

The conference seeks to challenge existing interpretations of the last phase of the Cold War by presenting the result of new research in the field and by introducing new interpretative paradigms.

In particular, the conference is designed to work towards a new narrative of the last decade of the Cold War that accounts for the fact that several critical new aspects and factors emerged during that time that changed the nature of the international system.

The conference will also try to trace the roots of the contemporary international system to the developments of the late 1970s and early 1980s.

Structurally, the conference seeks to overcome the often exaggerated division in analysis of the period between the Carter and Reagan administrations by highlighting elements of continuity between the two presidencies and within the whole period in general.

At the heart of the conference is the effort to gain greater understanding for the fundamental shift from a bipolar confrontation to a truly global one, the impact of the new industrial revolution in the field of technological innovation, and the return of the US to a position of global leadership and the interconnections between all three developments.

The conference is jointly organized by CIMA and CWIHP, with financial contribution by the Universities of Florence and Roma Tre, SPRIPE (*Scuola di Dottorato in Storia Internazionale, politica e del pensiero economico*) and the U.S. Embassy in Italy.

## CIMA

The Machiavelli Center for Cold War Studies (CIMA) is an inter-university center which links the activities of a number of Cold War Historians based at the Universities of Florence, Padua, Pavia, Perugia, Roma Tre, and Urbino. The project rotates around the activities of the Dipartimento di Studi sullo Stato of the University of Florence, perhaps the most important Academic institution for international studies in Italy and certainly the core of a large network of international Academic contacts.

Past events organized by CIMA were "*Diplomazia delle risorse. Le materie prime e il sistema internazionale nel Novecento*" (Urbino, 2001), "*NATO, the Warsaw Pact and the Rise of Détente, 1965-1972*" (Dobbiaco/Toblach, 2002), "*The Road to Helsinki. The Early Steps of the CSCE and the Problem of Human Rights*" (Florence, 2003), "*L'Italia e la guerra del Vietnam - Riflessioni tra storia e politica trent'anni dopo la fine del conflitto*" (Rome, 2006)

## CWIHP

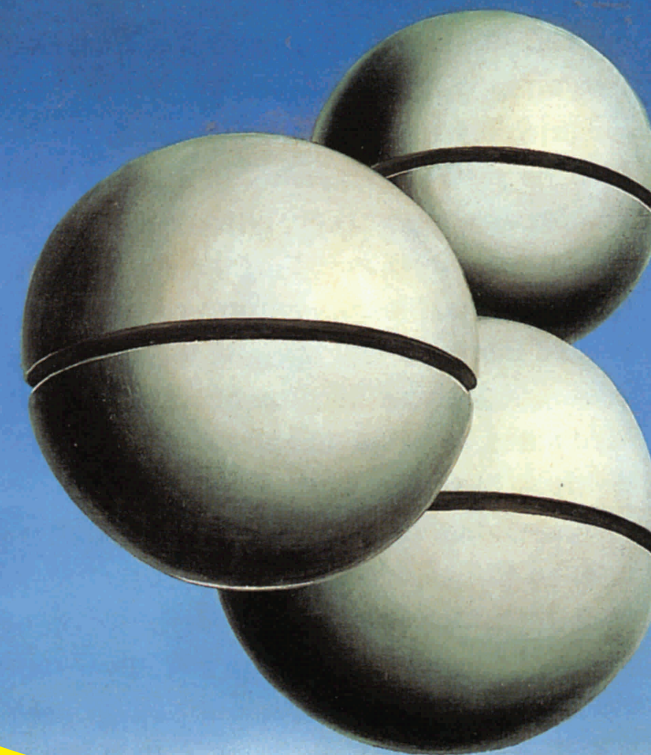
The Cold War International History Project (CWIHP) was established at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, D.C., in 1991 with the generous support of the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation. The Project supports the full and prompt release of historical materials by governments on all sides of the Cold War, and seeks to accelerate the process of integrating new sources, materials and perspectives from the former "Communist bloc" with the historiography of the Cold War which has been written over the past few decades largely by Western scholars reliant on Western archival sources. It also seeks to transcend barriers of language, geography, and regional specialization to create new links among scholars interested in Cold War history.



