

DGAP

**Ways Into the  
Future:  
Perspectives  
for Foreign  
Policy**

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On the 90th Birthday  
of Karl Kaiser

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**Art Direction & Design** Daniel Fallner

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# Karl Kaiser and His Success Formula

## What Would the Patriarch Do Today?

What approach would Karl Kaiser take today? If he were still in office as director of the German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP), a post he held for a full 30 years of his currently 90 years of life, how would Karl Kaiser approach the foreign policy challenges of our time? What about the problem of designing a long-term strategy for dealing with a neo-imperial Russia? Or the challenge of finding the right degree of closeness to an increasingly unpredictable United States, led by Donald Trump?

The answer is easy to guess. Without doubt, Kaiser would set up a study group. He would bring together everyone with a good grasp on some aspects of the topic, whether from parliament, government, business, academia, journalism, or what is now called civil society. He would establish a relationship of equals and absolute confidentiality. Thus, those who squabble heartily in parliament and in public would find themselves understanding each other, or at least striving for joint solutions. Kaiser would create a space enabling conceptual alignment. The result would be a memorandum, a white paper – perhaps confidential, but probably public. Not stopping at analysis, the text would provide concrete and practical guidance. To put it somewhat more solemnly: it would propose a strategy. And that strategy would not be buried between book covers or on a hard-to-find website; no, it would be personally introduced into the relevant offices and to the relevant people.



The Kaiser approach became the DGAP approach. Through decades of innovative, yet tedious work on the foreign policy advisory front, Karl Kaiser made DGAP what it became during his tenure: one of the leading foreign policy think tanks. Rarely has a single person left such a lasting mark on an institution.

The success of the Kaiser approach is inextricably linked with the man himself. Three traits stand out: Karl Kaiser is a people person in the truest sense of the word. Everyone knows Kaiser, and Kaiser knows everyone. Students, colleagues, friends: his network is huge and ultimately also an instrument of influence. For decades, he was a one-man mentoring powerhouse. How many job placements was he involved in, sometimes behind the scenes? How many organizations, circles, and informal clubs may he have founded? How many academic lectures were followed by a dinner with the most important participants (after all, as we all know, the way to wisdom is through the stomach)? Sure, Karl Kaiser was also a CEO and a chairman, and he is a professor to this day, but first and foremost he is someone who has a way with people.

And then there is Karl Kaiser's non-partisan stance. Yes, he has been a committed Social Democrat for decades, advising Social Democratic ministers and chancellors. But rarely has a party member so consistently practiced his non-partisanship in the leadership of an institution as Karl Kaiser. He saw bipartisanship, a term he sometimes used untranslated in German, as that one overwhelmingly important principle that had to be defended fiercely if DGAP was to be successful.

Lastly, Karl Kaiser is a rather unusual professor. Far from residing in an ivory tower, he is a practitioner with a theoretical education. For him, scholarship is a method, not the goal; the goal is always relevance. Only by adhering to this principle has he become an icon in the art of policy advice in Germany. When he left his DGAP post in 2003 to accept a professorship at Harvard, he was admirably called a "patriarch" and a "lodestar in the cosmos of international relations."

Today, some 20 years after Kaiser left DGAP, we may ask if his approach is still suitable or if it has become outdated, tied as it is to a particular era and person. The enormous influence of the study groups in the early years was perhaps partially a side effect of the Bonn Republic, which was governed from a kind of federal village. Everything was smaller, more manageable, tiny even. Hardly anyone needed to retain lobbyists. People knew each other and met anyway, whether at the tennis club or at their favorite bar. Institutional competition was largely unheard of; there was only one of everything. And thus the Deutschland AG, the intertwining of business and banks, found its foreign policy equivalent in Kaiser's DGAP.

Are we to conclude that it is not only inevitable but perhaps even fortunate that a platform as powerful as that under Karl Kaiser is no longer to be found in the Berlin Republic?

Objection! The opposite is closer to the truth. It is precisely our time that calls for a return to the Kaiser approach. The strategic openness of our day creates disorientation, even confusion, and therefore requires a roundtable approach to finding solutions. Never in the past decades has foreign policy been as polarizing as it is today; never have the principles of Germany's international relations been so hotly debated. It is all too easy for groups – even those who are or by rights should be powerful – to feel unheard, marginalized, excluded. Here, building bridges can be as helpful as ever. Today, a Karl-Kaiser-style study group would be called a “multi-stakeholder task force.” And there would probably be more than one, if only because Berlin is not a federal village. The number of players and institutions is larger, but so is the tendency to retreat into ever smaller bubbles of like-minded peers. These bubbles need to burst.

Karl Kaiser is turning 90; DGAP is turning 70. What Kaiser has given DGAP and the Federal Republic is a toolbox that can be used, adapted, modernized, and made newly relevant for the future. An ideal legacy for this era of *Zeitenwende*.

DGAP offers its warmest congratulations to Karl Kaiser on his birthday – this publication is one way to show our appreciation. In it, associates and successors from both sides of the Atlantic honor his lifetime achievements and show that he was among the first to recognize major global policy trends, including the then-underappreciated challenges such as the power of digitalization and the danger of global warming.

The authors explore these and other topics, taking a look at the future. Their contributions deal with democracy, peace, and global order; with technological spheres of influence, geopolitical sovereignty, and the global security risks posed by climate change.

They highlight what makes Karl Kaiser’s work so unique, beyond his approach: his extraordinary foresight.



**Thomas Kleine-Brockhoff** is director of DGAP. He led the Berlin office of the German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF) for many years and served as a political advisor to German President Joachim Gauck.





***“While the global role of the United States is undergoing a period of contraction, the hesitant latecomer that is post-unification Germany is experiencing an expansion of its role, and is trying to define the scope of its new responsibilities.”***

**KARL KAISER**, *“Die deutsch-amerikanischen Sicherheitsbeziehungen in Europa nach dem Kalten Krieg”* [German-American Security Relations in Europe After the Cold War], 1992

# Security in Europe? Not Without the United States and Germany

While the US will remain the “indispensable power” in Europe, it also needs Europe: this is the basis for a new transatlantic consensus. But only if Germany plays a leading role again.

Some prophecies come true immediately; others build up suspense for a while. The latter is true for the prediction of Karl Kaiser, a distinguished authority on the United States, that the US would play a lesser role in the world after the end of the East-West conflict. In 1992, this was counterintuitive, not to say contrarian: an objection to the established consensus of hope. Just two years earlier, liberal historian Francis Fukuyama had proclaimed the “end of history”;<sup>1</sup> that same year, conservative commentator Charles Krauthammer announced America’s “unipolar moment.”<sup>2</sup> In fact, American foreign and security policy over the following decades was based on two assumptions: that, after the fall of the Berlin Wall along with the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and the Soviet Union, the rest of the world would also join in the triumph of free-market democracy; and that the United States would henceforth and forever be the planet’s sole superpower.

The reality check was not long in coming. The attacks of September 11, 2001, the Afghanistan operation, the Iraq war, the global financial crisis, an increasingly aggressive Russia, and the

1 Francis Fukuyama, “The End of History?,” *The National Interest*, no. 16, 1989, pp. 3–18.

2 Charles Krauthammer, “The Unipolar Moment,” *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 70, no. 1, 1989, pp. 23–33.

expansive rise of China led to a foreign policy paradigm shift: in the 2022 National Security Strategy, the Biden administration recognized that the United States was engaged in a global strategic competition for the shape of the international order – a tacit acceptance that the moment of unipolar hegemony was over.<sup>3</sup> The importance of democratic allies as partners in shared values and as a power extender for the United States is all the greater – especially in a world in which the authoritarian rivals and opponents of Western democracies are increasingly closing ranks. One might call it idealistic realism.

After Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, the Biden administration's careful and judicious tending and expansion of America's alliances became apparent in an exceptionally close cooperation with Europe (including the EU, which the previous administration had demonized), and in a particularly close embrace of Germany. At the same time, many Europeans suddenly became aware of their very limited ability to counter Russian aggression without the United States at their side. Where Ukraine would be today without this joint US-European support does not bear thinking about.

### **High Stakes for Europe and Germany**

Two years later, however, the limits of these newfound roles are becoming all too apparent. There is agreement on the end of the neoliberal consensus on trade on both sides of the Atlantic, but Washington's industrial protectionism and export controls are putting a strain on the relationship. The Middle East conflict threatens to spiral out of control; Russia is far from military or moral defeat; and attempts to contain China are failing. The international order is showing clear signs of disintegration.

On November 5, the American people unequivocally rejected a continuation of Biden's policies with the last-minute candidate

3 National Security Strategy, The White House, October 12, 2022: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/Biden-Harris-Administrations-National-Security-Strategy-10.2022.pdf> (last accessed November 15, 2024).

Kamala Harris – and opted instead for the dictator-friendly economic nationalism of Donald Trump. Europe will now have to devote far more effort to its own security.

The stakes are high. A neighborhood on fire, a world in disarray, globalization under attack, an unpredictable superpower, and authoritarian great powers that are not only fanning the flames on the fringes of the continent but are also intervening with increasing brazenness in Europe and its member states. In such a situation, political cohesion and the capacity to act are essential.

### **Europe Needs a Strong Germany to Move Forward**

Which brings us, once again, to Germany. Even though two thirds of NATO countries now spend more than two percent of their gross domestic product on defense; even though Poland, the Baltic states, and the northern Europeans lead the way with significantly stronger investments in Europe's defense; and even though Ursula von der Leyen's "geopolitical Commission" is now entering its second round: Europe cannot make the necessary rapid progress without a strong, cooperative Germany.

Yet Karl Kaiser's second prediction from 1992 – that Germany, as a "hesitant latecomer" (Helmuth Plessner's "belated nation" sends its regards), would seek a larger role expansion and new responsibilities – already seems to be vanishing in the rearview mirror. As is well known, no other nation applied Fukuyama's thesis of the end of history to itself more gratefully than Germany – and in a unique interpretation: as a reprieve from its own history. America's "unipolar moment" was received in Germany as an invitation to embrace disarmament. Under the slogan *Kultur der Zurückhaltung* (culture of restraint), this meant downsizing the Bundeswehr, devaluing the disciplines of security policy and Eastern European studies, and suspending compulsory military service.

But then a German moment of expansion did occur. Having outsourced its military security to the United States, its energy security to Russia, and its export-led growth to China, the Berlin



Republic achieved a massive increase in prosperity, security, and power – and suddenly found itself in the role of continental hegemon. In 2014, the German Federal President, Foreign Minister, and Defense Minister gave coordinated speeches at the Munich Security Conference in which they promised that Germany would take on more responsibility for Europe’s security in the future.<sup>4</sup>

Ten years later, despite the invasion of Ukraine and the *Zeitenwende*, this new self-confidence has evaporated; instead, there is a sense of what journalist Jörg Lau describes as *Verstörung* (consternation).<sup>5</sup> And with good reason. The current crises and wars are calling into question every single foundational principle of German foreign and security policy, while right- and left-wing national extremists are chipping away at the edifice of representative democracy. At the same time, Russia is waging an unprecedented campaign of disinformation and sabotage in Europe, and especially in Germany – a second front in a war that never targeted Ukraine alone. But a hopelessly divided “traffic light” coalition increasingly went its own way on the continent, undermining European solidarity... and collapsing precisely on the day after the US election.

### **Making Europe America’s “Indispensable Partner”**

What, then, can be done? In terms of security policy, Europe will continue to depend on the United States as an ally for the foreseeable future. However, future US administrations (of whatever political hue) will only take Europe seriously as a military ally if it does much more to bolster its own defensive capabilities and resilience.

4 Speeches given at the Munich Security Conference 2014 by Joachim Gauck: <https://www.bundespraesident.de/SharedDocs/Reden/DE/Joachim-Gauck/Reden/2014/01/140131-Muenchner-Sicherheitskonferenz.html>; by Frank-Walter Steinmeier: <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/de/newsroom/140201-bm-muesiko/259554>; and by Ursula von der Leyen: [https://securityconference.org/assets/02\\_Dokumente/03\\_Materialien/MS\\_C\\_2014\\_Rede\\_von\\_der\\_Leyen.pdf](https://securityconference.org/assets/02_Dokumente/03_Materialien/MS_C_2014_Rede_von_der_Leyen.pdf) (last accessed on November 15, 2024).

5 Jörg Lau, “Deutschlands Außenpolitik: Wider die Verstörung” [Germany’s Foreign Policy: Against the Distress], *Internationale Politik* 5, September/October 2024, pp. 18–24.


