

جیمز ویلسون
پیروزیِ بداهه‌سراییی

سازش‌پذیری گورباچف، التزام ریگان
و پایان جنگ سرد

ترجمهٔ علی پاپلی یزدی



بنگاه ترجمه و نشر
کتاب پارسه

یادداشت‌ها

مقدمه

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[از این کتاب دو ترجمه به فارسی موجود است: ۱. پیدایش و فروپاشی قدرتهای بزرگ، ترجمه عبدالرضا غفرانی. انتشارات اطلاعات، ۱۳۸۵. ۲. ظهور و سقوط قدرتهای بزرگ، ترجمه محمد قائد، ناصر موققیان، و اکبر تبریزی. انتشارات علمی و فرهنگی، ۱۳۶۹]

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 به گفته کورنیینکو، روس‌ها در اواخر دهه ۱۹۶۰ می‌دانستند که پروژه‌های پرشینگ ۲ و موشک‌های کروزر [ایالات متحد] در آینده‌ای نزدیک به بهره‌برداری خواهند رسید. روس‌ها، همچنين، از به‌روزرسانی تسلیحات هسته‌ای بریتانیا و فرانسه آگاه بودند.
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۱۹ اوت ۱۹۸۲ نارضایتی خود را از نامزدی شولتز اعلام کرد: «جورج هیچ سررشته‌ای
از سیاست خارجی ندارد، مطلقاً هیچ. بدتر از آن، هیچ احساسی نسبت به این [موضوع]
ندارد. در تمام این سال‌هایی که او را می‌شناسم، هیچ‌گاه گفت‌وگویی دربارهٔ سیاست
خارجی نداشته‌ایم. جورج اصلاً در چارچوب سیاست خارجی فکر نمی‌کند.» منقول در
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 بوش، که در آن زمان معاون اول ریگان بود، بعدها به شولتز گفت که پس از این جلسه، یکسری «گزارش به‌غایت بدخواهانه» از سوی مجموعه شورای امنیت ملی به ریگان ارسال شد.
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- نظر قطعی اکثر استراتژیست‌های شوروی بر آن بود که نیروهای هسته‌ای مستقل بریتانیای کبیر و فرانسه فاقد اهمیت است و قدرت مجموع زرادخانه‌ی هسته‌ای استراتژیک شوروی می‌تواند نیروهای هسته‌ای این دو کشور را «خنثی» کند.
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حتی پیش از ماجرای ایران-کنترا، نظامیان عالی‌رتبهٔ امریکایی در مواجهه با ریگان گیج و سردرگم می‌شدند. در نشست گروه برنامه‌ریزی امنیت ملی به تاریخ ۲۷ اکتبر ۱۹۸۶، ژنرال‌های ریگان نگرانی خود را از تصمیم رئیس‌جمهور مبنی بر کنار گذاشتن موشک‌های بالستیک اعلام کردند. دریابد ویلیام کرو، رئیس ستاد مشترک نیروهای مسلح، می‌گوید که ریگان در پاسخ [به نگرانی ژنرال‌ها، به این عبارت بسنده کرد] که تا چه حد به نیروهای مسلح کشور افتخار می‌کند. کرو در خاطرات خود می‌نویسد: «برای من روشن نبود که آیا رئیس‌جمهور [از دست دریابد] عصبانی است یا خیر. برایم روشن نبود که به نکاتی که گفته‌ام، گوش کرده است. حتی برایم روشن نبود که اصلاً رئیس‌جمهور تمایلی به پاسخ گفتن دارد یا خیر.» گوش سپردن به پاسخ‌های ریگان «غریب‌ترین کار عمرم بود»؛ ریگان حقیقتاً «ناخوشایندی و دهشت کرسی‌ای را که روی آن نشسته بود درک می‌کرد». بنگرید به

