

ABSTRACTS

1/2008 RFN a Europa i Świat

Zbigniew Mazur

"New" German Patriotism

The article characterizes the currently ongoing discussion in the Federal Republic of Germany on the shape of the so-called German patriotism. This syncretic and still rather vague conception, which has gained popularity in recent years, is yet another attempt to define German identity - after the ultra nationalistic, followed by the "European" and finally the one summed up in the formula of "constitutional patriotism". Its emergence should be connected with the project of transforming Germany into a "normal" state and nation.

Józef K. Pietrzak

Work Crisis. The Views of German Sociologists

The paper deals with issues related to how some German sociologists understand work crisis. The discussed topics are arranged according to the scale of problems connected with the concept of work as a value around which man's activity concentrates. The first chapter brings an analysis of work in the approach of the classics of sociology (M. Weber, T. Parsons, K. Mannheim) while the second chapter looks at the views of contemporary authors. The third chapter signals certain new trends in tackling those issues representative for scholars in the unified Federal Republic of Germany.

Tomasz Budnikowski

The German Work Market. Symptoms of Improvement

After a few years of meager economic growth - even marked by negative values - German economy has begun to regain vigor since the end of 2005. Improvement can be seen in the situation of public finances and a gradual sanation of the work market. Changes in the latter, however, encounter impediments due to some specific solutions adopted nationwide, such as: a particularly high share of pay accompanying costs, limited flexibility of the work market, or relatively good financial security of the unemployed. Systematically introduced reforms initiated by the Hartz Commission already in 2002 have brought slow but positive changes of the major indexes of utilizing the workforce potential. From 2005 onward there has been a reduction in the size of unemployment, and what is especially important, the process proceeds faster than in the new states of the Federation. It is noteworthy that the number of long-term unemployed has been reduced. However, the number of people who are satisfied with obtaining welfare benefits and do not show any readiness to take up paid employment is still too high.

Włodzimierz Bialik

Selling out Rebellion. Trivial Literature in the Federal Republic of Germany

This is an essay in the criticism of ideology and deals with the so-called trivial literature (mass, popular, pulp fiction) in the Federal Republic of Germany before the reunification of Germany. The author brings to light the underlying indoctrination structures which (even) under the appearance of "rebellion" depict the world as good and unchangeable. He advances the thesis about a discrepancy between the declarative surface protest against some negative social phenomena (national stereotypes, authoritarian state, racism, etc.) and the actual though concealed consolidation of such mental clichés and prejudices of the mass reader is the author's main thesis. The caution not to overstep the "horizon of expectations", in other words attention to address the readers' needs had been preceded by a process of shaping those needs. Analysis of this type of manipulation makes it possible to formulate the thesis that the reader had been shaped, not to say "produced", by the authors of mass literature. It is not the readers who buy this literature, but paradoxically, it buys them. West German trivial literature is therefore an instrument of "social pedagogy". The manipulated reader was (is) sold to this literature and not the other way round, so the reader was (is) "sold" to a certain option of the socio-political system of that historical period.

Jadwiga Kiwerska

USA in the Politics of Germany

German-American relations have evolved significantly over the last several years. This was due, among others, to the new conditions of the foreign policy of the unified Germany and the changing position of the USA on the international stage. It must be admitted, however, that during the rule of the CDU/CSU-FDP coalition a good atmosphere in mutual relations was maintained and the USA were one of the major points of reference for the policy of Bonn. Yet even then certain controversies could not be avoided, but this did not affect a change of America's role in the policy of the FRG. When power passed on to the SPD/Green Party coalition in 1998 at first there were no signs of any forthcoming deterioration of harmonious relations with the USA. The situation changed under the influence of developments that followed September 11, which included the proclamation of the "Bush doctrine" and intervention in Iraq. At a crucial moment the German-American relations were in a state of "poisoning". The situation improved only after a shift in the German political configuration in 2005. Then it was possible to return to a favorable atmosphere in mutual relations, but on different conditions, whereby Berlin became a very important and valuable partner for the USA.

Adam Krzymowski

American Vision of the Role of the North Atlantic Treaty after the Collapse of the Political Block System

The article presents the United States vision and instruments of influencing the role of the NATO in the years 1989-2000. In his discussion of the processes that took place in trans-Atlantic relations at the beginning of the 1990s the author draws attention to the fact that the new situation in Europe after the collapse of the political block system affected the new role of the North Atlantic Treaty. The United States, while proclaiming the slogan of an undivided and free Europe, connected the countries of central Europe with American interests. On the other hand, in the process of European integration which was entering a new stage, the USA strove to join in the construction of the new reality in accordance with its strategic interests, maintaining the "world role" of its armed forces. The author also shows that at the same time the US passed on to the realization of its vision of the Treaty as an organization which engages

not only in Europe and does not limit its concern or activity to the European territory, but protects its interests worldwide. It is also stressed that the USA need their European allies, especially in conducting the Treaty's global mission that exceeds the defense of just the territory of the member states of the organization. Moreover, after initial optimism regarding security at the beginning of the 1990s, the international community has become aware of serious challenges and threats that need to be addressed by means of global instruments.

