

*New Directions for Germany?
Foreign and Security Policy*

Election Campaign, Building a Coalition, Expectations

- Thesis – Moving Forward at German Speed - one gradual step at a time.... could say it's the pandemic, but the reasons are deeper. Germany has reached a turning point with the departure of Chancellor Merkel and arrival of a 3 party coalition absent the CDU.
 - I. The German electoral campaign and 9/26 election
 - II. Coalition negotiations
 - III. Expectations and debates over the German Future Role in the International Arena

Looking Forward Internationally

- **The institutional framework post-WWII**
- **Policy officials signal shifts/change**
- **German/Transatlantic Relationship**
- **Great Power Competition**
- **Other issues**

I. The German Electoral Campaign and the 9/26/2021 election

Germany decides Anew: Merkel is a Hard Act to Follow

- **First time incumbent has not run in national election
- **First time an E.German has held Chancellor's seat
- **First time a woman has served as Chancellor
- **Longest serving Chancellor (Kohl/Bismarck)
- **First time Chancellor has worked with 4 French Presidents during 4 terms

So who is this Angel Merkel elected 4 times?

Merkel in Office

Born in FRG, Lutheran father moved family to GDR

grew up in E. Germany, studied physics,

Joined CDU conservative party

Elected to Bundestag in 2005

Close to Chancellor Helmut Kohl and that role was his demise

Party finance scandal revealed by Merkel as CDU party leader

Politically in office moved to the center,

Without much consultation, opened Germany to refugees

Cautious Center right, closed nuclear power plants by 2022

And coal power plants by 2038

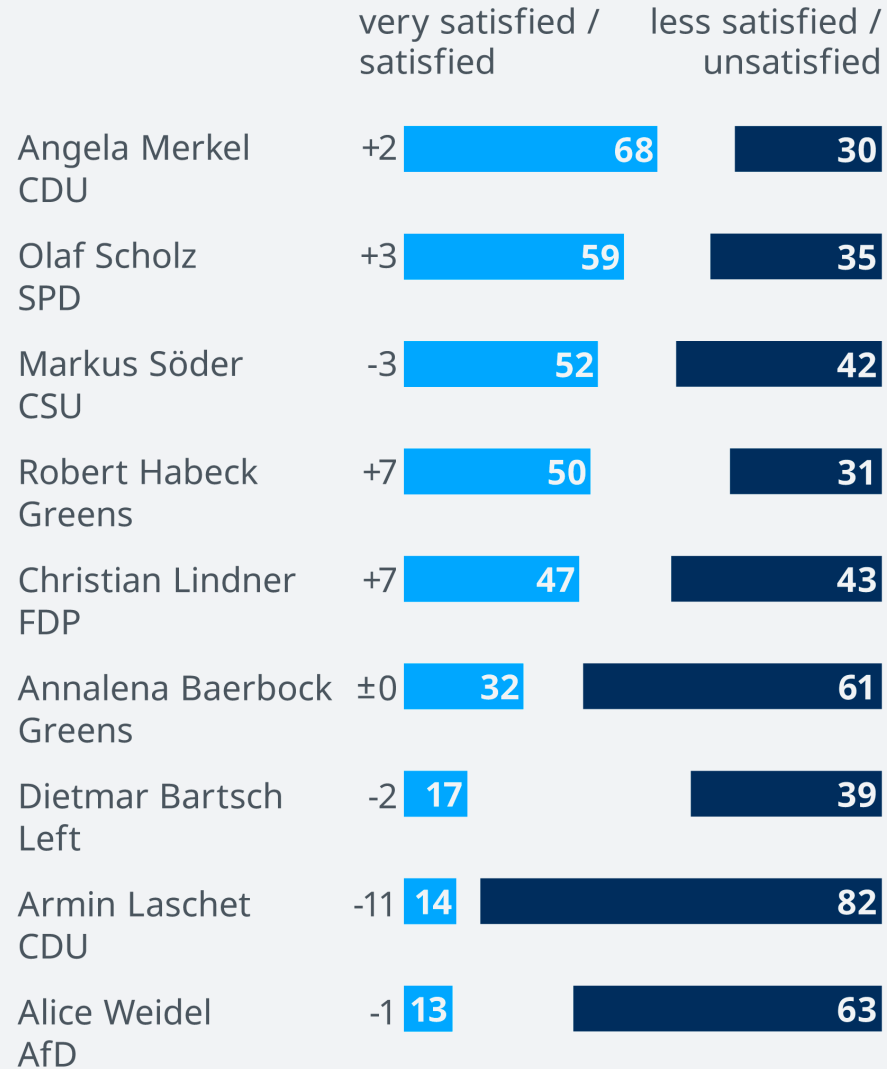
What Parties Ran?

