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Facing off

What's in store for the trans-Atlantic relationship? German Foreign Minister Heiko Maas, New Jersey Governor Phil Murphy and Munich Security Conference Chairman Wolfgang Ischinger assess the situation.

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PICTURE ALLIANCE/AP PHOTO/JESCO DENZEL

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America's retreat and Donald Trump's refusal to lead are putting the trans-Atlantic alliance at risk

BY THEO SOMMER

We live in perilous times in an imperiled world. The most dramatic shift of power and wealth since the ascent of the United States to worldwide dominance a hundred years ago puts an end to 500 years of Western (and white) hegemony. China's rise from international insignificance to global clout is changing the power balance. The Chinese model – capitalism plus authoritarianism – poses a grave challenge to the Western system of free market democracy, as despots all over the world are eager to emulate it. The liberal international order, built by America after World War II and sustained by its European allies ever since, is collapsing. Democracy is in retreat; nationalism and tribalism are gaining ground; and global instability continues to grow. Even in the so-called free world, democracy is again at risk.

Worse yet: Facing a China on the rise and a disruptive Russia in a world replete with threats and disorder, what used to be known as “the West” is breaking down. The cause, in the eyes of most Europeans, is President Donald Trump's apparent determination to destroy the world order the US created: the web of alliances and institutions that underwrote freedom, safeguarded peace and promoted prosperity. “Today,” Robert Kagan states in his recent article titled “The Cost of American Retreat,” “the US seems bent on relinquishing its duties in pushing back the jungle.” Atlas, the Titan of endurance, is tired of holding up the sky.

This is not a new phenomenon. Isolationism has been the twin of imperialism throughout America's 242-year history. Swings from geopolitical outreach to withdrawal into its continental shell have punctuated the country's policy. The current retreat has been long in coming. It was George W. Bush who first pulled back from multilateralism, making unilateralism his guiding principle. Barack Obama prioritized nation-building at home and leading from behind. Under Donald Trump, strategic restraint has shriveled to strategic retreat. He refuses to lead. His battle cry “America first” jettisons the basic concept that deal-making means taking the interests of your partners into account instead of rudely overpowering and crushing them. Trump is the first to think that the American world order undermines American greatness – Mark Leonard's sly remark is dead-on. For the time being, the president marks an inflection point.

The question is: President Trump's obnoxious style, his incalculability and his unreliability – are they a temporary detour or, horrible thought, likely to become a permanent fixture of US foreign policy? While Europeans expect his ghastly style to disappear with him, they are by no means sure that the basic thrust of his approach will vanish as well.

Pessimists in Europe assume that America's inward turn will continue. In 15 to 20 years, whites will be a minority, they point out. This will weaken ties with Europe and sap the trans-Atlantic commitment.

European optimists assume that the US pullback from the liberal world order won't last long. They bank on the resilience and the ultimate rationality of American voters. The pendulum will swing back to normal, they say. “Trump's foreign policy will not outlast his whims,” argues Janan Ganesh in the *Financial Times*.

The realists are not so sure. They consider it too risky to rely on the hope that Trumpism will disappear with Trump. At any rate, for the time being they have to reckon with a president who throws out treaties, whose allegiance to NATO is questionable and who considers the European Union a “foe.”

Friedrich Merz, the chairman of Atlantik-Brücke, put his finger on the wound when he said: “We Europeans must define our role in the world without the US. To be true: It would be better if America returned to the

fold one fine day, but at the present moment we can't count on this for sure.” Merz echoed Chancellor Angela Merkel's memorable statement: “The times when we could fully rely on one another are more or less over, so I can only say that we Europeans must take our fate into

our own hands.” French president Emmanuel Macron weighed in: “The partner with which Europe built the post-war multilateral order seems to be turning its back on this shared history.” At the annual conference of his ambassadors, Macron added: “Europe can no longer entrust its security to the United States alone. Today, it is up to us to assume our responsibilities and to guarantee security – and thereby European sovereignty.”

It seems paradoxical but it is a fact: Donald Trump's truculence is finally spurring the Europeans to action. In various fields they are stepping up to the plate. They are increasing their defense spending and boosting their military cooperation and integration. They are in the process of aligning their foreign policies – vis-à-vis the Mediterranean and Africa, but also with regard to China. Simultaneously, they are strengthening the stability of the euro and moving towards a fuller banking union.

In his last State-of-the-Union address to the European Parliament, Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker insisted, perhaps a bit grandiloquently, that Europe needed *Weltpolitikfähigkeit*, the capacity for world politics. He is right, of course. And while it is undeniable that Europe won't get there quickly, at least it's on the move.

Europe won't cut loose from America. The goal, in the words of German Foreign Minister Heiko Maas, is a “balanced relationship,” a relationship in which

Wunderbar together

A greeting from President Frank-Walter Steinmeier

Aristotle once described friendship as “a single soul dwelling in two bodies.” In the case of the friendship between the US and Germany, that “single soul” is our shared belief in democracy, the inalienable rights of all people and the rule of law. These are ideals we are committed to achieving together.

And yet, as well all know, friendship is not some sort of effortless miracle. It requires attentive listening and a deep understanding of what moves and inspires us to behave the way we do. Taking the time to approach one another with thoughtfulness and respect is what makes – and grows – a friendship.

Germans and Americans have always been connected in fundamental ways. We Germans are grateful for the political agenda that enabled us to regain our place in the

world community and made it possible for our divided country to reunite. But the German-American friendship is also founded on countless personal connections across the Atlantic, including centuries-old family roots as well

as new friendships and partnerships between cities, communities, schools and universities.

All of these bonds have one thing in common; when we cultivate and celebrate them, they thrive. And this is exactly what we're seeking to do as part of our Deutschlandjahr in the US. With more than a thousand events taking place over a full year, there will indeed be many opportunities to meet old friends, make new ones and explore what moves us all.

My best wishes go out to those countless individuals committed to cultivating this friendship – in small towns and big cities, in the heartland and on the coasts, in companies and at universities all over the country. Our joint efforts will no doubt allow our friendship to shine and make us even more “wunderbar together.”



BUNDESPRESIDENT FRANK-WALTER STEINMEIER

EUROPE WON'T CUT LOOSE FROM AMERICA

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The Berlin Times

A paper within this paper, explores the past, present and future of life in the German capital. page 29-40



THE NEW GERMAN TIMES

A personal greeting from publisher Detlef Prinz

We were having breakfast at Berlin's Hotel Adlon when I said to Richard S. Lugar, "I need your help, Senator!" That was back in 2003. At the time, the friendship between Germany and the United States had chilled considerably after the federal government had signaled its unwillingness to participate in the war against Iraq. I had come up with an idea as to how we could sustain the dialogue across the Atlantic in spite of the chill, and I presented my idea to Lugar, who was chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the US Senate at the time. I wanted to create a journalistic bridge between Germany and the United States.

"Great idea," he said. "What can I do for you?"

"What you can do is ensure that our newspaper is distributed to key decision-makers and multipliers in Washington, despite the stringent 9/11 security measures."

I had met Senator Lugar on many occasions and I was sure that he would support our project.

And he did. On Oct. 3, 2004, I had the opportunity to present him the first copy of our newspaper – **The Atlantic Times** – at the German Embassy in Washington.

From that day on, the newspaper was a link between Berlin and Washington, between Germany and the United States. It reached all the major multipliers in the US and was on the desks of US senators, members of the House of Representatives, business leaders and creative minds for many years. It also contributed to the diversity of opinion and open political discourse in the context of 127 German-American city partnerships.

The current edition of our newspaper has been given the name **The German Times**. Even with this unified worldwide title, the paper remains a trans-Atlantic newspaper committed to keeping an eye on the key issues of global politics. We very much hope that our new title contributes to the creation of an even stronger German-American friendship and a deeper understanding between the two allies and friends.

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Enthusiasm, interest, friendship

Germany and the US need to talk. Why a new trans-Atlantic exchange offers a unique opportunity to do so. By Foreign Minister **Heiko Maas**

At first glance, everything seems pretty much the same. Hollywood movies still attract huge audiences in Germany, even in the smallest towns. American tourists continue to marvel at Heidelberg and Munich. And Germans' enthusiasm for US culture still seems to be just as strong as the pride with which every sixth US citizen declares they have German roots.

But if we look at the political arena, we have to admit that a great deal has changed, and this is not a recent phenomenon. The Cold War ended decades ago. Many experts predicted that this would lead to a shift in how the US sees Europe. By now, this shift is apparent to all. As foreign minister of Germany, I have to adapt to the idea that US priorities will converge less often with those of us Europeans than was the case in the past. And there is a good chance that this will stay the same under future US presidents, too.

But something else will also remain the same – the firmly held conviction, and one I share with

long, hard look at German-US relations. Our countries need an honest and balanced partnership. For us Europeans, that means, for example, investing more in the future in our own ability to act. Where the US withdraws, we in the European Union will have to step up. Our willingness to work with the US will not change. But if necessary, we will continue alone on paths that we initially embarked on together.

However, relations between the US and Europe are not the only thing that is changing. The speed with which conflicts on our planet, with its finite resources, are escalating allows us hardly any time to stop and think. Those who look around the whole world, and not merely across the Atlantic, realize that we will only be able to overcome today's threats by working together. The 21st century is not a time for anyone to go it alone.

In order to form international alliances, conferences are held, treaties are signed and hands are

shaken. But what really brings a partnership between two countries to life are the people in our societies who foster exchange through their enthusiasm, interest and friendship. The German government is taking exactly the same approach here, with the aim of making trans-Atlantic links stronger.

To this end, I am launching Deutschlandjahr USA 2018/19 in Washington on October 3. Our goal is to strike up a new conversation with people in the US. And when I say "people," I am not only talking about politicians and experts on Capitol Hill. We will hold over 1,000 events from coast to coast and in all 50 US states. We want to listen to people – students, artists, academics, business people and teachers – who shape relations between our countries in their day to day work.

The idea is not to celebrate trans-Atlantic relations by harking back to the past or focusing on the official level. Instead, our aim is to create new opportunities

for people to meet. We want to enable people to experience that it is worth talking and that we can enrich each other through our different views.

The Germans and Americans who already foster exchange between our countries year after year are our greatest asset. I am not only referring to those who build networks in culture, business and politics. I am thinking of the tens of thousands of high school and university students who go to the US to study and bring a part of the US back with them to Germany, in the same way that towns like Wiesbaden and Kaiserslautern become a second home for countless companies of US soldiers every year.

Germany is far more than Heidelberg Palace and the US is far more than Hollywood movies. If we give Germans and Americans the chance to really get interested in each other again, it can point the way to a new partnership for us politicians. We have no time to lose.

BUT WHAT REALLY BRINGS A PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES TO LIFE ARE THE PEOPLE IN OUR SOCIETIES

almost everyone who holds political responsibility in Germany, that the trans-Atlantic partnership is the gold standard of our foreign policy. The hand reached out by the US after World War II; the Marshall Plan; the life-saving Berlin Airlift; and, finally, the support for German reunification – politicians and people in Germany have not forgotten what the US did for our country. But if we want to maintain this special connection, we cannot act as if nothing has changed since then. We need to recalibrate our partnership.

Nostalgia alone will not help us here. Instead, we need to take a



Heiko Maas

continued from page 1: **Spurring to action**

the US can no longer push Europe around by the extrajudicial assertion of its sanctions policy, by weaponizing the dollar or by its *Liebesentzug* – withdrawal of affection – regarding international institutions. Maas wants Europe to act as a "counterweight" to America, capable of defending "red lines" crossed by Washington. Like Juncker, who finds it ridiculous that Europeans pay for their Airbus and 80 percent of energy imports in dollars, he wants to install independent payment channels outside the Swift system. Beyond that, forging an "alliance for multilateralism" is one of his principal projects.

Yet the minister also says: "We are still close to each other." To manifest this closeness and to rescue it into the future is the central purpose of Deutschlandjahr

USA. Maas was deeply touched when during one of his recent trips, a young GI pulled him aside and implored him: "Please, don't abandon America." Germany is not going to abandon America. But it devoutly wishes that America remain true to itself.

This paper was founded in 2004 at a time when German-American relations were at their lowest point after the end of conflict between East and West. The bone of contention was George W. Bush's Iraq war, started on the basis of lies and self-deception. We raised our voice in order to bridge the profound gap. It worked.

Today we raise our voice again. Our purpose is the same as then: to save the trans-Atlantic community. It remains a vital asset not only for Europe, its security and its prosperity, but also for America's influence in the world.

Denigrating allies, however troublesome they may be at times, is the shortest road to isolation. We should all remember Winston Churchill's dictum: "The only thing worse than having allies is not having allies." In the same vein, Donald Tusk, president of the European Council, implored Donald Trump: "Appreciate your allies, for you don't have many." We are firmly convinced that we must not let our trans-Atlantic partnership erode and silently fade away. The reasons are obvious.

First: We face a host of problems that neither Europe nor the United States can hope to master alone. The challenges of our time require partnership as a response: in combating terrorism; stopping the spread of weapons of mass destruction, especially nuclear weapons; building peace in the Middle East; providing energy

security; fighting climate change; and solving the never-ending trade disputes in a non-antagonistic way.

Second: We have more in common with each other than with anyone else. If America and Europe are to thrive in the new era unfolding before us today, they should beware of letting their partnership languish. Only together can they hope to hold their own in a world of ever more and ever stronger competing powers.

Third: There is a very simple demographic reason for hanging together. By the year 2050, America and Europe will each comprise a population of 500 Million – between them, one billion people facing nine or ten billion in the rest of the world. One billion people in the West, nine or ten billion in the rest – that

prospect deserves sober contemplation.

The late Senator John S. McCain was a stalwart advocate of Western unity and an unwavering supporter of the world America has inspired, organized and led for three-quarters of a century. At last year's Munich Security Conference he made an appeal to the Europeans: "Make no mistake, my friends: These are dangerous times, but you should not count America out, and we should not count each other out." Heeding McCain's admonition would be the noblest way of honoring the memory of a great American and dedicated Atlanticist.

THEO SOMMER
is the executive editor of **The German Times**.



Emancipation proclamation: Angela Merkel after her landmark beer summit speech in the Bavarian town of Trudering in May 2017.

PICTURE: ALI ALKHALIFA/REUTERS

Not without America

Europe must become more independent, yet cannot forgo its alliance with the US

BY WOLFGANG ISCHINGER

The times when we could fully rely on one another are more or less over, so I can only say that we Europeans must take our fate into our own hands." It was a rather uneven remark, but one that nonetheless resounded like a thunderbolt throughout the Western world. It came from German Chancellor Angela Merkel in a 20-minute speech on a hot Sunday afternoon over beer and pretzels in the Munich suburb of Trudering. It fell from her lips almost casually, but make no mistake: it was deliberate.

In Germany, many took the statement as a rebuke to the new US President Donald Trump and a reaction to his performance at the NATO summit in Brussels a few days earlier. But how was the chancellor's message received outside Germany? The world's most renowned newspapers – from The Washington Post and The New York Times, from The Guardian and The Economist in Great Britain, and from Spain's *El País* and Liberation in France to La Repubblica in Italy – all deemed Merkel's speech "historic." Hers were blunt words marking a profound turning point in the trans-Atlantic partnership. A new chapter in US-European relations had begun.

European-American ties have indeed changed. Trump's presidency has dramatically accelerated this process, but it did not initiate it. During the Cold War, when the two nuclear powers – the US and the Soviet Union – held one another in check through a strategy of mutual deterrence, in which the Americans acted as patron saints for the Europeans. This logic also laid the groundwork for NATO. It meant that a certain amount of security in the West would essentially be trusted to the US in the form of nuclear deter-

rence. Nevertheless, the Europeans achieved quite a lot themselves in terms of security. They supplemented American guarantees with comprehensive contributions of their own. The Bundeswehr, for example, was considered a capable and highly respected army.

This balance changed with the end of the Cold War. Defense expenditure was massively reduced all over Europe as the Soviet Union no longer posed a threat to the West. However, this led to today's situation where many European armed forces are operational only to a limited degree.

With each passing year, leading US politicians found it more difficult to explain why the US spends immense sums for the defense of its European partners, while these partners continued to reduce their share in the collective burden of defense.

In June 2011 – that is, long before Trump – US Secretary of Defense Robert Gates delivered a much-noticed speech in Brussels. He had previously warned that NATO was in jeopardy of splitting into two camps: one engaging in low-risk peacekeeping and development missions, and one carrying out high-risk combat operations. It was not acceptable that the US share of NATO defense expenditure had grown from 50 percent to now 75 percent, Gates warned: If this were to continue, decision-makers in the US would soon pose the question of whether America's engagement in NATO was still worth it. "Ultimately," concluded Gates, "nations must be responsible for their fair share of the common defense."

It was not a threat, but rather a cautionary observation. But even Gates could not have foreseen how quickly a US president, namely Donald Trump, would be elected and actually refer to NATO as "obsolete"; and that he would openly threaten to honor America's alliance obligations only if

NATO member countries began paying 2 percent of their GDP for their defense, as they had pledged to do in 2014. At the moment, only a few countries have met this commitment. Germany, which currently pays at a rate of 1.2 percent, has pledged to reach 1.5 percent by 2025.

It is incumbent upon critics of the Americans to acknowledge a few basic facts: For decades the EU countries, above all Germany, have cozied up under America's protective umbrella. Without the United States, there would have been no German reunification, no European Union, no peace in Europe and certainly no peace in the Balkans.

This begs the question: Is America still able and still willing to act as the patron saint of Europe and beyond, and – in the sense of its European partners – to continue performing its former duties as peacekeeper?

Trump's lack of esteem among alliance partners and his style of diplomacy – which seems to breed uncertainty – makes the world more dangerous, as trust has been an early casualty, creating an atmosphere where crises can escalate faster and more sharply.

By openly attacking the European NATO members, above all Germany, from the very first minute of the Brussels NATO summit in July 2018, he has damaged the West's most important alliance. In doing so he called into question its very foundation – its internal cohesion. "America first" has indeed become American policy.

In principle there is nothing wrong with this tack, but Trump has implemented this policy as if were not "America first," but rather "America alone," with the natural corollary: "Europe alone." Whether Trump's commitment to NATO – which he half-heartedly expressed in a press conference on July 12, 2018 – will have legs

is anyone's guess. We Europeans, at least during the Trump era, will have to get used to the idea that the White House is no longer interested in alliance partners in any way, shape or form. The world, from its perspective, is divided simply between fans and foes.

Since 1945 we have faced US presidents with varying ideologies and widely differing sets of priorities, yet all were convinced that the liberal international order, as it emerged after World War II and spread wider after the collapse of the Soviet Union, was good for the US, good for its partners and good for the world: multilateralism and cooperation, open societies and open markets, and close ties between the Western democracies.

Trump sees things in a fundamentally different way. No one should look to him for great initiatives to strengthen or stabilize the international order. On the contrary: Power politics and national interest are the focus of his intentions. His view dictates that America should not commit or adhere to institutions or norms while pursuing a protectionist economic policy.

Over the past year the US has withdrawn from UNESCO and pulled out of the Paris climate agreement and the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), a large trade agreement between the Asia-Pacific countries. In May 2018, Trump terminated the nuclear deal with Iran.

With the US retreat, the continued existence of the nuclear agreement looks more than uncertain. Although the three European partners – Great Britain, France and Germany – have affirmed a willingness to adhere to the agreement and to seek dialogue with Iran, their chances of success are meager at best. Not only is Trump's decision dire for the stability of the Middle East and in terms of the

peril of a regional arms race, it also delivers a heavy blow to trans-Atlantic relations. Angela Merkel did not mince words on the subject: The cancellation of the agreement injures trust in the international order.

Richard Haass, who called it "the great abdication" of the US, a voluntary surrender of responsibility. Or, as formulated on Twitter by Strobe Talbott, former US deputy secretary of state: "Britain is only exiting Europe. America is exiting the world."

For this reason, it is more imperative than ever before that Europe becomes more capable of acting. And I concur: It is not politically sustainable in the long term that 500 million prosperous Europeans outsource essential elements of their security to the Atlantic partners on the other side of the ocean. In this respect, we must energetically seize the topic of security with our own hands. Europe must become more able to act, speak with its own voice and continue its development into a defense union.

However, here comes the big "but." Strengthening the capacity for action is one thing, cutting the umbilical cord is something else altogether. Cutting the cord won't do. Those wishing to simply write off the US as a partner would be wise to remember three things:

First, in the short and medium term, Europeans cannot do without the American nuclear security guarantee. We have an abiding interest in convincing the new government in Washington of the importance of a unified and peaceful Europe, as well as the value of the US contribution to this end.

Second, it is not as if all over the world partners are queuing up to join Europe in defending the liberal world order. The EU may agree with China that a new era of protectionism would be harmful and that climate protection is important, but the similarities stop there. In the long term, the liberal

world order will only endure if it is supported by both pillars of the trans-Atlantic partnership.

Third, we would be ignoring the many millions of Americans who did not vote for Donald Trump. Engagement in civil society in the US and the reactions of the US judiciary show that the America we know and treasure is well-fortified. Rather than abandoning the United States wholesale, we should work together with all those who are interested in preserving the trans-Atlantic community of shared values. These include many congressmen and congresswomen, state governors, CEOs and civil society.

Europe must become more independent yet cannot write off its alliance with the US. So, what to do? Engage, engage, engage! Stay involved and exert influence! There's no other way than to engage with the new US government as closely as possible without whitewashing troubling developments – even if it's hard for many Europeans to stomach. This is precisely the necessary Realpolitik of today.



WOLFGANG ISCHINGER was the German Ambassador to Washington, DC, and to the Court of St. James and since 2008 has been chairman of the Munich Security Conference. This article is a slightly condensed essay from his new book: *Welt in Gefahr. Deutschland und Europa in unsicheren Zeiten*. Econ Verlag, September 2018.

Stitching it back together

With America-at-Large in retreat, look to America's states for leadership

BY GOVERNOR PHIL MURPHY

To say we are living in uncertain times would be a gross understatement.

The structure that had provided generations of global stability and betterment are being upended by a new wave of populism, fed largely by the far-right strains that somehow claim "we" are being hurt by an amorphous "them." After years of nation-building and economic growth created by international cooperation, some governments are once again embracing insular, self-centered policies and politics.

The United States, long the defender of stability and order in the world, is proving it is not immune to this inclination. And we proved it with lightning speed. It has only been five years since I left Berlin after a four-year tenure as United States Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany for President Obama. Our embassy in Berlin was not an American fortress, but rather a gathering place for the promotion of shared democratic values and freedom. My ambassadorship was steeped in this fundamental understanding of America's important role in the world, and our deep and abiding ties to countries like Germany.

Now, we have a president who speaks proudly of his desires for legal and physical walls that will close our nation to peoples based on religion and nationality. He speaks of an "America first" policy that blindly ignores both history and the fundamental truth that our economic and diplomatic leadership has grown out of our great diversity. He breeds division in both his rhetoric and policies, embracing "us versus them" as easily as he embraces authoritarian regimes.

This is not to say that national policies – whether in the US, Germany or elsewhere – shouldn't be focused, first and foremost, on the betterment of our individual citizens. Indeed, the oaths we take in our home countries often begin with a promise to protect our national interests.



"The US is weakening its standing in the world," said Phil Murphy during his campaign for governor in October 2017.

But when policies are put in place that close the doors of opportunity, economic or otherwise, for "them," we weaken our standing in the world. And, at a time when it appears that the global order is beginning to tear at its seams, there needs to be one nation willing to step forward with the needle and thread to stitch it back together.

Since 1945, that tailor has been the United States. But, with a president unwilling to mend the tearing global fabric, it will turn to individual American states to take the lead in his absence. There are many of us in positions of political leadership – governors and mayors – who do not buy into the president's rhetoric and thinking. And we are willing to put the weight of our abilities behind ensuring continued American leadership on the global stage.

As the governor of New Jersey, I happen to lead one of these

states. We are our nation's fourth-smallest state but one of its largest economies – a state one-twentieth the size of Sweden yet with a large GDP. One of the key drivers of our

in-hand. We believe in strong public education, affordable and accessible health care as well as fairness for workers as important economic underpinnings. While the president continues

THE US IS WEAKENING ITS STANDING IN THE WORLD

economy has been and will continue to be foreign direct investment.

We are committed to a principle that economic wellbeing and social advancement are not mutually exclusive, but go hand-

to rail against global trade, New Jersey is actively pursuing global economic partnerships. Our unparalleled location and workforce give us distinct advantages to continue to attract foreign investment.

We are next door to New York, with growing cities, and home to both one of the largest seaports and one of the busiest airport hubs. Our workforce is highly educated, with the largest concentration of scientists and engineers in the world.

Further, when New Jersey partners with other states, we can grow our footprint immeasurably. Take, for example, the president's declaration that pulled the US out of the Paris Agreement on global climate change. For our state and others – California and New York among them – this decision made absolutely no sense. We know our economic and environmental future relies upon moving the world away from fossil fuels as our primary source of energy.

New Jersey and 16 other states, led by both Republicans and Democrats, are now connected through the U.S. Cli-

mate Alliance, a coalition of states committed to upholding the goals of the Paris Agreement, even if our president will not do so at the federal level. This Alliance represents more than 40 percent of the total American population, and nearly half of our nation's GDP. Our efforts in the fight against climate change will help lead the US government back onto the right path, whether the current president wants this or not.

Indeed, even individual states can make a difference – this is why New Jersey is actively pursuing the growth of off-shore wind energy to drive the transformation of our state's energy dependence towards renewables. As ambassador, I saw the German Energiewende firsthand. Germany's transition to a low-carbon, environmentally friendly and reliable energy supply is an example I wish to bring to New Jersey, where we can also open the eyes of other American states – even those which support the president's policies – to the possibilities of a clean-energy future.

The rise of nativist rhetoric and far-right populism is nothing new in history. We also know from history that those pushing this closed worldview will ultimately fail. Insular, self-centered politics may make some feel better in the face of change, but it will not stop change.

Moreover, it offers us a chance to prove that the wisdom of past generations, which looked outside their own borders for partners to move forward in an ever-changing world, is still the wisdom for us to follow today. New Jersey, along with many of our fellow states, is ready to lead this effort to re-engage our global partners, even if some in Washington are not.

PHILIP D. MURPHY
is governor of New Jersey.

BY JULIANE SCHÄUBLE

She had to get accustomed to Twitter long before she took up her post in the capital of Twitter king Donald Trump's empire. Emily Haber shakes her head. The 62-year-old began using the online news and social networking service as a state secretary back in Berlin. But somehow in Washington she must have caught the Twitter bug: the new German ambassador in Washington, who is more impartial to – and persistently recommends – reading literary works comprising more than 140 characters, is finding growing pleasure in tweeting. And the number of people following the official embassy account has skyrocketed since their first tweet on June 22.

In the White House on June 22nd, Emily Haber handed over her credentials, as tradition dictates, to US President Donald Trump himself, the man whom – according to a survey in the summer of 2018 – Germans fear more than anything else, including terrorism.

But it takes more to intimidate Emily Haber. And the historian, who wrote her dissertation on German foreign policy before World War I, is known to argue calmly and analytically, has no desire to compete for who

"I don't want to lecture the US"

The German Ambassador to Washington, Emily Haber, seeks to cultivate the collective



Building trans-Atlantic ties: Emily Haber, ambassador to Germany in the US, at the press conference for the Deutschlandjahr USA in Berlin, August 25th.

in 2003, when President George W. Bush attacked Iraq and the Germans refused to join in. "The poll numbers were catastrophic."

She was greatly looking forward to her new assignment in Washington, where she used to live as a child. And now, about three months after her arrival: "It's great." When asked if this was her dream job, she doesn't

have to think twice: "Yes." At the beginning of the last legislature, she was already a candidate for the ambassadorship in Washington, they say. But in 2014 she transferred from the Foreign Office, which Frank-Walter Steinmeier (SPD) took over for the second time, to the Ministry of the Interior, as a state secretary for Thomas de Maizière (CDU).

Four years later, she arrived in the US holding arguably the most prestigious post the Foreign Office can award abroad. It is her first ambassadorship. Her previous posts brought her as far as Moscow and Ankara, which is why she appreciates the trans-Atlantic relationship so deeply. "We need America," she is convinced, especially considering what is happening in other countries, particularly in China. She wants to promote the importance of the US, but not without highlighting how important Germany and Europe are, in turn, for the US. And how similar they are. "Deutschlandjahr USA," which was planned under her predecessor Peter Wittig, should help. "It's a great opportunity to get in touch with lots of people across the country." She will travel a lot, if not quite as much as she would like to. She will have enough to keep her busy in Washington.

Unlike the past 12 years, she will have her husband by her side, with whom she has two

adult sons. Hansjörg Haber himself was an ambassador until his retirement at the end of August. He was most recently stationed in Yemen, which is so dangerous that the German representatives moved to Jordan. At that time Emily Haber was in Berlin. Now they finally live in the same city again – without one of their career's becoming collateral damage.

Thirty-six years ago, Emily Haber entered the foreign service, which at that time was still male-dominated. "Three women, thirty men, as a woman you stood out in the crowd," she says, laughing. In 2009 she was the first woman to become political director in the Foreign Office, and in 2011 she made history as the first female state secretary, both under mentorship of Guido Westerwelle (FDP). She herself is not a member of a political party, but she is known to have close ties to the CDU and to be a confidante of Chancellor Angela Merkel.

Her strong ties to Berlin are particularly important in this prominent position. She will be facing enough headwind from the White House.

JULIANE SCHÄUBLE
is US correspondent for the Berlin daily *Der Tagesspiegel*.



Looming confrontation or mere posturing? Military parade held to mark Sacred Defense Week in front of the Holy Shrine of Imam Khomeini in Tehran, Iran on Sept. 22, 2018.

Diplomatic maintenance

Withdrawing from the nuclear deal is a major blunder – the E-3 must pick up the baton

BY VOLKER PERTHES

The United States and the European Union have often differed over Middle East policies. The current dispute over Iran, however, which broke into the open with US President Donald Trump's May 2018 withdrawal from the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), or nuclear deal with Iran, goes deeper and could have more far-reaching strategic implications for the trans-Atlantic relationship than previous disagreements on how to deal with Tehran or other Middle East matters. Today, Europe and the US are not simply taking different approaches to Iran, but are actively working against one another in a policy field which is of significant strategic interest to both sides. The dispute over the JCPOA is actually a major driver of European debates about a form of "strategic autonomy," including demands to set up an independent European payment system to thwart US sanctions.

From an EU perspective, the decision by President Trump to withdraw from – or more precisely to break – the JCPOA constituted an outright challenge to the international community of states, and particularly to America's European partners. The situation differs from the dispute over the US-led Iraq invasion in 2003 that created harsh divisions on the European side of the Alliance, not least between the United Kingdom on one side and Germany and France on the other. This time, the E-3 – France, Germany and the UK – has maintained a common approach in confronting what they see as the major blunder of the Trump presidency so far.

And it is not just a dispute over policies. Rather, again from a European perspective, by breaking an agreement that had been negotiated together with the EUE-3, Russia and China, Donald Trump made a statement on his attitude toward international law per se and opened a rift between the US and its European allies that it is unlikely to close again as long as he is in office. Not only will European companies be targeted by US sanctions unless they give up business with Iran, most likely to the benefit of Chinese competitors, but many European policymakers also find Trump's policies in the region outright dangerous. They are wary of Trump's encouragement of Saudi Arabia's aggressive posture toward

Tehran, and they suspect that beyond its rejection of the JCPOA, the Trump administration actually aims at destabilizing Iran and triggering some form of violent regime change.

