

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

Tarasenko, 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.
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- 'Soviet Security Perspectives on Germany', in Robbin F. Laird and Susan L. Clark, eds., *The USSR and the Western Alliance* (Boston, Mass.: Unwin & Hyman, 1990), pp. 181-215.

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- ‘Soviet Policy Toward the United States and Western Europe: “Atlanticism” Versus the “Common House”’, in Lawrence W. Lerner and Donald W. Treadgold, eds., *Gorbachev and the Soviet Future* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1988), pp. 188-206.
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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

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

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 Sovietskogo 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

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

Register

- Abalkin, Leonid 328, 463, 629
Abdurakhman, Abdurakhman 444
Aboimov, Ivan 527, 528
Abrasimov, Pyotr 152–154, 386, 387, 451
Abuladze, Tengiz 354
Adamishin, Anatoli 553, 613
Adenauer, Konrad 110, 112, 138, 140
Adomeit, Hannes 38, 45, 54, 81, 102, 131, 150, 234, 292, 417, 419, 702
Afanasyev, Yuri 333, 578
Ahrens, Dietmar 433
Akhromeev, Sergei F. 388–390, 392, 405, 420, 422, 424–427, 429, 430, 479, 543–546, 582, 583, 620, 633, 634, 645, 652–654, 692
Akopov, Georgi M. 138
Aksyonov, Vasili 236
Albats, Yevgenia 439, 441, 442, 444, 449, 450
Alksnis, Viktor 623, 625
Allison, Graham 61, 663
Altunin, Alexander 419
Ammer, Thomas 132
Andreeva, Nina 395
Andreotti, Giulio 513, 556
Andrew, Christopher 444, 448–451, 453
Andropov, Yuri 16, 18, 23, 132, 133, 252, 253, 256, 305, 365, 366, 368, 369, 379, 384, 387, 394, 398, 413, 419, 439, 440, 443, 445, 447, 448, 686, 706
Arafat, Yasir 503
Arbatov, Alexei 366, 375, 376
Arbatov, Georgi 142, 306, 311, 317, 365, 366, 368, 376, 413, 713
Arias-King, Fredo 628, 630
Arkadiev, G. 81
Ash, Timothy Garton 302
Aspaturian, Vernon 70
Astavin, Sergei 129
Axen, Hermann 433, 489, 506, 711, 713
Azrael, Jeremy R. 418
Badstübner, Rolf 111
Bahr, Egon 289, 322, 413, 514, 653
Bahro, Rudolf 510
Baigarov, S. 505
Baker, James A. 306, 382, 544, 545, 585, 587, 589–591, 593, 606–612, 615–617, 631, 632, 634, 635, 637, 654–658, 664, 667–669
Baklanov, Oleg 616
Baran, Paul 38
Baranovsky, Vladimir 603
Baras, Victor 120
Barron, John 439
Batenin, Geli V. 626–628, 646
Becker, Abraham S. 58
Bednardz, Klaus 301
Beil, Gerhard 517
Belousov, Igor 616
Berghofer, Wolfgang 436, 567
Beria, Lavrenti 16, 75, 116–123, 383, 551
Berlinguer, Enrico 396
Bernstein, Lisbeth T. 393, 680
Bertram, Christoph 70
Beschloss, Michael R. 632, 669
Bessmertnykh, Alexander 306, 633
Bialer, Seweryn 20, 54, 233, 234
Bierling, Stephan 473, 729
Binder, David 568
Bismarck, Otto von 639
Biszytyga, Jan 470
Bi'lak, Vasil 334
Blacker, Coit D. 234
Blackwill, Robert 15, 633
Blech, Klaus 14, 320, 547, 591, 717
Boardman, Robert 54
Bogomolov, Oleg 352, 366–368, 377, 403
Bohlen, Celestine 644
Bohlen, Charles E. 45, 103
Bohley, Bärbel 510
Böhme, Hans-Joachim 509
Boidevaix, Serge 561
Boiko, Nikolai 623, 625
Bokov, Fedor Efimovich 100
Boldin, Valery 244, 257, 550
Bolding, Valery 713
Bomsdorf, Falk 15, 234
Bondarenko, Alexander 389–391, 561, 565, 584, 595, 596, 613, 617, 632, 636, 654, 659, 693
Bonhoeffer, Dietrich 571
Bönte, Andreas 439, 450, 454
Borcke, Astrid von 419, 439, 441, 446, 448
Borkowski, Dieter 158
Bovin, Alexander 300, 304, 368, 373, 679

- Bovkun, Evgeni 454
 Bozo, Frederic 657
 Brailsford, Henry 38
 Braithwaite, Roderic 15, 717
 Brandenburg, Ulrich 15, 427
 Brandt, Willy 143, 145, 148–150, 159, 289,
 292, 409, 503, 504, 507, 513, 514, 516,
 592, 728
 Braunmühl, Gero von 296
 Brecht, Bertold 345
 Bredel, Willi 346
 Brezhnev, Leonid 12, 51, 52, 63, 68, 92, 134,
 141–144, 146, 148, 149, 151–156,
 159–161, 233, 251, 252, 260, 299, 305,
 332, 335, 336, 340, 351, 368, 369, 371,
 376, 379, 394, 397, 402, 413, 418, 419,
 468, 505, 659, 686, 696, 698, 702, 704,
 706
 Brinton, Crane 568
 Brown, Archie 240, 243, 249, 250, 252, 362,
 363, 398, 578, 579, 723
 Brown, Michael Barratt 38
 Brown, Robin 56
 Brutents, Karen 408
 Brzezinski, Zbigniew 58, 513, 514
 Buhl, Dieter 459
 Bukharin, Nicolai 695
 Bukovsky, Vladimir 236
 Burlatsky, Fyodor 368, 438, 578
 Busek, Erhard 301
 Bush, George H.W. 478, 480, 483, 498, 534,
 537, 539, 543–546, 548, 550, 557, 558,
 563, 612, 616, 620, 632, 633, 648, 649,
 657, 664, 668, 669
 Butenko, A.P. 166
 Bykov, Oleg N. 171
 Bykov, Vladimir 15, 389, 390, 414, 717
 Byrnes, James F. 103

