The Making of Multilateralist Germany: Implications for US-German Bilateral Relations*
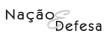
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Resumo

"Em Novembro de 1989, o mundo assistia extasiado à queda do muro de Berlim. O simbolismo do acontecimento não se perdeu à medida que alemães orientais e ocidentais quebravam a materialização em cimento do que Winston Churchill anos antes chamara a "Cortina de Ferro". A queda do muro de Berlim e consequente processo de reunificação, acompanhado pelo fim das divisões da Guerra Fria que rodeavam a Europa, criou mudanças tectónicas na geopolítica global. O processo de reunificação alemão, acompanhado por um espírito internacional de cooperação e otimismo, pendendo para a euforia, forneceu um modelo inspirador de diplomacia positiva e popular autodeterminação trabalhando conjuntamente para um bem comum – era uma diplomacia por excelência. Diplomatas e políticos em Washington, Moscovo, Londres e Paris lutaram para manter os acontecimentos pacíficos na Europa central e todo o processo de reunificação foi marcado por um espírito notável de internacionalismo; (...) Esse espírito de colaboração transatlântica contrasta com a situação uma década e meia mais tarde. Desde do final de 2002, muito foi feito no cada vez maior distanciamento cultural e político entre EUA e Europa. Este distanciamento assenta firmemente onde política externa e valores culturais convergem. O historiador britânico Timothy Garton Ash chamou-lhe "a crise do ocidente, a mais profunda desde do fim da Guerra Fria".

Abstract

"In November 1989, the world watched rapt as the Berlin Wall fell. The symbolism of the event was lost on no-one as East and West Germans breached the concrete incarnation of what Winston Churchill called years earlier, the "Iron Curtain". The tearing down of the Berlin Wall and the subsequent process of reunification, accompanied by the breaking down of Cold War divisions spanning Europe, created tectonic shifts in global geopolitics. The process of German reunification, accompanied by palpable international spirit of cooperation and optimism verging on euphoria, provided an inspiring model of positive diplomacy and popular self-determination working together toward a common good – it was statecraft par excellence. Diplomats and statesmen in Washington, Moscow, London, and Paris struggled to keep up with the pace of events on the ground in central Europe and the whole reunification process was underpinned by a remarkable spirit of internationalism; (…) That spirit of transatlantic collaboration contrasts with the situation a decade and a half later. Since late 2002, much has been made of the widening gap of culture and politics between the United States and Europe. That gap is rooted firmly where foreign policy and cultural values converge. British historian Timothy Garton Ash has called it "a crisis of the West, the most profound since the end of the Cold War."

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*   On the statecraft of unification, see Philip Zelikow and Condoleezza Rice, *Germany Unified and Europe Transformed: A Study in Statecraft* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997). See also Timothy Garton Ash, *In Europe's Name: Germany and the Divided Continent* (New York: Vintage, 1993) 344-56.
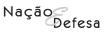** He is a specialist on U.S-German relations, nuclear history, international foreign policy and has written extensively on those topics. His most recent book is *Nuclear Deterrence in Practice: The Making of International Nuclear Policy Since 1945* (forthcoming 2006; with Joseph Siracusa) and he is currently finishing up an international history of the Berlin Crisis, 1958-1964.

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Recent polls show that large majorities in Europe and much of the world regards America as the leading threat to world peace[3]. That the United States and Europe have fallen into something of an adversarial relationship has been much discussed[4]. British historian Timothy Garton Ash has called the dramatic deepening of the transatlantic rift since 2002 as "a crisis of the West, the most profound since the end of the Cold War"[5]. Polls and ample anecdotal evidence shows that the manner in which the Bush administration is pursuing its security policies is causing deep anxiety around the

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1 W.R. Smyser, *From Yalta to Berlin: The Cold War Struggle Over Germany* (New York: St. Martin's, 1999) 372.

2 "Global Poll Slams Bush Leadership," BBC.com, January 19, 2005 <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/americas/4185205.stm>.

3 For a useful summary of some of the recent literature on this phenomenon, see Tony Judt, "Europe vs. America," *The New York Review of Books* 52, 2 (February 10, 2005): 37-43. See also, Timothy Garton Ash, *Free World: America, Europe, and the Surprising Future of the West* (New York: Random House, 2004); Jeremy Rifkin, *The European Dream: How Europe's Vision of the Future is Quietly Eclipsing the American Dream* (Cambridge: Polity, 2004); T.R. Reid, *The United States of Europe: The New Superpower and the End of American Supremacy* (New York: Penguin, 2004).

4 Timothy Garton Ash, *Free World: America, Europe, and the Surprising Future of the West* (New York: Random House, 2004) 35.

5 Rice's remarks before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Washington, D.C., January 18, 2005, <http://usinfo.state.gov/mena/Archive/2005/Jan/18-183574.html>.

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world to the extent that many Europeans wonder whether Americans still share their basic values. When Secretary of State Condoleezza declared that "the time for diplomacy is now," it was a tacit admission that there was a fundamental problem[6].

The fences will inevitably be mended, but Germany's response to U.S. security policy provides a striking example of how polarized the transatlantic relationship has become. In a country that has so much reason to think well of the United States, an overwhelming majority of people regard the reelection of George W. Bush as a threat to peace[7]. The conviction with which Germans, in particular, have turned on American foreign policy is arresting. Gerhard Schroeder's reelection in late 2002 demonstrated that the differences were more than a fit of diplomatic pique. His strident criticism of American policy, adopted late in the campaign, has been credited as the secret to his electoral success. Dismissing Schroeder's election strategy as cynical populism fails to take into account why it had such popular appeal in the first place – it would be easier to dismiss Schroeder's criticism of the Bush administration's foreign policy if the German people had not endorsed it – and overwhelmingly, at that. The election constituted Schroeder's "accountability moment," to borrow a phrase from George W. Bush[8].

