

<b>Course Title</b>	<b><i>Germany and the New World Order</i></b>
<b>Category</b>	History & Culture
<b>Class Time</b>	<b>Winter Session: January 7<sup>th</sup> – 25<sup>th</sup> 2019</b> <b>Track C</b> <b>Weekly schedule</b> Monday: 5.05 pm – 6.35 pm & 6.45 pm – 7.30 pm Tuesday & Wednesday: 1.30 pm – 3 pm & 3.20 pm – 4.50 pm Thursday: 9.00 am – 10.30 am & 11.00 am – 12.30 pm
<b>Course Level &amp; Target Group</b>	Undergraduate students of all subjects with an interest in German history, politics, economy, and international relations.
<b>Course Language</b>	This course is taught in English, including readings in English. For the understanding of the texts and the discussions in class a language level B2 or higher (Common European Framework of Reference for Languages) is required.
<b>ECTS</b>	5 ECTS (45 contact hours)
<b>Instructor</b>	Christian E. Rieck

## Course Objective & Learning Outcomes

This course aims to give students a thorough understanding of German foreign policy since reunification, its bases, ideas, instruments and potentials. It will reflect upon present trends in international relations and global governance, and ponder how Germany (or any other Western power) can hope to wield power effectively in this New World Order.

## Readings

Reading materials will be distributed at the beginning of the class.

### Suggested Readings:

Helga Haftendorn: *Coming of Age*, Rowman & Littlefield 2006.  
 Sebastian Harnisch / Hanns W. Maull (eds.): *Germany as a Civilian Power?*, Manchester 2001.  
 Hans Kundnani: *The Paradox of German Power*, Hurst 2014.  
 Fritz Stern: *Five Germanys I have known*, Farrar, Straus and Giroux 2006.

The German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP) publishes two journals that offer a German perspective on the world. DGAP's flagship journal is INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, a German "Foreign Affairs". The English-language BERLIN POLICY JOURNAL is geared towards an international audience.

## Course Description & Schedule – details see below

The course will include two field trips to a government agency and a federal ministry sites in Berlin, as well as talks and discussions by guest speakers from the Bundestag and relevant research institutes.

A detailed syllabus containing the concrete topics, research questions, readings and assignments for every class will be made available online before the start of the course.

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## Assignments

In order to be granted 5 ECTS, students are required to

- participate actively in all classes,
- read all assigned texts
- hold a brief presentation (20 min).

In addition, you ought to hand in an essay of at least 2.000 words on the question: *“What Next for Germany: How could Germany wield power more effectively?”*

The deadline for the essay will be January 31, 2019.

The 5 ECTS credit points are thus granted as follows:

- 1 ECTS – Attendance rate and participation in course
- 2 ECTS – Presentation
- 2 ECTS – Essay

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## Assessment Components

A minimum of 80% class attendance is required. The final grade will be composed of active participation during class discussions as well as the other tasks given in class. Failure to fulfil one of the mentioned components results in failure of the class.

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## Expectations & Policies

Preparation for lively discussions in the classroom: be on time, have at least the required readings completed and points in mind for discussion or clarification.

Assignments: complete all assignments according to the specified requirements on schedule including handing over to the lecturer.

Commitment in class: pay particular attention to the lecturer and respect differences of opinions (classmates', lecturers, local constituents engaged with on the visits).

Academic guidelines: Comply with academic integrity policies (such as no plagiarism or cheating, nothing unethical), especially the academic honor code and the student code of conduct (see FAQs on [www.huwisu.de](http://www.huwisu.de)).

Attendance policy: No unexcused absences are permitted. Students must contact their class teachers to catch up on missed work – to excuse absence please contact the HUWISU office (80% class attendance are required).

Field trips: if classes involve a field trip or other external visits, these require attendance as well as appearance in time – transportation difficulties are never valid reasons for an excused absence.

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## Cultural Extra-curricular Activities

HUWISU offers a fine selection of interesting extra-curricular activities and aims to give all participants an unforgettable stay in Berlin. Your program includes excursions, sport activities and social gatherings providing you the opportunity to get to know the city, the university and your classmates better and to meet students from all parts of the world.

The costs for these offers are included in the course fees.

Below you will find examples of previously offered cultural activities. You will be informed about the respective cultural program after your enrolment via email as well as during the course period.

