

## **8th Conference of the Bavarian American Academy:**

### **Political Cultures and the Culture of Politics: A Transatlantic Perspective**

*An International Conference at the Bavarian American Academy at the Amerika Haus, Munich,*

**May 18 - 20, 2006**

[The conference program is listed below.]

The 2006 Academy conference will discuss the cultural foundations of polity, politics, and policies and how they mark differing types of societal order within the transatlantic community. The cultural framework of the modalities of the political in the United States, Canada, and Germany will be examined from various angles by focusing on the following topics:

- The impact of political culture on public order, its institutional make-up, and political interaction
- The challenge of multiethnic and multicultural diversity to national unity and coherence
- The socio-cultural basis of foreign policy formation
- The effects of economic culture on the realm of politics
- The intellectual culture as formative force in public affairs.

*The conference is free of charge and single panels can be visited.*

#### **Program of conference**

##### **Thursday, 18 May 2006**

17.30 Conference Opening with Welcome Addresses

- Jürgen Gebhardt, Director Bavarian American Academy
- Ministerialdirektor Friedrich-Wilhelm Rothenpiehler, Bavarian State Ministry of Sciences, Research and the Arts
- Matthew M. Rooney, US Consul General, Munich
- Roman Waschuk, Minister-Counsellor, Canadian Embassy, Berlin

Award Ceremony „BAA Disseration Prize 2006“

18.30 Keynote Address

- [William Pfaff](#), International Herald Tribune, Paris: “Political Culture on Two Sides of the Atlantic: A Perspective on Things to Come”

19.30 Reception

## **Friday, 19 May 2006**

9.00 Panel I: Public Order and Political Culture

Chair: Michael Hochgeschwender, University of Munich

- [Horst Mewes](#), University of Colorado at Boulder: "Political Culture, War and Public Disorder?"
- [Barry Cooper](#), University of Calgary: "Political Order and the Culture of Entitlement: Some theoretical Reflections of the Gomery Commission"
- [Dietrich Herrmann](#), University of Dresden: " "Verfassungspatriotismus"? The Constitution in German Political Culture"

11.00 Panel II: Cultural Diversity and National Unity

Chair: Heike Paul, University of Erlangen-Nuremberg

- [Charles Butterworth](#), University of Maryland, Baltimore: "Multiculturalism: Great in Theory, A Failure in Practice?"
- [John von Heyking](#) (University of Lethbridge): "Multiculturalism and Problems of Canadian Unity"
- [Wolfgang Zank](#), Aalborg University, Aalborg: "The German Melting-Pot in Historical Perspective"

15.00 Panel III: The Cultural Foundations of Foreign Policy

Chair: Rainer-Olaf Schultze, University of Augsburg

- [David Edwards](#), University of Texas at Austin: "Clash of Cultures: Conflicting Foundations of American Foreign Policy"
- [Martin Thunert](#), University of Bremen: "Cultural Foundations of Canadian Foreign Policy"
- [Christopher Daase](#), University of Munich: "Questioning Venus. Cultural Sources of German (and European) Foreign Policy"

17.00 BAA Members' Meeting

## **Saturday, 20 May 2006**

9.00 Panel IV: The Culture of Political Economy and the Politics of Economics

Chair: Barbara Hahn, University of Würzburg

- [Stephen Clarkson](#), University of Toronto: "Cultural Foundations of the Political Economy of Canada"
- [Jens van Scherpenberg](#), Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, Berlin: "State and Economy in the U.S. - An Uneasy Relationship"
- [Stefan Schirm](#), University of Bochum: "The Role of Interests and Norms in German Political Economy"

## 11.00 Panel IV: The Politics of Culture: The Public Intellectual and the Mission of the Writer

Chair: Klaus Benesch, University of Bayreuth

- [Jay Neugeboren](#), New York: "A Letter to President Bush: The Writer as Citizen"
- [Robert Abzug](#), University of Texas at Austin: "Communicating Ideas to the American Public: The Case of Rollo May"
- [Gerald Vizenor](#), University of New Mexico: "The Tease of Power: Native American Resistance and Survivance"

13.00 End of Conference

## **Short biographical notes and abstracts**

### **William Pfaff | Political Culture on Two Sides of the Atlantic: A Perspective on Things to Come**

William Pfaff is the author of eight books on American foreign policy, international relations, and contemporary history, including books on utopian thought, romanticism and violence, nationalism, and the impact of the West on the non-Western world. His newspaper column, featured in *The International Herald Tribune* for more than 25 years, and his globally syndicated articles, have given him the widest international readership of any American commentator. He also writes for *The New York Review of Books* and London's *The Observer*.