 Carlucci, Frank 422
 Carter, Jimmy 312
 Ceauşescu, Nicolai 224, 332, 334, 335, 355,
 415
 Cervetti, Gianni 303, 304
 Chebrikov, Victor 213, 381, 394, 395,
 445–447, 452
 Chernenko, Konstantin 18, 23, 167, 174,
 182, 184, 188–191, 193, 196, 199, 206,
 211–214, 218, 221–224, 226, 230, 268,
 269, 280, 282, 288, 291, 296, 305, 321,
 331, 369, 379, 413, 419, 601, 686, 706
 Chernyaev Anatoli 717
 Chernyaev, Anatoli 15, 27, 167, 186, 188,
 234, 257, 258, 262, 269, 279, 288, 296,
 315, 324, 326–328, 333, 335, 368,
 379–381, 387, 396, 398, 399, 405, 409,
 414, 416, 463, 472, 478, 482, 485, 487,
 492, 523, 540, 543, 544, 546–548, 563,
 578, 580–584, 589–591, 617, 618, 631,
 633, 634, 638, 640, 642, 654, 655, 661,
 679, 693, 713
 Chervonenko, Stepan V. 380
 Chervov, Nikolai 622, 646
 Chicherin, Georgy V. 381
 Chnoupek, Bohuslav 220
 Chubar'ian, A.O. 141
 Chuev, Felix 91, 116, 119, 734
 Chuikov, Vasily 105, 106
 Churchill, Winston Sir 20, 80, 261, 557
 Clarke, Douglas L. 339, 647
 Clay, Lucius D. 81, 84, 102, 103
 Clesse, Armand 678
 Clines, Francis X. 470, 585
 Cohen, Ariel 33, 35, 39, 41
 Cohen, Benjamin J. 34
 Colton, Tim 15
 Conquest, Robert 442
 Crankshaw, Edward 140
 Craxi, Bettino 295, 303, 304

 Dahlburg, John-Thor 624
 Dallin, Alexander 58, 233
 Dalos, György 301
 Daniloff, Nicholas 312
 Danylow, Peter 556
 Dashichev, Vyacheslav 15, 367, 371,
 376–378, 717
 Davison, Walter P. 104
 Davydov, Yuri 602–604
 Dawisha, Karen 33, 44, 336
 De Gaulle, Charles 143, 601, 604
 De Maizière, Lothar 28, 615, 620
 De Tocqueville, Alexis 568
 Dean, Jonathan 650
 Defrank, Thomas M. 382
 Deng, Xiaoping 281, 282
 Deutsch, Karl 55, 56
 Dibb, Paul 54
 Diekmann, Kai 472, 591
 Dienstbier, Jiří 644
 Disraeli, Benjamin 34
 Djilas, Milovan 45, 77, 78, 84, 85, 95, 183
 Dobrolubov, Nicolai 454
 Dobrynin, Anatoly 169, 181, 182, 306, 311,
 315–317, 324, 325, 344, 348, 380, 404,
 405, 408, 415, 543, 544, 633
 Dobson, Christopher 442
 Dohlnu, Horst 509
 Doi, Takako 537
 Donda, Arno 517
 Doyle, Michael W. 20, 33, 34, 39, 42, 55
 Dregger, Alfred 228, 317