Political and historical guided tours:

- **Federal Chancellery (Bundeskanzleramt):** It's the central coordination point for the entire government policy. The office is in constant contact to departments and other authorities.
  - **German Parliament (Bundestag):** As the highest organ of the legislative in Germany it's elected by the German people. In practice Germany is governed by a bicameral legislature, of which the Bundestag serves as the lower house and the Bundesrat equals the upper house.
  - **House of Representatives (Abgeordnetenhaus):** It's the state parliament (Landtag) of Berlin and located in the center of the reunified city. Together with the Martin Gropius Bau, the Topography of Terror and the Bundesrat, it presents an arresting contrast to the flair of the new Potsdamer Platz.
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- **Topography of Terror:** A permanent exhibition with focus on the central institutions of the SS and police during the “Third Reich” and the crimes they committed throughout Europe. With the help of mostly photographic material, visitors are led through the major themes of the exhibition’s five main segments.
- **Political Archive:** As the “memory” of the Federal Foreign Office it preserves the files on German diplomacy since 1867, as well as the international treaties signed by the Federal Republic of Germany and its predecessors in title. The records are preserved, processed and made available for academic research.

#### Cultural guided tours:

- **Kreuzberg Tour:** Kreuzberg has emerged from its history as one of the poorest quarters in Berlin in the late 1970s to a cultural center of today’s Berlin. A unique area and one of the hippest neighborhoods in Berlin with many bars, pubs and clubs.
- **Museum Island (Museumsinsel):** was awarded UNESCO World Heritage Status in 1999 and is an ensemble of five museums: Old Museum, New Museum, Old National Gallery, Pergamon Museum and Bode Museum.
- **Berlin Cathedral (Berliner Dom):** Berlin’s largest and most important Protestant church is located on the Museum Island.
- **Daytrip to Potsdam:** Be inspired by the illustrious attractions of the UNESCO’s World Heritage while underway through the city of Potsdam. Immerse yourself in the history and present of Potsdam and discover many palaces, gardens, and historic quarters such as the “Holländisches Viertel” or the “Nikolaikirche”.
- **Exhibitions:** Berlin is known for its unique galleries and exhibitions, that is why we will visit at least one during the Winter University.

#### Social gatherings

- **Welcome Get-Together:** We invite you to meet all participants as well as the HUWISU staff in a relaxed atmosphere.
- **Ice Skating:** A fun outdoor sport activity for everyone; even for those who have never been on ice-skates before. Afterwards you may head out for hot beverage to warm up from the inside.
- **Farewell Party:** At the end of the Winter University we will come together to celebrate the exciting time with HUWISU.

## Your Instructor

*Christian E. Rieck is Senior Analyst for Regional Powers and Regional Integration at the Global Governance Institute in Brussels and Lecturer for German Foreign Policy and Contemporary History at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin.*

Previous posts in applied research include the foreign policy think tank at Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, the European Foresight Program at the technology think tank Stiftung Neue Verantwortung, the Latin American Institute of the German Institute for Global and Area Studies GIGA, as well as a Carlo Schmid Fellowship in the area of competition policy at the United Nations in Mexico City.

Christian also teaches international relations, global governance and foreign and development policy at renowned universities in Brussels, Strasbourg and Potsdam – and is a tutor at the Academy for International Cooperation at GIZ in Bonn. He was a member of the Think Tank 20 process of the G20.

The area studies specialist holds a postgraduate degree in Latin American Studies by the University of Oxford. Before that he studied law and economics in Bayreuth and Seville, then European and international public law at HU Berlin as well as at the European University Institute in Florence. His prize-winning work on European integration was awarded, among others, the Prize on the Future of Europe from the German Council on Foreign Relations.

Please note that the course and its syllabus are subject to change. Last update: June 2018

# GERMANY

## AND THE NEW WORLD ORDER



This course will try to understand the position a reunified Germany has sought to define for itself in the New World Order that has arisen since the end of the Cold War. Today, a quarter-century after reunification, the contours of a new German foreign policy are becoming visible, which we might dub “middle power politics.”

New German self-images and ambitions, a changed geopolitical environment, new global tasks and platforms, stronger interdependences with the rest of the world, and a growing set of foreign policy instruments amid stagnating resources, all define the character and the reach of German foreign policy today. Since reunification new partnerships have been forged and new competitors have emerged. The course will deal with these overarching trends, as with the possibilities a country such as Germany has to carve out an international profile of its own – in concert with other Western powers, within the present structures of global governance, or beyond them.

