

CONTENTS

The Soviet Union's Rise as an International Energy Power: A Short History	1
Jeronim Perović	
<i>The Bolsheviks' Attitude Toward Oil</i>	4
<i>Oil in Wartime</i>	7
<i>The Politics of Oil Trade</i>	9
<i>The Soviet "Oil Offensive"</i>	11
<i>The Oil Shock of 1973/74 and Moscow's Charm Offensive</i>	14
<i>Implications of the Soviet "Energy Crisis" for Eastern Europe</i>	19
<i>The Iranian Revolution and the Building of the "World's Biggest Pipeline"</i>	22
<i>"Siberian Might" and Gas for Europe</i>	24
<i>Structure and Overview of the Present Volume</i>	27
Part I From World War to Cold War: Soviet Oil and Western Reactions	45
From Crisis to Plenty: The Soviet "Oil Campaign" Under Stalin	47
Felix Rehschuh	
<i>Oil Politics and "Second Baku" in the Interwar Period</i>	49
<i>The Soviet Oil Complex and Its Eastern Parts During World War II</i>	54
	ix

<i>The Postwar Years</i>	59
<i>Conclusion</i>	66
Stalin's Oil Policy and the Iranian Crisis of 1945–1946	79
Nataliia Egorova	
<i>Introduction</i>	79
<i>Short Historical Overview</i>	83
<i>The USSR's Growing Interest in Iranian Oil</i>	84
<i>The USSR Enters the Competition for Oil Resources</i>	86
<i>Kavtaradze's Oil Mission in Iran</i>	88
<i>Continuing Soviet Struggles</i>	90
<i>The Development of the Iranian Crisis and the Oil Question</i>	94
<i>Consequences of the Iranian Crisis</i>	97
"Red Oil" and Western Reactions: The Case of Britain	105
Niklas Jensen-Eriksen	
<i>Introduction</i>	105
<i>Soviet Oil Exports</i>	107
<i>"Patrons of the UK Oil Companies"</i>	109
<i>The First Round</i>	110
<i>The Soviets and the Board of Trade Attack</i>	115
<i>Dreams of an Oil Cartel</i>	117
<i>Oil for Ships</i>	119
<i>Conclusion</i>	122
Debates at NATO and the EEC in Response to the Soviet "Oil Offensive" in the Early 1960s	131
Roberto Cantoni	
<i>Introduction</i>	131
<i>The Soviet "Oil Offensive" and Western Reactions</i>	134
<i>The Soviet Oil Threat at the EEC</i>	137
<i>A Dangerous Friendship</i>	140
<i>Troubles of a Special Relationship</i>	144
<i>Conclusion</i>	149

Part II From Cold War to Détente: Soviet Energy and the Expansion of East–West Trade	163
Decision-Making in the Soviet Energy Sector in Post-Stalinist Times: The Failure of Khrushchev's Economic Modernization Strategy	165
Viacheslav Nekrasov	
<i>Introduction</i>	165
<i>Genesis of and Rationale Behind Khrushchev's "Petrochemical Project"</i>	167
<i>The "Petrochemical Project:" High Ambitions and Initial Success</i>	170
<i>Gosplan, Interest Groups, and the Crisis of the "Petrochemical Project"</i>	172
<i>The "Gas Pause" in the Soviet Economy (1963–1964)</i>	176
<i>Khrushchev's Attempt at Reconstructing His "Petrochemical Project" (1962–1964)</i>	178
<i>The Export of Oil and Gas: Potentials and Problems</i>	181
<i>Khrushchev's Opposition to an Accelerated Construction of Oil and Gas Pipelines (1963–1964)</i>	188
<i>Conclusion</i>	190
A Challenge to Cold War Energy Politics? The US and Italy's Relations with the Soviet Union, 1958–1969	201
Elisabetta Bini	
<i>Italy's Challenge to the "Seven Sisters"</i>	203
<i>ENI's Contracts with the Soviet Union</i>	207
<i>US Reactions to ENI's Agreements</i>	210
<i>Between Bipolarism and Détente</i>	217
<i>Conclusion</i>	222
Gaz de France and Soviet Natural Gas: Balancing Technological Constraints with Political Considerations, 1950s to 1980s	231
Alain Beltran and Jean-Pierre Williot	
<i>From Technical Partnership to the Emergence of Real Interest in Soviet Gas (1956–1969)</i>	233
<i>The French Gas Sector Considers Soviet Contracts as a Source of Supply (1969–1979)</i>	236