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به قول هانس آدومایت مورخ: «هر چقدر هم که سخن کوهل را بازخوانی و بالاوپایین کنیم، باز به این نتیجه می‌رسیم که باور قلبی کوهل (یا حداقل باوری که به بیان درآمد) این بود که تغییر سیاسی بنیادینی در مسکو رخ نداده است.» بنگرید به

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Aleksander Galkin and Anatolii Chernyaev, eds., *Mikhail Gorbachev i Germanskii Vopros: Sbornik Dokumentov, 1986–1991* (Moscow: Ves' mir, 2006), 307–11;

مارک کرامر نسخه اصلی، متن کامل پیاده‌شده جلسه را دیده است که بخشی از آن در *Mikhail Gorbachev i Germanskii Vopros* آورده شده است. بنگرید به

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اسامی دریافت‌کنندگان گزارش از این قرار است: رابرت بلک‌ویل، پاول ولفوویتس، رابرت زولیک. یادداشت‌های دستی حاکی از آن است که این گزارش برای برنت اسکوکرافت ارسال شده است.

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James A. Baker III Papers, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey.
۱۱۳. کپی جیمز بیکر از سخنرانی شواردناتزه در سازمان ملل در مورد عراق به تاریخ ۲۵ سپتامبر ۱۹۹۰؛
James A. Baker Papers, box 109, Public Policy Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library, Princeton, New Jersey.
114. "The President's News Conference on the Persian Gulf Crisis," August

- 30, 1990, available at http://bushlibrary.tamu.edu/research/public_papers.php?id=2189&year=1990&month=8, accessed February 19, 2013.
115. Gorbachev, *Otvechaia na vyzov vremeni*.
116. Ibid.
117. Ibid.
118. Ibid.
119. Baker with DeFrank, *Politics of Diplomacy*, 292.
120. Grachev, *Gorbachev's Gamble*, 192.
۱۲۱. گزارش گفت‌وگوی میخائیل گورباچف و طارق عزیز، در *Otvechaia na Vyzov Vremeni*, 773.
۱۲۲. طبق گفته بسمرتنیخ، پریماکوف با این ادعا که در صدام نفوذ دارد، خود را وارد این معادله کرد. بنگرید به Wohlforth, ed., *Cold War Endgame*, 92.
123. Quoted in *ibid.*, 85.
124. George H. W. Bush, "Address Before a Joint Session of the Congress on the Persian Gulf Crisis and the Federal Budget Deficit," September 11, 1990, available at http://bushlibrary.tamu.edu/research/public_papers.php?id=2217&year=1990&month=9, accessed February 19, 2013.
۱۲۵. این جلسه در مجلدات به چاپ رسیده گنجانده نشده است. برای اصل آن بنگرید به Fond 1, Opis 1, Gorbachev Foundation Archive.
126. Robert A. Mosbacher, *Going to Windward: A Mosbacher Family Memoir* (College Station: Texas A&M Press, 2010), 238.
۱۲۷. این گفت‌وگوها از اصل سند آورده شده است. در Fond 1, Opis 1, Archive of the Gorbachev Foundation.
- نسخه کوتاه‌شده‌ای از این نشست در *Otvechaia na Vyzov Vremeni* آمده است.
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129. Bush, *All the Best*, 480–81.
130. George Bush, "Address before the 45th Session of the United Nations General