- Dubček, Alexander 337
 Duisberg, Claus J. 427
 Dumas, Roland 538, 605, 645
 Dzerzhinsky, Felix 440, 695
- Ehmke, Horst 219
 Ehrenburg, Ilya 94
 Eisenhower, Dwight D. 128, 178
 Elbe, Frank 15, 611, 615, 637
 Ellman, Michael 175, 660, 661
 Engels, Friedrich 42, 249
 Engholm, Björn 495
 Eppelmann, Rainer 437, 438
- Fabius, Laurent 541
 Falin, Valentin 149, 156, 211, 257, 317, 321,
 327, 408, 409, 411–416, 433, 492–496,
 499, 500, 503, 504, 506, 507, 526, 547,
 553, 569, 582–585, 588–590, 595, 606,
 633, 634, 638, 639, 654, 659, 681, 693,
 712, 713
 Falkenrath, Richard A. 650
 Faramazian, R.A. 369
 Fedoseev, P.N. 166
 Fein, Esther B. 538
 Feis, Herbert 80
 Feuchtwanger, Lion 346
 Fischer, Oskar 476, 477, 525–528, 530, 554,
 644
 Flerov, Viktor 312
 Flow, Barbara V. 281
 Fojtik, Jan 334
 Forsberg, Randall W. 650
 Foye, Stephen 623, 624, 636
 Frank, Michael 473
 Fricke, Karl-Wilhelm 428
 Friedman, Thomas L. 611, 620, 649
 Friedmann, Bernard 317
 Fritsch-Bournazel, Renata 105
 Frolov, Ivan 368, 396, 405
 Fuchs, Jürgen 510
 Fyodorov, Boris 663
 Fyodorov, Rafael 408
- Gaddis, John Lewis 46
 Gaddy, Clifford G. 265
 Galkin, Alexander 582, 584, 589, 590
 Gallagher, John 41
 Galvin, Jack 15
 Gandhi, Mahatma 571
 Garthoff, Raymond L. 58, 70, 178, 190
 Gati, Charles 337
 Gauck, Joachim 570
 Gedmin, Jeffrey 344, 354, 555
 Genscher, Hans-Dietrich 198, 200, 208, 217,
 261, 291–294, 296–298, 313–315,
 319–321, 323, 356, 390, 472, 474,
 477–480, 482, 489, 534, 535, 546–548,
 550–553, 555–559, 562, 565, 567, 573,
 585, 589–591, 595, 597, 604, 609–612,
 615, 618, 636, 637, 642, 653, 667, 670
 Gerasimov, Gennadi 15, 368, 467, 468,
 502–504, 507, 538, 595, 649, 713, 717
 Gevorkian, Natalya 441
 Geyer, Florian 197
 Gibney, Frank 140
 Giscard D'Estaing, Valéry 604
 Goebbels, Joseph 313, 314, 323, 481, 549
 Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von 197, 701
 Goettmoeller, Rose E. 439
 Goldfarb, David 312
 Gomulka, Wladyslaw 135
 Gorbachev, Mikhail 11, 12, 14, 19–22, 24,
 26–28, 36, 37, 43, 44, 46, 51, 52, 54, 55,
 60, 67, 71, 75, 76, 134, 147, 163, 166,
 171, 172, 174, 175, 180–182, 188–190,
 198, 203, 206, 212, 224–228, 233–276,
 278–347, 349–355, 357–359, 361–369,
 374–378, 380–384, 387, 388, 391–411,
 413, 414, 416–420, 422–426, 428,
 440–448, 450, 452–456, 461, 463–468,
 470–472, 475, 478–488, 490–517,
 519–524, 530–532, 535–555, 557–560,
 562–565, 567–569, 576–587, 589–599,
 602, 604–615, 618–621, 623–635,
 638–645, 647, 649, 650, 652–657,
 659–671, 675–682, 686–695, 697–701,
 711–715, 723, 728, 734, 738
 Gorchakov, Alexander 34, 43
 Gordievsky, Oleg 441, 444, 448–451, 453,
 454
 Gordon, Michael R. 649
 Gorinovich, Gorald 389, 390, 584, 713
 Gorshkov, Sergei S. 185, 419
 Gould-Davies, Nigel 68, 69
 Grachev, Andrei 15, 395, 681
 Grechko, Andrei 119, 185, 429
 Gremitskikh, Yuri 378
 Gribanov, Mikhail 114
 Gribkov, Anatoli 424
 Grigoriev, Sergei 15, 166, 211, 311, 383,
 395, 403, 405, 409, 410, 415, 444, 493,
 523, 584, 681, 713, 717
 Gromyko, Andrei 112–114, 116, 136, 154,
 156, 159, 160, 173, 180, 188–190, 193,
 195, 211, 224, 260, 269, 288, 299,
 322–324, 358, 371, 376, 379–381, 394,
 395, 405, 406, 412, 414, 600
 Groom, Arthur J. 56
 Grosser, Alfred 557
 Grosser, Dieter 473