In the “non-kinetic” domain of global strategic competition, at least the Democrats’ strategists know that Europe’s economic and normative power is a formidable force multiplier, especially in the confrontation with China. And there are still Republicans like Wess Mitchell (the Assistant Secretary for European and Eurasian Affairs under President Trump) who see Europe as an indispensable ally for that very reason.<sup>6</sup>

However, Europe can only play this role if it speaks with one voice and actively defends its values and interests. This is Germany’s new responsibility today: to make Europe strong so that it can remain America’s indispensable partner.



**Constanze Stelzenmüller** is the director of the Center on the United States and Europe at the Brookings Institution in Washington, DC, where she is also the inaugural holder of the Fritz Stern Chair on Germany and Transatlantic Relations.

6 A. Wess Mitchell and Jakub Grygiel, “US Strategy Should Be Europe First, Then Asia,” *Foreign Policy*, June 9, 2024: <https://foreignpolicy.com/2024/09/06/us-strategy-geopolitics-china-russia-europe-asia-threat/> (last accessed on November 15, 2024).



***“The remarkable and variously outstanding performance of the United States as a leading power in the postwar period has not only served the cause of democracy, human rights, and prosperity in international relations, but has also benefited American interests.”***

**KARL KAISER**, *“Die deutsch-amerikanischen Sicherheitsbeziehungen in Europa nach dem Kalten Krieg”* [German-American Security Relations in Europe After the Cold War], 1992

# America's Role in the World

**In a world growing richer and riskier, US policy is being challenged by the great power competition with China. Yet, after successfully reinventing itself in the past, the United States remains an innovative and resilient society. Even as attention shifts to Asia, the transatlantic alliance continues to be vital to the global order and to both American and European interests. As long as America's soft power is not undermined by domestic change, there is still room for optimism.**

Karl Kaiser has played a crucial role as a link between Europe and America, explaining each to the other and helping to overcome inevitable frictions. After the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold War, he wanted both sides to understand that the US still had a crucial role to play in maintaining a liberal international order. But since then, we have seen the Iraq War, the 2008 financial crisis, the growth of Chinese power, the return of Russian revanchism, and the rise of populist nationalism on both sides of the Atlantic, and some may wonder if his statement is still true.

At the beginning of the 21st century, some predicted a division between the US and Europe. In my recent memoir, *A Life in the American Century*, I describe a meeting in Berlin in 2001 where a British politician argued that European federalism was “a French plot to create a nation to balance American power, but Germans such as Karsten Voigt and Karl Kaiser assured me that Germany did not see it that way” (p. 166). And that is still true. The transatlantic alliance remains crucial to a global order and American and European interests even if attention shifts to Asia.

The Cold War ended without the nuclear catastrophe that hung over our heads, but it was replaced by a period of hubris as the United States became the world's sole superpower. That unipolar moment was soon replaced by fears of transnational terrorism and cyber wars. Analysts today speak about a new cold war with a rising China and fear of nuclear escalation following Russia's invasion of Ukraine. Our mental maps of the world have changed dramatically over the past 30 years.

For eight decades, the world has experienced what the publisher Henry Luce, in March 1941, baptized "the American Century." In the nineteenth century, the global balance of power was centered in Europe, which sent its imperial tentacles around the world. The United States was a bit player with a military not much larger than that of Chile. As the twentieth century began, the United States became the world's largest industrial power, and accounted for nearly a quarter of the world economy (as it still does today measured at exchange rates). When Woodrow Wilson decided to send two million troops to Europe in 1917, the United States tipped the balance in World War I. But afterwards, the United States "returned to normal" and, in the 1930s, became strongly isolationist. The American century is the period since World War II during which time, for better or for worse, the United States has been the preeminent power in global affairs. Can it continue?

### **Much Will Depend on Maintaining Alliances**

The United States remains the world's strongest military power as well as the largest economy, but since the 2010s China has become a near-peer economic competitor. American primacy in this century will not look like the twentieth century. The greatest danger Americans face is not that China will surpass us, but that the diffusion of power will produce entropy, or the inability to get anything done. Much will depend on maintaining our alliances.

China has great strengths but also weaknesses. In assessing the overall balance of power, the United States has at least five long-term advantages. One is geography. The United States is

surrounded by two oceans and two friendly neighbors, while China shares a border with fourteen other countries and is engaged in territorial disputes with several. The United States also has an energy advantage, whereas China depends on energy imports. Third, the United States derives power from its large transnational financial institutions and the international role of the dollar. A credible reserve currency depends on it being freely convertible, as well as on deep capital markets and the rule of law, which China lacks. The United States also has a relative demographic advantage as the only major developed country that is currently projected to hold its place (third) in the global population ranking. Seven of the world's fifteen largest economies will have a shrinking work force over the next decade, but the US workforce is expected to increase, while China's peaked in 2014. Finally, the United States has been at the forefront in important new technologies (bio, nano, and information). China, of course, is investing heavily in research and development and scores well in the numbers of patents, but by its own measures its research universities still rank behind those in the US.

### **What Domestic Change Could Do to US Soft Power**

All told, the United States holds a strong hand in this great-power competition. But if Americans succumb to hysteria about China's rise, they could play their cards poorly. Discarding high-value cards – including strong alliances and influence in international institutions – would be a serious mistake. China is not an existential threat to the United States unless US leaders make it one by blundering into a major war. The historical analogy that worries me is 1914, not 1941.

My greater concern, however, is about domestic change and what it could do to US “soft power.” Even if its external power remains dominant, a country can lose its internal virtue and attractiveness to others. The Roman empire lasted long after it lost its republican form of government. As Benjamin Franklin remarked about the form of American government created by the founders: “A republic, if you can keep it.” Political polarization is a problem,

and civic life is becoming more complex. Technology is creating an enormous range of opportunities and risks related to artificial intelligence, big data, machine learning, deep fakes, and generative bots – to name but a few. And even larger challenges are approaching from the realms of biotechnology, not to mention coping with climate change.

Some historians have compared the flux of ideas and connections today to the turmoil of the Renaissance and Reformation five centuries ago, but on a much larger scale. And those eras were followed by the Thirty Years' War, which killed a third of the population of Germany. Today, the world is richer and riskier than ever before. There is a case for pessimism and many see it in the results of the 2024 election. At the same time, Americans have survived worse periods in the 1890s, 1930s, and 1960s. For all its flaws, the United States is an innovative and resilient society that, in the past, has been able to recreate and reinvent itself. Karl Kaiser's optimism of 1992 may still be correct.



**Joseph S. Nye, Jr.**, professor emeritus and former dean of the Harvard Kennedy School, has served in various government positions. He is considered one of the most influential scholars in the field of US foreign policy.







***“The EU is only perceived to a limited extent as a global political actor, more so outside the EU than within it, and within it more by European politicians, European bureaucrats, and specialized academics than by the political class as a whole, and by all of these more than by the general population.”***

**KARL KAISER**, *“Europas Rolle in der Welt neu denken” [Rethinking Europe’s Role in the World]*, *Vernunft und Politik im 21. Jahrhundert*, 2009

# Europe Must Redefine Its Role in the World

**With leadership changing in the EU, NATO, and the United States – and particularly following Donald Trump's election victory – the years starting in 2025 will be a crucial time for Europe to strengthen its position in the face of increasing crises and profound structural change in the international environment. To this end, the continent must first become stronger domestically.**

At a time when international cooperation is increasingly being called into question and isolationist tendencies are on the rise, Europe faces a crucial challenge: it must redefine its position in world politics and consolidate its own strength. The transatlantic partnership, once a reliable pillar of European security and economic stability, is coming under pressure. Europe must develop independent strategies to ensure economic resilience, military security, and political unity. Its future depends on whether it uses this crisis as an opportunity to strengthen its internal cohesion and to act as a global player.

The European Union is increasingly becoming the weaker player in a profoundly changing geopolitical and geoeconomic environment. While the United States and Asia are experiencing dynamic growth, the EU is losing competitiveness and economic strength, thereby eroding its most important power factor. The stability in its neighborhood, on which the EU has long been able to rely, is no longer a given. Following the Russian attack on Ukraine, the European security order has to be redefined. European states are being forced to take more responsibility for their own security, especially as the United States is shifting its foreign and security policy priorities to the Indo-Pacific and China.

Europe may find itself in a difficult position and the challenges may be great, but the years 2024 and 2025 offer the EU a crucial opportunity to reshape its international role. The new European Commission has taken up its duties; Mark Rutte was appointed NATO Secretary General in October 2024; and in January 2025, Donald Trump will enter the White House for a second term, presiding over the West's most powerful nation. In a geoeconomic and geopolitical environment increasingly beset with conflict, Europe must position itself more strongly as an international actor and make a significantly greater contribution to the transatlantic partnership. All of this will come at a higher price for the European states, and policymakers will have to explain more than ever why a greater commitment is necessary.

### **How Europe Is Entering This New Phase**

The EU must evolve considerably in order to better promote its interests in its neighborhood and around the world, becoming a strong and reliable partner for relevant states. For about 15 years, the Union has been reacting to crises that it had not been designed to address and for which it does not have sufficient instruments. In terms of security policy, Russia's attack on Ukraine poses the greatest challenge. But not the only one: in previous years, US President Donald Trump had already called the transatlantic alliance in the form of NATO into question, put Germany and Europe under economic pressure, and significantly reduced US support for international organizations. Trump's election to a second term has led to renewed uncertainty, for example, regarding the credibility of NATO's mutual defense clause or how support for Ukraine can be maintained when the United States is significantly reducing its contribution. Furthermore, it has become important to credibly assure the new Trump administration that Europe will make a stronger contribution – not only to our own security on the continent but also in other regions of the world, particularly in Asia, where the United States sees its interests under increasing pressure.

It is worth noting that Europe can already take credit for a number of important developments in recent years: in 2017, the EU launched the Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO), in which 26 EU member states are now participating, along with the United Kingdom, Norway, the United States, Canada, and Switzerland as third-party states. PESCO aims to close defense gaps and improve resource efficiency.

When Russia began its full-scale invasion of Ukraine on February 24, 2022, EU member states reacted very quickly: they agreed on military and financial support, imposed comprehensive sanctions in coordination with the US and other partners, and gradually reduced the dependence on Russian fossil energy imports. A joint gas purchasing platform pools EU market power akin to Europe's coordinated vaccine procurement in the coronavirus crisis.

At the same time, a new view of China has emerged. Europe is now better at protecting its interests – although it still needs the close economic relationship. One example of a new risk management approach is the screening of foreign direct investment to prevent vulnerability in critical value chains; another is the broadening of raw materials partnerships to reduce one-sided dependencies on China. Europe is also taking a much more critical look at interdependencies in the health sector. The EU has thus learned from past crises and acquired new crisis management tools.

### **Internal Challenges and Institutional Obstacles**

This progress should not obscure the fact that the EU also needs to be strengthened considerably at the internal level. One of its central decision-making weaknesses is the unanimity rule in foreign and security policy, which often prevents quick decisions. Although the Union has shown unity in its support for Ukraine and its sanctions against Russia, there is disagreement among member states on other foreign policy issues, such as the Middle East conflict or relations with China.

It is unlikely that the majority principle will be introduced on these issues anytime soon, as many states want to retain their veto. It is more likely that smaller groups of EU states will move forward. Furthermore, the new EU trio – Commission President Ursula von der Leyen, Council President António Costa, and High Representative Kaja Kallas – must better coordinate their messaging to strengthen the EU's international impact.

The EU's international clout is closely tied to its economic strength. Russia's war on Ukraine and its consequences, particularly rising energy prices, have exacerbated the EU's economic weaknesses and reduced Europe's attractiveness for energy-intensive industries. At the same time, supply chains disrupted by the pandemic and the war continue to be a problem, hindering the production of many European companies.

Europe's dependence on energy and raw material imports from Russia and China poses economic risks. These dependencies, in conjunction with the strategic industrial measures taken by China and the US, are aggravating the situation. The US Inflation Reduction Act (IRA) and Chinese subsidies for key technologies such as renewable energies distort competition and place an additional burden on Europe. With Trump's imminent return to the White House, Europe is now facing a new chapter of trade tensions: his administration could impose blanket tariffs of 10 percent on all imports and tariffs of 60 percent on imports from China. In the field of semiconductor production, Europe is also lagging behind the United States and Asia, despite the European Chips Act of 2022. Europe needs a new economic and technology policy agenda to remain competitive and assert its global position.

### **The Rule of Law: An Asset Worth Protecting**

Another serious problem for the EU is the undermining of the rule of law in member states such as Hungary and Poland. Political interference in judicial institutions and restrictions on press freedom threaten the EU's cohesion and its credibility abroad. The change of government in Poland, where Donald Tusk returned

to power in October 2023 after eight years of rule by the right-wing populist PiS party, offers hope for improvement. But the road back to a functioning democracy is difficult.