Vote 2021

Current Coalition:	Christian Democratic Union (CDU)	24.1%
	Christian Social Union (CSU)	
	Social Democratic Party (SPD)	25.7%
Potential Coalition Members:	Greens	14.8 %
	Federal Democratic Party (FDP)	11.5%
Others:	Left (3 seats=remain in Parliament)	
		(-) 4.9%
	AfD (Alternative for Germany)	(-) 10.3%

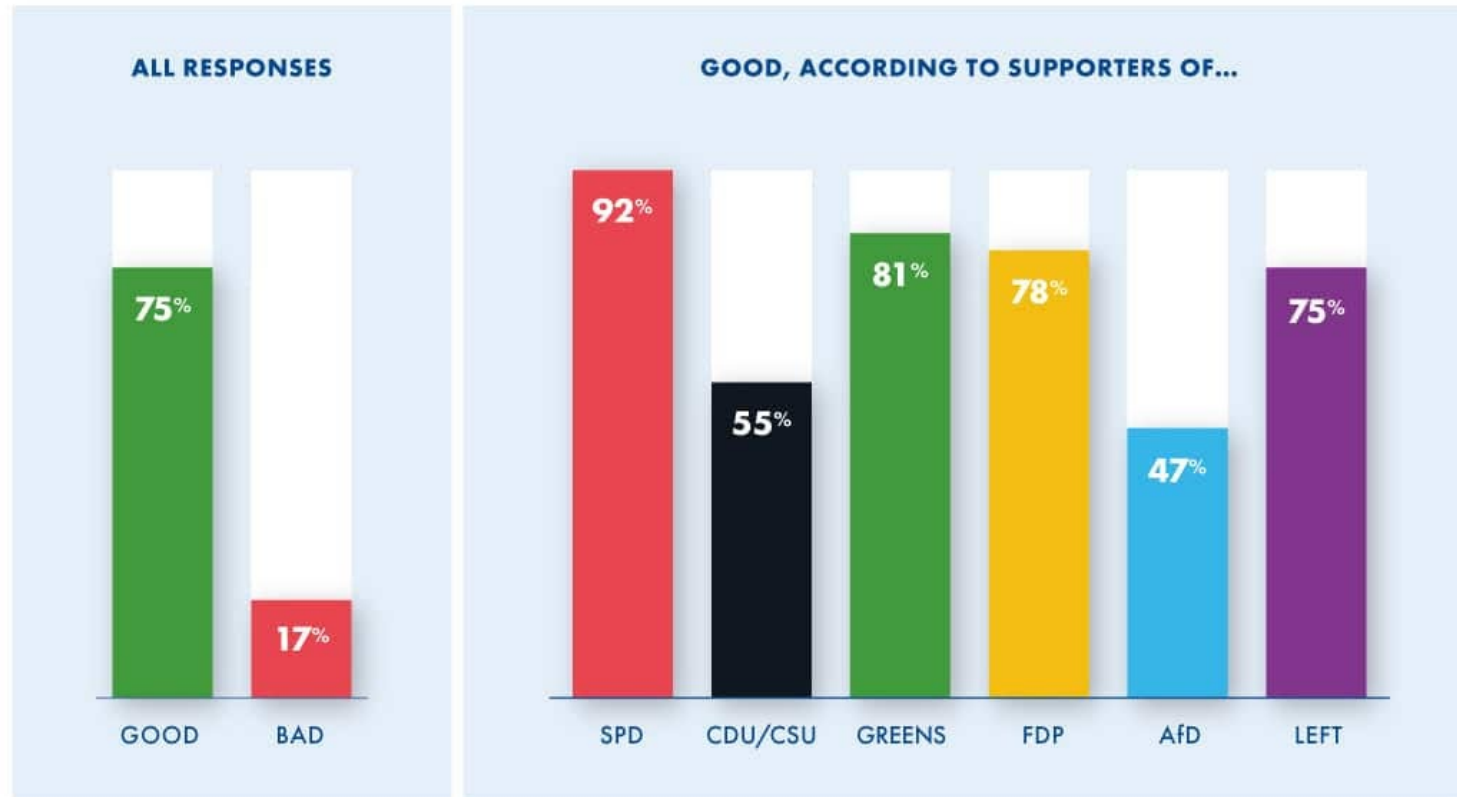
Approval ratings

Are you satisfied with the political work of ... ?



ZDF poll after September 26, 2021

If Olaf Scholz Becomes Chancellor, this would be:



Why the Shift in Voter Preferences?

- Greens nominee questionable resume (LSE)
- CDU/CSU – Floods interview.
 Commentary on party platform
- Afd – refugee settlements (see posters)
- SPD - Finance Minister, Vice Chancellor, cool/calm
- Left – down in votes, but won three constituencies
- FDP – up in votes, but 2017 legacy
- Young voters wanted change!

Expectations of Young Germans

100 young Germans

- More Combatting Climate Change Wanted. Running late
 - Constitutional Ct – Germany is not doing enough. Lots of talk, not eno action
 - Coal setback to 2038
 - Emissions down in pandemic, but going up.
- New refugee policy based on humanitarian, European values
- EU – greater democratic values, stronger ties,
 - Role of Germany in Europe
 - EU = World leader first in world for Green technology
 - Recovery Fund positive
- Less concern about foreign policy not surprisingly

II. Coalition Negotiations

- ‘Working’ paper – will be legal document, very German detailed!

'Traffic light' coalition: Scholz lays out a Plan for the Future

****1. The modern state and digitalization**

New culture of cooperation; all bureaucracy the first year, easy access to shop, doctor's appt., play ball. Strengthen civic discussion and Parliamentary involvement.