#### **Abstract**

Political culture is a product of historical experience and of the intellectual forces at work in a society, responsible for its sense of national identity and purpose. Europe in the second world war experienced a terrible crisis of national identities, with pathological mutations of nationalism, that afterwards produced the unprecedented phenomenon of the European unification movement. Today the European Union experiences a serious challenge related to non-European immigration and to the EU's expansion from its core states, formed by western Christianity and the Enlightenment, to a peripheral Europe with significantly different cultural origins, with a possibility of further expansion into the Islamic world. The United States, historically hostile to European political society and self-consciously a "new" world, which practiced national isolation during the first 150 years of its existence, has been led by world war and the cold war, into a changed consciousness of itself and of its supposed international destiny. This too now encounters a fundamental and disorienting challenge, of concern to Europeans just as Europe's challenge concerns Americans.

## **Panel I: Public Order and Political Culture**

## **Horst Mewes | Political Culture, War and Public Disorder?**

Professor Mewes teaches political theory at the University of Colorado in Boulder. He studied political philosophy with both Leo Strauss and Hannah Arendt at the University of Chicago until 1970. His main interest is in problems in the development of modern democracy, especially the various relations between private and public freedoms. He has written various articles on modern individualism and problems of modern citizenship, both in English and German. His latest book is entitled *Hannah Arendt's political humanism* and will be published by Peter Lang Publishers this September.

### **Abstract**

The definitions and thus the relations between public order and political culture can vary greatly. In one reading, the core of public order is popular constitutional government. Political culture would refer to the conduct and traditions associated with constitutional government. However, in a public order like the American liberal republic, devoted to both private and public liberties, the political culture as well as the continuous interpretation of the constitutionality of new legislative acts is heavily influenced by the non-political culture. This can be seen in recent supreme court cases on the issue of the "right to privacy," where radically different interpretations of the nature of public order and political as well as non-political culture are at play. At issue is the relation between continuity and change in the basic American public order.

## **Barry Cooper | Political Order and the Culture of Entitlement: Some theoretical Reflections of the Gomery Commission**

Barry Cooper is Professor of Political Science at the University of Calgary and research fellow at the Canadian Defence and Foreign Affairs Institute. He is the author, editor, or translator of some 25 books and over a hundred articles on Western political philosophy and Canadian politics. He is a fellow of the Centre for Military and Strategic Studies and of the Royal Society of Canada. His most recent book is *New Political Religions: An Analysis of Modern Terrorism*, and he is currently working on an analysis of recent Canadian politics called *It's the Regime, Stupid!*

### **Abstract**

The Gomery Commission was established by the recent Martin government to enquire into the so-called sponsorship scandal. One of the terms used by Mr. Justice Gomery to characterize the process by which the "sponsorship program" operated was "culture of entitlement." This paper will examine the implications of Gomery's investigation for a proper understanding of the Canadian regime (or *politeia*, to use Aristotle's term). This will, I believe, complement the two other papers, which seem to be focused more on culture and politics rather than political culture. It is highly significant, for example, that the sponsorship program was devised as a response to the very close 1995 referendum on Quebec sovereignty but that it quickly turned into a partisan operation, the chief beneficiary of which was the Liberal Party of Canada in Quebec.

## **Dietrich Herrmann | Verfassungspatriotismus? The Constitution in German Political Culture**

Dietrich Herrmann is Post-Doctoral Research Fellow with the Inter-disciplinary Research Center 537 "Institutions and History" at the University of Dresden. He got his Ph.D. at the John F. Kennedy-Institute for North American Studies in Berlin with a thesis on the Debate on the Integration of Immigrants and Americanization in early 20th century United States. He is currently working on his Habilitationsschrift "Constitution as Dialogue" on Constitutional Review in Germany, the United States, and France. He has published several articles dealing with Constitutionalism and Judicial Review in the United States, Germany, and France. His publications include *Be an American! Amerikanisierungsbewegung und Theorien zur Einwandererintegration* (1996), *Nationale Identität und Staatsbürgerschaft in den USA* (2001, with H. Vorländer), "Integration durch Neutralität? Der amerikanische Supreme Court und der Konflikt um die Religion" (2002), and "The Triumph of Constitutionalism in the 20th Century" (2003, with H. Vorländer and G. Schaal), "Akte der Selbstautorisierung als Grundstock

institutioneller Macht von Verfassungsgerichten" (2006) ("Acts of Self-Authorization as the Basis of Institutional Power of Constitutional Courts")

