

POL 443H-H1-S/ POL 2322H-S TOPICS IN COMPARATIVE POLITICS II

Germany and its partners: Foreign relations in changing international frameworks

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

WINTER 2012

Thursdays, 12-2pm, in LA 340

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Germany as the largest country and main economic power in the middle of Europe, burdened by its Nazi history, became a key player in Western community during the first decades after World War II. Forced by necessity and the commitment of its governments German foreign relations followed consequently the path of close partnership with its allies and self-restriction to multilateral action at the international level.

In the first part of the course we will take a closer look on bilateral and multilateral outcomes of German foreign policy during the formative years until German Unification 1990.

In the second part of the course we will examine how the governments of the unified Germany readjusted the traditional foreign policy course to the new framework of the post-cold war era.

The analysis of reactions to the main international challenges during the past 20 years can deliver a better understanding of continuity and change in Germany's bilateral relations and multilateral behavior.

Requirements

Students are required to complete four assignments in order to pass the course:

1. An in-class presentation (20-25 min.): 30% [to be specified individually]
2. A research paper (2000 words): 30% [due March 15, 2012;]
3. Final in-class test on the last day of the course: 25% [April 5, 2012]
4. Seminar performance: 15%

Extensions and penalties

Penalty for late papers: 5 percent for the first day, 2 percent per day thereafter. Extensions are exceptionally granted on medical or compassionate grounds when they are requested *before* the research paper is due. *No extensions will be granted after the due date.*

In medical cases, you must submit the *original copy* of a University of Toronto student medical certificate: <http://www.healthservice.utoronto.ca/pdfs/medcert.htm>.

A medical certificate alone does not entitle you to an extension; rather, the instructor has to be satisfied that the illness was genuine and that it prevented the student from completing the assignment.

Submission

Normally, students will be required to submit their research papers to Turnitin.com for a review of textually similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their papers to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com web site.

Submitting your research paper through Turnitin: our class ID is: [tba]. The password is: [tba].

You should generate your own account and use it to submit your work. *Papers have to be submitted to turnitin.com before class. Submissions to turnitin.com after class count as late submissions.*

RESEARCH PAPERS MUST ALSO BE HANDED IN AT THE START OF CLASS!

Double-sided initiative: This course is taking part in the University of Toronto's double-sided initiative; you are encouraged to print your essays on both sides of the page.

Plagiarism

Plagiarism is a serious academic offence and will be dealt with accordingly. For further clarification and information, please see the University of Toronto's policy on plagiarism at <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources/how-not-to-plagiarize>).

Students are strongly advised to keep rough and draft work and hard copies of their research paper and assignments before handing in to the instructors or the department. These should be kept until the marked assignments or paper has been returned.

Accessibility Needs

The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility. If you require accommodations for a disability, or have any accessibility concerns about the course, the classroom or course materials, please contact Accessibility Services as soon as possible: disability.services@utoronto.ca or <http://studentlife.utoronto.ca/accessibility>.

Schedule and Weekly Readings

A *reader with all texts* is available at the UoT bookstore at the end of December (prepared via CSPI.org). The texts are the necessary basis for discussions. For presentations every student has to use additional texts due to the individual focus (in-class presentations (2-3 students) start on January 26)

1. Introduction (January 12)

(final distribution of presentations; discussion of topics for research papers)

Part I: The formative years for Germany's foreign relations to its main partners (1949-1990)

2. International Framework and limit options: Germany's position in post-war Europe (January 19)

Reading: Wallace, H., The Conduct of Bilateral Relationships by Governments, in: Morgan/Bray, pp. 136-155

Wallace, W., Foreign policy: the Management of Distinctive Interests, in: Morgan/Bray, pp. 205-224.

Hanrieder, Germany, America, Europe, pp. 1-25.

Kuesters, West Germany's Foreign Policy in Western Europe, 1949-1958: The Art of the Possible, in: Wurm, pp. 55-85.

3. Germany and France in Europe: The indispensable couple (January 26)

Reading: Cole, Franco-German Relations, pp. 1-2

Story, Monetary Union: Economic Competition and Political Negotiation, in: Webber, New Europe, New Germany, Old Foreign Policy? pp. 20-40.

