

**Government 342:
United Germany in a New Europe
Fall 2006**

Instructor: Peter Katzenstein (pjk2)
White Hall 321

Office Hours: are posted each
Monday by 9am for the coming week

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Course website URL: <http://www.blackboard.cornell.edu>. You should regularly consult this website. It will contain information about readings, lectures, sections, exams, paper, and other relevant information. Lucia is your normal contact for anything related to this course.

Course Description: German unification in 1990 and the accelerating movement toward European integration have created new political conditions for our understanding of German and European politics. The end of the Cold War has brought forth old fears about the domination of Europe by an unpredictable German giant. Alternately, these changes have also fueled new hopes for Germany and Europe as models of democratic pluralism in a more peaceful and prosperous world. This course analyzes the incomplete growth of a new polity in Europe that reflects two kinds of politics: the specter of the "Germanization" of Europe and the vision of a "Europeanization" of Germany.

The course offers a historical analysis of German and European developments since 1945 (Part I) before developing realist (Part II), liberal (Part III) and institutionalist (Part IV) interpretations of German and European affairs.

Course Requirements: Class will meet two times a week. Apart from lectures, we will have time to discuss questions arising from current affairs, readings and lectures. Please do the assigned readings before class. Lectures will assume that you have done the readings as I shall assume that you are prepared to discuss in class the readings assigned for a specific day. Besides lectures you are also expected to attend one discussion section per week where you will have an opportunity to discuss longer and more difficult readings in greater length. The course also convenes three general fora in which all members of the class will participate in debating the political and analytical issues central to different parts of the course. Students will help in organizing and running these sessions.

Readings: You should purchase Simon Hix, *The Political System of the European Union* (2nd ed., 2005) [SH] at the Campus Store, Kraftees in Collegetown, or on the web. In addition there is a two-volume reading package [RP] that can be purchased at KC copy in Collegetown. One copy of the book and the reading package has been put on two-hour reserve in Uris library.

Paper: You are expected to write a 10-12 page paper dealing with the subject matter of one of Parts II-IV. Your paper should make use of current information on the web as well as printed sources. Abbreviated draft paper versions of increasing length are due on 9/28, 10/17, 11/7, and 11/21. These draft papers memos will give you an opportunity to articulate the main point(s) of your paper. They will give Lucia an opportunity to check up on the progress you are making and offer some advice on how to make the eventual paper stronger. If you miss more than one memo deadline, your final paper will be graded down. Final papers are due on the last day of class. Late papers should be turned in to the departmental staff, and the time at which you turn the paper in should be recorded on the front page of the paper.

Grading: Your grade in this course will be based on four components. (1) Your regular attendance and active

participation in section (20%); an in-class midterm (20 %); a paper (20%); and an in-class final examination for which I shall hand out study questions ahead of time (40%). Late papers will be graded down by one grade for every 24 hours the paper is late (for example from an A- to a B+). I will of course accept a physician's report as a legitimate reason for seeking to reschedule an examination or missing a paper deadline. Incompletes will be given only because of circumstances beyond the student's control, such as serious illness or family emergencies. (A non-refundable airline ticket does not constitute "a circumstance beyond the student's control").

You may appeal any of your exam or paper grades only after you have handed the TA a two-page, double-spaced, neatly typed memorandum that explains why you think that you have been treated unfairly.