As tempting as it is to see short-term political motives behind German opposition to American security policy today, and as convenient as the notion of "anti-Americanism" might be, they do not fully explain the depth of disagreement. But the broader view of Germany's historical experience over the past sixty years offers compelling clues.

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The transformation of Germany since World War II has been remarkable. Once universally suspected of being a serial aggressor and a menace to peace, Germany has come a long way from Prussian Kaisers, Nazi dictators, and Auschwitz. In 1945, it was a pariah of the international community and was devastated economically,

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6 The same poll extended to 20 other countries, most of which had similar results. "Global Poll Slams Bush Leadership," BBC.com, January 19, 2005 http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/americas/4185205.stm.
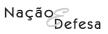
7 Jim VandeHei and Michael A. Fletcher, "Bush Says Election Ratified Iraq Policy," *Washington Post* (January 16, 2005): A1 <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A12450-2005Jan15.html>

8 Rob Broomby, "Letter from Berlin," May 13, 2002, BBC.com <http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/europe/europetoday/letters/020513_rbroomby.shtml>.

politically, and socially. Divided and occupied, then with two competing political systems in East and West Germany working at crossed purposes throughout the Cold War, each vying for the right to declare itself the true Germany, the development of modern Germany over the past sixty years has been tumultuous and prolonged. In 2005, though, it has long proven itself to be a responsible and constructive member of the international community (even if old suspicions have proven remarkably resilient across the generations). Nevertheless, with the continent's largest economy and largest population, modern Germany has become Europe's indispensable nation.

The Germany of today is very different to the Germany of the late 1930s; it thinks differently about its place in the world, and most importantly, it acts differently. The ghosts of Germany's militarist and Nazi past continue to shape Germany policy in the most profound ways. As BBC correspondent Rob Broomby put it, "For over half a century, the nation has defined itself in the negative, what it mustn't do, what it mustn't be"[9]. The boundaries of public decency in German society, so liberal in many respects, are still ultra-sensitive to issues of Germany's Nazi past and the Nazi swastika remains a potent symbol of the horrific crimes of the Holocaust[10]. German governments have made a central pillar of foreign policy a normalization of German foreign policy, whereby Germany can operate on a central stage without arousing suspicions tied to its early 20th Century past. Once feared and suspected, Germany has become a champion of diplomacy and cooperative solutions. The Allies of World War II could not have wished for more.

At the heart of that transformation lie the principles of integration and multilateralism and their corollary, a deep faith in diplomacy. Germans' modern zeal for multilateralism is a consequence of their unique historical experience. Through defeat, occupation, division, and reunification, modern Germany has been a model of multilateralism, good and bad. Germans have not just accepted the principles of integration and multilateralism; over six decades, that approach to the world has become embedded intellectually, practically, and even morally, into Germans' cultural values.

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9 Recent examples are offered by the far right agitation aroused by the 60th anniversary commemorations of the freeing of Auschwitz and the bombing of Dresden and global outrage at photographs of a young member of the British royal family donning Nazi fancy dress. For example: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/4204465.stm>; <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4261263.stm>.; <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/4170083.stm>.

10 Jim Hoagland, "Three Miscreants," *Washington Post*, April 13, 2003, B07.

The irony is that what the Bush administration apparently sees as Berlin's petulance –
"Forgive Russia, ignore Germany, punish France", Condoleezza Rice is reported as
saying[11] – can also be seen as stunning testament to the power of the ideas that the
United States and its allies played a role in implanting during the birth pangs of
Germany after World War II. The defining spirit of that era was internationalism
and collective security: the grand summits of Yalta and Potsdam, the creation of the
United Nations, the Bretton Woods agreements, the efforts to prevent the spread and
use of nuclear weapons. That spirit also fostered the Geneva Conventions (1949),
the International Declaration of Human Rights (1948), and the North Atlantic Treaty
Organization (NATO), amongst a host of other internationalist and multilateral
initiatives.

"Multilateral agreements and institutions should not be ends in themselves,"
wrote Condoleezza Rice in January 2000[12]. But for Germany, at the explicit insistence
of its neighbors, the United States, and the rest of the international community,
multilateralism and integration *have* been objectives in their own right. This held as true
for East Germany as it was for West Germany. Despite the marked differences
in implementation, whether one looks at the pro-Western Federal Republic of Germany
or the pro-Soviet German Democratic Republic, objectives were measured in terms
of rejoining the international community and at integrating itself into that community
of nations. By that measure, Germany's success has been astonishing. But a byproduct
of this process was that pursuing its national interest unilaterally has never been an
option open to post-World War II Germany. In fact, German political philosophy
and practice has been based on the rejection of those principles.