Lappenkueper, On the Path to a "Hereditary Friendship"? Franco-German Relations since the End of Second World War, in: Germond/Turk, pp. 151-164.

4. Germany and the U.S. in the transatlantic alliance: Partners by necessity (February 2)

Reading: Lindley-French, The North Atlantic Treaty Organization: The Enduring Alliance, pp. 20-46.

Schmidt, 'Tying' (West) Germany into the West – But to What? in: Wurm, pp. 137-174.

Hanrieder, Germany, America, Europe: Forty Years of German Foreign Policy, pp. 107-130

5. Germany and the United Kingdom: Partners in a "quite alliance" or "uneasy allies"? (February 9)

Reading: Kettenacker, , Implementing Peace: Britain and Germany 1945-55, in: Goertemaker, pp. 101-122.

Heuser, Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany in NATO, 1955-1990, in: Noakes/Wende/Wright, pp. 141-162

6. Germany and its neighbors in the East: The unavoidable ties (February 16)

Reading: Haftendorn, *Coming of Age: German Foreign Policy Since 1945*, pp. 157-195

Pittman, *From Ostpolitik to Reunification: West German-Soviet Political Relations Since 1974*, pp. 5-12 + pp. 152-168.

(Reading Week)

Part II: Management of new challenges after the cold-war by Germany and its partners

7. Deepening of European integration (March 1)

Reading: Katzenstein, Peter, *United Germany in an Integrating Europe*, in: Katzenstein, pp. 1-48

Bulmer/Jeffrey/Paterson, *Germany's European Diplomacy: Shaping the Regional Milieu*, pp. 1-21.

Guerot, *Germany and Europe: New Deal or Déjà vu?* in: Bowers, pp. 27-50.

8. Widening of Western organizations to the East (March 8)

Reading: Pinder, *The Eastern Enlargement of the European Union*, in: Larres, pp. 143-164.

Otte, *A Rising Middle Power? German Foreign Policy in Transformation, 1989-1999*, pp. 157-193.

Kirchner, *NATO or WEU? Security Policy since 1990*, in: Larres, pp. 184-203.

9. Coping with security challenges: The Balkan wars, Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya (March 15)

Reading: Baumann/Hellmann, *Germany and the Use of Military Force: 'Total War', the Culture of Restraint' and the Quest for Normality*, in: Webber, *New Europe, New Germany, Old Foreign Policy?*, pp. 61-82.

Wagener, *Normalization in Security Policy? Deployments of Bundeswehr Forces Abroad in the Era Schroeder, 1998-2004*, in: Maull, *Germany's Uncertain Power*, pp. 79-92

Szabo, *Parting Ways: The German-American Relationship after Iraq*, in: Maull, *Germany's Uncertain Power*, pp. 122-136.

10. Shaping multilateral solutions for the future: Energy, climate change etc. (March 22)

Reading: Anderson, *German Unification and the Union of Europe*, pp. 83-112.

Westphal, *German Energy Policy*, in: Seidelmann, pp. 137-145.

11. Integrating the "civilian power" or taming the "economic giant" Germany? (March 29)

Reading: Maull, *Globalization and German Foreign Policy*, pp. 148-161.

Kundnani, *Germany as a Geo-economic Power*, pp. 31-45.

12. Final in-class test (April 5)

Useful texts

Jeffrey Anderson, *German Unification and the Union of Europe* (Cambridge UP, 1999)

Ian Bache/Stephen George/Simon Bulmer, *Politics in the European Union* (Oxford UP, 2011)

Derek Beach/Colette Mazzucelli, *Leadership in the Big Bangs of European Integration* (Palgrave, 2007)

Leah N. Bowers (Ed.), *German Foreign and Security Policy* (Nova Science Pub., 2009)

Simon Bulmer/Charlie Jeffrey/William E. Paterson, *Germany's European Diplomacy: Shaping the Regional Milieu* (Manchester UP, 2000)

Alistair Cole, *Franco-German Relations* (Longman, 2001)

Beverly Crawford, *Power and German Foreign Policy: Embedded Hegemony in Europe* (Palgrave, 2007)