This course aims to give students a thorough understanding of German foreign policy since reunification, its bases, ideas, instruments and potentials. It will reflect upon present trends in international relations and global governance, and ponder how Germany (or any other Western power) can hope to wield power effectively in this New World Order.

This course strives to be interdisciplinary, and will approach the concept of “middle power politics” from different perspectives, including those of the political sciences, law, regional studies, as well as from those of IR and German contemporary history.

Mon, Jan 7, 2019 – 17:00-19:30

**A National Mall for Germany?**

**National Identity and Foreign Policy in the Heart of Berlin.**

Berlin's historic center as a repository of German history: Introduction to Germany's national and foreign policy identity after 1989 through a description of iconic buildings from Schlossplatz to Brandenburg Gate; Introduction to national historical memory through a description of national war memorials in the Tiergarten; "negative national identity"; The Holocaust and Germany's "Never Again!"; Berlin's National Mall.

*no reading assignment.*

Tue, Jan 8, 2019 – 13:30-15:00

**A Middle Power's Quest for Normalcy.  
Germany after Reunification.**

Bases of German foreign policy since reunification: Yugoslav Wars; "normalization"; out-of-area missions; militarization of foreign policy; Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya; German profile in international fora (UN, WTO, climate policy, energy policy); "coherence" and "coordination" of foreign policy, development cooperation and security policy; the quest for a permanent seat in the UN Security Council, and other goals of German foreign policy.

*required reading:*

Kundnani, Hans (2014):  
"Idealism and Realism",  
in: Kundnani, Hans:  
*The Paradox of German Power*,  
London, 23-38.

Baumann, Rainer / Hellmann, Gunther (2001):  
"Germany and the Use of Military Force, 'Total War',  
the 'Culture of Restraint' and the Quest for Normality",  
in: *German Politics* 10 (1), 61-82.

Mauß, Hanns W. (2000):  
"German Foreign Policy, Post-Kosovo. Still a 'Civilian Power'?",  
in: *German Politics* 9 (2), 1-24.

*optional reading:*

Federal Foreign Office (2013):  
"Germany's foreign policy parameters"  
[http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/EN/Aussenpolitik/Schwerpunkte\\_Aussenpolitik\\_node.html](http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/EN/Aussenpolitik/Schwerpunkte_Aussenpolitik_node.html)

Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik / German Marshall Fund (2013):  
„New Power, New Responsibility.  
Elements of a German foreign and security policy for a changing world“  
[https://www.swp-berlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/projekt\\_papiere/GermanForeignSecurityPolicy\\_SWP\\_GMF\\_2013.pdf](https://www.swp-berlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/projekt_papiere/GermanForeignSecurityPolicy_SWP_GMF_2013.pdf)

Tue, Jan 8, 2019 – 15:00-16:30

### **The Reluctant Hegemon.**

#### **Leadership and Followership, and the Sources of German Power.**

Foreign policy as a constitutional mandate; the four pillars of German foreign policy; foreign policy actors; parallel diplomacy of the states and political foundations; development cooperation as a special form of foreign policy with an institutional pluralism of its own; “Civilian Power”/“Zivilmacht” and other foreign policy concepts; strategic planning of German foreign policy.

#### *required reading:*

Sperling, James (2001):

“Neither Hegemony nor Dominance:

Reconsidering German Power in Post Cold-War Europe”,

in: *British Journal of Political Science* 31 (2), 389-425.

Miller, Russel A. (2010):

“Germany’s Basic Law and the Use of Force”,

in: *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies* 17 (2), 197-206.

Slaughter, Anne-Marie (2004):

“Conclusion”,

in: Slaughter, Anne-Marie:

*A New World Order,*

Princeton, 261-271.

#### *optional reading:*

Risse, Thomas (2008):

“The End of the West? Conclusions”,

in: Anderson, Jeffrey / Ikenberry, G. John / Risse, Thomas (eds.):

*The End of the West? Crisis and Change in the Atlantic Order,*

Ithaca, 263-290.