## Abstract

The Political Culture of the Federal Republic is shaped by a rising acceptance of the constitution and the norms behind it, though there are still and for the foreseeable future differences between East and West. The increasing acceptance of the constitution may be traced to the parallel economic success and to the conflictive adaptation of the constitution, i.e. that the constitution served as the forum and medium where political and social conflicts are fought out and thereby „constitution“ as idea and symbol rises in standing. On the normative side, it remains an open question whether a variant of „constitutional patriotism“ suffices as basis for national identity.

## Panel II: Cultural Diversity and National Unity

### Charles Butterworth | Multiculturalism: Great in Theory, A Failure in Practice?

Professor of Government and Politics at the University of Maryland, College Park, Charles Butterworth specializes in medieval Arabic and Islamic political philosophy. Pursuit of this academic interest has permitted him to live and study in most of the Arabic speaking countries of the Middle East and North Africa as well as in Europe. Professor Butterworth's publications include critical editions of most of the Middle Commentaries written by Averroes on Aristotle's logic; translations of books and treatises by Averroes, Alfarabi, and Alrazi, as well as Maimonides; and studies of different aspects of the political teaching of these and other thinkers in the ancient, medieval, and modern tradition of philosophy. Butterworth has also written monograph analyses of the political thought of Frantz Fanon and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Trained in political philosophy and Arabic as well as Islamic civilization at the University of Chicago, where he received an M.A. and Ph.D. in political science, Charles Butterworth has also studied at the University of Ayn Shams in Egypt, the University of Bordeaux, and the University of Nancy in France (receiving a doctorate in philosophy from the latter). He received his B.A. from Michigan State University. Before joining the faculty of the University of Maryland, Professor Butterworth taught at the University of Chicago and Federal City College (now the University of the District of Columbia). He has also taught at St. John's College, Georgetown University, and Harvard University, in addition to universities in Turkey, France (Bordeaux, Grenoble, and Paris), and Germany. In 1992-1993, he was a fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, D.C., and in 1999-2000, a Fulbright Senior Scholar Research and Lecturing Award and a German Academic Exchange Professorship allowed him to teach and research at the Alexander-Friedrich University in Erlangen, Germany. Also, during May and June 2000, he gave a series of lectures at the Institut du Monde Arabe in Paris entitled "Des origines de la philosophie politique en Islam."

## Abstract

Multi-culturalism came into vogue at different times and in different places for a number of different reasons, but at its core is a rejection of assimilation and of the "melting-pot" principle so prevalent in the US until the mid-20th century. In the academy, the multi-cultural spirit seems to thrive most in departments of English literature as a kind of cultural relativism. But it has been more actively practiced by those who study foreign languages and cultures as a means of understanding the history, culture, and politics of other nations and peoples. The movement or intellectual tendency has come under increasing attack as spokespersons for public opinion have felt more moved to criticize toleration, acceptance of the other, and especially the notion that the majority - in the US summarized under the acronym WASP for white Anglo-Saxon Protestant - should feel guilty about its standing or privilege. Unfortunately, that attack has only reinforced American reluctance to learn about other cultures and to engage in the toil of learning foreign languages to do so. My goal here is to trace the history of the movement, indicate its strong and weak facets, and show why the present attack on multi-culturalism - one expressed more and more in ignorant critiques of Islam, Muslims, and Arabs - is intellectually and politically short-sighted. Viewed properly, the debate is not about liberal versus conservative principles

but about how best to live in a world that is as complex and diverse now as it always has been and that surely will not somehow become more homogeneous in the immediate future. In other words, I would like to talk common sense to prejudice - political and cultural. Differently stated, the unexamined opinions of the right and the left - and aren't all right and left opinions unexamined by definition? - about multi-culturalism are fallacious, especially insofar as they have now brought about a new password in the US : "Islam, yes; Muslims, no."

