

# Chronology

## End of the Cold War in Europe

(This chronology was compiled by the National Security Archive staff in April 1998 for the conference "The End of the Cold War in Europe, 1989: 'New Thinking' and New Evidence)

### 1987

- January 12** - Jaruzelski meets with Pope John Paul II in Italy, Jaruzelski's first official visit to the West since the imposition of martial law in Poland. (Dawisha, p. 283, *Foreign*, p. 300)
- January 20** - The USSR stops jamming the BBC. (Garthoff, 304)
- January 21** - The CPSU Politburo discusses withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan. Foreign Minister Shevardnadze advocates only a partial withdrawal and massive support of the Najib regime. Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov categorically demands a complete withdrawal. Gorbachev proposes "to pull it off within two years." (The Archive of Gorbachev Foundation)
- January 22** - The CPSU Politburo discusses "acceleration" in upgrading the machine-building industries. (The Archive of the Gorbachev Foundation)
- January 27** - At a meeting of the Central Committee Gorbachev surprises members with his description of the country as being one of "developing socialism," rather than the stock phrase, "developed socialism," and with approvals of "real elections" and secret ballots. This provides an opening wedge for the introduction of democratic procedure. (Matlock, 64; Garthoff, 303)
- January 29** - The CPSU Politburo holds discussions on the results of the Warsaw conference of CC secretaries of Comecon countries. The participants point at the growing pro-Western orientation of Eastern Europe. Anatoly Dobrynin argues against "over dramatizing the nuances in the behavior of Honecker." Gorbachev agrees that "they should remain friends." (The Archive of the Gorbachev Foundation)
- February 10** - The USSR announces that it has pardoned 140 prisoners convicted of subversive activities. This marks the largest release of political prisoners since 1956. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- February 12** - At the meeting of the Politburo Gorbachev shares with his colleagues his satisfaction with Western reaction to *glasnost*. (The Archive of the Gorbachev Foundation)
- February 19** - Reagan lifts economic sanctions on Poland. (*Foreign Affairs Chronology*, 306)
- February 23 and 26** - The CPSU Politburo discusses the withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan and the Soviet-American arms control negotiations. Gromyko argues that "we have no alternative rather than invest" in the Afghan army and regime.

Gorbachev responds that then "our entire policy of reforms will collapse. That is why withdrawal of troops is the only correct decision." Also, Gorbachev proposes to take the Soviet SS-20s out of the "package" thereby effectively departing from the tactics of Reykjavik. But he still justifies this decision as a new tactic "to postpone the deployment of the SDI." (The Archive of the Gorbachev Foundation)

**February 26** - The USSR ends an eighteen-month unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing with an underground nuclear test. (Garthoff, 307)

**February 27** - The Yugoslav government places emergency controls on wage levels; nationwide strikes break out. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**March 15** - 1,500-2,000 marchers in Budapest mark the anniversary of the 1848 uprising against Austrian rule. The protesters call for more democracy in Hungary. (*Foreign Affairs Chronology*, 304)

**March 26** - Strikes end in Yugoslavia when the government gives in to pressure, increasing wages and agreeing to changes in management practices. (Dawisha, 283)

**March 28** - Poland announces 10-100 percent price increases on basic foodstuffs, cigarettes, fuel, alcohol, transportation, and postal services to go into effect 3/29. (*Foreign Affairs Chronology*, 304)

**March 28-April 1** - Thatcher visits Moscow. Her highly critical views of Soviet human rights violations and continued military involvement in Afghanistan are given full coverage in the Soviet media. (Matlock, 106)

**April 2** - At a meeting of the Politburo Gorbachev discusses the results of Thatcher's visit and concludes that she became a supporter of *perestroika* against strong objections from the Reagan Administration (The Archive of the Gorbachev Foundation)

**April 9** - Gorbachev visits Prague to meet with Husak. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**April 9** - Shultz receives a cable from Jack Matlock saying that Dobrynin has told him the Soviets want to sign the INF Treaty before the end of 1987. (Shultz, 883)

**April 13** - KGB chief Viktor Chebrikov cites subversive interference by foreign intelligence services in Soviet affairs as the cause for growing nationalist unrest. (Garthoff, 349)

**April 13** - George Shultz arrives in Moscow to reactivate negotiations following the meeting at Reykjavik. He talks to Shevardnadze about the connection between human rights and technological progress. (Shultz, 886-889)

**April 14** - Shultz meets with Nikolai Ryzhkov in the Kremlin. Ryzhkov tells Shultz that the economy is not working. Shultz tries to persuade Ryzhkov to adopt a rapid rather than a gradual plan toward a market-based economy.

Shultz next meets with Gorbachev. There is argument and discussion about the ABM Treaty, SDI, and human rights. During an interlude, Shultz gives a "presentation" about the growing diversification of technology and its relation to the world economy. (Shultz, 889-895)

**April 16** - Shultz is interviewed on Soviet television. When the interviewer suggests that the Soviets were "invited" into Afghanistan, Shultz rejoinders, "The Afghan people want you to leave their country; they do not want your armed forces to be in their country." (Matlock, 106; Shultz, 897)

**April 22** - Gorbachev announces that he not only wants to "eliminate Soviet and American shorter-range missiles simultaneously in Europe," but he also wants "to hold talks on such missiles [remaining] in the east of our country and in the territory of the U.S."

*(Foreign Affairs Chronology, 307)*

- April 23** - Erich Honecker rejects the idea that East Germany should emulate Soviet political and economic reforms. *(Foreign Affairs Chronology, 304)*
- April 27** - The USSR offers a draft INF treaty at the Geneva arms talks and demands the elimination of West German Pershing 1A missiles. *(Foreign Affairs Chronology, 307)*
- May 1** - A law giving Soviet citizens the right to engage in limited private business goes into effect. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- May 5** - CIA Director William Casey dies. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- May 6** - The U.S. and USSR agree to establish Nuclear Risk Reduction Centers in their respective capitals. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- May 8** - Discussion in the CPSU Politburo, with Akhromeyev, on a new WTO doctrine.
- May 15** - Weinberger publicly states that "Nothing was agreed at Reykjavik." He essentially endorses former President Nixon's and Kissinger's proposal for a link between an INF agreement and a reduction in conventional arms. This increases tension between Weinberger and Shultz, Howard Baker, and Frank Carlucci. (Shultz, 899-900)
- May 19** - The U.S. begins re-flagging Kuwaiti ships in the Persian Gulf. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- May 23** - The Soviets stop jamming the Voice of America. (Garthoff, 302)
- May 25** - Gorbachev visits Romania and makes a speech explaining the reform process in the Soviet Union. (Dawisha, 283)
- May 28** - Eluding vaunted Soviet air defenses, Mathias Rust lands a Cessna in Red Square. (Matlock, 135; Oberdorfer, 228-229)
- May 30** - USSR Defense Minister Sokolov is fired and replaced by Dmitry Yazov; the chief of Soviet air defense and other generals are replaced. (Matlock, 136; Oberdorfer, 230)
- June 2** - Ronald Reagan informs Congress that Romania and Hungary should be extended an offer for MFN status. (Dawisha, 284)
- June 5-6** - East German youth and police clash when the youth approached the Berlin Wall to hear an outdoor rock concert on the western side. (Dawisha, 284)
- June 8** - Pope John Paul II visits Poland for a third time. (Dawisha, 284)
- June 12** - During a speech in West Berlin, Reagan urges Gorbachev to tear down the Berlin Wall. (Garthoff, 315)
- June 25-26** - Gorbachev strengthens his position by promoting three supporters to full membership of the Politburo (Party Secretaries Aleksandr Yakovlev, Viktor Nikonov, and Nikolai Slyunkov). At the same time, Gorbachev reduces the role of his chief rival Yegor Ligachev. (Garthoff, 307).
- June 25** - Hungary announces that president Pal Losonczi and prime minister Gyorgy Lazar will retire. Karoly Nemeth becomes president and Karoly Grosz becomes prime minister. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- June 26** - The Central Committee of the Yugoslav League of Communists meets in Belgrade to discuss the problems in Kosovo. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- July 20** - Hungary raises prices 10-29 percent on certain consumer goods and services to help combat its hard currency trade deficit. *(Foreign Affairs Chronology, 305)*
- July 20** - In Moscow, the Soviets tell Afghan leader Najibullah that they will withdraw their forces within a year. (Gates, 423; Oberdorfer, 242)

