/1984/11684a.htm>)
10. Ronald Reagan's "Tear Down this Wall" Speech. : Tear Down this Wall in West Berlin. June 12, 1987. Reagan Library and Foundation

http://www.reaganfoundation.org/bw_detail.aspx?p=LMB4YGHF2&h1=0&h2=0&sw=&lm=berlinwall&args_a=cms&args_b=74&argsb=N&tx=1764

11. Mikhail Gorbachev's Nobel Lecture, June 5, 1991.
<http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/COLDgorbachev.htm>

Total Time Needed:

- *Students will need at least a week to a week and a half to read the textbook (the IB textbook contains information on the end of the Cold War, and the WCSD adopted AP US History textbook contains information on the end of the Cold War)*
- *Students will also need this week to read their documents and prepare for the discussion by filling in their CRE (Claims, Reasoning and Evidence) chart as well as preparing for the discussion questions, and to apply the poll.*
- *Class time needed:*
 - *A day or two before the discussion, time will be needed to analyze the primary documents*
 - *Discussion can be adjusted, but it was planned for a 90 minute block period.*
- *Extension activity time needed:*
 - *Good idea to allow a weekend for the students to complete the follow-up activity (or at least 2 – 3 days or more if the students complete a video).*

Lesson Outline for actual in-class discussion:

Time Frame	What is the teacher doing?	What are the students doing?
10-15 minutes	Coordinate students getting into their groups of 5 (room should be set up with desks in groups of 5). Explain and review the rules and expectations. Walking the room listening to speeches (noting preparedness, quality, and engagement & listening).	Students take turns presenting 2 minute speech. After each student presents the speech, the student to the left summarizes the speech's main points. The rest of the group listens and takes notes.
10 minutes	Teacher walks the room listening for: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Actual participation • Quality of content • Preparedness Teacher should have a grade book to give points for participation – keep a tally of + = 5 points ✓ = 2.5 points - = 1 point	Students allowed to debate within their role character (the students will take on the point of view of their assigned document reading) Student facilitator will help to maintain group discussion (see facilitator expectations)
15 minutes	Give instructions for next step. Keep track of time Walk room, keep students on task. Listen and add to participation grade.	Students discuss the discussion questions sharing the content of their readings. Students may answer freely (stepping out of their roles) in order to synthesize the information. Facilitators monitor discussion quality, flow, and making sure reticent members participate.
15 minutes	Keep track of time. Give instructions for next task Walk the room making sure students on task. Listen	Students must move toward consensus on the ultimate question (Did Ronald Reagan end the Cold War). Students must come to a group consensus and create a thesis and 3 CRE statements to back up their answer. All students must write these down.
10 minutes	Facilitate group presentations. Keep track of tally on the board. Review findings. Listen, answer	Groups present their findings to the class.

	questions	
Time Frame	What is the teacher doing?	What are the students doing?
15 minutes	Explain instructions. Keep track of time. Make sure students on task. Answer questions, help with writing.	<p>-Groups work together to prepare an introduction to an essay answering the topic question, "Did Ronald Reagan End the Cold War?"</p> <p>-Students work with the historiography stems to figure how they will include historiography within their introduction.</p> <p>-Groups work together to write an introduction that applies historiography and a solid thesis (using their findings from the group consensus).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Group review for completeness & accuracy.
10 minutes to start in class	Teacher explains extension activity, answers questions, models good ideas.	<p>Groups decide what extension activity to complete & start planning.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Essay • Memorial • Video
10 minutes outside of class	Teacher examines data, examines self-evaluation & learning, reflect for next time.	Self- evaluate through online poll & self-reflection

Description of Lesson Assessment:

Task	Points possible
Poll – pre-discussion poll (logged onto Edmodo)	5
CRE (CLAIM, REASONING AND EVIDENCE) chart. Student should complete at least 4 CRE’s on the chart. Filled in and turned in at the conclusion of the speech.	10
2 minute Speech - Prepare and present your two-minute speech. Information is obviously based on the reading, provides solid arguments. Written on an index card and turned in.	10
<p>Debate and Discussion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Actual participation (5) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ speaking, listening, taking notes, eye contact, asking questions, summarizing, invite discussion from others, stay on task. • Quality of content (5) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Using evidence from the document (using lines and quotes), comparing and contrasting documents point of view. Making valid points & connections. ○ For the debate you argue with facts and evidence rather than emotion, attacks or unsubstantiated claims. ○ Students discuss with complexity (not just surface information for the sake of finishing sooner) • Preparedness (5) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Student is using their prepared discussion questions and CRE’s for their discussion, sounds prepared by using material from assigned readings <p>To give points for participation. + = 5 points ✓ = 2.5 points - = 1 point</p>	15
<p>Writing Activity</p> <p>Introduction (5 points)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Applies historiography by explaining the historiography of the question and using historiography stems • provide the points of view of at least 3 perspectives <p>Thesis (5 points)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Takes a stand (presents the argument) • Addresses the question • Provides guiding categories of discussion (aim for 3) 	Group Grade 10
<p>Group or individual task</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individual – ESSAY. Write a one-page essay that answers the discussion question, “Did Ronald Reagan End the Cold War.” Your essay will need to provide an introduction that contains the historiography of the topic, a solid proper thesis that takes a stand and provides guiding categories that you will prove in the essay. Then you must provide at least 3 CRE’s that back up your 	15

<p>argument (CRE's must be VERY specific and use vocabulary). Make sure you use your historiography!</p> <p>a. Individual – Create a monument to the person or thing responsible for ending the Cold War. You will need to design a monument of the person that ended the Cold War. Imagine that it will be displayed in the front of the United Nations.</p> <p>i. You must draw a picture of the statue/monument that honors the person/or thing that was responsible for ending the Cold War.</p> <p>ii. Your thesis (your basic answer to the question/argument) will make up the title on your monument plaque. Your plaque must also include names, date, nations, and causes. You must create a symbol that represents each of your three arguments as to why you believe this person or thing ended the cold war.</p> <p>iii. You must find a way to present the historiography of the argument (you can fit this in your plaque at the very beginning, “Although there are many arguments about the Cold War such as.... AndThe most everlasting conclusion is that _____ ended the Cold War.” You should include three alternative historical perspectives (from what you learned in the discussion)</p> <p>iv. This should be neat and tidy, time obviously spent. It should take up the entire piece of paper and should be in color.</p>	
<p>End Poll – also logged on Edmodo</p>	<p>5</p>
<p>Self-Reflection</p>	<p>5</p>
<p>Total Points</p>	<p>75</p>
<p>You must turn in all of your written work stapled together at the end of the discussion and turned in. Self-evaluation will be due on Tuesday.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Speech on an index card (or printed out) • CRE chart • Writing activity – group introduction with all names of students in the group should be turned in by the facilitator. (each student should have written this down since it will form the basis for (each student should have written this down since it will form the basis for our extension task) <p>Extension activity (if you chose the essay or the Monument) will be due on Tuesday. Video will also be due on Tuesday.</p>	

How will students reflect on the process and their learning?

- Students will reflect on the activity and their learning by completing an extension activity(essay, monument or video)
- Students will reflect on the activity and their learning by participating in an online poll.
- Students will reflect on their learning by completing a self-reflection.

Step 1: PREPARATION FOR DISCUSSION

Structured Academic Controversy - Small Group with Facilitator Model – Cold War Historiography

1. **APPLY A POLL to at least 5 people over the age of 35 (5 points).** Ask the following questions and record them on the Edmodo Poll according to your findings – majority rules when tallying your 5:
 - a. *If you had to choose one over the other, which would you say “won” the Cold War?*
 - i. *The US*
 - ii. *The USSR*
 - b. *If you had to give one reason for the fall of the Soviet Union which one would you choose?*
 - i. *Soviet economy*
 - ii. *Nuclear defense (Strategic Defense Initiative aka: Star Wars)*
 - iii. *glasnost and perestroika*
 - iv. *Other*
 - c. *If you had to choose one over the other, who would you say was the most responsible for ending the Cold War?*
 - i. *Boris Yeltsin*
 - ii. *George H. W. Bush*
 - iii. *Margaret Thatcher*
 - iv. *Ronald Reagan*
 - v. *Mikhail Gorbachev*
 - vi. *Other*
2. **ROLE PERSPECTIVE:** Students will be assigned a role perspective (of a historian) and a discussion group:
 1. **John Lewis Gaddis – Document 1**
 2. **Media – The Economist – Document 2**
 3. **Jeane Kirkpatrick – Document 3**
 4. **Strobe Talbott’s book review of Jack F. Matlock – Document 4**
 5. **Joseph S. Nye – Document 5**
3. **PREPARE FOR DISCUSSION BY...**
 - a. **READ ASSIGNED ROLE PERSPECTIVE.** Read and annotate.
 - b. **COMPLETE CRE CHART (10 points).** Read your assigned role perspective & annotate the author’s claims, reasoning and evidence then keep track of those arguments by filling out the CRE chart. Bring this to class ready to discuss. Try to find as many arguments as you can, but AT LEAST 4 are required.
 - i. You will use these as your arguments in the debate portion of the discussion.
 - ii. You should also try to incorporate the POLL RESULTS within your argument as evidence to back up your argument.
 - c. **COMPLETE THE DISCUSSION QUESTIONS WORKSHEET.** Prepare for the discussion by completing the “Discussion Questions” worksheet. Bring this to class ready to discuss.
4. **PREPARE A TWO MINUTE SPEECH THAT GIVES YOUR HISTORIAN’S PERSPECTIVE ON THE QUESTION, “Did Ronald Reagan End the Cold War?” (10 Points)**