One shouldn't, however, overlook that to a large extent, European governments and the US administration actually agree in their assessment of Iran and its policies, particularly concerning Tehran's ballistic missile program, its active military support for the Syrian government and its dismal human rights record. The Euro-American dispute is centered on the JCPOA and the highly demonstrative act of withdrawing from an agreement that EU negotiators and their US counterparts from both Republican and Democratic administrations had been working on together, as well as with Russian and Chinese colleagues, for close to a decade.

The exit of the Trump administration from this agreement constitutes a triple challenge for the EU/E-3. First, they are now charged with preserving the JCPOA, and they will have little help in doing so from the US or Iran. Iran's political elite is divided over the virtues of the agreement, and those who wholeheartedly defend it have been weakened by the US withdrawal. Europeans don't claim (and never did claim) that the JCPOA is a perfect agreement.

But it has been a major diplomatic success that has included the establishment of limitations on and controls over Iran's nuclear activities, the removal of nuclear material from Iran and the dismantling of certain elements of Iran's nuclear infrastructure. For these feats alone, the agreement should be kept alive.

Second, France, Germany and the United Kingdom cannot simply change course and coordinate further moves with the other international parties to the agreement, i.e. Russia and China. This would likely only increase the US president's mistrust, paranoia and fury vis-à-vis the Europeans.

And third, while Washington is undermining the agreement by re-imposing sanctions on Iran and – directly or indirectly – on European companies, it now actually expects the Europeans to make sure that Iran doesn't break its commitments, notably the limitations on Iran's nuclear program.

So what do we have to expect? And what should the Europeans do?

To start with, no one should expect a renegotiation of the JCPOA to address what both American and European policymakers see as shortcomings. The JCPOA is essentially an arms control agreement and, as such, a compromise; it's good enough for both sides for its agreed duration but is far from perfect for either side's taste. A renegotiation would require the will of all parties. Russia and China aren't interested; and Iran would lose face if it suddenly appeared to accept – under pressure – what it consistently has declared unacceptable.

If only for this last reason, Europe should not wait for the United States and its self-proclaimed master of deal-making. Statements by the US president – in July 2018 – that he would be prepared to meet with Iran's President Rohani even without preconditions seemed to suggest that Donald Trump may want to follow his own model of dealing with North Korea: Start by applying pressure and making serious threats, and then reach out to try to solve all disagreements through personal diplomacy. All that Trump's statement achieved was to trigger a debate inside Iran – allowing some people to publicly muse about the possibilities of developing more normal relations between Iran and the US.

At the same time, however, Iran's Supreme Leader Ayatollah Khamenei has announced his rejection of negotiations with the US, especially, as one could read from one of his tweets, "with the current US administration" (@khamenei.ir, 13 Aug 2018).

Any attempt by Trump to – despite all odds – pull off a Singapore-type summit with Rohani would be met with utter skepticism from Europe, America's Arab friends and Israel alike. It is indeed hard to imagine that any bilateral summit declaration could produce more tangible achievements than a document as detailed as the 159-page JCPOA.

A comparably strenuous yet more realistic approach would be for the Europeans, particularly the E-3, to start a new round of exploratory talks, and later negotiations, for what could in the medium term become a comprehensive security agreement with Iran. Such an agreement would not replace but build upon the JCPOA. It would have to come into effect by 2025 at the latest, when the first sunset clauses in the current JCPOA – lim-

itations on the quality and quantity of enrichment – expire. And it would have to go beyond the current JCPOA both with regard to time frames and substance. In other words, it needs to include longer-term arrangements for the nuclear aspects dealt with in the JCPOA, but also deal with broader arms control and regional security aspects, ballistic missile production as well as – even more importantly – missile proliferation to non-state actors.

Will Tehran be prepared to engage in such negotiations? I don't know, but I think it might. And it will most likely be prepared to at least explore options for such a broader deal. In the past, after all, it was Iran which repeatedly demanded to widen the subject of the "nuclear" negotiations with the E-3 and later the E-3 plus USA, Russia, and China to include regional issues, while Washington and the Europeans wanted to limit the talks to the nuclear dimension.

Explorations and negotiations about regional security and arms control could thus provide a way out of the current impasse. It goes without saying, however, that such negotiations will never concern a Western agenda alone. Discussing regional issues with Iran means accepting that Iran will also bring its interests to the table. And once regional subjects are discussed with Iran, other regional states, not least its Arab neighbors in the Persian Gulf, will have legitimate claims for involvement. This is a diplomatic challenge, but not an insurmountable one. Europeans have ample experience with multilateral arms control and security talks.

The United States will eventually have to be part of such talks and possibly of an agreement. Given Washington's current absence from the diplomatic scene, Germany, France and the United Kingdom should revert to their approach of 2003 to 2006, namely to begin and lead this new endeavor as a threesome until the United States is eventually prepared to join. This will certainly have to wait until after Trump's presidency, which will, in any case, end before the expiration of the JCPOA's "sunset clauses."

VOLKER PERTHES
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John S. McCain

August 29, 1936 – August 25, 2018

A steadfast champion of trans-Atlantic cooperation has passed away. US Senator John McCain died on August 25, 2018, after a long battle with brain cancer. This is a bitter loss, especially in an age in which autocrats and self-centered democrats are driving nations apart and questioning established partnerships.

Throughout his long career, McCain was fully committed to a world order based on cooperation among Western powers while always supporting traditional notions of democracy and freedom. For these reasons, his passing touched many people in Germany. Indeed, his departure from the world stage is mourned even by those who disagreed fundamentally with the views of his Republican party and who did not share many of the political stances McCain took over the years, including his support for the invasion of Iraq in 2003, the nomination of Sarah Palin as his running mate in the 2008 presidential election and his support for President Donald Trump's repudiation of the Iran nuclear deal.

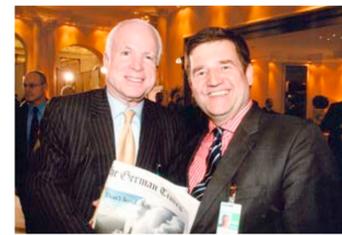
In her statement on his passing, German Chancellor Angela Merkel called McCain "one of the greatest political figures of our time" and someone who "fought tirelessly for a strong trans-Atlantic alliance." She also described him as a person guided by the "firm conviction that all political activity must aim to uphold and promote freedom, democracy and the rule of law."

Germany's *Süddeutsche Zeitung* referred to him as "der Tapfere" – the brave one. The paper praised him for embodying not only patriotism, but also values, decency and moral courage. It also credited him with knowing "that politics in a democracy means seeking out the best possible compromise."

For Wolfgang Ischinger, chairman of the Munich Security Conference (MSC) at which McCain was a very welcome and decades-long attendee, the senator was "the anti-Trump: an advocate of a value-based Western order, a defender of democracy and human rights, a supporter of civilized debate and nonpartisan cooperation and a true hero who never put himself at the center of the debate."

In McCain's unforgettable speech at the MSC 2017, shortly after Donald Trump's inauguration, he asked what the founders of the conference would say if they were to see our world today: "They would be alarmed by an increasing turn away from universal values and toward old ties of blood and race and sectarianism. They would be alarmed by the hardening resentment we see towards immigrants, refugees and minority groups, especially Muslims. [...] They would be alarmed that more and more of our fellow citizens seem to be flirting with authoritarianism and romanticizing it as our moral equivalent. But what would alarm them most, I think, is the sense that many of our peoples, including in my own country, are giving up on the West. That they see it as a bad deal [...] I know there is profound concern across Europe and the world that America is laying down the mantle of global leadership. [...] Make no mistake, my friends: These are dangerous times, but you should not count America out, and we should not count each other out."

John McCain was also a friend of this newspaper, which has for the past ten years published a special issue – *The Security Times* – on the occasion of the annual MSC. In 2012, McCain took the stage waving a copy of *The Security Times*: "You've probably seen this around the conference," McCain said. "It shows a forceful, bar-wielding Yankee dueling with a crouched yet fearsome Chinese swordsman. That obviously suggests a looming Cold War in Asia. It's a nice caricature." The senator went on to describe, "what is really going on" in his view: "On recent trips to the Philippines, Vietnam, Thailand and Burma," he had experienced "real enthusiasm for our growing involvement in the region." He also said the following about China: "The peaceful development of China is in the interest of the US." John McCain, his views and his steadfastness will be dearly missed. *GT*



The senator with Detlef Prinz, publisher of *The German Times* and *The Security Times*, in 2007.



John McCain, holding up *The Security Times* while Henry Kissinger looks on at the Munich Security Conference, in 2012.



THE WHIPPERSNAPPER

It should have been a crushing defeat, for the cause and for him personally. Kevin Kühnert wanted to prevent the center-left Social Democrats (SPD), the party whose youth organization he leads, from voting to reboot their current coalition with Angela Merkel's center-right Christian Democrats (CDU) and its Bavarian sister party Christian Social Union (CSU).

In September 2017, the SPD had suffered its worst showing in a Bundestag election since the founding of the Federal Republic in 1949: 20.5 percent. After Merkel's negotiations with the Greens and the free-market Free Democrats (FDP) faltered, the SPD was left alone as the only potential partner for the Union. The sole conceivable alternative would have been new elections, which all center parties were against – not least out of concern that the far-right Alternative for Germany (AfD) would most likely prove the beneficiary. The SPD thus entered into negotiations. Yet before a coalition could officially be formed, there would have to be a vote among party members. 463,722 eligible voters were summoned by the party in spring of this year for a binding vote: Yea or Nay. Kühnert's moment had arrived. The 29-year-old mobilized the Jusos (short for *Jungsozialisten*, or Young Socialists, the youth division of the SPD since 1904) in opposition. Kühnert appeared on all the talk shows, gave newspaper

interviews, traveled across all of Germany and spoke at dozens of regional conferences. His style was calm and matter-of-fact, without the revolutionary pathos for which many of the former chairs of the Jusos were known. "We've found almost 1,000 uses of the words 'want' and 'would like' in the coalition agreement," was one of the most repeated quotes from Kühnert's roadshow. This was "the utmost vague formulation" of a political project. The SPD can no longer trust the CDU, Kühnert preached to his comrades.

Ultimately, at the end of March, two-thirds of party members voted for continuing the coalition with Merkel; only one-third voted Nay with Kühnert. And yet the Juso chief emerged from the debate in an even stronger position than before. Kühnert had, as they say in politics, enhanced his profile. He has become a national celebrity and is now the friendly face of the future. This is more than a question of content, it's about self-confidence in a party at odds with itself, from which voters are fleeing, although the party believes it has crafted consistently successful policy as part of the Grand Coalition since 2013. In recent polls it garnered barely 18 percent. Incidentally, Gerhard Schröder – later German chancellor – and Andrea Nahles – the current head of the SPD – both began their paths to party chief as Juso chair.

THE CROWN PRINCE

He is already well along the path that both friend and foe agree may one day land him in the German chancellery. Angela Merkel appointed the 38-year-old Jens Spahn to her cabinet this year, if only to the often rather thankless post of health minister. The Christian Democrat has been a member of the Bundestag since 2002, when he became the youngest directly elected representative in the history of the Federal Republic. Spahn has been an inconspicuous politician over the years, a proficient healthcare policymaker and pension expert who sat on all the relevant technical panels, commissions and party committees. But all that changed in 2015 – with the refugee crisis and Merkel's response to it. When German politics descended into confusion, Spahn set out on a course opposite that of the chancellor. "If within a year far more than a million refugees and emigrants enter Germany, this will radically call into question many of the things we currently hold to be certain," he wrote. "We are experiencing a disruption of our state."

Although that was aimed at Merkel, it fell short of an open declaration of war; Spahn senses that, even if the chancellor were to resign tomorrow morning, it's still too early for him to take over. But, in terms of his critics, Spahn has positioned himself to the right of Merkel, and has thus become the new hope of conservatives within the CDU, who won't (or can't) topple the chancellor, but are ever less shy about openly longing for the end of her era. The abolition of mandatory military service, the phase-out from nuclear power and the euro-bailout scheme considered too generous – these were the intra-party

points of criticism against Merkel that prevailed before her admission of war refugees three years ago. In interviews, Spahn has continued to cling to her cabinet this year, if only to the often rather thankless post of health minister. The Christian Democrat has been a member of the Bundestag since 2002, when he became the youngest directly elected representative in the history of the Federal Republic. Spahn has been an inconspicuous politician over the years, a proficient healthcare policymaker and pension expert who sat on all the relevant technical panels, commissions and party committees. But all that changed in 2015 – with the refugee crisis and Merkel's response to it. When German politics descended into confusion, Spahn set out on a course opposite that of the chancellor. "If within a year far more than a million refugees and emigrants enter Germany, this will radically call into question many of the things we currently hold to be certain," he wrote. "We are experiencing a disruption of our state."

Spahn had probably taken into account the appalled reactions of the left, which played right into his hand, giving him more publicity and making him even more beloved by the party's right flank. This allowed the budding star of the Christian Democrats, raised in Ahaus but a stone's throw from the Dutch border, to avoid being seen as a throwback to the gnarled, conservative CDU politicians of the 1960s.

Just as Kühnert in the SPD, Spahn is readily sought as a speaker by local CDU groups all across Germany. He never forgets to mention that he is gay. Gay and conservative – sometimes still considered a contradiction, even in 2018. The admission indeed helps Spahn levy his criticisms of political Islam and his warnings against the immigration of too many Muslims by equating them with often openly aggressive homophobic attitudes. Spahn's bold confession shields him in bourgeois circles from being registered as too far to the political right.

In 2021, Merkel will have been in office for 16 years, equaling Helmut Kohl's run in the 1980s and 1990s. It remains highly probable that she will decline to run for a fifth term. Spahn will then be 41 years old, older than Emmanuel Macron when he was elected president of France.



DINA ANDRASKA/SOKOLAIKOWSKA

Touch of grey

Leading a government she did not want and unable to silence her critics, Angela Merkel finds herself in a tough spot

BY GÜNTER BANNAS

The final years are always the hardest. For nearly 13 years, Angela Merkel has been chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany. No current head of government in the Western democratic world has held power longer than this woman from the former East Germany.

Merkel has led her party, the center-right Christian Democratic Union (CDU), for 18 years. Only Helmut Kohl, the chancellor of Reunification, served longer in that office. Germany's sole female chancellor, Merkel has also led a variety of different cabinets, at times in coalition with the center-left Social Democrats (SPD), and at other times with the free-market Free Democrats (FDP).

Unlike the United States, Germany does not limit the duration for which one person can hold the country's most powerful political office. In April 2016, on his last visit to Berlin as US president, Barack Obama remarked "I do not envy Angela Merkel for not having term limits." Obama praised the wisdom of the US Constitution's framers. "I think it's healthy for a big, diverse country like ours to have some turnover. To use a phrase from basketball, to have some fresh legs come in."

Merkel was stunned. Her face expressed astonishment, and seemed to question whether saying such a thing was even proper. A number of her close associates who had expressed their intention to leave politics after years of service would later describe a different Angela Merkel. She seemed reflective, they said, as if it might be liberating for her, too, to pass the onus of responsibility on to others.

Following much introspection, she decided otherwise. Now, however, Merkel finds herself in a position that could not be politically more difficult. Public opinion is beginning to turn against Merkel. The chancellor barely reaches anyone with her talking points anymore. She is grappling with – and suffering from – three main problems.

First, Merkel leads a coalition government that none of the other parties involved really wanted. Following the federal election last year, Merkel and her inner circle tried to forge a coalition the likes of which had never existed before in Germany: her Christian Democrats joining forces with the pro-business FDP and the environmentalist Greens. Following weeks of negotiations, the FDP walked out. FDP policymakers and even leading Social Democrats blamed Merkel, adding that the coalition talks' failure indicated that Merkel's days as chancellor were numbered.



Real life hashtag: Angela Merkel's signature hand gesture.

The SPD, for its part, had little interest in joining yet another grand coalition with Merkel. Its leadership – under then-chairman Martin Schulz – understandably pointed out that it had just polled the worst election result in its history. Voters had assigned the SPD the role of an opposition party, Schulz said, pledging that he would never take part in a Merkel cabinet. Merkel herself favored new elections.

It was President Frank-Walter Steinmeier who put an end to such plans. He ruled out another vote. Only after a long period of inner conflict did the SPD signal its readiness to cooperate. In return, the CDU had to forfeit the hugely important finance portfolio to the smaller SPD. Second, Merkel's situation has not improved since. The finance minister is now the

SPD's Olaf Scholz, who just last fall was still gleefully ridiculing the chancellor. "Her political style has apparently reached its limit," Scholz said. "The time of just muddling through is over." Now he is vice-chancellor, and many in the SPD believe he is readying to vie for the top job in the next federal election. In the details of government work – which are closely watched in Berlin's political circles – Scholz is walking away from previous agreements. Pension payments after the year 2040 are just one example. Statements by Scholz have led to counterattacks from Merkel's CDU. As a result, Merkel came under pressure within her own party and felt constrained to contradict him.

Relations with the Bavarian CSU, the CDU's so-called sister party, are even worse. Virtually no politician in Germany has rejected Merkel's refugee policy as stridently as Horst Seehofer, the CSU chairman. "The rule of injustice" is what Seehofer called Merkel's decision in 2015 to permit hundreds of thousands of migrants to come to Germany. Now Seehofer is interior minister, making him responsible for refugee policy. In his current office he has repeatedly questioned Merkel's authority on this issue, although Germany's constitution assigns the task of setting "policy guidelines" to the chancellor.

The chancellery was outraged at Seehofer, not least for his repeated bullying. The constitution grants Merkel the right to fire him. But in reality, she cannot. In dividing the government portfolios among the three parties, the current coalition agreement lets the CSU decide who will be interior minister.

Third, with astonishing frequency and bluntness, as if it were a foregone conclusion, even leading CDU figures predict that Merkel will not run for another term as chancellor in three years. All Berlin talks this way. Sooner or later, Merkel will announce her intention to stand down, they say, although this would break with tradition. For the moment she says nothing on the matter.

None of Merkel's predecessors have left office of their own accord. All were sent packing against their will. There's rumbling within Merkel's conservative parliamentary group. This loose talk further undermines her authority. Governing is getting harder.

GÜNTER BANNAS was parliamentary correspondent and Berlin bureau chief for the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* until March 2018. In June he was awarded the prestigious Theodor Wolff Prize by the Association of German Newspaper Publishers for his life's work.

New kids on the bloc

Four upstarts are upending German politics. *The German Times'* editor Lutz Lichtenberger takes stock of their prospects



DINA BERNO VON JAUZICZENKA

THE FIREBRAND

The time horizon of Sahra Wagenknecht's political career is wide open. Wagenknecht, co-chairman of the Left Party's parliamentary group, began a project this summer whose goals and potential effect on the landscape of German political parties has Berlin's political class scratching its collective head. The 49-year-old hopes her movement, #Aufstehen, or #Rise Up, will foment a coalition movement that – for now – claims to stand for election not as a party, but rather something like a movement. The movement is directed at all three parties that are left of center, including her own Left Party, which was cobbled together from the remains of the SED – the state party of the former GDR – and a West German spin-off from the SPD called Labor and Social Justice – The Electoral Alternative. In 2017 the Left captured 9.2 percent of the vote, good for 69 seats in the Bundestag. Wagenknecht would like to win over SPD followers for whom the Social Democrats have become too neoliberal and all too content to be bedfellows with Merkel's CDU as well as Greens supporters who suspect that their party is on a steep decline towards becoming a free-market FDP with an ecological appendage.

Wagenknecht is a figure as flamboyant as she is controversial. After finishing high school in 1988, Communist Germany deemed her "not fit for the collective" and denied her permission to study at university. In early summer 1989, when the GDR was in its final death throes, Wagenknecht joined the SED anyway, just when all who could were fleeing the party as quickly as possible and wanted nothing more to do with socialist ideals. Over the next two decades, Wagenknecht became one of the best-known figures in the party without ever making inroads into the Left's power centers. She knew how to rhetorically shine in talk shows while distinguishing herself as the author of numerous books on economic policy, whose intellectual content puts them leagues above other such works published by politicians. Wagenknecht was criticized within the party as aloof and all too concerned with her own interests. But no one could keep pace with

her in terms of how she was perceived by outsiders; before long, she became the face of her party.

In 2010 Wagenknecht finally managed to climb into the party leadership and reached the pinnacle of the caucus in 2015. That period also featured a liaison and then marriage with former SPD chief and Minister of Finance Oskar Lafontaine, 26 years her senior and for years one of the most dazzling figures in left-leaning German politics.

#Aufstehen does not see itself as a party, but rather a movement intent on influencing the public debate while aligning the SPD, Greens and the Left Party on a common, bolder course oriented more to the left. However, her rhetorical ventures of recent years indicate that Wagenknecht is seeking even more. Her cautious yet targeted statements have distanced herself from her party's line and the dominant attitude on the left in all matters related to immigration. As far back as 2016 she said: "That there are limits to the population's receptiveness is a simple fact, and that our capacity for absorption is not unlimited is another. Coming to these conclusions is neither left nor right, but rather a banality."

Wagenknecht has never lost sight of the "little people" that constitute the voter potential of the left-center parties, from which many Germans have since strayed sharply to the right, embracing the AfD and their rhetoric of resentment. It is a similar issue as in the US: Have the progressive parties – the SPD in Germany, the Democrats in the US – been focusing on the "wrong" themes, on identity politics, and neglecting the real economic concerns of the lower middle class?

The calculus behind #Aufstehen, however, may extend beyond political sentiment. In the Bundestag elections in 2013, the SPD, Greens and the Left Party constituted a majority and would have been able to build a coalition (in 2017 the three combined for a mere 38.6 percent.) But the SPD could never bring itself to entertain an alliance with the SED heirs in the Left Party, whose opposition to NATO was one of the chief arguments against a partnership with the SPD. The new movement is sure to lower the threshold now separating one party from the next.



DINA WAG

THE GREEN HOPE

While Sahra Wagenknecht may be the most familiar face of the new Left, her contemporary, Robert Habeck, the newly elected co-chairman of the Greens, is getting ever more popular. He is targeting the political center. Above all, it is Habeck's style, often considered nonchalant, that is now shaking up his party from within while delivering the Greens some excellent poll results. At 15 percent, the party currently enjoys third place, ahead of the AfD and only 3 percentage points behind the SPD.

In a political environment shaped by failures on the left and on the right, how did Habeck succeed in bringing consensus to a party with a strikingly anti-populist, rather exhausting and above all ecologically demanding platform?

The 49-year-old, who until September was environment minister in Schleswig-Holstein, Germany's northern-most state, has managed the same feat as his three contenders: They are all new faces with fresh ideas expressed in their very own voices. Even if it's sometimes just a repackaging of old concepts, the charm of the new is working its magic.

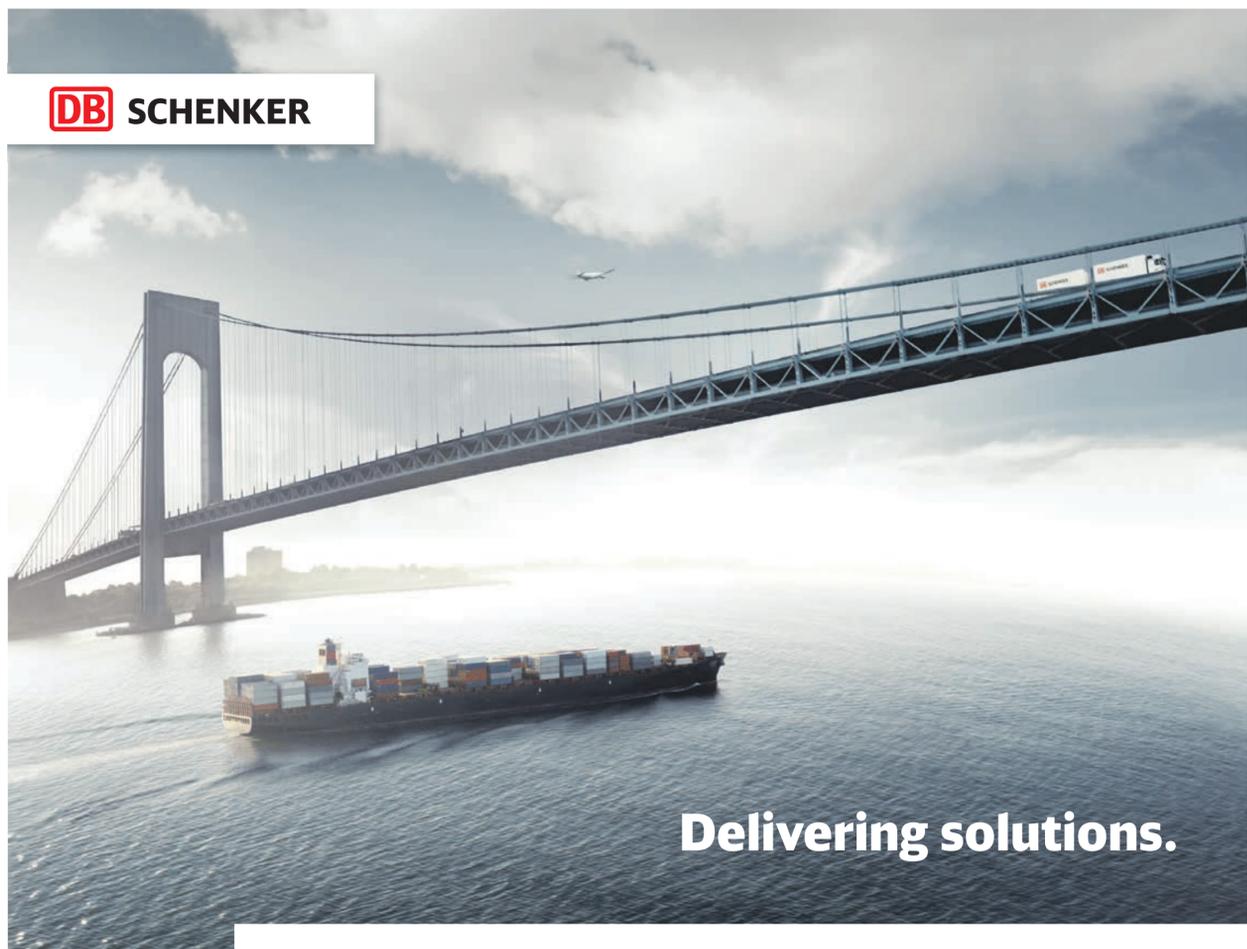
Unlike in the US, political careers in Germany are determined by party structures. It is difficult for outsiders to break in; the path to the top winds through many intermediate stages and, as a rule, is quite a long one – extraordinary personalities seldom endure. When in 2016 the Greens first held a primary on the American model to select

their two chairs, Habeck lost by a hair. Two year later he was elevated to lead the party without a vote among members.

Together with Annalena Baerbock (the Greens traditionally elect one woman and one man to the party leadership), Habeck toured the country this summer. His central message was such: "The center is where the majority forms." It's about shifting the center back towards liberal democracy, progressive and ecological policy. "We want to make the Greens' positions capable of winning a majority. This is a rebuke of the scaremongers and an invitation to the dispirited to gather courage. We can change politics."

In recent years, the Greens have been stuck right in the center of the party spectrum; they were potential partners of the SPD and the Left Party on one side of the aisle, and no longer just the secret dream partners of Angela Merkel and the CDU on the other. In 2013, the party rejected the chancellor's offer to join in forming a government. In 2017, during negotiations with Merkel's Union parties and the FDP, the Greens were lauded for their creative ideas and pragmatism. But at the last minute the Free Democrats pulled out of the talks. The Green dream of reclaiming government responsibility after nearly 20 years was shattered.

Habeck is now the star attraction of a party that functions in programmatic harmony like no other, yet sees no clear path back to power. Or conversely: it's the party that tomorrow could be courted by potential partners from across the full spectrum of German politics.



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Going buckwild

Why Germany's populist AfD attracts so many followers

BY PETER H. KOEPF

This time it was Chemnitz. News reports around the world showed beefy, baldheaded men in black raising placards and their right arms, chanting xenophobic slogans. Right-wing extremists, soccer hooligans and angry citizens gathered – of all places – around a big statue of Karl Marx after a man had been stabbed to death in this Saxon city of 250,000 residents, apparently by two men Germany had taken in after they no longer could or would stay in their own countries: Syria and Iraq. The angry crowd blamed the crime on Germany's chancellor, shouting the now-familiar “Merkel must go!” Then the mob turned their ire on people they considered foreigners. The police, vastly outnumbered, seemed powerless against this brand of collective punishment.

Just as shameful and shocking is the fact that federal lawmakers in Germany defended and even justified this episode of “going buckwild” (Steve Bannon). It was “normal that people explode” after this “kind of killing,” the parliamentary leader of the populist AfD, Alexander Gauland, said

in a statement. And: “When the state can no longer protect its citizens, the people take to the streets and protect themselves,” Bundestag parliamentarian Markus Frohnmaier (AfD) tweeted. A call to vigilantism?

To be sure, there were also spontaneous counter-demonstrations, and music bands organized a big pro-tolerance solidarity concert attracting as many as 50,000 attendees. Slogans and insults flew back and forth. Those wanting to mourn the victim had no appropriate place to do so.

Not surprisingly, politicians and their parties seized the opportunity for some grandstanding. “The clashes have their roots in Chancellor Angela Merkel’s statement ‘We can do this,’” said FDP Vice President Wolfgang Kubicki, referring to Merkel’s open-door policy during the 2015 refugee crisis.

The reason for such statements can easily be traced to upcoming regional elections in Bavaria on October 14 and in Hesse two weeks later, followed by the European Parliamentary elections in the spring of 2019 and then, that autumn, elections in three eastern German states – Saxony, Brandenburg and Thuringia, where the AfD could become the

strongest party of all.

Why do so many people in eastern Germany sympathize with the far right? The answer has two components: a sense of helplessness as well as fears of the future and of gradual decline. It began right after the fall of the Berlin Wall. To this day, western Germans regard the incorporation of the five eastern states as an act of generosity – which did not stop legions of West German carpetbaggers from taking their inexperienced new compatriots to the cleaners with insurance schemes and used car sales, all of which deeply embarrassed the easterners once they realized their mistakes. Later, with growing resentment, they watched banks get rescued with tax money and then return to their old business models, raking in cash once more, while the “little guy” paid for

the party times of the past with unemployment and sinking real wages. The euro crisis, they felt, revealed their elected representatives – who had long become stooges of uncontrollable, too-big-to-fail corporations – to have lost all control of the situation. Many western Germans shared this view.

It was at this time, in 2013, that the AfD was born as the party criticizing the euro bailouts and the EU. When this cause lost its momentum, the Islam-haters gained traction. Then, the refugees came, more than a million of them. Many eastern Germans suddenly feared for their jobs, their homes and social welfare. The government, they believed, had a soft spot for any and all minorities, but not for us.

This seemingly permanent message of arrogance and indifference that easterners receive from western elites is now being answered, as growing numbers of eastern Germans vent their anger and frustration at demonstrations and at the ballot box. Only there do they regain their self-esteem.

