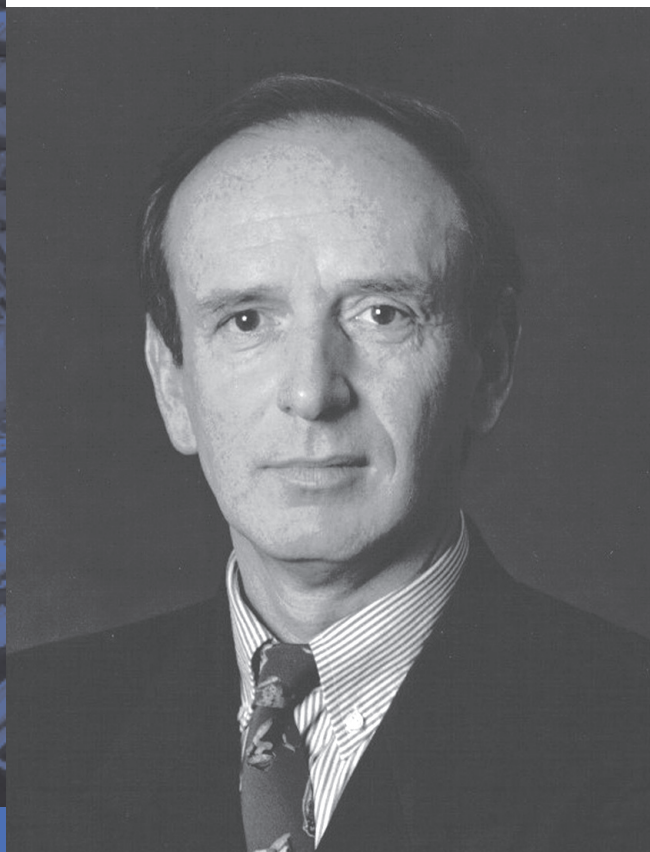


Bettzüge: Europe and the U.S.



On February 18, the Midwest Center for German & European Studies hosted a special salon event on trans-Atlantic relations with Ambassador Reinhard Bettzuege and U of M Professor of Political Science Phil Shively as a respondent.

Ambassador Bettzuege is Visiting Ambassador and Professor for International Relations and Diplomacy at the newly founded Andrassy-Gyula-University Budapest. Trained in Law, Literature, English, and Political Science in Germany and the United States, Reinhard Bettzuege has filled important diplomatic posts across Europe since entering the German Foreign Service in 1974. From 1976 to 1980, he served as Private Secretary to the Ambassador and then as First Secretary of the Economic Department in the German Embassy in London. From 1980 to 1982, he was Head of the Economic Department and Trade Counselor at the German Embassy in

Belgrade, Yugoslavia. The next thirteen years he served as Foreign Office Spokesman and Head of the Media and Public Relations Department. Following his service in Germany, he moved to Brussels as German envoy to NATO. From 2000 to 2002, he was German Ambassador to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in Vienna. The following text is a slightly edited version of Ambassador Bettzuege's presentation.

Europe and the US in President Bush's second term

George W. Bush is the only president on earth with a relationship to the Lord, for God is not neutral critics have said. Maybe that's why after the inaugural address the Italian newspaper *La Repubblica* wrote: "There is the sense of a man who now considers the entire world as his own parish."

In January, two eminent Republicans, Condoleezza Rice and Robert Zoellick, described America's main diplomatic tasks in *Foreign Affairs*: "There is work to do with the Europeans. . . Foreign policy in the Republican administration will most certainly be internationalist. . . In pursuing a reinvigorated foreign policy the US first needs to overhaul ties with its partners and allies." We all relaxed—only, this was January 2000!

