

---

# The Germans and Their Neighbors

---

EDITED BY

Dirk Verheyen and  
Christian S e

Westview Press

BOULDER • SAN FRANCISCO • OXFORD

# Contents

<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xi
<i>Map: Europe in 1993</i>	xii
Introduction, <i>Dirk Verheyen and Christian Sjøe</i>	1
<b>PART ONE</b>	
<b>Neighbors to the West</b>	
1 France, Germany, and the New Europe, <i>Anne-Marie LeGloannec</i>	13
From de Staël to de Gaulle, 14	
An Alliance Based on Misunderstandings? 16	
Too Weak or Too Strong? 19	
“I Love Germany So Much ...”: Reunification and After, 23	
A Pivot, a Model, a Power, 27	
Notes, 31	
2 The British and the Germans: From Enemies to Partners, <i>Anthony Glees</i>	35
Britain and Germany before May 1945:	
Anglo-German Relations as a Cultural Phenomenon, 35	
British and Allied Policies in the Years 1945–49:	
The Punitive and Colonial-Constructive Paradigms, 37	
Britain and German Unity, 44	
Anglo-German Relations, 1966–89, 46	
Britain and Germany after 1989, 50	
Notes, 54	
3 The Dutch and the Germans: Beyond Traumas and Trade, <i>Dirk Verheyen</i>	59
The Legacy of the Past, 60	

- After War and Occupation: Neither Revenge  
nor Reconciliation? 63
- A Sensitive Security Relationship, 67
- A Vital Economic Relationship, 69
- A United Germany: Old and New Dutch Questions, 71
- Conclusion, 75
- Notes, 76
- 4 Belgium and Germany: An Enigmatic  
Relationship, *John Fitzmaurice* 83
- Hostility, Indifference, or Reconciliation? 83
- Early Links with the Germans, 85
- Belgium in the 19th Century—Independent and Neutral, 87
- Wallonia, Flanders, Brussels: The Language Question, 89
- The German-Language Community in Belgium, 92
- Belgium and Germany in Two World Wars, 93
- The Post-War Pragmatic Reconciliation, 97
- Economic and Cultural Links, 99
- The Current Situation, 101
- Notes, 103
- PART TWO**
- Neighbors to the North**
- 5 Denmark and Germany: From Ambivalence  
to Affirmation? *Christian Sjøe* 107
- Danish Reservations about a Larger Germany,  
1989–90, 109
- Danes and Germans before 1864:  
No Thousand-Year Struggle, 113
- Denmark's German Problem, 1850–1945, 116
- The German Occupation, 1940–45, 120
- The Post-1945 Period: Relations with West Germany, 124
- Denmark's Relations with the United Germany, 126
- Notes, 130
- 6 Norway and Germany: Changing Relations between  
Europe's Periphery and Center, *Trond Gilberg  
and Jens Drews* 137
- Introduction, 137
- Historical Background, 138

- Norway and Germany, West and East: Setting the Stage  
after 1945, 142  
Norway, Germany, and a Changing Europe, 149  
Notes, 155
- 7 Sweden and Germany: Forgetting the Past  
and Restoring the Future, *Steven S. Koblik* 159  
Lübeck, Luther, and the Birth of Modern Sweden, 159  
The Period of German Hegemony, 162  
Forgetting the German Connection, 167  
Rediscovering Germany, 173  
To Capture or Join Germany, 174  
An Unclear Future, 175  
Bibliographical Essay, 176
- 8 Finnish-German Relations and the Helsinki-Berlin-Moscow  
Geopolitical Triangle, *Alpo Rusi* 179  
Introduction, 179  
Neighbors across the Baltic Sea, 181  
Germany and the Emergence of an Independent Finland, 183  
Finland's Interwar Foreign Policy, 184  
The Winter War, 186  
The Continuation War, 1941–44, 187  
Finland between East and West, 188  
Finland's Cold War Crises, 190  
The Debate about "Finlandization," 191  
Finland and the German States in the 1970s and 1980s, 192  
Finland, Germany, and the End of the Cold War, 194  
The Future of Finnish-German Relations, 195  
Selected Bibliography, 196
- PART THREE**  
**Neighbors to the East**
- 9 Moscow and the German Question, *F. Stephen Larrabee* 201  
The Historical Legacy, 201  
Stalin's Postwar German Policy, 204  
Shift to a Two-State Policy, 206  
Rapprochement and Reconciliation, 208  
Disappointment and Discord, 210  
The Evolution of Gorbachev's German Policy, 213