The sympathies that the dissatisfied, the shortchanged and the disrespected feel for the nationalist AfD are irrational. Analysis of the party’s platform reveals that it serves the interests of businesses rather than “the little guy.” It calls for a scaled-back state that only the wealthy can afford. But the platform does support a minimum wage and, broadly, Germany’s long-enshrined system of collective bargaining. It also includes vague references to tax breaks for low and median incomes.

For the upper crust, however, the AfD promises capping employer contributions, taxes and welfare contributions at 40 percent of income. It seeks to abolish inheritance tax and rejects a wealth tax that could actually help repair the cohesion of a society afflicted by the widening gulf in private ownership – the gap between rich and poor. The AfD also wants more freedom for the private sector, less regulations and is encouraging privatization, including that of highways and health care.

The AfD also denies a link between CO₂ emissions and global warming. “I don’t believe there’s anything that people can do against climate

change,” Gauland said in a recent TV interview.

The actual glue that holds the AfD together is hatred of otherness. Since 2014, the party has steadily radicalized. Most party positions are held by far-right loudmouths, and the numbers of voters and supporters are rising. It is disturbing to learn from Franziska Schreiber, a woman who left the AfD, how many members in 2016 actually desired a terrorist attack. “Things really need to hit the fan,” the author (of *Inside AfD*) heard again and again. “Then people will see we were right all along.” When Anis Amri drove a stolen truck into a Berlin Christmas market killing a dozen people, Schreiber often saw high-fives in place of condolences for the victims. It was all repeated in Chemnitz: a dead person at the hands of asylum seekers. It’s fertilizer for the AfD’s blossoming dreams of taking power.

PETER H. KOEPF is editor in chief of *The German Times*. Together with Franziska Schreiber he wrote the best-selling book *Inside AfD. A Report by One Who Left*, which was published in German in August.

EUlogy of Defense

No longer able to rely on America’s military leadership, the EU is harmonizing its military capabilities and facilities

BY JOHANNES LEITHÄUSER

Nine months ago, most European Union member states took their biggest step yet toward a common European army. It was not, however, a moment that lent itself to easy symbolism: No common European uniform nor common weapons and equipment, nor even a joint high command. Militarily, what the EU now has is rules. They allow for cooperation between individual military states to jointly shape military facilities and capabilities.

At the suggestion of the Italian military, for example, experts from several European armed forces are developing a new armored infantry vehicle. On German initiative, six other EU countries are involved in setting up a European Medical Command to guide and ensure medical care during EU military operations, such as in Africa. Until now, all member states participating in such operations have had to renegotiate the terms for each and every new mission.

Nine months ago, EU defense ministers first agreed on 17 such cooperation projects, and the numbers continue to rise. Initial projects include the establishment of a network of logistics centers in Europe, so that each individual army, large or small, needn’t continue organizing its

own foreign missions. Then there is the new military training certification center, to ensure that in the future, all armies have congruent training standards – so that, for instance, Estonian tank grenadiers receive gunnery training on a par with that of their German and Spanish counterparts.

Twenty-five of the 27 EU member states (the United Kingdom, which is scheduled to exit the EU in March next year, has already been factored out) have expressed their willingness, in principle, to join the new security project, called PESCO. The acronym stands for Permanent Structured COoperation and has been codified and agreed upon in the EU’s Lisbon Treaty. The novelty of this cooperation – by EU standards – is that it does not involve the entire community, i.e. all EU members. So, instead of always having to win over 27 political and military decision-makers for a specific military community project, such as the development of new underwater surveillance equipment, only those EU countries interested in the new technology need convene.

In addition to the flexible PESCO framework, the EU member states have passed resolutions to further harmonize the 27 member states’ military capabilities and equipment. When these efforts come to full fruition, there may not be any single EU army, despite the recurring political demands for it. What should emerge, however, is

a European defense union capable of determined and powerful military action.

The driving force alongside PESCO is the European Defense Fund, which aims to accelerate the

The new momentum in EU military cooperation boils down to two factors. The most important is Britain’s decision to leave the EU. Prior to the Brexit referendum, the UK always exercised

up. In addition to PESCO and the EU Defense Fund, EU states also agreed to set up a joint military headquarters.

The election of Donald Trump gave the Europeans another

that they can no longer rely on US military leadership to resolve conflicts in their neighborhood, such as the Balkans, the Middle East or Africa. They must themselves become capable of action. All EU cooperation decisions made in the past two years have served this objective.

Paradoxically, NATO has provided the biggest boost to the day-to-day military cooperation of European armies. The new NATO strategy to deter Russian aggression has spawned several new military units, such as the fast-moving “spearhead force,” available within days anywhere in the Alliance, or the forward-stationed units in Poland and the Baltic States, which have a permanent presence using rotating units.

All these new units are multinational. In them, Germans, French, Norwegians, Dutch, Spaniards, Czechs and soldiers of all other NATO countries must constantly work together at company level. This is where European military cooperation becomes a reality on a daily basis – when Polish mechanics repair a Dutch Leopard tank, or when a German battalion commander sets the operational plan for a Norwegian parachute company.

JOHANNES LEITHÄUSER is a Berlin correspondent for the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*.



A model for PESCO? The European Corps (Eurocorps), is an EU intergovernmental corps of 1,000 mostly German and French soldiers stationed in Strasbourg, France.

research and development of new weapons and equipment. Starting in 2020, this fund is expected to have an annual budget of more than €1.5 billion to finance projects co-planned and registered by EU member states. One of its first projects is the development of a new, lighter, more comfortable protective vest for soldiers.

its influence at EU headquarters to block progress in the common European security and defense policy. The British feared restrictions on their military sovereignty; they also worried that joint European forces might eventually weaken NATO. After the referendum, European military cooperation immediately picked

reason to accelerate their military cooperation. This was not so much due to Trump’s complaints that almost all European NATO countries have inadequate military budgets, but rather, Trump’s announcements of no longer wanting to play the world’s policeman. Europeans have become even more aware

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The whites of their eyes: far-right demonstrators in Chemnitz in late August *vesthuder Weg*

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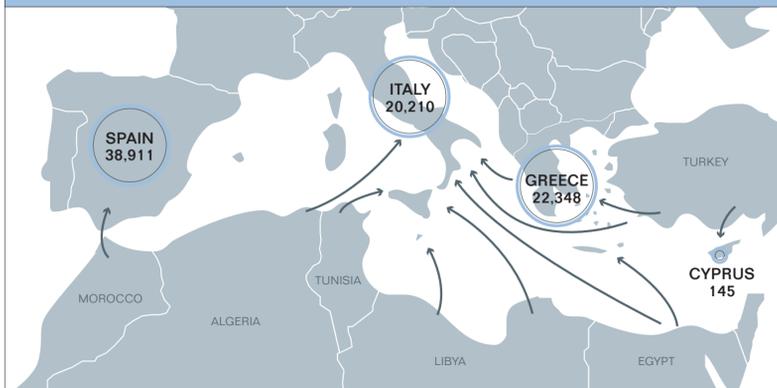
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WHERE THE REFUGEES ARE COMING FROM AND HOW THEY REACH EUROPE



MOST COMMON NATIONALITIES OF MEDITERRANEAN SEA AND LAND ARRIVALS FROM JANUARY 2018

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	PERCENTAGE	NUMBER OF REFUGEES
SYRIA	13.4 %	7,567
IRAQ	9.1 %	5,125
GUINEA	6.9 %	3,890
TUNISIA	6.6 %	3,729
AFGHANISTAN	6.5 %	3,665
MALI	5.5 %	3,116
ERITREA	5.4 %	3,027
MOROCCO	5.2 %	2,916
OTHER (SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA)	4.5 %	2,569
OTHERS	10.9 %	6,145

BY MARKUS BICKEL

A culture of welcome vanishing into thin air

Three years after Germany took in nearly a million refugees, migration has polarized the country

Karl Hilsenbek is worried. “No one knows what will happen tomorrow, or where migrant numbers go from here,” says the mayor of Ellwangen, a flourishing town in Germany’s prosperous southwestern state of Baden-Württemberg. Unemployment there is under 2 percent. Large billboards advertise companies searching for new trainees. Little cause for worry, one would think.

But on the outskirts of town, on the grounds of an old army barracks, lies a large refugee camp known to locals as the Landeserstaufnahmestelle (LEA, or Initial Reception Facility). At times, conditions there have seriously affected the “subjective sense of security” among Ellwangen residents, Hilsenbek says. “At the moment everything’s quiet,” says the 60-year-old marathon runner, “but that could all change tomorrow.”

Hilsenbek speaks from experience. By September 2015, within months of the LEA’s establishment, 4,500 people were living there. The facility was designed to accommodate 1,000 at most. The pedestrian shopping area in Ellwangen’s old quarter was soon full of migrants. To keep a lid on the public’s growing anger, authorities decided to switch off the town’s free public WiFi service.

That quieted the situation until early 2016, when the alleged rape of a German-Russian girl in faraway Berlin caused tempers to flare again. In protests against the supposed assault by “southern-looking migrants,” hundreds of ethnic German-Russians assembled at the gates of the LEA, among them operatives of the extreme right-wing National Democratic Party of Germany (NPD). Demonstrators chanted “Protect our children!” and “Merkel must go!”

There would be more. In April 2018, dozens of inhabitants of the LEA freed a young Togo-

lese man from police detention, thereby preventing his deportation. A storm of protest erupted and spread far beyond Ellwangen. Across Germany, people wondered whether to expect more cases of resistance in refugee centers. “A slap in the face of the law-abiding populace” is how German Interior Minister Horst Seehofer characterized the incident, which even made it to the pages of *The Washington Post*.

Regional lawmakers of the far-right Alternative for Germany (AfD) party, which took 15 percent of the vote in Baden-Württemberg in 2016, also lamented a loss of state control. Incidents like the ones in Ellwangen are grist to the mill for the party, which, ever since hundreds of thousands of Iraqis and Syrians fled to Germany in 2015, has tirelessly warned of the erosion of law and order. When a Cuban-German died following a dispute with a Syrian and an Iraqi in Chemnitz in August, thousands of AfD supporters joined members of the far-right Pegida movement in weeks of protests in the Saxon city. Thousands also marched through the streets of

Köthen in Saxony-Anhalt in September, after a 22-year-old man died there from a heart attack following a street fight. Two Afghans were arrested.

The AfD is also polling about 14 percent in Bavaria, where voters elect a new state legislature in October. After a decades-long monopoly in government, the conservative Christian Social Union (CSU) now faces the prospect of needing to form a coalition. In Saxony, the AfD already received the highest number of votes in the 2017 federal election. It cannot be ruled out that the far right will share state power in Dresden, the capital of Saxony, after state elections next year.

While criticizing the far right’s populist agitation, Ellwangen’s Mayor Hilsenbek also points out

the mood among his constituents that, he warns, politicians disregard at their own peril. “We’ve had moments in Ellwangen when parents said they will no longer send their kids to the bus stop and instead drive them to and from school.”

The worries of Ellwangen’s mayor reflect the dilemmas many municipal leaders throughout Germany are facing. From the Baltic coast in the north to the western Rhineland to the banks of the Oder River bordering Poland, mayors and council members across Germany report a sense among their constituents that Chancellor Angela Merkel and her refugee policy have left the country’s towns and cities to fend for themselves. “Shelters, especially, are very hard

to organize at the moment,” Hilsenbek says.

Following the events of New Year’s Eve 2015–16, when numerous women in Cologne reported incidents of sexual harassment by northern Africans, conditions in and around places like the LEA have become a second yardstick for everything that has allegedly gone wrong in Germany’s experience as a country of asylum – irrespective of the fact that the volunteer spirit of helping refugees after their arrival in Germany remains prodigious.

Still, one thousand days after Merkel’s iconic utterance – “we can do it” – hopes of a lasting and pervasive Wilkommenskultur in Germany have been dashed. All her attempts to respond with factual arguments merely draw fresh criticism. Despite all the success stories, Merkel’s Culture of Welcome has vanished into thin air.

First and foremost, it has been Interior Minister Seehofer fanning the flames. The Bavarian CSU chairman first attacked the chancellor and her refugee policy in the fall of 2015. This summer, Seehofer jeopardized the federal government’s

very existence in a dispute over deporting rejected asylum seekers. Fearing an AfD surge in October’s Bavarian election, Seehofer has lashed out repeatedly at Merkel: “The migration issue is the mother of all political problems in this country!”

To resolve this “mother of all problems,” Seehofer demands fast deportations. “Anyone who has applied for asylum and received a rejection is compelled to leave this country,” he says.

Yet experts on asylum have grave reservations with this approach: Numerical evidence does not suggest that deportations will lead to more refugees integrating successfully. In 2015, when a record 890,000 people sought asylum in Germany, 20,000 were sent back. In 2017, according to the government, the latter figure was nearly 24,000.

“Are we too dumb to deport?” the tabloid newspaper *Bild* asked in a headline this summer. It is a question that, following incidents such as those in Ellwangen, repeatedly enflames public sentiment. It also cannot be answered as simply as the far-right populists would have voters believe, says mayor Hilsenbek. He vehemently rejects the so-called “anchor centers” that, following Bavaria’s example, Seehofer would set up around the country to facilitate deportations of unwanted refugees. “If we in Ellwangen had to shelter people with no prospect of work, that is, people who are simply waiting to be deported, social peace here would be seriously threatened.”

Alternatively, he believes citizen activism is the way forward. “I think that in all of Germany, Ellwangen is unparalleled. A town of 24,000 inhabitants sheltering 4,500 refugees. That is truly a brilliant achievement.”

MARKUS BICKEL is editor in chief of the German-language *Amnesty Journal*.

TOTAL ARRIVALS IN 2018

82,201

SEA ARRIVALS

Includes refugees and migrants arriving by sea to Italy, Greece, Spain and Cyprus.

77,422

LAND ARRIVALS

Includes refugees and migrants arriving by land to Spain.

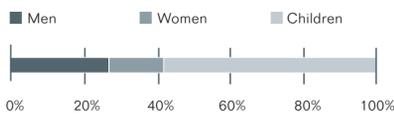
4,779

DEAD OR MISSING (ESTIMATE)

1,719

Previous years	Sea arrivals	Dead or missing
2017	172,301	3,139
2016	362,753	5,096
2015	1,015,078	3,771
2014	216,054	3,538

DEMOGRAPHY OF MEDITERRANEAN SEA ARRIVALS FROM JANUARY 2018



SOURCE: HTTP://JOURNAL.AMNESTY.ORG, DATA AS OF SEPTEMBER 2018

BY DMITRI TRENIN

Like Moscow’s relations with the West more broadly, Russia’s ties with Germany – its most important European partner – have grown increasingly strained over the past few years. Previous hopes of Russia’s integration into a Greater Europe, from Lisbon in the west to Vladivostok in the east, have evaporated. The formerly cordial relationship between Moscow and Berlin has cooled off, as estrangement and even mutual alienation have set in. Yet, while past illusions of integration cannot and should not be revived, Russian-German relations can be made more productive. In a nutshell, Moscow needs to work with the EU’s premier economy to improve relations with Europe and partially offset the continued deterioration of relations with Washington, which have little prospect for stabilization in the next few years. Berlin has to engage Moscow to preserve a degree of geopolitical stability on the continent of Europe and to address security issues in the EU’s neighborhood.

Russia could take steps to demonstrate its willingness to de-escalate or defuse conflict situations in Eastern Europe, which would improve the climate for Moscow’s relations with Berlin. Such steps would include easing tensions in Eastern Ukraine and soothing a series of frozen conflicts involving Moldova and Georgia. Together with Germany and the EU, Moscow could also help stabilize parts of the Western Balkans, particularly with regard to Kosovo and Bosnia. Germany would do well by not yielding to outside pressure against building the Nord Stream 2 pipeline and by staying even more closely engaged with Russia and Ukraine on the Minsk process, while reaching out to Russia on other security issues, from Moldova to Syria to Iran to the Balkans. Of course, there should be no illusions. Berlin



Berlin summit: The foreign ministers Pavlo Klimkin (Ukraine), Jean-Yves Le Drian (France), Heiko Maas (Germany) and Sergei Lavrov (Russia) in the German capital in June (left to right).

Can’t we talk?

Despite the recent cooling-off, Russia and Germany can still work together – if they see each other for what they really are

Russia and Germany progressed steadily. Berlin tried to serve as Moscow’s guide in its efforts to integrate with the West, with hopes of creating a Greater Europe spanning from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Over time, Germany would become Russia’s most important trading and economic partner. Many German companies established themselves in the Russian market. At the same time, cultural

GERMANY HAS TO ENGAGE RUSSIA TO PRESERVE A DEGREE OF GEOPOLITICAL STABILITY

should not expect Russia to change its general foreign policy course. Moscow needs to remember that Germany is not a stand-alone power but an integral part of the EU and NATO.

For that, both sides must capitalize on the positives and negatives of recent history. For a quarter of a century after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, relations between

and humanitarian ties between Russia and Germany reached new heights. Between 2.5 and 3 million ethnic Germans from Russia and other former Soviet republics, such as Kazakhstan, moved to Germany, creating a sizable Russian-speaking diaspora in the center of Europe. Subsequently, many Germans stopped seeing Russia as a threat, and most Russians started

seeing Germany as one of Russia’s closest, most loyal partners. In his September 2001 speech at the German Bundestag, Russian President Vladimir Putin declared that Russia had committed itself to the “European choice.”

The 2014 Ukraine crisis, by contrast, put an end to the era of friendly cooperation between Russia and Germany, as cool diplomatic relations gradually devolved into outright alienation. Even back in 2012 and 2013, before the onset of the Ukraine crisis, Berlin had been irked by Moscow’s efforts to keep Ukraine within its orbit and integrate it into the Eurasian Economic Union, a Putin-created customs union of several former Soviet states. For its part, Moscow blamed Berlin for Brussels’ refusal to discuss with Russia the terms of the EU’s proposed Association Agreement with Ukraine. The Kremlin also accused Germany and other EU members – specifically France and Poland – of not insisting on honoring the compromise that then Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich had reached with the opposition in February 2014, which these three countries helped bring about. Consequently, Moscow believed these countries to be complicit in what it saw as a coup d’état that toppled Yanukovich’s government in Kiev.

It is important to remember that further escalation in the conflict with the rest of Europe was avoided in 2014–2015. Speculation about so-called Russian revanchism and the invasion threat Moscow might pose to the Baltic countries and Poland, which had been far-fetched from the start, subsided. Germany and France played an important role in reaching the Minsk agreements on ceasefire and conflict resolution measures for Eastern Ukraine. Minsk II, which Merkel and Putin were personally involved in shaping, theoretically remains the pathway to a resolution of the Donbass conflict. At the same time, it is obvious that this agreement was more amenable to Moscow’s interests, and it became clear that the government in Kiev never intended nor had the ability to implement it. Besides, Ukraine’s leaders were mostly relying on US assistance and were not inclined to respond to rather restrained German and French attempts to steer Kiev toward complying with the conditions of Minsk II.

This ongoing wider confrontation between Russia and the United States has placed Moscow and Berlin at odds with one another. Germany has not just taken part in the collective Western sanctions regime targeting Russia, but also leads and coordinates this policy within the EU. Merkel succeeded

in convincing the segment of the German business community most closely involved in economic cooperation with Russia to reluctantly acquiesce to the need to pressure Moscow to change its foreign policy. Most of the German business community not involved in such cooperation readily accepted the sanctions and supported the government’s position. Many Russians initially thought that Germany’s position was mostly a product of the extremely close ties between German political, business and media elites and their US counterparts. Moscow often tends to overestimate Washington’s role in various international situations, and the opposite is also true.

In reality, solidarity with Washington was not the only reason Berlin acted the way it did. The categorical rejection of military intervention in Europe, especially territorial annexation, is at the core of post-war German identity. Germany has made some exceptions to that principle, but only as it relates to the United States and NATO (in places like Kosovo and Serbia). Evidently, Berlin tends to trust the good intentions of its senior ally and other members of the military and political bloc it belongs to, but Russia cannot count on that same courtesy.

Nevertheless, while Berlin has been a consistent critic of Moscow,

Germany still engages in dialogue with its Russian peers. Amid the hybrid war between Russia and the United States, Germany has taken the peculiar position of a loyal US ally that is permitted to maintain constant contact with Russia. At an official level, the trans-Atlantic allies have the same view on Russia. But unlike the US foreign policy establishment, which views Russia as toxic and treats it as it would Iran or North Korea, Germany sees Russia as an important neighbor it must deal with. Dealing with Russia now, however, is much different from what it was even a half-dozen years ago.

Today, Moscow no longer has the strategic goal of creating a common Greater European space from Lisbon to Vladivostok. Instead, Russia should focus on building neighborly relations with Europe as it actually exists, from Lisbon to Helsinki – a Europe that, in the Kremlin calculus, will remain a junior partner of the United States for quite some time. By the same token, Germany should not treat Russia as an economically and socially backward part of Europe that must be civilized and integrated with the rest of the continent by bringing Moscow closer to EU standards. Thus, Russia should not be conceived of as the biggest part of some imagined “other Europe” that should be brought to the level of so-called advanced Europe. Rather, Russia is Europe’s largest immediate neighbor, alongside other neighbors such as the Arab world, Iran and Turkey. Berlin should certainly take Moscow into account, but more importantly, Germany should accept the way Russia is now to avoid new disappointments.

The focus of Germany-Russia interaction now should be placed on avoiding escalation in Donbass ahead of and during Ukrainian elections next year; preventing a humanitarian catastrophe in Syrian Idlib; keeping Iran within the limits of the JCPOA agreement, while dissuading the Trump administration from further provoking Tehran into a breakout; working together with the EU countries to stabilize the politico-military situation in Libya; and exploring ways for solving the conflict over Transnistria and improving humanitarian and economic ties across the lines between Georgia and Abkhazia, with its large Georgian minority. Such an agenda, if implemented, would not restore post-Cold War hopes; it might, however, lead to practical results and re-instate if not trust between Germany and Russia, which will take decades to build, then a degree of predictability and a habit of cooperation.

DMITRI TRENIN is director of the Carnegie Moscow Center.

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BUSINESS



The China question

Behind the trade wars prompted by the US president looms nothing less than a fight over the new economic world order

BY HANS-JÜRGEN JAKOBS

Poverty and hunger are perennial threats to any political system. They are also the factors that in the 1970s prompted China's Deng Xiaoping to seek a simple and effective way to restore his underdeveloped country. "It doesn't matter whether the cat is black or white," the former leader noted, "as long as it catches mice."

In other words, Deng had declared that communism would henceforth be permitted to engage in capitalist maneuvers, but only if they served to foster the growth of the nation. China thus became the first "workbench of the world," a highly sought-after production site for products and goods of all kinds.

Today, Deng's cat and the spoils of its decades-long mouse hunt have become so large that they are prompting entirely different and much more fundamental questions on the world stage. Indeed, although the Middle Kingdom is still officially seen by many as a "developing country," it is nevertheless well on its way to challenging America's role as the sole global economic superpower. This attack is paradoxically aimed at the very country that for decades cast itself as the "super power" of all continents, a role that included playing the part of the "world's police" and ensuring its version of peace, order and democracy.

The People's Republic of China, however, is to Pax Americana what a slide is to a negative. In other words, Beijing is the alternative that Washington has lacked since the fall of the Iron Curtain at the end of the 1980s. It all makes things rather sensitive, and complicated.

The ruling Communist Party blends a planned economy with a market economy in a thoroughly profitable way. The Western model of an "individualistic market econ-

omy" has lost its monopoly on efficiency. We are now being forced to pose the "system question."

In this context, the huge US trade deficit, in particular with regard to China, foreshadows a much greater power shift. The fact that a nation like the United States continually imports many more goods than it exports undermines its economic strength as a country, even though it can "easily" afford such deficits thanks to lines of credit from all over the world.

As Trump noted, two-way trade has "been too one-sided for too many years, for too many decades." The last time the overall US trade balance with all countries was almost equalized was as recently as 20 years ago. In terms of trade in goods with the US, the EU has about a €175 billion surplus. The trade deficit with China amounted to \$375 billion in 2017.

Raw financial figures are one thing; political aspirations are another. Whenever speculations about a trade war make their way into the public discourse, the real issue at hand is much more than just the amount of money involved. Indeed, what is being discussed is nothing less than who is going to dominate the world. We are being presented with a possible new world order as well as a number of new geostrategic relations. In circumstances such as these, the economy becomes the arena of a spectacular battle between an old world power and an up-and-coming contender: the former continues its full commitment to its "pursuit of happiness," whereas its challenger operates somewhere between verve and caution, boasting the largest domestic market in the world – 1.4 billion people – and thus facing the rather large problem of facilitating the wealth of its citizens while simultaneously maintaining the invulnerability of its own system.

Donald Trump's "America first" is simultaneously a "Beat China" approach. In the same vein, his "Make America great again" is just as much a "Make China weak again." For the Trump administration, this "strategic competitor" with its "predatory economics" – as US Secretary of Defense James Mattis referred to China this year – fulfills a similar "favorite enemy" role that

in their strong domestic market, their global expansion plans are now rivaling the corporate world's beloved "Big Five" on the American stock market, Apple, Amazon, Google, Facebook and Microsoft, whose success is reflected not in the trade balance but in the services account.

In the financial sector as well, China's four major banks (the

being accused of engaging in, namely a zero-sum game. This implies a world economy in which the gains of one side are the losses of the other, and in which the old aphorism of globalization as a "rising tide that lifts all boats" no longer applies. This was the motto that successfully shepherded countless US companies and investors through the wild years of globalization and helped them ride out the largest economic crisis in history.

Nevertheless, a further escalation of the trade war would be tantamount to self-harm. Today, the economies of the US and China are simply too intertwined. Global value creation and supply chains are just too closely linked. For example, without the cheap mass labor of the supplier Foxconn, the tremendous profits made by Apple with their best-selling iPhone would have been unthinkable. In turn, the relatively comfortable US debt would be inconceivable without their faithful creditor, China, which now holds \$1.2 trillion in US government bonds, thus making it America's largest lender. China, too, is heavily in debt and has a dangerously extensive system of shadow banks.

In a set-up like this, one can afford to gamble a bit, but one should be wary of overdoing it. For this precise reason, Trump's hope of being able to extort concessions in the chaos he creates may quickly vanish. His goals are free market access, better protection of intellectual property, containment of state influence and less bureaucracy in China. These concerns happen to be shared by all Western companies that do business in the People's Republic and who generally make big profits. To these businesses, President Xi Jinping's comment about China "keeping its doors wide open" represents an effort to achieve harmony via PR. From a Western perspective, these doors are anything but "wide open."

The efforts of Deng Xiaoping – that great Chinese reformer – continue to echo in our current troubled era, much to the dismay of Trump and other defenders of the old world order. In response to the question of what a government should do for its citizens, the "grand old man" of China answered rather succinctly: "Let them get rich!" And then: "Educate them!" From this, we can surmise that Deng's cat is not going to stop chasing mice any time soon.

Europe finds itself caught in limbo between the two power blocs of West and Far East. And, as a confederation of states, it continues to struggle with common policy agreements concerning important issues. What's missing in Europe is a forward-thinking structural policy; there are also no large internet companies that could carry such a policy into the new era. Europe can't figure out which is worse, American private-equity capitalists ("locusts") or Chinese investors. In thinking that both sides are taking aim at its crown jewel – its social market economy – Europe is jeopardizing German medium-size companies that already suffer enough from their own succession problems. This then becomes an open window for investors.

There is a great danger that Europeans will be forced to continue watching the political ping pong match between Trump and Xi Jinping in their usual mixture of amusement and fear, only to end up realizing that the two sides are actually doing business at Europe's expense. The "American challenge" described 50 years ago by Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber has now morphed into the "China question."

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AMERICA'S PROTECTIONIST POLICIES GIVE RISE TO THE VERY THING THE CHINESE ARE BEING ACCUSED OF ENGAGING IN

Senator Joseph McCarthy once assigned to Soviet communism in the 1950s.

What most alarms US strategists is "Made in China 2025," the short-term objective formulated by the Beijing leadership more than three years ago to become the world leader in ten future sectors of the economy. These sectors include electromobility, aerospace, high-speed trains and mobile communications, areas where Shenzhen-based Huawei is already a global player. While Chinese corporations like Alibaba, Tencent, Baidu and JD.com have long since dominated the

largest in the world and also controlled by the state), which operate in conjunction with two large state wealth funds (CIC, SAFE), are coming up against a phalanx consisting of Wall Street and asset management giants such as BlackRock and Vanguard, whose voluminous capital holdings have positioned themselves over the world economy like a net.

In today's era of ubiquitous Trumpism, such market-share issues between competitors inevitably turn into questions of economic warfare. In fact, America's protectionist policies give rise to the very thing the Chinese are

The future of fahrvergnügen

The automotive industry is facing major challenges around the world. German carmakers have more to lose than most and are thus investing a great deal in securing its future

BY MARTIN GROPP

At first glance, it would appear that the German automotive industry has little reason to complain. Records are being broken left and right. In early July, the Stuttgart-based Daimler group announced it had sold more than 1.18 million Mercedes vehicles in the first six months of the year, breaking their half-year record.

Their competitors in Munich are also having a great run; between January and June 2018, BMW delivered more than 1.24 million vehicles – its BMW, Mini and Rolls Royce brands combined – while celebrating its highest six-month revenues of all time.

Even the Volkswagen Group is on top. Despite the emissions scandal that started in September 2015 and marked the most serious crisis in the company's history, VW's core brands sold roughly 3.12 million vehicles in the first half of 2018, also a record. It would appear that the scandal has not prevented customers from buying Volkswagens.

In other words, things are going very well, at least in terms of sales. Still, the harbingers of a potential downturn have increased in recent years.

currently the largest car market in the world.

Automakers also have to deal with the new emissions measurement system being enforced in the European Union since September. The procedure, which bears the rather bulky name "Worldwide Harmonized Light Vehicles Test Procedure," has led to additional costs as many older models must be recertified. Volkswagen suffered most at the Group level due to the fact that many of its corporate brands – such as Porsche and Audi – took longer to pass certification tests. One reason for this was that engineers were still busy dealing with the diesel scandal, meaning that VW had to slow down its manufacturing.

But current developments aside, the German automotive industry has taken a step back to reflect on its own future. For example, Volkswagen CEO Herbert Diess recently estimated that German carmakers have but a 50:50 chance of pioneering the mobility of the future. The reason, he told the German business newspaper *Handelsblatt* in late August was that the industry is currently facing an immense structural change. Diess argued that his pointing out this uncomfortable fact was based on realism, not pessimism – and he is not alone in this assessment of the situation in the home of the Autobahn.

total of 2.15 million "car-dependent" jobs in Germany. That accounts for roughly 5 percent of all individuals employed in the country. According to Germany's Federal Office of Statistics, cars and trucks are also the country's most important

emissions. German car manufacturers are feverishly working on new electric models. Indeed, it's no coincidence that Mercedes, BMW and Audi presented new electric automobiles – or at least "future studies" – one after the other; these products are set to appear on

of the leading manufacturers operates without the keywords "car sharing" and "mobility services," which can be accredited to the success of companies such as the American ridesharing service Uber.

The foreseeable magnitude of the impact of these changes was confirmed by a recent study conducted by the strategy consulting firm Oliver Wyman on behalf of the German Association of Automotive Management in Bergisch Gladbach, this is an absolute necessity. Bratzel points out that generating new functions, services and products is more important than ever for a manufacturer's reputation: "Innovation is now a matter of survival," notes the automotive expert.

