

APPENDIX

Notes on Archival Research

One of the most important sources used here are the archives of the East German communist party, the *Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands* (SED). They are to be found in the *Institut für Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung, Zentrales Parteiarchiv* (Institute for the History of the Workers' Movement, Central Party Archives), referred to in the footnotes as SED, Central Party Archives. The archives are now under the administration of the German federal government and called *Bundesarchiv für Partei- und Massenorganisationen der ehemaligen DDR* (Federal Archives of the Party and Mass Organizations of the Former GDR).

The archives are important for a number of reasons. The first is their broad scope, covering the period from 1949 to 1989 and including the *Arbeitsprotokolle*, or official records of the Politburo sessions; personal files of the party chief and Politburo members (Büro Honecker, Krenz, Hager, and Axen, for instance); and the files of the CC secretariats and departments. Apparently not in their worst nightmares did the East German leaders imagine that the records of their private conversations and crimes would see the light of day. This pertains even to the records of private conversations in cars to and from airports and to what the top party leaders told each other in closed session at Warsaw Pact summit conferences. A second reason is their accessibility. The 'red Prussians' certainly lived up to their reputation for order and thorough work (*deutsche Ordnung und Gründlichkeit*). Everything is neatly ordered and easy to find. Third, they are highly reliable. Given the importance of the Soviet connection for the survival of the regime, the Politburo wanted to have a complete and accurate record of every nuance and shading of what the 'Soviet comrades' said, thought, and did. Because of this, it is difficult to imagine GDR scribes putting a negative or positive slant on the Soviet position as reflected in secret, confidential, or open meetings. Through interviews with the participants he author, furthermore, had the opportunity to gain important insights into the context of conversations, negotiations, and decisions.

Given the importance of the East German communist party archives, it is not surprising that Gorbachev attempted to prevent their publication. A letter dated 13 March 1991 and addressed to Ivan Ivashko, the deputy chief of the CPSU, revealed that Gorbachev had sent a confidential letter

to Chancellor Kohl, appealing to him to try to stop the opening of the SED archives. The letter noted that a first request had not borne fruit. But perhaps, it continued, one should renew the request in a coming meeting with Foreign Minister Genscher or by phone with the chancellor. The letter is part of the so-called Special File, a highly secret repository used by the communist party leaders from Lenin to Gorbachev. They were declassified but not published despite or because of the on-going preparations for a constitutional court hearing on the fate of the then banned CPSU.¹⁷⁴¹

The reasons for Gorbachev's intervention may have been both personal and political. When he was taking the initiative for the suppression of the documents he was nominally still head of the CPSU. The transcripts in the archives would show him numerous times in confidential conversations and meetings with East German friends and comrades assuring them of the unwavering support they would receive from the Soviet party and its general secretary. But in his capacity as executive president of the Soviet Union he would eventually abandon East Germany and agree to German unification and unified Germany's membership in NATO. In the internal struggles in the party and with the nationalist opposition this would be further proof of Gorbachev's treacherous double-dealing.

But another reason was probably more important. The East German archives, he told Ivashko, contained 'documents connected with the activities of illegal communist parties, which the SED has assisted in coordination with us' and of secret assistance provided to West German organizations. This is also the reason why Gregor Gysi, the last party chief of the SED and also the head of its successor organization, the PDS, had warned Falin in a confidential conversation the day before Gorbachev's letter that publication of the archives would be 'a real catastrophe'.¹⁷⁴²

Some of the transcripts are in direct speech, others in indirect speech. To preserve consistency and readability, direct speech has been used throughout in this book. When indirect speech was used in the original, this has been indicated accordingly in the footnote.

1741 The documents were shown to Paul Quinn-Judge, Moscow correspondent of the *Boston Globe*; a report on the circumstances and the content of the letter was published by the paper on 29 May 1992.

1742 Ibid.

Biographical Notes

The biographical data are not meant to be exhaustive. For the most part, in this book information has been provided about the offices held by Soviet and German officials only where this appeared relevant to an understanding of their role in decision-making.

Arbatov, Georgi A., 1968-96, Director of the Institute for the Study of the USA and Canada under the Soviet (later the Russian) Academy of Sciences, member of the Academy of Sciences, the Central Committee of the CPSU, and the Supreme Soviet of the USSR; advisor to all six Soviet and Russian leaders, from Khrushchev to Yeltsin.

Axen, Hermann, 1970-89, Politburo member and secretary of the SED CC for foreign relations.