- Grossman, A.S. 138
 Grotewohl, Otto 101, 105, 113
 Groves, Leslie 95, 96
 Grushko, Victor 450, 451, 453, 454
 Gusenkov, Andrei 371
 Gysi, Gregor 510, 567, 582, 583, 606, 607, 690, 712
- Hager, Kurt 213, 344, 345, 711
 Hamilton, Daniel 570, 571
 Hamilton, Keith 610
 Hanson, Philip 175
 Harkavy, Robert E. 339, 424
 Harriman, Averell 92, 147, 676
 Harrison, Hope 120, 125, 128, 129, 131, 133, 136–138
 Havel, Václav 36, 301, 329, 571, 646, 648
 Havemann, Robert 510
 Heinzig, Dieter 280
 Hennig, Ottfried 317
 Henrikson, Alan 15
 Herrstadt, Rudolf 117
 Hershberg, Jim 15
 Herspring, Dale R. 181, 418
 Hertle, Hans-Hermann 517, 519, 520, 525
 Higgot, Richard 56
 Hilferding, Rudolf 38
 Hilger, Andreas 611
 Hill, Fiona 265
 Hitler, Adolf 197, 258, 313, 318, 354, 399, 465, 549, 558, 559, 561, 562, 579
 Hlivka, Ivan 200
 Hobson, John A. 38, 39
 Hoffman, Stanley 57
 Höfner, Ernst 517
 Höhmann, Hans-Hermann 185, 234
 Holloway, David 95
 Honecker, Erich 12, 19–21, 139, 148, 149, 151–161, 192–195, 197–199, 203–209, 211–229, 260, 264–271, 273, 275, 276, 279–296, 298, 299, 308, 310, 315, 316, 318, 319, 322, 328, 332, 334, 335, 342–353, 355–359, 380, 384, 386–388, 415, 430, 431, 433–435, 439, 451, 453–456, 459, 460, 464, 471, 474, 475, 477, 486–494, 496–509, 511, 512, 515–519, 522, 524, 528, 545, 556, 560, 561, 567–569, 571, 592, 686–690, 698, 700, 732, 736
- Horelick, Arnold 54, 128
 Horn, Gyula 469, 474–478, 489, 659
 Hough, Jerry F. 58
 Howe, Geoffrey 216
 Huntington, Samuel P. 69
 Hurd, Douglas 609, 610
 Husák, Gustáv 332, 334, 335, 337, 341
- Ignatenko, Vitali 681
 Inozemtsev, Nikolai 138, 365
 Ischinger, Wolfgang 15, 541
 Ivashko, Ivan 711, 712
 Ivashko, Vladimir 582
- Jakeš, Miloš 334, 337, 341, 541
 Jaruzelski, Jaruzelski, Wojciech 173, 199
 Jaruzelski, Wojciech 332, 334, 335, 470, 471, 502, 513
 Jiang, Zemin 432
- Kádár, János 295, 296, 332, 334, 335
 Kaganovich, Lazar M. 121
 Kaifu, Toshiaki 680
 Kaiser, Jakob 99
 Kaiser, Karl 398
 Kaiser, Robert G. 383
 Kalugin, Oleg 441, 457
 Kant, Immanuel 197, 323
 Kaplan, Morton 46
 Kappeler, Andreas 34
 Karaganov, Sergei 15, 367, 372, 374, 377, 378
 Karpov, Mikhail 456
 Karpov, Viktor 306
 Kashlev, Yuri 355, 356
 Kastl, Jörg 14, 296
 Kastrup, Dieter 547
 Kautsky, Karl 39
 Kegley, Charles W. 57
 Keiderling, Gerhard 125
 Keller, Bill 538, 605, 645
 Kennan, George F. 44, 45, 58, 59
 Kennedy, John F. 133, 365, 404, 410, 412, 628, 650
 Kennedy, Paul M. 52–54, 696, 731
 Keohane, Robert 57
 Kessler, Hans 430, 437, 438
 Khalosha, B.M. 147
 Khanin, Gregory 175, 422
 Khrushchev, Nikita S. 18, 19, 23, 63, 68, 116, 119, 120, 122, 125–130, 133–141, 147, 152, 163, 174, 175, 177, 183, 238, 249, 251, 252, 256, 260, 321, 337, 369, 412, 418, 424, 600, 681, 686, 696, 698, 700, 702, 706, 713
- Khvatov, Gennadi 623–625
 Kiernan, Victor 38
 Kiesczak, Czeslaw 469
 Kiesinger, Kurt-Georg 143
 Kiessler, Richard 615, 637
 Kim Il-Sung 108
 Kirilenko, Andrei 189
 Kirillov, G. 171
 Kirshin, Yuri 646

- Kiselov, Gennadi 393
 Kissinger, Henry 484, 604
 Kissinger, Henry A. 729
 Kitrinos, Robert W. 404
 Klimko, M.U. 184
 Klose, Kevin 191
 Klußmann, Uwe 610
 Koch, Kirk 572
 Kochemasov, Vyacheslav 331, 344, 346,
 347, 387–389, 434, 436–438, 455, 503,
 504, 525–528, 531, 532, 551, 560, 561,
 569
 Kohl, Helmut 28, 150, 170, 195, 202, 217,
 218, 220, 243, 268, 283, 291–296, 305,
 310, 313–316, 325–327, 348, 351, 400,
 414, 472, 474, 475, 477, 480–488, 498,
 521, 524, 533–537, 539–541, 546–552,
 554–559, 561–563, 572–576, 582, 583,
 585, 590–597, 609, 611, 612, 614, 615,
 618, 620, 621, 633, 637–643, 655, 657,
 662–664, 667–671, 675–680, 682, 691,
 712, 714
 Koizumi, Naomi 420
 Kokoshin, Andrei A. 374, 655
 Kolbin, Gennadii 246
 Kolchanov, Rudolf 248, 249
 Kondrashov, Stanislav 434, 437
 Konev, Ivan 426
 Konrád, György 301
 Kontorovich, Vladimir 175, 660, 661, 696,
 697
 Kopper, Hilmar 664
 Kopteltsev, Valentin 569
 Körber, Hans 603
 Kornienko, Georgi 213, 306, 380, 388–390,
 392, 405, 424, 425, 430, 543, 544, 546,
 620, 652–654, 714
 Korol'kov, Yuri 88
 Kortunov, Andrei 15, 372, 374
 Kosolapov, Richard 352
 Kosygin, Alexei 143, 205, 265
 Kotschemassow, Wjatscheslaw 284, 331,
 387–389, 437, 455, 503, 504, 525, 526,
 552, 560, 561
 Kovalev, Anatoli 413, 526
 Kovalev, Sergei 595
 Kramer, Mark 15, 173, 404, 405, 410, 411,
 657
 Kreisky, Bruno 556
 Kremenyuk, Viktor 15
 Krenz, Egon 15, 29, 158, 198, 211, 212, 220,
 268, 281, 282, 288, 290, 299, 431–438,
 490, 502, 503, 505–520, 522–525,
 527–532, 553, 554, 567, 689, 690, 714,
 717
 Krolikowski, Herbert 489
 Krolikowski, Werner 206
 Kryuchkov, Vladimir 582–584, 616, 618,
 661
 Küchenmeister, Daniel 288
 Kuhn, Ekkehard 327, 585, 587
 Kulakov, Fyodor 251, 252, 261
 Kulikov, V.G. 373, 420
 Kunayev, Dinmukhamed 246
 Kundera, Milan 301, 302
 Kurz, Friedrich 473, 729
 Kushchik, Valeriia 704
 Kutakhov, Pavel 419
 Kuzmin, Ivan 455, 456
 Kuzmin, Vladimir 248
 Kuznetsov, Eduard 236
 Kuznetsov, Sergei 449
 Kvitsinsky, Yuli 15, 153–155, 157–159, 288,
 293, 296, 315, 316, 320, 324, 378, 383,
 386, 389, 390, 401, 414, 524, 547, 554,
 555, 565, 584, 600, 632, 654, 659, 662,
 664, 665, 667, 693, 714, 717
 Kwizinskij, Julij A. 154, 155, 157, 158, 192,
 193, 212, 288, 315, 320, 378, 383, 386,
 401, 547, 555, 663–667
 Lafontaine, Oskar 219, 267, 348, 607
 Lambsdorff, Otto Graf 317
 Lange, Peer 15
 Langer, Paul F. 439
 Larionov, V. 374, 375
 Laski, Harold 38
 Lavigne, Marie 663
 Lazarev, Anatoli 451
 Legvold, Robert 35
 Lenin, Vladimir 19, 22, 35, 38, 39, 42, 43,
 71, 74, 155, 163, 185, 190, 235, 239, 248,
 249, 253, 255, 260, 349, 352, 363, 449,
 464, 684, 695
 Leonhard, Wolfgang 79, 95
 Leontiev, Vladimir 371
 Lermontov, Mikhail 246
 Leuschner, Bruno 134
 Lewin, Moshe 240
 Li Peng 280
 Liberman, Vladimir 248, 249
 Ligachev, Yegor 253, 381, 394–396, 400,
 406, 407, 415, 447, 491, 492, 596, 618,
 629, 661
 Light, Margot 56
 Lindenbergh, Udo 348
 Linklater, Andrew 56
 Lippman, Heinz 158
 Litvinov, Maxim 381
 Lizichev, Alexei 623, 625
 Lobov, V.N. 178

