



# Cabinet of Germany

## CIMUN XV

November 29th - December 2nd



# 1. Topic 1 - Addressing German and European Security Concerns

## 1.1. Topic Overview

As a leader in the European Union and the world, Germany plays a vital role in setting national security policy. The Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP) and the Schengen agreement set a specific framework from which Germany can create such policies. Germany must jointly address its security concerns in the context refugees in Europe and particular national economic and security interests.

Threats are growing from Russia, China, and non-state actors demanding a fresh look at policies laid out in the past. Challenges are also presented in the declining ability to rely on the U.S. and NATO for security assistance both physically and in cyberspace.

## 1.2. Historical Background

### 1.2.1. Structure of German Security

German people have a complicated relationship with their security systems from the extremely controlling and omnipotent Stasi of the 20th century to the federalized system of today. Germany is well known for not shying away from its history and has multiple museums dedicated to highlighting the atrocities committed by the Nazi government. The Stasi and Gestapo were not monitored by the people and had virtually no checks on their power and authority. This led to massive amounts of abuse of power and instilled fear in the German people.

This feeling of wariness and discomfort led to the creation of a decentralized system in post-war reunified Germany. Policing power is held primarily by the states, and there are checks on the reach of the intelligence services. Recent terrorist attacks and changing dynamics within the EU have brought into question the importance and effectiveness of such a system.

The intelligence agencies within Germany are divided into many branches as well. It is essential to understand the jurisdiction of each and how they interact with national and international bodies.

1. *Bundesnachrichtendienst* (BND) focuses on foreign and military intelligence often operating outside of Germany's borders
2. *Militärischer Abschirmdienst* (MAD) is the military counterintelligence branch that works to thwart the actions of other nation and state intelligence organizations
3. *Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz* (BfV) is responsible for domestic intelligence much like the CIA in the United States
4. *Landesbehörden für Verfassungsschutz* (LfV) works similarly to the BfV but in each of the 16 states
5. *Kommando Strategische Aufklärung*, (KSA) focuses on technical intelligence which encompasses military signals intelligence and geospatial intelligence, cyber and information security
6. *Zentrale Stelle für Informationstechnik im Sicherheitsbereich* (ZITiS) supports law enforcement with cryptanalysis and surveillance
7. *Federal Office for Information Security* (BSI) also works on digital counterintelligence and cyber security
8. *Federal Criminal Police Office* (BKA) works similarly to the FBI in the United States to focus on suspected criminal activity and activities that pose a threat to national security

These wide-ranging systems pose many challenges. Communication, information sharing, and determining clearance levels are all complicated further. Civil rights advocates fight to keep the system transparent and not concentrated in one inaccessible center.

German security cannot be considered an isolated strategy. ENISA, the European Union's information security agency, defines the goals of German security as the following<sup>1</sup>:

1. Foster Research & Development
2. Citizen's awareness
3. Engage in International Cooperation
4. Address Cyber Crime
5. Develop national cyber contingency plans
6. Establish an incident response capability

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<sup>1</sup><https://www.enisa.europa.eu/topics/national-cyber-security-strategies/ncss-map/strategies/cyber-security-strategy-for-germany/view>

7. Establish an institutionalized form of cooperation between public agencies
8. Establish baseline security requirements
9. Critical Information Infrastructure Protection

Citizen's awareness is a crucial part of the social repercussions of national security and should not be overlooked in Germany. Robust planning, scoping, and stress testing is all on the roadmap for German intelligence organizations.

### 1.2.2. Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP)

A part of the creation of the European Union was an understanding of mutual protection of member states. This goes beyond a responsive pact or treaty and is seen in the creation of proactive defense strategies. The most recent and robust of these is the Common Security and Defense Policy. It is defined as a "peace-keeping operations, conflict prevention and in the strengthening of the international security."<sup>2</sup> The CSDP works to further the goals of crisis management in both civilian and military contexts.

The CSDP is challenging to manage and maintain. As such a Coordinated Annual Review on Defence has been set up to have a regular way to share learnings and make plans. This kind of meeting sets an expectation that member states will be more cooperative and likely to share in goals similar to the structure of the United Nations.<sup>3</sup> The future of the CSDP is dependent on this participation and could be put into jeopardy by external political disagreements. With the increase in cybersecurity threats and terrorist threats, the CSDP is ever more vital.

