

## Seminar: German Foreign Policy - Still a Civilian Power?

### a) Annotation

This seminar offers the opportunity to analyse and evaluate German foreign policy on the basis of recent case studies. Based on the conceptual foundations of role theory as an analytical tool from Comparative Foreign Policy Analysis, and specifically the ideal-type civilian power role concept, the seminar will explore the overall development of German foreign and security policy since 1990 and several case studies, notably the wars in Bosnia and Kosovo (1992-1999), the Iraq war (2002/2003), the Libya intervention (2011) and the Ukraine crisis (2014). Participants are expected to take up one of the cases and prepare a 20-min presentation and develop this into a 15-page term paper.

### b) The aim of the course (what should be achieved)

- theoretical aim: improve understanding of methodology and application of Comparative Foreign Policy Analysis (CFPA)
- empirical aim: deepen understanding of German policy behavior and its shaping factors

### c) Course completion requirements (<https://www.fsv.cuni.cz/opatreni-dekanky-c-172018aj>)

Students who take the course for credit will be expected to

- prepare for all sessions by preparing the **required readings** and participate in the discussions in class readings (20 per cent);
- deliver a **20 min presentation** (individually or in a small team, usually of two) on one of the case studies (30 per cent)
- prepare an **academic paper** on a case study on German foreign policy (about 15 pages), due **on June 30** (50 per cent).

### d) Literature (divided into compulsory and recommended) – see Syllabus

### e) Teaching methods: seminar

### f) Syllabus (programme of the course, its organization etc.)

# Syllabus

## Part I: Introduction

### **Session One: Germany, the Still “Civilian” Power, and its Troubles**

(Wednesday, March 27, 12:30 to 14:00, room 2080)

#### **Required Reading:**

Mauß, Hanns W. (1990/91): Germany and Japan: The New Civilian Powers, in: *Foreign Affairs* Vol.69 (5), pp.91-106

Mauß, Hanns W. (2018): Reflective, Hegemonic, Geo-economic, Civilian ... ? The Puzzle of German Power. In: *German Politics* 27 (4), S. 460–478. DOI: 10.1080/09644008.2018.1446520.

#### **Supplementary Reading:**

Kundnani, Hans: *The Paradox of German Power*, London: Hurst & Co. 2014

### **Session Two: “Civilian Power” foundations of German foreign and security policies, pre-1990**

(Wednesday, March 27, 14:15 - 15:30, Room 1035)

#### **Required Reading:**

Mauß, Hanns W. (2014): From 'civilian power' to 'trading state'? in: Colvin, Sarah (ed): *Routledge Handbook of German Politics and Culture*, Abingdon: Routledge 2014, pp.409-424

Bagger, Thomas (2019): The World According to Germany. Reassessing 1989. In: *The Washington Quarterly* 41 (4), S. 53–63.

#### **Supplementary Reading:**

Knut Kirste/Hanns W. Mauß (1996), Zivilmacht und Rollentheorie, in: *Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen* (ZIB) 3:2, pp.283-312

Holsti, K. J. (1970): National Role Conceptions in the Study of Foreign Policy. In: *International Studies Quarterly* 14 (3), pp. 233-309 DOI: 10.2307/3013584.

## Part II: “Civilian Power” foundations of German foreign and security policies, post- 1990

### **Session Three: Transatlantic relations and national security**

(Wednesday, March 27, 15:45 - 17:00, Room 1035)

#### **Required Reading:**

Rynning, Sten (2017): The divide. France, Germany and political NATO. In: *International affairs* 93 (2), S. 267–289

Keller, Patrick (2012): Germany in NATO. The Status Quo Ally. In: *Survival* 54 (3), S. 95–110

#### **Supplementary Reading:**

Overhaus, Marco (2006): Civilian Power under Stress: Germany, NATO, and the European Security and Defense Policy, in: Maull, Hanns W. (ed): *Germany’s Uncertain Power, The Foreign Policy of the Berlin Republic*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 66-78