2. Climate Change

2035 only CO2 cars on road; Solar and Wind energy increases

3. Respect and Chances for Workers

12 Euro per hour wages

4. Assure Social Welfare

Reform elderly insurance, women

5. Chances for Children, Families and Education

Improve child rights; digitalization training for schools, adults

Traffic Light Coalition, con't

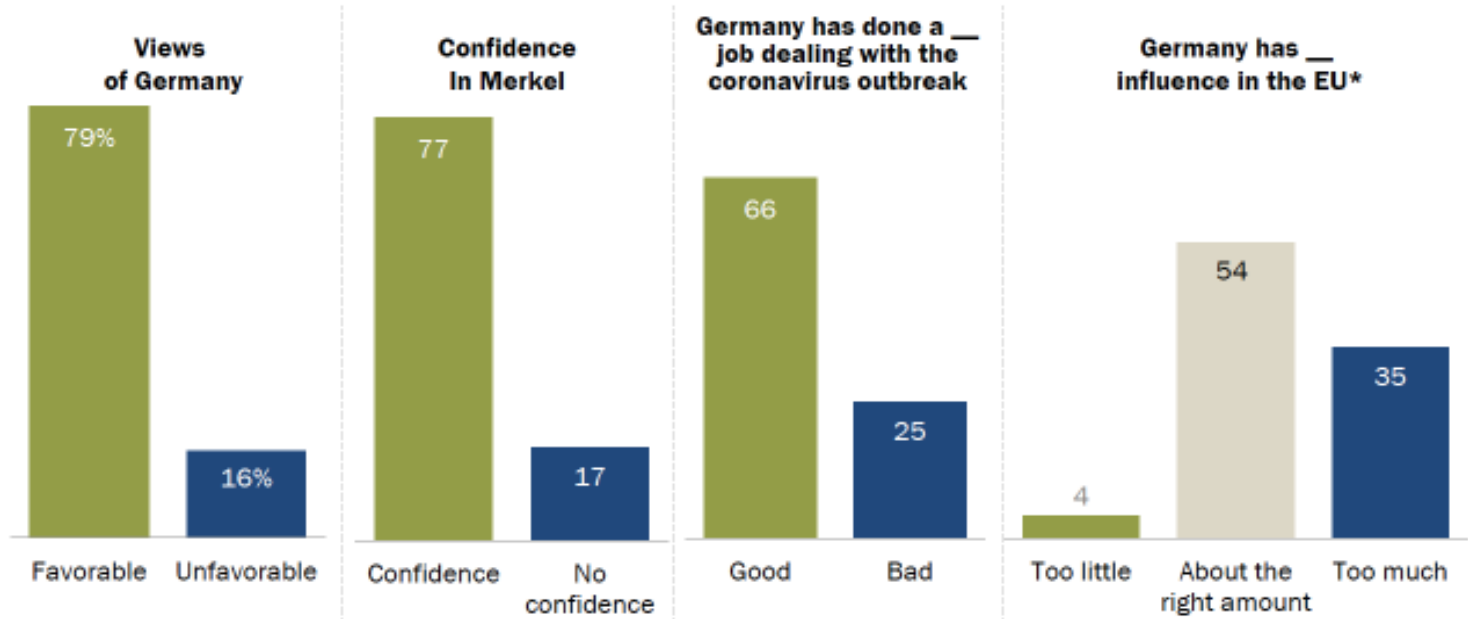
- **6. Innovation and Competitive Markets**
- **7. Reasonable Housing and Construction**
- **8. Freedom and Security, Equality for a Modern Democracy**
- **9. Higher Investment (wind energy, renewables) over next Ten Years, but no deficit spending! No new debts. FDP influence.**
- **10. Foreign and Security Policy**

III. Foreign and Security Policy:

Expectations and Debates over the German
Future Role in the International Arena
(UN Security Council Permanent Member)