- Loginov, Mikhail 387, 388
 Loginov, O. 388
 Loth, Wilfried 111
 Luchkov, Viacheslav V. 116
 Lukin, Vladimir 303, 373
 Lukyanov, Anatoli 394, 395, 541
 Lushev, Pyotr G. 420
 Luther, Martin 197
 Luxemburg, Rosa 38
 Lyubimov, Yuri 236
- Mahlow, Bruno 213
 Maisky, Ivan 80, 81
 Makashov, Albert 623, 625
 Maksimychyev, Igor 15, 288, 414, 436, 525,
 527, 529–531, 714, 717
 Malaschenko, Igor 371
 Malcolm, Neil 599
 Malek, Martin 417, 625, 719
 Malenkov, Andrei 116, 117, 119, 120, 124
 Malik, Jakob 106, 107
 Malkevich, Vladislav 681
 Mallaby, Sir Christopher 561, 610
 Mandelbaum, Michael 656
 Mann, Thomas 346
 Mao Tse-tung 108, 116
 Markowski, Paul 386
 Marshall, Andrew 58
 Martynov, A.I. 213
 Martynov, Vladylen 681
 Marx, Karl 196
 Maslyukov, Yuri 277, 580, 629
 Mastny, Vojtech 78
 Máté, Angelika 474
 Máté, Péter 474
 Matlock, Jack 15, 483, 587, 608, 610
 Matlock, Jack F. Jr. 483, 578
 Maximov, Vladimir 236
 Mayorova, Katya 449
 Mazowiecki, Tadeusz 471, 646
 McAdams James A. 193, 197
 McCausland, Jeffrey D. 650
 McClellan, Woodford 91
 Medvedev, Dmitry 704
 Medvedev, Roy 442
 Medvedev, Vadim 37, 167, 236, 239, 319,
 330, 580, 629
 Meier, Christian 678
 Mel'vil, A. Iu. 371
 Mel'nikov, Danil 317
 Menshikov, P. 436
 Mertes, Alois 227
 Metkemeyer, Jürgen 502
 Meyer, Stephen M. 234
 Meyer-Landrut, Andreas 14
 Micke, Werner 281
- Mielke, Erich 435, 451–454, 509, 527
 Mies, Herbert 298
 Mikolajczyk, Stanislaw 45
 Mikulin, Ivan 623–625
 Miller, John 189, 240, 256, 363, 625
 Millis, Walter 103
 Milyukov, Anatoli 681
 Misselwitz, Hans 15
 Mittag, Günter 204–206, 208, 476, 496, 506,
 524, 736
 Mitterrand, François 220, 295, 324, 483,
 513, 536, 537, 539, 546, 551, 554,
 558–562, 576, 669
 Miłosz, Czesław 301, 302
 Mlynář, Zdenek 248, 249
 Modelski, George 41
 Modrow, Hans 229, 436, 457, 515, 523–525,
 534, 535, 553, 554, 560, 567, 572,
 574–576, 582, 583, 585–587, 594, 606,
 607, 614, 615, 620, 621, 690
 Moiseev, Mikhail 622, 626
 Moldt, Evaldt 227
 Momper, Walter 433
 Moreton, Edwina 150
 Morozov, Viacheslav 408
 Mosbacher, Eric 183
 Moskovsky, Yuri 664
 Müller, Friedemann 15
 Müller, Walter 530
 Mulrone, Brian 550, 632
 Münzer, Thomas 197
 Murakhovskiy, Vselovod 324
 Myagkov, Alexei 442
- Nadolny, Rudolf 81, 82, 84, 89
 Nagy, Imre 469
 Naimark, Norman M. 78, 94–96
 Nakasone, Yasuhiro 604
 Neizvestny, Ernst 236
 Nelson, Daniel N. 647
 Németh, Miklós 469, 473, 474, 477, 524
 Nerlich, Uwe 15, 54
 Nettel, J.P. 82
 Neubert, Klaus 15
 Neznansky, Fredrik 247
 Niemöller, Martin 571
 Nikitin, V. 511
 Nikonov, Alexander 394, 395
 Nixon, Richard 310, 484, 636
 Novikov, Anatoli 450, 451, 454
 Novopashin, Yurii 336
 Novotný, Antonín 135
 Nye, Joseph S. 57, 60
 Nyers, Rezső 477
- Ogarev, Nikolai 246