- July 28** - In a speech to the Central Committee plenum in Sofia, Bulgarian leader Todor Zhivkov calls for a reduction of the Party's role in the government and the economy. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- July 29** - The CPSU Politburo discusses the problem of resettlement of Crimean Tartars to Crimea; the first serious discussion on the nationalities issue flares up. Gorbachev warns against hasty measures that could revive Ukrainian nationalism and thus disrupt "the Slav core of the socialist empire." (The Archive of the Gorbachev Foundation)
- July 31** - Soviet negotiators in Geneva present a draft treaty for 50 percent reductions in strategic nuclear weapons. An agreement is linked to curbs in SDI spending. (Foreign Affairs Chronology, 308)
- August 23** - Crowds of up to 2,000 march in the capitals of the three Baltic republics calling for independence. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- September 1** - Erich Honeker begins a much awaited trip to West Germany. (Dawisha, 284)
- September 12** - Yeltsin sends a letter to Gorbachev complaining about Ligachev and offering to resign from the Politburo and the Moscow Party Committee. (Matlock, 114)
- September 16** - Shevardnadze privately tells Shultz that the Soviet Union will withdraw troops from Afghanistan within a year. (Shultz, 987; Garthoff, 320-321)
- September 17** - Shevardnadze and Shultz "agree in principle to conclude a treaty", reducing to zero all INF missiles, to be signed at the Washington Summit in late fall. The precise dates of the summit will be set when Shultz visits Moscow in October. (Shultz, 987-988; Garthoff, 319)
- September 17-19** - The Hungarian Parliament approves cutbacks in subsidies to state-run enterprises, the creation of personal income taxes, and the creation of a value added tax. (Dawisha, 284)
- September 20** - The Senate Foreign Relations Committee releases a report calling the Reagan administration's reinterpretation of the ABM Treaty in order to produce SDI "the most flagrant abuse of the Constitution's treaty power in 200 years of American history." (Shultz, 989)
- October 5** - A state of energy emergency is declared in Romania. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- October 11** - Romania calls for a 30 percent reduction in energy usage quotas. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- October 15** - Thousands of Romanian workers riot in Brasov. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- October 19** - The U.S. stock market crashes; the Dow Jones Industrial Average falls 508.32 points in a single day. (Foreign Affairs Chronology, 300)
- October 21** - Gorbachev and Yeltsin clash at a Plenum of the Central Committee. Yeltsin charges that *perestroika* is not progressing fast enough and that the public is losing confidence in Gorbachev. (Matlock, 114 115ff; Shultz, 1002; Oberdorfer, 254)
- October 23** - Shultz (accompanied by Carlucci, Nitze, Ridgeway, and Matlock) meets with Gorbachev (accompanied by Shevardnadze, Dobrynin, Akhromeev, Bessmertnykh, Ambassador Dubinin, and Chernyaev). Gorbachev becomes polemical and aggressive, and pushes to have strategic arms and SDI included on the agenda of the upcoming summit in Washington. The talks conclude with a failure to set a date for

the summit, and with Shultz considering an alternative way to have the INF Treaty signed. (Shultz, 995-1001; Garthoff, 322-323)

**October 24** - Shultz, back in Washington, receives a cable from Matlock reporting that Bessmertnykh told him that the meeting with Gorbachev had not gone as planned and that the Soviets would try to patch things up. (Shultz, 1001)

**October 25** - Anti-riot police are sent to Kosovo to quell ethnic unrest set off by reports of an ethnic Albanian official's "joke" at the "expense of Serbian women." (Foreign Affairs Chronology, 305)

**October 27** - Matlock telephones Shultz to tell him that Gorbachev has changed his mind and wants a summit. Shevardnadze wants to come to Washington on the 30th to set a date for the summit. (Shultz, 1001)

**November 1** - Demonstrations in Minsk commemorate the Stalin-era executions at Kuropatyi. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**November 2** - At a celebration of the 70th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, Gorbachev denounces Stalin's historical legacy, defends perestroika, and announces his intention to seek a strategic arms agreement with the U.S. (Foreign Affairs Chronology, 305)

**November 5** - Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger resigns. President Reagan names National Security Advisor Frank Carlucci to replace Weinberger; Lt. Gen. Colin Powell is named as a National Security Advisor. (*Foreign Affairs Chronology*, 298)

**November 6** - Shultz meets with William Webster, Robert Gates, and CIA analysts to discuss Gorbachev's behavior at the meeting of October 23. It is pointed out that Gorbachev is under attack from both the right and the left, and that a U.S. attack on an Iranian oil platform just before the meeting may have conditioned his attitude. Gates describes Gorbachev as an NEP-era Leninist, trying to "recapture the dynamism of the past." Shultz disagrees with the comparison, and points to the renunciation of the Brezhnev Doctrine and Soviet Plans to withdraw from Afghanistan. (Shultz, 1002-1003)

**November 11** - The Moscow Party committee removes Yeltsin at the request of Gorbachev. (Garthoff, 324)

**November 13** - Pravda confirms that Yeltsin has officially been removed as head of the Moscow Party. This comes in response to an explosive meeting of the Central Committee in late October in which Yeltsin's criticism of the slow pace of reforms caused Gorbachev to lash out at him with uncharacteristic harshness. (Matlock 113-119; Oberdorfer, 304-305)

**November 15** - A general wage freeze and price increases are implemented in Yugoslavia. This sets off a buying panic devaluing the Yugoslav currency. Ten thousand industrial workers riot in Brasov. (Dawisha, 284)

**November 18** - Yeltsin is appointed first deputy chairman of the state Committee on Construction. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**November 23-24** - Shultz and Shevardnadze meet in Geneva and complete negotiations for the INF treaty. (Shultz, 1005-1006)

**December 7-10** - The Washington summit between Reagan and Gorbachev convenes. They sign the INF treaty, mandating the removal from Europe of 2,611 intermediate-range missiles. For the first time, the actual number of nuclear weapons delivery systems

has been reduced. (Shultz, 1009-1015)

**December 10** - Vice President Bush, riding with Gorbachev to the airport, assures him that whatever may be said in the upcoming presidential campaign, he wants relations between the U.S. and USSR to continue to improve. Gorbachev later recalls this as "the most important talk Bush and I ever had." (Beschloss & Talbott, 34; Garthoff, 333-334)

**December 17** - Gorbachev reports to the CPSU Politburo on the results of the Washington summit. He states that in Washington "we, maybe for the first time, and so powerfully, realized the importance of the human factor in international politics." He says he no longer perceives Reagan as a figurehead of the U.S. military-industrial complex. (The Archive of the Gorbachev Foundation)

**December 17** - Milos Jakes succeeds Husak as General Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. (Oberdorfer, 366; Garthoff, 575)

**December 29** - National Security Advisor Colin Powell says the Soviet Union has the option of revoking the proposed strategic nuclear arms reduction treaty if the U.S. violates the 1972 ABM Treaty by testing SDI components in space. (*Foreign Affairs Chronology*, 309)

## 1988

**January 11** - At a meeting with Gorbachev, Czechoslovak General Secretary Milos Jakes informs Gorbachev that the Czechoslovak ruling party is not going to change its positions on "the Prague spring." Gorbachev agrees that "we have no grounds to reassess those events, including the internationalist action. The attempt of some activists of the "Prague spring" to present themselves as a legal heirs of the Soviet *perestroika* is nothing more than a blow at our *perestroika*. We are carrying out *perestroika* within the framework of socialism and to reinforce socialism. And they have moved to undermine socialism in Czechoslovakia" Gorbachev speaks on the need for "innovative policies" in Eastern Europe. (The Archive of the Gorbachev Foundation)

**February 1** - Prices on approximately half of Polish goods and services raise 27 percent, 100 percent for gas and electricity, and 200 percent for coal. Thousands in Warsaw and Gdansk protest. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**February 4** - At a meeting of the Politburo Gorbachev discusses the results of George Shultz's visit to Moscow and remarks: "What is the SDI - bluff or reality? Only a precise answer to this question will let us work out a correct policy. And now this issue is also firmly linked to our domestic policy." He proposes to count the cost of strategic parity for the Soviet economy and concludes: "It is clear today that without a considerable reduction of military expenditures we will not resolve the problems of *perestroika*." He also proposes to "be honest with America" on Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan and to proceed with it, whatever U.S. reaction might be. (The Archive of the Gorbachev Foundation)

- February 6** - After being criticized for failing to implement economic reforms, Nikolai Talyzin, Chief of Gosplan, is removed through a decree from the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. Yuri Maslyunkov is name Talyzin's successor. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- February 8** - Gorbachev announces on national television a plan to withdraw troops from Afghanistan beginning May 15 and ending March 15, 1989. (Shultz, 1088; Gates, 431; Oberdorfer, 275)
- February 11** - Thousands of Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh in Soviet Azerbaijan demand reunification with the Armenian republic. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- February 13** - Riots occur in Nagorno-Karabakh. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- February 18** - Yeltsin is removed from the CPSU Politburo. (Garthoff, 324)
- February 22** - Shultz meets with Gorbachev in Moscow to discuss the soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. Gorbachev rejects Shultz's presentation of Pakistan's desire for an interim government in Kabul. (Shultz, 1089)
- February 23** - A conference of Balkan Foreign Ministers, including Yugoslavia, Romania, Bulgaria, Turkey, Greece, and Albania, convenes in Belgrade. (Dawisha, 284)
- February 24** - Four thousand citizens demonstrate in Tallinn to mark the seventieth anniversary of Estonian independence. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- February 28** - Pogroms take place against Armenians in Sumgait, Azerbaijan. Several are killed. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- February 29** - Bulgaria holds regional and municipal elections allowing, for the first time, more than one candidate per position. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- March 10** - At a meeting of the Politburo Gorbachev announces that the USSR will provide annually 41 billions rubles of assistance to socialist countries and clients around the world, including 27 billion rubles for Cuba. "We are beginning to feel the intolerable burden of this type of business," he complains. "The situation is choking us." At the same time he states that "our priority is the political stability of the socialist countries. It is in our vital interest, including from the viewpoint of our security." Although "socialism did not pass the practical test," Gorbachev is determined to preserve COMECON and expects that the accelerated development of Soviet machine-building industries would help reorient East European countries back to the East and would free currency reserves that are spent on buying Western equipment and technologies. At the same time he leaves the choice of economic integration with the USSR with East European countries. (The Archive of the Gorbachev Foundation)
- March 13** - *Sovetskaia Rossiya* publishes the "Nina Andreyeva letter" attacking *perestroika* in language borrowed from the speeches of Andrei Zhdanov. (Matlock, 119-120; Garthoff, 348-349)
- March 24-25** - The Politburo holds a crisis-ridden discussion on Nina Andreeva's letter and *glasnost*. A split between radical and more cautious reformers is supported by conservatives. E. Shevardnadze attacks "limitations and primitivism" in reforms and points to them as causes for the defeat of Khrushchev's reforms in the 1950's and the deadlock in Eastern European countries. "Take Bulgaria, take the old leadership of Poland, take the situation in the German Democratic Republic - is this a true socialism?" He concludes that the "communist and working class movement is in a profound crisis. You can take any party. So what we have been doing over here...is the

