



[*What do the Germans think about Europe?*]

CHRISTIAN HACKE

18 **Germany and the World: Civil Power without Civil Courage?**

What is the German foreign policy response to the economic crisis, changes in the Arab world, ambitions of authoritarian regimes, wars – starting with Kosovo and ending with Afghanistan, new dependencies in the energy sector and, last but not least, global challenges such as terrorism? Does Germany – as the main power in Europe and a global economic powerhouse – live up to its obligations in these turbulent times? The author considers these issues by examining three questions: What is possible in the framework of foreign policy? What is acceptable in domestic politics? What policies can the ruling coalition push through? In his analysis the author invokes Robert Cooper’s division of the world into post-modern, modern and pre-modern states.

GUNTHER HELLMANN

38 **“...so as to travel this German road until the end” Rebirth of German Political Power in Second Term of Schröder–Fischer Government**

Hellmann assesses the foreign policy record of the SPD–Green coalition in its first and second terms and evaluates any similarities and differences. He then proposes an interpretative outline of German foreign policy, whereby he argues that in the second term the SPD–Green coalition clearly aspired to accelerate the process initiated in the early 1990s which aimed to intensify the efforts to rebuild Germany’s political power in the foreign policy arena. In conclusion, the author attempts to summarize the Schröder government’s foreign policy in a broader context and, in particular, determine which changes may prove lasting and why.

THOMAS JÄGER

76 Middle Powers in Europe: Bilateral Relations and Freedom to Act in Foreign Policy

What is the position occupied in the international system, both in the regional context and in mutual bilateral relations, by the states that cannot be characterized either as world powers or as small countries? How can these 'middle powers' be defined? The answer to this question is illustrated by an analysis of the relations between Germany and Poland. Its author demonstrates the consequences resulting from the positions held by both of these middle powers for shaping mutual relations as well as for their freedom to act in the foreign policy area on the international and regional arena.

WERNER ABELSHAUSER

113 Germany, Europe and the World

An ideal goal for Germany is to pursue integration below the level of a supranational structure which nonetheless should guarantee common standards within the Single Market and thus provide a stable economic foundation. This would mean not more Europe but rather preserving the status quo established by the Lisbon and Nice treaties as well creating effective tools to fully implement these treaties.

MICHAEL WOHLGEMUTH

123 Kant was no stickler for principles

Can German regulatory policy and social market economy serve as a model for Europe in time of crisis or are they a threat to the project of a more unified Europe? The author's quest for the answer to this question involves confronting Germany's obsession with principles with American "sloppy" pragmatism.

BJÖRN HACKER

131 Imperfect Union. The European Monetary Union Crisis

According to Hacker, focusing on debt owed by individual states to find reasons behind the crisis in the eurozone is misguided. For grave errors have been committed at the time the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) was being established. In order to eliminate its structural flaws, a political shield to protect the economic integration is necessary.





[*Documents*]

138 **Speech by Federal Chancellor Angela Merkel at the opening ceremony of the 61st academic year of the College of Europe in Bruges on the 2nd November 2010.**

Chancellor Merkel's speech delivered to the students at the College of Europe was an opportunity to focus on the unique responsibility borne by Germany – as Europe's biggest economy – for the future of the European project, especially in a time of international financial and economic crisis. The Chancellor also explained why the Union needs a crisis management mechanism embedded in the treaty. Finally, she talked about the "Union method" as a way to face the challenges confronting the Union by means of joint coordinated action in the spirit of solidarity (using the common energy policy as an example to illustrate her point).

[*And how do the Poles see it?*]

ANNA KWIATKOWSKA-DROŹDŹ

155 **Pragmatic Power**

The experts, academics and politicians all agree that the reunification of Germany changed everything in Europe. The question now is whether the concerns expressed about this event at the time – namely the fear of domination and even hegemony as well as skepticism about Germany’s enduring tendency to place restrictions on itself – were justified. For some, the role played by the Federal Republic and the processes now taking place in the financial crisis-stricken Union are proof that those concerns were well-founded. For others, Germany is the only country capable of leading Europe out of the doldrums. Yet even the German political elites lack a coherent vision for Germany’s new role in the Union. Which path will they choose?

MAREK A. CICHOCKI

168 **German Paradigm Shift in Europe**

Described not long ago as the “sick man of Europe”, today Germany is seen as a ray of hope for the crisis-weary Union. The relationship between the European project and Germany (the German paradigm in Europe) has also changed. This is the context wherein a renewed discussion on the leading role of Germany is now taking place; one may speak of the return of the so-called German question as Germany’s place and role in Europe is being pondered anew. How many strong Germanys can Europe handle? And what does Germany consider as its priority today? Maintaining the euro in its current form as the core of European integration or implementing reforms to adapt the Union to the needs of the German politico-economic model?

JUSTYNA GOTKOWSKA

179 **Reforming the Bundeswehr. Transformation of Armed Forces and Emancipation of German Security Policy**

As a consequence of German security policy evolution, which can also be described as “emancipation”, Germany has become a player capable of making decisions independently of its NATO, EU and UN allies while striving to transform the Bundeswehr into an instrument of its foreign, security and economic policy. The position taken by Germany in the Libyan conflict as well as the Bundeswehr reform now being implemented serve as symbols of this change and mark the culmination of the processes which have been under way since the reunification of Germany.





[*Essay on Europe*]

JOSEF ISENSEE

207 **Europe of Nations or Nation of Europe – Basis and Purpose Behind Continent's Organization**

Up until now, organized Europe could do without its own national foundation. The Single Market at its core forms the basis of its economic power which in turn begets political power. It is the Single Market which is responsible for the external increase in the number of member states and the internal expansion of EU competence. If one were to ask whether there exists a European nation here and now, the answer would have to be a resounding No. There arises, however, the question whether in the current circumstances it is possible for a European nation to emerge and what the factors which could arouse unity are. Perhaps organized Europe could find the soul which it has so far lacked in the European idea.

[*Reviews*]

RYSZARDA FORMUSZEWICZ

243 **Europe's Decline – German Instruction Manual**

EBERHARD SANDSCHNEIDER, *Der erfolgreiche Abstieg Europas. Heute Macht abgeben, um morgen zu gewinnen*, München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 2011.

PIOTR KOSMALA

246 **Strong Poland in A Strong Europe**

JACEK GZELLA, *Między Sowietami i Niemcami. Koncepcje polskiej polityki zagranicznej konserwatystów wileńskich zgrupowanych wokół "Słowa" (1922-1939)*, Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2011.

ŁUKASZ JASINA

250 **On Europe, Its Roots, Dignity and Future...**

JERZY KŁOCZOWSKI, *Nasza tysiącletnia Europa*, Warszawa: Świat Książki, 2010.

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