

Abgrenzung. See Demarcation Adenauer, Konrad Christian Democratic Party, 37 reunification policy, 33, 34– 36, 136 Adversarial relationship, definition, 7 Afghanistan, 49 Allardt, Helmut, 101 Annäherung, 8 Arab-Israeli conflict, 52-67. See also Arab states; Egypt; Israel Madrid talks, 145 Arab states. See also specific states; Arab-Israeli conflict divergence of interests, 90 Egyptian defense agreements, hostility to Israel, 53 Iraq defeat, 145 negotiating process, 122 oil embargo, 56 recognition of GDR, 34 "rejectionist states," 58, 60 return of occupied territories, 54 unity of, 89

Bahr, Egon, 74, 101, 102, 105, 108, 109 Bar-Lev Line, 56 Basic Treaty, 8 assessment, 111–14 Bonn talks, 39 East German concessions, 110 - 11negotiations, 70, 100-101, 109 - 11Begin, Menachem. See also Camp David advent of Begin government, "facts on the ground" tactics, 93 negotiating process, 123–27 separate Egypt treaty strategy, 90 settlement policy, 61 Ben Gurion, David, 54 Berlin Agreement, 72, 73, 75, 77, 105 Berlin Wall, 8, 35, 37, 41, 66, 136 Blair House talks, 125–26, 127, Bonn government. See Brandt, Willy; Federal Republic of Germany

Boutros-Ghali, Boutros, 88 North Korea and, 151 Brandt, Willy, 8. See also Ost-Shanghai Communiqué, 51, politik initiative Bonn prior to, 34–36 Sino-Soviet split, 44–49, 52 Brandt-Scheel government, 71– strategies for rapprochement, *7*5, 76, 77, 100–111, 112 12-15, 77-79, 137-39 inauguration speech, 73-74, 77 tactics for rapprochement, Kiesinger-Brandt policies, 36, 79–82, 137*–*39 37, 42, 67, 75-76 Taiwan as adversary, 147–49 "small steps" politics, 72, 76 Tiananmen Square, 149, 150 Brezhnev Doctrine, 47, 49 Ussuri River clashes, 47, 66, Brzezinski, Zbigniew, 88, 117–18 78, 136 Chou En-lai, 44, 79, 80, 81, 82, Cambodia, 36, 81 116, 117 Camp David, 16 Christian Democratic Party, 37 accords, 88, 90, 127–29 Cold War, 5, 42–43, 46, 143– summit, 61, 91, 120, 124, 140 44, 150. *See also* Post–Cold War era Carter administration Camp David accords, 88, 90, future of Germany and, 11 127–29 Common Market Camp David summit, 61, 91, Jerusalem agreement, 59 120, 124, 140 China policy, 49–50, 117–18, Olympic games boycott, 150 140, 141 United States as adversary, Egypt-Israel policy, 59, 60, 146-47 87-88, 122-27 Czechoslovakia East Berlin treaty, 38 Korean policy, 150 Soviet invasion of, 34, 40, 47, Castro, Fidel, 146–47 "Catalytic factor," 66 66 Chiang Kai-shek, 43, 44, 148 Ch'iao Kuan-hua, 116 Dayan, Moshe, 87, 90, 121, 123, 124 admission to United Nations, De Gaulle, Charles, 34 Demarcation, 10–11 44, 50, 115, 116 atomic bomb detonation, 46 Deng Xiaoping, 49, 118 costs of hostility toward Détente. See also Icebreaking United States, 50–52, 65 principles; Negotiating process; Rapprochement Cultural Revolution, 46 "Gang of Four" struggles, 117 process GRIT application, 83–84 East-West Germany, 34, 37, impact of international circum-39, 76 stances, 42–50, 135–37 Diplomatic recognition, See Nornegotiating process, 114-20, malization 139–41

