

GERMANY IN BILATERAL AND GLOBAL RELATIONS

Rafał Riedel, The German Question in the 21st Century . A Hegemonist against Its own Will

“German question” is de facto a set of questions, dilemmas and fears connected with the role and position of Germany in Europe. The objective of the article is to feature the specifics of the contemporary “German question” as well as discuss it in the light of changing contextual factors – among them, the European integration process. Leadership crisis in the European Union focuses the observers’ attention on the biggest European economy and the expectations towards Berlin get more and more demanding in line with the cumulating challenges facing Europe.

Jan Wiktor Tkaczyński, Constitutional Means of Protecting Systemic Order in Germany

Durability of the constitutional status quo established after World War II must trigger the curiosity of a careful observer of the history of German constitutionalism. One must also wonder which new or newly defined institutions of the political system could ensure such stability. If we rely only on a reading of the constitutional regulations in this respect, the intention of the legislator to protect the substance of the Constitution through its built-in security immediately becomes clear. Apparently, this is an effective means, since Germans have lived under the current Constitution for the last 66 years, close to five times longer than under the Weimar Constitution.

Elżbieta Kuźelewska, The Federal Republic of Germany before the European Court of Human Rights in the Years 2006-2014

Germany is a democratic state of law that respects human rights. As a member of the Council of Europe, in 1952 it implemented into its domestic law the European Convention on Human Rights - an international document on universal protection of human rights adopted by the Council of Europe. The aim of the article is to analyze whether and to what extent German citizens filed individual complaints to the European Court of Human Rights over the past nine years

(2006 - 2014). The article seeks to answer the question if the German system of human rights protection is effective. One of the indicators of effectiveness is the number of complaints brought from Germany to the ECtHR in relation to the number of inhabitants and also compared to the total number of complaints from the 47 member states of the Council of Europe. The analysis will cover statistics on the number of judgments in German cases before the Court in Strasbourg issued between 2006 and 2014. This will be helpful in determining the degree and the type of violations by the German state of the human rights protected by the European Convention on Human Rights.

Pierre-Frédéric Weber, Emotions from the Perspective of a Constructivist Theory of International Relations. Opinions on Germany in Europe after 2010

Building upon A. K. Henrikson's concept of mental mapping, the author proposes an interpretative framework to approach the European emotional landscape concerning Germany since 2010, when the symptoms of the European Union's economic crisis became more visible. The main emotion considered here is fear in its broader sense. The analysis deals with collective emotions seen as a stabilized cultural element in international relations. The question of change in the dominating emotional regime is treated from a constructivist perspective as a norm change on the microsystemic level of the relations between given state agents and Germany, as well as on the macrosystemic scale of the international structure. Final remarks concern the reactivation of fear and its limits.

Bogdan Koszel, On ne touche pas à l'ami²e franco-allemande. German-French Cooperation during the Hollande Administration

After power in France was assumed by President F. Hollande in May 2012, the Franco-German cooperation in the European Union weakened but did not translate into cooperation on a bilateral level. The need for close cooperation in order to overcome the eurozone crisis forced Berlin and Paris to correct their individual ambitious plans and work out the necessary compromises. In turn the celebration of the round 50th anniversary of the Elysée Treaty dictated the strategy of developing mutual relations for the next years. In the European Union, both countries are doomed to cooperation, because according to the general opinion Germany and France are still the motor of European integration and a guarantee of its stable development.

Lubomir W. Zyblikiewicz, Germany's Relations with Rising Powers

The object of my initial analysis are Germany's relations with the non-European parts of the world and chosen powers which are not Germany's traditional partners. The selection is based on their level of socio-economic development as well as their sufficient capability connected with the definite will to have an important impact on the dynamic international order, globally and regionally. If we employ the German-language terminology, the object of analysis are relations of Germany with Schwellenländer or Gestaltungsmächte. Having outlined the trends in power distribution, characteristic for the contemporary world economy and politics, I examine the relevant documents and the specific activities within German foreign policy (foreign visits of the chancellor and of foreign ministers from 2005 to 2015). The foreign trade outcomes lead to the opinion that these efforts so far are partially fruitful. Clearly outstanding are the relations, intensively developed in economic and political fields, between Germany and China.

Klaus Bachmann, Manoeuvring on Three Levels. The Impact of Public Opinion and Media Framing on German Foreign Policy During the Crisis in Ukraine

German foreign policy during the Ukrainian crisis is best explained as a three level game between a divided public opinion, a hawkish US government and the EU, during which the government of Angela Merkel did its best to avoid sanctions against Russia, because of the anticipated backlash for Germany's economic ties with Russia and for an acquiescent and war-fearing public. During the crisis, several critical moments can be identified, during which public opinion, media coverage and foreign policy changed their mutual relation. First, during the Euromaidan media coverage, policy and public opinion overlapped. This changed dramatically during Russia's invasion and annexation of Crimea, when public opinion started to deviate from the media mainstream and Germany's foreign policy. After the downing of the MH17 flight in July 2014, all three started to converge again. However, whereas most Germans agree with the basic lines of Angela Merkel's policy toward Russia and Ukraine, a large minority regards media coverage as biased and anti-Russian and does not support incremental sectorial sanctions against Russia. Based on an adapted three-level model, the article finds that shifts in German foreign policy during the Ukrainian crisis were triggered on the domestic level by shifts in public rather than popular opinion when external pressure was low or external influences counterbalanced each other.

