

Hannes Adomeit

Imperial Overstretch: Germany in Soviet Policy from Stalin to Gorbachev

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

2nd Edition



Nomos

SWP

Table of Contents

List of Tables	9
PREFACE	11
Persisting Myths	11
‘Imperial Overstretch’ under Putin	12
‘Eastern Europe’	13
Personal Background and Thanks	14
Transliteration of Russian Terms	16
INTRODUCTION	17
Sources of Evidence	28
PART ONE: THE SOVIET EMPIRE	31
Chapter 1: Theoretical and Conceptual Considerations	33
1. Conceptual Approaches	33
2. Metrocentric Approaches	38
3. Pericentric Approaches	41
4. International Systemic and Structural Approaches	46
5. Transnational Approaches	55
6. An Integrative Approach	60
PART TWO: EXPANSION	65
Chapter 2: The Imperial and Ideological Paradigm	67
1. Parameters of the Paradigm	67
2. The Division of Germany: Design or Default?	75
3. The Paradigm Applied: East Germany and Eastern Europe	91
4. The Impact of the Berlin Blockade and the Korean War	102

Table of Contents

5. Stalin's 1952 'Peace Note': Lost Opportunity or Political Manoeuvre?	110
6. Imperial Dilemmas: Beria and the Crisis in the GDR	116
7. Imperial Dilemmas: The Berlin Wall	125
8. Consolidation of the Soviet Empire and the 'Correlation of Forces'	137
9. Soviet Responses to West Germany's Ostpolitik	142
10. Soviet Responses to East Germany's Assertiveness	150
Chapter 3: The Comprehensive Crisis of Empire	163
1. The Crisis of Ideology	163
2. Military Power and Declining Political Influence	167
3. Declining Economic Performance and the "Costs of Empire"	174
4. The Domestic Political Crisis	183
5. The Impact of the Crisis on Soviet-East German Relations	191
6. The Impact of the Crisis on Soviet-West German Relations	199
7. Debts, Dependency, and Intra-German Relations	203
8. Pravda Articles of Faith	209
9. The Chernenko-Honecker Emergency Meeting in Moscow	212
Summary	228
PART FOUR: COLLAPSE	231
Chapter 4: Gorbachev's Old and New Thinking	233
1. The Paradigm of New Thinking	233
2. Gorbachev: A Political Profile	239
3. Gorbachev's Perceptions of the German Problem	259
4. East Germany: Strategic Ally but Waning Economic Asset	266
5. West Germany: Troublesome Tenant in Gorbachev's 'Common House of Europe'	291
6. Priority for the Relations with the United States	305

7. German Unification in a 'Hundred Years'	313
8. Gorbachev and Eastern Europe: Decline of the Will to Empire	328
Summary	357
Chapter 5: Domestic Implications of Gorbachev's German Policy	361
1. The Institutional Setting	361
2. The Academy of Sciences: International Relations Institutes and Specialists	365
3. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs	379
4. The CPSU: Politburo, Secretariat, and Central Committee Departments	393
5. The Ministry of Defense and the Armed Forces	416
6. The KGB	438
Chapter 6: The Last Crisis	463
1. The Transformed Internal and International Setting	463
2. The Demise of the Honecker Regime	488
3. Gorbachev and Krenz	508
4. The Collapse of the Berlin Wall	525
5. German Unification on the International Agenda	536
6. Gorbachev's Acceptance of German Unification	563
7. Gorbachev's Consent to United Germany's Membership in NATO	597
8. The 'Price Tag' of the Consent	659
CONCLUSIONS	683
The Gorbachev Era	687
Collapse of the Soviet Empire: The Utility of Theories of Imperialism	695
Lessons Unlearned: Putin in Brezhnev's Footsteps	702

Table of Contents

APPENDIX	709
Notes on Archival Research	711
Biographical Notes	713
List of Interviews	717
Bibliography	719
Glossary and Abbreviations	743
Register	747