- rescue of socialism." (The Archive of the Gorbachev Foundation)
- March 26** - The presence of soviet troops and KGB agents in Yerevan prevents scheduled mass demonstrations calling for the unification of Nagorno-Karabakh with Armenia. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- April 5** - The Politburo forces *Sovetskaia Rossiya* to issue an apology for running the Nina Andreeva letter. (Matlock, 121; Garthoff, 349n)
- April 14** - The Geneva Accords on Afghanistan are signed, calling on the USSR to remove half of its forces by August 15, 1988. The soviets must remove the remainder by February 15, 1989. (Shultz, 1093)
- April 15-18** - Gorbachev's meeting with secretaries of CC and Soviet republics, regional committees.
- April 19** - Yegor Ligachev is reprimanded and ordered to take a two month vacation. This is in response to charges that he arranged the publication in *Sovietskaya Rossiya* of an article criticizing Gorbachev's "leftist-liberal" policies. Gorbachev ally Aleksandr Yakovlev temporarily takes over Ligachev's duties. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- April 22** - Shultz meets with Gorbachev in the Kremlin. Gorbachev complains about a strident speech delivered by Reagan the day before. He then admits that the "Soviet Union does not have the final truth," and adds, "We do not impose our way of life on other peoples." Human rights and Islamic fundamentalism are also discussed. (Shultz, 1096-1100)
- April 25-27** - Thousands of Polish workers strike demanding higher wages. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- May 21** - Leaders of the Communist parties in Armenia and Azerbaijan are replaced. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- May 22** - Janos Kadar is removed as the Hungarian Communist Party's secretary and is replaced by Karoly Grosz. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- May 27** - The "Theses" for the nineteenth CPSU Conference are published, calling for democratization and the rule of law. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- May 27** - The U.S. Senate approves the INF Treaty. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- May 29-June 2** - The Moscow summit between Gorbachev and Reagan convenes. (Garthoff, 351)
- May 30** - In Moscow, the Reagans hold a reception for Jewish refuseniks at Spaso House. (Shultz, 1102)
- May 31** - Reagan and Gorbachev sign nine separate agreements on arms control.
- June 1** - Minutes before the public signing of the ratification papers on the INF Treaty, Gorbachev insists on the inclusion of a statement supporting "peaceful coexistence" and rejecting "military means" to resolve conflicts. Concerned about preserving U.S. freedom of action in pursuit of the Reagan Doctrine, Shultz and others argue that this language is unacceptable. When Reagan refuses to include it, Gorbachev relents and the papers are signed. (Shultz, 1104-1105; Garthoff, 355-356)
- June 6** - Gorbachev leads a discussion in the CPSU Politburo on the results of Reagan's visit to Moscow. (The Archive of the Gorbachev Foundation)
- June 9** - Foreign travel regulations for soviet citizens are simplified. ("Cold War" Chronology)

- June 13** -The Azerbaijan supreme Soviet rejects a petition from Nagorno-Karabakh legislators to transfer the territory to Armenia. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- June 14** - Demonstrations take place in the Baltic capitals to mark the forty-seventh anniversary of mass deportations. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- June 15** - The Armenian Supreme Soviet consents to the annexation of Nagorno-Karabakh. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- June 20** - Estonia officially recognizes the People's Front of Estonia (a 40,000 member nationalist organization). This is the first recognition of a large non-Communist group in the Soviet Union. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- June 20** - The Politburo discusses a draft report by Gorbachev for the XIX Party Conference. (The Archive of the Gorbachev Foundation)
- June 28** - In his address to the XIX All-Union Conference of the Communist Party, Gorbachev calls for the restructuring of the government into a system with a strong president picked by a more representative legislature that would replace the supreme soviet. He also calls for finite terms for high officials, more authority for the local Soviets, multi-candidate elections, and a ban on Party interference in economic issues. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- July 1** - At the XIX Party Conference, Yeltsin is permitted to speak only after "storming" the podium. Once there, he delivers an extended speech criticizing the failure of the leadership to root out corruption. He then asks the Central Committee to "rehabilitate" him after the body's castigation of his views as "politically erroneous" a year earlier. Egor Ligachev then mounts the rostrum and lambastes Yeltsin while recalling his own years of service to the party. He receives strong applause and the Central Committee rejects Yeltsin's request for rehabilitation. (Matlock, 127-130)
- At the end of the conference, a resolution supporting Gorbachev's proposed changes, as well as reform of the legal system and greater independence for the national regions, is approved. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- July 4** - The Communist Party Conference passes resolutions on political reform. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- July 7** - The Ukrainian Helsinki Union calls for the restoration of Ukrainian statehood. (Garthoff, 396)
- July 11** - Gorbachev visits Poland. He offers a pullback of an "unspecified number" of Soviet fighter aircraft from East European air bases if the U.S. cancels the re-deployment of 72 F-16 jets from Spain to Italy. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- July 12** - The Supreme Soviet in Nagorno-Karabakh votes to secede from Azerbaijan and change its name to Artsakh. The leadership in Azerbaijan declares the move illegal. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- July 18** - At a session of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Gorbachev rejects the Armenian position on Nagorno-Karabakh. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- July 23** - Mass demonstrations are held throughout the Baltics to protest the Soviet annexation of these countries. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- July 25** - In a speech to the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Shevardnadze rejects the class struggle as the basis for foreign policy. (Garkhoff, 361-362)
- July 30** - The Yugoslav government orders an end to recent demonstrations by minority ethnic Serbs in Kosovo who claim mistreatment by the region's ethnic majority.

("Cold War" Chronology)

**August 5** - In a speech at Gorky, Ligachev defends the concept of class struggle. (Garthoff, 454n)

**August 12** - In a speech in Vilnius, Yakovlev speaks of the "common interests of mankind" as the basis for a new foreign policy. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**August 14** - Police in Gdansk clash with protesters marking the eighth anniversary of the founding of Solidarity. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**August 19** - A draft program of the Estonian People's Front is published in an Estonian newspaper. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**August 31** - Lech Walesa meets with Polish Interior Minister General Czeslaw Kiszczak. Walesa says that progress is made towards establishing negotiations between the government and the opposition. After the meeting, Walesa urges the nationwide strikes to end. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**September 8** - The program of the Latvian People's Front is published in a Latvian newspaper. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**September 19** - Polish premier Zbigniew Messner and his cabinet resign. This is shortly before a report criticizing the government's handling of the economy is to be release. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**September 21** - Following disorders there, a state of emergency is declared in Nagorno-Karabakh. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**September 26** - Poland's Central Committee nominates Mieczyslaw Rakowski to succeed Messner. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**September 30** - Ligachev receives a new assignment as Party Secretary for Agriculture. Vadim Medvedev (Secretary for Science and Technology) is given responsibility for ideology and propaganda. Gromyko is retired by the Central Committee. Anatoly Dobrynin is retired as secretary in charge of foreign affairs; he is replaced by Aleksandr Yakolev. Chebrikov is named Secretary of Legal Affairs. Mikhail Solomentsev is removed as chairman of the Control Committee and a member of the Politburo. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**October 1** - Chebrikov is removed as head of the KGB. He is replaced with Vladimir Krychov. Anatoly Lukyanov is confirmed as Soviet Vice-President. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**October 1** - Gorbachev replaces Gromyko as president (chairman of the presidium of the supreme Soviet). (Garthoff, 364)

**Before October 6** - Georgi Shakhnazarov, assistant to the General Secretary, recommends Gorbachev suggest at the next Politburo meeting that work begin on a strategic "thoughtful" approach to Eastern Europe in case a general crisis erupts there. He proposes, "instead of sticking our heads in the sand like an ostrich," to discuss what the USSR would do if Eastern European countries turned to the West for assistance and demanded the withdrawal of Soviet troops. (Shakhnazarov, "The Price of Freedom," 367369)

**October 10** - Czechoslovak Premier Lubonin Strougal resigns. (Garthoff, 576)

**October 11** - Ladislav Adamec becomes Premier in Czechoslovakia. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**October 12** - The Sajudis Program is published in Lithuania. ("Cold War" Chronology)