### **John von Heyking (and Elise Ray) | Multiculturalism and Problems of Canadian Unity**

John von Heyking is Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Lethbridge , in Alberta , Canada , where he teaches political philosophy, politics and literature, and religion and politics. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Notre Dame in 1999. His publications include *Augustine and Politics as Longing in the World* (Missouri, 2001), two edited volumes of *The Collected Works of Eric Voegelin* (Missouri, 2003), as well as articles on political representation, citizenship, republicanism, just war, Islamic politics, politics and prophecy, leadership, the place of America in contemporary political thought, and religious liberty under Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms. He is currently coediting two separate volumes of essays: *Friendship, Justice, and the Political Life: Perspectives in the History of Political Thought* and *Civil Religion Then and Now: The Philosophical Legacy of Civil Religion and its Enduring Relevance in North America* . He is also at work on a book-length study on the relationship between friendship and political order. His editorials have appeared in the *Globe and Mail* ( Toronto ), *Calgary Herald*, and the Ashbrook Center for Public Affairs.

Elise Ray, co-author of the paper (who won't be attending the conference), is currently Research Assistant for the Ministry of Human Resources and Employment, Government of Alberta, Canada . Her research areas include multiculturalism, international political economy, and religion and politics. She has worked for the Canadian International Development Agency and in Germany in corporate law.

### **Abstract**

The adaptation of multiculturalism in Canada reflects the ambivalences of liberalism, and of Canadian nationhood in particular, toward fundamental issues including rights, citizenship, the relationship between law and *mœurs*, and the relationship of state to society. Multiculturalism is in part a liberal critique of liberalism itself. It reflects disenchantment toward liberalism that politics be focused on protecting the individual's life, liberty, and property. Its rhetoric shifts the attention of politics away from the mundane interests of individuals, and toward "thicker" goods of community and belonging where the state is regarded the guardian of *mœurs*. However, this shift is not as drastic as that found in nationalism or even contemporary forms of communitarianism because multiculturalism maintains liberalism's view that the state is the protector of private actors. Unlike the attention in classical liberalism toward individuals, the state now protects, facilitates, and organizes particular communities within the broader society. Multiculturalism therefore expresses an ambivalent attempt to articulate the unity and multiplicity of a political regime in society, the space between the state (and "nation") and the individual. It narrows the separation of the state and individuals, while obfuscating the type of civic obligations individuals have toward one another, qua citizens. It also attempts to transform politics from a liberal conception where interests are deliberated upon, to one in which identities are "recognized," which, despite its distant relationship with honor, is inherently antipolitical because, as Aristotle notes, politics is about deliberation of means and not about contemplation. Canada manifests these ambivalences in a number of ways. Multiculturalism policy was adopted in the 1960s as a way to articulate nationhood as a response to the challenge of Québec nationalism. It was the result of the realization that Québec interests differed dramatically from those of the rest of Canada . It reflected a shift from conducting politics as the deliberation of conflicting interests to the recognition of identities, in order to produce a sense of Canadian nationhood that could include Québec. In terms of rhetoric, multiculturalism encourages Canadians to think of themselves as a "community of communities" in which different cultures celebrate their differences under the cosmopolitan regime of tolerance where the obligations they owe toward one another are obscure. In practice, with the exception of the policies of some minor federal ministries, Canadians remain organized according to the state's obligations toward them as individuals, and as individuals toward other individuals. The ambivalence of

multiculturalism as a problem of liberalism is aggravated by the uncertain nature of the civic obligations Canadians owe one another, and to themselves as a nation.

### **Wolfgang Zank | The German Melting-Pot in Historical Perspective**

Wolfgang Zank (DE) is Associate Professor in the European Studies Programme at the University of Aalborg, Denmark. After graduating in history, economics and sociology from Bochum University, Germany, he taught social sciences and history at various Danish universities. For many years, he was a regular contributor to the German weekly *Die Zeit*. His research includes publications on the reconstruction of Germany, particularly the GDR, after World War II and *The German Melting Pot: Multiculturalism in Historical Perspective* (1998). After 1999 he has concentrated on problems of European integration, in particular the European Monetary Union, the transition to a Western society in Central and Eastern Europe, and the EU's Eastern enlargement. He has carried out several Simulation Games at the University of Aalborg.

