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Germany, Civilian Power and the New Europe

Enlarging Nato and the European Union

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palgrave



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*For my parents,
Dorothea and Dieter Tewes,
with love and gratitude*

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Preface

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The research conducted in Poland was the most difficult part of the project. It enabled me to add East Central European perspectives to German and British ones, however, and to gain an angle on a set of events that were, for all intents and purposes, still ongoing at the time of writing. I am indebted to the Warsaw Office of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation for providing the necessary lightness of touch and organizational support. That I would return in a different function and with a different task was then not within the realms of my immediate imagination, and is something I have never regretted.

Since its creation in 1994 the Institute for German Studies at the University of Birmingham has assembled a group of magnificent experts on German politics. Talking 'shop' with Vladimir Handl, Adrian Hyde-Price, Charlie Jeffery, Kerry Longhurst, Penny Turnbull and Marcin Zaborowski was both encouragement and control, both carrot and stick, in crucial phases of this project.

I am grateful to Suzanne Nicholas, Tommy Jobbyselliat and Michael Dadgadlivbil Aylwin for checking my style and for attempting to cure me of the continental disease of using big words for small matters.

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List of Abbreviations

BdV	Bund der Vertriebenen
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy
CDU	Christlich Demokratische Union
CFE Treaty	Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty
CSCE	Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
CSU	Christlich Soziale Union
DBV	Deutscher Bauernverband
DM	Deutsche Mark
DG	Directorate-General
DNVP	Deutschnationale Volkspartei
EBRD	European Bank for Reconstruction and Development
EC	European Community
ECSC	European Community for Coal and Steel
EDC	European Defence Community
EEC	European Economic Community
Efta	European Free Trade Area
EMS	European Monetary System
EMU	Economic and Monetary Union
ERM	Exchange Rate Mechanism
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FDP	Freie Demokratische Partei
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GDR	German Democratic Republic
G7/G8	Group of Seven/Eight Summit of Leading Industrial States
IGC	Intergovernmental Conference
INF Treaty	Intermediate-range Nuclear Force Treaty
NACC	North Atlantic Cooperation Council
Nato	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NSdAP	Nationalsozialistische deutsche Arbeiterpartei
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OEEC	Organization for European Economic Cooperation
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe

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PDS	Partei des Demokratischen Sozialismus
Phare	Pologne et Hongrie: Actions pour la Reconversion Économique
QMV	Qualified Majority Voting
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
START	Strategic Arms Reductions Treaty
WEU	Western European Union
WTO	World Trade Organization
UN	United Nations