Machiavelli Center  
for Cold War Studies



Cold War International  
History Project



# From Helsinki to Gorbachev 1975-1985 The Globalization of the Bipolar Confrontation

27-29 April, 2006  
Villa Medicea "La Ferdinanda"  
Artimino, Italy



Università  
degli Studi di Firenze



SPRIPE



Università  
di Roma Tre



Parallel History Project  
on Nato and the Warsaw Pact



U.S. Embassy  
in Italy

## Thursday, 27 April 2006

09:00 Opening Remarks: Ennio Di Nolfo

### 09:15-10:15 Panel 1

Roundtable: When Empathy Failed: Why US-Soviet Détente Collapsed in the Carter-Brezhnev Years

Chairman: Malcolm Byrne

Participants: James G. Blight, Janet M. Lang

Comment: Christian Ostermann

### 10:30-13:00 Panel 2

After Helsinki

Chairman: James Hershberg

Discussant: Vladislav Zubok

- Patrick G. Vaughan, "Zbigniew Brzezinski and the Helsinki Final Act"
- Svetlana Savranskaya, "Unintended Consequences: The Emergence of Human Rights Movements in the USSR after the Signing of the Helsinki Final Act, and the Reaction of the Soviet Authorities"
- Andrzej Paczkowski, "From Amnesty to Amnesty: The Authorities and the Opposition in Poland, 1976-1986"
- Sarah B. Snyder, "Ronald Reagan and the CSCE: Rethinking Traditional Cold War Narratives"

### 15:00-17:00 Panel 3

The Euromissiles Crisis

Chairman: Maurizio Cremasco

Discussant: Frédéric Bozo

- Helga Haftendorn, "An Ambivalent Consensus: Intra-Alliance Arguments on the Euro-Strategic Balance, the NATO Two-Track Decision, and Efforts to Overcome the Deadlock in East-West Relations"
- Marilena Gala, "From Euromissiles to SDI: Transatlantic Relations and the End of the Extended Deterrence"
- Leopold Nuti, "The Euromissiles Story: A Reappraisal"
- Gerhard Wettig, "The Last Soviet Offensive in the Cold War: Emergence and Development of the Campaign against NATO Euromissiles, 1979-1983"
- Victor Dujardin, "From Helsinki to the Missiles Question: A Minor Role for Small Countries, 1973-85"

### 17:15-19:00 Panel 4

Strategic Defense and Political Problems

Chairman: Tom Blanton

Discussant: Maurizio Cremasco

- Dima P. Adamsky, "The Conceptual Military Competition: The Military-Technical Revolution as a Soviet Response to the Western Military Doctrines"
- John Prados, "The Strategic Defense Initiative: Between Strategy, Diplomacy and U.S. Intelligence Estimates"
- Sean N. Kalic, "Reagan's SDI Announcement: A Case Study of the International Dynamics of the late Cold War"
- Fiorella Favino, "Washington's economic diplomacy and the reconstruction of U.S. leadership"

## Friday, 28 April 2006

9:00-11:00 Panel 5

European Integration

Chairman: Max Guderzo

Discussant: Pascaline Winand

- Ilaria Poggiolini, "When Did Hopes of the British Exercising Any Leadership in the Community Run in the Sand? Britain in Europe from Accession to the Single European Act"
- Eleonora Guasconi, "Old and New Forms of European Integration: From the EMS to the Genscher-Colombo Plan"
- Werner D. Lippert, "Economic Diplomacy and East-West Trade during the Era of Détente: Strategy or Obstacle for the West?"
- David Burigana, "A Ghost Ship Sailing towards a European Air Space? From Airbus to Eurofighter Aircraft, European Cooperation across the Transatlantic Reef, 1974-1984"