Class Schedule

Date	Topic	Readings
1. 8/24	Overview	RP: 1-1/2.
PART I: GERMANY AND EUROPE SINCE 1945		
2. 8/29	Germany and Europe	SH: 1-23. RP: 2-1/3.
3. 8/31	Semi-Sovereign Germany (1)	RP: 3-1/3.
4. 9/5	Semi-Sovereign Germany (2)	RP: 4-1/2.
5. 9/7	Semi-Sovereign Germany (3)	RP: 5-1.
6. 9/12	European Integration 1950s-60s	SH: 27-143, 175-207. RP: 6-1.
7. 9/14	European Integration 1970s-80s	SH: 147-174, 208-231.
8. 9/19	German Unification (1)	RP: 8-1/4.
9. 9/21	German Unification (2) <i>MEMO 1</i>	RP: 9-1/2.
10.9/26	Europe—Maastricht, Amsterdam, Constitution	SH: 235-70. RP: 10-1/4.
11.9/28	Europe's Enlargement	RP: 11-1/3.
PART II: POWER AND WAR		
12.10/3	States and Security	RP: 12-1/4.
13.10/5	Iraq Wars and War on Terror	RP: 13-1/5.
14.10/12	Security Community or Rivals <i>MEMO 2</i>	SH: 387-405. RP: 14-1/4.
10/17	Forum I: Threat or Security?	Forum1-1/2.
10/19	Midterm	
PART III: WEALTH AND MARKETS		
15.10/24	Democracy, Commerce, Peace	RP: 15-1/2.
16.10/26	Unification and Germany's Social Market Economy	RP: 16-1/3.
17.10/31	European Foreign Trade: Fortress Europe? <i>MEMO 3</i>	SH: 374-87. RP: 17-1/3.
18.11/2	European Monetary Union: From EMS to EMU (Professor Kirshner guest lecturer)	SH: 309-343. RP: 18-1/3.
11/7	Forum II: Europe—A Deregulated Market?	Forum2-1/3.
PART IV: IDENTITY AND POLITY		
19.11/9	Europe's Emerging Polity	SH: 406-21. RP: 19-1/5.
20.11/14	Identity and (Im)migration	SH: 344-373. RP: 20-1/4.
21.11/16	Agriculture, Regions, Social Policy <i>MEMO 4</i>	SH: 271-308. RP: 21-1/5.
PART V: CONCLUSION		
22.11/21	"Old Axes", "New Orders", and Historical Memory	RP: 22-1/3.
11/28	Forum III: The Case For and Against Europe	Forum3-1/5.
23.11/30	Neither Tragedy nor Farce <i>PAPER DUE</i> Reading Period	RP: RP-1/4.

Reading Package: Volumes I and II
Government 342: United Germany in an Integrating Europe

342.1: August 24 -- Overview

- 1-1. "Saying the Unsayable about the Germans," *The Spectator* (July 14, 1990).
 1-2. "Be Nice to the Germans," *The New York Times* (July 20, 1990).

342.2: August 29—Germany and Europe

- 2-1. David Calleo, *The German Problem Reconsidered*, pp. 1-7, 161-77.
 2-2. Thomas Banchoff, *The German Problem Transformed*, pp. 2-22.
 2-3. "Waiting for a Wunder: A Survey of Germany" *Economist* (February 11, 2006):3-16.

342.3: August 31—Semi-Sovereign Germany (1)

- 3-1. Peter J. Katzenstein, *Policy and Politics in West Germany*, pp. 3-82.
 3-2. Simon Green and William Patterson, "Introduction: Semisovereignty Challenged," in Green and Patterson, *Governance in Contemporary Germany: The Semisovereign State Revisited*, pp.1-20.
 3-3. Peter J. Katzenstein, "Conclusion: Semisovereignty in United Germany," in Green and Patterson, *Governance in Contemporary Germany: The Semisovereign State Revisited*, pp.283-306.

342.4: September 5—Semi-Sovereign Germany (2)

- 4-1. Peter J. Katzenstein, "United Germany in an Integrating Europe," in Katzenstein, ed., *Tamed Power: Germany in Europe*, pp. 1-48.
 4-2. Hans-Peter Schwarz, "Germany's National and European Interests," *Daedalus* (Spring 1994): 81-105.

342.5: September 7—Semi-Sovereign Germany (3)

- 5-1. Peter H. Merkl, *German Unification in the European Context*, pp. 77-117.

342.6: September 12—European Integration 1950s-1960s

- 6-1. "If you sincerely want to be a United States," *The Economist* (March 23, 1991): 21-23.

342.7: September 14—European Integration 1970s-1980s

342.8: September 19—German Unification (1)

- 8-1. Jens Reich, "Reflections on Becoming an East German Dissident, on Losing the Wall and a Country," in G. Prins, ed., *Spring and Winter: The 1989 Revolutions*, pp.66-97.
 8-2. Brigitte Young, *Triumph of the Fatherland*, pp.151-197.

8-3. William E. Patterson, *Between the Bonn and the Berlin Republics*, University of Birmingham Discussion Paper in German Studies IGS99/5.

8-4. Togetherness: A Balance Sheet," *The Economist* (September 30, 2000): 25-27.

342.9: September 21—German Unification (2)

9-1. Thomas Risse, "The Cold War's Endgame and German Unification," *International Security* 21,4: 159-85.

9-2. Jeffrey Anderson, *German Unification and the Union of Europe*, pp. 23-55.

342.10: September 26—Europe: Maastricht, Amsterdam, Constitution

10-1. David Phinnemore, "Towards European Union," in Michelle Cini, ed., *European Union Politics*, pp. 46-62.

10-2. Joschka Fischer, "From Confederacy to Federation: Thoughts on the Finality of European Integration," (Speech at the Humboldt University, Berlin May 12, 2000), in Christian Joerges, Yves Mény, H.H.H.H. Weiler, eds., *What Kind of Constitution for What Kind of Polity? Responses to Joschka Fischer*, pp. 19-30.