### **Session Four: European Integration**

(Thursday, March 28, 9:30 - 11:00, Room 1034)

#### **Required Reading:**

Bulmer, Simon/Paterson, William E. (2019): *Germany and the European Union, Europe’s Reluctant Hegemon?* London: Macmillan International, pp. 21-77 (Chapters 1 and 2)

#### **Supplementary Reading:**

Kundnani, Hans: *The Paradox of German Power*, London: Hurst & Co. 2014

### **Session Five: German foreign policies beyond Europe**

(Thursday, March 28, 11:00 - 12:30, Room 1034)

#### **Required Reading:**

Molt, Peter (2006): Germany’s Development Policy since 1998, in: : Maull, Hanns W. (ed): *Germany’s Uncertain Power, The Foreign Policy of the Berlin Republic*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 233-246

#### **Supplementary Reading:**

Steinberg, Guido (ed) (Hg.) (2009): *German Middle East and North Africa Policy. Interests, Strategies, Options.* SWP. Berlin: SWP. Online verfügbar unter [https://www.swp-berlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/research\\_papers/2009\\_RP09\\_sbg\\_ks.pdf](https://www.swp-berlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/research_papers/2009_RP09_sbg_ks.pdf).

### **Session Six: "Trading state" - Germany in the world economy**

(Thursday, March 28, 14:00 - 15:30, Room 1035)

#### **Required Reading:**

Hager, Wolfgang (1980): Germany as an Extraordinary Trader, in: Basevi, Giorgio/Kohl, Wilfrid L. (eds) (1980): West Germany: A European and Global Power, Lexington, Mass: Heath, pp. 3-19

Kundnani, Hans (2011): Germany as a Geo-economic power, in: The Washington Quarterly, 34:3 (Summer 2011), pp. 31-45

#### **Supplementary Reading:**

Falke, Andreas (2006): German Trade Policy: The Decline of Liberal Leadership, in: Maull, Hanns W. (ed): Germany's Uncertain Power, The Foreign Policy of the Berlin Republic, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 185-198

### **Part III: Case studies**

### **Session Seven: Germany, the United States and NATO**

(Monday, May 13, 8:30 to 10:00, room 2018)

#### **Required Reading:**

Szabo, Stephen F. (2006): Parting Ways, The German-American Relationship after Iraq, in: Maull, Hanns W. (ed): Germany's Uncertain Power, The Foreign Policy of the Berlin Republic, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 122-136

Brockmeier, Sarah (2013): Germany and the Intervention in Libya. In: *Survival* 55 (6), S. 63–90

Glasser, Susan B.: An Ocean Apart. Trump's beef with Angela Merkel and Europe. In: *The New Yorker* (Dec. 24 & 31, 2018), S. 46–53.

#### **Supplementary Reading:**

Szabo, Stephen F. (2004): Parting Ways, The Crisis in German-American Relations, Washington, DC: Brookings

Miskimmon, Alister (2012): German Foreign Policy and the Libya Crisis. In: *German Politics* 21 (4), S. 392–410

Szabo, Stephen F. (2007): Vereinigte Staaten von Amerika, Politische und Sicherheitsbeziehungen, in: Risse, Thomas et al. (ed): Handbuch zur deutschen Außenpolitik, Wiesbaden: VS 2007, pp. 353-366

### **Session Eight: Germany in the Eurocrisis**

(Monday, May 13, 10:00 to 11:15, room 2018)

### **Required Reading:**

Bulmer, Simon/Paterson, William E. (2019): *Germany and the European Union, Europe's Reluctant Hegemon?* London: Macmillan International, pp. 167-97 (Chapter 6)

Oppermann, Kai (2012): National Role Conceptions, Domestic Constraints and the New 'Normalcy' in German Foreign Policy. The Eurozone Crisis, Libya and Beyond. In: *German Politics* 21 (4), S. 502–519

### **Supplementary Reading:**

Otero-Iglesias, Miguel (2017): Still waiting for Paris. Germany's reluctant hegemony in pursuing political union in the Euro Area. In: *39 (April 2017)* 3 39 (3), S. 349–364