11:15-13:00 Panel 6

Crises, Realignments and the Second Cold War

Chairman: Sam Wells

Discussant: Vojtech Mastny

- Petre Opris, "The Polish Crisis and the Strange Stance of Romania in the Late 1970s and Early 1980s"
- Douglas Selvage, "The Politics of the Lesser Evil: The West, the Polish Crisis, and the CSCE Review Conference in Madrid, 1981-1983"
- R. Craig Nation, "Programming Armageddon: Warsaw Pact's War Planning, 1969-1985"
- Beatrice Heuser, "The Soviet Military's Response to the Euromissiles Crisis"
- Mark Kramer, "The Soviet Union, the Warsaw Pact, and the Polish Crisis of 1980-1981: Coercion, Deterrence, and Compellence in Intra-Bloc Relations"

14:45-16:30 Panel 7

Eurocommunism

Chairman: Bruna Bagnato

Discussant: Tom Blanton

- Laura Fasanaro, "Eurocommunism in the East-German SED Records"
- Silvio Pons, "The Rise and Fall of Berlinguer's Eurocommunism"
- Bernd Rother, "Between East and West: Social Democracy as Alternative to Communism and Capitalism: Willy Brandt's Strategy as President of the Socialist International"
- Oliver Bange, "The GDR in the Opening Years of the Second Cold War, 1978-1982"
- Duccio Basosi, Giovanni Bernardini, "From the Cold War to Globalization: Eurocommunism, Social-democracy, and Neo-Liberalism, 1974-80"

16:45-18:30 Panel 8a

Globalizing the Cold War (Part One)

Chairman: Paola Olla

Discussant: Christian Ostermann

- Max Guderzo, "Carter's New Look: US Foreign Policy in Latin America, 1977-1980"
- William Michael Schmidli, "The Most Sophisticated Intervention We Have Seen: The Carter Administration and the Nicaraguan Crisis, 1978-1979"
- Stefano Luconi, "Operation Urgent Fury: The Shift from Rhetorical to Military Offensive in Reagan's Global Rollback of Communism"
- Daniela Vignati, "Venezuela in Carter's Foreign Policy: A 'Regional Influential' Country with Some Contrasting Economic Interests"

16:45-18:30 Panel 8a

Globalizing the Cold War (Part Two)

Chairman: Leopoldo Nuti

Discussant: James Hershberg

- Nancy Mitchell, "In the Sands of the Ogaden"
- Sara Lorenzini, "East-South Relations in the 1970s and the Added Value of GDR Involvement in Africa"
- Maria Stella Rognoni, "Angola and Bipolar Relations, 1975-1980"
- Barbara Zanchetta, "Human Rights versus Cold War: The Horn of Africa, Southwest Asia and the Emergence of the Carter Doctrine"
- Massimiliano Cricco, "Libya, the United States and the USSR. From the Rise of Qadhafi to Ronald Reagan's Policy of Pressure"

16:45- 18:30 Panel 8c

Globalizing the Cold War (Part Three)

Chairman: Saki Dockrill

Discussant: Kristina Spohr-Readman

- Enrico Fardella, "Carter's China Policy: Merits and Results"
- Mariele Merlati, "The United States and the Third World in the Carter Years: The Case of India"
- Malcolm Byrne, "The Iran-Iraq War: New Evidence and Analysis"
- Alberto Tonini, "The Precious Friend: Saudi Arabia's Financial Contribution to the Global Cold War"
- Maria Grazia Enardu, "How Helsinki Changed Israel: The Exodus of the Russian Jews and Its Consequences"

## Saturday, 29 April 2006

10:00-11:30 Panel 9

Roundtable

Chair: Ennio Di Nolfo

Participants: Luigi Vittorio Ferraris, Vojtech Mastny, William Burr

11:40

Conclusions

Thomas Schwartz, Sam Wells

## Organization

### Scientific Committee

Ennio di Nolfo, Leopoldo Nuti, Max Guderzo, Bruna Bagnato

### Organizing Committee

Marilena Gala, Maria Eleonora Guasconi, Alberto Tonini

### Conference Staff

Duccio Basosi, Francesca Battaghini, Matteo Gerlini  
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