#### **Abstract**

I try to address the topics of "national identity" and political community in an historical perspective. - The foundation of the German Reich in 1871 was not the "unification" of a culturally homogeneous nation, but a political construction which was at odds with previous ideas about "Germany". And it was culturally and socially very diversified. Numerous regions with populations who did not speak a German idiom became incorporated, and soon linguistic differences became front lines of bitter political struggles. The same happened as regards the cleavage between Protestants and Catholics. Industrialisation had opened a new cleavage between the huge parts of the working class and the other segments of German society. And rural Germany, under the onslaught of modernity and falling grain prices, entrenched itself in conservatism. Small wonder, conflicts have been frequent. Until 1914, however, there have been remarkable successes at integration. The means were a successful economic development, a rather efficient school system, a nascent welfare state and a system of rule by law with substantial, albeit yet insufficient, democratic structural elements. Full parliamentarization was imminent. The First World War disrupted the development in a fatal way, leading eventually to the catastrophes of World War II and Holocaust. However, the interwar-period was highly atypical. After 1945, West Germany got the chance for a peaceful development. Democracy has been practically uncontested. But still, also after 1945 Germany has been a cultural "cocktail", with changing ingredients, but always a "cocktail" of heterogeneous elements. And if currently problems of integration often dominate the headlines, this is in itself not really a novelty. And again we might also point at many cases of successful integration. All in all, terms such as National Identity (or European Identity) can be useful as describing group feelings and the symbols which express them. But these group feelings have evolved in spite of substantial cultural diversity.

### **Panel III: The Cultural Foundations of Foreign Policy**

#### **David Edwards | Clash of Cultures: Conflicting Foundations of American Foreign Policy**

Professor Edwards teaches political and social theory, American politics, public policy, and international relations at the University of Texas at Austin, Department of Government. His research interests include the philosophy of social science, noetic sciences, theories of administration, the theory and practice of public policy, international relations theory, American foreign policy, and U.S.- Russian relations. He has been a research associate at the Washington Center of Foreign Policy Research, a visiting professor at New York University, holder of Rockefeller and NATO research fellowships, and a consultant to the Danforth Foundation, the Industrial Management Center, and the Institute for Defense Analyses. His books include *Creating a New World Politics*, *International Political Analysis*, *Arms Control in International Politics*, *The American Political Experience*, and *Practicing American Politics*. He has written for *The Nation*, *The Washington Post*, *La Quinzaine Litteraire*, and other periodicals.

#### **Abstract**

With the spread of Islamic and Christian fundamentalisms, it has become popular to characterize the most likely future global conflict as a “clash of civilizations,” in the term made popular by Samuel Huntington. However, every institutionalized global religious movement has within it conflicting tendencies. So do the national foreign policy cultures. Nowhere is this truer today than in the United States. The current American adventure in Iraq has highlighted an emerging cross-cutting political culture of foreign policy, and it is generating yet another new counter-culture. But conflicting undercurrents can be traced throughout the Twentieth Century as well. The traditional cultural split in the United States was between Isolationism and Involvement, and some analysts, usually for their own political purposes, choose to continue to see the current situation in these terms. Overlaying that cultural divide in the Twentieth Century was the emerging split between an Idealism that was dominant in the Interwar Years and Realism, which emerged as the dominant cultural perspective during and after World War II. The growth of perceived “globalization” and the end of the Cold War fostered a resurgent offspring of Idealism, often termed Liberal Institutionalism. Meanwhile, disillusioned yet idealistic Realists gave birth to what is generally termed “Neoconservatism” in American foreign policy. But a more profoundly revolutionary cultural theory has been developing and is likely to become stronger as disillusionment with the “Neocons” as a result of the Iraq experience spreads. This paper will trace these historical developments briefly, emphasizing the less-recognized underlying intellectual elements of each, and then characterize the diverging cultural strands in the emerging alternative to Neoconservatism.

### **Martin Thunert | Cultural Foundations of Canadian Foreign Policy**

Martin Thunert, Dr. phil, is Professor of Political Science and Political Management at Bremen University of Applied Sciences. Between 2002 and 2005 he was Visiting Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.

