



ORIGINAL PAPER

Germany and its Influential Role in the Iraq Issue. Start of Cracks in Relations between Germany and the US?

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Abstract

The issue of Iraq has been an issue that has put into question the unity between the Great Powers. This has happened for many reasons, for each major power has seen its own interest, without seeing the danger, to be sowed in the region this delicate issue. Even the relations between Germany and the United States are no exception. They were very tense, because Germany had been against intervention in Iraq. It saw good relations somewhat, that he had made Germany to Iraq. On the other hand in this battle horns rammed two main ideas: “The fight against terror and the axis of the Devil” and “disobedience and passive attitude to this war”. Therefore I will try to highlight relationships and more strained cracks between these two world superpowers in the case of American intervention against Iraq. It will be a detailed analysis, which will contain the whole of the dynamics ee events related to the relations between these states.

Keywords: *Iraq, NATO, Germany, USA, Central Powers, France*

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A little history on German-US relations

When we talk about the links between Germany and the United States of America, immediately someone might think that these links are very late, around 70-80 years ago, because little is said about them. But let's start with a concrete example: German – American psychologist Hugo Münsterberg in his “Die Amerikaner” (Americans) makes a detailed description, how Americans look in the eyes of the Germans and the Germans in the eyes of Americans: He writes: “to the American, the German is a pedantic, petty, Slack, and slow acting man, that finds the pleasure in carry pipes, beer and skat. He likes to do marching parades and hates the progress and further development. He always fights with neighbors. While the American in the eyes of a German is seen as a Jenkin, a plebeian, blockhead, that in public life receives and approves corruption, money-seeking and sensational events”. He is a man of hypocrisy, a barbarian of science and art, a man who chew tobacco and that finds the greatest satisfaction in executions without trials (Lynchtrials) (Mauch, Patel, 2008: 9). We can say, that this description is somehow exaggerated by both sides in nowadays. And that does not make sense in this context, because both nations are in the forefront of science, economics and politics. In his book Münsterberg has defined as very important, the relations and ties between Germany and the United States of America. For this he mentions two facts which are really very significant. In a meeting with the president of Harvard University at the time of donation to an imperial gift by the brother of the emperor, suddenly enters the room the German Prince Heinrich, who with joy and said loudly: “This let Due prominence The ongoing ,forever and sincere relations between Germany and the USA” (Münsterberg, 1904: VIII). As the second example has to do with a letter written by US President Franklyn Roosevelt, sent to the author of the book, which clearly expressed the American – German love: “Be very sure, that in my heart there are few things, that I really love like this sincere friendship and openness between Germany and the United States of America” (Münsterberg, 1904: IX). But this has been the perspective of Germans and Americans against one-another. Today there is much to talk about German – American bonds, because the moment and the situation wants these two powerful nations to have a good cooperation with one-another in the overall global geopolitical, economic and security situation. Today the German – American love is at its peak. Despite sporadic cases, which have questioned up this “feeling”. Here we can mention the case of tapping the phones of Americans. Especially telephone tapping of Chancellor Angela Merkel.

These two powerful nations must work together to maintain global security. Because there are two most powerful promoters of the economic policy for now, as well as for the future. And I think that German and American politics will be the first violin together for many years on the progress of world politics to solve the problems and issues in different regions of the globe. But the question arises, what is the origin of these links, and this close relationship, as these relationships have evolved? Therefore I will make a brief background on these bonds. German – US relations date back to the 17th century, in 1683. In this period there was a large influx of immigrants from Germany to the United States of America. Even the German lawyer, the only writer of the Barock periode US-Franz Daniel Pastorius founded along with Englishman William Penn, the son of famous British Admiral William Penn, near the Pennsylvania town “Germantown”. Mainly German immigrants came from Baden, Württemberg, Hesse, the Palatinate, as well as

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Kohl's, Osnabrück, Münster and Mainz. In the 18th century due to the difficult economic situation and social developments, hundreds of thousands of Germans left Germany. Seeing this huge wave of German invasions, American politician Benjamin Franklin began to complain for the so-called "germanizing" of the British colony of Pennsylvania. He was very afraid, that English would be removed from the official language and be replaced by German. However this was not realized for many factors of that time.

