

Foreign policy: A new role for the 21st century?

Unified Germany in Perspective

‘Sonderweg’ vs ‘Westbindung’

- ▶ Germany divided, occupied, powerless
- ▶ Traditional elite view: Germany special/not part of the decadent West
- ▶ Re-armament unpopular with population
- ▶ Political alternatives
 - ▶ SPD (Schumacher): Unified, neutral Germany
 - ▶ CDU (Adenauer):
 - ▶ Tie West-Germany to western powers
 - ▶ Regain (partial) sovereignty for West-Germany
 - ▶ Unification as long-term goal
 - ▶ Deal with SU without offending West

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- ▶ Adenauer won argument in short, medium, and long term
- ▶ Conflict between 'Europeanists' and 'Atlanticists'

European Integration

- ▶ Germany and France 'arch-enemies' since 1600s
- ▶ Significant wars 1618-48, 1689,1792-1815, 1870, 1914, 1939
- ▶ Reconciliation single most important contribution to lasting peace in Western Europe
- ▶ Schuman plan → ECSC 1952
- ▶ Failure of EPC/EDC in 1954 → economic co-operation with security implications
- ▶ EEC/Euratom 1957 → European Communities → European Union
- ▶ Often inspired by French-German co-operation
 - ▶ 50s/early 1960s
 - ▶ Mid/late 1970s
 - ▶ 1980s

Germany and France

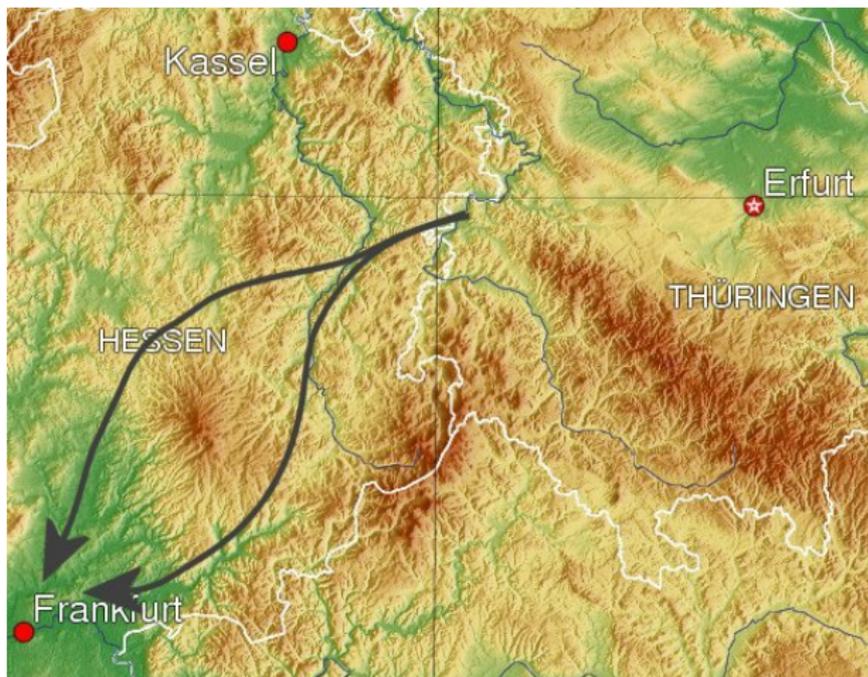
- ▶ One of the closest alliances in the world
- ▶ Unprecedented intensity of co-operation
- ▶ Lots of common initiatives ('tandem')
- ▶ Occasional hiccups
- ▶ Highly institutionalised (Elysee Treaty 1963)
- ▶ Regularly common cabinet/parliamentary sessions
- ▶ Informal meetings every six weeks or so



NATO and Westbindung

- ▶ NATO: collective defence organisation, 1949 (Cold War)
- ▶ Bonn-Paris conventions and General Treaty ('Deutschlandvertrag', 1955) ended occupation, restored (partial) sovereignty
- ▶ 1954/55 West Germany reinstates conscription and joins NATO
- ▶ Europe divided by 'Iron Curtain'
 - ▶ Germany continental battle ground
 - ▶ Soviet attack through 'Fulda Gap'
 - ▶ Need for strong conventional forces (men and tanks)
- ▶ NATO relied on German manpower (roughly 40 per cent)
- ▶ West Germany relied on American nuclear shield (signed non-proliferation treaty in 1969)

The 'Fulda Gap'



Ostpolitik

- ▶ Bonn did not accept legitimacy of GDR
 - ▶ West Germany 'partially identical' with Empire
 - ▶ Hallstein Doctrine (1955), lasted roughly ten years
- ▶ Willy Brandt 1969: 'Neue Ostpolitik'
- ▶ Series of treaties to improve situation in Europe/Germany
- ▶ Renunciation of use of force and recognition of current borders (for the time being)
 - ▶ 1970 Treaties of Moscow + Warsaw
 - ▶ Other eastern countries
 - ▶ 1972 Basic Treaty with Berlin
- ▶ Highly controversial, but no policy change after 82/83

A 'Civilian Power' ?

