

GERMANY IN EUROPE OR EUROPE IN GERMANY:
AN EVALUATION OF THE MUTUAL INTERACTION BETWEEN
GERMAN REUNIFICATION AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATION
FROM 1945 UNTIL 2009

UĞUR TEKİNER

SEPTEMBER 2015

GERMANY IN EUROPE OR EUROPE IN GERMANY:
AN EVALUATION OF THE MUTUAL INTERACTION BETWEEN
GERMAN REUNIFICATION AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATION
FROM 1945 UNTIL 2009

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

UĞUR TEKİNER

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
EUROPEAN STUDIES

SEPTEMBER 2015

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Meliha ALTUNIŞIK
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Galip YALMAN
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mehmet OKYAYUZ
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Galip YALMAN	(METU, ADM)	<hr/>
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mehmet OKYAYUZ	(METU, ADM)	<hr/>
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Filiz KARTAL	(TODAİE)	<hr/>

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last name: Uğur TEKİNER

Signature:

ABSTRACT

GERMANY IN EUROPE OR EUROPE IN GERMANY: AN EVALUATION OF THE MUTUAL INTERACTION BETWEEN GERMAN REUNIFICATION AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATION FROM 1945 UNTIL 2009

Tekiner, Uğur

M. S., European Studies Program

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mehmet Okyayuz

September 2015, 320 pages

The aim of the thesis is to analyse the mutual impact of the processes of the German reunification and European integration in the post-war era interchangeably, and specifically elaborate on the European Union experience of Germany from this period till 2009 Eurozone Debt Crisis. In this context, the focal point of the thesis will be to understand how German reunification actually emerged as an indispensable fact both for two separate German states and for the whole European continent. Given that the idea of European integration came into existence with the primary intention of answering the German Question, there has always existed a firm link between the German reunification and the European integration. Although the resolution of the German Question and the progress of European integration have experienced many ups and downs in their distinctive but mostly overlapping paths during the Cold War, they have always had a

remarkable impact on each other which resulted in the advent of a reunited Germany in the context of the European Union. Under the shed light of all these points, throughout this thesis, the firm attachment among the German reunification and the European integration will be evaluated from different perspectives within the historical and contextual framework. Related to this target, the European Union experience of the enlarged Germany will be assessed thoroughly until 2009 Eurozone Crisis. Following that, the post-Cold War transformation of the European Union will be issued along with the incrementally rising importance of Germany within the EU.

Keywords: Cold War, détente, Ostpolitik, German reunification, European integration.

ÖZ

AVRUPA'DAKİ ALMANYA YA DA ALMANYA'DAKİ AVRUPA: 1945'TEN 2009'A ALMAN BİRLEŞMESİ VE AVRUPA BÜTÜNLEŞMESİ SÜREÇLERİ ÜZERİNE BİR DEĞERLENDİRME

Tekiner, Uğur

Yüksek Lisans, Avrupa Çalışmaları Programı

Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Mehmet Okyayuz

Eylül 2015, 320 sayfa

Bu tezin amacı, İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonrası dönemde Alman birleşmesi ve Avrupa bütünleşmesi süreçlerinin karşılıklı etkilerini tahlil etmek ve özellikle Almanya'nın bu dönemden 2009 Euro Bölgesi Krizi'ne kadarki AB deneyimini ele almaktır. Bu bağlamda, tezin odak noktası Alman birleşmesinin hem iki ayrı Alman devleti hem de tüm Avrupa kıtası açısından nasıl kaçınılmaz bir şekilde ortaya çıktığını anlamaktır. Avrupa bütünleşmesi fikrinin esasen Alman Sorunu 'na bir çözüm bulmak amacıyla ortaya çıktığı gözönünde bulundurulduğunda, Alman birleşmesi ve Avrupa bütünleşmesi süreçleri arasında sıkı bir ilişki olduğunu söylemek mümkündür. Her ne kadar Alman Sorunu'nun çözümü ve Avrupa bütünleşmesinin ilerlemesi, Soğuk Savaş boyunca, birbirinden ayrı ama çoğunlukla çakışan zeminlerinde birçok iniş-çıkışa sahne olsa da nihai olarak, birleşik Almanya'nın AB çerçevesinde yeniden doğuşunu sağlayacak

biimde birbirini etkilemeye devam etmiřtir. Tm bu noktaların ışığında, bu tez boyunca, Alman birleřmesi ve Avrupa btnleřmesi arasındaki sıkı baē, tarihsel ve kuramsal erevede farklı aılardan deēerlendirilecektir. Bu hedefe baēlı olarak, birleřik Almanya'nın 2009 Euro Blgesi Krizi'ne kadarki Avrupa Birliēi deneyimi ele alınmaya alıřılacaktır. Bunu mteakiben, Avrupa Birliēi'nin Soēuk Savař sonrası yařadıēı dnřm, Almanya'nın Birlik iinde gitgide artan nemi erevesinde iřlenmeye alıřılacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Soēuk Savař, detant, Ostpolitik, Alman birleřmesi, Avrupa btnleřmesi.

To my family...

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Firstly, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mehmet Okyayuz for all his invaluable encouragements, suggestions, guidance, assistance, and patience at every stage of this study from the beginning till the end. It has been a very high pleasure for me to work with him and make use of his deep academic knowledge during the research process. Moreover, I would like to thank Assoc. Prof. Dr. Galip Yalman for his consistent support and help in the critical moments throughout my graduate education, and his academic contribution to this thesis via his invaluable comments. I also wish to thank Assoc. Prof. Dr. Filiz Kartal for her sincere comments and advices constituting a remarkable contribution to this thesis.

In the second round, I want to express my huge gratitude to my life-long brother and best-friend, Orcan Altan for his unique companionship that began in our high school years and will continue for a very long time. Then, I am very grateful to my precious friend, Gül Öztürk, who has never left me since our undergraduate years and has always filled my life with happiness through her presence. I also thank my dear friend, Merve Kayaduvar for her extraordinary academic, technical and moral support for the completion of this thesis.

I would like to acknowledge TÜBİTAK (The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey) for granting me scholarship during my undergraduate education.

Finally, I would like to thank my mother, Sıdıka Tekiner, my father, Yavuz Tekiner and my sister, Ayşem Tekiner especially for their endless patience, emotional support, and irreplaceable help throughout the preparation of this thesis. In this regard, I want to express my special gratitude to my mother, Sıdıka Tekiner, who has always remained as the biggest power behind my ideals and studies since my childhood years.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
ÖZ.....	vi
DEDICATION	viii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	ix
TABLE OF CONTENTS	x
LIST OF TABLES	xiii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xiv
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xv
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF GERMAN REUNIFICATION.....	14
2.1 Evolution of the German Problem	15
2.2 Establishment of the Cold War Setting and Two German States in Europe (1949-1969).....	20
2.2.1 The Federal Republic of Germany	24
2.2.2 The German Democratic Republic.....	31
2.3 The Ostpolitik Period: Rapprochement Launched (1969-1989).....	39
2.4 Role of the European Integration Process in the German Question until the Reunification	48
3. GERMAN REUNIFICATION AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATION IN PRACTISE	70
3.1 General Perception of the German Reunification in Europe	71
3.1.1 Soviet, British and French Reservations towards the German Reunification	71
3.1.2 Institutional Approach of the EC to the German Reunification.....	79

3.2 Diplomacy of the German Reunification	88
3.3 Institutional Preparations of the EC for the German Reunification and the East German Accession to the Community	104
3.3.1 Evaluation and Discussion Phase	105
3.3.2 Preparation Phase	114
3.3.3 Accession Phase	122
3.4 Contributions of the EC/EU to the German Reunification after 1990	138
4. GENERAL EVALUATION OF GERMAN REUNIFICATION AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATION SINCE 1990	167
4.1 Implications of the German Reunification for the EC/EU	168
4.2 Rising German Influence within the EC/EU in the Post-Reunification Period	182
4.2.1 General Guidelines of the Post-Reunification German EU Policy	182
4.2.1.1 Continuing Interaction between German Reunification and European Integration	185
4.2.1.2 Shadow of History on the EU Policy of the United Germany	187
4.2.1.3 EU Policy of the United Germany between Continuity and Change	189
4.2.1.3.1 The Principles of Continuity in the EU Policy of the United Germany	191
4.2.1.3.1.1 Multilateralism	191
4.2.1.3.1.2 Integrationism	193
4.2.1.3.1.3 Supranationalism	195
4.2.1.3.1.4 European-Level Cooperation	197
4.2.1.3.2 The Principles of Change in the EU Policy of the United Germany	199
4.2.1.3.2.1 Rising Self-Assertion	200
4.2.1.3.2.2 Short-Term Calculation of Costs and Benefits	204
4.2.1.3.2.3 Institution-Shaping	206

4.2.2 United Germany in the EU (1990-2009).....	208
4.2.2.1 Kohl Era (1990-1998)	208
4.2.2.2 Schröder Era (1998-2005).....	222
4.2.2.3 Merkel Era (2005-2009).....	228
4.2.3 United Germany in the EU Policy-Making.....	232
4.2.3.1 Economic Structure and Policies of the EU	233
4.2.3.2 Institutional and Political Framework of the EU	239
4.2.3.3 Common Foreign and Security Policy of the EU.....	247
4.2.3.4 Eastern Enlargement of the EU	256
4.2.3.5 Enlargement Policies of the EU	270
4.2.3.6 Asylum and Migration Policies of the EU	273
4.3 ‘New’ German Question: Germany as the ‘Reluctant Hegemon’ of the EU?	281
5. CONCLUSION	288
REFERENCES.....	297
APPENDICES	
A. TURKISH SUMMARY.....	309
B. TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU.....	320

LIST OF TABLES

TABLES

Table 1 Change of the European Cohesion Policy scheme.....	149
Table 2 Structural Funds Allocations 2000-2006 (million Euros, 1999 prices).....	158
Table 3 Structural Funds Allocations 2007-2013 (million Euros, 2007 prices).....	159
Table 4 Structural Funds Allocations 2014-2020 (million Euros, 2014 prices).....	161

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURES

Figure 1 Total EU Allocations of Cohesion Policy. 2014-2020 (billion Euros, 2014 prices).....	162
Figure 2 European Territorial Cooperation in Germany. 2007-2013.....	163
Figure 3 Structural Funds Eligibility of East-West German Lander. 2014-2020.....	165

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CDU	Christian Democratic Union (Christlich Demokratische Union)
CEEC	Central and Eastern European Countries
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CSCE	Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
CSU	Christian Social Union (Christlich Soziale Union)
COMECON	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
EC	European Community
ECB	European Central Bank
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EDC	European Defense Community
EEC	European Economic Community
EMU	Economic and Monetary Union
EPC	European Political Cooperation
ESDP	European Security and Defense Policy
EU	European Union
EURATOM	European Nuclear Community
FDP	Free Democratic Party (Freie Demokratische Partei)
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany (Bundesrepublik Deutschland)
GDR	German Democratic Republic (Deutsche Demokratische Republik)
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
OEEC	Organization for European Economic Co-operation
PDS	Party of Democratic Socialism (Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus)

PRC	People's Republic of China
PRP	People's Republic of Poland
QMV	Qualified Majority Voting
SEA	Single European Act
SED	Socialist Unity Party of Germany (Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands)
SPD	Social Democratic Party of Germany (Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands)
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WEU	West European Union

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

As stated by the Bolshevik revolutionist, Vladimir Ilyic Lenin, in one of his statements, “*Whoever owns Germany means to have a hold over the whole Europe.*”¹ Since this has been a generally approved fact for centuries in Europe, Germany always remained at the core of all debates, problems, or resolutions taking place in this continent. Having an overwhelming place in European politics with its distinctive political, social and economic features, the German Case has always preserved its crucial importance due to its deliberate impact on the historical proceeding of Europe. The fact that it managed to stand again on its feet twice in a very short time after severely defeated in two devastative world wars is another factor raising the significance of this country within Europe. Considering the critical role of the divided Germany in the bipolar international framework of the Cold War, handling with the German Question gained a different dimension in time related to the formation of a permanently peaceful order in Europe, and keeping the diplomatic importance of this territory against two superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union. At that point, the idea of European integration came into the foreground as a response to realizing these two anticipations including the resolution of the German Issue on which each related side would have a final consensus and the formation of a peaceful settlement in the European continent. As the European integration emerged directly attached to the German Case from the very beginning, the process of the European integration and the historical path ending up with the reunification of two German states that had been separate for approximately forty years progressed in a totally interrelated fashion. Depending upon this fact, it is considered

¹ Otis C. Mitchell. (2005). *The Cold War in Germany: Overview, Origins, and Intelligence Wars*. University Press of America, Maryland.

that it seems worthy analyzing the EU experience of the pre- and post-reunification of Germany in order to totally grasp not only the increasing role of the united Germany within the EU that ultimately carried her to the undisputable leadership of the Union but also the changing face of the EU regarding its structural framework, common policies applicable across Europe, and its altering foreign policy understanding under the remarkable impact of Germany as the most powerful country of the Union.

The rising importance of the united Germany in the evolving European integration process in the post-Cold War period has stimulated a remarkable increase in the academic interest on the German Case. In this respect, plenty of books, articles, and reports focusing on how Germany has been able to become a central power within the Union in terms of multiple dimensions have been published in recent decades. Although these texts differ regarding their various approaches to the specific aspects of this process, most of them have a consensus on the point that the central importance Germany has derived after the end of the Cold War in the shaping and implementation of the EU policies has a direct link with the reunification process of this country. Thus, taking the German reunification as the focal point of this dissertation, the author has been motivated by three major factors in the way of making this study. First of all, it is thought that there exists an academic vacuum in this field of German reunification-European integration. This vacuum regarding the comprehensive analysis of the relation between these two processes has actually existed for about 20 years because most of the academic studies comprehensively analyzing this significant relationship between these two processes were chronologically squeezed to the first half of 1990s, when the rapid and unexpected reunification between two Germanies just a few years ago was still a hot topic. However, since this crucial academic matter has been almost left untouched -as if the interaction among German reunification and European integration had come to an exact end in 1990-, the importance of many political, economic, and social events having a direct impact on this on-going contact among these two processes in this 20-year-period has been unfortunately neglected in the academic circles. Therefore, through undertaking the comprehensive examination of the historical phases both preceding and

succeeding the 1990 German reunification from the analytical prisms of underlying reasons and emerging end-results within the setting of the cause-and-effect relationship, this study intends to provide a notable contribution to the existing literature in this field. Secondly, it is also encountered that many books and articles issuing the link between the German reunification and the European integration preferred analysing this significant relationship from an academically-biased perspective. This comes from the fact that most of these academic documents written in this field analysed the historical background of the post-1990 Germany's place in the EU only along with the historical development of West Germany through totally neglecting the East German past. Fed from not only personal dispositions but also academic necessities, this one-sided manner actually caused the emergence of many theoretical blanks in these analyses of this historically significant process. Therefore, around the awareness of avoiding this theoretical and methodological mistake, this thesis will try to also take the East German factor into account in addition to the West German one as much as possible while evaluating the pre- and post-1990 EU experience of Germany. Thirdly, and lastly, the unique importance of the EU for Germany, and vice versa, has become another pushing factor behind the emergence of this study. At that point, some readers might ask the question whether making the analysis of the German reunification and the European integration is actually relevant considering that the former incident took place nearly a quarter century ago and the issues occupying top places in the agenda of the European integration, such as the Eastern enlargement, the Lisbon process or the sovereign debt crisis, have so much differed especially in recent years. In fact, whatever changes have occurred, or will occur, in the weight of the issues that the EU handles, the symbiotic relationship that the EU established with Germany different from any other member state continues to exist, even in different scales. This mainly depends upon the fact that Germany accounts for an entirely *sui generis* case for the process of European integration, and the latter has an entirely special meaning for the former one, too. As will be shown in the following parts of this thesis, no member state other than Germany, at that time West Germany, perceived the project of European integration as the sole

international stake through which it would again build its international legitimacy, and would be a member of the family of European nations on an equal footing. Moreover, no other state than Germany, again West Germany throughout the Cold War, in the Union has taken so much economic and political advantage from the integration process for decades. Looking from another side, except France for some instances, the project of European integration has been spent so much effort not only for its progress in the supranational direction but also for its rescue from extremely harsh conditions by no other member state than Germany. Therefore, it is considered that this interesting link existing between these two sides bears an in-depth analysis. All that said, due to these motivation points, it is thought that the superior position of Germany in the EU within last 25 years requires a historical and contextual analysis of the pre- and post-reunification processes along with significant policies, key political actors and remarkable events.

In its long road towards occupying the post of the EU's undebatable leadership, Germany has passed through many crucial phases. Since its unique political and socio-economic development, which has matured especially throughout the years when the present Germany existed in the form of two separate – and, rival- states in conjunction with the clear-cut ideological borderlines drawn by the Cold War setting, has had a direct reflection on the post-Cold War German dominance on the EU, it seems as an academic necessity to analyze the historical events bringing Germany up to the big defeat of the World War II in order to have a broader outlook on the upcoming process reaching 2009 Eurozone Crisis. In particular, with regard to separations and unifications among its territorial components, German history is indeed full of many instances upon which many clues regarding the present situation of this country can be obtained. Surviving through the struggle between separate states – the most powerful

one of which had been Prussia-, Germany was able to achieve its political unity in a year as late as 1871 under the chancellorship of Otto von Bismarck². Compared to other European countries including the UK, France, or Russia, this united Germany had come into existence as a latecomer country as regards various features, so had been internally pressured to catch these states politically, socially, and economically. In this respect, this newly emerging German state initiated to follow aggressive policies towards these states in a manner that posed a major threat to the maintenance of the conventional balance of power politics in Europe. The outbreak of the World War I, hence, was the practical indicator of not only the end of the balance of power politics in Europe but also the emerging result of German aggression in the first quarter of the 20th century. Following the end of this first large-scale world war covering many states in the world, there have been many international attempts to avoid the advent of another war, the main result of which was the creation of the League of Nations in 1920. Meanwhile, the very first nuances of the idea of a united Europe that was envisaged to possess a federal form emerged during the same period. Then, by the time Germany and Allied States signed Treaty of Versailles, this Treaty totally came to mean for this country that it would be put under the burden of many political and economic liabilities involving the payment of a huge amount of war reparations as a compensation of these states' war-related losses. For the newly formed Weimar Republic, which was the first experience of the multi-party democracy in the German history, remained inadequate to cope with these complicated problems depending upon not only its internal crises but also external

² Although national unification of German states under the framework of the Second Reich in 1871 had an entirely different character compared to the German reunification that took place in 1990, the former experiment was mostly referenced in terms of the similarities and differences among two unification processes in pre- and post-1990 texts. For further information, please see; Douglas Webber. (2001). *New Europe, New Germany, Old Foreign Policy? German Foreign Policy since Unification*. Frank Cass: London; Ronald Speirs & John Breuilly. (2005). *Germany's Two Unifications: Anticipations, Experiences, and Responses*. New York: Palgrave; Johannes Paulmann. (2005). *Beginning an End? The Two German Unifications and the Epoch of Territoriality*. In *Germany's Two Unifications: Anticipations, Experiences, and Responses*, ed. by Ronald Speirs & John Breuilly. New York: Palgrave.

pressures transpiring in the inter-war era, Germany was again capitulated to the revanchist political sphere that was incrementally dominated by the Nazi Party. Under the dictatorship of its leader, Adolf Hitler, the Nazi Germany caused the outbreak of the World War II. Unfortunately, even the sole existence of this event was enough to demonstrate the failure of all international and across-Europe endeavors to create a peaceful settlement all around the world, but especially in Europe.

As all humanity entered into a new phase with the end of the World War II via leaving behind lots of unforgettable bitter memories for all nations, the European continent was also embracing a new period, yet in a totally devastated way not only physically but also psychologically. Given that it had the biggest responsibility on its shoulders regarding the outbreak and progress of the last war that ended with the death of millions of people from many nations, post-war Germany was in the hardest position compared to its equivalent states in the continent. For Allied States pledged to ascertain and demonstrate the fact that Germany was totally defeated in this war without any doubt unlike the case at the end of the World War I, all steps were taken in the direction of serving this ultimate goal. In that effort, post-war Germany was partitioned into four sections that would belong to the victor Allied powers involving the USSR, the USA, the UK, and France. Yet, as the temporary collaboration that was established in congruence with the common aim of defeating the Nazi Germany throughout the World War II between the Soviet Union and US-led Allied front initiated to erode immediately after the end of the War, foundations of a bipolar international setting at the top of which a confrontation was taking place between the Eastern – or, socialist- bloc under the leadership of the USSR and the Western – or, capitalist- bloc under the leadership of the USA launched being laid. As a result of the culmination of these hidden tensions among two camps, all countries stepped into a new process that was accordingly named as the “Cold War” due to absence of an active military conflict among hostile sides but the proceeding of an in-depth silent war taking place in diplomatic, political, economic, social and even cultural layers. Parallel to this structural development, the future of the divided Germany commenced being shaped in the hands of the occupying powers. Due to the densification

of the confrontations directly stemming from the Cold War atmosphere among two superpowers, the occupying states within Germany including the USA, the UK, and France decided to merge their occupation zones remaining in West Germany under a federal structure against the Soviet-controlled occupation zone in East Germany. In this respect, the FRG and the GDR came into existence successively as two rival German states entirely backed by their blocs in the year of 1949. Relying on the realization of this historically critical event, few things could be estimated clearly regarding the future, but it was precisely obvious that nothing would be the same in the German soil and Europe during the upcoming period as it used to be beforehand.

All these things happened, in the immediate aftermath of the World War II, many European nations had already leaned towards new quests for the establishment of a harmonious setting in the continent. However, in this effort, prominent European leaders were highly mindful of the fact that without the resolution of the German Question - temporarily or permanently-, it would be unlogical to talk about such a thing as peace in Europe. Therefore, focusing all their attention in the prevention of the German revanchism that was likely to cause the eruption of another war, European leaders ultimately had a consensus over the idea of a 'united Europe'. Depending upon these views, through the idea of European integration, it was commonly intended to achieve the dual goals of reshaping West Germany as a peace-keeping member of the family of nations, and constituting a cooperative sphere in Europe through the web of interdependency among member states. Due to the firm link established between the handling of the German Issue and the European integration, the incidents taking place in these distinctive paths have generally happened in a highly affiliated way. When the idea of European integration was brought into practice via the establishment of critical European institutions such as the ECSC and the EEC and the implementation of many common European policies such as CAP, this did not refer to more than an ordinary membership of a Europe-wide organization for many founding countries. On the other hand, according to the FRG, it was absolutely more than a normal membership. As a response to the full economic, political, and social integration of the GDR to the socialist

bloc in Europe through the dual channels of the Warsaw Pact and COMECON, the project of European integration referred to the most crucial tool of international recognition within the Western bloc for West Germany. Although the closer relations with the US kept its supreme position in the foreign policy priorities of the FRG, the European integration was increasingly highlighted by primary West German politicians as a means of regaining the territorial sovereignty and independence of their country through the endorsement provided by the integrated Europe as regards many aspects. Given that the most escalated conflicts within the diplomatic battleground of the Cold War were taking place on German soil, attending the project of European integration as its constituent member relieved West Germany a bit in its ideological antagonism with East Germany in its earlier years.

As a process making its impact felt both in the internal matters of countries and in the diplomatic relations among them, the Cold War period had its direct repercussions on the divided Germany due to the *sui generis* position of this country in general diplomatic conjuncture, as stated earlier. At that point, it is crucial to indicate that whether they be aligned or non-aligned states, all European states were inevitably influenced by the newly occurring diplomatic sphere emanating from the interior logic of the Cold War order. However, since none of these states hosted two symmetric parts that were formulated as separate nation-states serving directly for their related blocs like the post-war German case, they experienced the challenges and issues that were caused by the Cold War, but not as directly as the East and West German states. In other words, in no place other than the divided Germany in Europe did people feel the phenomenon of the Cold War as an accustomed part of their everyday lives, and in no other aligned state in Europe were the conditions of living in the “other” system known so widespread by the citizens of another country. As can be recognized, the German-German border between two sovereign German states seemed to not only divide these two former halves of pre-war Germany, but it also served as a strict line of separation putting a clear-cut demarcation between the two hostile blocs of the Iron Curtain internationally and emotionally.

The role of internal dynamics in the specific relationship among these states notwithstanding, this special position of the divided Germany in the general conjuncture of the Cold War order brought the fact that whatever happened among the East and West blocs positively or negatively had its reflection on the German soil, as the main playing field of the Cold War game. In the phases when the Cold War antagonisms among two competitive blocs intensified, the FRG and the GDR shaped their foreign policy attitudes accordingly towards themselves and to the opposite camp. To illustrate this tendency, through complying with the trend of establishing zero contact with the states that adopted the opponent world view until mid-1960s, West Germany and East Germany refrained from keeping in touch. In this respect, directly affiliated with the Hallstein Doctrine, the major premises of which will be explained more in detail in the later parts of this thesis, the West German stance towards East Germany was highly rigid. According to this Doctrine, West Germany declared itself as the sole legal representative of the German nation through totally denying the presence of East Germany as a sovereign state. On the side of East Germany, the formal perception of the ‘villain’ brother finding its expression in the presence of the FRG was not so much different. According to the East German officials, West Germany was not more than the servant of the capitalist goals stimulated by the US-led Allies. That is why, the SED, the governing party of East Germany, was persistently regarding the GDR as the mere real democratic state forged in the post-war period by the direct will of people against other imperialist states. However, as the relations among two hostile blocs initiated to cool down with the launch of the détente era, the FRG and the GDR initiated to experiment a rapprochement among them. Accompanied by the influential process of de-Stalinization and Ostpolitik, détente period made political, social, and cultural contact among two sides possible. Especially through the initiative of Ostpolitik, West Germany formed and developed relations with its Eastern counterpart like the remainder of the socialist bloc.

Emanating from its more pro-active and dynamic foreign policy approach that began having a rather independent character different from the pre-Ostpolitik period, the diplomatic position of the FRG in the capitalist bloc and in the EC embarked on a

transformation process. That is, while West Germany had been merely referenced as a simple component of the Western alliance which was under the unavoidable control of the latter, this general perception initiated to disappear right after the political results of the Ostpolitik became visible. Despite all the suspensions emerging with regard to the allegiance of the FRG to the Western bloc in this process, there occurred an obvious increase in the strategic significance of this country within the EC due to its contributions to the establishment of contact among ideologically rival countries in Europe via diplomatic initiatives. Consequently, due the progression of relations between two German states thanks to the interaction formed on the basis of political elites and social actors from both sides after the inauguration of the Ostpolitik, East and West Germany again came together after approximately forty years of separation.

Taking the reunification among East and West Germany as its main reference point, this thesis attempts to elaborate on this large time scale via mainly focusing on this historically momentous event around the mutual relationship among the project of European integration and German reunification. As two directly bounded processes not only historically but also contextually, what kind of effects the German reunification and the European integration have had on each other in this approximately 60-year-period will be put at the core of the thesis through being fully aware of the complicated structure of this relationship stemming from not only its intrinsic nature but also other external factors exerting a pushing impact on different terms. In this academic effort, the considerable impact of the changing context of the European integration process in different phases, such as it happened through the conversion of the European Community into the European Union via the Treaty of Maastricht in 1993, will be taken into account accompanying the role of prominent political actors in formerly divided, then united Germany, and the EC/EU, and favorable political, social, and economic occasions taking place in this researched process. Under the shed light of all these points, the major aim of this thesis is to evaluate the EU experience of Germany in the post-war conditions via making a thorough analysis on the historical background, policy-implementation phase and emerging consequences of the reunification process.

Moreover, recognizing the shortcomings of the realist theory of international relations, which has generally tended to draw an overly rigid theoretical framework having inflexible boundaries, this thesis will mostly draw upon constructivism. Considering the importance of the historical and social re-construction of the Federal Republic throughout the long-lasting uploading-downloading cycle of the Europeanization process for the unique link between German reunification and European integration, it is considered that the constructivist theory, which gives the primary importance to the historical and social construction of the identities and interests of state structures and actors in time, is evaluated to be much more appropriate for examining this subject. Through this way, the deliberate Europeanized aspects of the post-Wall German state identity that had shaped throughout the abovementioned process is considered to be focused more. Depending upon these central points regarding its essential features, this thesis is planned to consist of three major chapters.

In the first chapter of the thesis, the historical background of the German reunification in the post-1945 era will be assessed alongside its considerable impact on the European integration process up until 1990s. As the major pushing factors for the emergence of a moderate international climate between capitalist and communist camps, the general repercussions of détente period and West German Chancellor Willy Brandt's Ostpolitik on European setting will be taken into consideration. Around the rising contact provided thanks to the declining tensions between the East and the West, how East and West Germany again came into contact under the impact of these policy initiatives perpetuated by the prominent East and West German leaders involving Ulbricht, Honecker, Brandt, and Schmidt will be specifically analysed. Providing the connection of all these times to the pre-1990 European integration process, the actual place of European integration in the complicated scheme of the German Question until German reunification will be comprehensively examined with the concern of forming a theoretical background for the related parts that would be issued later in the thesis.

In the second chapter of the thesis, it is planned to make an evaluation on the period of practise as regards the realization of the German reunification and the progression of European integration concurrently in a period coinciding with the end of Cold War. Thus, initially, how the prospect of the advent of a re-united Germany at the heart of the continent again was generally perceived by different actors will be examined. In this context, the Soviet, British, and French reservations towards the fateful event of the German reunification will be addressed via a special emphasis on the views of the two latter countries, as voiced by their leaders Margaret Thatcher and Francois Mitterrand increasingly, that not only became a direct part of the German Question through having military clashes with this issued country more than once before and had post-war rights and responsibilities over the West German territory due to being involved within the occupying powers but also actively participated the European integration process together with the FRG. What is more, around the Franco-German axis that became the major engine of European integration for decades, the approach of France towards the German reunification will be specifically taken into account. Then, the institutional approach of the EC organs including the European Commission, the European Parliament, the Council of Ministers, and the European Council will be addressed concerning their differing notions of German reunification. After analysing the diplomatic phase of German reunification in the European continent, the institutional preparations that were made by the EC for German reunification, in general, and the 'unique' East German accession to the Community that took place in three successive steps, in particular, will be elaborated. In this regard, what sort of legal and practical methods that the EC applied to handle the incorporation of the former the GDR into the Community framework in a period which was highly critical as regards the achievement of the newly set Community targets such as the economic and political integration will be accentuated. Following that, the contributions of the EC/EU to the German reunification process especially on the level of structural funds will be one of the central matters to be dealt with as the first stage of the symbiotic link between German reunification and European integration.

In the third chapter of the thesis, German reunification and European integration will be generally evaluated in terms of their various dimensions. In this context, firstly, multiple implications of the German reunification for the EC/EU will be discussed in relation to their internal and external aspects for both sides. Then, the rising all-German effect within the EC/EU that became observable following its national reunification will be assessed around the continuities and changes within the European policy of the united Germany in comparison to the pre-1990 European policy of the old FRG, and the EU-wide policy realms in which the united Germany made its assertive impact felt in their formation throughout the post-Cold War period. At last, the concept of ‘reluctant hegemon’ will be focused due to its widespread academic impact in terms of evaluating the recent European policy line of Germany.

In the conclusion part of the thesis, the present place of united Germany in the EU, and vice versa will be analysed contextually around their highly linked and mutual relationship that continues to exist for decades. In that account, how the project of establishing a Europeanized identity for the German state has been affected by the post-1945 EU experience of this country will be evaluated. Then, through making a special emphasis on the major points that take prominence throughout this, four concluding premises that have been acquired out of the main findings of this thesis will be presented.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF GERMAN REUNIFICATION

As a historical turning point not only in the German but also in the modern European history, German reunification that took place in 1990 has an enormous scale of historical background which covers approximately the whole post-World War II period. The major reason of this fact was that German Question was still remaining at the center of all problems in Europe, which were desperately waiting to be resolved as immediate as possible, right after the end of this massively destructive war for the whole continent. In other words, nothing was clear regarding the future of Germany and Europe in the post-war period, but one thing was apparent that a brand new period was entered for all sides fighting the War.

Having stated in introduction part, after having the dream of conquering all of the European countries also with some part of the Soviet Union, the post-Hitler Germany suddenly woke up with a tableau full of catastrophe regarding all aspects. In addition to the total devastation of the country's infrastructure and other essential facilities, it was partitioned into four sections among the victor Allies. This meant that there opened a new front of struggle with regard to the resolution of the German Problem in a peaceful way with the goal of hindering the advent of another German-origin war in Europe. However, all European leaders were conscious of the fact that this would require lots of efforts than predicted.

All these points asserted, in this chapter of this thesis, the pre-reunification history of Germany will generally attempt to be analyzed through focusing on its two channels of development coming from West Germany and East Germany. In this effort, it is aimed to not only refrain from repeating the persistently announced false assumption in academic circles that the present Germany is the direct successor of the West Germany

through the isolation of the –highly valuable- experience of socialism in East Germany but also constitute a theoretical background for the post-reunification EU experience of the united Germany in terms of understanding its approach to many matters emanating from the period of its existence in the form of two separate states.

2.1 Evolution of the German Problem

Considering its geographical location that always been open to political, cultural and social impacts from the East and the West for centuries, Germany has generally been referred around a sort of “German Problem” due to its complicated presence in this persistent flux. As Renate Fritsch-Bournazel describes, “*German Problem has always been the question of where in Europe the Germans belong: looking westward or wandering between East and West*”³. In their continuous effort to find where they exactly belong, German people have possessed an identity that has more transitional aspects compared to other national identities, and this fact caused consistent breaking points in the internal politics of Germany. Moreover, due to its historical importance as a nation that has always been affiliated with the historical proceeding in Europe, German Problem also remained at the heart of Europe through affecting and being affected from the incidents taking place in this continent. Although the general context of German Problem has altered in time parallel to the shifting international tendencies and newly emerging confrontations, its existence deeply affected not only the national development of Germany but also the general foreign policy relations within Europe. As indicated by later Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, since the entire structure of the military and political confrontation associated with the Cold War became bound up with Germany in postwar years⁴, dealing with German Problem has never been solely about the German peninsula, but the entire Europe throughout Cold War period, just like before. In this context, it seems inevitable to evaluate the historical evolution of German

³ Stephen F. Szabo. (1992). *The Diplomacy of German Unification*. St. Martin’s Press: New York.

⁴ Ibid.

Problem in three main periods in order to thoroughly understand its general repercussions on the post-war conjuncture in Europe.

The very first time that German Problem appeared in the political scene of modern Europe follows the first German unification that took place in the history of that nation. Pursuing the path of rapidly accelerating industrialization process right after the Industrial Revolution, many mainstream European countries such as the UK and France developed their economies with a remarkable pace coupling with getting new colonial lands all around the world. In that way, the fruits of economic progress came to have a greater meaning for these countries through its direct reflection on their rising political dominance in the international arena. Throughout this process, when the political and economic competition among these European states soared to a higher extent, separate German states were attempting to exceed the situation of territorial separation via politically gathering under the roof of a singular entity that would be named Germany. To state it differently, in its first historical phase, the core of the German Problem was chiefly accounted by the territorial disunity that caused the separate presence of many German states including Prussia, Bavaria, and Saxony. After a turbulent period covering the suspension of the German Confederation in 1851 and its final collapse in 1867, Germany achieved its political unification in the year of 1871 under the charismatic leadership of Chancellor Otto von Bismarck. Under Bismarck and his successors' administration, the Second Reich, as called in German history, became determined to follow an aggressive foreign policy that depends upon not only the rapid industrialization but also huge territorial expansion as its chief targets. The major reason of this foreign policy preference was the attempt of filling the decades-long-gap existing between this newly unified German Empire and other advanced European countries in these mentioned realms. Although Bismarckian Germany managed to perform well in terms of economic development, its overly authoritarian internal and external policies caused a huge culmination of aggression within Europe. At the end of all this process that was characterized by German Empire's war-triggering position, the eruption of the World War I demonstrated Germany's expansionary intention of conquering the

European continent. Through this way, German Problem also entered its second phase after the defeat of German Empire became evident at the end of the War.

In the aftermath of World War I, German Problem gained a new dimension relying on the political transformation process that the country embarked on. Following the end of the War, the Allied Powers signed the Treaty of Versailles with the defeated Germany in 1919. Considering its general content, this Treaty condemned the Second Reich to assume the responsibility of many political and economic burdens accompanying the territorial losses. Since the Allied Powers wanted to be assured of the fact that German society and political elites would acknowledge defeat of their country as a result of the War, this Treaty was shaped chiefly predicated upon this aim. As can be directly understood from its general structure and the Allies' plans regarding the outcomes of the Versailles Treaty, at the beginning of interwar years, German Problem was visualized around the attempt of victorious states to indirectly tame Germany through immunizing this country from its transgressive political or militaristic aims targeting other countries. However, in direct contrast to this notion, the feeling of insult and humiliation that transpired due to the provisions of this Treaty found a strong resonance in the whole German society as an early indicator of many societal problems that would precipitate the advent of excessive political views lately. Meanwhile, during this turbulent period, Germany was also having its first experiment with democracy, referred as Weimar Republic. In fact, Weimar Republic was established with high expectations and good intentions with the aim of avoiding the previously posed challenges in Germany. Adopting the parliamentary democratic system, the main goal of political elites was to close the doors of German political sphere to the previously practiced authoritarian and revanchist policies. Yet, the suddenly emerging political and economic crises in the inter-war years in Germany caused the incremental erosion of the Weimar system's credibility in the eyes of German people. Especially, the inadequacy of the Weimar's parliamentary regime in resolving many chronic political problems, the hyper-inflation that brought not only the paramount loss of value for German national currency but also rising poverty among German people, and the high levels of unemployment practically

brought the end of the Weimar era. Then, bearing all these dramatic conditions in their minds, German people again leaned toward new authoritarian alternatives instead of the ‘ineffective’ Weimar system. At that point, the Nazi Party, led by its leader Adolf Hitler, seemed to account for an exact answer to these unresolvable questions of the society. Taking advantage of the social, political and economic crises characterizing the Weimar Republic with the German people’s feeling of anger toward other states due to their repression in post-Versailles period, the Nazi Party rapidly found extensive layer of support in German society. Depending upon German society’s complex feelings of hatred, fear, and humiliation that generally administered the societal psychology throughout Weimar years, Hitler’s chaotic regime pushed for the abrupt outbreak of the culmination of this aggressiveness. With the construction of the highly efficient “German War Machine”, Hitler’s fascist views and methods caused the conversion of German Problem into the one which seemed to drown all the Europe with blood and devastation during the World War II.

When World War II ended via leaving millions of death, nearly devastated cities, and collapsed economies behind in Europe, everyone was not able to help themselves but ask a critical question: How will German Problem be handled in post-War era? As already known, thanks to the collective effort of the Allied Powers involving the USSR, USA, UK and France, Nazi Germany was defeated with the total demise of fascist views in practice. After the German defeat became obvious, the Allies were in the pursuit of one thing that nothing shall be similar to post-World War I period. In other words, the Allied Powers intended to come up with such a post-War formula for the German Problem that this country would not be able to dare undergoing through another huge extent war in that kind. Then, motivated by the objective of pushing post-war Germany to acknowledge its defeat as an inevitable reality, at this time, the Allies were determined to take the initiative over Germany directly unlike the case in the aftermath of the previous World War. Attempting to cope with the infamous German Problem, which continued to cause trouble for a very long time in the European continent, there emerged different ideas regarding the re-integration of Germany into the international

system again. As one of them, the Morgenthau Plan, conceptualized by Henry Morgenthau, Jr. who was the former US Secretary of Treasury, went far ahead in offering the reconstruction of Germany as a pastoral country which would require the deindustrialization of its massive industrial facilities and totally doom it to agricultural production. However, drawing lessons from the post-Versailles process that witnessed the dissolution of Weimar democracy and the establishment of Hitler's dictatorship, most of the American policymakers were not in favour of partitioning or weakening Germany in order not to trigger the emergence of a new trend of revanchist policies right after the World War II. Besides all these plans, the leader whose evaluations related to the resolution of long-lasting German Problem were wondered the most was the Soviet Secretary-General Joseph Stalin. As indicated by Peter Grieder, at the very beginning of the post-war process, Stalin had three alternative scenarios for the solution of German Problem. The first and most desirable one for the Soviet side, which was now one of the superpowers in the world, was the re-establishment of Germany as a whole under the banner of socialism. Foreseeing to found this state as having a direct organic link with his country, Stalin attempted to defend the cause of socialism in Europe via the initiative of the socialist Germany. The second alternative was the reconceptualization of the Germany as a democratic state, but possessing a neutral foreign policy manner. Considering the culmination of tensions among Soviets and other allies, Stalin was ready to accept the existence of such a Germany as long as that state would not turn against the Soviet Union, and trigger the eruption of a war again. Then came the final offering of Stalin as the division of Germany, and the establishment of a satellite socialist state on the German soil. Eventhough Stalin kept a distance to the realization of this possibility on the face of the respectively high relevance of the first two scenarios with Soviet interests in Europe, he came to acknowledge such a solution in order to continue his hegemony in Eastern Europe.⁵ Likewise, as the formation of the bipolar international order of Cold War facilitated due to the high number of pulling and pushing factors, the

⁵ Peter Grieder. (2012). *The German Democratic Republic*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

US was also convinced of the fact that in order to establish a new equilibrium in Europe protected from any sort of Soviet effect, Western Europe needs to be stabilized even at the cost of the division of Germany and the European continent. At the very end of all these turbulent times, the final replacement of the centuries-old sensitive balance-of-power with a bipolar confrontation of superpowers became accurate⁶. As the direct outcome of this structural change, the separation of German soil into two competent states that had fierce affiliation with their belonging camps gained an entirely different dimension to the German Problem. Actually at this exact point, German Problem was converted into an overly complicated German Question that contained lots of unresolvable equations within it.

2.2 Establishment of the Cold War Setting and Two German States in Europe (1949-1969)

In many academic and non-academic circles, the general view that Germany was partitioned into two states mainly because of the World War II has been expressed for a very long time. However, when the events taking place during the passing period between 1945 and 1949 are deeply analyzed, it can apparently be recognized that German separation came into the foreground as the direct result of the intensifying Cold War confrontations.

The establishment of the foundations of the bipolar Cold War system indeed traced back as early the date as 1941. As the general proceeding of the War that would result in the final defeat of the Nazis became much more predictable as time passed, the agreements regarding the future of post-war Germany were much more dealt. In this respect, the *Casablanca Conference* and *Tehran Conference*, in 1943, witnessed the narrow

⁶ Otis C. Mitchell. (2005). *The Cold War in Germany: Overview, Origins, and Intelligence Wars*. University Press of America, Maryland.

elaboration of the Allies on the situation of post-War Germany regarding denazification, demilitarization and democratization of the country. Yet, the more concrete steps initiated to be taken with the assignment of the “*Protocol on Zones of Occupation in Germany and the Administration of Greater Berlin*” in 1944. Right after this Protocol, in the *Yalta Conference*, held in 1944, like the fate of post-War international order, how will the post-War Germany be treated by the Allies was evaluated and there emerged a general consensus over the fact that the eventual dismemberment of the country shall be taken into account as one of the alternatives after the War⁷. However, since many issues related to Germany remained unresolved in Yalta, Allied powers, except France, again came together in the *Potsdam Conference* in July 1945 after the War precisely ended. For the Potsdam Conference hosted the firstly deteriorating relations between the USSR and the USA due to their conflicting interests over Germany, in particular, and the sharpening of the division of international system into two hostile blocs, in general, it is essential to make an emphasis on the centrality of the German Question for the establishment and maintenance of the Cold War order. In other words, in regards of its core dimensions, it is possible to contend that Cold War transpired and improved in the territory of Germany, as this Conference put forth again. None of the Allied Powers was willing to abandon Germany until realizing their internal and external interests associated with this country.

While the obligatory alliance surviving throughout the World War II among the ideologically-affirmed enemies as the Soviet Union and the US was evading gradually, the Cold War was settling on the international arena with a rapid pace. As the former allies during the World War II against Nazis initiated to be divided through ideological lines, the whole international system was pushed towards a fierce battle, but without any hot conflict, in multiple realms covering ideological, diplomatic, militaristic, political, and cultural ones. Accompanying the political friction among two blocs, the economic

⁷ Otis C. Mitchell. (2005). *The Cold War in Germany: Overview, Origins, and Intelligence Wars*. University Press of America, Maryland.

separation of the East and the West contributed to the strengthening of the present tension. In 1947, when the US came up with the infamous ‘Truman Doctrine’ with the declared aim of avoiding the fall of the war-damaged countries into the hands of the Soviet Communism, the classical American policy of “containment against the Soviets” meant to find its practical reflection in the economic realm. Emerging as the most crucial component of the Truman Doctrine, the “Marshall Plan” was devised to perpetuate reconstruction procedure in the war-torn European countries. Since Eastern European countries under the Soviet hegemony were also invited to take aid in the scope of this Plan, the US ultimately targeted to break the tie between these countries and the Soviet Union via such economic means. As a counterattack, the Soviet Union suddenly developed the “Molotov Plan” and formed COMECON in order to rebuild the economies of Eastern European countries. Yet, the most important part of these incidents concerning Germany was the decision of the US, UK, and France to involve their occupation zones in Germany within the economic recovery program of the Marshall Plan. Related to this step, Three Allies embarked on a currency reform and economic restructuration program in their occupation zones within Germany. In addition to these steps, they were determined to establish a Western-style democratic system that would function depending upon a parliamentary in the West. The major motive behind these plans was to reconstruct West Germany as a direct force against rising Soviet influence in Europe. According to the Soviet Union, all these attacks were a direct threat to the Soviet plans on Germany. One reason of this perception emerging in the Soviet side was the past war-related experiences of this country with Germany. In last thirty years, Germany had attacked Russian territories twice with the goal of occupation, and had caused unrepairable damages. Due to this fact, for the Soviet Union, a remilitarized and economically strong Germany would have the higher possibility of causing a new large scale war in Europe that would involve another attack to this country. Another reason was the ambitious ideals of Soviet leader Stalin regarding the possible future unification of Germany under a socialist administration. Therefore, on the face of these conflicting interests of two superpowers, the defeated Germany, which had been divided

into four occupation zones under the direct control of the Soviet Union, USA, France, and the UK after the War, was transformed into the battle scene of diplomatic paradigms of the opponent sides. The first repercussions of the worsening relations emerged over Berlin due to its highly complicated unique status. In contrast to the clear-cut boundaries of four occupation zones in Germany, which force will take the control of the nearly devastated capital of the defeated Third Reich was still ambiguous. Taking advantage of this complicated case, in order to avoid putting Germany on its feet again by the US, to avert formation of a separate West Germany, and to make Three Allies accept its claims over Berlin, the Soviet Union cut all the rail and highway connections to the city on 24 July 1948. This meant preventing the satisfaction of all sorts of supplies that were essential for West Berlin population. At that point, everyone had a consensus over the view that this city would not be able to defy this situation for a long time considering its highly devastated infrastructural facilities right after the World War II. American officials reacted to this incident via blaming explanations. For the first time in post-War world, the two superpowers were much closer to the edge of war than ever. However, instead of a war against the Soviet Union, in order to overcome this conflictual situation, called as 'Berlin Blockade' in history, American and British air forces launched the well-known 'Berlin Airlift', and supplied the city via air with huge amounts of food, water, and other necessities that the Berlin people was desperate for. As a result of this unexpected event, Soviets lifted the restrictions on Berlin on 12 May 1949.

In particular, after the successive events of Berlin Blockade and Berlin Airlift, the separation of Germany into two halves emerged as a reality with no doubt. After the lift of the blockade over Berlin by Stalin, American, British and French authorities in Germany accelerated their attempts for gathering their occupation zones under a single legal entity. As a result of this initiative, Federal Republic of Germany came into existence in 1949. Right after the establishment of this state in the western part of the divided country, Soviet Union also underwent through the formation of a separate socialist state within its occupation zone in East Germany. In that sense, the GDR was

established in the same year. At the end of the day, the emerging East-West rivalry had created two states on German soil.

The emergence of two German states in German territory actually declared the formal partition of Germany into two, which had been *de facto* situation up until that moment. Moreover, as all these incidents reflected, the formal division of Germany converted this formerly united territory into the direct theater of the Cold War game through the establishment of two directly hostile German states that were tightly attached to their ideological blocs. This was an apparent fact that there were many states in European continent which also experienced a structural transformation process via the establishment of Communist regimes there under Soviet control. Yet, to illustrate, there was nothing of another Poland for the People's Republic of Poland, and of another Hungary for the newly founded socialist Hungarian regime. On the other hand, considering the German case, the existence of a German-German borderline dividing two separate German states was primarily at the heart of the problem. Moreover, despite this formal partition, the nations of these two separate states were accounted by the people who shared the same language and a common history, as well as kinship structures.⁸ As can be understood, these two points of uniqueness located German case on direct public attention of the world throughout the Cold War period. Remaining as the centerpiece of the postwar order in Europe for decades, hence, the division of Germany symbolized the opening of a new era not only in the history of Germany and Europe but also in terms of the long-lasting German Question.

2.2.1 The Federal Republic of Germany

Parallel to the deep settlement of the bipolar Cold War order around the discernible hostility between the Soviet Union and the US, German Issue came to have an entirely

⁸ Tobias Hochscherf, Christoph Laucht & Andrew Plowman. (2013). Introduction. In *Divided, But Not Disconnected: German Experiences of the Cold War*, eds. T. Hochscherf, C. Laucht and A. Plowman. New York: Berghahn Books. 1-10.

different meaning for the latter. While Germany was perceived as a major threat to European security beforehand, now it was converted into an indirect one for the European balance on the condition that it shifted its weight in favour of the USSR⁹. Depending upon this changing notion of Germany in the US foreign policy circles and following all the international frictions between two superpowers and ideological blocs, a new state called the FRG, generally known as West Germany, was established in the occupation zones of US, France, and UK on 7 September 1949.

In the tumultuous international sphere of Cold War, Federal Republic meant one of the most important components of the US's policy of containment, which stood as part of "double containment" against Soviet effect. In this respect, West Germany was designed to be the ideological representative of the Western bloc in Europe through possessing the parliamentary democratic system and freely functioning market economy in direct contrast to the communist model. In accordance with this aim, the *Basic Law* was approved as the constitution of this new-born state via reflecting the provisory character of this state for the sake of the reunification goal, and first national parliament was accounted as a result of the free elections held in the same year. However, despite all these positive happenings for the West German people, at the time FRG was established, indeed it referred to nothing more than a dependent state. Although this young state had some say over its internal affairs, at the end it was subject to the strict limitations of the occupation forces including US, Great Britain, and France. Regarding its foreign policy, occupying states would still possess the ultimate power whereas West Germans was anxious to change this situation in favour of themselves in a coming future¹⁰. Coming into existence via directly related to the newly emerging conditions in post-War sphere, West Germany was highly aware of its limited international power. Therefore, as a smaller, semi-sovereign, and highly vulnerable state, Federal Republic adopted a foreign

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Dietrich Orlow. (2012). *A History of Modern Germany: 1871 to Present*. Boston: Pearson.

policy stance that was enthusiastically seeking a closer alliance with the West from the very beginning. As the major tools of this westward foreign policy understanding, West Germany allocated a huge proportion to international communities such as NATO and EEC even locating them above its national interests¹¹.

When the post-1945 history of West Germany up until the official beginning of Ostpolitik in 1969 is to be evaluated revolving around the West-biased foreign policy preference of this country, it is impossible to think this time phase isolated from the influential political actor, Konrad Adenauer. During his chancellorship sustaining approximately one-and-a-half decade, Adenauer became the primary figure during the restructuration of West Germany as regards its political sphere, diplomatic preferences, economic structure, and social life. In particular, as an Atlanticist politician, Adenauer had a deep impact on the shaping of his country's foreign policy paradigm totally complying with the interests of the capitalist bloc. In spite of persistent criticisms coming from his political opponents such as "Chancellor of the Allies" made by the SPD leader Kurt Schumacher, Adenauer drew upon his position as the Chancellor, CDU leader, and the closer contact point of High Commissioners in West Germany in terms of achieving his foreign policy goals.

West-oriented foreign policy notion of Adenauer had two fundamental tenets as the internal and external initiatives. Relying on his policy initiatives in the internal realm of West Germany, Adenauer mainly attempted to reshape the West German political and societal structures in conjunction with Western standards. Accompanying the denazification and demilitarization processes that had been carried out since the end of the War, West German public opinion was shaped on the route of having high sensitivity for the maintenance of the democratic system and preservation of basic human rights

¹¹ Max Otte & Jürgen Greve. (2000). A Tradition of Limited Sovereignty: The Foreign Policy Doctrine of the Federal Republic of Germany, 1949-1990. In *A Rising Middle Power?: German Foreign Policy in Transformation, 1989-1999*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

and liberties at any cost. As can be understood, the pressurization of excessive political views and the renouncement of the use of military means for the achievement of political targets were conducted in an interlinked way in order to prioritize and enshrine the civilian character of the West German regime¹². In direct relation, the firm diplomatic alliance with the US and the higher involvement of Federal Republic within European integration process, which will be dealt in detail later, had a key importance in the realization of these interior goals. In addition to the political transformation process, the FRG progressed ostensibly in the economic realm, which is generally quoted as “the economic miracle of West Germany”. Producing boosted economic growth, higher standards of living and broader employment opportunities for West German people, economic advancement of the FRG, conducted chiefly under the directive of Ludwig Erhard as Minister for Economics, provided huge political benefit to Adenauer, as one of the major key factors backing his fourteen-year-chancellorship. However, while attempting to guarantee the Westernization and Europeanization of West Germany in terms of political, economic, and societal dimensions, Adenauer’s policies actually brought the Americanization of the society due to huge American impact on this country, and caused popular criticisms especially among West German youth starting from late-1960s.

The second dimension of Adenauer’s westward diplomatic understanding had its chief resonance on the making of West Germany’s external policies. Attempting to find its direction between national interests, power politics, and grand strategy, West German foreign policy understanding during Adenauer’s chancellorship remained mostly stagnant and directly tied up with the US interests for a very long time. As asserted by Schwarz, West German foreign policy generally pursued a line of dependency via

¹² Douglas Webber. (2001). *New Europe, New Germany, Old Foreign Policy? German Foreign Policy since Unification*. Frank Cass: London.

making a specific emphasis on solidarity in western alliances, need for harmony, multilateralism, and a forgotten reason of state¹³. In this account, economic, political, and military integration to the West and contributing to the process of European integration as a major partner were stated as two focal foreign policy goals of the FRG. Through determining diplomatic priorities of the FRG as directly affiliated with the interests of the Western bloc, Chancellor Adenauer also had a hidden goal of regaining national sovereignty of the FRG step-by-step over the issues directly related to the country itself. According to Adenauer, drawing on the rapidly changing conditions of the Cold War in a pragmatic sense and playing a pivotal role in favour of the US interests against the Eastern bloc, it was possible for the Federal Republic to rise to the level of equal states, and be treated as a sovereign nation-state. Keeping this ultimate goal in mind, Adenauer played his cards cautiously, and refrained from embarking on any sort of antagonism with the Western Allies. In this respect, parallel to the West's desire of avoiding the establishment of the FRG as a neutral entity in the heart of Europe from the beginning¹⁴, Adenauer fell on deaf ears to calls for the restructuration of Germany as a bridging country between East and West, and developed his policies in the direction of shaping a West Germany which would be backed by the capitalist bloc even at the cost of separation in Germany. As a result, taking advantage from the escalating Cold War sphere, the FRG finally gained its sovereignty through the end of its occupation status with *Treaty on European Defence Community and Relations between the FRG and Three Allies*, mostly known as General Treaty, in 1952. Representing one step further in West Germany's longing for international recognition, *Germany Treaty*, in 1954, consolidated the FRG's status as a sovereign state having control over its

¹³ Max Otte & Jürgen Greve. (2000). A Tradition of Limited Sovereignty: The Foreign Policy Doctrine of the Federal Republic of Germany, 1949-1990. In *A Rising Middle Power?: German Foreign Policy in Transformation, 1989-1999*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

¹⁴ Rachéle Raus. (2005). Willy Brandt's Ostpolitik and European Integration. CVCE. University of Paris. Panthéon-Sorbonne.

territory, and made it clear that the FRG would be acknowledged as the only representative of the German nation by the Allies -except USSR-, parallel to the path of Hallstein Doctrine as followed by the FRG itself. As a continuation of this process, since the US recognized West Germany's importance as regards the military confrontation with the Soviet Union, the rearmament process of the FRG initiated, yet in a limited sense, and had a different dimension through the accession of this country to NATO in 1955, ten years after the end of the War.

Considering its relations with the GDR, as the *opposite other*, the FRG was deeply affected by the antagonistic atmosphere of Cold War era starting from its formation till the end of Adenauer era in 1960s. Against the advent of a rival German state in the eastern part of the German soil, Federal Republic's foreign policy paradigm was centrally dominated by Hallstein Doctrine, which took its name from Walter Hallstein as the State Secretary of Foreign Ministry in the FRG and later President of the European Commission. Constituting its theoretical and practical framework through direct confrontation with the GDR, Hallstein Doctrine had three main pillars. According to this Doctrine, the sole legal representative of the German nation in the German soil was the FRG. Preferring to define the GDR as the illegal entity or occupation zone, the FRG insisted on denying the legality of Democratic Republic. In accordance with this hostile manner, the FRG was determined to cut its diplomatic relations with any country – except the Soviet Union- that recognized the GDR as a sovereign state. Moreover, as a direct reflection of these views, since it was tempted to officially deny the loss of its eastern provinces annexed by Poland and Soviet Union after the War, Federal Republic was still contending the illusion that Germany resumed settling on its pre-World War II territory on legal grounds. As can be seen, in its first two decades of existence, Federal Republic strictly pursued a restrictive foreign policy route under the impact of Hallstein Doctrine through its direct engagement with Cold War politics. It is impossible to claim that Federal Republic was able to enjoy no diplomatic benefits due to its exclusionary foreign policy preferences at least until mid-1960s. In fact, as a state which was firmly integrated into its bloc, so having full international recognition except from the countries

of communist bloc, the FRG became a member of many international organizations as GATT, WHO, UNESCO during 1950s. Most importantly, the FRG's accession to NATO reflected one of the major tenets of Adenauer's foreign policy approach, such as the total inclusion of his country within key Western organizations via proving itself as one of the major forces of the West in Europe.

However, despite all these positive aspects, Hallstein Doctrine initiated to pose many challenges to the FRG particularly after the end of 1950s. Although this foreign policy doctrine predicated upon the ideological refusal and diplomatic insult of East Germans was benefited by West Germany as a partial state in terms of providing its internal political and economic balance, consolidating its international position in the eyes of the West, and enjoying higher prestige in the world, it caused the intensification of the lines of demarcation existing among the FRG and the GDR. Although it was not an unknown fact that Adenauer never actually valued the goal of reunification with other Germany among its political priorities, the departure between East and West Germany deepening year-by-year encouraged the emergence of public criticisms directed towards Adenauer's failed strategy in the FRG. More importantly, as a country continuing its insistence on accepting itself as the sole legal representative of German nation via denying the presence of the GDR, the FRG's foreign policy understanding was actually condemned to be outdated in a world now passing to the era of détente. Thus, in an international sphere where the antagonistic climate that was previously dominant on the relations between two rival blocs was calming down through mutually taken steps, the FRG that been stuck with such a solid foreign policy doctrine faced the danger of isolation from world politics. In addition to this rapidly declining room of maneuver in the international realm for West Germany, the USSR's unilateral ultimatum full of threats over the city of Berlin in 1958 and the erection of Berlin Wall in 1961 apparently demonstrated the fact that it was highly necessary for the diplomatic direction of the FRG to be desperately adapted to the changing conditions of the détente period. Mostly triggered by the silence of the US and other western bloc countries towards these two crises in a manner of refraining from the eruption of a nuclear war, West Germany

recognized the inevitability of having an independent foreign policy approach at the end of a revision process in order to overcome its squeezed –and actually alienated– international position and become much more effective in the international arena. Accordingly, after the end of Adenauer’s chancellorship in 1963, the FRG leaned towards new foreign policy searches. Although the first signs of this pursuit can even be observed during Erhard government regarding the unofficial meetings between the officials of the FRG and the GDR, the official adoption of this new approach traced back Kiesinger government, in which Willy Brand was Vice-Chancellor. As an adhered social democratic politician who previously served as the Mayor of West Berlin during 1961 Wall Crisis, Brandt was intent on changing the foreign policy priorities of the FRG in order to act as an independent, normal actor in accordance with the newly emerging paradigms of détente era. Conceptualizing this entirely new foreign policy view under the title of *Ostpolitik*, Brandt would leave his mark on the foreign policy approach that was adopted by West Germany after the establishment of Social-Liberal coalition in 1969. As it will be dealt in following parts, Ostpolitik would create a crucial turning point in the historical process that would end up with the reunification of two German states in 1990.

2.2.2 The German Democratic Republic

Another side of the German Question, East Germany, which was under Soviet occupation immediately after the end of the World War II, underwent a total transformation process under the directive of USSR. As a well-known fact, throughout the passing phase between 1945 and 1949, West Germany and East Germany witnessed some resembling and differing incidents which were directly shaped under the impact of the Cold War. During this mentioned period, Soviet Union, the undisputable dominant force in East Germany, either responded to the political steps taken by Three Allies including the US, UK, and France in the western part of the defeated Germany or initiated new political attempts with regard to expanding its influence to all over the country. Related with this political goal, as mentioned in the previous sections, Stalin’s

plans in regards the formation of a neutralized, democratic, demilitarized and peace-loving united Germany actually endured for a long time. Yet, as the Cold War boundaries were strictly set between two hostile camps led by two superpowers, the political fate of East Germany was determined much more deliberately along with the precise demarcation of Germany into two parts. Depending upon all these events, the GDR was formally established as a separate state on 7 October 1949, following the forge of the FRG in the west.

As touched upon before, political, social, and economic life in West Germany changed dramatically in the hands of Western Allies. However, compared to the reforms that were realized in the FRG, it is more plausible to define the alteration process maintained in the East Germany as a 'wholesale transformation'. In fact, the USSR was initially intent on creating a totally demilitarized, tamed, and economically weak Germany in order to get assured of the fact that the latter would never accumulate the sufficient power upon which it would attack Soviet Union again. Through this effort, Soviet Union moved the key industrial facilities functioning in the eastern part of Germany to its land and constituted a solid domination over the economic resources of this region in the name of war reparations. Yet, especially after the establishment of the GDR, the grand project of constructing a socialist society and state structure in German territory was inaugurated by the Soviets itself. Relying on this goal, the political, social, and economic development of East Germany leaned towards an entirely different direction than the path followed by the FRG, which is not the issue of subject that be dealt in this study. The difference existing between two former halves of united Germany revealed itself mostly in the degree of interaction between changing foreign policy conditions and internal events within these states. As can be predicted, since it was strictly vetoed, so not recognized by the states belonging to the western bloc, the GDR remained much more isolated and alienated with regard to the repercussions of the events happening in the outside world. Pivotaly taking its roots in the implementation of Hallstein Doctrine by the FRG and its endorsement by the capitalist bloc, the GDR was not able to find an accessible diplomatic area of maneuver, most of which was already occupied by the

FRG, for a very long time. Despite all these dividing aspects, there was one crucial point that accounted for a crucial similarity between the FRG and the GDR considering the general logic behind their formation. Like West Germany, the GDR was also established as directly related to the Cold War conjuncture. Reapproving Linderberger's well-known denomination of Germany as the small-scale battleground of Cold War¹⁵, East Germany was designed by Moscow as a key player of bipolar international game taking place in this central scene of Europe. In this respect, it was planned for the Democratic Republic to be the progressive face of socialist ideology and socialist bloc not only in German territory but also in the European continent against the capitalist development model.

After the establishment of new state, the details of the ideal of constructing an entirely new social and institutional framework in East Germany was defined much more clearly in 1949 Constitution. As stated by Fulbrook, this Constitution was prepared with a mentality which still carried hope for a united Germany in the future¹⁶. Therefore, this Constitution foresaw a political structure for the GDR mostly reminiscent of the political system identified in the Basic Law of the FRG. Although SED emerged as the primary political actor in East Germany as a result of a –debatable whether free or non-free-merger between SPD and KPD as back as in 1946, the GDR would also have a federal system depending upon the functioning of many parties competing in elections and consequently having their seats in the national parliament, like the case in the FRG. Complying with this attempt, many political parties representing conservative, or liberal views were founded in the GDR. However, after a while, the actual character of the democracy that was also underlined in the name of the GDR was understood more apparently. According to the SED as the incumbent party, in its socialist conceptualization, democracy referred to the participatory nature of the *Workers' and*

¹⁵ Thomas Lindenberger. (2013). Divided, But Not Disconnected: Germany as a Border Region of the Cold War. In *Divided, But Not Disconnected: German Experiences of the Cold War*, eds. T. Hochscherf, C. Laucht and A. Plowman. New York: Berghahn Books. 11-32.

¹⁶ Mary Fulbrook. (1991). *The Divided Nation (1918-1990)*. Fontana Press: London.

Peasants' Power that found its concrete meaning in its slogan of “*work together, plan together, and govern together!*”¹⁷ Around this conceptualization of democracy by SED functionaries, elections generally took place in the form of referendums that corresponded to the approval or disapproval of the single official list of candidates prepared by the Communist-dominated *National Front*. That said, these lists were generally approved via high percentages due to the political pressure expanding to the East German society. Emanating from this election arithmetic, East German Communist Party, SED was dominating the People's Chamber, and other non-Communist political parties were just playing the restricted role foreseen for themselves in the Parliament as transmission belts easing the socialist transformation process. In this scheme, other collective organizations such as labour unions, Free German Youth, and the Association for German-Soviet Friendship were also foreseen the mission of spreading the required socialist consciousness among East German citizens through their functions by SED. As can be understood, SED was the unquestionable political force controlling every segment of the Democratic Republic, and Walter Ulbricht was its most affluent leader. In its hierarchical chain forming links among the party and the government, the political and social decisions were actually determined and implemented top-down in the Politburo led by Ulbricht during his tenure, even though they seemed to be collectively taken in the party congresses of the SED. As the SED rule increased its impact across the country, many modifications were taken into life including the replacement of the federal structure by Bezirke (district) system and the increasing effectiveness of the Ministry for State Security, generally known as Stasi, regarding its secret intelligence activities targeting its native citizens. It is critical to assert the fact that in theory the ultimate goal of the GDR officials was the construction of an advanced type of socialist order in the GDR that would be totally under the control of East German workers and peasants. Because of this understanding, the stage of people's democracy, in which the

¹⁷ Peter Grieder. (2012). *The German Democratic Republic*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

bourgeois remnants of the formerly decadent Nazi regime in Germany were still present, was only provisional and pragmatically functional for key SED functionaries.

In addition to the politicization of the societal framework, SED also gave huge weight to the restructuration of the economic setting in accordance with Marxist-Leninist principles. According to the GDR officials, one of the major prerequisites of transforming the societal fabric complying with the scientific management of society was the development of a sophisticated industrialized socialist economy within the country. This point had a crucial importance not only for the accomplishment of the socialist ideology in East Germany but also for the rising international respectability of the country against the 'class enemies' of the western bloc. In the practical phase of this socialist conceptualization of the economy, the lion's share was given to the implementation of strict economic plans that focused on the rapid development of East Germany mainly through improving the key sectors of heavy industry as a prelude to the highest objective of keeping pace with the accelerated construction of socialism. However, this official decision taken in the SED ranks of giving the higher emphasis on heavy industry at the expense of 'futile' consumer goods created a general dissatisfaction with the government's policies among East Germans. Despite the rising trend of these negative reactions in the East German society, SED chose not to reevaluate its economic priorities, but to increase production norms and work hours with keeping the production of essential means of living at the same level. Meanwhile, following the death of Soviet leader Stalin in 1953, the new Soviet premier, Nikita Khrushchev unofficially ended the implementation of Stalinist policies not only in the Soviet Union but also in the satellite states. Under the effect of this new period, East German leader Ulbricht declared, even if unwillingly, a new policy line called *New Course*. For SED officials consciously abstained from practicing New Course, there occurred very little change in terms of decreasing the generally existent tension within East German citizens. In this intense sphere, an additional increase in work norms as decided arbitrarily by East German authorities caused the eruption of a general wave of demonstrations initiated by construction workers all over the GDR on 17 June 1953.

Remembered as the *June 1953 Uprising* in East German history, this small-scale strike of East German workers expanded to the all social segments of the society after a short while, and hosted the different political, economic and social demands of East German citizens such as genuinely free and democratic elections, real parliamentary democracy, and Ulbricht's dismissal. Although these events were pressurized by the military intervention of the Soviet army in few days, this did not keep June 1953 Uprising accounting for a significant turning point in the past of this partial state. For many historians, June 1953 Uprising even represented the end of the first phase of the GDR history¹⁸. What this collective uprising actually meant for the GDR notwithstanding, one thing was apparent that this unrest actually demonstrated the SED regime's ostensible lack of popularity among its citizens. Recognizing this transpiring fact much more comprehensively, hence, the GDR officials went for modifications in their economic and political priorities. In this way, East German citizens were released from the burden of strict economic policies for a limited period. Moreover, the regime put a greater emphasis on the production of consumer goods that were needed desperately by ordinary East Germans at that time. However, Soviet intervention in Hungary at the year of 1956 totally reversed this spring weather, and the hands of hardliners were re-strengthened in East Germany.