**Complete
POLL by
_____**
before class.

Read this, complete CRE chart, complete “Discussion Questions” prepare 2 minute speech, bring all to class on 5th Period 4/19 4th Period 4/20

Claim, Reasoning and Evidence Example on the next page:

Sample CRE:

Claims What claims does the author make as to who “won the Cold War?”	1 example – “...the most important was change within the Soviet Union. It is, above all, Mikhail Gorbachev who is changing the world...” (line #____)
Reasoning – “Because...” What reasoning does the author use to support his or her claim? Find as many as you can	1 because... “all this openness and restructuring, are transforming the Soviet Union...Gorbachev’s sweeping program of political, cultural and economic reform marks the end of totalitarianism in the Soviet Union.” (line #____)
Evidence “For example...” What evidence does the author use to support his or her claims?	1 for example... <i>“Gorbachev loosened the reins that have tightly controlled Soviet society...freeing emigration, permitting religious freedom...sponsored a new tolerance of diversity...”</i> (line #____)

Think, if a claim is stated, but unsubstantiated (has no specific evidence to back it up), then is it really a good argument?

Discussion Questions

1. You must prepare for the debate by answering the following questions according to your own reading. You must walk into class with this sheet filled out (or on another piece of paper).
(HINT: when using evidence and quotes, you can write down the line numbers instead of writing them out, so that you can refer back to them in your discussion and read them to your group).
 - **ECONOMIC:** What role did the Soviet Economy have on the collapse of the Soviet Union? Did the U.S. play a role in this situation? What evidence is provided from your reading (find quotes-lines)?
 - **NUCLEAR:** What was the role of the arms race, arms reduction talks, nuclear deterrence, and SDI (Strategic Defense Initiative) in bringing about the end of the Cold War? What specific events, treaties, and weapons can be used as evidence (find quotes-lines)?
 - **CHARISMA:** What role do charm, charisma and personal engagement of the actors involved play in ending the Cold War? Find specific evidence of these factors and the role they played (find quotes-lines).
 - **IDEOLOGY:** What role does the origins of the Cold War (predecessors, beliefs, philosophy) play in the ending of the Cold War? Find evidence of ideology (find quotes-lines) and its role in communism's ultimate demise.
 - **CHANGE:** How much did major shifts in thinking, a willingness to change strategy and beliefs, and a willingness to change the status quo play a role in ending the Cold War?. Find evidence (quotes-lines) of Reagan and Gorbachev attempting to change the status quo, evidence showing shifts in earlier thinking, and a willingness to change.
 - **HISTORIOGRAPHY:** What is the overall argument of your assigned historian as to who won the Cold War? **(In class discussion:** What is the historiography of the ending of the Cold War, how have views changed over time from 1989 to now? Try to break down all of the major arguments of how historians have interpreted the ending of the Cold War. You'll need at least three distinct arguments for your final writing activity.)

DOCUMENT: 1

SECONDARY SOURCE: John Lewis Gaddis says YES HE DID. Professor of history John Lewis Gaddis argues that President Ronald Reagan combined a policy of militancy and operational pragmatism to bring about the most significant improvement in Soviet-American relations since the end of World War II. John Lewis Gaddis, from *The United States and the End of the Cold War: Implications, Reconsiderations, Provocations* (Oxford University Press, 1992) .
<http://www.austinctc.edu/jdikes/Cold%20War.pdf>

1 Ronald Reagan and the End of the Cold War

2 The record of the Reagan years suggests the need to avoid the common error of trying to
3 predict the outcomes from attributes. There is no question that the President and his advisers came into
4 office with an ideological view of the world that appeared to allow for not compromise with the
5 Russians but, ideology has a way of evolving to accommodate reality especially in the hands of skillful
6 political leadership. Indeed a good working definition of leadership might be just this—the ability to
7 accommodate ideology to practical reality—and by that standard, Reagan’s achievements in relations
8 with the Soviet Union will certainly compare favorably with, and perhaps even surpass those of Richard
9 Nixon and Henry Kissinger.

10 Did President Reagan intend for things to come out this way? That question is, of course, more
11 difficult to determine, given our lack of access to the archives {NOTE: the origin of this source}. But a
12 careful reading of the public record would, I think, show that the President was expressing hopes for an
13 improvement in Soviet-American relations from the moment he entered the White House, and that he
14 began shifting American policy in that direction as early as the first months of 1983, almost two years
15 before Mikhail Gorbachev came to power. Gorbachev’s extraordinary receptiveness to such initiatives—
16 as distinct from the literally moribund responses of his predecessors—greatly accelerated the
17 improvement in relations, but it would be a mistake to credit him solely with the responsibility for what
18 happened: Ronald Reagan deserves a great deal of the credit as well.

19 Critics have raised the question, though, of whether President Reagan was responsible for, or
20 even aware of the direction administration policy was taking. This argument is, I think both incorrect and
21 unfair. Reagan’s opponents have been quick enough to hold him personally responsible for the failure of
22 his administration; they should be equally prepared to acknowledge his successes. And, there are points,
23 even with the limited sources now available where we can see that the President himself had a decisive
24 impact upon the course of events. They include, among others, the Strategic Defense Initiative, which
25 may have had its problems as a missile shield, but which certainly worked in unsettling the Russians;
26 endorsement of the “zero option” in the INF talks and real reductions in START, the rabidity with which
27 the President entered into, and thereby legitimized serious negotiations with Gorbachev once he came
28 into office; and most remarkable of all, his eagerness to contemplate alternatives to the nuclear arms
29 race in a way no previous president had been willing to do.

30 Now, it may be objected that these were simple, unsophisticated, and as people are given to
31 saying these days, imperfectly “nuanced” ideas. I would not argue with that proposition. But it is
32 important to remember that while complexity, sophistication and nuance may be prerequisite for
33 intellectual leadership, they are not necessarily so for political leadership, and can at times, actually get
34 in the way. President Reagan generally meant precisely what he said when he came out in favor of
35 negotiations from strength or for strategic arms reductions as opposed to limitations, or even for
36 making nuclear weapons ultimately irrelevant and obsolete, he did not do so in the “killer amendment”
37 spirit favored by geopolitical sophisticates on the right, the President may have been conservative but
38 he was never devious. The lesson here ought to beware of excessive convolution and subtlety in
39 strategy, for sometimes simple-mindedness wins out, especially if it occurs in high places.

40 Finally President Reagan also understood something that many geopolitical sophisticates on the
41 left have not understood that although toughness may or may not be a prerequisite for successful
42 negotiations with the Russians there are arguments from both propositions---it is absolutely essential if
43 the American people are to lend their support over time, to what has been negotiated. Others may have
44 seen in the doctrine of "negotiation from strength" a way of avoiding negotiations altogether, but it now
45 seems clear that the President saw in that approach the means of constructing a domestic political base
46 without which agreement with the Russians would almost certainly have foundered as indeed many of
47 them did in the 1970's. For, unless one can sustain domestic support—and one does not do that by
48 appearing weak—then it is hardly likely that whatever one has arranged with any adversary will actually
49 come to anything.

50 There is one last irony to all of this: it is that it fell to Ronald Reagan to preside over the belated
51 but decisive success of the strategy of containment George F. Kennan had first proposed more than four
52 decades earlier. For what were Gorbachev's reforms if not the long-delayed "mellowing" of Soviet
53 society that Kennan had said would take place with the passage of time? The Stalinist system that had
54 required outside adversaries to justify its own existence now seemed at last to have passed from the
55 scene; Gorbachev appeared to have concluded that the Soviet Union could continue to be a great power
56 in world affairs only through the introduction of something approximating a market economy,
57 democratic political institutions, official accountability, and respect for the rule of law at home. And
58 that, in turn, suggested an even more remarkable conclusion: that the very survival of the ideology Lenin
59 had imposed on Russia in 1917 now required infiltration—perhaps even subversion—by precisely the
60 ideology the great revolutionary had sworn to overthrow.

61 I have some reason to suspect that Professor Kennan is not entirely comfortable with the
62 suggestion that Ronald Reagan successfully completed the execution of the strategy he originated. But
63 as Kennan the historian would be the first to acknowledge, history is full of ironies, and this one, surely,
64 will not rank among the least of them.

65 <http://www.austincc.edu/jdikes/Cold%20War.pdf>

CLAIMS	REASONING	EVIDENCE (cite line #)

Thought Provoking Questions:

1. In what ways did Reagan accommodate compromise? How was this a departure from his original ideology of how to deal with the Russians?
2. What evidence does Gaddis provide that Reagan had an impact on the events ending the Cold War?
3. What does Gaddis say about Reagan’s level of sophistication and did it help him or hurt him in his negotiations?
4. How did both Reagan and Gorbachev show a readiness to improve relations?
5. Ultimately, who does Gaddis believe should be most credited with ending the Cold War, and what evidence does he use to back this up?

