

The Second Cold War

Toward the end of the Cold War, the last great struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union marked the end of détente, and escalated into the most dangerous phase of the conflict since the Cuban Missile Crisis. Aaron Donaghy examines the complex history of America's largest peacetime military buildup, which was in turn challenged by the largest peacetime peace movement. Focusing on the critical period between 1977 and 1985, Donaghy shows how domestic politics shaped dramatic foreign policy reversals by Presidents Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan. He explains why the Cold War intensified so quickly and how—contrary to all expectations—U.S.—Soviet relations were repaired. Drawing on recently declassified archival material, *The Second Cold War* traces how each administration evolved in response to crises and events at home and abroad. This compelling and controversial account challenges the accepted notion of how the end of the Cold War began.

Aaron Donaghy teaches U.S. foreign relations history and modern international history at University College Dublin. He is the author of *The British Government and the Falkland Islands*, 1974–79 (2014).



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(Continued after the Index)



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Carter, Reagan, and the Politics of Foreign Policy

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To my parents, Paula and Tom, and my brother, Cian



Contents

Acknowledgments		page viii
Li	ist of Abbreviations	xi
	Introduction	I
Ι	The Dwindling of Détente	18
2	"It's All Political Now"	58
3	To the Right	77
4	Confrontation	114
5	The Nuclear Freeze Movement	142
6	Star Wars and the Evil Empire	162
7	The Most Dangerous Year	184
8	To the Center	215
9	Conciliation	252
	Epilogue	283
Archives		295
Notes		298
Index		375



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viii



Acknowledgments

ix

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X

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Abbreviations

ABC American Broadcasting Company

ABM Anti-Ballistic Missile

ACDA Arms Control and Disarmament Agency

AFL-CIO American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial

Organizations

ALCM Air-launched Cruise Missile ASAT Anti-satellite Weapons

AWACS Airborne Warning and Control System

BMD Ballistic Missile Defense
CBS Columbia Broadcasting System

CDE Conference on Disarmament in Europe
CDM Coalition for a Democratic Majority

CDU Christian Democratic Union (Federal Republic of Germany)

CIA Central Intelligence Agency
CNN Cable News Network

CPAC Conservative Political Action Conference

CPD Committee on the Present Danger
CPSU Communist Party of the Soviet Union

CSCE Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe

EEC European Economic Community
ERW Enhanced Radiation Weapon
FBI Federal Bureau of Investigation

FCO Foreign and Commonwealth Office (United Kingdom)

FEMA Federal Emergency Management Agency

FIFA International Federation of Association Football FRG Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)

хi



xii	Abbreviations
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GDR	German Democratic Republic (East Germany)
GNP	Gross National Product
GOP	Grand Old Party (The Republican Party)
GRU	Glavnoye Razvedyvatelnoye Upravlenie (Chief Intelligence Office)
ICBM	Intercontinental Ballistic Missile
INF	Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces
IOC	International Olympic Committee
JCS	Joint Chiefs of Staff
KAL 007	Korean Airlines Flight 007
KGB	Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti (Committee for State Security)
LSG	Legislative Strategy Group
MAD	Mutual Assured Destruction
MBFR	Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions
MFN	Most Favored Nation
MIRV	Multiple Independently Targetable Reentry Vehicle
MI6	Military Intelligence, Section 6 (British Secret Intelligence Service)
MX	LGM-118A Peacekeeper Missile (Missile Experimental)
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NACIPG	Nuclear Arms Control Information Policy Group
NAE	National Association of Evangelicals
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NBC	National Broadcasting Company
NORAD	North American Aerospace Defense Command
NSA	National Security Agency
NSC	National Security Council
NSDD	National Security Decision Directive
NSPG	National Security Planning Group
OMB	Office of Management and Budget
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
PAC	Political Action Committee
PD	Presidential Directive
PDPA	People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan
PFIAB	President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board
PRC	People's Republic of China
RDF	Rapid Deployment Force



UN USSR

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Abbreviations

xiii

RYAN Raketno-Yadernoe Napadenie (Nuclear Missile Attack) **SACPG** Senior Arms Control Policy Group **SALT** Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (also Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty) SANE National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy **SCC** Special Coordinating Committee Strategic Defense Initiative SDI **SIOP** Single Integrated Operational Plan **SLCM** Sea-launched Cruise Missile SPD Social Democratic Party (Federal Republic of Germany) **START** Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (also Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty) **TASS** Telegrafnoye Agentstvo Sovietskovo Soyuza (Telegraphic Agency of the Soviet Union) **TNF** Theater Nuclear Forces United Kingdom UK

Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

United Nations