Bratzel also recently calculated just how innovative the different auto manufacturers around the world actually are. The benchmark for Bratzel's ranking is an index that involves giving product developments different weightings depending on how new and innovative the invention actually is. Among the manufacturers of premium cars, BMW, Mercedes and Audi come in at the top three spots in the ranking. Volkswagen leads the pack among mass car producers, ahead of its Japanese competitor Honda and Ford in the US.

And it's true, a lot of money is flowing into the automotive industry of the future at this very moment. According to figures provided by the VDA, manufacturers and suppliers are going to invest €40 billion in alternative drives, in particular in electric motors over the next three years. Another €18 billion will be spent on network expansion and digitization. According to Stefan Bratzel, professor at the Center of Automotive Management in Bergisch Gladbach, this is an absolute necessity. Bratzel points out that generating new functions, services and products is more important than ever for a manufacturer's reputation: "Innovation is now a matter of survival," notes the automotive expert.

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And yet, this leading role comes with a deep obligation to not let up. As we all know, the competition is always ready to take over in a heartbeat. The biggest innovator on the index is Tesla, followed by the Chinese electric car brand Nio. This is remarkable, seeing as Nio is only four years old. In other words, when it comes to capacity for innovation,

a little guppy is already hot on the heels of the industry's biggest fish.

Whether the subject is trade policy, electromobility, autonomous driving or mobility services, the German automotive industry is keenly aware of the challenges it is facing, says Peter

Fuss, partner at the consulting firm EY, which has been studying the subject for decades. "I don't know of any company pursuing a head-in-the-sand policy," says Fuss. And the auto industry is resilient: "It has taken a number of blows over the years and has always had to fight," he notes.

Just as in the past, the challenge today's automobile manufacturers face is to optimize the quality of their products while simultaneously reducing costs. This is, as Fuss points out, their daily task: "Precisely for this reason, the industry is well-prepared to cope with changing conditions." And, ultimately, there is one key point we shouldn't forget: "People need cars because cars enable them to be individually mobile. And, at the moment, there's nothing better than a car for getting around independently." ■

MARTIN GROPP is the automobile correspondent for the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*.



Sweet ride: Mercedes 190 SL ad from 1952.

For example, in the course of this year, Daimler scaled back its earnings forecasts, mostly because the principles of free international trade seem to be attracting fewer adherents. In fact, BMW is similarly affected. As the largest auto exporter from the States – ahead of Ford and General Motors – Daimler exports vehicles to China from its plants in the US. The company is hit by the tariff raises on cars it produces in Spartanburg, South Carolina being shipped to China. Daimler has been forced to raise its prices in the People's Republic. This could have a negative impact on sales figures in what is

If German auto manufacturers and suppliers lose importance in the future, it could have a deep impact on the German economy. The auto industry is a key economic factor; some would even say the most important one. Taken as a whole, auto manufacturers and suppliers in Germany, as of recently, employ more than 820,000 people, not to mention the thousands of jobs that are directly dependent on cars, such as auto-repair shops, car dealerships and the roughly 15,000 gas stations across Germany.

At the beginning of last year, the research service of the German Bundestag calculated a

German industry is only one of many facing deep, fundamental changes. A number of auto executives are reiterating the formula predicting that the change in the industry over the next five to ten years will be more drastic than in the last 50. This is due, in large part, to three parallel developments putting automakers and suppliers, in particular, in a vice grip.

On the one hand, there is the transformative shift towards electromobility, which is spurred on by challengers like the US-based electric carmaker Tesla, but also by increasingly rigid European regulations on carbon dioxide

The second set of challenges involves the increased networking of vehicles via the internet as well as autonomous driving, where the car itself takes the wheel. Another goal is to build cars that will be able to find open spots in parking lots, even park themselves and take over tasks like driving on the Autobahn, so drivers can concentrate on other things.

The third major challenge is found in the changing needs of consumers. At least in industrialized countries, there are more people interested in driving cars than people interested in actually owning one. Today, none

there are not as saturated and customer demand is still high.

"The transformation underway in the automotive industry is more drastic than ever before, and it is taking place on all three levels – among customers, in the production process and in the products themselves, all at the same time," notes Jörn Buss, a partner at Oliver Wyman. "The automotive industry is facing some stormy weather." And yet, Buss also states that German manufacturers and suppliers are well-prepared for the challenges ahead and that they are working intently on innovations.

Hoping for a "together first"

Germany's Minister for Economic Affairs Peter Altmaier speaks to *The German Times* on trade, Trump and taxing US companies in Europe

Minister Altmaier, economically speaking, Germany is on pretty firm footing. Economists call this the "strongest boom in two decades." Growth is exceeding 2 percent; per-capita GDP is rising; unemployment is low; average wages and consumer spending are both growing. And yet, millions of people feel left behind. How can you help them?

We're now in the ninth year of a period of strong economic growth. Despite many international risk factors, Germany's economy will continue to grow into next year. That would then be the longest period of uninterrupted expansion since 1966 – more than half a century ago. Wages and pensions are rising, and next year we'll probably cross the "sound barrier" of 45 million employed people. This is the highest number of working people our country has ever seen. But there are also people whom the upswing has not yet reached, who feel left behind or forgotten by our elected officials. We take that very seriously. For that reason, in my office, as head of the Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs and Energy, I work to bring to life the central pledge of the social market economy, namely, prosperity for all. That's why we're raising spending on investments and innovation, so that in the future "Made in Germany" will remain an assurance of the most advanced technology and jobs anywhere in the world. We are strengthening our industries with an industrial strategy, investing in social housing, improving pension payments and lightening the burden on families.

Companies are urgently seeking skilled labor. Soon the baby boomers will start retiring. Migration could help. How should it be regulated? Specialized workers are in urgent demand in many firms. That's why we must raise our potential both at home and abroad. For the latter, we agreed in the coalition agreement on an immigration act for specialized labor. We must pass it into law soon. But we must also look to our own country for nurturing and keeping these workers. We cannot accept having 800,000 long-term unemployed in this country. Education – specifically our proven model of dual-track professional training and qualification – is the key there. Yet we must also ensure that skilled people who want to work, can work. For this we must push faster for expanding childcare.

The economic upswing, as not only employees point out, benefits the affluent first and foremost. Your predecessor's annual report calls "excessive income inequality" an "obstacle to inclusive growth." What would you do to improve everyone's share of the economic boom?

First of all, we should not play down the good news we have seen on the labor market. Employment in Germany has risen to a record high while unemployment has fallen to a historic low. Wages have climbed steadily in recent years, and so have pension payments. Wage inequal-

ity has not gone up further. Wages and employment have also grown very well by international comparison. We must ensure that this trend continues and that Germany remains competitive. Full employment is possible and remains our goal. We will continue easing the burden on workers, such as through unemployment insurance and eliminating the solidarity surcharge for most taxpayers.



Another critic of Germany's economic data is the US president, specifically Germany's trade surplus and its "unfair" practices. Is he right? This surplus reflects first and foremost the competitiveness of our private sector and its products and services, which we have restored with great effort over the past 15 years. We have to take a more nuanced look at the "surplus issue." The public debate often ignores the fact that, in balance of payments, the US has a surplus against the EU. That's because of the many successful US-based digital companies operating in Europe.

In return, Germans complain that US corporations pay no taxes in Germany. How can the German government stop US tech companies from shifting their revenue and profits to low-tax EU states such as Ireland and the Netherlands? Fairer taxation of big corporations is an explicit goal of this government, and that goes especially for IT companies. We must stop companies that avoid their tax duties through profit transfers or tax optimization. Germany's finance minister is holding talks at a European level to find good solutions. He has my support for his efforts.

Why doesn't Germany invest far more in infrastructure, digitization, education and security? Public investment was raised massively during Chancellor Merkel's previous term. And we will continue to raise spending on investment and innovation, especially in digitization, education and security. Expanding digital infrastructure, in particular, must move faster. We need more

private investment, which, at more than 90 percent of the total, provides the lion's share of total investment. There we want to keep promoting the investment climate and providing targeted incentives, i.e. tax breaks for research and development and energy-saving building modernization. And we must discuss unburdening companies so they can stay competitive internationally in the future.

Germans lament what they see as the ignorance of the current US administration and the Russian president toward climate change. How can we convince the big CO₂ emitters to do more to save the planet?

Climate change is a global phenomenon that requires joint international action. Hence, we deeply regret the US withdrawal from the Paris Agreement. On the other hand, it's been heartening to watch US states such as California and New York commit themselves to protecting the climate nonetheless. Germany has not only set ambitious climate goals nationally; we also contribute disproportionately to efforts at attaining EU climate objectives. Once we demonstrate that an economically vibrant industrialized country like Germany can meet this challenge, the transition to green energy will finally become a model for economic success. Other countries should do their share. Only then does our planet have a chance in the not too distant future.

The EU and US have imposed sanctions against individuals and individual assets because of Ukraine. Do you see any success there?

The EU has just extended its sanctions against Russia. They will remain in place because, regrettably, there has been no progress in the peace process for Ukraine.

German entrepreneurs in Russia want relations to return to normal soon, without sanctions. Can you raise their hopes?

Eastern Europe and Russia will remain very important economic areas for us. Many German companies, especially in the country's east, have good business ties with Russia. I want to keep expanding economic ties in areas free of sanctions. Our dialogue and exchange with one another must continue, and business relations are a good foundation for that.

The Nord Stream 2 gas pipeline through the Baltic is being built, and criticism is non-stop, from both the US and other European states. Are we making ourselves dependent on Russian gas?

Germany has a diversified supply grid, in terms of gas as well. Additional lines also deliver energy to other places in Europe. Nord Stream 2 is, above all, a corporate project. Yet we must also consider the rightful interests of Ukraine. I have had talks in Moscow and Kiev on the matter. This summer in Berlin, at my invitation, a meeting between Russia, Ukraine and European Commission Vice-President Maroš Šefčovič was convened to address the issue.

Brexit and "America first," Russian muscle flexing and China's economic expansionism are all symptoms of resurgent nationalism and a retreat toward spheres of influence. Is there any hope left for "together first"?

I am firmly convinced we can solve global problems only through international cooperation. Just think of conflicts like that in Syria, climate change, the growing global population, rising protectionism – we need global responses to these challenges. And we need to work together more, not less. Right now we can see what happens to trade when protectionist tendencies gain ground. At the end of these spirals, everybody loses. There can be no winner. That's why it's all the more important to talk to one another and advocate continued international cooperation and rules-based trade within the framework of the WTO. With the agreement between President Trump and Commission President Juncker we now have a chance to negotiate with the US over dismantling tariffs instead of issuing new ones. I think that has opened up the opportunity to defuse the looming trade conflict between the US and the EU in the coming months.

Peter Altmaier's answers were provided in writing.



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With friends like these ...

German and US companies are among the most important foreign investors in each other's markets. A trade war is bad for everyone

BY STORMY-ANNIKA MILDNER

Signs of relief resonated throughout the German business community when US President Donald Trump and EU Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker agreed on negotiating a EU-US trade deal in late July. In a joint statement, the two leaders decided to work together towards zero tariffs, zero non-tariff barriers and zero subsidies on non-auto industrial goods. They also agreed to launch a close dialogue on standards in order to ease trade. An executive working group was tasked with scoping out the content of the trade deal. For the time being, the understanding puts the escalating trade conflict between the two economic superpowers on hold, but the outcome of the negotiations is anything but certain.

Since Donald Trump took office in early 2017, US-EU relations have met turbulent waters. Relations between the United States and Germany are particularly strained. Steel and aluminum tariffs, the threat of tariffs on cars, the escalating US-China trade conflict, renegotiations of NAFTA and the attacks against the World Trade Organization – US trade policy has been fundamentally transformed.

President Trump wants to bring jobs and manufacturing back to the United States. In 1990, manufacturing still accounted for about a quarter of US GDP – in 2017, the share had dropped to about 12 percent. US manufacturing is struggling to keep up with world markets.

But tariffs are not the right way to create jobs and to revive industries. Indeed, such measures could cause more harm than good to global trade and the American economy.

A recent analysis from the consulting firm Trade Partnership projects a net loss of over 400,000 American jobs through tariffs on steel and aluminum. Moreover, the study concludes that the tariffs could likely lead to lower consumer spending power in the United States as well as higher production costs.

There is some truth to the narrative that competition on world markets is not always fair. But an escalation of protectionist measures will not change this. Rather, tariffs pose a serious threat to welfare and jobs – worldwide but also in the US.

According to the International Monetary Fund, world trade is expected to grow by a further 3.9 percent in 2018. However, a further escalation of trade disputes could seriously impede the business climate, trade and investment as well as damage global value chains, the IMF warns. According to the World Bank, if WTO members raised their tariffs to just around the WTO-bound limits, world trade would decline in line with the 2008–09 global financial crisis.

In 2009, global merchandise trade dropped by 22 percent.

While trans-Atlantic business relations are still strong, the German business community is deeply worried about the future of EU-US relations. According to the German American Business Outlook 2018 – an annual survey conducted by the German American Chambers of Commerce in the United States, the Representative of German Industry and Trade and KPMG – all of the surveyed German companies were expecting growth for their businesses in the US for 2018. At the same time, 76 percent of German companies operating in the US found that open markets are crucial to their supply chain.

breakthrough between the US and the EU.

German business is not a threat to US national security, and Germany does not trade unfairly. Quite to the contrary of President Trump's criticism, German business contributes to economic growth, well-paid jobs as well as education and training in the US.

German and US companies are among the most important foreign investors in each other's markets. German investors have purchased assets worth \$310 billion in the US (FDI stocks 2017). That is 7.7 percent of all foreign investments in the US. Within the last decade

German companies, in 2017, more than 800,000 German cars were produced in the United States. The US imported 493,000 cars from Germany in the same year. Since 2009, German production in the US has increased fourfold. 60 percent of American-made German cars are exported. Two of America's biggest car exporters are German companies – BMW and Mercedes. The US is the premier destination for foreign direct investment by the German car industry.

The skill gap is a major obstacle when it comes to future investment in the United States. According to

education has its advantages. Instead of having to take on debt to finance their education, as is common for college students and their parents, apprentices already receive pay, as they are being trained and work simultaneously. Many successful apprentices even have a job guaranteed to them after they finish their program.

Larger German companies often develop in-house training programs, usually using their own training centers for classroom teaching. Smaller companies pool resources by jointly training apprentices with other local companies and community colleges in consortia.

inson University, BASF hosts a two-week science academy that offers students from across North America the opportunity to increase their knowledge of chemistry. And the BASF Kids' Lab introduces children to chemistry through hands-on learning experience.

Besides running an apprenticeship program, the German company Siemens established the Siemens Foundation in 1998. The company has invested heavily to advance STEM-based workforce development and education. The list could go on. With their engagement on a variety of issues, German companies not



Fancy ride: BMWs like this i8 roadster could soon become more expensive in the US.

A recent survey conducted by the American Chamber of Commerce among its member companies also underlined the strong economic ties with the US, with 82 percent of the companies surveyed considering the daily economic relations between the EU and the US to be at least as strong. At the same time, 42 percent of German companies said that the US had become less attractive as a business location, mainly because of the current trade dispute between both countries.

There is also an indication that investment activity is declining. Eighteen percent of German companies said that they scaled back their respective investments plans due to the emerging trade conflict. The Trump-Juncker plan has not yet spread optimism. In total, 71 percent of the surveyed companies do not believe that there will be a substantial

(since 2008), German investment stocks in the US have thus increased by 78.4 percent, while 38 percent of the German FDI stocks in the US are invested in sectors that can be attributed to industry, most notably the transport sector (15.2 percent), the chemical industry (8.5 percent) and the machinery industry (4.9 percent).

German companies employ some 674,000 people in the US. That makes Germany the fourth most important foreign employer in the US, after the United Kingdom, Japan and France.

President Trump has repeatedly criticized Germany's trade surplus, in particular in trade with automobiles. This does not pay due respect to the German car industry's contribution to the US economy. While in 2009, Germany exported more cars to the United States than were locally manufactured by

the German American Business Outlook 2018, 87 percent of companies report that they "always," "very often" or "sometimes" have difficulties finding skilled employees in the US. German companies, together with chambers of commerce in numerous states in the US, have thus started to establish apprenticeship programs in various professions, though mostly in the technical area – e.g. for mechatronics technicians and industrial maintenance technicians.

Applying the dual education system in the US is no small task, as apprenticeships are often considered a dead-end career path mainly for crafts and trades. Many Americans believe there is no alternative to a four-year college education if they want to find a decent, well-paid job.

However, choosing an apprenticeship over a college

There are two main apprenticeship programs being run by the chambers of commerce – one in the Midwest and one in the South. The Trump administration has expressed great interest in learning more about the German system and applying it in the US. With all the conflicts burdening the bilateral relationship, education and training is a prime area for cooperation.

The contribution of German companies does not stop there, however. Many companies heavily invest in their local communities. Take BASF Corporation, which employs around 15,500 people in the US and, for example, offers different science education programs designed to awaken the interest in children and prospective students to pursue careers in science, technology, engineering or mathematics (STEM). In partnership with Farleigh Dick-

son only contribute to long-term economic growth but are also strongly committed to fostering social prosperity and demonstrating social responsibility in the US.

Germany and the United States are indispensable political partners. The EU must counter trade measures that do not conform with the rules of the WTO. At the same time, the trans-Atlantic relationship needs a positive agenda. One key aspect is the negotiation of an EU-US trade agreement. A new agreement must meet the requirements of a modern trading partnership and abide by the rules of the World Trade Organization.

STORMY-ANNIKA MILDNER is head of the External Economic Policy Department for the Federation of German Industries (BDI).

Navigating the storm

German-American economic relations in troubled waters



Dieter Kempf

A conversation with Dieter Kempf, President of the Federation of German Industries (BDI), on tariffs, trade balances, the image of German companies in the US and German industry's contribution to the US economy.

The Federation of German Industries (BDI) is supporting Deutschlandjahr USA 2018/2019. What expectations do you have of the campaign?

Dieter Kempf: The goal of Deutschlandjahr is to render Germany and German industry more prominent in the US by means of political events, science conferences and cultural experiences that will take place both locally and on tour, especially in heartland states. These efforts have become even more important in the past two years, given that the trans-Atlantic partnership has found itself in increasingly troubled waters. Our "Wunderbar together" initiative seeks to give new impetus to the trans-Atlantic friendship and to make it possible to comprehend the enormous mutual importance of trans-Atlantic economic relations. This is particularly vital to us at the BDI.

From the perspective of the BDI and German industry, which Deutschlandjahr projects promise to have the greatest impact?

The campaign involves an abundance of concerts, readings, exhibitions, sporting events and culinary treats designed to make it possible for people to experience modern Germany first-hand. Exchange

programs will also serve to strengthen trans-Atlantic dialogue. The participation of German industry in Deutschlandjahr USA is a key requirement for the success of the initiative. Deutschlandjahr offers a unique opportunity to showcase the extent to which German industry is a strong partner for research, investment and jobs in the US. German companies will participate by means of exciting exhibitions and projects. Using interactive, surprising and instructive elements, these companies will be able to convey their innovative strength. Some of the most important elements will be education, advanced training and the future of labor. The focus will also be on themes such as digitization, mobility and energy efficiency. Throughout the campaign, we will be constantly underlining those components that involve a productive partnership with the US.

The campaign comprises more than 300 projects, but do you honestly believe it will change Donald Trump's view of Germany's allegedly unfair trade practices?

President Donald Trump is outright obsessed with bilateral trade balances as an indicator of fairness. And while it's true that Germany has a large trade surplus, we shouldn't forget that trade balances are not indicators of fairness. Indeed, several factors influence how much a country exports and imports. For example, the US has a huge domestic market with a

very enthusiastic consumer base, whereas Germans spend less and save much more than Americans. A purely national approach is also flawed due to the fact that the economies of EU member states are closely intertwined with one another. Overall, the current EU-US trade balance – which includes not only trade in goods but also services and primary income – is almost equally balanced.

More importantly, however, the focus on trade alone is misleading. When we look at capital flows, we see the huge contribution German industry makes to the US. For example, the stock of German investments in the US at the end of 2016 amounted to \$373 billion. This puts Germany in fourth place among the most important foreign investors in the US. Also, German companies employ roughly 674,000 workers in the US. This is exactly how Deutschlandjahr can highlight the importance of German companies and make their contribution to American society even more visible.

Might Deutschlandjahr also contribute to rebuilding the image of German carmakers, for example? And if so, how?

The image of German industry in the US remains exceptional. In fact, people still see German products as bearing a seal of quality. However, I am convinced that German companies participating in the Deutschlandjahr campaign will be able to effectively show the US government that they are an even stronger partner to US industry and American citizens than currently perceived. For decades, German companies have contributed significantly to US economic growth and exports, while simultaneously acting as engines for job growth and as sites of professional training. We can't stress this enough, and we're going to continue to emphasize it. Many senators and governors are well aware of the positive contributions made by German companies to the US economy.

In keeping with the trend, Deutschlandjahr USA is a bilateral event. But aren't bilateral talks the wrong way to approach trade agreements?

Only the EU can conclude trade agreements, not Germany alone. And this is exactly the way it should be. It's only possible for us to be truly strong if we work in conjunction with our European partners. The EU is much more than just the sum of its member states. However, the focus of President Trump's criticism is chiefly on Germany. And indeed, the German and American economies are closely intertwined with one another. For example, US tariffs on automobiles would hit us harder than many other EU members. For that reason, we have a special responsibility to invest in trans-Atlantic relations. But we must always coordinate closely with our partners, for example in BusinessEurope, our European umbrella organization.

Might the failed TTIP Agreement receive a renewed boost in the context of the Deutschlandjahr events?

Either way, a relaunch of free trade talks would be a win for both sides. I would recommend that Europe and the US start at a point where they can quickly agree, for example by completely eliminating industrial tariffs on both sides. In the end, it's crucial that all sides find themselves reflected in an agreement. In addition to tariffs, talks would also have to focus on other trade barriers as well. In that case, everything will depend on what kind of offers the US makes to the EU, one of the strongest and most confident economic blocs in the world. It is also important that all trade partners work on a constructive agenda to reform the World Trade Organization (WTO). There is one definite advantage, namely that neither side has to start the discussion from scratch.

Questions posed by PETER H. KOEPF and LUTZ LICHTENBERGER

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JOBS CREATED BY GERMAN COMPANIES IN THE US

373
BILLION USD DIRECT INVESTMENT BY GERMAN BUSINESSES

111.5
BILLION EUROS GERMAN EXPORTS TO THE US

646,000
GERMAN EMPLOYEES IN US ENTERPRISES IN GERMANY

61.1
BILLION EUROS GERMAN IMPORTS FROM THE US



Learning from each other: Bosch is carrying over its apprenticeship program to its US plants.

CLAUS HULVERSCHEIDT

When William Bates first set foot in the factory belonging to the German auto supplier Bosch in northern Charleston, he could not have known that his life would soon change radically. He assumed it was going to be just one more in a series of joyless temporary jobs he'd been doing for years to keep himself afloat. He and his colleagues had been hired to paint the Bosch factory hall on behalf of a contractor, and Bates probably would have quickly forgotten the name of the company, had it not been for his mother. She showed him a Facebook post saying that Bosch was looking for young people interested in training to become industrial mechanics and mechatronic engineers. The apprenticeship program included a job guarantee for the duration of training as well as a proper wage. Bates realized this was an opportunity to pursue a completely different career trajectory and contacted Bosch immediately. Today, with the bulk of his two-year apprenticeship behind him, Bates says: "Being part of this program gave my life a brand new direction, one that I really like."

At the moment, the path taken by Bates, a South Carolina native, is still far from the norm in the US. Teenagers usually go to high school until they're 18 and then go on to university. People who don't make it to university usually take a training course somewhere for a couple of months and then start working: as a shop assistant, a hairdresser, at a hamburger joint or – like Bates – in construction. The idea of completing an apprenticeship based on the German model – which includes on-the-job training, classroom instruction and payment of a living wage – continues to be the exception.

However, over the past several years, it has become increasingly clear how ill-equipped the traditional US education system is to deal with an ever more demanding job market. The unemployment rate is at barely 4 percent, and the lack of skilled workers is palpable throughout the country. In Iowa, for example, companies are lining up at technical colleges to snatch up the best young graduates. The

railway companies BNSF Railway and Union Pacific are paying bonuses of up to \$25,000 to entice people to start their professional careers with them. These days, when it comes to choosing a new manufacturing site, companies are often less interested in local tax rates and more concerned with the availability of skilled workers.

Bonuses alone are not going to be enough to fill all the jobs of the future – this is what politicians, companies and parents alike are anticipating. This is where German companies come in; they're helping to rethink the system. When setting up their subsidiaries in the US, these companies are bringing not only German engineering, thoroughness and traditions to the table; they also have the so-called "dual education system" in tow. This apprenticeship model is considered a masterstroke in terms of next-generation workforce training in Germany. Indeed, it is most likely one of the key factors determining the success of so many German industrial companies throughout the world.

The dual education system has two components: on-site training at the company itself and class-

room instruction at a vocational school. Usually, the young students work at their on-site apprenticeship three days per week; they enter into a training contract with the company and are paid an average monthly salary of just under \$1,000. Initially, they are mentored on-site by experienced workers, learning their future trade step-by-step until they are able to work independently. They are also taught so-called "secondary" values, such as punctuality, independent thinking and awareness of rules regarding such things as workplace security and accident prevention.

The apprentices spend the remaining two days of the week at a local vocational school together with trainees from other companies. In addition to gaining special knowledge about each individual profession, the students usually take weekly courses designed to deepen their overall education, including subjects like politics, communication and PE. The entire program usually lasts three years and ends with a theoretical and practical examination. Many graduates are then taken on as employees by their companies.

Individuals who want to work for a different firm, however, can also do so; their training is recognized by all companies in the industry.

The effectiveness of the German apprenticeship model is so attractive to Americans that even Barack Obama and Donald Trump – two people who could not be more different – have shown a deep interest in and enthusiasm for it. However, as a shift to the German model will take some time, the Department of Labor in Washington has now chosen Bates' hometown of Charleston – a town that just so happens to be the US base for German companies such as Bosch, Daimler, BMW, IFA and Evonik – as a national model region for the advancement of vocational training.

When Bosch set up shop in South Carolina almost 50 years ago, the idea of generating skilled workers via German-style youth apprenticeship programs was unthinkable. Back then, most US companies would have seen paid on-site workforce training as incongruous and outlandish, especially because the responsibility for training young workers for skilled jobs was not that of the

companies, but of schools and each individual family. To this day, this is the preferred approach of many US managers. Undeterred, Bosch launched its own initiative, a vocational program modeled on its parent company in Stuttgart. They were able to attract nearby Trident Technical College to take up the role of vocational school. Trident soon started offering its first courses specifically tailored to Bosch trainees. Today, more than 40 years later, all 16 technical colleges in the state are taking part in the Apprenticeship Carolina program. More than 28,000 employees have completed apprenticeships since then, whereby most of the roughly 1,000 participating companies draw a clear distinction between first-time apprenticeship training and further education for existing employees. The majority of the "apprentices" are in fact employees who have been working at the company for a longer period of time.

Among the most enthusiastic supporters of the apprenticeship offensive is Bryan Derreberry, president of the Charleston Chamber of Commerce. "Talent is the oil of the 21st century," he says.

"We need to promote it!" But it's not just companies who need to be convinced of the advantages of the program; it's also young people themselves and especially their parents. Many mothers and fathers continue to do everything in their power to get their children into good colleges. Indeed, some of them continue to think of factories as grubby places where poor people work. No doubt, these are the people who would be most surprised to find out that factories today are more akin to spotless operating rooms.

Many young adults are won over right away just by the thought of being hired immediately and earning around \$800 per month. "Earn while you learn" is the catchy slogan that companies participating in the apprenticeship program came up with. This seems daring, considering that most Americans believe that post-secondary education always involves five or six-figure student loans, followed by years of job uncertainty, and a lifetime of paying off their debts. In contrast, as Marc Fetten, head of the Charleston International Manufacturing Center, notes, the best apprentices bring home higher salaries than many university graduates with similar training and work experience: "They earn six figures and even repair their own homes," says Fetten. "That's not something many college graduates can do."

For his part, William Bates is sure that he's on the right track, much like his colleague Stephanie Walters, who just turned 18 and has already completed her youth training at Bosch. She is about to begin a two-year adult apprenticeship that will open up even more career opportunities. She plans to follow that up with an engineering degree, which will take another two years and be financed by Bosch. Throughout those four years, Walters will continue to work at the company and bring home a salary. "I plan to be finished when I'm 22 and have all the opportunities I need," she says. "At that point, most of my friends entering college now will be just starting to think about how to pay off their student debt."

CLAUS HULVERSCHEIDT is a US correspondent for the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*.

Taxation for chickens

The president of the United States is squawking about Germany's trade surplus – and not without reason, yet he fails to grasp reality in Germany and the United States

BY MARK SCHIERITZ

For Donald Trump, Germany's trade surplus is something of a permanent provocation. The American president appears convinced that Germany isn't playing fair, but rather providing its own industry with competitive advantages. Or, as Trump himself put it in an interview with the German tabloid newspaper *Bild*: "When you walk down Fifth Avenue, everybody has a Mercedes-Benz parked in front of his house. How many Chevrolets do you see in Germany? Not many, maybe none."

What's the point of this accusation?

First of all, it is correct that something different seems to be hap-

pening in Germany than in many other countries. According to calculations by the Munich-based Ifo Institute for Economic Research, Germany has the world's largest current account surplus, totaling €264 billion this year alone. This amounts to 7.8 percent of annual economic output – according to all established economic criteria, this is too much for a country like Germany.

From a macroeconomic perspective, the current account balance is the difference between investment and savings. If a country invests more than it saves, it has a current account deficit. When it saves more than it invests, it has a current account surplus. Because domestic demand is too low, German companies have to find markets beyond the country's borders in order to keep the economy going.

Thus, Germany relies on other countries to create demand that is

not generated domestically – and has, for some time, been criticized for doing so. The International Monetary Fund, for example, has repeatedly called on the German federal government to increase public investment as a means of diminishing the high trade surplus. Moreover, the scope for engaging in a more expansive fiscal policy does exist: In the first half of the year, Germany's federal government, federal states and municipalities took in €48.1 billion more than they spent. The budget surplus therefore amounted to 2.9 percent of economic output. That's a very large amount of money.

It would also be in Germany's interest if this money were to be expended domestically. Due to years of investment reticence, public infrastructure is crumbling and requires urgent renovation.

According to calculations by the state-owned development bank KfW, an additional €159 billion must be invested to bring streets, bridges and schools up to date.

For this reason, Donald Trump indeed has a point when he deems Germany's trade surplus problematic. However, he draws all the wrong conclusions. For example, it makes little sense to threaten individual companies or sectors with punitive tariffs. To be sure, there are a large number of BMWs on American streets, but these vehicles often originate in American production facilities such as the Spartanburg plant in South Carolina. This factory also produces vehicles for export to China. Overall, BMW exports more automobiles from the US than it imports to it. So, if Trump were to increase tariffs on the import of automobiles and auto parts from Europe, it would also increase production costs in the American BMW plants that rely on deliveries from abroad. The victims would be the workers in South Carolina.