DOCUMENT: 2**SECONDARY DOCUMENT**

Source: *The Economist*. The man who beat communism. Ronald Reagan was fond of a nap and no intellectual. Oddly enough, he had what it took. Jun 10th 2004 | from the print edition

For more detailed research: <http://www.economist.com/node/2747709>

66 The decade the door was pushed open

67 ...The Reagan presidency of 1981-89 changed the face of the world. The American-led alliance won the
68 cold war, a potentially even bloodier confrontation than the first world war's murderous clash ...and the
69 second world war's six-year struggle ... By defeating communism, Ronald Reagan ended one of history's
70 most violent centuries and opened the door to the possibility that for at least a few decades ahead war,
71 though it can never be abolished, would be a smaller horror than in the past, and democracy might
72 become available to more of the people who wanted it. In his foreign policy, at any rate, he turned out
73 to be one of the two or three most effective American presidents of the 20th century.

74 ... The late 1960s and the 1970s had seen a powerful counter-attack by communism ...(Cuba, Vietnam, &
75 Middle East) The cold war, it seemed, might roll on forever.

76

77 Reagan would have none of this. From the moment he took office, he made it clear what he believed:
78 that America stood for a good idea, the Soviet Union for a bad one; that the notion of a balance of
79 power between them—"mutually assured destruction"—was thus morally wrong; and that the Russians'
80 bulging military muscle had no real economic power behind it. Therefore he decided to pour money into
81 America's armed forces, and put medium-range nuclear missiles into Europe; that way, Europe's defense
82 would not need an American intercontinental strike. If a rearmed America stood nose-to-nose with its
83 adversary, and firmly but politely refused to budge, he reckoned it would win the day. He was right. By
84 the year Reagan left the White House, the Russians had lost Eastern Europe; by the next year, they had
85 abandoned communism.

86

87 To be sure, Reagan's foreign policy was not perfect...His liking for Mikhail Gorbachev at one point almost
88 led him into giving the last Soviet leader a foolish and unnecessary nuclear concession...(Iceland)
89 Nor should Reagan's admirers claim that without him the collapse of communism would never have
90 happened. It would have collapsed anyway, in the end. A system which believes that a small group of
91 self-selected possessors of the truth knows how to run everything is sooner or later going to run into the
92 wall. But Reagan brought the wall closer. He got the American economy growing again (admittedly at a
93 price), which made more Russians realize their own system's incompetence; he could therefore spend
94 far more money on America's military power; and he put those new missiles into Europe. The result:
95 maybe 20 years less of Marxist-Leninist ideological arrogance, and of the cold war's dangers.

96 ...How did he do it, those puzzled intellectuals still ask? By being primally American: nonchalant, ever-
97 hopeful, tough as an old boot when necessary. ..heartfelt speeches... solid-based instincts, feelings,
98 whatever the word is for the other part of the mind. "I have a gut feeling," Reagan said over and over
99 again, when he was working out what to do and say...

CLAIMS	REASONING	EVIDENCE (cite line #)

Thought Provoking Questions for this source.

1. What specifically did Reagan do to change the balance of power that stood between the US and USSR?
2. What credit does the author give to the Russians?
3. What evidence in the text do you find that the author likes Reagan?
4. What evidence in the text do you find that the author likes Gorbachev?
5. What evidence does the author provide that shows that personality and personal engagement mattered in foreign policy?
6. How does the author claim that Ronald Reagan ended the Cold War? What evidence does he use to support his argument?

DOCUMENT: 3**SECONDARY DOCUMENT**

BEYOND THE COLD WAR. By: Kirkpatrick, Jeane J., Foreign Affairs, 00157120, 1989/1990, Vol. 69, Issue 1 MAS Ultra - School Edition. Jeane J. Kirkpatrick is Leavy Professor of Government at Georgetown University and Senior Fellow at the American Enterprise Institute. She is author of a forthcoming book, *The Withering Away of the Totalitarian State*.

<http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/detail?vid=14&hid=11&sid=66b32649-7758-4fe6-8dae-7e46a7897d2b%40sessionmgr15&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWhvc3QtbGI2ZQ%3d%3d#db=ulh&AN=9003121158>

100
101 ...By 1989 four major processes of change were at work reshaping what had come to be called East-
102 West relations: liberalization and reform inside the Soviet Union; the democratization of Eastern
103 Europe; the determined move toward economic integration in Western Europe; and a new, apparently
104 irresistible drive toward unification of East and West Germany...

105
106 All these changes were important, but the most important was change within the Soviet Union. It is,
107 above all, Mikhail Gorbachev who is changing the world....

108
109 ...Mikhail Gorbachev is what Sidney Hook called an "eventmaking man": a man whose actions transform
110 the historical context in which he acts. He has already loosened the reins that have tightly controlled
111 Soviet society since the Bolshevik Revolution--largely eliminating censorship, largely freeing emigration,
112 permitting religious freedom not enjoyed in the Soviet Union since 1917, overhauling the structures of
113 government, and providing elections with competition, discussion of public issues and a degree of
114 choice. Gorbachev has not brought democracy to the Soviet Union--yet--but he has sponsored a new
115 tolerance of diversity and restraint in the use of force that have had a profoundly liberating effect. Civil
116 society is being liberated from the suffocating embrace of the state. The consequence is an outpouring
117 of ethnic, religious, political and economic demands and analyses, a mushrooming of political groups
118 formed around new causes. So far economic reforms have disrupted the Soviet economy without
119 increasing production. But all this activity and diversity, all this openness and restructuring, are
120 transforming the Soviet Union, Europe and East-West relations.

121
122 Obviously Gorbachev is not the only source of change in the world, in the West or in the Soviet Union.
123 Alexander Solzhenitsyn, the late Andrei Sakharov, Anatoly Sharansky, the refuseniks and generations of
124 dissidents have articulated alternatives to the stifling official Soviet prescription and have provided
125 models of courage and honesty. Ronald Reagan and the Reagan Administration dramatized the need for
126 change and made the case for freedom. The democracies of Western Europe provided nearby examples
127 of the benefits of freedom...

128
129 ...But it was Gorbachev who, from the apex of the Soviet system, acted. The laws of history to the
130 contrary, the Soviet Union was founded on the decisions of a single man and is being reshaped by the
131 decisions of another...Lenin.

132
133 **Gorbachev's** sweeping program of political, cultural and economic reform marks the end of
134 totalitarianism in the Soviet Union. And with the dream of total power inside the country has apparently
135 gone the dream of total power in the world.

136
137 Political reforms have already substantially altered the framework within which decisions are made on
138 economic, military and foreign policy. Gorbachev seems to have understood the importance of changing
139 the political method...

140 The most pressing issue confronting the Bush Administration was not how to encourage change but how
141 to react to the changes that developed. The administration reacted carefully; the president not only
142 declined to "dance on the Berlin Wall," as one congressional leader suggested he do, he has deliberately
143 refrained from "gloating" about the manifest failure of communism and has offered repeated
144 assurances that he will not seek to "exploit" the upheavals in the East. President Bush was carefully
145 nonprovocative during his trip to Poland and Hungary in July. He indicated a desire to be helpful in the
146 process of reform and made clear his own strong feelings about the importance of liberalization or
147 democratization of East European dictatorships. But he has not sought to become a principal actor. He
148 stands ready to help.

149 The question "Should we help Gorbachev?" should be rephrased as "What can we do to help
150 Gorbachev?" and "What should we help Gorbachev do?":

151 • Gorbachev has pursued a rather large number of conflicting policies in the years that he has governed
152 the Soviet Union. He is still engaged in a concerted effort to develop some very high-tech weapons. We
153 do not want to help this Soviet effort.

154 • He is still spending billions supplying governments that deprive their citizens of self-determination and
155 self-government and their societies of pluralism, for example Cuba and Afghanistan. We do not want to
156 help him do this either.

157 • He is still resisting the introduction into the Soviet economy of private property and profit-making. We
158 do not want to reinforce such reticence, if for no other reason than that it will cripple reform.

159 We want to help the Soviet people and Gorbachev as he moves his society toward pluralism, democracy
160 and economic progress as we once helped countries of Western Europe...

CLAIMS	REASONING	EVIDENCE (cite line #)

Thought Provoking Questions for this source.

1. According to the author, what changes have occurred in Europe by 1989?
2. What is the most important change that has taken place?
3. What changes has Gorbachev made? Who else has made changes?
4. What claims does the author make in terms of who was most instrumental in ending the Cold War? What evidence does she use to support her argument?
5. According to this source, did Ronald Reagan end the Cold War?

DOCUMENT: 4

SECONDARY DOCUMENT

Reagan and Gorbachev: Shutting the Cold War Down

Russia, Global Governance, Europe, Governance. **Strobe Talbott**, President, The Brookings Institution. The New York Times. August 01, 2004 — *Review of Jack F. Matlock Jr.'s book, Reagan and Gorbachev: How the Cold War Ended.*

161 Ronald Reagan was widely eulogized for having won the cold war, liberated Eastern Europe and pulled
162 the plug on the Soviet Union... Actually, Jack F. Matlock Jr. writes in *Reagan and Gorbachev*, it was "not
163 so simple." He should know. A veteran foreign-service officer and respected expert on the Soviet Union,
164 he reached the pinnacle of his career under Reagan, serving first as the White House's senior
165 coordinator of policy toward the Soviet Union, then as ambassador to Moscow. In both the title of his
166 memoir and the story it tells, he gives co-star billing to Mikhail Gorbachev.