Boldin, Valery, 1981 joined Gorbachev's staff as an adviser on agricultural questions and advanced in conjunction with his chief's career; 1986 candidate member and 1988 full member of the Central Committee; 1987-90, head of the CC's General Department; 1990-91, Gorbachev's chief of staff and in that capacity helped execute the August 1991 coup attempt against the president.

Bykov, Vladimir L., 1986-91, section head in the Fourth European Department of the Soviet foreign ministry dealing with the socialist countries of Europe, including the GDR.

Chernyaev, Anatoli S., 1970-86, deputy head of the CPSU CC International Department; starting from February 1986, chief foreign policy advisor to Gorbachev.

Dashichev, Vyacheslav I., sector head, professor and German expert at the Institute for the Study of the Economy of World Socialism at the USSR Academy of Sciences in Moscow.

Falin, Valentin M., 1971-78, Soviet ambassador to West Germany; 1978-83, deputy head of the CPSU CC's International Information Department; 1983-86, political commentator for *Izvestiia*; 1986-88, chief of Novosti press agency; 1988-91, head of the reorganized ID.

Gerasimov, Gennadi I., 1986-90, Soviet foreign ministry spokesman under Shevardnadze; 1991, Soviet ambassador to Portugal.

Gorinovich, Gorald N., 1971-84, *chargé d'affaires* at the Soviet embassy in East Berlin; 1984-86, deputy head of the Third European department at the Soviet foreign ministry; 1986-90, chief of the MFA's department for European socialist countries.

Grigoriev, Sergei A., 1984-90, official in the American section of the ID; from October 1990 until July 1991 deputy press spokesman for Gorbachev.

- Honecker*, Erich, 1971-89, General Secretary of the SED; 1973-89, chairman of the State Council of the GDR.
- Kornienko*, Georgi M., 1977-86, first deputy foreign minister of the Soviet Union; 1986-91, deputy chief of the ID.
- Krenz*, Egon, 1976-89, candidate member and – after 1983 – full member of SED Politburo; 1983-89, CC secretary responsible for security; replaced Erich Honecker as party chief on 18 October 1989.
- Kvitsinsky*, Yuli A., 1959-65, Soviet embassy official in East Berlin; 1978- 81, Soviet embassy official in Bonn; 1981-83, head of the Soviet delegation at the Geneva INF talks; 1986-90, ambassador in Bonn; May 1990 until September 1991, deputy and first deputy foreign minister.
- Maksimychev*, Igor F., one of the few progressive *germanisty* in the Soviet foreign ministry under Shevardnadze; 1956-58, official at the Soviet consulate in Leipzig; 1958-60 and 1976-84, posted to the Soviet embassy in Bonn; 1987-92, deputy chief of mission at the Soviet embassy in East Berlin.
- Medvedev*, Vadim A., 1986-90, Secretary, CC CPSU; 1988-90, full member of the Politburo; 1986-88, head of the Department for Liaison with Communist and Workers' Parties of Socialist Countries; 1988-90, CC secretary responsible for ideological questions, chairman of the CC's Ideological Commission, and member of the Politburo's Commission for Further Study of Materials and Documents Related to the Repressions of the Stalin Years.
- Mittag*, Günter, 1986-89, SED Politburo member and CC secretary responsible for economic affairs.
- Rykin*, Viktor S., 1970-90, official in the CPSU Central Committee's international department, responsible for relations with Western political parties and movements, notably the social-democratic parties of Western Europe; 1988-90, ID deputy head; interpreter for Gorbachev on numerous occasions, including Gorbachev's first visit to West Germany in 1975.
- Schabowski*, Günter, 1985-89, Politburo member and first secretary of the SED's Berlin district.
- Shakhnazarov*, Georgi K., 1969 deputy head, 1986 - October 1988, first deputy head of the Department for Liaison with Socialist Countries; October 1988, appointed special assistant to Gorbachev for relations with the socialist countries; in addition, from autumn 1989, special assistant to Gorbachev on Soviet legal issues; 1989-91, member of Supreme Soviet and Congress of People's Deputies.
- Steinbach*, Thilo, March 1990 - October 1990, foreign policy aide to East German Prime Minister Lothar de Maizière.
- Tarasenko*, Sergei P., 1986-90, personal aide to foreign minister Shevardnadze.
- Teltschik*, Horst, 1982-91, department head in the West German chancellery's office and chief advisor to Chancellor Kohl on foreign policy.