The building of the Berlin Wall in 1961 carried all the tensions existing between the GDR and the FRG to the highest extent following the one-sided ultimatum declared by the USSR over the status of Berlin in 1958. Although the SED regime contended that this Wall was erected as an '*anti-fascist protection rampant*' against the occupation attempts of neo-Nazis in the FRG, it was an understandable fact that Berlin Wall was actually set in order to hinder the flee of East German citizens to the West. Between 1949 and 1961, 2.5 million East Germans had moved to the West Germany in a way damaging the international respectability of the East German state. As can be

¹⁸ Dietrich Orlow. (2012). *A History of Modern Germany: 1871 to Present*. Boston: Pearson.

understood, directly depending upon the central motive of averting this annoying circumstance, this newly built Wall brought into the foreground an entirely new conjuncture for not only two German states but also for the two hostile blocs. Although Berlin Wall proved the general lack of legitimacy of the SED regime in the eyes of its citizens, it also brought many undeniable advantages to the GDR. Consolidating the sustainability and stability of its regime via abruptly blocking the uncontrolled access of its citizens to the West, East Germany revealed the fact that its presence was now impossible to be neglected. That is, with the own words of Mcfalls, “*the GDR experienced its ‘second founding’ with the construction of the Berlin Wall*”¹⁹. Moreover, that the capitalist bloc led by the US was unable to give a strong response to the erection of Berlin Wall not only reinforced the incrementally rising international alienation of the FRG but also increased the self-confidence of the East German state. In addition to giving these messages to the outside world, the GDR officials embarked on a series of economic liberalization reforms, which were gathered under the label of *New Economic System*, through the guidance given by the existence of this Wall so as to increase the acceptability of the state for East German citizens. However, as the construction of centralized socialist economic model was reintroduced as a primary goal via *Economic System of Socialism*, the GDR’s classical approach to the economic matters remained mostly unchanged until the Honecker era.

All these incidents in the internal realm happening, on the other side, the GDR was in the pursuit of rising international respectability in the world. East Germany had already been involved within the web of socialist international organizations such as COMECON and Warsaw Pact during 1950s. Moreover, the Soviet endorsement to the survival of the regime had already been guaranteed via the signature of the *USSR- GDR Friendship Agreement* in 20 September 1955. However, outside the socialist world, the

¹⁹ Laurence McFalls. (2005). Illegitimate Unions? German and European Unifications Viewed in Comparative Perspective. In *Germany’s Two Unifications: Anticipations, Experiences, and Responses*, ed. by Ronald Speirs & John Breuilly. New York : Palgrave.

GDR diplomatically corresponded to ‘nothing’. Unable to overcome the invisible barriers put through Hallstein Doctrine by the FRG since its foundation, East Germany had to move only within the boundaries of its bloc. However, the building of Berlin Wall in 1961 also deeply changed the foreign policy direction of the GDR. Initially, accompanied by the Soviet Union, the GDR repetitively made official offers to West Germany in terms of beginning official talks as a prelude to the establishment of a confederation between two states even if all of them were rejected by the West. Moreover, attempting to create a rather independent, but continuing to be tied up with, diplomatic agenda from Moscow, East Germany adopted a more pro-active foreign policy approach in the international area. At that point, the emergence of new socialist-ridden states in Asia and Africa in 1960s came to the aid of the GDR. In that way, the GDR formed closer relations with these countries which had little information of what German Question actually meant at that time²⁰. Depending upon its observable ability to construct a socialist economy within its provinces, Democratic Republic also came to be increasingly perceived as a model country of socialism in a pioneering sense in the world. Through this method, the GDR continued to take the approval of the Soviet Union as a key factor for the survival of this state. Another important diplomatic initiative of the GDR in this mentioned period was on the issue of eastern lands of former Germany. Contrary to the diplomatic denial of the FRG coming from its pursuit of Hallstein Doctrine, the GDR took a crucial step in terms of normalization via officially recognizing the annexation of the territory east of the Oder-Neisse Line by the PRP and Soviet Union after the end of the World War II.

Despite its new attempts in the foreign policy realm, political, social, and economic conditions were continuing to remain the same within the GDR in the transformative era of 1960s. Under the consolidative impact of Berlin Wall, SED tended to increase its political pressure further through defining its role within the state much more concretely

²⁰ Ibid.

in the new 1968 Constitution. Besides, the East German officials totally gave up the ideal of achieving German unity under socialism, and devoted themselves to the intensification of the socialist regime in the East German territory. Since this necessitated stressing the divisive aspects of the GDR from the capitalist system of the FRG, SED functionaries initiated to propose the exact separation between two Germanies via even arguing that there was nothing existent of a single German national identity before. Yet, while the end of 1960s was coming, the wave of Ostpolitik also knocked the door of the GDR. Now, the GDR was faced with an internationally challenging tableau that had no resemblance to the previous times.

2.3 The Ostpolitik Period: Rapprochement Launched (1969-1989)

As mentioned in the previous sections, starting from early 1960s, two world superpowers entered into a new period of constructive, instead of destructive, diplomacy. In this new period called *détente*, the USSR and the US decided to reformulate their foreign policy initiatives towards each other with a rather harmonious stance, so attempted to reduce the tension of rough Cold War politics in this way. Although shaped under the deterrent threat of a nuclear war, *détente* opened an entirely new phase in the Cold War for not only these states but also their related blocs. Given the general climate of this period, Ostpolitik, as initiated and improved by one of the leading political actors in the history of Federal Germany, Willy Brandt, was increasingly perceived as the specific *détente* among two German states. However, as can be estimated, like any other case related to Germany, the political effects of Ostpolitik did not remain restricted within the borders of the FRG and the GDR, but expanded to the whole European continent incrementally, and changed the existing balance in the European politics at that time. In that account, Ostpolitik not only

redefined West Germany's relations with its Nazi past and Democratic Republic but also altered and ultimately transformed the global environment of the Cold War²¹.

Although there exists a general academic tendency to trace back the beginning of Ostpolitik to the conference of the Protestant Academy in Tutzing, held in 1963, in which Brandt and his closer political advisor Egon Bahr very firstly presented their ideas regarding the German Eastern policies under the title of '*Ostpolitik*', this set of political views has an enormous contextual background that witnessed the preliminary steps taken towards its initiation. Recognizing the existing problems experienced with regard to the human contact among the two halves of the divided Berlin, a convention on passengers was signed between East Berlin and West Berlin in as early as 1963. Following that, secret contacts started among the officials of East Germany and West Germany in order to at least evaluate the present issues concerning the citizens of the both states. Yet, the first real initiatives that can be involved within the scheme of Ostpolitik were taken by Willy Brandt when he acted as the Foreign Minister in the Grand Coalition led by Chancellor Kiesinger. During this period, Brandt mostly spent his efforts to create a theoretical framework that would later be filled by the required actions in an upcoming future for Ostpolitik. Taking over the government through forming a coalition with FDP, Chancellor Brandt initiated a recordable foreign policy attack in order to implement the policies that were predicated upon Ostpolitik in the practical realm. In the beginning of this hard diplomatic marathon full of many internal and external obstacles, Brandt was mainly driven by the motive of assuring a peaceful road towards reunification with East Germany. In the path of German reunification as the longer term aim within the agenda of Ostpolitik, Brandt considered that if anything was to be done to ease relations between Bonn and East Berlin, the Germans –both Eastern and Western- would have to do it themselves. To state it differently, from the very beginning of the process, Ostpolitik was theoretically designed by Brandt as the

²¹ Carole Fink & Bernd Schaefer. (2011). *Ostpolitik, 1969-1974: European and Global Responses*. German Historical Institute. Washington, D.C.: Cambridge University Press.

attempt of East and West Germans to collectively resolve German Question themselves for the first time in their history²². Moreover, in a wider perspective, Brandt's Ostpolitik sought to normalize the relations between Federal Republic and other Eastern bloc countries. Brandt attempted to achieve this broader aim by lowering the barriers between the East and the West and by pursuing a European peace order via full recognition of the sovereignty and frontiers of existing East European states, including, paradoxically, the GDR²³. Yet, while attempting to take such kind of brave diplomatic steps in accordance with these projectives of Ostpolitik, Brandt was also determined not to endanger the firm alliance of his country with the West, and realize the intended changes within the framework that would be approved by the West. Therefore, highly becoming aware of the fact that "*The road to Berlin goes through Moscow.*"²⁴, Brandt gave special importance to having a closer contact with Soviet Union and other socialist countries, but did not neglect the primacy of the US for the FRG's priorities in the international realm.

Considering the requirements and the opportunities of the mentioned period, in the background of Ostpolitik, it is possible to mention four major reasons that prepared the inauguration of its official implementation. As the first cause behind it, the proper diplomatic environment arising from détente period formed a prelude to the realization of Ostpolitik. Enjoying the benefits of the warm international climate among two camps, the FRG under Chancellor Brandt found a more convenient sphere to achieve its determined goals regarding Ostpolitik. Then, the structural incompatibility of the Hallstein Doctrine with the general soul of this mentioned period came into the

²² Stephen F. Szabo. (1992). *The Diplomacy of German Unification*. St. Martin's Press: New York.

²³ Gordon Craig (1994). Did Ostpolitik Work? Foreign Affairs. January/February Issue.

²⁴ Kristian L. Nielsen & Michael Nolan. (2013) Haunted by the Ghost of Willy Brandt: Reconsidering German Ostpolitik and Its Legacy. Paper presented at BASEES/ICCEES European Congress 2013. Cambridge.

foreground as the second reason. In fact, détente changed the general proceedings of international relations to such an extent that even the adamant anti-communist, US President Richard Nixon came to regard the classical confrontational policy as anachronistic via stating that “*Communist states were too important to ignore*”²⁵. In spite of these ongoing conjectural changes in the international realm, yet, the CDU governments in Federal Republic were still continuing to insistently espouse their traditional foreign policy route that took its major inspiration from Hallstein Doctrine. Although the bilateral denial of the existence of the socialist GDR by the FRG through assuming itself as the mere formal representative of the whole German nation served for a while the rising international recognition and popularity of Federal Republic, under these changing conditions, this restrictive diplomatic doctrine came to an exact halt. For instance, as the FRG refrained from establishing any contact with the countries forming official relations with the GDR, it condemned itself to a persistent political, economic, and social isolation through only being able to play within the ground of its related bloc²⁶. Recognizing the desperate need for an alteration in the diplomatic mentality of the FRG, Chancellor Brandt attempted to constitute an abrupt break with the Hallstein Doctrine so as to eliminate its decades-long-blocking impact on the relations not only with Democratic Germany but also with other socialist states. Thirdly, the reluctance of the US and other allied countries in the western camp to react in the key moments for the FRG such as the 1958 Soviet ultimatum full of threat and the building of Berlin Wall in 1961 accounted for an important reason necessitating the emergence of Ostpolitik. First-hand witnessing the construction of Berlin Wall in 1961 as the Mayor of West Berlin, Brandt was one of the few West German politicians who directly felt the need for the

²⁵ Werner D. Lippert. (2010). *The Economic Diplomacy of Ostpolitik: Origins of NATO's Energy Dilemma*. Berghahn Books.

²⁶ Arne Hofmann. (2007). *The Emergence of Détente in Europe: Brandt, Kennedy and the Formation of Ostpolitik*. Cold War History Series. Routledge: New York.

establishment of an independent foreign policy approach for the FRG in order to follow its national interests more eagerly. In this respect, under the directive of Brandt, Ostpolitik provided the FRG an extraordinary freedom of movement in continental and global affairs on which the successive chancellor Helmut Schmidt was to capitalize in subsequent years. As the fourth and final reason, the squeezed situation of West Berlin pushed Brandt to take an emergent step for an exact solution in the divided city through the means of Ostpolitik. In an attempt to create a politico-economic stability for West Berlin and increase humanitarian contact among East and West Germans living in the two sections of the city divided by the Wall, Brandt's Ostpolitik was devoted to the goal of reaching reconciliation over the status of West Berlin with USSR and the GDR as immediate as possible.

Before passing through the practical period of Ostpolitik, it seems as a theoretical necessity to mention another triggering force behind this momentous policy doctrine, who was Egon Bahr. Working closely with Brandt from the years of his mayorship in West Berlin, Bahr had the opportunity of observing the hard times that the FRG was experiencing in the international realm due to its insistence on the denial of East Germany. Depending upon these times, Bahr accorded with Brandt over the view that German Problem would not be solved by the superpowers, which seemed content with the 'two-state-solution'²⁷. Therefore, he matured the idea that the best way to change the East German-West German status quo was to recognize it²⁸. Regarding this point as inevitable in terms of answering the overly difficult German Question, Bahr also believed in eliminating Soviet Union's long-lasting fears as regards a remilitarized and reunited Germany through accepting the de facto Soviet hegemony on Eastern Europe and creating new policies accordingly in a harmonious manner. As can be understood,

²⁷ Carole Fink & Bernd Schaefer. (2011). *Ostpolitik, 1969-1974: European and Global Responses*. German Historical Institute. Washington, D.C.: Cambridge University Press.

²⁸ Stephen F. Szabo. (1992). *The Diplomacy of German Unification*. St. Martin's Press: New York.

thinking the unthinkable according to many people at that time, Bahr's conceptualization of "*change through rapprochement between the East and the West*" summarized the essence of Ostpolitik.

Depending upon the infamous "*policy of small steps*", the Ostpolitik process that endured throughout Brandt's chancellery between 1969 and 1974 consisted of a number of highly important treaties, notable international incidents, and key meetings between Brandt and other world leaders. In this respect, Federal Republic signed agreements of critical importance with Soviet Union, PRP, Czechoslovakia, and especially the GDR. Moreover, Brandt gathered with many world leaders including Soviet leader Brezhnev, Yugoslavian leader Tito, and the GDR leader Erich Honecker. The dazzling diplomatic marathon within the context of Ostpolitik started with a series of meetings conducted among the FRG Chancellor Brandt and the GDR Prime Minister Stoph. Then, at the end of the negotiations that were realized with Soviet officials, Treaty of Moscow was concluded between the parties in 1970, as the indicator of a compromise between Brandt's Ostpolitik and Brezhnev's *Westpolitik*. According to this Treaty, West Germany ultimately accepted de facto boundaries in European continent that were set after the end of World War II. Through this way, twenty five years after the collapse of the Third Reich, the FRG recognized the loss of German territory in addition to conducting gruelling negotiations with Germany's former victims in Eastern Europe, and acknowledging its responsibility in all these tragedies²⁹. Moreover, the FRG officials agreed to convene in a Soviet-offered international conference that would legitimize the post-War status quo in Europe with their East German counterparts. As a response, Soviet Union accepted to put a pressure on East Germany through reaching a temporary compromise with the FRG. Following that, via the signature of successive treaties with PRP and Czechoslovakia including Treaty of Warsaw, in 1970, and Treaty of Prague, in 1973, Federal Republic acknowledged the legitimacy of its eastern

²⁹ Carole Fink & Bernd Schaefer. (2011). *Ostpolitik, 1969-1974: European and Global Responses*. German Historical Institute. Washington, D.C.: Cambridge University Press.

boundaries to these states. Furthermore, the FRG established diplomatic contact with the countries of socialist bloc such as PRC, Hungary, and Bulgaria within the context of Ostpolitik. Then, in 1972, Four Power (Quadripartite) Agreement was signed among the former Allies of the World War II involving USSR, USA, UK, and France. Handling with the long-lasting Berlin issue, Four Power Agreement became helpful in the creation of a harmonized settlement on which two sides of the Cold War came closer to each other in the resolution of the problems related to the divided city via mutual concessions. In return of the recognition of East Germany by Western Allies, Soviet Union and Democratic Republic accepted the firm political, social, and economic ties of the FRG to West Berlin. Accepting this fact, the GDR would not also interfere with the any channels of connection to the western section of the city. As one of the most crucial successes achieved throughout the process of Ostpolitik, Basic Treaty, which was concluded between two German states, represented an exact end to the illusionary policies of the FRG regarding German territory. Symbolizing a further step coming after the Transit Agreement between two German states in 1971, via this Treaty, West Germany at last recognized the existence of two sovereign states on the former territory of united Germany via the approach of “Two German states in one German nation”³⁰. In spite of the fact that the FRG acknowledged the presence of a separate East German state, but not of an East German nation³¹, even this step had a greater meaning for all sides at that time.

As a result of all these successive events and agreements that were included within the first phase of Ostpolitik, highly important consequences emerged for all the related parts. Recognizing not only the presence of a socialist German state but also the horrors

³⁰ Mary Fulbrook. (1991). *The Divided Nation (1918-1990)*. Fontana Press: London.

³¹ Arne Hofmann. (2007). *The Emergence of Détente in Europe: Brandt, Kennedy and the Formation of Ostpolitik*. Cold War History Series. Routledge: New York.

of the World War II, and related to that, its eastern borders with other socialist countries, the FRG accepted the post-war territorial map in Europe. In that sense, the foreign policy route of West Germany meant to be revised with a realistic understanding in compliance with the necessities of the new period. While all these proceedings were at work, Brandt was awarded with the Nobel Peace Prize at the year of 1971 due to his contributions to the diplomatic cease-fire among two hostile blocs. Then, taking the support of West German public opinion for its prominent policy, Brandt won the elections in 1972 as the leader of SPD with the highest share of vote for his party in its history. Despite domestic criticisms voiced loudly by CDU opposition and external challenges put by the generally known suspicions of the American and Soviet officials related to the content of this policy line, the SPD-FDP coalition managed to stand staunchly against them all as the practitioner of the obviously accomplished Ostpolitik. However, all these diplomatic victories were not able to avert the resignation of Chancellor Brandt due to the East German espionage scandal in 1974. Replaced by his closer ally in the SPD, Helmut Schmidt as chancellor, Brandt's Ostpolitik kept its central importance for the West German foreign policy as maintaining its number one position among the diplomatic priorities of this country. The main factor behind this political persistence regarding Ostpolitik was new chancellor Schmidt's well-known dedication to the ideals and goals of Ostpolitik related to not only Germany but also to the entire Europe. Recognized by capitalist countries, then, the GDR increased its internal and external legitimacy not only in the eyes of its citizens but also for the whole international realm. Although the GDR seemed to be in the quest of keeping its distance to a possible rapprochement with the FRG as much as possible; then unable to resist the newly rising trends in the international realm, this state also came to keep closer contact with West Germany thanks to Ostpolitik. Under the leadership of Erich Honecker, who replaced the former leader Ulbricht in 1971, the GDR initiated to take advantage of these closer ties with West Germany politically and economically until its collapse although SED officials created policies that underlined the separate character of the GDR national identity with the temptation of avoiding the harmful effects of Ostpolitik. At the end, as

two equal members of the family of nations, the GDR and the FRG had an access to the UN in 1973.

Beyond two German states, Brandt's Ostpolitik caused dramatic shifts in the existing political status quo within the European continent. Even if there happened no change in the territorial boundaries among states, the walls that were dividing the states of hostile camps initiated to become more transparent thanks to Brandt's Ostpolitik, as Böhme mentioned³². Through this progress, Ostpolitik also opened an entirely new phase in the European integration process, as will be analysed in detail later. Moreover, implemented with such a pace in approximately five years, Ostpolitik had a deep impact on the historical proceeding of Cold War since then. Although the international order was again polarized due to the re-intensification of the Cold War in the beginning of the 1980s, two German states kept their determination in terms of perpetuating and even improving their closer relations that had been established through the concrete achievements of Ostpolitik process. In this respect, this intra-German detente continued to progress in its special path in accordance with its own dynamics while two blocs initiated to undergo a harsh period again in terms of their relations. On the other side of this framework, East German leader Honecker even realized an official visit to the FRG in 1987, and was welcomed with great hospitality by his West German counterpart Kohl, which was the peak point of Ostpolitik process for two German states according to many commentators.

In sum, Ostpolitik attained a considerably broader area of influence through not only stabilizing East-West relations and improving the lives of people behind the Iron Curtain, but also creating an active strategy of engaging its communist neighbours, ending the FRG's sterile, costly global rivalry with the GDR, and expanding

³² Werner D. Lippert. (2005). Richard Nixon's Détente and Willy Brandt's *Ostpolitik*: The Politics and Economic Diplomacy of Engaging the East. Dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The Faculty of the Graduate School of Vanderbilt University. Nashville, Tennessee.

commercial, political, and cultural relations with the Third World³³. Introducing an entirely new tone to the Cold War, Ostpolitik represented an innovative form of diplomacy, a move away from the fruitless ideological posturing and superpower rattling of the first two decades³⁴. Due to all these mentioned points, all the propositions or oppositions towards it notwithstanding, it is possible to regard Ostpolitik as politically belonging not only to the two halves of demarcated Germany but also to the entire Europe as “*an intelligent, early reaction to the new approaches of Cold War politics*”³⁵.

2.4 Role of the European Integration Process in the German Question until the Reunification

As issued up to that point in the previous parts, Germany in the post-war period experienced a series of momentous events that accounted for crucial breaking points in its national history. In particular, the partition of the country into two hostile states brought the inner tensions that had been hidden for a while into the forefront. Highly conscious of this fact, depending upon the previously made evaluations on this significant period that still has its repercussions on most of the shaped and implemented policies of today's Germany, the post-war history of divided Germany will be firmly anchored to the stake of European integration in this section. To state it differently, rather than solely touching upon the process of European integration until 1990s, this historical period will be issued around its mutual interaction with the evolution of German Question till the reunification of two German states in 1990. In this respect, the major intention behind the endeavor of determining the exact place of the European

³³ William Glenn Gray. (2003). *Germany's Cold War: The Global Campaign to Isolate East Germany, 1949-1969*. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press.

³⁴ Carole Fink & Bernd Schaefer. (2011). *Ostpolitik, 1969-1974: European and Global Responses*. German Historical Institute. Washington, D.C.: Cambridge University Press.

³⁵ Werner D. Lippert. (2005). Richard Nixon's Détente and Willy Brandt's *Ostpolitik*: The Politics and Economic Diplomacy of Engaging the East. Dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The Faculty of the Graduate School of Vanderbilt University. Nashville, Tennessee.

integration process within the scheme of German Question in post-war period is to solidly set the theoretical framework upon which the following conceptual analyses regarding the EU experience of the united Germany will be built through taking the German reunification in 1990 as its focal point.

Drawing lessons from the conflictual years of the inter-war period and the catastrophic events of the World War II, peace was one of the most emergent necessities desired by war-torn Europeans in the post-war Europe. In order to hinder the outbreak of another war and provide the lasting peace order in the continent, European leaders decided to open a new harmonious era in their relations, and focused on new initiatives. In particular, regarding the attainment of the latter goal, as Hansen asserts, the resolution of German Question emerged as one of the central problems for European countries³⁶. This mainly relied on the fact that Germans were perceived as the direct initiator of the two world wars because of their highly revanchist and aggressive policies directly targeting its neighboring countries, especially France. At the end of all these searches for the ultimate realization of peace in Europe, the idea of a united Europe, the nuves of which had already been existent in pre-war period, came to be seen as the most valuable alternative compared to others. As can be understood, emerging as the primary European answer towards the resolution of German Question, the process of European integration had already been tightly linked to the German-related matters as early as late-1940s. Taking strength from this fact, while initially attempting to reconstruct West Germany as an equally normal European state that would serve the protection and development of the peaceful sphere in Europe, then the European integration process handled with overcoming the long-lasting demarcation in German territory, and getting adapted to the Ostpolitik process in accordance with the newly emerging conditions of upcoming decades.

³⁶ Peo Hansen. (2004). In the Name of Europe. Race and Class: A Journal on Racism, Empire and Globalization. 45/3. 49-62.

Immediately after the end of the war, the idea of European unity firstly came to the agenda through the infamous Zurich speech of British Prime Minister Winston Churchill in 1946, in which he touched upon the necessity of building a “United States of Europe” for the preservation of a persistent peaceful order in Europe thereafter. However, the first genuine steps in terms of taking the idea of European integration into life were taken in the realm of Franco-German hostility. As two nations that had fought three times in last 70 years till late 1940s, France and Germany generally had fragile relations that lacked the required confidence and reliability reciprocally. Becoming aware of the fact that a possible repetition of a conflict among these two countries would lead Europe into a new catastrophe inevitably, European leaders attempted to end the centuries-long confrontation among these two states, and convert Franco-German hostility to Franco-German cooperation for a safer Europe. In this respect, the very first realm on which the seeds of Franco-West German cooperation would be planted, and –related to that- the European integration process would be inaugurated decided to be the coal and steel industry under the shadow of corrosive Cold War politics. Constituting one of the major causes behind the vicious circle of conflicts among these two countries, coal and steel realm was officially declared for the first time to be put under supranational control by French Foreign Minister, Robert Schuman, commonly accepted as one of the real protagonists of the European integration process, in 1950. According to Schuman Plan, through the control of coal and steel under the European supranational framework, not only the possible confrontations among French and West German sides would be blocked beforehand, but also the means through which French and West German officials would work under the same roof closely would be created. Furthermore, within the context of this Plan, it was intended that after the initiation of the integration among European countries in the limited area of coal and steel, it would later pass on to other realms via spill-over effect gradually in the pattern of achieving a full European federation at the end. Giving a highly positive response to the Schuman Plan related to both its intentions for a new period in Franco-German relations and a federally unified Europe, West German Chancellor Adenauer got prominence as one of the most

prominent political actors who proliferated the defense of Franco-German cause with regard to a united Europe. Stemming from this convenient scheme, the idea of European integration found its first repercussion in the concrete ground via the establishment of the ECSC by six European states including France, the FRG, Luxembourg, Belgium, Italy, and the Netherlands via Treaty of Paris in 1951. As can be understood, while it was denominated as the project of “European” integration at that point, this process was obligatorily restricted to the territory of Western Europe excluding the socialist European states due to the Cold War friction. It was not a hidden fact that the ECSC Treaty kept an open door towards “other” European states belonging to the socialist bloc through giving them the opportunity of applying for accession in its Article 98³⁷. Nevertheless, as asserted by Giegerich, despite this mentioned point, the process of European integration actually corresponded to a full political, economic, and in a sense, military integration that was geographically limited for a limited time being till the end of Cold War³⁸. Meanwhile, bearing the firm link between European integration and a future German reunification, though it seemed as a highly distant possibility at that time, Three Powers including the US, the UK and France, and West Germany contracted the *Bonn Convention* on 26 May 1952. Coinciding with the days in which the preparations for a commonly constituted European defence force further accelerated, this Convention gave place to these statements in this mentioned regard³⁹:

Whereas the Three Powers and the Federal Republic recognize that both the new relationship to be established between them by the present Convention and its related Conventions and the Treaties for the creation of an integrated European Community, in particular the Treaty on the Establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community and the Treaty on the Establishment of the European Defence Community are essential steps

³⁷ Thomas Giegerich. (1991). The European Dimension of German Reunification: East Germany’s Integration into the European Communities. *Zeitschrift für ausländisches öffentliches Recht und Völkerrecht*. 51: 384-450.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Jean-Paul Jacqué. (1991). German Unification and the European Community. *EJIL*. 2/1:1-16.

to the achievement of their common aim for a unified Germany integrated within the European Community.

Although it never entered into force due to the failing French ratification for the formation of European Defense Community, and was later replaced by *Paris Convention*, concluded on 23 October 1954, Bonn Convention accounted for one of the major steps in the parallel processes of European integration and German reunification as regards making a special emphasis on high level of interconnection among them.

Following the first accomplishment of ECSC and the first failure of EDC in the history of European integration, the EEC and EURATOM came into existence through Treaty of Rome in 1957 as other two European institutions accompanied by the ECSC. At the time this Treaty was carrying the dream of European integration to a further concrete level, West Germany was dealing with two challenging pressures, both from inside and outside, related to the nearly a decade long partition of German territory. Domestically, the FRG was feeling the tension from the possible contradiction that might appear among its two chief foreign policy goals as German unification and European integration. For West Germany gained a constitutional setting to the these targets through mentioning them in the Preamble and Article 24 of the Basic Law, the necessity of reconciling these two constitutionally stated foreign policy goals caused an extra burden on West Germany. In the Preamble part, all German people involving the GDR citizens were called to perfect in the free self-determination and freedom of united Germany, and related to this, all Federal Republic organs were put under the constitutional obligation of working for the ideal of German reunification. On the other side, Article 24, which will be elaborated more in the upcoming parts, stressed the fact that the FRG should serve the world peace as an equal member of the united Europe. Depending upon these constitutional statements, the FRG paid strict attention not to causing a possible friction with the ultimate goal of German reunification while contributing to the project of European integration from the very beginning. In other words, throughout the process of European integration, as clearly stated in the decision of the Federal Constitutional Court, Federal Republic avoided any sort of membership in

an international or supranational organization which would factually or legally hinder its ability to decide on the issue of reunification independently⁴⁰. The second imposition on West Germany came from the international area. Firmly devoted to the Hallstein Doctrine in terms of its foreign policy agenda, Federal Republic was squeezed day-by-day as it much more faced the legal disputes sourcing from its neglect of the existent realities out of the German division. As touched upon more comprehensively in the proceeding parts, stemming from this Doctrine and the constitutional obligation of reunification mentioned above, Federal Republic refrained from accepting Democratic Republic as a 'foreign' state. Therefore, West Germany preferred treating the boundary with the GDR not as an ordinary external border, but as an intra-German border. Relying on this illusion, as a sui-generis case, these two German states were ironically conducting their foreign trade interactions through the channel of this intra-German trade border despite ideologically countering themselves in every opportunity. Likewise, the FRG formally regarded East Germans not as foreign nationals of a foreign country, but as its genuine citizens, like West Germans, irrespective of their the GDR citizenship. However, despite of the fact that the FRG put forward its approach formally towards the matters of reunification, citizenship, and trade, these issues were still causing some troubles for this country in the context of European integration. As one of the founder protagonists of the idea of European unity since the early-1950s, the FRG was expected to take an emergent step in this regard as quickly as possible. At the end, during the preparation and signature phases for Treaty of Rome, with the objective of ensuring the elimination of all the existing conflicts between its commitments related to German reunification and European integration, West Germany came up with three crucial unilateral documents as follows:

- Declaration concerning Reunification, on 28 February 1957,

⁴⁰ Ibid.

- Declaration concerning Citizenship of the FRG, on 25 March 1957,
- Protocol on German Internal Trade and Connected Problems, on 25 March 1957.

When the negotiations regarding the Treaty of Rome were continuing, the West German representative Walter Hallstein, Secretary of State in the FRG Foreign Office and later President of the Commission in the EEC, made this declaration with the intention of being included within the records of the discussed Treaty:

“The Federal Government proceeds from the possibility that in case of a reunification of Germany, a review of the Treaties on the Common Market and on EURATOM will take place.”

The negotiating parties of the Treaty of Rome were surprised because it was the first time that the FRG emerged with such a proposal for a statement to be taken into consideration during the debates of a Treaty. As time passed, the real aim of the West German part became much more apparent. In fact, as indicated by Giegerich, through its proposal for the review of Treaties in case of a reunification, West Germany brought all the existing possibilities into the table such as the continuity of West German membership via its adherence to the existing Treaties that would either contain no amendment or be altered in the required form due to the newly emerging situation of reunification, or the breaking up of the reunited Germany⁴¹. Nevertheless, once German reunification emerged as a possible scenario in the year of 1989, West Germany turned out to be the side that forgot about its suggestion for the review of European treaties in this case, and strictly went against it due to its other policy calculations.

After the separation of German land into two parts and the establishment of two separate states there, the citizenship was transformed into a complicated problem. Due to the previously mentioned reasons, West Germany was formally inclined to see East

⁴¹ Ibid.

Germans as its citizens as if Germany had not been divided. In this respect, there emerged a unique case of dual citizenship for the GDR nationals because in accordance with West German constitution, the citizenship of East Germans was suspended until they would act freely in terms of utilizing their citizenship rights in the legal framework of the FRG. Asserting all these views in its domestic realm, the FRG was in desperate need of putting them into formality in the context of European integration process. Therefore, in the very same day when the Treaty of Rome was signed, on 25 March 1957, the FRG made this following declaration:

All Germans in the sense of the Basic Law of the FRG are to be considered as citizens of the FRG.

Although this declaration was nothing more than the statement of the obvious facts for West Germany, it had very crucial consequences with regard to not only East German-West German relations but also the entire Community. Since the Community has not put any formal imposition on its Member States in terms of defining their own citizenship, in direct contrast to the field of trade, this Declaration came to mean that once East Germans had the opportunity of utilizing their citizenship rights provided by the FRG, as one of the Member States of the EEC, they would also be able to make use of the freedoms granted within the restricts of the Common Market⁴². Under the influence of this attractive point, many East Germans fled their countries in the successive years. Yet, when East Germans were refused entry in their attempts to pass through the borders of the FRG with other Member States as France after the events following the opening of Austro-Hungarian border in 1989, this citizenship issue once again came to the agenda of the FRG and the EC as the one which had to be resolved as immediately as possible.

Regarding the harmonization of trade implementations of its Member States, the Community generated a system covering all these countries via the Treaty of Rome.

⁴² Ibid.

According to this common trade mechanism, a Common Customs Tariff (CCT) would be imposed at the external frontiers of the Community. Depending upon this point, export products would be subjected to the system of refunds, and import products having an access to the Common Market would be applied price adjustment levies. Yet, as stated previously, due to the complexity of the German Question, trade relations between the FRG and the GDR had an entirely special character due to the insistence of the FRG on treating the German-German border as an intra-German border regarding the trade flux. This issue had the potential of causing a problem within the common trade regulations of the Community since, despite the counter-arguments of the FRG, the respective Article 227 of the EEC Treaty did not include the territory of the GDR that was neither a part of the covered the FRG territory nor of the Community. As a more critical point, once the above mentioned provisions of the Community related to trade were applied, the border dividing the FRG and the GDR would be likely to be identified as an external customs frontier, and the intra-German trade that had been conducted through it for a while would be likely to be regarded as external trade. To state it differently, the one-to-one implementation of Community's trade rules and principles to the German case would cause the deepening of the separation among West Germany and East Germany on economic terms. Since the subjection of intra-German border, coupled with intra-German trade, to the EEC competences under these conditions was intrinsically impossible for the FRG to accept due to the previously mentioned reasons, this state felt the need to clarify the observable vagueness in this issue on the European level. Motivated by this fact, the FRG submitted the *'Protocol on German Internal Trade and Connected Problems'*, in the same day when the Treaty of Rome was signed on 25 March 1957. Different from their previous manners during the conclusion of the Treaty of Rome in 1951, all Member states accorded over this Protocol, and also legally injected it to the legal framework of the EEC Treaty under its Article 239. According to this critical Protocol, in sum, all Member States acknowledged the fact that the application of the common rules and competences of the Treaty of Rome would not necessitate any form of change in the special proceeding of the intra-German trade,

which was perceived as a domestic matter of two German states. However, the right of taking the required measures by other Member States to prevent potential disputes that might occur due to the very running of this special trade mechanism was kept under guidance by this Protocol, too. Thanks to this Protocol, the Community not only released itself from the high responsibility of intensifying the German separation but also strengthened the hands of West German side as regards the pursuit of its classical foreign policy line, though the former avoided using any statement that might be evaluated as the recognition of the intra-German border as an intra-Community trade border. That is, this commonly shared acceptance as regards the exceptional status of intra-German border within the Community did not come to mean that the GDR was automatically covered within the common market territory of the EEC. In line with this legal understanding, at the end of the Case 14/74 tried between the parties, *Norddeutsches Vieh- und Fleischkontor GmbH* and *Hauptzollamt Hamburg-Jonas-Ausfuhrstattung*, which constituted one of the most significant precedent cases in this regard, the ECJ justified this above mentioned view that was legally admitted in the higher echelons of the EC via these statements:

The Court hereby rules; Articles 6 (1) and 7 of Regulation No. 177/67/EEC of the Council of 27 June 1967 and Article 4 (1) and (2) (D) of Regulation (EEC) No. 802/68 of the Council of 27 June 1968, in conjunction with the 'Protocol on German Internal Trade and Connected Problems' annexed to the EEC Treaty, cannot be interpreted as enabling products within the meaning of Article 1 (1) of Regulation No 121/67/EEC⁴³, imported into the Federal Republic of Germany from the German Democratic Republic under the terms of the agreement on inter-zonal trade, to be granted a refund when they are re-exported from the Federal Republic of Germany to a third country.⁴⁴

As this final decision of the ECJ revealed again, the dispensation granted by the Protocol on German Internal Trade annexed to the Treaty did not occur the result of making the

⁴³ Regulation No. 121/67/EEC of the Council, dated 13 June 1967, regulated the provisions on the common organization of the market in pig meat within the EEC.

⁴⁴ European Court of Justice. (1974). Case 14/74 *Norddeutsches Vieh- und Fleischkontor GmbH v. Hauptzollamt Hamburg-Jonas-Ausfuhrstattung*. ECR 899, 146.

GDR part of the Community, but only keeps under legal guarantee of a special system between a member state and a country which is not part of the Community⁴⁵.

At that point, out of these three diplomatically important documents that had a direct affiliation with the German Question, it seems essential to elaborate on the matter how the project of European integration was actually perceived by the GDR until the first signals of German reunification. The general disposition of East Germany towards European integration as a whole seemed to alternate between two excessive views as the ideological hostility fed from the socialist state structure of the GDR, on the one side, and the ambition to wield the economic benefits granted by the Common Market, on the other. By the way, through assuming the ideological discourse of the capitalist bloc, the European institutions tended to define the GDR as a ‘non-European’, ‘Soviet-dominated’ country like every other state beholden to the Eastern bloc. In other words, in direct contrast to West Germany, which was stated as a European state making contribution to the project of European integration, its Eastern counterpart was denied the title of ‘European’ due to adopting the socialist regime. Back to the East German side, then, directly affected from the Soviet position, the GDR identified the EC as ‘a state-monopolistic organization’ in which the closely integrated state power and economic monopolistic power achieved international features in the manner of advocating the privileged interests of the large-scale capital via directly opposing those of the working class. In particular, at the times when the Cold War reached its peak, for the GDR, the EC corresponded to one of the major international organizations of the capitalist bloc, which attempted to constitute an economic settlement for the proper functioning of the Western imperialist military pacts, and to perpetuate a brutal battle against the progressive social order formed by socialist states in East Europe. On the

⁴⁵ European Court of Justice. (1974). Judgment of the Court on Case 14/74 *Norddeutsches Vieh- und Fleischkontor GmbH v. Hauptzollamt Hamburg-Jonas-Ausfuhrstattung* (preliminary ruling requested by the Finanzgericht Hamburg). 1 October 1974.

other side, in direct contrast to its ideologically driven approach towards the Community, the GDR was economically satisfied with its special trade relations with West Germany due to the opportunity of easy access to the Common Market via the mediation of the latter. That is, although East Germany never accepted attributing a peculiarity to its relations with Federal Republic, indifferently an imperialist enemy state working against the proletariat class in its eyes, the GDR enjoyed the benefits provided by the Common Market, and promised for the maintenance of its special trade ties with the FRG in the Basic Treaty, concluded among these two parts in 1971. After all these harsh decades, with the improvement of relations among COMECON and the EEC, as the economic organizations of two rival blocs, especially in the second part of the 1980s, this aggressive tone adopted by the GDR towards the EC much more leaned towards the positive.

In the meantime, Cold War was condensing with the stricter polarization of two blocs alongside the clear-cut boundaries drawn by two superpowers. As the notable events of this sensitive period of early 1960s, Berlin Wall was built in 1961, world came to the edge of a nuclear war through Cuban missile crisis in 1962, and the psychological walls of Iron Curtain were heightened for the people belonging to two hostile blocs in Europe. In addition to all these negative happenings, a very important incident having a positive impact not only on the relations between France and the FRG but also on the future of European integration as a whole took place. Through the signature of Elysée Treaty in 1962, France and Federal Republic carried their cooperation to an upper level. The meaning of this Treaty for the project of European integration, then, was the stronger backing for the idea of united Europe thanks to the guarantee provided by the Franco-German friendship that seemed to settle on a firm ground since then. In other words, the better relations the FRG and France developed, the higher the aspirations for the European integration took place.

Despite the stressing Cold War order, as the successive accomplishments were achieved towards the ultimate goal of united Europe gradually in congruence with the

supranational scheme accounted by the fathers of the idea of united Europe involving Jean Monnet, Robert Schuman, and Walter Hallstein, the process of European integration seemed to proceed in its reliable path by the initiative of the Member States involving West Germany for the considered time phase. However, this process was not as easy and secure as assessed by many at that time due to the classical clash between intergovernmental and supranational approaches to the European integration. According to intergovernmental view, as championed by French President Charles de Gaulle, the process of European integration should end up with the establishment of a confederal structure among European nation-states. On the other hand, supranational wing had an entirely different vision of Europe in contrast to intergovernmentalism. As pioneered by British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, supranationalism proposed the formation of a “United States of Europe” which would have a supranational-federal character.

It is essential to indicate that one of the major advocates of the supranational notion of Europe was West Germany under the chancellery of Adenauer. In each of his statements, moving from the idea of a political union between France and Federal Republic, Adenauer revealed the strong favor of his country for the unification of Europe on a federal basis. As stated in one of his declarations, Adenauer used these words on the importance of a federally integrated Europe⁴⁶:

The unification of Europe on a federal basis is necessary and in the interests of all European countries, especially Germany. There can be no doubt that the German people have honestly and gladly welcomed the thought of a European union from the beginning. European unification was seen as the sign of new times and great hope.

When the hidden meaning behind these statements that even gave place to the ‘European union’ decades before its actual realization is analyzed, the general perception of European integration in the minds of many West Germans in post-War world can be

⁴⁶ Max Otte & Jürgen Greve. (2000). A Tradition of Limited Sovereignty: The Foreign Policy Doctrine of the Federal Republic of Germany, 1949-1990. In *A Rising Middle Power?: German Foreign Policy in Transformation, 1989-1999*. New York: St. Martin’s Press.

grasped thoroughly. Following the huge devastation of Germany and the separation from their former nationals in the East, West Germany was in need of a new international stake to be concretely attached. At that point, as a response to this need, the idea of united Europe emerged as a savior for the FRG in terms of various dimensions. After the catastrophic demise of the idea of greater Germany that would have a military dominion over Europe following the end of the World War II, and the chaotic division of German fatherland into the two, the process of European integration came to mean a substitute fatherland for West German public opinion on the pillars of economic and political integration of this nation not only to Western Europe but also to the international family of nations again. In political terms, the EC provided a legitimate route for the integration of West Germany, which fell short of playing an international role commensurate with its economic power due to many reasons, to the international community. Likewise, economically, through giving the opportunity of having an access to the large European and international markets, the EC directly contributed to the constitution of a secure economic zone in West Germany and the consolidation of this country as an 'export-ridden economy'⁴⁷. Through these conceptualizations, the European project was mostly equalized to a primary means of achieving an equality of rights with the European neighbours of West Germany by West German political elites pioneered by Chancellor Adenauer⁴⁸. Being such a compensatory and recovery mechanism for that kind of a partial nation, thus, European integration represented more than an actual membership also for West German people compared to the citizens of other Member States.

The reflection of this superior importance adhered to the project of European integration in the FRG stemming from its multilateral diplomatic approach is possible to be

⁴⁷ Jeffrey J. Anderson & John B. Goodman. (1993). Mars or Minerva? A United Germany in a Post-Cold War Europe. In *After the Cold War: International Institutions and State Strategies in Europe, 1989-91*, eds. R. Keohane, J. Nye, and S. Hoffmann. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 23-62.

⁴⁸ Jeffrey J. Anderson. (2005). Germany. In *The Member States of the European Union*, eds. Simon Bulmer and Christian Lequesne. Oxford University Press.

observed even in the constitution of the FRG, formulated in 1949. Complying with the ideal of “*serving world peace as an equal part of a united Europe*” as stated in the preamble part, Article 24 of the *Basic Law* mentioned as follows⁴⁹:

The union can transfer sovereign rights to interstate bodies by law and can place itself under a system of collective security to maintain the peace; it will accept limitations on its sovereign rights that will create and secure a peaceful and lasting order in Europe and among the peoples of the world.

For many authors including Webber, as an occupied and semi-sovereign state, it was overly easier for Federal Republic to transfer ‘sovereignty’ that it did not possess at that time in favour of empowering the project of European unity⁵⁰. However, without a doubt, through accepting to transfer its sovereign national rights to a supranational European body even from its foundation, and gaining it a legally compulsory character via including within the context of its constitution, Federal Republic became one of the leading proponents of the proceeding of the European integration abiding by the principle of supranational federalism. Considering the previously mentioned central place of European integration in the national priorities of West Germany, this point separates Federal Republic from other instances as a unique case regarding its total adoption of the ideal of a united Europe without any hesitation. Harboring these European-oriented intentions decisively, hence, the FRG Bundestag vetoed the French desires for a national veto power in the Council of Ministers and a weakening of European Commission, following the Empty Chairs Crisis in 1965. Although France took crucial concessions via Luxembourg Compromise at the end of its pursuit of Gaullist national policies in 1966, this disposition of the FRG took attention of European public opinion. As West Germany continued its opposition to the empty chairs policies

⁴⁹ Max Otte & Jürgen Greve. (2000). A Tradition of Limited Sovereignty: The Foreign Policy Doctrine of the Federal Republic of Germany, 1949-1990. In *A Rising Middle Power?: German Foreign Policy in Transformation, 1989-1999*. New York: St. Martin’s Press.

⁵⁰ Douglas Webber. (2001). *New Europe, New Germany, Old Foreign Policy? German Foreign Policy since Unification*. Frank Cass: London.

of France exemplified by Gaulle's insistent vetoes on British accession to the EEC, its central position within the project of European integration got strengthened in line with its general perception as the loyal supporter of the federally united Europe. Thanks to its steady support for the united Europe, West Germany derived many political and economic benefits which this country launched enjoying through the initiatives for a political and economic unity. Furthermore, as a country which did not have the adequate capacity to defend itself against the socialist bloc in Europe in case of a war in the future, this European alliance provided West Germany a secure shelter upon which it could depend without any concern⁵¹. Therefore, emanating from the broader context of the European integration project, the EC symbolized for the FRG not just a reliable source of economic and political benefits, but also as a central element of the national model of political economy and even the newly constructed German identity in post-war world⁵². As all these points reveal, compatible with its conventional policy underlining the firm alliance with the West, the rising effectiveness of the FRG within European institutions gave this country a higher international respectability not only within Europe but also within the capitalist bloc. Wielding the benefits of this conjectural change, West Germany initiated to promote itself as the political engine of European integration, and the economic leader of the EC starting from these years. In this context, the FRG achieved its national aim of re-entering the family of nations as an equal member by this strategic backing of the EC.

Meanwhile, throughout the period of Euro-sclerosis that lasted approximately 20 years, the hopes for the progression of European integration incrementally decreased due to the proven prevalence of intergovernmentalism over supranational view following the Empty Chairs Crisis. However, even these internal frictions among these two central

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Jeffrey J. Anderson. (2005). Germany. In *The Member States of the European Union*, eds. Simon Bulmer and Christian Lequesne. Oxford University Press.

countries of the EC did not block them to keep the Franco-German active as the major engine of the integration even in this sober period. Reminiscent of Adenauer-De Gaulle couple, the cooperative relationship between West German Chancellor Willy Brandt and French President Georges Pompidou managed to take some steps in terms of providing fresh air to the mostly frozen integration process. In this regard, following the achievement of the European Customs Union in 1968, Brandt-Pompidou initiative led the establishment of the European Political Cooperation (EPC) starting from the 1969 Hague Summit. Thanks to the EPC, West Germany much more widened its foreign policy web in the context of exceeding its post-war diplomatic isolation, and constituted the background of both its later accession to the UN with the Democratic Republic and the formation of CSCE, which was established as the first major international organization gathering the European states of two blocs together emanating from the channel of contact opened by Brandt's Ostpolitik, in 1973⁵³. Moreover, committed to demonstrating that 'Europe is possible' through overcoming the burden created by Gaullist policies before, Brandt-Pompidou duo made emphasis on different dimensions of European integration such as the supranational control of social and environmental policy⁵⁴, newly occurring legitimacy crisis, and citizenship-identity issues for the first time in the integration history. By the way, after the disappearance of the 'De Gaulle obstacle' and the guarantee of the approval given by Brandt and Pompidou, Britain acceded to the EC with Denmark and Ireland in 1973. Perpetuating this cooperative line, Chancellor Schmidt and French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing became the protagonists of many remarkable initiatives that have had paramount impact on the political and economic integration since then. Firstly, Franco-German axis under Schmidt-D'Estaing coordination became highly influential in the creation of the

⁵³ Simon Green, Dan Hough & Alister Miskimmon. (2008). Germany and the European Union: A European Germany or a German Europe? In *The Politics of the New Germany*. New York: Routledge. 141-156.

⁵⁴ Simon Bulmer & William E. Paterson. (1996). Germany in the European Union: Gentle Giant or Emergent Leader? *International Affairs*. 72/1: 9-32.

European Council, in 1974, as a high profile organ consisting of heads of state and government, which would contribute to the resolution of inner conflicts and the inauguration of new policy steps. As another progressive development mainly focusing on the resolution of the democratic legitimacy crisis, the first direct public elections for the EP were held in 1979. At the same year, through the collective attempts of Schmidt-D'Estaing duo, the EMS was established as a mechanism that would balance exchange rates among Member States and reduce inflation for the sake of monetary and trade stability. Resembling to the urging impact of the EPC on the political and diplomatic rise of the FRG, the EMS also provided a solid ground on which West German economic miracle was built depending upon the dual dominance of the D-Mark and the Bundesbank over the monetary policies of Europe. Then, maintaining the widening tendency of the Community, the Franco-German alliance under the directive of Chancellor Schmidt and President D'Estaing became effective in the accession of Germany as a new member state in 1981. Through this critical expansion, these leaders had two chief objectives. Firstly, the first half of the Southern enlargement, which would be concluded by the accession of Spain and Portugal 5 years later in 1986, attempted to be completed. Secondly, Schmidt and D'Estaing wanted to highlight the political stabilizer role of the Community for the first time through accepting – and getting prepared to accept- these states in which dictatorial regimes had just collapsed. All in all, thanks to these cooperative partnerships accounted under the roof of Franco-German alliance, the European integration was prevented from a complete standstill during the Euro-sclerosis period till the SEA initiative.

Even if mid-1960s represented the beginning of a sober period for the process of European integration, this was not valid for the Federal Republic and Democratic Republic. As mentioned previously, due to transpiring necessities emanating from the changing conditions in the détente era, the FRG adopted Ostpolitik as its major foreign policy doctrine via replacing the Hallstein Doctrine under the Social-Liberal coalition. Especially, frustrated with US President Johnson's neglect of his European allies in the shadow of Vietnam, Brandt willingly embraced a pan-European peace concept and

anchored his Ostpolitik much more with the EC⁵⁵. Directly tied up with his conceptualization of pan-European peace order, Ostpolitik was actually based on the deterritorialization and Europeanization of the German Question, so the focus of German decision-makers in both states and European public opinion was incrementally shifted from boundaries to open borders, and from antagonistic national and superpower interests to human-rights related concerns within the context of European integration⁵⁶. It was not an unknown fact that from the beginning, European integration accounted for one of the major diplomatic concerns of Federal Republic, yet having the secondary importance compared to its conventional alliance with the US. However, with Ostpolitik, for the first time in its history, the FRG attempted to pursue an independent foreign policy agenda that gave more weight to EC than the USA, even if the alliance with the latter continued to be attached importance cautiously. In sum, Ostpolitik brought an entirely fresh air for both these two German states that had consciously kept a distance from themselves since their foundation and the entire European integration process in a connected sense. Focusing on the new phase opened for European integration thanks to Ostpolitik due to their highly intersecting interests, it is possible to contend that Ostpolitik served a rising interaction not only among the two halves of divided Germany but also among the nations of demarcated European continent via bringing a remarkable break in the frozen Cold War policies that had blocked the contact among ideologically rival European states for decades. As the socialist countries had the opportunity of meeting the European model along with this interaction process through different means of CSCE, the EC had a wider area of reach where it can transmit its influence to a greater level. Becoming one of the most important of them, the GDR also got closer to the European system depending upon its closer political, economic, and social ties with West Germany. For the FRG was the shining star of the EC that carried

⁵⁵ Werner D. Lippert. (2010). *The Economic Diplomacy of Ostpolitik: Origins of NATO's Energy Dilemma*. Berghahn Books.

⁵⁶ Stephen F. Szabo. (1992). *The Diplomacy of German Unification*. St. Martin's Press: New York.

the characteristics of the latter more willingly than any other member state, East German citizens came to feed sympathy for the European state model through making a comparison between discernibly higher welfare and economic prosperity in the FRG and their rather backward political and economic conditions in the Democratic Republic. Thus, although the project of European integration had the tendency of solely including the FRG within its scheme up to Ostpolitik, East Germany was inevitably involved within this process thanks to its rising interaction with West Germany although the SED regime took all the required steps to prevent this newly emerging situation such as underlining the specific characters of the socialist identity of the GDR. In other words, in addition to its higher significance for West German citizens, EC initiated to have a greater meaning in the eyes of East German citizens, which became concrete by the ostensibly advanced economic and political performance of the FRG itself. Nevertheless, since EC was constructed as one of the major regional organizations of the Western bloc since its foundation, it apparently chose its front in the diplomatic battle enduring throughout the Cold War era. Moreover, as its well-known encouragement for the existence of a capitalist free market economy in the Member States and candidate states revealed, EC mostly favored for the capitalist form of economic development, except remarkable alterations in this understanding thanks to the conjectural political domination of the social democratic ideology in the Community from time-to-time. Then, this rigidly capitalist character of the Community related to its political, economic and social aspects would later cast a shadow upon its policies and implementations towards the event of German reunification in 1990, and would raise many debates on its general approach to the issue of integrating East Germany to the European system in a balanced way.

With the world entering into a harsh period with the re-intensification of Cold War through the end of détente era, the process of European integration also embarked on a new transition process. Following the crisis-ridden 1970s that witnessed the crisis of social welfare state policies, the election of right-wing parties in mainstream European countries except France accounted for the major clue for this upcoming period of

change. In line with this newly transpiring tendency, Helmut Kohl replaced Schmidt, who continued Brandt's Ostpolitik during his chancellery and contributed to European integration via giving impetus to Franco-German friendship around his closer cooperation with French President Giscard d'Estaing, as chancellor in 1982 through ending the 13-year-Social Democratic sovereignty in West German political history. Meanwhile, the policies of New Right that were inspired by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher initiated to make its impact felt on the project of European integration. In particular, after the election of Jacques Delors as the President of European Commission in 1985, the "relaunching of Europe" was inaugurated in accordance with the obligatory coalition between neoliberal and social democratic views on the European level. In order to totally abandon the silent phase of Euro-sclerosis and provide a fresh air to the European integration, firstly, White Paper was published to form a road map regarding the upcoming period of this process in 1985. Following that, in 1986, Single European Act came to the foreground as the concrete result of all these pursuits on the European level, and set a clear-cut timetable for the completion of single market and realization of the political union in the future. Fortunately, the West German presidency of the EC in 1988 gave the opportunity of making a remarkable progress in terms of these institutionally determined targets within the EC. Feeding from its progressive and ambitious agenda as regards accelerating European integration and adhering itself to ultimate success at the end of six months, the FRG underlined the necessity of taking action in four major realms such as; determining the completion of Common Market as the primary beginning point of promoting European integration, improving the coordination of common foreign and security policies within the Community, gaining the EP more legislative power, and generalizing the principle of QMV in the huge percentage of the decisions taken in the Council of Ministers. As can be understood, attempting to practice its total reform package related to these points as much as possible, West Germany became accomplished in pushing the Community to

realize reforms in multiple areas covering liberalization and harmonization of laws, tax harmonization, monetary cooperation and budgetary reform during its presidency term⁵⁷. Approving this high level of progression taking place under West German presidency, Commission President Delors stated that *“In the past six months of German presidency, more has been achieved than in the past ten years.”*⁵⁸ By the way, despite all the hard winds of re-escalating Cold War policies, the FRG and the GDR were determinant to keep and develop their special relations in different realms, as provided by Ostpolitik. In this respect, West German Chancellor Kohl kept his loyalty to the national policy of Ostpolitik, and East German leader Honecker took the required steps as a response to the positive signals coming from the West, though with slight suspicions. Since the intra-German relations continued to take place in its exclusive path drawn by Ostpolitik, nothing much was expected to change in the second half of 1980s. Yet, when unexpected incidents began happening step by step in East German territory at that time, all the estimations regarding the future of German partition and European integration would need to be revised entirely.

To sum up, as all these points demonstrate, even before reunification emerged as an indispensable fact in 1990 for two German states, the process of European integration mostly eased the establishment of a reliable contact among two countries, which accelerated with the Ostpolitik initiative. In that way, for the resolution of German Question through a generally achieved consensus among all the related parties in Europe, the EC carried out its responsibility for the most part as a successful mediator in the pre-reunification phase.

⁵⁷ Max Otte & Jürgen Greve. (2000). The Loss of Utopia: Germany and European Integration, 1988-1997. In *A Rising Middle Power?: German Foreign Policy in Transformation, 1989-1999*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

CHAPTER 3

GERMAN REUNIFICATION AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATION IN PRACTISE

Witnessing the end of 1970s coupled with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, the entire world entered into a new harsh period as regards the relations between the communist and capitalist camps on the hands of two superpowers. Identified as the ‘New Cold War’ or ‘Second Cold War’ in academic circles, the years of 1980s, especially its first half, symbolized an abrupt break to the warm climate brought by the détente policies among the Soviet Union and the US for nearly more than a decade. Forging together a uniform case occupying a central position in the Cold War politics, then, West Germany and East Germany were mostly predicted to be directly affected from the rising tension among their firmly affiliated blocs at this coldest phase of the Cold War. However, falsifying all these considerations, the FRG and the GDR became accomplished in terms of keeping a distance to the intensifying Cold War politics, and sustained their special relationship stemming from the Ostpolitik initiative in economic, political, and cultural realms.

At the time these two German states were conducting friendly interactions among each other throughout 1980s, the reunification of these two ideologically rival states possessing entirely different systems under the same institutional structure in a near future was given no less than zero chance by the politicians, academicians, and international experts. However, due to the deepening crisis atmosphere in the GDR, the pursuit of newly designed foreign policy strategies both by American and West German sides, and the occurrence of a convenient international framework after the escalation of the disintegration process in the USSR, German reunification emerged as an irreversible fact not only for two Germanies but also for the whole Europe in a very short time. Therefore, in this chapter, following the thorough analysis of the historic stages accounting for the diplomatic background of this momentous event, the realization of

German reunification will be analyzed regarding its historically central importance for the process of European integration. In this respect, after evaluating the East German accession into the EC that accounted for a unique case in the history of the Union due to its distinct aspects, the actual impact of the EC/EU will try to be understood on the turbulent period of merger among two former German states, which had been separate for about forty years, in terms of varying dimensions. Through this way, it is aimed to create a conceptual framework for a later analysis of the shifting position of reunited Germany in the post-Cold War Europe from the eastern outpost of the Community to its undebatable leadership.

3.1 General Perception of the German Reunification in Europe

3.1.1 Soviet, British and French Reservations towards the German Reunification

As stated previously, the partition of Germany into two ideologically hostile states such as the FRG and the GDR emerged as a reality that was dictated by the bipolar Cold War order. In this respect, remaining at the very center of bloc politics in Europe, the existence of West Germany and East Germany turned out to be perceived either as the cost of the Nazi crimes committed during the World War II⁵⁹, or as the most significant safeguard of the preservation of peace in European continent, or the short-term solution of the long-standing German Question. Sharing the same views to a larger extent, even the US President Kennedy had clearly stated that even if he was not pleased with the existence of Berlin Wall, the present status quo emanating from the division among the states beholden to two blocs in this mentioned region was far better than a war⁶⁰. Hence, although Democratic Republic and Federal Republic came into a higher contact thanks

⁵⁹ Konrad H. Jarausch. (2011). Germany 1989: A New Type of Revolution? In *The German Wall: Fallout in Europe*, ed. by Marc Silberman. Palgrave, Macmillan.

⁶⁰ Tobias Hochscherf, Christoph Laucht & Andrew Plowman. (2013). Introduction. In *Divided, But Not Disconnected: German Experiences of the Cold War*, eds. T. Hochscherf, C. Laucht and A. Plowman. New York: Berghahn Books. 1-10.

to the Ostpolitik process, the generally shared anticipation that they would continue to walk in this special path as two entirely separate sovereign states in Europe seemed to undergo no change as time passed. All these things considered, it was an obvious fact that even the idea of the disappearance of the existing bipolar order in Europe due to a German unity came to be considered by many as the revival of previously existing frictions and traditionally existent national hostilities among European nations, and even the reintroduction of the chaotic balance of power politics to European diplomacy as in the pre-the World War II sense. Fearful of the redrawing of the territorial map within Europe depending upon the reunification of two Germanies, a number of influential states that had been involved in the German Question previously felt the urgent need of determining their stances obviously vis-à-vis such kind of an unexpected event, which caused the ringing of alarm bells across the European continent. Therefore, it seems as a necessity to have a look at the diplomatic approaches to the German reunification of these influential states involving the US, USSR, France and the UK in order to make a theoretical preparation to the later analysis of the EC's general expectations and anticipations regarding this crucial process as a whole.

Before passing onto the general conceptualizations made by the diplomatic circles in the Soviet, British and French sides as the neighbours of divided Germany, American views have to be examined regarding German reunification because of its undeniably core position for the German Question drawing upon its effect as a superpower. Being a state which had not experienced any sort of national hostility with Germany in the degree of its surrounding states before, the US evaluated the matter of German reunification from a highly pragmatist perspective since the emergence of first debates about a possible German unity in the future. Getting the advantage of the presence of West Germany, for decades, as its unshaken ally within European continent in the form of a prominent state belonging to the capitalist bloc, USA needed the FRG more than ever in the second half of the 1980s when the freezing atmosphere of Cold War was already a matter of the past. Depending upon this pragmatist approach, the US was inclined to regard the united Germany not as a threat to itself; on the contrary, as a strategic ally that would be useful

in furthering the American foreign policy objectives. In the eyes of the US diplomacy, a united Germany would be instrumental in terms of breaking the influence of socialism in Eastern Europe, and pushing the Soviet Union outside the European hemisphere. Bearing these diplomatic views in mind, during the presidency of George Bush, USA preferred identifying the FRG as the 'partner in leadership' in the way that the interests of two states were highly conflating regarding their long-term objectives in Europe. Depending upon this positive image of West Germany in the eyes of American policy-makers, the US promoted itself as the state that endorsed the realization of the German unity in line with the 'West Germany in Europe' model. Nevertheless, considering the aforementioned diplomatic targets that the US attempted to achieve via the mediation of the united Germany, the critically valuable US support, which was to strengthen the hand of the West German state in the later phases, for German reunification was not without reservations. As enunciated by Szabo, one of the primary preconditions presented by the US as *sine qua non* regarding its foreign policy priorities was the advent of united Germany as a capitalist, parliamentary democratic state that would continue to be a member of NATO and the EC, just like West Germany⁶¹. Since these anticipations of the US were staunchly shared by West Germany, the diplomatic tactics of Kohl government in the process of German reunification always ended up getting closer to this determined goal as much as possible. In this account, when Kohl attempted to be squeezed through different proposals by other European powers that were much more critical to the idea of reunification, he suddenly applied for the utilization of this strategic hand bestowed by the US for the rapid unification of two Germanies in a very short time.

As another superpower, the Soviet Union was compelled to be much more involved with the German Problem in previous periods. Militarily attacked by Germans many times in its history, the last instance of which was the attempt of Nazi invasion during the World

⁶¹ Stephen F. Szabo. (1992). *The Diplomacy of German Unification*. St. Martin's Press: New York.

War II, thus, the German division, and the existence of the GDR were highly essential for the USSR due to its security concerns. In this respect, the reunification of two Germanies under a single state represented to the Soviet Union the revitalization of the already disappearing nationalistic and militaristic aims of the united Germany in the manner of re-following expansionary intentions in Europe. Moreover, the establishment of East Germany as the first socialist state in German soil was not only historically but also strategically important for the Soviet Union given the harsh Cold War confrontations among two blocs. As the third factor, just like French and British decision-makers, the Soviet officials were aware of the reality that if two Germanies were to be reunified under a single state structure, their unshakable impact as seen in Europe would be pushed to a remarkable diminution as regards the East European socialist states. Due to these mentioned reasons, all diplomatic sides were aware of the fact that once the possibility of German unity would emerge, the Soviet Union would spend every diplomatic effort to block it. Related to that point, logically, without the consent of the USSR, the FRG and the GDR were condemned to exist as two separate German states unlikely to having no expectation for a possible reunification in the future. However, in addition to the acceleration of the internal disintegration process within the Soviet Union towards the end of 1980s, the rising of Michael Gorbachev to the post of Secretary General of the Soviet Communist Party totally changed all these calculations made on the unresolvable German Question, and accounted for a significant downturn on the firm resistance of the Soviet Union to the idea of German unity. Despite his previous opposition to the German reunification, and then to the membership of the united Germany within the Atlantic alliance, later, the Gorbachev factor, which was fuelled by the gradual disintegration of the Soviet Union at time, became effective in altering the general proceeding of history in Europe through his decision of 'freeing East European socialist states' including the GDR in terms of choosing their political regimes, and especially through the momentous concessions given by him in terms of the departure of East Germany from Soviet influence. Then, taking strength from the incremental collapse of the Soviet regime through the melting of the state system and

these steps of Gorbachev, these mentioned points unexpectedly accelerated the process that would result in the fall of Berlin Wall in 1989 and the reunification of two Germanies in 1990.

Other European powers, the UK and France assumed a much more critical and confronting role in the matter of German unity compared to these two superpowers. In spite of differentiating in their tones of opposition and of the methods employed during the diplomatic process of reunification, these two states -more or less- attempted to delay or avert the realization of German unity as much as possible. The underlying reasons beneath these diplomatic stances adopted by them were fed from historical horrors, leader-based perceptions, and strategic calculations of these states in late-1980s' world. Firstly, as two states which had to stand against Germany for more than once in battle fields before, France and the UK feared of the possibility of re-emergence of the militaristic revanchism and the huge desire for hegemony within the united Germany, which brought the European continent to the brink of extinction just 50 years ago. Therefore, in a sphere where the catastrophic memories of the World War II were still alive in the minds of British and French politicians, these two European states were not sympathetic to the idea of the birth of the united Germany as their neighbouring state again. On the other hand, the post-War foreign policy direction of the FRG based on three main pillars that can be summarized under the headings of "*never alone*", "*never again war*", and "*never again Auschwitz*", and of the GDR that depended upon conducting peaceful relations with other European states –that became obvious after Ostpolitik- even if they belonged to the capitalist camp, left these states with the necessity of balancing their experiences with Germany in these two historical periods to one another⁶². Secondly, as the countries that became strategic actors in post-War

⁶² Johannes Paulmann. (2005). Beginning an End? The Two German Unifications and the Epoch of Territoriality. In *Germany's Two Unifications: Anticipations, Experiences, and Responses*, ed. by Ronald Speirs & John Breuilly. New York : Palgrave.

Europe, France and Britain came to acknowledge the fact that a united Germany would surpass them considering its giant economic power, and potential political force that might be activated via the reunification of two Germanies. Hence, so as not to be faced with this fateful reality, France and the UK underwent all diplomatic initiatives as regards the prevention or postponement of German reunification. However, depending upon the previously asserted historical contradiction that these states found themselves in and the challenging conditions of the new era of globalization following the end of Second Cold War, France and Great Britain did not manage to form a unitary bloc that voiced the same concerns against German unity. Emerging as one of the most visible handicaps of these states' defiance against German reunification, this fact in time caused the overvaluation of the personal steps taken by French President Francois Mitterrand and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher separately rather than these states' institutionally constructed policies in that process. Appearing at the same time as the third reason behind the dissent approach of these states to German reunification, the Thatcher factor and Mitterrand factor became highly decisive more than expected in terms of the construction of their countries' policies towards German reunification. To make a comparison among these two leaders, Thatcher always followed a more excessive line than Mitterrand as regards the opposition to the advent of Germany as a unitary state at the core of Europe again. Keeping the greatest mistrust against a united Germany, Thatcher indicated that an all-German government might attempt to achieve what Hitler tried in vain across Europe⁶³. In a manner of backing these negative views of British Prime Minister towards a united Germany, a private seminar that convened in the UK in March 1990 to assess the implications of German reunification for the UK and the whole Europe achieved highly debatable conclusions. Portraying the general characteristics of Germans under the labels of "*angst, aggressiveness, assertiveness, bullying, egotism, and inferiority complex*", this private discussion named the

⁶³ Max Otte & Jürgen Greve. (2000). A Tradition of Limited Sovereignty: The Foreign Policy Doctrine of the Federal Republic of Germany, 1949-1990. In *A Rising Middle Power?: German Foreign Policy in Transformation, 1989-1999*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

conventional West German policy of supporting European integration on supranational terms nothing than “*a mere tactic designed to mislead other Member States*”⁶⁴. Additionally, in the days when debates regarding the establishment of a European economic and monetary union intensified in the European public opinion, the speculative statements of Nicholas Ridley, the British Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, such as “*the European economic and monetary union actually referring to a German racket designed to take over the whole Europe*”, and “*giving up sovereignty in today’s Community as equal to giving it to Adolf Hitler*” manifested that the existing suspicions of Prime Minister Thatcher towards German unity were also shared by the higher echelons of British state mechanism⁶⁵. However, despite the highly deteriorating Anglo-British relations due to these events, Thatcher did not give up trying to avert and –if not possible- delay the realization of German reunification through making successive diplomatic attacks. These majorly covered the stubborn attempts of Thatcher to convince the US President Bush in the unlogical nature of the unity among two German states that needed to remain separate for the sake of peace in Europe, her proposals favouring the reconstruction of a genuine democratic order within the GDR before its unification with West Germany, and for the continuing existence of Soviet troops in East German land for a while in order to prevent nationalist reactions after reunification there. Moreover, she tried to provoke reactions within European public opinion towards the united German state via utilizing the reluctance of Chancellor Kohl to acknowledge the inviolability of the Polish-German border and feeding the fear that the German economic expansionism might risk the stability existent in the Soviet Union,

⁶⁴ David Spence. (1993). The European Community and German Unification. In *Federalism, Unification, and European Integration*, eds. Charlie Jeffrey, and Roland Sturm. London, England. 136-163.

