

Gunther Hellmann, Daniel Jacobi und Ursula Stark Urrestarazu (Eds.)

***„Früher, entschiedener und substantieller“?  
Die neue Debatte über Deutschlands Außenpolitik***

[“Earlier, more decisively and more substantially”?  
The new Debate about Germany’s Foreign Policy]

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Abstracts

*Frank-Walter Steinmeier*

**Preface, pp. 1-4.**

*Gunther Hellmann, Daniel Jacobi und Ursula Stark Urrestarazu*

**Introduction: „New“ German Foreign Policy?, pp. 5-14.**

*Andreas Fahrmeir*

**Foreign Policy in Historical Perspective, pp. 15-24.**

Foreign policy appears to be a clearly defined subject at first sight: it is the business of institutions like foreign ministries and embassies and carried out in specific practices such as diplomacy. This contribution will problematize this notion in a brief historical overview and propose an alternative notion based on the practice of boundary drawing. As a political practice of boundary drawing, foreign policy constitutes its own actors by labeling specific relations (of power, law or politics) as “internal” and others as “external”.

*Mathias Albert*

**The New Stays Old: Foreign Policy, World Politics and the “Balance of Power”, pp.25-34.**

The contribution deals with foreign policy in the context of the evolution of the modern system of world politics. Foreign policy is understood as a systemic provision of the system of world politics in order to coordinate it with other social systems as well as internally, which however always also observes itself through the figure of a balance of power. Building on differentiation and systems theoretical deliberations the contribution describes the fundamental limitations of planning foreign policy.

*Karl Kaiser*

**German Foreign Policy in its Interdependence Trap, pp.35-44.**

The Post World War II system of Interdependence and globalization is in crisis because it increasingly clashes with the assertion of national sovereignty and the desire for democratic control. Germany is particularly affected because of its new responsibilities and high reliance on interdependence as the world’s second largest exporter. The Ukraine crisis demonstrates both the limits of Germany’s policy to foster interdependence as one party, Russia, breaks the rules and the necessity of decreasing interdependence to induce a state to change its behavior.

*Friedrich Kratochwil*

**The End of Something: or: Is Anybody Home?, pp.45-65.**

The article attempts to provide an assessment of German foreign policy against the background of contemporary crises. It criticizes recent appeals for more German engagement in world politics while also rejecting a German “Sonderweg” or a German hegemony within Europe. Instead it argues that the present crisis has to be understood as the result of longstanding changes which recently have become intertwined: the politics of universal values which has been propagated in different form by the US and the EU and a “digital revolution” which has dismantled the institution of the public and of “responsible” political choices.

*Daniel Jacobi*

**“Making Foreign Policy”: On the Reachability of Society, pp.67-88.**

The review process of German foreign policy takes society as the chiefpoint of reference of its legitimacy. Upon closer inspection, however, it shows that society is rather ill defined due to the use of a vocabulary that no longer matches social realities. The contribution shows how and why such a reductionist understanding came about. It offers an alternative image of society that shows how society may still be more foundationally included in the (re-)making of German foreign policy.

*Christoph Bertram*

**The Return of Foreign Policy. The Review 2014 Is an Important Initiative for Germany’s Foreign Office and the Country as a Whole, pp.89-98.**

This article describes and analyses the significance of the ‘Review 2014’ launched by Germany’s foreign minister Steinmeier at the start of his new tenure. Rather than defining Germany’s international interests, the Review seeks to increase awareness among the German public, after a long period of strategic indifference, of the central significance of foreign policy for the country, at a time when the old consensus on foreign policy has become brittle, Germany’s strategic environment is facing new uncertainties, and her international weight has grown considerably.

*Christian Tuschhoff*

**Broadening Distances vs. Community Formation: The Role of the Media and Think Tanks in Debating the Speech of President Gauck, pp.99-122.**

This contribution focuses on the statement of Federal President Gauck that any debate on foreign policy belongs in the middle of society. The article thus inquires into the level of quality of the public debate on German foreign policy. What is the role of the media and think tanks in this debate? How do they manage in decreasing the distance between politics and society on the one hand as well as university research and think tanks on the other?