167
168 Reagan himself went even farther. Asked at a press conference in Moscow in 1988, his last year in office,
169 about the role he played in the great drama of the late 20th century, he described himself essentially as
170 a supporting actor. "**Mr. Gorbachev,**" he said, "**deserves most of the credit, as the leader of this**
171 **country.**"

172 This quotation was much cited at the time as an example of Reagan's graciousness, tact and self-
173 deprecation. But Matlock's book bears out his former boss's judgment. The 40th president of the United
174 States emerges here not as a geopolitical visionary who jettisoned the supposedly accommodationist
175 policies of containment and detente, but as an arch-pragmatist and operational optimist who adjusted
176 his own attitudes and conduct in order to encourage a new kind of Kremlin leader.

177 During his first term, Reagan denounced the pre-Gorbachev Soviet Union as an "evil empire." The name-
178 calling riled many Soviets (and more than a few Sovietologists) but did little diplomatic harm, since
179 relations between Washington and Moscow were already in a rut. The Kremlin had become a geriatric
180 ward, with Red Square doubling as the world's largest funeral parlor.

181 Then, in 1985, soon after Reagan's second inauguration, the vigorous, 54-year-old Gorbachev ascended
182 to the leadership. He wanted to demilitarize Soviet foreign policy so that he could divert resources to
183 the Augean task of fixing a broken economy. Initially, he expected no help from Reagan, whom he
184 regarded as "not simply a conservative, but a political 'dinosaur.'"

185
186 For his part, Reagan assumed the new general secretary of the Communist Party would be "totally
187 dedicated to traditional Soviet goals." Nonetheless, he was prepared to test Prime Minister Thatcher's
188 first impression: "I like Mr. Gorbachev; we can do business together."

189
190 Getting back into the business of diplomacy with the principal adversary of the United States appealed
191 to Reagan, just as it had to six previous occupants of the Oval Office... But those Soviet leaders were

192 committed, above all, to preserving the status quo. Sooner or later, each caused a setback or a
193 showdown with the United States through some act of barbarity or recklessness...Breakthroughs in
194 United States-Soviet relations were inherently subject to breakdowns.

195 Gorbachev altered that dynamic. He was determined to take the Soviet Union in a radically different
196 direction—away from the Big Lie (through his policy of glasnost), away from a command economy
197 (through perestroika) and away from zero-sum competition with the West.

198 Reagan came quickly to recognize that Gorbachev's goals, far from being traditional, were downright
199 revolutionary. He also saw that the transformation Gorbachev had in mind for his country would, if it
200 came about, serve American interests....As a result, without much fuss and without many of his
201 supporters noticing, Reagan underwent a transformation of his own. The fire-breathing cold warrior set
202 about trying, through intense, sustained personal engagement, to convince Gorbachev that the United
203 States would not make him sorry for the course he had chosen.

204 The Reagan game plan was to look for areas of common interest, be candid about points of
205 contention and support Gorbachev's reforms while (in Matlock's paraphrase) "avoiding any demand for
206 'regime change.'" ... Above all, Reagan wanted to establish a relationship with his Soviet counterpart
207 that would make it easier to manage conflicts lest they escalate to thermonuclear war...

208 Matlock puts the best light he can on Reagan's dream of a Star Wars anti-missile system, but he stops
209 short of perpetuating the claim, now an article of faith among many conservatives, that the prospect of
210 an impregnable shield over the United States and an arms race in space caused the Soviets to throw in
211 the towel. Instead, Matlock focuses on Reagan's attempt to convince Gorbachev that American defense
212 policy posed no threat to legitimate Soviet interests and should therefore not prevent the two leaders
213 from establishing a high degree of mutual trust.

214 ... It was Jimmy Carter who first put human rights prominently on the agenda of American-Soviet
215 relations. George H. W. Bush skillfully served as a kind of air traffic controller in 1991, when the
216 increasingly beleaguered Gorbachev brought the Soviet Union in for a relatively soft landing on the ash
217 heap of history—a major contribution to the end of the cold war that Matlock dismisses in a footnote as
218 "cleanup" diplomacy.

219 While Matlock could have been more charitable to Reagan's predecessors and to his immediate
220 successor, his account of Reagan's achievement as the nation's diplomat in chief is a public service as
221 well as a contribution to the historical record... The truth is a better tribute to Reagan than the myth.

CLAIMS	REASONING	EVIDENCE (cite line #)

Thought Provoking Questions for this source

1. What sort of source is this? Who is Strobe Talbot and who is Matlock in relationship to this piece?
2. On line 170, 171 why is Reagan so modest? What is your opinion?
3. What evidence does the text provide that Reagan, over the course of his leadership, changed his strategies?
4. What misconceptions did Mikhail Gorbachev have about Ronald Reagan and visa versa? How were they surprised?
5. According to the author, how was Gorbachev revolutionary?
6. What importance did Reagan place in personal engagement?
7. What is Talbot's opinion of who ended the Cold War? What is Matlock's view?
8. What did is Talbot's opinion of George H. W. Bush's contribution to the ending of the Cold War?
9. According to this source, did Ronald Reagan end the Cold War?

DOCUMENT: 5

Source: Author Joseph S. Nye, Harvard University Distinguished Service Professor Belfer Center Programs or Projects: *International Security*. Op-Ed, *New Straits Times* April 5, 2006.

This op-ed was reprinted in Beirut, Lebanon's *The Daily Star* on April 25, 2006, as "The Man Who Preferred a Soviet Whimper to a Dying Bang".

222 **The Soviet collapse was due to the decline of communist ideology and economic failure. This would**
223 **have happened even without Gorbachev, writes JOSEPH S. NYE.**

224
225 EARLIER this month, Mikhail Gorbachev celebrated his 75th birthday with a concert and conference at
226 his foundation in Moscow. Unfortunately, he is not popular with the Russian people who blame him for
227 the loss of Soviet power.

228
229 But, as Gorbachev has replied to those who shout abuse at him: "Remember, I am the one who gave you
230 the right to shout."

231
232 When he came to power in 1985, Gorbachev tried to discipline the Soviet people as a way to overcome
233 economic stagnation. When discipline failed to solve the problem, he launched perestroika
234 ("restructuring"). And when bureaucrats continually thwarted his orders, he used glasnost, or open
235 discussion and democratisation. But once glasnost let people say what they thought, many people said:
236 "We want out."

237
238 By December 1991, the Soviet Union ceased to exist. Gorbachev's foreign policy, which he called "**new**
239 **thinking**", also contributed to the Cold War's end. Gorbachev said that security was a game from which
240 all could benefit through co-operation. Rather than try to build as many nuclear weapons as possible, he
241 proclaimed a doctrine of "sufficiency", holding only a minimal number for protection.

242
243 He also believed that Soviet control over an empire in Eastern Europe was costing too much and
244 providing too little benefit and that the invasion of Afghanistan had been a costly disaster.

245
246 By the summer of 1989, East Europeans were given more freedom. Gorbachev refused to sanction the
247 use of force to put down demonstrations. By November, the Berlin Wall had fallen.

248
249 Some of these events stemmed from Gorbachev's miscalculations. After all, he wanted to reform
250 communism, not replace it. But his reforms snowballed into a revolution driven from below rather than
251 controlled from above. In trying to repair communism, he punched a hole in it. Like a hole in a dam,
252 once pent-up pressure began to escape, it widened the opening and tore apart the system.

253
254 By contrast, if the Communist Party's Politburo had chosen one of Gorbachev's hard-line competitors in
255 1985, it is plausible that the declining Soviet Union could have held on for another decade or so.

256
257 **It did not have to collapse so quickly. Gorbachev's humanitarian tinkering contributed greatly to the**
258 **timing.**

259
260 But there were also deeper causes for the Soviet demise...the huge Soviet defense budget began to
261 undermine other aspects of Soviet society. Healthcare deteriorated and the mortality rate increased

262 (the only developed country where that occurred). Eventually, even the military became aware of the
263 tremendous burden caused by imperial overstretch.

264

265 Ultimately, the deepest causes of the Soviet collapse were the decline of communist ideology and
266 economic failure. This would have happened even without Gorbachev...Although in theory communism
267 aimed to establish a system of class justice, Lenin's heirs maintained domestic power through a brutal
268 security apparatus involving lethal purges, gulags, broad censorship and ubiquitous informants. The net
269 effect of these brutal measures was a general loss of faith in the system.

270

271 The Soviet economy's decline, meanwhile, reflected the diminished ability of central planning to
272 respond to global economic change. Stalin had created a command economy that emphasised heavy
273 manufacturing and smokestack industries, making it highly inflexible—all thumbs and no fingers...

274

275 ...Economic globalisation created turmoil throughout the world at the end of the 20th century, but the
276 Western market economies were able to reallocate labour to services, restructure their heavy industries
277 and switch to computers. The Soviet Union could not keep up.