- Ogarkov, Nikolai 181, 188, 418, 420
 Oldenburg, Fred 15, 317
 Orel, V. 171
 Orlov, Yuri 312
 Oschlies, Wolfgang 509
 Ost, Friedrich 313
 Ostrovsky, Alexander 454
 Oudenaren, John Van 381
 Ovchinnikov, B. 505
 Owen, Richard 190, 191
 Ozawa, Ichiro 680–682
- Paetta, Giancarlo 396
 Palazchenko, Pavel R. 717
 Pankin, Mikhail 405
 Panov, Alexander 681
 Parker, Geoffrey 41
 Parrott, Bruce 33, 44
 Pastukhov, Boris 253
 Pavlov, Nicolai 717
 Payne, Ronald 442
 Penkovsky, Oleg 140
 Perle, Richard 480
 Pervukhin, Mikhail 129, 130, 136
 Petrakov, Nikolai 663
 Petrov, Vasili 419
 Petrovich, Michael B. 45, 77
 Petrovsky, Vladimir 16, 372, 374, 421, 422, 424
 Petrushenko, Nikolai 623, 625
 Pieck, Wilhelm 101, 111–113, 157
 Pipes, Richard 43, 58
 Plate, Bernhard von 15
 Pleshakov, Constantin 68, 74, 78, 81
 Ploss, Sidney I. 199
 Podgorny, Nikolai 143, 154
 Podkliuchnikov, M. 349
 Polozkov, Igor 629, 630
 Ponomarev, Boris 415
 Popov, Gavril 282, 578, 626, 630
 Poppe, Ulrike 510
 Portugalov, Nikolai 317, 318, 495, 524, 555, 569
 Pravda, Alex 69
 Primakov, Yevgeni 365, 370, 541
 Proektor, Danil 201, 366
 Protzman, Ferdinand 524
 Przybylski, Peter 148, 149, 151–155, 205, 206, 208
 Pugo, Boris 186
 Pushkin, G.M. 112
 Pushkov, Alexei 655
 Putin, Vladimir 203, 265, 303, 456–461, 533, 650, 655–658, 682, 702–708
- Quinn-Judge, Paul 712
- Raap, Christian 428
 Rahr, Alexander 406, 447, 457, 458, 630
 Rajk, Laszlo 113
 Rakhmanin, Oleg 200, 333, 402
 Rakowski, Mieczyslaw 265, 469–471, 502
 Ratushinskaya, Irina 312
 Rau, Johannes 289, 348, 459
 Razumovsky, Georgi 629
 Reagan, Ronald 24, 25, 58, 60, 168, 169, 172, 181, 182, 194, 200, 218, 221, 223, 224, 226, 272–274, 277, 292, 293, 297, 305, 309–312, 322, 379, 404, 479, 483, 498, 687
 Recktenwald, Marion 418
 Reinhold, Otto 298, 515
 Remnick, David 190, 248, 249, 363, 448, 449, 464, 465, 525, 538
 Reuth, Ralf Georg 439, 472, 591
 Rice, Condoleezza 470, 492, 632
 Riding, Alan 646
 Riesenhuber, Heinz 324
 Robinson, Ronald 41
 Rodinson, Maxime 33
 Rokossovsky, Konstantin 426
 Röller, Wolfgang 664
 Romanov, Grigori 419
 Roosevelt, Franklin D. 379, 600
 Ross, Dennis 15, 587, 589
 Royen, Christoph 15, 59
 Ruge, Gerd 240, 246–249
 Rummel, Reinhardt 15
 Rumyantsev, Alexei 367
 Rundstedt, Gerd von 243
 Runge, Christa 281
 Rusakov, Konstantin 211, 213, 333
 Rush, Myron 128
 Rust, Mathias 420
 Rykin, Victor S. 717
 Rykin, Viktor 166, 202, 262, 265, 267, 315, 344, 408, 409, 484, 492, 714
 Ryzhkov, Nikolai 257, 274, 275, 287, 324, 394, 395, 447, 579, 582, 583, 585, 629, 661, 663–666, 671
- Safire, William 228, 348
 Sagdeev, Roald 179
 Sakharov, Andrei 190, 312, 464, 465, 550
 Salmon, Patrick 610
 Saplin, Vassili 681
 Sarkisov, Konstantin 681
 Saurin, Julian 56
 Schabowski, Günter 434–436, 496, 500, 502, 503, 505–511, 525, 528–530, 714
 Schalck-Golodkowski, Alexander 517, 569, 736
 Schäuble, Wolfgang 572, 573