<i>Toward a New Gas Contract Between France and the USSR</i>	241
<i>Conclusion</i>	246
Rise of Western Siberia and the Soviet–West German Energy Relationship During the 1970s	253
Dunja Krempin	
<i>Introduction</i>	253
<i>An “Early” Siberian Strategy</i>	254
<i>A Soviet–German Partnership Emerges</i>	257
<i>The USSR Reaches Out</i>	262
<i>Efficiency Problems and the Soviet International Rollback</i>	265
<i>The “Siberian Campaign” Starts</i>	267
<i>The “Deal of the Century”</i>	269
<i>Conclusion</i>	272
From Linkage to Economic Warfare: Energy, Soviet–American Relations, and the End of the Cold War	283
David S. Painter	
<i>Oil and Soviet Power</i>	285
<i>Soviet Oil and US Policy</i>	286
<i>The Reagan Administration and the Siberian Natural Gas Pipeline</i>	290
<i>Developments on the World Oil Market</i>	297
<i>The Third Oil Shock and the Soviet Union</i>	298
<i>US Energy Policy and the End of the Cold War</i>	302
Part III From Crisis to Collapse: Soviet Energy and the Burden of Empire	319
Creating a Common Energy Space: The Building of the Druzhba Oil Pipeline	321
Falk Flade	
<i>Introduction</i>	321
<i>The Soviet Economy After Stalin’s Death</i>	323

<i>Planning the Pipeline: The CMEA as a Communication Platform</i>	325
<i>Constructing the "Oil Artery"</i>	328
<i>Western Obstruction</i>	331
<i>Extending the Pipeline</i>	334
<i>Conclusion</i>	337
Calculating the Burden of Empire: Soviet Oil, East–West Trade, and the End of the Socialist Bloc	345
Suvi Kansikas	
<i>Introduction</i>	345
<i>CMEA Pricing and Soviet Discontent</i>	348
<i>EC Protectionism Creates Pressures</i>	350
<i>CMEA Integration: A Threat and a Possibility</i>	353
<i>The Soviets Push for a Change in CMEA Pricing</i>	354
<i>The Debt Problem, Perestroika and the Collapse of CMEA Trade</i>	358
<i>Conclusion</i>	361
Drifting Apart: Soviet Energy and the Cohesion of the Communist Bloc in the 1970s and 1980s	371
Lorenz M. Lüthi	
<i>Introduction</i>	371
<i>The Energy Industry in the CMEA</i>	373
<i>The Unfolding of the CMEA's Energy Crisis, 1964–1981</i>	374
<i>Gas as a Solution to the Energy Crisis</i>	375
<i>Nuclear Energy and the Integration of the Electricity Grid as a Solution to the Energy Crisis</i>	378
<i>The Energy Crisis and the Polish Crisis of 1981</i>	380
<i>The Polish Crisis, Energy Shortages, and the Debt Question</i>	383
<i>The Disintegration of CMEA in the 1980s</i>	385
<i>Conclusion</i>	389
The Fall of the Soviet Union and the Legacies of Energy Dependencies in Eastern Europe	401
Margarita M. Balmaceda	
<i>The Soviet–CMEA Energy Relationship: Essential Features and Patterns</i>	402
<i>Legacies for Russia</i>	405

<i>Legacies for the Former CMEA States</i>	407
<i>Legacies for the Energy-Dependent Post-Soviet States</i>	410
<i>Conclusion</i>	415
Index	421