Federal Republic of Germany. Disengagement accords. See See also Basic Treaty; Sinai Disengagement Accords Brandt, Willy; Four-Power Dobrynin, Anatoly, 105 Berlin agreement; German Duckwitz, Georg Ferdinand, Democratic Republic; Ost-103 - 4politik initiative Dulles, John Foster, 43, 44, 45 admission to United Nations, 38, 108–9, 111 East Berlin government. See Gerborder issues, 33, 36, 37-38, man Democratic Republic 72, 102-4 East European governments, costs of hostility toward 36, 38, 72, 74, 76, 77 GDR, 40–42 East Germany. See German Great Coalition government, 75-76 Democratic Republic Eban, Abba, 89 Hallstein Doctrine, 34–36, 38, Egypt. See also Sadat, Anwar; Si-40–41, 75, 76, 11**1** nai Disengagement Accords impact of international circumstances, 33-40, 135-37 Blair House talks, 125–26, 127, 128 political stability, 34 cease-fire of 1967, 55 postwar order, 33-34 costs of hostility toward Is-Social-Liberal coalition, 74, 75 rael, 61–65, 66, 67 strategies for rapprochement, Egyptian-Israeli Political Com-71–73, 137–39 mittee talks, 91 telephone and postal agree-"Framework for Peace," 125 ments, 9 Ford administration impact of international circumstances, 52-61, 135-37 China policy, 117 negotiating process, 120–29 Foreign policy inertia, 31, 66 October War of 1973, 57, 58, Formal negotiations. See Negoti-62, 64, 66 ating process recognition of GDR, 36 Formosa Strait Crisis, 12–13 Six-Day War, 54–55, 63 Four-Power Berlin agreement, 72, 73, 75, 77, 105. See Soviet friendship treaty, 56 Soviet presence, 55, 57, 58 also Quadripartite Agreestrategies for rapprochement, ment on Berlin 84-90, 137-39 Four Powers tactics for rapprochement, rights and responsibilities," 90-93, 137-39 107, 109, 110 Eisenhower administration Fractionation of issues, 99–100, China policy, 43–45, 51–52 111, 127, 130 Middle East policy, 53–54 France Erhard, Ludwig, 36 détente efforts, 34, 39 intermediary for United Fahmy, Ismail, 87, 92 States in China, 80 Falin, Valentin, 105 quadripartite talks, 105–7

France (continued) limitations, 26 sale of military equipment to United States-China case, 83-84 Great Britain Arabs, 59 Sinai invasion, 53 quadripartite talks, 105–7 FRG. See Federal Republic of sale of military equipment to Germany Arabs, 59 Suez crisis, 53 Gaza, 89, 93, 123, 126 withdrawal from Middle East, 52 GDR. See German Democratic Great Coalition government, Republic 75–76 Geneva conferences Great powers, 43, 53, 149. See diplomatic efforts, 58, 60, 61, also specific countries by 88, 92–93, 120–21 Green, Marshall, 80-81 German Democratic Republic. See also Basic Treaty; Fed-GRIT. See Graduated Reciprocaeral Republic of Germany; tion in Tension Reduction Four-Power Berlin Agree-Gromyko, Andrei, 39, 101, 102-3 ment; Hallstein Doctrine; Ostpolitik initiative Hallstein Doctrine admission to United Nations, abrogation of, 38, 41, 75, 111 38, 108-9, 111 disadvantages of, 36, 40 Berlin Wall, 35, 37, 41, 66, 136 Kiesinger policy, 76 bloc solidarity, 36, 38 terms of, 34-35 border issues, 33, 36, 37–38, Holocaust, 53 Honecker, Erich 72, 102–4 replacement for Ulbricht, 39 costs of hostility toward FRG, 40-42, 65 "Sofia formula," 108, 109 impact of international circum-Hostile policy costs stances, 33-40, 135-37 assessment, 65-67 "legitimacy deficit," 34 to China, 50-52 negotiating process, 100–114 to East and West Germany, postwar order and, 33-34 40-42 recognition of, 34 to Egypt, 54, 61–64 strategies for rapprochement, international circumstances 71–73, 137–39 and, 135–37 to Israel, 54, 61–64 telephone and postal agreeprospects of gain and, 32, 40ments, 9 Golan Heights, 87, 145-46 Gorbachev, Mikhail, 144 to United States, 50–52 Hungary, 36, 38, 39 Graduated Reciprocation in Tension Reduction (GRIT), 24-26, 69 Icebreaking principles, 133–34. applicability, 94–97 See also Rapprochement East-West Germany case, 77 process Egypt-Israel case, 94 central core of, 142