The Economist (2015):

“Strict Order. Europe fears German nationalism. Germany says it is simply enforcing the rules”

<http://www.economist.com/news/europe/21660583-europe-fears-german-nationalism-germany-says-it-simply-enforcing-rules-strict-order>

Federal Foreign Office (2015):

“Worlds of Culture – The Cultural Preservation Programme of the Federal Foreign Office”

<http://www.auswaertiges->

[amt.de/cae/servlet/contentblob/561762/publicationFile/205366/KulturweltenBildband.pdf](http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/cae/servlet/contentblob/561762/publicationFile/205366/KulturweltenBildband.pdf)

Wed, Jan 9, 2019 – 13:30-16:30

### **Inventing Traditions.**

#### **West Germany's foreign policy between Western Integration and Sonderwege.**

History of West German foreign policy since 1945; "double Western integration"/"doppelte Westbindung"; Rearmament; "alliance commitment"/"Bündnisfähigkeit"; NATO's Double Track Decision; Détente/"Ostpolitik"; foreign technology policy; "Exceptionalism"/"Sonderwege" in German foreign policy.

#### *required reading:*

Berger, Thomas U. (1997):

"The Past in the Present.

Historical Memory and German National Security Policy",  
in: *German Politics* 6 (1), 39-59.

Hitchcock, William I. (2008):

"The Ghost of Crises Past.

The Troubled Alliance in Historical Perspective",

in: Anderson, Jeffrey / Ikenberry, G. John / Risse, Thomas (eds.):  
*The End of the West? Crisis and Change in the Atlantic Order*,  
Ithaca, 53-81.

Ikenberry, G. John (2008):

"Explaining Crisis and Change in Transatlantic Relations:  
An Introduction",

in: Anderson, Jeffrey / Ikenberry, G. John / Risse, Thomas (eds.):  
*The End of the West? Crisis and Change in the Atlantic Order*,  
Ithaca, 1-27.

#### *optional reading:*

Garton Ash, Timothy (2013):

"The New German Question"

<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/2013/08/15/new-german-question/>

Applebaum, Anne (2015):

„The risks of putting Germany front and center in Europe's crises"

[https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/germanys-central-role/2015/02/20/d1119cd4-b8f8-11e4-aa05-1ce812b3fdd2\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/germanys-central-role/2015/02/20/d1119cd4-b8f8-11e4-aa05-1ce812b3fdd2_story.html)

The Economist (2015):

"In Germany's Shadow"

<http://www.economist.com/news/europe/21647363-germany-coming-terms-messy-world-germanys-shadow>

Thu, Jan 10, 2019 – 09:00-12:30

**Field Trip to one of the German historical museums.**

History of German parliamentarianism; Germany and the European balance of power; the lessons of history in postwar Germany; German foreign policy and power projection throughout the ages.

*no reading assignments.*



Tue, Jan 15, 2019 – 13:30-16:30

## **The Return of Geography.**

### **European Peripheries as Sources of Fragility and what to do about it.**

European Peripheries as a new “arc of crisis”: Middle East and North Africa (frustrated Arab Spring), Eastern Europe (Crimea and Ukraine Crisis); but also crises within the EU (Euro Crisis). Europe’s three-way crisis: crisis of EU-integration, monetary and economic crisis, security crisis; illegal migration and the refugee crisis; renegotiation of the European security architecture; new Ostpolitik; new role for the OSCE; continuing weakness of the EU as a foreign and security actor; German leadership and weakness of other European powers; recommendations for Germany and the West (OSCE!).

#### *required reading:*

Nye, Joseph S. (2015):  
“Power Shifts and Global Complexity”,  
in: Nye, Joseph S.:  
*Is the American Century Over?*,  
Cambridge, 94-112.

Risse, Thomas (2010):  
“‘Widening’: EU Enlargement and Contested Identities”,  
in: Risse, Thomas:  
*A Community of Europeans? Transnational Identities and Public Spheres*,  
Ithaca, 204-225.

Weiler, J.H.H. (1999):  
“Fin-de-Siècle Europe: Do the New Clothes have an Emperor”,  
in: Weiler, J.H.H.:  
*The Constitution of Europe*,  
Cambridge, 238-263.