- Schecter, Jerrold L. 116
 Schell, Manfred 671–673, 677, 680
 Schepp, Matthias 610
 Scheurig, Bodo 86
 Schlögel, Karl 301
 Schmemmann, Serge 505
 Schmidt, Helmut 54, 218
 Schmitt, Horst 298, 347
 Schneider, Eberhard 79
 Scholz, Rupert 422
 Schor-Tschudnowskaja, Anna 625
 Schorlemmer, Friedrich 570
 Schöttes, Heinz Joachim 502
 Schröder, Hans-Henning 419, 627, 628, 646
 Schröder, Klaus 15
 Schulz, Eberhard 556
 Schumacher, Kurt 98, 317
 Schumpeter, Joseph 38–40, 695
 Schürer, Gerhard 281, 282, 284, 517–520
 Schwarz, Hans-Peter 77
 Schweigler, Gebhard 15
 Scowcroft, Brent 558
 Seal, Anil 41
 Segbers, Klaus 15
 Seiffert, Wolfgang 208
 Seiters, Rudolf 489
 Seitz, Raymond 632
 Seleznev, Gennadi 655
 Seljunin, V. 422
 Semenov, Vladimir 76, 81, 99–101, 110, 119, 737
 Semjonow, Wladimir S. 76, 80, 100, 110
 Sergeev, Igor 622
 Shakhnazarov, Georgi 714
 Shakhnazarov, Georgi K. 368, 396, 402, 403, 495, 496, 504, 514, 523, 542, 578, 582, 584, 647, 693, 717
 Shatalin, Stanislav 257, 663
 Shcherbitsky, Vladimir 394
 Shebarshin, Leonid 451–454
 Shenaev, Vladimir 171, 600
 Shepilov, Dmitri 381
 Shevardnadze, Eduard 20, 28, 67, 91, 100, 101, 172, 173, 182, 234, 236, 237, 266, 291, 296, 306, 307, 314, 315, 324, 325, 330, 365, 374–377, 380–385, 388–396, 399, 402, 404, 405, 413, 414, 416, 422, 423, 425, 426, 436, 438, 448, 724, 739
 Shishlin, Nicolai 368, 370
 Shkadov, Ivan 419
 Shlykov, Vitali 374
 Shmatov, Igor 409
 Shmelev, Nikolai 578, 663
 Shtykov, Terenti 108
 Shukman, Harold 116
 Shulman, Marshall D. 116
 Shultz, George 306, 356
 Shumaker, David H. 314
 Sieber, Günter 213
 Singer, David J. 60
 Sitaryan, Stepan 664, 671–673, 681, 682
 Skubiszewski, Krystof 644
 Slansky, Rudolf 113
 Slyunkov, Nikolai 394, 578, 579, 661
 Smirnov, Andrei 129, 130
 Smith, Walter Bedell 81, 84, 87, 104
 Snegovaya, Maria 50
 Snetkov, Boris 436–438
 Snyder, Jack 47–52
 Sobchak, Anatoli 578, 626
 Sodaro, Michael J. 147
 Sokolov, Sergei 418–420
 Sokolovsky, Vasily D. 87, 88, 101–103, 561
 Solomentsev, Mikhail 394, 395, 406
 Solzhenitsyn, Alexander 442
 Sonnenfeldt, Helmut 330
 Späth, Lothar 324
 Stalin, Joseph V. 18, 20, 22, 23, 43, 45, 63, 67, 68, 71, 74–78, 80–82, 84–86, 88–92, 94–96, 100, 101, 103–106, 108, 110–117, 120, 124, 131, 139, 155, 167, 177, 181, 183, 221, 230, 237, 238, 241–243, 246–249, 251, 255, 258, 260, 261, 329, 355, 356, 383, 399, 427, 442, 443, 451, 452, 460, 465, 579, 600, 601, 683–685, 695, 696, 698, 700, 706, 714, 725, 730, 737–739, 741
 Stares, Paul B. 67, 377
 Starodubov, Victor P. 405
 Stauffenberg, Claus von Graf 197
 Stefanak, Michael 200
 Steinbach, Thilo 714, 717
 Steininger, Rolf 111
 Stepanov, Teymuraz 393
 Stoph, Willi 152, 455, 456, 527, 528
 Stratmann, Peter 15
 Strauß, Franz Josef 148, 204, 208, 283, 324, 348, 677, 738
 Strelitz, Fritz 430
 Štrougal, Lubomir 341
 Stulz, Percy 117, 125
 Stulz-Herrnstadt, Nadja 117
 Stürmer, Michael 15
 Sudoplatov, Pavel 118–120, 738
 Sukhanov, Dmitrii 117
 Sukharev, Sergei 425
 Suslov, Mikhail 173, 371, 376
 Süßmuth, Rita 324, 541
 Sweezy, Paul 38, 40
 Szabo, Stephen F. 656

