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**POLITICAL-LEADERSHIP PERSPECTIVE
TO THE GERMAN QUESTION STUDY
(1945–1990) IN AMERICAN
AND BRITISH HISTORIOGRAPHY**

**КОНЦЕПЦИЯ ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОГО
ЛИДЕРСТВА В ИЗУЧЕНИИ ГЕРМАНСКОГО
ВОПРОСА (1945–1990) В АМЕРИКАНСКОЙ
И БРИТАНСКОЙ ИСТОРИОГРАФИИ**

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Статья посвящена выявлению сущности концепции политического лидерства и особенностей ее применения к изучению германского вопроса в американской и британской историографии послевоенного периода. Проанализированы наиболее распространенные, классические случаи использования данной концепции при изучении проблемы, определены ее характерные черты. В заключение установлен концептуальный алгоритм, который используется американскими и британскими исследователями при анализе канцлерской политики по вопросу германского урегулирования.

Ключевые слова: концепция политического лидерства, канцлерская демократия, американская историография, британская историография, германский вопрос.

The article is devoted to identifying the essence of the political-leadership perspective and peculiarities of its application to the German question study in American and British historiography of the post-war period. The most common, classical cases of using this concept in the problem study analyzed, its characteristic features determined. In conclusion, a conceptual algorithm used by American and British researchers to the analysis of Chancellor's policy on the issue of German settlement established.

Keywords: political-leadership perspective, Chancellor democracy, American historiography, British historiography, German question.

Introduction

Political-leadership perspective – a new concept to the analysis of international problems in the Cold War period – was proposed by American researcher David Patton in the book «Cold war politics in postwar Germany» (1999). The author suggested it as an alternative to international-state-system perspective. In relation to the German question study, the political-leadership perspective implied special attention to the study of the Chancellor's personality and its behavior model. D. Patton noted that such an approach to studying the German history and German question can be applied since the time of Otto von Bismarck Chancellorship [1, p. 7–8].

The special role of the Chancellor in political history of the country was also reflected in a new term – «Chancellor democracy». It was widely used in relation to Germany in the post-war period in the framework of political-leadership perspective. In «Chancellor democracy», the head of the government will be successful if he/she introduces himself/herself as a strong leader who is able to solve national problems even while being under the pressure of irresponsible opposition. Since history and geography dictated the undoubted priority of the East–West dimension in German politics, the Cold War realities determined Bonn's special priority – German question. Consequently, the Chancellor's position on the German question and German policy of the government had the key importance in assessing the effectiveness and results of Chancellor's work.

Political-leadership perspective has found application in a number of research works. British and American historians used it widely while analyzing certain periods

of German settlement. This is most clearly seen in the cases of Konrad Adenauer, Willy Brandt and Helmut Kohl. They not only initiated new, largely revolutionary approaches to German question, but also dominated the decision-making process, uniting motley groups in pursuing a controversial foreign policy. Linking domestic issues with international ones, they were able to turn foreign policy achievements into domestic success. Westpolitik, Ostpolitik and Deutschlandpolitik raised the painful issues of national identity in divided Germany. The answers to these questions formulated internal approaches to the problem of German rearmament, rapprochement with the East, as well as the unification of Germany [2, p. 29; 3, p. 18; 4, p. 495; 5, p. 99].

In this article, using general scientific and special historical research methods, we are going to analyze the main cases of applying the political-leadership perspective by American and British researches and also try to determine the nature and features of this concept in German question studies in the post-war period.

Adenauer case study

Konrad Adenauer case introduces political-leadership perspective in German question study. The authors proceed from the fact that Adenauer considered the weak position of the Chancellor in the public administration system as the main reason for the Weimar Republic failure. Adenauer adopted the political style, which reflected the traditional attitude of the Germans towards power. As researches noted, that practice was not exclusively German, but it was precisely the post-war divided Germany that showed the greatest susceptibility to the model [4, p. 509; 6, p. 126].

Adenauer, demonstrating an autocratic management style, skillfully united strange friends behind the controversial Westpolitik, offering concessions to pliable and cutting off the most stubborn opponents. At first sight, Westpolitik was contrary to German national interest, since it abandoned quick unification. However, researchers concluded that in 1950s it was close cooperation with the United States and the West that strategically protected German national interest. Adenauer's policy was determined by his Carolingian legacy, hostility towards Prussia and its militarism, and his desire for reconciliation with France. Here, the Chancellor's ability to strategic planning was fully manifested, which would subsequently be used by his equally skillful followers – Willy Brandt and Helmut Kohl [7, p. 50; 8; 9, p. 78].

Konrad Adenauer policy and rhetoric was aimed at consolidating the regime and preventing the neutralization of Germany. The Chancellor realized that over time, the balance of power would change in favor of the West, and the USSR would have to accept unification on Western terms. His tactical task was to make Germany a sovereign and self-sufficient state, increase its influence in integration structures and thereby to become an indispensable partner. Western integration paved the way for German international rehabilitation, economic recovery and security. While supporting dubious for many members of parliament and government initiatives, Adenauer tried to get the greatest dividends for Germany. British and American researchers came to the conclusion that the political rehabilitation of Germany and the creation of the invisible foundations of German unification became the result of Konrad Adenauer personal statecraft [10, p. 125; 11, p. 97; 12, p. 31; 13, p. 6; 14, p. 154–155].

