Hannes Adomeit

Imperial Overstretch: Germany in Soviet Policy from Stalin to Gorbachev

An Analysis Based on New Archival Evidence, Memoirs, and Interviews



Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft Baden-Baden

> المين التي من المالي المعالم المعالم. الإسلام التي العالية المعالم المعالية المعالية المعالية المعالية المعالية المعالية المعالية المعالية المعالية ا الإسلام المعالية المع

Contents

PREFACE	7
INTRODUCTION	11
PART ONE: THE SOVIET EMPIRE	23
Chapter 1: Theoretical and Conceptual Considerations	
1. Conceptual Approaches	25
2. Metrocentric Approaches	29
3. Pericentric Approaches	31
4. International Systemic and Structural Approaches	35
5. Transnational Approaches	42
6. An Integrative Approach	46
PART TWO: EXPANSION	49
Chapter 2: The Imperial and Ideological Paradigm	51
1. Parameters of the Paradigm	51
2. The Division of Germany: Design or Default?	57
3. The Paradigm Applied: East Germany and Eastern Europe	71
4. The Impact of the Berlin Blockade and the Korean War	80
5. Stalin's 1952 "Peace Note": Lost Opportunity or Political Maneuver?	2 87
6. Imperial Dilemmas: Beria and the Crisis in the GDR	92
7. Imperial Dilemmas: The Berlin Wall	100
8. Consolidation of the Soviet Empire and the "Correlation of Forces"	109
9. Soviet Responses to West Germany's Ostpolitik	114
10. Soviet Responses to East Germany's Assertiveness	120
PART THREE: CRISIS	
Chapter 3: The Comprehensive Crisis of Empire	133
1. The Crisis of Ideology	133
2. Military Power and Declining Political Influence	136
3. Declining Economic Performance and the "Costs of Empire"	143
4. The Domestic Political Crisis	150
5. The Impact of the Crisis on Soviet-East German Relations	157
6. The Impact of the Crisis on Soviet-West German Relations	164
7. Debts, Dependency, and Intra-German Relations	167
8. <i>Pravda</i> Articles of Faith	172
9. The Chernenko-Honecker Emergency Meeting in Moscow	175

• •

PAR	RT FOUR: COLLAPSE	191
Chapter 4: Gorbachev's Old and New Thinking		193
1. 2. 3. 4.	The Paradigm of New Thinking Gorbachev: A Political Profile Gorbachev's Perceptions of the German Problem East Germany: Strategic Ally but Waning Economic Asset West Germany: Troublesome Tenant in Gorbachev's	193 198 215 220 241
7 .	"Common House of Europe" Priority for the Relations with the United States German Unification in a "Hundred Years" Gorbachev's Eastern Europe: Decline of the Will to Empire	252 259 271
Cha	pter 5: Domestic Implications of Gorbachev's German Policy	299
2. 3. 4. 5 <i>.</i>	The Institutional Setting The Academy of Sciences: International Relations Institutes and Specialists The Ministry of Foreign Affairs The CPSU: Politburo, Secretariat, and Central Committee Departments The Ministry of Defense and the Armed Forces The KGB	299 302 314 326 346 364
Cha	pter 6: The Last Crisis	381
2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7.	The Transformed Internal and International Setting The Demise of the Honecker Regime Gorbachev and Krenz The Collapse of the Berlin Wall German Unification on the International Agenda Gorbachev's Acceptance of German Unification Gorbachev's Consent to United Germany's Membership in NATO The "Price Tag" of the Consent	381 401 417 431 441 463 491 539
CO	NCLUSIONS	559
AP	PENDIX	575
	Notes on Archival Research Biographical Notes List of Interviews Bibliography Glossary and Abbreviations	575 577 580 581 607