### 1.2.3. Schengen Agreement<sup>4,5</sup>

EU politics and policies considerably shifted with the advent of the Schengen Agreement, the fundamental tenets of which are open borders. This means that there are no internal border checks between member states. The goal is to increase interdependence and cooperation between countries and make the economic exchange more feasible. Open borders have significantly improved the difficulty of tracking people migrating between states. This has become a significant security challenge and necessitates local collaboration. If international

<sup>2</sup>[https://eeas.europa.eu/topics/common-security-and-defence-policy-csdp/431/common-security-and-defence-policy-csdp\\_en](https://eeas.europa.eu/topics/common-security-and-defence-policy-csdp/431/common-security-and-defence-policy-csdp_en)

<sup>3</sup>[https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/eeas/files/coordinated\\_annual\\_review\\_on\\_defence\\_card\\_factsheet.pdf](https://eeas.europa.eu/sites/eeas/files/coordinated_annual_review_on_defence_card_factsheet.pdf)

<sup>4</sup>[https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/35285/eu-strengthens-cooperation-security-and-defence\\_en](https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/35285/eu-strengthens-cooperation-security-and-defence_en)

<sup>5</sup>[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Schengen\\_Agreement](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Schengen_Agreement)

borders are less tightly guarded the city and regional governments now play a more significant role in tracking the flow of people and being responsive in the case of a potential threat. With the recent rise in refugee migration in and around Europe, this openness has been highly contested. One interpretation of the Schengen Agreement would indicate that refugees arriving in one member state could freely move to other states in the zone. Therefore the decisions made by “accepting” nations on the periphery directly impact security and social makeup of all countries in the area. Though this is an interpretation of the policy, it is important to note that the Dublin Regulation does impose specific regulations on the Schengen Agreement when it pertains to refugees. As a result of this legislation, refugees are the responsibility of the country they first entered, which would prevent them from traveling across borders for other opportunities.

#### 1.2.4. Cybersecurity<sup>6</sup>

When thinking about national cybersecurity, a nation has to take into account its information infrastructure as it applies to industry, government and civilians. Cyberspace has no territorial bounds and can be accessed from anywhere in the world. Examples of critical infrastructure that can be the target of a cyber attack include electrical grids, banking systems, election technology, and private email servers. Cyber attacks can be a form of terrorism orchestrated by non-state actors as well as a tool of offensive intelligence of national governments. Terrorist groups can use technology and the dark web to spread their ideology, gain followers, and transfer funds without detection. It can be difficult to track the origins of a cyber attack and as such, many governments will operate through proxy groups.

There has been an increase in attacks from within Germany and abroad. The targets of these attacks are equally private and governmental. The goal is to gain access to data and critical systems.

### 1.3. Current Situation

The aims of German security are stated as,

- “protecting our citizens as well as the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our country

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<sup>6</sup><https://www.enisa.europa.eu/topics/national-cyber-security-strategies/ncss-map/strategies/cyber-security-strategy-for-germany/view>

- protecting the territorial integrity, the sovereignty and the citizens of our allies
- maintaining the rules-based international order on the basis of international law;
- ensuring prosperity for our citizens through a strong German economy as well as free and unimpeded world trade
- promoting the responsible use of limited goods and scarce resources throughout the world
- deepening European integration and consolidating the transatlantic partnership.”<sup>7</sup>

The international focus of these tenants is important. Germany looks outward and has global concerns when it comes to security policy.

### 1.3.1. Role of internal politics

German domestic politics are not as stable as they were thought to be in the most recent ten years. Angela Merkel's support has become much less precise and predictable. Merkel's party the CDU (Christian Democratic Union) often partners with the CSU (Christian Social Union) and was formed in the wake of World War II to unite conservative Christian voices in Germany. The focus of the party is a stable economy and well thought out social programs. The SPD (Social Democratic Party) is lead by Andrea Nahles and has traditionally been the voice of the working class and trade unions. Formed in 1875, this party focused mainly on social justice reform as opposed to the more revolutionary communist party. Raising the minimum wage and better the rights of women are tenants of this party. Die Linke or the Left Party, encompasses former GDR supporters who favor a more communist approach to government. The Green party focuses on bringing issues such as ending nuclear power and increasing gay rights to mainstream platforms through coalitions with other parties. AfD (Alternative for Germany) was formed in 2013 to represent far right values such as closed borders, deportation, and German Christian identity.