Bulmer, Simon; Paterson, William E. (2013): Germany as the EU's reluctant hegemon? Of economic strength and political constraints. In: *Journal of European Public Policy* 20 (10), S. 1387–1405

## **Session Nine: Germany, Europe and Migration**

(Monday, May 13, 11:15 to 12:30, room 2018)

### **Required Reading:**

Webber, Douglas (2019): *European Disintegration? The Politics of Crisis in the European Union*, London: Macmillan International, pp. 135-176 (Chapter 5)

### **Supplementary Reading:**

Hellmann, Gunther/Baumann, Rainer/Wagner, Wolfgang (2006): *Germany's EU Policy on Asylum and Defence, De-Europeanization by Default?* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Alexander, Robin (2017): *Die Getriebenen, Merkel und die Flüchtlingspolitik: Report aus dem Inneren der Macht*, Munich: Siedler

## **Session Ten: Germany and the Crisis of the European Order post-2014**

(Tuesday, May 14, 8:30 to 10:00, room 2018)

### **Required Reading:**

Kundnani, Hans: Leaving the West Behind, in: *Foreign Affairs* (Jan./Feb 2015), pp. 108-116

Pond, Elizabeth: Germany's real Role in the Ukraine Crisis, Caught Between East and West, in: *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2015), pp. 173-177

Webber, Douglas (2019): *European Disintegration? The Politics of Crisis in the European Union*, London: Macmillan International, pp. 106-134 (Chapter 4)

### **Supplementary Reading:**

Samuel Charap/Timothy J. Colton (2017): *Everyone Loses, The Ukraine Crisis and the Ruinous Contest for Post-Soviet Eurasia*, London: IISS/Routledge

### **Session Eleven: The Franco-German Tandem**

(Tuesday, May 14, 10:15 to 11:30, room 2018)

#### **Required Reading:**

Schild, Joachim (2011): Mission impossible? The Potential for Franco-German Leadership in the Enlarged EU. In: *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 48 (2010) 5, S. 1367-1390

Stark, Hans: The Franco-German relationship, 1998 – 2005, in: Maull, Hanns W. (ed): *Germany's Uncertain Power, The Foreign Policy of the Berlin Republic*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 109-121

#### **Supplementary Reading:**

Krotz, Ulrich/Schild, Joachim (2015): *Shaping Europe. France, Germany, and Embedded Bilateralism from the Elysée Treaty to Twenty-First Century Politics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Krotz, Ulrich (2014): Three eras and possible futures. A long-term view of the Franco-German relationship a century after the First World War 90 (2), S. 337–350.

### **Session Twelve: Germany and Poland**

(Tuesday, May 14, 11:30 to 12:15, room 2018)

#### **Required Reading:**

Hanska, Iwona Anna: Germany and Poland, in: Fich, Mathias et al. (eds): *The New Germany: History, Economy, Policies*, Baden-Baden: Nomos 2011, pp. 360-372

#### **Supplementary Reading:**

### **Session Thirteen: Germany and Russia**

(Tuesday, May 14, 12:30 to 14:00, room 2018)

#### **Required Reading:**

Joetze, Günther: Pan-European Stability: Still a Key Task? In: Maull, Hanns W. (ed): *Germany's Uncertain Power, The Foreign Policy of the Berlin Republic*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 152-167

Szabo, Stephen F. (2018): Different Approaches to Russia. The German–American–Russian Strategic Triangle. In: *German Politics* 27 (2), S. 230–243. DOI: 10.1080/09644008.2018.1446081.

Adomeit, Hannes (2017): German-Russian Alienation: The Kremlin Is To Blame, available at: <https://www.raamoprusland.nl/dossiers/europa/667-german-russian-alienation-kremlin-is-to-blame>

#### **Supplementary Reading:**

Szabo, Stephen F. (2015): *Germany, Russia and the Rise of Geo-Economic*, London & New York: Bloomsbury Academic