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- Assembly in New York, New York,” October 1, 1990, available at http://bushlibrary.tamu.edu/research/public_papers.php?id=2280&year=1990&month=10, accessed February 19, 2013.
131. Remarks to the Federal Assembly in Prague, Czechoslovakia, November 17, 1990, available at http://bushlibrary.tamu.edu/research/public_papers.php?id=2461&year=1990&month=11, accessed February 19, 2013.
132. Hitchcock, *Struggle for Europe*, 374–75.
133. Robert Hutchings, “The United States, German Unification and European Integration,” in *Europe and the End of the Cold War: A Reappraisal*, ed. Frédéric Bozo, Marie-Pierre Rey, N. Piers Ludlow, and Leopoldo Nuti (New York: Routledge, 2008), 128; see also Robert L. Hutchings, *American Diplomacy and the End of the Cold War: An Insider’s Account of U.S. policy in Europe 1989–1992* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1997).
134. Baker with DeFrank, *Politics of Diplomacy*, 295.
۱۳۵. برای شرحی در باب «خیرخواهی غربی بدون خیرات» (Western benevolence without benefaction)، بنگرید به Alex Pravda, “The Collapse of the Soviet Union, 1990–1991,” in *Cambridge history of the Cold War*, ed. Leffler and Westad, 3:374–77.
۱۳۶. مکالمه تلفنی میان جورج بوش و میخائیل گورباچف به تاریخ ۱۱ ژانویه ۱۹۹۱، در Chernyaev et al., eds., *V Politbiuro Ts KPSS* (Moscow: Alpine Business Books, 2006), 640
137. *Ibid.*, 641.
138. 645. مکالمه تلفنی میان جورج بوش و میخائیل گورباچف به تاریخ 18 ژانویه 1991. در همان.
139. *Ibid.*, 646.
140. *Ibid.*, 648.

نتیجه گیری

1. Jeffrey A. Frieden, *Global Capitalism: Its fall and Rise in the twentieth Century* (New York; W. W. Norton, 2006), 363–92.
۲. برای آشنایی با آرایه‌هایی که پیروزی ایالات متحد در جنگ سرد را به استراتژی کلان دولت

ریگان نسبت می‌دهند، بنگرید به

Paul Kengor, *The Crusader: Ronald Reagan and the Fall of Communism* (New York: HarperCollins, 2006); Paul Lettow, *Ronald Reagan and His Quest to Abolish Nuclear Weapons* (New York: Random House, 2005); Peter Schweizer, *Reagan's War: The Epic Story of His Forty-Year Struggle and Final Triumph Over Communism* (New York: Doubleday, 2002).

همچنین بنگرید به مجموعه اسناد اولیه همراه با تحشیه زیر

Jason Saltoun-Ebin, *The Reagan Files: The Untold Story of Reagan's Top-Secret Efforts to Win the Cold War* (Charleston, SC: CreateSpace, 2010); Martin Anderson and Annelise Anderson, *Reagan's Secret War: The Untold Story of His Fight to Save the World from Nuclear Disaster* (New York: Crown, 2009); Kiron K. Skinner, Annelise Anderson, and Martin Anderson, eds., *Reagan, In His Own Hand* (New York: Free Press, 2001).

برخی از مشاوران پیشین ریگان قائل به وجود یک استراتژی کلان منسجم [در سیاست او در قبال جنگ سرد] بودند. از میان تفاسیر روشنی که توسط این مشاوران نوشته شده است، می‌توان به آثار زیر اشاره کرد:

Martin Anderson, *Revolution: The Reagan Legacy* (Stanford: CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1990); Robert C. McFarlane and Zofia Smardz, *Special Trust* (New York: Cadell and Davies, 1994); Richard Pipes, *Vixi: Memoirs of a Non-Belonger* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003); see also Richard Pipes, "Misinterpreting the Cold War: The Hardliners Had It Right," *Foreign Affairs* 74 (January-February 1995); Paul Wolfowitz, "Shaping the Future: Planning at the Pentagon, 1989-93," in *In Uncertain Times: American Foreign Policy after the Berlin Wall and 9/11*, ed. Melvyn P. Leffler and Jeffrey Legro (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011), 44-62.

پاول ولفوویتس در صفحه ۴۴ می‌نویسد: «دلایل پایان جنگ سرد تا مدتی محل بحث و مناظره خواهد خود، اما آنچه اهمیت دارد وقوف به این امر است که ریگان بدون شک استراتژی داشت؛ استراتژی‌ای که بر پذیرش یک تفاوت تعیین‌کننده استوار بود؛ تفاوت میان امور قابل کنترل و اموری که محصول نیروهای غیرقابل کنترل هستند.»

