

IR 549 Politics and International Relations of the Federal Republic of Germany

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Hours: MWF 11-12

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Germany at the start of the Twenty first century has emerged as a key political actor in Europe. With a population of over 80 million and a GDP of approximately 2 trillion dollars, it possesses greater resources and capabilities than any other European power. To date, Germany has been remarkably circumspect in using its power, hampered by its status as a divided nation during the Cold War and haunted by the memory of its destructive abuse of power during the first half of the Twentieth Century. Today, however, the newly reunified Federal Republic seems increasingly willing to use its power to pursue its own agenda within the context of the European Union and NATO. At the same time, Germany remains a nation peculiarly vulnerable to external pressures – a “semisovereign nation” – one that seems incapable of taking on a greater leadership role. Moreover, Germany is confronted with profound domestic challenges, including reforming its stagnant economy, coping with a vast influx of foreign immigrants, and overcoming the legacy of half a century of national partition. What type of Germany is likely to emerge in the future? Will it be a powerful, assertive actor – *primus inter pares* – within a larger European order? Will it be a “normal” nation, able to act unfettered across the whole spectrum of foreign policy dimensions, including the military? Or will it remain a “civilian power,” one dedicated to pursuing its interests through primarily non-military means and opting for the preservation of the status quo over the pursuit of national power?

The course, divided into three parts, is dedicated to exploring these issues. It will begin with a three-week general introduction to the origins of contemporary German polity, focusing on the evolution of German political institutions and the ways in which the past continues to shape and influence the ways in which Germans think about politics. The second part of the course explores the structural parameters that define German politics today: the institutional structure of German government, political parties and the electoral process, political economy interest groups, and German political culture. The third and final part of the course focuses on selected topics in contemporary German politics, including reunification, defense and foreign policies, Germany’s role in the broader European Union, immigration and management of the economy

Required Texts:

Volker R. Berghan, Modern Germany: Society, Economy and Politics in the Twentieth Century 2nd edition (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987)

Simon Bulmer and Gordon Paterson, Germany's European Diplomacy: Shaping the Regional Milieu (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001)

Gordon Craig The Germans (New York: Meridian Books, 1982)

Michael Huelshoff, et.al., From Bundesrepublik to Deutschland (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997)

Adrian Hyde Price, Germany and the European Order: Enlarging NATO and the EU (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001)

Geoffrey K. Roberts, German Politics Today (London: Palgrave, 2000)

Required course texts are available at the book store. All course readings other than the required texts are available in the Reserve Reading Room of Mugar Library.

Regarding Readings:

All students are expected to have completed the required readings for that week prior to the first meeting of class. Readings marked with a * are recommended readings and may prove helpful to students who are writing term papers on related topics.

Requirements

1) For undergraduates - Two short (One hour and fifteen minute tests) based on the required readings - 50% identify key terms, 50% short answer. One 12 to 15 page term paper. The term paper is due on the last day of class. Grade is based 40% on the term paper, 40% on the tests and 20% on class participation.

2) For graduate students - as undergraduates, except a longer, 20 to 30 page research paper is required. Grade is based 50% on the term paper, 30% on the tests and 20% on class participation.

Please see the hand out "Guidelines for Writing Term papers," regarding how to structure your paper. **Please note: Plagiarism will be severely penalized.** Please consult the Academic Code of Conduct on the subject.

Students are urged to make an early appointment to discuss term paper topics no later than the third week of the course). A brief written summary of the progress made on the term paper, is to be submitted by the end of the ninth week. I am willing to look over drafts of the term paper up

to one week before they are due and give general comments.