But this time over it will be different—or, will it? In his inaugural address, President Bush mentioned the words "freedom" 34 times, "America" 30 times, "liberty" 15 times, "history" 7 times, "oppress" 4 times, but Iraq and Europe not at all. In 2004, President Bush did not mention the EU in any speech. Not once. We feel like the European "cellophane man," as in the musical *Chicago*. A search on Mr. Bush's website produced seven entries with a European connection (Mr. Kerry's website is no different). The last time Mr. Bush mentioned Europe was back in November 2003 when, during the State Dinner, as a guest of the Queen, he said: "My nation welcomes the growing unity of Europe as a real political actor." In June 2002 he said: "The US and Europe must help the Palestinians create a new constitutional framework and a working democracy." But we are happy *continued on page 3*

from the director

Dear friends of CGES,



With spring on our doorstep, CGES is also growing something new. You have in hand the first of a series of occasional Center briefs—slim volumes that spotlight a theme or a Center event I believe you will enjoy learning more about. Let me hasten to stress the qualifier “occasional.” Our *brief* is not meant

as a regular newsletter but rather as a vehicle for more in-depth information on topical German and European matters.

We are pleased to share with you a full transcript of the talk German Ambassador Reinhard Bettzuege gave at our most recent salon. His speech on “Trans-Atlantic Relations at the Beginning of the New Bush

Administration” was very well received. Ambassador Bettzuege directed our attention to the future: why should we care about strong trans-Atlantic relations? What will be the long-term consequences of either renewed dialog and cooperation among true partners or merely loose, *ad-hoc* ties? As you will see, Ambassador Bettzuege places the issue in the context of vast impending shifts in the geopolitical balance of power. Never one to mince words, he makes the strongest case for American and German *Realpolitik*.

Other sections of this *brief* report on an unusual two-day workshop Mr. Bettzuege did with more than twenty undergraduates, the recent visits to CGES by two well-known German filmmakers, and some of our upcoming events.

I hope you will enjoy reading *brief* and look forward to hearing your feedback.

Kind regards,

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Ensuring a Strong Future for CGES

Trans-Atlantic research and discussion are more important than ever in an era of accelerating globalization. CGES provides pivotal opportunities for Europeans and Americans from varied disciplines and perspectives to expand their understanding of Europe's past, present, and future. Funding by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), an independent agency supported by the German government, has helped CGES become the recognized “Center of Excellence” it is today.

An endowment of \$5 million will permanently sustain and expand the vital work of the Center for German & European Studies. To discuss how you might become involved in the effort to build this endowment and support the Center's mission, please contact Eric Weitz, director, CGES, weitz004@umn.edu or 612-626-7705.

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the US has an ambassador to the EU. Mr. Kerry at least noticed that the EU expanded from fifteen to twenty-five member countries and negotiated a constitution, which hopefully will be ratified soon.

Do most people in Minnesota, Oregon, or Alabama know that the EU has a larger population than the US? A bigger GNP? Is the biggest donor of foreign aid? That English is widely spoken as the second language there?

Back to the President's speech of January 20th on spreading freedom and democracy and ending tyranny in the world. Did something get lost in translation? Isn't Pakistan the biggest US ally? What about Saudi Arabia? Isn't China the US's biggest trading partner? Which freedom therefore? Civil liberties? Harvard professor Thomas Patterson looks at the abuses of the Patriot Act, at Guantanamo, at the state of freedom of the press, at the new Attorney General's remark that the Geneva Convention is "quaint," and calls all this "hypocrisy."

But of course, Europeans noticed that the speech was strikingly different from the go-it-alone policy of the first Bush term when it stated: "America will not impose our own style of government on the unwilling." End of the Sinatra "I'll do it my way" doctrine? Second term, second thoughts? While the first inaugural address back in 2001 contained only seven sentences on foreign policy, this one had many more.

President Bush also said: "In my second term I will also reach out to others and explain why I make the decisions I make"—oops, the engagement goes as far as "explanation"? How about consultation? And then once again, the President remarked during his visit to Canada: "We just had a poll in our country where people decided that the foreign policy of the Bush administration ought to stay in place for four more years." Not very reassuring to European ears! Yet President Bush also said (to Tony Blair): "In my second term I will work to deepen our trans-Atlantic ties with the nations of Europe." Does that mean that the Administration is beginning to tally the costs of its first-term policy? Do they mean real consultation or just better public relations? Dr. Rice clarified this issue in the hearings when she conceded: "Our interaction with the rest of the world must be a conversation, not a monologue."

I met with Mme. Albright in New York the day before yesterday. Over dinner she told a wonderful story. At her father's funeral, she found a wreath from Ms. Rice and thus learned Condoleeza Rice had been a student of her father's. So she called to invite her to participate in the Foreign Policy Advisers Group. Dr. Rice replied: "Now, Madeleine, I have to tell you something: I'm a Republican." Without thinking, Mme. Albright responded: "But Condi, how is that possible? We had the same father!"

