

# Masterpieces of History

## THE PEACEFUL END OF THE COLD WAR IN EUROPE, 1989

Edited by  
SVETLANA SAVRANSKAYA, THOMAS BLANTON,  
AND VLADISLAV ZUBOK

Editorial Assistant  
ANNA MEL'YAKOVA

UTO 1156 086

Dipartimento di Scienze Politiche Biblioteca	
Inv.	DSP 4014
Coll.	ST VIII. C. 521



Central European University Press  
Budapest New York

## Table of Contents

Preface and Acknowledgements .....	xv
Foreword by Anatoly S. Chernyaev .....	xxi
Foreword by Jack F. Matlock, Jr. ....	xxv
Acronyms .....	xxvii
Chronology of Events .....	xxix

The Logic of 1989: The Soviet Peaceful Withdrawal from Eastern Europe by Svetlana Savranskaya .....	1
“U.S. Policy and the Revolutions of 1989” by Thomas Blanton .....	49
Dialogue: The Musgrove Conference, May 1–3, 1998 .....	99

### DOCUMENTS

Document No. 1: .....	217
Transcript of Mikhail Gorbachev’s Conference with CC CPSU Secretaries, March 15, 1985	
Document No. 2: .....	220
Diary of Anatoly Chernyaev regarding the “Vladimirov” Article, July 5, 1985	
Document No. 3: .....	222
Memorandum from Anatoly Chernyaev to Aleksandr Yakovlev on Germany and Eastern Europe, March 10, 1986	
Document No. 4: .....	224
Speech by Mikhail Gorbachev to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, May 28, 1986	
Document No. 5: .....	226
Notes of CC CPSU Politburo Session, June 13, 1986	
Document No. 6: .....	230
Memorandum from Mikhail Gorbachev to the CC CPSU Politburo on Topical Questions regarding Collaboration with Socialist Countries, June 26, 1986	

Document No. 8: .....	236
Transcript of CC CPSU Politburo Session, November 13, 1986	
Document No. 9: .....	241
Notes of CC CPSU Politburo Session, January 29, 1987	
Document No. 10: .....	244
Proposal from Georgy Shakhnazarov to the CPSU for a Partial Soviet Troop Withdrawal from the ČSSR, March 1987	
Document No. 11: .....	247
Report on Mikhail Gorbachev's Visit to Czechoslovakia, April 16, 1987	
Document No. 12: .....	249
Notes of CC CPSU Politburo Session, May 8, 1987	
Document No. 13: .....	253
Report on Mikhail Gorbachev's Visit to Romania, June 4, 1987	
Document No. 14: .....	255
Report on Eduard Shevardnadze's Visits to Bulgaria, Hungary, and Yugoslavia, July 9, 1987	
Document No. 15: .....	257
State Department Intelligence and Research Report: "Economic Reform in the USSR and Eastern Europe," September 16, 1987	
Document No. 16: .....	259
Notes of CC CPSU Politburo Session, November 19, 1987	
Document No. 17: .....	261
Memorandum from Robert Gates, "Gorbachev's Gameplan: The Long View," November 24, 1987	
Document No. 18: .....	264
Telegram from Rozanne Ridgeway to All European Diplomatic Posts, "Eastern Europe: Invitation to the Dance," December 1987	
Document No. 19: .....	265
Notes of CC CPSU Politburo Session, March 10, 1988	
Document No. 20: .....	268
Record of Conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and Lazar Moisey, March 14, 1988	
Document No. 21: .....	268
Notes of CC CPSU Politburo Session, March 24–25, 1988	
Document No. 22: .....	271
Record of the Main Content of Conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and Gustáv Husák, April 12, 1988	
Document No. 23: .....	273
Record of the Main Content of a Telephone Conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and János Kádár, May 19, 1988	