The Chancellor has faced backlash for decisions made at home as well as on behalf of the European Union and “Western World.” Reports indicate that business leaders are moving away from support of Merkel. Former stability and growth are less certain, and business leaders are worried about the social and economic changes her policies bring. “Within her CDU party, the once mighty business wing has lost ground.” Much more than in previous years, Merkel was forced to form a coalition government in 2017 elections meaning that the alliances she had

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<sup>7</sup> <http://www.gmfus.org/publications/white-paper-german-security-policy-and-future-bundeswehr>

before have shifted. This new government relies on more cooperation between parties and a lessening of her previously unmatched power.

### 1.3.2. Refugee Crisis

Responses to the refugee crisis polarize many groups. At the onset of the crisis, Merkel unilaterally created pro-migrant decisions in the EU. She believed that the open borders and economic opportunity in the EU should be used to help people fleeing from war. The original EU law stated that refugees could stay in the country where they first touched dry land, but Merkel extended that to allow migrants to move within the EU and search for more permanent residence. This was seen as Germany dominating the debate and making decisions on behalf of less wealthy nations who had different opinions about how to address the crisis. While the crisis is now long-running and not seen as the same acute challenge as before, long-term policies are necessary to address integration and education for refugees trying to find their homes. The European Asylum Support Office and EU Agency for Asylum have grown in importance in creating policies around supporting refugees and displaced peoples.

### 1.3.3. Trends in EU security

It's important to understand the process that Germany would go through to create official EU policy.<sup>8</sup> Before EU law is voted on a Impact Assessment is performed and national governments consider if they would be better equipped to handle an issue unilaterally. The European Parliament and Council review legislation, edit it, and put it to a vote. Border security and prevention of terrorist attacks through cooperative action has become increasingly important in EU policy.<sup>9</sup> The General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) is an example of European led policy around the collection and privacy of information that has global repercussions.<sup>10</sup> While the GDPR is aimed at protecting consumers from corporations and governments, it shows an increased interest in and understanding of data security by the EU.

### 1.3.4. Trends outside of EU

The election of Donald Trump in the United States has led to declining support from US of the European Union, NATO, and the United Nations. Previously, Germany considered the US a

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<sup>8</sup> [https://europa.eu/european-union/eu-law/decision-making/procedures\\_en](https://europa.eu/european-union/eu-law/decision-making/procedures_en)

<sup>9</sup> [https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/35285/eu-strengthens-cooperation-security-and-defence\\_en](https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/35285/eu-strengthens-cooperation-security-and-defence_en)

<sup>10</sup> <https://www.wired.co.uk/article/what-is-gdpr-uk-eu-legislation-compliance-summary-fines-2018>

partner and political ally. Tensions have increased with the United States now criticizing more European actions and weakening the support system that had been formed in the last decades.

### 1.3.5. Russia

Recently, French elections were thought to be compromised by Russian hackers.<sup>11</sup> Before the 2017 presidential election, candidate Emmanuel Macron's emails were hacked and shared publicly. Mike Rogers, of the United States NSA, confirmed that the US was aware of Russian interference in the French elections and had advised the French government to take appropriate action. Marine Le Pen, Macron's opponent, was less supportive of the EU and more in favor of Russia's actions in the Crimea indicating that she would have been the preferred winner for the Russian government. Traces of Cyrillic were found in the code that hacked the email system which indicates that the hackers were either Russian or wanted people to think they were. This kind of interference is not new to Western Europe which was the battleground of both American and Soviet propaganda throughout the Cold War, particularly regarding swaying public opinion in elections.

German elections and public opinion are also thought to have been swayed by the Russian government.<sup>12</sup> According to a recent German intelligence report,

"With their broad-based efforts to acquire information and exercise influence, the Russian intelligence services have been active for many years with high intensity against German interests in Germany and in the Russian Federation ... there is no reason to assume that their espionage activities will abate in the foreseeable future."<sup>13</sup>

The threat of Russian cyber attacks is growing and being publicly discussed by German politicians.<sup>14</sup> Hacks to local and federal systems responsible for foreign policy planning are concerning as they show the capabilities of these groups. Even small breaches can be a sign of larger capability "A total of 17 computers were affected in the Foreign Office, and it is estimated that only three documents were siphoned off, with a data volume of 240 kilobytes"<sup>15</sup> This kind of targeted intervention must be monitored and planned for moving forward.