- October 14** - Robert Gates delivers a pessimistic speech about Gorbachev's ability to reform the USSR. Shultz later assails him for giving a speech on policy and tries to have him fired. (Gates, 443-445; Garthoff, 339-340)
- October 27** - Soviet Finance Minister Boris Gostev announces that the USSR will have a budget deficit of approximately US\$58 billion. He admits that the Soviet government has kept such deficits secret for years. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- October 31** - The Polish government announces it will begin shutting down the Gdansk shipyard. Walesa calls the move a "political provocation." The government claims it is for economic reasons. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- November 6** - Walesa threatens to call nationwide strikes unless the closure of Gdansk is called off; however, the strike is indefinitely postponed after an 11/7 meeting between Solidarity officials and shipyard management. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- November 8** - Bush is elected president.
- November 16** - The Supreme Soviet of Estonia amends its constitution to give officials the right to refuse to apply Soviet national laws that conflict with local laws. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- November 22** - Eight people are killed in riots between Armenians and Azerbaijanis in Baku, Kirovabad and Nakhichevan. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- November 23** - The Central Committee of the Socialist Workers' Party in Hungary names Miklos Nemeth to replace General Secretary Grosz as Premier.
- November 24** - Gorbachev leads Politburo discussions on his UN speech.. (The Archive of the Gorbachev Foundation)
- November 26** - The Presidium of the Soviet Union rules Estonia's amendment unconstitutional. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- November 27** - Gorbachev denounces the rise of regional nationalism as "disastrous." ("Cold War" Chronology)
- December 1** - The USSR Supreme Soviet approves laws calling for contested elections and secret ballots. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- December 5** - The Estonian Supreme Soviet votes to stand by its amendment. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- December 7** - At the UN Gorbachev announces plans to reduce the Soviet military by 500,000 men and endorses the "common interests of mankind" as the basis of Soviet foreign policy. He enunciates a decision to allow Eastern Europe to evolve without Soviet interference. Afterward Gorbachev lunches with Reagan and Vice President Bush at Governors Island in New York harbor. Gorbachev's attention is almost wholly directed toward Bush, who had intended to play only a "supporting role" at the meeting. Gorbachev forcefully tells Bush his reforms will continue. (Matlock, 149, 153, 192, 197; Beschloss & Talbott, 10, 37, 39; Shultz, 1106-1108; Gates, 450; Oberdorfer, 317-318, 320-321)
- December 7** - A devastating earthquake in Armenia kills 25,000 and leaves half a million homeless. Gorbachev cancels scheduled visits to NYC landmarks and returns to the Soviet Union. At Christmas Bush sends his son Jeb and grandson George to Armenia to inspect the damage and determine how the U.S. might help. For the first time in years the Soviet Union accepts foreign assistance. (Matlock, 437; Beschloss & Talbott, II; Garthoff, 371-372)

**December 18** - Henry Kissinger meets the president-elect, Baker and Scowcroft in the West Wing Vice Presidential office. Kissinger tells Bush that Bush is about to become the "first president with a real opportunity to end the Cold War." Kissinger suggests negotiating a deal with the Soviets whereby in exchange for assurances from Gorbachev that he will not use violence to suppress liberalization and reform in Eastern Europe, the West will promise not to exploit events there at the expense of "legitimate" Soviet security issues. Kissinger offers himself as an emissary. (Beschloss & Talbott, 13)

## 1989

**January 11** - The Hungarian parliament allows freedom of association and freedom of assembly, permitting the foundation of independent political organizations and parties. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**January 12** - Nagorno-Karabakh is brought under direct rule from Moscow by the Supreme Soviet. Arkadii Volskii is named temporary administrator. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**January 15** - A demonstration is held in Prague to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of student protest-suicides following the 1968 invasion. Police break-up the demonstrations and arrest protesters. Vaclav Havel is arrested the next day and charged with inciting the protests with his comments quoted on foreign radio broadcasts. (*Foreign Affairs*, 373)

**January 16** - As an emissary from President-elect Bush, Kissinger meets with Alexander Yakovlev in Moscow, who tells him that Gorbachev is worried over the apparent reluctance of the Bush Administration to pick up where the Reagan Administration has left off, while party hard-liners are unhappy with reforms. Kissinger replies that the improvements during the Reagan years have been largely cosmetic and that more substantive changes need to be made. He compares the situation in Eastern Europe to that preceding World War I whereby the Great Powers had set off a chain reaction which led to war. To avert a catastrophe Kissinger proposes high-level negotiations to reach a set of understandings, both formal and informal. Yakovlev agrees that negotiations should take place. (Beschloss & Talbott, 115)

**January 18** - The Estonian Supreme Soviet makes Estonian the official language. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**January 18** - Kissinger meets Gorbachev at the Kremlin. Anatoly Dobrynin and an interpreter are the only other Soviets present. Kissinger delivers a letter from Bush which pledges to continue the improvements begun by Reagan, though he hopes Gorbachev will understand if the new administration takes some time to develop a strategy and familiarize itself with the situation. Kissinger presents his proposal for an understanding on Eastern Europe; Gorbachev replies that the notion is worthy of consideration. After Kissinger leaves Gorbachev is joined by his chief foreign policy aide, Anatoly Chernyaev, who points out a contradiction in Bush's letter between his desire for continuity and the possibility of change in American policy. Gorbachev

prefers to view the memo positively and writes a reply to Bush encouraging him to work with him for "world peace." Georgii Shakhnazarov, Gorbachev's personal aide for Eastern Europe, advises him to support Kissinger's plan. (Beschloss & Talbott, 15-17)

- January 18** - The Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party allows the banned Solidarity trade union a two year trial period leading to legalization. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- January 19** - Yugoslavia's collective leadership chooses Ante Markovic as Premier. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- January 20** - George Bush is inaugurated.
- January 21** - Gorbachev reports to Politburo on his meeting with the Trilateral Commission. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- January 22** - Speaking on ABC's "This Week with David Brinkley," Scowcroft says that Gorbachev seems "interested in making trouble with the Western Alliance." He argues that Gorbachev may be trying to throw the West off its guard to give the Soviet Union time to rebuild its economic and military strength to prepare for a "world Communist offensive." He emphasizes his point saying, "I think the Cold War is not over." (Beschloss & Talbott, 17-18)
- January 23** - East German leader Erich Honecker announces a ten percent reduction in military spending by 1990. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- January 23** - Bush calls Gorbachev to promise no "foot-dragging" in the improvement of relations. Gorbachev is encouraged by the call and tells several aides that he believes he can deal with Bush "as one human to another." (Beschloss & Talbott, 18; Gates, 475)
- January 24** - At a meeting of the Politburo Gorbachev comments that "something is brewing in Hungary, but we will continue to be friends with them, because everyone [in Eastern Europe] will preserve their socialist foundations." He instructs Alexander Yakovlev as head of the Politburo's International Commission to look at the situation in Eastern Europe and to conduct "a situational analysis" with scholars from academic think-tanks. (The Archive of the Gorbachev Foundation)
- January 26** - Six hundred ninety-two Czech cultural figures sign a letter to Prime Minister Adamec demanding the release of Havel. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- January 27** - At his first news conference as President, Bush tells reporters he does not like using the term "Cold War" to describe the current situation. He adds, "Do we still have problems, are there still uncertainties, are we still unsure in our predictions on Soviet intentions? I'd say, 'Yeah, we should be cautious.'" ("Cold War" Chronology)
- January 27** - Representatives of the Polish government, Solidarity, and the Catholic Church meet to negotiate political and economic reforms. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- January 28** - Kissinger meets Bush, Baker, and Scowcroft at the White House to report on his talk with Gorbachev in Moscow. Although Assistant Secretary of State for Europe, Rozanne Ridgeway, and her deputy for the Soviet bloc, Thomas Simons, voice strong opposition to Kissinger's plan for Eastern Europe, Baker and his advisor Dennis Ross agree that it would only be "common sense" to engage in high-level dialogue with the Soviets over the region. However, they also agree to set the matter aside for the time being, because Simons argued that Soviet dominance was

weakening in Eastern Europe and the U.S. did not need to negotiate in order to get concessions from the Soviets. (Beschloss & Talbott 19)

**January 28** - Imre Pozgay, a member of the Hungarian Communist Party Politburo, calls for a reappraisal of the 1956 revolt. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**January 29** - Hungary establishes diplomatic relations with South Korea. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**February 1** - Latvian replaces Russian as the official language in Latvia. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**February 3** - North Korea recalls its ambassador from Budapest. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**February 6** - "Round Table" talks between the Polish government and members of Solidarity begin. (Dawisha, 285)

**February 10-11** - The Hungarian Communist Party's Central Committee formally endorses the idea of a multiparty system. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**February 12** - Bush meets with soviet specialists, including Condoleezza Rice, Adam Ulam, Marshall Goldman, Stephen Meyer, Robert Pfaltzgraff, and Ed Hewett, in Kennebunkport, Maine to discuss the situation in the USSR. All agree that Gorbachev is committed to reforms in the USSR. Most agree that even if Gorbachev were to lose power, it would be difficult to completely reverse what he has done. Scowcroft, however, says, "Never say never!" The experts also agree that the reforms could produce a backlash by hard-liners within the party, the KGB, or the military. Rice says that Eastern Europe could prove to be Gorbachev's "Achilles' heel," and several experts argue the political risk for Gorbachev of military intervention there would be "astronomical." Goldman says that sudden change in Eastern Europe could rebound to the Soviet Union and result in republics demanding liberalization and independence. When Bush asks if the US can use its leverage to exact concessions on human rights he is warned that this might strengthen the Soviet hard-liners' position. (Beschloss & Talbott, 22-23)