*Wilfried von Bredow*

**Analysing New Perceptions and Priorities in Foreign Policy, pp.123-138.**

New foreign policy perceptions, priorities and operational rules of a nation state change only slowly. New constellations in the international system, the emerging of new political action fields and new internal and external expectations about the foreign policy orientation need some time in order to prevail—even when they make themselves clearly noticeable. There are, however, exceptions to this rule. Usually, adjustment processes are the subject of bitter controversy. This is vividly illustrated by the foreign policy of the Federal Republic since 1949.

*Ulrich Schlie*

**The Path to the White Paper 2006 and Conclusions for the Debate about Security Policy, pp.139-156.**

The contribution discusses the White Paper on German Defense Policy as one way of formalizing new political ideas and strategies. It outlines the origination process of its rationale, structure, characteristics and idiosyncrasies and compares it with similar documents from different partner nations. In conclusion, it formulates recommendations as to how to organize a future White Paper process which results logically from past decisions on the reform of the Bundeswehr.

*Klaus Naumann*

**The Provision of a Coherent Foreign Policy: How to “Network” “Security”?, pp. 157- 172.**

The concept of “security” is characterized by a high level of indeterminacy. It represents a paradigmatic case of governing in which the framework of state institutions and processes is stretched to its limits. After all, the shaping of “security” relies on the complex interactions of actors, institutions and processes. Coherent action, however, is contingent on the convergence of lead ideas, affirmative decision making, consistent strategies and a legitimate security communication. The contribution describes the severe shortcomings within these dimensions.

*Ursula Stark Urrestarazu*

**New power, New Responsibility, New Identity? “Germany’s Role in the World” from the Perspective of Identity Theory, pp.173-196.**

This article discusses the challenges and possibilities of the debate on “Germany’s role in the world” from the perspective of identity theory. In contrast to prevalent essentialist understandings of foreign policy identity, a situative and practice related concept of identity is proposed that highlights the fact that identities—just as interests and values—are not given, but need to be defined in an open political process. In this understanding, “Germany’s role in the world” is constituted anew in every foreign policy (speech) act.

*Joscha Schmierer*

**New Responsibility Due to New Power? The Rhetoric is Deceiving: Only Problems are Proliferating, pp.197-212.**

In the face of contemporary threats to global order German responsibility is not based on “new power”, but rather on a new “powerlessness”. The failure of global institutions such as the UN Security Council and current islamist attacks on the modern state system pose difficult challenges to the foreign policy of both Germany and the EU. Germany needs to take “more responsibility” in enabling the EU to strengthen international institutions such as the UN and the OSCE to tackle these challenges.

*Hanns W. Maull*

**German Foreign Policy: Power and Responsibility, pp. 213-238.**

This article summarizes German foreign policy since 2005 and assesses its achievements. Two main motifs become evident: the remarkable continuity of Germany’s role conception and the decline of the readiness to take on responsibility in global affairs. Both imply a progressive erosion of capability and shaping potential in terms of power. A reorientation of German foreign policy that builds up eroding shaping potential should be focused on sharpening Germany’s world view and reassessing its foreign policy role conception.

*Matthias Zimmer*

**Values or Interests? On a Sometimes Difficult Mélange in Germany Foreign Policy, pp. 239-258.**

German Foreign Policy nurses an unclear understanding of the relationship of power and responsibility. This leads to its “defibration” which sometimes promotes the defense of values, sometimes the pursuit of interests. Particularly the overemphasis of values leads to incapacities once they are not shared by others. This contribution maintains that values are only of use to foreign policy if they can be reformulated into interests which are then translated into a consistent foreign policy strategy which entails their arrangement in a seamless order of their preference.