The erosion of the rule of law also affects the EU's enlargement process as well as its international appeal. It is increasingly difficult to demand high standards of the rule of law from candidate countries when existing members undermine them. To protect the rule of law, budgetary conditionality should be extended to the EU budget, and in the case of a treaty reform, Article 7 of the Treaty on European Union should be amended to simplify the activation mechanism. In addition, one should introduce automated responses to serious violations of the Union's fundamental values.

### **Outlook: Resilience and Support**

Karl Kaiser's analysis remains relevant today: "The EU is only perceived to a limited extent as a global political actor," although the tasks that the EU has to tackle internationally have increased significantly. If it wants to advance new international partnerships, defend its security against encroaching autocracies, and further develop the global order, the EU must strengthen its resilience in democratic, institutional, economic, and technological terms. This also includes jointly strengthening European defense capabilities within NATO. Only by doing so can the EU cope with growing external pressure, including from the United States, and assert itself as an international actor. However, this will only work if popular support is established, which requires honestly addressing the many internal and external challenges and developing adequate – that is to say, ambitious – responses. Following Karl Kaiser, it is important to convey to the public the importance of investing in a European Union that is strong both internally and externally.



**Daniela Schwarzer** is an executive board member of the Bertelsmann Stiftung. She is an honorary professor of political science at FU Berlin and a senior fellow at the Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center. She served as director of DGAP from 2016 to 2021.



***“The growing relevance of multinational politics, and particularly of transnational politics, raises a number of important questions about the international order as well as the future of democracy.”***

**KARL KAISER**, “Transnational Politics: Toward a Theory of Multinational Politics,” 1971

# Multiperspectivity, a Resolute Both

In view of the parallelism of great power conflict, transnational relations, and existential threats such as the climate crisis, multiperspectivity is more imperative than ever. Karl Kaiser's foreign policy heirs – unafraid to engage in uncomfortable debates – should adopt and adapt it.

Fifty-five years ago, Karl Kaiser published his seminal essay "Transnational Politics: Toward a Theory of Multinational Politics" in a special issue of the German journal *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*.<sup>1</sup> In it, he analyzed the significance of transnational relations and increasing interdependence for international order and democracy. Shortly afterward, Kaiser's groundbreaking conceptual treatise also appeared in the leading US journal *International Organization*.<sup>2</sup>

For Kaiser, who had just been appointed to his first German professorship in Saarbrücken, this transatlantic dual publication was a matter of course. After studying widely in Europe from 1954 to 1963 (in Cologne, Grenoble, and Oxford) and completing his doctorate, he worked as a researcher at Harvard University from 1963 to 1968. Karl Kaiser could have simply pursued a transatlantic academic career based on his research in transnational politics. But he did not content himself with such a narrow focus.

1 "Transnationale Politik. Zu einer Theorie der multinationalen Politik" [Transnational Politics: Toward a Theory of Multinational Politics], Ernst-Otto Czempiel (Pub.), *Die anachronistische Souveränität, Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, Vol. 1/1969, Wiesbaden 1969, pp. 80–109.

2 Karl Kaiser, "Transnational Politics: Toward a Theory of Multinational Politics," *International Organization* Volume 25, Issue 4, fall 1971, pp. 790–817: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020818300017732> (last accessed on November 15, 2024).



Kaiser's career is one of multiperspectivity – of a resolute “both.” As much as he emphasized the importance of transnational interdependence, he never lost sight of the fact that “international politics with its traditional interstate struggle continues.”<sup>3</sup> His seminal essay makes it clear that he was very capable of making important contributions to theoretical debates in international relations; however, purely academic work was not enough for him. His passion for practice was too great, as evidenced by his teaching. In a 2019 interview, he recalled some of the exam questions he set: “You are the security advisor to the American president. The following situation has arisen. Please provide a brief analysis and a recommendation with three options.”<sup>4</sup>

Kaiser did not shy away from a wide range of advisory roles for leading politicians, including Fritz Erler, Willy Brandt, Helmut Schmidt, and Gerhard Schröder. “I always enjoyed it because I just like to work on whatever problem was at hand,” he said.<sup>5</sup> He is a member of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and once even sought nomination for a seat in the Bundestag. At the same time, Kaiser steadfastly maintained the principle of non-partisanship in DGAP's work and was respected as an expert across party lines. He fearlessly threw himself into political discussions to steer them in the right direction, whether in the arms race debate of the early 1980s or the disputes over the doubts sown by Bavaria's Christian Social Union (CSU) about the finality of the Oder-Neisse line in 1989.

Kaiser understood that people and relationships are the most important assets. He invested a lot of time in his own networks on both sides of the Atlantic and the Iron Curtain – open to dialogue but never currying favor with communist rulers. He mentored generations of young professionals with a transatlantic

3 Ibid., p. 816.

4 Karl Kaiser, “Die Wahrheit gibt es für den US-Präsidenten nicht mehr” [For the US President, Truth No Longer Exists], Deutschlandfunk Interview, June 27, 2019: <https://www.deutschlandfunk.de/transatlantiker-karl-kaiser-die-wahrheit-gibt-es-fuer-den-100.html> (last accessed on November 15, 2024).

5 Ibid.

background, such as those in the McCloy Scholarship Program. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, Kaiser invested in relationships with Russia and its think tank representatives, for example, with Sergei Karaganov, with whom he published a paper in 1997 titled “Toward a New Democratic Commonwealth” that outlined an association of democratic states that included Russia.<sup>6</sup>

By February 2022 at the latest, Kaiser was among those facing the ruins of many of these investments with Russia. In 2014, after the invasion of Crimea, he had characterized Putin’s rule as an “authoritarian regime run by old KGB and Soviet elites supported by the oligarchs.”<sup>7</sup> But like many others, Kaiser did not expect Putin to launch a full-scale invasion of Ukraine. “[The West] has assumed a rationality that is obviously lacking,” he said on February 24, 2022.<sup>8</sup> In this case, “the West” encompassed a large part of Germany’s foreign policy elite, myself included. In the interview, Kaiser spoke of a *Zeitenwende*, a term that was – following the speech by the German chancellor a few days later – to become the watchword of a foreign and security policy U-turn in Germany. Meanwhile, his “Democratic Commonwealth” co-author Karaganov advocated nuclear strikes on Western Europe because of its support for Ukraine.<sup>9</sup>

This failure teaches us an important lesson: projecting our own ideas of rationality onto the autocratic leaders of great powers can lead to fatal errors in judgment. We should not repeat the mistake that many made with Putin when it comes to China’s supreme leader Xi Jinping. We cannot assume that Xi will not

6 Graham Allison, Karl Kaiser, Sergei Karaganov, “Toward a New Democratic Commonwealth,” Trilateral Strategy Group of the Bertelsmann Stiftung, 1997.

7 Karl Kaiser, “Kennedy School Prof. Reflects on Ukraine Crisis,” *The Brandeis Hoot*, October 31, 2014: <https://brandeishoot.com/2014/10/31/dr-karl-kaiser-of-kennedy-school-speaks-on-the-ukraine-crisis/> (last accessed on November 15, 2024).

8 Karl Kaiser, “Putins Angriff auf die Ukraine: Eine neue Spielart des Kalten Kriegs” [Putin’s Attack on Ukraine: A New Kind of Cold War], Deutschlandfunk Interview, February 24, 2022: <https://www.deutschlandfunk.de/interview-zum-krieg-in-der-ukraine-mit-prof-karl-kaiser-harvard-university-dlf-dbf99c09-100.html> (last accessed on November 15, 2024).

9 Sergei A. Karaganov, “A Difficult but Necessary Decision,” *Russia in Global Affairs*, June 13, 2023: <https://eng.globalaffairs.ru/articles/a-difficult-but-necessary-decision> (last accessed on November 15, 2024).

risk war simply because war is not profitable and because there are mutual dependencies. War can only be avoided if Xi wakes up every morning for the next ten years and says: “I would love to cement my place in the history books by annexing Taiwan. But today is not the day, it’s just too risky militarily and economically.” To ensure this, the West must bring far more to the table in terms of deterrence than it did in the case of Ukraine. Then, as in the Cold War, it can provide a functioning deterrent and offer dialogue and disarmament from a position of strength.

### **Learning from Karl Kaiser**

Today, we can learn from the multiperspectivity that Karl Kaiser applied in his work. His combination of interdependent transnational relations with an understanding of power politics is more relevant than ever. In 2000, working for DGAP in my first German think tank job, I organized a study group on globalization and the world economy. Kaiser, who was my boss, was very interested in my work on the fashionable topic of “global governance,” which tied in with his early research on transnational relations. Yet in meetings, he still talked a lot about great power politics, warheads, and deterrence. Given my institutionalist optimism of the late 1990s, this seemed anachronistic. As it has become clear: it was, in fact, my one-sided focus on “governance” that had fallen out of step with the times. By the same token, today it is not sufficient to simply garnish one’s work liberally with the adjectives “geopolitical” and “geoeconomic” to signal that one is up to date.

In view of the parallel nature of conflicts between great powers, deep transnational interdependencies, and existential global challenges such as the climate and biodiversity crises, Kaiser’s multiperspectivity is more imperative than ever. This also means that international institutions and multilateral cooperation are not knickknacks that can simply be done away with when the new self-appointed grand strategists ponder geopolitics and geoeconomics.

However, multiperspectivity must also be brought up to date. To successfully pursue German foreign policy, it is no longer enough to be a “transatlanticist.” We urgently have to understand the very diverse perspectives of the non-Western world – not least with regard to the consequences of colonialism, historical experiences, and the respective regional strategic constellations. This need for learning becomes clear if we look at the moral outrage on the part of many transatlanticists in 2022 who then failed to understand the different strategic considerations of countries such as India, Brazil, and South Africa regarding Russia’s war of aggression. The German strategic community in particular must invest much more in understanding the non-Western world – and at the same time prepare for a post-American Europe, which will largely have to provide for its own fundamental security. Donald Trump’s second term in office marks the brutal end of classic transatlanticism. In 2019, Kaiser warned that we “need to restructure European-American relationships with much greater weight and ownership” on the European side.<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately, Germany and Europe have not used the gift of the Biden years to move powerfully in this direction, making themselves all the more vulnerable in the age of Trump, Putin, and Xi. The pressure to act is all the greater today.

Kaiser’s successors in German foreign policy would do well to follow the example he set in the Bonn and Berlin Republics: to engage in debates even when things get uncomfortable. After all, uncomfortable is the new normal in the world of shitty choices in which Germany finds itself after the happy dreams of the 1990s failed to come true. Leading German foreign policy experts have followed his lead very successfully over the past years, for example, with regard to Russia and Ukraine – often showing great courage and commitment at significant personal cost. But leading German think tankers have, by and large, failed miserably on Germany’s Israel policy in the age of Netanyahu. In times of increasing centrifugal forces affecting democracy at home, German

10 Karl Kaiser, “Die Wahrheit gibt es für den US-Präsidenten nicht mehr” (see note 4).

foreign policy analysts must also pay much more attention to the domestic (not least fiscal) conditions for foreign policy leadership. Five years after German President Joachim Gauck's "more responsibility" speech at the 2014 Munich Security Conference,<sup>11</sup> Karl Kaiser summed up the situation poignantly: "In reality, no major change has occurred either in the political class or in action or in public opinion."<sup>12</sup> It is up to Kaiser's successors in Germany to help ensure that the assessment of "five years of *Zeitenwende*" in 2027 is not similarly disastrous.




**Thorsten Benner** is co-founder and director of the Global Public Policy Institute (GPPi). His research, which he previously conducted at DGAP and other institutions, focuses on the interplay of powers in shaping the global (dis)order, among other topics.

11 Joachim Gauck, "Speech to open 50th Munich Security Conference," January 31, 2014: <https://www.bundespraesident.de/SharedDocs/Reden/EN/JoachimGauck/Reden/2014/140131-Munich-Security-Conference.html> (last accessed November 15, 2024).

12 Karl Kaiser, "Die Wahrheit gibt es für den US-Präsidenten nicht mehr" (see note 4).





***“The goal of West European unity, with Franco-German understanding at its base, has become a crucial part of West Germany’s collective consciousness. It is difficult to predict what would happen to this collective consciousness if unity were written off; but, in any case, the consequences would be likely to further undermine stability in Europe.”***

**KARL KAISER**, *“Europe and America: A Critical Phase,”*  
Foreign Affairs, 1974

# Franco-German Friendship in the Service of International Relations

My first encounter with Karl Kaiser dates back to 1973. That year, he took over as head of DGAP's Research Institute. It was also the year that the Centre d'Analyse et de Prévision (CAP) was established in the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs – the counterpart to the Planning Staff (*Planungsstab*) of the German Foreign Office and the Policy Planning Staff (PPS) of the US State Department – where I served as inaugural director. It was then that we first met. This marked the beginning of half a century of Franco-German cooperation and friendship in the service of international relations.

