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Boekbespreking van: Germany's European Diplomacy. Shaping the Regional Milieu
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Citation

Stork, I. (2001). Boekbespreking van: Germany's European Diplomacy. Shaping the Regional Milieu. *Acta Politica*, 36: 2001(2), 214-217. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3450811>

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Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

about the idiosyncratic nature of regulation, and about the perils of free market ideology are strongly reminiscent of Karl Polanyi's *The Great Transformation*. Cautionary warnings against policy-makers' susceptibility to adopting ill-founded prescriptions in the name of practicality carry much the same tenor as Keynes's musing about the pernicious influence of economists who are long dead at the end of *The General Theory*. Hence the real paradox is not that deregulation works against the foundations of the market. Rather it is that history has repeated itself so obviously and in such a short period of time.

Academics looking to extend or complement the analysis provided by Van Waarden and Simonis could usefully examine the motives behind the present fashion for deregulation. An argument explaining why policy-makers choose to regard regulation as antithetical to (rather than constitutive of) the market would complement the book enormously – particularly given the strength of the consensus about the necessary integration of states and markets in the early years of the post-war era. That said, it is easy to anticipate that such an inquiry might be seen as superfluous to the authors' intended ministerial audience. Hence the editor's self-imposed restriction on the scope of analysis is worth noting (though, emphatically, not worthy of criticism).

Also worth noting are the rather low production values provided by the publisher. In this case criticism is warranted, but should not be directed at the authors or their contributors. Perhaps this is the price to pay for the dissemination of interesting work in a foreign language (English) to what is unfortunately likely to be only a restricted audience. Nevertheless, the repeated incidence of typographical errors, the irregular formatting of paragraphs (sometimes indented, sometimes not), and the generally poor standard of copyediting – including the repetition of an almost identical sentence on pages 67 and 105 – are an unnecessary distraction. The analysis in this book warrants attention. Indeed, the study of 'deregulating imperfect markets' is particularly important if we are not to forget the wisdom it imparts altogether and so collectively condemn ourselves to learn the lessons of the past once again the hard way.

Erik Jones

Bulmer, Simon, Charlie Jeffery and William Paterson, *Germany's European Diplomacy. Shaping the Regional Milieu*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000, 160 p. ISBN 0 7190 5855 4, £ 10.99.

Three well-known British experts on German politics have made a combined effort to analyse Germany's European diplomacy since reunification, in particular since the arrival of the Schroeder government in the autumn of 1998. Their main questions of research are what has changed in comparison with diplomacy before the reunification and, more specifically, whether this diplomacy has paid more attention to (short-term) national self-interests. They present three case studies: the Amsterdam Inter-governmental Conference and subsequent Treaty, European Monetary Union

(EMU), and the enlargement of the European Union. The book begins with three theoretical and empirical chapters on the institutional base of Germany's European diplomacy and its relations with 'partners'. The case studies are dealt with in the three following chapters. The theoretical point made by the authors is that one has to analyse Germany's European diplomacy by looking not only at domestic policy formulation (by such actors as political parties, the *Länder*, public opinion, constitutional court or the *Bundesbank*) or bilateral partnerships, but also at so-called milieu goals.

The latter, in contrast to possession goals, aim at "shaping condition beyond ... national boundaries" (p.7). The object is to include other states into German designs, not to seek objectives to the exclusion of other states. German diplomacy in the European Union is not following short-term national interests. Rather, it is trying – and successfully so – to shape the broad structural characteristics of European integration, i.e., its regional milieu. Interestingly, it is the fragmented nature of German politics that enables Germany to play a key role in the fragmented arena of European integration politics. Because German policy-makers have to consult many domestic actors, the resulting paradox is one of tactical weakness and systematic empowerment. In the European Union

the day-to-day conduct of policy is undertaken within an institutional environment with which German policy-makers are fundamentally at ease. It is rare that Germany has a policy line fundamentally at odds with its partners. Hence, any attempt to appraise German power in the EU has to appreciate the cumulative effect of its integration diplomacy. By virtue of being one of the major *démandeurs* of supranational solutions to domestic policy problems, the EU has been shaped into a set of institutional rules, norms and policies which are supportive of German interests (p.9).

The mechanism at work is explained in chapter two, which gives a good overview of the increasing involvement of the *Länder*, *Bundesbank* and the Federal Constitutional Court in the federal European strategy. Although these institutions might be irksome domestically, they do equip the federal government with veto points in Brussels. German negotiators can take proposals off the European agenda by referring to *Länder* and *Bundesbank* opposition or a possible veto by the Federal Constitutional Court.

In the third chapter on strategic partnerships, the authors succeed quite well in portraying the still functioning Franco-German axis that has tended to favour German proposals since the 1980s, the at times difficult German-Dutch relations that have been revived since 1994, and the 'failure' of Germany and the United Kingdom to achieve a partnership. Although the empirical content of the overviews is entirely correct, it is not difficult to see that the authors are more at home in the English-German relations than in Franco-German or Dutch-German relations. The discussion of national identities, political systems and the media, and their subsequent influence on relations with Germany is much more convincing in the case of the English-German relations. Footnotes from Dutch or French publications are rare and in the authors' foreword there are no acknowledgements to French or Dutch academics. Moreover, the authors do not explain why they have chosen to look at these particular

countries. Although the Dutch government would be pleased to see the Netherlands being treated under the same rubric as France and Great Britain, it might have been better to consider more significant relations, such as the German-Italian or German-Spanish. In the chapter on enlargement an overview of German-Polish relations would have been interesting.