3. See Romesh Ratnesar, *Tear Down This Wall: A City, a President, and the Speech*

That Ended the Cold War (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2009);

برای آشنایی با آرایه‌ای که سقوط دیوار برلین را نوعی تصادف قلمداد می‌کنند بنگرید به Mary Elise Sarotte, 1989: *The Struggle to Create Post-Cold War Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), 28–45; William Taubman and Svetlana Savranskaya, “If a Wall fell in Berlin and Moscow Hardly Noticed, Would It Still Make a Noise?” in *The Fall of the Berlin Wall: The Revolutionary Legacy of 1989*, ed. Jeffrey A. Engel (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 69–95; Vladislav Martin Zubok, *A Failed Empire: The Soviet Union in the Cold War: From Stalin to Gorbachev* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 326–27.

۴. برای شرحی موجز از نقش استراتژی بنگرید به

Norman A. Bailey, *The Strategic Plan That Won the Cold War: National Security Decision Directive 75* (McLean, VA: Potomac Foundation, 1998);

در مورد نقش سخن‌دانی (rhetoric) ریگان بنگرید به Ratnesar, *Tear Down This Wall* برای نقش هر دو بنگرید به

Kengor, *Crusader*; Lettow, *Ronald Reagan and His Quest*; Schweizer, *Reagan's War*; and Pipes, *Vixi*.

5. NSDD-32, available at www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/nsdd/nsdd-032.htm, accessed February 19, 2013.

6. NSDD-75, available at www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/nsdd/nsdd-075.htm, accessed February 19, 2013.

7. Melvyn P. Leffler, “The Emergence of an American Grand Strategy, 1945–1952,” in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War*, ed. Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 1:88.

۸. برای نگاهی کلی در باب استراتژی امریکا در اوایل جنگ سرد بنگرید به

Ernest R. May, ed. *American Cold War Strategy: Interpreting NSC-68* (New York: Bedford Books, 1993); see also Melvyn P. Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration, and the Cold War* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992).

9. Robert R. Bowie and Richard H. Immerman, *Waging Peace: How Eisenhower*

Shaped an Enduring Cold War Strategy (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 5.

۱۰. این کتاب مابین دو موضع قرار دارد. موضع اول بر آن است که استمرار در افزایش قدرت [نظامی]، پیروزی ایالات متحد در جنگ سرد را در پی داشت، موضع دوم بر آن است که نقش قدرت [نظامی] در بهترین حالت، حداقلی است. از میان کسانی که به گروه اول تعلق دارند، جان لوئیس گدیس کمی پس از پایان زمامداری ریگان به این نتیجه رسید. بنگرید به Gaddis, "Hanging tough Paid Off," *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* 45 (January 1989); 11-14; Gaddis, "Ronald Reagan's Cold War Victory," in *Major Problems in American History since 1945*, ed. Robert Griffith (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, 1992), 705-10;

برای موضع بدیل بنگرید به

Thomas Risse-Kappen, "Did Peace Through Strength End the Cold War? Lessons from INF," *International Security* 16 (Summer 1991), 162-88.

11. See Beth Fisher, *The Reagan Reversal: Foreign Policy and the End of the Cold War* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1997); Don Oberdorfer, *From the Cold War to a New Era: The United States and the Soviet Union, 1983-1991* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).
12. John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War: A New History* (New York: Penguin Press, 2005), 217.
13. Melvyn P. Leffler, *For the Soul of Mankind: The United States, the Soviet Union, and the Cold War*, 1st ed. (New York: Hill and Wang, 2007), 462.
 لفلر می‌نویسد: «بزرگی ریگان نه در افزایش قدرت [نظامی] بلکه در جلب اعتماد بود.» در مورد نقش اعتماد میان ریگان و گورباچف در چارچوب نظری رفتار بین‌الملل، بنگرید به Ken Booth and Nicholas J. Wheeler, *The Security Dilemma: Fear, Cooperation, and trust in World Politics* (London: Palgrave, 2008), 145-58.
 برای بحث کلی‌تر نقش اعتماد در طول جنگ سرد، بنگرید به Deborah Welch Larson, *Anatomy of Mistrust: U.S.-Soviet Relations during the Cold War* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997).
14. Richard Reeves, *President Reagan: The Triumph of Imagination* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2005).