278

279 ...The lessons for today are clear. While military power remains important, it is a mistake for any country
280 to discount the role of economic power and soft power. But it is also a mistake to discount the
281 importance of leaders with humanitarian values. The Soviet Union may have been doomed, but the
282 world has Gorbachev to thank for the fact that the empire he oversaw ended without a bloody
283 conflagration.

CLAIMS	REASONING	EVIDENCE (cite line #)

Thought Provoking Questions based on this source.

1. Why are some Soviets unhappy with Gorbachev?
2. According to this source, what did Gorbachev do to try to fix Soviet stagnation?
3. What positive steps did Gorbachev take and what miscalculations did he make? With what effect did his steps and miscalculations have on the Soviet system?
4. What were some of the causes of Soviet economic decline? What was the ultimate factor in the collapse?
5. If it weren't Gorbachev in charge, would things have played out the same?
6. What played the biggest role in the Soviet Union's decline, the economic decline or ideology?
7. Did Ronald Reagan end the Cold War according to this source?

Step 2: IN CLASS DISCUSSION:

2. Sit within your groups.
3. **PRESENT YOUR SPEECH.** Each student presents his/her 2 minute speech (speak slowly)
 - a. The rest of the group **takes notes** on their claims/evidence chart
 - b. After each speaker, the person sitting on their left summarizes their argument, clarifies.
4. **DEBATE.** After all have presented, students allowed to “Debate” this topic for 10-15 minutes. For this activity, you will use your CRE’s that you found from your reading and any of the other documents. You can also bring up the poll results. You will be graded on actual participation (5), quality of content (5), and preparedness (5).
 - a. Student group facilitators will be expected to make sure that people do the following:

Expectations for discussion – all students	Expectations for facilitator
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Comment on your prepared answers on your worksheet. • Ask each other for clarification or explanation • Build upon each other’s comments • Go ahead and disagree with each other • Invite others into the conversation (ones that are not talking) • Keeping positive energy within the group (no negative Nancys) • Relate the larger issues to things we have previously studied or to things going on in the world right now. • Pose your own questions within the discussion as they come up. • Don’t rush through your questions – make sure that every person talks. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Make sure that you read your material as well as scan the other student’s. • Review the questions and be able to discuss them. You will receive your grade through participating and facilitating as I observe you in class. • Add any questions that you have. • You should make sure that your discussion covers all the readings. • Your mission is not to teach the packet, but let it be discussed. • You should elicit participation from reluctant/quiet group members. You may even just come out and ask someone what he or she thinks about something. Remember, everyone needs active participation to earn his or her maximum score. • You should gently moderate or challenge people in this discussion (play “devil’s advocate”). • Your mission is to make sure that one (or two) person doesn’t dominate the discussion. • You decide when to move from one topic to the next.

FACILITATORS:

Other discussion questions for the facilitators:

If any of the factors were removed from the formula, would the Cold War still have ended?

- Take Reagan out...would it still have ended? Why?
 - What about Gorbachev...?
 - What if the Soviet economy was strong?
 - Was the end of the Cold War inevitable?
 - Why did Gorbachev win the Nobel Peace Prize and not Reagan?
 - FACILITATORS – come up with 3 level 2 or 3 questions on your own.
5. **DISCUSSION AND CONSENSUS.** Step out of roles & discuss the questions that I provided for your assigned source and that you filled out already. Answer freely by synthesizing all that you have learned. Come to a group consensus (can you do it?). We will share your ultimate decision and reasoning and evidence with the rest of the class.

Student Handout
For Day of Discussion

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE CHART

NOTES:

Use this chart to take NOTES on the two minute speeches. You will need to summarize their argument, so listen carefully and take notes.

John Lewis Gaddis – Document 1

Media – The Economist – Document 2

Jeane Kirkpatrick – Document 3

Strobe Talbott’s book review of Jack F. Matlock – Document 4

Joseph S. Nye – Document 5

Discussion/debate

NOTES – take notes on the main arguments

Ronald Reagan	Gorbachev	Other

Consensus discussion: what does the group agree upon?

Consensus discussion: what does the group disagree upon?

What do you think? Did Ronald Reagan end the Cold War?

Step 3: Extension Activity – Choice (Due Tuesday)

1. **EXTENSION ACTIVITY.** You have a choice of completing one of the following activities as a culminating activity. This will be due the Monday after you hold the discussion.
 - a. **ESSAY.** Write a **one-page** essay that answers the discussion question, “Did Ronald Reagan End the Cold War.” Your essay will need to provide an introduction that contains the historiography of the topic, a solid proper thesis that takes a stand and provides guiding categories that you will prove in the essay. Then you must provide at least 3 CRE’s that back up your argument (CRE’s must be VERY specific and use vocabulary). Don’t forget to use your historiography!
 - b. **MONUMENT.** You will need to design a monument of the person that ended the Cold War. Imagine that it will be displayed in the front of the United Nations.
 - i. You must draw a picture of the statue/monument that honors the person/or thing that was responsible for ending the Cold War.
 - ii. Your thesis will make up the title on your monument plaque. Your plaque must also include names, date, nations, and causes (your causes must be in the form of CRE’s) . You must create a symbol that represents each of your three arguments as to why you believe this person or thing ended the cold war.
 - iii. You must find a way to present the historiography of the argument (you can fit this in your plaque at the very beginning, “Although there are many arguments about the Cold War such as.... AndThe most everlasting conclusion is that _____ ended the Cold War.”
 - iv. This should be neat and tidy, time obviously spent.

Student Handout Post-discussion

STEP 4: POLL ON EDMODO

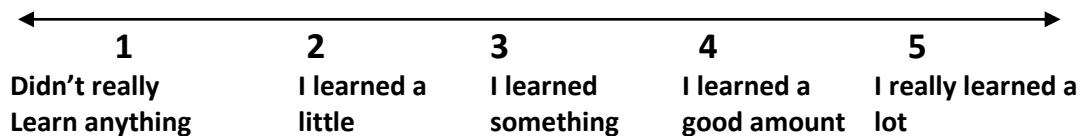
Go back into Edmodo and re-take the poll using your own perspective.

STEP 5: SELF-REFLECTION

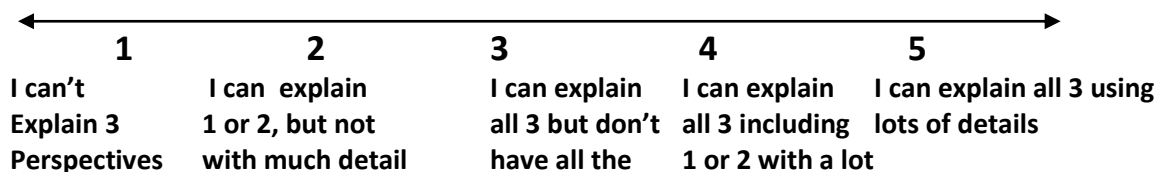
1. What is the “big idea” in your document (main idea)?
2. What is the most interesting claim that your document author makes?
3. What confuses you about your reading?
4. What is the most interesting claim that one of the other documents made?
5. What questions do you still have?

On a scale of 1 (with 1 being the least and 5 being the most) to 5 evaluate how much you learned about the ending of the Cold War. Circle the most fitting response.

6.



7. On a scale of 1 to 5, evaluate how confident you feel about being able to explain at least 3 different perspectives in response to the ultimate question “Did Reagan end the Cold War?” Circle the most accurate response.



Task	Points possible
Poll – pre-discussion poll (logged onto Edmodo)	5
CRE (CLAIM, REASONING AND EVIDENCE) chart. Student should complete at least 4 CRE's on the chart. Filled in and turned in at the conclusion of the speech.	10
2 minute Speech - Prepare and present your two-minute speech. Information is obviously based on the reading, provides solid arguments. Written on an index card and turned in.	10
<p>Debate and Discussion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Actual participation (5) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ speaking, listening, taking notes, eye contact, asking questions, summarizing, invite discussion from others, stay on task. • Quality of content (5) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Using evidence from the document (using lines and quotes), comparing and contrasting documents point of view. Making valid points & connections. ○ For the debate you argue with facts and evidence rather than emotion, attacks or unsubstantiated claims. ○ Students discuss with complexity (not just surface information for the sake of finishing sooner) • Preparedness (5) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Student is using their prepared discussion questions and CRE's for their discussion, sounds prepared by using material from assigned readings <p>To give points for participation. + = 5 points ✓ = 2.5 points - = 1 point</p>	15
<p>Writing Activity – Practice with Historiography Stems</p> <p>Introduction (5 points)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Applies historiography by explaining the historiography of the question and using historiography stems • provide the points of view of at least 3 perspectives <p>Thesis (5 points)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Takes a stand (presents the argument) • Addresses the question • Provides guiding categories of discussion (aim for 3) 	Group Grade 10

<p>Group or individual task</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individual – ESSAY. Write a <u>one-page</u> essay that answers the discussion question, “Did Ronald Reagan End the Cold War.” Your essay will need to provide an introduction that contains the historiography of the topic, a solid proper thesis that takes a stand and provides guiding categories that you will prove in the essay. Then you must provide at least 3 CRE’s that back up your argument (CRE’s must be VERY specific and use vocabulary. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Individual – Create a monument to the person or thing responsible for ending the Cold War. You will need to design a monument of the person that ended the Cold War. Imagine that it will be displayed in the front of the United Nations. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. You must draw a picture of the statue/monument that honors the person/or thing that was responsible for ending the Cold War. ii. Your thesis (your basic answer to the question/argument) will make up the title on your monument plaque. Your plaque must also include names, date, nations, and causes. You must create a symbol that represents each of your three arguments as to why you believe this person or thing ended the cold war. iii. You must find a way to present the historiography of the argument (you can fit this in your plaque at the very beginning, “Although there are many arguments about the Cold War such as.... AndThe most everlasting conclusion is that _____ ended the Cold War.” You should include three alternative historical perspectives (from what you learned in the discussion) iv. This should be neat and tidy, time obviously spent. It should take up the entire piece of paper and should be in color. 	<p>15</p>
<p>End Poll – also logged on Edmodo (same questions as the first time)</p>	<p>5</p>
<p>Self-Reflection</p>	<p>5</p>
<p>Total Points</p>	<p>75</p>

PRACTICE WITH HISTORIOGRAPHY STEMS

Writing Activity – you will write this with your group. You will turn in one written page for the group (with all of the group’s names on it).