Only in 1850 in United States arrived about 1 million Germans. They established their colonies, mostly in California, followed later by Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois and Texas. They introduced the so called German belt or "German belt". This belt belonged to the states, such as Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska and Iowa. German – Americans first became involved enormously in public life, especially in the union. They were the first initiators of labor organizations and trade union associations. They demanded and fought very hard for a better integration of the Germans in American daily life, for better working conditions and lifestyle. According to the latest census of the US population conducted in 2010, all US territory about 15.2% of respondents, or about 58 million Americans claimed, are of German roots. First the Germans were mostly bakers, beer producers, workers, farmers, musicians, businessmen, etc. They gave another dimension to the American everyday life. German immigrants brought a new spirit of desire to work, the correctness and punctuality at work, in life and everywhere.

Even in German political life – the Americans have left deep imprints. Here we can mention politician Karl Schulz, who was the first German to reach the highest peaks of American politics. He too, strongly supported Lincoln in the presidential elections of that time, and was elected senator of the state of Missouri, and even managed to become the Minister of Internal Affairs in the government of US President Rutherford Hayes. Germany and the United States tied political relations in 1797, where renowned politician and later US President John Quincy Adams was sent as ambassador to Prussia at the time. Relations between the two countries have been inseparable and very strong, with the exception of the periods 1917-1921 and 1941-1955. The bonds between Germany and the USA focused primarily in the areas of immigration, trade and economy. For a long period the United States was represented in Europe, even in Germany through representations accredited in England and France. German – US relations have not always been excellent, there have been of course ups and downs. Here we consider the First World War, where German submarines sank five American merchant ships. This thing shook many bilateral relations, so the US President Wilson declared the war and immediately broke diplomatic relations with Germany. This led him, which eventually removed the German language lesson plans that time and the street names were changed to English names. The same thing happened in World War II. Relations between the two countries have been very tense in this period.

Germany is one of the most significant, the most important of nowadays international political arena and in the EU in general. This relates more to changes of its political course after the '80-'90. This policy was a political non-alignment policy issues in international and military non-alignment, for not sending military troops in global conflicts. This is not related to a lack of will and the desire on the part of the German state, but with the treaties signed by its Western allies on 05/26/1952, with the obligation in order to merge all these treaties (Deutsche Bundestag, 1953: 2-73). Today we can talk about a Germany in the vanguard, the first to solve various issues in the European political arena and in international law. This is related to greater political engagement, economic and military German government taking into account its vital interests. This is seen very

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well in its commitment during the Kosovo crisis in 1999 (Friedrich, 2005: 21-72) and the political and military engagement in Afghanistan, in the fight against terrorism (Mertes, 2003: 5-9). In recent years German politics in general has changed, has evolved in the international political arena and security policy. This has led to a radical change of orientation or main objectives of policy. Germany until the early 90's has been under a kind of American "vassalage". It has been a loyal and obedient ally of US. In the eyes of American politics Germany has been a nice, tolerant and generous Cinderella. We can say, that this role suited more to the German policy until the late 90's, for the fact that its weight in the international arena was negligible. It was not considered and not taken into account at all by other European countries. Because Germany was always persecuted by the shadow of World War II. Because Germany was treated as a defeated state politically and militarily. This love, this "honeymoon" between Americans and Germans going toward and end or "divorce" in some way.