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<sup>11</sup><https://www.reuters.com/article/us-france-election-russia/u-s-increasingly-convinced-that-russia-hacked-french-election-sources-idUSKBN1852KO>

<sup>12</sup><https://www.brookings.edu/testimonies/the-impact-of-russian-interference-on-germanys-2017-elections/>

<sup>13</sup> Bundesministerium des Inneren/German Interior Ministry, [Verfassungsschutzbericht 2015](#), page 256-7.

<sup>14</sup><http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/cyber-espionage-likely-from-russia-targets-german-government-a-1196520.html>

<sup>15</sup><http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/cyber-espionage-likely-from-russia-targets-german-government-a-1196520.html>

In addition to attacks on the government sector, these cyber attacks from external actors have taken a damaging toll on the economy. Nearly 2/3rds of the German manufacturing industry have been hit by some form of cyber attack causing billions in damages and risking the security of information that is crucial to the success of and development of German technology. While many of the largest corporations and manufacturers are adapting and implementing security measures to limit their susceptibility to attack, the small and medium-size businesses are the ones being most significantly impacted. As a Cabinet, it is our job to analyze this problem and find a way to limit these attacks on our economy going forward.

### 1.3.6. China

Another nation thought to be behind targeted hacking is China. Germany is well known as a center of manufacturing excellence and leadership. These same factories and plants are under attack by competitors looking to steal trade secrets.<sup>16</sup> Insurer Hiscox Ltd estimates that 65% of German manufacturing and technology companies were targets of cyber attacks in 2016, 62% in the U.S. and 50% in the U.K. The BfV estimates that €55 billion euros were lost due to espionage, sabotage and data theft in 2016 alone. An attempt to stop this was the 2015 G20 pact against cyber espionage.<sup>17</sup> The German government has warned companies to be wary of investments and collaborations with Chinese companies who may introduce spies into German industry.

## 1.4. Bloc Positions

- Pro Merkel vs Reformists
- Pro EU vs Nationalist
- Tougher borders vs open borders

## 1.5. Discussion Questions

**Future planning:** Consider what the world might look like in 5/10/15 years. What kinds of plans do we need to put in place now to guarantee future security?

**Privacy:** What role does individual and country-wide privacy play in this discussion?

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<sup>16</sup><https://www.wsj.com/articles/hit-by-chinese-hackers-seeking-industrial-secrets-german-manufacturers-play-defense-1506164404>

<sup>17</sup><https://www.wsj.com/articles/u-s-china-agree-over-cyberattacks-that-steal-company-records-1443205327>

**Local/Regional/Global:** Consider which issues should be addressed with domestic laws, EU laws, or through United Nations action.

**Alliances:** What countries can we rely on that we have worked with in the past and what new countries should we consider partnering and why?

**Education:** How can we invest in educational programs that will train the kinds of experts we need to address issues such as technological warfare?

**Social Media:** With the popularity of discussions around fake news, what role does the government and German media play in regulation?

## 1.6. Keywords

- CSDP
- Schengen Agreement
- Cyberspace
- Cybersecurity
- Critical infrastructures
- *Bundesnachrichtendienst*
- *Militärischer Abschirmdienst*
- *Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz*
- *Landesbehörden für Verfassungsschutz*

## 1.7. Resources

Timeline of EU collaboration in the area of security

[https://cdn4-eeas.fpfis.tech.ec.europa.eu/cdn/farfuture/7QuaOabtxTrU2GmdBumPIOaHO09la\\_oAyUwwRw2fFF4/mtime:1529992630/sites/eeas/files/timeline\\_defence\\_june\\_2018.pdf](https://cdn4-eeas.fpfis.tech.ec.europa.eu/cdn/farfuture/7QuaOabtxTrU2GmdBumPIOaHO09la_oAyUwwRw2fFF4/mtime:1529992630/sites/eeas/files/timeline_defence_june_2018.pdf)