Historiography**Historians:**

1. **John Lewis Gaddis – Document 1**
2. **Media – The Economist – Document 2**
3. **Jeane Kirkpatrick – Document 3**
4. **Strobe Talbott’s book review of Jack F. Matlock – Document 4**
5. **Joseph S. Nye – Document 5**



You must write what would be an introduction for an essay question that asks, “Did Ronald Reagan End the Cold War?” Your introduction must contain the following.

- **INTRODUCTION:** Provide the historical context of the ultimate question: Did Reagan End the Cold War?
 - You’ll need to explain the historiography of the question by explaining what previous historians have argued in regard to the question. You might use the following stem examples (you’ll need to use at least 3 historians’ points of view).
 - “John Lewis Gaddis (or any of the historians) addressed the question of who ended the Cold War, by arguing that _____ because _____. He used the example of _____. However, he didn’t take _____ into account which leaves some limitations to his argument.”
 - “Jeane Kirkpatrick provided a different argument because she wrote her piece in 198__ which gave her a different point of view tha _____. She argues that _____.”
 - “A historian that refutes _____’s argument is _____. He/she argues that _____.”
 - “_____’s is the most practical argument because of _____, and because of the example ..._____”
 - “Two historians support this argument are _____ and _____ because...for example...”
 - “Two historians cast doubt on this argument are _____ and _____ because...”
 - **MOST important – YOU must explain your own argument. YOU must weigh their arguments and decide which is the most valid, logical, has the most evidence. You must be clear and let the reader know YOUR argument. You can do this in your thesis.**
- **THESIS:** Provide a thesis that does the following: addresses the question, takes a stand, provides guiding categories of discussion.

PRIMARY DOCUMENTS - The following documents pertain to Ronald Reagan's Cold War foreign policy. These items will be introduced in the week leading up to the discussion (some might be presented via video instead of the text listed below). Not all readings need to be introduced (at teacher's discretion) . Documents may be used by students to bolster their discussion.

284 **DOCUMENT: A**

285 **PRIMARY DOCUMENTS**

286 **Source: Source; Ronald Reagan Foundation. Remarks at the Annual Convention of the National Association of Evangelicals in Orlando, Florida. March 8, 1983**

287 [http://www.reaganfoundation.org/bw_detail.aspx?p=LMB4YGHF2&h1=0&h2=0&sw=&lm=berlinwall](http://www.reaganfoundation.org/bw_detail.aspx?p=LMB4YGHF2&h1=0&h2=0&sw=&lm=berlinwall&args_a=cms&args_b=74&argsb=N&tx=1770)

289 [&args_a=cms&args_b=74&argsb=N&tx=1770](http://www.reaganfoundation.org/bw_detail.aspx?p=LMB4YGHF2&h1=0&h2=0&sw=&lm=berlinwall&args_a=cms&args_b=74&argsb=N&tx=1770)

290 ...So, I urge you to speak out against those who would place the United States in a position of military
291 and moral inferiority... So, in your discussions of the nuclear freeze proposals, I urge you to beware the
292 temptation of pride -- the temptation of blithely declaring yourselves above it all and label both sides
293 equally at fault, to ignore the facts of history and the aggressive impulses of an **evil empire**, to simply
294 call the arms race a giant misunderstanding and thereby remove yourself from the struggle between
295 right and wrong and good and evil. I ask you to resist the attempts of those who would have you
296 withhold your support for our efforts, this administration's efforts, to keep America strong and free,
297 while we negotiate real and verifiable reductions in the world's nuclear arsenals and one day, with God's
298 help, their total elimination....

Thought Provoking Questions

- How does Reagan view the Soviet Union?
- Why might he use this language with this particular audience?
- How does the tone of this speech suggest the approach that he will take with the Soviets?

299 **DOCUMENT: B**

300 **Ronald Reagan Address to the Nation on the Meetings With Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev in**
301 **Iceland, October 1986**

302 Full text of this speech:

303 [http://www.reaganfoundation.org/bw_detail.aspx?p=LMB4YGHF2&h1=0&h2=0&sw=&lm=berlinwall&args_a=cms&args_b=74](http://www.reaganfoundation.org/bw_detail.aspx?p=LMB4YGHF2&h1=0&h2=0&sw=&lm=berlinwall&args_a=cms&args_b=74&argsb=N&tx=1771)
304 [&argsb=N&tx=1771](http://www.reaganfoundation.org/bw_detail.aspx?p=LMB4YGHF2&h1=0&h2=0&sw=&lm=berlinwall&args_a=cms&args_b=74&argsb=N&tx=1771)

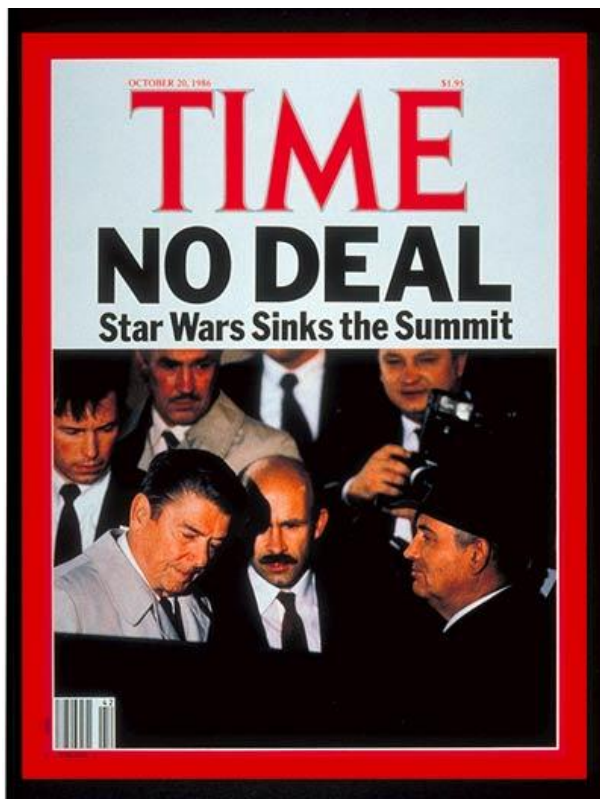
305 **I think the television** cameras captured very accurately the look of disappointment on my face when I
306 finally left the meeting in Reykjavik, Iceland, with General Secretary Gorbachev.

307 Mikhail and I had gotten into a discussion of the total elimination of nuclear weapons. Yes, it was
308 breathtaking. The US delegation was supposed to be on our way home, but naturally we stayed through
309 Sunday because we seemed to be making real progress.

310 Finally after making all this progress, Mikhail said it all hinged on us stopping our Strategic Defense
311 Initiative program, what others called our Star Wars plan to protect ourselves from incoming nuclear
312 missiles. Gorbachev hadn't mentioned this condition before.

313 Well, I gave him several arguments. I didn't want him to think we were developing this technology only
314 to be better prepared for a fight, so I offered to give it away. He said, "I don't believe you." I said, "Well,
315 maybe you're judging by your own people."

316 He repeated that none of the progress we discussed was possible unless we dropped SDI. I eventually
317 blew my top and said, "There's no way." And we left.



Thought Provoking Questions:

- According to Reagan, what caused the Iceland summit to fail?
- According to the magazine cover, what caused the Iceland summit to fail?

318 **DOCUMENT: C**

319 **President Reagan's "Star Wars" speech.**

320 In this speech, President Ronald Reagan proposed the Strategic Defense Initiative, sometimes called "Star Wars". The goal was
321 to use space and ground-based weapons systems as tools of strategic defense to defend the US from nuclear missile attack and
322 end the strategy of mutual deterrence.

323 ... The defense policy of the United States is based on a simple premise: The United States does not start
324 fights. We will never be an aggressor. We maintain our strength in order to deter and defend against
325 aggression -- to preserve freedom and peace.

