

R-3588-AF

Gorbachev's Policies Toward Western Europe: A Balance Sheet

Harry Gelman

October 1987

RAND

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Mark Steyvers



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Gorbachev's Policies Toward Western Europe Harry Gelman, Rand Corporation, 1987 Since coming to power General Secretary Gorbachev has launched a diplomatic and propaganda offensive against the political foundations of Western Europe's nuclear deterrent and the European connection with the United States He has however given clear indication that he considers his predecessors campaign of threats and alarmist tactics in Europe to have been mistaken and he has displayed willingness to make certain incremental retreats from past Soviet negotiating positions But Soviet goals have not yet substantially changed There are several factors favoring his purposes notably his willingness to adapt Soviet negotiating strategy to the reality of defeat on the deployment of intermediate nuclear forces and his readiness to seek new ways of turning this defeat to Soviet advantage However there are several trends in Europe that are unfavorable to him In particular Gorbachev's internal political relaxation and his peace offensive toward Western Europe may pose dangers for the stability of the Soviet position in Eastern Europe

Technical Reports Awareness Circular : TRAC., 1989-11 **Rand** Rand Corporation, 1987 *Détente in Europe* John Van Oudenaren, 1991 The monumental events in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union must be understood Jan Van Oudenaren argues in the context of a process of East West détente begun in 1953 in the aftermath of Stalin's death Van Oudenaren's comprehensive and timely study examines the development of Soviet Western détente from the death of Stalin to the unification of Germany In redefining détente as a process rather than a code of conduct Van Oudenaren looks to its origins in Soviet policy earlier than previously identified and analyzes both its history and character His study explores the restoration of four power negotiations in Germany and Austria in the mid 1950s their subsequent breakdown in the Berlin crisis their unexpected revival in 1990 in the form of two plus four talks on German unity and the future of the Soviet Union as a European power Among the key elements of détente discussed are diplomacy particularly the role of summit conferences cooperation among parliaments political parties and trade unions arms control economic relations and links among cultural institutions churches and peace movements

A Bibliography of Selected Rand Publications Rand Corporation, 1988-11 **The RAND Corporation** Rand Corporation, 1986 **Selected Rand Abstracts** Rand Corporation, 1988 Includes publications previously listed in the supplements to the Index of selected publications of the Rand Corporation Oct 1962 Feb 1963

Gorbachev's Struggle for Economic Reform Anders Åslund, 1991 Imperial Overstretch Hannes Adomeit, 1998 □□□□, 2002 *40th Year* Rand Corporation, 1988 **The American Bibliography of Slavic and East European Studies**, 1988 **Government Reports Announcements & Index**, 1990 *Still the Arms Debate* Robert A. Levine, 1990 Government reports annual index, 199? Current Military & Political Literature, 1990 Beharrung und Wandel Konrad Löw, 1990 Vorwort Die Deutsche Demokratische Republik ist für immer und unwiderruflich mit der Union der Sozialistischen Sowjetrepubliken verbunden So lautet Art 6 Abs 2 Satz 1 der Verfassung der DDR Schon seit ihrer Gründung wurde darüber diskutiert ob und inwieweit die DDR ein Partner oder nur ein Satellit der UdSSR sei wobei dem

scharfen Auge des sachkundigen Beobachters Interessengegensätze und Meinungsunterschiede nicht verborgen bleiben konnten. Zugleich aber galt die DDR als einer der zuverlässigsten Verbündeten der Sowjetunion ohne jegliche ideologische Differenzen zum Großen Bruder ohne nennenswerte Opposition im eigenen Lande. Die Freundschaft zwischen den beiden Staaten und den sie tragenden Parteien wurde nach Honeckers Wahl zum Generalsekretär der SED noch weiter vertieft. Die Geschichtsschreibung angehalten Moskau in den Mittelpunkt zu rücken der eingangs zitierte Text 1974 statt des weit blässeren und unverbindlicheren des Jahres 1968 ist die Verfassung aufgenommen. Von 1949 bis 1968 fand die Sowjetunion in der DDR Verfassung noch gar keine Erwähnung. Im Dezember 1988 fand in Bayreuth eine Tagung der Gesellschaft für Deutschlandforschung Fachgruppe Politische Wissenschaft statt, die sich mit den Auswirkungen der Reformpolitik Gorbatschows auf den Alltag, die Rechtsordnung, die Staatssicherheit, die Außenpolitik und die Literatur in der DDR befaßte. Vorab wurde die unterschiedliche Resonanz der anderen Paktstaaten Moskaus auf Gorbatschows Ideen in Initiativen geschildert. Im Schlusssreferat ging es um die Frage, wie weit Gorbatschow gehen kann, ohne sich einer Rechts- oder Linksabweichung schuldig zu machen. *Politische Bildung*, 1988.

Gorbachev's Policies Toward Western Europe
Harry Gelman, 1987. *Gorbachev's Policies Toward Western Europe: A Balance Sheet. Executive Summary*, 1987. Since Mikhail Gorbachev became General Secretary in March 1985, his strategy toward the West Europeans has exhibited three broad characteristics. First, despite all the changes he has made, much of Gorbachev's conduct toward the Western Alliance has shown strong continuity with long established and central aspects of Soviet strategy. Most fundamental has been his broad diplomatic and propaganda offensive against the political foundations of Western Europe's nuclear deterrent and the European connection with the United States signified by that deterrent. Both Gorbachev's efforts to build domestic pressures against European governments and his conciliatory gestures toward those governments have been shaped to serve the purposes of this offensive. Gorbachev has thus used a multitude of expedients to continue, update and improve pursuit of an aim that dates back to Stalin's day. Keywords: USSR, Western Europe, International relations, East-West relations.

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