I. Introduction

Readings:

Gordon Craig, The Germans chapters 1-5, 9, pp. 15-126, 190-212 (133)

II. The Rise and Fall of Imperial Germany 1866-1919

Readings:

Volker R. Berghan, Modern Germany, pp. 1-81

David Calleo The German Problem Reconsidered (1978, chapters 1 to 4, pp. 1-84

III. Weimar, The Third Reich and Reconstruction

Readings:

Geoffrey Roberts, German Politics today, chapter 1 (23)

Volker Berghan, Modern Germany, chapters 4 and 5, pp.129- 216 (87)

David P. Calleo, The German Problem Reconsidered, chapter 5, pp. 85-121 (36)

Recommended Readings:

* Simon Reich, The Fruits of Fascism: Postwar Prosperity in Comparative Perspective (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), chapters 5 and 8, pp.147-201 and 303-327 (78)

IV. The Institutional Structure of the German State

Readings:

Geoffrey Roberts, German Politics today, Chapter 3, 6, 7 and 8 (85)

Recommended Readings:

* Stephen Padgett, ed., Adenauer to Kohl: The Development of the German Chancellor (London: Hurst, 1994)

* Uwe Thysen, Roger H. Davidson and Robert Livingston, eds., The U.S. Congress and the German Bundestag: Comparisons of Democratic Processes (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1990), chapters 9 and 11, pp.67-107, 273-295. (52)

V. Parties and Electoral Politics

Readings:

Geoffrey Roberts, German Politics today, chapters 4 and 5 (47)

VI. Political Economy and Interest Groups

Readings:

Geoffrey Roberts, German Politics today, chapter 9 (15)

Katzenstein, Policy and Politics in West Germany, chapter 1, 3 pp.1-80, 125-167 (122)

Christopher S. Allen, "From Social Market to Mesocorporatism to European Integration," in Huelshof, et.al, From Bundesrepublik to Deutschland, pp.61-77 (16)

Stephen J. Silvia and Andrei S. Markovits, "An Ounce of Prevention? The reform of the German Trade Union Federation," German Politics Vol.14, No.1 (April 1995), pp.64-85 (21)

Razeen Sally and Douglas Webber, "The German Solidarity Pact: A Case Study in the Politics of the Unified Germany," German Politics Vol.3, No.1 (April 1994), pp.18-46 (28)

Recommended Readings:

*Peter Katzenstein, "Stability and Change in the Emerging Third Republic," in Peter Katzenstein, Industry and Politics in West Germany Toward the Third Republic (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989), chapter 11, pp.307-353 (46)

* Ferdinand Müller-Rommel, "Interest Representation in the Bundestag," in Thaysen, et.al., The U.S. Congress and the German Bundestag, chapter 12, pp.313-338.(25)

*Lowell Turner, Fighting for Partnership: Labor and Politics in Unified Germany (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998)

VII. Political Culture

Readings:

Harold James A German Identity 1770-1990 (New York:Routledge, 1989) chapters 1,2 and conclusions, pp.8-54, 210-218 (54)

Charles Maier The Unmasterable Past (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), introduction, chapter 1 and conclusions, pp. 1-33, 160-172 (45)

First Short Test Part I: Multiple Choice - identify in three sentences or less people, events and institutions Part II: Short Questions - select and discuss in a paragraph of more than three sentences 2 topics.

Reminder: Brief summary of progress made so far on the term paper due by the end of this week. Include a tentative bibliography.

VIII. German Unification

Readings:

Charles Maier, Dissolution, chapters 3 to end (227 pages)

Recommended Readings:

*Thomas A. Baylis, "Transforming the East German Economy: Shock without Therapy," in Huelshof,et.al.,From Bundesrepublik to Deutschland, pp.77-93

* Peter Merkl

* Philip Zelikow and Condoleeza Rice

IX. Defense and Foreign Policy

Readings:

Adrian Hyde Price, Germany and the European Order: Enlarging NATO and the EU whole book, especially chapter 1 (analyzing German Foreign policy) and the chapters regarding NATO

Recommended Readings:

*John Mearsheimer "Back to the Future" in International Security Summer, 1990, pp.5-56 The original Realist prediction of Germany returning as a great power after the Cold War

*Jeffrey A. Anderson and John B. Goodman, "Mars or Minerva: A United Germany in a Post-Cold War Europe" in Stanley Hoffman and Robert Keohane, eds. , After the Cold War: International Institutions and State Strategies (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993)

*Philip Gordon, "The Normalization of German Foreign Policy," Orbis (Spring 1994), pp.225-243 (18)

*Thomas Berger, "The Past in the Present: Historical Memory and German National Security Policy" German Politics, Vol. 6, No.1 (April 1997), pp.39-59 (20)