10-3. J.H.H. Weiler, "Epilogue. Fischer – The Dark Side," *Ibid.*, pp. 235-247.

10-4. James Sperling, "The Foreign Policy of the Berlin Republic: The Very Model of a Post-Modern Major Power? A Review Essay," *German Politics* 12, 3 (December 2003): 1-34.

342.11: September 28—Europe's Enlargement

11-1. Wade Jacoby, *The Enlargement of the European Union and NATO: Ordering from the Menu in Central Europe*, pp. 1-19, 216-42.

11-2. Five part article series in *The New York Times* (March 11-27, April 25, and May 1, 2007)

11-3. Christian Deubner, "West German Attitudes," in Dudley Seers and Constantine Vaitsos, eds., *The Second Enlargement of the EEC*, pp. 43-56.

342.12: October 3—States and Security

12-1. John J. Mearsheimer, "Why We Will soon Miss the Cold War," *Atlantic Monthly* (August 1990): 35-50.

12-2. Fareed Zakaria, *From Wealth to Power: The Unusual Origins of America's World Role*, pp. 13-43.

12-3. Gunther Hellmann, "The Sirens of Power and German Foreign Policy: Who is Listening?" *German Politics* 6,2: 29-57.

12-4. Daniel Dombey and Eric Jansson, "Changing of the Guard," *Financial Times* (December 2, 2004): 11.

342.13: October 5—Iraq War and War on Terror

13-1. Stephen F. Szabo, "Parting Ways: The German-American Relationship after Iraq," in Hanns W. Maull, ed., *Germany's Uncertain Power: Foreign Policy of the Berlin Republic*, pp. 122-36.

- 13-2. Anja Dalgaard-Nielsen, "Gulf War: The German Resistance," *Survival* 45, 1 (Spring 2003): 99-116.
- 13-3. Peter J. Katzenstein, "Same War – Different Views: Germany, Japan and Counterterrorism," *International Organization* 57, 4 (Fall 2003): 731-60. [Do not read sections on Japan: 743-47, 752-54].
- 13-4. "Why Gerhard Schröder Has Gone Out on a Limb," *The Economist* (September 14, 2002): 51-52.
- 13-5. Gerhard Schröder, "Germany Will Share the Burden in Iraq," *The New York Times* (September 19, 2003): A27.

342.14: October 12—Security Community or Rivals?

- 14-1. Gebhard Schweigler, "Problems and Prospects of the Atlantic Community," in David D. Hale et al., eds., *Is the Atlantic Widening? Atlantic Area nations after the Cold War*, pp. 30-62
- 14-2. Robert Kagan, "Power and Weakness," *Policy Review* 133 (June-July 2002): 3-14.
- 14-3. Robert Kagan, "America's Crisis of Legitimacy," *Foreign Affairs* 83, 2 (March/April 2004): 65-87.
- 14-4. Karen E. Smith, "EU External Relations," in Michelle Cini, ed., *European Union Politics*, pp. 229-45.

342.Forum1: October 17- Threat or Security Community?

- Forum1-1. Jeremy Rabkin, "The Threat from Europe," *Prospect* (April 2006): 69-70.
- Forum1-2. Andrew Moravcsik, "Europe Works Well Without Grand Illusions," *Financial Times* (June 14, 2005).

342.15: October 24—Democracy, Commerce, Peace

- 15-1. Geoffrey Blainey, *The Causes of War*, pp. 18-32.
- 15-2. Charles S. Maier, "The Politics of Productivity: Foundations of American International Economic Policy after World War II," in Peter J. Katzenstein, ed., *Between Power and Plenty*, pp. 23-49.

342.16: October 26—Unification and Germany's Social Market Economy

- 16-1. Wolfgang Streeck, *Economic Reform and the Political Economy of the German Welfare State*, MPIfG Working Paper 05/2 (February 2005) (36pp).
- 16-2. Razeen Sally and Douglas Webber, "The German Solidarity Pact: A Case Study in the Politics of the Unified Germany," *German Politics* 3, 1 (April 1994): 18-46.
- 16-3. Hugh Williamson, "Grand Coalition Forced to Scale Back Vision," *Financial Times* (November 11, 2005): 3.

342.17: October 31—European Foreign Trade: Fortress Europe?

- 17-1. Mark Landler, "Rumblings of a German Revival," *The New York Times* (January 17, 2006):

C1, C6.

17-2.Loukas Tsoukalis, *What Kind of Europe?*, pp. 66-91.