Malwina Książniakiewicz, Public Opinion and Political Elites in Germany towards the Conflict in Ukraine (November 2013 - March 2015)

Due to democratic transformations in Ukraine in the winter of 2014, the German public opinion began to perceive Ukraine in a positive way. But the traditional relations with Russia continued to influence the attitude of Germany's political elite and the government of Angela Merkel towards changes in Kiev. A breakthrough in the attitude of the German society followed the Russian annexation of Crimea and the downing of the Malaysian airliner. A particularly critical approach was voiced against Moscow's support of the separatists in Donbas. Despite the activation of Russia's supporters (Rußlandvesteher) and opponents of Ukraine, German society positively evaluated the involvement of the Merkel government to resolve the conflict and has expressed growing aversion to Russia and its president.

Maciej Paszyn, Expansion of Gazprom on the German Power Market during the Merkel Administration 2005-2015

The article presents the expansion of the Russian gas potentate, Gazprom, in Germany. Owing to special power relations between Moscow and Berlin, the Kremlin can realize its political and economic goals. Gas trade brings enormous profits to the budget of the Russian Federation, and moreover is an element of regaining influence over Europe by Putin's team. Through presence at the largest gas market in the EU, a company controlled by the Kremlin can be simultaneously present in the EU energy system. Excellent business relations with Germany resulted in Gazprom being the largest contractor of European gas companies.

Barbara Jurkowska, Taxonomic Analysis of Labour Market in Light of Demographic Regional Changes Occurring in Poland and Germany

The article analyses the job market in the context of demographic changes that affect the regions of Poland and Germany, measures the regions' development using selected taxonomic methods, explores similarities and differences between them, as well as shows other regional disparities. The study comprised 16 Polish provinces and 16 German states (so-called Länder), a total of 32 regions. Covering an area that is highly diversified not only economically but also demographically and in terms of the job market, the regions are here subjected to a multidimensional statistical analysis.

Roman Kochnowski, German Fleets in the 20th Century. From Kaiserliche Marine to Deutsche Marine

The article presents the development of German States' fleets in the 20th century. It shows their evolution over the last one hundred years. The author focuses on the evolution of the place and role of the German Fleet from the Imperial Navy up to the contemporary Deutsche Marine, which concentrates on performing the tasks of joint forces within NATO. It also shows GDR and FRG fleets during the division of Germany. Contemporary German fleet and the FRG's armed forces in general are rather modest compared to the economic capacities of today's Germany. This situation coincides with an atmosphere of increasing pacifism that permeates the German society.

Katarzyna Jedynakiewicz-Mróz, Between Gretchen and Valkyrie. The Pattern of Womanhood in the Concepts and Practice of the Union of German Girls (Bund Deutscher Mädel, BDM)

The article presents one of the issues of the history of the Union of German Girls (Bund Deutscher Mädel, BDM) in the Third Reich. It concerns the pattern of womanhood promoted by this organization, both in concepts and in practice. The notion "pattern" used in the text means an ideal image of the female sex and relationships between the sexes, both in adolescence and in adulthood. This image is presented from the perspective of the different aspects of the activity of BDM members. The bearings considered in the study include: motives for joining the organization, personal examples of the female sex, the role of the uniform and the rituals as an identification instrument, "female" and "male" forms of activity, as well as a specificity of BDM in the processes of indoctrination and sexualization of its members. The text presents also the problem of the paths of career of the Union's functionaries (Führerinnen). The source base of the article were diaries of the former members of BDM, after their critical analysis according to the principles of historical methodology.

Robert Kuśnierz, Nothilfe . German Support for the Starving Compatriots in Soviet Ukraine in the 1930s.

In this article I discuss the support for the starving German inhabitants of Soviet Ukraine in the 1930s by organizations from Germany. The German aid was provided both during and after the Great Famine. At the beginning, the recipients of the money were kulaks and the disenfranchised (lishentsy). With time, however, the circle of recipients of the Nothilfe gradually expanded and included not only the ordinary peasants, but even the Communists. From April 1933 to April 1934 the funds sent to Ukrainian Germans amounted to 487,821 rubles in gold. Bolshevik authorities fought against German aid, regarding it as the "German fascists' hostile activity" so they urged recipients of the aid to

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voluntarily renounce it. When this action failed, the Bolsheviks began to persecute the receivers of the aid. Repressions against people accepting the Nothilfe included open trials, deportations of German peasants from border areas to eastern Ukraine (1935) and then to Kazakhstan (1936) as well as some "improvement of the standard of living" in the late 1930s. All those measures ultimately extinguished the stream of the German help flowing to the USSR.

Andrzej Denka, On the Role of Spiritual Insurgators in Changes of Germany's Historical and Political Identity from Mid-1980s until the End of the 20th Century

Since mid-1980s certain significant changes of the political and national German identity can be observed. They became conspicuous after the reunification of Germany and even more pronounced at the turn of the 20th and 21st century. Starting with the debate of historians on the controversial claims of Ernst Nolte, there emerged in the public discourse views presented by various other intellectuals and writers which testify to their conversion from liberal-leftist positions to rightist and national ones. Often this transition had the form of a scandal in the media (Luhmann) making it possible to deal with social irritations and at the same time to propagate new opinions.

Agnieszka Szczepaniak-Kroll, Motivations of Poles Migrating to Berlin in the Years 1980-2012

Migrations are a result of the push and pull factors. The former are connected to the migrants' country of origin while the latter to the country of destination. All the factors combine in a variety of configurations conditioned by the political-social-economic situation at a given time and place. However, the ultimate assessment of the push and pull factors is subjective, i.e. their perception depends on the personality traits of an individual migrant. The article presents the motivations of Poles who migrated to Berlin in the years 1980-2012 and their economic, social and cultural background.