China and Taiwan case, 147–49 international circumstances, 135–37 Israel and Syria case, 144–46 Madrid talks, 145 negotiation issues, 139–41 North and South Korea case,	Madrid talks, 145 negotiating process, 120–29 October War of 1973, 57, 58, 62, 64, 66 relations with United Na- tions, 55, 59, 62 Six-Day War, 54–55, 63
14952	strategies for rapprochement,
in post-Cold War era, 143-44	84–90, 137–39
strategies and tactics, 137–39	Syria as adversary, 144–46
United States and Cuba case, 146–47	tactics for rapprochement, 90–93, 137–39
Indonesia, 80	90-93, 137-39
International circumstances, im-	Jackson, Henry, 45
pact of	Japan, 44, 151
East and West Germany, 33-42	Johnson administration
Egypt and Israel, 52-67	China policy, 5–6, 46, 79–83
generalized conditions, 31–32	Jordan, 121, 122. <i>See also</i> West Bank occupation
icebreaking principles and,	Junktim, 72-73, 75
135–37 United States and China, 42–	junion, 12 15, 15
52	Kennedy administration
Iran, 144	China policy, 45, 115
Iraq	East-West détente, 34, 35, 39
boycott of Egypt, 60	Kiesinger, Kurt Georg, 36, 37,
confrontation policy, 58	42, 75-76
recognition of GDR, 36	Kissinger, Henry encounter with Sadat, 92
relations with Syria, 144–45	Ostpolitik negotiations, 105,
Israel. See also Sinai Disengage- ment Accords; Sinai occupa-	106
tion; West Bank occupation	shuttle diplomacy, 57, 58, 85,
adverse public opinion, 59-	121, 122, 129
60, 62	"step-by-step" strategy, 80–81,
armistice with Egypt, 53	86–88, 90
Bar-Lev Line, 56	visit to China, 106, 115–16, 117
Blair House talks, 125–26,	Kohl, Michael, 108, 109
127, 128 cease-fire of 1967, 55	Korea
costs of hotile policy toward	North and South Korea as ad-
Egypt, 61–65, 66, 67	versaries, 149–52
Egyptian-Israeli Political Com-	U.S. military presence, 43, 44
mittee talks, 91	Krushchev, Nikita, 34, 37, 39, 42
"Framework for Peace," 125	Kuwait, 143
impact of international circum-	Laos, 81
stances, 52-61, 135-37	Latin America, 49–50, 146

North Korea Lebanon, 54, 144 Libya, 58 South Korea as adversary, Lin Piao, 81 149–52 Nuclear Nonproliferation Madrid talks, 145 Treaty, 36, 74 Manchuria, 47 Manipulation, 22 October War of 1973, 15 Mao Tse-tung, 43, 79, 81, 82 diplomatic gains, 62 Meir, Golda, 56, 90 disengagement agreement, Middle East issues. See specific 86-87 U.S. administrations; spe-Egypt and, 58, 66, 85, 89 cific countries Israel and, 57, 66 Mondale, Walter, 118 outcome of, 64 Mongolia, 49, 150 Oder-Neisse border, 102, 103–4 Moscow Treaty, 39, 66, 72, 75, Okinawa, 81 77, 103 Organization of American Munich Olympics, 56 States, 146 Organization of Petroleum-Nasser, Gamal Abdel, 53, 54, Exporting Countries, 58 Osgood, Charles, 69 55, 63, 84–85 NATO, 49 Ostpolitik initiative, 9–12, 39. See also Basic Treaty; Quad-Negotiating process, 26–29 assessment of, 111-14, 119ripartite Agreement on Berlin 20, 127–31 Adenauer's policies and, 35 definition, 26-27 Berlin access compromise, East and West Germany, 100-106–7 Berlin Wall crisis and, 66 Egypt and Israel, 120–27 comparison to earlier atfractionation of issues, 99tempts, 39–40 Four-Power "rights and reicebreaking principles, 139–41 sponsibilities," 107, 109, United States and China, 110 114 - 19GRIT applicability, 77 Nixon administration implementation, 73–75 China policy, 47–49, 79–83 "Letter on German Unity," 103 China visit, 13, 49, 70, 79, 116 negotiating process, 100-114 foreign policy report, 78 strategies for achievement, strategies for rapprochement, 71 - 7377-79 tactics for rapprochement, Pakistan, 80 79-82 Palestine Liberation Organization, Normalization, 6–7. See also Ice-58, 59, 92, 121, 122, 145 breaking principles; Rap-Palestinian issue, 17–18