**February 13** - Bush orders a "pause" in diplomacy with Moscow. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**February 15** - USSR completes the military withdrawal from Afghanistan. (Garthoff, 378)

**February 15** - Bush approves and signs NSC Directive NSR-3, which includes his own added sentence: "My own sense is that the Soviet challenge may be even greater than before because it is varied." Scowcroft opines that the USSR is still a military threat, but says "even that is changing." Gates tells a private group that Gorbachev is "an exception that would prove the rule." (Beschloss & Talbott, 2425; Garthoff, 376)

**February 20** - Ethnic Albanian miners in Kosovo announce a strike to protest increasing Serbian control of the province. Yugoslavia's collective presidency orders troops in the region to preserve order. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**February 20-21** - The Hungarian Central Committee approves a new constitution omitting mention of the leading role of the Communist Party. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**February 21** - Havel is sentenced to nine months in prison for his role in inciting riots earlier in the year. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**February 21** - Yeltsin calls for open parliamentary elections. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**February 24** - The flag of Estonia is raised in Tallinn on the anniversary of the country's prewar independence. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**February 25** - 15,000 demonstrate in Tbilisi to mark the 68th anniversary of the Soviet annexation of Georgia. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**March 1** - Six former prominent members of the Romanian Communist Party send an open

letter to Nicolae Ceausescu accusing him of discrediting socialism, ruining the economy, and failing to observe the 1975 Helsinki Agreement. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**March 5** - Thousands demonstrate in Moscow in support of Yeltsin's candidacy for the parliament. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**March 6** - At the CFE talks in Vienna, Shevardnadze proposes that NATO and the Warsaw Pact set equal ceilings on military hardware and reduce their troop levels by 25 percent. Baker's speech explaining why the Bush administration is not reciprocating the Soviet overtures is poorly received. Baker says, "we bombed out there today." (Beschloss & Talbott, 343, 539)

**March 7** - Baker receives Shevardnadze at the us ambassadorial residence in Vienna for their first private meeting; he tells the Soviet minister "We really hope that you succeed." (Beschloss & Talbott, 40)

**March 12** - A mass demonstration is held in Riga in support of the Latvian National Front. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**March 14** - The 31-page final draft of NSR-3 is delivered to Bush. The President, Baker, and Scowcroft are all disappointed by the conservative conclusions reached by Ridgeway and others, Bush waits three weeks before convening an NSC meeting to even consider the report. (Beschloss & Talbott, 43-45; Garthoff, 377)

**March 16** - The CPSU Central Committee adopts an agricultural reform program. This program would break up the central agricultural agency and allow individual farmers to lease farmland. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**March 16** - Markovic is confirmed as Premier by the Yugoslavian federal parliament.

**March 17** - The Central Committee in Hungary approves a new program of action which supports principle of free elections. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**March 18** - Separatists in the republic of Abkhazia in Soviet Georgia demand an independent homeland. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**March 23** - The Kosovo legislature gives the Serbian Republic control over the courts, police and official government appointments, and surrenders Kosovo's veto over constitutional changes. Protesters riot in Urosevac. Riots spread to other cities. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**March 23** - The revived Independent Smallholders' party in Hungary holds its first national congress. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**March 26** - Elections to the new Congress of People's Deputies take place. Many Communist Party and military officials lose to independent candidates. Yeltsin wins Moscow's at-large seat with 89 percent of the vote. Andrei Sakharov also overwhelmingly wins a seat. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**Late March** - Baker, reacting to the recent elections to the Congress of People's Deputies, suggests that Bush take a more active approach to Gorbachev. (Beschloss & Talbott, 46)

**April 4** - Secretary of Defense Cheney tells reporters he believes Gorbachev is "serious" about political and economic change and plans to cut military spending. Within hours Gorbachev receives a translation of Cheney's comments and gladly exclaims, "This from the chief of the Pentagon!" (Beschloss & Talbott, 49)

**April 5** - Radio Budapest reports plans to erect two monuments to the victims of the 1956 revolt. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**April 5** - The Polish government and Solidarity reach an agreement on political and economic reforms, including elections in the sununer. The unicameral legislature is to

be replaced with a 460 seat lower house (Sejm) and a 100 seat upper house (Senate). 65 percent of the Sejm seats are to be filled by PUWP and their allies, the Democratic and United Peasants' parties. The remaining seats are to be filled by free elections. The agreement also calls for strengthening the presidency. (*Foreign Affairs*, 374)

**April 6** - Radio Budapest reports that the pullout of soviet troops from Hungary will begin April 25 and end by late June. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**April 6** - In a private meeting in London with Prime Minister Thatcher, Gorbachev denounces Bush's "pause" as "intolerable." Thatcher urges patience but immediately sends a message to Bush telling how upset Gorbachev was and commenting that the policy review is indeed taking a long time. (Beschloss & Talbott, 49; Orberdorfer, 334)

**April 7** - The "Round Table" accords are officially signed by the Polish Government and members of Solidarity. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**April 7** - Gorbachev announces that he will stop weapons-grade uranium production and close two plutonium plants. (Beschloss & Talbott, 50)

**April 9** - After being told by Bush that "we've got to make clear that we know important stuff is happening and we're not just sitting here on our duffs," Scowcroft announces, "What we're seeing now is evidence...that the West has won." He warns, however, against complacency and says there is no need for any "sharp, dramatic change" in U.S. policy. (Beschloss & Talbott, 51)

**April 9** - Soviet troops kill at least twenty at a Georgian nationalist demonstration in Tbilisi. Washington decides on a muted response to avoid giving ammunition to Gorbachev's critics. Marlin Fitzwater reads a statement drafted by Condoleezza Rice: "We are following the situation closely. We regret any loss of life, but we'll have no further comment." (Beschloss & Talbott, 51)

**April 12** - Romanian leader Nicolae Ceausescu announces his country's foreign debt has been paid ahead of schedule. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**April 14** - The Communist Party leader in Georgia is replaced. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**April 15** - Hu Yaobang, a respected Chinese Communist Party leader, dies. In the following days, tens of thousands of students gather in Tiananmen Square to mourn his death. The gathering turns into demonstrations for democracy and the freedom of the press. (Dassu & Saich, 236)

**April 17** - Poland's Solidarity trade union is legalized. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**April 20** - The CPSU Politburo in a heated discussion denounces the use of military force in Tbilisi. Gorbachev claims he did not know about the decision to use troops and blames it on the Georgian party leadership and on misleading information from local KGB sources. He tells Minister of Defense Dmitry Yazov that "from now on the army should get involved in such a business without a Politburo decision." ("The Union Could Have Been Preserved," 49-51)

**April 21** - The Soviet Academy of Sciences names Andrei Sakharov to one of its reserved seats in the Chamber of Deputies. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**April 21** - During a Politburo meeting on Afghanistan, Gorbachev opposes a proposal by Edward Shevardnadze and KGB chief Vladimir Kryuchkov to come to the rescue of the Najibullah regime in Afghanistan by delivering an aerial strike on the rebel's bases (The Archive of the Gorbachev Foundation)

**April 25** - Gorbachev removes 74 members from the Central Committee. ("Cold War" Chronology)

- April 25** - 1,000 Soviet tanks leave Hungary. This marks the first stage of the soviet withdrawal of 50,000 troops and 10,000 tanks from Eastern Europe by 1991. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- May 2** - Hungary begins dismantling the barbed-wire on its borders with Austria. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- May 4** - Todor Zhivkov announces a land reform plan that would break up large collectives and allow farmers to lease land. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- May 5** - The USSR announces it has withdrawn 1,000 tanks from East Germany. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- May 8-9** - The Hungarian Communist Party Central Committee votes to remove Kadar from the posts of Communist Party President and Central Committee member. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- May 10** - Baker meets Shevardnadze in Moscow in a Foreign Ministry guest house. Baker insists the U.S. is not imposing "tests" on the soviets, but wants to create a climate from "true cooperation." That evening Baker and his wife dine with the Shevardnadzes at their apartment where the soviet Minister breaks tradition and discusses Soviet domestic concerns. Baker gathers from this talk that the leadership is serious about continuing political reforms. (Beschloss & Talbott, 61-65)
- May 11** - Baker meets Gorbachev at the Kremlin; the only others present are interpreters. Briefed by Shevardnadze on his dinner conversation with Baker, Gorbachev discusses Soviet domestic turmoil. Gorbachev informs Baker he plans to announce a 500-warhead unilateral reduction of nuclear forces in Eastern Europe. Baker afterward complains about Gorbachev's "one-upmanship" and being "ambushed" by the Soviets. Upon learning of Gorbachev's announcement Scowcroft tells Bush that Gorbachev is again trying to divide the Western alliance. (Beschloss & Talbott, 65-68 and Garthoff, 379)
- May 11** - The CPSU Politburo discusses a proposal of the Politburo commission on the situation in Baltic republics. Gorbachev emphasizes that "force cannot help here. We have admitted that even in foreign policy nothing can be achieved by force. And domestically we especially must not resort to force." ("The Union Could Have Been Preserved," 51-55)
- May 13** - Several thousand students start fasting at Tienanmen square to pressure the government to meet their demands. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- May 15**- Yugoslav Federal President Raif Dizdarevic ends his term and is succeeded by Janez Drnovsek. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- May 15-18** - Gorbachev visits China--the first Sino-Soviet summit in thirty years-and announces the "normalization" of relations. (Dassu & Saich, 237)
- May 17** - Vaclav Havel is released from prison. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- May 17** - The Polish Sejm votes to give the Roman Catholic Church legal status. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- May 18** - The Lithuanian Supreme Soviet declares sovereignty. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- May 19** - The Chinese Communist leadership declares martial law, but does not yet order in Troops to quell the mass protests in Tienanmen Square. (Garthoff, 657-658; Dassu & Saich 237)
- May 20-21**- Bulgaria puts down protests against the Bulgarian policy of forced assimilation in the south. Over 100 ethnic Turks are killed. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- May 25-June 9** - The new Congress of People's Deputies meets for the first time and elects

