

# Content

---

**Abbreviations (German and English) | 11**

**Preface | 13**

## **A. ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK**

**Chapter 1. Then and Now: Why the Past of Yemen's South and the GDR's Role in it matter | 19**

1. An Analysis of the GDR's Foreign Policy – A Fruitless Endeavor? | 22
2. Puzzle, Hypotheses, and Structure – How the Research Question generates the Analytical Approach | 26

**Chapter 2. State of Research: The Selection of Sources for an Interdisciplinary Project | 31**

1. History of a Divided Germany's Foreign Policy: Asymmetric Endeavors and Availability of Sources | 31
2. Secondary Sources in Focus I: Germany's Divided History and Foreign Policy | 33
3. Secondary Sources in Focus II: Cold War Studies, the Middle East and Modern Yemen | 36
4. Primary Sources: Between Archival and Personal Depths | 40

**Chapter 3. Analytical Approach: An Interdisciplinary Analysis of Foreign Policy | 47**

1. Foreign Policy – Where the Nation State ends | 48
2. How to assess Foreign Policy: Tools and Criteria | 55
3. Foreign Policy ends at the other State's Sovereignty | 58
4. The major Hypothesis: The GDR's Foreign Policy as a Policy of State- and Nation-Building | 68

## B. ANALYSIS

### PART I – The GDR as a Foreign Policy Actor

#### **Chapter 4. Squeezed between Bonn and Moscow:**

##### **The GDR's Foreign Policy – An Overview | 77**

1. Political Prologue: The Cards are shuffled anew – Two German States and the Rules of the Cold War | 78
2. Priorities from the “Phase of Recognition” to the “High Times of Diplomacy” | 80

#### **Chapter 5. Phase I – Between Internal Consolidation and International Recognition | 85**

1. The Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact: In the Beginning there was Moscow | 85
2. Bonn – A Permanent Benchmark? The GDR's Attempt to promote itself as the “Alternative Germany” | 90
3. On the “Road to Recognition”: The Turning-Point of East German Foreign Policy | 94

#### **Chapter 6. Phase II: From No.2 of the Eastern Bloc to just another Isolation: The “Policy of Self-Assertion” | 97**

1. Keeping the Distance to Bonn – Oscillating between “Rapprochement” and “Dissociation” | 98
2. Growing Distance to “Brother Moscow”: “Steadfast Friendship” in Danger? | 101
3. The Double-Edged Sword of International Recognition and the End of the GDR | 103

#### **Chapter 7. The “Three Spheres of Foreign Policy Making”: Party, State, and Society | 109**

1. On the Political System of the GDR and its Social Reality | 110
2. Ideological Principles and Foreign Policy in “Socialist Germany” | 122
3. Foreign Policy Actors, Competencies and the Decision-Making Process: The “Three Spheres Approach” | 125
4. Summary: Competencies and Influences over Time | 151

## **PART II – The GDR in Yemen**

### **Chapter 8. The GDR and the “Arab World”: A Small State’s “Fill-In Policy” | 157**

1. The Middle East between Washington and Moscow – Pawn or Player? | 158
2. The GDR’s “Policy of Recognition” translated to the Middle East | 167
3. The GDR and the Middle East: During the “High Times of Diplomacy” | 172
4. Means to an End – The GDR’s Foreign Policy Strategies in the Arab World | 175
5. Conclusion: the GDR in the Middle East – A Showcase of East German Foreign Policy Strategies | 183

### **Chapter 9. Forging a National Identity in Yemen’s South – Social Change between Foreign Interference and a Fragmented Nation | 187**

1. On the Relevance of Identities for this Study | 187
2. From Tribal Lands to a Divided Yemen: A History of Foreign Interference | 190
3. Determining a Yemeni identity in the South | 195
4. Ideological Templates: Political Influences from the Middle East and Europe | 209
5. Synthetic Politics in Yemen’s South: A Marxist State from Scratch | 221

### **Chapter 10. Methodological Prelude: Connecting the Case Study, the Foreign Policy Phase Analysis and the State- and Nation-Building Approach | 229**