15. Sean Wilentz, *The Age of Reagan: A History, 1974–2008* (New York: HarperCollins, 2008).

۱۶. به‌عنوان مثال بنگرید به

Ronald Reagan, "Address before a Joint Session of the Congress on the State of the Union," January 25, 1984, available at www.reagan.utexas.edu/archives/speeches/198412584/e.htm, accessed February 19, 2013.

۱۷. شرح‌های متعددی وجود دارد در این باب که چگونه فهم‌های خاصی از ریگان و پایان جنگ سرد بر سیاست خارجی جورج دبلیو. بوش تأثیر گذاشت. به‌ویژه بنگرید به Peter Beinart, *The Icarus Syndrome: A History of American Hubris* (New York: Harper, 2010); Jack F. Matlock, *Superpower Illusions* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010); Lou Cannon and Carl M. Cannon, *Reagan's Disciple: George W. Bush's Troubled Quest for a Presidential Legacy* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2008).

برای شرحی جامع‌تر بنگرید به

John Arquilla, *The Reagan Imprint: Ideas in American Foreign Policy from the Collapse of Communism to the War on Terror* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2006).

در باب تأثیر کلیت خاطرات [و روایاتی] که از دوران جنگ سرد وجود دارد، بنگرید به Leffler and Legro, eds., *In Uncertain Times*; Melvyn P. Leffler, "Dreams of Freedom, Temptations of Power," in *Fall of the Berlin Wall*, ed. Engel, 132–69; Michael Cox, "Another Transatlantic Split? American and European Narratives and the End of the Cold War," *Cold War History* 7 (February 2007): 121–46; Melvyn P. Leffler, "9/11 and American Foreign Policy," *Diplomatic History* 29 (June 2005); John Lewis Gaddis, *Surprise, Security, and the American Experience* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004); Robert Kagan, *Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003); see also William Kristol and Robert Kagan, "Toward a Neo-Reaganite Foreign Policy," *Foreign Affairs* 75 (July/August, 1996).

۱۸. برای توصیفی گویا در باب اختلاف عمیق ریگان و «واقع‌گرایان» امریکایی بنگرید به

James Mann, *The Rebellion of Ronald Reagan: A History of the End of the Cold War* (New York: Viking, 2009).

۱۹. کم‌اهمیت جلوه‌دادن نقش شولتس — درست مانند حاشیه‌ای تلقی کردن نقش جورج ایچ. دبلیو. بوش در به پایان رساندن جنگ سرد — مضمونی است مشترک میان گروهایی با منظرهای متفاوت. به‌عنوان مثال، بنگرید به

Mann, *Rebellion of Ronald Reagan; Fisher, Reagan Reversal; Schweizer, Reagan's War*.

۲۰. برای آشنایی با رأیی که وزن قابل‌توجهی به نقش او می‌دهد، بنگرید به

Oberdorfer, *From the Cold War to a New Era*.

۲۱. برای جهان‌بینی جک متلاک بنگرید به فصل ۱. همچنین بنگرید به

Alexander M. Haig Jr., *Caveat: Realism, Reagan, and Foreign Policy* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1984); Alexander M. Haig Jr., *Inner Circles: How America Changed the World: A Memoir* (New York: Warner Books, 1992).

۲۲. برای شرحی درباب نقش جک متلاک، آرتور هارتمن و دیگر میانه‌روها در قبال اتحاد شوروی، بنگرید به

David S. Folglesong, *The American Mission and the "Evil Empire": The Crusade for a Free Russia since 1881* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 174–95.

