

Contents

1	Introduction	4
2	Britain and Germany in European and World Affairs	10
2.1	The First Post-War Decade.	10
2.2	The 'Pentagon'.	15
2.2.1	Post-War East-West Arrangement	16
2.2.2	The Third Circle: Britain and the Commonwealth	21
2.2.3	Defence.	22
2.3	Perceived Dangers and Threats.	23
2.3.1	Rapallo.	23
2.3.2	Franco-Russian Rapprochement.	25
2.3.3	Anglo-Russian Rapprochement	26
2.3.4	Other Possible Arrangements.	26
3	Foreign Policy Making in Post War Britain and Germany	28
3.1	The Fabric of Diplomacy.	29
3.1.1	Foreign Office.	29
3.1.2	The British Embassy in Bonn	32
3.1.3	The Auswärtiges Amt	33
3.1.4	The German Embassy in London.	36
3.2	United Kingdom.	40
3.2.1	The Governmental Structure.	41
3.2.2	Prime Ministers and Foreign Secretaries 1955-1961	47
3.3	Adenauer's Kanzlerdemokratie.	53
3.3.1	The Governmental Structure of the Federal Republic	54
3.3.2	Germany's Foreign Policy - Adenauer's Foreign Policy?	57
3.4	Heads of Government: the Crucial Axis.	64
3.4.1	Adenauer and Great Britain.	64
3.4.2	Macmillan and Germany.	70
3.4.3	Macmillan and Adenauer.	72
4	Britain and Germany: the Bilateral Relationship 1955—1961	85
4.1	Bilateral Attitudes: Public and Published Opinion	85
4.1.1	Historical Legacy.	85

4.1.2	Mutual Images.	89
4.1.3	Press Opinion	91
4.2	1955-1957: On the Road to Normality?	96
4.3	1957-1961: Bilateral Problems.	100
4.3.1	Defence and Military Economy.	101
4.3.2	Economy.	111
4.3.3	Anti-Semitism.	113
4.4	The Significance of Bilateral Friction.	116
5	European Economic Co-operation: the Anglo-German Dimension	120
5.1	British European Policy: Underlying Factors and Developments.	120
5.2	German Attitudes Towards European Co-operation and Integration: Underlying Factors.	128
5.3	The Course of the Negotiations.	137
5.3.1	Developments up to November 1956.	137
5.3.2	The Free Trade Area Negotiations.	141
5.3.3	The Aftermath of the Negotiations: Reactions and Counterproposals.	147
5.3.4	Bridge-Building	149
5.4	German Policies towards Britain in the Free Area Negotiations.	151
5.4.1	Attitudes within the Auswärtiges Amt	152
5.4.2	Erhard's Position.	159
5.5	British Actions and Reactions vis-à-vis the Germans	162
5.5.1	Assessing the Balance of Power in the German Decision-Making Process.	162
5.5.2	Evaluation of German Policy throughout the Negotiations.	166
6	European Security: the Anglo-German Dimension of the Berlin Crisis	177
6.1	Political and Legal Background.	180
6.1.1	Developments Leading up to the Crisis.	182
6.1.2	German Ost- and Deutschlandpolitik	188
6.1.3	Adenauer's Policies vis-à-vis the East	191

6.1.4	British Assessment of German Ostpolitik	198
6.2	From the Khrushchev Speeches to the Berlin Wall: November 1958 to December 1961.	204
6.2.1	The 'Trial Speech' and Western Reaction.	204
6.2.2	The Ultimatum Speech.	217
6.2.3	Development of German and British Concepts on Deutschlandpolitik and Ostpolitik.	223
6.2.4	Bilateral Relations in the Context of European Security.	235
6.2.5	Economic Co-operation versus Security: Conflicting Interests.	272
7	Conclusion	278
	Appendix	289
	List of Abbreviations.	289
	Tables.	293
	Berlin and Germany. A Memorandum written by Sir Gladwyn Jebb.	299
	Bibliography	306

List of Tables

1	British Exports and Imports	22
2	British Exports by Areas and Selected Countries	124
3	British and German Foreign Office Ranks	293
4	Former NSDAP Members in the Auswärtiges Amt	293
5	Defence and Private Expenditure in Relation to GNP	294
6	Imports and Exports of the Federal Republic of Germany	295
7	Balance of Trade.	295
8	Balance of Payments	296
9	Refugees from the GDR and East Berlin until 1961	297
10	Monthly Refugee Figures from East Germany.	298