- Gorbachev president. The congress is televised and has a powerful impact on Soviet viewers. (Gates, 439; Garthoff, 391)
- May 29** - Yeltsin takes a seat on the new USSR Supreme Soviet when Aleksei Kazannik yields his. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- June** - The Hungarian government allows the exhumation and re-burial of the remains of Nagy. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- June 3-15** - Violent ethnic riots occur in Uzbekistan. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- June 4** - Solidarity wins decisively in free parliamentary elections. The Party wins 92 of 100 seats in the Senate and 160 of 161 available seats in the 460-seat Sejm. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- June 4** - PLA troops with armored vehicles crush the Tienanmen Square protests, massacring hundreds in the square and the surrounding streets. ("Cold War" Chronology) June 5 - Bush announces the suspension of all government-to-government sales and commercial exports of weapons to China. (Dassu & Saich, 237)
- June 16** - Imre Nagy is ceremonially re-buried in Hungary. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- June 17** - Turkish prime minister Turgut Ozal vows to keep the Turkish border open to any ethnic-Turkish Bulgarian who wants to emigrate. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- June 18** - A runoff election is held in Poland. Solidarity captures 7 of the 8 unfilled seats in the Senate and the single unfilled seat in the Sejm. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- June 19** - START negotiations resume in Geneva. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- June 21** - In a private meeting with Admiral Crowe at the Kremlin, Gorbachev uses the word "partnership" to describe the new US-Soviet relationship. (Beschloss & Talbott, 82-83)
- June 22** - The Hungarian Central Committee reorganizes the leadership of the party, creating a four-member presidium with Grosz, Pozgay, Miklos Nemeth, and Rezső Nyers as members. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- June 30** - Polish leader Jaruzelski announces he will not run for the presidency. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- July** - Shevardnadze visits Budapest. He tells Hungarian leaders "Do what you think is best to preserve the position of the Party." (Lévesque, 139)
- July 1** - Speaking on television, Gorbachev warns of ethnic conflict. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- July 2** - Gorbachev speaks with Matlock at a Van Cliburn concert in Moscow, telling him he is unhappy with Bush's recent comments to reporters implying the Soviets should withdraw troops from Poland. Matlock wires Washington, where Bush tells speech writers he doesn't want 'to complicate the lives of Gorbachev and the others...' (Beschloss & Talbott, 85-86)
- July 4** - The Polish parliament convenes. Premier Mieczysław Rakowski and his cabinet offer their resignations but agree to stay on as caretakers. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- July 6** - The former Hungarian leader Kadar dies. The Hungarian Supreme Court rehabilitates Nagy and his associates. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- July 6** - Addressing the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, Gorbachev says the USSR will not block reform in Eastern Europe. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- July 7** - In Bucharest, Gorbachev speaks to Warsaw Pact leaders and seems to accept changes in Poland and Hungary. Ceausescu openly complains about "disunity" within the alliance. Honecker collapses with a gall-bladder ailment and has to return to East Germany. (Beschloss & Talbott, 86; Gates, 466)
- July 9-13** - Bush is hailed by crowds in Poland and Hungary. Bush's cautious speeches

designed not to offend the soviets are later the subject of criticism. (Gates, 466)

**July 9** - Flying to Poland, Bush asks Robert Blackwill and Dennis Ross whether Jaruzelski might not be a "stabilizing force for the future" of Poland. (Beschloss & Talbott, 86-88)

**July 10** - In the USSR a wave of mining strikes begins and continues for several weeks. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**July 10** - Bush meets with Jaruzelski in the morning and tells him he thinks he (Jaruzelski) might be able to "assist in a process, an evolution," in Poland. Jaruzelski, after his unexpectedly long meeting with Bush, later changes his mind and decides to run for the presidency. Speaking before the parliament Bush pledges \$100 million in aid to underwrite private enterprise. Meeting with Walesa in Gdansk, the Solidarity leader complains about what he sees as the small amount of US aid pledged, and asks instead for \$10 billion over three years. (Beschloss & Talbott, 88-89)

**July 12** - Meeting privately with Grosz, Nyers, and Nemeth in Budapest. Bush tells the party leaders he does not want to force them to "choose between East and West." In the afternoon, at the US ambassadorial residence, Pozgay tells the president and Baker that his three colleagues underestimated the difficulties they face in carrying out reforms. Later in the afternoon leaders of the non-communist opposition tell Bush and Baker that Pozgay himself does not fully appreciate the public pressure for reform. Bush tells them he believes the leadership is taking "prudent" steps "in the right direction." He later tells Baker, referring to the opposition, "These really aren't the guys to be running this place. At least not yet." (Beschloss & Talbott, 89-92)

**July 14** - Walesa offers his support for Jaruzelski to be Poland's president. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**July 14** - The CPSU Politburo debates a draft proposal transforming the USSR into a looser federation with a larger degree of republican autonomy. But the discussion stumbles over the issue of legalization the secession of republics. ("The Union Could Have Been Preserved," 61-74)

**July 18** - In an address to the Soviet Central Committee, Gorbachev says the people are losing faith in the Party and threatens to purge officials who oppose *perestroika*. In Poland, Jaruzelski announces his candidacy for the presidency. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**July 18** - Returning to Washington from Paris, Bush writes a secret invitation to Gorbachev to meet him "without thousands of assistants hovering over our shoulders." He waits ten days, then gives the letter to Marshal Sergei Akhromeev, Gorbachev's military advisor, to take to the Soviet leader, so as to avoid leaks. (Beschloss & Talbott, 94 and Oberdorfer, 367)

**July 19** - Jaruzelski is elected president. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**July 22** - The Lithuanian parliament declares the 1940 Soviet annexation of the Baltics illegal. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**July 25** - Jaruzelski invites Solidarity to join a coalition government. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**July 27** - The supreme Soviet votes to approve a resolution supporting Lithuanian and Estonian plans to develop an autonomous, free market system. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**July 28** - The Latvian Supreme Soviet declares sovereignty. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**July 29** - Mieczyslaw Rakowski replaces Jaruzelski as the head of the Polish Communist Party. ("Cold War" Chronology)

- July 29** - In Paris for a peace conference on the Cambodian civil war, Baker meets Shevardnadze who tells him about soviet internal difficulties. Baker says the US will not condone the use of force to "put down strikes and other forms of political activity," and warns against another Tienanmen. Shevardnadze pledges to avoid the use of force in dealing with the republics. Baker later says this meeting was the beginning of his "bonding" with Shevardnadze. He however lets slip the fact that Akhromeev delivered a personal message from Bush to Gorbachev. After the Americans leave, Shevardnadze explodes and accuses them of "going behind his back" in a "double game." He later complains to Baker, who promises, "It won't happen again." (Beschloss & Talbott, 94-97; Oberdorfer 369-370)
- July 30** - The "Inter-regional Group of Deputies" is formed in the USSR Supreme Soviet by Yeltsin, Sakharov, and others. (Garthoff, 391)
- August 8** - Estonia's Supreme Soviet approves legislation requiring two years residency for voting and five years residency to hold a local elected office. Russians living in Estonia strike, and the soviet justice ministry declares the law unconstitutional. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- August 14** - Polish premier Kiszczak announces that he is unable to form a government. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- August 16** - Solidarity and the United Peasants' and Democratic Parties agree to form a coalition government. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- August 17** - President Jaruzelski agrees to the proposed opposition government. He asks only that the PUWP be guaranteed the ministers of defense and interior. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- August 17** - The CPSU Politburo endorses a plan for limited economic autonomy for the fifteen Soviet republics. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- August 18** - Yakovlev holds a press conference to "unequivocally" denounce the 1939 Nazi-Soviet Pact which led to the annexation of the Baltics. However, he states the soviet government still considers the Baltics a part of the USSR and will resist any attempts to dislodge them from the Union. (Beschloss & Talbott, 101)
- August 20** - The PUWP Central Committee adopts a resolution refusing to accept "co responsibility for future developments" if the Party is not given a sufficient number of places in the cabinet. Walesa accuses the Party of blackmail. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- August 21** - 3,000 demonstrators in Prague protest on the 21<sup>st</sup> anniversary of the Warsaw Pact invasion. Security police break up the demonstrations. Turkish premier Ozal closes Turkey's borders to ethnic-Turkish Bulgarians. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- August 22** - The Lithuanian parliament declares the soviet annexation of the Baltics "illegal." (Beschloss & Talbott, 101)
- August 22**- Gorbachev calls the Polish Communist Party leader, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, and persuades him to cooperate in the transfer of power to a Solidarity-led government. (Beschloss & Talbott, 102; Gates, 467; Oberdorfer, 360)
- August 23** - Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn ignores the terms of a 21-year-old treaty and allows East Germans to make their way to the West through Hungary. (Oberdorfer, 362)
- August 23** - Over two million participate in the "Baltic Way" demonstration, a human chain