autonomy and, 89, 123, 124,

125

prochement process; specific

agreements and countries

Israeli position, 59, 63 Sadat's policies, 58, 61 People's Republic of China. See China Persian Gulf, 50, 145 Ping-Pong diplomacy, 13 PLO. See Palestine Liberation Organization Poland détente with, 39 East Berlin treaty, 38 normalization talks, 103-5 Oder-Neisse border, 102, 103-4 Warsaw trade missions, 36 Policy issues. See Foreign policy inertia; Hostile policy costs; Rapprochement strategies; Rapprochement tactics; specific U.S. administrations and countries Post–Cold War era, 143–44, 147 Prisoner's Dilemma, 22–23

Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin, 9 assessment of, 111, 113 negotiations, 100, 105 terms of, 39, 107–8, 110

Rabin, Yitzhak, 59, 90, 122, 128
Rapprochement process. See
also Icebreaking principles
initiatives, 69–97
international circumstances,
31–67
negotiating process, 99–131
Rapprochement strategies
East and West Germany, 71–73
Egypt and Israel, 84–90
examination of, 137–39
initial phase, 69–71
United States and China,
77–79
Rapprochement tactics

East and West Germany, 73–75

Egypt and Israel, 90–93 examination of, 137–39 initial phase, 69-71 United States and China, 79-82 Reagan administration, 145, 150 Taiwan relationship, 14 Reciprocity, 24 Relative power of nations, 21 Rock, Stephen, 66 Rogers, William, 80 Romania Begin's peace proposal, 93 détente with, 39 intermediary for United States in China, 80 normalization with Germany, 37, 38 trade missions, 36 Rush, Kenneth, 105 Rusk, Dean, 46, 82

Sadat, Anwar. See also Camp David; Sinai Disengagement Accords Israeli Knesset speech, 16, 18 Jerusalem visit, 60, 64, 88, 123 negotiating process, 120–29 rejection by Arab states, 58, 60 replacement for Nasser, 55 Soviet friendship treaty, 56 tactical traits, 91-92 U.S. support, 57-58, 85 as voice of reason, 57 "Year of Decision," 55, 64 SALT II treaty, 49 Scheel, Walter, 71, 74, 102–3 Schröder, Gerhard, 36 Shadow of the Future, 42, 52, 64, 65, 143 Shamir, Yitzhak, 90 Shanghai Communiqué, 51, 114, 116, 117, 120 Shuttle diplomacy, 57, 58, 85, 121, 122, 129