⁶⁵ Dominic Lawson (1990). Saying the Unsayable about the Germans: An Interview with Nicholas Ridley. In *The Spectator*. 8-10.

and the entire Europe⁶⁶. As can be understood, regarding the reunification among two Germanies in 1990s as '*the greatest failure of her political life*', Thatcher mostly approached to German unity with a hostile manner, as repetitively expressed by Kohl later. On the other hand, Mitterrand preferred adopting a rather pragmatic approach towards German unity that was directly affiliated with the stake of European integration. Relying on this two-sided attitude towards this central issue of Europe, Mitterrand initially worked for the preservation of the status quo within German soil. In this respect, he made critical visits to Poland in November 1989 and to Kiev in December 1989 through stressing the necessity of resolving the issue of Polish-German border, and kept publicly criticizing the fact that Kohl prepared his Ten-Point-Plan for reunification without taking any kind of prior consultation from the EC front. More importantly, at the time the internal strife in East Germany became condensed, he even paid a state visit to the GDR in order to show his unconditional support for its separate existence from West Germany as a state via the expectation of avoiding a possible reunification. Yet, after seeing the irreversible character of events that would end up with the German reunification, Mitterrand came to accept the emergence of the united Germany on the condition that two major requirements would be undertaken. First one of them was the formalization of de facto boundaries between the united Germany and Poland, on which Kohl kept his hesitation for a long time, and even had a disagreement with West German Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher. The second and the most important precondition put forth by Mitterrand was the commitment of the united Germany for the establishment of a European monetary and economic union that Kohl always met with great reservation before, as will specifically be elaborated in the upcoming parts around the classical post-World War II French policy of 'keeping Germany under control within integrated Europe'. Without any doubt, the closer contact between Mitterrand and Kohl in terms of continuing Franco-German partnership as the major impetus behind the

⁶⁶ Johannes Paulmann. (2005). Beginning an End? The Two German Unifications and the Epoch of Territoriality. In *Germany's Two Unifications: Anticipations, Experiences, and Responses*, ed. by Ronald Speirs & John Breuilly. New York : Palgrave.

advancement of the European integration project became highly influential on the formation of a direct link among these two processes. However, the conceptual link consciously established between German reunification and European integration in line with the political objectives of Mitterrand would not only bring unexpected events for West German Chancellor Kohl in terms of the evaluation of the issue of German unity within the broader context of the EC but also trigger the institutional preparations of the EC for such kind of a historically momentous process for the project of European integration.

3.1.2 Institutional Approach of the EC to the German Reunification

Facing with the approaching event of German reunification not as a distant possibility but as a fateful reality at this time, an exchange of differing ideas and views regarding the place of the unified Germany in an integrated Europe also took place within the EC, like every other corner in the European continent. The undisputable importance of the process of European integration not only for the German Question from the very beginning but also for the two Germanies was previously touched upon with reference to varying dimensions. In other words, the EC, which symbolized the latest achievement derived throughout the decades-long European integration process, referred more than an international organization both to the FRG and to the GDR. Regarding the former one, the EC granted many economic, political, and diplomatic benefits coupled with its high-level contribution to its rising international profile around its membership status. Although the relations between the concrete organizations of European integration including ECSC and the EEC, and the GDR in the pre-reunification period have tended to be ignored by many scholars in varying academic texts, they actually accounted to a remarkable weight not only because of the special position of this state vis-à-vis the Community emanating from the very nature of the German Question itself but also due to the conflation and contradiction of the interests of these two sides in different times. In particular, under the optimistic influence of the period when the EC and COMECON forged formal diplomatic contact beginning from 1988, a new era had already seemed to

be entered with regard to the relations between the EC and the GDR even before reunification. Depending upon this paramount importance of the EC for the German Question in general, the expectations and anticipations of the Community related to the practise and future of German reunification became much more an issue of concern. In this respect, the institutional anticipations of the Community from the reunification will attempt to be reflected through looking from three main perspectives; of the Community as a whole, of the different European institutions, and of its Member States, among which France took the leading role.

The overall approach of the EC towards German reunification contained the common views of the Community organs, Member States, and their national parliaments. Due to reflecting a generally representative view in the name of the entire Community, these anticipations did have the character of focusing on the mutual positions of the EC and would-be united Germany in their respective agendas. In this account, the Community firstly expected the reunified Germany to continue giving top priority to the objective of European integration among its primary foreign policy goals like the FRG did for decades. Analysing the general background of this intention, it is possible to reach the conclusion that the Community in fact proposed the one-by-one adoption of the multilateral, West-sided, and European-oriented foreign policy understanding of the FRG by the re-born Germany without any modifications. Since this came to mean the total abandonment of the diplomatic past of the GDR with its foreign policy priorities and principles entirely, the EC again apparently remained at the front of the Western bloc, so re-activated its ideologically 'opposite' position in the eyes of the socialist European states, and their people. Even if it was unanimously thought at that time this fact did not create so much trouble, it would later show its real effect during the post-communist transformation of the CEECs including the GDR, and would cause the settlement of the image of the EU negatively in the minds of the great portion of these countries' people in the way of being held responsible for the economic, political, and social challenges of the transformation process.

Related to the first expectation, the Community secondly desired to keep its central position during the conduct of German reunification akin to the previous times as happened for the German Question. Emerging as a response to the need of guaranteeing the sustainable peaceful environment in the European continent, the European integration was directly tied up with the German Question, which interrupted the peace and caused the explosion of many wars until that time. In this respect, the European integration was initially devised to entail the re-joining of West Germany to the civilized Western and European nations. Then, with the successive détente and Ostpolitik processes, European integration, which continued to proceed according to its own dynamics, attempted to support the reliable approachment among two German states in order to exceed the burden of division at the center of Europe. As can be understood, despite playing different roles as time passed, the European integration project did lose nothing from its core place regarding the German Question. Therefore, bolstering the continuity of this tendency, the EC staunchly proposed the reunification of two German states under the monitoring of the Community and on European terms. Since other influential actors outside the EC such as US, and USSR also put the finalization of German reunification within the framework of the integrated Europe as a major prerequisite for their assent, this institutional wish of the Community was highly likely to take place from the beginning.

Third and the last common expectation of the Community related to the German reunification was on a highly hot topic for the EC in the second half of 1980s: the pace of enlargement. As a well-known fact, with the intention of ending the long-lasting Euro-sclerosis period, in which the European integration process seemed to lose its previous energy and dynamism excluding few notable incidents, the SEA was constituted in 1986, and came into effect the following year under the initiative of Jacques Delors, the President of Commission, as the first major comprehensive reform of the Treaty of Rome. In this brand new era, the European integration was in the quest of a new soul to continue to walk in its way, so a clear-cut timeline was determined for the completion of internal market and the achievement of political union. Accordingly,

for an EC that eagerly devoted itself to the ends of economic, monetary, and political union of Europe in order to carry the integration process to an upper level, any unexpected event that might be faced during this process was regarded as a mere obstacle on this road. Since German reunification suddenly came into the agenda of the Community in the autumn of 1989 in an unexpected way, it was generally regarded under this mentioned category, and many opposing views against it were voiced initially. Yet, due to the unavoidable proceeding of events, the EC ultimately had to acknowledge the indispensable character of the German reunification. Hereafter, in accordance with the principle of least disturbance, it was generally asserted that the process of German reunification should be carried out in such a way that the pace of European integration would not be disturbed from this crucial event also having paramount importance for the Community⁶⁷. For the sake of the desirable acceleration of the European integration process around the achievement of the above mentioned targets in time, hence, the overwhelming majority of the Community segments supported the perpetuation of German reunification in a gradual and reliable mode. However, as the rapid unification of two Germanies got prominence in time, the reunification was to take place entirely different from what the Community imagined, so it was also pushed to put into practice the required institutional adjustments and amendments within its framework.

Before passing onto the views of Community organs regarding the reunification of two Germanies, and the integration of the GDR to the Community, it seems much more appropriate to evaluate the concerns and expectations of the Member States regarding this momentous event. How the UK and France, two influential member states of the Community, approached to the German unity in general had previously been issued in the view of their special place in the German case depending upon their responsibilities to the post-war Germany and the divided Berlin as two occupying powers. In the context

⁶⁷ David Spence. (1991). *Enlargement without Accession: The EC's Response to German Unification*. RIIA Discussion Papers 36. Royal Institute of International Affairs. Chatham House: London.

of the Community, then, considering the Euro-sceptic approach of the UK, the general disposition that was adopted by France, as one of the major engines of European integration with West Germany, during the reunification of two German states deserves a separate analysis due to its broader impact in the EC. Additionally, since one of the ultimate diplomatic goals of the European integration was to convert the crisis-ridden Franco-German hostility to Franco-German alliance as the major impetus behind this project, what kind of reservations or expectations that France harboured as regards the realization of such a momentous event in a country that it had developed special relations since the end of the War also seemed to be highly decisive for the survival of the European integration process at that time. In terms of the integration of the GDR, so the repositioning of the united Germany in the EC framework, French President Mitterrand sustained his pragmatic approach that was mentioned before. Recognizing the unpreventable nature of the events that seemed to result in the emergence of united Germany despite his contrary attempts, Mitterrand decided to make use of the German reunification for the sake of furthering European integration. Indeed, this strategic U-turn of Mitterrand relied on the conventional French policy assumed towards West Germany with respect to its place in the integrated Europe. According to France, in the aftermath of the World War II, the consolidation of the European integration project via the successively derived achievements would bind West Germany into a framework of checks and balances⁶⁸. Likewise, the post-reunification Germany would also be restricted within the integrationist basis of the EC, which was determined to take significant steps in the form of paving the way for a structural transformation into a Union. Under the shed light of these aspects, Mitterrand actually planned to locate the process of German reunification within his grand scheme of European integration. Moving from this fact, stripping from his former reservations about German unity, Mitterrand initiated to make statements indicating that he had no objection towards the

⁶⁸ David Spence. (1993). The European Community and German Unification. In *Federalism, Unification, and European Integration*, eds. Charlie Jeffrey, and Roland Sturm. London, England. 136-163.

advent of a united Germany as their neighbouring state. Yet, via putting the German reunification at the very core of the on-going process of European integration, Mitterrand made an emphasis on three points including that; the process should be covered in the broader framework of European integration, the process should be administered via taking other European states' concerns into consideration, and the finalization of German reunification should ultimately serve European integration at the end of the day⁶⁹. The discourse analysis of all these wishes regarding the proceeding of the reunification process reveals the fact that Mitterrand actually targeted the generally known political reluctance of Chancellor Kohl to accelerate the process of European economic, and monetary union. As stated by Spence, according to the French side, the political and monetary union that would be built among Community members would not only bring a new dynamism to the integration project but would also break the hegemonic power of the West German Bundesbank over monetary policy of the Community via the transfer of this power to an 'independent' European central bank. Secondly, France proposed turning the crisis of the re-appearance of united Germany at the heart of the Community into an opportunity for the latter in terms of carrying out the preparation process and determining a starting date for the EMU as soon as possible⁷⁰. To state it differently, in direct contrast to the British resistance that was not able to play the EC cards due to its classical Euro-scepticism, France, presided by Mitterrand, made it clear that the adherence of the united Germany to the project of the single currency would be a sort of a test upon which the united Germany would prove its reliability on the eyes of the entire European public opinion⁷¹. In the meantime, Member States other than France and the UK also came to share the concerns of these countries to a large

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Max Otte & Jürgen Greve. (2000). A Tradition of Limited Sovereignty: The Foreign Policy Doctrine of the Federal Republic of Germany, 1949-1990. In *A Rising Middle Power?: German Foreign Policy in Transformation, 1989-1999*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

extent as regards the German reunification related to the future of the European integration. Receiving the method of rapid unification in German territory with doubt, Member State governments revealed their concerns mostly on two issues as the declaration of Kohl's Ten-Point-Plan without any prior Community consultation and the Polish-German border on which a final settlement did not emerge yet because of Kohl's hesitations. Moreover, anxiously following the increasing public support within West Germany for the far-right Republican Party in the 1989 EP elections, Member States approached to the process of German reunification with rising suspicion. Reminiscent of the British and French fears regarding a united Germany, these states much more supported the realization of the German reunification within the broader Community framework under the consensus of all Member States in order to assure the balanced legal and technical incorporation of the former the GDR in to the Community. The legal interpretation of this expectation shared by Member States actually corresponded to the conduct of this process as firmly up to the national ratification by all these states within the Community, which was not so much approved by Chancellor Kohl due to the combination of many reasons, as will be discussed later in detail.

As the last part, the institutional perspectives of the Community organs including Commission, European Council, Council of Ministers, and European Parliament to the German reunification at that time entail elaboration in order to have a thorough outlook on the general approach of the Community. In fact, the slightly differing approaches of these European institutions to the phenomenon of 'united Germany-again' mostly depended upon the very nature of delegation of powers among them related to the Community business, their internally accustomed working principles, and the roles they assumed throughout the process of European integration for decades. Therefore, in an analysis intended to focus on the interests of the European Commission, European Council, Council of Ministers, and European Parliament as regards German unity, it is rather an obligation to take their institutional positions within the Community into account priorly. To begin with, the European Commission, the executive Community organ functioning totally in accordance with the supranational interests of the

Community independent from the national interests of 12 Member States by the year of 1989, developed its strategies towards German reunification mainly in relation with its institutional expectations regarding the process of European integration and its plans for a peacefully united Europe around the final solution of German Question. As a well-known fact, supranational and intergovernmental views had collided many times on the point how the European integration would proceed, and European Commission, as the primary representative of the former approach, had been pushed back in terms of its ideal of a federally united Europe. In particular, following the *Empty Chairs Crisis* in 1965 and *Luxembourg Compromise* in 1966, the Commission was compelled by the Council of Ministers to stay at the background for the benefit of national interests of Member States throughout the Euro-sclerosis process that lasted approximately 20 years till the mid-1980s. Therefore, in a period when the process of European integration attempted to be revitalized through the initiative of SEA and the target of EMU, the Commission regarded the reunification of two Germanies as a new opportunity from which it would be able to derive the required institutional power that would at least equalize its position with the Council of Ministers. In this respect, what the Commission, under its influential President, Jacques Delors, expected from the German reunification and the integration of the GDR into the Community was the conduct of these processes in European setting under the directive of the Commission itself. In other words, looking directly from the European perspective, the Commission wanted to expand its institutional jurisdiction through taking the control of German reunification in its hands within the context of the Community, and, through this way, to take its place in historical scene as the major institutional actor making the biggest contribution to German unity and European peace order. Moreover, the Commission desired so in order to guarantee that the European efforts that would be allocated to progress German reunification would not slow down the pace of integration. Remaining in the direct opposite of the Commission in terms of its objectives, Council of Ministers, the main legislative organ of the Community working in conjunction with national interests of Member State governments, had an ambivalent position when the German reunification

came to the forefront as a distinct possibility in the autumn of 1989. Dominated by the national views of Member States, the most dominant ones of which were France and the UK, the Council initially refrained from giving full support to the German unity, and adopted the tactic of 'wait-and-see'. Yet, as the German reunification was converted from a distinct probability to a fateful reality in time, the Council felt the necessity of accepting the recent changes, so embarked on assuming a leadership role in the integration of the GDR into the Community concurrently with the reunification of two Germanies. In other words, accustomed to controlling every Community-related matter at first hand for decades, the Council predicted the repetition of this fact even for this momentous event. However, what the Council of Ministers fell short of taking into account was the fact that in this turn differently from previous times there came up a Commission and a Parliament that were much ambitious to get involved with the administration of the whole process of German reunification. European Parliament, a sub-legislative organ of the Community working hard to increase its realm of jurisdiction within the Community for a while, welcomed the German reunification with pleasure, though with few reservations. According to the Parliament, German unity should exactly be achieved in the European context, but it should be ensured priorly that this event would not mitigate the pace of European integration. Moreover, EP initially backed the generally shared opinion among the Community circles that the possible European contributions to restructuration of the GDR economy in post-reunification period should not be made at the expense of other economically disadvantaged regions in the EC. As part of its institutional endeavours to increase its influence on the Community's decision-making mechanisms, the EP specifically stressed the point that the Parliament should adequately participate in the German reunification process as a direct prerequisite emanating from the principle of democratic legitimacy. That is, basing its reason of existence on the democratic will of all European citizens, the EP advocated its' much more involvement within the integration of the GDR to the Community on behalf of the popular participation of Europeans in this significant process. As can be understood, accompanied by the Commission, the EP emerged as the

second organ of the Community thriving to increase its effectiveness within the Community via the mediation of German reunification process⁷². The last European institution to be looked at, the European Council, a representative decision-making organ of the Community comprising the heads of state and government of Member States, attempted to take a much more balanced disposition between national interests and Community-level interests. In that sense, preferring not to be involved with this mentioned struggle for higher jurisdiction in the Community among other three European institutions, European Council just wished for the undertaking of the German reunification and the advancement of European integration at the same time via the upper-level consensus that would be achieved among all Member States and European institutions in a harmonious way.

To conclude, compatible with their above mentioned expectations, concerns, and interests related to German reunification in the European context, these Community organs took decisive steps that had a remarkable impact on the process resulting in the re-birth of the united Germany at the center of the European continent again.

3.2 Diplomacy of the German Reunification

Although there exists plenty of academic views on the issue of tracing back the German reunification, the year of 1985 when Michael Gorbachev became the Secretary General of Soviet Communist Party is generally taken as the actual beginning point of this process. Reminding the de-Stalinization period initiated by Khrushchev, the denunciation of the Brezhnev Doctrine, which proposed a direct Soviet military intervention in the event of turmoil within the socialist countries of the Warsaw Pact, by Gorbachev himself emerged as an indicator of a future change in the Eastern bloc covering the GDR. In fact, for a while, the Soviet Union had been in the pursuit of new

⁷² Thomas Giegerich. (1991). The European Dimension of German Reunification: East Germany's Integration into the European Communities. *Zeitschrift für ausländisches öffentliches Recht und Völkerrecht*. 51: 384-450.

formulas in order to prevent its observable disintegration of the state politically and economically, and to re-settle the unity of the socialist republics. The new state-led initiatives of 'perestroika' and 'glasnost' had been introduced by Gorbachev in such an atmosphere. However, instead of stopping the structural dissolution process, these initiatives accelerated the surrender of the USSR to the capitalist system with each passing day. Under the impact of this sober tableau, Gorbachev obviously expressed that each socialist state was free to choose its own path of socialism via abandoning the conventional Soviet policy regarding the East European socialist states. What became apparent with this declaration was that parallel to the partition of the USSR into independent states along with the collapse of the socialist regime, other states of the Eastern bloc including the GDR would also have the same destiny with the Soviet Union, particularly regarding the latter point.

Through this explanation, Gorbachev made it clear that henceforth Soviet troops would not come to the help of socialist states in East Europe -as happening in 1953, 1956, and 1968- even if there would occur an internal counter-movement in the pattern of threatening the future survival of these regimes. This highly unexpected and influential statement initiated to find its initial resonances on East European socialist regimes by 1989, which comes to be defined as the year of change for the European continent because of the successively happening incidents there. Encouraged from these reformist signals coming from the centre of socialism, the very first movements emerged in Poland and Hungary. In Polish case, the Solidarity movement had already created an organized opposition front against Communist government in the beginning of 1980s, but was not able to derive the political power in its hands for approximately a decade. Yet, backed by the wind of change blowing from the USSR, the Solidarity-led coalition came to power after elections in 1989, and the post-communist transformation began in Poland. Likewise, yet with a slight difference, the Hungarian Communist Party leaned towards a reformist route, and initiated the self-transformation of Hungary to multi-party democracy in the very same year. All in all, it was indeed these reformist changes taking place in Hungary that proved to be the proximate cause of the turbulent events in East

Germany⁷³. In that way, a critical decision of the reformist officials of the Hungarian Communist government marks the beginning of the end for the East German state. Starting from May 1989, the reform Communist government of Hungary incrementally opened its western borders with Austria. Drawing on the dismantling of that part of the Iron Curtain between Hungary and Austria, thousands of East German citizens who had come to Hungary for vacation massively fled to the latter country. In addition to these refugees attempting to escape to the FRG via using the Austro-Hungarian border, thousands of East German citizens occupied the West German embassies in Prague and Warsaw in order to have an exit to the FRG. At that point, the Hungarian officials took the initiative of consenting East Germans to escape to West Germany without consulting their socialist counterparts in the GDR. From then on, the circular emigration of East Germans through the channel of Hungary to the FRG continued increasingly. Responding to such kind of a destabilizing incident for the state, the SED regime urgently closed its borders with Czechoslovakia, but that measure did not work. Pursuing all these incidents cautiously through West German media in their TVs, East German inhabitants in the GDR were prompted to work for systemic change in their countries. As stated by Ash, in the autumn of 1989, the quantity of this mentioned emigration of East German citizens gave a new quality to the internal opposition within the GDR⁷⁴. At that point, it seems essential to underline that the focal point of the very first protests held against the political, social, and economic policies of the SED turned out to be the freedom of speech and right to travel outside the GDR. As can be recognized, marching with the slogan “*We are the people!*”, the dissidents just desired the democratization of the socialist regime and the recognition of their essential necessities by SED officials within the GDR, which would continue to exist as a separate socialist state in Europe. Without bearing any idea of reunification with Federal

⁷³ Mary Fulbrook. (1991). *The Divided Nation (1918-1990)*. Fontana Press: London.

⁷⁴ Timothy Garton Ash. (1993). *In Europe's Name: Germany and the Divided Continent*. Random House: New York.

Republic in their minds, the demonstrators seemed to stand up solely for the acknowledgement of such democratic requests from their state. Hence, based upon the general scope and content of these mass demonstrations of East German citizens in 1989, it is possible to argue that what was increasingly demanded in these protests was not the total collapse of the GDR, but its survival as a genuinely democratic socialist state in congruence with the infamous “Third Way” quests in German history⁷⁵.

Due to the special relations between the Protestant churches and the government in the GDR, East German churches had already been converted into the platforms in which the opponent views of East German citizens targeting the SED regime could be voiced in the context of environmental and disarmament sensitivities. Although East German churches formed a mediatory channel for the limited expression of the complaints, anticipations and expectations of many East German citizens dissatisfied with the existing conditions in the GDR, they actually carried out a restraining function in full coordination with the SED against the expansion of all these views to the whole East German society according to many dissidents. Thus, taking strength from these recent events, many new dissent groups involving New Forum, Democracy Now, Democratic Awakening, and the Left Platform were successively forged in addition to the churches in the GDR with the claim of representing the legitimate demands of citizens more effectively. By the way, the re-establishment of the Social Democratic Party (SDP) in East Germany created a significant attraction centre that would become an alternative to the incumbent SED.

In the light of all these incidents, many East German citizens poured into streets for first mass demonstrations against socialist regime in the city of Leipzig on 2 October 1989. While the initial reaction of East German police towards protesters did not happen in the

⁷⁵ Marc Silberman (2011). Introduction: Where Is Germany?. In *The German Wall: Fallout in Europe*. Palgrave, Macmillan.

degree of bloody events taking place in Tiananmen Square of China at the very same year, it was not moderate, though. At the moment when thousands of opponents protesting the East German regime were worried about the possibility of ‘a second Tiananmen’ in the GDR, the SED regime suddenly took the decision of not using force against dissent masses on 9 October 1989. Referring to a significant turning point for the consolidation of East German opposition, this moderate step taken by the SED authorities not only calmed down the huge masses walking in the streets for democratization of the GDR but also expanded these demonstrations to other centres of the country including East Berlin. As a further point, the situation of nonviolence prompted these two sides to talk to each other, and prepared the basis of the Round Table discussions that would begin later.

Meanwhile, as an irony of fate, at the time these turbulent events were shaking the regime day-by-day, the 40th anniversary celebrations of the GDR as “*Workers’ and Peasants’ State*” were being held in a victorious manner by the SED officials led by Secretary General Honecker. Attending these celebrations as one of the most important guests, Soviet leader Gorbachev repeated his suggestions to the East German state elites for the necessity of a reformation in the GDR’s socialist system via his well-known motto “*The one who comes late will be punished by life.*” Yet, the internal imbalance within East German state reached such an irreversible level that even Honecker, who managed to keep his power for decades, failed to produce an effective institutional response to these events, and resigned on 18 November 1989. Succeeding Honecker as the new Secretary General of SED, Egon Krenz bore the brunt of an overly hard responsibility as preventing the demise of a rapidly bleeding out state. However, on 9 November 1989, the sudden fall of Berlin Wall, which came to be seen as not only the symbolic monument of Cold War confrontations among two blocs but also as the most crucial factor guaranteeing the stability and consolidation of East German regime, turned all the calculations upside-down, and inevitably changed the future of the FRG and the GDR, but mostly of the latter.

After the dismantling of Berlin Wall, all the present conditions turned against the advantage of SED elites, and the East German state. In the view of referring not to a mere wall but to the concrete form of a clear-cut boundary rigidly separating two hostile blocs for decades, the disappearance of Berlin Wall in 1989, like its building in 1961, had highly paramount implications for the split of Germany. Based on this fact, the demolition of Berlin Wall also drew a line strictly dividing the pre-fall and post-fall phases of the German reunification process chronologically. To state it differently, in addition to the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the Gorbachev factor and Kohl's diplomatic tactics, the demise of Berlin Wall became another factor destabilizing the situation in the GDR. As mentioned previously, at the beginning, the generally shared wish of East German opposition had been the survival of the socialist regime in East Germany through keeping its distinctive peculiarities alive. When thousands of East German citizens protested the SED regime in the streets, they were just striving to make their voices heard by the SED rulers, and to sustain their lives under the socialist the GDR via getting their basic rights and freedoms. However, after the opening of the gate to the 'capitalist heaven' in West Germany that had been dreamt by many of the inhabitants living on the eastern half of the Wall for a long time, the previous calls of East German opposition for the democratization of socialist system in the GDR were suddenly forgotten in favour of a reunification with West Germany. As Fulbrook asserts, in the transformation of the dissidents' slogan from "We are *the* people!" to "We are *one* people!", the ambitious East Berliners who behaved eagerly to cross to the previously forbidden West Berlin after the demise of the Berlin Wall became highly influential⁷⁶. According to the statistical data, only in November 1989, 133.000 East Germans relocated from the GDR to the West in order to see how the life was going on there⁷⁷. Fascinated with the material prosperity of the West German side that could be observed

⁷⁶ Mary Fulbrook. (1991). *The Divided Nation (1918-1990)*. Fontana Press: London.

⁷⁷ Max Otte & Jürgen Greve. (2000). A Tradition of Limited Sovereignty: The Foreign Policy Doctrine of the Federal Republic of Germany, 1949-1990. In *A Rising Middle Power?: German Foreign Policy in Transformation, 1989-1999*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

via varying species of import goods, bright shopping centres, and luxury cars on its streets, many East Germans who were not pleased with the living conditions in their country immediately reached the conclusion that the easiest way to realize a structural change in their territory was to unite with the capitalist the FRG. As Grieder states, in contrast to the case in Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary, the post-communist transformation of the GDR initiated to be much more equated with a reunification with West Germany by many East Germans, especially under the euphoric atmosphere arising from the fall of Berlin Wall⁷⁸.

At that point, it seems necessary to allocate a special part to West German Chancellor Kohl's diplomatic endeavours in terms of fastening the reunification process. As a well-known fact, stemming from the Ostpolitik legacy, the general approach of the FRG towards the GDR had generally been in the pattern of preserving the balanced situation in the latter state. Complying with this aim, West German officials attempted to continue their special contact with East German rulers despite any kind of internal criticisms in the public opinion, and provided material aid to this country in time of its need, although this caused the problem of increasing financial dependence of the GDR to the FRG as time passed. Based upon this policy line, even West German government spokesmen called East German people to calm down and stay in their country when many East German citizens were crossing the Austro-Hungarian border. However, after the dismantling of Berlin Wall, the FRG totally conversed its policy route regarding the GDR, so Kohl was transformed into a public figure much more working for the destabilization of the East German system. On the same days coinciding with the fall of Berlin Wall, Chancellor Kohl made successive statements indicating that the last occasions taking place in East Germany revealed the superficial nature of the German division. Through making rising emphasis on the unity of German nation despite the existence of two German states, Kohl intended to give much more courage to East

⁷⁸ Peter Grieder. (2012). *The German Democratic Republic*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

German opposition through insistently touching upon East German citizens' right of self-determination via the objective of being administered under a genuinely democratic government that would abide the principle of rule-of-law. In such a provoking manner endorsed, to a full extent, by the US, Kohl carried his intentions one step further, and initiated to indicate that he had no suspicion regarding the East Germans' opting out for unity. As can be seen, Chancellor Kohl adopted a new policy discourse which would favour reunification with the GDR, but in a gradual sense for this mentioned phase.

Proving incompetent to resist the external pressures from the West and internal pushes within, the East German system was left in a totally paralyzed situation, and was just able to witness the successively happening incidents in East German streets and upper echelons of state. After the declaration by the Central Committee of an action programme promising the conduct of free elections in a near future on 10 November 1989, the reform Communist Hans Modrow replaced hardliner Willi Stoph as Prime Minister. Then, Modrow suddenly made it clear that the process of democratizing socialism in the GDR began. In the ongoing period, the leading role of SED was ejected from the Constitution, and SED restructured itself through adopting a new name, *Party of Democratic Socialism*. Following the resignation of Krenz as Secretary General due to his inability to cope with the internal turmoil within the GDR, accompanied by the whole Politburo and Central Committee, the legendary leader of SED, Honecker and other prominent functionaries were expelled from the PDS in order to get the sympathy of the West. In the midst of all these turbulent events for the GDR, West German Chancellor took another step, and submitted his Ten-Point-Plan to West German Bundestag for German reunification. With regard to its essence, this Plan foresaw the achievement of German unity via the construction of a confederal structure among two states that would ultimately result in a federal state. That is, Chancellor Kohl desired the re-emergence of a united Germany, but his step-by-step approach made it obvious that even Kohl favoured a slow paced reunification among two Germanies in a balanced way at the beginning, as also shared by the SPD in West Germany. However, the staunch commitment of this Plan to the designation of the united Germany as a loyal

member of the NATO and the EC gave some clues as regards the future form of the German reunification that would be carried out under the hegemony of West Germany. In a non-surprising way, the critical Bush-Kohl meeting, on 4 December 1989, accounted for a concrete milestone in this respect due to the alleged assurances given by Kohl to Bush that German reunification would totally be realized on Western terms and the reunified Germany would continue to be a part of European integration process and Atlantic partnership via maintaining the conventional multilateral foreign policy tendency of the FRG. Moreover, through the intention of avoiding the emerging suspicions, particularly in the European public opinion, as regards the possible intentions and power of a united Germany, Kohl clearly indicated that the reunification process would be carried out in a peaceful and collaborative way seeking full coordination with the related countries.

At the time the reunification process initiated to accelerate through these incidents directly concerning the GDR, though taking place out of its reach, the formal Round Table discussions began in East Berlin on 6 December 1989. Initially appearing in the historical scene during Polish events in 1980, Round Table was actually devised as a mechanism to gather the government functionaries and dissident groups, and prompt them to talk on conflictual issues, necessary steps to be taken, and reform proposals that may occur at the end. Compatible with this functioning logic, in the East German Round Table discussions, the decision for the peaceful devolution of governing power via the free elections that would take place on 6 May 1990 was taken. In fact, compared to the previous decades, this decision referred to a highly progressive step regarding the democratization of the socialist regime in East Germany. Nevertheless, since the dismantling of Berlin Wall, reunification of two German states had emerged more or less as a possibility for the future, and socialist state elites of East Germany had been deprived of the adequate power to not only take control of the internal imbalance within the GDR but also have a say over all these externally happening incidents. For instance, when Ministry for State Security, generally known as Stasi, was reconstructed as a constitutional protection force within the GDR, many East German citizens displayed

violent reactions via committing raids to the East Berlin headquarters of Stasi. Refraining from the rising tension in the public, East German Prime Minister Modrow retreated from this decision, and took the previously set election dates to 18 March 1990. Moreover, he immediately formed a national unity coalition through also including the representatives of other East German parties within the government, and declared his plan proposing a gradual integration among the FRG and the GDR, reminiscent of Kohl's Ten-Point Plan. Meanwhile, the huge exodus of East German citizens to the FRG was continuing parallel to the loss of authority in East German territory by the GDR. Deriving the critical support of the US President Bush, then, Chancellor Kohl had the need of updating his attitude to the issue of German unity from moving a measured calm and sensible development to a headlong dash to unity aggressively⁷⁹. This tactical change on the side of Bonn Republic made it concrete that German unity would be achieved even via the neglect of the East Germans' expectations and anticipations by the FRG as the 'superior' partner.

In the international diplomatic arena, West German Chancellor Kohl and his Foreign Minister Genscher were struggling to overcome the strict Soviet opposition towards German unity. In accordance with this objective, they held a critical visit to Moscow on 10 February 1990 to have a talk with Soviet leader Gorbachev on his well-known objections. At the end of this meeting, Gorbachev surprisingly declared that he would not oppose the advent of united Germany in Europe on the condition that the red-lined prerequisites such as the exclusion of united Germany from NATO horizon be fulfilled. In addition, complying with the Joint Declaration issued by Soviet and West German governments in June 1989, he again stressed the fact that all German people ought to be free in terms of deciding not only on their own political systems but also on the issue of German reunification. Following this political triumph strengthening the hands of West German side, in another front of the diplomatic battle, the four wartime allies involving

⁷⁹ Timothy Garton Ash. (1993). *In Europe's Name: Germany and the Divided Continent*. Random House: New York.

USSR, USA, France, and Great Britain were playing their diplomatic cards on the 'game' of German reunification. Due to their previously mentioned reservations tied up with the emergence of Germany as a reunified state, Soviet Union, France and the UK were all working for the perpetuation of the negotiations regarding the determination of the conditions for the reunification of two Germanies just within the context of Four Allies. As another option, French President Mitterrand, who was also the acting president of the EC in the second half of 1989, decided to bring the issue of German reunification to the agenda of the Community as one of the core matters directly concerning the European countries, as touched upon previously. In contrast to these three countries' attempts to reach a decision on the German unity via excluding the FRG and the GDR, in formal terms, the US gave a procedural support to the achievement of German unity at the end of the negotiations that would be carried out among East Germany and West Germany, which turned out to be the direct parties of this process. Yet, in the background what the American side mostly expected from the reunification process was the realization of it on Western terms. Therefore, particularly after its approval of Kohl's 'rapid reunification' attitude, the US came up with a new proposal called "Two Plus Four Talks" for the type of negotiations that would pave the way for a reunited Germany at the end. In other words, through this initiative, the US harboured diplomatic aims of not only holding the control of the German talks thanks to Kohl factor but also eliminating the would-be obstacles that had been attempted to be put by Soviet Union, France, and UK in the forms of 'Four Powers Talks' or the conclusion of the reunification issue just within the Community realm. After the acceptance of this suggestion by all parties, the FRG and the GDR initiated the bargaining discussions for German unity as the major negotiators under the indirect observation of Four Allies on 14 March 1990. However, as time passed, it would much more thoroughly be recognized that despite seemed to be sitting on the negotiation table as two totally equal sides, in fact the FRG would prove its domination over the GDR in terms of the conclusion of reunification conditions mainly because of the latter's lack of negotiating power based on its domestic turbulence.

Returning to internal incidents within the GDR, all East Germans were getting prepared for March 18 Elections. These elections had a special importance for all sides because all competing parties could attend these elections with their separate lists unlike getting involved within a single list prepared by National Front, as applied in previous East German elections. Before 1990 elections took place, lots of parties that exceeded the number of 100 had already been established in East German territory. Among these parties, however, the ones that can be defined as the East German branches of West German parties were assertive for the elections. In this respect, the right-wing *Alliance for Germany*, backed by West German CDU and its leader Kohl, social democratic *Social Democratic Party*, bolstered by West German SPD, and the *Green Party*, partially endorsed by West German Greens, were regarded as the favourite parties of East German elections. On the other side, PDS, the former SED, was hoping to win a majority in East German People's Chamber via its new name and new political discourse of democratic socialism. As a result of this elections, however, it became certain that Alliance for Germany, known as the party of Kohl in the GDR, won over 48 per cent of the vote, followed by the SDP getting 21.9 per cent, and PDS just getting 16.9 per cent. Then, the leader of Alliance for Germany, Lothar de Maiziere, generally depicted as the man of West German Chancellor Kohl, formed the first non-socialist and conservative cabinet of East Germany, and led the GDR during the reunification process with the FRG. According to many observers, these election results were generally commented as the green light of East German people to Kohl's decision of quick unification among two German states. That is, in these elections, voting for an East German party that was condemned to be overshadowed by West German Chancellor Kohl, a huge part of East German society was largely commented to give the message that the last remedy for the crisis-ridden East Germany was to unite under a single state with the West on the latter's terms. Yet, this should not come to mean that all East German citizens supported unification, or rapid unification at that time. Many people in the GDR, particularly East German artists and intellectuals, considered that this rush to unity with the FRG was not only causing the proceeding of events out of East Germans' control but also decreasing

the hopes day-by-day in terms of conducting this process via political neutrality and equality between the East and the West. Moreover, according to them, due to the inevitable on-going of all these events towards reunification, East German citizens were not even given the chance of salvaging the valuable components from the communist period, and were just expected to adopt the consumer capitalism of the FRG with all of its precarious shortcomings⁸⁰. Motivated by these concerns, many East Germans commenced initiatives to keep their benefits derived under communist system as guaranteed employment, low rents, and variable social provisions⁸¹, but the train had already been missed. Following the election victory of centre-right Alliance for Germany, which in no respects complied with the establishment logic of the socialist the GDR as the Workers' and Peasants' State in 1949, the post-1990 elections the GDR actually lost its inner purpose and reason of existence because, as Ulrich Beck predicted, *"Poland minus communism was still Poland; but the German Democratic Republic minus communism was – the Federal Republic."*⁸².

After March 1990 elections in the GDR, two German states seemed to be continuing to walk on the road that would end in the final stop of reunification, but the FRG was advancing always one step ahead. As German unity was transformed from a possibility to a fateful event, which reunification method would be practised initiated to be largely discussed in West German public opinion. Out of these public quests, two alternatives got prominence. Complying with the Article 146 of the Basic Law, the first one, which was endorsed by the SPD, was the reunification of two Germanies via a totally new constitution that was firstly to be prepared by the joint efforts of East Germans and West Germans as two equal partners, and then to be agreed upon by the East German and

⁸⁰ Ronald Speirs & John Breuilly. (2005). The Concept of National Unification. In Germany's Two Unifications: Anticipations, Experiences, and Responses. New York: Palgrave.

⁸¹ Mary Fulbrook. (1991). The Divided Nation (1918-1990). Fontana Press: London.

⁸² Peter Grieder. (2012). The German Democratic Republic. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

West German citizens publicly. According to this reunification method, the expectations of not only West Germans but also East Germans were to be satisfied in this new constitution that had been planned to replace the Basic Law after coming into force, so the domination of one side over another during reunification process would be prevented from the very beginning. However, due to the neglect of this proposal by Kohl, the second method that foresaw the simple accession of the GDR to the territory of the FRG after being dissolved into the level of mere Lander of the latter was adopted, especially due to the pressure of the CDU and Chancellor Kohl. As Article 23 of the Basic Law mentioned, this reunification method gave all the initiative to the West German side as the state whose all rules, working principles, and diplomatic commitments would prevail those of East Germany under the structure of united Germany. Depending upon this notion, as a last step before formal reunification, German economic, monetary, and social union among the FRG and the GDR came into effect via the conclusion of “*State Treaty*” on 1 July 1990. Although the term ‘union’ was used to explain this incident, this actually meant the expansion of West Germany’s economic, financial, and monetary system to the GDR, the most notable one of which was the West German DM. Replacing East German *Ostmark* after this date, Deutsche Mark was perceived as the material symbol of unity among these two states. This adoption of DM by East Germany was also utilized by West German officials and Chancellor Kohl via the motto of “*If we do not take the DM to these people, they will come to the DM there*”⁸³ in order to avert the possible objections in West German public opinion. Yet, what needs to be emphasized here is the fact that in reality the GDR ceased to exist as a sovereign state after its recognition of the West German monetary system. This point again manifested the fact that East German Prime Minister De Maiziére left all the initiative to the hands of West German Chancellor Kohl regarding reunification. More importantly, due to the realization of the German economic, monetary, and social union rapidly and the political

⁸³ Timothy Garton Ash. (1993). *In Europe’s Name: Germany and the Divided Continent*. Random House: New York.

preferences of the Kohl government which shaped its economic policies to a greater extent, the total collapse of the GDR economy, the effects of which are still felt in today's East Germany, took place all of a sudden.

After German economic, monetary, and social union took place, there seemed to remain a few issues that needed to be resolved in order to reach final reunification with the East for the FRG. One of the most critical ones was whether united Germany would be a NATO member like post-1949 the FRG, or remain a neutral *Mitteleuropa* state as Soviet Union wished. Hence, in order to realize the former scenario, Kohl was aware of the fact that the Soviet obstacle against the NATO membership of united Germany had to precisely be eliminated. With this anticipation, Kohl made a critical visit to Gorbachev in Stavropol on 15 July 1990. Resembling to the result of the previous Gorbachev-Kohl meeting in Moscow, Soviet leader gave the second concession in the form of accepting the NATO membership of the reunified Germany. In return, Chancellor Kohl promised to limit German armed forces to 370.000, pay DM 12 billion to fasten the withdrawal of the Soviet Red Army from East Germany within four years, provide a wide-ranging economic and technical assistance to the USSR, and sign a friendship treaty with this state⁸⁴. Although Gorbachev was widely criticized by different circles within Soviet Communist Party and Soviet Union for sacrificing such kind of a significant state critical for the survival of Soviet influence in Eastern Europe at the expense of material benefits, Gorbachev's abandonment of his long-lasting resistance against this sensitive matter accounted for a crucial breaking point on the way towards German reunification. Following that, the realization of German reunification was just up to other procedural formalities. After the signature of *Election Treaty* among two states before all-German elections that would be held at the end of 1990, '*The Unification Treaty between the FRG and the GDR*', which clarified the details regarding the transfer of West Germany's political, economic, and social rules to East Germany in the upcoming process, was

⁸⁴ Stephen F. Szabo. (1992). *The Diplomacy of German Unification*. St. Martin's Press: New York.

concluded between these parties on 31 August 1990. Completing this level of internal unification, external unification took place via the signature of “*The Treaty on the Final Settlement with Respect to Germany*”, generally known as *Two Plus Four Treaty*, at the end of Two Plus Four Talks among the FRG, the GDR, USSR, US, France and UK on 12 September 1990. Then, stemming from the consensus achieved between Gorbachev and Kohl in the Caucasus summit, “*the FRG-USSR Treaty on Good Neighbourliness, Partnership, and Cooperation*” was signed, and the closer relations between these two countries were kept under guarantee. On 1 October 1990, Four Allies declared through a commonly approved agreement that their rights as the occupying powers over post-war Germany and the city of divided Berlin hereafter exactly expired. Finally, on 3 October 1990, the constitutional and legal union among two states entered into force, and the GDR ended its legal existence via attending the Federal Republic in the form of five states and the eastern halve of divided Berlin, reminiscent of the return of Saarland to the FRG in 1956. Historically validating the statement of Speirs and Breuilly as “*If one national unification is rare, a second is unique.*”⁸⁵, East and West Germans managed to create the united Germany once again in Europe, as an entirely sui generis case. At the end of this diplomatic marathon, German Question, which had remained open since the end of the World War II, seemed to be given a definite answer that was intrinsically European in the form of a reunification between East Germany and West Germany⁸⁶. Although the previously emerging euphoria after the fall of Berlin Wall a year ago seemed to lose its inherent energy by the date of formal unification, German reunification was anyhow welcomed in the European public opinion as one of the most important events that would have a deep impact on the future of not only the EC but also the entire continent. Considering the extensive scope of existing political, social, and

⁸⁵ Ronald Speirs & John Breuilly. (2005). The Concept of National Unification. In *Germany's Two Unifications: Anticipations, Experiences, and Responses*. New York : Palgrave.

⁸⁶ Thomas Giegerich. (1991). The European Dimension of German Reunification: East Germany's Integration into the European Communities. *Zeitschrift für ausländisches öffentliches Recht und Völkerrecht*. 51: 384-450.

economic problems arising from the decades-long separation among two Germanies and the problematic nature of the applied reunification method itself, it was an undeniably accepted fact that a new period that would be full of new challenges began both for the united Germany and the EC. Therefore, the 1990 unification process was immediately pursued by the phase of policy implementation regarding the special policies devised by all-German governments and the contributions of the EC/EU on the level of policy-making to this transformation process in the reunified Germany.

3.3 Institutional Preparations of the EC for the German Reunification and the East German Accession to the Community

After analysing the chronological sequence of events that paved the way ultimately for German unity, it seems essential to re-evaluate this process from the perspective of the EC around its institutional preparations considering the reunification of two Germanies, and the integration of the GDR into the Community framework. Following the fall of Berlin Wall on 9 November 1989, the German unity initiated to be discussed as a hot topic intensely within the circles of the EC. Due to the organic relation between the processes of German reunification and European integration, as issued previously, it was a commonly predicted fact that the re-united Germany would exactly shift the existing balances within the Community. Moreover, since the FRG, as one of the protagonist and practitioner states of the European integration for decades, was one of the few member states having a central importance for the Community, the Community organs and Member States felt the need to develop a comprehensive strategy towards such kind of a significant event that had the potential of directly affecting the future of European integration. Therefore, as will be issued in this part, the process in which the EC institutions espoused a well-coordinated strategy with the goal of catching up and even surpassing the rapid pace of events that paved the way for the sudden birth of the united Germany corresponded to the concrete reflection of the mentioned link between German reunification and European integration. Considering its overly complicated nature, due

to practical reasons, this process will be analysed within three main parts including evaluation and negotiation phase, preparation phase, and accession phase.

3.3.1 Evaluation and Discussion Phase

To begin with, in the evaluation and discussion phase, the EC organs initially attempted to understand and make sense of the essence of the ongoing incidents in the German territory. This was mainly carried out in order to enter the institutional preparation phase solidly as a whole Community. In this regard, firstly, throughout this process, the emergence of united Germany within the Community was evaluated via giving primary consideration to the new targets of the Community set right after the end of Euro-sclerosis period. As is well known, after Jacques Delors became the new President of the European Commission in 1985, a new momentum attempted to be gained to the process of European integration in order to leave aside its decades-long inertia, and adopt a dynamic soul while 1990s were approaching. Following the White Paper, declared in 1985, Single European Act, which was signed in 1986 and came into effect in 1987, drew a decisive route for European unity through setting a clear deadline for the completion of the single market by the end of 1992, and determinately beginning the initiative of the European Political Cooperation. Depending upon these points, the supranational power of the Community saw an increase through the expansion of the realms in which QMV principle would be applied and the broadening Community competences that started to cover new policy fields such as environmental policy and foreign policy coordination⁸⁷. Given this new agenda foreseen for European integration, the next step was considered to be the full achievement of the economic and monetary union with the political one. Emphasizing its institutional restructuring around the deep-rooted change of the integration mentality, in the infamous debate of deepening-widening, the Community apparently preceded the former one over the latter starting

⁸⁷ David Spence. (1993). The European Community and German Unification. In *Federalism, Unification, and European Integration*, eds. Charlie Jeffrey, and Roland Sturm. London, England. 136-163.

from mid-1980s. Relying on this strategic preference, then, the Community declared in 1989 that it would not go for a new enlargement without completing its internal market as a response to Turkish and Austrian applications for membership. As can be understood, totally focusing inside, the Community seemed not to be ready for the accession of a new country in the short run. Considering the essential character of this newly adopted understanding and the accomplishment of all these targets for the maintenance of the European integration, the Community organs expressed a common will in terms of avoiding any sort of unexpected hurdles that might cause the Community to fail the fulfilment of these objectives. Therefore, the Community was in desperate need to find a formula that would provide not only the perpetuation of the incorporation of the GDR without causing any harm to these set targets but also the attainment of a reconciliation between this momentous event and the general Community interests.

Alongside these expectations, a general discussion began on the selection of the legal method according to which the GDR would be integrated to the Community framework among Community organs, like the one emerging for the conclusion of internal unification with the GDR in the West German public opinion on the same days. It is notable to assert that the differing proposals of these organs in this regard were directly affected by their previously mentioned expectations and as regards German reunification and institutional weights and positions within the Community. In this way, the EP suggested that the GDR case should be treated as the ordinary accession of a third country to the Community in accordance with Article 227 of the EEC Treaty. In line with this procedure, the assent of the EP would precisely have to be taken and all the primary legislation of the Community would be revised accordingly. As Spence pointed out, in making this proposal, the major concern of the Parliament was not to be pushed outside the negotiation process due to the huge weights of the Commission and Council

of Ministers in the decision-making levels⁸⁸. In other words, determined to holding in its hands the right of assent for the accession of the GDR and the right of evaluation of the desirability of German unity regarding its possible outcomes for the Community, the Parliament planned to broaden its jurisdictional scope, and become one of the primary actors easing the German reunification. Nevertheless, on the other side, the Commission and the Council evaluated the would-be method of integration for the GDR into the Community in an entirely different manner. These European institutions contended that the above mentioned proposal of the EP was not realistic considering the rapid pace of events accelerating reunification of two Germanies day-by-day, and a much longer negotiation process full of procedural requirements that would be incompatible with the political facts both in the German territory and Community realm. Moreover, since the EC previously made it clear that it would not permit a new accession without completing its internal market, the entry of East Germany in the status of a third country would mean the breaching of this self-imposed rule by the Community itself. Therefore, the Council and Commission came up with a hypothesis that the Community would not have to apply the normal rules of accession to the GDR case directly emanating from the legal references that were made to the FRG in Community's legal provisions. According to this view, the FRG was never mentioned in any of the EC Treaties around a territorially fixed definition with clear-cut boundaries due to the presence of German Question itself. Depending upon this fact, for the Council and the Commission, West Germany, as a member state of the EC, would have the right of re-arranging its territory without causing any necessity for the Community of revising Article 227 of the Treaty of Rome, which gave place to the territorial definition of the Community via the terrains of its Member States. Moreover, other provisional requirements sourcing from Article 237 of the EEC Treaty, which had become applicable during the previous enlargement waves, would not need to be applied in the integration of the GDR to the Community. That is, in accordance with this 'time-saving' method, since the GDR would have an

⁸⁸ Ibid.

access to the Community not like a third country, but as a mere region of a member state, there would be no need either for long negotiations among the GDR and Community, formal ratifications by each parliament of twelve Member States or for running the mechanism of assent from the EP. In addition, although they would always have a right to demand so, other Member States would not be legally obliged to request an amendment in the Treaties, as stated within Article 236 of the EEC Treaty⁸⁹. What is more, as a practical requirement directly affiliated with the future of the European integration, neither Council of Ministers and the Commission nor twelve Member States were intended to go for a renegotiation of the Treaty of Rome for the accession of the GDR in the midst of harsh negotiations over the implementation of SEA, coupled with for EMU and political unification⁹⁰. All in all, totally rejecting the proposal of the EP due to mentioned reasons, the Commission and the Council of Ministers bolstered the perpetuation of the process of the GDR's integration via complying with the method of "moving treaty boundaries" to the mentioned region without any sort of legal amendment in the primary legislation of the EC.

Besides these discussions on the accession method for East Germany, there were three extra issues that required practical and urgent solutions by the Community. The first one was related to the implications of the inclusion of the GDR on the institutional structures of Community organs'. As a well-known fact, the inner working mechanisms of the Council of Ministers, Commission, and the Parliament were determined in accordance with the related articles of the EEC Treaty. Initially, with regard to the functioning of the Council, as arranged according to a political formula stated in Article 148 of the Treaty of Rome, and Article 28 and Article 118 of the Treaty of Paris, the voting power of the

⁸⁹ David Spence. (1991). *Enlargement without Accession: The EC's Response to German Unification*. RIIA Discussion Papers 36. Royal Institute of International Affairs. Chatham House: London.

⁹⁰ Jeffrey J. Anderson & John B. Goodman. (1993). *Mars or Minerva? A United Germany in a Post-Cold War Europe*. In *After the Cold War: International Institutions and State Strategies in Europe, 1989-91*, eds. R. Keohane, J. Nye, and S. Hoffmann. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 23-62.

most populated Member States such as France, the FRG, Italy and the UK was accepted equal. In the Commission, which was working in accordance with Article 157 of the EEC Treaty, the larger Member States were given the right of sending two Commissioners distinctively from rather smaller states represented with one Commissioner there. Finally, the distribution of seats in the Parliament, as touched upon in Article 137 of the EEC Treaty, was directly arranged according to the population density of Member States. As the decision-making mechanisms of these crucial organs reached sort of a maturity after gaining experience through decades, such kind of a remarkable demographic change that was likely to happen in the FRG worried all Community elements around the fear of institutional imbalance in the EC organs after German unity. Directly concerning the inherent balances within these organs, hence, this matter had the potential of popping up many debates over the institutional framework of these European institutions were it not to be solved harmoniously via concerted action among the related parties. The second issue was linked with the legal implications of the merger among two states on their international agreements around the competences of the Community. In this respect, the questions whether the united Germany would manage to assume a legal responsibility over the previous commitments of two former German states especially in the realms where the Community had direct competence, and whether the previous agreements of the GDR would become totally void after its unification with the West and accession to the Community were frequently asked in different circles of the Community in this time phase. As the final issue, the transitional arrangements came to the agenda of the Community in relation with the distinctive nature of East German accession. This was a commonly accepted fact that considering the extensive scope of transformation that the GDR would experience after formal reunification, its integration into the Community framework would be totally different from the accession processes of the previous Member States. Accordingly, the application of transitional provisions temporarily during this process was considered inevitable, but there was not a generally achieved consensus yet over how they should be practised.

Facing all these different concerns related to the German unity, then, Chancellor Kohl made successive statements so as to mitigate these concerns and ensure the whole European public opinion of the conduct of the reunification as an integral part of the broader framework of European integration. In one of them, Chancellor Kohl indicated that⁹¹:

We have always understood the process of regaining German unity also as a European concern. It must also be put in the perspective of European integration. The EC must not end at the River Elbe but has to remain open also towards the east. Only then – we have always taken the Europe of the Twelve as a part and not as a whole – can the European Community become the basis of truly comprehensive European unification.

In another declaration, Kohl stated that⁹²:

The future of united Germany will remain embedded in the European Communities. As early as 1957 in the Treaties of Rome we have together with our partners kept open the door for the GDR. We proceed from the assumption that the unified Germany will be a member of the Community without any amendment to those Treaties and the subsequent Treaties. This will not hinder or delay European integration.

As these statements revealed, through depending the process of German reunification directly upon the Community setting and underlining the inevitable prominence of the EC within the foreign policy agenda of unified Germany not only at present but also in the future, Chancellor Kohl attempted to eliminate all the present fears regarding the future intentions of a united Germany. Moreover, in addition to promoting German reunification as a factor that was impossible to set an obstacle against the ongoing European integration process, Chancellor Kohl defined the EC as an ideal model of the freely living Europeans that was likely to attract the socialist countries of the Eastern Europe in the future, and put forward the united Germany as a catalyst for a possible expansion of the Community to the East. However, due to many reasons such as the continuing uncertainty related to the methods that would be pursued regarding the

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid.

reunification of the FRG-the GDR and the East German access to the EC, and the ongoing dispute over Polish-German border, the Community elements did not seem to be convinced from all these guarantees provided by the Chancellor.

At that point, motivated by previously mentioned reasons, French President Mitterrand, who was also the acting president of the EC in the second half of 1989, decided to bring the issue of German reunification to the agenda of the Community. Through this step, President Mitterrand attempted to not only transform the German reunification into an ordinary Community matter, but also push this process towards the core of the Community as isolated from any other factors. In this respect, he even held a special summit that would convene the heads of state and government in Paris on 18 November 1989. Eventhough Chancellor Kohl cautiously refrained from giving clear responses to the questions related to the proceeding of German reunification, even this summit marked the fact that Community would not keep a distance to the German unity in the view of its direct link with the German Question. Not surprisingly, following this special summit, the heads of state and government of Member States convened in the formal summit of the European Council in Strasbourg on 8-9 December 1989 at that time in order to clearly determine the institutional stance of the Community with regard to German reunification. Strongly bolstering the achievement of reunification among two German states in the context of the Community, the Strasbourg Summit of the European Council put this institutional support into these words as follows⁹³:

We seek the strengthening of the state of peace in Europe in which the German people will regain its unity through peaceful self-determination. This process should take place peacefully and democratically, in full respect of the relevant agreements and treaties and of all the principles defined by the Helsinki Final Act, in a context of dialogue and East-West cooperation. It also has to be placed in the perspective of European integration.

⁹³ David Spence. (1991). *Enlargement without Accession: The EC's Response to German Unification*. RIIA Discussion Papers 36. Royal Institute of International Affairs. Chatham House: London.

As can be clearly grasped, Strasbourg Summit declared its conditioned backing for German unity through the primary requirements that it should be achieved in compliance with the Helsinki Final Act and as part of the European integration process. After clearly asserting the institutional support of the Community, Strasbourg Summit of the European Council asked the Commission to prepare a comprehensive communication in order to draw the legal restraints of the GDR's accession to the Community. In addition, European heads of state and government also decided to start the Intergovernmental Conference on the European Economic and Monetary Union by the end of 1990. Although this latter decision seemed to have an inferior importance compared to the former one, it actually reflected the general background underlying beneath the European Council's approach to the German reunification around European integration. According to the European Council, were the united Germany to re-emerge at the center of Europe, it would be required to have a pushing impact on the perpetuation of the primary tasks in the Community's agenda, not even mentioning the possibility of its blocking effect. As the achievement of economic and monetary union coupling with the completion of the internal market occupied the top position among these institutional priorities of the Community at that time, the Strasbourg meeting of the European Council strategically preferred taking these two critical decisions in a complementary sense.

This understanding of the European Council came to be adopted nearly the same by the Commission, as understood from the speech of its President Delors to the EP on 17 January 1990. In this speech, Delors clearly expressed Commission's commitment to the German reunification, which would automatically exceed the normal merger of two states and have a larger meaning via marking not only the ultimate conclusion of the World War II but also the peaceful end of Cold War⁹⁴. Welcoming the rapid pace of events moving the formal reunification to an earlier date, Delors made a special

⁹⁴ David Spence. (1993). The European Community and German Unification. In *Federalism, Unification, and European Integration*, eds. Charlie Jeffrey, and Roland Sturm. London, England. 136-163.

emphasis on the different nature of the East German accession to the EC dividing it from previous enlargements. Furthermore, as a response to the concerns and suspicions voiced in the Community corridors related to the possibly negative impact of the German unity on the maintenance of European integration project, Delors suggested reading the German reunification not as a disadvantage; on the contrary, as an advantage in terms of increasing the general success of European integration and furthering its recently determined objectives. In that way, parallel to the previously mentioned manner of the European Council that was shaped in the Strasbourg Summit and the classical French policy towards the containment of Germany within the project of European integration, the Commission proposed utilizing the existing worries of different Community elements to make further progress in the context of European economic, monetary union and higher political cooperation. In line with this stance of the Commission, contrary to his previous reticence, Chancellor Kohl declared his support to the decision of the European Council in Strasbourg Summit to start the IGC on EMU by December 1990 in his common letter with French President Mitterrand, dated 19 April 1990, to the Irish Presidency of the EC. In this letter, which again symbolized the long-lasting Franco-German cooperation as the major motive behind European integration, West German Chancellor Kohl and French President Mitterrand also urged the Council to accelerate the process of political union among European nations, accompanied by the economic and monetary union, around four major objectives as strengthening the democratic legitimacy of the union, rendering its institutions more efficient, ensuring unity and coherence of the Community's economic, monetary and political action, and defining and implementing a common foreign and security policy⁹⁵. Although this common initiative of Kohl and Mitterrand was largely evaluated as the price West Germany had to pay in order to mitigate the well-known French concerns against united Germany, this critical support of the FRG side to the economic, monetary, and political union at this

⁹⁵ Helmut Kohl & Francois Mitterrand. (1990). Letter by the German Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl and French President Francois Mitterrand to the Irish Presidency of the EC on 19 April 1990. Agence Europe.

juncture accounted for a crucial milestone in the paths of both European integration and German reunification through ensuring the coordinated actions among European powers in both realms.

All in all, as the evaluation and discussion phase was coming to an end, the EC seemed to have a broader outlook and a clearer mind on the issue of German unity, so was determined to take more decisive steps motivated by the futuristic goal of 'united Germany in the European Union'.

3.3.2 Preparation Phase

In the preparation phase, Community became much more adhered to the formal integration of the GDR into the Community structure parallel to its reunification with West Germany. At the beginning of this stage, Commission and the EP came to the forefront as the two principal actors that would carry out the accession process within the Community. Due to this fact, it is not considered so much of an exaggeration to indicate the fact that the integration of the GDR into the Community was indeed undertaken through these two channels, of the Commission and of the Parliament.

Depending upon the decision of the Strasbourg Council asking for the Commission to prepare a paper outlining the general framework of the GDR's inclusion into the EC, the Commission started working via the establishment of a special group, which was totally dedicated to this task, under its institutional framework. Publicly referred as Bangemann Group of the Commission, this Group consisted of Martin Bangemann, the Vice-President of the Commission, as its president, and different Commissioners, senior German politicians and officials as its members. Convening on 9 February 1990, Bangemann Group of the Commission was planned to conduct its studies mainly on the policy fields which were likely to require derogations during the harmonization process of the GDR's legislation with the Community law following reunification. As stated by Spence, while creating its policies towards the issue of German unity, the Commission always had a tendency to prioritize three red lines which can be summarized as; carrying

out the East German accession to the unity without slowing down the pace of European integration and the completion of internal market, reminding the Member States of the positive effect of reunification in German territory especially on the general flux of trade across the Community, and wielding the opportunity of demonstrating the effective and solution-oriented functioning of Commission mechanism⁹⁶. In particular, regarding the last point, the Commission was highly sensitive because up to that time it was harshly criticized because of its red-tape bureaucracy. Overcoming this fast-track accession of the GDR, thus, Commission planned to prove its institutional capacity of completing bureaucratic transactions in time.

In the context of the institutional preparations made within the Community, the EP, another ambitious Community organ in terms of German reunification, was in the pursuit of a formula which would restrain the domination of the Council of Ministers and the Commission on this process, and would bring the Parliament to the equal level of these institutions. It is notable to assert that since the previously mentioned extraordinary method, which foresaw pushing the EP outside the picture different from ordinary accessions, preferred by the Commission and the Council for the entry of the GDR came to be much more favoured within the Community, the EP embarked on such quests. At the end of all these attempts, an ad hoc committee named as “*Temporary Committee to Consider the Impact of the Process of German Unification on the European Community*” was formed within the EP on 15 February 1990 towards the objective that was clearly asserted in its name. Reminiscent of the Bangemann Group of the Commission, Temporary Committee of the EP firstly met on 1 March, and focused its studies on the institutional implications of German reunification on the whole Community sector-by-sector. In line with this primary institutional aim, the Temporary Committee mainly functioned for enabling other organs to enact the necessary pieces of secondary legislation in time, and providing the necessary consultation to and

⁹⁶ Ibid.

cooperation with them⁹⁷. Thus, from the very first day of its establishment, Temporary Committee assumed an apparently high profile in terms of its relations not only with other European institutions but also with the officials from two German states. In that sense, thanks to the studies of the Temporary Committee, the Parliament extended its area of manoeuvre during the process of East German accession to the EC, and the institutional collaboration among Community organs got strengthened, as expected by David Williamson, Secretary General of the Commission, in the first convention of the Temporary Committee. As the major output of the Committee's studies, then, First Resolution of the Parliament was declared on 4 April 1990.

Coinciding with the days when the First Resolution of the Temporary Committee of the EP came up, Commission completed its Communication, as demanded by the European Council in its Strasbourg Summit, on 19 April 1990, and submitted it to the I. Dublin Summit of the Council. Providing a broader outlook to the general situation of the East German economy, and to the finalized shape that Commission's proposals took related to the incorporation of the GDR into the EC, "*Communication from the Commission on the implications of German unification (SEC/90/751)*" can be regarded as the first large-scale document examining the foreseeable results of German reunification in the context of the EC. Despite revealing its non-confidence to the existing economic and financial data derived from the GDR, in general, this 19 April Communication reflected the positive views of the Commission regarding the economic parameters of the East German economy. Emphasizing the potential of economic growth in the GDR economy, it was anticipated in this document that this would exactly have a triggering effect on the

⁹⁷ European Parliament. (2009). The European Parliament and German Unification. Archive and Documentation Centre (CARDOC) Journals No 5. Directorate General for the Presidency of the European Parliament.

overall Community via revitalizing the intra-Member States trade⁹⁸. Due to these earlier statements in this Communication, the Commission was to be criticized harshly later because of its misjudgements as regards the future of East German economy considering the economic downturn that took place in this region right after the reunification. In the second part, the assessments of the Commission regarding German reunification were given place as requested by the Council before. According to the Commission, the conditions had already been met for a dynamic and orderly process of German unification to go ahead, so all efforts would have to be spent to ensure the conduct of German reunification under Community roof⁹⁹. Asserting its disagreement with the present concerns of different Community elements, the Commission defined the German reunification as “*an opportunity for reinforcing and speeding up the process of European integration*”. Following that, through underlining the unique status of the GDR’s accession into a united Germany, and so into the Community, the Commission contended that the accession process should not be carried out in accordance with the provisions stated under Article 237 of the EEC Treaty. In other words, Commission proposed the view that the GDR should be incorporated into the Treaty framework without any need of amendment in the Treaties, which would automatically come into effect in East Germany after formal reunification, and of national ratification by the parliaments of each member state. In other words, putting the informal approaches of the Commission and the Council denoted in the evaluation and discussion phase into formality via this view, the Commission recommended the application of the principle of moving treaty boundaries into the East. It is essential to note that the adoption of this method by the Commission was directly affected from the previous specification in the FRG that the reunification among two Germanies would be realized via the simple accession of the GDR into the West German state structure after being dissolved into

⁹⁸ European Commission. (1990). The European Community and German Unification. Bulletin of the European Communities. Supplement 4/90. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

status of mere federal Lander in accordance with Article 23 of the Basic Law. In other words, taking strength from the acceptance of this ‘internal’ reunification method by two German states following March 1990 elections in the GDR, the Commission collaterally shaped its proposal favouring the external integration of the GDR into the Community through the principle of extending treaty borders with no revision in the Treaties. Moreover, in order to facilitate the gradual, but solid, application of the *acquis communautaire*, the Commission proposed that this special accession should be managed under three successive stages involving; interim adjustment stage, transitional stage, and final stage. In accordance with this three-level-integration scheme, in the interim adjustment phase, which would begin with the implementation of German economic and monetary union via State Treaty from 1 July 1990, it was foreseen that the adoption of West German economic and monetary laws, rules and working principles would already provide the introduction of the market economy, as one of the major prerequisites of Community membership, to the GDR. In line with this aim, it was expected that the East German price, monetary, credit, tax and social security systems would be reconstructed complying with Community standards in addition to the beginning of VAT’s application there. As another crucial point, in order to calm down the major economic concerns of the Member States that can be summarized in the form that the funding of the GDR via the transfers from West Germany and the Community during its reconstruction would deteriorate the functioning of Community market mechanisms and prevent the transmission of Community aids to the other underdeveloped regions of the EC, Commission assured the fact that whether principles of the Community on the competition and state aids would adequately be abided by united Germany would strictly be monitored. Then, in the transitional phase, which was set to commence with the formal reunification among two Germanies, it was indicated that Community legislation, both primary and secondary, would automatically come into effect in the GDR territory except where the Council would specifically decide for temporary exceptions on a proposal from the Commission. This statement came to mean that the required alterations would be made in the secondary legislation covering

regulations, directives, and decisions without any change in the primary legislations, as mentioned previously. Determining 3-year-transition period until the full application of Community legislation without any exceptions, these transitional measures would expire at the end of 1992. Due to the problematic nature of the GDR's transformation into the region of a member state entirely fitting the Community standards, the Commission mentioned the possibly emerging difficulties that both the united Germany and the Community might face in this process, and stressed the importance of taking the necessary precautions beforehand in order to assure the balanced proceeding of European integration and the completion of the European single market. In this respect, various policy areas in the Community such as agriculture, fisheries, environment, trade, and structural funds were stipulated as the ones which were likely to be inevitably affected from this process. In the final stage, then, it was foreseen that the *acquis communautaire* would be in full application within the East German territory. Throughout these three stages, it was promised by the Commission itself that the common interests of the Community would be preserved to the full extent, and be taken as the main reference point while taking the required decisions related to the integration of the GDR into the EC.