#### **Abstract**

In terms of its political culture – or its cultural instincts – Canada seems more like a European nation than like a North American nation. In its geo-political and political economic location in the world and therefore in its foreign-policy interests, Canada clearly is a North American nation. This situation has made the Canadian foreign policy personality a split personality. It alternates between two poles: the poles of hard-nosed realism and the pole of idealism or even romanticism. The latter assigns Canada an idealistic vocation in the international system and has deep roots in Canadian political culture. The support for the visionary role of Canada in the world has been consistently high in the Canadian population over the past decades. Equally, the goal of norm creation, norm adherence and even norm entrepreneurship is being shared by a majority of Canada’s international affairs community. Canadians would like to see Canada do good, but that they are prepared to back it up with money and commitment is very much in doubt. How compatible are the idealistic cultural foundations of Canadian foreign policy with a reality-based view of Canada’s interests in the world? My answer is that they are neither entirely incompatible nor are they totally in synchronicity.

### **Christopher Daase | Questioning Venus. Cultural Sources of German (and European) Foreign Policy**

Christopher Daase ist seit Dezember 2004 Ordinarius für Internationale Beziehungen am Geschwister-Scholl-Institut für Politische Wissenschaft der Universität München. Zuvor war er *Senior Lecturer in International Relations* an der *University of Kent at Canterbury* und Direktor des Programms für Internationale Konfliktanalyse an der *Brussels School for International Studies*. Er studierte in Hamburg, Freiburg/Br. und Berlin Germanistik, Philosophie, Kunstgeschichte und Politikwissenschaft und promovierte 1996 an der Freien Universität Berlin mit einer Arbeit über unkonventionelle Kriegführung, für die er 1997 den Ernst-Reuter-Preis erhielt. Als Fellow des *SSRC-MacArthur Program in International Peace and Security* absolvierte er ein Aufbaustudium an der Harvard University und verbrachte einen Forschungsaufenthalt bei der *RAND-Corporation* in Santa Monica/CA. Forschungsreisen führten ihn nach Südostasien, ins südliche Afrika und in den Nahen Osten. Von 1994 bis 2000 war er Wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter an der Arbeitsstelle Transatlantische Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik des Otto-Suhr-Instituts für Politikwissenschaft an der Freien Universität Berlin. Seine Arbeitsschwerpunkte sind Theorien

und Methoden der Internationalen Beziehungen, Sicherheitspolitik und Internationale Organisationen. Seit Januar 2005 ist er geschäftsführender Herausgeber der *Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen*.

### Abstract

no information available at the moment

## Panel IV: The Culture of Political Economy and the Politics of Economics

### Stephen Clarkson | Cultural Foundations of the Political Economy of Canada

In the course of teaching political economy at the University of Toronto, Stephen Clarkson has devoted much of his research and writing time to the Canadian-American relationship and, since NAFTA was signed, to trilateral continental integration. His principal publications in this field are *An Independent Foreign Policy for Canada?* (1968); *Canada and the Reagan Challenge* (1982) [John Porter prize]; *Trudeau and Our Times. Volume 1: The Magnificent Obsession* (1990) with Christina McCall [Governor General's award for non-fiction] Published in French as *Trudeau: l'homme, l'utopie, l'histoire* (1990); *Trudeau and Our Times. Volume 2: The Heroic Delusion* (1994) with Christina McCall [John Dafoe prize] Published in French as *Trudeau: l'illusion héroïque* (1995); *Uncle Sam and Us: Globalization, Neoconservatism, and the Canadian State* (2002) [short list, Shaunessy Cohen prize]. Clarkson has been a Jean Monnet Fellow at the European University's Institute in Florence (1995-6), a Canada-US Fulbright scholar (1999), a Fellow and a Public Policy Scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (2000, 2001, and 2003). In 2004 Clarkson was elected Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada. Stephen Clarkson is now completing a large manuscript on continental governance under NAFTA and post-9/11: *Both More and Less than Meets the Eye: Transborder Governance in North America*.