Sinai Disengagement Accords,	Ostpolitik initiative, 101–3,
15–16	105–7
Sinai I, 64, 70, 121–22, 127, 128	Sino-Soviet relations, 14–15, 44–50, 52
Sinai II, 89–90, 127	Taiwan relations, 148
Sinai occupation, 53, 54, 56,	Ussuri River clashes, 47, 66,
61, 87, 90, 93	78, 136
Sino-Soviet relations, 14–15, 45–	SPD. See Social Democratic
50, 52	Party
Six-Day War, 54-55, 63	Stalin, Joseph, 41
"Small steps" politics, 72, 76,	"Step-by-step" strategy, 86-88,
81, 137. See also "Step-by-	90, 91, 92, 94–96
step" strategy	Stoph, Willi, 74
Social Democratic Party, 35	Strategies for rapprochement.
Social-Liberal coalition, 74, 75	See Rapprochement strategies
"Sofia formula," 108, 109	Sudan, 36
Southeast Asia. See specific	Suez Canal
countries	crisis of 1956, 53, 63
Southeast Asia Treaty Organiza-	opening of, 87, 89, 91, 122
tion, 44	Sinai negotiations, 121
South Korea	Six-Day War, 54–55
agreement on peaceful coexis- tence, 152	Superpowers. See specific coun- tries by name
American presence, 149, 151	Syria Syria
Communist invasion of, 43	assault on Israeli positions, 56
North Korea as adversary,	boycott of Egypt, 60
149–52	confrontation with Israel
South Yemen, 36	policy, 58
Soviet Union	Israel as adversary, 144–46
Afghanistan presence, 49	Israeli occupation of Golan
Brezhnev Doctrine, 47	Heights, 54
Cuba alliance, 146–47	Madrid talks, 145
Egypt-Israel conflict and, 53, 55, 57, 85	peace conference negotia- tions, 122
friendship treaty with Egypt,	recognition of GDR, 36
56	Soviet presence, 55
German-Soviet relations, 11,	•
35–42	Tactics for rapprochement. See
Gorbachev's initiative, 144	Rapprochement tactics
Korean relations, 149, 150	Taiwan
Krushchev's détente attempts,	crises of 1950s, 44-45
34, 39, 42	"liberation of," 44, 48
Moscow Treaty, 39, 66, 72,	rapprochement with China,
75, 77, 103, 136	51, 79, 147–49

United States-China negotiations, 14, 49, 80, 81, 114-20 U.S. support for Chiang Kaishek, 43, 44 Test Ban Treaty of 1963, 36 Thailand, 80 Third World. See also specific countries relations with Germany, 36, 40 Soviet arms buildup, 49 U.S. "imperialism," 43-44, 52 Threats, efficacy of, 96–97 Trade agreements, 9 Traffic Commission, 108 Traffic Treaty, 9, 100, 108, 111 Transit Accord, 108 Treaties. See specific treaties by name Tuhami, Hassan, 123 Ulbricht, Walter, 37, 38, 39 United Nations admission of China, 44, 50,

115, 116 admission of East and West Germany, 38, 108–9, 111 expulsion of Taiwan, 115, 116 Israeli relations, 55, 59, 62 Jarring initiative, 55 Ostpolitik initiative concession, 110 Resolution 242, 54 troop withdrawal from Sinai, 54 United States. See also Carter administration; Eisenhower administration; Johnson administration; Kennedy administration; Nixon administration; Reagan administration costs of hostility toward China, 50–52

Egypt-Israeli conflict and, 53– 54, 57-61, 85-89, 93 impact of international circumstances, 42-50, 135-37 Korean policy, 150, 151 negotiating process, 114–20, 139-41 Shanghai Communiqué, 51, strategies for rapprochement, 77-79, 137-39 tactics for rapprochement, 79–82, 137–39 Taiwan issues, 44-45, 148 U.S. "imperialism," 43-44, 51, 52 Ussuri River clashes, 47, 66, 78, 136

Vance, Cyrus, 88, 117, 118
Vietnam War
China as "real" U.S. enemy, 46
diplomatic solutions, 50
détente during, 39
Soviet involvement, 49
U.S. troop withdrawal, 48

Warsaw Pact, 39, 45, 47, 72, 115
Weizman, Ezer, 59, 60, 85, 124
West Bank occupation, 54, 62–63, 89
Egyptian position, 123, 124, 126
Israeli settlements, 93
West Germany. See Federal Republic of Germany
Woodcock, Leonard, 118, 140
World Health Organization, 75

"Year of Decision," 55, 64 Yom Kippur War. See October War of 1973 Yugoslavia, 76