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0521643554 - German Unification and the Union of Europe: The Domestic Politics of Integration Policy

Jeffrey Anderson

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German Unification and the Union of Europe

The Domestic Politics of Integration Policy

German Unification and the Union of Europe discusses some of the most interesting questions in the study of comparative politics and international relations. The book studies the sources of continuity and change in German policy toward the European Union, set in the context of the competing pulls of integration into the EU, and unification of East and West Germany. Employing a framework of analysis premised on the interaction of interests, institutions, and ideas, the book asks: how has the domestic politics of unification influenced German policy toward Europe? Why has continuity reigned in some areas, whereas in others significant changes, sometimes reversals, have been registered? What are the implications of this checkered pattern of outcomes for Germany and for Europe? Jeffrey Anderson's book focuses on the political economy issues (such as trade, internal market, energy, and industrial policy) which represent key components of both German domestic politics and Germany's relationship with Europe.

JEFFREY ANDERSON is Associate Professor of Political Science at Brown University. He is the author of *The Territorial Imperative* (1992), and numerous book chapters and journal articles on comparative politics, political economy, and European politics.

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to Celeste

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Acknowledgments

I spent June and part of July 1989 in the Federal Republic as a participant in the annual Fulbright–Hayes Summer Seminar on German Civilization (*Landeskunde*). This six-week program brings fifteen to twenty American college professors, mostly German literature specialists but also a smattering of social scientists, to the Federal Republic each year to meet scholars, journalists, business leaders, and politicians. The goal of the *Landeskundekonferenz* is to develop a deeper understanding of politics and history among area specialists in the United States, with an eye toward broadening the curriculum of German studies programs. At the time, national newspapers were filled with the Tiananmen Square massacre and Gorbachev's triumphant visit to Bonn. Our seminar dealt with a host of historical and contemporary issues – national socialism, the postwar *Wirtschaftswunder*, immigration, environmental politics – and included visits to a depressed industrial region (the Saarland) and to the divided capital of Berlin. We left in early July with a balanced portrait of the West German Republic of the late 1980s. In late December, long after the Wall had ceased to function and the prospect of unification had become very real, I received a certificate of participation from Fulbright–Hayes, along with a cover letter from the Foundation's Bonn office apologizing for the fact that the summer seminar had failed to prepare us for the extraordinary events of the last six weeks!

I was certainly no more prescient than my German hosts. In fact, unification and the ensuing end of the postwar divide in Europe took the world by surprise. And yet, looking back on this momentous event with the benefit of over nine years of hindsight, it is striking how familiar the continent of today looks. NATO and the European Union (then the Community) still exist. Britain remains a skeptical participant in European affairs, the recent turnover in government to the contrary notwithstanding. France is still searching for a leadership role on the world stage. And Germany is still anchored comfortably in the West.

This book explores the origins and consequences of continuity, as well

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as the hidden sources of change, in a key nexus of post-1989 Europe: the relationship between German unification and European integration. In its successive historical manifestations, the German Question has defined the basic parameters for European conflict and cooperation, and this is no less true today, in the aftermath of (re)unification, as it was after 1871. Unlike past occasions when the futures of Germany and Europe have become intertwined, the events of 1989–90 unfolded in a context shaped by four decades of stable German democracy embedded within a peaceful European multilateral framework. The uniqueness of this setting, embracing both the domestic and supranational levels, demands close attention in its own right.

I could not have completed this project without sustained institutional support. First and foremost, I would like to thank the German Marshall Fund of the United States for a Postdoctoral Fellowship for Younger US Scholars to Germany. This fellowship enabled me to spend calendar year 1992 in Bonn, where I carried out the bulk of the field research for this book. I would like to express my appreciation to the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (DGAP) in Bonn, which appointed me as a Research Fellow for the duration of my stay in Germany. Finally, I would like to thank the Thomas J. Watson Institute for International Studies at Brown University for providing travel support for follow-up interviewing and archival research I initiated in 1994.

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This book is dedicated to my wife, Celeste Wallander. She was a source of priceless intellectual and emotional nurture during the long years I spent taking this project from the drawing board to final publication. I vow never to subject her to another such marathon again.

Abbreviations

| | |
|-------|---|
| AA | Auswärtiges Amt |
| BFB | Bund Freier Bürger |
| BGA | Bundesverband des Deutschen Groß- und Außenhandel |
| BMF | Bundesministerium der Finanzen |
| BMGB | Beteiligungs-Management-Gesellschaft Berlin |
| BML | Bundesministerium für Ernährung, Landwirtschaft, und Forsten |
| BMU | Bundesministerium für Umwelt, Naturschutz, und Reaktor- sicherheit |
| BMWi | Bundesministerium für Wirtschaft |
| BvS | Bundesanstalt für vereinigungsbedingte Sonderaufgaben |
| CAP | Common Agricultural Policy |
| CDU | Christian Democratic Union |
| CIS | Commonwealth of Independent States |
| CMEA | Council for Mutual Economic Assistance |
| COPA | Committee of Professional Agricultural Organizations |
| CSF | Community Support Framework |
| CSU | Christian Socialist Union |
| DBV | Deutscher Bauernverband |
| DG | Directorate-General |
| DGB | Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund |
| DIHT | Deutscher Industrie- und Handelstag |
| DM | Deutsche Mark |
| DMS | Deutscher Maschinen- und Schiffbau AG |
| EAGGF | European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund |
| EC | European Community |
| ECJ | European Court of Justice |
| ECSC | European Coal and Steel Community |
| ECU | European Currency Unit |
| EEC | European Economic Community |
| EFTA | European Free Trade Association |
| EMU | economic and monetary union |

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xii Abbreviations

| | |
|-------|--|
| EP | European Parliament |
| ERDF | European Regional Development Fund |
| ERM | Exchange Rate Mechanism |
| ESF | European Social Fund |
| EU | European Union |
| FDP | Free Democratic Party |
| FRG | Federal Republic of Germany |
| GA | Gemeinschaftsaufgabe "Verbesserung der regionalen Wirtschaftsstruktur" |
| GAK | Gemeinschaftsaufgabe "Verbesserung der Agrarstruktur und des Küstenschutzes" |
| GATT | General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade |
| GDP | gross domestic product |
| GDR | German Democratic Republic |
| GEMSU | German economic, monetary, and social union |
| IEM | internal energy market |
| IGBE | IG Bergbau und Energie |
| LPG | Landwirtschaftliche Produktionsgenossenschaften |
| MKG | Management-Kommanditgesellschaft |
| MWP | Mecklenburg-West Pomerania |
| OECD | Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development |
| PDS | Party of Democratic Socialism |
| PHARE | Pologne-Hongrie assistance à la restructuration des économies |
| SEA | Single European Act |
| SED | Socialist Unity Party of Germany |
| SPD | Social Democratic Party of Germany |
| TACIS | Technical Assistance for the Commonwealth of Independent States |
| TEN | Trans-European Network |
| TEU | Treaty on European Union |
| THA | Treuhandanstalt |
| TPA | third party access |
| UK | United Kingdom |
| VEG | Volkseigene Güter |
| VW | Volkswagen |
| WS | Wirtschaftsvereinigung Stahl |