German unification in 1990 was the final stage in the reinvention of Germany,
not its starting point. To a remarkable degree, modern Germany is a product of the
immediate post-World War II era. In the tumultuous decade following Germany's
defeat, Germany was set on a new path toward democracy at home and responsible
collaboration abroad. As former American High Commissioner to Germany John J. McCloy
put it in 1950, "at this stage of history there is a better chance to influence the German

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11 Condoleezza Rice, "Campaign 2000: Promoting the National Interest," *Foreign Affairs* 19, 1 (January/
  /February 2000): 45.
12 Quoted in Thomas Alan Schwartz, *America's Germany: John J. McCloy and the Federal Republic of Germany*
  (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991) 85.
13 "Report on the Crimea (Yalta) Conference, 4-11 February 1945," *Documents on Germany Under Occupation
  1945-1954*, edited by Beate Ruhm von Open (London: Oxford University Press) 4.

mind than there has been for a century"[13]. By the time that the questions of German rearmament and European integration raged in earnest in the 1950s, the principles of integration and collaboration had been deeply implanted in the German mindset.
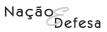
Allied Planning for Postwar Germany

For all their differences in methods and political ideology, there was something upon which all four occupation powers could agree in 1945: Germany could never again be in a position to threaten its neighbors or any other part of the world. The Nazi regime had committed unspeakable crimes in a little over a decade, but Germany had also demonstrated a disconcerting inclination toward militarism dating back the "iron and blood" mentality of Otto von Bismarck in the 1870s and the Prussian Kaisers. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, and Joseph Stalin put it bluntly at the Yalta Summit in 1945: "It is our inflexible purpose to destroy German militarism and Nazism and to ensure that Germany will never again be able to disturb the peace of the world"[14]. German aggression, which had already shattered the peace so violently twice in thirty years, could never again become a menace. This principle was at the heart of all plans for postwar Germany, whether they were being made in Moscow, London, Paris, or Washington.

Despite this universal assumption, the process of devising policy for postwar Germany was deeply flawed. As one observer noted, the history of framing policy for postwar Germany constituted "an amazing tale of clashing personalities and bureaucratic structures, which together delayed and obscured policy goals to an extraordinary degree"[15].

Two important assumptions underpinned American planning for postwar Germany. Firstly, President Roosevelt intended for the postwar peace to be guaranteed by collective security in the form of the United Nations. Secondly, the U.S. military presence in Europe was designed as a temporary measure until such time as France and Great Britain had recovered and were able to provide an effective counterweight

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14 Edward N. Peterson, *The American Occupation of Germany: Retreat to Victory*, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1977) 19.

15 Cordell Hull, *Memoirs*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1948) 2:1284-1285; Robert E. Sherwood, ed., *The White House Papers of Harry L. Hopkins*, (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1949), pp.712-714; idem, *Roosevelt and Hopkins: An Intimate History* (New York: Harper, 1950) 714-716.

to any resurgence of Germany. There were over three million U.S. Army troops in Europe when Hitler's Germany was defeated. During the closing stages of the War, there was almost no debate in U.S. policymaking circles about how long U.S. troops would stay. Indeed, until March 1943 it was not even clear that U.S. troops would be part of the occupation at all[16].

President Roosevelt had famously declared at the Yalta Conference in February 1945 that he envisioned a period of two years before U.S. forces would withdraw from the continent, an expectation repeated by his successor, Harry Truman, at Potsdam in July 1945[17]. Roosevelt wrote Churchill that "You know, of course, that after Germany's collapse I must bring American troops home as rapidly as transportation problems will permit"[18]. Roosevelt, so prescient on many things, was very wrong on this; almost sixty years later, American troops remain permanently stationed in Europe[19]. Washington's policymakers never intended for the U.S. military presence in Europe to be permanent and they had no intention of engaging in what would now be referred to (often derisively) as "nation building." America's wartime policymakers would have found such a permanent military presence inconceivable. In effect, the United States was left without an exit strategy from Europe[20].

During 1943, as victory seemed assured, though not imminent, some policymakers began devoting some attention to postwar planning. The question, as U.S. Secretary of War Henry Stimson posed it, was "whether we want Germans to suffer for their sins"[21]. The impulse for revenge was tempting, and the pressure for imposing a "hard" peace was strong. U.S. Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, in a proposal briefly endorsed by U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, devised a punitive plan to cripple Germany permanently and turn into an agricultural economy[22]. His plan to impose a Carthaginian Peace was given the

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16 *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1945, Yalta*, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office) 617.
17 Quoted in McAllister, *No Exit*, 46.
18 Washington apparently has intentions to redistribute U.S. forces overseas, including those in Germany. See, for instance, *Los Angeles Times*, February 13, 2003, 3; Jim Garamone, "Reduction Doesn't Lessen U.S. Commitment to Europe," 6 October 2004, American Forces Information Service: <http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Oct2004/n10062004_2004100601.html>.
19 James McAllister, *No Exit: America and the German Problem, 1943-1954* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002).
20 Henry L. Stimson and McGeorge Bundy, *On Active Service in Peace and War* (London: Hutchinson, 1948) 572.
21 Henry Morgenthau, Jr., *Germany is Our Problem* (New York: Harper, 1945).
22 Constantine FitzGibbon, *Denazification* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1969) 9.

innocuous-sounding name of "pastoralization," but if implemented it would have meant the total destruction of German industry and imposing upon the German people no more means than that necessary for a subsistence level of living[23]. Morgenthau was not alone in his draconian dreams. Former Soviet ambassador to London, Ivan M. Maiskii, recommended taking "out of Germany whatever can be taken out except for the 'starvation minimum'" and that for the German people "work be tantamount to forced labor"[24]. Several proposals suggested the complete dismemberment of the country. Other proposals called for crippling reparations to be paid to Germany World War II victims by taking the profits from the resource rich Saar and the industrial area of the Ruhr.

After bitter internal debate, the principle of punishing Germany was rejected in favor of a spirit of rehabilitation. Appealing to moral sensibilities at the same time as arguing the case in terms of Realpolitik by arguing that the harsh peace imposed by the Versailles Treaty (1919) had encouraged the popular appeal of Adolph Hitler's National Socialism, proponents of construction over destruction sought to harness Germany rather than alienate it. Secretary of State Cordell Hull and Secretary of War Henry Stimson conspired to undermine Morgenthau's plan for postwar Germany. As a result, the principles of rehabilitation and reconstruction guided occupation policy and resulting initiatives such as the Marshall Plan for European recovery were embedded with a deliberate integrationist tone[25].

Postwar Military Occupations

In practice, the occupation of Germany was as disorganized as its planning. Without clear objectives for postwar Germany or efficient policymaking machinery, when

23 Quoted in Vojtech Mastny, *Russia's Road to the Cold War: Diplomacy, Warfare, and the Politics of Communism, 1941-1945*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979) 19.

24 Michael J. Hogan, "European Integration and German Reintegration: Marshall Planners and the Search for Recovery and Security in Western Europe," in *The Marshall Plan and Germany: West German Development within the Framework of the European Recovery Program* edited by Charles S. Maier (New York: St. Martin's, 1991): 115-70.

25 Frank A. Ninkovich, *Germany and the United States: The Transformation of the German Question Since 1945*, (New York: Twayne, 1995), p.26. For Soviet planning, see Norman M. Naimark, *The Russians in Germany: A History of the Soviet Zone of Occupation, 1945-1949*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995) 9-10; Vladislav Zubok and Constantine Pleshakov, *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War: From Stalin to Khrushchev* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996) 46-49; Mastny, *Russia's Road to the Cold War,* 261; R.C. Raack, "Stalin Plans His Post-War Germany," *Journal of Contemporary History* 28, 1 (January 1993): 53-74.

victory was achieved in Europe in May 1945, the mission of American military forces suddenly shifted, and little preparation for that shift had been taken. In the words of American historian Frank Ninkovich, "no conceptual road map, no clear image of Germany's place in the world, no *idee maîtresse* with which to plot Germany's future." As it happened, Moscow had an equally unclear vision subject to Stalin's sudden and unpredictable shifts on the topic. Consequently, in the early years the occupation was conducted on an ad hoc basis with major decisions being made in the field by military commanders. The result, Ninkovich wrote, was "an occupation that was to administration what jazz is to classical music"[26]. Nevertheless, the U.S. Military Government managed to function largely on an improvised basis. When, during a speech at Stuttgart in early September 1946, Secretary of State James F. Byrnes acknowledged publicly the deepening divide in Germany and spoke of the commitment of the United States to the Western zones' development, he essentially confirmed what had been evident for some time: that the two-year occupation envisaged by Roosevelt would be inadequate.

In the late 1940s, for Germany's neighbors, and even for the United States, Germany was a security issue, and security could not come without depriving Germany of two things: the ability to wage war and what seemed like a national predisposition toward military aggression. That involved more than disarming and removing Nazi Party members from positions of power; it also involved the far more difficult and complicated task of destroying the roots of Nazism and militarism in Germany[27].

The most immediate priority for the four military occupations of Germany was in disarming the populace. Depriving Germany of the means of making war was a mission that military government could quantify and set about implementing. Much more difficult was the task of removing what appeared a deeply embedded national disposition toward militarism. The broad principles employed to tackle the thorny issue were democratization, integration, and re-education.

Implementing these principles proved problematic, and they were handled differently in different zones. But the principles of integration and re-education were in common across the zonal boundaries. For the Soviets, it meant "the demilitarization of the country, the decartelization of the industry, and the denazification of the German institutions – in education, the government, the economy, and the arts"[28]. The Soviets also put
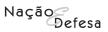
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26 Naimark, *The Russians in Germany*, 251.

27 Ibid, 10.

28 Thomas Alan Schwartz, *America's Germany: John J. McCloy and the Federal Republic of Germany* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991).

considerable emphasis on stripping the Junker landowners and industrial magnates of their power and resources. The Americans implemented a multi-pronged program of economic, political, military, and – significantly – moral integration[29]. They sought, with varying degrees of effort and success, to influence, control, and censor arts and press[30]. The education system was overhauled and new history textbooks written. Political statements in the arts were monitored for "reactionary" messages. Economic and industrial sectors were embedded in broader West European structures. The West German military was first destroyed and later rebuilt under NATO.

Under the broad label of "denazification," the military governments set about removing Nazi Party members and sympathizers from positions of power. The Americans were the most zealous in their pursuit of denazification, but even they found that the principle had to be compromised – and ultimately abandoned – in the face of realities on the ground[31]. Many of the most able Germans had been tainted in some way by Nazi affiliation. Faced with the massive challenges of reconstruction, preserving some measure of continuity often made more sense than slavishly adhering to a policy of denazification.

As a result, the imposed policy of denazification met with mediocre success. Each occupation power considered denazification a failure well before the formation of the Federal Republic and the GDR[32]. The newly formed West German government under Konrad Adenauer essentially reversed many of the most unworkable denazification policies with the Amnesty Laws of 1949 and 1954. Rather than ostracizing Nazi collaborators and sympathizers (especially when the evidence was unreliable), West Germans shifted their approach to reintegration and rehabilitation[33].

29 Larry Hartenian, *Controlling Information in U.S. Occupied Germany, 1945-1949* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 2003).
30 Timothy R. Vogt, *Denazification in Soviet-Occupied Germany: Brandenburg, 1945-1948* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).
31 The Western occupiers publicly acknowledged the failures of their policies of denazification. The Soviets publicly proclaimed success while privately acknowledging their disappointment. Vogt, *Denazification in Soviet-Occupied Germany*, 5. See also John Montgomery, *Forced to be Free: The Artificial Revolution in Germany and Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957).
32 Norber Frei, *Adenauer's Germany and the Nazi Past: The Politics of Amnesty and Integration*, translated by Joel Golb (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).
33 Vogt, *Denazification in Soviet-Occupied Germany*, 4-5.

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Dealing with the Past

But not everything about denazification was rejected. Many of the underlying principles were judged to be sound by the German people themselves, even if the Allied military governments had botched the implementation. As one observer put it, denazification also involved "eradicating what were seen as the wellsprings of this criminal behavior: the influence of antidemocratic elites, xenophobia, aggressive nationalism, militarism, and the peculiar German attribute of slavish obedience to authority"[34]. The objective of the conquering powers, first, and the Germans themselves, after, became solving this "German problem" by reforming the national character.

The need to come to terms with the past was recognized as essential; how to do it was (and remains) open to debate. It was a process that could be encouraged but not imposed. If it had been imposed upon an unreceptive German population it would never have been internalized as much as it was. But after losing World War II and seeing the atrocities of the Holocaust that had been committed in their name, most Germans were willing to accept that their country could never again be "an independently-acting great power," at least in the sense that it had been before[35]. Authoritarianism and militarism had led them to disaster twice, first under the Kaisers and then under the Nazis. After World War I, the problem of German collective war guilt had been primarily a problem of international politics[36]. Consequently, Germans engaged in a long and painful process of national soul searching known as *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (reckoning with the past).

There has never been a consensus whether responsibility for Nazi crimes and Prussian militarism rested with Germany's leaders or the population as a whole. From the beginning, the notion of collective guilt has been a fiercely contentious issue. In Germany, the debate has raged on for sixty years without resolution. But the debate has been important for the German people themselves; and it has been important for the international community to see Germans confront their past.

The widely held view was that the German nation had "an innate predisposition for war adventures"[37]. Roosevelt and Churchill saw the primary responsibility with

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34 Wolfgang Krieger, "Germany," *The Origins of the Cold War in Europe: International Perspectives,* edited by David Reynolds (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994) 153.

35 Djuro J. Vrga, *Foreign Policy of the German Social Democratic Party (SPD)* (Meerut, India: Sadhna Prakashan, 1972) 32.

36 Ibid.

37 F. Roy Willis, *The French in Germany, 1945-1949* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962) 147.
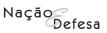
the leaders rather than the people, while the French and Russians were more inclined to fault a flawed national character[38]. For West Germany to be truly accepted by its neighbors, Germans had to be seen to accept responsibility for the war crimes and hold the perpetrators accountable. And on a national level, they had to show profound remorse. The Potsdam Protocol made it explicit: "The German people have begun to atone for the terrible crimes committed under the leadership of those whom, in the hour of their success, they openly approved and blindly obeyed"[39]. Some of its more tangible expressions came in the form of prosecuting war criminals and making amends to the Nazi regime's victims[40].

The process was led with considerable vigor by German intellectuals and cultural leaders who confronted with unusual frankness the issue of war guilt as a moral issue. They did so more than the Japanese or Austrians had done[41]. War was equated with crime. Not everyone sanctioned accepting collective war guilt, however. Having opposed the National Socialists from the beginning and suffered for it, the SPD saw the international forces of capitalism behind the rise of the Nazis and the party repeatedly emphasized a distinction between the people of Germany and the Nazi leadership that, the SPD argued, has essentially hijacked the country. Today, that argument is more often heard on the political right[42].

The Politics of Peace and Integration

The moral complexities of war guilt influenced politics. With the creation of the Federal Republic of Germany in 1949 under the Basic Law, more power was passed to the Germans to control their own future. But the establishment of the FRG was dependent on several important restrictions that kept out of German control such issues as foreign policy, foreign trade, defense, domestic security, and some aspects of scientific research and development[43]. And articles 24 and 87 of the Basic Law placed

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38 "Extracts from the Report on the Tripartite Conference of Berlin (Potsdam), 17 July – 2 August 1945," part III, *Documents on Germany Under Occupation 1945-1954*, edited by Beate Ruhm von Open (London: Oxford University Press) 42.
39 Schwartz, *America's Germany*, 156.
40 Wolfgang Krieger, "Germany," *The Origins of the Cold War in Europe: International Perspectives,* edited by David Reynolds (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994) 145.
41 Jacob Heilbrunn, "Germany's New Right," *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 1996).
42 Krieger, "Germany," 152.
43 Anthony Laurence Gardner, *A New Era in U.S.-EU Relations? The Clinton Administration and the New Transatlantic Agenda* (Aldershot: Ashgate) 3.

severe limits on where German military forces could be deployed and under what circumstances.

After the creation of the Federal Republic, the former occupation powers, particularly the United States, continued to exert pressure politically and economically on Bonn to create and participate in institutions of regional collaboration. The narrative of postwar German history reads like a guide book to the acronyms of multilateralism: the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the European Economic Cooperation (OEEC), the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM), and the European Economic Community (EEC). These institutions have profoundly shaped Europe's present identity. Germany's prominent participation in these institutions of European integration have, in turn, had a profound effect on shaping modern Germany's identity[44].

Significantly, after 1949 Germans themselves took the lead in nurturing these newfound values. A giant in modern German political history played a leading role in that process. Morality and interests converged in the "policy for the past" developed during the Adenauer years[45]. Recognizing the many constraints imposed on Germany, Konrad Adenauer was firmly convinced that Germany's future lay in integrating his country with the West. Deeply distrustful himself of German militarist tendencies, Adenauer argued that the only way Germany would be trusted by the international community again would be through integration with the west institutionally and politically. Only through overtly tying Germany's future to the West's, he argued, would Germany be able to regain legitimacy in the eyes of the world and would it be able to pursue its interests. His complex web of relationships that he developed was designed with that objective in mind.

The key word in his vision for Germany's future was "integration." He interpreted that in broad terms: political, economic, and military. Over the course of his long Chancellorship, Adenauer developed a blueprint for West German society, what one writer described as less an ideology as "a coherently structured conception of public good"[46].

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44 Norbert Frei, *Adenauer's Germany and the Nazi Past: The Politics of Amnesty and Integration*, translated by Joel Golb (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).

45 Wolfram F. Hanrieder, *West German Foreign Policy, 1949-1963: International Pressure and Domestic Response* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1967) 242.

46 Quoted in William E. Paterson, *The SPD and European Integration* (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1974) 30.

His strategy for bind Germany permanently to the West was known as *Westbindung*, and it offered a counterpoint to the later policy of *Ostpolitik* championed by Willy Brandt.
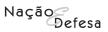
Adenauer pursued *Westbindung* with an enthusiasm that alarmed even the Western allies at times. The absence of a German foreign minister (the first foreign minister, Heinrich von Brentano, did not assume his post until 1955) gave Adenauer unusual power over this process of integration with the Western allies – so much so, that his contemporary rival, SPD leader Kurt Schumacher, accused Adenauer of being "the chancellor of the Allies"[47].

Adenauer was largely responsible for taking the notions of integration and pacifism and embedding them structurally into the Federal Republic. By forging ahead in making Germany once again a responsible and accepted international citizen, Adenauer ensured that the new German approach to world became firmly established. Maneuvering his country through the bitter controversies of West German rearmament and making West Germany a leading participant in moves toward European integration, Adenauer gradually built deep political support at home and abroad. Dealt strong electoral defeats in the late 1950s, the SPD underwent significant reform, including dropping its objections to Western integration.

Even though he flirted with neo-Gaullist notions of national interest late in his chancellorship, by the time Adenauer left office in 1963 he had successfully forged a domestic consensus that saw Germany as a country integrated with the West. This consensus proved enduring. And it was followed through with prominent German involvement in the formation of a string of multilateral institutions, both successful and aborted: the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation; the Western European Union, OECD, the Multilateral Force initiative, the European Economic Community, and ultimately the European Union.

Adenauer's successors had their own ideas and methods, but still adhered to the general principle of integrating Germany's future with that of other nations and institutions. As German politics moved to the center with the Grand Coalition of the mid-1960s, serious challenges to the Western orientation of German external relations became rare. When the SPD's Willy Brandt won power in 1969, he took West German policy in a different direction literally, but conceptually it adhered to the bedrock

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47 Willy Brandt interview with Jean Smith, September 2, 1966, NSF, box 183, Country, Germany, Berlin General volume 1, cables 12/63-4/67, Johnson Library.

principle of the principles of engagement and integration. The policy of *Ostpolitik* devised and championed by Brandt and his foreign minister Egon Bahr was founded on the principle of taking "small steps" toward reaching out to East Germany to make the border between East and West more permeable. By focusing on humanitarian issues rather than dramatic political solutions the policy was designed to build links between the Federal Republic and the GDR. "People should be permitted to visit and to talk to one another. Measures should be taken to increase the economic and cultural relations between the two parts of Germany," he explained to an interviewer[48]. It provided a way of making meaningful progress toward easing the plight of East Germans without confronting the East German regime with unpalatable options. From its inception in 1969 through the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, *Ostpolitik* provided a consistent and intensive policy of undermining the East-West division through engagement and influenced several political generations of Germany's leaders[49].

Nevertheless, this faith in integrationist approaches to external relations has sometimes been fragile. A constant feature of postwar German politics has been the tension between a worldview that put the emphasis on collective European and Atlantic interests and one that is more concerned with parochial national concerns. West Germany's success at reconstruction encouraged a resurgence in the 1960s coupled with frustration at the lack of progress toward reunification fueled nationalist sentiment. Encouraged by the success of French President Charles de Gaulle in carving out a national identity and role, German "Gaullists" argued for Germany to promote its own national interests first and foremost. As one American official put it in 1964, "The contagion of Gaullist nationalism has penetrated deep into German thinking"[50]. Moreover, Adenauer was often confronted with lively opposition from his left. Under the occupation, German politics were revitalized. The Social Democratic Party (SPD), banned under the Nazi regime, regrouped as a leftist, nationalist party committed to German reunification. Kurt Schumacher's priority was German reunification and equality for Germany and he pursued them with a notable tenacity. He saw *Westbindung* as contrary to those objectives. Schumacher's successor to the SPD leadership, Erich Ollenhauer, shared that view, but even he was forced to concede that by 1952 Germany was "indissolubly linked with the West"[51].

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48 Timothy Garton Ash, *In Europe's Name: Germany and the Divided Continent* (New York: Vintage, 1993) 14.
49 "The Right Wing in German Politics," September 29, 1964, NSF, box 183, Country, Germany, Berlin General volume 1, cables 12/63-4/67, Johnson Library.
50 Quoted in Erb, *German Foreign Policy*, 27.
51 Quoted in Lawrence S. Wittner, *One World or None: A History of the World Nuclear Disarmament Movement Through 1953*, volume 1 of *The Struggle Against the Bomb* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993) 119.

A parallel development was the growing politicization of pacifist sentiment. SPD activist Carlo Schmid told a rally in 1946 that even though other countries might rearm, "never again do we want to send our sons into the barracks. If the madness of war should break out again . . . then we should rather perish, knowing that is was not we who committed the crime"[52]. The SPD embraced the slogan "without us" (*Ohne Uns*), which had been proclaimed by German youth faced with the prospect of national military service, and adopted the slogan "No more war." It was symptomatic of the strong pacifist inclination of post-World War II Germany. After the War, rejection of the former military values was strong. A series of opinion polls conducted by the American military government in its zone of occupation in 1946 and 1947 confirmed that large majorities of Germans rejected military values and that there had been a notable shift from a prewar society that had elevated military personnel in social hierarchy to a postwar society where military personnel were accorded no special respect, income, or privileges. Even accounting for an element of the Germans telling their occupiers what they wanted to hear, this shift in such a short period of time was remarkable and ran counter to one of the central phenomena of Prussian militarism.

The Nazi regime had outlawed organized peace movements, including the largest, the German Peace Society (*Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft*), which in 1933 had boasted 30,000 members. The damage done was not just about the organization itself. As one observer put it, "During its years in power, the Nazi regime largely succeeded in expunging the peace movement from German popular consciousness"[53]. After the War, the organized peace movement underwent something of a revival, but it never truly recovered in the immediate postwar years, faced as it was with the twin obstacles of the apparent indifference of the Allied occupation authorities and the distraction for most Germans of the daily economic struggle. Thereafter, membership and public debate waxed and waned in cycles linked to specific issues. In the 1950s two issues aroused the public debate. The first was the issue of West German rearmament. The second was the introduction of tactical nuclear weapons, and specifically the prospect that Germany might become a nuclear battleground, to prompt renewed interest and for membership to peak[54]. Membership and public debate swelled again in the 1960s with the East March movement (*Ostermarschbewegung*) and in the 1980s with virulent

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52 Ibid, 117.
53 Ibid. 118-19.
54 Lawrence S. Wittner, *Resisting the Bomb: A History of the World Nuclear Disarmament Movement, 1954-1970*, volume 2 of *The Struggle Against the Bomb* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997) 145.

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opposition to the deployment of Pershing intermediate range ballistic missiles and cruise missiles in Europe. Through the late 1950s and 1960s, the SPD grew in power and solidified its stances on several important issues. The party adopted both the anti-rearmament and antinuclear issues and used them to pose a meaningful threat to Adenauer's government[55]. The Protestant Church also came to play a vocal role in the political debate over peace[56]. The politics of pacifism was thus elevated to the mainstream of German political discourse.

Reunification and Beyond

The imposed division of Germany, with each side always under the watchful eye of a powerful protector, acted like a protective cocoon to the gestation of the new ideas of new Germany. The values and institutions of pacifism, multilateralism, and the sense of international community could mature, blossom, and spread. Despite the many serious challenges that Helmut Kohl's government and the German people faced in the early 1990s and continue to face, particularly to the social and economic orders, Germany was equipped to deal with these challenges. It had solid institutions tied to the West that in many cases – but not all – could adapt to the changing circumstances.

The process of German reunification further enforced the principle of multilateralism for Germany, making it both participant and target. For Germany's major European neighbors, multilateralism was a strategy for containing Germany and reducing what they saw as the risks that a reunified Germany could come to threaten their interests. France and Great Britain, in particular, wanted to bind German security and economic power – and interests – to an integrated Europe. The economic power of the Bundesbank was bound into the European Central Bank and under the terms of reunification the German armed forces were prohibited from engaging in military action without UN Security Council sanction[57].

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55 Alice Holmes Cooper, *Paradoxes of Peace: German Peace Movements Since 1945* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996) 34-48.

56 Jim Buller and Charlie Jeffery, "Britain, Germany, and the Deepening of Europe: The Role of Domestic Norms and Institutions," in *Uneasy Allies: British-German Relations and European Integration since 1945*, edited by Klaus Larres with Elizabeth Meehan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) 127.

57 Jeffrey S. Lantis, *Strategic Dilemmas and the Evolution of German Foreign Policy Since Reunification* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002) 34.

Since reunification, a string of strategic challenges that have prompted the Germans to focus on the issue of sending German troops in out-of-area deployments: the 1991 Iraq War; Somalia; Bosnia; Kosovo; as well as the more recent Iraq War. All of these have prompted debates about how to interpret the Basic Law. Each time, the SPD has consistently and forcefully expressed itself as anti-war, as has much of the German voting public. The call for "no more war" still resonates very strongly with the German polity.

In the lead-up to the 1991 war, for example, Germans took the streets in the hundreds of thousands to protest the war. Public opinion polls taken in January 1991 found that around 79 percent of Germans thought the use of force against Iraq was wrong[58]. Stories of dissent within German military ranks began to leak to the newspapers. Later that month, however, there was a sea change in public opinion. Within a matter of weeks, German public opinion on the war had done a complete about face. The prevailing explanation for that turnaround has been that it was prompted mostly by television coverage of Iraqi SCUD missile attacks on Israel.

The Somalia, Bosnia, and Kosovo crises were all accompanied by vigorous public debate in Germany, but were different in character because of the more ambiguous issues of what constituted peacekeeping. Sending German troops as so-called "blue helmets" was more acceptable to many German voters than sending those same troops as warriors. After the terrorist attacks against the United States on September 11, 2001, Germany willingly sent troops to Afghanistan. These examples contrast sharply with the German response to the Iraq War. Gerhard Schroeder has promised "with no ifs, ands, or buts" that German troops will not be sent to Iraq. Polls show that over eighty percent of the German population support that stance.

The Preemption Debate

In the context of these fundamental debates spanning the past six decades of German history, Germans' rejection of American unilateral military action appear logical. The central point of contention in U.S.-German relations since 2002 has been the Bush administration's public affirmation of America's right to preemptively

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58 "The National Security Strategy of the United States of America," September 2002:
   <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.html>.

remove threats to its security – and especially the unilateralist implications of that affirmation – has been seen as provocative in much of the world. It manifested itself in the Iraq War and continues to fester with suspicions about similar plans for Iran and Syria. This kind of military unilateralism comes within the broader context of the administration's track record of politically undermining international treaties and organizations, such as its open derision of the United Nations, its rejection of the International Criminal Court and the Kyoto Protocol on global warming, and its withdrawal from arms control measures such as the ABM Treaty (1973) with Russia.