Tsipko, Alexandr S., December 1986 - November 1989, Central Committee consultant in the Department for Liaison with the Communist and Workers' Parties of Socialist Countries (later renamed Department for Relations with Communist and Workers' Parties of Eastern Europe), with GDR and Poland as a special sphere of responsibility.

Wolf, Markus, 1951-87, GDR Ministry of Security; his last position was chief of the main intelligence directorate and deputy minister.

Yakovlev, Alexander N., June 1987 - July 1991, member of CPSU Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; 1988-90, CC secretary in the Politburo responsible for the ID (that is, ID *kurator*); January 1990 - July 1991, head of the CC Foreign Policy Commission; one of Gorbachev's closest and most influential advisers.

Zagladin, Vadim V., 1967-88, first deputy head of Central Committee's International Department.

List of Interviews

The author conducted interviews with the following Western, Soviet, and East German party or government officials:

Blech, Klaus, ambassador, May 1991, March 1992, and June 1993, in Moscow.

Braithwaite, Sir Roderic, ambassador, 30 April 1994, in St. Petersburg.

Bykov, Vladimir L., 29 June 1993, in Bonn.

Chernyaev, Anatoli S. , 25 June 1993 and 29 April 1994, in Moscow.

Dashichev, Vyacheslav I., 29 June 1993, in Bonn.

Gerasimov, Gennadi I., 25 June 1993, in Moscow.

Grigoriev, Sergei A., 23 and 27 March 1994, in Boston.

Krenz, Egon, 23 and 26 July 1993, in Berlin.

Kvitsinsky, Yuli A., 5 June 1994, in Berlin.

Maksimych, Igor F., 2 June 1993, in Moscow.

Palazchenko, Pavel R., 10 February 1995, in Boston.

Pavlov, Nikolai, 9 June 1993, in Moscow.

Rykin, Viktor S., 11 June 1993, in Moscow.

Shakhnazarov, Georgi K., 3 December 1994, in Providence, Rhode Island.

Steinbach, Thilo, 15 May 1990, in East Berlin and in 1992-93 at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Medford, Mass.

List of Interviews

Tarassenko, Sergei P., 29 April 1994, in Moscow.

Teltschik, Horst, 26 July 1994, in Munich.

Tsipko, Alexandr S., 28 July 1995, in Moscow (conducted on the author's behalf by Alexander Kokeev).

Zagladin, Vadim V., 10 June 1993, in Moscow.

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- 'Russlands imperialer Irrweg: Von der Stagnation in den Niedergang', *Osteuropa*, Vol. 65, No. 3 (2015), pp. 67-94.
- 'Russlands imperialer Irrweg: Ruinös teure Militärpolitik', *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 19 June 2015, <http://www.nzz.ch/international/europa/russlands-imperialer-irrweg-1.18565248>.
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- 'Gorbachev, German Unification, and the Collapse of Empire', *Post-Soviet Affairs* (Berkeley, Calif.), Vol. 10, No. 3 (July-September 1994), pp. 197-230.
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- 'Russland, Deutschland und die "neue" Weltordnung', in Gustav Schmidt, ed., *Ost-West-Beziehungen: Konfrontation und Détente, 1945-1989* (Bochum: Universitätsverlag, 1993), pp. 18-36.
- 'Gorbachev and German Unification: Revision of Thinking, Realignment of Power', *Problems of Communism*, Vol. 39, No. 4 (July-August 1990), pp. 1-23.
- 'Soviet Perspectives on Tomorrow's Germany', in Gary L. Geipel, ed., *The Future of Germany* (Indianapolis, Ind.: The Hudson Institute, 1990), pp. 164-183.
- Hans-Hermann Höhmann and Günter Wagenlehner, eds., *Die Sowjetunion unter Gorbatschow* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1990).
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- ‘Soviet Policy Toward the West: Costs and Benefits of Using “Imperialist Contradictions”’, in Uwe Nerlich and James A. Thomson, eds., *The Soviet Problem in American-German Relations* (New York: Crane, Russak, 1985), pp. 187-234.
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- ‘Capitalist Contradictions and Soviet Policy’, *Problems of Communism*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (May-June 1984), pp. 1-18.
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Glossary and Abbreviations