Document No. 24: .....	277
Comments from Georgy Shakhnazarov on Viktor Kulikov's Report at the Warsaw Treaty PCC, May 25, 1988	
Document No. 25: .....	280
National Intelligence Estimate 11/12-9-88: "Soviet Policy toward Eastern Europe under Gorbachev," May 1988	
Document No. 26: .....	286
Notes of CC CPSU Politburo Session, June 20, 1988	
Document No. 27: .....	290
Speech by Mikhail Gorbachev at a Dinner with Wojciech Jaruzelski, July 11, 1988	
Document No. 28: .....	292
Record of Conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and Józef Czyrek, September 23, 1988	
Document No. 29: .....	306
Preparatory Notes from Georgy Shakhnazarov for Mikhail Gorbachev for CC CPSU Politburo Meeting, October 6, 1988	
Document No. 30: .....	309
Diary of Anatoly Chernyaev regarding a Meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Helmut Kohl, October 28, 1988	
Document No. 31: .....	311
Notes of a Meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Foreign Policy Advisers, October 31, 1988	
Document No. 32: .....	313
Summary of Conversations between Károly Grósz, János Berecz, Miklós Németh, Mátyás Szűrös and Aleksandr Yakovlev, November 10-11, 1988	
Document No. 33: .....	325
CIA Intelligence Assessment, "Gorbachev's September Housecleaning: An Early Evaluation," December 1988	
Document No. 34: .....	331
Diary of Anatoly Chernyaev on the Situation in the Baltics, December 10, 1988	
Document No. 35: .....	332
Transcript of CC CPSU Politburo Session, December 27-28, 1988	
Document No. 36: .....	341
Record of Conversation between Aleksandr Yakovlev and Henry Kissinger, January 16, 1989 .....	
Document No. 37: .....	345
Record of Conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and Henry Kissinger, January 17, 1989	

Document No. 39: .....	349
Report from Mikhail Gorbachev to the CC CPSU Politburo regarding His Meeting with the Trilateral Commission, January 21, 1989	
Document No. 40: .....	352
Notes of Telephone Conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and George H.W. Bush, January 23, 1989	
Document No. 41: .....	353
Memorandum from the CC CPSU International Department, "On a Strategy for Relations with the European Socialist Countries," February 1989	
Document No. 42: .....	365
Memorandum from the Bogomolov Institute, "Changes in Eastern Europe and their Impact on the USSR," February 1989	
Document No. 43: .....	382
Cable from Jack Matlock to State Department, "The Soviet Union over the Next Four Years," February 3, 1989	
Document No. 44: .....	389
Memorandum from Anatoly Chernyaev to Vadim Zagladin, February 4, 1989	
Document No. 45: .....	390
Cable from Jack Matlock to State Department, "The Soviet Union over the Next Four Years," February 13, 1989	
Document No. 46: .....	397
Report on Vadim Medvedev's Visit to Romania, February 16, 1989	
Document No. 47: .....	399
Cable from Jack Matlock to State Department, "U.S.-Soviet Relations: Policy Opportunities," February 22, 1989	
Document No. 48: .....	408
Record of Conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and Achille Occhetto, February 28, 1989	
Document No. 49: .....	411
Notes of CC CPSU Politburo Session, March 3, 1989	
Document No. 50: .....	412
Record of Conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and Miklós Németh, March 3, 1989	
Document No. 51: .....	414
Notes of Mikhail Gorbachev's Meeting with Soviet Ambassadors to Socialist Countries, March 3, 1989	
Document No. 52: .....	418
Record of Conversations between Mikhail Gorbachev and Károly Grósz, March 23-24, 1989	