#### *optional reading:*

Mearsheimer, John J. (2014):  
“Why the Ukraine Crisis is the West’s Fault.”  
<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russia-fsu/2014-08-18/why-ukraine-crisis-west-s-fault>

Council on Foreign Relations (2015):  
“The Arab Uprisings Five Years On”  
<http://www.cfr.org/middle-east-and-north-africa/arab-uprisings-five-years/p37375?cid=soc-facebook-in-arab-uprisings-122815#!/p37375?cid=soc-facebook-in-arab-uprisings-122815>

Deutsche Welle (2012): “New guidelines for ‘fragile’ states”  
<http://www.dw.com/en/new-guidelines-for-fragile-states/a-16251353>

Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (2013):  
“Development for Peace and Security”  
[http://www.bmz.de/en/publications/topics/peace/Strategiepapier333\\_04\\_2013.pdf](http://www.bmz.de/en/publications/topics/peace/Strategiepapier333_04_2013.pdf)

Wed, Jan 16, 2019 – 13:30-16:30

### **Building Blocks or BRICS of Contention?**

#### **Germany, Global Governance and the Ambitions of the BRICS.**

BRICS as an association of ambitious Emerging Powers; profiles and interests of the BRICS; intra-BRICS cooperation and agenda in global governance; anti-Western impetus: combination of cooperation and competition with the West; points of contention; potentials of further intra-BRICS cooperation; recommendations for Germany and the West (G20!).

#### *required reading:*

Hurrell, Andrew (2010):

“Regional Powers and the Global System from a Historical Perspective”,  
in: Flemes, Daniel (ed.):  
*Regional Leadership in the Global System.  
Ideas, Interests and Strategies of Regional Powers*,  
Farnham, 15-27.

Acharya, Amitav (2014):

“Emerging Powers: The Hype of the Rest?”,  
in: Acharya, Amitav:  
*The End of American World Order*,  
Cambridge, 59-78.

Nye, Joseph S. (2015):

“Challengers and Relative Decline”,  
in: Nye, Joseph S.:  
*Is the American Century Over?*,  
Cambridge, 23-45.

#### *optional reading:*

Federal Government (2012):

“Shaping Globalization. Expanding Partnerships. Sharing Responsibility”  
[http://www.auswaertiges-  
amt.de/cae/servlet/contentblob/616584/publicationFile/190268/Gestaltungsmaechtekonzep%20e  
ngl.pdf](http://www.auswaertiges-<br/>amt.de/cae/servlet/contentblob/616584/publicationFile/190268/Gestaltungsmaechtekonzep%20e<br/>ngl.pdf)

Stuenkel, Oliver (2015):

“Why the BRICS will remain an important force in world affairs in 2015 and  
beyond”  
<http://www.postwesternworld.com/2015/03/17/interview-important-affairs/>

Stuenkel, Oliver (2015):

“Why Washington struggles to understand the BRICS”  
<http://www.postwesternworld.com/2015/07/12/washington-struggles-understand/>

BRICS (2015):

“Documents”  
<http://en.brics2015.ru/documents/>

Thu, Jan 17, 2019 – 09:00-12:30

**Field Trip to a think tank.**

Clear and present dangers to Germany's international agenda; Challenges for Germany, Europe and the West; Recent developments in foreign policy, and how to transform it.

*no reading assignment.*

Mon, Jan 21, 2019 – 17:00-19:30

**Middle Power Politics?**  
**Regional Powers as Germany's Peer Nations**  
**and their role in German foreign policy.**

Large Emerging Powers as a new category of states in the international system; profiles and interests of Regional Powers (not BRICS); conditions of cooperation; mutual expectations towards strategic partnerships und individual contributions; concrete projects of foreign policy cooperation; tendency towards new thematic alliances (e.g. energy, climate, science); points of contention.

*required reading:*

Acharya, Amitav (2014):  
"Regional Worlds",  
in: Acharya, Amitav:  
*The End of American World Order*,  
Cambridge, 79-105.

Hurrell, Andrew (2007):  
"One world? Many worlds?",  
in: Hurrell, Andrew:  
*On Global Order.*  
*Power, Values, and the Constitution of International Society*,  
Oxford, 239-259.

Keohane, Robert O. (2005):  
"The Value of Institutions and the Costs of Flexibility",  
in: Keohane, Robert O.:  
*After Hegemony. Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*,  
Princeton, 243-259.