- across the countries of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- August 24** - Tadeusz Mazowiecki becomes the first noncommunist Polish prime minister since the early postwar period. (Oberdorfer, 361)
- August 26-** The CPSU Central Committee sends a firm warning to the Baltics. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- August 31-** The Moldavian supreme Soviet establishes Moldavian (Moldovan) as the state language and replaces the Cyrillic alphabet with the Latin alphabet. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- September 4** - A general strike begins in Azerbaijan to demand recognition of the National Front and the reasserting of control over Nagorno-Karabakh. The strike subsequently results in a blockade of the principal rail line leading from European Russia into Armenia. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- September 8-10** - Rukh-the national movement in the Ukraine-holds its constituent congress in Kiev and displays the banned blue-and-yellow flag of the independent Ukraine. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- September 9** - Yeltsin arrives in the US for a speaking tour. (Garthoff, 383)
- September 10** - Hungary publicly announces it will no longer prevent East Germans from crossing its border with Austria, allowing 180,000 East Germans across. (Oberdorfer, 362)
- September 11** - Mazowiecki nominates a cabinet in which representative of the Polish Communist Party are a minority. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- September 12** - Bush refuses to receive Yeltsin in the Oval Office and instead "drops in" for fifteen minutes during the latter's meeting with Scowcroft. Quayle also "drops in" and jokes with Yeltsin about their shared press reviews. Afterward, Yeltsin tells the press that he presented a "ten-point plan" to the president and Vice-President to "rescue *perestroika*." (Beschloss & Talbott, 102-105; Gates, 478-479)
- September 18** - Hungary establishes full diplomatic relations with Israel, broken off in 1967. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- September 19** - Speaking on national television, Gorbachev sharply criticizes the separatists in the USSR's national republics. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- September 19-** The Hungarian government and opposition representatives reach an accord to create a multiparty system in 1990. The accord calls for a unicameral legislature to be filled by free elections, a strong presidency with the authority to choose the premier, and the legalization and granting of rights to political parties. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- September 21** - At his first meeting with Bush as president, Shevardnadze advises him to ignore Yeltsin's doom-saying about Gorbachev. He delivers a nine-page letter from Gorbachev suggesting the compromises he is willing to make, concerning primarily SDI. Bush repeats the three points he had earlier asked Thatcher to relay to Gorbachev during her stopover in Moscow from a visit to Tokyo. These are: 1) he supports wholeheartedly *perestroika*; 2) he is not alarmed by reports the soviet Union is about to collapse; and 3) his policy toward Eastern Europe will not exploit the situation there or threaten the soviet Union. That evening Baker advises the foreign minister to "cut the Baltics loose." (Beschloss & Talbott, 103-111, 117-118; Garthoff, 383)
- September 22-23** - Shevardnadze and Baker spend time at the latter's ranch in Wyoming.

They discuss START, chemical weapons, regional conflicts, and independence movements in the USSR. Shevardnadze proposes that in return for separate talks on the aspects of SD1 which might be covered under the ABM treaty, the Soviet Union would be willing to sign and implement a START treaty without a separate accord limiting space-based weapons. Baker turns down the idea. (Beschloss & Talbott, 112, 119-120; Garthoff, 384)

**September 23** - The Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet makes Azeri the official language, reasserts sovereignty over Nagorno-Karabakh, and reaffirms Azerbaijan's right of secession from the USSR. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**September 24** - The Parliaments in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan make Kazakh and Kyrgyz their official state languages, respectively. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**September 27** - Slovenia adopts amendments to its constitution allowing the republic to secede from Yugoslavia. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**October 2** - Large anti-Communist demonstrations begin in Leipzig. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**October 6** - Gorbachev meets with Honecker in East Berlin and advises that he begin a reform program. He later tells aides that Honecker "can't stay in control" and must go. (Beschloss & Talbott, 133)

**October 7** - The Hungarian Communist Party formally dissolves itself, renaming itself the Hungarian Socialist Party and adopting democratic socialist politics instead of Marxism. (Oberdorfer, 362-363)

**October 8** - The Latvian Popular Front endorses the goal of independence. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**October 9** - 50,000 East Germans march in Leipzig against the East German regime. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**October 9** - The USSR Supreme Soviet approves a bill allowing workers to strike. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**October 9** - 70,000 East Germans demonstrate against the East German government in Leipzig. The local communist leaders refuse to attack the marchers. (Oberdorfer, 363)

**October 12** - The Polish government announces the introduction of anti-inflationary measures and promises the "full introduction of market mechanisms and institutions" in 1990-1991. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**October 17** - Honecker is forced to resign both his office of general secretary and head of state. He is replaced by Egon Krenz, the former security chief and the youngest member of the Politburo. (*Washington Post*, 10/22/89 and Oberdorfer, 398)

**October 18** - The Hungarian parliament rewrites the constitution to permit a multi-party system, scheduling elections for 1990. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**October 23** - Hungary adopts a new constitution and changes its name to the Republic of Hungary. Acting president Matyas Szuros declares the 1956 Soviet invasion to have been illegal. (Beschloss & Talbott, 123 and Oberdorfer, 363)

**October 23** - Two to three hundred thousand East Germans demonstrate against the government in Leipzig. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**October 23** - Shevardnadze, speaking to the Supreme Soviet, criticizes the invasion of Afghanistan, saying it "violated general human values." (Beschloss & Talbott, 123)

**October 25** - Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov declares the Brezhnev doctrine dead, promising the USSR will allow Eastern Bloc states to "do it their way" something Gerasimov jokingly terms the "Sinatra doctrine." (Beschloss and Talbott, 134 and Oberdorfer, 355)

- October 26** - Shevardnadze calls for the dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Pact. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- October 27** - East Germany offers amnesty for citizens who have fled the country and for those facing prosecution for demonstrating. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- October 28** - 10,000 protesters gather in Wenceslas Square to mark the 71st anniversary of the formation of Czechoslovakia. Demonstrators ignore demands to leave the square. Riot police storm the crowd; 355 demonstrators are arrested. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- October 31** - New East German leader Krenz visits Gorbachev at the Kremlin to ask his assistance in fending off the challenge of his reform rival, Hans Modrow. Gorbachev consents. (Beschloss & Talbott, 134)
- October 31** - Facing growing economic problems, Krenz authorizes secret meetings with West Germany to obtain emergency loans in exchange for certain liberalization of movement of individuals between the two Germanys. (Lévesque, 158)
- November 1** - From Moscow Gorbachev calls on Krenz to speed up reforms and open borders to "avoid an explosion." (Beschloss & Talbott, 134)
- November 1** - East Germany re-opens its borders with Czechoslovakia. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- November 3** - Czechoslovakia opens its borders for the transit of East Germans. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- November 3** - The Bulgarian environmentalist group Eco-Glasnost holds pro-democracy demonstrations in Sofia. An estimated 9,000 demonstrators attend the demonstration. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- November 4** - 500,000 East Germans demonstrate for democracy in East Berlin. (Oberdorfer, 363)
- November 7** - The East German premier Stoph and his cabinet resign. (Oberdorfer, 363)
- November 8** - Hans Modrow is named the new premier in East Germany. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- November 9** - Kohl visits Warsaw.
- November 9** - The CPSU Politburo debates a proposal to grant Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Byelorussia the rights of "economic self-accountability." Most Politburo members are deeply skeptical about this half-measure and warn that the Baltics are determined to secede from the USSR. But Gorbachev believes that there are no grounds for panic and that the secessionist threat should not be "exaggerated." ("The Union Could Have Been Preserved," 75-77)
- November 9** - The GDR announces the opening of all borders, including the Berlin Wall. Berliners from both sides of the wall crossed through the eight check points, and with emotions high, people on both sides began to chip away at the concrete and steel barrier. While the Soviet response to the events in Berlin were muted, polls showed the American public saw the event as "exciting and encouraging" Bush tells aides, "If the Soviets are going to let the Communists fall in East Germany, they've got to be really serious-more serious than I realized." (Beschloss & Talbott, 132; Oberdorfer, 363-365)
- November 9** - Zhivkov, the general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party since 1954 and president since 1971, is deposed and replaced by Petar T. Mladenov. (Garthoff, 399; Oberdorfer, 365-366)
- November 12** - Adamec, Czechoslovakia's premier, declares that exit visas will no longer be needed to leave the country. ("Cold War" Chronology)