In addition, it is true that the EU demands higher tariffs (10 percent) on the import of motor vehicles than does the US (2.5 percent). But this is not the leading reason why so few American cars can be found driving on German streets. Rather,

the model types produced by American companies – large cars that consume considerable amounts of fuel – simply don't appeal to German buyers. Chevrolet would be unlikely to significantly improve its sales figures in Germany even if the EU were to reduce its tariffs.

In any case, the US government also protects its market from external competition. For the light trucks so popular in America, there is a customs duty of 25 percent. President Lyndon B. Johnson introduced this retaliatory measure in 1963 following German and French import limits on American chicken meat. This tariff is still called the "chicken tax" today. It has meant that the light trucks made by European producers are extremely expensive and practically impossible to sell in the United States.

Now, Trump would probably argue that his threats are only a form of negotiation, serving the goal of squeezing concessions from the Europeans. He also has no problem justifying the duties on steel and aluminum on the basis of national-security interests, although this can hardly be reconciled with at least the spirit of international trade law. The problem here is that this type of negotiation – if that is in fact

what this is – blows up the global trade order originally established by the Americans. If everyone simply does what they want, then reliability, an imperative for companies, is lost. This is true for American companies too, by the way.

Trump would be more credible if he himself were to make a contribution to reducing US economic imbalances. As we recall, a current account deficit emerges if savings within a country are insufficient to finance investments. This is exactly the case in the US – which is why from a macroeconomic perspective, the Americans should be saving more, especially as the economy is already doing well. Trump is doing the opposite. His tax reform is inflating the state's budget deficit. According to calculations by his own White House Office of Management and Budget, the state deficit will increase to 5.1 percent of GDP by 2022.

The solution is thus relatively clear: Germany must invest more, while the US must gain control of its budget deficit and save more. However, this is a debate that Donald Trump very clearly does not want to have.

MARK SCHIERITZ is business editor at the weekly *Die Zeit*.

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Let's get physikalisch

How I learned to love the *Staatsangehörigkeitsbehörde* – and to pronounce it properly

BY GAYLE TUFTS

In 2017, I became a German citizen. The decision to become *deutsch* was not made lightly and was surprisingly emotional. The American presidential election and my personal abhorrence of Donald Trump played a major role, but my choice was actually a natural outcome of my personal reality. Both of my parents had died, there was no house in the US to keep up and no legacy to pass on, plus I have no children who will someday need to get in touch with their roots. As a freelance artist with unpaid vacation, my visits to the Homeland are infrequent and never last longer than a week or two (it's easier to get to the beach in Greece or the Baltic). Most importantly, after 26 years of living, working and paying taxes in Berlin, I was unable to vote in the upcoming German elections, a crucial necessity in our ever-more chaotic and turbulent democracy.

In my book *American Woman: How I Lost My Heimat and Found My Zuhause* (Aufbau Verlag, 2017), I describe my love for both sides of the Atlantic and the complicated, bewildering and ultimately satisfying process of becoming a German.

As soon as I got home from the airport, I was greeted with flowers, hot Frisian tea and an Elstar apple. "Stay awake!" he said. "Fight the jetlag!" And when he gave me a big hug, I thought, not for the first time: well, that's true Bremen-style romance for you.

I had missed his sort of pragmatism and down-to-earth-ness. And by the following morning, in spite of my jetlag and somewhat foggy mental state, something else had become clearer to me than ever before. "I want to do it," I said. – "Do *was?*?" – "Get *deutsch!* I want the *deutsch* passport. I want to really be *bier*. I want to be able to vote. I want to have a say in what happens to all the *Geld* I pay in taxes. I want to do more than just meet all these politicians when I do TV talk shows. I want to be able to *wähl* them into office. I want to stop the *f*** Populismus*."

"Shall we do it, then?" "I've been together with my man – let's call him my "Bremen guy" – for the past 22 years, but we're not officially married. My Bremen guy is not a big fan of weddings. He thinks the whole thing is too conservative and bourgeois. He says: "Our love doesn't need any acknowledgment from the state." "But," I say, "think of the presents."

Maybe one day down the road my Bremen guy and I will get married, but it won't be because I want to get *deutsch*. I can take care of that myself. Besides, "shall we do it" is a bit sparse as far as marriage proposals go. So I called my tax lady and asked if she could recommend a lawyer specializing in naturalization law. She did, and I made an appointment.

We met at the *Staatsangehörigkeitsbehörde* in the Rathaus, one of Berlin's citizenship application processing offices. In my opinion, if you can pronounce that

name clearly and without messing up, you should automatically get German citizenship. I was a bit nervous. *Rathaus* in the Rathaus is quite an imposing and important building. It's not actually a house full of rats, as the name would suggest, but a local city hall brimming with German-

tion area, everything still looked as if Willy Brandt himself would be there to personally greet me.

Fortunately, the civil servant at the *Einbürgerungsbüro*, the naturalization office, was a friendly, easy-going, handsome man in his mid-40s with a thick turtleneck, jeans and what I sus-

pected was a Northern German background. I handed him my *Einwohnermeldechein*, my resident registration form, along with my citizenship application form and a passport photo. He then explained that there were a couple of other things I would have to bring in: a certified birth certificate, my apartment lease, my tax return from the previous year and proof of my knowledge of the German language. For that final reason alone, it's good that I waited 25 years to do this.

I also had some homework to do. I had to write a letter explaining my decision to take

up and the next future German was already waiting. Being the nerd I am, I went online right away. The previous year, I had won €50,000 on behalf of a good cause on a TV quiz show called "Gefragt – Gejagt." I knew that if I showed some *chutzpah* and prepared

properly, I would be able to pull off a total citizenship-test coup. I even had fun answering the questions. They reminded me of the theory part of my *deutsch* driver's license exam and the subsequent seemingly useless queries about braking distances and trailer hitch.

It was information I would probably never need, but maybe it was still a good idea to know it. I posed some of the questions to my Bremen guy, Marian and my technician Max from Köpenick – all of them highly educated Germans! None of them was able to answer the questions.

Who wrote the text of Germany's national anthem? How many years are members of the *Bundesrat* elected to serve? Are judges in Germany members of the executive branch, the judiciary, the planning authority or legislative authority?

At this point, what I really want to do is create a game show – "Let's get *deutsch!*" We could do the naturalization test live with a glamorous jury of prominent German personalities: Motsi Mabuse, Jorge Gonzalez, Franck Ribéry and me. Günther Jauch could be the host. We wouldn't just have exciting questions, we could also have activities like cutting garden hedges, stuffing *Maultaschen* (Swabian ravioli), deciding which bottles go into the recycling box versus which ones have a *Flaschenpfand*, complaining in every situation and – of course! – singing Helene Fischer's song "Atemlos" by heart. In the end, the winner would get a German passport and the runner-up can use the audience joker to come back one more time.

I organized all my citizenship paperwork on my desk, including all the necessary documents in the original form and as photocopies. I put them in transparent sheaths and sorted them chronologically and in alphabetical order.

I placed them in a new Leitz folder and put a sign with the word *EINBÜRGERUNG* (naturalization) on the side. I felt very *deutsch*.

I had picked up my certified birth certificate at Brockton City Hall. Until that moment, I hadn't really looked at it too closely. But now I took it into my hand and had black-and-white proof that I existed: Gayle Kathleen Tufts, born on June 17, 1960 in Brockton, Massachusetts. It had the names of my parents and an address that I hadn't lived at for 40 years. These were my origins on an official DIN-A4-sized sheet of paper. Next to it lay my American passport with its signature dark blue leather cover. That little booklet will always mean a lot to me, but does it really make a difference whether my passport is blue or red? Does it make me someone different than I am today? A piece of paper doesn't define who I am. And let's be honest, all I have to do is open my mouth for everyone to know that I'm an American woman.

GAYLE TUFTS is a critically acclaimed entertainer, author and intercultural contributor, often cited as "Germany's best-known American" (*Stern Magazine*). She has written and produced her own hit shows in theaters, festivals and opera houses as well as appearing frequently on television and radio. Tufts breaks the language barrier by presenting her work in "Dinglish," an insightful mix of German and English. Her shows are based on her own experiences and observations of everyday life as an *Ausländerin* (foreigner) in Berlin and are a celebration of German-American friendship in all its complexity. Her most recent book *American Woman: How I Lost My Heimat and Found My Zuhause* was published in 2017 by Aufbau Verlag.



Mastering the "Einbürgerungstest": Super Gayle.

– www.deutsch-werden.de – to prepare for it. Everything went very quickly! And there was still so much I had to say! For example, that the decision wasn't easy for me, that my American citizenship would always remain a part of my identity, that I value my life in Deutschland very highly and see it as a privilege to become a citizen of this country. I wanted to assure him that I do really *deutsch* things all the time: I wear slippers, I'm a member of a *Verein*, I've been to Mallorca and when I travel abroad, I miss that delicious *deutsches Brot*. But my time was

properly, I would be able to pull off a total citizenship-test coup. I even had fun answering the questions. They reminded me of the theory part of my *deutsch* driver's license exam and the subsequent seemingly useless queries about braking distances and trailer hitch.

It was information I would probably never need, but maybe it was still a good idea to know it. I posed some of the questions to my Bremen guy, Marian and my technician Max from Köpenick – all of them highly educated Germans! None of them was able to answer the questions.

Bernstein in the Baltic

Justus Frantz reflects on the American conductor and composer, who would have turned 100 this year

The music that led us to one another was Dvořák's Piano Concerto in G minor. One night, after listening to the radio and hearing a recording I had made with the Northwest German Philharmonic Orchestra, Leonard Bernstein, who would have turned 100 this summer, invited me to play the piece with him and the New York Philharmonic. We became close friends, and soon he and his family were regular guests at my *finca*, or farmhouse, on the Spanish island of Gran Canaria.

The finca was also the place Lenny was looking to visit in 1985 after completing his Peace Tour, which had taken him and an international youth orchestra halfway around the world to Hiroshima, 40 years after the dropping of the atomic bomb. He had arrived exhausted in Vienna and was yearning for peace and quiet and seclusion. He was very much looking forward to staying at the finca, where he had already spent a great deal of time and where he had written many of his later works, including his only opera, *A Quiet Place*, and his last musical, *1600 Pennsylvania Avenue*.

Unfortunately for Lenny, I had something completely different in mind for him! I wanted to raise his enthusiasm for the idea of launching a music festival in the northern German state of Schleswig-Holstein – and I wanted to do so on-site, as it were. But Lenny wasn't convinced: "Schleswig what?" he asked. He had been looking forward to the warm and welcoming climate of the Canary Islands. In contrast, the summer in northern Germany that year had truly lived up to Heinrich Heine's famous description; it had been "but a winter painted green." Indeed, it had been raining constantly and the temperatures had barely reached 60. Nevertheless, I raved to Lenny about the Schleswig-Holstein sun. It was a pure lie. And it didn't help.

So I asked my friend Helmut Schmidt, former chancellor of Germany and then co-publisher of the German weekly *Die Zeit*, for advice. He came up with the idea of doing a big interview with Bernstein and flying him in a private jet from Vienna to Hamburg. Lenny agreed – and after that, luck was absolutely on our side. We started having the most beautiful weather possible in the north. Lenny was able to swim, sail and play tennis. The government of Schleswig-Holstein even provided us with a helicopter to explore the beautiful landscape between the North Sea and the Baltic. Schlosshotel Tremsbüttel went so far as to adapt itself to Lenny's "daily rhythm," which meant breakfast between 2 and 3pm, lunch at around 9pm and dinner at 2:30 in the morning. We had a wonderful time. When he flew back, he said to me at the airport: "I fell in love with Schleswig-Holstein."

Bernstein was always a teacher; he even sometimes called himself a rabbi. He was always a composer and a musician. He loved new things and the unknown. His thinking never followed a set trajectory; his was a liberal spirit. It is hard to fathom the sheer volume of his contribution to this world – and what he gave me personally! In the 1950s and 1960s, he helped us recognize the greatness of Mahler. Spellbound, we listened to his interpretations



Leonard Bernstein (right) and our author, the pianist Justus Frantz (left). They founded the Schleswig-Holstein Music Festival, one of the most prestigious in Germany. Frantz reflects on his friendship with Bernstein on the occasion of the conductor's 100th birthday.

of Mahler's 2nd, 3rd, 5th and 9th symphonies. Lenny also worked to popularize the music of composers we hardly knew at the time, such as Carl Nielsen, Aaron Copland and William Schuman. He brought music closer to children of all ages with his TV series *Young People's Concerts*. Thanks to him, it became popular to foster young musicians across the world. In this context, his cooperation with the Orchestra of the Schleswig-Holstein Music Festival was something of a highpoint. He also gave the Norton Lectures at Harvard University, where he transferred to music Chomsky's linguistic theory of a universal grammar. I recall that in order to prepare for these lectures, he

had traveled to the finca with two oversized library suitcases filled with scientific literature.

I remember one night on Gran Canaria, as we were talking about Viennese waltzes, Lenny suddenly jumped up, went over to the piano and proceeded to give an hours-long presentation on the Viennese waltz. He covered everything from the minuet to all the latest creations in a performance that was in equal parts musically serious and brimming with vitality. Another time, he performed a one-man version of Strauss' Rosenkavalier by playing the orchestral accompaniment on the piano and singing all vocal parts himself. He hardly got one note right, but it was still one of

the most beautiful Rosenkavaliers I've ever experienced.

Leonard Bernstein could wax poetic about the history of political songwriting just as much as about the emergence of the blues. He was as well-versed in German poetry as he was in English and American poetry. He was one of the most educated people I've ever known. Talking to him about art, history and philosophy was never superficial, and that light Anglo-Saxon touch of his was always a true pleasure.

As he would have said himself, he was an "all-American boy." He was a person who could eat a hot dog or a hamburger with the same enjoyment he brought

to dining at a Michelin-starred restaurant. He was a person who wore jeans during the day and could sit together that evening with leading world figures and express himself in six different languages. He was also always "boyish." For example, towards the end of the Kiel Regatta, we went sailing with friends on the Baltic Sea, which was still quite cold at the time. At one point, Lenny suddenly got up and took a headfirst dive into the water. We were all horrified. Nobody had warned him that the Baltic was not nearly as warm as the South Pacific. When it looked like he wouldn't resurface any time soon, we looked for him frantically, tore off our clothes and prepared to jump in. But then he appeared, where we had least expected to find him, smiling from ear to ear. Lenny had swum underneath the hull – and resurfaced on the other side of the yacht, laughing!

Lenny loved the world, he loved people. And he let them know how much he loved them. When Helmut Schmidt, still German chancellor at the time, invited Bernstein to Bonn, he came to me first to ask if there was something he could do that would make Lenny particularly happy. I made a suggestion and Schmidt followed my advice, which was to give him a proper send-off in the form of a small military honor guard. The soldiers couldn't believe their eyes when Bernstein kissed the chancellor several times on the mouth and simply wouldn't let him go! Later on, while he was still at the finca just prior to his departure for an audience with Pope Paul VI, Lenny received a warning from Vladimir Nabokov that turned out to be completely justified. It read: "Remember – the ring, not the lips."

Although he never took sides in party politics, he was nevertheless very politically active. He invited the Black Panthers to engage in discussion and debate, but also to show the world how important it is to find social consensus. On the eve of the second inauguration of President Richard Nixon, he played Haydn's Messe in tempore belli (Mass in Time of War) with the New York Philharmonic.

He was always an ambassador for peace. He used music to overcome borders and focus on that which unites us and binds us together. The night the Berlin Wall came down, I called him on the phone, as it was immediately clear to me that he was the only one who could conduct "Ode to Joy" in Berlin: "Lenny, the Wall has come down!" He didn't understand me at first, thinking only that something had happened to my house. Then came the idea to present Beethoven's 9th Symphony at Christmas 1989 in Berlin with the Bavarian Radio Symphony Orchestra, with musicians from the four Allied powers and with other musicians from Israel and the GDR. Bernstein was deeply moved.

An American Jew conducting the 9th Symphony and the finale "Freude schöner Götterfunken" (Joy, beautiful spark of Divinity) or, as he had them sing, "Freiheit, schöner Götterfunken" (Freedom, beautiful spark of Divinity). This was the symbol of peace and human unity emanating from Berlin to the rest of the world. We Germans will always be grateful to Leonard Bernstein for this tremendous gift.

Many musicians, including Isaac Stern, Vladimir Horowitz and Arthur Rubinstein, understandably did not want to perform in Germany after World War II and the atrocities of National Socialism. Bernstein, on the other hand, came to Germany as early as 1948, albeit with some trepidation. In Landsberg am Lech, at a concert with Holocaust survivors, he cried tears of sorrow and tears of relief for liberation and new life.

The thing that had given him the strength to come to Germany was what he called "holy German art" – he was the only person who could have formulated it this way. This art is what brought him here to talk to Germans and introduce them to his ideals. He was convinced that democracy can only be achieved when every individual has access to culture, that is, when art has made its way into the lives of each one of us, rather than being the play thing of privileged individuals only.

With his music and his art, Leonard Bernstein made his way into the lives of each and every one of us. His songs are understood by all, perhaps for the first time since Mozart and Beethoven. Shepherds in the mountains whistle his melodies just as much as software engineers in Silicon Valley. It doesn't matter whether it's "Maria," "America" or "The Age of Anxiety," his symphony for piano that belongs in the repertoire of all large orchestras today; his music is a gift to the whole world. It connects people as friends. America can justifiably be very proud of one of its greatest sons.

JUSTUS FRANTZ is the key co-initiator of the Schleswig-Holstein Music Festival (SHMF). He was also its artistic director until 1994. Starting in 1986, leading international musicians have gathered every year in this northern German state to perform in palaces, stately homes, barns, stables, churches, shipyards and old industrial halls in an attempt to bring classical music to the widest audience possible. Leonard Bernstein was also one of the festival's founding members. In 1987, he initiated an orchestra academy that brings together 100 young and talented musicians each year.

America is different. Germany is, too

Bestselling children's author Cornelia Funke talks about the high regard many Americans have for Germans, but also about German anti-Americanism and how the world can overcome nationalism

The German Times: The German-American relationship has reached a new low point. Do you notice this in your private life?

Cornelia Funke: I live in California, the "out-of-control" state. No one in my circle of friends or acquaintances voted for Trump. This is not surprising, especially seeing as all of them are active in social initiatives and work on behalf of immigrants and environmental protection. As soon as I moved to the US twelve years ago, I started noticing a palpable hostility to America in Germany. This hostility has become even stronger due to Trump. But even before his election, I encountered a high degree of anti-Americanism in talk shows and interviews. It was quite obvious that many of these negative opinions were based on a frighteningly high level of ignorance and narrow-mindedness. There are so many clichés out there, so many catchphrases that perhaps touch on the truth but otherwise completely ignore the fact that America is a country that is both diverse and contradictory. My uncle always used to say: "The best and the worst come from America."

What kind of clichés have you noticed?

For example, I've noticed that many people think Europeans are more social and humane than Americans. But my experience has shown me that the exact opposite is true. I would say Americans are friendlier, more polite and more willing to help. And I would argue that we Europeans are often very unfriendly to one another, that we're very ill-tempered in our dealings with one another. In contrast, I have the sense that the US still has a very high level of social cohesion. Perhaps it's the legacy of the pioneering era – an age in which one needed to work together with others in order to survive – that's still very present in people's minds. In the US, people deal with each other at eye level. Social differences are considerably less noticeable and often simply ignored. I still find it very moving to see how deeply Americans believe in humankind and the future.

Is it possible that the image of Europeans as being more socially oriented comes from the fact that citizens in "old" Europe pay higher social security contributions and the state takes on a number of social-welfare obligations that would be unthinkable in the US? That may be the case. And it's true that parts of the social welfare system in the US are appalling. However, I'm always impressed by how much personal initiative people show in the US. Of course, this is due in part to the fact that everyone knows the state is not going to take care of certain things. This puts all the more responsibility on rich people to contribute, and this pressure is handled in a much more aggressive way than in Germany. For example, I very quickly got used to being asked to make donations, even on my private phone.

Do you see anything positive in the German social welfare state? Absolutely! Germany also has an unbelievably positive image among Americans. There's no need for me to do any publicity for Germany in America. On the contrary, I don't think I've ever been so appreciated by others simply because of where I come from. Americans see Germany as being exemplary in

terms of environmental protection, solar technology, alternative energies, environmental legislation and organic agriculture. They see us as very disciplined, hard-working and efficient. Everywhere I go, I hear people saying that Germans should be proud of what they've accomplished. Sometimes this worship goes a bit too far for my taste. I feel it necessary to tell my intellectual friends that, no, not all Europeans sit around in cafés reading Proust.

And when I say that we Germans are still very much obliged to carry a large degree of guilt because of our history, they look at me with big eyes and say "that was a long time ago." Nonetheless, I think it's incredibly important that Germany display the ability and the willingness to continue to examine our past. I consider it a virtue to never forget Germany's terrible legacy.

Unfortunately, nationalism is making a comeback.

Yes. In Europe, the radical right is emerging again. It's a focus on national self-interest that goes back to the 19th century.

Nationalist tendencies are also enjoying a resurgence in the US. How can we move away from them?

We have to reinvent what it means to be human. And we have to understand that we're not just linked to the rest of the world in terms of industry, that is, due to the outsourcing of manufacturing plants to low-wage countries. We can no longer be surprised when social problems arise in those countries and bring refugees to our shores. We are a global society, which means that we have to bear social responsibility globally. We have to focus on our common values, the ones we stand for and defend. In the US, we now suddenly find ourselves faced with a president who is reversing many hard-won gains just to increase profit. These include human rights, environmental protection, sexual equality, etc. I can only hope that we're going to see a new level of awareness of the fact that democracy is not going to just fall into our laps. We all have to become more political.

In Germany, criticism of Donald Trump is widespread and the two countries increasingly seem to be more strangers than friends. What are your thoughts on this trend? Since I moved to the US, I've noticed that German media often portray the US as anything but a friend. And for the past twelve years I've been consistently asked the question: How can you live in the US? I've had to listen to a number of very unenlightened opinions on America. It's hard to make out any form of friendship in such approaches.

Things look different from the US perspective, however. Americans see European countries as their natural friends and allies, even if Trump is currently trying to undo these bonds. We shouldn't forget he's doing the same thing with the rest of the world as well. Every once in a while, I have guests who have very anti-American attitudes, which is difficult for me, because I live here and love the country. Inevitably, after about two weeks, these people start asking how they can get a green card. Fortunately, one learns quite quickly that America is multifaceted and that stereotypes simply don't do justice to the country.

Germans are critical of the US and yet our lives are immersed in American culture. We watch American films and listen to American music. How do you reconcile these two forces?

It's hard to understand. On the one hand, European culture embraces American culture, and many Germans identify with the US. On the other hand, those same people often argue that the US is populated by hillbillies alone. It's a schizophrenic posture, it's pharisaical, or doctrinaire. I've noticed on several occasions that people in Germany – in contrast to other European countries – simply have no idea of the richness of American culture. Many world-famous artists, such as Guillermo del Toro and Neil Gaiman – neither of whom is American but both of whom are very famous in the US – are hardly even known in Germany. This betrays a strange degree of provinciality. Indeed, we only feel like Europeans when we're in America.

This multiculturalism is precisely what scares far-right thinkers. How can we communicate to children and adolescents that racism is the wrong path to take?

Storytellers like myself have been doing exactly that for ages. My books promote friendship, cooperation and admiration for others. I write fantasy books. They teach kids how to deal with things that are different. In general, stories make it possible for us to slip into other people's skin and see the world from their eyes. Every book is capable of that. When I read, I enter into someone else's mind.

That would imply that right-wing thinkers either don't read books or don't understand what they're reading. There are plenty of very bad books on sale these days. There are also evil books out there. It's strange how easily we forget this.

So you would say they haven't read the right books.

I find it equally unacceptable to ask fellow Jewish citizens to tolerate neo-Nazi marching past them shouting anti-Semitic slogans. As a Western democracy, shouldn't we respond to this by saying that one of our most important values involves respecting the rights of others? For me, freedom of expression ends when people start inciting hatred and intolerance. But perhaps it's better not to ban these right-wing parades and instead just laugh at them!

Would you say there is too much tolerance in these cases?

If we insist on limiting freedom of expression where we disagree with people, it might backfire on us. Right-wingers will just turn around and say, good, well then, no one is allowed to wear a veil in school. I would say that as long as no one's human rights are being violated, every individual should be able to live the way he or she wants and believe in the God he or she wants

ied those virtues. Today, we're seeing new and enriching aspects coming into Germany from other cultures.

If we take America as an example, it's easy to see what kind of cultural richness results from these new impulses. The country has always defined itself by way of immigration – even if Trump doesn't want to recognize this fact. I'm a big fan of the multiplicity of voices, tastes and colors. I miss that when I'm in Germany. When I look around here, I think, everything is so white. I wish we could get everybody in Europe to get their DNA tested. Then we would recognize where we all come from. Nobody would be able to insist that they're "from here" and others are "from somewhere else." We're all mixed-race.

But it's not about blood, it's about cultural background. This is what so many people in Europe are afraid of, not just the right-wingers. Are these fears justified?

As a woman, I cannot condone girls being prohibited from going to school or women prohibited from marrying whomever they choose. It is important that every nation speaks out against such things. We have an obligation to criticize and, in part, to fight against them. We have to support everything that feeds our values. We have to educate immigrants and provide them with professional training. It will cost a lot of money, but it's the only way we will be able to get something back. We cannot allow immigrants and refugees to be ghettoized from the very beginning and prevented from working. If we do it right, this wave of refugees can enrich our culture. Incidentally, this is a wave of migration we are deeply implicated in, that is, one that we triggered due to our own economic and political policies. And now we're all sitting on our yachts complaining about the rafts filled with poor people who want to come to our shores. Our first impulse is to build walls and fences.

In this sense, Europe and the US have something in common. But what exactly was the trigger? The Iraq War in 2003, which politically destabilized the region?

That was certainly a major trigger. Unfortunately, however, the seeds of violence have always been in multiple ways, whether as a result of colonialism or fascism. If I had been born Jewish, I would no longer believe that my neighbor had peaceful intentions. The seeds of past violence will continue to sprout. Some refugee movements are even the result of our aggressive colonialism. These days, many Europeans are self-righteous and unwilling to face their colonial past.

Most importantly, in the din of all the chaos we cause each other every day, we never get to the point where we recognize the key theme we should be facing as humanity, namely climatic disaster. Instead of focusing on our dying planet, we are entirely obsessed with our own daily affairs and power struggles. Later generations will scold us for being so preoccupied with nationalist ideas while our climate collapses around us. And, of course, we continue to believe today that it's up to us to decide whether our planet continues to exist or not. But it won't be us destroying the planet. It will be the planet destroying us.

Those individuals were predominantly German-speaking people, displaced persons and refugees. This is true, but today's immigration is giving Germany a major opportunity to get something back that we had before WWII. As a country, our culture was more diverse back then than it is today, plus we were funnier, we had a greater sense of humor and we were more educated. But then we destroyed everything that embod-



Cornelia Funke

But that's changing. The number of German high school students going to the US for a year is rising. Young people are watching American TV series on Netflix...

I hope so. Nothing – no political program or official government statement – can compete with human contact. We need more exchange programs that allow both sides to learn first-hand what is valuable in the other. Only people who've never ventured beyond their own borders are able to maintain a stubborn national approach. But culture has always been multinational. For example, for a classical musician, it's perfectly normal to work with musicians from all over the world. In fact, it's almost impossible to sell artists any form of nationalism as a fixed identity.

Furthermore, when I attend, say, a literary festival in Sydney, I don't limit myself to the German stands. Instead, I venture out and speak to other authors as peers, no matter where they come from. Plus, my readers come from all over the world. Business is also fully international these days, and nationalism simply no longer plays the role right-wing forces would like it to. We're seeing the reemergence of an old order, like a monster out of the sea. But we all know the future will be multinational and multicultural.

We all seek out books that portray the world the way we want to see it. Robert Louis Stevenson wrote a wonderful essay in which he suggests that readers don't read books for the plot threads we authors spin; what they really want to do is to see and understand the world through our eyes. This means they seek out the eyes they like best. If someone wants to see the world through racist eyes, they're not going to choose to read my books. People like that will reject Harry Potter books, too, because there are witches in them. People like that will want to ban Huckleberry Finn.

It's become trendy to ban books because they might hurt readers' feelings, even among the left. What do you think about that?

Populist thinking fed by fear cannot lead to anything good. But I'm torn. On the one hand, I don't want to ban books. Freedom of expression is a basic human right. What do we do, however, when members of the Ku Klux Klan and right-wing radicals want to take to the streets to express their views? Presumably, we have to allow that. But there have been deaths at demonstrations recently, even in the US. And we cannot expect people whose grandparents were victims of lynchings to tolerate the KKK roaming the

Peter H. Koepf spoke with Cornelia Funke at the launch of Deutschlandjahr USA on Aug. 25, 2018, in Berlin.

Germany's greatest revolution

One hundred years ago, the monarchy was toppled and democracy installed, writes the historian Robert Gerwarth

On Nov. 10, 1918, the prominent editor-in-chief of the liberal daily *Berliner Tageblatt*, Theodor Wolff, published a remarkable commentary on the events that had unfolded in Germany over the previous days: "Like a sudden windstorm, the greatest of all revolutions has toppled the imperial regime together with all it comprised, from top to bottom. One can call it the greatest of all revolutions since never before was such a solidly built and walled Bastille taken at one go.... Yesterday morning, at least in Berlin, everything was still there. Yesterday afternoon, all of it had vanished."

Wolff's enthusiastic appraisal of the November Revolution may appear surprising, considering that in standard history books, it is generally portrayed as an "incomplete" revolution that failed to create a democracy strong enough to withstand the onslaught of Nazism in the early 1930s. Yet such a verdict only makes sense in retrospect, from the perspective of 1933.

It could be argued that the achievements of the November Revolution – the only successful revolution in a highly industrialized country before 1989 – were quite remarkable indeed: within days, Germany peace-

fully transformed itself from a constitutional monarchy with limited political participation rights to what was probably the most progressive republic of the period. Germany became a democracy that, despite massive domestic and foreign policy challenges – most of them the consequences of a lost war – lasted for 14 years, thus surviving longer than nearly all of the other European democracies founded in 1918.

It should also be acknowledged that November 1918 not only marked a political revolution, but also a major social revolution that afforded full citizenship rights to women, who had previously been excluded from the most basic right of citizenship: the vote. Germany was the first highly industrialized country in the world to introduce universal suffrage for women and women actually constituted a significant majority of the overall electorate. Although the political history of the Weimar Republic has often been written from a very male perspective, women played a prominent role in the revolutionary events that led to the creation of a democracy and then exercised their democratic rights: in the January 1919 elections for the National Assembly, female voters exceeded male voters by 2.8 million.

The year 1918 also brought the Germans additional freedoms that no one would have thought possible before 1914. Alongside the political reforms that guaranteed equal participation rights for all adult Germans, there were now greater sexual freedoms, both for women and for homosexuals of both genders. Gay rights' activists immediately responded to the November revolution with considerable enthusiasm, viewing it as the dawn of a new era of sexual liberation that heralded the decriminalization

of homosexuality. "The great revolution of the past weeks must be welcomed with joy from our point of view," wrote Magnus Hirschfeld, leader of the world's first LGBT rights' organization, in November 1918.