Yet Dr. Rice came to Europe last week on what looked like a fence-mending swing. She charmed not only Chancellor Schröder (who was said to have had a tough time

when he came home to Doris that night...) when she confessed "We are guided by the conviction that no nation can build a safer world alone" but also Chirac, whom she told: "Alliances and multilateral institutions can multiply the strength of freedom-loving nations." The French Foreign Minister Michel Barnier called her, would you believe it, "Dear Condi"—but he also said: "From time to time it can be useful to listen to each other." Next week the President will go to Europe, to the EU and NATO to overcome the mutual suspicion and incomprehension. The Germans especially look forward to his visit and his speech in Mainz, where, 16 years ago in 1989, his father had invited Germany to become the United States' partner in leadership. No doubt, Mr. Bush's trip to Europe will be successful. But will the new beginning last? The other night in New York, Mme. Albright also wondered: Will Bush finally forgive the Germans and the French for being right on the weapons of mass destruction?

It is clear beyond any doubt: from Berlin to Madrid, from Copenhagen to Budapest, and from Lisbon to Athens, people want proof that the trans-Atlantic alliance still matters and enjoys mutual respect. At the Security Conference last weekend in Munich, we were truly relieved: Donald Rumsfeld no longer divides Europe into a new and an old Europe; rather he admitted those remarks had been made by the "old" Rumsfeld. Shall we now see a "new" Rumsfeld? And if so, what will he look like?

Where do Europe and the US still differ? First, on Iraq, but less so. Dr. Rice may have come close to the truth when she claimed in the hearings: "The world is coming together behind the idea that we must succeed in Iraq." Some Europeans identify this policy as the "Potato Principle": now that the hot potatoes are on the table they must be eaten. Germany has long started eating them by being the first to train Iraqi security officers (outside Iraq and numbering nearly 500 now). We will have to await the results of the NATO summit next week to see what can and will be done further.

Second, on Iran. The Europeans, especially France, the UK, and Germany who are negotiating with Iran on behalf of the European Union, believe that negotiations are better than closing down for war. We came to this insight in the Helsinki process which helped "open up systems" within the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and eventually led to the fall of the Berlin wall. As long as Iran does not become totally obstructive, we will therefore conduct negotiations; beyond that the Security Council would have to speak. Here we would like to see US cooperation, not abstention.

Third, China. Here a potential minefield is opening between the US and Europe, should Europe go ahead and lift the arms embargo, which the United States claims would harm stability in the region.

Fourth, Kyoto. Last Wednesday this 21st-century treaty took effect without US-participation—despite Roland *continued on page 4*

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Emmerich's film *The Day after Tomorrow*, despite the serious warning of Britain's Astronomer Royal who warns in his book *Our Final Hour*: "The odds are no better than 50/50 that our present civilization on Earth will survive to the end of the present century." All twenty-five European nations ratified the treaty; so did Russia, after quiet European diplomacy. To date 140 nations have ratified it. The treaty, as you know, seeks to reduce greenhouse gas emissions from 2008 onward to 8 % below the 1990 levels. The US government withdrew from the talks in 2001, claiming Kyoto would cost the United States 5 million jobs and billions of dollars. Yes, it is true, the treaty is not perfect. China, for example, is not on board as the potentially biggest polluter of the future, but it is the best environmental deal we have so far. No doubt: with the US participating we would have had a better agreement.

Europeans are worried. Over the last century, the Earth's surface temperature has risen by 1 degree Fahrenheit—with all its known effects, which would indeed turn the recent Tsunami into a mild inundation. That is why Mr. Blair put the climate issue on the agenda for the

"The Kyoto Treaty is not perfect. But it is the best environmental deal we have so far."

next G-8 meeting in Gleneagles/Scotland in July 2005. We keenly watch Californian environmentalists push for reduced vehicle emissions—allegedly the production of the gasoline-thirsty Humvee already had to be cut by half from 10,000 to 5,000 vehicles per year.

It is not just Kyoto. As Jeremy Rifkin puts it, not only scientists are convinced that a new age of renewable energy will require a new ethic of sharing, of community, and of non-material fulfillment.