After the evaluation of these above mentioned proposals made by the Commission in its 19 April Communication, the heads of state and government convened in the Dublin Summit of the European Council on 28 April 1990. In this meeting publicly known as the '*I. Dublin Summit*', the European Council declared its warm and unreserved support to the German reunification that was expressed to happen in the Community setting by the officials of two German states. Parallel to this process, it was enunciated that the integration of the GDR into the Community should be undertaken in a smooth and harmonious pattern. In terms of the route that would be followed during this process, the European Council totally acknowledged the Commission's recommendations advocating the application to the East German case of the method of moving treaty boundaries without any phasing in the primary Community legislation, and three-stage-integration formula. In particular, the acknowledgement by the European Council, as the highest

representative organ of the Community, of the integration of the GDR without any revision in the Treaties brought an end to all the on-going disputes over the method to be followed within Community circles, and made it clear that the special accession of East Germany to the EC would be carried out with the existing instruments, as pointed out by Jacqué¹⁰⁰. Concerned with the reliable proceeding of this process as abiding these specified points, the Dublin Summit required the FRG to provide information to the Community of the developments among two Germanies at each step, and authorized the Commission to take part in these discussions on behalf of the Community. This last decision taken by the Dublin Summit had two major outcomes in the practical scene. Firstly, excluding the GDR from membership negotiations due to the practise of the principle of extending Community frontiers differently from an ordinary accession, the European Council apparently revealed that the major state that would be acknowledged by the Community as the negotiator in the name of the GDR during accession process would be the FRG. Secondly, the authorization of the Commission by the Dublin Summit in terms of attending the bargaining among two German states directly contributed to the increasing effect of the Commission related to German reunification, as observable from the beginning. In that way, through exceeding its role as regards the integration of the GDR into the Community, the Commission got the opportunity to become directly involved with the negotiations among two Germanies. Depending upon this decision, then, European Commission was not only granted a formal right to have an impact on the discussions that would be conducted on State Treaty for German EMU but it was also given an official seat as the party, which would actually assess the implications of the on-going negotiations for the Community legislation, participating in the discussions on Unification Treaty. Increasing its institutional profile by becoming the primary source of information of the Community as regards the reunification procedure, the Commission got hold of the control of the German reunification process

¹⁰⁰ Jean-Paul Jacqué. (1991). German Unification and the European Community. *EJIL*. 2/1:1-16.

in the context of the Community via determining the Community agenda for the upcoming period¹⁰¹.

Assuming the application of the primary Treaties of the EC in the East German territory right after formal reunification, then, regarding the transitional measures related to the full application of secondary legislation, Dublin Summit indicated the views of the European Council as follows¹⁰²:

These measures, which will enter into force at the moment of unification, will permit a balanced integration based on the principles of cohesion and solidarity and on the need to take account of all the interests involved, including those resulting from the *acquis communautaire*. The transitional measures will be confined to what is strictly necessary and aim at full integration as rapidly as possible.

Constraining the scope of these transitional measures foreseen to be applicable for about three years within East German territory till the end of 1992, when the internal market was set to be completed, the European Council clearly reflected its sensitivity in terms of the preservation of the collective interests of the Community. Due to the very presence of this attitude, the European Council asked the Commission to prepare and submit a comprehensive paper which would consist of a list of such essential measures as immediate as possible. As the last decision taken in this Summit, the leaders of Member States had a consensus over the convention of an IGC on the political union, in compliance with the perpetuation of the East German accession process.

On 17 May 1990, the EP declared its second Resolution in relation with the German reunification. Resembling to the Commission, the Parliament also welcomed the decisions of the I. Dublin Summit regarding its unreserved support to the German unity and its conduct within the setting of the EC. Relying on its previously mentioned

¹⁰¹ David Spence. (1993). The European Community and German Unification. In *Federalism, Unification, and European Integration*, eds. Charlie Jeffrey, and Roland Sturm. London, England. 136-163.

¹⁰² European Commission. (1990). The European Community and German Unification. Bulletin of the European Communities. Supplement 4/90. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

reticence, then, the Parliament needed to touch upon the Council's preference for the method of enlarging into the East German territory without any amendment in the Treaties. In this respect, it was particularly asserted in this 17 May Resolution that working in close cooperation and consultation with other Community organs and German officials from two states, the EP would continue to become cautious in terms of the implications of the German reunification for the whole Community. In the background of these statements within this Resolution, the Parliament attempted to give the following messages that it would keep getting involved with this process as one of its primary actors, and conducting its studies through taking the general Community interests into account. To state it differently, in view of the rising impact of the Commission that reached an undeniable level at that point, the Parliament was struggling not to give up this race running for the case of German unity within the Community.

To sum up, in the preparation phase, the institutional foundation of the German reunification within the EC was accounted via these critical meetings held and papers declared. Thereafter, in the accession phase, all the issue would actually revolve around setting pillars correctly and establishing the building wisely via practicing right strategies by Community elements.

3.3.3 Accession Phase

As the final step, when the accession phase began, the East German entry into the Community, parallel to its reunification with West Germany, seemed to be destined to take place more or less in a foreseeable future after all the above mentioned institutional evaluations and preparations within the EC. Nevertheless, despite the appearance of this event as a fateful reality, three problems, which transpired in the discussion and evaluation phase, were still standing in front of the Community that were waiting for urgent solutions. Regarding the first problem, which was related to the possible changes that the accession of the GDR would cause in the general composition of the Community organs, the parties achieved an unexpected consensus thanks to the silence

of the FRG in these respects. For West Germany did not demand any kind of self-benefiting re-arrangements in the distribution of seats within the Council of Ministers and the Commission emanating from the East German entry into the Community, other Member States became highly pleased with this decision of the FRG, and initiated to feed much more sympathy to the idea of united Germany. In other words, coming into the forefront as a result of an unofficial agreement between West Germany and other Member States, the FRG decided not to push for any kind of revision within Community organs that would be in favour of itself in return of the Member States' acceptance of managing East German access into the Community without any amendment in the primary legislation of the Community¹⁰³. Concerning the distribution of seats in the Parliament, on the other hand, it was a commonly accepted fact that depending upon the provisions in the Article 137 of the EEC Treaty, a population increase in West Germany as a result of the GDR accession would precisely require an increase in the representatives of the FRG in the Parliament, which institutionally committed itself to the principles of democratic representation and legitimacy¹⁰⁴. At that point, there occurred a complicated situation for the Community and the FRG because the popular elections for the seats in the EP had already been made in 1989, and the nearest elections for the Parliament would be held in 1994. On the other side of the coin, there had existed no fixed relationship determined between population and seats of a member state in the Parliament, and also there was the risk of constituting a legal precedent for the future accessions of more populated countries, such as Turkey, which were waiting at the door of the Community for membership at that time. As a response to this harsh issue of the representation of East German population in the Parliament, then, two suggestions proposing either the resign of an exact proportion of 18 West German representatives in the Parliament in favour of East German representatives or holding a by-election special

¹⁰³ Jean-Paul Jacqué. (1991). German Unification and the European Community. EJIL. 2/1:1-16.

¹⁰⁴ European Parliament. (2009). The European Parliament and German Unification. Archive and Documentation Centre (CARDOC) Journals No 5. Directorate General for the Presidency of the European Parliament.

to the participation of all-German electorates for the seats of the united Germany in the Parliament got prominence. However, in an unexpected way, West German officials enunciated that since the FRG did not want to cause any sort of trouble, it preferred not requesting for a change in the short term in favour of its parliamentary distribution in the EP. Therefore, an interim solution that the new Eastern Lander of the FRG would be represented in the EP via 18 observers who had no voting and speaking rights until 1994 EP elections was accepted. Although this temporary solution fell short of abiding the democratic principles and was harshly criticized not only in East Germany but also in other circles of the Community, it again revealed the modest attitude of the FRG towards other Member States in terms of the incorporation of the GDR into the Community framework. Regarding the second problem, which was about the legal implications of the merger among two states for their international agreements in the context of the EC, the most frequently asked question was what would happen to the former international treaties of the GDR, mostly related to the ones falling in the scope of Community competence. In the resolution of this issue, the interpretation of the present international law on the succession of states by the Commission became decisive. According to the Commission, coupled with the practise of the principle of extending Community borders, the legal personality of West Germany would become subject to no alteration after the accession of the GDR territory, so the Community would be able to become successor to the international agreements which would intersect with Community competences¹⁰⁵. This mainly relied on the ability of the Community to act as a recognized legal entity and even a state-like establishment in the fields of its

¹⁰⁵ David Spence. (1993). The European Community and German Unification. In *Federalism, Unification, and European Integration*, eds. Charlie Jeffrey, and Roland Sturm. London, England. 136-163.

competence, which can much more clearly be understood from these statements of the Commission on the eve of German reunification¹⁰⁶:

There is no inherent reason, however, why the basic rules of succession to treaty rights and obligations should not apply to an entity having international personality and having been granted extensive treaty-making power, such as the Community, in so far as the treaties concerned fall within its recognized sphere of competence.

As the second cause behind this legal interpretation, assuming itself bound with the principle of the continuity of Treaty-borne rights and obligations, the Community rejected implementing what it denoted as the negative aspect of the principle of moving treaty boundaries, which might result in the elimination of the all international treaties signed by the communist regime of the GDR with third states. In this respect, besides the Treaty obligations which emerged no legal consequences for the Community competences, the Community adopted the view of re-negotiating the provisions of the formerly concluded Treaties with the third parties, which mostly comprised the member states of the COMECON. As can be understood, in addition to its distinctive peculiarities stemming from its legal character, the EC was also inclined to respect the treaty obligations of the former the GDR due to the political calculations it made regarding its relations with the socialist countries of the Eastern bloc in Europe, as will be elaborated much more in detail in the following chapter. At the end of the day, according to the final solution put forward by the Community, as summarized by Ehlers, the political treaties attempting to deepen the integration of the GDR into the communist camp would totally cease to exist, while economic bilateral treaties of this state with East European countries would be likely to continue in general via slight modifications¹⁰⁷. In contrast to these two issues that were provided solutions in the

¹⁰⁶ European Commission. (1990). The European Community and German Unification. Bulletin of the European Communities. Supplement 4/90. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

¹⁰⁷ Dirk Ehlers. (1993). The German Unification: Background and Prospects. Loyola of Los Angeles International and Comparative Law Review. Loyola Marymount University and Loyola Law School. 15/4: 771-811.

passing time, as regards the final issue on the application of transitional arrangements that would provide derogations from the secondary legislation of the Community for a limited period in the GDR, the Community still had some way to go. The Commission had already indicated in its 19 April Communication prepared for the I. Dublin Summit that the primary and secondary legislation of the Community would become effective in the East German land starting from the formal unification among two German states except temporary exceptions would be decided by the Council on a proposal from the Commission. Accepting this view of the Commission, then, the European Council revealed its reservations related to the implementation of the ad hoc transitional measures within the GDR as regards their duration, scope, and effectiveness. In this respect, what was urgently needed by the European Council to take decisive steps in terms of determining such transitional measures in the GDR was now the paper of proposals that would be prepared by the Commission.

The decisions taken at the end of I. Dublin Summit of the European Council manifested the fact that the German reunification process reached an irreversible point both for two German states and the entire Community thereafter. In particular, since the Commission was put by this Summit under the practical obligation of presenting the proposals for transitional measures immediately in order to assure the proper proceeding of the incorporation of the GDR into the Community, it much more felt the necessity of rearranging coordination among its inherent services. In this respect, with the objective of making ready of the required proposals until September 1990, a high level steering group, which consisted of all directors-general under the chairmanship of Secretary-General of the Commission, and the Task Force for German Reunification (TFGU), whose members were officials from directorate generals, were accounted as two sub-organizations under the roof of Commission in addition to Bangemann Group¹⁰⁸. Functioning like an '*accession task force*', the TFGU dealt with the preparation of the

¹⁰⁸ David Spence. (1991). Enlargement without Accession: The EC's Response to German Unification. RIIA Discussion Papers 36. Royal Institute of International Affairs. Chatham House: London.

requested proposals on transitional measures, and followed the day-to-day incidents taking place in intra-German negotiations and the GDR. Moreover, via putting emphasis on two primary points as keeping the domination of the Commission over the interim adjustment stage and, secondly, thoroughly examining the realms of Community competence that were likely to be affected from the German EMU that would come into effect by 1 July 1990, the TFGU played a critical role in terms of the preparation of the would-be-presented Communication of the Commission on the implications of the State Treaty¹⁰⁹.

Meanwhile, following the enactment of the State Treaty among two German states, the German economic, monetary and social union was formally established from 1 July 1990. As suggested by the Commission in its 19 April Communication and accepted by the I. Dublin Summit, this date marked the beginning of the interim adjustment stage for the GDR, too. Compatible with this overlapping, the State Treaty much more dealt with Community related matters of the German EMU via clearly guaranteeing the application of the EC law after formal reunification¹¹⁰. In order to ensure especially this last point, starting from this date, the legal, political, and economic system of the GDR were made subject to an overall transformation process through the implementation of the provisions of State Treaty. Attempting to adopt the West German system in these realms, East Germany promised to alter its legal system in accordance with becoming a free democratic political order and having a social market economy. Slightly before this momentous event, on 14 June 1990, directly based on its well-known effect on the general proceeding of the intra-German discussions on State Treaty, Commission prepared “*Communication from the Commission on the Implications of the State Treaty (SEC/90/1138)*”, and submitted it to the attention of the European Council, which was

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Jean-Paul Jacqué. (1991). German Unification and the European Community. EJIL. 2/1:1-16.

getting prepared to held a new summit in Dublin again in the following days. Welcoming the upcoming German EMU, which ensured the immediate introduction of monetary union and incremental integration of the GDR to the economic and social system of West Germany starting from 1 June, this Communication of the Commission presented an overall analysis of the general content of this Treaty. In that sense, 14 June Communication specifically underlined the internal provisions of the State Treaty promising that the GDR would harmonize its policy objectives with those of the Community, and all measures should be taken to assure the proper application of Community law following the German reunification. Depending upon the general scheme drawn by these provisions within this Treaty, the Commission regarded the general content of the State Treaty compatible with Community legislation in this Communication, and clearly indicated that this Treaty concluded among the FRG and the GDR corresponded to both the legal framework of and the main instrument for the gradual integration of the latter into the legal order of the EC ahead of formal unification of the two German states¹¹¹.

In the context of the economic relations between the Community and the GDR, the Commission brought a much more extensive interpretation to the State Treaty through the view that by becoming one of the signatories of this Treaty, the GDR expressed that -on the condition the Community would provide a reciprocity in accordance with the principle of equal treatment- the East German state would no more apply levies, refunds, customs duties, and quantitative restrictions to the Member States of the Community thereafter¹¹². As all these facts were present apparently, thus, as a response to this significant step taken by the GDR, the Commission proposed forming a *de facto*

¹¹¹ European Commission. (1990). *The European Community and German Unification*. Bulletin of the European Communities. Supplement 4/90. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

¹¹² Thomas Giegerich. (1991). The European Dimension of German Reunification: East Germany's Integration into the European Communities. *Zeitschrift für ausländisches öffentliches Recht und Völkerrecht*. 51: 384-450.

customs union between the Community and this state on variable goods covering the agricultural, industrial, and ECSC products. In order to prepare the legal background of the required changes in this respect, then, the Commission pushed for its authorization by the Council of Ministers through legislation. According to this formula, after the Commission would declare that certain conditions had been fulfilled by the GDR, customs duties, and other quantitative restrictions would be suspended by the Council of Ministers' decision. In case this route would be espoused, the Commission considered that the GDR would be bounded to the Community with unbreakable ties.

At the time when the European heads of state and government met again in Dublin on 25-26 June 1990, these recent issues were in need of some kind of a resolution by the Community. Accordingly, following the analysis of the 14 June Communication prepared by the Commission related to the implications of the State Treaty for the Community, '*II. Dublin Summit*', as it has generally been called, of the European Council stated its satisfaction with the compatibility of the general content and reflections of the State Treaty as regards constituting a solid ground for the incorporation of the GDR. Recognizing the rapid pace of the reunification process in the German territory, it was decided in the II. Dublin Summit to advise the Commission to fasten its preparations for the proposals regarding the transitional measures up until the month of September this year with the concern of catching up these successively happening incidents. In line with the general disposition assumed in the previous summits of the European Council held in Strasbourg and Dublin, this Summit confirmed the launch of the IGCs in December 1991 in the scope of the preparations made for European EMU. As can be seen, keeping its emphasis on the parallel proceeding of European integration and German reunification, the European Council again gave equal importance to these two processes via refraining from sacrificing one for another.

On the same days, the Council of Ministers had already examined the Commission proposal of forming a pre-reunification customs union with the GDR, and reached the ultimate decision of approval. Relying on this decision, then, the Council of Ministers

empowered the Commission to suspend the implementation of all customs duties, and all charges of equivalent effect coming from the instruments of Common Commercial Policy on the relations between the EC and the GDR via Regulation (EEC) No. 1794/90 as regards commercial goods based on Article 28 and Article 113 of the EEC Treaty on 28 June 1990, and via Regulation (EEC) No. 2060/90, regarding the goods of agriculture and fishery on 16 July 1990. Depending upon these legislative authorizations, the Commission successively enacted Regulation (EEC) No. 1795/90, and Regulation (EEC) No. 2252/90 in order to determine the methods of application on these mentioned realms in accordance with those two Regulations that were previously enacted by the Council of Ministers. Parallel to all these steps taken by the Community organs, the GDR ratified a new *Tariff Act*, in compliance with the tariff system of the Community, on 22 June 1990. Then, it enacted the “*Regulation on the Trade in Goods and Services between the GDR and the FRG*” on 4 July 1990, and abolished practising control on the movement of goods that were in circulation in the Member States of the Community. At the end of this process, a de facto customs union meant to be actually created between the GDR and the EC at the same time with the activation of German EMU from 1 July 1990. Thanks to the formation of this special customs union with the GDR, this country not only derived the status of ‘*unofficial membership*’ even before the formal reunification with the FRG, but it was also granted access into the financial means of the Treaty, as would be provided by the Commission¹¹³. Yet, more importantly, this special situation among the Community and the GDR, which had not been encountered previously, prevented the advent of a legal confusion till the formal reunification on the issue of intra-German border related to whether it had to be treated as an external Community frontier, or not.

After the German EMU came into effect via State Treaty, there remained two significant issues in terms of East German accession into the EC as the formal reunification and the

¹¹³ Ibid.

clear-cut settlement of the transitional measures that would be applicable in the GDR territory. Following the launch of the formal negotiations among the officials of two German states for the Unification Treaty on 6 July 1990, this process gained a new momentum. As said earlier, using its rising dominance on the process, European Commission participated all the negotiations taking place in this respect with a representative, which came to be perceived as another indicator of the level of attachment between German reunification and European integration. At the end of these discussions for formal reunification among the FRG and the GDR, the Unification Treaty was finalized on 31 August 1990 with the intention of coming into effect on 3 October 1990. In an expected way, the Unification Treaty consisted of many articles stating that the GDR would accede to the state structure of the FRG in the form of five new Lander and East Berlin, and the Basic Law of the FRG would be applied in this territory after that time. Concerning the relations with the EC, then, the Unification Treaty also allocated a notable space to clarifying provisions. To illustrate, in Article 10 of this Treaty, it was stated that the Treaties establishing European Communities, accompanied by all other additions and amendments that had been done to the international agreements having relation with them, and all the acts of secondary legislation would become applicable in the East German territory starting from the formal reunification date. Moreover, this very same Article put the responsibility of implementing these acts of secondary legislation on the shoulders of these newly founded East German Lander in their terrains. About the infamous issue of former Treaties of the GDR, Article 12 of the Unification Treaty guaranteed that in case the scope of such Treaties would fall within the competences of the Community, the united Germany would respect this, and go into the renegotiation process with the third parties of these Treaties. As the last point, Article 28 of the Unification Treaty issued one of the most sensitive issues that had made a huge impact on the approaches of other Member States to the issue of East German incorporation into the Community up to that time, named as state aids. Assuming a moderate stance aiming to mitigate the concerns of Member States and accepting the previously mentioned official view of the Commission

in this respect, it was clearly indicated in this Article that the general rules put forward by the Community regarding state aids would be fully abided by united Germany. In sum, proceeding on the route opened by the State Treaty before, the Unification Treaty again demonstrated the high level of all-German loyalty to the project of European integration and the institutional framework of the EC, which was summarized via this popular expression as ‘seeking through German unity to contribute to the unification of Europe’.

The first reaction in the level of European institutions came from the EP. Adopting an interim report, dated 12 July 1990, the Parliament expressed its appreciation for all the efforts spent for the concurrent conduct of European integration and German reunification, in addition to an overall analysis of the policies applied in the interim adjustment phase up to that time. In this respect, the Parliament clearly put forward its expectations in this Report that German reunification should proceed via contributing to the strengthening of the Community politically and economically. Depending upon this anticipation, the 12 July Report of the EP underlined the fact that the transitional measures that would be valid after a while in East German territory should not cause any hindering effect on the achievement of two of the recently set Community objectives having paramount importance for the future of European integration, as the completion of single market and the accomplishment of European EMU¹¹⁴. As can be understood, revealing its anticipations and concerns regarding the determination of transitional measures around the project of European integration, the EP basically gave the message, particularly to other Community organs and German officials, that it would closely monitor the application process of these measures.

In the meantime, due to the unexpectedly rapid pace of events taking place in two German states, especially in the East, the Community organs were compelled to update

¹¹⁴ David Spence. (1991). *Enlargement without Accession: The EC's Response to German Unification*. RIIA Discussion Papers 36. Royal Institute of International Affairs. Chatham House: London.

their deadline set for the incorporation of the GDR into the Community. At that point, Commission seemed to be the European institution that was mostly affected from this newly occurring situation, because now it was expected to complete its examination of the proposals for transitional measures not till September 1990, but on 21 August, and then send them immediately to the EP and the Council of Ministers. Therefore, as pointed out by Giegerich, arising from the necessity of setting the transitional measures as urgently as possible around the considerable exceptions and adaptation periods for the GDR, which seemed to be likely to get adapted to the *acquis communautaire* simply after the implementation of these required measures¹¹⁵, the Commission accelerated its preparations to make the proposals ready for the target date. Yet, due to this unexpected change in the deadline, the Commission came to see the impossibility of completing the negotiations on the entire proposals till the date of formal reunification between two Germanies, so included in its agenda of the possibility of adding a set of ‘emergency’ interim measures to the package of proposals, which would come into effect temporarily after formal reunification. Through this method, the Commission aimed to ensure the progression of the harmonization process in the East German territory without getting stuck with the lengthy procedures of discussion as regards the content of these measures among Member States or within the Council of Ministers. As a result, on 21 August 1990, European Commission presented the package comprising 21 legislative proposals for transitional measures (COM/90/400), and two provisory interim measures. As one part of this 21 August Package, the transitional measures, chiefly adopted by the Commission and the Council of Ministers to make the required alterations in the secondary legislation, would be applied in two main forms as either authorizing the FRG to make specific derogations for a limited time period via making any kind of amendment in the related provisions of the secondary legislation, or amending the

¹¹⁵ Thomas Giegerich. (1991). The European Dimension of German Reunification: East Germany’s Integration into the European Communities. *Zeitschrift für ausländisches öffentliches Recht und Völkerrecht*. 51: 384-450.

Community's legal instruments themselves temporarily or permanently¹¹⁶. Regarding the first method, West Germany, taken as the major party that would be responsible for the harmonization process in the GDR territory, would be in control of particular derogations from the secondary legislation of the Community mainly until 31 December 1992, but exceptionally till 31 December 1995 –particularly related to the environmental rules. In terms of the second method, then, all the initiative would be in the hands of the Commission and Council of Ministers. Concerning the provisory interim measures, as another part of the 21 August Package, the Commission presented two contingency proposals for interim measures via complying with the Community legislative procedure obligatorily requiring, on the one side, collaboration among Commission and the Council of Ministers, and, on another side, the participation of the Parliament either through consultation or cooperation with these institutions, as Article 149 of the EEC Treaty put it. Because of such legal obligations stemming from the provisions of Community treaties and the exceptional character of the East German entry into the Community itself, the Commission gave maximum importance to creating these proposals in full coordination with German officials from both states while at the same time keeping Parliament continually informed of all the developments throughout this process. Moreover, during the preparation process of these proposals for interim measures, the Commission took three major points into consideration such as; the adoption of the Community's *acquis communautaire* should be both the starting and final point, these measures representing derogations from the secondary law of the Community legislation should become restricted to the most essential realms as much as possible, and they should have an *ad hoc* character via posing the least disturbance to the process of European integration. Depending upon these objectives put at the center of above mentioned proposals, then, interim measures were taken into reality by the Council of Ministers and the Commission through three legislative papers. These covered Council Regulation (EEC) No. 2684/90 on interim measures in anticipation of

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

the adoption of transitional measures by the Council either in cooperation or after consultation with the EP, Council Directive 90/476/EEC on interim measures in anticipation of the adoption of transitional measures by the Council in cooperation with the EP, and Commission Decision 90/481/EEC. In particular, via the Council Regulation and Directive, the Council of Ministers accepted to transfer some part of its legislative power to the Commission regarding the management of the application of these measures before the completion of the legislative process. Through this critical transfer of power, whose consequences for the internal balances among Community organs will be much thoroughly examined in the next chapter, the Commission got the opportunity of directly controlling the deliberation and application of these interim measures in the East German territory by the FRG.

As said earlier, in order to compensate for the disappearance of the mechanism of assent taken for the accession of a country by the Parliament in the East German case, the EP underwent into many initiatives. Beginning with the establishment of the Temporary Committee, the works of which throughout the incorporation of the GDR into the Community were also appreciated by the Commission and Council of Ministers, these initiatives of the Parliament ended up with its request for an inter-institutional agreement among all these Community organs regarding the hereafter proceeding of East German entry. Taking the support of the Council of Ministers and Commission, which have also kept underlining the necessity of rising collaboration among European institutions in this harsh process, the Parliament proposed concluding this agreement by three presidents from these organs. In that way, Enrico Baron Crespo, in the name of the EP, Gianni de Michelis, the Italian Foreign Minister on behalf of Council of Ministers, and Jacques Delors, as the President of Commission, came together, and signed the '*Inter-institutional Agreement*' on 6 September 1990¹¹⁷. This significant Agreement, which also constituted one of the remarkable milestones for the change of inherent dynamics

¹¹⁷ David Spence. (1991). *Enlargement Without Accession: The EC's Response to German Unification*. RIIA Discussion Papers 36. Royal Institute of International Affairs. Chatham House: London.

regarding the institutional weights of the Community organs, basically consisted of agreements reached among European institutions regarding the legislative procedures and validity durations of interim measures and transitional measures. According to the consensus achieved on the provisory interim measures, these measures were decided to become effective until the end of 1990 by the Inter-institutional Agreement. Moreover, in response to the two readings of the legislation that would be made by the EP on the interim measures, Council of Ministers promised to take the Parliament's amendments into consideration, and account for its final position on these measures accordingly. Likewise, in terms of the enactment of the legislation on transitional measures, it was decided by all institutions that the EP would declare its views both on the whole package and specifically on the proposals one-by-one in its two readings. In return of these decisions, the Council of Ministers indicated that it would make its first reading of transitional measures rightly before the second reading of the Parliament, and promised not to reach its final decision till the second reading of the Parliament would be completed.¹¹⁸ As can be seen, thanks to the Inter-institutional Agreement, the EP, Council of Ministers, and Commission assured the smooth pursuit of legislative procedures through priorly avoiding any kind of institutional conflict that might possibly emerge in terms of these two sets of measures specifically brought for the East German case.

After the details of the implementation of the interim and transitional measures were clarified through this Inter-institutional Agreement among Community organs, the remaining obligations were just up to taking formal steps related to the legislative process in order for these measures to become effective. Concerning the enactment of interim measures, within nearly a week between the dates of 11 September and 17 September 1990, First Reading by the EP was made, Common Position of the Council of Ministers was declared, Second Reading by the EP was made, and ultimately, final

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

decision on the interim measures was taken by the Council of Ministers in the form of a Council Regulation that determined these measures to be applicable following national reunification in German soil. As can be seen, in line with the priorly set objectives of the Commission, the legal background of the interim measures having an extraordinary character was completed before the date of formal reunification among two German states as 3 October 1990. Meanwhile, the realization of formal reunification also symbolized the end of the interim adjustment stage, and the beginning of the transitional phase for the integration of the GDR in accordance with the deadline set by the Commission. Together with the beginning of the transitional stage, the most important issue requiring a final conclusion by Community organs occurred as the enactment of transitional measures. In this respect, resembling more or less to the procedure for the interim measures, similar steps were taken as regards the final enactment of the transitional measures, but in a bit longer time range, within 1.5 month between 24 October and 4 December 1990. On the same day when the legislative process for the enactment of transitional measures came to an end on 4 December 1990, the Rome Summit of the European Council declared its appreciation for the completion of the East German entry into the Community without allowing any sort of damage to the European integration thanks to the high-level cooperation among Community organs, and accordingly took the decision of opening two IGCs on EMU and EPU. Although large part of the institutional work done for the integration of the GDR was completed till the end of 1990, in 1991, Commission presented its Report on the implementation of transitional measures up to that time to other Community organs, and the Temporary Committee of the EP convened for the last time in order to elaborate on the effectiveness of the applied measures.

In conclusion, at the end of this exhaustive marathon, the East German territory of the newly united Germany was ultimately integrated into the EC on legal terms. As the Community came to acknowledge this special integration as an enlargement of an

already present member state's territory¹¹⁹, the first half of the political unification of the former the GDR with the Community also meant to end. From then on, the EC would be struggling to deepen the integration of the former East Germany in different areas while it was concurrently encountering an internal transformation causing it to shift from a Community into a Union.

3.4 Contributions of the EC/EU to the German Reunification after 1990

Starting from the German monetary, economic, and social union and continuing with the formal unification among the FRG and the GDR, the re-united Germany faced an entirely unique situation emanating from the very nature of German reunification. On the one side, the united Germany had to deal with the structural economic problems in post-industrialist period due to the end of Keynesian interventionism nearly a decade ago akin to other developed capitalist countries. In another front, then, it was required to realize the transition of the post-communist East Germany to capitalist system resembling to other the CEECs. Since the transformation of the post-communist East Germany into a territory complying with the political, economic, and social standards of the EC created a huge challenge for the newly united Germany, the EC/EU also provided aid to this country mainly on two pillars such as political integration and economic transformation of East Germany in post-reunification process. In this respect, the general impact of the EC/EU on the deepening of German reunification in the level of policy-implementation entails more elaboration in order to have a larger outlook on this first step of mutual exchange among German reunification and European integration, which would be followed and completed by the rising German impact on the European integration, as will be shown in the next chapter.

¹¹⁹ Dirk Ehlers. (1993). The German Unification: Background and Prospects. Loyola of Los Angeles International and Comparative Law Review. Loyola Marymount University and Loyola Law School. 15/4: 771-811.

Firstly, in terms of assuaging the political integration of the new Lander of the united Germany, which were previously part of the former the GDR, to the European setting, the Community had already spent so much effort preceding and succeeding the formal reunification among the FRG and the GDR on 3 October 1990. In the aftermath of this process, then, the EC sustained providing institutional support to East Germany in terms of completing its political integration not only to the newly united Germany but also to the Community framework. In this respect, Commission President Delors and many Commissioners realized successive visits to the politically and institutionally non-experienced new Lander of Germany with the aims of establishing a direct channel of dialogue between East Germany and the EC, and providing East German officials to make use of the political and administrative experiences of the Commission¹²⁰. Moreover, during the well-known controversy between Federal government and German Lander also including the eastern ones in terms of the administration and application of European Structural Funds, the Community consulted the former to give much more authority to the latter in accordance with the principles of devolution and subsidiarity. In other words, even in the matters that seemed to be chiefly economic in nature, the political integration of East Germany was much more valued by the Commission. All in all, forming one part of the overall institutional support granted by the EC to the East Germany, political incorporation of these new German Lander continued to remain one of the top priorities within the Community's agenda as regards its long-term targets over Germany.

As the second and more complicated part of the Community's support mechanisms towards new German Lander, the economic integration of the eastern part of Germany was perpetually prompted by the EC via different means. In this respect, the EC/EU adopted a two-sided strategy. One part of this well-formulated strategy foresaw the

¹²⁰ Eiko R. Thielemann. (2000). *Europeanisation and Institutional Compatibility: Implementing European Regional Policy in Germany*. Queen's Papers on Europeanization No. 4/2000. London School of Economics and Political Science.

active monitoring of the EC/EU over the economic policies taken into life by the all-German governments with the objective of deepening the economic integration of East Germany. During this monitoring process, the sui-generis character of the East German integration into the Community framework, conceptualized by Spence as “*enlargement without accession*”, had a decisive effect. Marking the very first step of this process, via State Treaty, which came into effect starting from 1 July 1990, two Germanies promised to achieve an economic, social, and monetary union among each other in order to settle the free market economy and genuine parliamentary democratic system in the East, as the two inevitable prerequisites put for its Member States by the EC/EU. As mentioned previously, with the German EMU activated by State Treaty, East Germany was exposed overnight the West German economic, financial, and social rules. In this regard, successively the currency exchange rate among East German Mark and West German Mark was determined to be 1:1, private property on the means of production units was re-introduced in the GDR, and large-scale monopolistic *Kombinates* were separated into smaller units¹²¹. That is, necessitating the abandonment the socialist economic mentality of centrally-administered command economy coupling with its primary tools and means, and then, totally adopting the rules, principles, and general philosophy of the infamous welfare state arrangements and labour market system of the West German Sozialstaat, this harsh transformation process put serious adjustment problems for both halves of the would-be-united Germany. Nevertheless, despite this highly clearly economic overview, members of West German government led by Chancellor Kohl, who had already promised ‘*blooming landscapes*’ to his East German compatriots, were highly optimistically voicing their trust in the East German capacity of overcoming this overall transformation, so indicated that there was no need for strict economic and financial measures such as higher taxes. Instead, underestimating the actual impact of the economic challenge stemming from the restructuration of the East, Kohl government

¹²¹ Christopher Flockton. (2004). Financing German Unity: Challenges, Methods and Longer-term Consequences. In *United and Divided: Germany since 1990*, eds. Mike Dennis, and Eva Kolinsky. Berghahn Books: New York.

initially planned to transfer the cost of this process to the social insurance system, mostly utilize debt-financing methods, and depend upon the revenues that would be derived as a result of the privatization of the vast state assets inherited from the former the GDR. Especially, regarding the last policy option, the major political apparatus of the West German government turned out to be *Treuhandanstalt*, the Trusteeship Agency. Indeed, Treuhandanstalt was established in March 1990 by the reform Communist Modrow government of the GDR in order to keep the “public property” (*Volkseigenes Vermögen*) under direct state control and protect them against any kind of future attempts by the capitalist government of the united Germany to capture¹²². Yet, due to the increasingly visible economic downturn in the East that became accurate following the German EMU, the general character of Treuhandanstalt was entirely turned upside down. From then on, Treuhandanstalt was re-arranged as a federal institution that would much more be entitled to conducting the large-scale privatization of the Eastern state assets covering varying realms as quickly as possible in order to acquire revenue for the financialization of the economic transformation in the East German Lander¹²³. Unification Treaty, which became effective from 3 October 1990, generated a formal ground for all these economic and financial policy plans of Kohl government. Clarifying the practise of the West German health insurance and pension systems in the former the GDR, Unification Treaty also said the last word regarding the debates on the future mission of Treuhandanstalt through charging it primarily with the restructuration and privatization of the formerly state owned East German enterprises in line with the requirements of a

¹²² Wolfgang Seibel. (2013). Institutional Coping: The Treuhandanstalt and the Collapse of the East German Economy, 1989-1990. In *United Germany: Debating Processes and Prospects*, ed. Konrad H. Jarausch. New York: Berghahn Books. 83-102.

¹²³ Ibid.

competitive economy¹²⁴. In other words, complying with the requirements of the EC/EU, the united Germany accelerated the project of privatization in the ex-the GDR territory in order to fully overcome its post-communist transformation process, and ultimately establish the free market economy with all its rules and principles there.

In addition to the on-going privatization of thousands of state assets by the Treuhandanstalt, federal government also decided to transfer money from the West to the East in order to guarantee the success of the economic restructuration process in the latter. Reminiscent of the EC/EU's support mechanism taking place in the pattern of fund allocations to the needy Member States, Kohl government foresaw three-dimensional support scheme to revitalize the economic life in East Germany. First element of this support scheme contained direct allocations from federal and Treuhandanstalt budgets to the eastern Lander in the context of social insurance system mainly including unemployment insurance, and pension insurance. Despite the amount allocated from these budgets in the form of income support was incrementally increased as years passed, they were proven to be ineffective in an environment where the economic problems of East Germany reached excessively problematic levels than predicted. Second and more important component of this transfer mechanism was accounted by '*German Unity Fund*' (*Deutsche Einheitsfonds*). Brought into existence via possessing the initial budget of DM 115 billion, which was planned to decline year-by-year until the expiration year of 1994, this Fund came to be seen as the major instrument through which the economic transformation of East Germany complying with West German and the EC/EU standards would be financed. In this respect, two major focal points of the Unity Fund around its policy objectives became to locate a social safety net for East Germans via pumping social insurance funds, and to carry out the harsh process of infrastructural development within the territory of former the GDR. Third and the final part of the support mechanism covered other supporting funds, such

¹²⁴ Dirk Ehlers. (1993). The German Unification: Background and Prospects. Loyola of Los Angeles International and Comparative Law Review. Loyola Marymount University and Loyola Law School. 15/4: 771-811.

as the *Kreditabwicklungsfonds*, which would be responsible for inherited the GDR state debt and State bank balance sheet losses, the *Erblastentilgungsfonds* (*Inherited Burdens Amortisation Fund*), which would assume the public housing sector debt of the GDR, special funds from the European Recovery Programme, and the *Gemeinschaftsausgabe* (*Joint Task*), which was directly employed for the improvement of regional economic structure in the East¹²⁵. Out of these additional funds, particularly the Joint Task would generate a firm basis as regards all sorts of regional development assistance granted for East Germany, and so would also provide a domestic institutional background within Germany for the European Structural Funds later. In sum, establishing this comprehensive setting of future transfers from West to East resembling to the transfer mechanism of the EC/EU's funds to the less developed regions, the Federal government attempted to control this harsh process much more effectively via abiding the European standards.

However, despite the overly optimistic evaluations made by the top officials from federal government circles, a short-term implementation process revealed that the existing adjustment problems had not been able to be eliminated; on the contrary, more crucial ones emerged in addition to them. The overly optimistic assessments, which were mainly politically motivated, proved almost entirely wrong ex-post in a short while¹²⁶. The simplistic political decisions of Kohl government in the direction of not raising direct or indirect taxes, or totally transferring the economic cost of reunification to social welfare system without adequately creating the institutional infrastructure of the transformation in the East brought nothing for the united Germany, but higher unemployment, lower economic growth, failing ratios of investment, and total collapse

¹²⁵ Christopher Flockton. (2004). Financing German Unity: Challenges, Methods and Longer-term Consequences. In *United and Divided: Germany since 1990*, eds. Mike Dennis, and Eva Kolinsky. Berghahn Books: New York.

¹²⁶ Ulrich Busch & Christian Müller. (2005). Despite or Because? – Some Lessons of German Unification for EU Enlargement, KOF-Arbeitspapiere/Working Papers No. 87, April, Zurich: 1-23.

of industry via rapidly rising rate of deindustrialization in the East; and higher inflation, increasing state debt, and declining level of faith for the Sozialstaat framework in the West. That is, instead of deepening the economic integration of two parts of the re-united Germany that had remained separate for decades, the political decisions of Kohl government that were primarily motivated by populist incentives caused the occurrence and strengthening of a dual economic structure in the post-reunification Germany. These alarming bells ringing for the economic situation in Germany pushed Chancellor Kohl to go for a U-turn in his economic policies regarding economic reunification between the East and the West. Accordingly, in the beginning of the year of 1991, the '*Eastern Recovery Programme*² (*Gemeinschaftswerk Aufschwung Ost*), which consisted of a comprehensive package of infrastructural and financial support initiatives for the benefit of East Germany, was announced by the federal government as the first step in the face of rising popular demonstrations in East Germany against the process of deindustrialization and the chronically rising dependency on the West. Then, in direct contrast to the initial tendency of Kohl government, '*Solidarity Tax*', popularly called as '*Soli*', was brought for once at a rate of 7.5 per cent on all income tax, investment income, and corporation taxes in order to finance the costs of perpetuating economic transformation in East Germany. Moreover, this Solidarity Surcharge was accompanied by a two stage increase in mineral oil tax, an increase in VAT, and a rise in insurance tax¹²⁷. Although Solidarity Tax was stated to be put just for the year of 1991, it was re-instituted in 1995, and kept till present with changing rates through neglecting continuing discontent of West Germans with this Tax due to the perception of 'bearing the brunt of economic problems in East Germany'. Another problem stands in the form that, as the end of 1994, the expiry date for the German Unity Fund, approached, the East German Lander were increasingly complaining of the fact that the West German Lander did not take an active role sufficiently in terms of assuming the financial burden of the economic transformation in the East till then. Demanding for a deep-rooted

¹²⁷ Ibid.

alteration in the system of cost-and-fund distribution among all Lander, East German Lander were actually striving for much more including the Lander in the West to the process of funding restructuration in their region, and at the same time making use of the funding from federal government much more adequately. In order to respond these demands coming from the East, the federal government accounted for the “*Solidarity Pact*” in 1993 with the ideas of not only re-arranging the financial allocation of costs among Lander, as applicable until 2004, but also compensating for the detrimental results of its wrong policies up to then. As a complementary step, the all-German government declared the “*Federal Consolidation Programme*” in the same year. By this Programme, the East German Lander would finally be integrated into the *States’ Financial Equalisation System*, which functioned to assure the fair distribution of tax revenues among all Lander in the federal state organization as the expression of the principle of cooperative federalism, starting from 1995, so they would be provided a much more reliable and secure funding from the federal government in the equal conditions with their Western counterparts in Germany. Moreover, taking into account the expiration of the Kreditabwicklungsfonds and Treuhandanstalt by the end of 1994, the Federal Consolidation Programme extended the scope of Erblastentilgungsfonds in the form of taking over the debts of these two institutional mechanisms which proved ineffective up to that time. However, towards the end of 1990s, at this time, the West German Lander making the biggest contribution to the Financial Equalisation System of States in Germany initiated to raise its criticisms towards this system following these reformative steps, and applied to the German Constitutional Court. Reaching a final decision in November 1999, Federal Constitutional Court indicated that the Financial Equalisation System was in need of an emergent amendment by the participation of all related Lander. Depending upon this decision, then, federal government went for a new reform in the Financial Equalization System in 2001, and attempted to satisfy the requirements of West German Lander via slight changes in the system. Concurrently, recognizing the continuing trend of economic problems in the East, the Schröder government was in the pursuit of finding ways to continue economic transfers to East

Germany before the expiration of Solidary Pact of 1993 by the end of 2004. Therefore, declaring “*Solidarity Pact II*” in 2001, federal government guaranteed the flow of money to the eastern Lander at the same level till the year of 2019.

At that point, it is essential to note that while all-German governments were deciding for and then realizing these support schemes with the goal of raising the socio-economic standards in East Germany, the EC/EU continued to keep an eye on this process through perpetuating consistent examination on these inner-German mechanisms as regards the compatibility of them with the existing Community rules and principles on state aids, transfers, and subsidies. Therefore, when required, the Community organs, especially the European Commission, did not refrain from making the required warnings to the German authorities related to the subsidies and transfers from the West to the East around the central motive of protecting the competitiveness within all regions of the Community. In one occasion, for instance, the Commission rejected the subsidies amounting to 241 million of DM 781 million that was offered by the Federal government to Volkswagen in order to build new car plants in East German cities via regarding it as ‘anticompetitive’ according to the Union’s legislative on subsidies¹²⁸. Reflecting the EU’s negatively changing attitude towards state subsidies and transfers taking place for the benefit of East Germany, this decision of the Commission not only caused a decline in the interest of private investment for this mentioned region but also urged the Federal government to much more take the Union’s competitive principles on state aid into account during its transfers to the East.

Another part of the Community’s institutional support towards East Germany consisted of direct economic transfers from the Community/Union resources to the enlarged Germany around the goal of accelerating the economic restructuring of the East. In this

¹²⁸ Jonathan R. Zatlín. (2013). Getting Even: East German Economic Underperformance after Unification. In *United Germany: Debating Processes and Prospects*, ed. Konrad H. Jarausch. New York: Berghahn Books. 119-130.

regard, the European Cohesion Policy, and particularly the EU Structural Funds, became the main instrument of the EC/EU. Functioning in accordance with the ends of furthering territorial cooperation and contributing to a boost in growth and employment, EU Structural and Investment Funds mainly cover;

- European Regional Development Fund (ERDF)
- European Social Fund (ESF)
- Cohesion Fund (CF)
- European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD), and
- European Maritime and Fisheries Fund (EMFF).

The biggest portion of structural funds has been accounted by the ERDF and ESF in the Union context. In terms of the case of post-reunification Germany, these two funds also came into the forefront as the major support mechanisms compared to other funds. Attempting to bolster economic and social cohesion of the Union members via correcting imbalances among its developed and non-developed regions, the ERDF mainly concentrates on the realms of innovation and research, the digital agenda, small- and medium-sized enterprises, and low carbon economy. In a complementary sense, the ESF makes all its investment in people through not only developing the means of education and employment across the EU but also healing the living conditions of the poor masses. It is essential to note that each eligible member state can make use of these funds, but Cohesion Fund is only granted to only less developed Member States whose national GDP is around 90 per cent of the Union average, so Germany has not been provided this sort of funds.

Regarding the determination of the regions to which these funds are allocated, initially a complicated scheme involving Objective 1, 2, 3, 4, 5a, 5b, and 6 regions had been set in the beginning of the first funding period. Then, through the later reforms made in this

scheme, the number of the objectives was reduced to four via the assignment of different criteria to each of them, accompanied by the Cohesion Fund and other four Community initiatives. Yet, as can be seen from Table 1 below, with the initiation of the funding period of 2007-2013, the number of objectives was declined to three that have been named as the Convergence objective, the Regional Competitiveness and Employment objective, and the European Territorial Cooperation objective. The Convergence objective has mainly attempted to fill the development gap between developed and least-developed regions of the Union for the advantage of the latter through boosting the growth-enhancing conditions and factors there.

Table 1: Change of the European Cohesion Policy scheme

2000–06			2007–13	
Objectives Community initiatives Cohesion Fund	Financial instruments		Objectives	Financial instruments
Objective 1 Regions lagging behind in development terms	ERDF ESF EAGGF-Guarantee EAGGF-Guidance FIFG		Convergence	ERDF ESF Cohesion Fund
Cohesion Fund	Cohesion Fund			
Objective 2 Economic and social conversion zones	ERDF ESF		Regional competitiveness and employment	ERDF ESF
Objective 3 Training systems and employment policies	ESF			
Interreg III	ERDF		European territorial cooperation	ERDF
URBAN II(*)	ERDF			
EQUAL (*)	ESF			
Leader +	EAGGF-Guidance			
Rural development and restructuring of the fishing sector beyond Objective 1	EAGGF-Guarantee FIFG			
4 objectives 4 Community initiatives Cohesion Fund	6 instruments		3 objectives	3 instruments

Source: European Commission. (2007). Cohesion Policy, 2007-2013: Commentaries and Official Texts. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

In this regard, in order to accelerate their catching-up process, the cohesion policy of the EU has primarily foreseen transferring structural funds to the regions whose per capita GDP is less than 75 per cent of the Union average. For the remainder parts, the Regional Competitiveness and Employment objective has primarily concerned more developed regions of the EU, and aimed to improve their competitiveness and employment means via investing on R&D facilities there. At last, the European Territorial Cooperation

objective has had the end of improving cross-border, trans-national and interregional cooperation among regions via different initiatives exceeding the national borders¹²⁹.

According to the procedures, after the submission by the beneficiary Member States of a draft partnership agreement, which gives place to their nation-wide strategies and Operational Programmes regarding the application of the structural funds, the Commission conducts meetings with the officials of these States on the content of these agreements. At the end of the day, all these nationally presented programmes are jointly applied by the governments and the regional authorities of these Member States. As asserted by Hartwig, structural funds have been managed in accordance with five main principles involving; concentration, programming, partnership, additionality, and monitoring¹³⁰. According to the principles of concentration and programming, structural funds are allocated to the neediest parts of the Union territory within limited programming periods under the directive of the European Commission. Following its national reunification, Germany has been provided structural funds within 5 programming periods covering the years of 1989-1993, 1994-1999, 2000-2006, 2007-13, and 2014-2020. Then, partnership principle entails the management of these funds jointly within multi-level policy networks that involve a multiplicity of supranational, national and subnational actors who are required to work as partners¹³¹. The principle of additionality dictates the fact that EU structural funds can just be complementary to the already existing regional support schemes within a member state. Finally, the monitoring

¹²⁹ Lisa M. Dellmuth. (2011). European Structural, Agricultural and Environmental Spending in Germany: The Allocation and Implementation of EU Resources. Policy paper prepared at the request of Franziska Bartner, MEP. Stockholm University.

¹³⁰ Ines Hartwig. (1999). Managing Structural Funds: Institutional Constraints to Efficiency. Paper Prepared for ECSA Conference, Pittsburgh. European Institute of Public Administration.

¹³¹ Eiko R. Thielemann. (2000). Europeanisation and Institutional Compatibility: Implementing European Regional Policy in Germany. Queen's Papers on Europeanization No. 4/2000. London School of Economics and Political Science.

principle guarantees the persistent Union monitoring on variable points such as expenditure related to the use of structural funds by a member state.

Remaining at the top of the Union-wide support mechanisms, the general amount of the EU Structural funds has grown steadily since 1989. While 64 billion Euros was allocated for the 1989-93 period, then it was increased to 155 billion Euros for the period of 1994-1999, to 195 billion Euros for 2000-2006¹³², and finally reached 352 billion Euros for the current funding period of 2014-2020. Parallel to the rising tendency of European structural funds, the regions classified under the category of Objective 1 have also increased steadily, from 44 regions determined for the funding period of 1989-1993 to 67 regions for the period of 2000-2006¹³³. After the internal reform conducted in the cohesion policy scheme, the number of regions covered within the category of Convergence objective took place as 84 – excluding the phasing-out regions- for the funding period of 2007-2013.

In the German context, the implementation process has differentiated a bit from other national instances, then, in the East German context, it has also been distinguished from the western part of the country in terms of country-wide application. Depending upon its constitutional principles providing some sort of autonomy in terms of their self-administration, Lander have already been in charge of the use of the EU structural funds within their regions. Federal government, then, has been entitled to provide coordination among Lander in terms of the implementation of these funds. However, this was not so for the case of new Lander, which accounted for the former the GDR in pre-reunification period, at least till early 2000s. Lacking an effective administrative capacity in state and local levels, East German Lander had to become totally dependent on the centre in this

¹³² European Commission. (2001). Sound Management of the Structural Funds: A Major Issue for the Union's Development. Fact Sheet – January 2001. Directorate-General for Regional Policy.

¹³³ Andrés Rodríguez-Pose & Ugo Fratesi. (2004). Between Development and Social Policies: The Impact of European Structural Funds in Objective 1 Regions. *Regional Studies*. 38.1: 97-113.

period. In this regard, as previously mentioned, the Joint Task, which was legally introduced into the West German policy framework by a law dated 1969, has become the major coordinative instrument for the Lander, and especially for the federal government to assist regions in overcoming their regional programmes. In particular, considering the infant bureaucracy of East German Lander after reunification, federal government enjoyed this situation in terms of increasingly subordinating the European structural funds to the national policy regime that was cumulated under the Joint Task¹³⁴. Although the overwhelming weight of the federal government within the internal decision-making mechanisms of the Joint Task has generally made subject to the complaints of German Lander both in the East and the West, the Joint Task has provided a common institutional layer in which the federal government and Lander have decided for the determination and practise of the structural regional policies in the federal and Lander levels. In addition to all these peculiarities, the Joint Task has also functioned as an integrative instrument of the EU Cohesion Policy in German scale directly emanating from the additionality principle of the European Structural Funds. That is, the ERDF and ESF have generally been distributed to Germany as a supplement to its regional support schemes in the context of the Joint Task. After reunification among two German states, the Joint Task was suddenly extended to the new East German Lander via the injection of a specifically structural concept foreseen for the transformation of East Germany into the scope of Joint Task. Parallel to this domestic harmonization process, the EC also accentuated the necessity of integrating the former the GDR territory into the Cohesion Policy. Moving from this path, in its Package, dated 21 August 1990, which consisted of transitional and interim measures that would be applicable in the East German territory

¹³⁴ Jeffrey J. Anderson. (1996). Germany and the Structural Funds: Unification Leads to Bifurcation. In Cohesion Policy and European Integration: Building Multi-Level Governance, ed. Liesbet Hooghe. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 163-94.

following reunification, the European Commission stressed three points regarding the use of European structural funds in the former the GDR as follows¹³⁵:

- Structural funds operations in the former the GDR have to be treated on the same basis as operations in the rest of the Community as soon and as far as possible.
- There exists a strong need for rapid implementation of funds operations in the former the GDR through simplified procedures.
- In an environment where reliable statistical data were absent for the former the GDR, any a priori designation in terms of classifying new German Lander under the categories of Objective 1, 2, or 5b regions should be avoided in order not to hinder the Community's flexibility of giving effective institutional responses to the future problems in the mentioned region.

Furthermore, relying on these evaluations, the 21 August Package foresaw two transitional measures for a limited period regarding the implementation of structural funds in East Germany such as *flexibility*, which was brought related to the classification of East German territory according to the NUTS system, and *simplified procedure*, which would be applicable in the creation of German regional development plan around the adoption of Community Support Framework and National Operational Programmes¹³⁶. Following the end of this transitional period, German Lander were classified according to the NUTS System under three categories as convergence regions, competitiveness regions, and phasing-out regions. In this respect, while all East German Lander including Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt, Thuringia were determined to be provided aid as convergence regions under the Convergence objective, the remaining West German Lander including Baden-Württemberg, Bavaria, Berlin (East-West), Bremen, Hamburg, Hessen, Lower Saxony (without Lüneburg), Northrhein-Westphalia, Rheinland-Palatinate, Saarland, and Schleswig-Holstein were given support as competitive regions under the Regional Competitiveness and Employment objective. The only exception to them was Lüneburg,

¹³⁵ European Commission. (1990). The European Community and German Unification. Bulletin of the European Communities. Supplement 4/90. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

which was categorized as a phasing-out region due to its specific features. As can be understood, via the convergence-competitiveness distinction among German Lander, the developmental gap between East and West was persisted again, yet at this time in the EC/EU context. In this respect, while East German ‘convergence’ Lander, which were experiencing the harsh times of capitalist economic transformation, were aimed to catch-up with West German Lander and general European average economically through the completion of its fundamental structural necessities, West German ‘competitive’ Lander, which had already proven themselves with their economically developed structures, would be just injected funds to increase their competitiveness capacities in this rapidly globalizing world.

When the first funding period of 1989-1993 began, two Germanies were still separate. Yet, after the successive events taking place with an unexpectedly rapid pace, West and East Germany formally came together on 3 October 1990. Indeed, at the I. Dublin Summit, in April 1990, Chancellor Kohl clearly declared that his government intended to renounce the structural fund assistance that would be provided for the East German Lander by the EC, and to perpetuate the overall transformation of this territory solely via domestic support mechanisms that would be in line with the Community legislation¹³⁷. However, foreseeing the reunification event in a near future, in August 1990, the European Commission took an opposite decision in the form of allocating 3 million ECUs in the context of regional assistance to the newly emerging East German Lander between 1991 and 1993, and identified this territory as an ‘*exceptionally assisted area*’. Additionally, former the GDR territory was regarded as eligible for structural funds support in January 1991. Nevertheless, this was not adequate for East German Lander since the economic situation of new Lander was deteriorating with each passing day. At that point, the negotiations for the Treaty of Maastricht gave these Lander an

¹³⁷ Jeffrey J. Anderson & John B. Goodman. (1993). Mars or Minerva? A United Germany in a Post-Cold War Europe. In *After the Cold War: International Institutions and State Strategies in Europe, 1989-91*, eds. R. Keohane, J. Nye, and S. Hoffmann. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 23-62.

indispensable opportunity to make their voices heard by the EC officials. Moving from this point, despite the well-known reluctance and opposition of the federal government towards their intentions, East German Lander launched a wide-ranging campaign across the EC with the primary objectives of being classified as Objective 1 regions, and being granted a substantial increase in the structural funding. In order to justify their demands and reveal that they entirely have the similar conditions like Objective 1 regions in Spain, Italy, and Greece economically, East German officials presented statistics proving that East Germany remained at the bottom of the Community average as regards per capita GDP, and below the eligibility threshold of 75 per cent¹³⁸. Behind these chief goals, as a whole, East Germany was also struggling to push European structural funds beyond the confines of the federal Joint Task, derive more internal authorization regarding the determination of the funding amount and its overall implementation, and decrease the high levels of regional dependence on federal government. From the European front, the Commission, which was known for its huge stress on the subsidiarity principle, also supported these demands of East German Lander related to the management of European structural funds since it believed in the fact that each sub-region within the Community should decide on its own priorities independent from the centre. What is more, complaining for the high dominion of German federal government over the flux of European structural funds to the Lander via the mechanism of Joint Task, the Commission also saw a huge opportunity in a possible change within German administrative system of structural funds around the goals of exporting its well-known Southern development model to this part of Germany and rising its contact on this region, where it was not able to appear much until that time due to the administrative deficiencies there¹³⁹. At the end of all these lobbying activities of the new Lander to bring the Commission to their side, at the Lisbon Summit in 1992, the European heads

¹³⁸ Jeffrey J. Anderson. (1996). Germany and the Structural Funds: Unification Leads to Bifurcation. In *Cohesion Policy and European Integration: Building Multi-Level Governance*, ed. Liesbet Hooghe. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 163-94.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

of state and government decided to classify East German Lander and East Berlin as Objective 1 regions starting from 1994. Although this decision, which was greeted in East Germany and Brussels as a victory, was met with decrying by the federal government through its classification as an intervention to the constitutional obligation of Germany to provide the equality of living standards in every corner of the country¹⁴⁰, it irreversibly marked a turning point both for the German policy networks and for the economic branch of the traditional European policy of Germany. Particularly, in pre-reunification period, West Germany had hosted Objective 2 and 5b regions around structural funding, but had no Objective 1 regions. Moreover, as the EC's wealthiest and the leading budget-contributor country, West Germany had generally utilized modest share of structural funds with 6.2 per cent of all ERDF commitments in 1979, dropping to 2.6 per cent in 1986, and then slightly rising to 3.9 per cent in 1989¹⁴¹. Yet, beginning from the year of 1994, German government was granted higher amounts of funding due to having Objective 1 regions like rather less developed Member States, such as Italy, Spain, Greece, and Portugal. Therefore, appearing in the table not only as a paymaster but also as a *demandeur* placed the united Germany in an uncomfortable and unaccustomed position that they did not desire from the beginning, as Anderson points out¹⁴². All in all, due to witnessing the re-arrangement of the structural funding system within Germany, first funding period of 1989-1993 had an irreversible impact on the following funding periods.

In the second funding period of 1994-1999, compared to the previous funding period, due to their previously mentioned attempts, East German Lander, now stated as

¹⁴⁰ Jeffrey J. Anderson. (1997). *The German Model and European Integration: Between Unification and Union*. Brown University. 1-25.

¹⁴¹ Jeffrey J. Anderson. (1996). *Germany and the Structural Funds: Unification Leads to Bifurcation*. In *Cohesion Policy and European Integration: Building Multi-Level Governance*, ed. Liesbet Hooghe. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 163-94.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

Objective 1 regions, were much more involved within the implementation of structural funds across Germany. For this funding period, the EU allocated 153 billion ECUs to its cohesion policy initiatives. Out of the this amount of structural funds shared among 15 Member States, Germany was provided 21.7 billion ECUs, 13,6 billion of which was spent for its Objective 1 regions that were accounted by East German Lander. With this share, united Germany ranked the second most beneficiary country of European structural funds with the ratio of 14% behind Spain¹⁴³. These figures reveal the fact that despite nearly half a decade passed from the realization of formal reunification, German economy still seemed to be in need of economic support that was provided by the European structural funds in order to overcome the rising economic problems arising from the practise of wrong policies as regards the transformation of the East German economy.

¹⁴³ Ergüder Can & Dilek Akdenizli Kocagül. (2008). Avrupa Birliği'nde Bölgesel Politikanın Gelişimi ve Yapısal Fonlar. TEPAV. Ankara.

Table 2: Structural Funds Allocations 2000-2006^(a) (million Euros, 1999 prices)

Country	Objective 1	Phasing Out Objective 1	Objective 2	Phasing Out Objective 2	Objective 3	FIFG (outside Objective 1)	Total
Belgium	0	625	368	65	737	34	1,829
Denmark	0	0	156	27	365	197	745
Germany	19,229	729	2,984	526	4,581	107	28,156
Greece	20,961	0	0	0	0	0	20,961
Spain	37,744	352	2,553	98	2,140	200	43,087
France	3,254	551	5,437	613	4,540	225	14,620
Ireland ^(b)	1,315	1,773	0	0	0	0	3,088
Italy	21,935	187	2,145	377	3,744	96	28,484
Luxembourg	0	0	34	6	38	0	78
Netherlands	0	123	676	119	1,686	31	2,635
Austria	261	0	578	102	528	4	1,473
Portugal	16,124	2,905	0	0	0	0	19,029
Finland	913	0	459	30	403	31	1,836
Sweden ^(c)	722	0	354	52	720	60	1,908
UK ^(b)	5,085	1,166	3,989	706	4,568	121	15,635
Total	127,543	8,411	19,733	2,721	24,050	1,106	183,564

Notes: (a) Excluding Community Initiatives
(b) Including PEACE (2000 to 2004) which is to be funded under Objective 1
(c) Including the special programme for Swedish coastal zones

Source: Jane Hough & Andrew Presland. (2000). European Structural Funds Research Paper 00/72. House of Commons Library. London.

For the third funding period of 2000-2006, as can be seen from Table 2, out of the structural funds totally amounting to 183.5 billion Euros, Germany was allocated 28.1 billion Euros, 19.2 billion of which was spent for the East German regions which were considered to be lagging behind in development terms. Through this national use of structural funds, out of 15 Member States, Germany ranked the third most beneficiary country of the European structural funds with the funding ratio of 15% behind Spain and Italy. This fact again demonstrated that the economic problems of transformation in the eastern part of the country were still persistent, so the EU found it appropriate to keep supporting this harsh process via such a huge allocation of structural funds. Yet, due to the accession of former Eastern bloc countries in Europe to the EU towards the end of this funding period, it became obvious that Germany's share from structural funds would

decrease in the following years for the advantage of the former countries which needed these funds much more desperately.

Table 3: Structural Funds Allocations 2007-2013 (million Euros, 2007 prices)

	Convergence			Regional Competitiveness and Employment		European Territorial Cooperation	Total
	Cohesion Fund	Convergence	Phasing-out	Phasing-in	Regional Competitiveness and Employment		
Belgium			638		1 425	194	2 258
Bulgaria	2 283	4 391				179	6 853
Czech Republic	8 819	17 064			419	389	26 692
Denmark					510	103	613
Germany		11 864	4 215		9 409	851	26 340
Estonia	1 152	2 252				52	3 456
Éire-Ireland				458	293	151	901
Greece	3 697	9 420	6 458	635		210	20 420
Spain	3 543	21 054	1 583	4 955	3 522	559	35 217
France		3 191			10 257	872	14 319
Italy		21 211	430	972	5 353	846	28 812
Cyprus	213			399		28	640
Latvia	1 540	2 991				90	4 620
Lithuania	2 305	4 470				109	6 885
Luxembourg					50	15	65
Hungary	8 642	14 248		2 031		386	25 307
Malta	284	556				15	855
Netherlands					1 660	247	1 907
Austria			177		1 027	257	1 461
Poland	22 176	44 377				731	67 284
Portugal	3 060	17 133	280	448	490	99	21 511
Romania	6 552	12 661				455	19 668
Slovenia	1 412	2 689				104	4 205
Slovakia	3 899	7 013			449	227	11 588
Finland				545	1 051	120	1 716
Sweden					1 626	265	1 891
United Kingdom		2 738	174	965	6 014	722	10 613
Interregional/Network Cooperation						445	445
Technical Assistance							868
Total	69 578	199 322	13 955	11 409	43 556	8 723	347 410

Source: European Commission. (2008). Cohesion Policy 2007-2013: National Strategic Reference Frameworks. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

Complying with the previous statements made for the third funding period, the fourth funding period of 2007-2013, shown in Table 3 above, witnessed the necessity of providing bigger amounts of structural aid and assistance for the newly coming post-communist countries. In this respect, with the objective of developing economic, social and territorial cohesion and reducing inter-regional development gaps among Member States, the total amount of structural funds and the Cohesion Fund was increased approximately 100% per cent, and reached 347.4 billion Euros. Due to these newly emerging circumstances, Germany was distributed 26.3 billion Euros, 16.1 billion Euros for the East German Lander covered under the Convergence objective, 9.4 billion Euros for the West German Lander covered under the Regional Competitiveness and Employment objective and 0.8 billion under the European Territorial Cooperation objective. Despite this slight decline in its share compared to the previous funding period, Germany still ranked fifth with the ratio of 7% behind Poland, Spain, Italy, and the Czech Republic among 27 Member States. That is, recognizing the continuity of economic problems in Germany, especially in the East, the Commission preferred not going for a huge reduction in the structural fund allocation for this country.

Table 4: Structural Funds Allocations 2014-2020 (million Euros, 2014 prices)

	European Regional Development Fund and European Social Fund			Cohesion Fund	Total cohesion policy (¹)	Share of EU-28 cohesion policy funds (%)
	Less developed regions	Transition regions	More developed regions			
EU-28	182 171.8	35 381.1	54 350.5	63 399.7	351 854.2	100.0
Belgium	-	1 039.7	938.6	-	2 283.9	0.6
Bulgaria	5 089.3	-	-	2 278.3	7 588.4	2.2
Czech Republic	15 282.5	-	88.2	6 258.9	21 982.9	6.2
Denmark	-	71.4	255.1	-	553.4	0.2
Germany	-	9 771.5	8 498.0	-	19 234.9	5.5
Estonia	2 461.2	-	-	1 073.3	3 590.0	1.0
Ireland	-	-	951.6	-	1 188.6	0.3
Greece	7 034.2	2 306.1	2 528.2	3 250.2	15 521.9	4.4
Spain	2 040.4	13 399.5	11 074.4	-	28 559.5	8.1
France	3 407.8	4 253.3	6 348.5	-	15 852.5	4.5
Croatia	5 837.5	-	-	2 559.5	8 609.4	2.4
Italy	22 324.6	1 102.0	7 692.2	-	32 823.0	9.3
Cyprus	-	-	421.8	269.5	735.6	0.2
Latvia	3 039.8	-	-	1 349.4	4 511.8	1.3
Lithuania	4 628.7	-	-	2 048.9	6 823.1	1.9
Luxembourg	-	-	39.6	-	59.7	0.0
Hungary	15 005.2	-	463.7	6 025.4	21 905.9	6.2
Malta	-	490.2	-	217.7	725.0	0.2
Netherlands	-	-	1 014.6	-	1 404.3	0.4
Austria	-	72.3	906.0	-	1 235.6	0.4
Poland	51 163.6	-	2 242.4	23 208.0	77 567.0	22.0
Portugal	16 671.2	257.6	1 275.5	2 861.7	21 465.0	6.1
Romania	15 058.8	-	441.3	6 935.0	22 993.8	6.5
Slovenia	1 260.0	-	847.3	895.4	3 074.8	0.9
Slovakia	9 483.7	-	44.2	4 168.3	13 991.7	4.0
Finland	-	-	999.1	-	1 465.8	0.4
Sweden	-	-	1 512.4	-	2 105.8	0.6
United Kingdom	2 383.2	2 617.4	5 767.6	-	11 839.9	3.4

(¹) The totals presented include a number of allocations which are not detailed in this table: European territorial cooperation, special allocations for outermost and northern sparsely populated regions, additional allocations for the Youth Employment Initiative, urban innovative actions and technical assistance.

Source: Eurostat. (2014). Eurostat Regional Yearbook 2014. Eurostat Statistical Books.
Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.

During the current funding period of 2014-2020, 351.8 billion Euros have been distributed to the European structural funds and the Cohesion Fund in the context of the cohesion policy, which is closely affiliated with the Europe 2020 Strategy. Out of the structural funds allocated for 28 Member States, as shown in Table 4 above, Germany is given 19.2 billion Euros, which makes it eighth most beneficiary country with the funding ratio of 5.5% behind Poland, Italy, Estonia, Romania, Czech Republic, Hungary, and Portugal, as can be seen from the Figure 1 below.

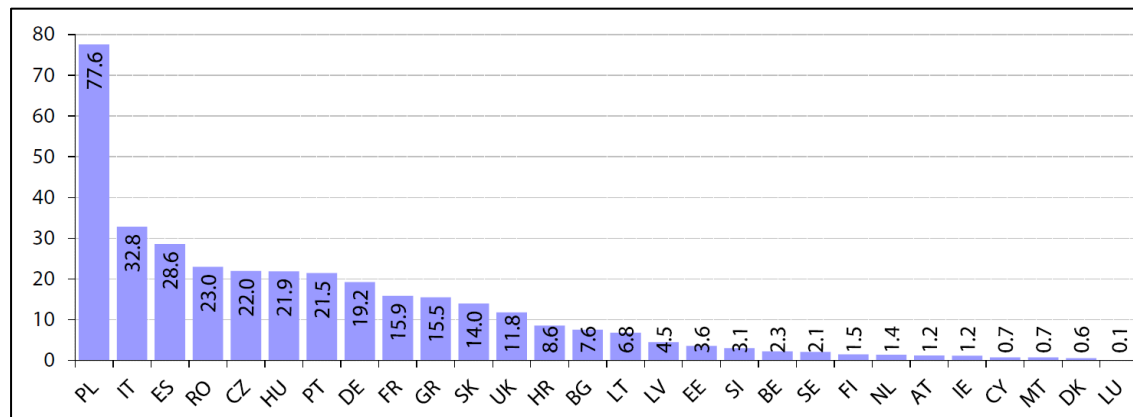


Figure 1: Total EU Allocations of Cohesion Policy. 2014-2020 (billion Euros, 2014 prices)

Source: European Parliamentary Research Service. (2014). Structural and Cohesion Funds in the Member States: An Overview.