In 1973, only 28 years had passed since the end of the Second World War. From today's perspective, half a century later, it is difficult to imagine that time. Georges Pompidou was President of the French Republic, and Willy Brandt was Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany. Franco-American relations were strained, but Pompidou, De Gaulle's successor, had overseen the first enlargement of the European Community to include Denmark, Ireland, and the United Kingdom. The latter's entry radically altered the balance of the Community's political system. Yet, the European economy was thriving, and on a broader scale, East-West relations were experiencing détente. Specialists in international relations divided the world into three parts: the West, socialist countries, and the Third World. Apart from the two oil shocks of autumn 1973 and 1978, the 1970s now seem, in retrospect, almost idyllic.



The major debates of the time – on “The Year of Europe” declared by Henry Kissinger, the creation of the International Energy Agency, the intricacies of nuclear-age strategy, burden-sharing between the US and European pillars of the Atlantic Alliance, the “new international economic order,” or international trade relations amidst a resurgent Japan – did not fundamentally disrupt Franco-German harmony. The foundations of their relationship were clearly European integration, built on the twin ideas of reconciliation and economic integration. The mandates of Valéry Giscard d’Estaing and Helmut Schmidt, who both assumed office within days of each other in May 1974 after serving as finance ministers, nearly coincided and were pivotal to deepening the Community economically (notably through the European Monetary System) and politically (such as the European Parliament elections by universal suffrage starting in 1979).

At the beginning of 1979, as I launched the Institut français des relations internationales (Ifri), Karl and I were determined to expand our collaboration beyond the already well-established Comité d’études des relations franco-allemandes (Cerfa). By then, our mutual understanding and friendship were firmly rooted. We began by instituting annual meetings, alternating between Paris and Bonn, with delegations of political and economic leaders, researchers, and journalists. At the time, we could not have foreseen that the international system was on the brink of profound transformations. Throughout the year, this was first manifested in the USSR’s new activism in the Third World, in the Iranian revolution, and then, at the end of 1979, in the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The year 1979 also saw the outbreak of the Euromissile crisis, whose origins illustrate the role of think tanks in structuring certain debates. The Solidarność turning point marked 1980. Western countries feared Soviet intervention in Poland, but also in Yugoslavia (Marshal Tito died in May 1980). Added to this was the amplification of the economic crisis caused by the two oil crises. In the West’s situation of dependence on the Middle East, the spectre of major conflicts quickly became very real.

## Four Directors' Report

This was the international context at the start of an intensifying collaboration between the nascent Ifri, already boasting a solid research team, and its older sibling, DGAP. Faced with such fundamental changes, Karl and I conceived the project that became the so-called “Four Directors’ Report” on security and the West. Karl discusses this extensively in his *Erinnerungen*.<sup>1</sup> The report involved the directors of DGAP, the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) in New York, Ifri, and the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House).

The challenge was to arrive at a shared diagnosis and recommendations on the strategic framework for transatlantic relations as a new decade unfolded, marked by a technological revolution and politically dominated by Ronald Reagan in the US and Margaret Thatcher in the UK. The CFR president enthusiastically supported us. Karl, with his background, was a respected figure in transatlantic circles in the US. I had carved a niche on the East Coast as CAP director, forging strong ties with Winston Lord, my counterpart at the State Department under Kissinger. With such backing, we easily enlisted David Watt, then director of Chatham House. Much of our report’s quality owed itself to the competence of our advisors, particularly Pierre Lellouche, who later became minister and was then a young researcher already recognized for his expertise in strategic issues.

The most original aspect of our report highlighted the need for a broad conception of Western security and the importance of NATO cooperation in the Third World. Our concept of collaboration among “core states” found success under various labels (e.g., coalitions of the willing).

1 Karl Kaiser, *Erinnerungen 1973–2003* [Memories 1973–2003], DGAP 2022: [https://dgap.org/system/files/article\\_pdfs/Erinnerungen%20von%20Karl%20Kaiser%201973-2003%20pdf%20.pdf](https://dgap.org/system/files/article_pdfs/Erinnerungen%20von%20Karl%20Kaiser%201973-2003%20pdf%20.pdf) (last accessed November 15, 2024).

In his memoirs, Karl recalls the report's immense impact and the criticism it faced in Germany. In France too, at a time when historic Gaullists were still presenting themselves as the guardians of the temple. For them, the idea of extending transatlantic security cooperation to the Third World was sacrilege. Distrust was no less strong on the Socialist-Communist Left, as it was then known. In fact, the report was published a few weeks before François Mitterrand was elected President of the Republic, and his first government included Communists.

The success of this report encouraged us, two years later, to undertake a similar project on the future of the European Community. This time, DGAP, Ifri, and Chatham House (now under William Wallace) joined forces with the Istituto Affari Internazionali (led by Cesare Merlini) and Edmond Wellenstein, a renowned Dutch expert. Published as *The European Community: Decline or Renewal?*, the report enjoyed success and, over forty years later, remains strikingly relevant.

### **The Role of the Largest European Think Tanks**

The cooperation between Ifri and DGAP continued throughout Karl's tenure, as he details in his memoirs. Yet, in this modest contribution honoring Karl's 90th birthday, I wanted to focus on these reports for two reasons. First, after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the Soviet Union, neither of which we anticipated, major think tanks naturally turned to emerging countries like China and India, as well as Russia.

When Karl retired from DGAP in 2003, relations between the West and Putin's Russia were marked by mutual mistrust, but the future could still be viewed with cautious optimism. The gap only began to widen seriously after Ukraine's 2004 "Orange Revolution." Perhaps European think tanks underestimated the risks of the "end of history" ideology, which encouraged regime change ambitions among Western neoconservatives and many Europeans. Today, the risk of the European Union's collapse within decades is far greater than in 2003, due to various factors:

climate change, COVID-19, an assertive China, Islamic terrorism, the war in Ukraine, the prospect of trade wars, uncontrolled EU enlargement, or the return of Donald Trump in the White House.

How should we rethink transatlantic relations? How should we approach the future security architecture in Europe? Because the war in Ukraine will come to an end, and relations between Europe and Russia will be rebuilt one way or another: will Europeans be united or disunited?

In his life and in his work, Karl Kaiser accustomed us to seeing the world as it is, without ever despairing of a relatively peaceful coexistence even between countries with economic and social systems as different as in the Soviet era. Along these lines, cooperation between Germany and France is more necessary than ever.


In the constructive spirit in which Karl and I have worked together for so many years, I hope that DGAP and Ifri will together make a significant contribution to the reconstruction that lies ahead.



**Thierry de Montbrial** is founder and executive chairman of the French Institute of International Relations (Ifri) and founder and chairman of the World Policy Conference (WPC). He is a professor emeritus and member of the Institut de France.



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***“The German and French governments should not hesitate [...] to take the lead in Europe. No help can be expected from elsewhere. The rest of Europe looks to France and the Federal Republic to spearhead a European recovery. Failure to act would have disastrous consequences.”***

**KARL KAISER**, *“Point de vue: Pour une relance franco-allemande de l'Europe”* [Perspective: A Franco-German Revival of Europe], *Le Monde*, 1974

# France and Germany Must Not Lose Sight of the Bigger Picture

Anyone seeking to understand the *Zeitenwende* – the turn of an era – in France and Germany needs to step back and take a historical view. Despite the day-to-day conflicts and contradictions, the past shows what is possible. This article makes the case for the value of historical reflection using the example of Franco-German relations.

Especially in rapidly changing times, when current affairs give little cause for optimism, looking back is worthwhile. Those who disengage from day-to-day politics may miss the odd thing, yet they will also see that not everything new is relevant – or indeed actually new. Those who live in constant fear of being out of the loop run the risk of being swept away and consumed by news flashes and Twitter trends, losing sight of the big picture. Today, this risk is greater than ever before, as can be clearly seen in the case of Franco-German relations.

To illustrate, let us consider a case study: In June 1974, Karl Kaiser, who at the time had been the director of research at DGAP for a year, wrote a guest article for the French daily newspaper *Le Monde* on the occasion of the first meeting between the new German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and the President of France, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing.<sup>1</sup> Kaiser called on the two politicians to live up to their responsibilities, not least with regard to European unification.

1 Karl Kaiser, "Point de vue: Pour une relance franco-allemande de l'Europe" [Perspective: A Franco-German Revival of Europe], *Le Monde*, June 1, 1974.

It is uncanny how relevant this article is today, 50 years later. A few things have changed: the name of the Social Democrat chancellor is now Scholz, that of the liberal president Macron. The capital of the Federal Republic of Germany has moved from Bonn to Berlin, and the European Community has become a Union with 27 instead of nine members. But the issues are the same: France is struggling with its balance of payments, and the stability of the common economic area is at risk. The German government, in turn, feels compelled to push ahead with European integration – but it hesitates. The European community is in crisis and appears incapable of making decisions. Even the turmoil of the 1920s, which Kaiser invokes to promote a “Franco–German revival of Europe,” has reemerged as a talking point.

### **Plus ça change...**

The lessons to be learned from looking to the past are in the eye of the beholder. Rereading the *Le Monde* article might move a pessimist to despair: the current chancellor could do worse than put Kaiser’s five-point plan, which he suggested to Schmidt for his first trip to Paris back in 1974, in his briefcase for his next visit to France. It seems a little sobering: has there been so little progress in 50 years?

But there is another, more optimistic interpretation. The historical urgency of Kaiser’s article still resonates today. He emphasizes the expectations that Europe’s partners have of Germany and France: “The future of the [European] Community, of the societies that have developed within it, and of Europe in general depends on Bonn or Paris. This could be their last chance.”<sup>2</sup> The same expectations are felt today, though the circumstances are different. In 1974, these expectations were not disappointed. Schmidt and Giscard delivered, finding common solutions. The crisis was overcome, integration progressed. Is there still hope, then?

2 Ibid.

## **Time to Regain Altitude**

Looking back is always worthwhile, whether it evokes disillusionment or inspires hope. It shows that foreign and security policy identities are quite constant and, at the same time, makes the grave historical differences between Germany and France, which continue to this day, clear. Since the beginning of the Russian invasion of Ukraine, these differences have repeatedly disrupted the smooth surface of European unity. The German chancellor's most important initiative since the beginning of the war, the European Sky Shield Initiative (ESSI), is largely based on non-European technologies – and France is not pleased about this. In the dispute over Taurus deliveries, Olaf Scholz invoked the lack of nuclear sovereignty that sets Germany apart from the United Kingdom and France – just as the chancellor did in 1974.

Examining past debates helps identify trends amid the ups and downs of day-to-day politics (with the latter clearly prevailing in recent years). Despite many great opportunities, such as the 60th anniversary of the Elysée Treaty in 2023 and Macron's state visit last May, the two countries have not recently achieved anything major. Instead, the meeting of the Franco-German Council of Ministers scheduled for October 2022 was canceled, a historic first. And after a Ukraine conference in Paris in February 2024, the chancellor indirectly drew red lines for the NATO allies in the dispute over Western ground troops. In response, Macron all but accused him of weakness. The conflict, conducted frequently in public, appeared dramatic.

## **Focusing on the Future**

Two years later, hardly anyone is talking about the canceled Council of Ministers meeting anymore; the February anger has dissipated. Instead of getting stuck on these episodes, both governments should focus on long-term goals. Kaiser's article offers some help here: As early as 1974, he identified a major obstacle to the integration of European foreign and security policy from a German perspective. Kaiser found that Germany had never understood the contradiction between the French insistence on



national independence and its promotion of European cooperation without the United States. Fifty years have done little to change this; the lack of understanding persists. It is still standing in the way of Franco-German cooperation and preventing the EU from taking a united approach to Donald Trump's second presidency.

But despite persistent incomprehension, there are many points of departure for the future. French foreign and security policy has undergone a significant shift under Emmanuel Macron in view of the war in Ukraine. This has not been sufficiently recognized and taken up in Berlin: Paris is promoting Ukraine's NATO membership and promising "strategic solidarity" to states on its eastern flank. The commitment to the alliance is gaining in importance, and France sees opportunities in the strengthening of NATO's "European pillar" rather than dismissing the alliance as merely a vehicle for US interests.

This French *Zeitenwende* is based on a generational change, its success being predicated on the modernization of Gaullism. It represents a historic opportunity for the German-French partnership and for European integration. However, it is not easy to keep sight of it amid the everyday twists and turns of politics, to reconcile it with the restructuring of German foreign and security policy, to promote and to sustain it. All these things require a certain distance. Looking back helps.



**Jacob Ross** is a research fellow at DGAP who focuses on France and Franco-German relations. He previously worked in the French Foreign Ministry and as a parliamentary assistant in the Europe Committee of the French National Assembly.