The consequent overview of case studies is backed up by a substantive amount of empirical work and from the comparisons between the case studies the authors arrive at some interesting conclusions. The 1996-7 IGC was affected by an inclusive German domestic policy arena (the authors do not buy Kohl's argument of a *Länder* veto on more qualified majority voting in Justice and Home Affairs), a difficult relationship with France on European employment policies, and, finally, a limited extension of multilateral policies in the milieu realm. The authors argue that EMU was a classic case of milieu shaping by Germany: German policies were adopted at the European level forcing other member states to implement domestic changes. This success was helped by a closed domestic policy front, Franco-German centrality and supportive (the Netherlands in stage II with the stability pact) or cooperative partners (the United Kingdom in stage III on the Euro-zone membership). The enlargement of the European Union, on the other hand, is characterized by a fragmented German policy stance. The Ministries of Agriculture, Trade and Industry as well as the Treasury have sometimes taken a 'protectionist' stance in EU negotiations. A supportive public opinion exists only in key fields. The German public's anxiety has led to tough German positions on the EU budget, free movement of labour and border controls. Concerning partnerships, it has proved difficult to sustain the Franco-German alliance and potential alliances with the Netherlands and the United Kingdom are looming large on the question of enlargement itself and on budgetary issues. The traditional milieu goal is a geographical extension of multilateral cooperation and, possibly, German institutional export to Central and Eastern Europe. The latter point would mean that CEE-countries copy the German political or social-economic model. The authors do not present any empirical proof of this, however.

The case studies prove the centrality of the Franco-German axis. Although a change in discourse towards national interests occurs, the pursuit of milieu goals has remained the leading idea in Germany's European diplomacy, also after the 1998 change in government. Furthermore, different regional and public institutions have tried to influence the federal government. The crucial point is that in Germany a party-wide consensus on the need of European solutions to domestic problems continues to dominate the debate. The authors conclude by remarking that not only is Germany becoming more European, but also that Europe is becoming more German, through the pursuit of milieu goals.

What is the added value of the book? I am afraid that the concept of 'milieu goals' is not going to survive the test of time. It seems to be another word for a German preference for multilateralism. It does not contain more explanatory or descriptive powers than concepts like civilian power or trading state. The authors correctly claim that until the 1980s European integration was largely following French wishes. They

do not explain why and how a change towards a more 'German' Europe occurred at that particular time. Moreover, the inclusion of subsidiarity and the monetary stability pact in European integration does not wipe out French designs of European integration like a weak Commission. The institutional and bilateral emphasis of the authors is valuable but no convincing argument is made for the absence of economic issues. In their introduction the authors leave these to economists, a case of exaggerated parsimony in my opinion. One cannot disentangle the economic turmoil following reunification from Germany's European diplomacy.

The three British authors have written a book with an empirically rich overview of Germany's European diplomacy on three case studies of integration. They have made a valuable contribution to the field of German studies. Their approach has, however, been too narrow to make a more general contribution to, for example, sub-disciplines of political science like international relations and European integration.

Ivo Stork

Richard Luther and Kris Deschouwer (eds.), *Party Elites in Divided Societies. Political parties in consociational democracy*. London: Routledge, 1999, 291 p., ISBN 0-415-20127-6, £60.00

Four countries should be grateful to Arend Lijphart, as it was thanks to his seminal theory on consociational democracy that they received some attention from the international community of political scientists. The countries involved are Austria, Belgium, the Netherlands and Switzerland. These four are characterized by remarkable stability notwithstanding the segmentation of their societies. According to Lijphart's theory, elite co-operation and accommodation are the origins of this stability, and this is illustrated by the dominance of the executive, centralized government, grand coalitions, etc.. Despite the revolutionary character of Lijphart's theory at the end of the 1960s, it looks as if his institutional approach is no longer adequate to explain the recent changes and developments in consociational democracies. Some theoretical knowledge is missing, in particular on the role of political parties in pillarized and segmented societies. This assessment is the point of departure of *Party Elites in Divided Societies*. Therefore, this volume mainly focuses on the electoral evolutions of the parties and the pillars, while – unfortunately – only little attention is paid to the intra-party position of the party elites.

The volume is divided into three parts. In the first part, Richard Luther sets out a very interesting framework, with strong heuristic power. It aims at explaining both the 'vertical' linkage of parties with their respective subcultures and their 'horizontal' role in inter-subculture relations. Luther's model is a useful tool for analysis. It is based on three party-related indicators (organizational penetration of parties in the subculture, their ability to mobilize masses and provide incentives, and the hierarchical party control of the subculture), and two inter-party related indicators (the 'format' of party interaction and