Pew Research Center

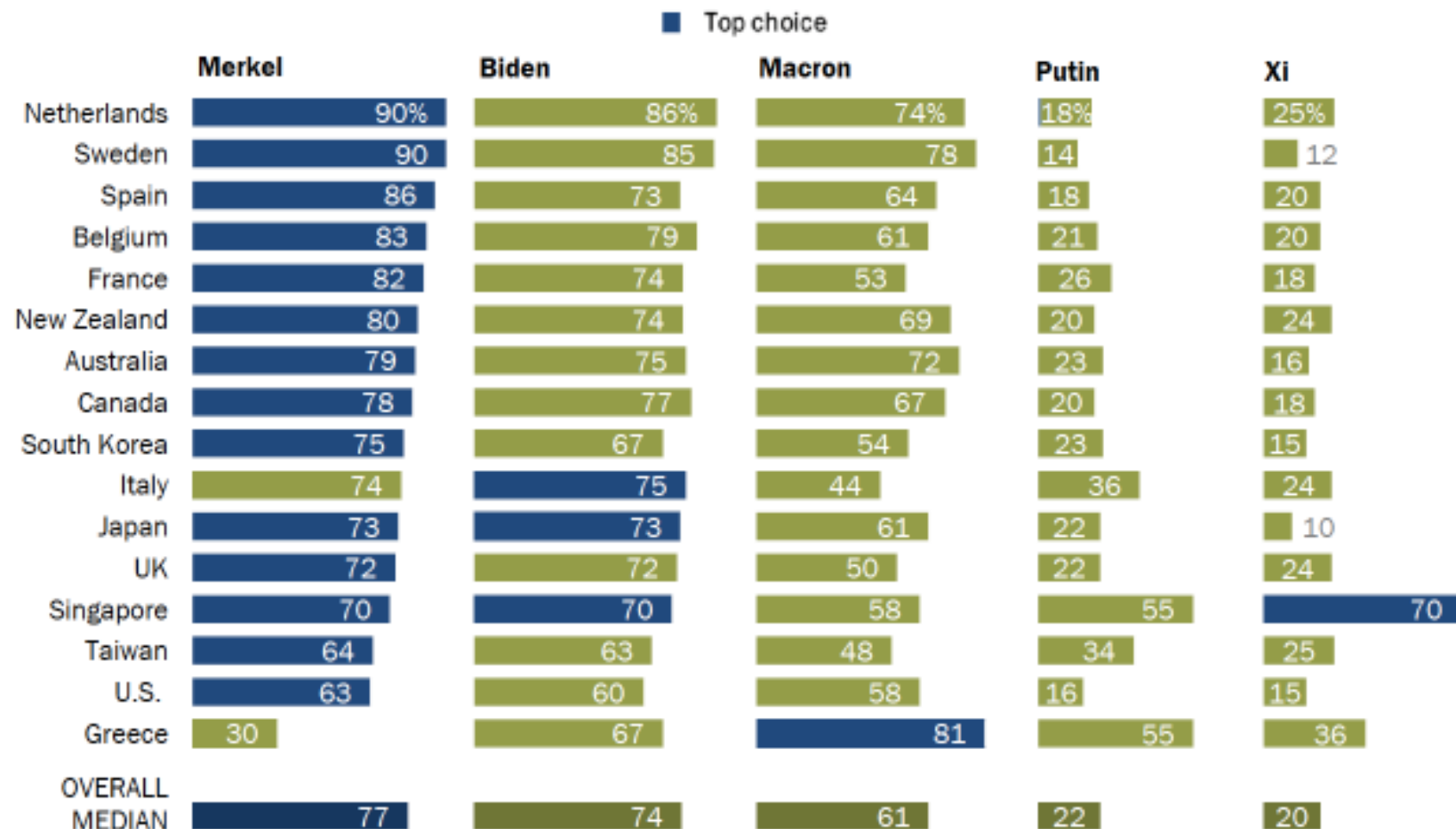
Germany's international image



*Percentages are medians based on seven European Union countries.
Note: Percentages are medians based on 16 publics. Those who did not answer not shown.
Source: Spring 2021 Global Attitudes Survey. Q4c, Q7f, Q21d & Q30.
"Germany and Merkel Receive High Marks Internationally in Chancellor's Last Year in Office"

Most are more confident in Merkel than Biden, Macron, Putin or Xi

% who have confidence in ___ to do the right thing regarding world affairs



Source: Spring 2021 Global Attitudes Survey. Q21a-e.

"Germany and Merkel Receive High Marks Internationally in Chancellor's Last Year in Office"

Traffic Light Coalition, con't Europe and the World

- 10. ***Germany's Responsibility for Europe and the World
 - Global responsibility. Nothing can be done alone.
 - European needs strengthening; this strengthens Germany. Foreign-Security-Development Policy will be based on values.
 - Defend against disinformation.
 - Digital infrastructure, train infrastructure
 - Strengthen UN, NATO, Alliance for Democracy, and Israel.
 - Support the Military force sufficient to assist abroad, as necessary.
 - Assist refugees
 - Diversify energy sources.