درباره نقش غلوشده پاییس، بنگرید به کتاب‌هایی که در یادداشت ۲ قسمت نتیجه‌گیری آورده‌ام، علی‌الخصوص Kengor, *Crusader*.

۲۳. برای شرحی خوب درباره تیم‌های امنیت ملی ریگان و بوش بنگرید به

Peter W. Rodman, *Presidential Command: Power, Leadership, and the Making of Foreign Policy from Richard Nixon to George W. Bush* (New York: Knopf, 2009); David Rothkopf, *Running the World: The Inside Story of the National Security Council and the Architects of American Power* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2004); Ivo H. Daalder and I.M. Destler, *In the Shadow of the Oval Office: Profiles of the National Security Advisors and the Presidents They Served—From JFK to George W. Bush* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2009).

24. Hal Brands, *From Berlin to Baghdad: America's Search for Purpose in the Post-Cold War World* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2008); Derek Chollet and James Goldgeier, *America Between the Wars: From 11/9 to 9/11* (New York: Penguin, 2008); Bartholomew H. Sparrow, "Realism's

Practitioner: Brent Scowcroft and the Making of the New World Order, 1989–1993,” *Diplomatic History* 34 (January 2010): 141–75.

حسن شهرت جورج هربرت واکر بوش از سال ۲۰۰۳ به بعد افزایش یافته است. همین دلیل ساده که او جورج واکر بوش نیست، برای این حسن شهرت کفایت می‌کند. آثاری که مستقیم و غیرمستقیم به بیستمین سالگرد سقوط دیوار برلین پرداخته‌اند، اهمیت زیادی برای او [در به‌پایان‌رساندن جنگ سرد] قائل شده‌اند. وزنی که این آثار به بوش پدر می‌دهند از وزنی که در دوران زمامداری بوش پدر به او داده می‌شد، بیشتر است. این آثار با استقلال از سیاست خارجی بوش پسر، مراتب حمد و ثنای خود را نثار بوش پدر می‌کنند. این آثار عبارت‌اند از:

Sarotte, 1989; Jeffrey A. Engel, ed., “The End of the Cold War: New Evidence and Interpretations from the First Bush Administration,” Special Edition of *Diplomatic History* 34 (January 2009); Leffler, “Dreams of Freedom, Temptations of Power,” in *Fall of the Berlin Wall*, ed. Engel.

فصل‌های ۶ و ۷ کتاب حاضر قرار است از این تفاسیر فراتر برود.

25. George Herring, *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations since 1776* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 992.

26. See Philip Zelikow and Condoleezza Rice, *Germany Unified and Europe Transformed: A Study in Statecraft* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995).

درست است که زلیکو و رایس از مدارک و شواهدی استفاده کرده‌اند که مورخان اندکی می‌توانند آن‌ها را مورد بررسی قرار دهند، اما من بر این باورم منابع جدیدی که امروزه در مسکو، برلین، لندن و پاریس و دیگر نقاط در اختیار داریم، نمی‌توانند مدعاهای بنیادین شواهد کتاب رایس و زلیکو را زیر سؤال ببرند.

27. Robert B. Zoellick, “An Architecture of U.S. Strategy after the Cold War,” 26–43; Wolfowitz, “Shaping the Future,” 44–62; and Eric S. Edelman, “The Strange Career of the 1992 Defense Planning Guidance,” 63–77, all in *In Uncertain Times*, ed. Leffler and Legro

برای آشنایی با منبعی که «گشودگی» (openness) را به‌عنوان چارچوبی تفسیری برای روابط خارجی ایالات متحد به کار گرفته و دولت بوش را مصداقی منطبق با این چارچوب تلقی می‌کند، بنگرید به

Andrew J. Bacevich, *American Empire: The Realities and Consequences of U.S. Diplomacy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002);

برای بینش‌هایی در باب «در باز» و روابط خارجی امریکا، به‌ویژه بنگرید به

Henry W. Berger, *A William Appleman Williams Reader: Selections from his Major Historical Writings* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1992).