And this happened, when Cinderella began to erect perennial top injustices that were done to her. So she stopped playing the role of Cinderella sight of world politics and began to ask her selfishness a new role at the international political and security, which will ensure them a stronger voice in the world order as well as to be taken more seriously by other European allies and the US (Gröbl, 2000: 20-24). In this respect, the German increase it was in the interest of US policy, because in this way it had a better grip and stronger European Union, for so Europeans would be more unified around fundamental international issues and were always supportive to the US policy in the world. But on the other hand the United States feared that, in this way the Europeans would become independent and will act in accordance with their own interests and US policy would remain like fish out of water in this turbulent global oasis. Situation, that Germany was passing in this period, showed that it would be a different political pole, a counterweight in the nowadays bipolar world. As it was apparent by later political streams it did not accept the US hegemony in Europe and in the world, and it proved it later in the numerous open objections to the irritating US policies. The fact is that American policies didn't take into account the feelings and opinions of European allies on many international issues. This meant, that it acted on its own, regardless of the danger which threatened the democratic world. Therefore we must say, that after the reunification of Germany in 1990 and the end of the Cold War, relations between Germany and the United States have been ambivalent. Germany focused more on the European area, so it gives more importance to European domestic situation. As the United States pursued turn "Market-Political", to find new markets in the period of globalization. Contacts with Europe remained tight, but not so tight as to the period of the East-West. Europe for its part is always obliged to stand by the United States, it also cause security policy. The reason is that the United States had and has all the potential to solve problems and conflicts that may arise in Europe. The wars in the Balkans (Joerissen, 2007: 2-14), in this region too politically turbulent, with major ethnic and nationalism problems, showed that Europe and Europeans were not able to solve and assume the costs of litigation in Europe. European policy is convinced that the Balkan region is a "gunpowder keg" that could explode from moment to moment. The wars in Bosnia-Herzegovina, massacres in Kosovo (Krause, 2000: 395-416) and Croatia showed that Europe was divided politically, and there was not a unified political attitude regarding these fierce conflicts in the heart of Europe in the 20th century.

Therefore, conflicts in the Balkans expressed clearly the new role that is taking the US behold the new international policy. But, on the other hand we have the emergence of a "superpower" new European Germany. But many experts as Hans-Peter Schwarz or

Rainer Baumann have called Germany as “central power” (Baumann, 2007: 62-72). This force was seeking “chair” her “new world table” – the new international situation. Relations between Germany and the US have had ups and downs. There were no perfect partnership between the two superpowers. But, after the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 against the World Trade Center, the German relations – the US took a another stream. This flow continued until the start of the invasion of allied forces led by the United States against Iraq. European people was expressed from the beginning against this war and this refusal was so great that through various surveys appeared opinion that Americans should have resolved the problems, which opened with his own hands. “What shall sow, reap”. But “When I own tongs, why burn the hands” says another word popular proverb. This is used properly US. Iraq War in 2003 showed once again the major divisions and rifts between the US and European countries to NATO, among them Germany. This war has disrupted the unity that existed between old allies within the European Union (Knelangen, 2008: 99-123) Germany was deployed out against this war. This became apparent in the word of the former German Minister of Foreign Affairs Joschka Fischer: “Ich bin nicht überzeugt!” (I'm not convinced!) (Der Spiegel, 08.02.2003), When he banged his eyes open in the former American Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld during the Munich Security Conference in 2003, when he defended the idea of military intervention in Iraq. The motto of the Iraq War was a “war against terror and the axis of the Devil”. This flaw or “diplomatic freeze” continued for a long period. German policy has always ignored the issue of Iraq. And it has brought, Germany in this country has lost somewhat credibility and sympathy it enjoyed for so long. German active foreign policy in this period faced with two difficulties: a) the first was the security situation in the country, which was very tense, and today we can say that improved. During these years seen signs towards normalization of life in general. In the period 2004-2006 there was a civil war between Sunnis and Shiites, the level of violence was very high. Every German engagement in the country would be high cost, because the government of Iraq had no power in all its territory; b) the second is that this was a legacy of the years 2003-2008 policy. German foreign policy for Iraq off the agenda had its day. What all these years did not play the role expected of the international community (Steinberg, 2009: 33-40). But rejection, which makes Germany and France Iraq War, compounded complete situation within the European Union. In this year began a conflict between members Bloc. He created two camps: 1) camp of supporting states, which included Great Britain, Italy, Spain, Netherlands, Poland, etc. and 2) states opposing camp which included Germany, France, Belgium, Austria, etc. German policy had openly and clearly that there will be routed in any way military troops on the ground and any associate of the German public and private enterprises in hazardous areas. Because in this way it came out in support of Saddam Hussein and his military clique (Hacke, 2003a: 23-27). This would put into question the relations within Europe and in the international political arena. Because this would have higher human, economic and political cost. Once a little girl of three years was asked in Saudi satellite channel “Iqra”, if she loved and liked Jews. Her reply was immediate “NO”. “Why not? Because they are monkeys and pigs”. “Who says this?” – Addressed the moderator. “Our Lord” – answered the little one three years. The moderator then did another question: “Where is written this thing?”. And the girl without a blink answered, that this phrase was written in the Qur'an, the holy book of Muslims. In the end the moderator addressed the audience with these words: “Everyone would like to have such a baby that believes in God. God bless her and her parents”. This anti-Semitic spirit, this spirit of religious and human intolerance is always growing. As well as anti-American and