While fighting terrorism grabs the daily news headlines, the real terror lies just two decades ahead when the combined demands of continued economic growth and the reduction of global poverty will require the ecological equivalent of three or four Earths (according to Roy Woodbridge, CEO of an environmental policy consulting firm in Canada). Whether we like it or not, the first and third worlds are now inextricably linked by this major threat to our future. Against this background, with technology geared towards solving these problems, what difference could a devoted US effort make in this

field? A whole new branch of the economy would come to life—as we are observing in Eastern Europe with its huge new market for environmental protection.

Dare I mention a fifth problem, the International Criminal Court? In our view, it is a world body that is especially valuable in the fight against terrorism. Yet the US do not recognize it because the Court might want to look at crimes committed by Americans such as in Abu Ghraib in Iraq, which has led the world to wonder: is there special justice for the US?

The biggest differences, of course, came with the fight against terrorism and over starting a war in Iraq which most Europeans, including the British, feel has only fueled terrorism. In Europe, 5,000 lives were lost to terrorism over the last three decades. The Madrid train bombings in March 2004 that left 191 dead were only the tip of the iceberg. With the help of other European nations, the Spanish authorities have since arrested sixty-eight suspects, twenty of whom were directly involved in the attacks. They have cracked numerous Moroccan terrorist cells. But we do not believe with Lenin (it was indeed Lenin, not Bush who coined the phrase) that "those who are not for us are against us." Doesn't that sound like Orwell's *Animal Farm*: four legs good, two legs bad? Does it perhaps mean, as Professor Domke of Washington University put it, "You are either with him or against God?" In Europe, there seems to be a quieter and collective resolve to work within the international consensus to fight terrorism. In our view, relying just on military means may provoke more terrorism. So far these are, no doubt, contrasting strategic visions. If you look at the Bush doctrine or the National Security Strategy of the US and compare these to the European Security Strategy, the difference of opinion is spelled out clearly. Madrid pulled its troops out of Iraq, but sent more peace-keeping troops to Afghanistan. Germany has more peace-keepers in Afghanistan than anyone else (worldwide, they number 10,000). In our view, the fight against terror needs to combine conventional military force with police investigation efforts and a political dimension that analyzes the conditions that create terror. This political dimension is undervalued by the United States. This also means, which hopefully no longer is a stumbling block in trans-Atlantic relations, that Europe must become stronger militarily and increase its capabilities to intervene in regional conflicts worldwide, as a European Commission Report demanded just this month. Europe must be able to root out security risks at the source. And Europe has moved: we are building a rapid reaction force that eventually will be able to send out 60,000 intervention troops in a battle-group concept for a 12-month period. Plus, we have improved our civilian elements: police and trainers, peacekeepers, and the tools for democracy-building.

After the shock of President Bush's reelection, Europe's elite is taking comfort in a new cliché. The second Bush administration, it imagines, could be the greatest boost to European federalism since the Cold War. President

Chirac stated, "Now Europe has more need than ever to reinforce its unity and dynamism." The newspaper *Die Welt* wrote: "The US as the cradle of civil liberties is a long-forgotten dream. There is no way back to trans-Atlantic normalcy."

I come from Europe. Europe, the kinder, gentler continent. The collection of countries of ancient civilization where the death penalty has been abolished, where arrogant unilateralism, assembly-line hamburgers, Bible-thumping, coarse patriotism, vulgar accumulation of wealth, and other attributes of American culture are repudiated (to quote Richard Bernstein, *IHT*). I come from Europe, the place of summer music festivals, wine tastings, the Oktoberfest, universal health care insurance, high-speed trains, less work and more play—and mind you—streets named after university professors.

Only a few weeks ago we celebrated the memory of the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the man who said "I have a dream." And dreams we all have. I was struck by Jeremy Rifkin's latest book *The European Dream* and his claim that a new European Dream is being born while the American spirit is tiring and languishing in the past. It is a European dream which according to Rifkin is much better suited "to the next stage in the human journey. A dream that emphasizes community relationships over individual autonomy, cultural diversity over assimilation, quality of life over the accumulation of wealth, sustained development over unlimited material growth, deep play over unrelenting toil, universal Human Rights and the rights of nature over property rights, and global cooperation over the unilateral exercise of power."