Not everyone, of course, shared Wolff's or Hirschfeld's enthusiasm. Contemporary reactions to the events of November 1918 in Germany were, as one would expect, extremely varied.

Irrespective of whether one considered the events of November 1918 as a threat or an opportunity, there was one thing on which all contemporary observers agreed: that the events of November 1918 constituted a proper revolution, or, in the words of the monarchist newspaper *Kreuzzeitung*, a "cataclysm such as history has never seen." From the extreme right to the communist left, no one in autumn 1918 seriously questioned that a major revolution had occurred in Germany – a judgment that differs significantly from that of subsequent generations of political commentators and historians. The latter two groups have been far more hostile in their assessment of the events of November 1918 than contemporaries, labeling it a "failed," "incomplete" or even "betrayed" revolution – a judgment primarily informed by their retrospective knowledge about how Weimar ended.

Because the new political leaders in 1918 left pre-existing economic and social relations, state bureaucracies and the judiciary relatively untouched, and because of Weimar's eventual demise in 1933, the November Revolution is frequently seen

as an "incomplete" revolution of secondary importance. Some have even doubted whether the events of November 1918 qualify as a revolution at all.

How did this remarkable re-definition of the events that occurred in Germany in late 1918 come to be? The changing perception of the revolution began in 1919 when the overwhelming initial support for the democratic revolution of 1918 was weakened for a number of reasons, not least because many Germans had harbored unrealistic expectations about what a revolution could achieve and how the democratization would affect the peace treaty drawn up by the victorious Allies from January 1919 onwards.

While those on the far left had been longing for a revolution, it was not this revolution to which they had aspired. Like their leaders in 1918, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, they perceived the military collapse of Imperial Germany in November 1918 as a historically unique opportunity to create a socialist state run by the workers' and soldiers' councils. Friedrich Ebert's unshakable determination to hold a general election for a constituent National Assembly to answer the question of Germany's

future form of government was portrayed by the far-left as a fundamental "betrayal," for it prevented the realization of their own, more radical ambitions for the re-organization of German society and its political systems.

The "betrayal" of 1918–19 escalated tensions between different factions of the German labor movement, as the far left felt that the majority Social Democrats under Ebert had prevented a "real" revolution at a time when it was allegedly feasible – an accusation that can still be heard today. As late as 2008, the then chairman of the far-left Die Linke openly declared that Ebert's "betrayal" of the workers' movement in 1918 had "set the course for the disastrous history of the Weimar Republic."

The Social Democrat leadership under Ebert also had high expectations in the autumn of 1918: if demobilization and democratization could be achieved without resistance from the old elites, Germany would be offered moderate peace conditions that would allow the country to emerge from the war as a strong democracy and an equal partner in the post-war international order.

This hope was shared by many bourgeois liberals, even if they had not initially been supportive of a political revolution. Many of them were positively surprised by the lack of radicalism and the relative absence of violence in November 1918, noting with relief that neither chaos nor civil war spread immediately after the takeover that day.

For the prominent theologian and philosopher Ernst Troeltsch, whose "Spectator Letters" are among the most widely known contemporary documents of the period, the greatest uncertain-



Founding father: Friedrich Ebert speaks at the Weimar National Assembly, the constitutional convention in 1919.

ties had already disappeared by Nov. 10: "Not a man died for Kaiser and Reich! All civil servants are now working for the new government! All duties of the state will be carried out and there has been no run on the banks!" Thomas Mann had similar thoughts when, on Nov. 10, he reflected on the events of the previous day: "The German Revolution is a very German one, even if it is a proper revolution. No French savagery, no Russian Communist excesses," he noted with relief.

What changed this perception, and contemporaries' retrospective assessment of the November Revolution more generally, was the revolution's radicalization and its violent escalation in early 1919. The Spartacist Uprising of January 1919, the Munich Soviet Republic later that spring and the brutal backlash by right-wing Freikorps volunteers seemed to

many contemporaries to be an unwelcome echo of the Russian Civil War. Similarly disappointing for many was that the expectations for a negotiated peace clashed brutally with the actual conditions of the Versailles Peace Treaty. The nationalist right in particular was quick to portray this as proof of the Republic's inability to negotiate a better future for Germany. In the collective memory, the revolution, military defeat and its principal consequence – the Versailles Peace Treaty – gradually merged into one narrative in which the revolution, an act of betrayal of the fighting men on the front, had caused an unnecessary military defeat.

No one exploited this soon-to-be widely shared narrative of betrayal and failure more persistently and successfully than Adolf Hitler. Exactly five years after the proclamation of

the German Republic, on Nov. 9, 1923, he first attempted his "national revolution" in Munich. He had consciously chosen this date for his futile bid to revise the result of "November 1918" and to instigate a "re-birth" of the German people. During his subsequent imprisonment, Hitler penned *Mein Kampf*, in which Nov. 9, 1918, featured prominently as his alleged moment of political awakening. For the Nazis, the day became a date of annual mobilization, a date on which Hitler's followers were called upon to "honor the fallen" of the failed putsch by working towards the replacement of the hated system established in 1918 with a mythical Third Reich.

The fact that a mere 15 years separated the revolution of 1918 from the advent of the Third Reich in 1933 reinforced the tempting (but misleading) interpretation of the "doomed"

Weimar Republic post-1945. Weimar was portrayed as a negative template against which the Federal Republic compared favorably as a much more stable, more Westernized and more economically successful democracy. However, such a perspective ignores that – at least until the beginning of the Great Depression in 1929 – the Weimar Republic was relatively stable. Extremists on the far left and right had been marginalized, Germany's international isolation was overcome and the SPD had won a landslide victory in 1928. From the perspective of 1928, the Republic's survival would have seemed a great deal more likely than its failure.

Our perspective on 1918 has also for too long been dominated by a national tunnel vision that largely views events in Germany in isolation from what was going on elsewhere in Europe. The year 1918 was part of a much larger European moment of political change. Between 1917 and 1920 alone, Europe experienced some 27 violent transfers of political power. Russia in particular experienced two revolutions within less than 12 months, eventually resulting in a civil war that cost the lives of well over three million people. It is also worth noting that of all the parliamentary democracies created in East-Central Europe after 1918 (with the exceptions of Finland and Czechoslovakia), the Weimar Republic was one of the last democratic states founded in 1918 to give way to an autocratic regime.

A broader perspective is also important when it comes to determining the place the German Revolution should hold in modern European history. Both the great European revo-

lution of the West (the French Revolution of 1789) and the great European revolution of the East (the Russian Revolution of 1917) quickly led to civil wars and dictatorships without anyone denying their historical significance. Even compared to other European revolutions – those in Finland and Hungary in 1918 and 1919 – the revolutionary events in Germany were not only relatively bloodless but also remarkably successful when measured against their objectives: the restoration of peace and the replacement of the monarchy with a democratic regime. The Ebert government succeeded in channeling revolutionary energies, maintaining public order in the face of a historically unprecedented defeat and peacefully demobilizing several million soldiers.

In view of the enormous challenges that the emerging Weimar Republic faced, Theodor Wolff's comment that the German Revolution of 1918 was the "greatest" of all revolutions may appear daringly optimistic, perhaps even naive. Nevertheless, one hundred years after the Revolution, it might be time to do more justice to an event that led to the creation of the most progressive republic of its time and that was – at least initially – accompanied by great hopes and expectations for a yet unknown future. ■

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Lost in back-translation

The rediscovered original manuscript of Arthur Koestler's novel *Darkness at Noon* allows for a new interpretation of a literary and political classic

BY LUTZ LICHTENBERGER

It's the political novel of the day, a warning signal, a reckoning with all forms of totalitarianism, a riveting literary dystopia. As a matter of fact, *Darkness at Noon*, Arthur Koestler's international classic, is undergoing its third finest hour in Germany, that is, in German.

Born in Budapest, raised in Vienna and an artisan of German prose, Koestler toiled on his book while exiled in Paris between summer 1938 and spring 1940, before being forced to flee the French capital ahead of the Nazi occupation. The only German copy was lost as he fled. 75 years later, however, the German literary scholar Matthias Weßel discovered the manuscript in the archive of a publishing house in Zurich.

Daphne Hardy, Koestler's lover at the time, penned the English translation of *Darkness at Noon* and sent it off to London. In the absence of the original manuscript, Hardy's translation was considered the Urtext and served as the source for translations into 30 languages, and even back into German. As Koestler's biographer Michael Scammell would note, such a case stands alone in the history of modern literature.

Darkness at Noon uses powerful and disturbing imagery to recount the life and death of the revolutionary leader Nico-

lai Rubashov, who is arrested and soon thereafter imprisoned. In captivity he is interrogated to excruciating effect by two examining magistrates, Ivanov, an erstwhile friend and fellow traveler, and Gletkin, a hostile and ruthless inquisitor. The two officials use all means of manipulation to bring Rubashov to confess to crimes he did not commit.

The book, as Scammell calls it, is an "intellectual political thriller," which simultaneously became a political statement, a commercial success and a novel celebrated by critics. In 1998, the Modern Library selected the book as the eighth most important work of the twentieth century.

Up until his arrest and imprisonment in the Spanish Civil War in 1937, Koestler himself was a communist. He often asked himself how the NKVD was successful in persuading such prominent party leaders like Nikolai Bukharin, Grigory Zinoviev and Karl Radek to confess to crimes they never committed, thus signing their own death sentences.

The book does not reveal the country in which it is set. At several points in the novel there are indications it may be Nazi Germany, or perhaps communist Soviet Union. Scammell writes that early on, more astute critics called attention to the generally overlooked fact that Koestler was one of the first authors to notice the growing similarities

between the Soviet and Nazi regimes. Koestler's message, in general, can be read less as anti-Soviet than anti-totalitarian.

The book became a bestseller. In France alone, 70,000 copies were sold in its first month of publication in 1946. Parisians queued up before the publishing house to secure a copy, which could then be resold for up to eight times the retail price. By

mid-year, the novel had sold 300,000 copies, and after two years, two million.

With the escalation of the Cold War, however, Koestler's anti-totalitarian – indeed universal – message passed nearly unnoticed. As in the time of Franz Kafka, whose works were published between 1908 and 1924, segments of the literary world and wide circles of political intel-

lectuals fixated on anti-communist interpretations of literature. *Darkness at Noon* was broadly perceived as a document of the Cold War.

The first German translation appeared in 1948. Within Germany, Koestler was understood to be an English author. His works were all translated from the English. Scammell notes that German-speaking readers would have regarded the novel as "testimony of a foreign culture." This, perhaps, encouraged many of them to overlook the passages on totalitarian Germany and to exclusively interpret the novel as criticism of the Soviet state.

The rediscovery of the original manuscript can thus also be celebrated as an occasion to better understand the book's political dimension. Daphne Hardy, the translator of the Urtext, had never before translated a book into English. She was just 21 years old and was forced to work under tremendous time pressure. She was familiar with neither the practices of the Soviet and National Socialist secret police nor the mechanisms of totalitarian states, thus she replaced Bolshevik terminology with British legal concepts and terms, which lent the system a milder and more civilized manifestation.

Several critical "mistakes" can now be accounted for. In the first back-translation, for example, in one of the interrogation scenes, Rubashov scoffs that "our lead-

ership [is] more grotesque than that jumping jack's with the little mustache" – a direct reference to Hitler. However, the phrase in Daphne Hardy's original translation reads: "our leader-worship [is] more Byzantine than that of the reactionary dictatorships."

In this more abstract formulation, the commonality Koestler so deftly recognized between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany remains more-or-less pronounced.

Matthias Weßel, who found the manuscript and was able to research Koestler in the German Historical Institute Moscow as well as in the Russian State Military Archive, has vowed to deliver a complete and systematic evaluation of the two versions.

In the afterword to the new revised German edition published in 1960, Koestler wrote: "I translated *Darkness at Noon* back into German myself, and this distressing feeling lingers within me that the spontaneity of the original has been lost."

German readers are now the first to savor this spontaneity in full splendor and to draw whatever political or historical conclusions they may. In fact, it would be rewarding, and not just from a literary standpoint, to contemplate new translations into other languages based on the rediscovered manuscript – ideally into all 30 employed previously.



Arthur Koestler



LUTZ LICHTENBERGER'S
TRANS-ATLANTIC BOOK REVIEW

WHITHER WEST?

Joschka Fischer is afraid. As Fischer turns 70 this year, this one-time rebel who crusaded against capitalism and the state back in the late 1960s only to join the establishment as German Foreign Minister from 1998 until 2005 for the Green Party, now dons the mantle of Elder Statesman. It's a role he assumes with such gravity that it borders on caricature.

His latest work, a geopolitical analysis titled *Der Abstieg des Westens. Europa in der neuen Weltordnung des 21. Jahrhunderts* (The abdication of the West. Europe in the new world order of the 21st century), is more like an encyclopedic collection of all the themes, venues and catchwords currently in circulation: the rise of China, the fall of the US under Trump, the necessity of reform in the EU – and, of course, the crisis of Western liberal democracy.

Fischer writes: "We contemporaries of the early 21st century are witness to the dawning of a new world order;" "The century of China, and of Asia, is upon us;" and "The world stands on the brink of a transition process harboring risks we cannot afford to overlook." Fischer's observations on the overall geopolitical situation are hard to controvert, as he presents them via countless "open questions."

More of a primer than a tome, his book reads as if written by Siri – wavering between rational and benign while describing the precarious state of the world in a paint-by-numbers fashion.

JOSCHKA FISCHER

Der Abstieg des Westens. Europa in der neuen Weltordnung des 21. Jahrhunderts, Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2018.

MIDDLE-POWER POLITICS

Herfried Münkler is the preeminent political scientist in Germany. The prolific Berlin professor has written thick and learned books on Machiavelli, World War I and the rise and fall of the great powers. But he also understands how to mix in current political debate – not so much through standard op-ed pieces, but rather through sound scientific analysis that finds purchase in foreign policy circles here on the Spree. In his most recent essay *Eine neue Sicherheitsarchitektur für Europa?* (A new security architecture for Europe?), featured in the July issue of the highbrow *Merkur – the German journal for European thought* – Münkler delivers several strategic policy reflections while pulling no punches with regard to Europe's foreign policy elite.

The narrative of the West as an alliance based exclusively on shared values is a sustainable – if abbreviated – construction, he argues; it is a narrative for those seeking warmth and comfort, a "politics of memory for simple minds." Münkler subsequently indicates what it means for the EU to be "no longer the security policy lackey of the US;" it means a break with the "rehearsed routines of bureaucratic projects" to bring together state funds; it means corporate engagement and civil society actors in the Middle East; it means a phase-out of the "inflexible and ineffective sanctions policy vis-à-vis Russia" combined with the "determination – by both sides – of the respected spheres of influence between the EU and Russia;" and, finally, it means a "renunciation of the ban on state transfers" to the southeast flank of Europe, which will cost lots of money, especially for Germany. Münkler argues that a Europe of collective values must be augmented in the future "through the observation and acceptance of geopolitical realities." Required reading.

HERFRIED MÜNKLER

Eine neue Sicherheitsarchitektur für Europa? Einige politikstrategische Überlegungen, in: "Merkur. Deutsche Zeitschrift für europäisches Denken", July 2018.

THE GREAT UNRAVELING

German journalist Bernd Ulrich is unrivaled in terms of provoking highly passionate disputes, both in Berlin and between intellectuals across the country. The chief political editor at the liberal weekly *Die Zeit* pens elegant big-picture essays nearly every week. With his well-reasoned yet distinct moral bent, Ulrich epitomizes the smart, non-ideological center-left view of politics. It is the former that has made him so beloved and so despised.

In his book on the "West at the dawn of a new era," Ulrich proceeds from the observation that the stability of states and religions relies not on institutions, "nor even on power and might, but on something altogether different: the humility of the humiliated." He argues that old formulae for the legitimation of sovereignty and suppression no longer function in the new one-to-one society of the internet age, in which everyone is in a position to express their demands and advocate for their rights.

In the chapter on trans-Atlantic relations, Ulrich treads these premises to further analyze the reasons for Donald Trump's aversion to Europe. If the US president possesses any strategic ideas whatsoever, he argues, they have something to do with a desire to pass on the rising costs of hegemony and the diminishing returns amid the waning effects of order: "In the future, every positive achievement for the greater good must be compensated with cash. The US is a service provider with no missionary pretensions, a nation like any other. Only stronger." Friend and foe alike may sharpen their intellectual incisors on the pages of Ulrich's book.

BERND ULRICH

Guten Morgen, Abendland. Der Westen am Beginn einer neuen Epoche, Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2017.

From Weimar to Midtown Manhattan

How the Bauhaus began a century ago in sleepy Weimar and a decade later was shaping architecture in the US

BY KLAUS GRIMBERG

The townspeople of Weimar had never come across the likes of a Johannes Itten. The bald instructor at the Staatliches Bauhaus, or simply Bauhaus, often wore a monk's habit of the Mazdaznan movement while exuding esoteric worldviews from literally his every pore – his philosophy included strict vegetarianism and, by all accounts, bounteous amounts of garlic. His unusual teaching methods quickly made the rounds in this once serene former ducal residence – they included breathing exercises, relaxation sessions and gymnastics as well as periodic bowel cleansing. His entire bearing seemed to convey a disdain for convention.

When the Bauhaus was founded in Weimar in April 1919, the end of World War I and the abdication of the last Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, Wilhelm Ernst were but a few months past. On paper, the Staatliches Bauhaus, under the direction of Walter Gropius, combined the former Grand Ducal School of Arts and Crafts with the Weimar Saxon Grand Ducal Art School, which had been founded by the Belgian designer, Henry van de Velde.

It quickly became clear that the new academy would embody an entirely new spirit. In the Bauhaus Manifesto, Gropius made an emphatic call to reunite art and craftsmanship and together create "the new building of the future," which will "unite every discipline, architecture and sculpture and painting, and which will one day rise heavenwards from the million hands of craftsmen as a clear symbol of a new belief to come."

While by today's standards that may sound like excessive pathos, back then such appeals were delivered very much in earnest. They embody the optimistic spirit of a young generation that – after the convulsions of the war and the end of the ruling nobility – strove to lead a different, a freer, a boisterous life. And so it all began: the 150 young women and men who had registered in roughly equal numbers for that first semester celebrated spectacularly, moved

informally about the town and even sometimes bathed naked in the River Ilm.

This appalled the stuffy Weimar townspeople, who still clung to the etiquette of the empire. Children from these circles – it has often been reported – were thus sternly chided for misconduct: "If you don't behave, it's off to the Bauhaus for you!" A worse threat was evidently unthinkable.

"This contrast between a populace still predominantly stuck in an older time and the wild, wacky Bauhaus community hungry for life is a reflection of the questions surrounding the design of the future, questions that in many respects remained fully unresolved in the young Weimar Republic," says Steffen de Rudder, a professor at the Bauhaus University in Weimar, whose work deals extensively with the history of the Bauhaus. Many currents of the age, from naturism to nudism, from progressive education to psychoanalysis, found expression in the Bauhaus curricula. A preliminary course conceived chiefly by Johannes Itten was developed to constitute an elemental component of the training. Itten was intent on testing the individual aptitudes of each student and conveying to him or her the appropriate fundamentals of artisanal craftsmanship and design.

"More than anything, it was about showing the students a very specific approach: perceiving assigned tasks in light of the means of the time," explains de Rudder. To fathom the nature of the materials and their usability for a particular task – this would become the essence of Bauhaus thought.

The courses in the individual workshops built on this idea. In the early years, Walter Gropius took it upon himself to attract renowned artists to Weimar to work as instructors. Among others, Lyonel Feininger, Josef Albers, Paul Klee and Oskar Schlemmer answered the call. As a result, the Bauhaus faculty represented a coming together of the important minds of the European avant-garde, who sought to realize their visions of cosmopolitanism and international diversity. In this first phase, the Bauhaus resembled a large creative laboratory for experimentation

with different materials, forms, colors and indeed a whole range of playful ideas.

But as one would expect, the teaching staff at the Bauhaus was also a breeding ground for very peculiar characters and somewhat contradictory theories. Over time, Walter Gropius was increasingly required to act less like the director of a university and more like a tamer in a circus of artistic conceits and personal vanities.

Josef Albers, who held various positions over a many-year stint at the Bauhaus, would later report with some pride that people "never agreed on anything. If Wassily Kandinsky said yes, I said no. And if he said no, I said yes." But above all it was the increasingly combative relationship between Gropius and his deputy, Itten, that would prove most consequential. The latter's aggressive advocacy of his own religious and philosophical convictions resulted in his leaving the Bauhaus in 1923 and his replacement by the constructivist László Moholy-Nagy.

This phase also saw the Bauhaus face intense pressure from the Dutch de Stijl artist and propagandist Theo van Doesburg, who had in mind something of a hostile takeover of the Bauhaus. His influence and the school's attempts at grappling with the demands of a technology-oriented world led the Bauhaus to take on a more pragmatic, functional approach, which itself was the cause of much controversy.

ANNIVERSARY PROGRAM

This year, the international exhibition and event series "bauhaus imaginista" is tracing the global intertwinements and current relevance of Bauhaus ideas across five different continents. For its grand finale in 2019, "bauhaus imaginista" will return to Germany with the results of its investigations.

The actual Bauhaus centennial in 2019 will begin with a large opening festival in Berlin from Jan. 16–24 and feature contemporary international performances, music by instructors and students of the Bauhaus and its successor institutions, Bauhaus films and plenty more.

All Bauhaus sites in Germany have combined to form the Bauhaus Association 2019, which is planning a multitude of peripheral exhibitions, art projects, events and actions. In its totality, it will show where and how Bauhaus architecture, urban planning, design, photography and dance have left their mark. Large centennial exhibitions will be held at all three Bauhaus locations – Weimar, Dessau and Berlin – where in each case a new museum building will be inaugurated. A good overview of the entire program, in both English and German, can be found at www.bauhaus100.de.



Bauhaus lamp by Wilhelm Wagenfeld from 1924.

This process culminated in the 1923 Bauhaus Exhibition, the school's first large-scale self-presentation, where several of its early design classics could be appreciated, such as the now famous Bauhaus Lamp by Jucker and Wagenfeld. Although public reaction was generally enthusiastic, the exhibition also bred some skepticism. In the sardonic words of writer and critic Paul Westheim: "Three days in Weimar and you've seen enough squares for a lifetime."

In retrospect, this exhibition marked the starting point of an epic journey through the legendary and influential Bauhaus years in Dessau (1925–1931), the short yet dramatic phase in Berlin (1932–1933) and culminating with another groundbreaking spectacle: the legendary 1932 architecture exhibition at New York's Museum of Modern Art. "It was of central importance for the adoption of European modernity and the American realignment of modern architecture," writes de Rudder

the new director of the architecture department at the Armour Institute in Chicago. He then hired two of his former Bauhaus colleagues to its faculty: Walter Peterhans from New York, who established the seminars for visual training, and Ludwig Hilberseimer, who took over the field of urban development.

More than anyone else, Mies van der Rohe succeeded in implementing the International Style in the US, including his designs for the world-renowned Farnsworth House in a suburb of Chicago. Three years later, Mies won the commission to design his first office skyscraper, the 1958 Seagram Building in Midtown Manhattan, considered by many to be his finest work.

With help from Walter Gropius, in 1937 László Moholy-Nagy was appointed director of the new Chicago design school called New Bauhaus – American School of Design, which was forced to close a year later for financial reasons. In 1939, Moholy-Nagy founded its successor institution, the Chicago School of Design, which was restructured in 1944 as the Institute of Design.

Joseph Albers, one of the last masters of the Bauhaus, was ultimately hired at Black Mountain College in Asheville, North Carolina, where he taught art until 1949 to, among others, Willem de Kooning, Robert Motherwell and Robert Rauschenberg.

The seeds of the Bauhaus undeniably bore ample fruit in the US, yet they did so in their own specific way. Particularly in terms of the further development of the International Style, the social, artistic and political factors present at the emergence of the Bauhaus were consciously neglected; moreover, issues relating to formal instruction no longer played a role.

"As a matter of fact," claims de Rudder, "severing ties with the connotations associated with the Bauhaus was also understood as a liberation, as the purging of a superstructure that had become obsolete, and as a prerequisite for the advancement and transformation of modern architecture." ■

In 1938, Mies van der Rohe, the last director of the Bauhaus, resumed his teaching activities as

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The inner game of tennis

Angelique Kerber was knocked out early on in this year's US Open. But she's not worried. She's achieved so much in the past two years, she can now finally be satisfied

BY JÜRGEN SCHMIEDER

On Sept. 5, 2015, Angelique Kerber began composing a text message on her cell phone. She was sitting in the locker room of the Arthur Ashe Stadium in New York after her match against Victoria Azarenka. It was an exciting, gripping, first-class match, perhaps the best of the entire tournament, but Kerber had lost. She was now in a state of desperation, struggling with herself and her defeat. The message she was about to send is one that athletes usually write at the end their careers. The recipient was Barbara Rittner, head coach of the German national team, and the message read: "It just isn't going to work for me, is it?"

One year later, on Sept. 8, 2016, Kerber once again found herself in the catacombs of the world's largest tennis arena. She was about to play Caroline Wozniacki in the US Open semifinal, but that wasn't what had the tennis world buzzing. The big news was that Serena Williams had just lost, which meant that after the tournament, Kerber was going to rise to the world number-one spot, something no German player had achieved since Steffi Graf. Her reaction? "I was in the fitness studio with my coach and my physiotherapist. We just went silent for a couple of seconds." Kerber would go on to win the tournament. It would be her second Grand Slam title after the Australian Open she won only a few months prior. In other words, contrary to the sentiment of her message to Rittner, it was going to work for her.

Two years later, on Sept. 1, 2018, Kerber was back at Arthur Ashe Stadium, where she lost 6:3, 3:6, 3:6 to Dominika Cibulková. Kerber didn't play very well, and she also didn't fight as boldly against this defeat as she'd done so many times before in her career. And yet, she by no means gave the impression that she felt like a failed person, a reviled person, a desperate person. This time, she wasn't going to write a distressed text message to Rittner. If she had wanted to write something, it would probably have been similar to what she told reporters that day: "I won Wimbledon this year. No one can take that away from me."

It is important to keep these three moments in mind when talking about Angelique Kerber. They say so much about her, as well as about Germany's interest in tennis.

Kerber won three Grand Slam tournaments since her US Open loss in 2015, plus the Silver Medal at the Olympic Games in Rio. She also earned tens of millions in prize money and was ranked #1 in the world for a total of 34 weeks. And yet, nobody has given her a nickname other than "Angie," an abbreviation of her first name, and anyone who says "Angelique" also has to say "Kerber" afterwards. This was not the case for "Steffi" or "Boris" in the 1980s.

Steffi Graf won everything. That's why she continues to be the benchmark for all young women playing tennis today. People now like to argue that millions of Germans discovered their love of tennis in the 1980s. But that's only half true. What actually happened is that millions of Germans became interested in Steffi Graf and Boris Becker, and only after that did they come to know the difference between topspin and slice. A similar thing happened shortly thereafter with boxer Henry Maske, when everyone suddenly became familiar with the concept of "double cover." Also, thanks to Michael Schumacher, Germans came to know that on the Formula One track in Montréal, the best strategy was to take three pit stops. In other words, back in the 1980s, Germany didn't experience



The outward spoils of triumph: Angelique Kerber at Wimbledon 2018.

coach at the time and was preparing his protégé Novak Djokovic for his next match. No, Kerber did not turn to Boris, she turned to Steffi, who invited her to a joint training in Las Vegas and also exchanged some text messages with her. The two women did not become friends; Graf knew that Kerber didn't need a friend. Instead, the tennis legend gave Kerber some very simple advice: "You have to go your own way." It was exactly what she needed to hear.

next rally, especially in tricky situations. It might sound easy, but anyone who's played tennis knows how incredibly difficult it is not to think about the score or the preceding rallies.

Until 2015, however, Kerber had a problem. She was one of the best players in the world, but when it came to all important tournaments, she just couldn't win.

"Anyone who makes the same mistake over and over again has to learn from it at some point," she says about her own transformation. She struggled time and again with draws and drills, with wind and weather, with overcrowded training courts and negative reporting, i.e. with things she has no influence over. Of course, for a while you can use these factors to explain away bitter defeats, but at some point athletes have to ask themselves if maybe they aren't quite as good as they always thought. On that point, Kerber says: "I decided then and there that I would never again let the pressure get to me."

And Kerber did just that. She no longer stressed about things; plus, she stopped looking for excuses. This approach led her to win both the Australian Open and US Open in 2016. Anyone who's ever been present at the usual celebrations that take place after key sporting events would have been astonished after Kerber's triumph at the US Open. She didn't want to drink any alcohol; she didn't want to celebrate in a nightclub. What she really wanted was the ham sandwich and sour peach rings her mother Beata had smuggled into the complex.

Still, after Kerber started winning Grand Slam tournaments,

there was no second tennis boom in Germany, even if a couple of people tried adamantly to start one. Kerber has had to participate in appearances with sponsors, reporters, tournament officials, etc., but anyone who watches her during these events can see that what she really wants is to be left alone. No athlete likes to lose, but maybe Kerber saw her numerous early defeats (at the US Open in the first round) as a way to be left alone again.

She won Wimbledon this year, which is the pinnacle for a tennis career. And she has learned from her successes and all the hype they brought with them. After her victory in London, she refrained from taking on too many appointments. She traveled home to the Polish town of Puszczykowo and took a vacation, which for her means lying around, chilling out, taking herself out of the picture. "I knew what I wanted to do and what I didn't want to do. And I said so, too. After Wimbledon, I wanted to do nothing for a few weeks."

One might say that Kerber threw away an opportunity to win another Grand Slam title. A number of other favorites got knocked out early at this year's US Open; there could have been a repeat of her Wimbledon final against Serena Williams. And it's true, Cibulková hadn't won the match; Angelique Kerber had lost it. Unnecessarily. But anyone who pooh-poos Kerber at this point has not understood what her life is about and even why she's so successful.

The mantra of many professional athletes is keep going, never stop. Once you get over the first hurdle, you have to immediately think of the next one. And

if you win one tournament, you need to win the next as well. It brings up a serious question: Why should any athlete even want to win titles if they're not allowed to enjoy their success afterwards? This approach – the one that says you always have to win, this greed for success, this permanent dissatisfaction – can make a person terribly unhappy.

Kerber is not one of those never stop athletes. She's not someone who climbs to the peak just to look for the next mountaintop. She's also not an athlete who celebrates her successes in a way that would make her come tumbling down the mountainside. She is the way she is. And here's an idea: Is it possible that Steffi Graf is sitting in her home in Las Vegas right now thinking that this Angelique Kerber has really hit the mark in life? Is it possible she's noticed how Kerber wins major tournaments and Olympic medals and achieves the top spot in the world rankings and still – in spite of all of this – doesn't participate in the whole circus Germans inevitably put on when one of their athletes is successful, that is, beatifying the protagonists into angels and later sending them packing off to hell?

Is it possible that Graf has noticed that Kerber – most of the time – is simply left alone? That she was given the time and the space to go her own way?

