CONTENTS

PROLOGUE

PART ONE	
"I WASN'T BORN CHANCELLOR"	
July 17, 1954 to November 9, 1989	
HAPPY CHILDHOOD	7
Quitzow 7 The Waldhof estate 13 In a state of pure	
shock 20 Goetheschule 23 Holidays 35 Prague	
Spring 37 Hermann Matern School 40	
OFF AND AWAY	52
The study of physics 52 Lighthearted 56 Timbres	
and gold dust 59 The diploma 63 Ilmenau 65	
AT THE EAST GERMAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES	71
Rate constants 71 The FDJ and Marxism-	
Leninism 78 Marienstrasse 81 Templiner	
Strasse 83 International exchanges 86	
Increasing disengagement 89 Buying a home 93	
Travels to the West 96	



1

PART TWO A DEMOCRATIC AWAKENING

November 10, 1989 to December 2, 1990

UNITY AND JUSTICE AND FREEDOM	107
Mixed feelings 107 First political steps 111 A special election campaign 123 Friction and conflicts 137	
Diplomacy's finest hour 143	
STANDING ON MY OWN TWO FEET	146
Through gritted teeth 146 Your local candidate 149	
PART THREE	
FREEDOM AND RESPONSIBILITY	
December 3, 1990 to November 21, 2005	
"AUFBAU OST"	161
Maundy Thursday 161 A broken leg 169	
The neighbor 176 Citizens' consultation 182	
"Blossoming landscapes"? 185 Against aggression	
and violence 190	
EQUAL RIGHTS	195
Feminist? 195 A stiff neck 205	
SUSTAINABILITY	213
No energy consensus 213 Foreign affairs	
politician 225 The Price of Survival 236	

Party chair 240 | The travails of the plains—or: the battle for authority 253 | Parliamentary chairwoman 260 | Snap elections 269 | Let's not get carried away! 276

PART FOUR SERVING GERMANY (I)

November 22, 2005 to September 4, 2015

FIRST	287
Tuesday, November 22, 2005 287 Paris Brussels London Berlin Düsseldorf Hamburg 295 Let us dare more freedom 300 Setting a course 306 Warsaw 315 European Council 317 "Where, o where have you gone?" 319	
A SUMMER'S TALE New traditions 337 Third place 340	337
rew traditions 337 Time place 3 to	
HOSTING IN A WICKER BEACH CHAIR	343
Lunch with George W. Bush 343 The G8 discussions 352 Waiting for Vladimir Putin 355	
GLOBAL ECONOMIC CRISIS	361
Armida and IKB 361 Worldwide turbulence 367 The savings holders' guarantee 371 The rescue package 373 Jobs 377 G20 382	

PART FIVE SERVING GERMANY (II)	
At the gates of Europe 471 The summer press conference 478 The decision 483	
"WE CAN DO THIS!" At the gates of Europe 471 The games are greater	471
The Eastern partnership 439 The Maidan protests 444 The annexation of Crimea 447 The Normandy Format 450 Petro Poroshenko's peace plan 454 Seventeen hours of negotiations in Minsk 457 A breath of cold war 468	439
The invasion of Ukraine 421 The NATO summit in Bucharest 423 PEACE AND SELF-DETERMINATION IN UKRAINE	439
On a knife edge 413 UKRAINE AND GEORGIA IN NATO?	421
The coalition of choice 386 The Solvay Library 390 The road to Ithaca 396 If the euro fails, Europe fails 401 Looking for the bazooka 407	
EURO CRISIS	386

A FRIENDLY FACE

491

"Then this is not my country" 491 | Finding solutions 497 | Islamist terrorism in Germany 511 | On suspicion and trust 515 | Standing for re-election? 523

September 5, 2015 to December 8, 2021

AN INTERCONNECTED WORLD—THE REEF KNOT	529
A globe, a map, and tolerance 529 Brexit 534 New alliances 538 Free trade agreement 541 The Paris Agreement 546 Partnership with Africa 550 World powers: India and China 556 Donald Trump 564 G20 in Hamburg 568	
CLIMATE AND ENERGY	573
A catastrophe and its consequences 573 Natural gas 581 The precautionary principle 588	
THE BUNDESWEHR IN ACTIVE SERVICE	592
Afghanistan 592 Libya 602 Mandatory military service 606 The Western Balkans 610	
ISRAEL	614
In Adenauer's footsteps 614 Reason of state 623	
KAIROS 6	529
"Time to Go" 629 Retirement from CDU leadership 636	
THE PANDEMIC 6	540
A challenge to democracy 640 Hopes and disappointments 658 An acid test for Europe 661 Uncharted territory 664 Global politics in the shadow of the pandemic 668 Military Tattoo 679	

•

EPILOGUE	683
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	687
EDITORIAL NOTE	689
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	691
PHOTO CREDITS	699
INDEX OF NAMES	701