

PIERRE DU BOIS ANNUAL CONFERENCE

The Great Transformation? Reassessing the Causes and Consequences of the End of the Cold War

24 – 26 September 2015

The Graduate Institute, Auditorium 2, Maison de la paix, chemin Eugène-Rigot 2, 1202 Geneva

Thursday 24 September 2015

| 9:00 – 9:30 | **WELCOME
AND OPENING REMARKS**

JUSSI HANHIMÄKI, The Graduate Institute, Geneva

| 9:30 – 11:00 | **PANEL I
THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION
AND THE END OF THE COLD WAR**

SIMON MILES, The University of Texas at Austin

- The Reagan administration's initial engagement with the Soviet Union

SUSAN COLBORN, University of Toronto

- Reagan as an 'Atlantist': NATO's role in US policy

TOM BLANTON, The National Security Archive

- Reagan, Gorbachev and the end of the Cold War

Comments: BARBARA ZANCHETTA, The Graduate Institute, Geneva

Chair: GEIR LUNDESTAD, The Norwegian Nobel Institute (1990–2014)

| 11:00 – 11:30 | Coffee break

| 11:30 – 13:00 | **PANEL II
DEVELOPMENTS IN THE SOVIET BLOC**

WOLFGANG MUELLER, Austrian Academy of Sciences

- The role of second rank political actors in ending the Cold War

ROBERT BRIER, German Historical Institute in Warsaw

- US support for East European dissidents, the end of the Cold War and the contested meaning of human rights

SVETLANA SAVARANSKAYA, The National Security Archive

- Soviet withdrawal from Eastern Europe

Comments: JAMES GOLDGEIER, American University

Chair: ANNE DEIGHTON, University of Oxford

| 13:00 – 14:15 | Lunch

| 14:15 – 15:45 | **PANEL III
ECONOMIC INTERACTIONS AND
THE END OF THE COLD WAR**

FREDRIK STOCKER, Uppsala University

- The economic 'Westernization' of Soviet Estonia

STEPHAN KIENINGER, German Federal Archives

- Freer movement in return for cash – Franz Josef Strauß, Alexander Schalck Golodkowski and the Milliardenkredite for the GDR, 1983–1984

FRITZ BARTEL, Cornell University

- The coercion of creditworthiness: Western commercial banks and the democratic transitions of 1989

Comments: MARIO DEL PERO, Science Po, Paris

Chair: LEOPOLDO NUTI, University of Rome III

| 15:45 – 16:15 | Coffee break

| 16:15 – 17:45 | **DISCUSSION:
ACCESSING SOURCES ON THE END
OF THE COLD WAR**

MATTHEW CONNELLY, Columbia University

TOM BLANTON, The National Security Archive

CHRISTIAN OSTERMANN, Wilson Center

SVETLANA SAVARANSKAYA, The National Security Archive

THOMAS BIERSTEKER, The Graduate Institute, Geneva

Chair: JUSSI HANHIMÄKI, The Graduate Institute, Geneva

| 17:45 – 18:00 | Break

| 18:00 – 19:00 | **KEYNOTE SPEECH**

GEIR LUNDESTAD, The Norwegian Nobel Institute (1990–2014)

- A prize winning performance: Mikhail Gorbachev, the Nobel Peace Prize and the End of the Cold War

Chair: JUSSI HANHIMÄKI, The Graduate Institute, Geneva

| 19:30 | Conference Dinner (by invitation)

Friday 25 September 2015

| 9:30 – 11:00 | **PANEL IV**

WESTERN EUROPEAN DEVELOPMENTS

BERNHARD BLUMENAU, University of St. Andrews

- German foreign policy and the 'German problem' before and after unification

ELEONORA GUASCONI, University of Genoa

- The Single European Act, European political cooperation and the end of the Cold War

RUUD VAN DIJK, University of Amsterdam

- Peace activists and the end of the Cold War:
The case of the Dutch Inter-Church peace council