17-3.George Parker and John Thornhill, "Fighting for Their Slice of Europe," *Financial Times* (October 5, 2005): 17.

342.18: November 2—European Monetary Union: From EMS to EMU

18-1.Loukas Tsoukalis, *What Kind of Europe?*, pp. 142-66.

18-2.Peter Hall, "Central Bank Independence and Coordinated Wage Bargaining: Their Interaction in Germany and Europe," *German Politics and Society* 31 (Spring 1994): 1-23.

18-3.Wolfgang Munchau, "Is the Euro Forever" *Financial Times* (June 8, 2005): 17.

342.Forum2: November 7-Europe –A Deregulated Market?

Forum2-1.Martin Feldstein, "The Case against the EMU," *The Economist*(June 13, 1992): 19-22.

Forum2-2."In Reply to Feldstein," *The Economist* (July 4, 1992): 67.

Forum2-3."Eurobrief," article series, *Economist* (October 17-December 5, 1998).

342.19: November 9—Europe's Emerging Polity

19-1."Glass with Attitude," *Economist* (December 20, 1997):113-115.

19-2.Yasemin Nuhoglu Soysal, *Limits of Citizenship*, pp.1-13,136-62.

19-3.David E. Spiro, *The Hidden Hand of American Hegemony*,pp.1-18.

19-4.Simon Bulmer, "Britain and Germany in the European Union: British Realism and German Institutionalism?" (unpublished paper).

19-5.Nicholas Colchester, "Goodbye, Nation-State. Hello...What?" *The New York Times* (July 17, 1994): A17.

342.20: November 14—Identity and (Im)migration

20-1.Simon Green, *The Politics of Exclusion*, 1-25, 133-45.

20-2."Millions Want to Come," *The Economist* (April 4, 1998): 55-56.
126,3: 167-97.

20-3.David D. Laitin, "The Cultural Identities of a European State," *Politics & Society* 25,3: 277-300.

20-4."Euro-Tongues Wag in English," *The Economist* (October 25, 1997): 60.

342.21: November 16—Agriculture, Regions and Social Policy

21-1.Charlie Jeffery and John Yates, "Unification and Maastricht: The Response of the Lander Governments," *German Politics* 1,3: 58-81.

21-2."Preserving a Heritage via Bed and Barns," *The New York Times* (August 13, 1998): D1,D4.

21-3.Martin Wolfe, "Europe Must Integrate Its Labour Markets and Welfare," *Financial Times*

(April 6, 2005): 13.

21-4.Martin Wolfe, "There is Something Rotten in the Welfare State of Europe," *Financial Times* (March 1, 2006): 11.

21-5.Thomas L. Friedman, "Roll over Hawks and Doves," *The New York Times*, (ca. 1997).

342.22: November 21-"Old Axes," "New Orders," and Historical Memory

22-1.Thomas Banchoff, "German Policy towards the European Union: The Effects of Historical Memory," *German Politics* 6, 1 (April 1997): 60-76.

22-2.Simon Kuper, "The Dutiful Game," *Financial Times* (May 27-28, 2006): W16-17.

22-3.Richard Bernstein, "In World Cup Surprise, Flags with German Pride," *The New York Times* (June 18, 2006): A3.

342.Forum3 :November 28- The Case For and Against Europe

Forum3-1.Noel Malcolm, "The Case against 'Europe'," *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 1995): 52-68.

Forum3-2.Andrew Moravcsik, "The Quiet Superpower," *Newsweek* (International Edition)(June 17, 2002): 23.

Forum3-3.David Brooks, "A European Superstate? Forget It," *Wall Street Journal* (August 12, 1991).

Forum3-4.Charlemagne: Snoring While a Superstate Emerges?" *The Economist* (May 10, 2003): 46.

Forum3-5.Jonathan Rauch, "Europe is the Next Superpower. But Then, So Was Japan." *National Journal* (January 29, 2005): 264-65.

342.23: November 30—Neither Tragedy nor Farce

Reading Period Assignment

RP-1.Gary L. Geipel and Robert Dujarric, *Hudson Institute Executive Briefing: Europe 2005*.

RP-2.Andrei S. Markovits and Simon Reich, "Should Europe Fear the Germans?" in Michael G. Huelshoff, Andrei S. Markovits and Simon Reich, eds.,*FromBundesrepublik to Deutschland*,pp.271- 90.

RP-3.Bruce Goldberger, "Why Europe Should not Fear the Germans," German Politics 2,2 (August 1993): 288-310.

RP-4.Andrei S. Markovits and Simon Reich, "A Realistic Appraisal? A Rejoinder to Goldberger," *German Politics* 3,1 (April 1994):129-32.