As the third leg of the European cohesion policy, around the fulfilment of European Territorial Cooperation objective, financed by ERDF for the 2007-2013 funding period, Germany and its Lander participated 23 territorial cooperation programmes with a total EU contribution of 851 million Euros. In this context, East German Lander actively attended 5 cross-border cooperation programmes including South Baltic, *Mecklenburg Vorpommern/Brandenburg-Zachodniopomorskie*, *Wojewodztwo Lubuskie-Brandenburgia*, *Sachsen-Polska*, and *Sachsen-Ceska Republika*, as can be seen from Graph 1 below. Through these programmes, the EU has aimed at not only developing interregional cooperation among East Germany and other European regions but also strengthening the belongingness of East Germans to the European family and increasing their socio-economic integration to Europe via rising interaction with other European citizens.

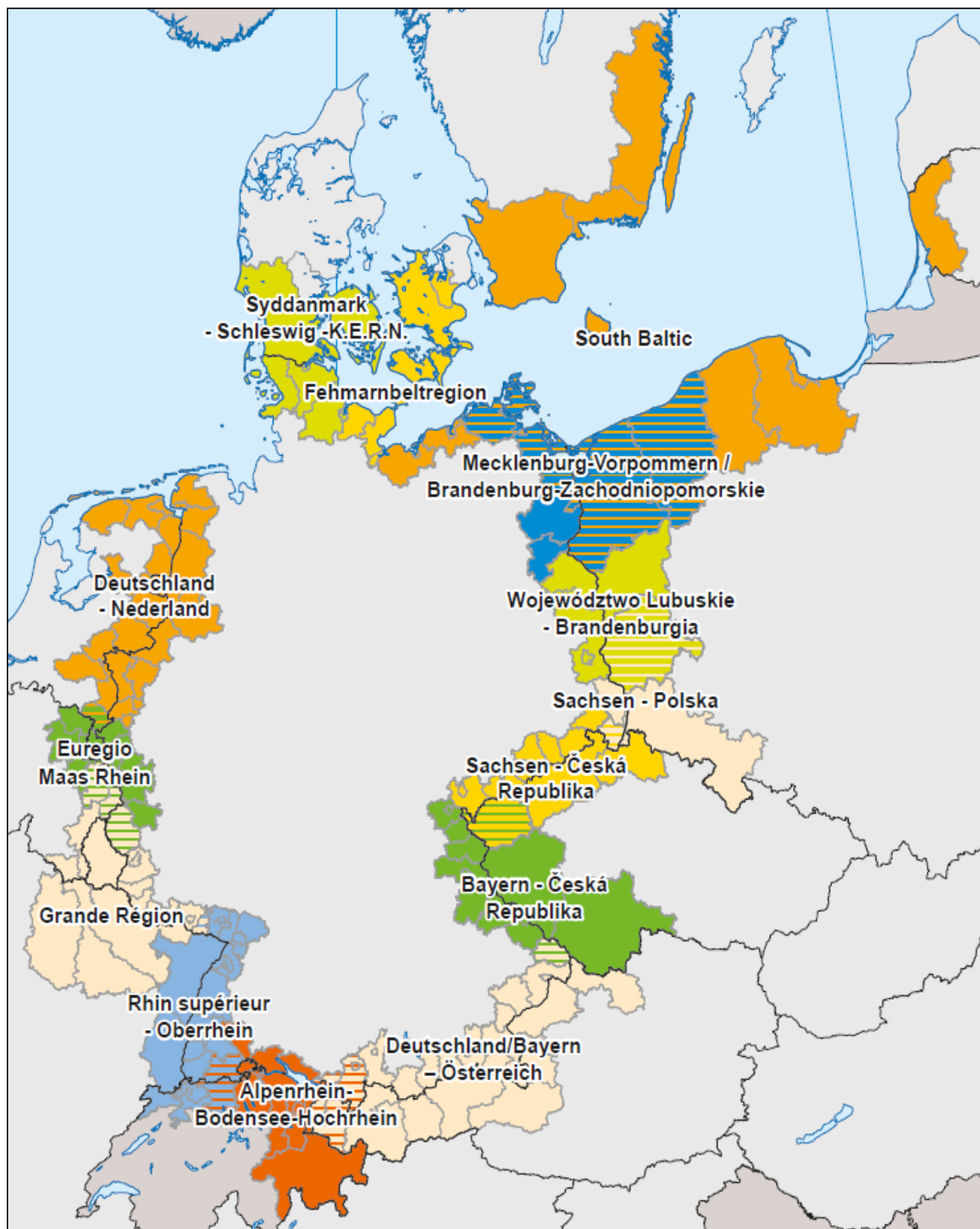


Figure 2: European Territorial Cooperation in Germany. 2007-2013.

Source: European Commission. (2009). European Cohesion Policy in Germany. European Union Cohesion Policy. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

At that point, it is crucial to note that in addition to the support provided by these structural funds, the EU has also pioneered many investment programs initiatives for the East German region. Through these programs, it was attempted to provide infrastructural aid to the total transformation of this part of Germany, create and safeguard jobs through investment funding, and turn the attention of European private investors to East Germany.

Thanks to the financial support provided by the EU mainly in the pattern of structural funds, there has occurred some progress in the economic situation of East Germany particularly for the recent years. As indicated by Schwab, for the Convergence regions in East Germany, GDP is estimated to be some 1.5% higher, and employment to be 1.2% to 1.4 % higher than it would have been without variable sorts of funding transfers by the Union between the years of 2009 and 2015, as result of the combined effects of EU financial support given within the funding periods of 2000-2006, and 2007-2013¹⁴⁴. Considering the consistent flux of European structural funds to the East German region as complementary to the domestic support mechanism within Germany, it is possible to predict that such positive reflections of these Europe-originated funds on the East German region continue to be witnessed for the upcoming years, too.

¹⁴⁴ Oliver Schwab. (2010). Expert Evaluation Network Delivering Policy Analysis on the Performance of Cohesion Policy 2007-2013, Task 2: Country Report on Achievements of Cohesion Policy-*Germany*. A Report to the European Commission Directorate-General Regional Policy. Applica-Ismeri Europa.

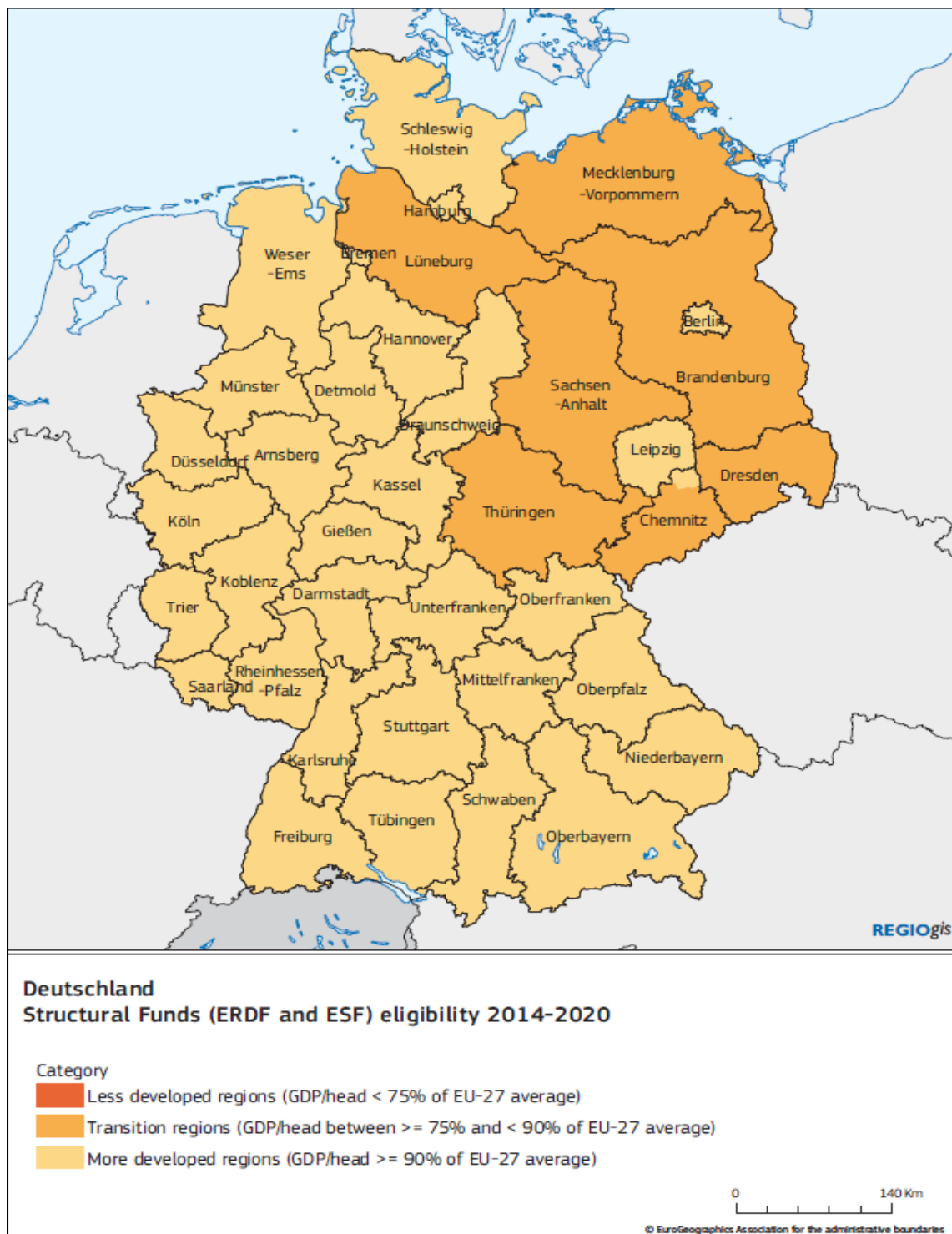


Figure 3: Structural Funds Eligibility of East-West German Lander. 2014-2020.

Source: European Commission. (2014). Cohesion Policy and Germany. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

In conclusion, the EU has financially bolstered the harsh socio-economic transformation process in East Germany through the means of structural funds for approximately a quarter century although this total amount has been far surpassed by the huge German contribution to the EU budget over years, as will be elucidated more in the next chapter. Thanks to this wide-ranging support scheme covering multiple realms such as economic growth and employment facilities, R&D, SMEs, environment and clean energy, natural resources, territorial development and cross-border cooperation, East Germany has been able to make progress in many areas such as modernizing its infrastructure, so catching-up the West in this respect. However, given that the post-reunification economic problems as high unemployment, low levels of economic growth, and regional underdevelopment are still escalating there, East Germany still has a long way to go in the upcoming years in order to be converted to a region which would enjoy the same economic benefits and high standards of living like West Germany and other European countries. Thus, as can be observed from Chart 2 above, due to the maintenance of the conventional East-West division within Germany via the EU-made classification of convergence- competitiveness regions at present, the EU also has a long road ahead in terms of realizing its ultimate objective of socio-economically and politically integrating East Germany into the Union in reality.

CHAPTER 4

GENERAL EVALUATION OF GERMAN REUNIFICATION AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATION SINCE 1990

At the time two German states that had remained apart for decades again came together under the institutional structure of the FRG and the former the GDR entered into the EC concurrently, the European continent was under the influence of a deep conjectural change triggered mainly by the rising wave of globalization and, more importantly, by the post-Cold War atmosphere that the world just entered. In an environment where prominent scholars such as Francis Fukuyama already declared the exact victory of capitalist world view over socialism, and so ‘the end of history’ for all the related sides due to the collapse of the socialist regimes, which included the GDR, in Eastern Europe, the EC was also in the pursuit of overcoming all these times of transformation without getting any serious damage, and ultimately getting adapted to this new monolithic world order. As mentioned in the previous chapter, through participating the process of German reunification as one of the major parties related and governing East German access to the Community rather successfully, the EC was now looking forward to fulfilling its institutional targets set in mid-1980s as completing the single market and achieving political unification by the beginning of 1990s. In line with these commonly determined goals, then, in 1992, the Community took into reality the objective of single market economically, and converted itself to the “European Union” via the signature of the Treaty of Maastricht. As can be understood, throughout these highly important processes of realizing internal market among all Member States and carrying out its internal political transformation from “Community to Union” as envisaged by the protagonists of European integration decades ago at the very beginning of this long road, the EU was experiencing hard times depending upon the unbalanced nature of these transformative processes themselves. Coinciding with this harsh period, the rise of a

state, which was directly encountering the difficulties of very similar transformative processes inherently for a while, initiated to be witnessed within the Union: Germany. Attempting to deepen the reunification among its eastern and western parts via different political, economic, and social means, the post-reunification Germany suddenly came into the forefront as the Member State which was commonly considered to be able to direct the Union regarding the accounting of policies for the economic and political integration of the EU via directly relying on its own national experiences. As mentioned previously, preceding and succeeding its formal reunification in 1990, firstly West Germany, then, the united Germany had been directly granted political, diplomatic, and material benefit by the EC in order to overcome the reunification process much more easily without causing any trouble not only for itself but also for the entire project of European integration. Now, it was time for the united Germany to pay back for the institutional help provided by the EC at its harsh times of reunification. Thus, in this chapter, after elaborating on the general consequences of the German reunification for the EC/EU, the question how the re-united Germany managed to soar to the level of undisputable leadership within the EU as regards political, diplomatic and economic aspects will attempt to be answered. In this regard, mainly the all-German impact on the creation of the Union policies in different realms until the year of 2009 will be scrutinized. At the end of this chapter, the recent academic discussions made on whether Germany evolved into the reluctant hegemon of the EU will be brought into a light.

4.1 Implications of the German Reunification for the EC/EU

Without a doubt, German reunification created many important consequences for both West and East Germany, the traces of which are still possible to be observed in today's Germany. Due to the previously mentioned wrong policies put into practise by the federal government, and other institutional failures following the formal reunification, East Germany has been condemned into a form of economic dependency on the West

and on-going socio-economic turmoil for approximately 25 years¹⁴⁵. However, considering the scope of the thesis, all internal and external implications of German reunification will not be examined in this part. Rather, they will solely be issued in terms of their repercussions on the EC/EU realm, notwithstanding the points about the domestic political and economic matters within Germany. In this respect, it is possible to assert seven major consequences that the German reunification cast for the EU in both positive and negative terms. Out of these consequences, some of them caused changes in the external dimensions related to the EU, while another portion of them were directly affiliated with the internal balances within the Union itself.

Firstly, the necessity of incorporating East Germany into the EC framework as the natural outcome of German reunification created a turning point in the history of European integration in relation to many respects. This entirely unique case of “enlargement without accession” brought many novelties that had a changing impact on the long-running institutional routines within the EC/EU. It is an undeniable fact that there emerged many fears and suspicions related to the future of European integration in different circles of few Member States when German reunification emerged as a fateful reality for the whole Community organs and actors. However, as time passed, all the existing views were prevailed over by a common consciousness that the matter of German reunification, which had paramount importance not only for the persistence of a peaceful order in the European continent but also for the reliable proceeding of the project of European integration, was too sensitive to be sacrificed for the restrictive interests of conventional nation-state perspectives. Therefore, the conceptualization of German reunification directly as a Community issue by the EC itself had a profound impact on the governing and finalization of this process within the Community framework. Due to this understanding, all Community organs and actors reached a

¹⁴⁵ Jonathan R. Zatlin. (2013). Getting Even: East German Economic Underperformance after Unification. In *United Germany: Debating Processes and Prospects*, ed. Konrad H. Jarausch. New York: Berghahn Books. 119-130.

consensus over the fact that any kind of exceptions should be granted for the smooth and fast reunification of the FRG and the GDR under the Community framework¹⁴⁶. In order to provide this, yet, the method for the integration of the former the GDR to the EC had to be decided upon. At that point, although the absence of any previous incident neither in the Community legislation nor in its history that would be used as a guide for the East German entry seemed to cause an internal crisis, a legal solution named as “moving Treaty boundaries without any amendment in the primary legislation” could be achieved at the end of the negotiations perpetuated among Community elements. After the positive opinion of the Commission on the view of approving the existence of the moving treaty boundaries rule in the Community law, the Council of Ministers, the EP, Member States, and third countries, especially the COMECON members, revealed no sort objection to it, so the incorporation of the former the GDR into the Community could become possible via this concerted action. Beyond an ordinary decision taken via the consensus of Community segments, this actually corresponded to a legal precedent (*opinio juris*) that would become applicable for the upcoming instances¹⁴⁷. To state it differently, the hidden enlargement of 1989 that came into the agenda of the EC due to the German reunification obligatorily created a brand new legal situation regarding the implementation of the rule of moving treaty boundaries. Another novelty that was brought by the German reunification for the EC took place in direct relation with the Community’s newly determined targets in terms of achieving political unity and completing the single market. As mentioned in the previous chapter, in the beginning it was commonly feared that integrating the former the GDR into the Community structure was likely to cause a lapse in terms of fulfilling the deadline foreseen for these recently

¹⁴⁶ David Spence. (1993). The European Community and German Unification. In *Federalism, Unification, and European Integration*, eds. Charlie Jeffrey, and Roland Sturm. London, England. 136-163.

¹⁴⁷ Thomas Giegerich. (1991). The European Dimension of German Reunification: East Germany’s Integration into the European Communities. *Zeitschrift für ausländisches öffentliches Recht und Völkerrecht*. 51: 384-450.

set targets. Yet, particularly after the constructive interventions of the Commission institutionally and its President Delors personally, the majority of the Community elements accepted the fact that instead of slowing down the pace of economic and political integration, the German reunification should be utilized as a catalyst to accelerate these mentioned processes. In that sense, it was recognized that even if unexpected incidents or necessities such as integrating East Germany into the Community framework would emerge in the future, the Community should continue proceeding in its normal path towards achieving its institutional goals. As indicated in one of the Commission papers, due to empowering this understanding, German reunification made a substantial contribution internally to the processes of economic and monetary union via gaining momentum to the both¹⁴⁸. All in all, without this unique combination of political will and institutional ambition borne out of the emergent character of the German reunification for the EC, neither the European Council might take decisions on behalf of initiating the IGCs for the political and economic union nor other Community organs and Member States would back these decisions as it happened.

The second implication of the German reunification for the EU took place in a rather negative sense because of the advent of East Germany as a new socio-politically and economically backward region, which would need to be institutionally supported by the EU. According to the European public opinion, as problematic effects of the German economic recession were much more combined with disputable policies of the federal governments such as Treuhand privatization, and property restitution in time, East Germany emerged as 'a German version of Mezzogiorno' both for the united Germany and the EU, with reference to Italy's economically non-developed Southern region¹⁴⁹. It is notable to state that underlying beneath this analogy made for the East German region

¹⁴⁸ European Commission. (1990). *The European Community and German Unification*. Bulletin of the European Communities. Supplement 4/90. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

¹⁴⁹ John Hall & Udo Ludwig. (1993). Creating Germany's Mezzogiorno? *Challenge*. 4/93:38-45.

especially around the ‘Mezzogiorno effect’, the massive state transfers that have been made from the West to the East in order to fill the economic gap among these two main parts of the country have been referred¹⁵⁰. Mentioned in the last section of the previous chapter, becoming fully aware of this reality from the very beginning, the EC/EU launched many economic, political, and social initiatives towards East Germany with the objective of increasing the existing living standards of this mentioned territory to the standards of the Union. However, despite these support mechanisms, the emerging outcomes at the end of the implementation were not pleasing enough. In other words, while majority of East German citizens expected the German reunification to bring ultimate happiness for themselves via the mix of prosperity and freedom, it was understood after a while that all these anticipations came into a disappointing halt¹⁵¹. With regard to economic dimensions, the East German economy faced huge scale of deindustrialization and economic collapse due to the privatization-oriented economic policies of the federal government. In this respect, attempting to overcome the high levels of unemployment coupled with the sober view arising from low levels of economic growth, East Germany has structurally been transformed into a territory economically dependent on the transfers coming from the West and structural funds coming from the EU. Politically, after the systematic destruction of real, existing socialism during reunification process, no political rhetoric that would be able to compensate for the previous socialist discourse could be put instead in East Germany. Therefore, East German politicians and citizens who had not been adequately experienced in terms of the Western type of parliamentary democracy have encountered a lot of problems during this transitional stage. In addition to this fact, directly stemming from the practise of the above mentioned wrong economic policies that were

¹⁵⁰ Christopher Flockton. (2001). The German Economy since 1989-1990: Problems and Prospects. In *Germany since Unification: The Development of the Berlin Republic*, ed. Klaus Larres. Basingstoke: Palgrave. 63-87.

¹⁵¹ Ronald Speirs & John Breuilly. (2005). The Concept of National Unification. In *Germany's Two Unifications: Anticipations, Experiences, and Responses*. New York : Palgrave.

not able to produce fulfilling results, the rise of xenophobia and politically far-right ideologies has been witnessed for a while in East Germany in an ironic contrast to the socialist past of this territory. In terms of social and cultural harmonization, even though the Union-funded projects have a bit contributed to the rising interaction of East German citizens with other nations of Europe, the well-known adjustment problems have continued to keep them apart from fully integrating to the common European identity and European culture, actively bolstered by the Union for decades. For the eastern half of a country which is stated that even today the Wall continues its existence in the minds of its citizens through keeping them apart psychologically, it is an apparent fact that the EU should apply much more effective policies in order to create the feeling of belongingness to Europe there.

The third consequence of the German reunification for the EC/EU took place in terms of providing an impetus for the anticipations of other post-communist the CEECs as regards having an entry to the Union as new member states in the future. It was not an unknown fact that since the beginning of détente politics, the EC gave greater importance to establishing closer relations with the socialist European countries existing in the Eastern bloc, such as Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Through the advent of Ostpolitik as a Europe-motivated process not only among two Germanies but also between the socialist and capitalist camps, this policy preference of the Community related to these states became much more deliberate. Complying with this aim, the Community had already taken steps in terms of developing at least economic relations with COMECON countries, and initiated to sign trade agreements with them. However, the sudden appearance of German reunification and, concurrently, the East German integration to the Community framework presented a new opportunity to the EC with regard to not only strengthening their already existing commercial ties but also providing a mutual political rapprochement with these countries. Therefore, it was very important for the EC to manage the extraordinary accession process of East Germany through reflecting its good intentions compatible with these short-term and long-term objectives, and giving these communist states the political message that the doors of the

Community would always be kept open for their entrance one day. Compatible with these goals, then, regarding the infamous subject of the former treaties of the GDR that had the potential of falling within the competences of the Community, the Commission decided to apply the principle of “*respecting the legitimate expectations of the GDR’s trade partners*” (Vertrauensschutz)¹⁵². That is, the Community openly declared that in order to assuage the preservation of the interests of third countries that the GDR underwent into treaty relations in the past, it would always be tempted to re-negotiate the provisions of such Treaties with these parties of these agreements. The political meaning of this institutional manner assumed by the EC was to include renegotiation of the GDR’s agreements in the broader context of relationships between the EC and the East, as stated by Jacqué¹⁵³. Considering their highly inter-linked trade relations that had been established and sustained for decades, it was highly obvious that other COMECON states such as Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia that the foreign trade of the GDR overwhelmingly depended upon were actually referred around these statements voiced within the EC. According to Spence, besides the considerations of the Community for the fragile East German economy that might encounter another economic hardship due to the possibility of losing its markets in these COMECON states, there were two additional reasons behind this critical decision of the EC. Firstly, since the Community was perpetuating the institutional preparations for the negotiation of “Europe Agreements”, which corresponded to the Association Agreements that were planned to constitute the first step of the political ‘return’ of all the CEECs to Europe, with Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia at that time, it was mainly regarded as inconvenient by the EC to put extra measures such as raising tariffs from the exports of these countries to East Germany. That is, reflecting the prevalence of the political interests of the Community related to these post-socialist the CEECs over its economic provisions, at

¹⁵² David Spence. (1993). The European Community and German Unification. In *Federalism, Unification, and European Integration*, eds. Charlie Jeffrey, and Roland Sturm. London, England. 136-163.

¹⁵³ Jean-Paul Jacqué. (1991). German Unification and the European Community. *EJIL*. 2/1:1-16.

this stage the EC did not want to classify these countries as non-Community countries in terms of their trade relations with the GDR, as it was legally dictated by the Community legislation. As the second reason, approaching to the matter from economic perspective, the EC refrained from the fact that abruptly bringing common external tariff on East German imports would be likely to hamper the economic transformation of these three the CEECs' into the capitalist form of free market economy¹⁵⁴. These politically motivated economic calculations made by the Community can be much thoroughly understood from the statements of the Commission as follows¹⁵⁵:

...Ways therefore had to be found to reconcile traditional trade patterns with the legal, political, and economic integration of the GDR into the Community. They combine transitional exemptions with the necessity to transform rapidly the GDR into a market economy fully integrated into the EC. The application of the different measures proposed may be the beginning of very close economic cooperation between the EC and the Central and Eastern European countries. The GDR's external commitments will thus have served as a catalyst for Pan-European economic cooperation.

As can be seen, all these points again manifest the symbolic importance of the integration process of East Germany into the Community framework for the institutional background of the possible expansion of the EC into the these countries in the future. Responding to these institutional intentions of the Community related to themselves, the CEECs came to focus on each step of the East German entry into the Community due to their much more resembling situations as the countries that were condemned to experience the political, economic, and social adoption process of the capitalist system. As pointed out by Kühnhardt, attributing a pioneership status to the East German instance via regarding it as the very first accession of a post-socialist country into the EC, a successful integration of the GDR, which was accepted as one of the prominent members of the socialist bloc for decades, into the Community framework would open

¹⁵⁴ David Spence. (1991). *Enlargement without Accession: The EC's Response to German Unification*. RIIA Discussion Papers 36. Royal Institute of International Affairs. Chatham House: London.

¹⁵⁵ European Commission. (1990). *European Commission Views on German Unification*. Bulletin of the European Communities. Supplement 4/90. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

up the possibility of further enlargements to the CEECs¹⁵⁶. Deeply inspired by the leadership position of the EC with all its actors and institutions throughout the successfully managed integration of the GDR, hence, these post-socialist European countries incrementally fed their hopes as regards entering the Community as a member state just like East Germany one day. In sum, the East German access into the Community parallel to the German reunification accounted for a historical turning point for the future membership of other the CEECs in the EC/EU through slightly opening the door for the gradual conversion of this possibility into a fateful reality as time passed.

The fourth consequence of the German reunification for the EC/EU actually emerged as the natural extension of the above mentioned third and fourth results. The accomplishment of the EC in carrying out the processes of the German reunification and the East German access into the Community directly contributed to promoting itself in the international scene as one of the most influential actors making such kind of a momentous event possible. As said before, guaranteeing the perpetuation of the German reunification in the European context, the Community indeed kept a secure place for itself in the negotiation table from the beginning. In this respect, while the Commission initially emerged as a primary actor that was persistently consulted on behalf of the EC by the related parties during the discussions for the German EMU, then it directly attended the negotiations for the formal reunification among the GDR and the FRG as the representative of the Community. As this line of development clearly revealed, the EC was evolved into one of the inevitable institutional parties participating the process of German reunification. Moreover, overcoming the harsh integration of East Germany into the Community framework via regarding it as a Community issue and granting any sort simplification to ease the post-communist transition of this country ‘from

¹⁵⁶ Ludger Kühnhardt. (2008). The Fall of the Berlin Wall and European Integration. In *European Union – The Second Founding. The Changing Rationale of European Integration*. Center for European Integration Studies. 47-60.

communist system to the Community system', the EC/EU increased its international profile as an actor contributing to the democratization of the CEECs in the aftermath of Cold War period. Depending on this fact, attempting to provide firstly the 'return' of the CEECs to Europe, and then, accepting them as its member states following the completion of their required economic and political transformation, the EC/EU actually planned to extend its area of influence, and to consolidate itself as one of the chief diplomatic actors, like the US or the UN, having a say over international matters. To conclude, rightly asserted in a Commission paper, within a fluctuating international sphere in which the end of the Cold War and the laying of firm new foundations for peace, security and cooperation were witnessed, the EC was highly fulfilled to play its role to the highest extent¹⁵⁷ via taking strength from the accomplishments of the German reunification and the 1990 enlargement to the GDR.

The fifth consequence of the German reunification on the whole EC/EU revealed itself in the changing balances among Member States within the Union. As previously scrutinized, West Germany had always been perceived as one of the main engines behind the advancement of the idea of European unity throughout the Cold War. In return of enjoying undeniable political, economic and diplomatic benefits because of its inclusion within the process of the European integration, that is, the FRG had generally assumed a role beyond the position of an ordinary member state. Therefore, without a doubt, such a deep transformation in the structure of West Germany, which remained at the very center of the EC even before reunification due to these above mentioned facts, would cause an inevitable alteration in the national weights of all Member States within the Community. Under the shed light of this reality, when the possibility of German unity was transformed into a reality as time passed, Member States increasingly raised their questions and concerns on the possible implications of this historically momentous

¹⁵⁷ European Commission. (1990). The European Community and German Unification. Bulletin of the European Communities. Supplement 4/90. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

event. Among them, especially France and the UK expressed their fears related to the emergence of the united Germany as their neighbouring state again. Although such concerns of these two countries were increasingly voiced due to the negative past experiments that these countries had with Germany in battlefields more than once, they also harboured a consideration for the impact of the German reunification that would be highly possible to cause a change in their positions within the EC. This actually meant that in addition to their classical oppositions towards a united Germany around the well-known argument that a German government would be highly likely to pursue the line of military revanchism or excessive nationalism again, France and Britain also refrained from the possibility of rising all-German influence within the EU following its national reunification. According to this commonly shared view by these two states, in case this new Germany, which expanded its territory from 248,577 km² to 357,168 km² by almost 50 per cent and increased its population by roughly one-third from 62 million in 1989 to 81.2 million people in 1994 following reunification¹⁵⁸, would be determined to transfer its economic and demographic advantages into the political realm and adopt an active political discourse as regards the Union policies thereafter, it would directly be in the disadvantage of the French and British impact within the EU. Although West German silence in terms of demanding revision in the distribution of seats within the Council of Ministers and Commission for itself following reunification was commonly evaluated by them as a sign of good intention coming from the German side, it was not adequate to entirely end these worries of France and the UK. Therefore, it is better to cut up here through saying that these states were not totally wrong in expecting a rise in the all-German power within the Union for the upcoming years, as will be much more analysed in detail in the next section.

¹⁵⁸ Max Otte & Jürgen Greve. (2000). National Power and Influence: What Did Unification Change?. In *A Rising Middle Power?: German Foreign Policy in Transformation, 1989-1999*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

In resemblance to the shifting balances of power among Member States within the EC/EU after the emergence of the united Germany, the sixth and last implication that the process of German reunification brought for the EU was the changing delegation of power among Community organs. As issued in the previous sections, indeed the Community organs had already reached consensus over the non-acceptability of a new entry into the Community due to the top priority given to the fulfilment of newly set targets as political and economic integration till the beginning of 1990s. Due to the very existence of this policy preference reflecting the primacy of deepening over widening, the necessity of incorporating the GDR into the Community framework at the same time with formal reunification among two German states forged an emergency situation for the Commission, Council of Ministers, and the EP. In other words, coming up at a critical moment in the Community's history, the access of the GDR created an additional challenge pushing the Community to its natural limits¹⁵⁹. Since the East German case was totally different from former 1973, 1981, and 1986 enlargements due to the complicated nature of the German Question and its final resolution in the form of national reunification, the Community components initially decided to handle this harsh process via applying the method of moving treaty boundaries without any change in the primary Community legislation. Although this proposal was met with reservation by the EP as an attempt to erode its involvement with the accession procedure, it was ultimately accepted by all Community organs. At that point, squeezed by the unexpectedly rapid pace of events accelerating the realization of reunification in the German territory, a common consciousness emerged among these organs that in order to guarantee the successful finalization of this process in the European context, inter-institutional coordination and cooperation within the Community must be provided as a structural precondition. Thus, throughout the negotiations made and efforts spent with the objective of integrating East Germany into the Community structure, the Council of

¹⁵⁹ European Parliament. (2009). The European Parliament and German Unification. Archive and Documentation Centre (CARDOC) Journals No 5. Directorate General for the Presidency of the European Parliament.

Ministers, the Commission and the Parliament worked in total collaboration through proving the effectiveness of the bureaucratic mechanisms in the EC. Yet, due to the individual contributions made by these organs to this process, the institutional balances existing among these European institutions became subject to change over time, intentionally or non-intentionally. That is, in addition to introducing many legal precedents to the Community framework, the German reunification also caused modifications in the institutional weights of the Community organs. In this regard, the Commission got the biggest advantage of the East German access into the Community in terms of increasing its impact overall the entire EC. Supporting the smooth integration of the GDR and utilizing this process as a catalyst to deepen European integration, the Commission approached to the German reunification positively from the very beginning. In tune with this understanding, the Commission established many working groups, as mentioned in the previous parts, around its institutional preparations towards this event. Moreover, taking its steps in full coordination with other organs, the Commission produced two essential communications and a final comprehensive report, which took their place in the history of the Union as documents clarifying the position of the EC vis-à-vis German reunification in response to crucial stages such as the German EMU or formal reunification. More importantly, beyond the procedural dimension of this matter, the Commission actually captured the psychological superiority over all other Community institutions and actors via promoting itself as the institution which participated and controlled the entire process of the East German access into the Community. Enjoying the benefits of this dominance, the Commission not only set the agenda of the Community with regard to institutionally guiding it in the determination of its organizational attitude on the face of successive events in the German territory but also actively attended the negotiations among two German states and four occupying powers in the name of the EC. As a further step, the Commission was granted extra legislative power by the Council of Ministers through a Regulation and a Directive of the latter on the interim measures that would provide derogations from the provisions of secondary legislation for a limited period in East Germany. In normal conditions,

according to the provisions of interim measures in the context of the EC, the Commission had to be solely responsible for the implementation of the interim measures that had to be enacted by the Council of Ministers. However, thanks to this unprecedented transfer of legislative power from the Council of Ministers, the Commission not only accumulated the whole control in its hands as regards determining and implementing the interim measures for East Germany but also strengthened its position as the rising star of the process of German reunification within the EC. The second winner of this process closely after the Commission appeared to be the EP. Eventhough it seemed to be pushed outside the picture via the selection of the extraordinary method of moving treaty boundaries for the East German entry in the beginning, the EP was not stuck with this decision, and committed itself to extending its institutional limits as much as possible. Moving from this central objective, the EP became the first European institution expressing its institutional views on the possibility of the German reunification. Then, in order to further its institutional preparations and gather all such works under a single framework, the Parliament established the Temporary Committee. Focusing its work on the possible implications of the German reunification on the EC in many realms ranging from institutional affairs and budgetary outcomes to the security policy, the Temporary Committee promoted the EP as one of the primary Community actors endeavouring for the sake of common interests around the conclusion of German reunification in the European context. In addition to these works, at the end of its readings on the interim measures and transitional measures that would be applicable for East Germany following formal reunification, the EP did not avoid reflecting its institutional suggestions with a manner serving for inter-institutional cooperation in the Community again. Around all these points, at the end the EP seemed to increase its institutional profile within the EC via achieving almost all its institutional targets set around the process of German reunification. Compared to these achievements of the Commission and the Parliament, yet, Council of Ministers gave the image of an institution attempting to keep its institutional status throughout German reunification, in defence of the on-going attempts coming from these above mentioned organs to increase

their effect in the Community scale. At some points, due to evaluating the issue of East German access from the perspective of the national interests fiercely proposed by Member States, the Council of Ministers was even compelled to stay at the background of this process. In other words, against the Commission and the EP, which came into the forefront as the major protagonists of the East German entry in to the EC, Council of Ministers seemed to lose some of its institutional power to these organs throughout this process.

To conclude this section, German reunification had a multi-dimensional impact on the entire EC/EU around these above mentioned seven consequences. Yet, this never meant that they symbolized an absolute end to this deep impact of the former process on the European integration at that historical point since some signals of change had already started to come from all-German diplomacy especially in terms of its evaluations regarding the post-Cold War position of Germany in the EC/EU. In other words, within the axis of continuity and change, the united Germany seemed to re-configure its strategy particularly with regard to its conceptualization and perception of the EC/EU in a time of transformation.

4.2 Rising German Influence within the EC/EU in the Post-Reunification Period

4.2.1 General Guidelines of the Post-Reunification German EU Policy

As explained in the previous chapter, Germany found itself in an entirely new conjuncture with the achievement of its national reunification in 1990. The momentous events, which were non-predictable a decade ago, taking place inside and outside the newly united Germany just within few years also contributed to this fact. In other words, following the expiry of all the rights and duties of Four Powers over German territory and two halves of Berlin, partial retreatment of the US army from West Germany, total retreatment of the Soviet troops from East Germany, the successive collapse of socialist regimes in Eastern Europe, and finally, the peaceful disintegration of the Soviet Union; Germany again remained as the most powerful state in Europe ever since the World War

II, particularly in terms of its economic capabilities. Although the re-emergence of Germany at the centre of Europe in a united form neighbouring France and the UK recalled some historical parallels to the pre-World War I and pre-World War II circumstances in Europe, the external environment that Germany was located in this continent by the year of 1990 were entirely different in comparison to these times. As indicated by Wessels, post-reunification Germany was neither surrounded by adversary countries as in 1905 nor abandoned entirely alone as the frontline state of one of the most violent wars of world history as in 1945¹⁶⁰. At the end of the stormy events taking place throughout 1989 and 1990 in Europe, Germany was ultimately converted from a partial front-line nation into “*a strong, unified central power bordered by friendly, stable, prosperous, yet weaker partners on the West and by friendly, weaker, liberated, yet fragile neighbours on the East*”¹⁶¹. Feeling secure via encompassed by friendly and collaborative states that had already been closely interacted in the context of the European integration and the Ostpolitik for decades, hence, united Germany seemed to embark on a new period that was unprecedented in its foreign policy history regarding its relations with the diplomatic actors occupying the top positions in its foreign policy agenda such as the US, Soviet Union (then Russia), the CEECs, and finally, the EC/EU. No need to mention, the reunification pattern among the FRG and the GDR had a direct impact on the future foreign policy course of the enlarged Germany like any other realms. In this respect, since national reunification among two Germanies was completed through the ‘annexation’ of the GDR by the FRG under the irreversible hegemony of the latter, it was not even an issue of concern that the diplomatic road map of the united Germany would be drawn by West Germans themselves. To state it differently, akin to the accession of the GDR to the West German system after its

¹⁶⁰ Wolfgans Wessels. (2001). Germany in Europe: Return of the Nightmare or Towards an Engaged Germany in a New Europe. In *New Europe, New Germany, Old Foreign Policy? German Foreign Policy since Unification*, ed. Douglas Webber. London: Frank Cass. 107-116.

¹⁶¹ Daniel Hamilton. (1991). A More European Germany, A More German Europe. *Journal of International Affairs*. 45: 127-149.

dissolution into five eastern Lander and East Berlin, all foreign policy matters that were dealt by East German politicians till the moment of reunification were also totally inherited by the 'patron' of the reunification, that is, West Germany, which was well-known for its long-running commitment to multilateralism and the integrationist discourse since its foundation, thereafter. However, as mentioned previously, even this deliberate fact was not sufficient to totally allay the concerns and suspicions of many states such as France and the UK as regards which diplomatic direction that the united Germany would prefer for the future of European integration. In this turbulent environment, different views voiced in the academic circles were also intensifying these concerns. For instance, according to the arguments of John Mearsheimer, relieved of its Cold War constraints and obligations that were majorly put by the US, the united Germany was highly possible to adopt a unilateral and nationalist agenda reminiscent of its pre-World War I and pre-World War II moves¹⁶². Moving from this path, there were many in the EC, as stated by Hellmann, believing that although West Germany assumed a smooth and pro-European approach not only during its reunification with the GDR but also throughout the accession of the latter to the EC, it was not under guarantee that this 'renewed' FRG would not experience a break with its post-1945 foreign policy understanding in which the European integration and its 'self-binding' to international institutions such as the EC and NATO had an overwhelming weight¹⁶³. As can be understood, related to one of the primary post-war diplomatic priorities of West Germany, as the dominant side of German reunification, the contrasting ideas were – and, still are- increasingly exchanged on the mostly asked question as which position the united Germany would prefer taking in the post-Cold War European integration process.

¹⁶² John Mearsheimer. (1990). Back to the Future. Instability in Europe after the Cold War. *International Security*. 15/1: 5-56.

¹⁶³ Gunter Hellmann. (1997). The Sirens of Power and German Foreign Policy: Who Is Listening?. *German Politics*. 6/2:29-57.

Thus, given being one of the most debatable issues from past to present and having a high level complexity by its nature, it seems as a theoretical imperative to analyse the EU experience of the united Germany from 1990 till 2009 through these three interrelated prisms as follows:

- Persisting impact of the German reunification and European integration on each other even in this period,
- Continuing shadow of the history, mostly the catastrophic memories of the World War II, casted on the making and implementation of post-Cold War German policy internally and externally,
- Fluctuating contradiction between continuity and change compared to the post-1945 foreign policy trends of West Germany.

4.2.1.1 Continuing Interaction between German Reunification and European Integration

As mentioned before, one of the major reasons underlying beneath the birth of European integration was to provide a European type of solution to the long-running German Question. In response to this highly conflictual problem that brought the entire Europe to the brink of collapse in the last encounter of the World War II, European integration primarily attempted to complete the return of West Germany to the league of civilian nations, and provide it an equal status among other European partners. In this account, helping West Germany regain its national sovereignty in the European scene, European integration also enshrined the star of this country especially in the economic and trade realms as the ‘poster-boy of the Europe-wide unification process’, as identified by William Paterson¹⁶⁴. Moreover, through forming a special contact with the GDR

¹⁶⁴ William E. Paterson. (2011). The Reluctant Hegemon? Germany Moves Centre Stage in the European Union. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 2011 Annual Review. England: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. 49: 57–75.

stemming from the complicated implications of the German Question, the common European institutions including the Commission, the EP, and the Council of Ministers also worked for the peaceful resolution of this issue in the European framework. Achieving sort of an accomplishment in this target, then, the post-Cold War European integration process kept influencing multiple realms of the united Germany ranging from domestic politics and administrative system to its economic transactions. In this respect, like the experiment of the post-1949 West Germany, the Europeanization of Germany continued to become the norm of both daily life and long-term institutional settlement of the German state and other administrative services, though in a diminished level especially in the aftermath of the Kohl period. On the other side of this overview, then, the united Germany committed itself to the interconnected goals of ‘a more European Germany’, the long-running conventional foreign policy priority of West Germany, and ‘a more German Europe’, as stated by Hamilton¹⁶⁵ and Janning¹⁶⁶. That is, although German officials refrained from admitting this openly, the foreign policy attempts that were designated by Germany with respect to European integration always kept an eye in reflecting its national interests to the supranational level of European integration. Through working for the increasing reshaping of common European policies in line with the economic and political interests of Germany concerning the European unity, Germany has ultimately served for giving an exact German flavour to the post-1990 European integration process. As asserted by Paterson, this upload of German preferences to the European level also reflected rising new self-confidence that has been fed within German foreign policy paradigm and practises, which have been attempted to be brought in line with the requirements of this new world where the rules of Cold War

¹⁶⁵ Daniel Hamilton. (1991). A More European Germany, A More German Europe. *Journal of International Affairs*. 45: 127-149.

¹⁶⁶ Josef Janning. (1996). A German Europe - a European Germany? On the Debate over Germany's Foreign Policy. *International Affairs*. Royal Institute of International Affairs. 72/1: 33-41.

era were no more valid¹⁶⁷. That's why, this second new objective of Germany , which had not been so much observed in the European policies of the 'old' FRG, guided this state in its rising impact in the creation and implementation of common European policies, as will be elucidated more in next sections.

4.2.1.2 Shadow of History on the EU Policy of the United Germany

The second point which is required to be utilized in analysing post-reunification EU experience of Germany is the persisting shadow of history on the making of German foreign policy. Although this may be considered illogical, the impact of the historical memories on the post-1990 German diplomatic steps can better be understood given that the German case has always had an incomparable character in Europe. Through the reunification of East and West Germany within the Community context, the long-lasting German Question remaining at the center of the Cold War struggles among the hostile blocs in Europe seemed to find a permanent answer. From then on, attempting to get adapted to the post-Cold War conditions of this new world order, Germany has felt the need to go for some modifications in its foreign policy preferences, priorities, and approaches towards the project of European integration, but in each try before any of such initiatives has found an illusory obstacle coming from its own past: the historical baggage of the bad times in the German history. Indeed, concerning any other European state as France and the UK, it has always been a highly accustomed thing for decades to witness shifts in their European policies time to time in line with their national economic and political interests. However, when the issue of concern is Germany's European policy, pieces from different historical time frames linked to the German past such as Wilhelmian period, Nazi past, Holocaust, German invasions of neighbouring countries during the World War I and World War II, and forty-year-partition of German territory have generally come into the forefront. In other words, depending upon two historical

¹⁶⁷ William E. Paterson. (2006). Does Germany Still Have A European Vocation? European Research Working Paper Series Number 15. European Research Institute. University of Birmingham. Birmingham.

attempts of Germany to take the control of Europe in the first half of the 20th century and the emerging catastrophes for the whole continent as a result of them, Germany has always been approached with some suspicion through the questioning of the real intention behind its certain moves. For instance, as will be issued in the later parts, at the times when Germany pushed for the enlargement into the East through depending upon its special relations with this region, or when it proposed setting new economic and fiscal criteria across the EU in order to ensure the desired adaptation of the debtor countries, it was put the blame of attempting to expand German influence unilaterally to this part of Europe like Nazis, or forcing the economically weak states to accept the German superiority in economic terms. As can be understood, there exists no other European power except Germany whose current foreign policy strategy and implementations have been imposed to the impact of its history in such an excessive level. Actually, this mainly stems from the tight link between German case and the European integration. Since European integration has been attributed, from the beginning, the major tasks of taming German power via subjugating it to the integration project and of ensuring the return of Germany into the European family of nations as an equal member, major European actors have continued to perceive the location of united Germany in the post-Cold War EU mainly around these objectives much more peculiar to the Cold War atmosphere. By the same token, experiencing extraordinary times under the impact of national separation and finding sort of a compensation in the European unity for the inferior feeling of partiality until 1990, the newly united Germany has kept being subject to sincerity tests within the Union via being confronted with its chaotic past when it has been evaluated as showing signals of deviation from the conventional principles of the West German European policy such as multilateralism and commitment to European integration. Therefore, directly constituting the layer of the upcoming point, the perpetual appearance of ghosts from the catastrophic history of Germany in its every foreign policy step concerning European integration has led to ambivalence and confusion in the post-reunification European policy of the united Germany, and has

produced the well-known contradiction between continuity and change in its determination and practise.

4.2.1.3 EU Policy of the United Germany between Continuity and Change

Third and the most important point that needs to be stressed in examining post-1990 EU history of Germany is the wavering of Germany's European policy among the spectrums of continuity and change. As touched in the beginning of this section, post-reunification foreign policy of Germany has been shaped in the hands of West Germans that dominated the whole reunification process from the beginning to end. Therefore, it is remarkable to indicate that through the words of continuity and change that will be utilized to explain the tendencies within the policy agenda of the united Germany towards the European integration between 1990 and 2009, the main reference point is the post-war European policy beliefs, traditions, and rules of the Bonn Republic. Because of this fact, then, post-reunification Germany's European policy has actually been characterized with its time-to-time hesitations between the spectrums of continuity and change, which have always found wide attraction among academicians for quite a century. However, via the use of the statements of 'continuity' and 'change' to explain the post-1990 European policy line of the new FRG, it should never be understood that these two tendencies have nothing shared in common or no point of interaction among each other. That is, not only the foreign policy steps of the post-1990 Germany regarding European integration that have been considered to continuing the foreign policy trends of the old FRG have harboured a bit of a change conforming to the different realities of the post-Cold War world in itself, but also the foreign policy breaks of the united Germany with the European policy of West Germany have -more or less- remained adhered to the continuous aspects of the European policy paradigm of the latter. In line with this understanding, as Crawford suggests, it seems much more logical to assume a rather 'balanced' approach while evaluating the post-1990 European policy

of the united Germany¹⁶⁸. The main reason of this preference is that the clear-cut identifications, which have been made by international relations theories such as neorealism, institutionalism, and neo-nationalism, for the European policy of united Germany as ‘continuing the commitments of West Germany’ or ‘experiencing a total break with the foreign policy legacy of the Bonn Republic after being freed of the Cold-War bounds’ increasingly vary according to the major premises and general perspectives of these theories. Moreover, when the issue of subject is the German European policy, it is believed that the ‘grey zone’s should become dominant to the picture instead ‘black’s or ‘white’s due to its complex structure. Hence, this thesis prefers adopting a moderate approach towards the analysis of post-reunification Germany’s European policy through valuing the possibilities of continuity and change on equal footing without any kind of academic rigidity or bias. Besides methodological reasons, then, this manner is also required given the European integration history of West Germany. Despite the inflexible logic of the bloc politics dominating the entire Cold War period and many of its structural constraints stemming from its semi-sovereign structure, particularly starting from Brandt’s chancellorship, West Germany preferred not having a passive disposition via acknowledging the supremacy of the US on its foreign policy, but managed to take bold diplomatic steps, most important of which was the Ostpolitik. Shaking the Cold War policies deeply through opening a channel of interaction for the relations between capitalist and communist blocs, Ostpolitik was also met with concerns, mainly in the Western bloc, accompanying the comments arguing for a possible change in the West German foreign policy like the ones made for the post-1990 FRG. That’s why; in direct contrast to the classifications made for West German foreign policy as totally proceeding without deviating from the foreign policy line of the Western bloc during Cold War, sometimes the Bonn Republic also leaned toward self-initiated diplomatic

¹⁶⁸ Beverly Crawford. (2010). The Normative Power of a Normal State: Power and Revolutionary Vision in Germany’s Post-Wall Foreign Policy. In *From the Bonn to the Berlin Republic: Germany at the Twentieth Anniversary of Unification*, eds. Jeffrey Anderson, and Eric Langenbacher. Berghahn Books: New York.

routes that can also be considered as acts of change given its multilateral and integrationist discourse¹⁶⁹.

4.2.1.3.1 The Principles of Continuity in the EU Policy of the United Germany

In comparison to the old FRG's closer ties with the project of European integration, it is possible to assert that continuity has dominated the post-reunification European policy of the united Germany to a greater extent, though with undeniable modifications. Relying on not only the mostly Europeanized domestic and foreign policy areas of Germany but also the huge benefits that had been provided for themselves by the European unity project until that time, West Germans, who were now in charge of the all-German diplomatic machine, mostly remained devoted to the long-lasting foreign policy ideals of the early FRG. Accordingly, after pushing old East German elites outside the picture, they also perpetuated a transformation within the foreign policy perceptions of the former GDR region, in which the European integration had not occupied too much place till 1990. In this regard, it is possible to mention five foreign policy principles that have reflected the general tendency of continuity in the rhetoric and practises of the enlarged FRG as; multilateralism, integrationism, supranationalism, and European-level cooperation.

4.2.1.3.1.1 Multilateralism

First of these principles, multilateralism refers to the one on which the shadow of chaotic German past has mostly been felt. As a well-known fact, the post-War West German European policy was shaped formerly by occupant forces, then by West German political elites, led by Chancellor Adenauer, under the horrible impact of the unilateral and expansionist policy understanding that had been adopted and implemented by the Third Reich before. In this respect, behind the decision of embedding the FRG immediately on the common framework of European institutions, the major objective

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

was to avoid any possibility of seeking this troublesome unilateral discourse again, and to totally bind the West German foreign policy mechanism with general European framework. In this respect, moving from the constitutional imperative put by the statement in the preamble of the Basic Law, the old FRG had remained firmly anchored with the multilateral course till 1990. Due to the sharing of the logic of these very same objectives by the West German political elites after 1990, multilateral route continued to constitute the general roof of post-reunification European policy of the united Germany like other realms in its general diplomacy. By the same token, similar to the old FRG, the enlarged Federal Republic has kept its loyalty and commitment to the ideal of European unity and common European principles, so multilateralism has continued to characterize the policies developed by German policy-makers towards European integration. Therefore, to a greater extent, Germany has moved in full cooperation with its European partners regarding its diplomatic choices in the European level. However, it would be too much exaggeration to claim that all-German multilateralism sustained its existence without any change, in comparison with West German multilateralism, until national reunification. As indicated by Paterson, whilst the Bonn Republic had been devoted to reflexive multilateralism, which compelled West Germany to remain at the background regarding the pursuit and practise of its interests time-to-time in Europe, the Berlin Republic has been inclined towards contingent multilateralism in time¹⁷⁰. Although in the first phase of his chancellorship following reunification in 1990, Chancellor Kohl maintained conventional devotion to reflexive multilateralism –except the parenthesis of unilateral German recognition of break-away republics from Yugoslavia in 1991- regarding the German European policies, then he started to give the signals of contingency while shaping policies towards European integration. In fact, stemming from the deep impact of his historical memories regarding the creation of German European policies and his long-running personal adherence to the project of

¹⁷⁰ William E. Paterson. (2006). Does Germany Still Have A European Vocation? European Research Working Paper Series Number 15. European Research Institute. University of Birmingham. Birmingham.

European unity, which brought the identification of him as the ‘last great European’, Kohl’s successive declarations repeatedly underlining the united Germany’s affiliation with multilateralism as before became highly instrumental in eliminating the fears of certain European countries as France and the UK and the whole EC as regards German reunification and future European policy discourse of this newly united Germany. Nevertheless, following his gradual loss of political power in the post-Maastricht process, Kohl increasingly preferred adopting a new form of multilateralism having a contingent essence. Yet, the heydays of contingent multilateralism in the new Federal Republic –at least on the rhetorical level- were witnessed under the chancellorship of Schröder despite he remained incapable of transferring this rhetorical change into practice due to external constraints intensifying on him as time passed. Then, Chancellor Merkel has seemed to be directed towards taking increasing initiative and taking more bold steps in the German European policies both in the level of rhetoric and implementation. As can be seen, multilateralism has remained one of the top diplomatic principles of Germany’s European agenda, but in a rather revised form due to the requirements of the changing time.

4.2.1.3.1.2 Integrationism

Integrationism, the second principle of continuity, has kept occupying a greater portion in the German European policy as the major twin and complementary of the previous principle on the European level. As touched in detail previously, throughout the period of national separation enduring for about forty years, West Germany had got the advantage of the benefits of European integration on many dimensions. In the passing time, the European integration had provided West Germany the most crucial means for its return to Western democracies, stabilizing its parliamentary democracy, realizing the well-known post-war economic miracle, and most importantly regaining its voice and

influence in Europe again¹⁷¹. In the partitioned Cold War Europe, thus, West Germany had firmly tied with the integrationist discourse in order to acquire its international credibility again as a civilized nation, and to strengthen its position in the family of European nations politically and diplomatically. Similarly, on economic terms, West Germany owed the big part of its economic success to the project of European unity because “*without European integration as a political arena of co-operation, West German economic performance would have been perceived as a threat.*”¹⁷² Moving from this path, then, the enlarged FRG continued its commitment to the integrationist discourse on the European level, though with an internal transformation of its content. Exposed to the rising domestic pressure of public opinion, which has adopted a Eurosceptic tone increasingly since the acceptance of the EMU, and conflicting interests of key German institutions such as the Bundesbank and the Federal Constitutional Court related to the direction of European integration, German policy elites shifted to a much more pragmatist and instrumentalist sort of integrationism. As defined by Jeffrey and Paterson, this pointed to a shift that growingly set the German and European tectonic plates apart from one another since mid-1990s¹⁷³. In this respect, when confronted with incompatible aspects of integration that had the potential of causing reaction in the domestic realm, Germany initiated to voice its reservations or objections on them, which had not been so much witnessed during the lifetime of the Bonn Republic. However, on the other side, due to the maintaining pre-eminence of the principle of integrationism in German European policy agenda and the rising impact of the united Germany on the European policy-making, this country has increasingly given shape to which route

¹⁷¹ Wolfgang Wessels. (2001). Germany in Europe: Return of the Nightmare or Towards an Engaged Germany in a New Europe. In *New Europe, New Germany, Old Foreign Policy? German Foreign Policy since Unification*, ed. Douglas Webber. London: Frank Cass. 107-116.

¹⁷² Simon Bulmer & William E. Paterson. (1987). *The Federal Republic of Germany and the European Community*. London: Allen & Unwin.

¹⁷³ Charlie Jeffery & William Paterson. (2003). Germany and European Integration: A Shifting of Tectonic Plates. *West European Politics*. 26/4: 59-75.

European integration would be directed in the post-Cold War era. In order to provide an exit from the on-going crises that have plagued the European integration and gain a new dynamism to this process in accordance with the requirements of this changing period, then, Germany invented new concepts such as 'multi-speed Europe'. Moreover, among all Member States, Germany has increasingly become the major determinative actor in the infamous debates on deepening-widening. In that sense, moving according to its domestic and Europe-wide preferences, Germany has influenced the Union to give weight to one of these two policy options in different terms as regards the progress of the integration process. Through these methods, German officials intended to not only relieve the European integration of expected and unexpected obstacles but also leave the German mark on the post-1990 European integration process. Therefore, all chancellors of united Germany involving Kohl, Schröder and Merkel have perpetuated the strong German endorsement for the European unity, though with different degrees and increasing reservations starting from the Red-Green government, up to 2009.

4.2.1.3.1.3 Supranationalism

Third principle of continuity, which is supranationalism, has always had a direct relation with previous two principles. Being one of the protagonist nations of the idea of European integration in the beginning of 1950s, West Germany had usually been known with its dominant supranational tendencies which proposed the transfer of national power to the supranational level in Europe in varying realms. Bringing a post-national approach to the concept of national sovereignty, hence, the early FRG had always led the supranational wing within the EC against the rather intergovernmentalist bloc pioneered by France and the Eurosceptic side whose major advocate has always been the UK. Concerning the European policy of the united Germany, then, it is possible to indicate that the enlarged FRG has sustained the supranational tendencies of the old FRG to a greater extent. Particularly, during the chancellorship of Kohl, the re-united Germany gave full support to the establishment of EMU in spite of the domestic criticisms in German public opinion and persistent warns made by the Bundesbank.

Eventhough German approval of the EMU had political motives inside and also harboured a hidden objective of avoiding the concerns of other European countries and the EC as regards the future European policy of this newly united Germany, this was largely commented as the unshakable German loyalty to the supranational discourse at that time. However, as in multilateralism and integrationism, the principle of supranationalism has also experienced an internal transformation after German reunification. In particular, after passing the crucial historical corner of the Maastricht Treaty, which has a paramount importance for the deepening of the integration within Europe, the 'unconditional supranationalism' that had dominated the European policy of the united Germany up to then initiated to be gradually converted into a kind of 'selective supranationalism'. As will be much more explained in the following section, German officials have been much more inclined towards keeping the right of rejecting the transfer of national sovereignty in specific realms under the pressure of the German Lander, which have gained extra powers in the determination of Germany's European policy with the Treaty of Maastricht. In other words, mainly under the domestic pressure of the German public opinion, Lander, and prominent institutions such as the Bundesbank, German policy makers have relaxed the strict supranational discourse that had been inherited from West Germany. On the other hand, even with this partial supranational approach to then European integration, Germany has again been ahead of other Member States regarding its support to the progress of the integration process through its proposals of deepening the political union, strengthening the common foreign and security policy, creating a common defence strategy, and establishing a Union constitution, as initiated by the Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer's 2000 speech. As a continuation of these steps, the active intervention of Chancellor Merkel in the resolution of the constitution crisis after French and Dutch public vetoes, and her endeavours for the revitalization of this process through the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty again approved the dominance of supranationalism in the integrationist discourse of Germany. As can be seen, even with slight configurations, Germany's European policy has been revolved around supranational aspirations since reunification.

4.2.1.3.1.4 European-Level Cooperation

European-level cooperation, the last principle of continuity, has been located at the center of the European policy of the united Germany till 2009. Similar to the old FRG, the united Germany has also given maximum importance to high-level cooperation among Member States in taking and implementing significant decisions concerning the whole Europe. Required by its multilateral, integrationist, and supranational conception of the European unity, the Federal Republic has always attempted to take the common European interests into account – though, to a certain level- in full collaboration with its European partners while taking its steps in terms of European integration. Among these Member States, then, just like the Bonn Republic, the united Germany has mostly preferred working with France within the well-known Franco-German axis, which has conventionally been regarded as the central force behind the project of European integration throughout its approximately 65-year-history. Emerging as one of the major products of the European integration process, the Franco-German cooperation has continued to remain one of the major diplomatic priorities of the united Germany in terms of its European policy. In the past, proceeding under the secure path created by the personal affiliations of these two countries' leaders such as Adenauer-De Gaulle, Brandt-Pompidou, Schmidt-D'Estaing, and Kohl-Mitterrand, the Franco-German cooperation scheme provided the major impetus for the reliable improvement of the European integration step-by-step. In this respect, except the cases that these two countries thought the same, even if West Germany and France found themselves on contrasting sides in terms of an issue of debate, they mostly became successful in reaching an ultimate consensus among each other via operating the mechanisms of dialogue and mutual compromises that accounted for the most important elements of their special relationship. Therefore, whenever these two most powerful countries of the Community came up with a final decision through an agreement, other Member States

generally tended to accept it, except the self-detached Britain for most cases¹⁷⁴. This inner energy provided by this Franco-German alliance for the progress of European integration during the Cold War continued to be mostly granted alike in the post-Cold War process. In this regard, thanks to the initiatives of the Franco-German axis, the transformation from Community to Union could be completed; after the completion of the Single Market, the EMU, whose most important component was the new common currency of the *Euro*, came into existence; the internal working mechanisms of the Union were re-adjusted in accordance with the necessities of this new period; and three new enlargements took place in 1995, 2004 and 2007. Although the eastward expansion of the EU in 2004 and 2007 referred to the realization of the decades-long goal of uniting all parts of Europe under the same roof, this actually opened a new period for the place of the Franco-German axis in the EU of the future. As issued by many academic texts, since the 2004 Enlargement, centrality of the Franco-German axis for the project of the European unity has continued, but with a diminishing importance. In other words, due to the rising complexity of the Union's structure, increasing variety of internal interests in the EU with the newly added members from East and Central Europe, and a growing number of conflictual areas among these two countries, the Franco-German leadership has seemed to remain inadequate for the resolution of certain crises or the launching of new initiatives that would further the integration process. Mainly due to the last factor, in the post-2004 period, Germany has been inclined to lean towards coalitions with different Member States mostly from Eastern Europe on the issues that it has not been able to come to terms with France, as a continuation of the Chancellor Schröder's rapprochement with the UK on the personality of Tony Blair. Yet, it is essential to note that a revitalization of the Franco-German axis was witnessed under the harmonious working relationship between Chancellor Merkel and French President Sarkozy, which has been identified as 'Merkozy' with reference to the historical

¹⁷⁴ Joachim Schild. (2010). Mission Impossible? The Potential for Franco-German Leadership in the Enlarged EU. *Journal of Common Market Studies*. England: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. 48/5: 1367–1390.

partnerships among the leaders of these two countries¹⁷⁵. Moreover, even in this mentioned period following the 2004 Enlargement, whenever the integration process has come to a halt, the Franco-German axis has remained the most important coalition within the Union that has been asked for a solution by the remainder Member States.

To conclude, despite experiencing some confrontations and strains inside, the Franco-German axis has continued to be the major dependence point in Germany's post-1990 European-level cooperation scheme.

4.2.1.3.2 The Principles of Change in the EU Policy of the United Germany

Although continuity has much more dominated the German European policy after reunification, it seems an obligation to mention change in this policy line as a reality, as exposed by the changing time, changing Germany, and lastly, changing Europe. As mentioned in the previous section, the German reunification has caused important consequences for the EC/EU. In the transforming atmosphere of the post-Cold War period, Germany was no more a partial nation that had been divided into two states, but a more populated and enlarged country that was the most powerful country on economic terms compared to other Member States. Therefore, Germany, which now also possessed the potential of East Germany following the reunification, was exposed the necessity of following a foreign policy discourse that would be much more congruent with its growing size, economic power and potential of political impact. In the following years, due to the conjunctural transformation of the European and international settings via successive events, the generational change taking place in the higher circles of German political elites, the economic downturn that negatively affected the huge portions of the German society and finally the growing Eurosceptic tendencies within the German public opinion, change came into the forefront as an unneglectable fact as

¹⁷⁵ Francesca Vassallo. (2013). Sarkozy, Merkel and Hollande: The Undeniable Relevance of the Franco-German Leadership in the EU. The European Union Studies Association Thirteenth Biennial International Conference. Baltimore. 1-33.

regards the German policy-making towards the European integration. Moving from this path, three principles of change can be given related to the shaping of German European policy as; rising self-assertiveness in the seeking of its foreign policy goals on European level, more emphasis to the short term calculations of costs and benefits regarding the EU-related issues, and institution-shaping.

4.2.1.3.2.1 Rising Self-Assertion

Increasing self-assertion in the pursuit of German diplomatic goals within the EU, the first principle of change, has indisputably been one of the most important topics that have been issued in academic texts since reunification due to not only the loudly voiced concerns within Europe in terms of the possibly negative evolution of the German European policy to a unilateral route reminiscent of the pre-1945 period but also the still-sustaining relevance of the historical memories for the present German policy-making towards European integration. During the lifetime of the early FRG, especially till late-1960s, West German officials had cautiously refrained from any kind of unilateral action outside the scheme of European integration in order not to face any kind of reaction from its European partners and the US. However, thanks to Chancellor Brandt's foreign policy vision, the Ostpolitik had accounted for a momentous turning point for the general proceeding of the West German European diplomacy up to that time since Bonn Republic, for the first time, manifested its self-initiative regarding the establishment of contact between Eastern and Western blocs in an unexpected way. Since then, breaking the chains put on its foreign policy by the narrow-minded Hallstein Doctrine, the Bonn Republic initiated to move with more independence on the European level, albeit firmly remaining on the playing field of the capitalist bloc without deviating into any pursuits for *Mitteleuropa*. That is, even in a limited sense, the European public opinion had already been familiar with the following of West German political interests on the shaping and practise of its European policy beforehand. However, the point of departure with reference to the pre-1990 West German policies towards European integration is the rising pre-eminence of German national interests in the European

policy agenda of the united Germany. Although continuing to be embedded in the multilateral European setting, Germany's approach to the project of European unity has differed from the previous times due to the increasing tone of self-assertion in the pursuit of its diplomatic goals within the EU. In this regard, the most important outputs of this rising portion of German national interests in its European policy agenda have been commented as the deployment of the German army in out-of-area missions and the increasing German appearance in the international diplomacy mainly regarding the resolution of international crises. In terms of the first point, becoming the state-level successor of such kind of a country as West Germany, in which the task of anti-militarization had been eagerly pursued for years in the aftermath of the World War II as one of the major components of the denazification process, the sensitivity of Germany towards sending its troops outside its territory even under the obligation of the UN mandates was on high levels in the early phases of the post-reunification period. Due to this fact, Kohl government chose providing financial contribution –without making any active participation via its military units- to the First Gulf War during the years of 1990 and 1991. Yet, as time passed, due to not only being incapable of resisting the demands from external world led by the US for German military contribution to 'Allied operations' in different corners of the world but also the internal conflict between its chief diplomatic priorities such as '*never again alone*', '*never again war*', and '*never again genocide*' concerning the decision of deployment/non-deployment outside Germany, united Germany – willingly or unwillingly- has undergone through an evolution in terms of its approach to the Bundeswehr's participation in out-of-area missions outside the UN mandates¹⁷⁶. Yet, this again did not prevent German officials from taking confusing decisions in different times, such as the deployment of Bundeswehr units in Kosovo and Afghanistan, but then, the rejection of German military participation in the Second Gulf War, as a reflection of the persistent hesitation of post-

¹⁷⁶ Erhard Crowe. (2013). German Foreign Policy after 1990: Some Critical Remarks. In *United Germany: Debating Processes and Prospects*, ed. Konrad H. Jarausch. New York: Berghahn Books. 83-102.

reunification German European policy between continuity and change. In terms of the second point, then, the availability of Germany in international diplomacy on behalf of either itself or the EU has also attracted wide attention from both academic and diplomatic circles. As is known, incompatible with its huge economic force, the old Federal Republic had generally been inclined to assume a politically passive role for the sake of French political leadership of the Community before reunification. Commission President Delors expressed his views on this conventional policy approach that the pre-reunification FRG adopted concerning Community matters with these words¹⁷⁷:

I have never seen that Germany pounded on the table before an important decision. It has not misused its economic strength to dominate others. Often, its leaders have stayed in the background so that others could harvest the fruits of success.

