

# The foreign policy transition of the German Scholz government in the context of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict and its causes

Huiyi Tian

Sun Yat-sen University 2 Daxue Road, Xiangzhou District, Zhuhai, Guangdong  
tianhy9@mail2.sysu.edu.cn

**Abstract.** Following the outbreak of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, German Chancellor Scholz delivered the Zeitenwende speech on February 27, 2022, announcing a series of measures including the supply of weapons to Ukraine and the strengthening of its own defense forces. This was a historic transition for Germany's foreign and security policy, which has always been pacifist. This paper will take the transformation of the German Scholz government's foreign policy in the context of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict as the object of study. And it is the purpose of this paper to analyze the reasons why this historical transition in foreign policy occurred in Germany at this time. In general, this paper specifically analyzes the Scholz government's foreign policy transition based on the analytical model of foreign policy transition proposed by Jakob Gustavsson, and argues that international factors, domestic factors, policy makers' factors, and the stimulus of the crisis are the four main factors that led to this foreign policy transition.

**Keywords:** Germany, Russian-Ukrainian conflict, Foreign policy change.

## 1. Introduction

Since World War II, pacifism has been the main feature of German foreign policy [1]. Germany opposed reliance on military power in the conduct of its foreign policy and insisted on restraining the development of its own military power. German foreign policy has shown great continuity in this feature. On December 8, 2021, Germany's Parliament elected Olaf Scholz as the ninth Chancellor after World War II, replacing Angela Merkel, who had led Germany for 16 years. Even though there is a growing debate in Germany about whether Germany should change its foreign policy and take more responsibility for security internationally, Scholz came to power saying he would maintain the continuity of German foreign policy and preserve the political legacy left by Merkel's 16 years [2]. Until February 24, 2022, when the Russian-Ukrainian conflict broke out, Scholz delivered the Zeitenwende speech on February 27, 2022, stating that Germany had ushered in a historic watershed and announcing that Germany would respond to the security challenges posed by Russia by providing arms to Ukraine, unconditionally fulfilling its collective defense obligations within NATO, and strengthening its own defense forces [3]. This decision is an attempt to make a change in Germany's foreign policy tradition of not relying on the military, and has been described as a revolution in German foreign policy. The future of German foreign policy may thus be transformed and will continue to evolve in this direction. Thus, it can be said that the Zeitenwende speech represents a historic shift in German foreign policy.

The transformation of foreign policy has always been a key area of concern in foreign policy studies, and the relevant theories have been developed to a high degree of maturity and sophistication. The Zeitenwende speech represents the Scholz government's foreign policy transformation, which is a relatively new case study of foreign policy transformation. It is worth noting that this is not only a reorientation of the Scholz government's own foreign policy, but also a deeper transformation of Germany's foreign policy tradition since World War II, and therefore has greater research value. The Scholz government's foreign policy transition has already attracted attention, but it is still dominated by press reports and policy commentaries. Some scholars have also conducted studies on this issue. However, most of the studies have focused on the characteristics and processes of the German foreign policy transition or only studied one aspect of it in depth, while the literature that systematically studies the motives of this transition is relatively small and the combination with theory is insufficient. This paper attempts to analyze the Scholz government's foreign policy transition using the analytical

# Russian National Security And Foreign Policy In Transition

**Stephen White**



## **Russian National Security And Foreign Policy In Transition:**

**Russian National Security and Foreign Policy in Transition** Eugene B. Rumer, 1995 This study is an examination and assessment of critical trends in the evolution of Russian thinking on foreign and national security policy in recent years. The consensus of the Gorbachev and Yeltsin eras that promised rapprochement with the West has been replaced by a new consensus that is pushing Russia toward a more aloof position vis a vis the Western alliance as leaders grapple with problems along Russia's immediate periphery and seek to rebuild Russia's sphere of influence. A key issue is the contradiction between U.S. recognition of the newly independent states around Russia's periphery and Russia's special role of oversight throughout the former Soviet Union and pursuit of national interests that might impinge on its neighbor's sovereignty. U.S. policymakers face the task of balancing the newly independent states' right to sovereignty against the need to restore order in a given region and the desire to sustain continuity in U.S.-Russian relations. Although there are no easy solutions, the Western community can play a constructive role while remaining on the periphery. *Russia National Security and Defence Policy Handbook Volume 1 Strategic Information and Basic Laws* IBP, Inc., 2014-10-07 2011 Updated Reprint Updated Annually