- ▶ France/UK still acting like (former) global powers
- ▶ (West)-Germany an economic giant, but a political and military dwarf?
- ▶ Overarching foreign policy goal: peace, trade
- ▶ Relying on international institutions, multi-lateralism
- ▶ Germany's army: part of collective defence system

Anxieties

- ▶ Eastern neighbours:
 - ▶ territorial claims
 - ▶ old ambitions
- ▶ Western neighbours
 - ▶ Loss of interest in European integration/multilateralism
 - ▶ Back to Sonderweg?
 - ▶ Shift of trade/interest to the East
 - ▶ Powerful geo-strategic position (transit)
 - ▶ Untethered (end of allied reserve powers) → European balance disturbed
- ▶ Everyone: too much occupied by its own problems to care about outside world

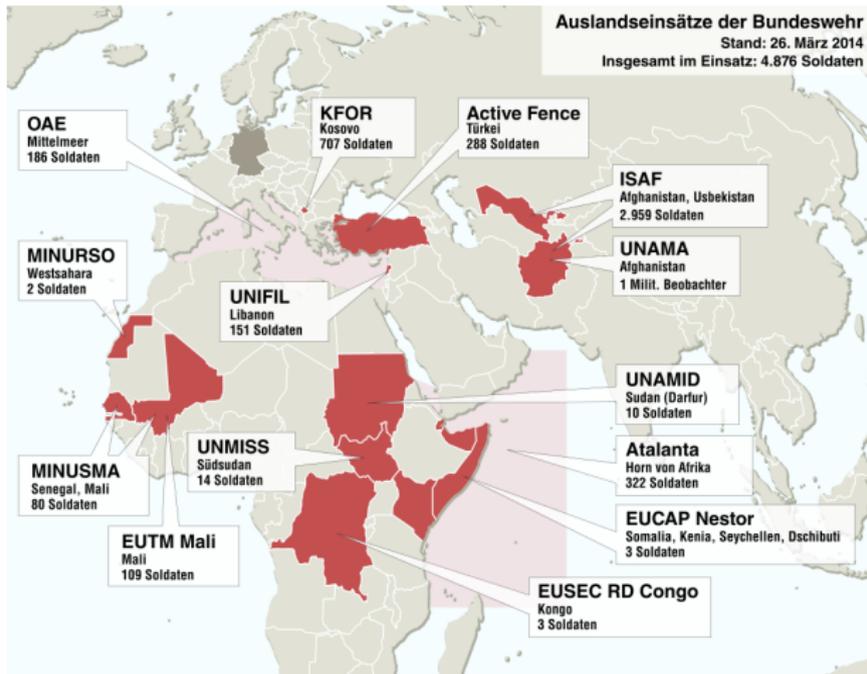
What happened?

1. (Uneasy) partnership with Russia, renewed interest in Eastern Europe
2. (Initially) slow reconfiguration of the 'Civilian Power'
 - ▶ Domestic changes
 - ▶ Changing international environment
 - ▶ (Reluctant) use of force in conflicts
3. Gradual shift in European Policy
4. Tensions/problems within NATO

Russia and CEE: normalisation

- ▶ Germany rediscovered economic interests in CEE
- ▶ Reasonable relations with Czech Republic, Poland, Slovakia (expellees)
- ▶ Deals with Russia (energy)
- ▶ Fear of migrants
- ▶ Massive cuts (Goethe-Institute)

Still a 'Civilian Power' ?



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Still a 'Civilian Power' ?

- ▶ German officers involved in UN/NATO/AWACS mission over Bosnia, 1993
- ▶ Various 'policing'/'peace-keeping' missions 'out of area'
 - ▶ Sometimes purely symbolic
 - ▶ Somalia; IFOR/SFOR (Bosnia)
 - ▶ *Kosovo bombings 1999*
- ▶ 9/11: Clause V, vote of (no) confidence, and full scale war in Afghanistan
- ▶ Germany still not a serious player
 - ▶ Military action deeply unpopular
 - ▶ Lack of material and personnel

European Policy

- ▶ Still on of the most pro-integrationist governments
- ▶ A driving force behind EU and Euro
- ▶ But: much more assertive than in the past
- ▶ Merkel by and large more diplomatic than Schröder
- ▶ *Not* on top of the implementation league tables
- ▶ Violating the Stability and Growth Pact (alongside France)
- ▶ Often seen as a bully/know-it-all
- ▶ German public arguably more eurosceptic than in the past

NATO

- ▶ Germany one of the most reliable US allies during Cold War (NATO twin-track decision, 1982)
- ▶ Role of NATO less clear than in the past
- ▶ US acting quite unilaterally after 9/11
- ▶ Split over Iraq war
 - ▶ between Germany/France and US
 - ▶ within Europe
- ▶ Germany no longer seen as reliable (Libya)

Self-perception: four facets of leadership

Nicholas Wright, UEA (work in progress):

- ▶ Interviews with AA representatives

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- ▶ Four perceptions of German leadership
 1. Shared leadership (e. g. Iran)
 2. 'Hub' (for smaller states)
 3. 'Bridge' (e. g. between France, UK; France, US)
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- ▶ Self-perception \leftrightarrow reality?
- ▶ Do others share these views?

Summary

- ▶ West Germany semi-sovereign during Cold War
- ▶ A 'Civilian Power'
 - ▶ Multilateralism, firm believer in institutionalised co-operation
 - ▶ Sceptical of military intervention
- ▶ At the same time, very close US ally
- ▶ Post unification: fears proved unfounded
- ▶ But
 - ▶ More willing to use military force
 - ▶ Slightly less pro-European
 - ▶ Generally willing to openly pursue national interest
 - ▶ More independent of US
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 - ▶ Still extremely close to France (most of the time)
- ▶ Given its size, position and economic power still remarkably unambitious

Class questions

1. What changes on the domestic and international levels can explain the changes in German foreign policy?
2. What are the likely consequences of the recent end to conscription?
3. What role *should* Germany play in the 21st century?