Bogdan Koszel

Poland and Germany vis-à-vis the European Aspirations of Ukraine

Guided by historical and geopolitical reasons, after 1991 Poland supported the difficult process of Ukrainian transformation, striving to draw Ukraine away from a close cooperation with Russia and bring it into more direct contact with the European Union. In the 1990s Poland was considered to be Ukraine's main lobbyist in Western Europe, Germany included. In the hierarchy of goals of German foreign policy, Ukraine was of secondary importance after it regained independence. Throughout the 1990s and at the beginning of the 21st century, interest in Ukraine and its problems was meager in the FRG and the Ukrainian market did not represent a great value for German economy. In their eastern policy Germans follow the principle Russia first, so in their gestures and engagement towards Kiev they were careful not to do anything that Moscow could see as a hostile. After the "orange revolution", the coalition government CDU/CSU-SPD led by A. Merkel treats with more reserve the earlier strategy of G. Schröder which meant preference for relations with Russia and some discrimination of Kiev. On account of authoritarian tendencies on the part of the Kremlin administration and suppression of the freedom of speech in Russia, Germans spoke with moderation about "strategic partnership" with Moscow. Almost automatically this improved their relations with Ukraine. Ukraine was promised a special status within the framework of the European Neighborhood Policy, but despite Poland's efforts and support, Germany has not yet defined the prospects of Ukraine's accession to the European Union.

Henning Klodt

The Effects of Enlargement of the European Union for German Foreign Trade

The author undertakes an analysis of trade relations between Germany and the states which joined the EU in 2004. First, he examines whether enlargement of the EU really resulted in a rapid intensification of trade contacts, taking previous enlargements of the EU as a point of reference. He then analyzes different types of trade relations, assuming the hypothesis that interbranch trade requires more extensive structural adaptations than intrabranche trade. In order to assess the scope of the latter he develops a new understanding of measurement, derived directly from the concept of comparative costs. The author concludes that enlargement of the EU to the East did not influence Germany's foreign trade in any significant way. European agreements signed in the early 1990s between the EU and the candidate states from Central and Eastern Europe reduced the trade barriers to such an extent that the effects of enlargement to the East could occur in the area of trade already before the official accession.

Ilona Romiszewska

Germany - China. Between Economic Calculation, Culture and Politics

The article brings an assessment of German-Chinese economic relations against the backdrop of China's developing economic relations with the world. It must be acknowledged that bilateral

relations are determined not only by a necessity of economic growth, but at least on the Chinese part they are shaped by politics and culture. The analysis is limited to continental China. The author verifies the thesis that in spite of an extremely dynamic development of economic cooperation it must still be seen in terms of Germany's catching up on arrears in relations with other especially Asian partners of China. This recognition remains valid even though FRG is China's biggest trade partner among the member states of the EU and the source of most of its foreign direct investments. Also for Germany, China is the biggest trade partner in the region of Asia and Pacific. Attention should also be drawn to the rapid increase of China's competitiveness on the German market, as China has become an important exporter of a large variety of goods. China's engagement in the German stock market must be considered the most noteworthy change in mutual relations, enabling Germany to achieve a positive outstanding balance of capital exchange. Both sides are vitally interested in the development of bilateral economic relations in the future and the course of these relations will influence the way China conducts its prospective economic policy.

Michał Bożek

The Political Strategy of CDU/CSU towards Election of the Federal President in 1959

The closure of the second term in office of the first president of the Federal Republic of Germany, Theodor Heuss, in 1959 naturally brought the issue of finding his successor to the agenda of political debate. The first ones to speak up were the politicians of the CDU/CSU, who were generally convinced that besides the function of chancellor also the post of president should go to the person recommended by them. Their main argument was an unprecedented success of the Christian Democrats in the 1957 election to the Bundestag, when they won an absolute majority of seats in the house. Initially, the presidential issue did not stir up emotions, but gaining momentum over time it eventually became a crucial political problem. It was used by the leading CDU/CSU politicians to play out their struggle for power inside this formation between Konrad Adenauer and Ludwig Erhard. The resulting conflict posed a serious threat to the unity of the entire political formation. Although the conflict within the CDU/CSU was finally settled, the events impaired the political authority of K. Adenauer, practically marking the beginning of the end of his political career.

Agnieszka Bielawska

The German Churches towards Poland's Integration with the European Union

The article discusses the stance of the German Churches towards Poland's integration with the European Union in the years 1990-2004 and Germany's role as Poland's advocate in this process. The author begins by outlining the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church and the Evangelical Church of Germany to the debate on extension of the EU to the East. She underscores that that the Churches supported Poland's accession to the structures of the European Union, as well as that of other candidate states from the moment of their official application to the European Commission in Brussels to begin negotiations on an agreement of affiliation with the Communities. This is followed by a broad presentation of the attitude and numerous documents of the German Churches regarding the key stages of Poland's accession to the EU and the Churches' reaction to the enlargement which took place in May 2004.

Wojciech Sz. Kowalski

The German Stock Markets in World Economy

German stock exchange markets, namely Deutsche Börse and regional bourses are institutional manifestations of the so-called Alpine or Rhineland model of capitalism. Although established as state institutions, they not only readily adapted to the transformations in world economy, but are also becoming more and more instrumental in implementing them. This is especially true of the Deutsche Börse, formerly the Frankfurt Stock Exchange, which in 2003 issued its own IPO (Initial Public Offering). At the end of the 1990s this institution, along with the Swiss Options and Financial Futures Exchange created the EUREX exchange. This resulted in the emergence of the biggest market of exchange-traded derivatives in the world. Following two unsuccessful attempts (in 2001 and 2005) at uniting with the London Stock Exchange, the Deutsche Börse decided to stick to organic development and cooperation with other smaller stock exchange markets. The currently ongoing cooperation with the capital markets of China and India seems to be especially promising.