*Russia National Security and Defense Policy Handbook* [Russia's National Security in Aleksandr Dugin's Neo-Eurasianism](#) Marcin Skladanowski, 2023-09-05 Aleksandr Dugin is an extremely radical thinker. Nevertheless, it is worth dealing with his thought because it shows in an exaggerated form how the evolution of social and political ideas took place in the history of Russia, which led to Putin's contemporary neo-imperialism. This book presents the Russian discourse on national security against a broader background of global academic reflection, takes a closer look at the sources and ideological basis of the concept of Russia's security, developed by Dugin, discusses the subject and main dimensions of Russia's national security in Dugin's works, and shows the importance of Russia's foreign policy for the creation of its national security. [The Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe](#) Mark Wilcox, 2024-03-04 This work examines the CFE Treaty as a factor in Russia's foreign and security policy. Moscow showed amazing persistence in their relationship with the cornerstone of European security. Their approach to the treaty was a genuine attempt to shape the security environment in Europe and the former USSR. The treaty also enabled the dismantling of large conventional forces as they returned from Eastern Europe and transitioned into the armies of the newly independent states of the former USSR. The CFE Treaty though proved ineffective at constraining the enlargement of NATO. Simultaneously, Moscow's foreign and security policy evolved from one that focused on the domestic development of the country to that of a more confident state reasserting itself as a great power. Drawing extensively on primary sources and analyses by Russian authors, this book employs two historical narratives, case studies, and a conceptual framework to show that while Moscow remained engaged with the CFE Treaty, undesired effects on Russia's national interests gradually accrued at the expense of desired ones, leading Vladimir Putin to withdraw Russia from the treaty as an act of decoupling from the collective West. This book is relevant to scholars and policymakers who want to understand

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depend on visions of national identity and is rooted both in history and domestic politics Yet the author also highlights the role of the external environment in affecting the balance of power among competing domestic groups Drawing on both Russian and Western sources Tsygankov shows how Moscow's policies have shifted under different leaders' visions of Russia's national interests He gives an overview of the ideas and pressures that motivated Russian foreign policy in six different periods the Gorbachev era of the late 1980s the liberal Westernizers era under Kozyrev in the early 1990s the relatively hardline statist policy under Primakov the more pragmatic course of limited cooperation under Putin and then Medvedev and the assertive policy Putin has implemented since his return to power Evaluating the successes and failures of Russia's foreign policies Tsygankov explains its many turns as Russia's identity and interaction with the West have evolved The book concludes with reflections on the emergence of the post-Western world and the challenges it presents to Russia's enduring quest for great power status

**The Great Powers and the Survival of the Liberal International Order** Ayabulela Dlakavu, 2025-06-30 This scholarly monograph examines the sustainability of the Liberal International Order LIO by critically examining the conduct of the Permanent Five P5 members of the United Nations Security Council China France Russia the United Kingdom and the United States of America As principal custodians of global peace and security under the Charter of the United Nations the P5's alignment or misalignment with the foundational principles of the LIO holds profound implications for its legitimacy and endurance Anchored in foreign policy analysis FPA and enriched by scenario building methodologies the research offers a rigorous empirically grounded assessment of how Great Power behaviour shapes the evolution and potential futures of international order By foregrounding the foreign policies of the P5 as key variables in global governance trajectories the book provides an original contribution to scholarship on international relations multilateralism and institutional resilience This work will appeal to scholars of international relations global governance peace and security studies and those invested in the normative and structural futures of the international system in the 21st century and beyond

Russian Exceptionalism between East and West Kevork Oskanian, 2021-06-22 This monograph provides a novel long term approach to the role of Russia's imperial legacies in its interactions with the former Soviet space It develops Hybrid Exceptionalism as a critical conceptual tool aimed at uncovering the great power's self-positioning between East and West and its hierarchical claims over subalterns situated in both civilizational imaginaries It explores how in the Tsarist Soviet and contemporary eras distinct civilizational spaces were created and maintained through narratives and practices emanating from Russia's ambiguous relationship with Western modernity and its part-identification with a subordinated Orient The Romanov Empire's struggles with Russianness the USSR's Marxism-Leninism and contemporary Russia's combination of feigned liberal and civilizational discourses are explored as the basis of a series of successive civilising missions through an interdisciplinary engagement with official discourses scholarship and the arts The book concludes with an exploration of contemporary policy implications for the West and the former Soviet states themselves