Cyber Security in Germany

<https://www.enisa.europa.eu/topics/national-cyber-security-strategies/ncss-map/strategies/cyber-security-strategy-for-germany/view>

Political Parties in Germany

<https://www.dw.com/en/germanys-political-parties-cdu-csu-spd-afd-fdp-left-party-greens-what-you-need-to-know/a-38085900>

Cyber Attacks in Germany

<https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/06/germany-cyberattacks/561914/>

Reasons for common EU defence strategy

[https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/35509/eu-missions-and-operation-s-part-eu%E2%80%99s-common-security-and-defence-policy-factsheet\\_en](https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/35509/eu-missions-and-operation-s-part-eu%E2%80%99s-common-security-and-defence-policy-factsheet_en)

Russian hacking of French elections

<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-france-election-russia/u-s-increasingly-convinced-that-russia-hacked-french-election-sources-idUSKBN1852KO>

Russian hacking of Germany Elections

<https://www.brookings.edu/testimonies/the-impact-of-russian-interference-on-germanys-2017-elections/>

White Paper on German Security Goals and Values

<http://www.gmfus.org/publications/white-paper-german-security-policy-and-future-bundeswehr>

## 2. Topic 2 - Maintaining a Global Strategic Presence

### 2.1. Topic Overview

Germany boasts a strong domestic economy, the largest in Europe and 4<sup>th</sup> in the world<sup>18</sup>. The job market is wide open, and rising wages are factors in this economic boom." Germany exported goods to the value of 111.0 billion euros and imported goods to the value of 94.5 billion euros in July 2018. Based on provisional data, the Federal Statistical Office (Destatis) also reports that German exports increased by 7.6% and imports by 12.0% in July 2018 year on year."<sup>19</sup>

With a strong domestic presence comes an impetus to project power and diplomacy abroad. Germany has several important economic and political spheres where the German voice must not be ignored. The main goals we must achieve are ensuring a stable-rules based Indian Ocean, providing guidance in an increasingly changing Arctic Sea, increasing trade relations with Russia, India, and the PRC, and ensuring favorable outcomes closer to home with Russia and Ukraine.

### 2.2. Historical Background

#### 2.2.1. Indian Ocean

The Indian Ocean boasts resources and shipping routes that rival that of any other overland or oversea route. More than 2/3's of the world's oil passes through the Indian Ocean, Fishery catches from the region account for about 14.6% of the world's catch<sup>20</sup>, 40% of the world's offshore oil production takes place in the Indian Ocean basin, aquaculture has grown 12-fold since 1980, and mineral resources abound<sup>21</sup>. Just the Strait of Malacca, the at times 1.7-mile

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<sup>18</sup> <https://icwa.in/pdfs/IB/2014/GermanyInterestinIORIB06112017.pdf>