***“It is clear that, in the current situation, Europe – especially Germany – must significantly increase its defense efforts and that this must be done together with the United States, but also in cooperation with the other Western states.”***



**KARL KAISER**, Deutschlandfunk interview, February 24, 2022

# No More Illusions? The Turning Point in Germany's Russia Policy

Russia's large-scale attack on Ukraine has brought about a profound change in Germany's Russia policy. Decades of efforts toward rapprochement have given way to disengagement. But despite this *Zeitenwende*, Germany remains strategically hesitant in terms of security policy – although Europe could benefit from Russia's traditional sphere of influence dwindling due to the war against Ukraine.

At the beginning of the Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022, Karl Kaiser summed up the hitherto valid policy toward Russia:

“The West has underestimated Vladimir Putin. It has assumed a rationality that is obviously lacking, because Putin's behavior shows that he is willing to bring harm upon his own country, which cannot be explained by rationality.”<sup>1</sup>

## **The End of *Ostpolitik* as Germany Knew It**

While Germany's Russia policy had been based on rapprochement and reconciliation for decades, the war against Ukraine has led to a seismic shift in Germany's relations with both countries. Just days after the invasion, Olaf Scholz announced a *Zeitenwende*

1 Karl Kaiser, “Putins Angriff auf die Ukraine: Eine neue Spielart des Kalten Kriegs” [Putin's Attack on Ukraine: A New Kind of Cold War], Deutschlandfunk Interview, February 24, 2022: <https://www.deutschlandfunk.de/interview-zum-krieg-in-der-ukraine-mit-prof-karl-kaiser-harvard-university-dlf-dbf99c09-100.html> (last accessed on November 15, 2024).

(“turning point”) in security policy in his speech to the nation.<sup>2</sup> Despite all the hesitation in supporting Ukraine and the security policy adjustments, the German government quickly decoupled itself from Russian gas, built LNG terminals, and accepted high economic costs resulting from massive EU economic sanctions against Russia. This undermined the central foundation of German-Russian relations, which was based on close economic and energy interdependence. Social and political exchange was reduced to a minimum as well.

### **No Genuine *Zeitenwende* Yet, Mentally or Strategically**

From the perspective of the German government, Russia has become the greatest security threat to Europe. Even before the full-scale attack on Ukraine, Moscow had waged a hybrid war against the West – for example, with disinformation campaigns, hacker and sabotage attacks, and massive intelligence activities in Germany and other European countries. But apparently, it took a full-scale war of aggression for large sections of the German elites and society to recognize the danger posed by Putin’s regime.

Although the massive military and financial support for Ukraine since the *Zeitenwende* speech, as well as the special fund of €100 billion for the Bundeswehr, show a fundamental change in German foreign and security policy – away from a “Russia first” policy and toward a focus on Ukraine – there seems to be no genuine mental or strategic shift.

The German government still takes a reactive approach, focusing on crisis management. Like the administration of US President Joe Biden, it is trying to avoid a major escalation with Russia. This shows that many have still not understood the logic of Russian politics. From Putin’s point of view, compromises are tantamount to weakness; appeasement and hesitation only encourage further

2 Olaf Scholz, “Policy statement by Olaf Scholz, Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany and Member of the German Bundestag, 27 February 2022 in Berlin”: <https://www.bundesregierung.de/breg-en/news/policy-statement-by-olaf-scholz-chancellor-of-the-federal-republic-of-germany-and-member-of-the-german-bundestag-27-february-2022-in-berlin-2008378> (last accessed on November 15, 2024).

aggression. The Kremlin leader thinks in win-lose categories; the two Minsk Agreements and the growing dependence of Germany on Russian gas after 2014 all but invited him to launch a large-scale attack on Ukraine. Russia is weaker than NATO and the EU in military and economic terms, but it skillfully exploits the weaknesses and indecision of its opponents. Within Europe, Germany is particularly vulnerable to such maneuvers because of its historical links with Russia. In addition, the power structure in Moscow is not dependent on the approval of a critical public.

The calls for peace negotiations from parts of the German population and political elite contradict the current reality on the battlefield. In no small part, the desire to end the war at any cost has opened up a vacuum that populist parties are now trying to fill. The reelection of Donald Trump will encourage Putin in his belief that he could strike a deal with Washington at the expense of Ukraine, and that US support for Ukraine could massively decrease.

### **Russian Aggression Will Lead to the Collapse of an Empire**

Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine marks not only the end of the collective European security order negotiated after the Cold War but also an accelerated disintegration of the Russian Empire itself. While the Kremlin is trying to secure its "traditional sphere of influence" by military means – based on the idea that Russia cannot be an empire without Ukraine – and to militarily enforce spheres of interest in Europe, it is achieving the exact opposite: Russia's aggression is accelerating the erosion of its hegemonic position in its post-Soviet neighborhood and thus Moscow's role as a global actor. It brings NATO back to Europe as the most important security actor and has provoked a northern expansion of NATO to include Finland and Sweden. As a result of Western sanctions, Russia will fall further behind technologically and economically in the coming years, becoming more dependent on China. This means that the country will increasingly lose sovereignty and have to make more compromises with other actors.

At present, everything indicates that Russia will develop more like Iran rather than China: due to limited resources and isolation, it will only be able to play a disruptive role in international politics and will have no resources to shape the global order. However, since the Russian system is also characterized by its adaptability, it can be assumed that it will transform itself even more into a “good enough power.” While it will fall behind globally in terms of technology and economy, it will retain sufficient weapons and people to defend its interests.

### **Russia’s Waning Regional Hegemony**

We should not expect the Russian state to collapse in the foreseeable future, since both the state and the security apparatus have been systematically expanded over the years. The sale of raw materials, primarily to India and China but also still to Europe, yields sufficient resources to buy the loyalty of elites. Propaganda, repression, and the imperial legacy hold both society and the elites together, leading to an almost total absence of visible resistance to the war. Putin’s system is becoming more and more legitimized by this conflict, which is portrayed as a proxy war with the West. Under Putin, Russia is well on its way to becoming a dictatorship. Being a revisionist power, the regime knows hardly any red lines; this makes it more dangerous than the late Soviet Union, which was more of a status quo power. Karl Kaiser pointed out this striking difference and its consequences for the West immediately after the war began:

“Even during the Cold War, one could assume a certain rationality on the part of the Soviet, Russian leadership. That is what prevented the Cold War between East and West from becoming hot. The assumption has been made that this is still the case. But it is not: the personality of Putin and the regime with which he has surrounded himself has displayed a different behavior.”<sup>3</sup>

3 Karl Kaiser, “Putins Angriff auf die Ukraine” (see note 1).

Another consequence is that Russian hegemony in Eastern Europe, the South Caucasus, and Central Asia is coming to an end. Russia can no longer guarantee authoritarian stability and, thus, order in the region. This means that it is increasingly being challenged by other actors with whom it is competing for power and influence. Specifically, there is China in Central Asia, Turkey in the South Caucasus, and the EU with its enlargement policy in Eastern Europe. But Iran and some Arab countries are also more active in Russia's traditional sphere of influence. Post-Soviet states have changed their security perception of Russia as a result of the war against Ukraine. Their interest in counterbalancing Russia's influence and reducing dependence on their large neighbor is growing.

Conversely, Moscow's interests in relation to its neighboring states have changed, especially in the South Caucasus and Central Asia. The regime needs new trade routes and direct access to its most important trade partners, China, India, and Iran. At the same time, the member states of the Eurasian Economic Union, such as Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Armenia, serve as hubs for circumventing sanctions. Russia is investing heavily in these countries, and the influence of Russian money has also been growing since the beginning of the war due to a large wave of Russian immigration.

### **Europe Needs Deterrence, Diplomacy, and Strategy**

There is no security for Europe outside of NATO anymore. In the case of Ukraine, this means that only NATO accession or effective security guarantees can lead to negotiations and an end to the war. Deterrence is the most important short-term instrument against Putin's aggression. After Donald Trump's reelection, strengthening the European pillar in NATO and investing in Europe's own defense capabilities has become even more urgent. For a long time, the United States has encouraged large member states like Germany to take more responsibility for European security; now, this must indeed happen due to a shift in Washington's priorities. In addition to deterrence, however, diplomacy and confidence-building measures are also needed to



avoid possible overreactions. Karl Kaiser rightly pointed out that it is important to maintain options that allow for rapprochement: “The policy must be transformed into a clear policy of strength, but one that leaves the door open to rapprochement as there are also forces in Russia that do not agree with the policy that Putin is pursuing.”<sup>4</sup>

Germany and the EU also need a medium- and long-term strategy for dealing with Russia. In the long term, Russia must be reintegrated into Europe. However, this would require a regime change that is not in sight for the foreseeable future. Since the possibilities for exerting influence on Russia itself are limited, in the medium term it must be systematically weakened in its post-Soviet neighborhood, and its partnerships with China, Iran, and North Korea must be undermined. In this context, the EU should invest heavily in infrastructure in Eastern Europe, the South Caucasus, and Central Asia in order to bind these regions more closely to Europe and to entrench European norms and standards. For Turkey, in particular, which plays a key role in the South Caucasus and the Black Sea region, the EU needs a policy that links the country more closely to Europe, further integrates it economically, and modernizes the rules for access to the internal market.

With Trump in the White House and the continuing war against Ukraine, the next – hopefully more functional – German government will have to take a stronger lead in Europe and defend it. The prerequisite for this is what Karl Kaiser demanded of Western politicians, given their misreading of Putin and the start of the Russian war of aggression:


“This requires a reversal of policy and a review, which has now begun in the United States, and one hopes that this will also be the case in Europe, in Germany, and in the coalition. A review of the old assumption. Hopefully with a policy revision in its wake.”<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.



**Stefan Meister** is head of the Center for Order and Governance in Eastern Europe, Russia, and Central Asia at DGAP. His work focuses on regional orders, post-Soviet conflict zones, and the EU's Eastern Partnership.



***“The worldwide ecological deterioration is reaching increasingly critical levels. With growing scientific evidence that the burning of fossil fuels is causing global warming and that the use of chlorofluorocarbons is depleting the protective ozone layer over the Earth, political action in the immediate future to reduce these emissions will be a matter of long-term survival.”***

**KARL KAISER**, *“Die deutsch-amerikanischen Sicherheitsbeziehungen in Europa nach dem Kalten Krieg”* [German-American Security Relations in Europe After the Cold War], Europa-Archiv, 1992



# Visionary of Integrated Security: Karl Kaiser's Perspective on Climate Impacts

At the beginning of the 1990s, it became increasingly clear that dependence on fossil fuels entails significant risks. Few in the foreign and security policy discourse at the time had Karl Kaiser's foresight and understood the threats posed by this dependence and the resulting urgency to act.

The collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s was a time of immense upheaval that posed major challenges for Europe and raised numerous questions about the future shape of the European security architecture. It is a testament to Karl Kaiser's foresight that, unlike many of his contemporaries, he was already concerned with the effects of global warming and thus thinking beyond the traditional bounds of security policy at that time.

He clearly characterized global warming as a challenge that endangers international stability worldwide, going so far as to call political action to contain it "a matter of long-term survival." This makes his quote more relevant than ever. Many governments now recognize the security risks of climate change as a threat to stability and peace. They also see that these risks cannot be considered in isolation, a realization based not least on the geopolitical shifts of recent years. In 2023, for example, the German government used the term "integrated security" in its first National Security Strategy to create a framework that encompasses

and links traditional and non-traditional security risks. It states: “Because the new threats are complex and affect all areas of state, society, and the economy, we are applying our policy of Integrated Security to all these spheres.” And further: “Our international and security environment is becoming more multipolar and less stable, and is increasingly defined by the existential threat posed by the climate crisis.”<sup>1</sup>

### **Kaiser Recognized Climate Change as a Global Threat Early On**

Kaiser’s quote preceding this article comes from *Europa-Archiv*, the predecessor of the journal *Internationale Politik*, in which he analyzed changes of the time and outlined possible future threats. At the time, few people in the security policy discourse considered the mitigation of harmful emissions as part of crisis prevention. Yet, it was precisely during these years that scientific evidence proving the negative consequences of human interference with the Earth system was growing. For example, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) published its first assessment report in 1990, laying the foundation for scientific consensus on the numerous global consequences of climate change. Just two years later, in 1992, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) was adopted with the aim of stabilizing greenhouse gas concentrations in the Earth’s atmosphere in such a way as “to allow ecosystems to adapt naturally to climate change, to ensure that food production is not threatened, and to enable economic development to proceed in a sustainable manner.”<sup>2</sup> The convention was signed that same year by more than 150 states at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro, better known as the Earth Summit or Rio Conference.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Robust. Resilient. Sustainable. *Integrated Security for Germany: National Security Strategy*, German Federal Government, 2023, p. 6 and p. 22: <https://www.nationalesicherheitsstrategie.de/National-Security-Strategy-EN.pdf> (last accessed on November 15, 2024).
- 2 United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, May 9, 1992: <https://unfccc.int/resource/docs/convkp/conveng.pdf> (last accessed on November 9, 2024).
- 3 United Nations Treaty Collection, Chapter XXVII, Environment, 7. United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, New York, May 9, 1992: [https://treaties.un.org/pages/ViewDetailsIII.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg\\_no=XXVII-7&chapter=27&Temp=mtdsg3&clang=\\_en](https://treaties.un.org/pages/ViewDetailsIII.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=XXVII-7&chapter=27&Temp=mtdsg3&clang=_en) (last accessed on November 9, 2024).