1. Two Germanys, two Yemens and the Cold War: How East-Berlin “lost” the North and “won” the South | 229
2. Phases of the GDR’s Involvement in South Yemen: Internal Developments determine External Foreign Policy Engagement | 235
3. Factionism, Alliances and Executions as a Political Means – The Unstable Milieu of South Yemeni Politics | 236
4. The Major Hypothesis: The GDR’s Foreign Policy as a Policy of Socialist State- and Nation-Building | 238

## **FOREIGN POLICY PHASE ANALYSIS: THE GDR's ENGAGEMENT IN SOUTH YEMEN**

### **Chapter 11. Phase 1: The Phase of Sampling and Creation from 1963 to 1969/70 – A Constitutional Draft and the Road to Recognition | 245**

1. The Revolutionary Phoenix from Aden's Ashes:  
Opting for a Socialist State | 245
2. Soviet Engagement in South Yemen:  
When Aden shed its Geostrategic Invisibility Cloak | 250
3. The Phase of Sampling: From First Contact to  
Socialist Nation- and State-Building | 252
4. Conclusion: East-Berlin's new ally by the Red Sea | 261

### **Chapter 12. Phase II: The Phase of Establishment and Expansion 1969/70 to 1978 – Incorporating Marxism-Leninism in a Tribal Society | 265**

1. Internal Developments: The First Steps towards a Socialist State | 265
2. Soviet Interests and Fields of Engagement:  
From Suspicion to "Best-Friends-Forever" | 270
3. The Phase of Expansion: The GDR as the Director of "Civilian Matters" of  
Socialist Nation- and State-Building in South Arabia | 275
4. Conclusion: South Yemen as the Model Case  
of a Possible East German Foreign Policy | 293

### **Interlude: South Yemen – A "Rough State" in the Region and in the World | 297**

1. Aden – Actor and Pawn in the Cold War Game | 297
2. Between Conspiracy Theories and Security Policy:  
East Berlin, Aden and International Terrorism | 302

### **Chapter 13. Phase III: The Phase of Continuity and Consolidation from 1978 to 1986 – German Guidance and Yemeni Emancipation | 307**

1. Aden hovering between the Peak and Abyss of its Political and Economic  
Development | 307
2. Aden – A Soviet "First-Priority Goal" in the Arab World | 312
3. Consolidation and Continuity of East German Socialist Nation- and  
State-Building: How the GDR's foreign policy tied in with the YSP's  
approach | 316
4. Conclusion: East-German Engagement Swings from Enthusiasm to  
Disillusion | 326

## **Chapter 14. Phase IV: The Phase of Neglect from 1986 to 1990 – The “Ice Age” of relations and the End of Socialist State-Building | 329**

1. Internal Developments: The Last Throes of a Wounded and Dying State | 330
2. “Soviet dilemma at the Gate of Tears”: Between Influence, Imposition and Lack of Control | 335
3. The Caesura of 1986 and its Aftermath during the Phase of Rejection: SED-State or Honecker-Centered Policy? | 341
4. Conclusion: Belated and Unfortunate Self-Confidence: East-Berlin wanders off the Soviet Course | 351

## **C. FINDINGS**

### **Chapter 15. On the External and Internal Empirical “Limits” of East German Foreign Policy | 357**

1. External Determinants of East German Foreign Policy | 357
2. Internal Limits of Foreign Policy: Between Economic Exhaustion, “Double Standards” and Political Friction | 363

### **Chapter 16. South Yemen as the Model Case of a Possible East German Foreign Policy | 369**

1. Best Friends with Benefits: Soviet and East German Engagement in South Yemen as Part of a Regional Strategy in the Region | 370
2. Advocacy for an East German Foreign Policy in its own Right | 373
3. The GDR in South Yemen: A Phase Analysis of Foreign Policy | 375
4. South Yemen as the Exceptional Case and an Approximation to the “Ideal Type” of East German Foreign Policy | 379

### **Chapter 17. Moscow, East Berlin and the “Hawks of Hadramawt” – Nation Building or Neo-Colonialism in Southern Yemen? | 383**

1. How to explore the “Limits of Foreign Policy” | 383
2. The GDR’s Policy of Socialist State- and Nation-Building: Motives and Strategies | 385
3. The Impact of Socialist Nation-Building on South Yemen and its Society: A truly Marxist State in the Arab World? | 388
4. South Yemen: Subject or Object of Foreign Policy? | 391

## **ANNEX**

### **I. Bibliography | 397**

### **II. Archival Documents | 425**