However, after the 1990 unification, the enlarged Federal Republic has incrementally abandoned this policy preference that was applicable during the Cold War years. Despite remaining under the shadow of other European states involving France and the UK in the international area, Germany's active diplomatic intervention in the international crises of Iraq, Iran and Ukraine has not only pointed out a clear break with the rather passive position of the early FRG toward similar events but also contributed to the international profile of the EU as a globally effective actor. Other than these two issues dominating the debates on the united Germany's EU policies to a greater extent, the one-sided recognition of Slovenia and Croatia by Germany outside the EC scheme gave the first signals of German assertiveness in this realm, whereas Chancellor Kohl remained stuck with the multilateral and integrationist pillars regarding European integration on the whole of his chancellorship outside this exceptional case. Then, Chancellor Schröder's rather critical discourse oriented around German national interests towards the European unity carried these signals into a further stage. Although Schröder was forced to retreat from this decisive position in the upcoming years due to the critiques

¹⁷⁷ Max Otte & Jürgen Greve. (2000). *The Loss of Utopia: Germany and European Integration, 1988-1997*. In *A Rising Middle Power?: German Foreign Policy in Transformation, 1989-1999*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

directed from domestic and external realms, his government's decision of not sending any troops to the Iraq War in 2003 was welcomed by German public opinion, but caused deep frictions in its relations with the conventional 'allies' such as the US, and condemned Germany to a sort of diplomatic isolation till Merkel's coming to power¹⁷⁸. Then, despite attempting to mend the spoiling relations with these countries, Merkel has followed the footsteps of Schröder in the German European policy for the most part, and has become even more successful than him in terms of transferring the newly self-assertive tendencies of Germany from rhetoric to practise. As indicated by Hellmann, these newly emerging tendencies pointing out an observable change in the German European policy has mostly been evaluated as a sort of normalization in the integration rhetoric and discourse of Germany mainly by realist and neorealist theoreticians¹⁷⁹. Moving beyond this point of normalization, then, some proponents of these international relations theories have even underlined the transformation of the German European policy into an increasingly unilateral framework that has tended to sacrifice common European interests for the German ones. Although ignoring the observable inclinations of Germany towards following a European policy much more in line with its rising political potential following reunification would be a mistake, on the other side, it would also be an exaggeration to claim that Germany has totally adopted a unilateral discourse advocating a separation from the multilateral European stake, given the dominant weight of continuity in its policies towards the European integration as mentioned before. Due to very existence of this fact, it is highly important to state that there still exists an academic debate on whether the concept, 'self-assertiveness' is possible to be used while defining the post-Wall German European policy. For instance, refraining from using this term, Harnisch prefers utilizing 'self-assuredness' and 'self-respect' as two new themes

¹⁷⁸ Simon Green, Dan Hough & Alister Miskimmon. (2008). Germany and the European Union: A European Germany or a German Europe? In *The Politics of the New Germany*. New York: Routledge. 141-156.

¹⁷⁹ Gunter Hellmann. (1997). The Sirens of Power and German Foreign Policy: Who Is Listening?. *German Politics*. 6/2: 29-57.

of the post-Cold War European policy agenda of the united Germany¹⁸⁰. This point again reveals the complex and sometimes ambiguous nature of Germany's European policy in terms of its consistency or breaking-up.

4.2.1.3.2.2 Short-Term Calculation of Costs and Benefits

Evident emphasis of German policy-makers on the short term calculations of costs and benefits in their EU-related policies after reunification is the second principle of change to be mentioned. As touched upon earlier, the old FRG had always possessed a clear policy line that can be summarized as full-time support with all of its existing material and non-material resources when the issue of concern was European integration. Continuing this conventional policy, then, Chancellor Kohl mobilized the economic means of the newly united Germany in the form of high-level German contribution to the EU-budget and increasing transfer of economic resources from Germany to the common European funds and the programs of economic transformation in the CEECs to reveal long-lasting German support for the integration project in Europe. Depending upon this policy line generally called as 'chequebook diplomacy', Germany worked for achieving its objectives related to the European integration through the translation of its economic might into political effectiveness, in which old Federal Republic has generally been evaluated as incompetent. In other words, attempting to invalidate the long-running identifications about it such as "economic giant but a political dwarf", Germany preferred this diplomatic path in Europe. However, starting from the activation of the EMU and the signature of the Maastricht Treaty, in addition to the escalating economic burden of reunification, the domestic Euro-sceptic tendencies of German public opinion suddenly soared into unprecedented levels. Under this domestic pressure that was committed to shaping a new German European politics, even the general discourse of Chancellor Kohl, who had repeatedly referred to the 'United States of Europe'

¹⁸⁰ Sebastian Harnisch. (2001). Change and Continuity in Post-Unification German Foreign Policy. In *New Europe, New Germany, Old Foreign Policy? German Foreign Policy since Unification*, ed. Douglas Webber. London: Frank Cass. 107-116.

previously, initiated to evolve¹⁸¹. This paradigmatic change towards European integration became much more accurate with the beginning of Schröder's chancellorship in 1998. Behind his declarations criticizing many aspects of the EMU in terms of its detrimental economic effects on Germany and complaining about high-levels German contribution to the EU-budget for many years, it was understood that Germany would no longer have an unconditional economic commitment to the project of European integration. As can be understood, parallel to its shift to contingent multilateralism, pragmatic integrationism, selective supranationalism and its eager pursuit of national interests, German side has much more emphasized the short-term calculations of costs and benefits regarding the creation and practise of its EU policies. In particular, after the accession of the CEECs, which had generally been known for their low levels of economic prosperity and political stability up to that time, this increasing weight of cost-and-benefit measurements in the European policy of Germany has been observed more obviously. By the same token, coming to power in 2005, Chancellor Merkel continued this newly occurring tendency in Germany's approach towards the integration project, and has also added a political dimension to the calculations that had been mostly made in the economic area. Due to this critical mix of economic and political dimensions in the scheme of cost-and-benefit calculations by Merkel governments, Germany has preferred adopting a growingly reluctant stance towards the resolution of internal economic crises within the EU that have the potential of bearing irreversible political consequences, as lastly witnessed in the Eurozone Debt Crisis. Yet, whatever the level of these short term calculations of costs and benefits related to the European policies has been, German officials have insistently declared the persisting support and devotion of Germany to the project of European integration, as a sign of '*continuity within change*' again.

¹⁸¹ Charlie Jeffery & William Paterson. (2003). Germany and European Integration: A Shifting of Tectonic Plates. West European Politics. 26/4: 59-75.

4.2.1.3.2.3 Institution-Shaping

Institution-shaping, the third and last principle of change in the German European policy, literally has its roots on the applications of the old FRG. Remaining one of the major locomotives of the integration process, West Germany had pioneered the establishment of many across-Europe organizations, which have emerged in compliance with the project of the European unity, as the ECSC, the EEC, the EURATOM, and finally the EU through its major motive of institution-building. In spite of contributing to the proceeding of European integration via concrete gradual steps, West Germany had been deeply shaped by this process of self-adoption regarding common European rules and principles in its political, economic, social, cultural, and diplomatic realms. Defined overall under the label of the 'Europeanization of the West German domestic and foreign policy contexts', the schemes that are applicable in these mentioned realms of today's Federal Republic actually dated back these Cold War times. In other words, the fundamentals of the well-known German institutional frameworks and policy practises were accounted under the direct or indirect influence of the pre-1990 European integration process. Following the reunification of two Germanies in 1990 under the dominance of the West German side, this European impact has kept its relevance for the united Germany, but with a slight difference. From then on, parallel to the continuing influence on German settings, Germany has also increased its effectiveness in terms of shaping the EU institutions and policies. That is, in addition to the Europeanization of Germany, which has always been declared as one of the primary goals of West Germany and then the enlarged Federal Republic, now the 'Germanization of Europe', but not in a negative sense, much more in accordance with the German flavour has turned out to be the rising trend in the post-Cold War EU. Within this mutual uploading-downloading circle that functions between Germany and Europe, Germany has attempted to not only bring the EU entirely into line with its higher standards but also equip the Union with the required mentality and means to transform it into a much more capable entity that would be able to tackle with the new challenges likely to arise from internal, as the post-2004 complexities within the EU, or external, such as globalization, spheres. As another

view, asserted by Anderson beneath Germany's eager commitment to transforming the EU in line with the necessities of these new times, there underlies the intrinsic German motive of 'feeling at home' in order to ensure success as regards its political steps in the much more unpredictable and complex setting of the post-Cold War EU¹⁸². Whatever its reasons have been, yet, it is highly crucial to note that while leading these internal revisions within the Union structures or urging the Union actors to realize them, Germany has never aimed at touching their essential features or central philosophies, as a sign of continuity in the German European policy again. Around its newly emerging tendency of institution-shaping, then, German governments under chancellors Kohl, Schröder, and Merkel have pioneered many important initiatives such as the formation of a common foreign and security policy, deepening the political union, establishing a European Convention, and clearly determining the principles of monetary and fiscal discipline that would be abided by all Member States, conceptualized then as the Stability and Growth Pact.

In sum, with reference to the European policy practises of the Bonn Republic, wavering between the spectrums of continuity and change, experimenting too many breaking points in itself, and sometimes falling short of becoming credible in front of other foreign policy actors, the post-1990 European policy of the united Germany has mostly been dominated by the general tendency of “lack of predictability”, as conceptualized by Port¹⁸³. However, it is notable to assert that even this erratic evolution of its post-reunification EU policy did not prevent Germany from exerting greater influence on the transformation of the institutional structures and varying policies of the EU in the post-1990 period.

¹⁸² Jeffrey J. Anderson. (1997). *The German Model and European Integration: Between Unification and Union*. Brown University. 1-25.

¹⁸³ Andrew I. Port. (2013). “To Deploy or Not to Deploy” The Erratic Evolution of German Foreign Policy since Unification. In *United Germany: Debating Processes and Prospects*, ed. Konrad H. Jarausch. New York: Berghahn Books. 83-102.

4.2.2 United Germany in the EU (1990-2009)

After the conceptual analysis of Germany's EU policy from the perspectives of the sustaining interaction between German reunification and European integration on different levels, the continuing 'ever presence of the German past'¹⁸⁴, and the hesitation between continuity and change with reference to the pre-1990 European policy of West Germany, it is required to examine the post-1990 EU history of Germany till Eurozone Crisis through the policy practises of governments that have been founded by chancellors Kohl, Schröder and Merkel successively. Under the shed light of these three facilitators providing a rather balanced approach to the post-reunification EU experience of the united Germany, it is possible to argue that each government under Kohl, Schröder and Merkel has endeavoured to create a policy agenda and implement their policies accordingly in terms of the European integration. Nevertheless, having to work especially under the pressure of the on-going oscillation between continuity and change, Kohl, Schröder, and Merkel governments have revealed a rather indecisive outlook related to Germany's European policy. After making these statements, the actual place of Germany in the post-Cold War EU will attempt to be understood mainly around crucial historical milestones within these 18 years in this part in order to make a promising entry to the following part in which the rising German impact on specific EU policy realms will be examined.

4.2.2.1 Kohl Era (1990-1998)

Winning the first all-German elections in December 1990, Chancellor Kohl restored electoral trust in his country mainly depending upon the honorary title of the 'Chancellor of the Unity'. In the European front, Chancellor Kohl was also admired due to finalizing the German unity primarily in the context of European integration. Attempting to

¹⁸⁴ Zanny Minton Beddoes. (2013). Europe's Reluctant Hegemon. The Economist. Accessed on 17 April 2015 via <http://www.economist.com/news/special-report/21579140-germany-now-dominant-country-europe-needs-rethink-way-it-sees-itself-and>.

eliminate all concerns and fears of West Germany's European partners in terms of the rather independent foreign policy inclinations of the united Germany, Chancellor Kohl had repeatedly underlined the indivisibility between German reunification and European integration via regarding them in his statements as "two sides of the same coin" and "integral parts of a whole unit" centred on the theme of "a question of war and peace", and achieved a remarkable success in this objective¹⁸⁵. Therefore, convincing different components of the EC/EU on the rhetorical level for the continuity in the loyalty of the united Germany to the project of European integration, which had existed as one of the irreversible diplomatic priorities of West Germany for decades, Chancellor Kohl allocated all his efforts to transferring it to a practical level throughout his incumbent years till 1998. In this respect, particularly until the ratification process of the Treaty of Maastricht, Kohl period was mostly dominated by the tendency of strict continuity in terms of policy-making and implementation related to European integration, except the case of Slovenia and Croatia's independence. Despite keeping his personal commitment to the ideal of European unity for the remaining 5 years, Kohl -intentionally or unintentionally- went into a slight modification in the rhetoric and practises of Germany towards the integration project in the form of marking the beginning of the radical change in the successive Schröder government's European policy understanding.

In terms of the post-Wall Germany's European policy, the Kohl government was challenged to pass its first serious diplomatic test in the middle of 1990 while the negotiations for the German reunification were still underway, internally and externally. At the time Saddam Hussein's Iraq invaded Kuwait on 2 August 1990, the initial biggest post-Cold War battle, named the First Gulf War, meant to start. Focusing all their attention on the proceeding and rapid conclusion of the reunification negotiations, top West German officials including Chancellor Kohl were literally caught unprepared for such an event. As stated previously, in the multilateral framework of West Germany,

¹⁸⁵ Thomas Banchoff. (1997). German Policy towards the European Union: The Effects of Historical Memory. German Politics. 6/1: 60-76. London: Frank Cass.

anti-militarism had already occupied a great part along with the attempts for the restructuration of this country in the post-Hitler era. Shaped by the anti-militarist sentiments for decades, which time-to-time became observable in the popular uprisings against any kind of formal decisions for getting involved in militaristic frictions in during Schmidt and Kohl periods before 1990, the West German public opinion had always been extremely sensitive towards sending troops outside the West German territory. In addition to this domestic factor, the deployment of the Bundeswehr, whose major mission was determined mostly in defensive terms, in out-of-area missions not within the context of the UN mandates had mostly been regarded as contrary to the Basic Law up to that time. That's why, despite all external calls for a West German contribution, Kohl government non-surprisingly preferred not sending any military units for the war in Iraq. On the other side, operating the means of its conventional chequebook diplomacy which was highly popular in early-1990s, Chancellor Kohl decided to make financial contribution of 18 billion DM to the finance of the war throughout 1990-1991 with the excuse that the common interests with and responsibilities towards its Allies of the FRG necessitated to behave that way¹⁸⁶.

During the same period, the nationalist frictions among the confederal republics of the Yugoslavia reached an unbearable level, and finally led into a war in 1991. Coinciding with the peaceful disintegration of the Soviet Union throughout this year, such kind of a bloody war in the south-eastern corner of the continent fuelled worries in the EC circles, and required an immediate common response from the Community in order to cease fire there. From the beginning of the war, the general tendency of the Community had been to propose the territorial integrity of the Yugoslavian state against any kind of separationist intentions. In line with the general attitude of the Community favouring the unity of Yugoslavia and denying any possible recognition of independence, Kohl government, through the declarations of its Foreign-Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher,

¹⁸⁶ Erhard Crowe. (2013). German Foreign Policy after 1990: Some Critical Remarks. In *United Germany: Debating Processes and Prospects*, ed. Konrad H. Jarausch. New York: Berghahn Books. 83-102.

kept suggesting Slovenia and Croatia to suspend their declaration of independence so as to create a space of negotiation among the clashing sides. By the way, due to the historical links of Germany particularly with Croatia, the demands initiated to be increasingly voiced by the German media and the SPD within Germany for a possible change in this approach of Kohl government towards the issue of independence. Squeezed by this rising domestic pressure on the one side and escalating turmoil within the Yugoslavian soil that much more turned into a violent struggle each passing day on another, the German government unexpectedly leaned into a self-assertive discourse in this issue starting from June 1991. In this respect, the general German approach to the recognition of Slovenia and Croatia's independence, which had just been declared unilaterally by these states, much more diversified from the Community's view that still rejected any independence from Yugoslavia. Given that West Germany had mostly chosen getting stuck with the Community anchor in terms of its foreign policy direction, this shift in Kohl government's position was evaluated as breaking ranks with the common European stance and evolving into a rather assertive route in the EC circles. German officials, on the other hand, rejected these views and indicated that it emerged as an imperative to bolster these two nations seeking independence from Yugoslavia in order to exert pressure on the Serbian part and prepare the legal ground of international peaceful intervention. In addition to this enshrined view stressing the need of guaranteeing permanent peace in this terrain, a more influential rhetoric stemming from the right of self-determination for Slovenes and Croats began being prioritized by the advocates of recognition in Germany. In particular, related to this factor, moral impact of the recent past of German reunification was highly observable on the political scene. Since the right of self-determination for the East German people living in the GDR was highly utilized by Chancellor Kohl and other CDU/CSU politicians in order to accelerate the collapse of the East German state and its total reunification with the West not more than a year ago, it was indicated by the pro-recognition bloc, now led by the SPD, in

Germany that now the time came to defend the validity of this very same right for the case of Slovenia and Croatia's independence¹⁸⁷. In terms of Germany's European policy framework, then, as claimed by Crawford¹⁸⁸, one of the main reasons behind this U-turn in Germany's approach to this matter was the need of leading the whole Community for recognizing the independence of these break-away republics in the face of the deteriorating situation in the Yugoslavia War. In other words, recognizing the rigidity of the EC's insistence on the integrity of Yugoslavia against any kind of unilateral separations from it, Kohl government assumed a protagonist role in pushing its European partners to follow it in the recognition case. Therefore, although a significant part of the Member States, pioneered by France and the UK, sustained the common Community line and attempted to prevent any kind of German devolution from it, then, they also came to acknowledge the reality of independence for these two states. Compatible with this incremental coming to terms with the German position, an advisory committee, which was popularly called as 'Badinter Committee' due to the name of its president, Robert Badinter, was established within the Community in September 1991, and took the decision, on 10 October 1991, of collectively recognizing the independence of Slovenia and Croatia as the EC at the end of a negotiation process that would last within two months. However, as time passed, not only the EC gave up dragging its feet on this issue but also France and Britain abandoned their opposition towards recognition. In the face of these facts, despite the common compromise reached among EC Member States in terms of recognizing the independence of these two confederal Yugoslavian republics complying with the specific criteria on 15 January 1992, Kohl government unilaterally recognized the independence of Slovenia and Croatia on 23 December 1991 notwithstanding the Community's common decision.

¹⁸⁷ Sonia Lucarelli. (1997). Germany's Recognition of Slovenia and Croatia: An Institutional Perspective. *The International Spectator: Italian Journal of International Affairs*. 32:2/ 65-91.

¹⁸⁸ Beverly Crawford. (1993). *German Foreign Policy After the Cold War: The Decision to Recognize Croatia*. Center for German and European Studies. Working Paper No. 2.21. Berkeley: University of California.

Totally shocked by this step of Germany, the pre-reunification fears and concerns of the EC states on the European policy of united Germany again came into the forefront. In the wake of Germany's decision, the most frequently asked question within the EC was whether the enlarged Federal Republic would get accustomed to this new foreign policy line that seemed to represent a radical departure from the pre-1990 European policy habits of the old FRG. Considering that German European policy has become subject to a persistent wavering between continuity and change under the disturbing shadow of history, however, other internal and external factors and events ultimately paving the way for the unilateral German decision of recognition on 23 December 1991 have to be taken into account while attempting to answer this crucial question. Looking at the general content of this process from two decades ahead, hence, it is possible to observe the dominance of the multilateral and integrationist discourse of Germany even on taking such a one-sided decision on this specific date. As mentioned by Lucarelli, despite the day-by-day intensifying domestic pressure that was exerted not only by German media but also by the SPD and increasing portion of the CDU/CSU, Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Genscher resisted all these internal demands for recognition, and felt the necessity of following the common Community course in rejecting Slovene and Croat independence from Yugoslavia in order not to endanger the success of economic, monetary and political unification of Europe¹⁸⁹. In this respect, refraining from leaning towards a unilateral path during the on-going process of the IGCs for EMU and political union, Germany kept its intentions for recognition hidden until after the Maastricht Summit, held on 9-10 December 1991. To state it differently, following the signature of the Treaty on the European Union became definite and the deadline set for the common recognition by the Community within two months was already passed, Kohl government dared to recognizing these two break-away republics on 23 December diverging from other EC countries. As can be recognized, the unilateral recognition of

¹⁸⁹ Sonia Lucarelli. (1997). Germany's Recognition of Slovenia and Croatia: An Institutional Perspective. *The International Spectator: Italian Journal of International Affairs*. 32:2/ 65-91.

Slovenia and Croatia by Germany at the end of 1991, which is still seen as the only self-assertive step taken in the period of post-reunification Kohl governments, should be regarded not as a specific case in which Germany ‘flexed its muscles’ for the first time after national reunification phase but as an exceptional case forging as a result of the mix of internal and external events at that time.

Another crucial milestone in Kohl governments’ European policy was the Treaty of Maastricht on the European Union. Accounting for a turning point in the general structure and policies of the Community and marking the most important point in the post-Cold War European integration history, the Treaty of Maastricht has also had a remarkable impact both on the post-reunification European ‘vocation’ of Germany and on the interactions between Germany and the EU. Evaluated solely in terms of its provisions, the Maastricht Treaty can be regarded as a response of the EC and the Member States to global developments and forces mainly around the spill-over effect of the economic integration, which had been backed by the Single Market project since mid-1980s, on the advent of EMU. However, moving beyond this confined framework and looking from a larger perspective, it is possible to recognize that the Treaty of Maastricht on European Union actually emerged as “*a political response of the EC countries to the German reunification and the end of the Cold War*”¹⁹⁰. Therefore, a sense of urgency already emerged in the pre-Maastricht period because the Community elements were mostly preoccupied with the view that there might not exist another chance, should this historical opportunity of binding the united Germany irreversibly to the European framework be missed¹⁹¹. As can be understood, recalling the ghosts of the pre-1945 history, the major concern was again the possibility of the emergence of a comparatively more independent German European policy that might diverge from the

¹⁹⁰ Michael J. Baun. (1996). The Maastrich Treaty as High Politics: Germany, France, and European Integration. *Political Science Quarterly*. 110/4. 605-624.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

common European perspective. Therefore, in order to grasp the complexity of the Treaty of Maastricht adequately it is considered that this Treaty should be analysed from two fundamental angles. Firstly, looking from the perspective of the EC, the overwhelming impact of the post-Cold War atmosphere is possible to be felt regarding the preparation of the Treaty of Maastricht. Since the political and demographic map of Europe drastically changed through revolutionary events such as German reunification, collapse of the East European socialist regimes, and dissolution of the Soviet Union within few years, the EC countries had the necessity of re-evaluating the institutional structure of the Community and its primary policies via the mediation of this Treaty under the shed light of these newly occurring incidents. Especially with respect to the resolution of the 'post-Wall German Question' referring to "*the re-emergence of a powerful Germany in the center of a politically fragmented Europe*"¹⁹², the Maastricht Treaty came into the foreground as the concrete expression of the EC's decisiveness in terms of showing that just like before, the major answer of this new version of German Question would be the European integration in the post-1990 Europe. Directly linked to that, secondly, from the perspective of the Franco-German alliance, this Treaty represented kind of a political bargain among these two most influential countries of the EC in terms of preserving their national interests and fulfilling them on the European level¹⁹³. In fact, these two countries harboured different objectives related to this Treaty. France, as the leader of the intergovernmentalist bloc in the Union, strongly desired for the achievement of an economic and monetary union around the goals of creating an independent, Europe-wide central bank, instead of the dominant German Bundesbank, and a common European currency, which would become effective in breaking the long-lasting hegemony of the D-Mark in Europe. Rightly understood from these targets, around this Treaty, the conventional French policy of containing Germany through the means provided by the European integration process was again fully in charge. For Germany, which was

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

governed by the strongly pro-European and supranational Kohl government at that time, the Treaty of Maastricht was essential because of two primary reasons. Firstly, through the Maastricht Treaty, Germany basically intended to promote the political union of Europe into an upper level, create a common foreign and security policy of the whole Community, solve the long-running democratic legitimacy crisis, and extend the jurisdiction of the EP via granting it extra capabilities in the face of new challenges of the post-Cold War Europe. As of equal importance, secondly, in the aftermath of its reunification, through pressing for the Treaty of Maastricht, the united Germany was seeking to ensure its European partners of its persisting devotion to the project of the united Europe, like post-1949 West Germany. Taking decisive steps for the sake of the European integration via this Treaty simultaneously with the post-1990 German reunification process, thus, the Kohl government attempted to stress the indivisibility of the German reunification and the European integration around his well-known rhetoric of the two sides of the same coin¹⁹⁴. However, in addition to these diverging interests of Germany and France as regards the Treaty of Maastricht, there was another problem. Up to then, it was not a hidden fact that Germany was not so much in favour of the monetary and currency union, as pushed by France, due to the domination of the Bundesbank and the D-Mark over the monetary policies of Europe. On the other side, considering its classical intergovernmentalist stance having Gaullist tones, France always kept a distance to the idea of a strengthened political union, as urged by Germany. Encountering these differing aims of France, which pushed for a European EMU, and Germany, which was longing for a political union, then, the conventional 'negotiation-concession mechanisms' of the Franco-German axis suddenly initiated to operate. Again, when Germany and France found themselves in contrasting sides during this process, like West Germany and France in the pre-1990 period, they had the necessity of coming together in order to reach a concerted decision for the future of the

¹⁹⁴ Thomas Banchoff. (1997). *German Policy towards the European Union: The Effects of Historical Memory*. German Politics. 6/1: 60-76. London: Frank Cass.

European integration. At that point, despite the explicit criticisms originated from the German media and Bundesbank that undermined the EMU due to its possibly negative effects for German economy¹⁹⁵, Chancellor Kohl came to accept the French-backed EMU depending upon these two above mentioned reasons. In this regard, Kohl government considered that deepening the monetary union would be practical not only to further political union in line with its supranational intentions but also to prove the German commitment to the project of European integration even after its reunification. Germany gave special importance to the latter point since what kind of a decision Germany would take regarding monetary union was largely commented as a litmus test, asserted in the declarations of Mitterrand and Delors at that time, for post-reunification Germany, which would prefer either keeping its firm alliance with the idea of European unity or assuming a rather independent European policy line, as it did in the past. At the end of the mutual concessions given by Germany regarding the monetary union and by France related to the political union, the road that would end with the signature of the Treaty of Maastricht was opened. After I. Dublin Summit of 28 April 1990 took the decision of re-examining the Treaty of Rome in accordance with the changing conditions of the post-Cold War Europe via two IGCs, on EMU and political union, on the basis of this common Franco-German initiative fuelled by the endeavours of Mitterrand and Kohl, Rome European Council, dated 14-15 December 1990, launched these two IGCs. Following the completion of the works in these IGCs, the Maastricht Summit of 9-10 December 1991 finalized the preparatory process. As a result, the Treaty of Maastricht on European Union was signed on 7 February 1992. Concerning the position of Kohl government in German public opinion, the harsh days meant to begin from this date. Throughout the negotiation process constituting the preparatory background of the Treaty of Maastricht, the German society mostly focused on other hot topics including the on-going German reunification process, the Yugoslavia War, and

¹⁹⁵ Till Geiger. (2001). Believing in the Miracle Cure: The Economic Transition Process in Germany and East-Central Europe. In *Germany since Unification: The Development of the Berlin Republic*, ed. Klaus Larres. Basingstoke: Palgrave. 63-87.

the First Gulf War, so the Treaty of Maastricht was not likely to occupy a place among these events. However, after its signature at the beginning of 1992, domestic attention was increasingly directed towards the Maastricht Treaty as the details of its provisions, which will be issued in the related parts of this thesis, became publicly known. Combined with the socio-political difficulties of the reunification process that were experienced by all segments of the German society, this rising popular attention was transformed into a widespread negative approach to the Treaty of Maastricht, to Chancellor Kohl's role in the achievement of this restricted success, and even to the project of European integration as time passed. In this regard, around a comprehensive comparison between what Chancellor Kohl had initially envisaged in relation to this Treaty and what Germany actually obtained at the end, the German media and the opposition parties such as the SPD strictly criticized him because of 'selling the D-mark in return of nothing.' Underlining the imbalanced nature of the Treaty regarding the prevalence of its provisions on monetary and currency union over the ones on political union, these domestic criticisms intensified on the point that in the context of the outcomes of the Treaty of Maastricht, Germany failed in coupling economic and monetary union, in direct contrast to Kohl's plans, imposing fiscal discipline on the Community, creating the framework of common foreign and security policy, and providing the EP additional powers¹⁹⁶. According to them, Kohl government was able to have a limited success for enabling the institutional transformation to the Union, making other Member States accept the rigid economic and social conditions for the accession to the EMU, and contributing to the resolution of the legitimacy crisis via slight changes in the decision-making procedures. Additionally, the critics were complaining about the fact that in order to satisfy France and totally eliminate its concerns about German European policy, Kohl government easily sacrificed its goals focusing on progressing political union thanks to the Maastricht Treaty. Against these attacks, Chancellor Kohl

¹⁹⁶ Max Otte & Jürgen Greve. (2000). *The Loss of Utopia: Germany and European Integration, 1988-1997*. In *A Rising Middle Power?: German Foreign Policy in Transformation, 1989-1999*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

was just able to conceding that the Treaty of Maastricht was the product of the Europe-level compromise, so it was not only compatible with Germany's supranational vision and constitutional responsibilities stated in its Basic Law towards the European integration process but also symbolizing a further stage in terms of achieving the 'United States of Europe' at one level in the future¹⁹⁷. Yet, even these declarations full of European idealism were not capable of reducing the domestic turbulence emanating from the provisions and consequences of the Treaty of Maastricht in Germany. Although the Maastricht Treaty was approved by the German parliament on 2 December 1992, the ratification process could not be completed because it was suddenly brought into the Federal Constitutional Court regarding its conformity to the Basic Law. What is more, other Member States such as France and Denmark were also experimenting very same problems related to the ratification of the Treaty of Maastricht. Following the Danish popular 'no' to the Treaty in a referendum on June 1992, French people gave their approval via a slight margin in the referendum held on September 1992. Meanwhile, passing nearly a year from its approval in the Bundestag, the Federal Constitutional Court gave its final decision related to the Treaty of Maastricht in the direction of approval on 13 October 1993, and eliminated the last hurdle for the ratification of the Treaty in Germany. As a reflection of all these internal turbulences lasting for months, Germany became the last country that ratified the Treaty of Maastricht among the Member States. Following this long-awaited German ratification, the Treaty of Maastricht came into effect on 1 November 1993.

Beyond any other details, one thing was exact that Chancellor Kohl was not as strong in the aftermath of Treaty of Maastricht as he had been previously in terms of popular support given to the European integration in Germany. Depending upon the provisions of the Maastricht Treaty concerning the monetary union and political union, the Single Market was completed on 1 January 1993, and the evolution of the EC to the EU took

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

place by the date of 1 January 1994. Despite these achievements contributing to the European integration thanks to the Treaty of Maastricht, however, it was apparent that Chancellor Kohl seemed to lose his previous domestic popularity and reliability in terms of the project of European unity especially throughout the abrasive process of ratification for the Treaty of Maastricht. Facing the rising Euro-sceptic wave in every societal realm of Germany, Chancellor Kohl was actually pushed to go into a modification in his strongly supranational and adhesive integration rhetoric, the most observable piece of which was the incremental removal of the federally over-toned phrase of the ‘United States of Europe’ in his declarations. All in all, beyond carrying the European integration into an upper stage on economic and political realms, the Treaty of Maastricht marked a dramatic breaking point with regard to the long-lasting pro-European tendencies of the German public opinion, which would later take place on the level of German political elites starting from the Schröder era, too.

In addition to witnessing the institutional transformation of the EC into the Union structure, the year of 1994 also saw the German presidency in its second half. Assuming the presidency of the Community 6 years ago before reunification for the last time, West Germany had completed this period working hard to accelerate the European integration in accordance with its high supranational aspirations and the recently set objectives in the SEA, and achieved success for the most part. Therefore, having all these memories about this recent past in mind, Germany was again determined to provide progress towards the ideal of united Europe in many realms under its 1994 EU presidency. Moving from this path, Foreign Minister Kinkel counted the chief objectives of the German presidency as accelerating the rapprochement between the EU and the post-communist CEECs in order to bring the latter much closer to the Union, making more contribution to the integrity of Europe following the end of the Cold War, and strengthening the political and economic mechanisms of the Union as determined in the

Treaty of Maastricht¹⁹⁸. Depending upon these clearly set objectives, Germany initiated to take decisive steps in terms of mainly providing functionality to the provisions of the Treaty of Maastricht, and forming tight bonds with the East and Central European states, which were now under a deep political and economic transformation in line with the criteria of the EU. In particular, with respect to the second point, Germany assumed a pioneership position in expanding the Community eastward one day because of not only its historical relations with these mentioned states but also the post-communist transformation that was underway in its eastern half at that time, which will be focused more in the upcoming parts. Moreover, on behalf of the ideal of the united Europe, Germany gave full support to the possible accession of these countries involving Austria, Sweden, Finland, and Norway. As a success, under German presidency, then, the 'EFTA enlargement' took place, and Austria, Sweden and Finland became new EU members by the date of 1 January 1995¹⁹⁹. The last notable incident taking place towards the end of 16-year-reign of Chancellor Kohl was the signature of the Amsterdam Treaty. Encountering the difficulties that had been faced in the post-Maastricht process, the EU-15 took the decision of making revisions in some provisions of the Treaty of Maastricht in the IGC, held in 1996. As a result, the Treaty of Amsterdam, which was signed on 2 October 1997 and came into effect on 1 May 1999, emerged as the first comprehensive reform attempt since the Maastricht Treaty through making regulations in many fields varying from decision-making mechanisms, the CFSP, and the institutional structure to the European citizenship, and the social and employment rights of individuals, which Germany pushed for reforms in the context of European integration most.

To conclude, despite the rhetorical and practical commitment of the Chancellor to the project of European integration 'by heart' under the moral influence of the post-War years passing in the Bonn Republic, the post-reunification Kohl governments' EU

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ Due to the rejection of membership in its public referendum, Norway failed to accede to the EU.

policies can be considered to be shaped under the huge dominance of ‘continuity’, though few exceptions. However, it should not be forgotten that the rising Euro-scepticism and intergovernmentalism that have characterized the European public opinion starting from the ratification of the Maastricht Treaty, and caused the occurrence of a wide gap between the views of the German public and of the high-level politicians²⁰⁰ under Kohl’s chancellery constituted the background of the suspicious manner that would be later adopted by the Red-Green government regarding the EU.

4.2.2.2 Schröder Era (1998-2005)

In the 1998 federal elections, German politics witnessed the end of 16-year-chancellery of Kohl, and welcomed a new Social Democrat chancellor named Gerhard Schröder. Construction of the government under the partnership of the SPD and the Greens itself symbolized a crucial break in Germany’s post-war history because, for the first time in the FRG’s political history, “*a conservative coalition was replaced by a coalition of two self-consciously ‘left’ parties traditionally emphasizing an ‘internationalist’ foreign policy orientation.*”²⁰¹ In line with this structural change taking place in the German political arena, Chancellor Schröder also gave the signals of a rather pragmatic and self-interested turn in the European policy framework of Germany, like in other realms. In his government declaration of November 1998, Chancellor Schröder gave the hints of his new approach towards European issues as follows²⁰²:

²⁰⁰ Simon Bulmer & William E. Paterson. (1996). Germany in the European Union: Gentle Giant or Emergent Leader? *International Affairs*. 72/1: 9-32.

²⁰¹ Gunter Hellmann, Rainer Baumann, Monika Bösche & Benjamin Herborth. (2005). De-Europeanization by Default? Germany’s EU Policy in Defense and Asylum. *Foreign Policy Analysis*. International Studies Association. 1: 143-164.

²⁰² William E. Paterson. (2011). The Reluctant Hegemon? Germany Moves Centre Stage in the European Union. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 2011 Annual Review. England: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. 49: 57–75.

My generation and those following are Europeans because we want to be, not because we have to be. That makes us freer in dealing with others. I am convinced that our European partners want to have a self-confident German partner which is more calculable than a German partner with an inferiority complex. Germany standing up for its national interests will be just as natural as France or Britain standing up for theirs.

At the background of these ambitious statements, Chancellor Kohl came to mean that heretofore there would be a government which would become more insistent in following the German national interests on the European scene in contrast to previous policies of Kohl, which had been committed to the projection of 'integration-at-all-costs'. The new government would continue to keep the democratic, peaceful, and solidaristic inspirations of Germany for the ideal of united Europe, but would become much more active in defending its national cause. Drawing such a new route for Germany in the EU, Chancellor Schröder intended to enlarge his room of manoeuvre via totally eliminating the shadow of catastrophic past on the present foreign policy-making regarding European policies of his country and relieve them of the heavy historical baggage. In that sense, from the very beginning, the Red-Green government made it clear that it would not adopt Kohl's European discourse full of historical memories and emotional recalls. For instance, related to the high amounts of German financial contribution to the EU budget, Chancellor Schröder indicated that German policies towards the EU would be increasingly guided by national interests and Germany would no more attempt to solve the problems of Europe via its conventional chequebook diplomacy²⁰³. In the face of this radical change in government's European discourse, the German public opinion mostly evaluated this observable shift around the themes of 'ultimate emancipation of Federal Republic's European policy from its self-restraints', 'end of patronization over Germany's place in the EU', and 'decisive challenge of the

²⁰³ Max Otte & Jürgen Greve. (2000). Power Structure over Ideology: The Foreign Policy of the New Schröder-Fischer Government. In *A Rising Middle Power?: German Foreign Policy in Transformation, 1989-1999*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

historically developed reason of state that was inherited from the old FRG’²⁰⁴. That said, the Schröder government attempted to settle the European policy-making of Germany on three main pillars as the reform of the EU budget, the harmonization of the European-level economic, financial, and social policies and the increasing coordination of European common foreign and security policies. In other words, announcing the points of dissatisfaction or displeasure related to different dimensions of the European integration, as previously done by Schröder himself throughout 1995-1996 on EMU even before he came to power, the Red-Green government committed itself to a reformist agenda on European policies in order to bring them much more in line with German standards. However, despite going for a transformation in its European agenda and pushing for change in the content of its EU policies, the Red-Green government became inadequate to transfer these statements promising change to the area of practice. Facing the harsh criticisms of its European partners and the EU related to the disputable declarations of Chancellor Schröder on one side and the mostly supranational approach of Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer and the Greens on another, the Red-Green government was pressurized to return to the conventional European policies of previous CDU/CSU-FDP governments immediately. In other words, failing to conduct a real transformation in the essence of the German EU policies via exceeding beyond the level of ambitious statements, Schröder governments lost credibility on the European scene, but also opened the path towards Merkel-era European policies that much more valued change in practice, especially beginning from the Eurozone Crisis.

During the initial months in power, the Schröder government had to deal with the Kosovo Crisis as its first foreign policy issue within the European dimension. Having its roots on the Yugoslavia War taking place at the beginning of 1990s, the Kosovo War again showed the Union that in the southeastern part of the continent, the on-going internal conflicts were being escalated into a highly dangerous war one more time.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

Reminiscent of the previous Kohl governments, the Red-Green government experienced the well-known hesitation between continuity and change, and between the classical principles of the FRG's foreign policy as 'never again war' and 'never again Auschwitz' in terms of such a sensitive issue as the deployment of Bundeswehr outside German territory. In this respect, many contradicting declarations were made, mainly by Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Fischer, throughout this process, but at the end, the decision of sending military units to this problematic region was taken through following the US lead in this matter.

Coinciding with the German EU presidency in the first half of 1999, the EMU was launched by the date of 1 January 1999 according to the timeline set by the Maastricht Treaty before. In this regard, Euro was introduced as an accounting currency by this date. This meant that despite all reservations of Schröder government, the EMU was proceeding on the determined deadline. Representing next step in monetary integration, the Euro replaced the D-Mark as the currency of Germany like other eligible Member States by the date of 1 January 2002.

As one of the major revision attempts on the provisions of the Treaty of Rome and the Treaty of Maastricht, the Treaty of Nice was signed on 26 February 2001 by EU-15 including Germany. The Nice Treaty basically attempted to make reform in the institutional structures and decision-making mechanisms of the EU in accordance with the future enlargement of the Union towards the East. Bundestag ratified this Treaty without any problem, but due to the public veto of the Irish electorate in 2001 referendum, a new crisis occurred within the EU. Thanks to the approval of Irish people derived in the referendum held next year, this burden was passed, and this Treaty came into force on 1 February 2003.

By the way, the terrorist attack hitting the World Trade Center in the USA on 11 September 2001 changed the proceeding of history in the post-Cold War world. Deeply influenced by the implications of this incident, the Schröder government reviewed its

defence strategies, and intensified its demands on strengthening the common foreign and security policy dimension of the Union and creating new defence strategies peculiar to the needs of the European continent. Towards another direct result of 9/11 Attack, which was the Afghanistan War that started on October 2001, the Schröder government openly declared his government's backing for the US intervention, and accordingly sent German troops for the peacekeeping mission in this territory through resisting internal criticisms. However, in the Second Gulf War, or publicly known as the Iraq War, that began on March 2003, the same Schröder government rejected providing any military or financial support to the American invasion, which caused a periodic freeze in the US-Germany relations for a while. Taking the lead with France in this decision, however, Germany was not able to trigger a Union-wide attitude in this issue, and was shocked by the counter-declaration of other Member States disapproving this decision of the Franco-German core, then. Due to his position, which was evaluated as polarizing and contradictory especially by the US, in this issue, Chancellor Schröder seemed to lose his ability to forge agreements on the European level, which caused a short-term thawing in German influence over Europe²⁰⁵.

Towards the end of Schröder's chancellorship, in 2004, two important events took place in terms of both widening and deepening. Related to the former, the Eastern Enlargement, also publicly referred as the 'Big Bang Expansion' due to its large scale, took place via the accession of 10 states lying in the Eastern part of the continent as new Member States of the Union. Unlike previous enlargements, the 2004 Enlargement symbolized a different meaning, since after decades long division of the European continent among capitalist and communist blocs, the entry of these post-communist European countries to the EU was evaluated by most experts as 'the actual integration of the European

²⁰⁵ Simon Green, Dan Hough & Alister Miskimmon. (2008). Germany and the European Union: A European Germany or a German Europe? In *The Politics of the New Germany*. New York: Routledge. 141-156.

continent' under the EU roof. As a country which came to be seen as the natural advocate of these the CEECs among larger states within the EU throughout their economic and political transformation, Germany gave a special importance to this accession wave differently from the remaining EU-15 due to many reasons, as will much more be elucidated in the following part. That's why, welcoming these new Member States from the East, though not as eagerly as former Chancellor Kohl would were he to be in power, the Schröder government apparently expressed its pleasure with this enlargement that brought benefits not only for the project of the united Europe, in general, but also for the German interests regarding European policies, in particular. Concerning the matter of deepening, then, at the end of the long-lasting debates and institutional preparations, the Constitutional Treaty was signed on 29 October 2004. This event marked a progressive step for Schröder government due to two basic reasons. Firstly, because of its consistent reformist agenda pushing other Member States to carry out the required changes in the institutional structure and policy framework of the EU from the beginning, the SPD-Greens coalition received the Constitutional Treaty as a highly comprehensive reform attempt that would replace all hitherto European Treaties with a single text binding on all parties and would bring deep-rooted changes in the structures of the European institutions and the related decision-making mechanisms within. Secondly, it was Germany itself that led the initiation of the European constitutional process through the 2000 Humboldt speech of Foreign Minister Fischer. Hence, depending upon the combination of Chancellor Schröder's pragmatic reformism and Foreign Minister Fischer's idealist supranationalism, Germany became highly effective in the preparatory process that resulted in the signature of the European Constitution.

All in all, despite entering the harsh arena of European policies with highly powerful targets and ambitious statements seeking for an observable change, the transformational agenda of Chancellor Schröder related to Germany's EU policies was reflected on the area of practice in few occasions, such as shifting of Schröder from Franco-German axis to the Anglo-German coordination due to his commonly shared conceptual Third

Way/Neu Mitte understanding with British PM Tony Blair. Hence, under the impact of internal and external pressures he was condemned to backtrack to the conventional policy line followed by Kohl previously. Harshly being reminded of the limits of its diplomatic capabilities on European level, Germany came to face the untold realities under the rule of Red-Green government, but also got prepared well for the upcoming events that would emerge within the Merkel era.

4.2.2.3 Merkel Era (2005-2009)

Following the 2005 elections, the 7-year Red-Green coalition came into an end, and Angela Merkel, the head of the CDU/CSU, came into power as the name of many ‘first’s including the first female and the GDR-origin Chancellor in modern German history. Failing to form a government with her party’s parliamentary majority, Merkel had to create a ‘Grand Coalition’ with Social Democrats, the last instance of which was witnessed in West Germany at the end of 1960s under Chancellor Kiesinger. During her first government experience till European Debt Crisis out of 10 years in power, Chancellor Merkel attempted to undertake a healing and consensus-building function on the problems inherited from the former Schröder governments and the issues peculiar to the European integration itself. In a rush to enable the Conservative-Social coalition to function despite its intrinsically harsh nature, however, Chancellor Merkel was criticized for solely being committed to the daily practices without demanding any kind of change for European politics. Indeed, particularly as regards her first term in office, the European policies that were shaped by Merkel government did not so much diverge from those of the previous Schröder governments considering their common points of pragmatism and high valuation of national interests that dominated both periods. Looking from another standpoint, then, this fact was largely linked to the Chancellor’s East German origins or the absence of any kind of actual European idealism as existing in Adenauer, Brandt, or Kohl. Whatever the reason was, the first Merkel government till 2009 was generally characterized with its problem-solving character particularly related to the European Constitution crisis. Starting from the sovereign debt crisis, yet, which

will not be scrutinized in the context of this thesis, Chancellor Merkel drew a rather different portrait in comparison to her first term in government, which has generally been evaluated as a major breaking point in the history of Germany's integration policies.

When Angela Merkel took over the chancellery, she revealed her eagerness to help Europe solving its existential crises, so to continue the European integration with the required dynamism. Compatible with this overview, in her first government declaration, Chancellor Merkel mentioned 'refounding the European vision', yet with no definite content and details²⁰⁶. However, at the time when Chancellor Merkel rose to power, the general atmosphere in Europe was highly pessimistic. Due to the last Schröder government's decision of not deploying any German troops on Iraq, with France, there had occurred an internal split within the EU, which challenged the classical compromising role of Germany in the Union. Moreover, throughout the federal elections campaign in Germany, the European Constitutional Treaty had been voted in the public referendums held in France and the Netherlands in May 2005, and these had resulted in the popular rejection of the Constitution in these member states. The constitutional process that was launched with high expectations, through the leading initiative of Germany, in early 2000s, seemed to come into a halt. In the wake of these failed referendums, the sober evaluations made by experts were underlining the fact that the future of European integration might be in danger should the constitutional crisis not be found an urgent solution. At that point, by the help of three factors, Chancellor Merkel came into the forefront as a compromising actor. Firstly, differently from Kohl and Schröder governments in which the German European policies were carried out by influential foreign ministers such as Genscher and Fischer, at the same time heads of the junior coalition parties, Chancellor Merkel made her dominance on the EU policies

²⁰⁶ William E. Paterson. (2011). *The Reluctant Hegemon? Germany Moves Centre Stage in the European Union*. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 2011 Annual Review. England: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. 49: 57–75.

accepted from the very beginning. Through overshadowing the Foreign Minister Steinmeier, Chancellor Merkel incrementally transferred power from the Foreign Ministry to the Chancellery in terms of European affairs. The second reason was that the retirement of the prominent national figures such as French President Jacques Chirac and British PM Tony Blair left a political vacuum on European scene. Taking advantage of this situation and many other opportunities, Chancellor Merkel succeeded in emerging as a competent European leader. The last factor was the German EU presidency in the first half of 2007. Determining the most urgent issues that needed to be solved under German presidency as the Constitution Treaty, the environment policy and the transatlantic trade, Chancellor Merkel attempted to utilize this 6-month period to prove her capability in overcoming such kind of hard problems within the EU.

German presidency of the European Council in 2007 began with the accession of Romania and Bulgaria, two post-communist countries of the Eastern bloc, as new member states of the EU. Forming a complementary part of the 2004 Enlargement, the 2007 Enlargement was welcomed by Merkel government as the first success achieved under German presidency. Following that, Chancellor Merkel allocated her efforts mostly to resolving the problems emanating from the Red-Green government's decision of not sending Bundeswehr to Iraq during the Second Gulf War in 2003. Although *"simply not being Gerhard Schröder was enough to guarantee a positive impact"*²⁰⁷ regarding transatlantic relations in these days, Chancellor Merkel had to work a lot to resettle the previous political balances depending upon the position of Germany as a non-polarizing power within the EU. In line with this purpose, immediately after coming to power, Chancellor Merkel contributed to the settlement of the budgetary issue for the advantage of the UK in 2005. By this very first step, Chancellor Merkel planned to give the message that she would give prior importance to the resolution of the European-level problems via concerted action, which was commented as a cue for the would-be

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

settlement of the constitution crisis in Europe. Progressing in this realm, then, Chancellor Merkel directed her attention to the protection of environment in Europe. Previously working as a Minister of Environment under the Kohl government, Chancellor Merkel was highly sensitive regarding environmental issues. Hence, pushing for the setting of notable emission targets on the climate change across Europe, Chancellor Merkel managed to guarantee other Member States' approval as regards this matter to a certain extent. Afterwards, Chancellor Merkel dealt with the well-known constitutional crisis of the EU, which was put on the shelf without touching approximately 2 years after French and Dutch vetoes in 2005 referendums. It is essential to indicate that starting from the first months of German presidency in the year of 2007, Chancellor Merkel approached to the resolution of this crisis with the required attention, seriousness, and enthusiasm. Recognizing the importance of achieving a compromise in this challenging crisis for the survival of the European integration project, Chancellor Merkel carried out – or mediated the conduct of- the intergovernmental negotiations with the related parties through operating the mechanism of 'reaching mutual concessions on focal points of the rejected European Constitution'²⁰⁸. Motivated from this perception management that was constructed on the consensus-building image of Germany in the EU, Chancellor Merkel became highly effective in the finalization of all these bargaining debates with success. As a result of this 'salvage operation', the Treaty of Lisbon, which was generally regarded as a re-approved form of the rejected Constitution with slight changes in demand, was signed on 13 December 2007, and came into force on 1 December 2009. Through the signature of the Lisbon Treaty, thanks to these endeavors of Germany, not only the long-running constitutional crisis was brought to an end, but also the institutional and decision-making mechanisms of the Union were re-adjusted in accordance with the necessities of the Community with 27, not 15, Member States.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

To conclude, with her pragmatic approach and collaborative rhetoric, Chancellor Merkel managed to promote herself as a leading European figure in the European public opinion during her first term in government. Through proving her effectiveness especially in the resolution of the European Constitution crisis, Merkel again provided her country a secure ground in the European politics. However, she also did not refrain from keeping her confidence in defending the cause of German national interests when she felt the latter are threatened throughout the European integration process²⁰⁹. Despite remaining at the background during her first term in government, this mentioned manner of Chancellor Merkel became much more evident in post-2009 process, and dominated the general European agenda of Germany during the attempts for the resolution of the Eurozone Crisis.

4.2.3 United Germany in the EU Policy-Making

Stemming from the proceeding of its peculiar economic mechanisms rooted in the conventional Sozialstaat structure, the Federal Republic has generally been known as an ‘export country’ –or trading country- in Europe due to the delivery of its well-manufactured goods in huge amounts to European countries. However, coinciding with the post-reunification period, Germany has also been referred as a country that exports its institutional values/principles, political, economic and social applications, and policy-making understanding to Europe. As mentioned before, throughout the twin processes of uploading and downloading within the Europeanization scheme taking place in the Federal Republic, the German reunification and the European integration always kept their peculiar interaction alive both in the pre- and post-reunification periods. At some points, like the sudden aftermath of the reunification among the FRG and the GDR in 1990, the European integration helped the German reunification for the stabilization of Germany more than the latter influenced the former. For instance, as elucidated before, during the negotiations that were conducted for German reunification internally and

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

externally, European institutions provided the common European framework on which this reunification would be built, and contributed as much as they could for the conclusion of this process with final achievement. Moreover, the EC supported the post-communist transformation process in the former East German region through increasing the amount of structural funds and other aids granted to Germany. Concerning the post-Cold War period that has been full of unpredictable events and devastating crises, it was now time for Germany to repay for all this help provided by the project of European integration in the harsh times of the former. Despite Germany was always prominent in terms of shaping the form and content of the EU even from the previous times of separation in the German territory, it has actually got closer to the point of ‘leaving the German mark’ on the post-Wall European integration in recent times. Therefore, taking the symbiotic character of the relationship between German reunification and European integration into account, in this part of the thesis, rising post-reunification German impact on the structure and policy-making of the EU will be analysed on the level of six specific realms including economic structure and policies of the EU, institutional and political framework of the EU, Common Foreign and Security Policy of the EU, Eastern enlargement of the EU, widening policies of the EU, and migration/asylum policies of the EU.

4.2.3.1 Economic Structure and Policies of the EU

Dating back to the Cold War period, when Germany existed as two ideologically rival states on economic and political terms, the Federal Republic was always equated with ‘success’ by the EC countries due to its solid economic system having different peculiarities that always divided it from the classical Anglo-Saxon model of capitalism. In particular, differently from French and British economic models, the German doctrine of the social market economy found a huge resonance on the development of the

Common Market of the EC, which also had a social-liberal orientation at its center²¹⁰. Generally known as the ‘German Sozialstaat’, this social welfare system of Germany was usually taken as a model within the EC, and had a huge influence on the economic dimension of the European integration. Taking strength from this economic power, despite its political inadequacy, West Germany always remained at the top of all Member States in terms of its contribution to the Community budget. Bundesbank and the D-Mark, which were the rare national possessions that West Germans were proud with, came to be seen as the symbols of economic stability not only in West Germany but also in the whole EC, so their hegemonic impact was something that was pre-given for most Europeans. Depending upon such a bright past in terms of exerting its influence on the pre-1990 economic integration process, the united Germany also continued its impact on the economic structuration and policy-making within the EU in the post-reunification period. Experiencing hard times due to the economic difficulties emanating from the German reunification and the strict criteria of the EMU, yet, Germany was incrementally perceived as the economically weakest link of the Member States till the mid-2000s. However, when the Eurozone Crisis knocked the door of the EU, it would be recognized that this tableau was totally reversed regarding the economic indicators of Germany.

Generally known as the economic leader of the European integration, the old FRG had become highly decisive in the establishment of the EMS as a Europe-wide mechanism ensuring monetary stability in 1979. Built on the ground served by the EMS, West German economic miracle had succeeded in exporting its Sozialstaat model to the EU as the system that had become capable of creating the Bundesbank and the D-Mark as its two concrete products. However, due to the displeasure of France with the well-known domination of these two West German trademarks over the shaping of the monetary policy all over the EC, this country came up with the proposals of the EMU and

²¹⁰ Jeffrey J. Anderson. (1997). *The German Model and European Integration: Between Unification and Union*. Brown University. 1-25.

currency union that foresaw the establishment of an independent European central bank and the creation of a single European currency. Since it was highly obvious that these French proposals directly targeted West Germany's decades-long economic dominance, the Federal Republic initially approached negatively to them. However, coinciding with the national reunification between the FRG and the GDR, West Germany gave a reluctant approval to the EMU with the ideas of eliminating the concerns of France and other EC countries regarding the advent of a united Germany and deepening the integration project. As a result, via the Treaty of Maastricht, it was decided that single market would be completed with determination of a new economic policy consisting of two major components such as the multilateral coordination of Member States' economic policies and subjecting them to the rules of financial and budgetary discipline. Regarding the ultimate achievement of the EMU and the currency union, the Maastricht Treaty determined three-stage-passing period that involved the liberalization of the movement of capital in the first stage; the convergence of Member States' economic policies in the second stage; the creation of a European currency and an independent central bank that would be the sole executive of the monetary policy in the third stage. Moreover, in order to assure Member States' abidance by the financial and budgetary discipline, The Treaty of Maastricht determined some deficit and debt limits for Member states, publicly known as '*Maastricht Criteria*'. Although these provisions were met with harsh criticism in the German public opinion around the themes 'selling the D-Mark' and 'giving concessions to French demands in return of nothing', German officials gave the signals that Germany would not leave the EMU to its own fate without exerting its influence. In this regard, Germany, which emerged as the most powerful economy among European countries right after its national reunification, "*played a key role in the shaping institutional framework, policy principles, and operating procedures of the EMU*"²¹¹ from the very beginning. As asserted by Bulmer and Paterson, this

²¹¹ Kenneth Dyson & Klaus Goetz (2003). Living with Europe: Power, Constraint, and Contestation. In Germany, Europe, and the Politics of Constraint, eds. Kenneth Dyson and Klaus Goetz. Oxford University Press: 37-53.

actually had three main reasons²¹². Firstly, despite all the difficulties it began experiencing after the reunification, the economy and practices of the FRG were still regarded by the ones to be emulated by many Member States, and this strengthened the hand of Germany regarding its position in the EMU. Secondly, due to its proven success as regards its monetary policy decisions and implementations over decades, the German Bundesbank was taken as the major model that would be utilized while constituting the statute of the ECB. Rig claimed by Smith, the ECB was expected to be a *clone* of the Bundesbank regarding its institutional structure, and would-be practised policies²¹³. In this respect, although the Bundesbank seemed to lose its former influence over European monetary policy for a while due to joining the European System of Central Banks (ESCB) like other central banks of the Member States in 1992, even the preference of seat itself for the newly founded ECB, in 1998, demonstrated the German effect on the EMU: the ECB would be located in Frankfurt, which was also the seat of the German Bundesbank, as determined by the Treaty of Amsterdam. Thirdly, the fact that Germany maintained its status as the largest net contributor to the EU budget increased its profile during the setting of the EMU. In this regard, although France was its major initiative country, the EMU was perceived as mostly linked with Germany as the bedrock of the European economy. Possessing this psychological and material superiority in terms of economic impact, Germany incrementally relieved of its previous concerns related to the EMU, and much more shaped its general content in the post-Maastricht process. As the most important outcome of this intention, the Stability and Growth Pact came into existence in 1998, though with the protests of France, as a result of Germany's insistent demands for the establishment of an extra mechanism that would monitor the Member States' complying with fiscal discipline. Mostly known as a German-born initiative, the Stability and Growth Pact was aimed to guarantee the stability of the EMU, and apply

²¹² Simon Bulmer & William E. Paterson. (1996). Germany in the European Union: Gentle Giant or Emergent Leader? *International Affairs*. 72/1: 9-32.

²¹³ Eric Owen Smith. (2001). The German Model and European Integration. In *Germany since Unification: The Development of the Berlin Republic*, ed. Klaus Larres. Basingstoke: Palgrave. 63-87.

sanctions on the countries that pass the deficit and debt limits set in the Treaty of Maastricht if required. However, especially from the end of 1990s onward, it became apparent that Germany initiated to face many difficulties in meeting the Maastricht Criteria due to its internal economic crisis mostly caused by the wrong economic policies that were implemented in the pre- and post- reunification process. In fact, this was not the first time Germany caused problems on the economic realm of the EU. Back in 1992, the ERM crises, which pushed the UK and Italy outside the ERM mechanism, had mostly been initiated by the asymmetric shock arising from the German reunification. Yet, at this time, the situation was much more serious. As an indicator of this fact, due to low tax revenues, accumulated debt, rising unemployment, and low levels of economic growth, Germany also became incapable of complying with the criteria set in the context of the Stability and Growth Pact, which was established by its rising pressures a few years ago, in 2002. In the face of these negative signals coming from the German economy, the comments including that 'German Sozialstaat model was no more as credible as before', 'German economic miracle came into an exact end' or 'Germany would no more manage to become the paymaster of Europe' were increasingly made in other Member States. Supporting these views, Pedro Solbes, the Commissioner for Economic and Financial Affairs in the European Commission, was mentioning Germany as the "*problem of the Euro-zone*" by the end of 2002²¹⁴. That is, at the time monetary integration was proceeding in its secure path and the Eurozone seemed to enjoy economic stability, the German economy was struggling to have an exit from its deep crisis, which mainly put the burden on the working masses of the German public.

Coinciding this period when German economy seemed to experience a downturn, the Schröder government came up with its reformist agenda related to the common

²¹⁴ Kenneth Dyson & Klaus Goetz (2003). *Living with Europe: Power, Constraint, and Contestation*. In *Germany, Europe, and the Politics of Constraint*, eds. Kenneth Dyson and Klaus Goetz. Oxford University Press: 37-53.

economic policy practices of the EU. Even before coming to power, in 1995-1996, Schröder had taken all the attention of Europe through its harsh criticisms directed towards the EMU and the currency union. Although he was condemned to return to his party's political line due to many pressures in terms of supporting the EMU, then, this incident had a place in the minds of many Member States. Reminiscent of these times, Schröder was demanding for a change in the content and implementation of the EU's economic policies, but now as the Chancellor of Germany after 1998. In this respect, Chancellor Schröder called for a more active struggle against mass unemployment across the EU, development of more social and economic policies in common, an ecological tax reform, and significant changes in the structure of the CAP. Yet, more importantly, Chancellor Schröder became insistent in achieving budgetary fairness for Germany²¹⁵. Revealing his displeasure with the disproportionately higher levels of German contribution to the EU budget compared to other Member States, Schröder government indicated that these states should become much more active in terms of sharing this disproportionate burden of Germany. In this context, the Red-Green government perceived German presidency of the EU in the first half of 1999 as an opportunity to promote its economic reform agenda all over the EU. Nevertheless, faced with a solid resistance from other Member States led by France, Germany was not able to produce a comprehensive reform across the EU in different realms of the CAP, fiscal procedures, regional subsidies and Germany's net payer position²¹⁶. Due to not only its huge dependence on the European market in terms of its export-oriented economy but also the declining situation of its economy, Germany mostly failed to further its economic objectives as regards the European integration at that time.

²¹⁵ Max Otte & Jürgen Greve. (2000). Power Structure over Ideology: The Foreign Policy of the New Schröder-Fischer Government. In *A Rising Middle Power?: German Foreign Policy in Transformation, 1989-1999*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

However, as time passed, Germany seemed to overcome its huge economic crisis by the mid-2000s, and again initiated to send positive signals with its well-performing economic indicators. As this tendency got continuity, it was recognized that Germany, which had been recognized by many as the ‘sick man of Europe’ by the end of 1990s, stood on its feet economically one more time: German Sozialstaat system, though being harmed under many liberalization and privatization attacks beginning from Kohl era and continuing with Schröder governments, was again reliable and continued to give the EU main inspiration for the social market economy. Bundesbank was again effective in directing the European monetary policy via its decisions despite the existence of ECB. Moreover, while the adoption of Euro as the single currency mostly worked for the disadvantage of other countries’ monetary stability, Germany has become successful in getting advantage of the single currency in terms of its economic stability and trading activities as the top ‘exporter state’ in Europe. Germany also kept its position as the biggest contributor to the EU budget by 2000s. Due to these peculiarities, then, at the time Eurozone was deeply shook by the sovereign debt crisis starting from 2009, Germany, as the biggest economy of the EU, was the country that was demanded help by the crisis-ridden countries. This meant that Germany, which had enjoyed the benefits of economic integration within Europe from the times of West Germany for decades, was at this time called to step in the resolution of this Eurozone crisis for the sake of the European integration project and its future.

In conclusion, despite revealing a fluctuating overview due to its internal economic problems, for the most part, Germany has become effective in exerting its impact on the economic structure and policies of the EU since its reunification.

4.2.3.2 Institutional and Political Framework of the EU

In the mutual processes of uploading-downloading within the on-going Europeanization of the Federal Republic, the united Germany exerted its influence on the EU regarding the institutional and political structure of the latter. Motivated by the objectives of

deepening of the European integration, resolution of the existing problems in the European context, and well-known feeling-at-home sense, Germany much more increasingly turned its economic might into political power in order to become such an effective player as France in this arena. Though moving under the shadow of its chaotic past differently from other countries, Germany has still managed to adopt a more active political role -thanks to allaying the obvious concerns of its partners- in the European integration process compared to the pre-1990 period, so contributed to the post-Cold War institutional and political reconstruction of the European institutions in the face of the newly occurring challenges.

The first opportunity in terms of transforming the institutional and political structure of the EC for the united Germany was the Treaty of Maastricht. As mentioned before, in order to have a compromise with strong French desires for a monetary and currency union, the German side, which was longing for the strengthening of the political union, accepted the former proposals for the sake of deepening, and via this Franco-German axis, the pre-Maastricht negotiation process ended without any problems. When the Maastricht Treaty was signed, it was seen that the European integration project was politically and institutionally restructured in the post-Cold War world thanks to the German efforts to a greater extent. As the most important point, the transformation of the EC into the EU was completed, and the new EU was determined to consist of three main pillars such as the European Communities, the Common Foreign and Security Policy, and the Justice and Home Affairs. Related to the first pillar covering the EC, the ECSC and EURATOM, the Community method was foreseen in order to improve the effectiveness of the European institutions as the Commission, the Council of Ministers, the EP, and the ECJ and to increase the level of collective decision-making among the Community organs. Moreover, in order to increase the democratic legitimacy of the decisions taken, the role of the EP was expanded not only via the extension of the cooperation and assent procedures into new areas but also by the introduction of a new 'co-decision procedure' with the idea of strengthening the cooperation between the EP and the Council of Ministers. Concerning the decisions achieved in the Council of

Ministers, the scope of the QMV voting was extended for the disadvantage of the intergovernmentalist unanimity principle. Moreover, mostly under the increasing impact of the Lander, Kohl government became effective in the establishment of the Committee of the Regions as an advisory organ comprising of the representatives of the regional authorities by this Treaty. At last, the Treaty of Maastricht launched the shaping of Community policies in six new areas including industrial policy, trans-European networks, consumer protection, education and vocational training, youth, and culture. As can be seen, although the concrete achievements regarding the EMU were more in number compared to the ones in the political union, it was apparent that the Treaty of Maastricht gained a political dimension to the EU via the attempts of Germany. Therefore, despite the initial criticisms directed towards Chancellor Kohl in terms of retreating from his ambitious position as regards the political union against the French insistence for the monetary and currency union, it is notable to assert that even with these provisions, the Treaty of Maastricht marked a crucial milestone in the post-Cold War political and institutional construction of the project of united Europe.

What kind of successes or failures that Germany experienced during its presidency of the EU in 1994 had previously been mentioned. In this part, it will much more be focused on what kind of benefits that 1994 German presidency presented to the Union in terms of continuing the formal integration process much more decisively. Revealing its dissatisfaction with obstacles standing before the ongoing deepening of the integration, Germany came up with the proposal of ‘Europe of different speeds’, or ‘multi-speed Europe’ moving from the idea that “*Europe needed different speeds*”²¹⁷. Firstly declared by German Foreign Minister Kinkel, the concept of multi-speed Europe mainly foresaw the fact that the countries which want to proceed faster in terms of European integration and the ones that are inclined to drag their feet should be allowed separately to walk in

²¹⁷ Max Otte & Jürgen Greve. (2000). The Loss of Utopia: Germany and European Integration, 1988-1997. In *A Rising Middle Power?: German Foreign Policy in Transformation, 1989-1999*. New York: St. Martin’s Press.

their distinctive paths. In this respect, Germany was favoring for the creation of ‘a solid European core’ by the states that would be much more determined to go faster in terms of economic, monetary and political integration. In the wake of this critical proposal, the paper, “*Deliberations on European Policies*”, prepared by two prominent names of the CDU ranks as Wolfgang Schauble and Karl Lamers, emerged as the concrete form of these Germany-made conceptualizations, and intensified the debates on the issue of multi-speed Europe or core Europe. Popularly known as the ‘*Schauble-Lamers Paper*’, this document indicated that in order to reach an actual integration among all European states, the EU should widen to the East. However, before this wave of widening, the deepening of the existing structures of the EU had to be provided. Reminiscent of the proposal previously made by Foreign Minister Kinkel, the Schauble-Lamers paper suggested that a European core of states that would be willing to follow a deepening agenda had to lead the European integration process in this critical juncture. However, differently from Kinkel, the Schauble-Lamers paper counted the eligible states for this European core as Germany, France, Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg, and this was the major point that caused a huge controversy within the European public opinion against Germany. Although Chancellor Kohl declared many times that this paper was not authorized to reflect the official stance of the German government in this issue, it was an obvious fact that these views voiced by these two top politicians of the governing party, CDU were actually coming from the high circles of the federal government²¹⁸. Whether these conceptualizations were discriminatory against other Member States or caused deep frictions among European partners instead of assuring higher cooperation notwithstanding, the concept of the multi-speed Europe, which was suggested by Germany, has actually dominated the ongoing deepening-widening debates, and made an unexpected contribution to the institutional transformation of the Union throughout the 1990s and 2000s. At the expense of creating harsh antagonisms within the European

²¹⁸ Henning Tewes. (1998). Between Deepening and Widening: Role Conflict in Germany's Enlargement Policy. *West European Politics*. 21/2: 117-133.

public opinion from time to time, this concept itself has contributed to the emergence of a common sensitivity towards keeping European integration intact without surrendering to any kind of deteriorating effect among Member States, as the present given by Germany to the proceeding of post-Wall European integration.

Germany continued its efforts towards institutional and political transformation of the EU in the preparation and signature phases of the Amsterdam Treaty and the Nice Treaty. In the post-Maastricht process, Germany increased its calls for the strengthening of the political union within the EU as one of the major parts of deepening with the efforts for the EMU. Kohl, and then, Schröder governments made a special emphasis on increasing the democratic legitimacy of the European institutions, and making the Union closer to its citizens as a remedy to the long-running legitimacy crisis. Therefore, the Treaty of Amsterdam came into existence as the product of this mentality taking its strength from the democratic vision of Germany. In this respect, the scope of the co-decision procedure, for the EP, and of the QMV, for the decisions taken in the Council of Ministers, was extended by this Treaty. The third pillar of the Justice and Home Affairs was transferred to the first pillar of Communities, which had a supranational character. In addition to taking some measures in terms of increasing cooperation among Member States, known as ‘enhanced cooperation’, and making the Union directly accessible to European citizens, the EU was also granted an access to a new policy realm such as common employment policy by the Treaty of Amsterdam. After the ratification of the Amsterdam Treaty, then, Germany embarked on its lobbying activities for the content of the Treaty of Nice. As the pre-accession process of the East and Central European States was continuing in that period, Germany was in the pursuit of re-arranging the decision-making systems within the Community organs before their accession took place. Since these countries include larger states, such as Poland, and rather smaller states, such as Slovenia, German officials attempted to make new adjustments within the European institutions in the direction of valuing the balance between large and smaller member states. At that point, the Treaty of Nice emerged as an answer for Germany. Mainly under the impact of consistent German demands, the

weighting of votes in the Council of Ministers was re-adjusted according to the demographic factor²¹⁹. Moreover, the areas in which the QMV would be valid were increased and the use of the enhanced cooperation procedure was simplified by the Nice Treaty. Finally, the judicial system tried to be made much more effective in order to catch up with the pace of integration process.