A few years after the end of the Cold War, the Rio Conference was a commitment by the international community to international cooperation; an effort to create new and just paths for sustainable development for the good of all humankind. One of the milestones in this process was the recognition by industrialized countries that they are more responsible than the developing countries for the deterioration of global environmental conditions and thus also have a greater obligation to address them.<sup>4</sup> The principle of “common but differentiated responsibilities” is also found in the Framework Convention on Climate Change, with the addition of “and respective capabilities.”<sup>5</sup> To date, this principle is an important basis for negotiations at the annual UN Climate Change Conferences, a meeting of the signatory states of the Framework Convention on Climate Change. The first of these “Conference of the Parties” (COP) took place in Berlin in 1995 under the presidency of Angela Merkel who was then Germany’s environment minister.

These developments in the early 1990s show that the risks associated with our dependence on fossil fuels were already apparent 30 years ago. A “worldwide ecological deterioration,” according to Karl Kaiser, “reaching increasingly critical levels.” While the use of chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) was radically reduced in the 1990s through the resolute implementation of the Montreal Protocol, greenhouse gas emissions have increased massively and are only now approaching their peak. Meanwhile, climate change is no longer a future scenario. Extreme weather events are becoming more frequent and more intense, destroying livelihoods. In September 2024, the EU climate service Copernicus reported the hottest summer on record. In addition, global warming for the first time exceeded 1.5 degrees on average for twelve consecutive months

- 4 United Nations, Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, Final Document of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development Held in Rio de Janeiro from June 3 to 14, 1992: [https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/generalassembly/docs/globalcompact/A\\_CONF.151\\_26\\_Vol.I\\_Declaration.pdf](https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/generalassembly/docs/globalcompact/A_CONF.151_26_Vol.I_Declaration.pdf) (last accessed on November 9, 2024).
- 5 “The Parties should protect the climate system for the benefit of present and future generations of humankind, on the basis of equity and in accordance with their common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities. Accordingly, the developed country Parties should take the lead in combating climate change and the adverse effects thereof.” See: United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change 1992, Article 3, Paragraph 1: <https://unfccc.int/resource/docs/convkp/conveng.pdf> (last accessed November 9, 2024).

compared to pre-industrial times.<sup>6</sup> Floods of historic proportions destroyed entire regions in Central and Eastern Europe, ruining many livelihoods.<sup>7</sup> Climate impacts are no longer a “matter of long-term survival” for people in all parts of the world; they are already struggling to survive in the present. Due to insufficient prevention through greenhouse gas reductions, climate change has been increasingly shaping the global risk landscape.

This is particularly evident in one of the most controversially debated topics of our time: migration. The link between climate change and migration is complex and defies simple explanations. Migration is generally a multi-causal phenomenon, and the context of climate change is no exception. Many factors influence migration decisions, including social, political, economic, demographic, and environmental ones.<sup>8</sup> Today, the impacts of climate change are intensifying these drivers in many regions. For example, small farmers, who often have little or no savings, quickly face threats to their economic survival when changing precipitation patterns lead to dwindling crop yields.

Extreme weather events, which are becoming more frequent and more intense due to climate change, can also force people to leave their homes. Last year alone, there were 20.3 million internal displacements worldwide due to weather-related disasters.<sup>9</sup> For particularly vulnerable sections of the population, including women and children, older people, and people who require special protection (such as the chronically ill), migration and displacement are associated with significant risks and can have far-reaching consequences for their futures. For example, children may face poorer prospects if they have less access to education.

6 Copernicus, “Summer 2024 – Hottest on Record Globally and for Europe,” *August Climate Bulletins*, September 6, 2024: <https://climate.copernicus.eu/copernicus-summer-2024-hottest-record-globally-and-europe> (last accessed on November 9, 2024).

7 Lukas Fuhr, “Überschwemmung war durch die Erderhitzung doppelt so wahrscheinlich” [Flooding was Twice as Likely Due to Global Warming], *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, September 25, 2024: <https://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/inland/ueberschwemmung-in-osteuropa-war-durch-die-erderhitzung-doppelt-so-wahrscheinlich-110006894.html> (last accessed on November 9, 2024).

8 R. Black et al., “Migration as Adaptation,” *Nature* 478, 7370, October 2011. pp. 447–49: <https://www.nature.com/articles/478477a> (last accessed on November 9, 2024).

9 Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, “2024 Global Report on Internal Displacement (GRID),” April 2024: <https://www.internal-displacement.org/global-report/grid2024/> (last accessed on July 25, 2024).

## **Climate as an Integral Part of Foreign and Security Policy**

More than three decades after Karl Kaiser characterized global warming as a global challenge for international stability, climate impacts have become an integral part of the foreign and security policy discourse in Germany. In 2023, for instance, the German government announced a climate foreign policy strategy that calls “curbing the climate crisis and coping with its effects [...] a key challenge facing humanity this century.”<sup>10</sup>

Like other industrialized countries, Germany bears a special responsibility for tackling the consequences of climate change and for ensuring that particularly vulnerable states in the Global South have the chance to develop in a sustainable manner. Germany’s responsibility is all the greater given that global efforts to achieve more climate protection in the coming years will be severely hampered by the reelection of Donald Trump in the United States.

The importance that Karl Kaiser already attached to the special responsibility of industrialized countries at that time becomes evident in a 1990 study published by the Enquete Commission on “Preventative Measures to Protect the Earth’s Atmosphere,” which dealt with the proposal of a climate convention. Kaiser and his co-authors stated: “Fair and constructive cooperation between North and South to protect the Earth’s atmosphere assumes the ecological credibility of the industrialized countries, it requires the global economic framework to embrace ecological principles, and it necessitates the consideration of new incentives for ecological goals in development cooperation.”<sup>11</sup> This quote, too, shows that Kaiser was ahead of his time.

## **Little Time Left to Prevent the Collapse of Civilization**

The international credibility of Germany’s climate foreign policy

10 German Federal Government, Federal Government Strategy on Climate Foreign Policy, 2023: <https://www.publikationen-bundesregierung.de/pp-de/publikationssuche/climate-foreign-policy-2265978> (last accessed on November 9, 2024).

11 Karl Kaiser et al., “Internationale Klimapolitik. Eine Zwischenbilanz und ein Vorschlag zum Abschluß einer Klimakonvention” [International Climate Policy: An Interim Assessment and a Proposal for a Climate Convention], Arbeitspapiere zur Internationalen Politik, 65, Bonn 1991, Union Verlag, Eds. DGAP and Wuppertal-Institut für Klima, Umwelt, Energie.



is closely linked to its domestic climate policy. In view of budgetary constraints, funds for the country's urgently needed green transformation are often lacking. This is a poor prerequisite for making recommendations to others. Kaiser's analyses painfully demonstrate the missed opportunities of the past decades in terms of climate protection and partnerships with emerging and developing countries: Our Earth could have been in a very different state. But even if losses are already immense, the collapse of our civilization can still be prevented. There are still a few years in which we can keep the promises of the ecological pioneers of the 1990s – but those years have already begun.



**Mechthild Becker** is a research fellow in DGAP's Center for Climate and Foreign Policy where she focuses on the social dimensions of climate change. She previously researched migration dynamics at the Potsdam Institute for Climate Impact Research (PIK).



**Kira Vinke** is head of the Center for Climate and Foreign Policy at DGAP. She conducts research with a focus on climate impacts and violent conflicts, crisis prevention, and climate migration. She previously worked at PIK and was an advisor to the German government on environmental change.



A stylized, hand-drawn map of the Atlantic region, including North America, South America, Europe, and Africa, rendered in a light blue color against a dark blue background. The map is composed of fine, parallel lines, giving it a textured appearance. The text is overlaid on the map, primarily in the central Atlantic area.

***“The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP), despite opposition from some societal groups, is of paramount economic and geopolitical importance. It would not only deepen economic integration among the Atlantic democracies but also establish a variety of new rules based on the principles of a liberal economic order, which could bind emerging economic powers like China in the long term.”***

**KARL KAISER**, *“Transatlantische sicherheitspolitische Verantwortung”* [Transatlantic Security Policy Responsibility], 2016

# The Economic and Geopolitical Importance of TTIP Is Undiminished

The United States is our most important political and economic partner and will remain so for the foreseeable future. While the EU needs to reinforce this partnership with dialog offers and transactional deals, TTIP and a transatlantic market must remain the vision for the future – a vision that Karl Kaiser has long been promoting.

Karl Kaiser's quote on the left is from 2016; now, eight years and numerous geoeconomic upheavals later, it is more relevant than ever. Yes, the world's economic center of gravity has continued to shift toward Asia, with the large emerging markets of China and India. But still, North America and the EU remain a key conduit for the global economy. To this day, the transatlantic partners have the most integrated economic, trade, and investment relationship in the world. As Karl Kaiser points out, "nowhere is the interdependence through internal trade, investment, and the exchange of know-how as intense as here."<sup>1</sup>

This not only applies to the EU as a whole but also to relations between the United States and Germany: Although China is the top import country for Germany, the United States has been

1 Karl Kaiser, "Transatlantische sicherheitspolitische Verantwortung" [Transatlantic Responsibility for Security Policy], Internationale Sicherheit im 21. Jahrhundert, 2016: <https://www.vr-elibrary.de/doi/10.14220/9783737006170.229> (last accessed on November 15, 2024).

the most important market for German exports since 2015. The United States also remains the most important target region for German foreign investment abroad. It must therefore be a central concern of Germany and the EU to build on and further expand cooperation with the United States, develop a transatlantic marketplace in the long-term, and avoid trade conflicts.

Karl Kaiser strongly supported the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP), whose negotiations from 2013 to 2016 led to no conclusion, and which is now in a deep freeze. It ran aground on both sides: In the EU, particularly in Germany, this was due to the public rejecting the idea of chlorinated chicken and the investor-state dispute settlement (ISDS), coupled with a fear of a dominant United States. On the US side, the negotiations failed due to the insufficient concessions of agricultural markets and, ultimately, the election of President Donald Trump – to name just a few key points.

A TTIP 2.0, whatever form it might take, is now a distant prospect with a second Trump presidency looming on the horizon, even though the goal remains desirable: such a first step towards a transatlantic marketplace would have set standards (within the framework of the “Atlantic democracies”) that, given the economic strength of both partners, would easily have become global standards. At the same time, opening up the industrial and agricultural sector, services, and public procurement, as well as joint research, would have significantly improved the competitiveness of both regions – also with regard to China.

In addition, many of the current conflicts in transatlantic relations could have been avoided with TTIP. Sure, even with an agreement in place, the effects of Trump’s “America First” strategy would certainly have been felt. Thus, the steel and aluminum tariffs that Trump imposed on numerous trading partners in March 2018 on the grounds of national security (Section 232 of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962) were also imposed on the free trade (FTA) partners Canada and Mexico. However, a successful TTIP would

have led to less tension and a closer partnership under President Biden. With the EU as a partner, he would have had significantly more influence and a stronger negotiating position vis-à-vis China due to existing transatlantic standards and a transatlantic marketplace. It would have been much more difficult for China to play the transatlantic partners against each other.

In addition, the Inflation Reduction Act (IRA) passed by President Biden in 2022 would have been less discriminatory against the EU, had it been a free trade partner. For example, the \$738 billion investment program, which aims to promote investment in green and clean energy and environment-friendly goods in the United States, includes tax credits for electronic vehicles (EVs) that only benefit American or FTA partners. This means that the EU could have claimed the tax credit for critical minerals for EVs under a potential TTIP. The United States and the European Commission have been negotiating a “Critical Minerals Agreement” since March 2023 to close this gap, but so far without success. And a conclusion now seems even more unlikely.

### **TTIP Remains a Distant Prospect**

A TTIP 2.0 is no longer conceivable in the context of current US trade policy, which has undergone a fundamental transformation since Donald Trump’s 2016 presidency. And even though his present successor Joe Biden regularly emphasizes the importance of partners like Germany and the EU, the US-centric trade policy has persisted – albeit in friendlier language. Aside from the major focus on China, there is no interest in comprehensive trade agreements at the bilateral level. Under Trump, there were deals in favor of the United States; under Biden, we saw informal dialog formats such as the US-EU Trade and Technology Council (TTC) or the Indo-Pacific Economic Framework for Prosperity (IPEF).