*Benjamin Herborth*

**Values: Interests: Decisions. Paradoxes of a Foreign Policy Without a Spike Stud, pp.259-272.**

The semantics of values and interest stands in an oddly tense relationship with the actually quite trivial fact that foreign policy is contested. Values and interests are called upon to give justification for foreign policy actions. Their citation, however, is aimed at unhinging foreign policy positions from the interplay of position and opposition. Yet, from the distance of social scientific observation, both the historical evolution of these figures of justification and their uses in contemporary foreign policy can be rendered visible.

*Rolf Mützenich*

**Germany: From Freeloader to Leading Power Against its Will?, pp.273-288.**

With the inauguration of a new secretary of state, Germany has begun a fundamental debate on its foreign policy strategy. At the core of this debate is the attempt to find a productive balance between restraint and commitment. After all, Germany is indeed expected to take over a lead role internationally. The debate itself, however, lacks clear cut definitions of its core concepts. This must be overcome in order to prevent the emergence of wrong expectations. It is furthermore necessary to designate specific foreign policy instruments because, after all, stable political support is inevitable.

*Werner Link*

**Leadership and Restraint, pp.289-312.**

The political culture of restraint has significantly shaped the foreign policy of the Bonn Republic. However, it has not prevented Germany's rise among Western powers. Since unification, Germany has increasingly played a co-determining role in European and international politics, but it is not in a hegemonic position nor does it pursue a hegemonic policy. With reference to the Ukrainian crisis it is argued that joint leadership (*gemeinsame Führung*) remains the key characteristic of German foreign policy although the political culture of restraint is increasingly being challenged.

*Wolfgang Ischinger und Tobias Bunde*

**Neue deutsche Diplomatie?, S.313-334.**

In der aktuellen Debatte stellt sich die Frage, ob mit einer „neuen“ deutschen Außenpolitik auch eine neue deutsche Diplomatie einhergeht oder einhergehen sollte. Berlin täte gut daran, sich auf die außenpolitischen Traditionen der Bonner Republik zu besinnen. Diese Prinzipien werden bisweilen vernachlässigt, sind aber aufgrund der allseits konstatierten gewachsenen Bedeutung Deutschlands heute aktueller denn je. Allerdings bedürfen die konkreten Instrumente der Diplomatie und ihr institutioneller Rahmen einer Überarbeitung, um den Herausforderungen gerecht zu werden, denen die Berliner Republik gegenübersteht.

*Harald Müller*

**The Underestimated Strengths of Germany Diplomacy and the Perils of Self-Illusionment, pp.335-354.**

German diplomacy is more or less well-equipped. However, ironically its greatest strength—a deep-seated world view, clear goals and a coherent strategy—is also its greatest weakness. The suggestive power of this normative-cognitive structure can induce self-illusionment. Whenever Germany is confronted with actors, structures and processes that contrast its own world view, goals, motifs and strategies in a significant way, its diplomacy can go wrong and fail.

*Roderich Kiesewetter*

**The Bundeswehr as an Instrument of (the New) German Foreign Policy, pp.355-364.**

Based on the assessment that Germany needs a foundational debate on its foreign and security politics, the contribution enquires into how, by this, one can also arrive at a new understanding of the Bundeswehr (German Federal Armed Forces) within the framework of the Comprehensive Approach. This becomes necessary in order to enable a more effective handling of increasing international threats as well as a better communication of German positions vis-à-vis its partner nations.

*Sebastian Enskat and Carlo Masala*

**Deployment Force Bundeswehr: Continuation of Germany Foreign Policy with Other Means?, pp.365-378.**

Since the end of the Cold War, the Bundeswehr (German Federal Armed Forces) has undergone a dramatic change, from a deterrent force to a deployment force. The article retraces this development and shows how the participation of German soldiers in military operations abroad has gradually been extended. However, the article also offers a critical view on this development by highlighting that the role of the military in (the new) German foreign policy is still characterized by many inconsistencies.