Despite all these achievements, however, the reached point was not adequate for the well-being of European integration according to Germany. Just a step before the accession of post-communist states, German officials were of the idea that the Union structure and policies should be re-designed with an overall approach instead of partial arrangements made in subsequent Treaties. Moreover, in order not to encounter again the monitoring of the Federal Constitutional Court regarding the compatibility of the Treaties with the Basic Law, which caused the Federal Republic to ratify the Maastricht Treaty as the last member state, and the democratic legitimacy of the European institutions, the German government pushed for the safeguarding of the basic rights in a document that would be more apprehensive than an agreement. Responding to all these needs of Germany, then, the European Constitution came to the forefront as the ideal solution. Informally launched by the Humboldt speech of German Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer in 2000, the convention process witnessed many debates from the very beginning. When all these harsh debates were going on especially regarding the point whether the EU should have a constitution, instead of a bunch of treaties, which would consist of the rules and principles that would be abided by all Member States, the expectations of Germany from the European Constitution became much more apparent.

²¹⁹ Kenneth Dyson & Klaus Goetz (2003). *Living with Europe: Power, Constraint, and Contestation*. In *Germany, Europe, and the Politics of Constraint*, eds. Kenneth Dyson and Klaus Goetz. Oxford University Press: 37-53.

As indicated by Dyson and Goetz, Schröder government had 5 major objectives regarding the EU Constitution as follows²²⁰:

- The overall incorporation of basic rights under the enforcement of the ECJ,
- A clearer division of competences among Member States and European institutions,
- Extension of the EP's area of jurisdiction,
- The election of the European Commission's president directly by the EP, accompanied by a permanent president for the European Council,
- Enhanced use of the QMV in different areas in order to hinder the possible vetoes.

As can be understood, Germany primarily planned increasing democratic legitimacy and efficiency of the European institutions via this constitution due to the lessons it drew from the past of the European integration. Indeed, at the end of the preparation process, the draft of the Constitutional Treaty seemed to be created in line with these German demands. Had it been ratified by all Member States, the European Constitution would have replaced the European Treaties with a single text, legally enforced the Charter of Fundamental Rights, and extended the scope of the QMV. Yet, due to the French and Dutch public vetoes in the national referendums held in 2005, the ratification of the European Convention came into a standstill. Due to this one of the most crucial crises in the integration history, the project of the united Europe was evaluated to be put in an enormous danger in these days. In this post-constitution phase, the new chancellor of Germany, Angela Merkel, appeared on the European scene as an ambitious actor that would intervene for the resolution of this crisis. Taking advantage of the German EU Presidency of 2007, Chancellor Merkel became effective in operating the dialogue mechanisms, and mediated in the emergence of a compromise as a result of mutually given concessions in problematic details. By the way, she did not hesitate for raising the demands of its country for a more democratic and legitimately approved Union throughout this process. At the end, when the Treaty of Lisbon was signed towards the end of 2007, it was recognized that this Treaty took the constitutional essence of the failed Constitution through bringing slight amendments in the disputable provisions,

²²⁰ Ibid.

which mostly caused its rejection, with the aim of diminishing the existing reactions from Member States. Hence, although the Lisbon Treaty was made subject to criticisms due to speaking with the voice of the Constitution, or being trumped by the overarching shadow of the Constitution, it actually symbolizes one of the core parts of the conventional process carried out within European integration. Moreover, under the exposure of new challenges peculiar to the post-Cold War world, the Union, which expanded from 15 to 27 members via last two expansions just recently, had the need of settling effective and coherent tools that can function properly in this new order. In that attempt, the major mission of the Lisbon Treaty, which came into existence via huge efforts of Germany, was foreseen to modernize the European institutions, to make them more democratic for the Union, so to ‘take Europe into the 21st century’ with a totally renewed understanding, which were covered among the objectives of Germany regarding the institutional and political structure of the EU. Moving from this path, the Treaty of Lisbon brought deep-rooted changes to the institutional and political structure of the EU. Through the Treaty of Lisbon, the relationship between Member States and the European Union was clarified through the categorization of competences in order to prevent possible disputes. Moreover, with the elimination of the pillar structure that had been brought via the Treaty of Maastricht before, a single legal personality was foreseen for the Union by this Treaty. According to an amendment brought with the Treaty of Lisbon, President of the European Council was set to be elected by itself for two and a half years in order to drive forward its work on a continuous and consistent basis. In addition to providing national parliaments greater opportunities to be involved in the work of the EU, in accordance with the subsidiarity principle, the Treaty of Lisbon explicitly recognized for a Member State the possibility to withdraw from the Union for the first time in the integration history. As can be understood from these provisions, Merkel government was highly satisfied with the content of the Treaty of Lisbon considering its conformity with the goals set in the European policy agenda of Germany. Furthermore, the general perception dominant within the European public opinion that Germany one more time came to the help of the European integration when it was put at

risk not only increased its profile in the EU but also strengthened the Merkel government's standing in her country's European policy.

All in all, differing from the old FRG, whose room of political manoeuvre was highly restricted, the united Germany became highly effective in transforming the institutional and political structure of the EU in post-1990 period.

4.2.3.3 Common Foreign and Security Policy of the EU

As a legacy of the Bonn Republic's commitments in its European policy, the common foreign and security policy has been one of the significant policy fields in which the united Germany spent all its efforts to achieve a coordination framework all around Europe. During the times of national demarcation, both West Germany and East Germany had firmly been integrated into their respective blocs regarding the formulation and practise of their foreign and security policy strategies. In this regard, while NATO had emerged as the sole organization responsible for the security of West Europe including the FRG under the leadership of the US, the Warsaw Pact came into the foreground as the most important security organization for East Europe under the directive of the Soviet Union in these years. In the scheme of the pre-1990 European integration, many initiatives such as the EDC, in 1958, and the EPC, in 1969, came into the existence by the direct support of West Germany with the prior objective of establishing a common ground regarding the European foreign policy and security/defence policy coordination. However, although the former attempt failed due to many reasons that were mentioned in the preceding parts, the second one managed to resist the corroding effect of time, and constituted the nucleus of the post-1990 political union of the EU. In the meantime, the WEU was formed in order to compensate for the EDC failure in 1954, but mostly had a symbolic value as the consultation organ of the European states that were also members of NATO. Completing its reunification in 1990, Germany stepped in the establishment of the common foreign and security policy of the integrating Europe, and has become one of the major uploaders around the strengthening

of the coordination mechanisms in these two key areas within the EU²²¹. In this regard, depending upon its multilateral and supranational priorities in the European policy-making, Germany increasingly urged Member States to transfer their national sovereignties to the supranational level. While doing this, Germany intended to not only create joint foreign policy and security/defence structures within the Union but also guarantee the emergence of a common European mentality and sensitivity related to the issues covered in these policy areas. Although Germany carried no hidden agenda such as the replacement or compensation of NATO by these foreign policy and security policy initiatives peculiar to Europe, at the end of the day, it served for the construction of common structures and approaches regarding these two areas in the EU.

Following the end of the Cold War, the united Germany witnessed the inadequacy of the EC in effectively intervening in the bloody situation emerging throughout the Yugoslavia War, and creating peace in its south-eastern borders. Under the moral impact of the humanity tragedies as happened in Srebrenica, Germany was aware of the fact that it was an obligation for the integrating Europe to have a common foreign and security policy in order to get adapted to the conditions of this new world and create effective answers toward recently occurring challenges. In this regard, the first post-Cold War initiative in terms of creating a common defence strategy in Europe emerged as a product of the Franco-German axis, called as Euro-corps, in 1991. Declaring their joint proposal in this year, German Chancellor Kohl and French President Mitterrand indicated that they were determined to enhance the Franco-German military cooperation beyond the existing limits in the way of constituting the nucleus of a European corps scheme, which might also cover the forces of other WEU member states if they wish so in the future. As evaluated by Hellmann, this proposal actually referred to the declaration of the Franco-German commitment to utilize the strengthening of their

²²¹ Kenneth Dyson & Klaus Goetz (2003). *Living with Europe: Power, Constraint, and Contestation*. In *Germany, Europe, and the Politics of Constraint*, eds. Kenneth Dyson and Klaus Goetz. Oxford University Press: 37-53.

defence coordination in order to create a common European defence structure in the end²²². According to this Euro-corps task, Germany and France would initially contribute to this initiative with their 45.000 troops jointly, and the major missions of this force would be to provide help to the defence of Western Europe in the context of the Washington Treaty of NATO and the Brussels Treaty of WEU; carrying out peace-keeping and peace-making activities; and undertaking humanitarian acts. Deliberately determining the working logic and objectives of the Euro-corps in this way, Germany and France planned eliminating the fears of the US and other Atlantic partners such as this initiative actually aimed at diminishing the impact of NATO or emerged as an alternative to NATO in Europe. Assuring NATO partners of the continuing centrality of the transatlantic alliance for the security of Europe, the Franco-German leadership not only contributed to sustaining European peace via deploying their troops in their territories mutually for the first time since the World War II but also made a promising entry to the development of a common foreign and security policy in the post-Wall Europe.

Treaty of Maastricht, signed in 1993, marked a major turning point for the creation of a common foreign and security policy of the EU through bringing the three-pillar structure and setting the CFSP as the second pillar of it. Although this pillar carried an intergovernmental character through the practise of unanimity on the related decisions taken and the undisputable prominence of the Council of Ministers compared to the Commission and the EP, it represented a progressive step due to granting Member States to lean towards joint action in the areas of foreign policy and security policy, and giving the vision of achieving a common defence policy in the future. Moreover, by this Treaty, the WEU attempted to be granted a practical importance through being portrayed as ‘the defence component of the EU’, which would assume more active missions in the way of

²²² Gunter Hellmann. (1997). The Sirens of Power and German Foreign Policy: Who Is Listening?. German Politics. 6/2: 29-57.

strengthening the European pillar of NATO²²³. Compatible with this tendency, in the wake of the Maastricht Treaty, the WEU was assigned a role for the ‘Petersberg tasks’, foreseen as peace-keeping and peace-enforcement measures²²⁴. In that sense, since the way for the WEU-led out-of-area missions, yet through taking into account the primacy of NATO missions, was cleared by this decision legally concluded by an agreement at the NATO Summit in Berlin in 1996, the deployment of the German army in these missions also turned out to be increasingly accepted by the German domestic institutions and public opinion as time passed. In this respect, German troops were sent to the areas of harsh conflict such as Bosnia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Afghanistan and the Horn of Africa in the subsequent years with the central aim of settling and ensuring peace in these regions. Meanwhile, in the German-French Guideline for the CFSP, declared in the early-1996, the on-going goals of the Franco-German core in these policy fields were counted as bringing stability to the eastern and south-eastern border regions of the EU, empowering transatlantic relations, and enhancing relations with Russia and Ukraine²²⁵. Germany came to re-assert its objectives around the creation and enhancement of the European common foreign and security policy with this document, accompanied by its partner, France.

Having an eye on these post-Maastricht developments, the Treaty of Amsterdam made crucial amendments on the provisions of the Maastricht Treaty in order to equip the common foreign and security policy scheme of the EU with more coherent and effective decision-making mechanisms, and newly accounted structures. Adding a new foreign

²²³ Gunter Hellmann, Rainer Baumann, Monika Bösche, Benjamin Herborth & Wolfgang Wagner. (2005). De-Europeanization by Default? Germany’s EU Policy in Defense and Asylum. Foreign Policy Analysis. International Studies Association. 1: 143-164.

²²⁴ Ibid.

²²⁵ Max Otte & Jürgen Greve. (2000). The Loss of Utopia: Germany and European Integration, 1988-1997. In *A Rising Middle Power?: German Foreign Policy in Transformation, 1989-1999*. New York: St. Martin’s Press.

policy tool of ‘common strategies’ to the already existing ones, the Amsterdam Treaty enhanced the scope of the QMV for certain decisions that would be taken in the CFSP area. Moreover, while concurrently granting the European Council more authority for the determination of the major guidelines of policies and related strategies in this realm, this Treaty forged the new post of the “High Representative for the CFSP” in order to gain the CFSP a higher profile within the Union. Incorporating the Petersberg tasks to the Treaty structure, the Treaty of Amsterdam also indicated that the WEU could be incorporated into the Union framework and a common defence policy could be shaped should the European Council also decide so²²⁶. Although particularly this last statement created no serious impact in the short term, it actually urged the UK, the classical semi-detached, Euro-sceptic member of the EU, to go into a new initiative to strengthen the European foreign policy, security and defence coordination in the long term. Finding France as its partner in this attempt, the pro-European Blair government of the UK committed itself to making progress in these policy fields. As a result, Franco-British St. Malo Summit came to be the concrete result of these desires in 1998. In the St. Malo Declaration, which was made public at the end of this Summit, the UK and France explicitly pointed out the fact that the common foreign and security policy framework of the EU has to be fully and rapidly activated in order for the Union to play its full role on the international stage²²⁷. Moreover, through giving credit to the WEU and NATO assets, these two countries underlined the necessity of granting the EU the capacity for autonomous action, which would be complemented by required military forces, in order

²²⁶ Gunter Hellmann, Rainer Baumann, Monika Bösche, Benjamin Herborth & Wolfgang Wagner. (2005). *De-Europeanization by Default? Germany’s EU Policy in Defense and Asylum*. Foreign Policy Analysis. International Studies Association. 1: 143-164.

²²⁷ Jacques Chirac & Tony Blair. (1998). *Joint Declaration on European Defence*. Joint Declaration issued at the British-French Summit, Saint-Malo, 3-4 December 1998. Foreign and Commonwealth Office of the United Kingdom.

to give effective responses to the international crises in case the Atlantic Alliance does not step in²²⁸.

Coinciding with this event, Schröder government came to power in Germany as a result of the 1998 elections. Compared to the previous Kohl governments, Schröder government seemed to be more enthusiastic to develop the common foreign and security policy scheme in the EU. In one of his declarations, Foreign Minister Fischer indicated that the strengthening of the common foreign and security policy was an irreversible necessity for the EU in order to prevent the replay of previous constellations such as the disagreement taking place between Germany, France and the UK over the recognition of Slovenia and Croatia during the disintegration of Yugoslavia in 1991²²⁹. However, facing this unexpected Franco-British alliance, which was adhered to the idea of establishing a commonly decided and practised foreign and security policy framework accompanied by building a European military command structure and a defence industry, Schröder government initially met it with a notable amount of suspect. For a while, Germany tried to answer the question whether it was attempted to be pushed outside the picture by such an initiative of these countries. However, then, welcoming this St. Malo initiative by the speeches of Chancellor Schröder and Foreign Minister Fischer as a valuable attempt on the way towards creating a common foreign and security policy identity within the EU, the Red-Green government sought to find ways to integrate this Franco-British initiative into the Union, and progress on these policy realms in the Union context. At that point, the German presidency of both the EU and the WEU during the first half of 1999 gave Germany the desired chance to fulfil these objectives. In fact, the year of 1999 witnessed important German-led initiatives in conformity with the ideal of gaining functionality to the CFSP structure of the EU.

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ Max Otte & Jürgen Greve. (2000). Power Structure over Ideology: The Foreign Policy of the New Schröder-Fischer Government. In *A Rising Middle Power?: German Foreign Policy in Transformation, 1989-1999*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

During its 1999 presidency, firstly, Germany attempted to find a reconciliation between the interests of non-aligned and ‘Atlanticist’ Member States, so brought the proposal of adding a civilian character to the WEU, as visualized by the UK and France in the St. Malo Summit. Germany tried to assure these two sides of the fact that possessing both military and civilian character would provide this structure a notable advantage in contrast to other organizations, while concurrently making a special emphasis on the fact that it would not undermine NATO; on the contrary, would strengthen the latter²³⁰. In particular, in order to show the fact that WEU and NATO are two parts of the same unit regarding their membership structures and assigned missions, Foreign Minister Fischer even came up with the proposal, named as ‘*double-hatting*’ by Hellmann et. al, of appointing the new High Representative in the CFSP as the secretary general of WEU, who had the right to participate in the NATO meetings²³¹. Secondly, at the Cologne European Council held under the German presidency in June 1999, Member States pledged to design the EU as ‘a structure having autonomous military action that would be gained background by credible military forces, the means of decision-making to utilize them, and a required readiness to do so’, and committed themselves to increase the present capabilities of the EU to realize these mentioned points. As the last remarkable step taken in the year of 1999, the Helsinki European Council, convened in December 1999, determined the ‘first headline goal’ which obliged Member States to become able “*by 2003, to deploy within 60 days and sustain for at least 1 year military forces of up to 50.000–60.000 persons capable of the full range of Petersberg tasks*”²³², in line with German interests. This significant incident was followed, in 2000, by the establishment of a permanent Political and Security Committee, a Military Committee,

²³⁰ Gunter Hellmann, Rainer Baumann, Monika Bösche, Benjamin Herborth & Wolfgang Wagner. (2005). De-Europeanization by Default? Germany’s EU Policy in Defense and Asylum. Foreign Policy Analysis. International Studies Association. 1: 143-164.

²³¹ Ibid.

²³² Ibid.

and a Military Staff, and, in 2004, by the setting of a ‘second headline goal’ by the European Council.

Thanks to these German-boosted attempts, the EU took responsibility over its first out-of-area missions in Macedonia and Congo in 2003 following the signature of an agreement concluding the EU-NATO cooperation. Although German officials insistently stressed the fact that these new CFSP and ESDP initiatives would never seek replacing the place of NATO in providing the security of Europe, it became much more apparent that NATO has been much more compensated by these foreign policy and security tools peculiar to the needs of Europe especially since 9/11 Attacks in 2001. In the meantime, as an important step for the supranationalization of the CFSP, the Treaty of Nice introduced the possibility of enhanced cooperation in the second pillar via prioritizing the concept of ‘operational capabilities’ regarding the formulation of CFSP agenda of the EU.

In addition to all these attempts, Germany again appeared on the scene during the negotiations for the European Convention with its demands of reform for the CFSP and ESDP structures of the EU. Submitting a joint proposal with France for the establishment of a European Defence Union, the Franco-German core suggested adding a new clause of “solidarity and common security” into the draft constitution, extending the practise of enhanced cooperation to the security and defence, and forming an armaments agency, which would work according to the principle of enhanced cooperation but would take its decisions via unanimity²³³. As declared by Foreign Minister Fischer, all these suggestions were mainly motivated by Franco-German intentions to efficiently and effectively use the present capabilities and resources, and increasingly integrate the decision-making mechanisms in the context of the CFSP. Although these proposals never had the chance of realization due to the rejection of the Constitution, most of them were transferred to the Treaty of Lisbon thanks to the efforts

²³³ Ibid.

of the Merkel government. Moving from this path, the Lisbon Treaty made deep-rooted changes on the structure and implementations of the CFSP in order to enhance its visibility and coherence in the international arena via focusing on the theme of 'solidarity'. In this respect, with the abolition of the former three-pillar structure via their merger under the single legal personality of the EU, the second pillar of CFSP meant to be removed in addition to the setting of a more effective decision-taking mechanism. More importantly, in order to transform the EU into a more capable entity that would handle the entirely different security and foreign policy challenges of the 21st century more effectively, the Treaty of Lisbon created the post of the "High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy". Moreover, through forming the European External Action Service and developing the Common Security and Defence Policy, the Treaty of Lisbon much more revealed its transformative agenda related to the formulation of the CFSP. Due to the high levels of overlapping between the previous Franco-German officials for the CFSP-related provisions of the European Convention and these provisions of the Treaty of Lisbon, Merkel government was highly satisfied with the end results of its attempts that bore this Treaty from the ashes of the constitution crisis. Actually, taking institutional and practical strength from these last revisions in its CFSP realm, the visibility of the EU in the resolution of international crises such as in Iran, Afghanistan, Georgia, and Ukraine increased to a greater extent. Moreover, parallel to these developments, Germany has much more been involved with such diplomatic issues both in the context of Europe and other regions of the world. It is essential to state that while doing this, Germany again moved in full concert with the EU via the ultimate aim of increasing the international profile of the latter.

In sum, despite its domestic challenges and external constraints, Germany played a major role in the construction and development of the common foreign and security policy framework of the EU in the post-reunification process.

4.2.3.4 Eastern Enlargement of the EU

In the post-reunification period, one of the most important areas in which Germany influenced the EU agenda intensely became the Eastern enlargement. Referring to one of the most controversial issues that were debated in the Union circles, the possible eastward expansion of the EU gained critical importance after the collapse of the socialist regimes in the East and Central Europe at the end of 1980s and the disintegration of the USSR in 1991. In such an environment that was full of the aspirations of these post-communist countries regarding 'return to Europe' via the EU membership, Germany, indisputably the most powerful country of Union after its national reunification, took the lead in terms of defending this cause of these states. Depending upon its special relations, which other European countries lacked, with these countries that had remained in the other side of the Iron Curtain as a legacy of Chancellor Brandt's Ostpolitik initiative decades ago²³⁴, and its well-known experience coming from the incorporation of the GDR into the EC, as the very first accession to the EC from the Eastern bloc, Germany was also regarded by most of the Member States as the most suitable country that would assume this responsibility. As mentioned by Bach, the post-communist countries were also aware of the fact that Germany was still their *biggest and best ally to "join" Europe*, which gave Germany an indisputable influence over these new democracies²³⁵. On the other side, having the conventional concerns and fears related to the future direction and goals of the German European policy, there were also some Member States and the CEECs which were worried of the possibility that these decisive steps of Germany might actually serve for the ultimate goal of

²³⁴ Ian van Son. (2013). Germany's Unwillingness to Lead: The Nature and Exercise of its Power, and How its History, Normalization, and Economic Concerns Have Brought About an Existential Crisis and Reluctance to Lead Alone. Master of Arts in Law and Diplomacy Capstone Project. Tufts University – The Fletcher School.

²³⁵ Jonathan P.G. Bach. (1998). Germany after Unification and Eastern Europe: New Perspectives, New Problems. 1-15.

*“Germanizing Eastern Europe”*²³⁶ like Nazis tried but failed long time ago. Neglecting all these views, Germany sustained pushing for the accession of the CEECs to the EU till mid-1990s. However, in spite of its initially ambitious manner, even Germany experienced a shift in its enthusiastic political manner towards Eastern enlargement in time. Therefore, in order to have a broader understanding of the German effect on the determination of the EU’s policies towards incorporating these post-communist countries, the post-1989 process resulting in the accession of the Central and East European states in 2004 needs much more elaboration.

As elucidated previously, during the division of Europe and Germany into the communist and capitalist camps along the ideological lines, both the protagonists of the European integration project and their successors in the upcoming decades repeatedly mentioned their expectations for the actual integration of Europe through also covering the socialist countries of the Eastern bloc one day in the future. Due to these publicly made promises that were paid lip-service by European leaders throughout the Cold War period, the possibility of membership for these new-born capitalist democracies of Europe in the East came into the agenda of the EU right after the collapse of the socialist regimes there. While the EU was attempting to grasp this new political and economic tableau in Europe, Germany appeared on the scene with its strong support for the full membership of these countries in the future depending upon its closer ties with these countries. Indicating that the Federal Republic should be at the forefront of the efforts to integrate these CEECs into the Western institutions such as the EU²³⁷, Chancellor Kohl was highlighting the promises given by Germany and the EC throughout the Cold War to these countries around the theme of 'united Europe'. At that time, the post-communist countries were standing somewhere between Western Europe and Eastern Europe,

²³⁶ Henning Tewes. (1998). Between Deepening and Widening: Role Conflict in Germany's Enlargement Policy. *West European Politics*. 21/2: 117-133.

²³⁷ Thomas Banchoff. (1997). German Policy towards the European Union: The Effects of Historical Memory. *German Politics*. 6/1: 60-76. London: Frank Cass.

between socialism and capitalism. Therefore, according to Kohl, if the EU and Germany fall back their promises in the post-Cold War era, this would not only cause a decline in the profile of these two influential actors in these countries but also discourage them in such a critical juncture when economic and political transformation processes were underway there²³⁸. From another perspective, for German policy-makers, the collapse of the socialist regimes in the East and Central Europe automatically launched the hard test for the EU to become a 'real' all-European Community. Thus, while reflecting their strong ambitions for the European integration, German politicians, particularly Chancellor Kohl, were stressing this point in order to convince other Member States and their public opinions of the necessity of enlarging to the East. Moreover, in such a challenging task, Germany promised to give support to both the EU and the CEECS as much as it could depending upon its historical mission as the chief mediator between these two sides since Ostpolitik.

Beyond this rhetorical support, Germany also had many reasons, both internal and external, to endorse the Eastern enlargement of the EU. Firstly, Germany had economic, political, and more importantly, security-related interests on this region. Due to its geographical proximity to the East and Central Europe, Germany was well aware of the fact that any kind of incidents taking place in this region would directly affect its territory. As Hamilton indicated, Germany was much more concerned by the fact that a possible Eastern turmoil could spill into its territory in the form of refugees, renewed nationalism or lower growth²³⁹. Considering that these post-communist countries were in the phase of economic and political transformation around the central goal of catching up with the EU countries in terms of basic standards, Germany shaped its policies towards these countries under the impact of its security priority. Then, this security

²³⁸ Henning Tewes. (1998). Between Deepening and Widening: Role Conflict in Germany's Enlargement Policy. *West European Politics*. 21/2: 117-133.

²³⁹ Daniel Hamilton. (1991). A More European Germany, A More German Europe. *Journal of International Affairs*. 45: 127-149.

perspective even proved its domination over the economic and political interests of Germany related to the CEECs. Moving from this path, right after the collapse of the socialist regimes there, Germany embarked on developing its political and economic relations with these countries in order to ascertain that it was surrounded by friendly neighbouring states. That is, under the influence of its traumatic past, Germany wanted to play an active role in the reliable transformation of these countries into the democratic regimes possessing functioning market economies in European standards. Motivated by this primary aim, Germany not only transferred huge amounts of financial aid to these post-communist states itself but also urged the EU to account for a financial aid package for these countries²⁴⁰. According to Anderson, this directly referred to Germany's post-Cold War Ostpolitik, or *second Ostpolitik*, which attempted to pave the way for the later enlargement of the EU eastwards formally in the long run through developing the free-trade interactions with these countries by its lead in the short run²⁴¹. Nevertheless, beyond all these unilateral steps, Germany regarded the possible EU membership of the CEECs as an inevitable prerequisite of ultimately ensuring the political and economic stability in these countries. That is, tied up with the stake of the EU membership, the East and Central European states were considered to be much more involved within the common European framework. The second reason behind the firm German backing of the Eastern enlargement was the sense of historical duty and responsibility towards these mentioned states. In addition to the presence of centuries-long economic, political and cultural ties, the war crimes that had been committed by Nazis in the East and Central Europe during the World War II also strengthened these feelings of the post-1990 Germany regarding these states. Thus, according to Germany, required not only by the common history that had been shared with the nations of these states but also the ideals

²⁴⁰ Till Geiger. (2001). Believing in the Miracle Cure: The Economic Transition Process in Germany and East-Central Europe. In *Germany since Unification: The Development of the Berlin Republic*, ed. Klaus Larres. Basingstoke: Palgrave. 63-87.

²⁴¹ Jeffrey J. Anderson. (1997). The German Model and European Integration: Between Unification and Union. Brown University. 1-25.

triggering the initiation and perpetuation of the European integration, the accession of these countries into the EU was inevitable to achieve the actual unity among all European states. Thirdly, the successful Ostpolitik initiative bringing Germany closer to these states in varying means and the undeniable past of the GDR, as a socialist state which belonged to the same ideological bloc with these states that were also ruled by socialist regimes throughout Cold War, emerged as another strong factor underlying beneath the strong German support behind the incorporation of the CEECs to the EU. From the times of West Germany, the dominance of Ostpolitik had been an accustomed fact, but it was not valid for the GDR past, with which the united Germany has not been able to come into terms yet. Therefore, in contrast to its other foreign policy issues, matter of the Eastern enlargement had referred to the realm in which the post-1990 Germany has not been able to prevent from the irreversible effect of the 40-year-existence of the Democratic Republic as a separate entity. In this respect, considering its special relations founded with these countries thanks to the Ostpolitik initiative as a legacy of West Germany on the one side and its partnership relations with these states due to the 40-year-belongingness to the Eastern bloc as a legacy of East Germany on the other, the post-reunification Germany encouraged the EU to strengthen its ties with these post-communist states in order to constitute the ground of their ultimate membership. As the fourth and final reason, Germany's EU-related concerns played a role in its endorsement to Eastern enlargement. Throughout the Cold War period, West Germany was mostly called as the 'eastern outpost' of the EC due to not only its geographic location but also its rather restricted political statute. Having these bad identifications in mind, hence, the united Germany wanted the accession of these the CEECs into the EU in order to get rid of such insulting ascriptions. Moreover, Germany intended to move to the center of the EU through taking strength from its special relations with these countries, which caused Germany to be named as the 'natural advocate' of these states within the Union²⁴². In that sense, Germany even took the risk of confronting France,

²⁴² Max Otte & Jürgen Greve. (2000). *The Loss of Utopia: Germany and European Integration, 1988-*

which was contrary to the Eastern enlargement because of its suspicions over the rise of German power within the EU and fears that the Mediterranean states might be economically and politically neglected because of this incident, in this issue. At that time, this friction within the Franco-German core was commented as the real conflict of 'the CEECs-Mediterranean states', which was fought at the foreground by their patron states as Germany and France. Raising the objections of his country towards the EU enlargement to the East, French President Mitterrand came up with the proposal of 'European Confederation' around the view that the cooperative and coordinative relations of the EC with the CEECs should be strengthened through this initiative with no need for membership. Regarding this proposal as a substitution for the full membership of post-communist countries, German side did not show any hesitance to reject it immediately²⁴³. In that way, the firm German commitment to the Eastern accession to the EC was proven one more time again.

Depending upon these mentioned reasons, Germany, which had just achieved its national reunification, stepped into action immediately for the incorporation of the CEECs to the EC framework as soon as possible. At that time, the EC actually did not have a clear strategy regarding the CEECs, except the Europe Agreements that were signed with these countries by the early-1990s. These agreements mostly had the character of association agreements and aimed to bring mutually binding political dialogue and a democratic climate to the CEECs, to provide the development of a competitive free trade area and the establishment of the free movement of goods, services and capital within these countries in this transitional period. However, the dominant protectionist logic of the Europe Agreements, which brought severe restrictions on the access of the Visegrad countries to the Common Market in certain

1997. In *A Rising Middle Power?: German Foreign Policy in Transformation, 1989-1999*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

²⁴³ Michael Baun. (1997). *Germany and EU Enlargement into Eastern Europe*. 5th Biennial ECSA Conference. Washington, USA.

sectors as agriculture, textile, and steel, disappointed these states from the very beginning of the process. At that point, Germany took the decision of signing bilateral treaties with the Visegrad states of Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. Concluding these agreements that were reminiscent of the EC's Europe Agreements in shape, Germany gave the message that it would directly participate in the process of integration for the CEECs as an influential actor. Moreover, around the objective of strengthening its ties with these countries via these treaties, Germany meant to take the first 'actual' preparatory step on the way of their full membership to the EC, and gave place to this expectation, which was stated to be endorsed by Germany to a greater extent, in these agreements. In other words, in contrast to the Europe Agreements of the EC, the treaties concluded among Germany and its Eastern neighbours carried the aim of binding these countries to the EC with tight bonds. As can be understood, what the united Germany was actually working for was to give these post-communist states a "*clear European perspective*"²⁴⁴ -even before the EC- through which they would accomplish their political and economic transformation, convert into Western-type liberal democracies in which competitive market economies function smoothly, and ultimately lead their ways to the EC. By the way, the Treaty of Maastricht, which carried the level of European integration to an upper level, was already signed. In the face of the fact that the Maastricht Treaty increased the interconnection and interdependence among Member States much more tightly, the CEECs complained that this Treaty rendered it even more difficult for themselves to attain the high standards of development required to have an access to the EU²⁴⁵. In response to these complaints, German officials indicated that the Maastricht Treaty did not have provisions that intended to exclude the CEECs outside the EU; on the contrary, they argued, it emerged as a positive European answer to the collapse of the socialist regimes in Eastern Europe. Moving one step further, Chancellor

²⁴⁴ Michael Baun. (1997). Germany and EU Enlargement into Eastern Europe. 5th Biennial ECSA Conference. Washington, USA.

²⁴⁵ Henning Tewes. (1998). Between Deepening and Widening: Role Conflict in Germany's Enlargement Policy. West European Politics. 21/2: 117-133.

Kohl and Foreign Minister Genscher even initiated to mention certain dates for the entry of Visegrad Countries, such as Poland, in the post-Maastricht period. At that point, it is highly required to indicate the fact that from the very beginning, Germany gave priority to the membership of its Eastern neighbours involving Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Hungary over the accession of the states that were formerly part of the USSR such as Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. In other words, while referring to the phrase of the East and Central European Countries around the accession issue, German officials mostly meant these Visegrad states. Adopting a negative approach related to the possibility of their membership, Chancellor Kohl explicitly asserted that the Eastern enlargement should stop at the border of its Eastern neighbours, and former Soviet states should form their own economic bloc instead of acceding to the EU²⁴⁶.

Eventhough Germany assumed a favouring position to the Maastricht Treaty in terms of its role in the accession of the CEECs, it was apparent that this Treaty was not so much enthusiastic to deal with this issue. In fact, the actual turning point in the pre-accession journey of the CEECs was the Copenhagen Summit, held in 1993. In this Summit, the prospect of membership was mentioned for the first time regarding the CEECs. Moreover, a number of conditions was brought as a prerequisite for the EU membership with this Summit, which have popularly been known as the *Copenhagen Criteria*. Among these Criteria, a country willing to accede to the EU was clearly obliged to have democratic institutions and a functioning free market economy, the presence of rule of law, legal protection of the rights of minorities. As an additional criterion, the EU's capacity to absorb new members while maintaining the momentum of integration was also brought²⁴⁷. Although it was stressed that these conditions were brought objectively for all European states that would have an access to the EU in the future, it was highly

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

²⁴⁷ Michael Baun. (1997). Germany and EU Enlargement into Eastern Europe. 5th Biennial ECSA Conference. Washington, USA.

apparent that these criteria actually targeted the membership of the post-communist CEECs. Linking European membership to these clearly determined pre-conditions, the EU revealed to the CEECs that it was concerned with the proper progress of the European integration, so any country has to get well-prepared via adjusting its internal economic, political and institutional frameworks in accordance with the European standards should they really want to be a member of the EU. This collective message showed that the long-running tension between deepening and widening re-emerged in the EU context, and the Union again took on the side of the former objective. Faced with this reality again, Germany went into a deep confusion as regards the balancing of these two European policy objectives occupying top positions in its EU agenda. Thus, starting with the Copenhagen Summit, German officials much more questioned their unconditional allegiance with the objective of widening, so they turned into the objective of deepening, which had always remained at the center of the Federal Republic's European policy agenda for decades, step by step. Without a doubt, this change of direction in Germany's deepening-widening policies for the advantage of the former would have a direct impact on the accustomed German support to the Eastern enlargement. Lastly, in the Copenhagen Summit, the EU-12 decided to initiate a permanent political dialogue with these new-born democracies. In this context, it was determined that representatives of these countries and Community officials would come together in regular intervals and the heads of government of these states would attend one of the two European Council summits a year. Through these means, not only the gradual incorporation of the CEECs into the common policy framework of the EU but also the reinforcement of the belongingness of these countries' policy elites to the project of European integration was aimed.

The German EU presidency in the second half of 1994 gave Germany the opportunity which it sought to acquire in terms of accelerating more in the membership issue of the CEECs. In line with this aim, Germany planned to utilize the December 1994 EU Summit in Essen as a significant meeting which would represent a progressive point in terms of the future accession of these countries. Therefore, firstly, Chancellor Kohl

invited the heads of state of Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia, Bulgaria, and Romania to the Essen Summit. Reflecting the German endorsement to these countries in terms of EU membership, Chancellor Kohl told them “*Today you are still guests. But within a reasonable time, you will be members.*”²⁴⁸ Moreover, as a further step towards the enlargement, a ‘pre-accession strategy’ was foreseen for the CEECs in the 1994 Essen Summit. In the context of this strategy, these countries were promised by the EU to be provided some guidelines that would help them in harmonizing their economic and legal frameworks with those of the EU, and to be given financial assistance in order to ease the on-going economic transformation process there. As these benefits derived within the Essen Summit rightly demonstrated, by the end of 1994, the EU countries came to recognize that the Eastern enlargement entered into an irreversible path. As argued by Baun, *this recognition stemmed largely from German pressures and from the growing awareness of other Member States that enlargement was as necessary to bind Germany to the EU as further deepening*²⁴⁹. That is, at the end of the day, while even taking the decision of initiating the process that would result in the admission of the CEECs to the EU, Member States –mostly France- again gave huge importance to preventing any kind of unilateral devolution in Germany’s European policy via guaranteeing the collective presence of the EU countries in the Eastern Europe. Yet, whatever the reason underlied beneath, this decision came to mean an exact accomplishment for the CEECs that came closer to the EU one step further.

However, despite this initially assumed diplomatic attitude, Germany –willingly or unwillingly- experienced an evolution in its approach to the Eastern enlargement from the point of vague but eager support for rapid expansion to a selective and cautious

²⁴⁸ Max Otte & Jürgen Greve. (2000). *The Loss of Utopia: Germany and European Integration, 1988-1997*. In *A Rising Middle Power?: German Foreign Policy in Transformation, 1989-1999*. New York: St. Martin’s Press.

²⁴⁹ Michael Baun. (1997). *Germany and EU Enlargement into Eastern Europe*. 5th Biennial ECSA Conference. Washington, USA.

endorsement starting from mid-1990s. It was directly observable in the declarations of Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Kinkel, who assumed a rather indecisive and hesitant approach in terms of the Eastern enlargement. Abandoning the highly ambitious manner that led them to even mentioning exact accession dates for the Visegrad countries, Kohl and Kinkel adopted a new approach which foresaw backing the membership of these countries, but on the condition that they would fulfil the necessary criteria required for the full membership. Making increasing reference to the necessity of undertaking the institutional, political and economic reforms in the EU structure and the decision-making mechanisms before the incorporation of the CEECs, Germany openly revealed this newly emerging policy understanding that gave more weight to the objective of deepening compared to widening mostly related to the Eastern enlargement. What is more, Germany was now also reluctant to accept the EU membership of the CEECs without getting involved of them within the security shield of NATO. Generally referred as the “*complementarity doctrine*”²⁵⁰, this direct link established between EU membership and NATO membership by German officials was just the re-approval of the fact that the issue of the Eastern enlargement had solid ties with the security concerns and interests of Germany in Europe. Through this step, Germany planned to not only strengthen the Western security umbrella in the European continent but also continue to feeding the overly high aspirations within the CEECs for integration to the Western institutions. As Baun suggests, the NATO expansion to the East in 1999 became highly instrumental in preventing the pressures for the EU enlargement, so bought the EU time for carrying out internal reforms and making progress in the economic and monetary integration²⁵¹. In the meantime, the possibility of starting accession negotiations with the CEECs was firstly mentioned in the 1995 Madrid Summit. Representing the level of development in the on-going pre-accession process, this Summit was welcomed by the Kohl government.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

When the SPD-Green coalition was established as a result of the 1998 elections, it became ascertained that like every other policy realm, conceptualization of the matter of Eastern enlargement by Germany would also be made subject to change. As mentioned before, the German policy line pursued in the EU membership of the CEECs had already undergone a transformation process towards the end of Kohl years. However, with the coming to power of the Red-Green government, this change became much more accurate and permanent. In that way, although Chancellor Kohl had previously seen no problem in explicitly reflecting his views regarding the accession date of the Visegrad states as of 2000, from the very beginning, Chancellor Schröder took his steps much more cautiously, and refrained from making any sort of binding declarations in this context. At that point, it is notable to assert that this shift mainly depended upon a significant factor, which was the on-going contradiction that Germany always found itself between deepening and widening. Indeed, as mentioned previously, right after the German reunification, top German officials of Kohl government generally declared that instead of making a choice among the two, deepening and widening were seen as two reconcilable policy interests that would be achieved concurrently in the German EU policy agenda. Therefore, mostly until mid-1990s, Germany denied the existence of a contradiction between deepening and widening, and was always proud of giving same importance to these European policy objectives. However, combined with the specifically high weight of its catastrophic history on the present European policy practices and the harsh socio-economic problems emanating from the German reunification, Germany reached a point in which it recognized that it would no longer reject the existence of this de facto tension among widening and deepening. Regarding the first dimension, in time, Germany initiated to re-experience the dilemma in terms of its exact location whether in the East or in the West, which dated back to its Wilhelmian period, as elucidated in the introduction part. Moreover, as another challenging point under the historical dimension, Germany felt the need of balancing the colliding legacies of the FRG's European integration past, which pushed Germany to prioritize deepening, and of Ostpolitik and the GDR, which triggered it to give more emphasis to widening. In

that sense, despite the European orientation of Germany was stressed many times in the declarations of German officials, the stronger ties and developing relations of Germany particularly with its neighbouring Visegrad states caused the emergence of many question marks in the minds of prominent EU officials around historical references to the *Mitteleuropa* role of Germany. Then, concerning the front of the recent socio-economic problems, Germany much more leaned towards rising pragmatism and contingency in its Eastern enlargement policy along with the rising short term calculus of costs and benefits. In this respect, although German officials, led by Chancellor Kohl, declared their unconditional support to the EU membership of the new-born democracies in the eastern part of Europe right after the German reunification, they were increasingly preoccupied with the economic, political, and social costs of these countries' accession to the EU in their evaluations made in the following years. In other words, while the Eastern enlargement was mostly assessed around the themes of 'democracy', 'united Europe' or 'return to Europe' in the immediate aftermath of the German reunification, it was much more equated with the themes of 'security problems', 'economic crisis' and 'migration waves' in the German EU policy agenda. Therefore, in order to relieve itself from all these burdens related to its Eastern enlargement policy, Germany much more favoured deepening, mostly around the EMU and political union, over widening. To state it differently, in case there emerged a contradiction between deepening the European integration project and widening to the East, Germany mostly chose the first option due to its deep affiliation with the EU for decades, though this did not also mean its total abandonment of the second objective.

On the other side, although the general German outlook to the issue of Eastern enlargement changed in this mentioned direction, the membership process of these countries much more accelerated ever since. In 1997 Luxembourg Summit, the EU leaders decided to initiate accession process with the CEECs. In that way, the EU started accession negotiations in 1998 with six of these countries called '*Luxembourg Group*' including Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Estonia, Slovenia, and Southern Cyprus. In 1999 Helsinki Summit, the EU decided to begin negotiations with the rest of

the CEECs, called '*Helsinki Group*' which covered Slovakia, Latvia, Lithuania, Bulgaria, Romania, and Malta. In 2002 Copenhagen Summit, the Council declared that accession negotiations were completed with the CEECs, and these countries were ready to accede to the Union. At the end of all these efforts, in which Germany had a remarkable share, on 1 March 2004, former Eastern bloc countries, which contained former Soviet Union countries such as Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia; the Visegrad states such as the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Poland; a state part of the former Yugoslavia as Slovenia; and two Mediterranean island states including Malta and Southern Cyprus, became the new members of the EU. By the entry of 10 new countries, the number of the EU Member States increased from 15 to 25. As a complementary of this accession wave, then, Romania and Bulgaria had an access to the EU on 1 January 2007. Despite its recently occurring reservations as a result of the shift in its Eastern enlargement policy, Germany welcomed these two accession waves despite they transformed the EU into a more complex structure in which more diverging interests would exist, the gap among Member States regarding socio-economic development levels would be higher, the Franco-German core was considered to function less effectively, and the 'center' was predicted to be retreated in the face of the rising influence of the European 'periphery' heretofore²⁵². For most of the people, not only in Europe but also in Germany, a dream which had been desperately desired during the Cold War meant to come true via the 2004 and 2007 enlargements. Beyond its practical political, social, and economic importance, following the EU membership of these former Eastern bloc countries, the EU came to be perceived symbolizing the actual unity of all Europeans.

After the accession of these states to the EU, Germany has attempted to construct much closer ties with them, mostly of its Eastern neighbours, in terms of short-term and long-term European issues. In particular, during the Merkel era, Germany has found in Poland

²⁵² William E. Paterson. (2008). Did France and Germany Lead Europe? A Retrospect. In *Leaderless Europe*, ed. J. Hayward. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 89–110.

a new strategic partner, with whom it has moved in full concert related to critical EU decisions, as an alternative to France. Although the Eurozone crisis led Germany and the CEECs into a harsh conflict over many economic and monetary issues, it is possible to state that the cooperative relation among these sides seemed to endure by the year of 2009.

All that said, in spite of experiencing fluctuations over its support to the accession of these the CEECs in years, Germany fulfilled the role of a strong initiator and catalyser that urged the EU to admit these states as its new members, so cleared the way for their ultimate membership for the most part.

4.2.3.5 Enlargement Policies of the EU

After majority of the East and Central European countries, which had been governed by communist governments throughout the Cold War, had an access to the EU in 2004 and 2007 enlargements, the attention of the European public opinion was directed towards other potential expansions. In this context, the future membership of other countries including Balkan countries, such as Macedonia, Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Kosovo, and a country lying in the south-eastern part of the continent which was Turkey came into the agenda. Despite the existing tension between the European objectives of widening and deepening, which was firstly neglected, then admitted by German policy-makers as mentioned above, Germany continued its support for future enlargements, though with less ambition and more reservations. German governments, from Kohl to Merkel, have had a steady tendency of supporting the accession of the first-group countries around the themes of ‘literally united Europe’ and ‘return to Europe’, but their approach to the issue of Turkish membership, which has also provoked many harsh debates in different circles of the European public opinion, has varied according to the ideological orientations of the incumbent parties. In other words, although Turkish membership has been met with serious suspicion and opposition by the CDU/CSU dominated governments under Chancellor Kohl and

Chancellor Merkel, it was favoured by the SPD/Green coalition under Chancellor Schröder.

Turkey, which has been governed by a secular and democratic system with an overwhelming Muslim population since 1923, is a country which has a decades-long interplay with the European integration. Making its first application in 1959 and second application in 1987 for full membership, Turkey has always harboured strong aspirations for an accession in order to get involved in the project of the united Europe. However, due to the shadow of history, full of many battles among Turks and the European forces, casted on the present Turkish-European relations and the different peculiarities of the Turkish state and Turkish population as mentioned, Turkish membership has always been made subject to consistent debates in the political arenas of Member States from past to present. Likewise, West German and the united German politics have been split regarding the issue of Turkish membership in the pre- and post-reunification periods. Conventionally, the accession of Turkey into the EU has been strictly rejected by the conservative CDU/CSU line depending upon their repeatedly asserted arguments that Turkey does not belong to the European family of nations due to its territory mostly lying in the Asian peninsula, overly Muslim population, and finally distinctive cultural and social features. In contrast to these subjective and highly biased evaluations of the Christian Democrats, the leftist SPD-Green line has always tended to support Turkish membership of the EU through making an emphasis on its democratic and secular state structure, centuries-long attempts for Europeanization, and eagerness to attend the European family on equal footing. Like the CDU/CSU, the Social Democrats are also well aware of the political, economic and social difficulties that Turkey has encountered, but are in the view that the EU should provide the aid as much as it can to Turkey in order for the latter to come into the grips with them and finally achieve the European standards. That said, these deep differences among the standpoints of the Christian Democrats and the Social Democrats as regards such a controversial issue as Turkish membership in the German politics have been directly reflected on the German practises in the European realm. Therefore, while Germany, under Chancellor Kohl, remained in

the bloc which denied Turkey a candidacy status in 1997 Luxembourg Summit, it became highly effective in the taking of the ultimate decision officially determining Turkey as a candidate country in 1999 Helsinki Summit, when it was governed by pro-Turkish SPD-Green government. As can be seen even within two years, the change taking place in the dominant ideological view in charge of the German government had a direct impact on the shift of Germany's approach towards Turkish membership from rejection to ambitious support in the EU. However, when Chancellor Merkel came to power in 2005, German government was again dominated by the conservative view essentially rejecting Turkish entry to the EU. Through carrying the flag of conservatism, Chancellor Merkel initiated to intensify her emphasis on the political, economic, social, and cultural differences of Turkey compared to the European countries while attempting to explain the 'impossibility' of Turkish accession to the EU. In other words, according to this understanding of Merkel, even if Turkey would reach the European standards via carrying out the required political, and economic reforms within its territory, it would never be able to be an integral part of the EU due to its culturally and religiously non-European aspects. Moreover, the political shift that had led Germany favoring deepening over widening starting from the Schröder years became effective in this official rejection of Turkish membership. Encountering the socio-economic difficulties arisen from the 2004 and 2007 Enlargements, Germany was now giving much more importance to the completion of the internal restructuration within the EU in order for the Union to become more capable to accept a new member state. However, despite all these arguments, Chancellor Merkel adopted a more diplomatic attitude which does not foresee the direct disapproval of Turkish membership differently from Chancellor Kohl. Due to this fact, the EU opened membership negotiations with Turkey on 3 October 2005, and Angela Merkel, who was just elected as the new chancellor of Germany following September 2005 elections, did not openly oppose it²⁵³. Chancellor Merkel,

²⁵³ Simon Green, Dan Hough & Alister Miskimmon. (2008). *Germany and the European Union: A European Germany or a German Europe?* In *The Politics of the New Germany*. New York: Routledge.

taking strength from the hegemonic rhetoric of the ‘Merkozy alliance’, much more proposed either establishing a special relationship with Turkey through the status of the ‘privileged partnership’ or delaying its full membership as much as possible until this country would adequately solve its political, economic and problems. Recognizing that her first suggestion, commonly made by French President Sarkozy, failed to have the required support in the European public opinion, she much more gave weight to the second alternative. Still, while even dragging her feet on Turkish membership, Chancellor Merkel did not prefer blocking membership negotiations with Turkey on certain chapters as France did. Considering the high-level pressures sourcing from German and European public opinions, this policy preference of Chancellor Merkel can again be evaluated as strategically compatible with the abovementioned diplomatic disposition of her.

In conclusion, keeping her special strategy of postponing full membership of Turkey to an unknown date in the future intact, Chancellor Merkel has continued to influence the EU negatively related to a possible enlargement to Turkey.

4.2.3.6 Asylum and Migration Policies of the EU

In the post-reunification period, Germany became highly effective in the shaping of the asylum and migration policies within the EU. Actually, under the effect of the World War II memories and the issue of German-rooted expellees who were deported from Poland and Czechoslovakia after end of the War, West Germany had adopted a highly liberal asylum and refugee law. In this context, for instance, all persons politically persecuted by their countries had been provided legal claim for asylum under the constitutional warrant. Also, the FRG had been party to many international agreements, such as the Geneva Convention and the related ‘Protocol on the Status of Refugees’,

which prohibited the deportation of refugees on certain conditions²⁵⁴. In other words, till mid-1990s, West Germany, and then, the united Germany had surpassed the EU through its advanced immigration legislation which put the concern of human rights at its center. However, within the well-known uploading-downloading cycle of Europeanization, due to mixed factors, Germany was negatively influenced from the rising attention of the EU to the immigration issue, and dragged behind the EU in this context. After that point, through the increasing securitization of the immigration-related matters within its domestic realm around the themes of economic migration, cross-border criminality, and adjacent political instability²⁵⁵, Germany exerted a retarding and blocking impact on the supranationalization of the general European asylum and refugee policy. As summarized by Hellmann et al. with these words, in these passing years, “*Germany’s role in the European asylum and refugee policy has shifted from vanguard to laggard*”²⁵⁶.

During 1980s, West Germany was one of the firm supporters of the abolition of internal borders among Member States on the way of completing the Single Market. In one of his declarations, Chancellor Kohl complaint of the presence of too many controls at internal European borders, and regarded them as incompatible with the idea of the EC²⁵⁷. Moving from this path, Chancellor Kohl and French President led the Franco-German initiative of ‘creating a borderless Europe’ in order to promote integration among Member States. As a result of these efforts, the Schengen regime came into existence via

²⁵⁴ Gunter Hellmann, Rainer Baumann, Monika Bösche, Benjamin Herborth & Wolfgang Wagner. (2005). De-Europeanization by Default? Germany’s EU Policy in Defense and Asylum. Foreign Policy Analysis. International Studies Association. 1: 143-164.

²⁵⁵ Simon Bulmer & William E. Paterson. (1996). Germany in the European Union: Gentle Giant or Emergent Leader? International Affairs. 72/1: 9-32.

²⁵⁶ Gunter Hellmann, Rainer Baumann, Monika Bösche, Benjamin Herborth & Wolfgang Wagner. (2005). De-Europeanization by Default? Germany’s EU Policy in Defense and Asylum. Foreign Policy Analysis. International Studies Association. 1: 143-164.

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

the signature of the Schengen Agreement in 1985. When established as a product of the Franco-German leadership, the Schengen system was shaped outside the treaty framework, defined as a great example of “*differentiated integration*” by Schild²⁵⁸. Depending upon this practical solution, Germany assumed a protagonist role, and spent too much effort for the expansion of the Schengen mechanisms to other EC Member States. In its established form, the Schengen Zone foresaw the free and unrestricted movement of the EC citizens with no border control in Europe. However, while the Schengen system was removing external frontiers among the EC States, it put extra surveillance and control mechanisms both internally and externally against migrants, asylum-seekers and refugees in Europe. In other words, for West Germany, which had preferred approaching to the migration issue around universal human rights concerns up to that time, Schengen introduced a brand new mentality: beginning from Schengen, the common migration and refugee policy was automatically equated with security in Europe. Through the signature of the Convention on the Implementation of Schengen Agreement in 1990, this emerging tendency was stressed, and the individuals beholden to these above mentioned categories were much more perceived as aliens, strangers or usual suspects. Against this newly occurring tableau, instead of confronting it, Kohl government opportunistically and pragmatically utilized “*Schengen as an arena to articulate its pressing problems concerning asylum policy and to open up new possibilities to cope with these problems on the European level*”²⁵⁹. Actually, concerning the conventional policy line of the CDU/CSU, which had always been harshly criticized for its negative approach carrying even nationalist tones against the migrants, refugees and asylum-seekers, this step taken by Chancellor Kohl was not so much surprising. However, it became more obvious that in a period when the flow of

²⁵⁸ Joachim Schild. (2010). Mission Impossible? The Potential for Franco-German Leadership in the Enlarged EU. *Journal of Common Market Studies*. England: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. 48/5: 1367–1390.

²⁵⁹ Gunter Hellmann, Rainer Baumann, Monika Bösch, Benjamin Herborn & Wolfgang Wagner. (2005). De-Europeanization by Default? Germany’s EU Policy in Defense and Asylum. *Foreign Policy Analysis*. International Studies Association. 1: 143-164.

refugees from East Germany and other countries sustained, the FRG turned into the security-oriented route against migrants and refugees. However, the liberal provisions of the Basic Law regarding the migration and asylum issues were still one of the most important obstacles against the full adoption of this view.

In the aftermath of its national reunification, Germany had already been highly interested in the migration issues first-hand, as mentioned above. During the Cold War, the flow of immigrants from East Germany to West Germany had endured, and it turned into a mass exodus following the demolition of the Berlin Wall in 1989. Considering that the on-going population mobility from the East to the West maintained even after 1990 reunification and was also added by the newly coming masses from Eastern Europe with the collapse of the Iron Curtain, Germany continued to be closely interlinked with the migration issue heretofore. Due to this increasing pressure on itself, Germany was in the pursuit of further integrationism regarding the migration and refugee policy in the EU in order to cope with this matter more effectively. At that point, the Treaty of Maastricht gave the opportunity which Germany was looking for desperately. Through this Treaty, the three-pillar-structure, the third of which was the Justice and Home Affairs, was established with the rising empowerment of the European regions because of the visible effect of German Lander. Chancellor Kohl had derived what he desired concerning the Europeanization of the migration policy via the Treaty of Maastricht since it was set to be covered by the third pillar of Justice and Home Affairs as a 'European issue'. This meant that as a complementary of the Schengen understanding, the Treaty of Maastricht legally converted the area of migration into a policy field which would have to be dealt with along its negative perception as a 'problem' on both the economic and security-related terms. Parallel to these policy changes in the EU, Kohl government eagerly embarked on a deep-rooted change in the German asylum and migration policy. At that point, it did not create so much domestic challenge for Chancellor Kohl to go into amendments in the provisions of the Basic Law on the migration policy because it was repeatedly announced by the officials of the Conservative-Liberal coalition that these constitutional amendments were undertaken in

order to meet the EU requirements and provide conformity with the newly emerging EU legislation in this respect. However, while hiding behind these EU-originated excuses in making these amendments, the CDU/CSU-FDP government was mostly motivated by the objectives of reversing the liberal structure of the national migration law via higher securitization and problematization of the migration itself, eliminating the constitutional guarantee of asylum, and reducing the increasing number of asylum seekers in Germany²⁶⁰. Following the realization of these constitutional amendments according to this mentality in 1993, it became legally ascertained that Germany broke ranks with its priorly liberal and inclusive understanding on migration.

In time the negotiations for the Amsterdam Treaty were being conducted, Germany again came into the foreground with its integrationist approach which insistently proposed the incorporation of the security-oriented Schengen regime into the treaty structure and the transfer of the European migration policy into the first pillar of the European Communities²⁶¹. Through the higher securitization of the common migration policy, Kohl government attempted to strengthen the internal and external mechanisms over migrants, refugees, and asylum-seekers not only in Germany but also in other countries of the EU. Under this policy impact, the Treaty of Amsterdam was shaped in accordance with these above mentioned demands of Germany. In this regard, while the implementation of the Schengen system had been kept separate from the EU law till that time, it was ‘communitarized’ into the Community law coupled with the obligation that foresaw the adoption of the Schengen rules by all would-be Member States hereafter via the Amsterdam Treaty. This meant that although the Treaty of Amsterdam brought the freedom of movement for ‘insiders’, who were EU citizens, it heightened the internal and external barriers for ‘outsiders’, who were migrants, refugees and asylum-seekers, through adopting the Schengen rules one-by-one and putting the creation of the Area of

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

²⁶¹ Ibid.

Freedom, 'Security', and Justice as a central goal of the EU. Through this way, the European refugee and asylum policy was much more transformed into a security policy through being fuelled with additional measures against foreigner and stranger 'non-Europeans' coming to Europe via migration. Beyond all these points, the negotiations for the settlement of the QMV in the common refugee and asylum policy in the Amsterdam IGC, before the signature of the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1997, created a deep breaking point in the German refugee and asylum policy of the EU. In this Summit, under the huge impact of German Lander, German government vetoed the acceptance of the QMV and kept its insistence on the principle of unanimity for the decisions that would be taken regarding the European migration and asylum policy. This mainly sourced from the well-known reluctance of German Lander, which had obtained large powers with the Treaty of Maastricht related to the shaping of Germany's European policy, to transfer the sovereignty to the supranational organs in the migration policy. Yet, whatever its reasons were, this shocking step taken by Germany in the Amsterdam IGC much more apparently demonstrated the level of transformation in the migration and asylum policy of Germany, which had been a firm supporter of the implementation of the QMV voting as regards the European migration policy in the Maastricht IGC just a few years ago. In that way, Germany determined its new position as a staunch opponent of every initiative aiming at diluting national sovereignty of each member state to the EU in terms of the creation and implementation of the asylum and refugee policy. Its blocking stance notwithstanding, even this intergovernmentalist understanding came entirely contrary to the long-lasting supranational approach of Germany towards the accounting for the common European policies. Nevertheless, this showed a reasonable conformity with the rising share of pragmatism and contingency in the German European policy, as looked from another side.

Emerging with its hampering intervention in the Amsterdam Summit, this negative impact of Germany on the supranationalization of the EU's migration and refugee policy was sustained and strengthened in three successive incidents. Firstly, following the signature of the Treaty of Amsterdam, the European Council in Tampere, held in 1999,

saw the intensification of the works towards the establishment of the Area of Freedom, Security, and Justice in the EU, and took disputable decisions such as demanding for ‘partnership with the countries of origin’ and depending upon the ‘safe third country’ rule referring to migrants and refugees. Moreover, the Tampere meeting made no discussion on whether the QMV should be brought for the common migration policy, or not. Due to this restrictive framework drawn within Tampere related to the shaping of the European migration policy, this meeting was harshly criticized by experts and human rights proponents as an irreversible violation of the 1951 Geneva Convention²⁶². As the second step, recalling its veto in the Amsterdam IGC, Germany rejected the ‘Proposal for a Council Directive on Minimum Standards on Procedures in Member States for Granting and Withdrawing Refugee Status’, prepared by the European Commission in 2000, due to its security-related and financial concerns. By the way, although the Red-Green government came into power in 1998, this approach of Germany did not change, and it continued blocking the introduction of the QMV to the European migration policy in the following years. Thirdly, as another instance of this mentioned manner, during the negotiations for the European Convention, the German members including not only the CDU politicians but also the SPD and the Green Party politicians, which have conventionally remained on the side of the immigrants and refugees due to their ideological stances and electoral bases, insisted on the granting of a national veto right on the common asylum and refugee policy, and became successful. As can be understood, the migration policy of the Schröder government did not so much diverge from the implications of the previous Kohl governments particularly concerning the hindering German impact on the European migration policy. Furthermore, under the impact the of socio-economic problems emanating from the attempts for the conduct of the reunification among the East and the West in post-1990 process, Schröder government assessed the issue of Eastern enlargement in direct relation with a possible wave of migration from the East European countries following their EU membership. In

²⁶² Ibid.

this respect, as stated by Dyson and Goetz, the major concerns of Germany included increased labour market competition from newly mobile workers of the east, downward pressure on German wages at such a time of high unemployment, and security problems that might occur due to the opening of borders to these states²⁶³. Therefore, the Schröder government became one of the committed supporters of setting certain passing periods for the CEECs before granting the freedom of movement for the workers of these countries on an equal footing. Also, after the 9/11 attacks on the World Trade Center in the USA, the security sensitivities of the Red-Green coalition also reached the highest degree like in other Western countries, so the formal conception of the migration policy in Germany around tightened border controls, effective surveillance mechanisms and newly added measures was underlined in a more observable way. From then on, it became a daily routine for the migrant masses living in Europe to encounter the internal control mechanisms within Germany, in addition to the strict surveillance procedures that had already been applied to them on external German borders. Although such security-oriented applications of the German officials targeting migrants, asylum-seekers and refugees were directly criticized in the public area, these unfortunately did not bring so much change on the content of these implementations.

With the initiation of Merkel's chancellery in 2005, the European migration policy of Germany has not experienced so much change due to the well-known negative political line of her party toward the matters of migration and migrants. Moving in line with this general tendency of her party, Chancellor Merkel has kept disputable declarations revealing her intentions to encourage Turkish 'guest workers' to return their countries with their families and taking new measures to discourage the potential migrants that are intended to come to Germany. Although the Treaty of Lisbon, for which Chancellor Merkel worked too much, represented a progressive point regarding the historical

²⁶³ Kenneth Dyson & Klaus Goetz (2003). *Living with Europe: Power, Constraint, and Contestation*. In *Germany, Europe, and the Politics of Constraint*, eds. Kenneth Dyson and Klaus Goetz. Oxford University Press: 37-53.

evolution of the European migration and refugee policy through finally determining the practise of the co-decision procedure and the QMV voting on legal migration, defining the EP as a co-legislator with the Council of Minister, and providing full authorization to the Court of Justice in this policy field, this also failed to generate a positive influence on the general outlook of Germany related to the subject of migration on European scale.

All in all, through the negative spill-over effect of its domestic challenges into the European scale, Germany has blocked the development of the common European migration and asylum policy in a supranational direction, so caused the strengthening of the so-called “*Fortress Europe*”, the party cleavages or governmental changes in post-1990 period notwithstanding.

4.3 ‘New’ German Question: Germany as the ‘Reluctant Hegemon’ of the EU?

From past to the present, concerning the academic attempts to thoroughly understand the real nature of the German foreign policy, there has culminated a wide literature. Around the infamous German Question, which continued its existence through embarking on internal transformations until the reunification, it has always been highly common to use many conceptualizations and analogies related to the German European policy. In this regard, for instance, West Germany had generally been considered as “*an economic giant but a political dwarf*”, which had been used as a phrase explaining the politically restricted situation of West Germany in Europe by West German Chancellor Brandt himself, or as a *trading state*, which had always been known for its export-driven economy, for a long time²⁶⁴. Then, as the reunification between two German states got closer, Simon Bulmer and William Paterson creatively initiated an academic debate regarding the future foreign policy course of the FRG through attempting to answer the question whether West Germany was a *semi-Gulliver* or *Man-Mountain* in the Europe of

²⁶⁴ Jeffrey J. Anderson & John B. Goodman. (1993). Mars or Minerva? A United Germany in a Post-Cold War Europe. In *After the Cold War: International Institutions and State Strategies in Europe, 1989-91*, eds. R. Keohane, J. Nye, and S. Hoffmann. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 23-62.

changing balances²⁶⁵. After the German reunification in 1990, this analogical dilemma was followed by new ones as again made by Bulmer and Paterson in the form of Germany as a *gentle giant* or an *emergent leader*²⁶⁶, and the conceptualization of Craig attempting to find whether Germany is a *tamed tiger* or a *restless beast*²⁶⁷.

Beginning from the early-2010s, then, a new phrase, “*reluctant hegemon*” has initiated to be widely used in order to define the German European policy particularly during the Eurozone Crisis. Firstly entered into the academic literature by Paterson in 2011²⁶⁸, the conceptualization of reluctant hegemon has mainly been regarded as the best expression to reflect the valid policy trend in German approach towards post-Wall European integration through not only pointing out the huge economic and gradually rising political power of Germany on one side but also highlighting the general unwillingness of German side to lead the EU via utilizing its political and economic might in the turbulent times of the latter, the last one of which was the Eurozone Debt Crisis, on the other. According to this conceptualization made under the identification of Germany as the reluctant hegemon, a new German Question has already emerged on the European level. In Ash’s own words, this question primarily refers to “*Can Europe’s most powerful country lead the way in building both a sustainable, internationally*

²⁶⁵ Simon Bulmer & William E. Paterson. (1989). West Germany's Role in Europe: 'Man-Mountain' or 'Semi-Gulliver'? *Journal of Common Market Studies*. England: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. 28/2: 95–117.

²⁶⁶ Simon Bulmer & William E. Paterson. (1996). Germany in the European Union: Gentle Giant or Emergent Leader? *International Affairs*. 72/1: 9-32.

²⁶⁷ Stephen Craig. (2012). Tamed Tiger or Restless Beast? German Foreign Policy in the Post-Reunification Period. Honors Program for International Security Studies. Center for International Security and Cooperation. Stanford University.

²⁶⁸ William E. Paterson. (2011). The Reluctant Hegemon? Germany Moves Centre Stage in the European Union. *Journal of Common Market Studies 2011 Annual Review*. England: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. 49: 57–75.

*competitive Eurozone and a strong, internationally credible European Union?*²⁶⁹” Making a special emphasis on the German reluctance for leadership, then, Guerot and Leonard approaches to this issue from a more generalist perspective through conceptualizing the new German Question as “*How Europe can get the Germany it needs?*” similar to Ash’s formula²⁷⁰. As can be understood, in whatever patterns it is asked, this new German Question has for a while exerted direct influence on the problems and solutions of the EU economically and politically alike pre-1990 German Questions. Eventhough the phrase of the reluctant hegemon was actually produced in the blurred atmosphere of the Eurozone Debt Crisis, in this part of the thesis, this concept will just be analysed mainly around its exact place in the post-reunification German European policy without descending into detail about the causes and impacts of the Eurozone Debt Crisis.

German reluctance to lead the EU in times when the latter needs the political and especially economic assistance has deeper roots in the past than expected. Although the concept of reluctant hegemon, which represents another side of the coin, constitutes a direct contrast to the rising German impact in the EU, which is attempted to be explained in the previous parts of this chapter, mainly regarding the reshaping of its institutions and making of its policies, it actually sheds a brighter light on the nature of evolving relations between Germany and the EU since the beginning of this millennium. Due to the complexity of this concept and its dependence on the past, German reluctance to lead the EU can actually be understood out of these three points that will be explained.

²⁶⁹ Timothy Garton Ash. (2013). The New German Question. The New York Review of Books. Accessed on 13 April 2015 via <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2013/aug/15/new-german-question>.

²⁷⁰ Ulrike Guerot & Mark Leonard. (2011). The New German Question: How Europe Can Get the Germany It Needs. ECFR Policy Brief. European Council on Foreign Relations. London.