But despite reforms in trade policy (stakeholder outreach, abolition of the ISDS), it remains unclear whether the European population could be won over to such an agreement, even if the United States was interested. In addition, large member states such as

France are increasingly opposed to FTAs and a further opening of markets (primarily due to their agricultural interests). This rejection could easily flare up again as a result of an agreement with the United States. The shift away from market opening and FTAs towards economic security and trade defense mechanisms is also evident in the new EU Commission: For example, the new Trade Commissioner Maroš Šefčovič is responsible not only for trade but also for economic security. And the latter will certainly take up more of his time than controversial FTA negotiations.

### **TTIP 2.0 or the Search for a Second-Best Deal**

The United States remains our natural partner, even under a President Trump. Without TTIP, the EU must therefore seek cooperation and strengthen the partnership through transactional deals.


During Donald Trump's second term in office, transatlantic trade relations will be more protectionist. The EU and especially Germany will no longer be seen as partners and the imposition of tariffs is very likely. However, Trump has shown that he is interested in short-term "deals." Germany and the EU must use this kind of "transactional" trade policy to counter protectionist tendencies. This does not mean a TTIP 2.0, but it could, for instance, include tariff reductions on industrial products. The EU and Germany must also offer themselves as partners with regard to China. For example, they can suggest greater coordination in investment screening and export controls. However, despite the current setbacks, TTIP and a transatlantic market must remain our vision for the future, as Karl Kaiser advocated back in 2016.



**Claudia Schmucker** is head of the Center for Geopolitics, Geoeconomics, and Technology at DGAP. Her research focuses on global trade relations, transatlantic economic relations, and European foreign trade policy.







***“Nevertheless, the thesis is likely correct that the internet and new information technology as a whole are more likely to deepen the existing power structure than to challenge it.”***

**KARL KAISER**, *“Wie verändert das Internet die Weltpolitik?”* [How Does the Internet Change World Politics?], *Jahrbuch Internationale Politik* 1997/1998

# Germany's Technological Sphere of Influence in the Great Power Competition

The role of digitization in foreign policy is growing. In a world that is increasingly splitting into an American and a Chinese sphere of influence, Germany should foster alliances in Europe and Asia. The combined forces of the technological middle powers could mitigate the instrumentalization of digital infrastructure by major powers.

When Karl Kaiser turned his attention to the impact of the internet on the global order around the turn of the millennium – and thus quite early on – the world was a different place, both politically and technologically. And yet, even then, he recognized the profound consequences that the internet and technology would have for world politics. In terms of the latter, the world was then a vast technosphere of the United States. US companies such as Microsoft, Cisco, or Intel had little competition when it came to hardware and software. In China, on the other hand, just 0.7 percent of the population had access to the internet at the time. In 1998, China began to build its technosphere. In the beginning, the People's Republic managed to do this mainly by undercutting the prices of Western companies and stealing intellectual property. However, the digitization of the domestic surveillance state was the top priority. Over the past 26 years, China has managed to build up technology companies such as TikTok and Huawei, which have become global heavyweights.

Today we live in two spheres of influence – an American and a Chinese one, increasingly separate and yet often overlapping. A technosphere gives a state privileged access to technological systems, as is currently the case with the United States in terms of telecommunications companies such as Cisco, and with China in terms of some hardware, e.g., exported Huawei routers.

The question, then, is: where does Germany fit in? What about the third-largest economy after the United States and China, what about its technosphere?

### **Germany's Hidden Technosphere**

Compared to the United States and China, Germany's technosphere often remains hidden from view: domestic companies such as Infineon are primarily active in the business-to-business sector, while Apple, Dell, or Lenovo enjoy great popularity among consumers. German technologies came to public attention when the first destructive cyberattack in history took place: the United States and Israel disabled centrifuges at the Natanz nuclear enrichment facility in Iran in 2009/10. The industrial control system that the United States infiltrated for the attack was made by Siemens. The United States prepared for the attack using Siemens test equipment, which they knew inside out. As this example shows, German technologies can be found in the most remote and also most critical places in the global security order.

When considering technospheres, one often thinks of fixed infrastructures. Canada, for example, is located in the US technosphere, Cambodia in the Chinese. This is because Canada mainly uses US software and hardware, while Cambodia relies heavily on 5G and other technologies from Huawei, meaning that a large part of the internet infrastructure has been built and supplied by China, which accordingly has privileged access to systems there.

However, this rigid layer of the technosphere is overlaid by a movable one. It consists of cell phones, laptops, and drones that are constantly in motion. Consequently, technospheres are becoming

more inscrutable. Germany is getting more involved in this area, especially and increasingly through connected cars. More than 8.5 million German vehicles currently receive over-the-air software updates: Volkswagen ID (400,000+ units), Mercedes S-Class, EQE, and EQS (700,000 units), and BMW (7.5 million units). Connected cars mainly stay in one technosphere, i.e., one country. However, they can easily cross national borders. A connected Mercedes can find itself belonging to a member of the North Korean or Iranian elite, opening up a small island of technological influence in these countries that could be used to gather intelligence.

### **Preventing Power Abuse by the Leading Nations**

Germany's technological influence brings with it a special responsibility for the security of systems worldwide. Germany should continue to refrain from using its privileged access to its own technologies to gather intelligence abroad. Instead, it should use the technological capacities of companies such as Bosch, Siemens, VW, and Mercedes to prevent the abuse of power by China and the United States. Every German connected car, every refrigerator, every industrial control system for wind energy or factories is one more device that was not manufactured by other countries and thus cannot be easily infiltrated by them.

As a secondary technology power, Germany cannot exert as much technological influence in other countries as do the US and China. Nevertheless, it is a pivotal state. Together with other secondary technology powers, including France, the Netherlands, Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan, the government in Berlin should work toward developing technology infrastructure in Africa, Southeast Asia, and other regions, where such an attempt would not be undermined from the outset. With Samsung, Sony, Hitachi, the semiconductor giant TSMC, Schneider Electric, ASML, Fujitsu, Honda, Infineon, Miele, and other heavyweights, Germany, the rest of Europe, and their allies have the potential to mitigate the global instrumentalization of technology by major powers and to create more security and trust in the digital infrastructure.

To ensure the security of their own products globally, German companies should guarantee that software and connected hardware components developed in joint ventures with Chinese companies will not be exported beyond the Chinese market. Volkswagen works closely with XPENG, a Chinese electric vehicle manufacturer, to develop software. It can be assumed that this software is insecure and backdoored. China's own legislation requires access to data and systems developed for the Chinese market to enable complete surveillance. Cars produced and exported in a joint venture with XPENG might contain backdoors. Thereby product security cannot be guaranteed.

### **Strengthening German Technology by Pooling Resources with Partners**

Germany's technosphere relies heavily on its traditional strengths in hardware. These have recently been enhanced by new semiconductor locations and synergies with TSMC in Dresden. However, cooperation with China in the software sector can lead to significant security losses due to the surveillance requirements of the Chinese Communist Party. If Germany does not promptly build up its own strengths in the software sector, working with allies and partner countries if necessary, its technological influence will increasingly wane. Volkswagen's partnership with California-based Rivian to develop software for electric and increasingly autonomous vehicles is one such example.

Karl Kaiser's statement that the internet solidifies existing power structures still holds true today and, in the context of global developments, is more relevant than ever. Despite China's rapid growth, the US remains the leader in information technologies. In view of Donald Trump's reelection and the expected difficulties in transatlantic relations, Germany urgently needs to join forces with like-minded tech powers to strengthen its position. Otherwise, it risks remaining a second-rate technological power for the foreseeable future and suffering under an increasingly fierce great power competition.



**Valentin Weber** is a senior research fellow in DGAP's Center for Geopolitics, Geoeconomics, and Technology. His research covers cybersecurity, the emergence of cyber norms, and the geopolitical dimensions of cyberspace.

***“I have not given up hope that a political turnaround is still possible following the Zeitenwende.”***

In mid-November 2024, on the sidelines of the German American Conference at Harvard Kennedy School, Karl Kaiser and former DGAP director Cathryn Clüver Ashbrook discussed the political consequences of Trump’s election and Germany’s geopolitical responsibility. They assessed the *Zeitenwende*, the role of DGAP as a catalyst for fact-based policymaking, and the challenges that German foreign and security policy face.



The following interview is an excerpt from a longer conversation that you can read in full in the original German version here:  
→ <https://dgap.org/de/KarlKaiser-Interview-Deutschland-Zeitenwende-Verantwortung>

**Cathryn Clüver Ashbrook** We are meeting just ten days after the US election – Donald Trump won, also securing majorities in the Senate and the House of Representatives and barely missing a majority of the popular vote. What does this result mean for transatlantic relations?

**Karl Kaiser** For me, there are two important conclusions to be drawn. The first is that Trump's election goes beyond the scope of the *Zeitenwende* in a fundamental way, meaning that Germany's transformation must become a societal one, incorporating different policy areas and thus presenting the Federal Republic with the greatest challenge since its founding in 1949. It also means that the political class can only survive if it executes this transformation.

The second point is that, regardless of the sometimes shocking initiatives coming out of Washington, both Germany and the European Union must approach the new government at all levels to explore and activate avenues of cooperation that lie in our mutual interest. In the area of security policy, one point in particular must be spelled out to Washington: A Russian victory in Ukraine favors China. This argument is of great importance to the Trump administration and ultimately to the West as a whole, since the central issue of the future is not the confrontation between the West and Russia, but between the West and China.

**CCA** For geopolitical and geoeconomic reasons, Germany must work with the Trump administration. What are the greatest challenges for the German awareness of the constitution's crucial importance and the much-vaunted German responsibility?

**KK** Whatever the differences, we must be pragmatic and keep our long-term goals in mind when dealing with a partner many of whose other goals we no longer share, and even reject. The long-term goals matter most. There are certain underlying values that are deeply rooted in the founding of the Federal Republic of Germany, to which America contributed significantly. They



are also the basis of the European Union and the reconciliation among the peoples of Europe, which America has always supported. Ultimately, we need to get our act together and make it through this phase, because the future of the West is at stake, and Germany needs to pass this test.

**CCA** The leadership vacuum in Europe seems immense. With this in mind, what are your thoughts on the 2025 German federal election?

**KK** To paraphrase what Ms. Baerbock once said: The answer to “America First” is “Europe United” – and at the German level, a “grand coalition” and a consensus among major democratic parties to jointly address the central issues of the fundamental transformation. Also, the courage to explain unpopular decisions and then to translate them into action. That is the core of the transformation: for the democratic parties to have the courage to face the consequences of the new situation.

**CCA** We have known at least since the 1990s how to prepare in terms of security policy – and now we have structural deficits resulting from a precarious economic situation. What went wrong? What should DGAP do now to correct this situation?

**KK** It is a failure of the political class. They are guilty of not having addressed the issue. It is a failure of communication.

**“Politicians are aware of the problem, however, the ability to find compromises has diminished.”**

Politicians are aware of the problem, however, the ability to find compromises – which characterized post-war politics – has diminished. The polarization of the parties means

that people no longer see the big picture, only party interests. I have not given up hope that a political turnaround is still possible following the *Zeitenwende* – but it will take courage to acknowledge the truth. If we let things take their course, there is a risk of catastrophic developments in Germany, Europe, and the West.

No European country has such a crucial role here as Germany. As a central power in Europe, it must make an appropriate contribution; otherwise, no European solution will be possible, and the West will be severely weakened.

DGAP can help the parties to clearly identify the unpopular issues, to articulate them, and to provide proposals and answers – all from the freedom of an independent and non-partisan institution. I see DGAP's central task in the years to come as doing this, while never forgetting to remain true to a pro-European and pro-Atlantic compass. Ultimately, there is no answer to these questions without the commitment to our European partners and without always trying to maintain and deepen our ties to America, no matter how difficult that may be. Not even a President Trump can destroy these ties.

**CCA** You have a history of transcending party lines and consistently motivating people to find common solutions. Now we also have challenges in the German economic system. Everything that used to make Germany strong – rapid globalization and a system protected by the rule of law under an American security umbrella – is now faltering. What role does the German economy play in shaping Germany's role in the world?

**KK** Globalization is not at an end; it is just changing its structure. The export-oriented German economic model remains relevant; now, the task is to adapt and reduce dependencies on countries like China. There are new opportunities, particularly in Africa and other parts of Asia, and this is a matter for the business community, supported by policymakers. The German economy remains the engine of the European Union. The future of the EU depends on a successful reform of the German economic model.

**CCA** And so we arrive, implicitly, at Mario Draghi's topic – greater integration. An opportunity to implement what you and Stanley Hoffmann always talked about at Harvard, for example, in terms of defense policy and joint debt.