326 Since the dawn of the atomic age, we've sought to reduce the risk of war by maintaining a strong
327 deterrent and by seeking genuine arms control. "Deterrence" means simply this: making sure any
328 adversary who thinks about attacking the United States, or our allies, or our vital interests, concludes
329 that the risks to him outweigh any potential gains. Once he understands that, he won't attack. We
330 maintain the peace through our strength; weakness only invites aggression.

331 This strategy of deterrence has not changed. It still works. But what it takes to maintain deterrence has
332 changed. It took one kind of military force to deter an attack when we had far more nuclear weapons
333 than any other power; it takes another kind now that the Soviets, for example, have enough accurate
334 and powerful nuclear weapons to destroy virtually all of our missiles on the ground. Now, this is not to
335 say that the Soviet Union is planning to make war on us. Nor do I believe a war is inevitable -- quite the
336 contrary. But what must be recognized is that our security is based on being prepared to meet all
337 threats...

338 ...For 20 years the Soviet Union has been accumulating enormous military might. They didn't stop when
339 their forces exceeded all requirements of a legitimate defensive capability. And they haven't stopped
340 now...-- weapons that can strike directly at the United States.

341 I know that all of you want peace, and so do I. I know too that many of you seriously believe that a
342 nuclear freeze would further the cause of peace. But a freeze now would make us less, not more, secure
343 and would raise, not reduce, the risks of war. It would be largely unverifiable and would seriously
344 undercut our negotiations on arms reduction. It would reward the Soviets for their massive military
345 buildup while preventing us from modernizing our aging and increasingly vulnerable forces. With their
346 present margin of superiority, why should they agree to arms reductions knowing that we were
347 prohibited from catching up?

Thought Provoking Questions

1. What is Reagan's point about nuclear deterrence?
2. Why has deterrence not worked?

348 **DOCUMENT: D**

349 **Address to the Nation and Other Countries on United States-Soviet Relations**

350 **January 16, 1984**

351 ...Our policy toward the Soviet Union -- a policy of credible deterrence, peaceful competition, and
352 constructive cooperation -- will serve our two nations and people everywhere. It is a policy not just for
353 this year, but for the long term. It's a challenge for Americans; it is also a challenge for the Soviets. If
354 they cannot meet us halfway, we will be prepared to protect our interests and those of our friends and
355 allies.

356 But we want more than deterrence. We seek genuine cooperation. We seek progress for peace. .We
357 can't predict how the Soviet leaders will respond to our challenge. But the people of our two countries
358 share with all mankind the dream of eliminating the risk of nuclear war...

359 ...The common interests have to do with the things of everyday life for people everywhere. Just suppose
360 with me for a moment that an **Ivan and an Anya** could find themselves, oh, say, in a waiting room, or
361 sharing a shelter from the rain or a storm with a Jim and Sally, and there was no language barrier to
362 keep them from getting acquainted. Would they then debate the differences between their respective
363 governments? Or would they find themselves comparing notes about their children and what each other
364 did for a living?

365 Before they parted company, they would probably have touched on ambitions and hobbies and what
366 they wanted for their children and problems of making ends meet. And as they went their separate
367 ways, maybe Anya would be saying to Ivan, "Wasn't she nice? She also teaches music." Or Jim would be
368 telling Sally what Ivan did or didn't like about his boss. They might even have decided they were all going
369 to get together for dinner some evening soon. Above all, they would have proven that people don't
370 make wars. People want to raise their children in a world without fear and without war. They want to
371 have some of the good things over and above bare subsistence that make life worth living. They want to
372 work at some craft, trade, or profession that gives them satisfaction and a sense of worth. Their
373 common interests cross all borders.

374 If the Soviet Government wants peace, then there will be peace... Let us begin now.

375 *Note: The President spoke at 10 a.m. in the East Room at the White House.*
376 <http://www.reagan.utexas.edu/archives/speeches/1984/11684a.htm>

Thought Provoking Questions

1. What is Reagan's point about nuclear deterrence?
2. Why has deterrence not worked?

377 **DOCUMENT: E**

378 Unfortunately, I find little else in the record of this administration that posterity is likely to applaud.
379 What started out as a strong-willed, unillusioned policy toward the Soviet Union became in President
380 Reagan's second term a rush toward "give-peace-a-chance" accommodationism.

381 In a related area, this administration has been given too much credit and far too much blame for the
382 defense buildup. Allowing Mr. Reagan full marks for the large increases in his first two defense budgets,
383 we need to bear in mind that the buildup actually began under President Carter and his excellent
384 Secretary of Defense Harold Brown in the final year of the Carter administration and in the budget he
385 left behind for his successor. The Reagan budgets accelerated the Carter increases but by no means
386 charted a new direction.

387 The one program of transcendent importance that might stand as a monument to the Reagan
388 presidency is the Strategic Defense Initiative-if it survives Congress. If it does not, however, some
389 portion of blame will have to be assessed against Mr. Reagan himself because of his insistence on
390 portraying the program as an impenetrable space shield using madly exotic weaponry to protect our
391 cities rather than as a quickly deployable defense of our retaliatory forces. This ill-judged emphasis gave
392 rise to the ugly and dishonest anti-Star Wars campaign, which may well prove to be the undoing of SDI.

393 KARL O'LESSKER, *a member of the Indiana Utility Regulatory Commission, has written many articles on*
394 *political history for The American Spectator*
395 <http://www.heritage.org/about/press/how-great-was-ronald-reagan-40th-president-place-in-history>

Thought Provoking Questions:

1. How does this author describe Reagan's shift in strategy?
2. What is this author's opinion of the Strategic Defense Initiative?
3. What is the author blaming Reagan for?

396 **DOCUMENT: F**

397 ...And now the Soviets themselves may, in a limited way, be coming to understand the importance of
398 freedom. We hear much from Moscow about a new policy of reform and openness. Some political
399 prisoners have been released. Certain foreign news broadcasts are no longer being jammed. Some
400 economic enterprises have been permitted to operate with greater freedom from state control. Are
401 these the beginnings of profound changes in the Soviet state? Or are they token gestures, intended to
402 raise false hopes in the West, or to strengthen the Soviet system without changing it? We welcome
403 change and openness; for we believe that freedom and security go together, that the advance of human
404 liberty can only strengthen the cause of world peace. There is one sign the Soviets can make that would
405 be unmistakable, that would advance dramatically the cause of freedom and peace. **General Secretary**
406 **Gorbachev, if you seek peace, if you seek prosperity for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, if you**
407 **seek liberalization: Come here to this gate! Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate! Mr. Gorbachev, tear down**
408 **this wall!**

409 **Source:** Tear Down this Wall in West Berlin. June 12, 1987. Reagan Library and Foundation
410 [http://www.reaganfoundation.org/bw_detail.aspx?p=LMB4YGHF2&h1=0&h2=0&sw=&lm=berlinwall&args_a=cms&args_b=](http://www.reaganfoundation.org/bw_detail.aspx?p=LMB4YGHF2&h1=0&h2=0&sw=&lm=berlinwall&args_a=cms&args_b=74&argsb=N&tx=1764)
411 [74&argsb=N&tx=1764](http://www.reaganfoundation.org/bw_detail.aspx?p=LMB4YGHF2&h1=0&h2=0&sw=&lm=berlinwall&args_a=cms&args_b=74&argsb=N&tx=1764)

Thought Provoking Questions:

1. Where does this speech take place?
2. What has the Soviet Union done so far to give people freedom?
3. What more is Reagan asking for?
4. Why is this considered such a powerful speech?

412 DOCUMENT: G

413 Mikhail Gorbachev, Nobel Lecture (5th June, 1991)

414 ...I see the decision to award me the Nobel Peace Prize also as an act of solidarity with the monumental
415 undertaking which has already placed enormous demands on the Soviet people in terms of efforts,
416 costs, hardships, willpower, and character...

417 ...Back in March-April 1985 we found ourselves facing a crucial, and I confess, agonizing choice. When I
418 agreed to assume the office of the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union
419 Central Committee, in effect the highest State office at that time, I realized that we could no longer live
420 as before and that I would not want to remain in that office unless I got support in undertaking major
421 reforms. It was clear to me that we had a long way to go. But of course, I could not imagine how
422 immense were our problems and difficulties. I believe no one at that time could foresee or predict them.

423 Those who were then governing the country knew what was really happening to it and what we later
424 called ..."stagnation". They saw that our society was marking time, that it was running the risk of falling
425 hopelessly behind the technologically advanced part of the world. Total domination of centrally-
426 managed state property, the pervasive authoritarian-bureaucratic system, ideology's grip on politics,
427 monopoly in social thought and sciences, militarized industries that siphoned off our best, including the
428 best intellectual resources, the unbearable burden of military expenditures that suffocated civilian
429 industries and undermined the social achievements of the period since the Revolution which were real
430 and of which we used to be proud - such was the actual situation in the country.

431 As a result, one of the richest countries in the world, endowed with immense overall potential, was
432 already sliding downwards. Our society was declining, both economically and intellectually.

433 And yet, to a casual observer the country seemed to present a picture of relative well-being, stability
434 and order. The misinformed society under the spell of propaganda was hardly aware of what was going
435 on and what the immediate future had in store for it. The slightest manifestations of protest were
436 suppressed. Most people considered them heretical, slanderous and counterrevolutionary

437 Such was the situation in the spring of 1985, and there was a great temptation to leave things as they
438 were, to make only cosmetic changes. This, however, meant continuing to deceive ourselves and the
439 people.