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|-----------|---|
| ANZUS | Australia, New Zealand, and United States Treaty Organization |
| APN | Agentstvo pechati novosti, the Soviet news agency |
| BBC | British Broadcasting Corporation |
| Bundestag | Lower house of parliament of the Federal Republic of Germany |
| CC | Central Committee |
| CDU | Christlich-Demokratische Union (Christian Democratic Union) |
| CGF | Central Group of Forces |
| Cheka | Vserossiiskaia chrezvychnaia komissiiia (All-Russian Extraordinary Commission), the name of the secret police in the first years after the Bolshevik revolution |
| CIP | Commission on International Policy |
| CMEA | Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, also referred to as Comecon, the Soviet bloc's trade organization |
| CPI | Communist Party of Italy |
| CPSU | Communist Party of the Soviet Union |
| CSCE | Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe |
| DGAP | Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik |
| DKP | Deutsche Kommunistische Partei (German Communist Party) |
| EDC | European Defense Community |
| ESG | European Strategy Group |
| FBI | Federal Bureau of Investigations |
| FBIS | Foreign Broadcast Information Service |
| FCD | First Chief Directorate |
| FDJ | Freie Deutsche Jugend (Union of Free German Youth) |
| FRG | Federal Republic of Germany |
| GATT | General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade |
| GDR | German Democratic Republic |
| GRU | Glavnoie razvedyvatelskoe upravlenie (Chief Intelligence Department), the military intelligence organization in the Soviet era |

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| GSFG | Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, the term used for the Soviet armed forces in East Germany, renamed Western Group of Forces in June 1989 |
| ID | International Department |
| IEMSS | Institut ekonomiki mirovoi sotsialisticheskoi sistemy (Institute for the Economy of the World Socialist System) |
| IMEMO | Institut mirovoi ekonomiki i mezhdunarodnykh otnoshenii (Institute of World Economy and International Relations) of the Soviet – now the Russian – Academy of Sciences |
| IMF | International Monetary Fund |
| INF | Intermediate-range nuclear forces |
| IPE | International Political Economy |
| ISKAN | Institut SShA i Kanady (Institute for the Study of the USA and Canada) at the USSR Academy of Sciences |
| KGB | Komitet gosudarstvennoi bezopasnosti (Committee for State Security) |
| KPSS | Kommunisticheskaia partiia Sovetskogo Soyuza (Communist Party of the Soviet Union) |
| Land | State; constitutional entity, comparable to the states of the United States or the provinces of Canada, forming part of the federal structure of the Federal Republic of Germany; Länder is the plural form |
| MBFR | Mutual Balanced Forces Reduction |
| Memcon | Memorandum of conversation |
| MEMO | Mirovaia ekonomika i mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia (World Economy and International Relations), journal of the IMEMO |
| MFA | Ministry of Foreign Affairs |
| MfS | Ministerium für Staatssicherheit (Ministry for State Security) |
| MGIMO | Moskovskii gosudarstvennyi institut mezhdunarodnykh otnoshenii (Moscow State Institute for International Relations) |
| MIC | Military-Industrial Complex |
| MOD | Ministry of Defense |
| MPA | Main Political Administration, one of the CPSU's instruments of political control in the Soviet armed forces |
| NGF | Northern Group of Forces |
| NHP | Nuclear History Program |

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| NPD | Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands (National Democratic Party of Germany) |
| NSC | National Security Council |
| NVA | Nationale Volksarmee (National People's Army) |
| PB | Politburo |
| PCC | Political Consultative Committee, the highest organ of the Warsaw Pact and the official term for the summit meetings of the Pact's party leaders |
| PDS | Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus (Party of Democratic Socialism) |
| RSFSR | Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic |
| SALT | Strategic Arms Limitation Talks |
| SEATO | Southeast Asia Treaty Organization |
| SED | Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (German Socialist Unity Party) |
| SEW | Sozialistische Einheitsparty West-Berlins (West-Berlin Socialist Unity Party) |
| SGF | Southern Group of Forces |
| SMA | Soviet Military Administration |
| SPD | Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (Social Democratic Party of Germany) |
| Stasi | Staatssicherheitsministerium ([East German] Ministry for State Security) |
| SWB | Summary of World Broadcasts |
| TsKhSD | Tsentr khraneniia sovremennoi dokumentatsii (Center for the Storage of Contemporary Documents) |
| UN | United Nations |
| VPK | Voенно-promyshlennaia kommissiia (Military-Industrial Commission) |
| VTsIOM | Vserossiiskii tsentr issledovaniia obshchestvennogo mneniia (All-Union Center for the Study of Public Opinion) |
| WGF | Western Group of Forces, after June 1989 the term for the Soviet armed forces stationed in East Germany |

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