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anti-European spirit between the Arab and Muslim countries. And this is noted to the young Muslim generation, that is supporting more radical and fundamentalist Islam. But the question arises: Why did not participate actively in the Iraq war Germany in 2003? These are the reasons that forced Germany not to be active in this fight: lack of legitimacy under international law (Lack of mandate from the Security Council of the United Nations); lack of evidence and facts, which show the great danger that “was supposed” to come from Iraq; a military intervention could have encouraged Islamic fundamentalism and international terrorism; the risk of terrorist attacks would not have been diminished, but increased; efforts to support a democratic and non-violent Islam would be put at risk; the other military missions (Afghanistan) would have been put at risk; in other countries such as Syria, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Pakistan, fundamentalist coups could occur; the boundaries of national states in this region could have been into question and this could arise to the emergence of dangerous situations or conflicts between Arab countries; after the war, Iraq would not have had the opportunity to be democratically stabilized; lack of will and support from the people themselves could have occur; especially the German people would have had a negative attitude to this war, and they would have not accepted that it was Germany leading it. And the reason was the historical legacy of World War II.

We must say, that the terrorist attacks, not only were not prevented, but they were added even more. Alarms for bombs in the United States of America, Canada and European countries have greatly increased. The danger is always imminent. So it is required more cooperation and political and military coordination between European countries and the United States of America; the risk of terrorist attacks will not decrease, but will increase more. This is also confirmed in nowadays, where international terrorism and Islamic fundamentalism are two main issues in the international political agenda today. This intervention further strengthened and nurtured the idea of Islamists, that evil comes only from the West: efforts to support a democratic Islamic and non-violent will be jeopardized; the other military missions (Afghanistan) risk; in other countries such as Syria, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Pakistan, fundamentalist coups could occur; the boundaries of national states in this region can be called into question and this may give rise to the emergence of dangerous situations or conflicts between Arab countries; after the war, Iraq would be able to democratize and stabilize; lack of will and support from the people themselves.

And the reason that historical legacy of World War II. Because if it would happen, that Germany would be the leader of the war on Iraq, the shadows of World War II, German Nazism would be turned (Steinberg, 2003: 33-40). Other countries would see with skepticism this leadership, because they would thought, that in the German policy has turned the idea of a modern post Hitler Germany. Therefore German politicians feared exceedingly the idea of military leadership). This would aggravate further the relations with European countries, especially France, a historic rival of Germany. What were its interests, that pushed not a member of the Coalition to Goodwill? (Hacke, 2003b: 8-16) That when it comes to define its interests in the world, the German government is very restrained, measured. The first, was the stability and territorial integrity of Iraq. This meant, that in the event of bankruptcy or the division of Iraq would occur conflicts numerous local and regional. Especially the period between 2005-2007 was indeed threatening, where Iraq threatened such a phenomenon. Even in early 2009 appeared the risk of disintegration of Iraq into two, three or more parts, because the Kurdish parties had strongly urged the Iraqi constitution of 2005 to receive federal character. And the country's federalism suited the German interest.

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The second, was to limit the effects and negative consequences that could bring regional stability. This meant, that the policy of the states of the Near East and Middle has been filled with interstate conflict and this war will harden regional strife, and would provoke direct or indirect interference by neighboring states. This given the impact that could exert Iran as an important actor of Shiite groups in the south and center of the country, as well as central government anytime – Shi'ite. Therefore, the interest of Germany was that New Iraq help to resolve regional conflicts, so that he was not a source of conflict.

Third, to curbing Islamic terrorism, although Al-Qaeda was weakened somewhat but there is the risk that the activity of jihadist groups in the country can be expanded and spread to neighboring countries and Europe. The terrorist attacks in Madrid in 2004 and London in 2005 showed once again that the Iraq war was the main motive for the assassination by Al-Qaeda (Steinberg, 2003: 33-40).