Document No. 53: .....	420
Transcript of CC CPSU Politburo Session, "Outcome of the USSR People's Deputies Elections," March 28, 1989	
Document No. 54: .....	432
CIA Intelligence Assessment, "Rising Political Instability under Gorbachev: Understanding the Problem and Prospects for Resolution," April 1989	
Document No. 55: .....	436
Report from Vadim Zagladin on Conversation with Jan Pudlák, April 1, 1989	
Document No. 56: .....	438
Record of Conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and Margaret Thatcher, April 6, 1989	
Document No. 57: .....	442
National Intelligence Estimate 11-4-89, Soviet Policy Toward the West: The Gorbachev Challenge, April 1989	
Document No. 58: .....	446
Notes of CC CPSU Politburo Session, April 20, 1989	
Document No. 59: .....	449
Diary of Anatoly Chernyaev regarding Gorbachev's State of Mind, May 2, 1989	
Document No. 60: .....	450
Notes of CC CPSU Politburo Session, May 11, 1989	
Document No. 61: .....	452
Transcript of CC PUWP Secretariat Meeting, June 5, 1989	
Document No. 62: .....	460
Record of Conversation between Erich Honecker and Eduard Shevardnadze, June 9, 1989	
Document No. 63: .....	463
Record of Conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and Helmut Kohl, June 12, 1989	
Document No. 64: .....	468
Record of Conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and Richard von Weizsäcker, June 12, 1989	
Document No. 65: .....	470
Transcript of Opening Full Session of Hungarian National Round Table Negotiations, June 13, 1989	
Document No. 66: .....	475
Record of Second Conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and Helmut Kohl, June 13, 1989	
Document No. 67: .....	476
Record of Third Conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and Helmut Kohl, June 14, 1989	

Document No. 69: .....	482
Memorandum of Telephone Conversation between George H.W. Bush and Helmut Kohl, June 23, 1989	
Document No. 70: .....	484
Letter from Helmut Kohl to George H.W. Bush, June 28, 1989	
Document No. 71: .....	488
Record of Conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev, François Mitterrand and Their Spouses, July 4, 1989	
Document No. 72: .....	490
Record of Conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and François Mitterrand, July 5, 1989	
Document No. 73: .....	492
Address by Mikhail Gorbachev to the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, July 6, 1989	
Document No. 74: .....	497
Record of Concluding Conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and François Mitterrand, July 6, 1989	
Document No. 75: .....	499
Notes of Meeting of Warsaw Treaty Member-States, July 8, 1989	
Document No. 76: .....	503
Information Note regarding George H.W. Bush's Visit to Poland (July 9–11), July 18, 1989	
Document No. 77: .....	506
Record of Conversation between Aleksandr Yakovlev and Jack Matlock, July 20, 1989	
Document No. 78: .....	511
Report from Rezső Nyers and Károly Grósz on Negotiations with Mikhail Gorbachev, July 24–25, 1989	
Document No. 79: .....	515
Transcript of SED Politburo Sessions, September 5, 1989	
Document No. 80: .....	517
Memorandum of Conversation between Oskar Fischer and Vyacheslav Kochemassov, September 7, 1989	
Document No. 81: .....	518
Letter from Gerd Vehres to Oskar Fischer, September 10, 1989	
Document No. 82: .....	521
Record of Conversation between Evgeny Primakov and Margaret Thatcher, September 18, 1989	

Document No. 83: .....	522
CIA Intelligence Assessment, "Gorbachev's Domestic Gambles and Instability in the USSR," September 1989	
Document No. 84: .....	525
National Security Directive (NSD) 23, "United States Relations with the Soviet Union," September 22, 1989	
Document No. 85: .....	530
Record of Conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and Margaret Thatcher, September 23, 1989	
Document No. 86: .....	533
Protocol No. 166 of CC CPSU Politburo Session, September 28, 1989	
Document No. 87: .....	542
Diary of Anatoly Chernyaev regarding Mikhail Gorbachev's Visit to the GDR, October 5, 1989	
Document No. 88: .....	544
Record of Conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and Members of the CC SED Politburo, October 7, 1989	
Document No. 89: .....	547
Diary of Anatoly Chernyaev regarding German Reunification, October 9, 1989	
Document No. 90: .....	548
Diary of Anatoly Chernyaev regarding Erich Honecker, October 11, 1989	
Document No. 91: .....	550
Notes of CC CPSU Politburo Session, Discussion of Mikhail Gorbachev's Talk with Mieczysław Rakowski, October 12, 1989	
Document No. 92: .....	551
Record of Conversation between Vadim Medvedev and Kurt Hager, October 13, 1989	
Document No. 93: .....	555
Memorandum from Georgy Shakhnazarov to Mikhail Gorbachev regarding Military Détente in Europe, October 14, 1989	
Document No. 94: .....	558
Record of Telephone Conversation between George H.W. Bush and Helmut Kohl, October 23, 1989	
Document No. 95: .....	561
Record of Conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and Mauno Koivisto, October 25, 1989	
Document No. 96: .....	563
Record of Conversation between Aleksandr Yakovlev and Zbigniew Brzezinski, October 31, 1989	