- November 12** - The Estonian Supreme Soviet annuls the 1940 request for incorporation into the USSR by the Estonian parliament. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- November 13** - The East German parliament, the Volkskammer, confirms Modrow to replace Stoph as premier. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- November 16** - Moldavian First Secretary Semen Grossu is replaced by Petru Lucinschi (Petr Luchinskii) following rioting in Kishinev. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- November 17** - A demonstration in Prague to mark the 50th anniversary of the death of a student killed by the Nazis turns into an anti-government protest. The demonstrators march to Wenceslas Square where they are confronted by riot police and anti-terrorist squads. The violent outcome of the march sparks more demonstrations and a general strike. (Ash, 80-82)
- November 17** - Modrow disbands the East German Ministry for State Security. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- November 17** - Mladenov is elected president of Bulgaria. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- November 19** - The Civic Forum is formed in Prague as an umbrella opposition organization. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- November 19** - The Georgian Supreme Soviet declares sovereignty and resolves that the Soviet occupation of Georgia in 1921 was an abrogation of the 1920 treaty between Georgia and Russia. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- November 20** - Mass demonstrations take place in Prague's Wenceslas Square. (Oberdorfer, 366)
- November 21** - A closed door meeting is held between Czechoslovak premier Ladislav Adamec and the leaders of the Civic Forum. Havel later announces that Adamec promised not to impose martial law and to investigate charges of brutality of the security forces. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- November 23** -- Dubcek makes his first public appearance in 21 years at a 70,000 person anti-government demonstration in Bratislava. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- November 24** - Ceausescu is elected to another term as Party general secretary. Ceausescu calls the Communist Party the "vital center" of Romanian life. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- November 24** - Jakes, head of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party, resigns along with the secretariat. He is replaced by Karl Urbánek. (Oberdorfer, 366)
- November 26** - Hungary holds a national referendum on whether the president should be selected by direct elections or by the new parliament in 1990. Voters choose the parliamentary election of the president. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- November 26** - Adamec holds his first one-on-one meeting with Havel. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- November 27** - The CPSU Politburo condemns the attempt by the Lithuanian Communist Party to remove itself from Moscow's control. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- November 28** - Kohl unveils a plan for German reunification. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- November 28** - In Czechoslovakia, Adamec, now serving in a caretaker role after resigning on the 25th, pledges to give up the Communist monopoly on power. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- November 28** - The USSR Supreme Soviet votes to end direct rule over Nagorno-Karabakh despite protests from deputies from Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- November 29** - The Czechoslovak parliament removes the "leading role" of the Communist Party clause from the constitution. ("Cold War" Chronology)

- November 30** - The Czechoslovak government announces that the border with Austria will be opened and all remaining travel restrictions to the West will be dropped. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- November 30** - Speaking in Rome, Gorbachev calls for a "common European home." ("Cold War" Chronology)
- December 1** - Gorbachev meets with Pope John Paul II and promises to reestablish diplomatic relations and enact a law guaranteeing the freedom of conscience and the legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. (Beschloss & Talbott, 149; Oberdorfer, 377)
- December 1** - The East German parliament abolishes the Communist Party's special status. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- December 2** - Amid a storm the Maltese call the worst in five years, Bush meets with Gorbachev aboard the Maksim Gor'kii. Bush suggests a number of specific points on START which Baker and Shevardnadze can begin working on in January. He also brings up the issue of reducing chemical weapons stocks and offers to trade information on military spending and production. Bush presses Gorbachev forcefully on the Soviet role in Central America; this becomes a point of contention between the two leaders during their subsequent private conversation. After lunch Bush returns to the Belknap despite the rough seas and Gorbachev's offer to stay on board the Soviet ship to ensure that the talks can resume for the scheduled 4:30 session. The storm prevents Bush from returning to the Gor'kii and the first day's talks end precipitously amid media comments threatening a public relations debacle. (Beschloss & Talbott, 153-161; Matlock, 271-274; Oberdorfer, 377-380)
- December 3** - With the storm abating in the morning both sides agree nonetheless to meet on the more stable Gor'kii rather than the Belknap, as originally scheduled. Gorbachev asserts that the Soviet Union does not wish to see the US leave Europe, possibly to balance the potential power of a unified Germany. He proclaims that the Soviet Union no longer views the US as an enemy. However, Gorbachev complains about US rhetoric over Eastern Europe and both sides agree to use the term "democratic values" to describe the wave of sentiment there, as opposed to the moniker "Western values," which Bush had been using in his pronouncements. On the issue of the Baltics, Gorbachev promises not to use force and Bush not to create problems for the Soviets in this arena. At the summarizing press conference Gerasimov says, "We buried the Cold War at the bottom of the Mediterranean Sea." (Beschloss & Talbott, 161-165; Matlock, 271-274; Oberdorfer, 381-382)
- December 3** - The East German Politburo resigns, including Krenz and Modrow. Krenz remains on as general secretary, Modrow as premier; Honecker and Stoph are expelled from the party. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- December 3** - The Civic Forum, Czechoslovakia's main opposition organization, rejects Adamec's proposal for a cabinet headed by him and including non-communists. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- December 4** - Gorbachev meets in Moscow with leaders of the Warsaw Pact nations (Bulgaria is represented by Petur Mladenov; Czechoslovakia by Karl Urbanek; East Germany by Krenz and Modrow; Hungary by Reszo Nyers; Poland by Tadeusz Mazowiecki; Romania by Ceausescu). They issue a condemnation of the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia, though Ceausescu refuses to sign it. (Beschloss & Talbott, 169-70; Oberdorfer, 385-386)
- December 5** - A new Czechoslovak cabinet is formed with a non-communist majority.

("Cold War" Chronology)

- December 6** - Krenz resigns as East Germany's head of state and chairman of the council on national defense. He is replaced by Manfred Gerlach as interim president. The council on national defense disbands. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- December 7** - The East German government announces multi-party elections scheduled for May 6, 1990. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- December 7** - Adamec leaves the office of prime minister and is replaced by Marian Calfa. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- December 7** - Former General Secretary Jakes is expelled from the Czechoslovak Communist Party. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- December 7** - The Lithuanian parliament abolishes the special status of the Communist Party. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- December 7-9** - Independent opposition groups in Bulgaria merge to form the Union of Democratic Forces. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- December 9** - Gregor Gysi replaces Krenz as East Germany's Communist Party chairman. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- December 10** - Husák, leader of the Czechoslovak Communist Party from 1968 to December 1987 and president since May 1975, resigns the presidency. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- December 11** - Bulgarian leader Mladenov announces support for free elections and pledges to end the Party's leading role in society. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- December 12** - The second session of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies convenes. Gorbachev refuses to discuss the elimination of Article VI from the constitution and hounds Sakharov from the podium. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- December 13** - Zhivkov is expelled from the Bulgarian Communist Party. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- December 13** - Twenty-four Western nations announce a \$1 billion emergency fund for Poland's economy. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- December 14** - Andrei Sakharov dies. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- December 14** - 20,000 protesters surround the Bulgarian parliament building and demand an end to the Communist Party's political monopoly. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- December 17** - Romanian security forces fire on demonstrators in Timisoara. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- December 17** - The East German Communist Party changes its name from the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) to the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism (SED-PDS). ("Cold War" Chronology)
- December 18** - The European Economic Community and the Soviet Union sign a ten-year commercial agreement. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- December 19** - Modrow and Kohl meet in Dresden. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- December 20** - Lithuania's Communist Party votes to declare independence from Moscow. Gorbachev expresses alarm at this announcement. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- December 20** - The Soviet Union agrees to open negotiations on the issue of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia. ("Cold War" Chronology)
- December 22** - After a staged Ceausescu speech in Bucharest's main square disintegrates into chaos, catcalls, and gunshots, the Romanian dictator flees in a helicopter. The "National Salvation Front" announces itself as the new government, including a number of former Ceausescu aides together with a handful of dissidents. Several days of sporadic street battles ensue, involving Securitate forces primarily versus the army,

which supports the NSF. The Soviet government hails the overthrow of Ceausescu as "the will of the Romanian people."

**December 23** - The Brandenburg Gate is reopened in Berlin. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**December 23** - In an impromptu speech, Gorbachev says the efforts of Lithuanian secessionists will "sow discord, bloodshed, and death." ("Cold War" Chronology)

**December 23** - Ion Iliescu declares himself in favor of a renovated socialism. He calls for a program of action that commits itself to promoting the "common values of humanity." (Lévesque, 199)

**December 24** - On NBC's "Meet the Press" Baker says the US will not object if the Warsaw Pact intervenes in Romania. Shevardnadze tells Matlock that Baker's comments are "stupid." (Beschloss & Talbott, 170-171 and Garthoff, 408)

**December 24** - The USSR Supreme Soviet declares the secret protocol to the Nazi-Soviet Pact invalid but does not rescind the incorporation of the Baltic States as a result of that agreement. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**December 25** - Ceausescu and his wife Elena are executed after a hasty trial by military tribunal. (Oberdorfer, 386; Garthoff, 604)

**December 25-26** - The CPSU Central Committee rejects the Lithuanian Communist Party's declaration of independent status. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**December 28** - The Latvian parliament abolishes the special status of the Communist Party. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**December 28** - The Czechoslovakian parliament elects Dubcek as chairman. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**December 29** - The National Salvation Front Romania's provisional government-announces that Romania is no longer a communist state. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**December 29** - Havel is elected Czechoslovakia's new president. Dubcek becomes speaker of the federal assembly. ("Cold War" Chronology)

**December 30** - Poland changes its name to the Republic of Poland. ("Cold War" Chronology)