440 This was the domestic aspect of the dilemma then before us. As for the foreign policy aspect, there was
441 the East-West confrontation, a rigid division into friends and foes, the two hostile camps with a
442 corresponding set of Cold War attributes. Both the East and the West were constrained by the logic of
443 military confrontation, wearing themselves down more and more by the arms race.

444 The mere thought of dismantling the existing structures did not come easily. However, the realization
445 that we faced inevitable disaster, both domestically and internationally, gave us the strength to make a
446 historic choice, which I have never since regretted.

447 Perestroika, which once again is returning our people to commonsense, has enabled us to open up to
448 the world, and has restored a normal relationship between the country's internal development and its
449 foreign policy. But all this takes a lot of hard work. To a people which believed that its government's
450 policies had always been true to the cause of peace, we proposed what was in many ways a different
451 policy, which would genuinely serve the cause of peace, while differing from the prevailing view of what
452 it meant and particularly from the established stereotypes as to how one should protect it. We
453 proposed new thinking in foreign policy.

454 Thus, we embarked on a path of major changes which may turn out to be the most significant in the
455 twentieth century, for our country and for its peoples...We want to be an integral part of modern
456 civilization, to live in harmony with mankind's universal values, abide by the norms of international law,
457 follow the "rules of the game" in our economic relations with the outside world. We want to share with
458 all other peoples the burden of responsibility for the future of our common house...

459 <http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/COLDgorbachev.htm>

Thought Provoking Questions:

1. Why do you think Gorbachev received the Nobel Peace Prize?
2. Why does Gorbachev believe that he is the recipient of the prize? What does he say that he did or that he helped do?
3. Why didn't Reagan get the prize? Hmmmmm, speculate.

DID RONALD REAGAN END THE COLD WAR?

When Ronald Reagan took office in 1981, Cold War's détente was waning due to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and President Carter's boycott of the Moscow Olympics. Both the United States' economy as well as the Soviet economy was ailing from 'stagnation' and both superpowers were looking for ways to pull themselves out of their economic slump. The United States' prestige had been weakened internationally and economically by the Iranian Hostage Crisis and the 1973 oil crisis, and the American people looked to Reagan to fix things. The Soviet Union had occupied Afghanistan for two years, was ruled by Brezhnev and his aging 'gerontocracy', and was financially overextended in trying to control Eastern Europe (Nye 2006). Mikhail Gorbachev took over the USSR in 1985 following a power struggle after Brezhnev's 1982 death, and was the last leader of the Soviet Union. Under his rule, he introduced reforms, and slowly the Communist Party lost power and began to crumble. Crediting a single person or a single cause for ending the Cold War is nearly an impossible task, for there are many contributing factors. The end of the Cold War might be considered the "perfect storm" as it drew together many events, people, conditions and factors that all contributed to culminate in the fall of the USSR and the end of the Cold War. The introduction to the Cold War formula of Reagan and Gorbachev, their charisma, and their willingness to change the status quo helped begin this crumbling of the Soviet Union. Who can be credited with ending the Cold War? Did Ronald Reagan end the Cold War, or was it Mikhail Gorbachev or Boris Yeltsin? Or, did it end because of internal factors within the USSR, such as a failing Soviet economy, and it would have fallen anyway? The competing arguments on the question of who

ended the Cold War fall into the categories of Ronald Reagan, Mikhail Gorbachev, and a multitude of factors combined.

Although there are several perspectives on who ended the Cold War, many traditional historians argue that Ronald Reagan should be credited the most. Ronald Reagan came into office as a known communist fighter and moved to carry out a campaign to increase the Cold War rhetoric through things like his “Evil Empire Speech” of 1983 where he warned against the “aggressive impulses of an evil empire”(Reagan, Ronald Reagan Foundation 1983). To match his increase in Cold War tension, Reagan increased the United States’ defense budget more than any president in history and lashed out against détente and Mutual Assured Destruction as “a truly mad policy.” Reagan was rightly convinced that the Soviets were in a weak state and that it would be a great benefit to the United States if the United States began a military buildup and brought America to a place where it could come to the bargaining table from a position of strength (The Miller Center).

John Lewis Gaddis, a Yale Professor, in his 1992 book argued that though there were other actors involved, Reagan should get a great deal of credit for ending the Cold War. Gaddis gives Reagan credit for shifting American politics in 1983 (before Gorbachev became leader) toward improving American-Soviet relations (Gaddis 1992). He also credits Reagan’s Strategic Defense Initiative (“Star Wars”) which distressed the Russians into outspending themselves in the arms race causing further economic problems for the Soviets, in addition to the problems it faced with financing the campaign in Afghanistan (Gaddis 1992). However, Gaddis’ interpretation is slightly limited because his book was published directly after the fall of the Soviet Union which doesn’t give him much time for all the facts to come out. Also, with the release of Soviet

archives in 1991, Gaddis wouldn't have had much time to dig through all of the documents to make a complete analysis. The information needed time for the dust to settle.

Many in the international community as well as America credit Mikhail Gorbachev for ending the Cold War. Mikhail Gorbachev came to power in 1985 as a reformer ready to try to fix the Soviet economy, but not quite sure how to do it without also introducing capitalism. He was faced with a nation of workers with no incentive to show up to work and issues such as high rates of alcoholism. Work wasn't getting done, and the goods that were produced were of extremely poor quality or obsolete; therefore, store shelves were bare, there was an absence of consumer goods, and the black market was thriving (Brian Mimmack 2009). Jeane Kirkpatrick, Reagan's former National Security Advisor, Ambassador to the United Nations, and current professor at Georgetown, believed that it wasn't Reagan that ended the Cold War, but it was Gorbachev who was "an eventmaking man" and that he had begun the process of reshaping the Soviet Union with his perestroika and glasnost" (Kirkpatrick 1989). She believed that he began the process of democratization, and that his opening up and tolerance had a liberating effect on Eastern Europe. There was a snowball effect after Gorbachev introduced his reforms with the intention of fixing communism, and he could not stop it. She credited other people such as Russian political dissidents, like Alexander Solzhenitsyn, who for years had been asking for alternatives, and states that Ronald Reagan too played a role in that he dramatically made an attractive case for freedom to the many Eastern bloc citizens looking for a spark of hope (Kirkpatrick 1989). Because her interpretation came before the actual fall of the Soviet Union, her opinion lacks the hindsight of other historians such as Joseph Nye.

Some historians believe that there were a multitude of factors that can be credited with ending the Cold War. Joseph S. Nye provides a different argument in that there were many factors involved in the fall of the Soviet Union, but mostly because of what was going on within the USSR itself; internal problems. Nye argues that it was “Gorbachev’s humanitarian tinkering that contributed greatly to the timing” of the fall of the Soviet Union (Nye 2006). He is referring to the way Gorbachev refused to use force (the way his predecessors did in Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968) to put down the rebellions in Poland with Solidarity, in Czechoslovakia with Vaclav Havel, and in Berlin with the taking down of the wall. Another historian, David Pryce-Jones, argues that Gorbachev had some miscalculations. An example would be in his introduction of perestroika and glasnost which eventually caused the weakening of the Communist Party since every time he introduced his new economic policies the party began to disintegrate and lose control. Once glasnost was introduced, the people started to see public officials for what they were: corrupt. Once they lost respect for the government officials, they could not hold back their criticisms (Pryce-Jones 1995). Yet another perspective argues that it wasn’t Gorbachev that actually ended the Cold War, it was actually Boris Yeltsin, the first elected leader of Russia. He was the one that buried the Soviet Union by giving it force and bringing newcomers into the government replacing the Soviet Old Guard. He and the other newcomers came to “constitutional choices about the future after Communism and after the USSR” (Colton 2008). The newcomers weren’t always alert to the unintended consequences that might occur as a result of their actions and allowed the changes to snowball and lead to revolution. (Colton 2008)

To understand what the world thought of Mikhail Gorbachev while Communism was crumbling, and one must look to other factors such as the fact that Mikhail Gorbachev, was the winner of the 1990 Nobel Peace Prize for "for his leading role in the peace process which today characterizes important parts of the international community" (The Official Site of the Nobel Prize 2012). This goes to show that during the time period he was viewed as somewhat of a hero; however, in 2006 Gorbachev was booed at his 75th birthday celebration in Moscow. He became unpopular and blamed for the loss of Soviet prestige and power. Gorbachev's answer to the crowd was "Remember, I am the one who gave you the right to shout" (Nye 2006). Gorbachev stated in his memoir that his conscience is clear, and that he kept the promises that he made his people through glasnost and perestroika. He said, "I gave them freedom...." (Gorbachev 1995).

Regardless of how one interprets or credits how the Cold War ended, the outcome will still be the same; however, if one took out one of the major actors or factors, one must wonder if the effects would have been the same. To compromise, it is easy to say that we should give credit to all factors; to Reagan for pushing the Soviets and helping push them over the economic edge, Gorbachev for his introduction of reforms and leading the way, Yeltsin for putting the final nail in the coffin, and the Soviet economy that was already crumbling before both Reagan and Gorbachev came on board.

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