November 1, 1989	
Document No. 98: . . . . .	574
Cable from U.S. Embassy in Sofia to State Department, "The Nov 10 CC Party Plenum: Little Prospect for Major Changes," November 9, 1989	
Document No. 99: . . . . .	577
Notes of CC CPSU Politburo Session, November 9, 1989	
Document No. 100: . . . . .	580
Record of Conversation between Helmut Kohl and Lech Wałęsa, November 9, 1989	
Document No. 101: . . . . .	586
Diary of Anatoly Chernyaev regarding the Fall of the Berlin Wall, November 10, 1989	
Document No. 102: . . . . .	587
Record of Telephone Conversation between George H.W. Bush and Helmut Kohl, November 10, 1989	
Document No. 103: . . . . .	590
Record of Telephone Conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and Helmut Kohl, November 11, 1989	
Document No. 104: . . . . .	593
Record of Telephone Conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and François Mitterrand, November 14, 1989	
Document No. 105: . . . . .	595
Record of Telephone Conversation between George H.W. Bush and Helmut Kohl, November 17, 1989	
Document No. 106: . . . . .	598
Record of Conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and Brian Mulroney, November 21, 1989	
Document No. 107: . . . . .	602
Record of Conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and Tadeusz Mazowiecki, November 24, 1989	
Document No. 108: . . . . .	608
Speech by Ladislav Adamec at CC CPCz Extraordinary Session, November 24, 1989	
Document No. 109: . . . . .	611
Letter from Helmut Kohl to George H.W. Bush, November 28, 1989	
Document No. 110: . . . . .	619
Soviet Transcript of the Malta Summit, December 2-3, 1989	
Document No. 111: . . . . .	647
Memorandum of Conversation of George H.W. Bush, John Sununu, Brent Scowcroft, and Helmut Kohl, December 3, 1989	

Document No. 112: .....	651
Record of Conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and Petar Mladenov, December 5, 1989	
Document No. 113: .....	653
Record of Conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and Hans Dietrich Genscher, December 5, 1989	
Document No. 114: .....	657
Record of Conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and François Mitterrand, December 6, 1989	
Document No. 115: .....	660
Cable from James Baker to U.S. Embassy Sofia, December 19, 1989	
Document No. 116: .....	661
Four Soviet Foreign Ministry Documents regarding the Situation in Romania, December 20–25, 1989	
Document No. 117: .....	668
Memorandum from the CC CPSU International Department, "Towards a New Concept of Relations between the USSR and the States of Central and Eastern Europe," January 5, 1990	
Document No. 118: .....	673
Diary of Anatoly Chernyaev regarding German Reunification, January 28, 1990	
Document No. 119: .....	675
Record of Conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and James Baker, February 9, 1990	
Document No. 120: .....	685
Letter from James Baker to Helmut Kohl, February 10, 1990	
Document No. 121: .....	688
National Intelligence Estimate 12–90: The Future of Eastern Europe (Key Judgments Only), April 1990	
Document No. 122: .....	691
Record of Conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and Wojciech Jaruzelski, April 13, 1990	
Main Actors .....	701
Selected Bibliography .....	707
Index .....	713