Dieter Dettke, *Germany Says "No": The Iraq War and the Future of German Foreign and Security Policy* (Johns Hopkins UP, 2009)

Desmond Dinan, *Ever Closer Union: An Introduction to European Integration* (Palgrave, 2010)

Kenneth Dyson/Klaus H. Goetz, *Germany, Europe, and the Politics of Constraint* (Oxford UP, 2004)

Kenneth Dyson/Angelos Sepos, *Which Europe? The Politics of Differentiated Integration* (Palgrave, 2010)

Wolf-Dieter Eberwein/Karl Kaiser (eds.), *Germany's New Foreign Policy: Decision-Making in an Interdependent World* (Palgrave, 2001)

Scott Erb, *German Foreign Policy: Navigating a New Era* (Lynne Rienner, 2003)

Julius W. Friend, *Unequal Partners French-German Relations, 1989-2000* (ABC-CLIO, 2001)

Carine Germond/Henning Turk, *A History of Franco-German Relations in Europe: From "Hereditary Enemies" to Partners* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008)

Manfred Goertemaker (ed.), *Britain and Germany in the Twentieth Century* (Berg 2006)

Simon Green/Dan Hough/Alister Miskimmon, *The Politics of the New Germany* (Routledge, 2011)

Helga Haftendorn, *Coming of Age: German Foreign Policy Since 1945* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2005)

Wolfram F. Hanrieder, *Germany, America, Europe: Forty Years of German Foreign Policy* (Yale UP, 1991)

Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945* (Penguin, 2006)

Peter Katzenstein (ed.), *Tamed Power: Germany in Europe* (Cornell, 1997)

Klaus Larres (ed.), *Uneasy Allies: British-German Relations and European Integration Since 1945* (Oxford UP, 2000)

Mairi MacLean/Jean-Marc Trouille (eds.), *France, Germany and Britain: Partners in a Changing World* (Palgrave, 2001)

Hanns W. Maull (ed.), *Germany's Uncertain Power: Foreign Policy of the Berlin Republic* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2006)

Julian Lindley-French, *The North Atlantic Treaty Organization: The Enduring Alliance* (Routledge, 2007)

David Marquand, *End of the West: The Once and Future Europe* (Princeton UP, 2011)

Alister Miskimmon/William E. Paterson/Jonathan Sloam (eds.) *The Gathering Crisis: Germany under the Grand Coalition* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009)

Alister Miskimmon, *Germany and the Common Foreign and Security Policy of the European Union: Between Europeanisation and National Adaptation* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2007)

Roger Morgan/Caroline Bray (eds.), *Partners and Rivals in Western Europe: Britain, France and Germany* (Gower, 1986)

Jeremy Noakes/Peter Wende/Jonathan Wright (eds.), *Britain and Germany in Europe 1949-1990* (Oxford UP, 2002)

Max Otte, *A Rising Middle Power? German Foreign Policy in Transformation, 1989-1999* (St. Martin's Press, 2000)

Avril Pittman, *From Ostpolitik to Reunification: West German-Soviet Political Relations Since 1974* (Cambridge UP, 1992)

Volker Rittberger (ed.), *German Foreign Policy since Unification* (Manchester UP, 2001)

Reimund Seidelmann (ed.), *The New Germany: History, Economy, Policies* (Nomos, 2011)

Christian Schweiger, *Britain, Germany and the Future of the European Union* (Palgrave, 2007)

Douglas Webber (ed.), *The Franco-German Relationship in the EU* (Routledge, 1999)

Douglas Webber, *New Europe, New Germany, Old Foreign Policy? German Foreign Policy Since Unification* (Routledge, 2001)

Clemens Wurm (ed.), *Western Europe and Germany: The Beginnings of European Integration 1945-1960* (Berg, 1995)

Recommended journals:

German politics, IP (global edition), ipg, Debatte: review of contemporary German affairs, European Affairs, European journal of international relations, European security, Comparative European politics, International Affairs (London), International Organizations, International Security, Journal of Common Market Studies, Perspectives on European Politics and Society, West European politics

Recommended newspapers/magazines:

Financial Times, The Guardian, New York Times, Le Monde, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, The Economist, Spiegel online, euobserver.com.

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