Comments: **ANNE DEIGHTON**, University of Oxford

Chair: **MARIO DEL PERO**, Science Po, Paris

| 11:00 – 11:30 | Coffee break

| 11:30 – 13:00 | **PANEL V**

EASTERN EUROPEAN DEVELOPMENTS

SIELKE KELNER, The Graduate Institute, Geneva

- Dependency on the Cold War: Nicolae Ceausescu's involvement in the Middle East conflict

MAXIMILIAN GRAF, University of Vienna

- The opening of the Austria-Hungarian border revisited:
How European détente contributed to overcoming the Iron Curtain

PAUL MADDREL, Loughborough University

- The KGB, the Stasi and the End of the Cold War

Comments: **SVETLANA SAVARANSKAYA**, The National Security Archive

Chair: **FEDERICO ROMERO**, European University Institute

| 13:00 – 14:30 | Lunch

| 14:30 – 15:30 | **PANEL VI**

AMERICA BETWEEN ANTI-COMMUNISM AND THE RISE OF ISLAMISM

BARBARA ZANCHETTA, The Graduate Institute, Geneva

- Arming the 'freedom fighters': Carter, Reagan and the end of the Cold War

MALCOLM BYRNE, The National Security Archive

- Trading enemies: US-Iran relations during the transition from anti-communism to the war on terror

Comments: **MOHAMMAD-MAHMOUD OULD MOHAMEDOU**, Geneva Centre for Security Policy and The Graduate Institute, Geneva

Chair: **MICHAEL COX**, London School of Economics

| 15:30 – 16:00 | Coffee break

| 16:00 – 16:45 | **KEYNOTE SPEECH**

ODD ARNE WESTAD, Harvard University

- Did the Cold War really matter?

Introduction: **JUSSI HANHIMÄKI**, The Graduate Institute, Geneva

| 16:45 – 18:30 | **IHEID-GCSP HISTORY AND POLICY-MAKING INITIATIVE ROUNDTABLE: DID THE COLD WAR REALLY MATTER? LESSONS FOR TODAY'S POLICY-MAKERS**

MICHAEL COX, London School of Economics

JAMES GOLDGEIER, American University

LEOPOLDO NUTI, University of Rome III

MOHAMMAD-MAHMOUD OULD MOHAMEDOU, Geneva Centre for Security Policy and The Graduate Institute, Geneva

JOHN MARESCA, US Ambassador, retired, Deputy Head of US delegation to the CSCE

Chair: **BARBARA ZANCHETTA**, The Graduate Institute, Geneva

| 19:30 | Boat excursion on Lake Geneva and dinner (by invitation)

Saturday 26 September 2015

| 9:00 – 10:00 | **PANEL VII**

THE RISE OF NON-STATE ACTORS

RIINA TURTIO, The Graduate Institute, Geneva

- Private military companies in Africa and the end of the Cold War

TIMOTHY NUNAN, Harvard University

- A humanitarian invasion: The Soviet Union, the Cold War, and humanitarianism in Afghanistan

Comments: **MATTHEW CONNELLY**, Columbia University

Chair: **BERNHARD BLUMENAU**, University of St. Andrews

| 10:00 – 11:00 | **PANEL VIII**

THE ROLE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

ANDREA CHIAMPAN, The Graduate Institute, Geneva

- Did nuclear weapons matter? Evidence from the TNF/INF controversy, 1973–1983

JAMES GRAHAM WILSON, Office of the Historian,
US Department of State

- The Nuclear and Space Talks and the end of the Cold War, 1985–1991

Comments: **LEOPOLDO NUTI**, University of Rome III

Chair: **CHRISTIAN OSTERMANN**, Wilson Center

| 11:00 – 11:30 | Coffee break

| 11:30 – 13:00 | **CLOSING ROUNDTABLE:**

THE END OF THE COLD WAR AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

ANNE DEIGHTON, University of Oxford

MARIO DEL PERO, Science Po, Paris

FEDERICO ROMERO, European University Institute

ODD ARNE WESTAD, Harvard University

Chair: **JUSSI HANHIMÄKI**, The Graduate Institute, Geneva

| 13:00 | Lunch