“Trust, but Verify”
Confidence and Distrust from Détente to the End of the Cold War

Conference at the Woodrow Wilson International Center Scholars & the German Historical Institute, Washington, DC, November 7 - 9, 2011

Conveners: Martin Klimke (German Historical Institute, Washington, DC); Reinhild Kreis (History Department, University of Augsburg); Sonya Michel (United States Studies, Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington, DC); Christian Ostermann (Cold War International History Project, Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington, DC)

Program

Monday, November 7

Location: German Historical Institute, Washington, DC

4:00 pm Welcome at the GHI

4:15 – 5:30 pm PANEL 1: The Personal Factor

Chair: Andreas Daum (SUNY, Buffalo)

Patrick Vaughan (Jagiellonian University, Krakow)
Zbigniew Brzezinski as Mediator between the U.S., Poland, and Solidarity in the 1980s Soviet-Chinese Dimension
presented by: Laura Considine, Nicholas Wheeler

J. Simon Rofe (University of Leicester)
Trust between Adversaries and Allies: President George H.W. Bush, Trust and the End of the Cold War
presented by: Joseph P. Harahan

5:30 – 6:00 pm Coffee Break

6:00 – 7:15 pm Keynote Address
Ute Frevert (Max Planck Institute for Human Development)
Emotions in History

7:15 – 9:00 pm Reception at the GHI
Tuesday, November 8

Location: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

9:00 – 10:30 am  **Keynote Address**  
Deborah Welch Larson (UCLA)  
*Trust and Mistrust during the Cold War*

10:30 – 11:00 am  **Coffee Break**

11:00 – 12:00 am  **PANEL 2: Framing Trust: The Blocs at the Negotiation Table**

Chair: Reinhold Kreis (University of Augsburg)

Michael Cotey Morgan (U.S. Naval War College)  
*The Closed Society and Its Enemies: Confidence and Distrust at the CSCE, 1969-1975*  
presented by: Arvid Schors

Sarah Snyder (University College London)  
*No Crowing: Reagan, Trust, and Human Rights*  
presented by: Rinna Elina Kullaa

12:00 – 2:00 pm  **Lunch Break**

2:00 – 3:00 pm  **PANEL 3: Inside the Blocs: East and West I**

Chair: Sonya Michel (Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington, DC)

Jens Giesek (Centre for Contemporary History, Potsdam)  
*Whom Did East Germans Trust? Popular Opinion on Threats of War, Confrontation, and Détente in the GDR, 1968-1989*  
presented by: Aryo Makko

Jens Boysen (GHI Warsaw)  
*“Brothers in Arms,” But Not Quite: East Germany and People’s Poland between Mutual Dependency and Mutual Distrust, 1975-1990*  
presented by: Martin Klimke

3:00 – 3:30 pm  **Coffee Break**
3:30 – 4:30 pm  **PANEL 4: Inside the Blocs: East and West II**

Chair: Christian Ostermann (Woodrow Wilson Center)

**Emmanuel Mourlon-Druol** (London School of Economics)
*Institutionalizing Trust? Regular Summity (G7s and European Councils) from the Mid-1970s until the Late 1980s*
presented by: Patrick Vaughan

**Noel Bonhomme** (Université Paris, Sorbonne)
*Summity and (Mis)trust: The Case of the G7 Summits, 1975-1990*
presented by: J. Simon Rofe

4:30 – 5:00 pm  **Coffee Break**

5:00 – 6:30 pm  **PANEL 5: On the sidelines or in the Middle? Small and Neutral states**

Chair: Bernd Schäfer (Woodrow Wilson Center)

**Effie G. H. Pedaliu** (University of the West of England, Bristol)
*“Footnotes” as an Expression of Distrust? The U.S. and the NATO “Flanks” in the Last Two Decades of the Cold War*
presented by: Michael Cotey Morgan

**Aryo Makko** (Stockholm University & Graduate Institute Geneva)
*A Neutral Trust Regime? Sweden and the Cold War, 1969-1991*
presented by: Sarah Snyder

**Rinna Elina Kullaa** (University of Jyväskylä)
*Foreign Policy of Neutralism as a Trust-Building Mechanism: Finland, the Soviet Union, and the United States, 1961-1975*
presented by: Jens Gieseke

8:00  **Dinner**
Rosemary’s Thyme Bistro
1801 18th Street, NW
Washington, DC 20009
Tel: 202 332-3200
Wednesday, November 9

Location: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars

9:00 – 10:30 am  **PANEL 6: Implementation and Verification**

Chair: Jeffrey Herf (University of Maryland)  
**Arvid Schors** (University of Freiburg)  
*Substituting Trust to Convince Doubting Thomases’: Trust and Mistrust and the Verification of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) in the 1970s*  
presented by: Jens Boysen

**Laura Considine, Nicholas Wheeler** (Aberystwyth University)  
*Reagan may have had Trust in Gorbachev, but the United States demanded Verification of the Soviet Union: Lessons from the Making of the INF Treaty*  
presented by: Emmanuel Mourlon-Druol

**Joseph P. Harahan** (U.S. Department of Defense)  
*Building Confidence and Trust between the United States and the Soviet Union during Implementation of the INF Treaty*  
presented by: Noel Bonhomme

10:30 – 11:00 am  **Coffee Break**

11:00 – 12:00 am  **Concluding Discussion**  
Chair: Martin Klimke (GHI)