Frieden, Global Capitalism؛ همچنین بنگرید به Sarotte 1989, 195–214.

28. William Wohlforth and Stephen Brooks, “Economic Constraints and the Turn Towards Superpower Cooperation in the 1980s,” in *From Conflict Escalation to Conflict Transformation: The Cold War in the 1980s*, ed. Olav Njolstad (London: Frank Cass, 2004); William C. Wohlforth and Stephen G. Brooks, “Economic Constraints and the End of the Cold War,” in *Cold War Endgame: Oral History, Analysis, Debates*, ed. William C. Wohlforth (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2003); William C. Wohlforth and Stephen G. Brooks, “Power, Globalization, and the End of the Cold War: Reevaluating a Landmark Case for Ideas,” *International Security* 53 (Winter 2000–01): 5–53; William Wohlforth, *The Elusive Balance: Power and Perceptions during the Cold War* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993)
29. David Hoffman, *The Dead Hand: The Untold Story of the Cold War Arms Race and Its Dangerous Legacy* (New York: Random House, 2009); Richard Rhodes, *Arsenals of Folly: The making of the Nuclear Arms Race* (New York: Knopf, 2007); Lettow, *Ronald Reagan and His Quest*; David Reynolds, *Summits: Six Meetings That Shaped the Twentieth Century* (New York: Basic books, 2007), 343–400.
۳۰. برای شرح‌هایی در مورد گورباچف از منظر مفهوم «یادگیری» در علوم سیاسی بنگرید به Akan Malic, *When Leaders Learn and When They Don't: Mikhail Gorbachev and Kim II Sung at the End of the Cold War* (Albany: SUNY University Press, 2008); Janice Gross Stein, “Political Learning by Doing: Gorbachev as Uncommitted Thinker and Motivated Learner,” *International Organization* 48 (Spring 1994): 156–83. See also Archie Brown, *The Gorbachev Factor* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 114–15.

برای شرح‌هایی درباب تحول فکری گورباچف در قبال افغانستان، مشخصاً بنگرید به

Artemy M. Kalinovsky, *A Long Goodbye: The Soviet Withdrawal from Afghanistan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011); Sarah Mendelson, *Changing Course: Ideas, Politics, and the Soviet Withdrawal from Afghanistan* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998).

به نظر من دوتا از بهترین کتب خاطرات از حیث بررسی فرآیند فکری گورباچف عبارت‌اند از

Anatoly Chernyaev, *My Six Years with Gorbachev*, trans. And ed. Robert English and Elizabeth Tucker (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000); and Pavel Palazchenko, *My Years with Gorbachev and Shevardnadze: The Memoir of a Soviet Interpreter* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997).

در منبع زیر ترکیبی عالی از منابع اولیه و ثانویه را می‌توانید بیابید

Andrei Grachev, *Gorbachev's Gamble: Soviet Foreign Policy and the End of the Cold War* (Cambridge, U.K.: Polity Press, 2008).

۳۱. برای شرحی درباب روابط متقابل سیاست داخلی و خارجی گورباچف بنگرید به

Chernyaev, *My Six Years with Gorbachev*.

32. Zubok, *Failed Empire*, 294.

33. *Ibid.*, 335.

34. See Padraic Kenny, *A Carnival of Revolution: Central Europe 1989* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003); Charles Maier, *Dissolution: The Crisis of Communism and the End of East Germany* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997); Timothy Garton Ash, *The Magic Lantern: The Revolution of '89 Witnessed in Warsaw, Budapest, Berlin, and Prague* (New York: Random House, 1990).

در مورد نقش پاپ ژان پل دوم بنگرید به

John O'Sullivan, *The President, the Pope, and the Prime Minister: Three Who Changes the World* (Washington, DC: Regnery, 2006); George Weigel, *Witness to hope: The Biography of Pope John Paul II, 1920–2005* (New York: Harper, 2005); see also Gaddis, *Cold War*, 195–204.

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