III. Foreign and Security Policy

- Issues:
 - NATO and the European Union: German Roles expand
 - Officials begin to speak out: the carrier turns only gradually

1. Foreign and Security Policy: NATO

- Central for Germany to achieve acceptance after WWII
 - Both NATO and EU critical to assuring Germany recognized as legitimate state
 - NATO (1949/Germany enters 1955) permits acceptance as peaceful/democratic within a security institution. Parameters set.
 - NATO has grown to 30 members Post-CW – bedrock of Transatlantic security, Includes E. European countries, former Soviet states (Baltics), former Yugoslavia

NATO

- **NATO** moves beyond Europe: a) Balkans (Kosovo first use of force) b) Afghanistan (from reluctance in North Afgh. to 4th largest force, to #2); c) Libya (not Germany); d) Lithuania (Enhanced Forward Presence)
Mission to deter.
- Perceived External Threat: Russia (shuts down Russia-NATO Council and removes diplomats)
- NATO SecGen Stoltenberg moving NATO politically (German –US review committee)
- Issue of Illiberalism, challenges to democracy
- Budget issue (Nat'l budget expectation is 2% of GDP: only 5 allies qualify)

Foreign and Security Policy: European Union

- EU (1957/Germany enters with 5 others and US support). Industrial production (coal and steel) sharply watched to avoid national industrial efforts.
- EU has grown to 27 (minus Brexit) members. Econ. player globally; Defense coop growing, but future?
- Changes in rate of deployments and into other areas –
 - First territorially outside NATO – Balkans
 - First territorially outside Europe – Afghanistan (now left)

European Union

- Agriculture, trade, industry, culture. Example: minimum global corporate tax (OECD, G-20 vote, 136 country supporters).
- Again, Entrance legitimized Germany
- Foreign Affairs and Security: Lisbon Treaty
- Strategic Autonomy (France) or Strategic Sovereignty (European)
 - Diplomatic Corps established
 - European External Action Service - 2010.
 - EU High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy
 - Oversees Common Foreign and Security Policy

2.. Gradual, Short Steps

The Carrier Begins its Slow, Deliberate Turn.....

- **2011 – Polish Defense/Foreign Minister Sikorski called for leadership in the face of the financial crisis “I fear German power less than I am beginning to fear German inactivity. You have become Europe’s indispensable nation. You *may not* fail to lead.”**

Received attention internationally, but it would be 3 more years before German officials began to talk publically in 2014ain attention.

Munich Security Conference

- Sikorski remarks received attention internationally, but it would be 3 more years before they found an echo and then.....gradually.
- 2014 Munich Security Conference: Publicly carefully, but certainly cleared with Chancellor, President Gauch, Defense Min. von der Leyen, and in another forum, Foreign Minister Steinmeier:

MSC, con't

- **(Gauck)**
- **....Germans should not “turn a blind eye, not run from threats, but instead stand firm, let us not forget, neglect, or, worse, betray universal values, but instead uphold them together with our friends and partners. Let us be seen to be living by them, let us defend them.”**
- **While the turn has been gradual, Germany has evolved into a broader international role today.**

3. Germany/Transatlantic Relations Hit a Low, but a Tectonic Shift?



Merkel, mentioning both the U.S. and Brexit, told her audience it was time for Europe to “take our fate into our own hands.”

“The era in which we could fully rely on others is over to some extent,” Merkel said, before adding, “That’s what I experienced over the past several days.”

May 28, 2017

Germany/Transatlantic Relations

- After a rocky 4 years of US/German relations, early June 2021 appeared to turn the relationship around as President Biden traveled to the G-7 Summit, NATO Summit, and EU-US Summit. Not totally without its frictions, the overall tenor was good and a number of issues emerged without the tensions of the past.
- --For the United States, Nordstream II tensions persisted and the gas pipeline was accepted. but not without remaining differences.
- --The 2% GDP Wales summit of 2014 acceptance raised, including by Germany with seeming acceptance of greater support and increased to 9 allies (from 30 allies).

Transatlantic Relations: Afghanistan

German role in Afghanistan for 20 years, last few as Deputy Command. US decision to evacuate without sufficient consultation? Breakdown in German intelligence?

Substantial transformation of German (and all) Bundeswehr – Enhanced Forward Presence in Baltics/Poland.

4. Great Power Competition: China and Russia

Summary