Firstly, the familiar shadow of the catastrophic German history again stands there as an undeniable factor. As a latecomer country which had completed its –first- national unity in the late 19th century, Germany has generally existed in the form of highly dispersed political entities throughout its history. Since it was generally surpassed by other European nations such as France and Britain as regards the domination of Europe, Germany had remained incompetent to claiming for this ambitious ideal. Then, when it expressed its desire for European hegemony two times, this had catastrophic results, due to the two brutal world wars, not only for itself but also for Europe and the entire world. In order not to experiment these harsh times, then, the West German political and institutional structures with its public opinion were restructured around anti-nationalist and anti-militarist sentiments by occupying powers, and then by West German political elites in the post-Cold War period. Devoting its existence to the perpetual conduct of European integration, then, the pre-war ‘narrower’ nationalist interests were replaced by the inclusive European interests and the problematic aspirations for the domination of Europe were compensated by the Franco-German core. Therefore, getting used to not seeking any more for any kind of national goals and prioritizing common European interests during the lifetime of West Germany, the enlarged Germany has also kept this sensitivity for the post-1990 period. As declared by Chancellor Merkel herself that since German political elites are “very unfamiliar with the concept of hegemony”, Germany has continued to refrain from any kind of statements that may come to mean that Germany is ‘again’ striving for domination in Europe. Because of this sensitivity, President Köhler was forced to resign from his position in 2010 due to his declaration that German geopolitical interests now order German army to participate operations in the different parts of the world²⁷¹. To state it differently, the huge load of German historical baggage has maintained shaping the foreign policy preferences of Germany, a

²⁷¹ Ian van Son. (2013). Germany’s Unwillingness to Lead: The Nature and Exercise of its Power, and How its History, Normalization, and Economic Concerns Have Brought About an Existential Crisis and Reluctance to Lead Alone. Master of Arts in Law and Diplomacy Capstone Project. Tufts University – The Fletcher School.

country in which the word '*leader*' disturbingly corresponds to '*führer*' in its native language, for assuming the European leadership.

Secondly, the rising Euroscepticism in the German public and media can be held responsible for the German reluctance for leadership in the EU. As a complementary component, it had been a familiar fact that the ambitious stance of the German political elites as regards the project of European unity had always been backed by mass support for European integration in the West German public opinion. However, because of being forced to handling with the economic, financial and social hardships of the reunification stemming from wrong planned economic policies of Kohl governments, German people initiated to give the signals of withdrawing their highly necessitated support for the European integration since early 1990s. Especially, after the signature of the Treaty of Maastricht and the establishment of the EMU, the public opinion in Germany has not had the need of concealing its increasingly negative views concerning multiple dimensions of the integration project. Under this public pressure, then, the German political elites have had to take few steps back from their former position of unconditionally pushing for the integration in Europe, as a legacy of the old Federal Republic. Accompanied by the generational change in the upper levels of German political administration in a much observable way since Schröder's chancellorship, German officials have tended to relax their firm commitment to the ideal of the united Europe due to the requirement of responding to the recent changes in the general public perception of the European integration in German society.

Finally, directly linked to the second factor, the increasing emphasis of the short term cost and benefit calculus in Germany's EU policy agenda has emerged as the most important factor behind its evolution into the reluctant hegemon of the Union. In this changing framework, as issued previously, the German European policy has undergone into a modification process through much more shifting towards contingency, pragmatism, and revisionism as regards its classical principles of multilateralism, integrationism, and supranationalism related to the European integration. Considered to

be required by the advent of a united Germany whose economic and political power has been higher in comparison to West Germany, this wave of change has naturally increased the weight of the German national interests on the making and practise of the German policies designed for the ongoing integration process. In such an environment, then, costs and benefits that the deepening integration process might grant on the domestic political and, particularly economic realms have incrementally gained importance in Germany more than predicted. Depending upon this scheme, in cases when the former has exceeded the latter, German policy makers have generally tended to make choice among two ways of either manifesting their reactions in a disapproving manner or remaining silent on that issue and requesting other actors, which can be the Union institutions or Member States, to take the first step instead of themselves. Yet, this should not come to mean that Germany has totally refrained from leading the initiatives for the progression of the integration process. On the contrary, Germany has continued to emerge as the major pushing factor behind different tasks in this process, but mainly behind the ones which have passed the test of well-known calculations among their possible costs and benefits such as the political union, the common foreign and security policy, and the stability and crisis-resolving mechanisms. As can be recognized, representing a break with the pre-1990 European policy of West Germany and mostly in line with the rather selective and contingent approach of the united Germany towards post-1990 European integration, the German state elites have preferred staying at the background, which can be evaluated disproportionate to its post-reunification economic and political power. In a period when even the former adversaries of Germany have desired for a rise in the German contribution to the political and economic well-being of Europe –symbolized by the Polish Foreign Minister Radek Sikorski’s remarkable declaration during a speech in Berlin in 2011 as “*I fear German power less than I am beginning to fear German inactivity*”²⁷²–, Germans

²⁷² Ian van Son. (2013). Germany’s Unwillingness to Lead: The Nature and Exercise of its Power, and How its History, Normalization, and Economic Concerns Have Brought About an Existential Crisis and

have mostly remained reluctant willingly in terms of leading the EU in the most needy issues. Finding its expression in these words of a prominent German politician indicated during the harsh times of the sovereign debt crisis in 2010 as “*We do not want to lead the EU. We just want the others to obey the rules.*”,²⁷³ out of their calculations, Germany has mostly contented with explaining its prerequisites before entirely taking the initiative in its hands. In case they are not received well, then, Germany has expected other actors within the Union to intervene in the resolution of the existent crises without assuming any responsibility or taking any risks, the last instance of which was observed through Chancellor Merkel’s strict manner in the earlier phases of the Eurozone crisis.

In sum, under the triggering effect of these three mentioned factors, Germany has much more willingly conformed to the role of the reluctant hegemon in the EU in an age when it has not been bound with structural rigidities of the harsh Cold War politics, as West Germany had experienced in the pre-1990 world.

Reluctance to Lead Alone. Master of Arts in Law and Diplomacy Capstone Project. Tufts University – The Fletcher School.

²⁷³ Ulrike Guerot & Mark Leonard. (2011). The New German Question: How Europe Can Get the Germany It Needs. ECFR Policy Brief. European Council on Foreign Relations. London.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Since the Eurozone countries initiated to feel the devastative effects of the sovereign debt crisis starting from 2009, the place of Germany in the EU has again become one of the most debated issues in the European public opinion. In particular, when Chancellor Merkel and other German politicians explicitly declared their reluctance to get ready for the help of the crisis-ridden countries of the EU in the wake of this crisis, all the attention of Europe has been directed at the German territory. Questioning the present level of the relations between Germany and the EU around the speeches of German policy-makers or the intended and non-intended policy steps of the German side, countless articles, books and documents have been published in this recent period. Although they have been committed to having a larger outlook of this process, most of them have actually overlooked one central point through directly focusing on the recent past: the historical background of the Germany-EU relations. However, as generally known, sourcing from the intrinsic nature of the social sciences itself, it is impossible to have a reliable idea on social phenomena without having adequate knowledge of the related key points such as, how they come into the existence, in what conditions they sustain their development, and through which means they manage to reach the present conditions that are subject to the academic inquiry, such as interaction with other related phenomena. Analysing each phase of the symbiotic relationship that the German reunification established with the European integration, this study has attempted to grasp the essence of the historical process which ultimately paved the way for the unavoidable rise of Germany to the peak of the EU.

The long-running interaction between the German reunification and the European integration, examined in this thesis, has shown many overlooked points that might be

utilized to understand the present situation of the Germany-EU relations. However, more importantly, it is contended that this significant link among these two processes also harbours in itself many pieces of information which may be instrumental for making some predictions for the future of this relationship. Moving from this path, there are four major premises of this thesis that have been shaped along with the important findings achieved during the research process.

The first premise is that in order to understand not only the historical development of the European integration but also the leadership position of Germany in today's Europe, the German reunification should be put at the center of all evaluations, as tried to be proven throughout this thesis. This premise takes its major strength from the fact that the reunification taking place between West Germany and East Germany in 1990 opened an entirely new page not only for the proceeding of the European integration in the post-Cold War Europe but also for the actual place of the united Germany in the EU. In this respect, while emerging the necessity for the EU of carrying out some internal reforms in order to adjust to the conditions of this new period and to realize some institutional preparations before a possible Eastern enlargement in the future, the German reunification formed the ground of the rising German impact in the following years through resulting in the re-advent of Germany as the most powerful member state of the Union. Therefore, again revealing the high level of interconnection between Germany and the EU, which has attempted to be shown throughout this thesis, the German reunification actually offers the opportunity of analysing the process of European integration mainly centred on Germany, as one of the major engines behind this process. Also, it is considered that such a reading of European integration around the focus of Germany would give the researchers the chance of observing how this process has contributed to the reconstruction of a state which had been totally devastated after the World War II in the form of an ideal European country and how German reunification has given shape to the former process through decades.

The second premise presented at the end of the research process is that considering the deep imprint that the long-running Europeanization process has left in Germany, there seems no possibility for the German European policy to sail into unilateral seas or adopt an entirely independent diplomatic understanding outside the EU framework thereafter. In particular, given the current high levels of the Europeanized state identity and political culture of the Federal Republic, it would be ridiculous to expect that Germany might again fall into the trap of extremist-nationalist policies, as back in 1930s and 1940s. Gaining the features of a European state which functions in accordance with democratic principles and rule of law throughout this long process of uploading-downloading in the scheme of European integration, Germany has been strictly tied to the multilateral European framework in varying dimensions. That's why, as of the present overview, it can be said that the objectives that were determined in the very beginning of the project of European integration related to the German case such as covering Germany through involving it within the project of larger European family and so containing such sort of extremist views inside Germany have been ultimately fulfilled. In other words, as constructivism –which constitutes the fundamental theoretical ground of this study- truly diagnoses, the multilateral and integrationist policy-making has been personified by the German policy elites during this uploading-downloading process, which had been visualized by the protagonists of the European integration decades ago. At that point, it is essential to indicate that this mentioned premise is predicated upon two central facts. The first point is the interwoven nature of the relationship between German reunification and European integration itself. As it is tried to be explained broadly throughout this thesis, coinciding with the aftermath of the World War II, when German territory was immediately partitioned into two states in the pattern of concretely reflecting the deep frictions sourced from the aggressive bloc politics of the Cold War, the idea of creating a united Europe emerged within the continent. Due to coming into the forefront with the central objective of answering the troublesome German Question, which was added a new dimension with the territorial separation between West Germany and East Germany, and so guaranteeing a persistent

order of peace in Europe through this method, from the beginning, the project of European integration committed itself to the resolution of this issue in the European context via pushing Germany –or sometimes Germanies- to come into term with this approach, willingly or unwillingly. This mentioned tendency of the European integration was also maintained for the upcoming periods. In this respect, whenever there emerged a new German Question even with a different content and shape, the European integration made its existence felt due to being the most credible response that can be directed towards this problematic question. As shown throughout this study, like conducting the incorporation of West Germany into the common European framework or formulating a special approach, which was not foreseen for other socialist states in Eastern Europe, towards East Germany throughout the Cold War, the European integration again appeared in 1989, the year of crisis, as the principal actor which led the process of German reunification. Then, in addition to the signature of the Treaty of Maastricht in 1993 as a European attempt to provide the full integration of the newly united Germany with the Union, the issue of the German reluctance to especially handle the economic issues of the EU, classified as new-term German Question, has again been resolved within the context of the European integration since early-2010s. In return of this intensive European impact on Germany, West Germany, and then, the united Germany has always been known as the countries which have spent the maximum effort for the progress of the European integration project. Taking its steps in accordance with the awareness that the European integration had a special meaning for regaining its national sovereignty and diplomatic equality in Europe, West Germany got prominence with its strong supranational tendencies which foresaw the transfer of national sovereignty to the European organs in many policy fields around a post-national perception of the concept of sovereignty. In this regard, when the ECSC and the EEC were established as the concrete outputs of the European integration project, West Germany was available with its strong material and moral support for their emergence. Moreover, West Germany also left its mark in the creation of many policy initiatives such as the EPC, and EMS in this period. Thanks to the fact that the united Germany also continued the firm devotion

of West Germany to the project of the European unity in the wake of the German reunification, the EU could be established; the EMU and the political union came into the existence; the CFSP of the Union was strengthened; and the EU had a convention-like treaty as the Treaty of Lisbon in the post-Wall integration process. In addition to this mutual interaction during which the re-building of the state structure in the FRG on European terms went hand in hand with the progress of the integration process among European states²⁷⁴, the similar features of the German reunification and the European integration emerged as the second factor behind the unshakable European orientation of the German state identity and European policy. Through enabling a rapprochement between West Germany and Europe more right after the end of the World War II, these common aspects have not only strengthened the process of Europeanization in the FRG which has been carried out along with the injection of a European mentality there, but also relaxed this country through feeding the sense of ‘feeling at home’ regarding its functions on the European realm. These commonalities have reflected themselves in varying realms. Firstly, both Germany and the EU have “*a diverse set of institutionally defined governance regimes in which policy process is organized in a highly segmented or sectorized fashion*”²⁷⁵. In terms of their power perspective, Germany and the EU also have a huge resemblance because parallel to the fact that the former is known for its civilian power characteristics, the latter is known for its reliance on the use of soft power in the international arena. In addition to their firm commitment to the principle of subsidiarity due to their democratic concerns, both Germany and the EU have a social market economy, in which freedom, efficiency and equity are all given equal weights²⁷⁶.

²⁷⁴ Henning Tewes. (1998). Between Deepening and Widening: Role Conflict in Germany's Enlargement Policy. *West European Politics*. 21/2: 117-133.

²⁷⁵ Jeffrey J. Anderson. (1997). The German Model and European Integration: Between Unification and Union. *Brown University*. 1-25.

²⁷⁶ Eric Owen Smith. (2001). The German Model and European Integration. In *Germany since Unification: The Development of the Berlin Republic*, ed. Klaus Larres. Basingstoke: Palgrave. 63-87.

Furthermore, due to the closer interaction among the two, the German reunification and the European integration witnessed the processes of economic integration and Eastern expansion with slight differences. In this regard, despite starting few years after the German EMU, which came into effect on 1 July 1990, the European EMU had similar features with this EMU, unfortunately including its mistakes and wrongly-calculated policies. Related to the expansion into the East, the German reunification and the Eastern enlargement, in 2004 and 2007, shared many common points in terms of preferred methods, pushing factors, and emerging end-results. Although they differ in terms of their scale, both processes launched with the high expectations of the eastern parts, the GDR in 1990 and the CEECs in 2004 and 2007, in terms of integrating to the more developed West, but resulted in disappointments and the emergence of many subsystems or counter-identities as a reaction there²⁷⁷. Therefore, under the shed light of these mentioned factors, Germany is highly likely to continue remain on the path of the European integration in terms of the direction of its future European policy.

The third premise of the thesis is that in accordance with the findings acquired from the particular analysis of the last 15-year of the European integration, it would become better for the Franco-German alliance to go into a reform not only in the institutional structure and multiple policy realms of the EU but also in its integration mentality and related policies in accordance with the recently emerging realities shaping around the EU-28. As mentioned more than once throughout this thesis, the Franco-German core, which emerged as another important output of the European integration process centred on the German case, has always led many European initiatives from past to present. Signature of the Franco-German leadership was sometimes left in the establishment of the common European organizations such as the EU, sometimes in the inauguration of central policy initiatives such as the EPC and the EMU since the launching of the

²⁷⁷ Anne Sophia Krossa (2007). *Integration of Unequal Units: Comparing the German and the European Unification Processes*. JCER. 3/1: 1-17.

European integration process. Therefore, despite finding each other on the front of contrasting sides in terms of disputable issues or leaning towards alternative partnerships with other Member States, such as France pioneered the St. Malo initiative with the UK in 1998 or Germany moved in concert with Poland till early-2000s, Germany and France have continued to be the major impetus behind the project of the European unity even after German reunification. However, as issued in this thesis, with the access of mostly CEECs to the EU as new Member States in the 2004 and 2007 enlargements, the EU has been converted into a more complicated structure in which taking a decision or making the start of a new policy initiative have become harder for the Franco-German alliance. In other words, beginning from the Eastern enlargement, there has been an observable reduction in the effectiveness of the Franco-German axis to lead the EU in certain areas. As this fact is highly evident, however, these two countries have seemed to get stuck with their previous habits of leadership -as if the EU still consisted of 15 countries-, although even taking a mere decision has required them operate the mechanisms of cooperation and compromise with other Member States since mid-2000s. What is meant by this phrase is that mainly sourcing from their national interests, France and Germany have been tempted to determine some common rules and principles that would be abided by all Member States in this process. However, when they have failed to meet these criteria put by their initiatives themselves, the situation which Germany experienced in 2002 in terms of non-complying with the Stability and Growth Pact which had come into the existence as a result of its insistent demands before, they have been determined to go into some modifications accordingly. Without a doubt, since such contradictory steps have reduced the credibility of the Franco-German alliance in the eyes of other Member States as the major engine of the European integration process, the chance for the Franco-German axis to continue to lead the EU has diminished steadily in this process. In the face of this existing reality, through drawing lessons from such mistakes and attempting to avoid them as much as possible, France and Germany need to become aware of the fact that the Franco-German alliance is still the most powerful coalition, within the Union, which has the potential and required experience to give direction to

the EU. Therefore, what the Franco-German axis has been required to do is to convince its European partners of the fact that all the intended steps will be taken on behalf of the common European goals, but not for their privileged national interests, should it desire to persist its conventional leadership within the EU hereafter²⁷⁸.

The fourth and final premise of the thesis is that instead of totally denying its existence, it would be better for Germany to take the GDR past into account in order to provide a fresh energy into its European policy and walk in the future path of the European integration more smoothly. As a political habit coming from the times of Kohl's chancellorship in the aftermath of the national reunification, the 40-year-history of the Democratic Republic has generally been overlooked by German state elites along with the use of negative denominators. Although it is highly obvious that German politicians, particularly the Christian Democrats, have preferred assuming such a manner in order to provide the legitimacy of the Federal Republic's existence especially in the eyes of *Ossis*, an identification used by West Germans for East Germans, even at present, this political rhetoric seems to find a counter-response not only in the former East German region but also in other parts of Europe. In fact, these policies of denial, which have been perpetuated by German state elites enthusiastically since 1990, neglecting the GDR past of the united Germany have brought nothing but increasing omission of the realities. Beyond this point, this manner has caused a negative reaction against Germany within the leftist spectrum of the European politics represented in the EP under many groups, which has valued the GDR history due to the applications of this state aiming to promote equality and increase the general standards of living of the working masses in the East German society, its repressive and freedom-constraining acts notwithstanding. Moreover, as a well-known fact, the European integration process has experienced a deep break with the 2009 sovereign debt, and since then there has occurred popular demands, particularly among the working masses of the Member States, to change the

²⁷⁸ Joachim Schild. (2010). Mission Impossible? The Potential for Franco-German Leadership in the Enlarged EU. *Journal of Common Market Studies*. England: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. 48/5: 1367–1390.

direction of the common economic policies into a way which would emphasize three essential concepts as social welfare, social justice and social equality. Therefore, taking all these points into account, it would be much better for the German state elites to abandon their ideological blindness and also make use of the implementations from the GDR past, which had served for enhancing the general social standards of the East German people through ranking their GDP per capita income the highest one among the socialist countries at that time. Since the history of West Germany is also full of such kind of implementations stemming from the distinct nature of the Sozialstaat, it seems much more logical for Germany to turn back to its history fed from these two channels, and utilize these applications in order to modify its European policy, especially in the economic dimension, in accordance with these newly emerging necessities of the post-2009 process. In other words, indeed there is no need for Germany to find the formula elsewhere, it already exists in its roots.

As the last word, continuing their long journey, sometimes with different names, for decades together, Germany and the EU have managed to keep their special relationship intact. Despite experiencing tensions or disagreements in this long affair time-to-time, these two have never considered leaving themselves. As of the present, there lies a road in front of both the EU and Germany, which is full of hurdles and different sorts of challenges like yesterday. In this road, how they will prefer walking, firmly together, or together but keeping an exact distance among each other, will be totally up to the time.

REFERENCES

Anderson, J.J. (1996). Germany and the Structural Funds: Unification Leads to Bifurcation. In *Cohesion Policy and European Integration: Building Multi-Level Governance*, ed. Liesbet Hooghe. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 163-94

Anderson, J.J. (1997). The German Model and European Integration: Between Unification and Union. Brown University. 1-25.

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

Anderson, J.J. (2005). Germany. In *The Member States of the European Union*, eds. Simon Bulmer and Christian Lequesne. Oxford University Press.

Anderson, J.J. and Goodman, J.B. (1993). Mars or Minerva? A United Germany in a Post-Cold War Europe. In *After the Cold War: International Institutions and State Strategies in Europe, 1989-91*, eds. R. Keohane, J. Nye, and S. Hoffmann. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 23-62.

Anderson, J.J. and Langenbacher, E. (2010). *From Bonn to the Berlin Republic: Germany at the 20th Anniversary of Unification*. New York: Berghahn Books.

Ash, T.G. (1993). In *Europe's Name: Germany and the Divided Continent*. Random House: New York.

Ash, T.G. (2013). The New German Question. The New York Review of Books. Accessed on 13 April 2015 via <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2013/aug/15/new-german-question>.

Bach, J.P.G. (1998). Germany after Unification and Eastern Europe: New Perspectives, New Problems. 1-15.

Banchoff, T. (1997). German Policy towards the European Union: The Effects of Historical Memory. *German Politics*. 6/1: 60-76. London: Frank Cass.

Baun, M. (1997). Germany and EU Enlargement into Eastern Europe. 5th Biennial ECSA Conference. Washington, USA.

Baun, M.J. (1996). The Maastricht Treaty as High Politics: Germany, France, and European Integration. *Political Science Quarterly*. 110/4. 605-624.

Beddoes, Z.M. (2013). Europe's Reluctant Hegemon. *The Economist*. Accessed on 17 April 2015 via <http://www.economist.com/news/special-report/21579140-germany-now-dominant-country-europe-needs-rethink-way-it-sees-itself-and>.

Bulmer, S. and Paterson, W.E. (1987). *The Federal Republic of Germany and the European Community*. London: Allen & Unwin.

Bulmer, S. and Paterson, W.E. (1989). West Germany's Role in Europe: 'Man-Mountain' or 'Semi-Gulliver'? *Journal of Common Market Studies*. England: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. 28/2: 95-117.

Bulmer, S. and Paterson, W.E. (1996). Germany in the European Union: Gentle Giant or Emergent Leader? *International Affairs*. 72/1: 9-32.

Bulmer, S. and Paterson, W.E. (2011). Germany as the EU's Reluctant Hegemon? Of Economic Strength and Political Constraints. *Journal of European Policy*. 20/10: 1387-1405.

Busch, U. and Müller, C. (2005). Despite or Because? – Some Lessons of German Unification for EU Enlargement, KOF-Arbeitspapiere/Working Papers No. 87, April, Zurich: 1-23.

Can, E. and Kocagül, D.A. (2008). Avrupa Birliği'nde Bölgesel Politikanın Gelişimi ve Yapısal Fonlar. TEPAV. Ankara.

Chirac, J. and Blair, T. (1998). Joint Declaration on European Defence. Joint Declaration issued at the British-French Summit, Saint-Malo, 3-4 December 1998. Foreign and Commonwealth Office of the United Kingdom.

Craig, G. (1994). Did Ostpolitik Work? Foreign Affairs. January/February 1994 Issue.

Craig, S. (2012). Tamed Tiger or Restless Beast? German Foreign Policy in the Post-Reunification Period. Honors Program for International Security Studies. Center for International Security and Cooperation. Stanford University.

Crawford, B. (1993). German Foreign Policy After the Cold War: The Decision to Recognize Croatia. Center for German and European Studies. Working Paper No. 2.21. Berkeley: University of California.

Crawford, B. (2010). The Normative Power of a Normal State: Power and Revolutionary Vision in Germany's Post-Wall Foreign Policy. In *From the Bonn to the Berlin Republic: Germany at the Twentieth Anniversary of Unification*, eds. Jeffrey Anderson, and Eric Langenbacher. Berghahn Books: New York.

Crowe, E. (2013). German Foreign Policy after 1990: Some Critical Remarks. In *United Germany: Debating Processes and Prospects*, ed. Konrad H. Jarausch. New York: Berghahn Books. 83-102.

Dellmuth, L.M. (2011). European Structural, Agricultural and Environmental Spending in Germany: The Allocation and Implementation of EU Resources. Policy paper prepared at the request of Franziska Bartner, MEP. Stockholm University.

Dennis, M. and Eva Kolinsky. (2004). *United and Divided: Germany since 1990*. Berghahn Books: New York.

Dyson, K. and Goetz, K. (2003). Living with Europe: Power, Constraint, and Contestation. In *Germany, Europe, and the Politics of Constraint*, eds. Kenneth Dyson and Klaus Goetz. Oxford University Press: 37-53.

Ehlers, D. (1993). The German Unification: Background and Prospects. *Loyola of Los Angeles International and Comparative Law Review*. Loyola Marymount University and Loyola Law School. 15/4: 771-811.

European Commission. (1990). *European Commission Views on German Unification*. Bulletin of the European Communities. Supplement 4/90. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

European Commission. (1990). *The European Community and German Unification*. Bulletin of the European Communities. Supplement 4/90. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

European Commission. (2001). Sound Management of the Structural Funds: A Major Issue for the Union's Development. Fact Sheet – January 2001. Directorate-General for Regional Policy.

European Commission. (2007). Cohesion Policy, 2007-2013: Commentaries and Official Texts. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

European Commission. (2008). Cohesion Policy, 2007-2013: National Strategic Reference Frameworks. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

European Commission. (2009). European Cohesion Policy in Germany. European Union Cohesion Policy. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

European Commission. (2014). Cohesion Policy and Germany. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

European Commission. (2015). Country Profile Key Indicators: Deutschland. Directorate-General Regional and Urban Policy Analysis Unit B1. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

European Court of Justice. (1974). Case 14/74 *Norddeutsches Vieh- und Fleischkontor GmbH v. Hauptzollamt Hamburg-Jonas-Ausfuhrstattung*. ECR 899, 146.

European Court of Justice. (1974). Judgment of the Court on Case 14/74 *Norddeutsches Vieh- und Fleischkontor GmbH v. Hauptzollamt Hamburg-Jonas-Ausfuhrstattung* (preliminary ruling requested by the Finanzgericht Hamburg). 1 October 1974.

European Parliament. (1990). *The Impact of German Reunification on the European Community*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.

European Parliament. (2009). *The European Parliament and German Unification*. Archive and Documentation Centre (CARDOC) Journals No 5. Directorate General for the Presidency of the European Parliament.

European Parliamentary Research Service. (2014). Structural and Cohesion Funds in the Member States: An Overview.

Eurostat. (2014). Eurostat Regional Yearbook 2014. Eurostat Statistical Books. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.

Fink, C. and Schaefer, B. (2011). *Ostpolitik, 1969-1974: European and Global Responses*. German Historical Institute. Washington, D.C.: Cambridge University Press.

Flockton, C. (2001). The German Economy since 1989-1990: Problems and Prospects. In *Germany since Unification: The Development of the Berlin Republic*, ed. Klaus Larres. Basingstoke: Palgrave. 63-87.

Flockton, C. (2004). Financing German Unity: Challenges, Methods and Longer-term Consequences. In *United and Divided: Germany since 1990*, eds. Mike Dennis, and Eva Kolinsky. Berghahn Books: New York.

Fulbrook, M. (1991). *The Divided Nation (1918-1990)*. Fontana Press: London.

Geiger, T. (2001). Believing in the Miracle Cure: The Economic Transition Process in Germany and East-Central Europe. In *Germany since Unification: The Development of the Berlin Republic*, ed. Klaus Larres. Basingstoke: Palgrave. 63-87.

Giegerich, T. (1991). The European Dimension of German Reunification: East Germany's Integration into the European Communities. *Zeitschrift für ausländisches öffentliches Recht und Völkerrecht*. 51: 384-450.

Gray, W.G. (2003). *Germany's Cold War: The Global Campaign to Isolate East Germany, 1949-1969*. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press.

Green, S., Hough, D. and Miskimmon, A. (2008). Germany and the European Union: A European Germany or a German Europe? In *The Politics of the New Germany*. New York: Routledge. 141-156.

Grieder, P. (2012). *The German Democratic Republic*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Guerot, U. and Leonard, M. (2011). The New German Question: How Europe Can Get the Germany It Needs. ECFR Policy Brief. European Council on Foreign Relations. London.

Hall, J. and Ludwig, U. (1993). Creating Germany's Mezzogiorno? *Challenge*. 4/93:38-45.

Hamilton, D. (1991). A More European Germany, A More German Europe. *Journal of International Affairs*. 45: 127-149.

Hansen, P. (2004). In the Name of Europe. *Race and Class: A Journal on Racism, Empire and Globalization*. 45/3. 49-62.

Harnisch, S. (2001). Change and Continuity in Post-Unification German Foreign Policy. In *New Europe, New Germany, Old Foreign Policy? German Foreign Policy since Unification*, ed. Douglas Webber. London: Frank Cass. 107-116.

Hartwig, I. (1999). Managing Structural Funds: Institutional Constraints to Efficiency. Paper Prepared for ECSA Conference, Pittsburgh. European Institute of Public Administration.

Hellmann, G. (1997). The Sirens of Power and German Foreign Policy: Who Is Listening?. *German Politics*. 6/2: 29-57.

Hellmann, G., Baumann, R., Bösche, M., Herborth, B. and Wagner, W. (2005). De-Europeanization by Default? Germany's EU Policy in Defense and Asylum. *Foreign Policy Analysis*. International Studies Association. 1: 143-164.

Hochscherf, T., Laucht, C. and Plowman, A. (2013). Introduction. In *Divided, But Not Disconnected: German Experiences of the Cold War*, eds. T. Hochscherf, C. Laucht and A. Plowman. New York: Berghahn Books. 1-10.

Hofmann, A. (2007). *The Emergence of Détente in Europe: Brandt, Kennedy and the Formation of Ostpolitik*. Cold War History Series. Routledge: New York.

Hough, J. and Presland, A. (2000). European Structural Funds. Research Paper 00/72. House of Commons Library. London.

Jacqué, J.P. (1991). German Unification and the European Community. *EJIL*. 2/1:1-16.

Janning, J. (1996). A German Europe - a European Germany? On the Debate over Germany's Foreign Policy. *International Affairs*. Royal Institute of International Affairs. 72/1: 33-41.

Jarausch, K.H. (2011). Germany 1989: A New Type of Revolution? In *The German Wall: Fallout in Europe*, ed. by Marc Silberman. Palgrave, Macmillan.

Jarausch, K.H. (2013). *United Germany: Debating Processes and Prospects*. New York: Berghahn Books.

Jeffery, C. and Paterson, W. (2003). Germany and European Integration: A Shifting of Tectonic Plates. *West European Politics*. 26/4: 59-75.

Kohl, H. and Mitterrand, F. (1990). Letter by the German Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl and French President Francois Mitterrand to the Irish Presidency of the EC on 19 April 1990. Agence Europe.

Krossa, A.S. (2007). Integration of Unequal Units: Comparing the German and the European Unification Processes. *JCER*. 3/1: 1-17.

Kühnhardt, L. (2008). The Fall of the Berlin Wall and European Integration. In *European Union – The Second Founding. The Changing Rationale of European Integration*. Center for European Integration Studies. 47-60.

Lawson, D. (1990). Saying the Unsayable about the Germans: An Interview with Nicholas Ridley. In *The Spectator*. 8-10.

Lindenberger, T. (2013). Divided, But Not Disconnected: Germany as a Border Region of the Cold War. In *Divided, But Not Disconnected: German Experiences of the Cold War*, eds. T. Hochscherf, C. Laucht and A. Plowman. New York: Berghahn Books. 11-32.

Lippert, W.D. (2005). Richard Nixon's Détente and Willy Brandt's *Ostpolitik*: The Politics and Economic Diplomacy of Engaging the East. Dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The Faculty of the Graduate School of Vanderbilt University. Nashville, Tennessee.

Lippert, W.D. (2010). The Economic Diplomacy of Ostpolitik: Origins of NATO's Energy Dilemma. Berghahn Books.

Lucarelli, S. (1997). Germany's Recognition of Slovenia and Croatia: An Institutional Perspective. *The International Spectator: Italian Journal of International Affairs*. 32:2/ 65-91.

McFalls, L. (2005). Illegitimate Unions? German and European Unifications Viewed in Comparative Perspective. In *Germany's Two Unifications: Anticipations, Experiences, and Responses*, ed. by Ronald Speirs & John Breuilly. New York : Palgrave.

Mearsheimer, J. (1990). Back to the Future. Instability in Europe after the Cold War. *International Security*. 15/1: 5-56.

Mitchell, O.C. (2005). *The Cold War in Germany: Overview, Origins, and Intelligence Wars*. University Press of America, Maryland.

Nielsen, K. L. and Nolan, M. (2013) Haunted by the Ghost of Willy Brandt: Reconsidering German Ostpolitik and Its Legacy. Paper presented at BASEES/ICCEES European Congress 2013. Cambridge.

Orlow, D. (2012). *A History of Modern Germany: 1871 to Present*. Boston: Pearson.

Otte, M. and Greve, J. (2000). A Tradition of Limited Sovereignty: The Foreign Policy Doctrine of the Federal Republic of Germany, 1949-1990. In *A Rising Middle Power?: German Foreign Policy in Transformation, 1989-1999*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Otte, M. and Greve, J. (2000). National Power and Influence: What Did Unification Change?. In *A Rising Middle Power?: German Foreign Policy in Transformation, 1989-1999*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Otte, M. and Greve, J. (2000). Power Structure over Ideology: The Foreign Policy of the New Schröder-Fischer Government. In *A Rising Middle Power?: German Foreign Policy in Transformation, 1989-1999*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Otte, M. and Greve, J. (2000). The Loss of Utopia: Germany and European Integration, 1988-1997. In *A Rising Middle Power?: German Foreign Policy in Transformation, 1989-1999*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Paterson, W.E. (2006). Does Germany Still Have A European Vocation? European Research Working Paper Series Number 15. European Research Institute. University of Birmingham. Birmingham.

Paterson, W.E. (2008). Did France and Germany Lead Europe? A Retrospect. In *Leaderless Europe*, ed. J. Hayward. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 89–110.

Paterson, W.E. (2011). The Reluctant Hegemon? Germany Moves Centre Stage in the European Union. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 2011 Annual Review. England: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. 49: 57–75.

Paulmann, J. (2005). Beginning an End? The Two German Unifications and the Epoch of Territoriality. In *Germany's Two Unifications: Anticipations, Experiences, and Responses*, ed. by Ronald Speirs & John Breuilly. New York : Palgrave.

Port, A.I. (2013). “To Deploy or Not to Deploy” The Erratic Evolution of German Foreign Policy since Unification. In *United Germany: Debating Processes and Prospects*, ed. Konrad H. Jarausch. New York: Berghahn Books. 83-102.

Pose, A.R. and Fratesi, U. (2004). Between Development and Social Policies: The Impact of European Structural Funds in Objective 1 Regions. *Regional Studies*. 38.1: 97-113.

Raus, R. (2005). Willy Brandt's Ostpolitik and European Integration. CVCE. University of Paris. Panthéon-Sorbonne.

Schild, J. (2010). Mission Impossible? The Potential for Franco-German Leadership in the Enlarged EU. *Journal of Common Market Studies*. England: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. 48/5: 1367–1390.

Schwab, O. (2010). Expert Evaluation Network Delivering Policy Analysis on the Performance of Cohesion Policy 2007-2013, Task 2: Country Report on Achievements of Cohesion Policy-Germany. A Report to the European Commission Directorate-General Regional Policy. Applica-Ismeri Europa.

Seibel, W. (2013). Institutional Coping: The Treuhandanstalt and the Collapse of the East German Economy, 1989-1990. In *United Germany: Debating Processes and Prospects*, ed. Konrad H. Jarausch. New York: Berghahn Books. 83-102.

Silberman, M. (2011). Introduction: Where Is Germany?. In *The German Wall: Fallout in Europe*. Palgrave, Macmillan.

Smith, E.O. (2001). The German Model and European Integration. In *Germany since Unification: The Development of the Berlin Republic*, ed. Klaus Larres. Basingstoke: Palgrave. 63-87.

Son, I. (2013). Germany's Unwillingness to Lead: The Nature and Exercise of its Power, and How its History, Normalization, and Economic Concerns Have Brought About an Existential Crisis and Reluctance to Lead Alone. Master of Arts in Law and Diplomacy Capstone Project. Tufts University – The Fletcher School.

Speirs, R. and Breuilly, J. (2005). The Concept of National Unification. In *Germany's Two Unifications: Anticipations, Experiences, and Responses*. New York: Palgrave.

Spence, D. (1991). Enlargement without Accession: The EC's Response to German Unification. RIIA Discussion Papers 36. Royal Institute of International Affairs. Chatham House: London.

Spence, D. (1993). The European Community and German Unification. In *Federalism, Unification, and European Integration*, eds. Charlie Jeffery, and Roland Sturm. London, England. 136-163.

Szabo, S.F. (1992). *The Diplomacy of German Unification*. St. Martin's Press: New York.

Tewes, H. (1998). Between Deepening and Widening: Role Conflict in Germany's Enlargement Policy. *West European Politics*. 21/2: 117-133.

Thielemann, E.R. (2000). Europeanisation and Institutional Compatibility: Implementing European Regional Policy in Germany. Queen's Papers on Europeanization No. 4/2000. London School of Economics and Political Science.

Vassallo, F. (2013). Sarkozy, Merkel and Hollande: The Undeniable Relevance of the Franco-German Leadership in the EU. *The European Union Studies Association Thirteenth Biennial International Conference*. Baltimore. 1-33.

Webber, D. (2001). *New Europe, New Germany, Old Foreign Policy? German Foreign Policy since Unification*. Frank Class: London.

Wessels, W. (2001). Germany in Europe: Return of the Nightmare or Towards an Engaged Germany in a New Europe. In *New Europe, New Germany, Old Foreign Policy? German Foreign Policy since Unification*, ed. Douglas Webber. London: Frank Class. 107-116.

Zatlin, J.R. (2013). Getting Even: East German Economic Underperformance after Unification. In *United Germany: Debating Processes and Prospects*, ed. Konrad H. Jarausch. New York: Berghahn Books. 119-130.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: TURKISH SUMMARY

Almanya'nın AB nezdindeki artan etkisinin yoğun şekilde tartışıldığı bir dönemde yazılan bu tezin esas amacı, İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonrası dönemde Alman birleşmesi ve Avrupa bütünleşmesi süreçlerinin karşılıklı etkilerini tahlil etmek ve özellikle Almanya'nın bu dönemden 2009 Euro Bölgesi Borç Krizi'ne kadarki AB deneyimini ele almaktır. Bu bağlamda, tezin odak noktası 1989 yılına gelindiğinde Alman birleşmesinin hem iki ayrı Alman devleti hem de tüm Avrupa kıtası açısından nasıl kaçınılmaz bir şekilde ortaya çıktığını anlamaktır. Avrupa bütünleşmesi fikrinin, ortaya çıktığı ortam ve koşullar itibarıyla hem Alman Sorunu'na nihai bir çözüm bulmak hem de bu yolla Avrupa'da kalıcı ve daimi barış iklimini hâkim kılmak amaçlarıyla ortaya çıktığı gözönünde bulundurulduğunda, Alman birleşmesi ve Avrupa bütünleşmesi süreçleri arasında baştan bu yana sıkı bir ilişki olduğunu söylemek mümkündür. Her ne kadar Soğuk Savaş boyunca Alman Sorunu'nun çözümü ve Avrupa bütünleşmesinin ilerlemesi, birbirinden ayrı ama çoğunlukla birbiriyle çakışan zeminlerinde birçok iniş-çıkışa sahne olsa da son tahlilde, birleşik Almanya'nın AB çerçevesinde yeniden doğuşunu sağlayacak biçimde birbirini etkilemeye devam etmiştir. Tüm bu noktaların ışığında, bu tez boyunca, Alman birleşmesi ve Avrupa bütünleşmesi süreçleri arasındaki sıkı bağ, tarihsel ve kuramsal çerçevede aralarındaki diyalektik ve dinamik ilişki gözönünde bulundurulmak suretiyle farklı açılardan incelenmiştir. Bu hedefe bağlı olarak, birleşik Almanya'nın 2009 Euro Bölgesi Krizi'ne kadarki AB deneyimi, AB'nin özellikle Alman bütünleşmesi sürecinin gerçekleştirilmesinde ve derinleştirilmesinde oynadığı rol çerçevesinde ele alınmıştır. Bunu müteakiben, Avrupa Birliği'nin Soğuk Savaş sonrası yaşadığı dönüşüm, Almanya'nın Birlik içinde gitgide artan önemi çerçevesinde değerlendirilmiştir.

Tezin giriş ve “Alman Birleşmesinin Tarihsel Arka Planı” isimli birinci bölümünde; Alman Sorunu’nun özellikle Almanya’nın birinci ulusal bütünleşmesini yaşadığı 1871 yılından II. Dünya Savaşı’nın sona erdiği 1945 yılına kadarki evrimi ve bu tarihten 1989 yılına kadar Almanya’nın Avrupa’da iki ayrı bağımsız devlet olarak yaşadığı Soğuk Savaş dönemi boyunca Alman birleşmesi ve Avrupa bütünleşmesi süreçlerinin nasıl bir etkileşim altına girdiği mercek altına alınmıştır. Bilindiği üzere, Almanya, tarihi boyunca İngiltere ya da Fransa gibi ulusların aksine ulusal birlikten yoksun bir şekilde varlığını sürdürmüş ve bu durum Avrupa siyasal arenasında kendisini bir “Alman Sorunu” şeklinde göstermiştir. Almanya’nın, Şansölye Otto von Bismarck’ın önderliğinde siyasi birliğini tamamladığı 1871 yılından sonra da bu “geç kalma” durumunun etkileri kendini büyük oranda hissettirmiştir. Almanya’nın milliyetçi ve askeri dozu yüksek politikaları eşliğinde Avrupa’nın diğer büyük devletleriyle yürüttüğü siyasi rekabet 20. yüzyılın başlarında da devam etmiş ve 1914’te I. Dünya Savaşı’nın patlak vermesiyle sonuçlanmıştır. Almanya’nın Avrupa’nın liderliğine oynadığı ilk savaş olma özelliğini taşıyan I. Dünya Savaşı, tüm hesaplarının aksine Almanya’nın yenilgisiyle sonuçlanmış ve ardından ülkeye büyük siyasi ve ekonomik yükler getiren Versay Antlaşması imzalanmıştır. Her ne kadar Weimar Cumhuriyeti’nin kurulmasıyla Almanya, tarihindeki ilk çok partili demokrasi denemesini hayata geçirmeye çalışmışsa da bu deneme, Nazilerin 1933’te iktidarı ele almasıyla kesin bir akamete uğramıştır. Nazilerin rövanşist ve yayılmacı politikaları sonucu patlak veren II. Dünya Savaşı, 1945’te Almanya’nın kesin yenilgisiyle sonuçlanması bakımından Alman tarihinde bir dönüm noktası oluşturmuştur. Müttefik devletler Sovyetler Birliği, ABD, Fransa ve İngiltere arasında dört parçaya bölünen Almanya, ulusal bağımsızlığını bütünüyle yitirmiştir. Fakat zamanla Sovyetler Birliği ve ABD arasındaki ideolojik, siyasi ve ekonomik görüş ayrılıkları Soğuk Savaş döneminin fitilini ateşlemiş, Soğuk Savaş’ın fiili “savaş alanı” olarak ortaya çıkan bölünmüş Almanya da bu durumdan doğrudan etkilenmiştir²⁷⁹. Sonuç olarak, 1949 yılında Amerikan, İngiliz ve Fransız işgal

²⁷⁹ Thomas Lindenberger. (2013). Divided, But Not Disconnected: Germany as a Border Region of the

bölgelerinin birleştirilmesiyle “Federal Almanya Cumhuriyeti” (Batı Almanya) ve Sovyet işgal bölgesinin sınırları içinde “Demokratik Alman Cumhuriyeti” (Doğu Almanya), birbirine rakip iki Alman devleti olarak resmen kurulmuşlardır. Kuruldukları andan itibaren hem siyasi hem iktisadi hem de askeri anlamda ait oldukları bloklara entegre edilen Batı Almanya ve Doğu Almanya, Soğuk Savaş boyunca iki süper güç arasındaki güç dengelerinin değişimine göre hareket ederek kapitalist ve komünist blokların Avrupa’daki rakip temsilcileri konumuna gelmişlerdir. Tezin ilk bölümünde de gösterilmeye çalışıldığı üzere, iki rakip dünya düzeninin etkisi altında yeniden şekillendirilen Federal Almanya ve Demokratik Almanya, iki farklı siyasi, iktisadi, sosyal ve kültürel gelişim çizgisine sahip olmuş, bu durum da iki Almanya arasındaki mevcut ayrışmayı derinleştirmiştir. II. Dünya Savaşı sonrasında hızla kendi sosyal refah devleti modelini inşa etmeye koyulan Batı Almanya, bu yolla “iktisadi mucize”ye imza atarak Avrupa’nın iktisadi açıdan en güçlü devleti haline gelmiştir. Weimar felaketinden sonra bu sefer parlamenter demokrasi denemesinde başarılı olan Batı Almanya, bu anlamda Batı Bloku’nun önde gelen ülkelerden biri olmuştur. Sovyetler Birliği’nin öncülüğünde kurulunda Doğu Almanya’da ise, SED (Sosyalist Birlik Partisi)’in iktisadi ve siyasi sosyalizm anlayışı çerçevesinde özellikle “kapitalist” Batı Almanya’ya alternatif olarak yeni bir ülke inşasına girişilmiştir. Her ne kadar ilk on yılda ülkeden Batı Almanya’ya devamlı göçmen akını ve Sovyetler Birliği’nin tek taraflı ekonomi politikaları nedeniyle Doğu Almanya meşruiyetini sağlama konusunda sıkıntılar yaşasa da 1961 yılında Berlin Duvarı’nın inşası ülkedeki sosyalist rejime beklenmedik bir şekilde kendini konsolide etme imkânı tanımıştır. Öte yandan, Berlin Duvarı’nın inşasıyla Doğu ve Batı Almanya arasındaki fiziksel ayrıma psikolojik ayrım da eklenmiş ve iki Alman halkı –gitgide sertleşen Soğuk Savaş atmosferi altında- kısa vadede birleşmenin olanaksız olduğunu görmeye başlamıştır.

Cold War. In *Divided, But Not Disconnected: German Experiences of the Cold War*, eds. T. Hochscherf, C. Laucht and A. Plowman. New York: Berghahn Books. 11-32.

Dış politik arenada ise, Batı Almanya Hallstein Doktrini'nin etkisi altında Doğu Almanya'nın varlığını kesin bir şekilde inkâr ettiği gibi Doğu Almanya'yı tanıyan her ülkeyle de diplomatik ilişkilerini kesme gibi bir tavır takınmıştır. Her ne kadar bu tavrın Batı Almanya'yı uluslararası camiada birçok açıdan sınırladığı ve hareket alanını daralttığı birçok Batı Alman politikacı tarafından fark edilse de özellikle Konrad Adenauer'in şansölyelik dönemi boyunca bu politikadan vazgeçilmemiştir. Fakat 1969 federal seçimlerini SPD'nin kazanması ve Willy Brandt'ın Batı Alman tarihinin ilk Sosyal Demokrat şansölyesi olarak hükümeti kurması üzerine Federal Almanya'nın Doğu Almanya'yla ilişkilerinde önemli bir kırılma yaşanmıştır. Willy Brandt'ın öncülük ettiği ve Doğu Almanya'yı da içine alan sosyalist Avrupa ülkeleriyle daha yakın ve dostane ilişkiler kurmayı hedefleyen “Ostpolitik” sayesinde Batı Almanya, Hallstein Doktrini'nin dış politikasında yarattığı ataletten kurtulmayı başarmış ve Doğu Bloku ülkeleriyle olan ilişkilerine ivme kazandırmıştır. Bu kapsamda Doğu Almanya'yı resmi olarak tanıyan ve bu ülkeyle daha yakın ikili ilişkiler kurmayı amaç edinen Batı Almanya, bu yolla iki rakip blok arasındaki yakınlaşmaya da katkıda bulunarak detant sürecini derinleştirmiştir.

Bu noktada tez, Avrupa bütünleşmesi sürecinin, Soğuk Savaş boyunca, iki ayrı Alman devletinin ortaya çıkışıyla farklı bir boyut kazanan Alman Sorunu'nun barışçıl şekilde çözümüne nasıl katkı sağladığına eğilmiştir. Daha önce de belirtildiği üzere, birleşik Avrupa fikri 1950'lerin başında ilk kez ortaya atıldığında, daha önce Avrupa'yı iki kere yıkımın eşiğine getiren Alman Sorunu'na Avrupa perspektifinden barışçıl bir çözüm bulmayı amaçlamıştır. Bu itibarla, Jean Monnet, Robert Schuman, Walter Hallstein gibi Avrupa bütünleşmesi fikrinin öncülerinin temel hedefi Batı Almanya'yı bütünleşme sürecine dâhil ederek Avrupa fikir ve değerlerini benimsemesini sağlamak ve bu yolla Avrupa uluslar ailesine yeniden katılmasını teminat altına almak olmuştur. Bu kapsamdaki bir diğer hedef de, yüzyıllar boyu süregelen Fransız-Alman düşmanlığını, Avrupa bütünleşmesi süreci yoluyla “Fransız-Alman dostluğu”na dönüştürmek olmuştur. Belirtilen nedenlerle, Soğuk Savaş dönemi boyunca Avrupa'nın bütünleşme sürecinde Batı Almanya'nın diğer üye ülkelere nazaran daha farklı ve özel bir konumu

olmuştur. Bu ikili ilişkiye, bir diğer taraf olan Batı Almanya perspektifinden bakıldığında da, Avrupa bütünleşmesi sürecinin bu ülke açısından diğer ülkeler için ifade ettiğinden daha farklı bir anlam ifade ettiğini görmek mümkündür. Her ne kadar egemen bir devlet olarak görünse de Almanya'nın bölünmüşlüğü'nün yarattığı sorunlar ve ABD, Fransa, İngiltere gibi müttefik devletlerin ülke içerisindeki hakları ve ayrıcalıklı konumları nedeniyle Batı Almanya, Avrupa bütünleşmesi sürecini hem ulusal egemenliğini adım adım geri kazanmanın bir yolu hem de kendini Avrupa siyasi arenasında barışın öncüsü bir ülke olarak ispatlama açısından önemli bir mecra olarak algılamıştır. Avrupa bütünleşmesinin kurumları ve kurallarıyla kendisi açısından taşıdığı bu özel önem nedeniyle Batı Almanya, bütünleşme sürecinin başından bu yana uluslarüstü (supranational) yaklaşımın en büyük destekçisi olmuş, bu bağlamda ulusal egemenliğin belli alanlarda uluslarüstü Avrupa kurumlarına devrinin ateşli savunucularından biri olarak öne çıkmıştır. Öte yandan, Fransız-Alman ortaklığının Avrupa bütünleşmesinin ana tetikleyici unsuru hale gelmesi yolunda büyük çabalar harcayan Adenauer, Brandt gibi Batı Alman liderler, bu şekilde her türlü krize -1965 Boş Sandalyeler Krizi ve akabindeki 20 yıllık Euro-sclerosis süreci gibi- rağmen “daha fazla bütünleşme” düsturuyula hareket ederek Avrupa bütünleşmesinin ilerlemesine büyük katkıda bulunmuşlardır. Bu arada, her ne kadar bir Doğu bloku ülkesi olarak Avrupa Topluluğu'na ideolojik ve politik açıdan mesafeli gibi görünse de, Doğu Almanya'yla AT arasında Alman Sorunu'nun karmaşık yapısından dolayı diğer sosyalist ülkelere kıyasla daha farklı ve yakın bir ilişki kurulmuştur. Bu bağlamda, Doğu Almanya, AT'yi müteaddit seferler kapitalist bloğun önde gelen kuruluşlarından biri olarak emperyalist çıkarlara hizmet eden herhangi bir örgüt olarak gördüğünü beyan etse de Batı Almanya kanalıyla Ortak Pazar'ın sağladığı bazı ekonomik kazanımlara da sırt çevirmemiştir. Ostpolitik sürecinin ilerlemesiyle birlikte AT'ye dönük katı tutumunu bir kenara bırakan Demokratik Almanya, AT ile Karşılıklı Ekonomik Yardımlaşma Konseyi (COMECON) arasında resmi anlamda ilk ilişkinin kurulduğu 1988 yılı itibarıyla Topluluk'a daha çok yaklaşmıştır. AT de Alman Sorunu'nun Avrupa'daki hassas Soğuk Savaş dengeleri açısından taşıdığı önem dolayısıyla Doğu Almanya'ya daha ihtiyatlı

yaklaşmayı tercih etmiş, bu uğurda Doğu Almanya-Batı Almanya arasındaki özel ticari sınırı Topluluk dışı sınır saymayarak ona farklı bir statü tanımıştır. Görüleceği üzere, Soğuk Savaş dönemi boyunca birleşik Avrupa projesi, Alman Sorunu'nun çözümüne ve iki Almanya arasındaki bölünmüşlüğü bütünlüşme fikri çerçevesinde ortadan kaldırılmasına büyük ölçüde katkı sağlamıştır.

Tezin “Uygulama Safhasında Alman Birleşmesi ve Avrupa Bütünlüşmesi” adlı ikinci bölümünde ise Alman birleşmesi fikrinin uzak bir ihtimal olmaktan çıkıp göz ardı edilemeyecek bir gerçekliğe dönüştüğü 1989-1990 dönemi boyunca AT aktörlerinin ve kurumlarının bu olaya nasıl yaklaştıkları ve gerçekleşmesine nasıl katkıda bulundukları ele alınmıştır. Bu kapsamda öncelikle Sovyetler Birliği, Fransa ve İngiltere gibi Avrupa ülkelerinin Alman birleşmesine bakışı incelenmiştir. Dönemin İngiltere Başbakanı Margaret Thatcher'in süreci tıkayan olumsuz tavrına kıyasla Fransa Cumhurbaşkanı Francois Mitterrand iki Almanya'nın yeniden biraraya gelmesi fikrine soğuk yaklaşarak süreci geciktirmeye çalışmış, fakat bunun önüne geçemeyeceğini anladıktan sonra pragmatik bir anlayışla bu tarihi olayı, Almanya'nın Avrupa bütünlüşmesi sürecinin ilerlemesine dair gerçek düşünceleriyle alakalı bir samimiyet testine çevirmeyi tercih etmiştir. Benzer şekilde, AT kurumları da Alman birleşmesi sürecine yönelik olarak, Topluluk içindeki konumları ve güçlerini arttırma arayışları çerçevesinde farklı yaklaşımlar geliştirmişlerdir. Ortak Avrupa çıkarlarını temsil eden Avrupa Komisyonu ve yasama alanında kendine daha fazla yer bulmaya çalışan Avrupa Parlamentosu bu süreci belirtilen amaçları çerçevesinde bir fırsat olarak değerlendirirken üye devletlerin ulusal çıkarlarını öne çıkaran Bakanlar Konseyi ise birleşik Almanya'nın yeniden ortaya çıkışını Avrupa barışı çerçevesinde desteklediğini beyan etse de sürece daha temkinli yaklaşmayı tercih etmiştir. Öte yandan, Avrupa kamuoyunda Alman birleşmesine dönük yoğun tartışmaların yapıldığı bu dönemde belirtilen süreç beklenmeyen bir hızla ilerlemeye devam etmiş ve 9 Kasım 1989'da Berlin Duvarı'nın yıkılışıyla yeni bir ivme kazanmıştır. Alman bölünmüşlüğü simgesi olmasının ötesinde Soğuk Savaş'ın en somut sembolü olan Berlin Duvarı'nın yıkılmasıyla birlikte Doğu ve Batı Almanya'nın önünde olduğu gibi Avrupa bütünlüşmesinin önünde de yepyeni bir dönem açılmıştır.

Doğu Alman devletinin birleşme sürecinde giderek tüm kontrolünü yitirerek Batı Almanya'ya 'teslim' olmasının kesinleşmesiyle birlikte AT için de 'diğer' Almanya'yı birleşik Avrupa sistemine entegre etme zorunluluğu doğmuştur. Euro-sclerosis sürecinin sona erdiği ve Tek Avrupa Senedi'yle ortak pazarın tamamlanması ve iktisadi bütünleşmenin derinleştirilmesi açısından yeni hedeflerin belirlendiği 1980'lerin ortalarından bu yana gelen süreçte Üye Ülkeler ve Topluluk kurumları ilke olarak, söz konusu hedeflere zamanında ulaşılmasını garanti altına almak adına bu dönemde yeni bir üye ülkeyi kabul etmemeyi kararlaştırmışlardır. Bu nedenle, Doğu Almanya'nın AT'ye entegrasyonu hiç hesapta olmayan bir engel olarak Topluluk gündemine gelmiş ve Topluluk'u hızla karar alması ve tatbik etmesi gereken bir sürece sevk etmiştir. Belirtilen dönemde Doğu Almanya'nın, daha önceki genişleme dalgaları kapsamında üye olan ülkelerinkine benzer bir prosedür izlenerek Topluluk'a dâhil edilebileceği bir ihtimal olarak bir süre tartışılrsa da zamanla "Anlaşma sınırlarının genişletilmesi" yöntemi öne çıkmıştır. Bu yaklaşımın benimsenmesinde, Batı Alman Şansölyesi Kohl'ün zamanla Doğu Almanya'yla hızlı bütünleşme fikrini benimsemesi ve bu bağlamda birleşmeyi Batı Alman Anayasası'nın 23'üncü maddesi uyarınca Doğu Almanya'nın eyaletlere indirgenerek Batı Alman devlet yapısına katılması şeklinde yürütmeye karar vermesi etkili olmuştur. Bu durum, Alman birleşmesi ve Avrupa bütünleşmesi süreçlerinin büyük ölçüde paralel ve birbirine bağlı şekilde ilerlediğini bir kez daha kanıtlamıştır. Doğu Almanya'nın belirtilen yöntemle Topluluk yapısına dâhil edilmesi sürecinin yürütülmesinde Avrupa Komisyonu ve Avrupa Parlamentosu, Topluluk içi eşgüdümün artırılması ve bu zorlu sürecin mümkün olduğunca kolaylaştırılması adına yaptıkları kurum içi çalışmalarla öne çıkmışlardır. Kendi kurumsal çatıları altında oluşturdukları grup/komitelerle Alman birleşmesinin ve Doğu Alman genişlemesinin her adımını takip eden bu Topluluk kurumları, Bakanlar Konseyi karşısında Topluluk içi kurumsal profillerini arttırmayı başarmışlardır. Özellikle 1 Mart 1990'dan itibaren geçerli olan Alman Ekonomik ve Parasal Birliği'ni Topluluk adına takip eden ve 3 Ekim 1990'da gerçekleşecek nihai birleşme kapsamında imzalanacak Birleşme Anlaşması görüşmelerine doğrudan taraf olarak katılan Avrupa Komisyonu,

Alman birleşmesi sürecinin AT içindeki başat aktörü haline gelmiş, bu yükselen konumunu sürecin ilerleyen aşamalarında da kullanma konusunda başarılı olmuştur. Sonuç olarak, Doğu ve Batı Almanya arasındaki siyasi birleşmeye paralel olarak Doğu Almanya, 1990 yılında Topluluk belgeleriyle öngörülen geçiş süreçleri dâhilinde AT'ye katılmıştır. Topluluk'un Doğu Bloku'na yönelik ilk "gayrı resmî" genişlemesi olan 1990 Doğu Alman genişlemesi hem AT'nin Alman Sorunu'nun çözümüne sağladığı katkıların en somut ifadesi olmuş hem de diğer Doğu Bloku ülkelerinin ileride Topluluk'a üye olmaları yolunda önemli bir örnek teşkil etmiştir.

Avrupa bütünleşmesi sürecinin Alman Sorunu'nun, iki Alman devleti arasında birleşmenin sağlanması yoluyla Avrupa temelinde çözümlenmesi yolunda sarf ettiği çabalar 1990 sonrasında da devam etmiştir. Bu bağlamda, AT, Doğu Almanya'nın siyasi, iktisadi ve sosyal dönüşümüne çeşitli yollarla katkı sağlamıştır. Bu katkıların en önemlisi, Avrupa Yapısal Fonları'nın bölgeye aktarılması şeklinde ortaya çıkmıştır. Batı Almanya döneminde yapısal fonlardan çok da fazla yararlanmayan Almanya, Doğu Alman eyaletlerinin Avrupa nezdindeki çalışmaları ve AT/AB'nin belirtilen bölgeyle daha yakın ilişki kurma çabasından dolayı bu fonlardan daha fazla yararlandırılmaya başlanmıştır. Bu nedenle Almanya doğu bölgesinde süregelen zorlu ve sıkıntılı dönüşüm süreci dolayısıyla, uzun yıllar boyunca İspanya, Yunanistan ve Topluluk'a daha sonra katılım sağlayan eski Doğu bloku ülkeleriyle birlikte Topluluk'un yapısal fonlarından en çok yararlanan ülkelerden biri olmuştur.

Tezin "Alman Birleşmesi ve Avrupa Bütünleşmesinin Genel Değerlendirmesi" başlıklı üçüncü bölümünde ise genel olarak Alman birleşmesinin Soğuk Savaş sonrası Avrupa bütünleşmesi süreci üzerine etkileri ele alındıktan sonra Almanya'nın ulusal birleşme süreci sonrası AB içindeki artan önemi temel politika başlıklarındaki etkileri bağlamında incelenmiştir. Çalışma boyunca gösterilmeye çalışıldığı üzere Almanya'nın uzun yıllar sonra Avrupa'nın merkezinde tekrar birleşik bir ülke olarak ortaya çıkması hem AB kurumları arasındaki hem de Üye Ülkeler arasındaki dengeleri değiştirmiştir. Özellikle Doğu Almanya'nın AB'ye entegrasyonu süreci boyunca öne çıkan Komisyon ve

Parlamento gibi kurumlar, Birlik içindeki etkinliklerini daha da arttırma yoluna gitmişlerdir. Öte yandan, İngiltere ve Fransa'nın AB içindeki önemi, birleşik Almanya lehine azalmaya başlamıştır. Avrupa bütünleşmesi süreciyle başından bu yana kurduğu özel bağdan beslenen Almanya, 1990'da ulusal birliğini yeniden sağladıktan sonra AB içindeki siyasi, iktisadi ve diplomatik manevra alanını giderek genişletmiştir. Fakat belirtilen dönemde de, II. Dünya Savaşı ya da Holocaust gibi kötü hatıraların baskın olduğu kaotik tarihi Almanya'nın peşini bırakmamış ve Avrupa politikalarının oluşturulmasında önemli etki sahibi olmuştur. Soğuk Savaş sonrası Alman Avrupa politikasının bir diğer özelliği ise, ulusal birleşmedeki baskın taraf olan Batı Almanya'nın 1990 öncesi bütünleşme politikalarına atıfla, devamlılık ve değişim arasında gidip gelen çizgisidir. Bu bağlamda 1990 sonrası Almanya'nın AB politikaları devamlılık açısından çok yönlü(multilateral), bütünleşme yanlısı, uluslarüstü ve Avrupa-temelli işbirliğini destekleyen çizgiye bağlı kalmayı sürdürürken, değişimin göstergeleri olarak ulusal çıkarlar etrafında şekillenen, daha kendine güvenen ve kararlı bir zemine oturmuş, kısa vadeli fayda-maliyet analizlerine yönelmiş ve AB kurumlarını Alman ulusal çıkarları yönünde şekillendirme yoluna gitmiştir.

Söz konusu süreç, birleşme sonrası Kohl, Schröder ve Merkel hükümetleri çerçevesinde ele alındığında Kohl'ün şansölyeliği boyunca tarihsel anıların yoğun etkisi altında, koşulsuz şekilde Avrupa bütünleşmesinden yana tavır koyan yaklaşımının baskın olduğunu söylemek mümkündür. Her ne kadar 1991'in sonlarında Yugoslavya'dan kopan Slovenya ve Hırvatistan'ın bağımsızlıklarının Topluluk'tan ayrı olarak birleşik Almanya tarafından tek taraflı olarak tanınması akıllarda bazı soru işaretlerine neden olsa da Kohl'ün birleşik Almanya'daki 8 yıllık şansölyelik dönemini, Batı Alman geleneğinin doğrudan bir devamı saymak mümkündür. Öte yandan, özellikle Maastricht Anlaşması sonrası Alman Markı'ndan ve Bundesbank'tan vazgeçildiği düşüncesiyle Alman kamuoyunda hızla artan Avrupa-şüphecilik eğilimi, bir süre sonra Kohl'ün yaklaşımını da etkilemiş ve Şansölye, "Avrupa Birleşik Devletleri" ifadesine demeçlerinde yer vermemeye özen göstermiştir. 1998 seçimlerini SPD'nin kazanması ve Gerhard Schröder'in şansölyeliğinde Federal Alman tarihinde ilk defa bütünüyle sol

eğilimli partilerin birlikteliğiyle Sosyal Demokrat-Yeşiller koalisyonunun kurulması, Alman Avrupa politikasında da yapısal bir değişime işaret etmiştir. Özellikle kuşak değişiminin etkisiyle, -Şansölye Schröder'in ilk açıklamalarında da vurguladığı üzere- Almanya'nın AB politikalarında Alman ulusal çıkarlarının daha fazla önem kazanmaya başlaması bu değişimin en önemli göstergelerinden biri olarak yorumlanmıştır. Fakat Schröder hükümetlerinin devamlılık-değişim arasındaki klasik bocalamadan bir türlü kurtulamaması ve özellikle II. Körfez Savaşı'ndaki kararıyla transatlantik ve Birlik içi ilişkilerde derin kırılmalara neden olması, Sosyal Demokrat-Yeşiller hükümetine olan güveni zamanla azaltmıştır. Almanya'nın Avrupa politikalarında değişim teması üzerine bu denli iddialı bir söyleme sahip olmasına rağmen bunu uygulama alanına yeterince aktaramayan Schröder hükümetlerinin aksine Merkel'in ilk şansölyelik dönemi hükümeti bu konuda daha kararlı ama daha diplomatik davranmaya özen göstermiştir. AB'nin Anayasa kriziyle boğuştuğu bir ortamda iktidara gelen Şansölye Merkel, Schröder döneminde AB içi ilişkilerde ortaya çıkan bozulmaları onarmaya girişmiş, Avrupa bütünleşmesinin geleceğini tehlikeye atan Anayasa krizinin çözülmesinde doğrudan sorumluluk üstlenmiş, bu yolla kendini Avrupalı bir lider olarak öne çıkarmayı hedeflemiştir. 2005'te Fransa ve Hollanda halkları tarafından referandumlarda reddedilen Avrupa Anayasası'nın yeniden düzenlenmiş bir biçimi olan Lizbon Antlaşması'nın imzalanması bu süreçte Merkel'e Avrupa nezdinde itibar kazandırmıştır. Fakat ilk şansölyelik döneminin aksine, Merkel'in 2009 Euro Bölgesi Borç Krizi patlak verdiğinde takındığı tavır bir süre sonra Avrupa kamuoyundaki rüzgârın kendisine karşı dönmesine sebep olmuştur.

Almanya'nın – AT/AB'nin tezde çeşitli yönleriyle değinilen önemli katkılarıyla hayata geçirilen- 1990'daki ulusal bütünleşme süreci sonrası AB kurumları ve politikaları nezdindeki artan etkisi; iktisadi, kurumsal-siyasi, Ortak Dış ve Güvenlik Politikası, 2004-2007 Doğu Genişlemesi, ortak genişleme politikası ve ortak mülteci-göçmen politikaları bağlamında ele alınmıştır. Tezin bu bölümünde ifade edilmeye çalışıldığı üzere Almanya, 1990 sonrası Avrupa bütünleşmesi sürecinde belirtilen alanlarda etkisini gözle görülür şekilde hissettirmiş, bu yolla Birlik'in tartışmasız lideri konumuna geldiği

sürece ilk adımlarını atmıştır. Belirtilen alanlar içinde birleşik Almanya, AB'nin iktisadi, kurumsal-siyasi, Ortak Dış ve Güvenlik Politikası, Doğu Genişlemesi gibi alanlarda bütünleşmeye katkı sağlarken ortak genişleme politikası çerçevesinde özellikle Türkiye'nin AB üyeliğine –Merkel'in iktidara gelmesiyle birlikte- Fransa'yla birlikte ortak cephe oluşturmuş, ortak mülteci-göçmen politikalarında da özellikle son yıllarda yoğunlaşan sınırlayıcı ve engelleyici tavrıyla güvenlik odaklı göçmen siyasetinin AB genelinde yaygınlık kazanmasına neden olmuştur.

Tezin sonuç bölümünde özetle, bu çalışma boyunca benimsenen yapısalcı yaklaşımın da belirttiği üzere, Almanya'nın AB politikalarının, uzun yıllardan beri devam eden Avrupalılaşıma sürecinin etkisiyle Avrupalı değer ve alışkanlıkların Alman devlet yapısı ve siyasi elitlerince benimsenmesi nedeniyle gelecekte de Avrupa bütünleşmesi ekseninde oluşturulmaya ve uygulanmaya devam edileceği belirtilmektedir. Buna bağlı olarak Avrupa bütünleşmesi tarihinin ve Almanya'nın Birlik'in en önemli başat aktörü haline gelmesiyle sonuçlanan sürecin ele alınmasında 1990'daki Alman birleşmesinin bir dönüm noktası teşkil ettiği belirtilirken söz konusu bütünleşme sürecinin bir diğer unsuru olan Fransız-Alman ortaklığının, günümüzde AB-28 etrafında şekillenen gerçekliği kabul ederek gelecekte politikalarını buna göre oluşturmasının söz konusu ortaklığın geleceği açısından daha iyi olacağı vurgulanmıştır.

Son olarak, Almanya ve AB'nin, geçmişte olduğu gibi gelecekte de karşılıklı etkileşim içerisinde aynı yolda yürümeye devam edecekleri, ama bu yolda nasıl yürümeyi tercih edeceklerini ise zamanın göstereceği ifade edilmiştir.

APPENDIX B

TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü ☐

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü ☐

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü ☐

Enformatik Enstitüsü ☐

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü ☐

YAZARIN

Soyadı :
Adı :
Bölümü :

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) :

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans ☐ Doktora ☐

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐
3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz. ☐

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: