



# *The Hebrew University of Jerusalem*

## *Syllabus*

### *German External Relations in the European Context - 54603*

*Last update 17-10-2018*

*HU Credits: 2*

*Degree/Cycle: 2nd degree (Master)*

*Responsible Department: Cont. German Studies:politics, Soc.&Cult*

*Academic year: 2019*

*Semester: 1st Semester*

*Teaching Languages: English*

*Campus: Mt. Scopus*

*Course/Module Coordinator: Dr. Esther Lupatin*

*Coordinator Email: [Esther.lopabin@gmail.com](mailto:Esther.lopabin@gmail.com)*

*Coordinator Office Hours: Wednesdays 15:00-17:00*

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Teaching Staff:

Dr. Esther Lupatin

Course/Module description:

The course aims at deepening students' understanding of how Germany navigates the challenge of promoting its own foreign policy agenda while being constrained by EU membership. We will start by discussing Germany's foreign policy from the end of World War Two until the creation of the EU in 1992, and the establishing of the EU Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). We will discuss Germany's role in developing the CFSP, explore the specific mechanisms for dealing with international and regional conflicts, and to what extent these mechanisms affect the freedom of Germany to promote its own foreign policy agenda. Next, we will discuss Germany's position on EU enlargement policy and its desire to promote regional stability. We will also examine Germany's relationship to Russia and possible divergences with the EU's agenda. We will then devote special attention to the relations of Germany with the US, NATO, and examine future perspectives. Next, we will discuss German relations with Turkey and Iran, focusing on Germany's foreign policy goals and strategy vis-à-vis these countries. We will then focus on Germany's foreign policy in the Middle East and the effect of the Arab Spring and the migration crises. In particular, we will explore the ongoing relations between Israel and Germany and possible trajectories for the future. Finally, we will discuss the future of German external relations following Brexit, the migration crisis, and the new security threats.

Course/Module aims:

1. To provide an in depth understanding of German foreign policy goals.
2. To examine how Germany develops its foreign policy in light of its membership in the EU.
3. To analyze German foreign policy and strategy towards different countries and regions.
4. To assess the German response to various challenges facing Europe, such as the migration crises, Brexit, and instability in the Middle East.
5. To discuss possible future directions of German foreign policy.

Learning outcomes - On successful completion of this module, students should be able to:

By the end of the course students will gain a better understanding of German foreign policy and the key debates that surround it. They will have a solid comprehension of the nature of Germany-EU relations, and the influence of Germany and the EU on each other. By obtaining insight into how Germany's foreign policy developed in the face of recent crises, students will have the tools to

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*evaluate and analyze Germany's foreign policy and possible trajectories which this policy may take.*

Attendance requirements(%):

80%

*Students can miss up to two classes without prior notification*

*Teaching arrangement and method of instruction: Lectures and class discussions*

Course/Module Content:

*Course Outline*

- 1. 1. From war to Peace – the evolution of German foreign policy from 1945 to 1992.*
- 2. The Road to CFSP: the role of Germany in developing the EU Common Foreign and Security Policy.*
- 3. The Impact of EU Membership on shaping Germany's Foreign Policy.*
- 4. German and EU Policy towards Enlargement – the quest for regional stability.*
- 5. Germany and Russia – are they getting closer?*
- 6. German and US relations: from the Bush to Trump*
- 7. Germany and Turkey – an ambiguous Relationship.*
- 8. Germany, the EU, and the Iran Nuclear Deal.*
- 9. Germany's and the EU's goals and strategies in the Middle East, before and after the "Arab Spring" and the refugee crises.*
- 10. Germany's relationship with Israel, and possible trajectories.*
- 11. The future of Germany's foreign policy in light of the BREXIT, the refugee crises, and heightened security threats.*

Required Reading:

*VII. Reading Material*

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1. *From war to Peace – the evolution of German foreign policy after unification.*

*Required reading:*

*Wolfgang Wessels (2001) Germany in Europe: return of the nightmare or towards an engaged Germany in a new Europe?, German Politics, 10:1, 107-116.*

2. *The Road to CFSP: The role of Germany in developing the EU Common and Security Policy.*

*Required reading:*

*Wolfgang Wagner (2003) Why the EU's common foreign and security policy will remain intergovernmental: a rationalist institutional choice analysis of European crisis management policy, Journal of European Public Policy, 10:4, 576-595.*

3. *The Impact of EU Membership on shaping Germany's Foreign Policy.*

*Required reading:*

*S Bulmer, W Paterson (2010), "Germany and the European Union: from 'tamed power' to normalized power?" International Affairs, 2010, 86:5, pp. 1051-1073.*

4. *German and EU Policy towards Enlargement – the quest for regional stability.*

*Required reading:*

*Henning Tewes (1997), "The emergence of a civilian power: Germany and central Europe", German Politics, 6:2, 95-116.*

5. *Germany and Russia – are they getting closer?*

*Stephen F. Szabo (2014), "Germany's Commercial Realism and the Russia Problem", Survival, 56:5, 117-128.*

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6. *German and US relations: from the Bush to Trump*

*Required reading:*

Stephen F. Szabo (2009), "Can Berlin and Washington Agree on Russia?", *The Washington Quarterly*, 32:4, 23-41.

7. *Germany and Turkey – an ambiguous Relationship.*

*Required reading:*

Juergen Gerhards and Silke Hans (2011), "Why not Turkey? Attitudes towards Turkish Membership in the EU among Citizens in 27 European Countries", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 49, Issue 2, pp. 219-241, pp. 741-766.

8. *Germany, the EU, and the Iran nuclear deal.*

*Required reading:*

Frank W. Steinmeier (2016), *Germany's New Global Role: Berlin Steps Up Foreign Affairs*, 95.

9. *Germany's and the EU's goals and strategies in the Middle East, before and after the "Arab Spring" and the refugee crises.*

*Required reading:*

Christian-P. Hanelt (2016), *The International Response to Crisis in the Middle East: A German Approach*, December 1, 2016, Bertelsmann Foundation.

<https://www.bfna.org/research/the-international-response-to-crisis-in-the-middle-east-a-german-approach/>

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10. *Germany's relationship to Israel, and possible trajectories.*

*Required reading:*

*Esther Lopatin, Tal Samuel Azran and Yair Galily (2017), "A clash-of-civilizations prism in German media? Documenting a shift from political to religious framing of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict", Communication and the Public, February 2017.*

11. *The future of Germany's foreign policy in light of the BREXIT, the refugee crises, and heightened security threats.*

*Required reading:*

*Josef Janning & Almut Möller, (2016), "Leading from the Centre: Germany's New Role in Europe", European Council on Foreign Relations.*

*Additional Reading Material:*

*VII. Reading Material*

1. *From war to Peace - the evolution of German foreign policy after unification.*

*Optional:*

*Sebastian Harnisch (2001), "Change and continuity in post-unification German foreign policy", German Politics, 10:1, 35-60.*

*Adrian Hyde-Price (2003), "Foreign and Security Policy", Developments in German Politics 3, Stephen Padgett, William Paterson and Gordon Smith (eds.), pp. 184-203.*

*Peter van Ham (1999), "Europe's precarious centre: Franco-German co-operation and the CFSP", European Security, 8:4, 1-26.*

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2. *The Road to CFSP: the role of Germany in developing the EU Common Foreign and Security Policy.*

Optional:

Miskimmon A. (2007), "Germany, the European Community and the Challenges of the End of the Cold War", in *Germany and the Common Foreign and Security Policy of the European Union. New Perspectives in German Studies*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Philip H. Gordon (1997), "Europe's Uncommon Foreign Policy", *International Security*, Vol. 22, No. 3, pp. 74-100.

3. *The Impact of EU Membership on shaping Germany's Foreign Policy.*

Josef Janning (1996), "A German Europe—a European Germany? On the debate over Germany's foreign policy", *International Affairs*.

Optional:

Charlie Jeffery & William Paterson (2003), "Germany and European Integration: A shifting of tectonic plates", *West European Politics*, 26:4, 59-75.

4. *German and EU Policy towards Enlargement - the quest for regional stability.*

Optional:

Sedelmeier, Ulrich (2003), *EU enlargement, identity and the analysis of European foreign policy: identity formation through policy practice*. No. 13. European University Institute (EUI), Robert Schuman Centre of Advanced Studies (RSCAS). [http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/1855/03\\_13.pdf?sequence&eq;1](http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/1855/03_13.pdf?sequence&eq;1)

Schimmelfennig, Frank, and Ulrich Sedelmeier (2004), "Governance by conditionality: EU rule transfer to the candidate countries of Central and Eastern Europe", *Journal of European public policy* 11:4, pp. 661-679.

Dixon, J. C., & Fullerton, A. S. (2014). *For and against European Union expansion: Examining mixed opinion on enlargement and specific countries' entries*. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 55:5, pp. 357-378.

Frank Schimmelfennig (2008) *EU political accession conditionality after the 2004 enlargement: consistency and effectiveness*, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 15:6.

William Paterson (2011), "The Reluctant Hegemon? Germany Moves

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*Centre Stage in the European Union”, Journal of Common Market Studies, 49, pp. 57-75.*

## 5. Germany and Russia - are they getting closer?

*Optional:*

*Randall Newnham (2017), “Germany and Russia Since Reunification: Continuity, Change, and the Role of Leaders”, German Politics and Society, 122:35, pp. 42-62.*

*Marco Siddi (2016), “German Foreign Policy towards Russia in the Aftermath of the Ukraine Crisis: A New Ostpolitik?”, Europe-Asia Studies, 68:4, 665-677.*

*Taras Kuzio (2017), “Ukraine between a Constrained EU and Assertive Russia”, Journal of Common Market Studies, 55:1, pp. 103-120.*

*H Kundnani (2015), “Leaving the west behind: Germany looks East”, Foreign Affairs, 94, 108-116.*

## 6. German and US relations: from the Bush to Trump

*Optional:*

*Kagan, R. (2002), Power and weakness, Policy Review, (113), 3-28.*

*Lisa Brandt and Barbara Kunz (2013), Transatlantic Relations in a Multipolar World. French and German Perspectives of Security and Trade Affairs, Genshagener Papiere, No. 11, April 2013.*

*Shapiro, J., & Witney, N. (2009). Towards a Post-American Europe: a power audit of EU-US Relations. Brussels: European Council on Foreign Relations.*

*Steve Szabo (2004), Parting ways: The crisis in German-American relations.*

*Stephen F. Szabo (2018), “Partners in Leadership? American Views of the New German Role”, German Politics, 27:4, 539-554.*

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## 7. Germany and Turkey – an ambiguous Relationship.

Optional:

Asli Okyay & Jonathan Zaragoza-Cristiani (2016), *The Leverage of the Gatekeeper: Power and Interdependence in the Migration Nexus between the EU and Turkey*, *The International Spectator*, 51:4, 51-66.

YALE H . FERGUSON (2016), “Turkey and the EU: The Context Changes Again”, *European Review*, 24:3, 365–380.

Pinar Gedikkaya Bal (2016), *The Effects of The Refugee Crisis on the EU-Turkey Relations: The Readmission Agreement and Beyond*, *European Scientific Journal*,12:8.

Gulay Icoz & Natalie Martin (2016), “Opportunities missed: Turkey-EU accession since 2005”, *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 24:4, 442-445.

## 8. Germany, the EU, and the Iran nuclear deal.

Optional:

Cornelius Adebahr (2017), *Europe and Iran: The Nuclear Deal and Beyond*, Routledge.

Ariel Cohen (2007) *Europe’s Strategic Dependence on Russian Energy Backgrounder*, No. 2983, Heritage Foundation.

Andreas Goldthau (2016), *Assessing Nord Stream 2: regulation, geopolitics & energy security in the EU, Central Eastern Europe and the UK*, Strategy Paper 10, European Centre for Energy and Resource Security.

Tara Shirvani & Siniša Vuković (2015) *After the Iran Nuclear Deal: Europe's Pain and Gain*, *The Washington Quarterly*, 38:3, 79-92.

## 9. Germany’s and the EU’s goals and strategies in the Middle East, before and after the “Arab Spring” and the refugee crises.

Optional:

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Rolf Steininger (2018), *Germany and the Middle East From Kaiser Wilhelm II to Angela Merkel*, Berghahn.

Paul James Cardwell (2011), "EuroMed, European Neighbourhood Policy and the Union for the Mediterranean: Overlapping Policy Frames in the EU's Governance of the Mediterranean", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 49:2, pp. 219-241.

Karen Smith (2005), "The Outsiders: The European Neighbourhood Policy", *International Affairs*, Vol. 81, Issue 4, pp. 757-773.

Alister Miskimmon (2012), "German Foreign Policy and the Libya Crisis", *German Politics*, 21 p. 392-410.

Assem Dandashly (2015) *The EU Response to Regime Change in the Wake of the Arab Revolt: Differential Implementation*, *Journal of European Integration*.

10. *Germany's relationship to Israel, and possible trajectories.*

Optional:

Lily Gardner Feldman (2012), *Germany's Foreign Policy of Reconciliation: From Enmity to Amity*, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers

Guy Harpaz, Gadi Heimann (2016), 'Sixty Years of EU-Israeli Trade Relations: The Expectations-Delivery Gap', *Journal of World Trade*, 50:3, pp. 447-474.

Lily Gardner Feldman (1999), "The principle and practice of 'reconciliation' in German foreign policy: relations with France, Israel, Poland and the Czech Republic", *International Affairs* 75, 2 333-356.

Paul Belkin (2007), "Germany's Relations with Israel: Background and Implications for German Middle East Policy", *Congressional Research Service*, Report RL 33808.

Esther Lopatin (2016), "The Impact of the EU Integration process on German-Israeli Relations and Possible Trajectories for the Future", Wittstock, Alfred, ed. *Rapprochement, Change, Perception and Shaping the Future: 50 Years of German-Israeli and Israeli-German Diplomatic Relations*. Frank & Timme.

11. *The future of Germany's foreign policy in light of the BREXIT, the refugee crises,*

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and heightened security threats.

*Optional:*

*Asli Ilgit, Audie Klotz (2018), Refugee rights or refugees as threats? Germany's new Asylum policy, The British Journal of Politics and International Relations.  
<http://journals.sagepub.com.ezprimo1.idc.ac.il/doi/pdf/10.1177/1369148118778958>*

*Kristin Archick (2016), "The European Union: Current Challenges and Future Prospects", Congressional Research Service, CRS.*

*<https://swsu.ru/sbornik-statey/pdf/R44249.pdf>*

*Gunther Hellmann (2016) Germany's world: power and followership in a crisis ridden Europe, Global Affairs, 2:1, 3-20*

*Course/Module evaluation:*

*End of year written/oral examination 0 %*

*Presentation 0 %*

*Participation in Tutorials 0 %*

*Project work 0 %*

*Assignments 0 %*

*Reports 0 %*

*Research project 0 %*

*Quizzes 0 %*

*Other 100 %*

*see additional information*

*Additional information:*

*1) Participation: students are expected to complete all reading assignments and participate in class discussions (10% of the final grade).*

*2) Final Paper – students are required to submit a term paper of 12 pages length (90% of the final grade).*

*Possible topics for term paper will be published in the module.*

*Please feel free to contact Dr. Lopatin by email or phone (052-3348991).*