The fourth issue that bothered German foreign policy, was the issue of deportees and displaced. With millions of Iraqis fled to Syria and Jordan. But the capacity of these countries to keep such numbers of dislodges were further their limits. In addition to economic and social problems, this wave would jeopardize the stability of these countries, especially Syria and Lebanon, for their importance of these countries in the Arab-Israel conflict. This would cause instability in these countries.

It, which was concerned over Germany, was the problem of energy security at reasonable prices. And this was the fact that Iraq owns about 9% of oil reserves and 2% of the world's gas reserves. But there are whole areas in the country, who have not yet sought and discovered. In the '60 and '70 Iraq was one of the most important trading partners of Germany. Iraq is an interesting place to invest.

Last issue that the recovery of the Iraqi infrastructure, road construction has given its fruit in Kurdish northern Iraq, while the Arabian still suffering the consequences of war and strife between ethnicities. And it increases the commitment of the German economy in this part of the Iraq economy (Steinberg, 2003: 33-40). However, Germany is back issue of Iraq after 2008. German foreign policy has written again this topic on its agenda. With the changes that occurred in the US by taking the Obama presidency, it became easier growth of German involvement in Iraq domestic politics. Under this view must be also visit the former German foreign minister Steinmeiers in Iraq in February 2009. But it must be said, that Germany has turned his eyes again to Iraq and his case. Because the situation in Iraq is still being perceived more. This indicates the fact that the situation in Iraq was and is destabilizing and that could destabilize the entire surrounding region. However, we must recognize that Germany does not yet have a proper policy on the issue of Iraq. Anyway the thing for which should be worried more German foreign policy, that seizure or "freeze" the US diplomatic. German assistance for the training of Iraqi security forces was only the first step to improve relations with the White House violated. Germany in the framework of the Paris Club gave substantial assistance. This assistance by the Paris Club amounted to 4.3 billion euros. It was a relief to reconstruction and reclamation of the Iraq shattered economy. All this in order to improve the relations with USA. Germany also helped in the reconstruction of the Iraq political institutions. German political foundations organized trainings for local observers for the 2005 elections, organized seminars for representatives of non-Iraq, trained Iraq politicians and experts regarding various issues and topics of the constitution. In June 2008, was held for the first time after 21 years the Joint Commission German-Iraq economy under the guidance of former German Minister of Economics Mr. Glos. An agreement was signed for the promotion

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and protection of investments. All this in the service of improving relations with the United States. Further improving relations served the visit of former Foreign Minister Mr. Joschka Fischer directly after the war in Iraq, in which there was a “melting” between the two countries. His meetings with former Foreign Secretary of Mr. Colin Powell and former National Security Adviser Mrs. Condoleezza Rice further eased tensions between the two countries. His words show a clear intention to have Germany and Europe “this is in the common interest, that things in American-European relations walk on a common constructive line” (Fischer apud Powell and Sicherheitsberaterin Rice, 2003).

This improvement has served visit of Mr. Colin Powell in Germany on May 15th 2003 or visit the former US President Bush in February 2004. All of these mutual visits “warmed” frozen relations between the two transatlantic-powers. Today we can talk about a “spring season” in relations between Germany and the USA. However, we must say, that although German-American relations are much warmer in the international geopolitical situation today, even because of the problems and issues that are of concerning and agitating even more the world of nowadays, admitting again, that the US intervention in Iraq has never calmed this troubled region, but has only sparked cools of anti-American and anti-European spirit. This point was noted earlier by the Germany. This is proved once again by the latest issue, which deals with the Islamic state or caliphate, ISIS. The situation in Iraq and in Syria today is more alarming. This imminent risk has been long foreseen by German politics, so this was the reason why it was deeply anti-war and American intervention in Iraq. Therefore the improved relations between Germany and the United States of America are a strong base of consolidation, are a foundation on which should be acted quickly to calm the international situation and the situation in Iraq and in the region. Relations between Germany and the United States of America has always been a game of chess. The reason is that both superpowers expected reaction by the opponent in chess, in the large international field, where each horse gets another horseshoe, and then react in their own way. German Re-US relations have always been tense, because none of the superpowers did not move from his own position. And the starting point has been the question of Iraq. Because here interpenetrated all global interests, ranging from the issue of oil, gas and energy security. And the fact that Russia by her own was beginning to blow sparks and playing with European countries to further increase its influence through gas policy in the region and beyond.

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