Kerber is sitting once again in the catacombs of Arthur Ashe Stadium, this time after her defeat at the 2018 US Open. She is disappointed, of course. Still, her Grand Slam record this year is semifinals, quarterfinals, victory – and now the third round. Not only is this an orderly number, it's also quite a good track record. Kerber knows that she didn't play well and that she's going to have to train hard again. After this defeat, she has her eye on the next challenge. And this time, she has a special goal in mind: to achieve a "Career Slam," that is, win all four Grand Slam tournaments, but not necessarily in the same year. Only ten women have done it in the history of tennis. Kerber only has the French Open left to win. Keep going, never stop. Sure, but at your own pace and by your own rules. This is something Angelique Kerber earned. It worked out for her.

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The Berlin Times

A special edition of *The German Times* marking October 3rd, the Day of German Unity



THE VENTURE CAPITAL

"Poor but sexy" no more. With real estate prices on the rise, is the German capital losing its unique allure among European metropolises? *The Berlin Times* tells it as it is

PARTY LIKE IT'S 1929

The hit TV show Berlin Babylon portrays the people and the excitement of the city in its final years of freedom during the Roaring Twenties. **page 31**

BASKETBALL NEVER STOPS

The Alba basketball team has developed a one-of-a-kind youth program – to find the next roundball star and teach all kids how to play the game. **page 33**

THE RAVAGES OF TIME

From Russian spies to haunted houses: photographer Ciarán Fahey has captured both glorious and obscure Berlin relics of a time gone by. **pages 34-35**

CAPITAL CRIBS

The boom in luxury apartment buildings is but one reason for an increasingly tight real estate market. Who gets to live in the city tomorrow? **page 36**

A tale of many cities

Facets of meaning abound – in an ever-changing city. The novelist *Annett Gröschner* tells the tale of Berlin today

Berlin, Prenzlauer Allee, just behind the Ringbahn subway line. A drunk and staggering, somewhat shabby looking older woman with a second-hand cigarette butt in the corner of her mouth stretches her left fist into the air and shouts out to the folks waiting for the walk signal to flash green: "Enough of this nonsense! You all have enough blanksies!"

I love these kinds of exclamations in public places. You surely hear them in most big cities, but in Berlin, where the locals – especially in the east and around the edges of the city – still foster a strong dialect, they are the most direct, at times mean and quite often comical.

The woman stands on the bridge over the Ringbahn, which demarcates the inner city from the outskirts of Berlin. Especially in the east and northeast of the city, the train line has become somewhat of a social barrier over the last ten years. Behind the Ringbahn bridge, SUVs turn into compact cars. As soon as pedestrians heading away from the inner city step off the bridge and onto solid ground, baby strollers suddenly become cheap or second-hand; coffee comes out of a big thermos and is actually called coffee – or Plörre, German slang for dishwasher; an ice cream cone costs 40 cents less; and you can try your luck at the slots in any number of one-room casinos well into the wee hours of the night. There are old people who spend all day perched on a pillow in their window sill gazing down at the street, lighting one cigarette

after the other. But there's also the well-dressed woman who, on early Sunday mornings, moves from one trash bin to the next in search of returnable bottles.

This year will make 35 I've spent in Berlin – just about the whole time in Prenzlauer Berg. In this hot summer of 2018, as I was walking across Schönhauser Allee, I felt a few drops of rain turn to steam on the crosswalk baking in the sun, and for a brief moment I was able to recall the expectations of that young woman who had just fled the countryside. The hopes I had back then were inseparably linked to the big city's olfactory reservoir at that time: the scent of lime blossoms and water sprayed on dry streets, mixed with the crueler smells of season-old potatoes, pisssoirs and dead mice, sooty chimneys and lentil soup with bacon, that is, if you happened to venture through a building's gate to its back courtyard.

The dilapidation of the city dovetailed with my vanquished illusions of childhood, which begged for something new to take their place. The city's unrenovated spaces and cemeteries ensured that past generations were never far from our thoughts. Another constant presence in our lives was the insuperable concrete wall, which I never imagined I would see disappear. Its virtually over-night disappearance six years later marked the advent of a truly exhilarating time.

The first few years after the Wall fell are rhapsodized, often by people who weren't there, as a time when property, houses

and apartments – especially in the east – seemed to belong to no one. Money was not an issue. A new culture was emerging from the rubble, like the vinegar trees that come to life in autumn, in colors so vivacious, a box of watercolors could never echo them. But the two halves of the city, in their own right and in competition with one another, had lived beyond their means, a gargantuan self-service shop of corruption and subsidy. Thus,

Ten years after the start of the financial crisis, it is clear who got the short end of the stick in Berlin – the renters, i.e. the overwhelming majority of Berliners. Low interest rates have made real estate investment a high-yield endeavor, the result of which has been a continual rental-price explosion with particularly grim results for Berlin; for, in contrast to other European capitals, 86 percent of the city's 1.6 million apartments are rental

performance "Die Zeit schlägt dich tot" (Time beats you to death). In his book of the same name, actor and essayist Hans Zischler argues that "Berlin is too big for Berlin." It's one of the most truthful sentences I've ever read about Berlin. There are so many different ways one could interpret those words. One is that the idea of Berlin was always larger than the lived reality, and this contradiction produced decisions in Berlin that were disadvantageous to the rest of the world. Another is that Berlin transcends far beyond the conception any individual has of Berlin. The totality of opinions possessed by all 3.5 million Berliners on their city results in anything but a closed narrative.

Every Berliner who walks through the city sees something different. This fascinates me. A person who lives affluently in Zehlendorf moves through the city with a different orientation and knows a Berlin that is entirely different than that known to the young Turkish woman who grew up in Neukölln. The old woman I spoke to for years about Berlin, and who are now almost all dead, were tough and unsentimental, sometimes mean and scared of nothing.

Those coming to the city to find success never let their image of Berlin crumble, and when it does, they just rebuild it. One of the old women had a saying back then: "Everyone gets their slice of Berlin." This is no less true today, only the slices have become more unfairly divided than they were 30 years ago.

Thus far, anyone who has come here with great plans and an arrogance stemming from prejudice has failed in Berlin. Even the worst blowhards who have been in town for just a day and start holding forth on the habits and customs of the city are swallowed up in a flash. One could say that Berlin has always drawn in people who would arrogate to clean up the city, and then rubbed their faces into the Brandenburg dust. The price has often been high, and sometimes required the help of others, as with the liberation of Berlin in 1945.

Unfortunately, there is at present a tendency to segregate, as it is commonplace in the big cities of the world. But Berlin has no such tradition, as one sees from the few villa districts in the southwest of the city. Living in close proximity to people with vastly different origins, income levels and education – a fin-de-siècle apartment block is a popular and revelatory example – was a wonderful peculiarity of Berlin. But now every pre-war apartment building is in great jeopardy. The "locals" – long-established tenants are now commonly referred to by this English or "new German" term – are seen as inherited liabilities among stacks of gold bricks. They are increasingly being forced out of their familiar neighborhoods in the inner city and deposited in the outskirts of town. Berlin, now as before, is a conglomerate of 3 cities, 59 villages and 12 former estates. Those who have lived in Prenzlauer

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THE FUTURE IS WRITTEN IN THESE STARS

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IT'S ABOUT EDUCATION, STUPID

Filmmaker and author Güner Balci argues that Germany is neglecting its immigrant children. A polemic

The misgivings harbored by many Germans with regard to migrants are steadfast and long-standing. This will not come as a surprise to anyone who has taken the time to examine the state of migrant integration in German society over the past decades. What is alarming, however, is the number of Germans who judge the failed integration of migrants and their children more harshly than they do the failings of their fellow Germans. It's not only those on the right who see every criminal with Turkish, Iraqi or Tunisian roots as an opportunity to demonize all migrants; they are not the only ones who sneer at "Kanake" talk, a derogatory term used to describe the German spoken among migrant youths that often comprises crude colloquialisms and expressions in their native tongues. In fact, no matter where they stand on the political spectrum, people who are quick to criticize migrants inevitably have one thing in common: a false sense of superiority.

Many of us in Germany have yet to learn how to share our lives with people who are "other." This seems to be a value and an approach to life that we rarely strive to achieve. Few people in Germany seem to even have the ability to view "strangers"

as equals. Today, this inability is creating an even greater rift in German society. All too often, public debate on integration is characterized by a willingness to focus solely on the shortcomings of "others."

Indeed, it would seem that for years no one has been able to take the social and political responsibility needed to be able to seek out and find new solutions. How else can we account for the fact that over several decades, large numbers of youth socialized in a Muslim context in Germany have consistently lost out in terms of education? How else can we explain why Germany's current government has not been able to fill a single cabinet post with a person with a "migration background"? And even after nearly 60 years of recruitment agreements, the prospect of having a head of state with Arab or Turkish roots remains wholly inconceivable.

A recent TV program examined the conditions at a school in the Berlin district of Neukölln where almost all students come from immigrant families, including so-called problem students, that is, those whose families depend on welfare funds (Hartz IV). The report begins by stating that 18 of the 24 students in the class arrive late for first period. We

are told that many parents fail to wake up in time to get their kids to school on time. According to the report, these kids are often made to attend school only to render their parents eligible for Kindergeld (child benefits – a social security payout for all parents and guardians). A teacher with a thick Eastern European accent – a man who thinks the plural of "crisis" is "crises" – is seen lamenting the lack of interest in education among his students. The film then shows close-ups of children who, though they appear self-conscious, are nevertheless proud to be the object of media attention. Although most of these students were born in Germany, not a single one of them can deliver a grammatically correct sentence in German.

Scenes such as these should be enough to warrant a thorough analysis of how and where things went wrong. How is it possible that huge numbers of children circumvent the legal obligation to attend school? How can this happen in a country that had a €48.1 billion GDP surplus in the first two quarters of 2018 alone. And what's wrong with the students themselves? Can it be possible that all their problems are related to their oft-cited "migration background"? In all honesty, do we even want them



Güner Balci

to be mixed in with the majority of students? Should they lead "normal" lives, where they attend school regularly, that is, where the state actually carries out its supervisory duty with regard to mothers and fathers who are overwhelmed by their circumstances? These children live marginalized lives in districts that many non-migrants actively avoid; and they are cared for and receive their education in kindergartens and schools that are widely known to be problematic.

Kids like these can be found throughout Germany, especially in areas where large numbers of immigrants reside. From a statistical perspective, they are the "losers" of German society. After all, the cold hard reality is that access to education is directly related to a child's social and economic background. For these

dead-end jobs. This state of affairs is a consequence of massive political neglect, as well. In fact, the school featured in the TV report was slated to be shut down due to declining student numbers – a fact that was left unmentioned by the producers of the program, which was broadcast on German public television. Instead, the school became a repository for students who were not accepted elsewhere. Now, with an increased budget and new friendly-sounding support programs, the school has become an institution for those who are more or less biding time before a likely adulthood spent on Hartz IV or in prison. I guess it didn't occur to anyone to put the few remaining students into a different school.

Instead of disrupting a classroom populated by the children of the ambitious middle class, these children are left to fend for themselves, causing more strain on weary teachers and creating fertile terrain for Islamists in search of new souls. These are clearly not the goals of integration.

GÜNER BALCI is a documentary film maker, journalist and author. Her latest novel *Das Mädchen und der Gotteskrieger* (The girl and the holy warrior) was published in 2016.

for just 10 minutes, and with them their habits and customs, the tables lining the sidewalks in front of cafés, the late-night convenience stores, the fruits, spices and meals, and the ways of walking, dressing, dancing, working and raising families. Even the most parochial born-Berliners wouldn't wait a minute before screaming: "Enough of this nonsense!"

ANNETT GRÖSCHNER is a novelist and journalism professor at the University of the Arts Berlin.

continued from page 29
A tale of many cities

IMPRINT

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Berg for decades feel displaced in places like Reinickendorf or Hohenschönhausen, especially when they haven't moved there voluntarily.

For decades, the poor in Berlin had always had a roof over their heads and a lock on their door. They have now become much more visible. Many people with precarious employment – and there are many in Berlin – who rely on the dole or are raising children alone are afraid of losing their homes and having to live on the street. I will never forget the moment when my almost 90-year-old neighbor came down the stairs

crying, a note in her hand informing her that her lease was being terminated because her landlord wanted to move into the apartment himself. But where to go if Berlin is the only place that gives you life, where no one gives a hoot if your hat's on crooked, your belly is big and round or your skin is dark? To live in abandoned shacks, allotment gardens or tents?

The number of born-Berliners who still live there is dwindling. At present the figure is 47 percent, while in Berlin Mitte, the city's most central and most gentrified district, it's only 34 percent.

As has always been the case, young people without a penny to their name are moving to Berlin to try their luck. They come from Brandenburg, Hamburg, from Dresden and from the Ruhr Valley, and despite the cliché, not so much from Swabia. In terms of non-Germans, most newcomers are from Poland, followed by Turkey, Russia, Syria and Bulgaria. In the past five years, Berlin has become a Noah's Ark, not only for refugees from Syria and Afghanistan, but for artists and intellectuals from Hungary, Poland, Turkey, Croatia and

even Great Britain, who cannot tolerate the rise of new nationalisms in their countries or have lost their work prospects for political reasons. They are all forming communities that are more or less mixed, but often exist in parallel as well.

Most of the older generation of born Berliners is relatively composed in facing these changes. Their city has always reinvented itself anew, even during the time of the Wall, when it served as center stage for the Cold War.

Imagine, if you will, that all those who moved to the city over the past 30 years disappeared

BY URSULA SCHEER

No one evades the undertow of ecstasy, nor the vortex of doom. As the first double-episode of *Babylon Berlin* comes to a close and the denizens of a packed nightclub throb to the music, entranced and infatuated by the androgynous charm of the Russian performer on stage, elsewhere in the city Stalin's henchmen unload their Gatling guns on an underground band of Trotskyite dreamers. A lady of the night finds her John; confetti litters the air; bodies fall in a flurry of gunfire. The singer lowers her mask, banana-skirted dancers contort their bodies à la Josephine Baker and a love-struck youth looks on in awe.

Everything spins, everything happens at once and everything relates to everything else: the glamorous and the gruesome, lust for life and fear of death, desire and pain, the lives of the little people and the global political order. The images in the final sequence are cut to the rhythm of the music, forming a wide shot in the mind's eye: Such is *Babylon Berlin*, the capital of the German Reich in the year 1929, six years after the hyperinflation of the early Weimar Republic, and four years before Hitler comes to power. We find ourselves at the peak of the Roaring Twenties, a year in which the Worker's Revolt meets its bloody suppression, Alfred Döblin pens his *Berlin Alexanderplatz* and Bertolt Brecht delivers the triumphant *Threepenny Opera*.

Lead director Tom Tykwer (*Run Lola Run*, *Sense 8*), who also co-created the series with Achim von Borries and Henk Handloegten, claims he is trying to hurl his audience into a time machine. The mammoth project shot at 300 locations on 185 shooting days with over 5,000 extras in just two seasons, on a budget of (gulp) €40 million. To make it all happen, the fee-financed public television station ARD first had to join forces with the subscription channel Sky. The medium became rather prosaic, often a bit superficial and never experimental. Toeing the line was the order of the day. Epic television was dedicated to the Middle Ages, the present, the division of Germany or the catastrophe of the Third Reich. In terms of the latter, Philipp Kadelbach's 2013 World War II drama *Unsere Mütter, unsere*

Väter (Our mothers, our fathers) tried, at last, to cultivate a complexity and cinematic language that critics compared to *Band of Brothers*.

But looking back at the 1920s is something new. *Babylon Berlin* is now venturing such a feat – it first ran on Sky in 2017, and now on ARD – finding large audiences and already drowning in awards. This is a symptom of something darker, as were a series of recent exhibitions on the art of the era. For Germans, the splendor and misery of the first German democracy seem closer at hand than they were just a few years ago, when trust in the post-war order was

BERLIN TIMES 1929

Weighty, warmhearted, brutal – *Berlin Babylon* is the German TV series of the year, depicting life in the German capital during the Roaring Twenties



Party like it's 1929: Charlotte Richter (Liv Lisa Fries) is out on the town in *Berlin Babylon*.

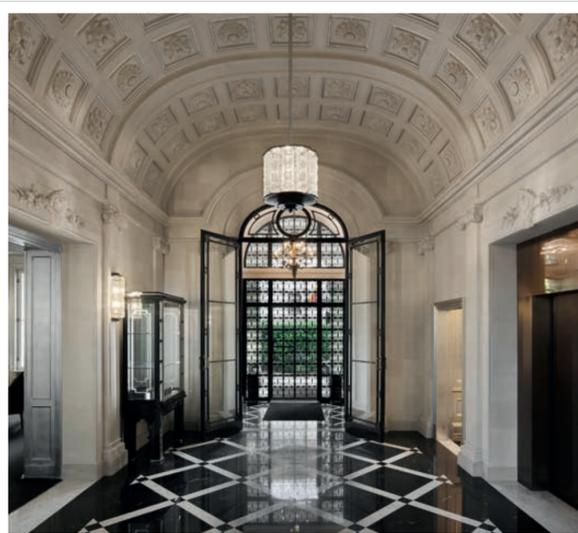
shakable. This order is crumbling before our eyes; the transatlantic axis is creaking; Europe is struggling for cohesion; the refugee crisis and the fear of radicalized Islam are dividing society; the established parties are faltering and right-wing populists are gaining momentum. Germany is inching closer to "Weimar conditions." But a series like *Babylon Berlin* is a sensuously shuddering glance into a distant mirror.

Two main characters stare back at us from the panorama, each conflicted, morally suspect yet likeable, and each portrayed by outstanding actors. Volker Bruch is the Great War veteran

Gereon Rath. The commissioner of the homicide division comes to the capital from Cologne. He is concealing a secret mission as well as his love life and a morphine addiction. Only drugs can quell his would-be disqualifying tremors that he and many other soldiers brought home from the trenches. At his side, played by Liv Lisa Fries, is the young Charlotte Richter, a modern girl and a product of Berlin's grim working-class districts. By day she's a stenotypist at the Alex, Berlin's infamous police headquarters. By night she's a prostitute who dreams of a career as criminal investigator. And then a character – straight

from its atmospheric depth. If you've seen even three episodes, you need only hear the menacing brass section in the intro to become fully submerged in *Babylon Berlin*.

URSULA SCHEER is a television critic and arts editor for the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*.



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BY PAUL OSTWALD

Refugee journal

Sending a message to the political and academic world – why a young Berliner at Oxford founded a science publication for refugees

Sandra Maischberger's TV talk show in the fall of 2015 was drawing to a close when she gave the last word to a guest from the audience. In nearly accent-free German, Hakim spoke about his studies in Syria, his trek across the Mediterranean and his new job as a geriatric nurse in a small town in Lower Saxony. Before applause broke out in the studio, a caption showed viewers at home who exactly this exemplary young Syrian was: "Hakim, *refugee*."

It was a revelatory moment in a debate on the dangerous denigration of those refugees who had fled to Europe in the summer of 2015. Hakim can vouch that the word "refugee" had become a new label almost overnight. The German word for "refugee," *Flüchtling*, has the diminutive suffix *ling*, implying that a person must somehow be pitiable as well as from a distant, unknown culture. Reports frequently painted the same image in different shades of negativity.

It was also a rather liberating moment, as this was one of the first opportunities for a refugee to represent himself in the "refugee debate." The daily reportages, comments and interviews on the new "task of the century" (Angela Merkel on Jan. 14, 2016) had all been delivered by politicians – it remains the exception that a person who had himself fled to Germany was given a voice.

There was widespread disregard for the fact that most refugees brought much more to Europe than a bundle of clothes. Some brought their knowledge: in their native countries they had been professors, students and research-

ers. To treat them only with compassion, regrettably, often meant leaving their knowledge and expertise untouched and thus limiting any intellectual exchange or discourse.

My fellow students at Oxford University and I were preoccupied with the subject in the fall of 2015. To facilitate a new discourse in this situation, my roommate Mark Barclay and I founded the *Journal of Interrupted Studies*. It was to become an academic journal that would give refugee scientists the opportunity to publish their finished and unfinished articles in all disciplines.

At 19 years of age, none of us had the capacity to assess the academic relevance or integrity of articles written by professors and researchers. So we set up a multi-level peer-review process, as is common with scientific publications: subject matter experts receive and rate the essays without being told the name and history of the author. Texts were to be selected based on their quality, not on their author's biography.

We were hoping to change the perception of refugees and counteract the understandable fears many people have; they may be

less fearful if they realize that refugees are concerned with the same issues as they are. Through contributions on television and in print media, we were able to cast a better light on refugees, one that would reach far beyond our academic audiences. At the

same time, we wanted to send a message to the academic and political world: the knowledge and diversity of discourse are jeopardized when refugee academics are not given a perspective. Our biggest hope, however,

was that our publication would enable and inspire our authors to pursue their academic careers. Countless submissions started flowing in. Many of them focused in some way on migration: an article by a lawyer from Bangladesh argued that people

teachers. The linguist Husam Aldeen al-Barazy from Damascus described the importance of intonation when learning new languages. He had fled Syria, and now lives in the tranquil German town of Düppenweiler in Saarland.

Gaining the authors trust involved a great deal of responsibility. We set about building a small editorial office and recruiting the first academics for peer reviews. The vast majority was surprisingly open to our project, enlisted more of their colleagues and added us to their mailing lists. But we were missing one crucial component: €1,500 to cover printing expenses. We started getting our first donations and by May 2016 we were able to publish the first issue.

As expected, there were mixed feelings: while BBC, NPR and the German weekly *Der Spiegel* gave us a warm welcome, we received quite a few hateful remarks on social media: "The only knowledge these people bring with them is rape," was one. The totality of reactions, however, showed us that the project had found an audience. While the first issue was self-published, we were able

to acquire funding from the German Academic Scholarship Foundation and work with the Dutch publishing house Brill to publish our second edition. Our new budget finally allowed us to pay the authors an honorarium, albeit a very small one.

In 2018, not only did German migration policy change, the origin of our authors did as well. Turkey had replaced Syria and Iraq, which presented the editors with new challenges. For example, the migration stories were often comparable to those of many Syrian academics; in addition to civil wars, environmental disasters and political persecution were now prominent factors; fleeing across the Mediterranean has in many cases been replaced by resettling in a more peaceful region of migrants' home countries.

Therefore, in addition to translators, we also had to establish some new guidelines: Who should decide whether an author is actually considered a "refugee"? We chose to leave that classification to the authors themselves, to those who were expelled or had to flee.

We are now working on the third edition, and one new factor is the institutionalization of the journal. We are working to create legal and editorial structures that will ensure the survival of the project regardless of whether we stay on as publishers.

PAUL OSTWALD
The 21-year-old Oxford student is co-founder of the *Journal of Interrupted Studies*.

GETTIN' SCHOOLED

Alba's basketballers are taking the game to the classroom

BY HORST SCHNEIDER

For Basketball lovers, Moritz Wagner is a household name. But even lesser fans will be hearing the 7-foot center's name in the future. He has – after a successful college career with the Michigan Wolverines – signed an NBA contract with the Los Angeles Lakers, thereby becoming the first Berliner to play for the best basketball league in the world. When he was picked 25th by the Lakers in the NBA draft in June, "Moe" mounted the podium at Brooklyn's Barclays Center in a custom-tailored suit and casually opened his jacket, flashing the two logos inside: the golden capital M of the University of Michigan and the white albatross of Alba, where his basketball career was born 12 years ago.

The now 7-footer grew up in Berlin's Prenzlauer Berg district, just a few blocks away from Max-Schmeling-Halle, the former home court of Alba Berlin. The leap from intramural basketball at school to regular training at Alba was rather manageable, as the head of the Berlin division, just twelve years ago, decided to make a push for youth players. Henning Harnisch, a former national player and basketball idol of the 1990s, found his calling in Alba management at the end of his playing career and developed a new youth concept that today – highly lauded and frequently copied for its successful combination of schools and sports clubs – is a role model for more than just basketball programs and well beyond the confines of Berlin.

Harnisch came to the realization that it will not do to wait for talent to walk through the door and sign up to train: "We have to go to the schools!" Harnisch, who in his playing days sunk shots like no other and made dunking a German Bundesliga staple, eventually visited all the schools in Alba's immedi-

ate vicinity, where his popularity helped him consistently vanquish his mightiest opponent: the school receptionist. As he got to know principals and teachers, they turned out to be interested contacts who were very eager to work with Alba and offered their school gymnasiums for basketball clubs.

However, these sessions, led by the Alba coaches after classes and during holidays, were just the beginning. Harnisch's realization that the introduction of the Ganztagsschule (all-day school) has fundamentally changed the relationship between school, sports and after-school activities, triggered his innovation. If children sit in school until 4, they're left with little time or energy to actively play on a basketball team or participate in other after-school activities. The logical conclusion was to directly integrate basketball into the school curricula. The program Alba macht Schule was born. ("Alba macht Schule" is a pun that roughly means both "Alba does school" and "Alba catches on.")

"At school, on average, a single teacher must encourage 28 children to do sports. There are many great teachers, but that's almost impossible, especially since elementary school teachers with no background in sports often have to teach sports," explains Harnisch. So Alba macht Schule puts teachers in the classroom, with a qualified basketball coach by their side. Initial fears were quickly eliminated, as teachers realized that teaching in pairs was more effective, and students were instantly excited by the new life being breathed into physical education.

By now, more than 50 Alba youth coaches at 19 Berlin "schools with sports profiles" support teachers in physical education. Since 2012–13, five other major Berlin clubs – Hertha BSC and 1st FC Union (soccer), the Foxes (handball), the Polar Bears (ice hockey) and the BR Volleys (volleyball) – also attend these schools and collaborate with

Alba. It was made possible with funding from the Berlin Senate Department for Education, Youth and Family in the capital.

The fact that more and more children at school have lives that are too stationary – some, for example, cannot even run backwards – is the basis for the Alba Kitaport project, which youth coaches have been implementing in Berlin day care centers for the past two years. Alba's pioneering initiative to install height-adjustable basketball hoops at Berlin schools lets even the little ones get a taste for the satisfaction when the ball finds its mark. They can even dunk. Forty years ago, the young Henning Harnisch had to set up a trampoline under his basketball hoop to take his first shots.

The Grundschul-liga (primary school league) founded by Alba, in which around 90 Berlin schools compete for points and victories at the annual championship in the Max-Schmeling-Halle, and the associated Oberschul-liga (high school league) with about 80 schools, ensures that competitiveness is kept alive. Those on school teams that do very well automatically get the urge to fight for Alba wins. Last season, Alba was the first club ever to be the German champions in all youth categories (U14, U16 and U19).

For Henning Harnisch, it's not just about recruiting new basketball stars. He also cares about the 999 out of 1000 students that don't make it to the NBA, or even to the Bundesliga. If the majority of these 999 students become "sports citizens" and continue to play sports after graduation or even watch Alba games from the bleachers, the former basketball pro knows that his going door to door in Prenzlauer Berg 12 years ago was most definitely not in vain.



Big stage: Alba youth during an exhibition game in the Mercedes-Benz Arena.



Showing his true colors: Moe Wagner at the NBA draft in June.

HORST SCHNEIDER is a basketball writer based in Berlin.

Rausch

FINE CHOCOLATE AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL

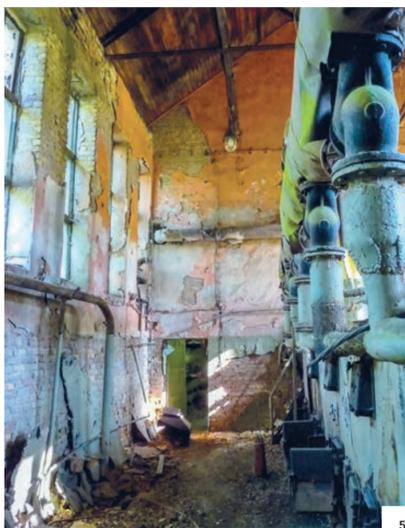
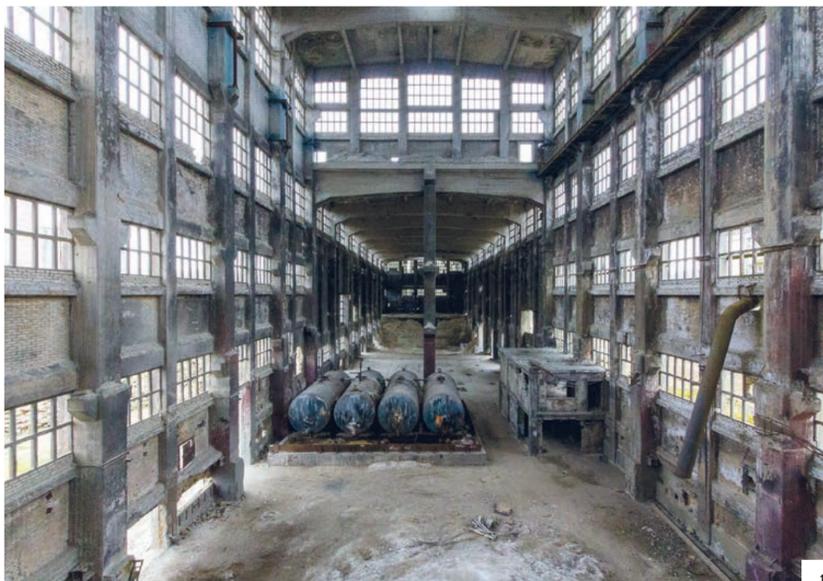
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RICHES OF RUINS

NO TRESPASSING signs never stopped Ciarán Fahey from exploring Berlin's many abandoned and forgotten buildings

BY PETER H. KOEPF



1 COLOSSUS OF CEMENT AND IRON
After 100 productive years, German reunification spelled the demise of the VEB Coswig Chemical Plant, which operated this factory in Rüdersdorf. A barbed-wire fence did not stop Ciarán Fahey from sizing up this industrial-era cathedral, which started producing animal feed phosphates back in 1899 and continued to do so even after World War II. // Chemiewerk Rüdersdorf, Gutenbergsstraße, 15562 Rüdersdorf

2 THE FUN'S OVER
In 1969, on the 20th anniversary of the GDR, the government gifted its subjects a second television channel and a public amusement park, the only permanent one if its kind in the country: the VEB Kulturpark Plänterwald. The roller coaster and Ferris wheel have now rusted through, and the dinosaurs have died out. // Spreepark, Kiehnwerderallee 1-3, 12437 Berlin

3 BAD DOCTORS
Waldhaus Buch was a sanatorium and a hospital, but also a research institute. The clinic was involved in the Nazi's euthanasia program. The house, which served as an orthopedic clinic during the GDR, was closed in 1992. Time has since taken its toll. // Waldhaus Buch, Alt-Buch 74, 13125 Berlin

4 TRAIN TO NOWHERE
Trains no longer pass here, even the rails have disappeared. But when you stand in one of the decaying sheds and close your eyes, you can almost hear the whirr of trains, the cries of diesel engines and the din of workers piling goods onto cars. Nothing gets loaded here today. All that remains are loads of rot. // Güterbahnhof Pankow, Am Feuchten Winkel 137-145, Berlin 13089

5 TOP SECRET
Vogelsang was one of the few military sites the Soviets built themselves. They mostly took over German ones, but this one, all 5,800 hectares of it, was top secret – they built nuclear weapons here. Let's be thankful it's no longer in use. // Vogelsang, 16792 Zehdenick

6 TRABI GRAVEYARD
This old garage began to rot during the GDR. It houses dozens of automobiles in various stages of decline, including a EZ P70 Zwickau manufactured in the fifties, a Sachsenring P70, forerunner of the Trabant P50, and a number of Moskvitches from Russia in very critical condition. // Trabiwerkstatt, Schöneler Straße 5, 13127 Berlin

7 AS IF NOTHING HAD HAPPENED
Two abandoned houses with a common family history in Waidmannslust. Wind whistles through the shattered windows of Villa Schade, whirling letters and magazines up through the air, taking with it the memory of what once was here. Ciarán Fahey captured this image before the villa was turned into apartments. The cinema will presumably soon meet the same fate. // Villa Schade, Waidmannslust Damm 167/163, 13469 Berlin

8 THE EARS OF THE WEST
This radar station allowed the Americans to overhear enemy plans on the other side of the Iron Curtain. The large hill where the remains of the station stand is not the work of the devil – despite its name, Teufelsberg, or Devil's Mountain – it's the work of Berliners themselves. Over 12 million cubic meters of rubble were deposited here, most of it the remains of buildings bombed by the Allies in WW2. // Teufelsberg, 14055 Berlin

9 FROSTBITE
Cool, it isn't. For 99 years, this ice factory delivered ice to all of Berlin, and right from the freezer, back when Berlin households, breweries, pubs and fishmongers didn't have their own fridges. All that's left now is this frozen asset. // Eisfabrik, Köpenicker Straße 40/41, 10179 Berlin

10 TANGO TRISTE
They're like twins. Dance Hall Riviera and Event Location Grünau. So splendidly they shone in the 1980s. Partygoers and night owls from far and wide came to Berlin's southeastern district during the German Empire, Weimar Republic and two dictatorships just to visit them. And now? The party's over. The crowds moved on to discos and now clubs, leaving the former dance palaces to endure the people's indifference to their fate. // Ballhaus Grünau, Regattastrasse 161 & 167, 12527 Berlin

11 DOWN THE DRAIN
As rats partied in the baby pool, the days of the Blub Water Park became numbered. In the 1980s and 1990s, up to 600,000 visitors got their feet wet here every summer. In 2002, years after it closed, there was an attempt to re-open the waterpark – but only as a health spa. Judging by this photo, it didn't succeed. // Blub, Buschkrugallee 64, 12359 Berlin

12 RISEN FROM THE ASHES – NOT
The villa of August Hinderer was destroyed by fire on March 24, 1944. The A professor and director of the Evangelical Press Service, Hinderer was arrested by the Nazis in 1934, yet survived. After the unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Hitler in July 1944, he survived yet another interrogation. Hinderer died in October, 1945. Today, his granddaughter dreams of restoring the building. // Hinderer's Villa, location not disclosed for fear of vandalism

The giant Ferris wheel loomed silently in the Berlin sky. They could see it clearly through the trees, even from a distance. It stood within the fenced-off grounds of a former amusement park in the Plänterwald district of what once was East Berlin. As they got closer, they saw several signs saying ZUTRITT VERBOTEN (NO TRESPASSING) on the fences surrounding the erstwhile fairgrounds. But nothing was going to stop Ciarán Fahey. He turned to his girlfriend: "I've got to get in there."