In his new book *Free World*, Oxford professor Timothy Garton Ash asks the same question: is Europe better than America? He suggests two possible answers: a) Europe and the US are two strongly contrasting civilizations, each considering itself superior, and b) the US and Europe both belong to a larger family of developed liberal democracies. "One is better in some ways, the other in other ways." I tend to agree with b).

The former London correspondent of the *Washington Post*, T. R. Reid, writes in his book *The United States of Europe*, "America is looking at the European social model,

the universal health care systems, the free university education, and business men see Europe making the rules for global commerce." Apropos commerce and economics, let me mention a few facts. The US/EU trade volume amounts to \$2.5 billion annually (the much reported trade disputes altogether account for only 1% to 2% of the total). In 2003 US investment in Germany was \$7 billion. In 2003 European companies' US-profits rose to \$46 billion. German companies alone bring 700,000 jobs to the US. Our trade guarantees twelve million skilled jobs on both sides of the Atlantic, which is more than the figures of Mexico, China, or India.

Despite widespread American beliefs, Europe's economy is healthy. The table below, which compares the economies of the US and the EU demonstrates the vitality of Europe's economy. One should note that, without the problem of eastern Germany, growth in average income is roughly equal.

Earnings in the EU are approximately 30% lower than in the US; however, hourly productivity is only 0.5% lower. US investment is five times greater than European investment and the US spends \$100 billion more on research.

What will become of the West in President Bush's second term? After all, it is a community of values that binds us together. As the preamble to the North Atlantic Treaty states, we want to preserve the "civilization of our peoples." The US and Europe are natural leaders not because of what we possess but because of what we believe in. Europe and the United States make an extraordinary team—if we will work as a team. It looked as if Europe drifted along when the US drifted off-side. As the former Polish foreign minister Geremek put it: "It must not become true that where in the past we had one West and two Europes, now we should have to prepare ourselves for one Europe and two Wests." We know the recent cover of *The Economist* with Bush and the headline "Now unite us!" will not come true. Europe herself must start filling the vacuum of the joint West, our joint West. Probably the US's biggest mistake was to try to divide Europe over Iraq. The biggest European mistake was not to have *continued on page 6*

Economic Comparison Between the US and the EU

	US	EU
Annual Economic Growth	2.9%	1.9%
Population Growth	1.2%	0.5%
Growth in Average Income 1993-2003	2.1%	1.7%
Employment Growth	7.5%	9.1%
Labor Market Participation Growth	0.1%	0.8%
Annual hours worked	1,850	1,500
Unemployment rate (April 2004)	5.4%	8.9%

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acknowledged how the US after 9/11 encapsulated itself with some preemptive exaggerations. Nor will I shy away from the assertion that European governments, too, are responsible for the current trans-Atlantic divide.

Giuliano Amato, Ralph Dahrendorf, and Valery Giscard d'Estaing in December 2004 wrote an open letter to President Bush (*IHT*, Dec 15, 2004) urging him to promptly reassess relations with Europeans. "However powerful your country may be," they wrote, "experience has already demonstrated that you will need allies and functioning global institutions to preserve your fundamental interests. Your best potential partners remain the Europeans. For all our current shortcomings, we share basic values, we are committed to democracy and market economies, and we are strong believers in making multilateral institutions effective. So: be multilateral and effective, work jointly on the Middle East. We have to devise an economic new deal, we need a commitment by the US to gradual fiscal consolidation. Think of a new strategic forum. And we believe that a new trans-Atlantic deal should be part of our future."

Robert Kagan's assertion in *Paradise and Power* that "It is time to stop pretending that Europe and America share a common view of the world or even that they occupy the same world" must finally be proven wrong. Actually it is time to stop Robert Kagan. Somebody who claims Europeans come from Venus and Americans from Mars,

should take a closer look at Greek mythology. Venus and Mars had several children, the first a most lovely girl by the name of "Harmonia"...

Rifkin is essentially right: we need a global ethic, which would enable us to exercise the Golden Rule on a much broader playing field. This field includes not only our relations with our immediate neighbors but also the totality of relationships that form the larger planetary community in which we are all embedded. It is quite simply a call for a new world order. No problem if therein the US remains the shining city on a hill, but not an empire that demands submissiveness.