Brandt case study

Initially, the approval of Ostpolitik principles was as doubtful as Westpolitik ones. British historian John Sowden noted that Brandt's policy on the German question required courage, perseverance and a sincere willingness to dispel illusions and accept realities. At the same time, the adoption of realities did not mean recognition of their desirability or refusal to change them in the future [15, p. 284]. In the government and society other moods had prevailed recently, so the new revolutionary Ostpolitik could not but meet the initial significant resistance.

However, Willy Brandt, like Konrad Adenauer, postponed controversial home reforms, excluded the opposition from the negotiation process with the East, led debates based on foreign policy objectives and turned foreign success into home achievements. Like Konrad Adenauer, he stood at the center of the political system and decision-making on the German question. Both Chancellors regarded the Federal Republic as a political entity in the system of international relations, the national interests of which they had to defend [16, p. 20; 17, p. 180; 18, p. 557; 19, p. 184; 20, p. 98].

Brandt was still solving the same old question: how to protect the national interest in the Cold War realities. The Chancellor's act «knee-fall» – a decision made at the level of personal choice, «momentous and unprecedented gesture» – became a symbol of Ostpolitik and made him the symbol of the new policy. Brandt played such a significant role, and the consequences of his German policy turned out to be so widespread and long-term that the study of the Chancellor's personality became the subject of highly specialized research [19, p. 247; 21, p. 255; 22, p. 439; 23; 24, p. 443].

Kohl case study

No wonder that researchers paid special attention to the Chancellor of German unity while applying political-leadership perspective to German question study. They inevitably found out that political models and modus operandi of Adenauer's, Brandt's and Kohl's had much in common. Helmut Kohl, being the political heir to Konrad Adenauer, also turned European themes into a mantra. Like Brandt, he made extensive use of vague terms such as the European Peace Order. At the same time, the real goal of his entire policy – like that of his predecessors – remained Germany [25, p. 250; 26, p. 16]. The German question was back on the agenda. Researchers agreed that nobody thought Helmut Kohl would intensify Ostpolitik so much that he could legitimately declare rapprochement with East Germany as his greatest success. Like Adenauer and Brandt, he enlisted the support of the United States and took Ostpolitik to a new level – Deutschlandpolitik [7, p. 56; 27, p. 13-14].

A special feature of the political-leadership perspective in the German question study is to draw parallels with the Bismarck period. This trend is especially noticeable with the Kohl case study. When Helmut Kohl assumed the post of Chancellor, it was just as impossible to predict the reunification of Germany as during the appointment of Otto von Bismarck to this post. He closely connected the party with Chancellor, neutralizing personal rivals. That, in turn, gave the Chancellor an even more significant degree of influence and power. He was called «His Eternity», Helmut Kohl defined German and European politics more than any other Chancellor since World War II. He was surrounded by «air of confident irreplaceability», and his party leadership was undeniable throughout the 1980s. Another element of the analysis, which refers to the examples of the 19th century, is the skillful usage of the economic factor to solve the German question. British and American researchers note that the German side was aware of the advantage that a highly efficient economic system gives them in resolving political issues. It was a well-known and widespread practice since the time of the Russian tsars and Chancellor Bismarck, which remained relevant during the period of Adenauer, Brandt and Kohl. Chancellors without hesitation used numerous economic methods to solve German national issues at the international level [28, p. 41-43; 29, p. 2-3; 30, p. 425; 31, p. 126].

Conclusion

The analysis of the sources allows us to say that researchers while applying political-leadership perspective in the German question study consider the algorithm of Chancellor's modus operandi according to the following model:

Stage 1. Implementation of the national interest was planned in the long term perspective. Proclaiming a certain innovative course (Westpolitik/Ostpolitik/Deutschlandpolitik) created a framework on the way to the goal.

Stage 2. Innovations in foreign policy caused criticism at home, many did not understand the long-term goals of the Chancellor's planning and/or ways to achieve them.

Stage 3. In order to overcome home opposition, the Chancellor combined the new German policy with current trends in international relations and enlisted the support of the United States. E.g. just like Adenauer linked Westpolitik with European integration projects, Brandt masterfully combined Ostpolitik with a policy of détente and thereby protected it from a wave of criticism.

Stage 4. The successes of German politics and achievements at the international level strengthen the Chancellor's credibility and confidence in his domestic policy. Despite the fact that Adenauer and Brandt resigned under difficult circumstances and did not leave a certain political heir, their German settlement strategy was supported and taken to a new level by subsequent generations of the country's political leadership.

British and American researchers, using political-leadership perspective in German question study, are unanimous that the Adenauer–Brandt–Kohl triple is an example of strong-willed and charismatic government leaders. Showing political foresight, demonstrating the art of management and decision-making, they skillfully directed the development of the German question into the

mainstream of national interest. At the same time, researchers are urging to take into account the specific historical circumstances of their staying in power, because those were the turning points in German history. Obviously, the shifts in the Cold War required foreign policy adjustments in all front-line states. However, on German territory, they were additionally related to issues of national unity. Germany, being divided state at the forefront of the Cold War, according to the expression of David Patton, caught pneumonia every time, as soon as the relations of superpowers had symptoms of a running nose. In such situation, the state leaders of Germany demonstrated the ability to pick up the changes in political climate between the superpowers and use it to resolve national issues – primarily the German question – skillfully and profitably.

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