In the summer of 2009, Fahey overcame his fear of the security guards and German shepherds that might be awaiting him on the other side. He climbed over the high green security fence, roamed around the abandoned Spreepark and photographed the rusted and uncanny remains of East Germany's theme-park culture. He then published his images and an accompanying history of the amusement park on his website abandonedberlin.com. He also posted dozens of reports on other abandoned properties in Berlin. Soon thereafter, *The Guardian* newspaper rated his blog as one of the best City Blogs in the world.

Ask Fahey what motivates him and the Irish-born journalist and photographer will explain that his goal is to capture the transient nature of things, to show the beauty of structures decaying in front of our eyes before they are demolished or reclaimed by nature. Just like people, he argues, buildings too are not made for eternity. As a journalist, Fahey doesn't limit himself to just visiting and taking pictures of these sites; he researches the whole "biography" of his objects, seeking out the full story often hidden behind the city's decaying structures. He usually sets out by himself. "I'm more focused when I'm alone," says Fahey. "That way, I don't have to talk and there are no time pressures. It allows me to get a deeper sense of the past. When you find yourself in the very spot where an event took place, it allows you to feel the history much more intensely than in a museum."

On the other hand, setting out by himself also means facing all of the associated dangers alone: guard dogs, security guards, ghosts, falling ceilings, crumbling stairs and tricky entrances that can't be used as exits. But that never stopped Fahey. To this day, he still gets tips from readers and now has a list of more than one hundred further sites to explore before they disappear. That is, before Berlin becomes as clean as Munich. And, seeing as the ravages of time continue to gnaw away at the structures and sites, time and speed are indeed of the essence. In other words, whenever possible, Fahey says: "I've got to get in there."

The pictures shown here are taken from Ciarán Fahey's book

Verlassene Orte/ Abandoned Berlin German/English be.bra verlag, 2015, 192 pages, 22,00 euros

Rich and sexy

Booming Berlin is driving up real estate prices, and the city's endless red tape is making the problem worse

BY TONG-JIN SMITH

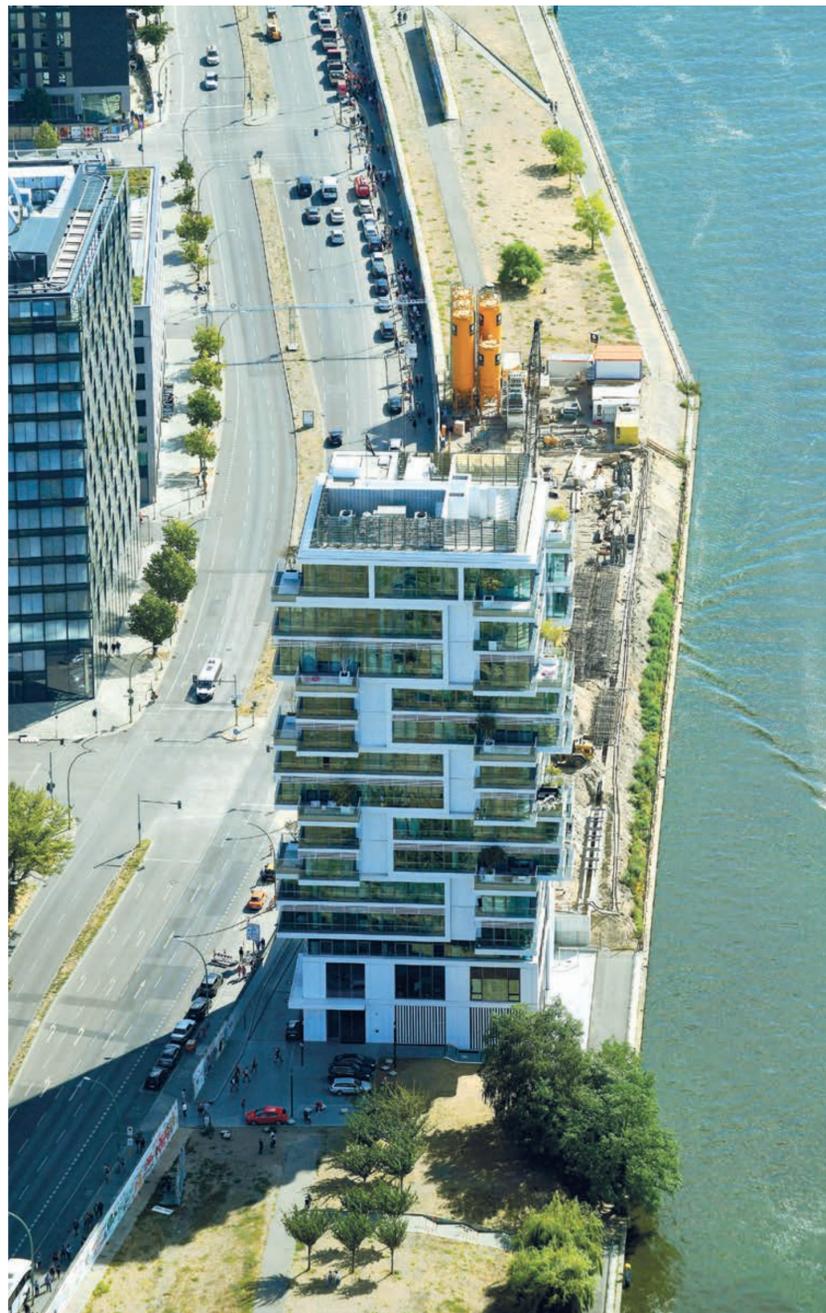
It was one of the last vacant plots in Berlin's trendy district of Prenzlauer Berg – a prime location nestled between historical buildings and in direct vicinity of shops, restaurants and the heavily frequented U2 subway line. For years the plot remained barren – nothing to see here. Then, one day a sign appeared advertising a housing project initiated by an architect seeking co-builders for a multi-family house. The idea was a combination of street-front apartments and courtyard townhouses – a modern take on Berlin's traditional housing structure. Bit by bit every unit was sold. Several months into the project, the homeowner group was ready to build on the lot. And in the spring of this year they finally moved into their new homes.

"It was a long process but well worthwhile. I love my new home and I'm starting to feel very comfortable in my new neighborhood," says Kristina Kutsch who just finished furnishing her penthouse in May. "But over the course of the last five years, since we first started the project, we've certainly seen an upward surge in costs. Just finding a craftsman or company to do the flooring or tiling has been a challenge, no matter how much they charge."

Her experience is not unique. Berlin has become a boomtown for the building industry, as condominiums and rental apartments have been going up in neighborhoods all across the city. At the same time, real estate and rental prices have doubled in the past ten years, edging Berlin closer to the top of the list of Germany's most expensive cities. Only Munich, Frankfurt, Hamburg and Stuttgart are still ahead. But Berlin has made headlines as the city with the largest increase between 2016 and 2017, with prices going up by a whopping 11.4 percent. Real estate buyers are now expected to shell out close to €3,700 per square meter on average, according to a recent study.

With a growing number of upscale and luxury condominiums currently under construction or in planning for the near future, prices can be expected to continue their upward trend. More than 2,000 apartments are currently on the market for €4,500 or more per square meter, which constitutes roughly half the condominiums for sale, both new and old. The sky is the limit with penthouses and apartments between €5 and €10 million becoming a sought-after commodity for German and foreign investors seeking to participate in the boom and own a piece of the pie – or a pad in Berlin.

For the city, this is a new phenomenon. For years, Berlin was "poor but sexy" – a phrase coined by former mayor Klaus Wowereit. But today we see a different situation. "There are four reasons for Berlin's tremendous price development," says Till Johannes Brühöfener-McCourt, who heads the research department at Ziegert, a Berlin based banking and real estate consulting firm. "First of all, Berlin's positive economic development. In the last ten years, we've seen an annual GDP increase per working person of 4.6 percent. Secondly, in the same timeframe, we've seen the workforce grow by 20.6 percent." This, he says, has had a stimulating effect on the housing market.



Built next to that Wall: "Living Levels", a high-priced apartment building where East and West Berlin were once separated.

At the same time, however, housing construction has not been able to keep up with demand. According to city authorities, 194,000 new units will be needed by 2030 – an objective that seems out of reach as public housing companies and private developers struggle with bureaucracy and rising costs, let alone properties adequate for urban development.

"And lastly, the average standard land value for residential plots zoned for closed construction has increased sevenfold in the past nine years," says Brühöfener-McCourt. "Simultaneously, residential developers have seen an increase in costs of over 25 percent." The result is clear: buying or renting a home has become a lot more expensive in Berlin, a city that has been known as the most affordable and hip European capital.

"There is no denying it: construction has become more

expensive," says Robert Mombert, managing director of the Building Industry Federation East, representing 260 building companies in Berlin, Brandenburg, Saxony and Saxony-Anhalt. "One contributing factor being higher demand resulting in higher prices. A simple case of demand and supply. But there's more to it." Mombert lists raw materials as a contributing factor resulting in higher real estate

prices. "Although construction is pretty much a local business relying on regional sourcing, we are nevertheless susceptible to global market price changes," he explains. In other words, when the Chinese administration decides to create the next mega-city and construction companies involved in its development buy up all the steel they can find on the market, building a multi-family house in Berlin becomes

more expensive. The same goes for minerals and mineral oil. In fact, between February 2017 and February 2018, German construction companies have seen the cost of concrete rise 2.7 percent while the cost of bitumen used for road surfacing and roofing rose 8.6 percent. Steel used in stabilizing concrete structures saw a price increase of almost 20 percent, and even softwood timber has been affected with a price increase of 4.5 percent.

Another factor contributing to higher construction costs is a lack of skilled workers. "The market is practically void, which is due in part to demographic change, but also to image problems construction professions have among younger generations," says Mombert. "And you have to remember that construction requires a lot of manpower. In fact, up to 28 percent of building costs are comprised of labor costs." Increased digitization may help create new

job profiles and actually cut some of the labor costs, but the change is only slowly starting to happen, leaving the construction industry with a skill shortage for the time being.

What seems more troubling, however, is the amount of time and energy construction companies and developers spend on dealing with bureaucracy. In Germany, building is strongly regulated and companies must conform to literally thousands of rules and regulations. "We've asked our members to calculate their expenses in dealing with bureaucracy and found that 82 percent felt rather burdened, if not overly so. In fact, in 2017, about 17,000 employees in Berlin, Brandenburg, Saxony and Saxony-Anhalt worked exclusively on bureaucratic matters resulting in these companies spending a good €500 million just on paperwork. As a result, many projects have been delayed, or even cancelled," says Mombert. It is now abundantly clear that bureaucracy has also become a decisive factor in real estate price increases.

Add to that a massive increase in land prices and you have an explanation for Berlin's loss of affordability. For one, many private landowners have been holding off on developing or selling their properties with hopes of cashing in on the boom. Meanwhile, the public sector, a major landowner in Berlin, continues to enforce the policy of selling to the highest bidder instead of seeking the best concept, which could lead to more sustainable and socially balanced urban development.

"When you look at the pure building costs per square meter for a new residential building – whether it be a single-family home or an apartment in a multi-story building – you currently need to calculate about €2,000," Mombert explains. Add on the cost of the property itself and total prices soar. Thus, a family looking to buy a two-bedroom, 90 square-meter apartment in an upscale neighborhood will more often than not need to spend over €500,000. With salaries increasing at a far slower pace than real estate prices, affording a home of their own has become significantly more difficult for Berliners.

Similarly, finding a rental unit has become a challenge for most, as the market situation shows no sign of relief. Young professionals, university students and lower-income families are being hit especially hard.

More than a hundred applicants per apartment and lines of potential tenants cueing around the corner to attend viewings have become the norm in many neighborhoods. "You have to be creative and willing to make a number of compromises to find an apartment you can actually afford," says Marie Steffens, a student at Berlin's Free University, who has spent more than six months looking for an apartment. So while Berlin's mayor Michael Müller (SPD) pointed a finger at foreign investors in a recent interview, and considered banning them from purchasing homes in Berlin – much like in New Zealand – developers, builders and Berliners are still waiting for costs and red tape to decrease and the number of available and affordable homes to increase.

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Red parade: The leaders of today's Left Party Sahra Wagenknecht, Dietmar Bartsch, Bernd Riexinger and Katja Kipping (top; left to right) lead the flag bearers (right) to Rosa Luxemburg's and Karl Liebknecht's grave (bottom).



Sacred socialist procession

A solemn march for the Goths of socialism and a folk festival for the left: the wintertime march honoring Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht is a bizarre parade of the pious in eastern Berlin. This year will mark the 100th anniversary of the death of these two icons of the workers' movement

BY KLAUS GRIMBERG

They're easy to spot, even at a distance. Retirees bundled up in thick winter jackets and fur hats trudging towards the exit at the Berlin Lichtenberg S-Bahn station. The color spectrum worn by the members of this crowd ranges from gray to beige, while their facial expressions run between reverent and grim. The only splash of color in this procession of seniors is the red carnations they often carry. These flowers provide the decisive clue as to where their strangely uniform caravan is headed, namely to the official Memorial to the Socialists in Berlin-Friedrichsfelde.

This memorial procession takes place every year on the second Sunday in January. It is held in honor of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, two of the leading figures of the German workers' movement at the beginning of the 20th century. Leftists of all persuasions participate in this slow walk, which ends at the last resting ground of these two icons and other estimable socialists. In the coming year, this annual commemorative gathering will have a special significance, as it will mark the 100th anniversary of the death of Luxemburg and

Liebknecht. On Jan. 15, 1919, after the brutal defeat of the Spartacist uprising in Berlin, they were both murdered by members of right-wing Freikorps, voluntary vigilante militias comprising former soldiers from the Prussian army.

During the GDR, this hallowed procession to the Memorial to the Socialists represented an important *Kampfdemonstration* – a demonstration of continued struggle – carried out by the state leadership and the ruling communist party. It was designed to symbolically renew the legacy of Luxemburg and Liebknecht in East Germany each year. Nothing was left to chance at this carefully prepared march that started at Frankfurter Tor at the edge of downtown East Berlin. For loyal party bigwigs, it marked a solemn day on the socialist calendar. The majority of the other "demonstrators," however, were forced to attend by various factory organizations, schools and other groups. It became quite clear that the longer the GDR existed, the less enthusiasm there was for the event. Apart from the apparatchiks and devout comrades, the majority of the participants forced to attend could be seen trotting rather listlessly past the graves and the VIP stand.

In contrast, the individuals who have been taking part in

the march since the fall of the GDR have done so with vigor and sincerity. It's the pensioners above all who cling unbendingly to the socialist tradition. These cadres of yesteryear are individuals who boldly continue to believe in the victory of socialism

During the GDR, these words

FREEDOM IS ALWAYS FREEDOM FOR THE ONE WHO THINKS DIFFERENTLY, ROSA LUXEMBURG FAMOUSLY SAID

and see German reunification as a hostile takeover by imperialist forces. These men and women shake hands with familiarity; they know each other from back then. They know they are united in their defiant adherence to the ideals of socialism. The beginning of one popular children's song in

continue to inspire. Later on, after the Goths of socialism have laid down their carnations, things get a bit more colorful. To this day, party chairmen and leading left-wing party members from all over Europe use the opportunity to make their pilgrimage to the graves in Fried-

richsfelde at the head of a mass demonstration. This coming January, an especially large crowd of celebrities is anticipated. An alliance of a wide spectrum of left-wing groups is expected to march to the memorial. It seems the memorial march allows them to forget their trench battles and turf wars for a couple of hours. And then, as soon as they arrive at their destination, the event starts to look more like a community fair featuring stalls with food produced in socialist solidarity and musical groups playing old battle songs to lift leftist spirits. Of course, there are also the obligatory bookstands where one can find literature designed to foster more in-depth study of leftist theories.

But things weren't always this peaceful at the annual Luxemburg-Liebknecht demonstration. In 1988, citizens' rights activists in the GDR had already begun to advocate for a democratization of their country and were planning to participate in the state-orchestrated mass gathering. Their goal was to take Rosa Luxemburg at her word by rendering some of her quotes onto the self-made banners they intended to display during the official march: "Freedom is always freedom for the one who thinks differently" and "Those who do not move do not notice their chains." Of

course, the GDR's secret security forces were already well-informed about the plans and went about stifling the action. However, there also happened to be West German camera teams on site, and their images capturing the rabid suppression of the activists were broadcast around the world. This resulted in protests in several East German cities against the mass arrests that had taken place both before and after the demonstration. Some historians see the events of Jan. 17, 1988, as the first evidence of a tangible beginning to the Peaceful Revolution in the GDR, which would eventually bring down the Wall in 1989.

In the hundred years since their deaths, many a battle has been fought over the true legacy of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. Time and again, the thoughts and writings of the two socialists have been interpreted and instrumentalized, as they surely will continue to be in the future. At the memorial march in early January 2019, the old comrades from the GDR and young leftists from today will come together in their worship of these two larger-than-life role models. And yet, if you sat these groups down for a discussion at a single table, they would likely have very little to say to each other.

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Runway model

Berlin is spotlighting the history of the former Tempelhof Airport during the Nazi era. The city is also gearing up to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the Berlin Airlift with a festival featuring almost 40 original aircraft

BY JAN KEPP

Tempelhof Airport is firmly anchored in the collective memory of (West) Berlin residents first and foremost as the main take-off and landing strip used by the American and British "Rosinbomber" (transport planes) during the Berlin Airlift 1948-49. This "gateway to the free world" would continue to influence the emotional lives of West Berliners from the 1950s on. In contrast, very little is known about the role played by Tempelhof Airport during the era of National Socialism (1933-1945).

The exhibition "Ein weites Feld" (A Wide Field - Tempelhof Airport and its History), which is on display until the end of the year in the former General Aviation Terminal, seeks to change this. Curated by the Topography of Terror foundation in Berlin, the exhibition focuses on the strategic expansion of the airport starting in 1936 and its later use as a weapons production site. Emphasis is also placed on the fate of the thousands of laborers who were forced to work on the assembly of combat aircraft.

Large sections of the monumental airport complex at Tempelhof were built between 1936 and 1939 at the edge of the then airfield. Although never fully completed, at the beginning of the 1940s it comprised the largest building in the world in terms of area covered; in the post-war period, that position would be usurped by the Pentagon in

Arlington, Virginia. The dimensions at Tempelhof in the Nazi era reflected a preoccupation with overly large buildings that was typical of National Socialist architecture. The original terminal building, which functioned as such up until the end of the war, appeared almost as a dwarf in comparison to it.

With the outbreak of war, the new airport complex was transformed into a large-scale aircraft factory. The roof of the building was extended over the airfield's "apron" and given a wooden exterior, thus creating spacious factory halls. The companies known as Weser Flugzeugbau

bly of aircraft was to use massive numbers of forced laborers taken by the Nazis from German-occupied territories. More than 3,000 men and women were ruthlessly exploited and forced to work in weapons manufacturing for the Luftwaffe. Living in barebones barracks at the edge of the airfield, the forced laborers had to work for ten or more hours each day, all the while with inadequate amounts of food. They faced draconian punishments for the slightest negligence or offense and there was very limited medical care. This meant that many of the forced laborers did not survive their time

Army was actually the first to occupy Tempelhof airport, but in July 1945, the US Air Force took over and maintained an air base in the eastern part of the building all the way up to 1994. The western part of the airport was opened for civil aviation under German administration in 1951.

The image of the US soldiers in West Berlin changed deeply with the start of the Berlin Airlift or "Luftbrücke" (air bridge). After the unprecedented supply of food and especially coal to the city - which had been sealed off on all sides by the Russians - between June 24, 1948, and May 12, 1949, Berliners started to see the GIs more as protectors than as occupiers. From that moment on, this new relationship was reflected and celebrated once a year at the US Air Force's Open Door Day at Tempelhof, a huge festival attended by hundreds of thousands of people.

Of the many airplanes that participated in the Airlift, there are only roughly 160 left in operation worldwide. Individual fans, foundations, museums and associations spend a lot of time and effort to keep them in good flying condition. For the one-week festival in Germany, almost 40 planes have already agreed to participate. Some of them will be coming from diverse European cities, over 20 will be flying from the United States, and a DC-4 will be coming to Germany from South Africa. One owner has indicated that he intends to make the flight all the way from Australia to be a part of the reunion.



Under construction: Junkers Ju 87 in 1943 at Tempelhof.

Wiesbaden Erbenheim Airbase (June 10-12) in Hessen, then to Fliegerhorst Faßberg (June 12-15) in Lower Saxony and finally to the airfield in Berlin-Schönhausen (June 15-19).

With the help of these original aircraft, organizers will reenact the actual schedule and time intervals from 1948-49 at the three airports. In other words, for the first time in 70 years, a new generation of Berliners will be able to experience the Airlift with their own eyes.

At the airports in Wiesbaden-Erbenheim, Faßberg and Berlin-Schönhausen, crews and aircraft will also be on display for the general public to visit up close. Plans include a "Luftbrücke zum Anfassen" (hands-on airlift) accompanied by multiple-day public events and school and youth projects.

Whether the airplanes will be able to land at Tempelhof Airport is currently being debated in Berlin political circles. While a special permit good just for the exhibition is theoretically conceivable, it seems highly improbable. The spacious tarmac of the

airport, which was decommissioned in 2008, is now a park mainly used by the residents of its surrounding neighborhoods. The technical and logistical arrangements required for a three-day commemorative event will presumably end up being too protracted to incorporate the central site of the Airlift.

For recent generations of Berliners, the sheer scale of the largest humanitarian relief action in the history of the world can be hard to comprehend. For more than a year, propeller planes delivered a total of two million tons of supplies to Berlin. Thus, more than 270,000 flights, i.e. almost 1,000 flights per day to guarantee the survival of the hungry and freezing citizens of West Berlin. The technical and logistical feats of air transport executed by the pilots and ground crews remain one of a kind and will forever be linked to the history of Berlin.

The incessant, positive reports by news outlets all over the world focusing on the Allied air deliveries in 1948-49 and the burgeoning reputation of the Western powers constituted one of the reasons the Soviet Blockade was lifted on May 12, 1949. Nonetheless, the Airlift carried on for

another four months until late summer of that year. The twin historical events, Berlin Blockade and Berlin Airlift, are thus not chronologically identical.

The lifting of the Blockade and the end of the Airlift marked the resolution of the first true crisis of the Cold War by peaceful means. However, the absence of military force did not prevent all loss of human life during the Air Lift. Airplane accidents accounted for the death of at least 78 people, the names of whom are engraved on the base of the Airlift Memorial in front of the former airport.

One of the honorary guests at the 70 Years Berlin Airlift festival will be none other than Gail Seymour "Hal" Halvorsen, born Oct. 10, 1920, in Salt Lake City, UT. Halvorsen was the first pilot to - just before landing at Tempelhof - delight children waiting atop the mountains of rubble in Neukölln by pitching from his plane bags of candy, each equipped with its own little parachute. This Operation Little Vittles led to the Airlift pilots and their airplanes to be called "Rosinbomber," or "Candy Bombers." As the airplanes landed at Tempelhof every 90 seconds, the children on the ground could not tell which



Sent from above: Uncle Wiggly Wings.

one was Halvorsen's. He thus arranged with the kids that he would "wiggle" his wings as he approached, earning him the nickname "Uncle Wiggly Wings."

Halvorsen's initiative was quickly picked up by the press, unleashing a wave of support. He and his crew were soon given 425 kilos of sweets to drop on Berlin each day. By the end of the Air Lift, a total of about 25 airplane crews threw 23 tons of candy over the city. Halvorsen would later

explain that he had just wanted to bring a little happiness to the needy children of bombed-out Berlin. Historical eyewitnesses agree that he had a tremendously positive impact on the image of Americans in postwar Germany.

JAN KEPP is a freelance journalist based in Berlin.

A WIDE FIELD - TEMPELHOF AIRPORT AND ITS HISTORY

An exhibition by the Topography of Terror foundation at the former Tempelhof Airport; until Dec. 30, 2018.

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BY LUTZ LICHTENBERGER

An inconspicuous street in Berlin's Wedding district: in a light-flooded apartment on the second floor of a classic pre-war tenement stands a seemingly ordinary bookshelf. A closer look reveals that it holds nothing less than the history of German-Russian publishing, literature and culture. And, along with Friederike Jacob, it also holds the future of this tradition. The 35-year-old Slavist is the new publisher at Friedenauer Presse, the widely renowned Berlin publishing house also known as a one-stop shop for German translations of Russian world literature.

Friedenauer Presse was founded in 1963 in the eponymous southwestern district of Berlin by Andreas Wolff, the grandson of the St. Petersburg publisher M.O. Wolff. From the very beginning it was the mission of the publishing house to make previously untranslated and unpublished works accessible to German readers. Wolff's successor, his daughter Katharina Wagenbach, describes the idea as follows: "It's about enabling readers to make discoveries, regardless of time and language – novelties as well as the (unjustly) forgotten, the

excavations that lie unrecognized and dormant in archives, anthologies and complete editions."

Friedenauer Presse began in the 1960s with a focus on German contemporary literature. The first book they published was written by the later Nobel Prize winner Günter Grass – it was a thread-bound brochure. To this day, the house continues to publish such booklets of bibliophilic elegance in its Presse-Ducked series.

In 1983, Wagenbach took over the management of the publishing house, and with her came increased attention on Russian literature. For the woman who had never lived in Russia but grew up surrounded by Russian parents and grandparents, Russian literature was a time machine, her homeland in the pages of a tattered book. In the midst of the Cold War, her mission was not a political one. However, Wagenbach's publications had, as all successful books do, just enough global awareness. The publisher also takes on translations from French, Spanish and Polish, but Russian works remain the focus.

Jacob, who was born that same year, remarks that the publishing house has stayed unequivocally loyal to its initial mission. "Literature is not simply reporting,"



For a short time in 2017, it looked like Friedenauer Presse would have to close its doors. But after the 87-year-old Katharina Wolff stepped down, Friederike Jacob (left) could not let the storied publishing house vanish, and decided to take it over herself: "I invite everyone to discover Friedenauer Presse again or for the first time."

embarked on an adventurous journey to Moscow in search of the lost manuscript. There, she managed to track down Babel's widow, Antonina Pirozhkova, who was about to emigrate to Florida. Though she put herself at risk by doing so, she had kept the remaining parts of the diary for all those years. Wagenbach needed barely one afternoon to gain Pirozhkova's trust. She then retyped the manuscript on her typewriter and journeyed back to Berlin, where the publisher's star translator, Peter Urban, trans-

lated the text into German. Friedenauer Presse finally published the book in 1990. Friederike Jacob has already reissued Babel's Red Cavalry in her first program this autumn, which will be followed by a new edition of Diary: 1920 next year. Friedenauer Presse has become a German-Russian literary institution, thanks in large part to the efforts of its tireless patron and prose stylist, Peter Urban. Urban, who died in 2013, translated all the big names: Daniil Khams, Nikolai Gogol, Ivan Goncharov, Maxim Gorky, Alexander Pushkin and especially Anton Chekhov. Anyone witnessing one of the countless Chekhov performances being staged at any given time experiences it in the tone set by Urban. It comes without the flowery, almost lovely touch of the older translations, but shines in its sober, elegant timbre. Jacob, who devoured Dostoyevsky as a teenager and later learned to love Chekhov, is publishing a new edition of his Seven Stories.

And in the spring, Friederike Jacob is waiting, as did her predecessor thirty years earlier, in a similarly confused political situation for a supposedly lost trove. Then came the stories of Vsevolod Petrov (1912–1978), whose discovery in the Pushkin Archive in Moscow was a recent cultural spectacle in Russia. "Literature is more direct, it's a fictional reality – and yet can convey a different image of a society, and thus resonate beyond the private space of the reader," says Jacob. She sounds very much like her great predecessor Katharina Wagenbach. The tradition of the house is ready for the future.

Literary mission

Friedenauer Presse is rekindling international understanding through great works of art

She also wanted to paint a different picture of Eastern Europe. Considering the current political conflict between Russia, the US and Europe, media coverage, irrespective of political direction, is always necessary from a specific perspective. "Fortunately, the raison d'être of literature is different. Literature is immediate

and genuine. It has its own space, it makes it possible to approach a country without receiving a pre-emptive interpretation of it."

One of the most important books published by Friedenauer remains Isaac Babel's Diary: 1920, the basis for his famous novel Red Cavalry. In the mid-1980s, Wagenbach

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