These past two days I engaged U of M undergraduates in a geo-political "detective story" to find out where power will go in the year 2030. The result was obvious: the US, Europe, China, and India found themselves vying for first place—reason enough to realize that if the US and Europe do it together, we will be unbeatable and able to guarantee that our children and grandchildren also may live with the values of their parents, of our western civilization.

What we need is a blueprint for the survival of our western values. Let us therefore turn away from the vicious to the virtuous circle. If trans-Atlantic understanding fades, both Europe and the United States are in trouble. The new Bush administration and its European partners have to get it right this time around.

Thank you.

A Geo-political Detective Story: a workshop with U of M students

Ambassador Bettzuege not only spoke in the CGES salon series but also conducted a two-day workshop with twenty undergraduate political science students. At issue was the future distribution of geopolitical power: what will the world look like in the year 2030? Will the US still be the world's leading power? Will China have taken its position? What will be the status of "Europe"? What about the roughly 40 Islamic countries: will they have formed a new bloc?

To prepare for the workshop, Ambassador Bettzuege had asked the students to research the seven major players vying for global power. Their findings ensured a high-powered and substantive discussion that spilled far outside normal classroom boundaries and for two days completely absorbed every one of them. In the

end they concluded that the US could hope to retain its power only by teaming up with Europe—an assessment that surprised some. It also prompted the moment most poignant for Mr. Bettzuege. As he was leaving, one of the students approached him and said "This workshop has made me revise what I believe about Europe. I just thought I should let you know that."

German filmmakers at CGES



ABOVE: Eric Weitz, director Margarethe von Trotta, Sabine Engel, Gerhard Weiss, Frank Hirschbach, and David Sanford enjoy the sun outside the Oak Street Cinema after a free screening of von Trotta's latest TV production "Die andere Frau," which also drew a large group of Fridley High School students studying German; RIGHT: director Lars Buechel and Derek Crider during a post-screening conversation



Last summer CGES hosted the head of the cultural section of the German Embassy in D.C. By the time Mr. Wriessnig left, he considered the Twin Cities not only one of the most livable places in the US (outside D.C.) but a center for the arts that deserved the embassy's attention. In October and January, CGES could therefore invite TC film aficionados to a series of special events with German film directors Margarethe von Trotta and Lars Buechel.

Von Trotta's "Rosenstrasse" opened to a full house at the Landmark Theater Edina, with moviegoers eager to discuss the film with the director and Gerhard Weiss, who had lived through its events. One of the most renowned German filmmakers, von Trotta absolutely charmed her audiences. Her new project, she revealed, would pursue

her fascination with exceptional, politically active women and feature Hannah Arendt. In mid-January, CGES teamed up with the German Embassy and the Goethe Institute to bring to Minneapolis one of the most watched among a new generation of young German filmmakers, Lars Buechel. Buechel's romantic comedy "Peas at 5:30" (2004) gives a new twist to the adage that love makes blind. What happens, he asks, when the two protagonists are blind to begin with? Can you fall in love without seeing another? Two screenings—at the Oak Street Cinema and the Landmark Theater Edina—drew excellent audiences and spurred lively conversation about an also visually outstanding film. Special thanks are due to the Landmark's Hugh Wronski and *TalkCinema* host Kevin Murphy.

What's next at CGES?

June 10: "Health Care Systems for the 21st Century: A German-American Discussion of Best Practices and Major Challenges"

A high-profile forum for industry experts, sponsored by CGES and the Academic Health Center, with Dr. Frank Cerra (senior vice president for health sciences at the University of Minnesota) and Franz Knieps (German Ministry of Health and Social Security), who is widely acknowledged as the architect of Germany's recent health care reform. The forum will be recorded for television broadcast.

September 28: "Germany's 2006 General Elections: Who will Win and Why?"

CGES salon with Dieter Roth (head, Forschungsgruppe Wahlen) and Dr. Dieter Dettke (director, Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Washington, D.C.)

November 7 & 8: noted children's book author Karin Guendisch

For the most current information, please see the new CGES web site www.cges.umn.edu



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At the conclusion of their two-day workshop: some of the participating U of M undergraduates with Visiting Ambassador Bettzuege