*optional reading:*

Federal Foreign Office (2016):  
"Regional focuses"  
[http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/EN/Aussenpolitik/RegionaleSchwerpunkte/uebersicht\\_node.htm](http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/EN/Aussenpolitik/RegionaleSchwerpunkte/uebersicht_node.htm)

Kappel, Robert (2014):  
"Global Power Shifts and Germany's New Foreign Policy Agenda"  
[https://www.academia.edu/7084352/Global\\_Power\\_Shifts\\_and\\_Germany\\_s\\_New\\_Foreign\\_Policy\\_Agenda](https://www.academia.edu/7084352/Global_Power_Shifts_and_Germany_s_New_Foreign_Policy_Agenda)

Stuenkel, Oliver (2015):  
"Why the 21st century still belongs to emerging powers"  
<http://www.postwesternworld.com/2015/09/08/century-belongs-emerging/>

Federal Government (2014):  
"Policy Guidelines for Africa"  
[http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/cae/servlet/contentblob/677752/publicationFile/202403/Afrika-Leitlinien\\_Englisch.pdf](http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/cae/servlet/contentblob/677752/publicationFile/202403/Afrika-Leitlinien_Englisch.pdf)

Tue, Jan 22, 2019 – 13:30-16:30

**Field Trip to a government agency.**

Democracy as a source of power; inter-agency competition and competing mandates in foreign policy; the role of different government branches in foreign policy decision-making; Europe and German foreign policy.

*no reading assignments.*

Wed, Jan 23, 2019 – 13:30-16:30

**New Currencies of Power.  
Challenges and Potentials of  
German Multilevel and Multiplatform Diplomacy.**

New currencies in the international system require new approaches and instruments; problems of German power projection within a complex multi-level system of global governance; power resources (hard and soft power); problems of coherence and coordination in foreign policy; interactions between foreign policy, development cooperation, security policy.

*required reading:*

Paterson, William E. (2010):  
“Does Germany Still Have a European Vocation?”,  
in: *German Politics* 19 (1), 41-52.

Slaughter, Anne-Marie (2004):  
“A Disaggregated World Order”,  
in: Slaughter, Anne-Marie:  
*A New World Order*,  
Princeton, 131-165.

Nye, Joseph S. (2015):  
“Conclusions”,  
in: Nye, Joseph S.:  
*Is the American Century Over?*,  
Cambridge, 113-127.

*optional reading:*

Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (2015):  
“Charter for the Future – One World, our Responsibility”  
[https://www.zukunftscharta.de/files/upload/daten\\_bilder\\_zukunftscharta/Zukunftscharta-en.pdf](https://www.zukunftscharta.de/files/upload/daten_bilder_zukunftscharta/Zukunftscharta-en.pdf)

Federal Ministry of Education and Research (2008):  
“Strengthening Germany’s role in the global knowledge society”  
<https://www.bmbf.de/pub/Internationalisierungsstrategie-English.pdf>

United Nations (2015):  
“Transforming our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development”  
<https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/post2015/transformingourworld/publication>

Thu, Jan 24, 2019 – 09:00-12:30

**The Pillars of German Foreign Policy.  
Fit for the New World Order?**

Reflection of concrete instruments of German foreign policy; the debate about the effectiveness of foreign policy; outlook on Germany's role in the world under changing framework conditions; international expectations towards Germany; desirable and realistic projects of German foreign policy; partnerships; recommendations for Germany and the West (platforms, instruments, resources, ideology).

*required reading:*

Kundnani, Hans (2014):  
"Conclusion: Geo-Economic Semi-Hegemony",  
in: Kundnani, Hans:  
*The Paradox of German Power*,  
London, 107-114.

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

Nye, Joseph S. (2011):  
"Smart Power",  
in: Nye, Joseph S.:  
*The Future of Power*,  
New York, 207-234.

*optional reading:*

Nicholson, Parke (2015):  
"The Myth of a Mighty Germany"  
<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/germany/2015-06-01/myth-mighty-germany>

Downes, Mark (2015):  
"Coordinating 'Badges, Boots, Suits and Sandals' Whole-of-Government-Approaches"  
<http://www.bmvg.de/resource/resource/MzEzNTM4MmUzMzMyMmUzMTM1MzMvZTM2MzEzMDMwMzAzMDMwMzAzMDY5Njl2MTc3Mzg2ZjMzNzlyMDIwMjAyMDIw/Whole%20of%20Govt%20Approaches%20to%20SSR%20-%20ISSAT%20input%20-%202019%20May%20seminar.pdf>

Keller, Patrick (2015):  
"Strategic Deliberations about the Future of German Security Policy"  
[http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas\\_41124-544-2-30.pdf?150602092554](http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_41124-544-2-30.pdf?150602092554)

*Writing assignment:*  
**“What next for Germany:  
How could Germany wield its power more effectively?”**

**Essay to be handed in until Sunday, February 3, 2019.**

Make ample use of the reading material.  
Length min. 2.000 words.