Anxiety was first stirred with the publication by the Bush administration in October 2002 of its "National Security Strategy for the United States." Although the 2002 National Security Strategy document contained many references to strengthening alliances and pursuing cooperative action in "a distinctly American internationalism that reflects the union of our values and national interests," the most contentious aspect was the simultaneous declaration that "America will act against such emerging threats before they are fully formed"[59]. As American historians Melvyn Leffler and John Lewis Gaddis have argued, the concepts of preemption and unilateralism have strong roots in American foreign policy going back to the country's founding[60]. The United States has always reserved the right to defend itself, unilaterally if it has to.

What makes the current stance novel is the Bush administration's loud public declarations of intent and its acting upon those intentions in Iraq without a resolution from the United Nations Security Council. Rather than making a good faith effort at securing international cooperation, critics assert, the Bush administration seems intent on acting on its own. Widespread suspicions that the Bush administration harbors similar intentions with respect to Iran further complicate the relationship.

The administration has often talked the talk of multilateralism. The September 2002 National Security Strategy stated bluntly that international cooperation was essential in dealing with the new transnational threats such as terrorism and emerging threats from nuclear proliferation such as North Korea and Iran. Administration officials routinely say that international participation is essential to U.S. interests. "The time for diplomacy is now," declared U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice

59 Melvyn P. Leffler, "Think Again: Bush's Foreign Policy," *Foreign Policy* (September/October 2004); John Lewis Gaddis, *Surprise, Security, and the American Experience* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).

60 *New York Times*, January 26, 2005.

during her confirmation hearing in what amounted to a tacit admission that the administration's track record of diplomacy had not been what it could have been[61].

And yet the administration's actions often seem to send a different message. The blunt assertions of America's rights to take unilateral action to protect its own interests; the deliberate weakening of the United Nations; the short-sighted attempts to use Iraq reconstruction contracts as rewards for cooperation; the Republican ridiculing of John Kerry's calls for U.S. policy decisions to pass a "global test"; President Bush's tendency to divide the world into a binary equation of those "for us and against us" – all of these blatantly discourage international cooperation and participation.

But much of the disagreement has been stirred less by a dismissal of the right of nations to unilaterally defend its security if it has to than the way in which that right is acted upon. The disagreement spilled out into the open in an ugly and dramatic show of international disharmony during the American march to war in Iraq in 2002- -2003. During that period, there were mistakes, bluster, and rash words on all sides of the argument. As one observer has noted, "The diplomacy of the Iraq crisis of 2002- -03 was a case study, on all sides, in how not to run a world"[62]. The issues were complicated, but central to the argument was the issue of unilateral preemption. As French President Jacques Chirac summarized his objections to American unilateralism: "I believe that the right to intervene is one that has to be officially recognised. But that right can only be exercised with international agreement, which of course today means within the framework of the United Nations"[63].

The argument also spilled over into the American domestic political debate during the 2004 presidential election when the Democratic presidential candidate, Senator John Kerry, called for the United States to subject its foreign policies to a "global test where your countrymen, your people understand fully why you're doing what you're doing and you can prove to the world that you did it for legitimate reasons"[64]. Even though Kerry had carefully avoided using the words "United Nations," which has long been a favorite punching bag of the American right, his call for American policy to pass a "global test" was lambasted by the Republican campaign. "Decisions about

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61 Garton Ash, *Free World*, 37.

62 Transcript of BBC Interview with French President Jacques Chirac (interviewed by Gavin Esler), November 17, 2004. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/newsnight/4020663.stm>

63 Transcript of the first presidential debate between John Kerry and George Bush, 30 September 2004 <http://www.debates.org/pages/trans2004a.html>.

64 <http://www.georgewbush.com/KerryMediaCenter/Read.aspx?ID=3716>.

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protecting America should be made in the Oval Office, not foreign capitals," they countered[65]. Implicit is an idea that resonates powerfully in American domestic politics: that other nations are either an impediment or even a threat to American security. It is an idea that has deep roots in the long American tradition of isolationism. Although the majority of Americans now see engagement with the world as a modern necessity, they expect that that engagement should be unfettered. International institutions and norms ("global tests" in the lexicon of modern American politics), the argument goes, subject American policy to fetters.

In its defense, the administration complains that the United Nations has become a toothless "debating society"; that the inherent inertia of the established institutions of multilateralism have proven ineffective; that retaliation for a mushroom cloud over an American city is no cure at all; and that no foreign country or organization should ever be in a position to veto an effort to defend America's national security. The debate is unlikely to ever be settled.

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The ruling SPD-Green coalition leading Germany during much of the last several years had a decidedly leftist lean. But self-proclaimed "68ers" Gerhard Schroeder and Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer, the political leaders of Germany's opposition to the Bush administration's security strategy of unilateral preemption, were able to draw on a deep wellspring of firm sentiment in German society that holds integration, multilateralism, and collective security as core cultural values. The new government under Chancellor Angela Merkel shows now sign of steering in a different direction on those issues.

Beginning in 1945, the German world view changed. It changed toward the kind of world view that the victorious powers in World War II wanted it to change. They wanted a Germany that rejected military force as a solution to world problems. They wanted a Germany that was solidly pacifist. They wanted a Germany that instinctively thought multilaterally rather than one that thought unilaterally. For a variety of reasons, over the past sixty years those ideas have planted deep roots in Germany. For Germany, multilateralism has become a powerful idea, deeply entrenched in the German worldview. Over six decades, it has become embedded intellectually, institutionally, and even morally, into Germans' cultural values. And that is precisely what the victors of World War II wanted.