- Szürös, Matyas 196
- Tagliabue, John 471
- Talbott, Strobe 183, 600, 632, 669
- Tanner, Henry 229
- Tarasenko, Sergei 15, 331, 384, 390, 391, 393, 565, 584, 617–619, 637, 714, 718
- Tarasov, A.N. 213
- Tarlow, Lis 15
- Tatu, Michel 58, 394
- Taylor, Brian 581
- Teltschik, Horst 15, 243, 293, 326, 327, 472, 482, 485, 524, 533, 534, 536, 540, 549, 561, 574–576, 591, 593–595, 638, 640–642, 662–671, 674, 675, 714, 718
- Terekhov, Vladislav 674
- Thomson, James A. 54, 720
- Tikhonov, Nikolai 151, 188–190
- Timmermann, Heinz 15
- Tisch, Harry 507
- Titorenko, Raisa Maximovna 250
- Titov, Gennadi 451, 454
- Tiul'panov, Sergei 96–99
- Togliatti, Palmiro 472
- Tökés, Rudolf 678
- Tolubko, Vladimir 419
- Toon, Malcolm 15
- Travkin, Nikolai 578
- Tretiak, Ivan 424
- Trotsky, Leon 242, 381
- Trukhanovskii, V.G. 102, 138
- Tsipko, Aleksandr 493, 495
- Tsipko, Alexandr S. 265, 288, 352, 367, 378, 402, 403, 715, 718
- Twain, Mark 29
- Twigge, Stephen 610
- Ulbricht, Walter 19, 101, 106, 113, 118–120, 125, 128–139, 148–155, 157–161, 204, 260, 285, 356, 386, 427, 455, 476, 505, 555, 568, 686
- Ustinov, Dmitri 173, 188–190, 213, 224–226, 371, 376, 418
- Van Dijk, Ruud 111
- Varennikov, Valentin 581
- Varskii, Dmitrii 117
- Vasin, V.G. 144
- Velikhov, Yevgeni 181
- Verner, Paul 152
- Verner-Osten, Fritz 281
- Vezirov, Abdul Rakhman 579
- Vogel, Bernard 317
- Vogel, Hans-Jochen 219
- Vogel, Heinrich 15
- Volsky, Arcady 680–682
- Vorontsov, Yuli 306, 315, 316
- Vorotnikov, Vitali 394, 395
- Voslensky, Mikhail 183
- Voznesensky, Andrei 346
- Vybornov, Sergei 371
- Vyshinsky, Andrei 86, 114
- Vysotskii, Viktor 138
- Wagenlehner, Günter 185, 234
- Waigel, Theo 667, 671–674, 677, 680
- Waller Michael J. 445
- Walters, Vernon 550, 561
- Waltz, Kenneth 46, 61
- Watson, Thomas J 182
- Wałęsa, Lech 571
- Weathersby, Kathryn 106, 107, 740
- Weinert, Erich 346
- Weiß, Gebhardt 15
- Weizsäcker, Richard von 218, 227, 261, 298, 315, 319–323, 348, 380, 482, 688
- Werth, Alexander 86, 104
- Wertheim, Willem 42
- Wettig, Gerhard 15, 111–114, 137, 150, 436, 438
- White, Stephen 69
- Whitney, Craig A. 594
- Wiegand, Rainer 434
- Wiegrefe, Klaus 610
- Willfriede, Otto 111
- Windelen, Heinrich 227
- Wirtgen, Klaus 572, 737
- Witte, Sergei 35
- Wittkopf, Eugene 57
- Wittkowski, Grete 206
- Wolf, Charles 58
- Wolf, Markus 569, 715
- Wolfe, Thomas W. 127
- Wollweber, Ernst 119
- Wörner, Manfred 656, 658
- Yakovlev, Alexander N. 513, 514, 537, 569, 577, 578, 581, 582, 584, 595, 606, 616, 618, 629, 635, 661, 715
- Yanaev, Gennady 681
- Yasmann, Victor 444
- Yavlinsky, Grigori 661, 663
- Yazov, Dmitri 394, 418, 420, 421, 424, 582, 584, 616, 618, 625
- Yefremov, Mikhail 193, 386–388, 451
- Yeltsin, Boris 303, 350, 394, 417, 702
- Yepishev, Alexei 419
- Yevtushenko, Yevgeni 345–347
- Yilin, Yao 432

Register

- Zagladin, Vadim V. 15, 70, 166–168, 201,
393, 396, 404, 410, 415, 492, 547, 569,
595, 715, 718
- Zaikov, Lev 394, 629
- Zamyatin, Leonid 413
- Zaslyavskaya, Tatyana 578
- Zavenyagin, Avrami 123, 124
- Zelikow, Philip 470, 473, 475, 489, 492, 512,
520, 523, 539, 542, 547, 550, 551, 557,
558, 565, 583, 587, 589, 590, 606–608,
610, 612, 614, 615, 632–634, 637, 663,
668, 669, 741
- Zhao, Zi-yang 282
- Zhivkov, Todor 219, 220, 228, 332, 334,
335, 415
- Zhukov, Yuri 84, 101, 172, 426, 427, 429
- Zhurkin, Vitaly 38, 367, 372–374
- Zimyanin, Mikhail 333
- Zinoviev, Alexander 236
- Zoellick, Robert 15, 589, 632, 634
- Zorin, V.S. 372
- Zubok, Vladislav 68, 74, 78, 81, 125, 135
- Zunker, Albrecht 14