Russian National Security Michael H. Crutcher, 2001 This is an anthology of papers presented at a conference titled Russian National Security Perceptions Policies and Prospects conducted from 4-6 December 2000 The book organizes the papers into six sections The Russian National Security Community Russia and Europe Russian Policy Towards the Caucasus and Central Asia Russia and Asia Russia and the United States and Russia's Military Transformation **Russian Foreign Policy Since 1990** Peter Shearman, 2018-02-12 A book which brings together leading experts on Russia's foreign relations providing the most comprehensive coverage of contemporary Russian foreign policy currently available in a single volume Detailed case studies of relations with specific countries and regions are complemented by chapters that examine the process of decision making conflict between domestic institutional actors the role of groups such as the military and Russia's search for a new identity **Russian Foreign Policy** Nicolai N. Petro, Alvin Z. Rubinstein, 1997 Provides an introduction to the major developments that have characterized the foreign policy of Russia during the Tsarist Soviet and post Soviet periods Addresses the long term historical continuities in Russian foreign policy both as they undermined the status quo at the end of the Soviet era and as they now condition Russia's search for a new definition of the national interest *Understanding Ethnopolitical Conflict* E. Souleimanov, 2013-07-08 This book critically evaluates the growing body of theoretical literature on ethnic conflict and civil war using empirical data from three major South Caucasian conflicts evaluating the relative strengths and weaknesses of the available methodological approaches *Securitizing Balance of Power Theory* Ilai Z. Saltzman, 2012 *Securitizing Balance of Power Theory A Polymorphic Reconceptualization* by Ilai Z. Saltzman presents a cutting edge attempt to reconceptualize one of the fundamental concepts of International Relations theory balance of power theory by examining insights from historical analysis of interwar and post Cold War cases **Foreign Policy In A Transformed World** Mark Webber, Michael Smith, 2014-01-14 For 2nd and 3rd year courses in international politics and foreign policy This text examines foreign policy in relation to change and transformation It discusses traditional assumptions about foreign policy and foreign policy making and develops a framework to facilitate analysis of the challenges faced by foreign policy makers in the late 1990s The central elements of the framework are the foreign policy arena decision making and implementation The book then applies the framework to a set of regional case studies to explore the global and regional arenas and the challenges to which they give rise Finally specific case studies of two countries per region highlight the range of impacts for the changing global and regional context to focus on the analysis of decision making and implementation and to illustrate the benefits of comparative analysis *Migrant Workers in Russia* Anna-Liisa Heusala, Kaarina Aitamurto, 2016-09-13 Russia has a very large pool of economic migrants up to 25% of the workforce according to some estimates Although many migrants many from former Soviet countries which are now independent entered Russia legally they frequently face bureaucratic obstacles to legal employment and Russian citizenship factors which have led to a very large shadow economy This book presents a comprehensive examination of migrant labour in Russia It describes the nature

of migrant labour explores the shadow economy and its unfortunate consequences and discusses the rise of popular sentiment against migrants and the likely impact The book also sets the Russian experiences of migrant labour in context comparing the situation in Russia with that in other countries with significant migrant labour workforces The Open Access version of this book available at <http://www.taylorfrancis.com> has been made available under a Creative Commons Attribution Non Commercial No Derivatives CC BY NC ND 4.0 license      *Mortal Friends, Best Enemies* Celeste A.

Wallander, 2018-05-31 Several hundred thousand members of the Red Army were stationed in East Germany when that state was reunited with its western counterpart The peaceful transfer of these soldiers to their homeland produced a welcome outcome to a potentially explosive situation Through an investigation of the strategies of German and Russian decision makers Celeste A Wallander explores what conditions facilitate or hinder international cooperation in security matters Wallander spent the months and years after the fall of the Berlin Wall interviewing officials and politicians from Germany and Russia She reveals how these individuals assessed and responded to potential flashpoints the withdrawal of Russian military forces from Germany the implementation of arms control treaties the management of ethnic and regional conflicts She also examines the two states views on the enlargement of NATO The first detailed account from both countries perspectives of the extraordinary contraction of Russian power and the implications of German unification *Mortal Friends Best Enemies* clearly depicts the important role European and global institutions played making the military disengagement possible Wallander draws on these findings to develop a new institutional theory of security relations In it she defines the techniques that international institutions can use to help states solve obstacles to security

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