**KK** We need a bold approach. Germans must abandon outdated ideas about the budget. Germany is creditworthy; it should set up a fund to promote innovation in Germany and Europe. The world expects Germany to act.

**CCA** You have already touched on the topic of courage and risk-taking. From your experience with European and German politicians, as well as with transatlantic partners: Where can such courage come from? Is it only produced by external constraints? Why is Germany so risk-averse?

**KK** Courage must be nourished by an understanding of the necessity to act, and this understanding can only be gained through engagement. This is not possible in inter-party conflict but rather through the interaction of an independent academic elite with the political one – something that we have always striven for since DGAP's founding as a way to feed ideas into the political process. Hence also the idea of bipartisanship, which we adopted from the United States and the United Kingdom thanks to our co-founder Wilhelm Cornides. This tradition was continued under Karl Carstens and under my leadership in order to foster success in foreign policy. This requires forums, discussions, and dialogue – across party lines and sometimes even with parties on the fringes of acceptability.

**CCA** When you think back to your time at DGAP, which spaces and conversations were particularly important for the direction of foreign policy?

**KK** In the early years, it was mainly the study groups that brought together representatives from politics, science, business, and administration. Often, no results were published, but everyone used the insights in their own sphere. This contributed to the development of a strategic community, and the ideas found their way into the political process. Two examples: The study groups had intense discussions about the pros and cons of recognizing the GDR. These never reached the public; instead, ideas were

developed on how to deal with the other part of Germany. Another example was the recognition of the Oder-Neisse line. This was also controversial, especially among the more conservative part of the population. But DGAP made a major contribution to the civil dialogue on this issue, which ultimately led to final ratification under Helmut Kohl.

**CCA** There were many turning points and decisive moments during your time in Bonn and Berlin at DGAP – both political and structural. Can you name the defining moments?

**KK** Defining moments... Yes, DGAP was always driven by social forces, especially by the economy. Initially, it was the steel industry and banks. As the German economy changed, it became more diversified, but this interdependence remains the lifeblood of society.

Two events were particularly formative in my view. The first was in 1981, when we published the study on the security of the West in three languages together with the American Council on Foreign Relations, the Institut français des relations internationales, and Chatham House in London. It received a great deal of attention in Germany and was even translated in Beijing and Moscow. The central idea was that Germany, along with the United Kingdom and France, must play a key role in Europe. Of course, some political scientists and other voices objected, calling it “gunboat diplomacy.” But overall, it sparked a huge discussion.

***“Courage must be nourished by an understanding of the necessity to act.”***

A second particularly moving moment came at the 40th anniversary of DGAP, when Federal President Roman Herzog, known for his unconventional and necessary statements, declared that “freeloading” was over.

**CCA** A question that often arises within the modern understanding of think tanks is whether empirical research should come first,

followed by engagement with decision-makers. You have worked at Harvard and other research institutions for a long time. Your approach is more Anglo-Saxon, where you build on your work with political actors to develop publications or actionable recommendations, supported by your own research and that of the academic community. In German universities and think tanks, research often takes precedence. What would you recommend to think tanks in the European context?

**KK** Essentially, you have already provided the answer in your question. It is crucial that influential decision-makers sit down with experts, identify problems, and develop practical solutions. The process is important because many results are not published but rather incorporated into day-to-day work. It's about identifying relevant topics and understanding how they are intertwined with other issues – such as the connection between foreign policy and digital topics or foreign policy and AI.

US think tanks have developed these techniques to perfection and use them to shape their communication effectively, taking into account a range of political opinions. Short, concise reports are important, without ruling out longer publications where necessary. The focus must always be on the addressee.

**CCA** In Bonn and Harvard in particular, you focused on nurturing the next generation. What do you think is important for acquiring and developing new talent?

**KK** The founding of the Young DGAP was a key step that can be further expanded so that its work has a greater public impact. In addition, universities in Germany should teach political science in a more practice-oriented way, which is not the case across the board. DGAP should continue to work to break down the ivory tower of German academia so that students leave university with a sound understanding of how the world works.

**CCA** During your time in office – especially in Bonn – quite a few developments were set in motion by the active involvement of DGAP. What were the biggest successes?

**KK** For me, the most important thing is that DGAP has enabled many people to consider and discuss foreign and security policy in an informed way. Over the decades, a strategic community has emerged in Germany. To say that there is no German strategic community is nonsense – it exists and is more extensive than in countries like France or the United Kingdom.

Secondly, DGAP has shaped a foreign policy style. Over the years, we discussed controversial positions in confidential, objective conversations, which has had a long-term effect on the discourse among politicians.

Thirdly, we introduced new topics into the scientific and public debate, such as the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the environment, space policy, economic security, and foreign policy decision-making structures. Today, these topics are firmly established in Germany, but that was not the case at the time. Now, DGAP must address topics such as artificial intelligence, digitalization, climate change, and new forms of warfare, and explore their relevance for foreign policy.

***“DGAP should continue to work to break down the ivory tower of German academia.”***

Cooperation with like-minded institutions in the West became the norm, for example with Ifri in Paris, the Italian Istituto Affari Internazionali, Chatham House, and US institutes. This cooperation has a long tradition and must not be lost. We have to address many issues together with sister institutes, EU-related topics in particular.

**CCA** These partnerships naturally become more urgent when countries like South Korea, Japan, and Australia are invited to

NATO summits and play a role in terms of sustainable security for Ukraine as well as, for geographical reasons, in the systemic competition with China. If the contest is no longer between the West and the rest, new opportunities for expanded cooperation will also arise in the think tank world. How might DGAP respond to this?

**KK** Not every partnership can be as intensive as those with EU sister institutes, but there will always be topics in whose context cooperation with Australian, Korean, Japanese, and other partners makes sense. And let's not forget Africa. As part of the German industry's efforts to reduce its dependence on China, engagement with Africa must be strengthened, particularly in the "track two" area, which is severely underdeveloped in cooperation with African countries.

**CCA** DGAP turns 70 next year – do you have an anniversary wish for the organization? In what areas would you like it to expand its endeavors?

**KK** Above all, I hope that DGAP receives sustained support from German society, particularly from the business community, so that it can operate as a lasting institution and not be dependent on short-term budget decisions. Much as the Council on Foreign Relations in New York and Chatham House in London are institutions in their respective countries, Germany owes DGAP stability.

I also hope that DGAP continues to provide reliable, fact-based analysis and remains a role model in an era characterized by fake news.



**Cathryn Clüver Ashbrook** is a senior advisor in the Bertelsmann Stiftung's program "Europe's Future." As an expert on transatlantic relations and US politics, she led research programs at Harvard for over a decade and was director of DGAP.

This interview is an abridged version of a two-hour exchange with Karl Kaiser. For almost 20 years, I have valued Karl's in-depth experience in politics and scientific analysis. He is not only an excellent sparring partner, but also a forward-thinking mentor. We have accomplished a lot together at Harvard University, advancing teaching and building research programs to prepare the next generation for the complex issues of our time. In addition to his clarity, we all appreciate Karl's warmth and great sense of humor. Our collaboration has resulted in a valuable friendship. Congratulations, Karl, on this anniversary and your life's work!





## Professor Karl Kaiser

Born on December 8, 1934, in Siegen, Germany

Married to Deborah Strong (USA); three children

### EDUCATION

**1954–1958** Studies in economics and social sciences at the University of Cologne (*Diplom-Kaufmann*)

**1958–1959** Graduate studies in political science at the University of Grenoble (*Diplôme d'Études Supérieures de Science Politique*)

**1961–1963** PhD at the University of Cologne with a dissertation on the British policy on European integration

### ACADEMIC CAREER

**1963–1968** Harvard University:

- Research associate at the Center for International Affairs (collaboration with Henry A. Kissinger)
- Tutor and lecturer in government, social studies, and general education

**1968–1969** Professor of political science, Johns Hopkins University Bologna

**1969–1991** Full professor of political science at the Universities of Saarbrücken and Cologne

**1991–2000** Professor of political science, University of Bonn

**2003–2015** Director of the Program on Transatlantic Relations, Weatherhead Center, Harvard University

**As of 2015** Senior associate at the Weatherhead Center, Harvard University

### PROFESSIONAL AND ADVISORY ROLES

**1973–2003** Director of the Research Institute of the German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP)

Advisor to NATO, the German Federal Government, and international institutions, including as chair of the board of the German Society for Peace and Conflict Research; member of the German Council of Environmental Advisors; and consultant for the Volkswagen Foundation

**AWARDS:** Commander of the British Empire (United Kingdom, 1989), Officer of the Légion d'Honneur (France, 1991), Officer's Cross and Commander's Cross of the Order of Merit (Germany, 1998/2009), Order of Merit, 1st Class (Poland, 2002), Orden del Mérito Civil (Spain, 2018)



For a detailed CV and list of publications, please visit:  
→ <https://scholar.harvard.edu/karlkaiser/home>



Oben: Karl Kaiser und Cathryn Clüver Ashbrook beim Interview, Harvard University, November 2024  
Rechts: Thorsten Benner und Karl Kaiser, Berlin, 2023

Above: Cathryn Clüver Ashbrook interviews Karl Kaiser, Harvard University, November 2024  
Right: Thorsten Benner and Karl Kaiser, Berlin, 2023



Links: Jim Cooney und Karl Kaiser vor der DGAP, Berlin, 2023



Left: Jim Cooney and Karl Kaiser in front of DGAP, Berlin, 2023



Links: Walther  
Leisler Kiep, Karl  
Kaiser und Arend  
Oetker (v.l.n.r.),  
Bonn, 1986

Left (from left to  
right): Walther  
Leisler Kiep,  
Karl Kaiser, and  
Arend Oetker,  
Bonn, 1986



Oben: Karl Kaiser, Gabriele Brenke und  
Helmut Hubel (v.l.n.r.) auf Dienstreise

Above (from left to right): Karl Kaiser,  
Gabriele Brenke, and Helmut Hubel  
on a business trip

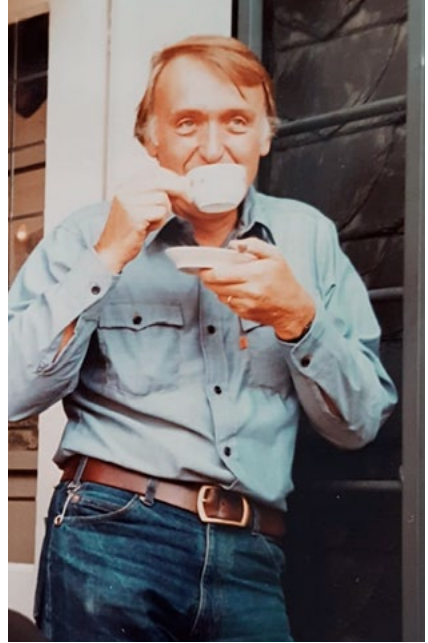


Oben: Beim Empfang zum 60.  
Geburtstag 1984 mit Deborah Kaiser  
und Verteidigungsminister  
Rudolf Scharping  
Unten: Mitglieder des Forschungs-  
instituts am Bonner DGAP-Sitz

Above: At his 60th birthday recep-  
tion in 1984 with Deborah Kaiser and  
Defense Minister Rudolf Scharping  
Below: Members of the Research  
Institute in front of DGAP, Bonn



Rechts: Kaffeepause beim Betriebsausflug, 1988  
Unten, v.l.n.r.: John Rielly, Karl Kaiser, Thierry de Montbrial und Cesare Merlini bei der Abschiedskonferenz, 2003



Right: Coffee break during a company outing, 1988  
Below (from left to right): John Rielly, Karl Kaiser, Thierry de Montbrial, and Cesare Merlini at the farewell conference, 2003





Oben: Zbigniew Brzeziński, Karl Kaiser, Thierry de Montbrial und Eduardo Frei Montalva (v.l.n.r.)  
Links: Demonstration der in den Fachinformationsverbund eingegliederten Datenterminals der Dokumentationsstelle, 1987



Above (from left to right): Zbigniew Brzeziński, Karl Kaiser, Thierry de Montbrial, and Eduardo Frei Montalva  
Left: Demonstration of the data terminal in DGAP's Documentation Center that is linked to the German Information Network for International Relations and Area Studies, 1987

Rechts: Karl Kaiser und Außenminister Klaus Kinkel bei der Vorstellung des ersten Bandes „Deutschlands neue Außenpolitik“, 1994

Right: Karl Kaiser and Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel at the presentation of the first volume of *Germany's New Foreign Policy*, 1994



Oben: Bundeskanzler a.D. Helmut Schmidt, Botschafter Immo Stabreit und Karl Kaiser

Above: Former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, Ambassador Immo Stabreit, and Karl Kaiser