### Abstract

This paper will argue that the political economy of Canada – a country rich in resources but poor in economic development and technological capacity – remains conditioned by its culture in three senses. First, its colonial experience of surviving thanks to the protection of its imperial guardian left it ambivalent about its desire for economic autonomy. Its need for foreign markets for its raw materials, capital for its development, and immigrants for its growth left it disinclined to conceive and implement policies that would promote its economic self-sufficiency. Second, the decentralization created by the Canadian constitution, which gives provinces sovereign jurisdiction over their natural resources, when combined with the geographically uneven distribution of its resources, has created a *sauve-qui-peut* culture of individualism that makes the provinces the masters of their own destiny – for richer or for poorer. Third, the cultural values that attribute priority and legitimacy to the domain of economics encourage economic boosterism at the expense of more solidaristic concerns about ecological survival in the long run or social justice in the short. The case of Canada's petroleum policy shows how – in striking contrast with Mexico, which has similarly vast oil resources but a strikingly more nationalist political-economy culture oriented towards autonomy – Canada from the first discovery of petroleum integrated itself in the US oil and natural gas economy; rejected Pierre Trudeau's flirtation with an energy policy promoting national autonomy; and accepted disciplines under the Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement which forfeited national control over the use of these resources. As a result, although Canadians are complicit with the United States in its excessive consumption of environment-destroying petroleum fuels, they are oblivious to their role in accelerating global ecological catastrophe.

### Jens van Scherpenberg | State and Economy in the U.S. - An Uneasy Relationship

Jens van Scherpenberg is head of the Americas research unit at the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP), German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Berlin (until 2000: Ebenhausen) since 1997. He also teaches international political economy at the University of Munich. He is the director of the SWP project „*Diverging Views on World Order - Transatlantic*

*Foreign Policy Discourse in a Globalising World*", which is supported by a grant from the German Marshall Fund of the United States. Jens van Scherpenberg, who held a German National Academic Foundation scholarship, received a master's degree in modern history from the University of Heidelberg and a Ph.D. in economics from the University of Munich . He has published widely on international trade policy, on globalisation and international regulatory policy, on the US economy, on transatlantic economic relations, on transatlantic defense industrial issues and on European integration. His current research focuses on U.S . economic and trade policies, US regional integration policies, on transatlantic economic relations, on US-EU regulatory competition and on the debate in the US and the EU about the economic role of the state.

### **Abstract**

If there is one distinctive feature that - beyond all talk of Anglo-American versus Rhineland capitalism - sets the United States apart from all European states including Great Britain it is the role the state plays and is supposed to play in the economy. Traditionally, The U.S. has one of the lowest ratios of public expenditure to GDP among the major industrial nations. This striking characteristic can only be explained by looking at the deeper sociocultural structures that have shaped the American society and economy.

### **Stefan Schirm | The Role of Interests and Norms in German Political Economy**

Stefan A. Schirm is Professor of Political Science at the Ruhr-University of Bochum where he holds the Chair for International Relations ([www.rub.de/Isip](http://www.rub.de/Isip)). Previously he taught at the Universities of Munich and Stuttgart, was a research associate at the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (SWP) and J. F. Kennedy Fellow at the Center for European Studies, Harvard University. He is the author of *Globalization and the New Regionalism* ( Cambridge : Polity Press 2002); *The Power of Institutions and Norms in Shaping National Answers to Globalization*, in: *German Politics* 11 (2002) 3: 217-237 and the editor of *New Rules for Global Markets. Public and Private Governance in the World Economy* ( New York : Palgrave 2004).

### **Abstract**

To which degree is the interaction between politics and the economy shaped by societal norms and material interests? Societal norms as collective expectations about appropriate behaviour by the government considerably diverge in cross-national comparison and could thus explain policy divergence. While the norm of 'collective solidarity' is strongly shared among Germans, Americans tend to emphasize the norm of 'individual freedom'. On the other hand, material interests focus on the competitive situation of the respective branch and direct lobbying in favour or against adjustment towards globalization. The paper analyzes the influence of interests and norms on German economic policy, its changes and responses to global competition.

### **Panel V: The Politics of Culture: The Public Intellectual and the Mission of the Writer**

#### **Jay Neugeboren | A Letter to President Bush: The Writer as Citizen**

Jay Neugeboren is the author of 16 books, including two prize winning novels (*The Stolen Jew, Before My Life Began*), two prize winning books of non-fiction (*Imagining Robert, Transforming Madness*), and three collections of award-winning short stories. He was Professor and Writer in Residence at the University of Massachusetts/Amherst for many years, and has also taught at Columbia , Stanford, and Freiburg . He now lives in New York City .

