

“What’s the Future for the Transatlantic Relationship in a Multipolar World?”**Dr. Constanze Stelzenmüller**, Senior Transatlantic Fellow at the German Marshall Fund of the United States

ACG member Guy A. Reiss, Partner at Reiss + Preuss LLP; Constanze Stelzenmüller, Senior Transatlantic Fellow at the German Marshall Fund of the United States; ACG Board Member Guido Goldman, Director of German Studies at the Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies at Harvard University; and Jascha D. Preuss, Partner at Reiss + Preuss LLP

At a discussion and breakfast on October 13 with about 20 members and friends of the American Council on Germany, hosted by Reiss + Preuss LLP, Constanze Stelzenmüller described the contours of a new era of multipolarity. She launched her formal presentation by noting the disappearance of ideology. She said President Obama, Chancellor Merkel, and Prime Minister Cameron are all pragmatic leaders. Directly following September 11, there was a fierce ideological debate making reference to “the war on terror” and “the clash of civilizations.” This began to erode during the second Bush Administration and seemed to disappear in the Obama Administration until the rise of the Tea Party movement. Expressions of anger in Europe are again on the rise, for example, with the publication of Thilo Sarrazin’s controversial book in Germany and the expulsion of the Roma from France.

Dr. Stelzenmüller posed a series of questions: Are we too calm and pragmatic? Are we missing something? After the great transition 20 years ago, have we lost our ambition? What will the future look like? What is the meaning of multipolarity?

She noted the rise of non-Western powers, non-state actors, and the expansion of the G8 to the G20. She asked whether policymakers are running in place to keep up with the short-term demands placed upon them, giving them no time to think seriously about strategy. She remarked that defense reform in both the United

States and Germany, for example, is driven by the need to make cuts, rather than strategic thinking.

In a multipolar world, the non-Western players are driven by their suspicions of Western motives. She said they question the legitimacy of the Western actors, as well as their intentions. The Western societies have begun to look inward. U.S. voters are focused on domestic issues, not foreign or security policy. They want jobs, education, and infrastructure, and they fear losing prosperity. The resources for foreign and security policy makers are limited, because there is no public support. There also is little genuine attention to budget reform. The United Nations Security Council reform, for example, could be described as a basket case.

Aside from the expansion from the G8 to the G20, there are efforts under way to make the leading financial institutions, such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, more inclusive. Dr. Stelzenmüller said that new structures mean new rules. In a multipolar world, with so many players making the rules, there is the possibility of chaotic dystopia.

She discussed the National Intelligence Council’s Global Governance 2025 report, which depicts four possible scenarios:

1. Barely keeping afloat: With no single crisis, and no reform, the West continues to shoulder the burden.
2. Fragmentation: Global stasis ensues as the United States and the European Union turn inward.
3. Europe Redux: New threats prompt the U.S. and the EU to cooperate by playing a larger role, with China and India sharing some of the burden.
4. Conflict trumps cooperation: Domestic problems increase, tension between the United States and China grows, tensions arise among the BRIC countries, and the Middle East enters a nuclear arms race.

Dr. Stelzenmüller noted that none of these scenarios is attractive regarding the role of the U.S. and Europe.

Turning to the performance of President Obama, she said that while he has faltered on the implementation of statecraft, he has excelled in terms of strategic analysis of the U.S. position. She said the Obama Administration clearly recognizes the reduction of U.S. influence in the multipolar world, as well as the reduction in U.S. resources due to war. She lauded the President’s speech in Cairo as a masterful use of soft power. Yet she said the Obama Administration has emphasized domestic policy over foreign policy.

In her concluding remarks, Dr. Stelzenmüller noted that there is currently no serious effort being made to reshape institutions of global governance. She asked, if not now, when? Governments must deal with foreign policy. Pragmatism is not the answer.

Dr. Constanze Stelzenmüller has been a Senior Transatlantic Fellow of the German Marshall Fund of the United States since 2009. She was Director of the GMF’s Berlin Office from 2005 to 2009. From 1998 to 2005, she was Defense and International Security Editor at DIE ZEIT, where she covered issues such as European defense and security policy, and she was a correspondent for DIE ZEIT from 1994 to 1998, covering the conflicts in Rwanda, Congo, and elsewhere.



The American Council on Germany

cordially invites you to attend a

Discussion and Breakfast

with

Dr. Constanze Stelzenmüller

Senior Transatlantic Fellow

The German Marshall Fund of the United States

who will discuss

**“What’s the Future for the Transatlantic
Relationship in a Multipolar World?”**

Wednesday, October 13, 2010

8:15 – 9:30 a.m.

at

Reiss + Preuss LLP

1350 Avenue of the Americas

(at 55th Street)

New York City

There is no charge for members to attend this event.

RSVP (acceptances only) by Friday, October 8, to the American Council on Germany at
212-826-3636 or events@acgusa.org.

Dr. Constanze Stelzenmüller has been a Senior Transatlantic Fellow of the German Marshall Fund of the United States since 2009, focusing on U.S.-German relations, transatlantic security and defense issues, EU and German foreign policy, human rights issues, and international law. She was Director of the GMF's Berlin Office from 2005 to 2009. From 1998 to 2005, she was Defense and International Security Editor at *DIE ZEIT*, where she covered issues such as the war on terror, Iraq, U.S.-German relations, the military intervention in Kosovo and Afghanistan, international war-crimes tribunals, and European defense and security policy. From 1994 to 1998, she was a correspondent for *DIE ZEIT*, covering the conflicts in Rwanda, Congo, and Eritrea-Ethiopia, as well as other human rights issues, refugee crises, and the United Nations.

Dr. Stelzenmüller holds a doctorate in law from the University of Bonn and a master's degree in public administration from the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. She has been a Visiting Researcher at Harvard Law School, a Remarque Fellow at New York University, a German Marshall Fund Campus Fellow at Grinnell College, and a Public Policy Scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

With special thanks to Reiss + Preuss LLP

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