*Dirk Messner*

**Germany as a Shaping Power for Global Sustainability: Challenges and Opportunities Under the Conditions of “Comprehensive Globalization”, pp.379-394.**

The current confrontation of irreconcilable concepts of global order poses a serious threat to international cooperation in crucial areas of Global Governance. German foreign policy faces many challenges in an international system characterized by “comprehensive globalization”. This global constellation however also implies the great opportunity to establish new patterns of cooperation via transformative alliances with emerging actors of international politics. In this way, Germany could play a substantial transformative role in the global agenda for sustainability.

*Anne Marie Le Gloannec*

**All Quiet in the West or the Temptation of Faraway Places? On Differences that have Always Existed, pp.395-402.**

Even in the face of diverging views on the monetary union and prevailing discrepancies regarding the economy, French and German decision makers have long been able to overcome those differences and thus became the engine that drove the European integration process. However, since unification and the economic crisis, both countries are no longer pulling on the same string: Paris and Berlin offer different solutions the problems of the European Union and stress different geopolitical foci.

*Adam Krzemiński*

**Nothing Quiet on the Eastern Front. German Ostpolitik from a Polish Perspective, pp.403-426.**

The Euromaidan protests put the Ukraine on center stage not only for German or Polish Eastern policy, but for the EU as a whole. In this situation an old dilemma of the 1980's became apparent: how to deal with an emancipatory movement in Russia's sphere of influence and the readiness of this fading great power to weigh the movement down by force? This article discusses the German and European reaction to this crisis from a Polish perspective. In Poland the Euromaidan protests were interpreted as a time-shifted continuation of the Polish emancipatory movement of the 1980's which eventually led to the collapse of communism in Eastern Central Europe.

*Andrei Zagorski*

**New German Foreign Policy: Russian Perspectives, pp.427-436.**

This contribution illuminates the background of the Russian debate over a new German foreign policy. After a brief excursion on the historical points of reference that structure the Russian debate over Germany, it will discuss the specific answers given regarding the new German foreign policy by representatives of the liberal as well as the realist positions in the Russian foreign policy discourse. In conclusion, some thoughts are formulated on their possible impact on the crisis in the Ukraine.

*Stephen F. Szabo*

**From a Potential Partner in Leadership to "Nein-Nation". Germany's New Foreign Policy as Seen from Washington, pp.437-450.**

Americans expect Germany to share a greater part of the burden of leadership, but Germany in the last 25 years has progressed from a candidate for partner in leadership to a "Nein-Nation". More recent experience has included the German abstention from the NATO intervention in Libya and German resistance to American economic policies and pressures. The evolution of Germany toward a more geostrategic shaping role during the Ukraine crisis may be an indicator that it is willing to play the role of a strategic power that the U.S. has been calling for but not always in ways to Washington's liking.

*William E. Paterson*

**"Farewell to the United Kingdom as a Shaping Power". The UK and Germany's New Foreign Policy, pp.451-460.**

The article argues that Germany's re-envisioning of its foreign policy unfolds at a time when Britain has become tired of its status as global power. While German foreign policy has usually been met with disappointment, the initiative of its readjustment was welcomed. This happened not only on account of British "intervention fatigue", but



also because Germany is seen as Britain's main ally in the project of renegotiating the institutional framework of the European Union.

*Moshe Zimmermann*

**No Alibi Any More. Israel and The New German Foreign Policy, pp.461-472.**

Israel's relations with Germany are influenced primarily by the presence of the past. Most prominent is the memory of the Shoah. Within the framework of a new German foreign policy towards Israel the nature of this relationship between past and present, between the Shoah and the existence of Israel should be reassessed. Germany's "special responsibility" for Israel will find a new expression thanks to a new interpretation of Europe's past, so Germany can play a more active and constructive role within the framework of European Near-East policy.

*Gunther Hellmann*

**In the Offensive Midfield: Germany's New Role as Key Player in European Politics, pp. 473-491.**

The article analyzes the transformation of German foreign policy along three dimensions: the international context, the foreign policy identity of Germany and its goals and strategies. Mutually implicating changes can be observed along all three dimensions. These changes do not amount to a fundamental break, but they increase the pressure on Germany to reposition itself in a new environment. This is especially the case with regard to expectations about German leadership in Europe.