*Andrei Markovits and Simon Reich, The German Predicament: Memory and Power in the New Europe (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997)

*John S. Duffield, World Power Forsaken: Political Culture, International Institutions and German Security Policy after Unification (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998)

*Wolfram Hanrieder, Germany, America and Europe (New Haven, Ct: Yale University Press, 1989) - the definitive review of German foreign policy during the Cold War

* Max Otte with Jürgen Grewe, A Rising Middle Power? German Foreign Policy in Transformation, 1989-1999 (New York: St.Martin's, 2000)

X. Germany and European Integration

Readings:

Simon Bulmer and Gordon Paterson, Germany's European Diplomacy: Shaping the Regional Milieu (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001) Whole book

Recommended:

Jeffrey Anderson, German Unification and the Union of Europe (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999)

Peter Katzenstein, ed. Tamed Power: Germany in Europe (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997) chapters 1, 2 and 3, pp. 1-107 (107)

Andrei S. Markovits and Simon Reich "Should Europe fear Germany" in Huelshoff, et.al., From Bundesrepublik to Deutschland, pp.270-290 (20)

Connor Cruise O'Brien, "Pursuing a Chimera," and John Keegan, "From Albert Speer to Jacques Delors," in Peter Gowan and Perry Anderson, The Question of Europe (London: Verso books, 1997) pp.77-90 (13) - available on reserve for my other course, 190.343

XI. Immigration and Minorities

Readings:

Rogers Brubaker, Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), Chapters 3,4,6 and 8, pp.50-84, 114-137 and 165-178 (70)

Peter O'Brien "The Civil Rights of West Germany's Migrants" in German Politics and Society Issue 19, (Spring 1991), pp.26-40 (14)

Thomas Faist, "How to Define a Foreigner? The Symbolic Politics of Immigration in the German Partisan Discourse," West European Politics Vol.17, No.4 (April 1994), pp.50-71 (21)

Matthew J. Gibney, "Crisis of Constraint: The Federal Republic of Germany's Current Refugee Imbroglio," Government and Opposition Vol.28, No.2 (Summer

1994), pp.372-393 (21)

Ekkart Zimmerman and Thomas Saalfeld, "The Three Waves of West German Right-Wing Extremism" in Peter H. Merkl and Leonard Weinberg, eds., Encounters with the Contemporary Radical Right (Westview Press, 1993), pp.50-74 (25)

Hermann Kurthen, "Germany at the Crossroads: national Identity and the Challenges of Immigration," International Immigration Review Vol.xxix, No.4, (1995), pp.914-936 (22)

Arne Gieseck, Ulrich Heileman, Hans Dietrich von Loeffelholz, "Economic Implications of Immigration into the Federal Republic of Germany, 1988-1992," International Migration Review Vol. XXIX, No. 3 (1995), pp.693-709 (16)

Recommended Readings:

*Ulrich Herbert, A History of Foreign Labor in Germany, 1880-1980 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990)

* Daniel Kanstroom, "Wer sind wir wieder? Laws of Asylum, Immigration and Citizenship in the Struggle for the Soul of the New Germany" Yale Journal of International Law Vol 18, 155 (1993), pp. 155-211

XII. Economic Management and the Welfare State in an Age of Globalization

Readings:

J, Nicholas Ziegler, "Corporate Governance in germany: Towards a New Transnational Politics?" in Steven Weber, ed., Globalization and the European Political Economy (New York: Columbia, 2001), pp.197-228 (31)

Gordon Smith, et.al., eds., Developments in German Politics 2, chapters 11, 12 and 14, pp. 194-233, 250-266 (55)

Katzenstein, Policy and Politics in West Germany, chapters 2 and 4 pp. 83-124, 168-208 (81)

W.R. Smyser, The Economy of United Germany: Colossus at the Crossroads (New York: St. Martin's, 1992), chapters 2, 5, 6 and 11 pp.13-39, 103-148, 259-266 (68)

Recommended:

- Richard Deeg, Finance Capital Unveiled: Banks and the German Political Economy (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999)
 Alexander Gershonkron, Economic Backwardness in Historic Perspective (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962)
 Gerry Herrigel, Industrial Constructions: The Sources of German Industrial Power (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996)
 Peter J. Katzenstein, ed, Industry and Politics in West Germany: Towards the Third Republic (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989)
 Andrew Shonfeld, Modern Capitalism: The Changing Balance of Public and Private Power (London: Oxford University Press, 1965)

XIII. Ecology and New Social Movements

Readings:

- Ronald Inglehart, Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Societies (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), chapter 2, 11 and 12, pp.66-103, 371-421 (87)
- Hans Betz, Postmodern Politics in Germany, introduction and chapters 1-3, pp. 1-89 (89)

Reminder: Papers due the last day of Class!

XIV. Conclusion and Outlook for the Future

Readings: none

Some suggestions for paper topics:

1. Womens' issues in Germany (especially since reunification). How does Germany deal with gender issues compared with the United States or other European countries? What accounts for any differences that you find? Culture, political party variables, economic factors, etc.?
2. The future of German security policy - the end of anti-militarism? Consider the evidence for the proposition that Germany is prepared to adopt a more assertive stance in international affairs. How well recent German behavior (i.e. since the end of the Cold War) fit the Realist or Neoliberal models of international relations?
3. Immigration, minorities and the German polity: the prospects for pluralism. Is Germany in the process of becoming a multicultural society? Or is it on the brink of a major backlash against

- immigration and the ethnic and cultural pluralization of German society? Consider the evidence for both sides and analyze the underlying factors behind the trends that you identify. If possible, compare and contrast the German experience with that of other advanced industrial democracies.
4. German-Eastern European (Russian) relations after the Cold War - Rapallo, Ostpolitik part II, the Fourth Reich or simply business as usual?
 5. Germany and the European Union: towards a European federation, the coming Collapse, or German hegemony behind a Euro-mask. What are the underlying factors behind German policy towards the European Union? Is Germany genuinely committed to the creation of a transnational European entity? Or is the European Union merely a mask for German domination? What interests are served by German policies towards the Union? What interests are being damaged.
 6. German electoral politics: realignment, dealignment or plus ça change? Compare German electoral trends with those of another advanced industrial country or countries. Does the evidence from other countries support the view of dealignment or realignment of voter sentiment. What are the factors that might make for these trends? What are the implications for the future of German democracy?
 7. The Greening of Germany: German environmental policy – domestic and international
 8. The Federal Republic at Fifty: The end of Neocorporatism?
 9. Is Berlin Weimar? Implications of Reunification for German Foreign Policy
 10. The Historikerstreit: German historical memory and the political implications of an Academic debate
 12. Still a Modell Deutschland? The economic and social costs and benefits of the German system. Is the German economic model becoming Americanized? In what ways are the pressures of international competition and the transnational flow of ideals and practices reshaping the German political economy? What are the social and political consequences?
 13. Compare the Schröder government with that of the “New Labour” government of Tony Blair in England and/or the French Socialist government under Lionel Jospin. Are the much touted similarities between them more apparent than real? Or are we witnessing a genuine European wide reaction against the Neoliberalism of the 1980s and against global economic and political forces? What are the implications of your analysis for U.S.-German and U.S.-European relations?

More generally, any paper that compares aspects of German politics with politics in in other countries. For example - a comparison of the German and American health care systems, of German and American (or Japanese) industrial policy, of the German and American approaches to pensions, etc..

In researching your papers you may also want to look at some of the following journals for relevant articles:

1. German Politics JN3201.G47
2. German Politics and Society DD1.G35
3. West European Politics D1050.W47
4. Governments and Oppositions JA8.66
5. Foreign Affairs JX1.F71
6. Foreign Policy JA1.F6

7. Aussenpolitik (Foreign Affairs - an English language journal, despite the title)
8. The Journal of Commonmarket Studies (specializes in the EU)
9. Comparative Politics
10. Comparative Political Studies

In addition you may want to look at the British weekly, The Economist which can usually be counted on to have at least one general interest article on German politics, as well as at the British daily, The Financial Times, which is an excellent source on European politics in general.