- Signs of New Thinking, 214  
 Soviet–East German Divergences, 215  
 The Impact of the Crisis in the GDR, 217  
 The Problem of NATO Membership, 218  
 The Final Settlement, 220  
 Bonn and Moscow in a New Era, 222  
 Notes, 224
- 10 Poland and Germany: From Foes  
 to Friends? *Arthur R. Rachwald* 231
- Poland, the Germans, and the Odra-Nysa Question  
 after 1945, 232  
 Poland and Germany's Reunification, 237  
 German-Polish Cultural Relations and  
 the Question of Ethnic Germans in Poland, 242  
 German-Polish Economic Relations, 246  
 Conclusion, 247  
 Notes, 248
- 11 The Czechs and the Germans: A One-Thousand-Year  
 Relationship, *Milan Hauner* 251
- The Breakthrough in 1989, 252  
 The Dissidents and the Czech-German Question, 253  
 What the Average Czech Thinks of the Germans, 254  
 A Slovak View, 256  
 The Three Levels in the Thousand-Year-Old  
 Relationship, 257  
 Palacký and His Followers, 261  
 The Future of the Czech–German Relationship, 269  
 Notes, 272
- 12 Hungary and Germany: Two Actors in Search  
 of a New Play, *Ivan Volgyes* 279
- History Revisited: An Uncomfortable Journey  
 through Time, 280  
 Enter Ideology, 285  
 East Germany: The “Good” Germans as Comrades? 287  
 Reflections on German-Hungarian Relations  
 since the Fall of Communism, 290  
 Notes, 291

- 13 Romania and Germany: An On-Again, Off-Again Relationship, *Robert R. King* 295
- The Legacy of Romanian-German Relations during World War II, 296
- The Legacy of the Ethnic German Population in Romania, 298
- The Long Road to the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations, 300
- East German Reaction to Romania's Diplomatic Relations with West Germany, 302
- The Subsequent Development of Relations between Bucharest and Bonn, 304
- Relations with the Two Germanys in Ceaușescu's Later Years, 305
- Romañian Relations with Germany after Ceaușescu, 308
- Notes, 311
- PART FOUR**
- Neighbors to the South**
- 14 Yugoslavia and the Two Germanys, *Sabrina Petra Ramet* 317
- The Early Years, 317
- Yugoslav Relations with West Germany, 1957–68, 319
- Yugoslav Relations with East Germany, 1957–71, 321
- Yugoslavia between East and West, 322
- Germany's Interest in the Yugoslav Civil War, 325
- The War in Bosnia, 331
- Conclusion, 333
- Notes, 334
- 15 Austria and Germany: A Not-So-Foreign Relationship, *Max E. Riedlsperger* 339
- Introduction, 339
- The "German Problem" and the "Austrian Question," 340
- Austrian Relations with the Federal Republic of Germany, 347
- Austria's Relations with the German Democratic Republic, 352
- Austria and the "New Germany," 1990 and Beyond, 353
- Notes, 357

- 16 Switzerland and Germany: An Ambivalent Relationship, *Mark Stucki* 359
- Switzerland's Emancipation from Its German-Speaking Neighbors, 361
- New Challenges to Swiss Sovereignty: Political Independence versus Economic Dependence, 364
- 1945 to 1990: The Priority of Economics, 369
- German Unification: Switzerland Discovers a New World, 373
- Notes, 378
- 17 Italy and Germany: Historical Memory and the Impact of 1989-90, *Gian Enrico Rusconi* 381
- Introduction, 381
- Self-Deception over the GDR? 384
- Neo-Nationalism? 385
- Normality and "Normalization" of the Past, 387
- The Historical Roots of Italo-German Collective Imagery, 388
- Toward the Building of Europe, 394
- Notes, 397

## PART FIVE

### A Transatlantic Neighbor

- 18 The United States and the German Question: Building a New European Order, *Alice Ackermann and Catherine McArdle Kelleher* 401
- Introduction, 401
- Setting the Stage: The Making of the German Question, 404
- The Crucial Years, 1946-48: Avoiding a Repetition of History, 407
- The Evolution of the "Second" German Question, 410
- The Impact of Economic and Socio-Cultural Winds of Change, 412
- The German Question Revisited: The German Revolution of 1989, 415
- Conclusion: Adjusting to a New Germany in the Post-Unification Era, 417
- Notes, 420

- About the Book* 427
- About the Editors and Contributors* 429