### **Abstract**

Jay Neugeboren will present the opening pages of a novel-in-progress, in which Paul Eisner, a 60 year old AIDS doctor, writes a letter to President Bush (about the relation of AIDS to the war in Iraq). The letter leads his employer, the Yale University Medical School (to which the letter is

referred by the White House), to suggest to Dr. Eisner that he take a leave-of-absence from his duties. Dr. Eisner, burnt out, takes the leave and goes to the South of France with his wife Marjorie—to a small village, Speracedes, in which they were living in 1968, when France erupted in revolution, when they first fell in love and before they were married. His intention, among other things, is to visit all the places in which his hero, Albert Camus, lived and wrote (and died). The question: to what degree does Dr. Eisner's letter—its causes and its aftermath (i.e., my novel!)—inform our sense of what the (political) responsibility of the writer is, or might be, in these times?

### **Robert Abzug | Communicating Ideas to the American Public: The Case of Rollo May**

Robert H. Abzug is Oliver H. Radkey Regents Professor and Professor of History and American Studies at the University of Texas at Austin, where he has taught since 1978. He was Chair of American Studies between 1990-1996. Previously he had taught at Berkeley and UCLA, and in 1990-91 was Eric Voegelin Visiting Professor at the University of Munich. Abzug's principal books are *Passionate Liberator: Theodore Dwight Weld and the Dilemma of Reform* (1980), *Inside the Vicious Heart: Americans and the Liberation of Nazi Concentration Camps* (1985), and *Cosmos Crumbling: American Reform and the Religious Imagination* (1994). He is currently finishing a biography of the American psychologist and public intellectual, Rollo May, in which he focuses on the interpenetration of religion and psychotherapy in modern American culture. Abzug has held major fellowships from the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Guggenheim Foundation, and has garnered several major teaching awards at the University of Texas.

#### **Abstract**

The American psychologist Rollo May was one of a number of post-World War II American intellectuals who simultaneously addressed audiences within public and professional realms. In such major works as *The Meaning of Anxiety* (1950), *Man's Search for Himself* (1953), *Existence* (1958), *Love and Will* (1969), and *The Courage to Create* (1975), he offered to millions of readers a learned, psychologically informed critique of modernity and its effects on individuals and society, and presented an agenda for renewal. As a clinical psychologist, May urged psychologists and especially clinicians to take a more holistic, philosophically informed vision of the human subject and the contingencies of human society. His advocacy of existential and humanistic psychology helped to transform psychotherapeutic practice in America. In this paper, I explore the cultural and personal sources, as well as the strengths and weaknesses, of an intellectual style that so effectively addressed a dual audience.

### **Gerald Vizenor | The Tease of Power: Native American Resistance and Survivance**

Gerald Vizenor has published more than twenty books, narrative histories, literary studies, novels, and short stories. *Fugitive Poses: Native American Indian Scenes of Absence and Presence*, *Manifest Manners: Narratives of Postindian Survivance*, and *Hiroshima Bugi: Atomu 57*, a novel, are three of his most recent books. He received the American Book Award for *Griever: An American Monkey King in China*, the Western Literature Association Distinguished Achievement Award, and the Lifetime Literary Achievement Award from the Native Writer's Circle of the Americas. Vizenor teaches courses on Native American Indian literature, history, and art.

His courses consider theories of cultural representations, simulations, and comparative critical studies of literary art. Vizenor also teaches seminars on human rights and genocide, and the history of the Manhattan Project. His seminar, *The Atomic Bomb: Los Alamos to Hiroshima*, is structured in two sections: the first section covers the political, military, and scientific histories of the Manhattan Project. The second section of the seminar is a critical discussion of the literature of the *hibakusha*, the survivors of the nuclear destruction of Hiroshima, Japan. Vizenor recently completed a historical narrative, *Bear Island: The War at Sugar Point*, based on the 1898 war between the United States Army and the Anishinaabe of the Leech Lake Reservation in Minnesota. Vizenor is the series editor of *American Indian Literature and Critical Studies* at the University of Oklahoma Press. The series has published more than fifty books in the past fifteen years. He is also a member of the editorial board of the North American Indian Prose Award at the University of Nebraska Press.

**Abstract**

"The Tease of Power" is about the Native American Indian tease, a practice of cultural humor, irony, resistance and survivance. Clifford Geertz wrote in "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight" that "to be teased is to be accepted. It was a turning point so far as our relationship to the community was concerned. . . ." That theme, the cultural tease as acceptance, will be discussed in several specific Native situations.