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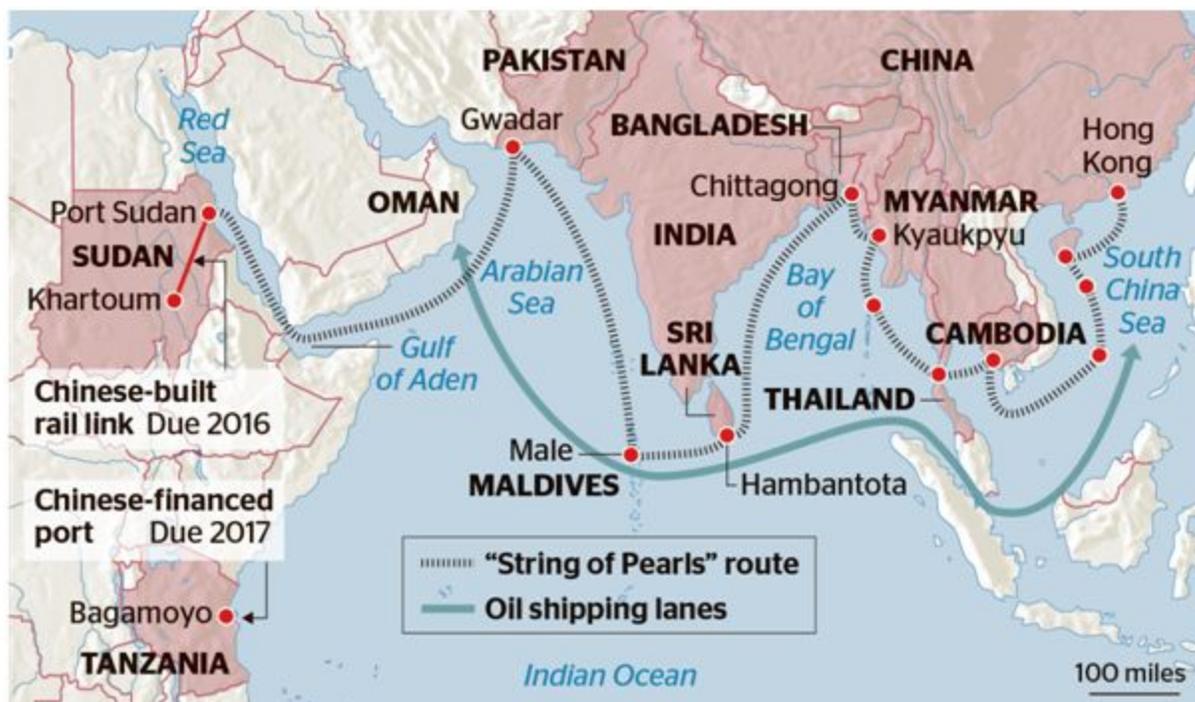
<https://www.destatis.de/EN/FactsFigures/NationalEconomyEnvironment/ForeignTrade/ForeignTrade.html>

<sup>20</sup> <https://www.stimson.org/content/under-sea-natural-resources-indian-ocean-0>

<sup>21</sup> <https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/indian-ocean-region-a-pivot-for-indias-growth/>

wide strait near Indonesia and Singapore, serves as the transit for 16 million barrels of Petroleum and other liquids per day in 2016. This makes the strait the 2<sup>nd</sup> largest oil checkpoint in the world surpassed only by the Strait of Hormuz which accounts for nearly one-fifth of the world's oil.<sup>22</sup>

The Strait of Malacca is not the only example of a trade chokepoint. The most prominent shipping chokepoints are: the Strait of Hormuz, the Bab el-Mandeb, and the Malacca Strait. These choke points have become so significant that trade traveling along the New Silk Road, which passes from the Strait of Hormuz to the Strait of Malacca, is valued at ~\$18 trillion annually. If any type of disruption slowed or stopped passage through one of these choke-points, there would be significant implications for world trade. Nearly one-fifth of the world's oil passes through the Strait of Hormuz.



All surrounding countries have done their best to increase economic power in the IOC, but perhaps none more so than India and China. India is the region's most populous country and President Modi has declared "The Indian Ocean Region is at the top of our policy priorities."<sup>23</sup> Meanwhile, China is flush with cash and the Belt and Road initiative counts the IOR as a key region of investment and influence. China's goal to create an oil-flush "String of Pearls" shipping

<sup>22</sup> <https://www.eia.gov/todayinenergy/detail.php?id=32452>

<sup>23</sup> <https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/indian-ocean-region-a-pivot-for-indias-growth/>

route frightens India. The U.S. has also historically taken an interest in ensuring freedom of navigation through naval military presence, and still retains a large presence in combination with allies Japan and Australia. It is also extremely important to realize that while the “String of Pearls” and China’s broader maritime strategy undoubtedly hold a strong economic incentive, they also allow the PRC to wield military power projection as part of the People Liberation Army’s “two-ocean” strategy

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### 2.2.2. Arctic Sea

The Arctic Sea is home to an abundance of natural resources. Not only does the region produce 1/10<sup>th</sup> of the world’s oil and a quarter of its gas but a “considerable fraction of the world’s undiscovered petroleum reserves” lies in the Arctic. Russian Arctic development has discovered a vast collection of valuable minerals including nickel, gold, zinc, uranium, tungsten, and diamonds. Add in one-fifth of the world’s freshwater supply, plentiful fish to support commercial fisheries, incredibly rich biodiversity and scientific research potential and it’s no wonder that countries eye the area as a haven of undeveloped potential.

Aside from material resources is perhaps an even greater bounty. The Arctic is home to a wealth of current and future shipping opportunities:

- The Northwest Passage runs along the Canadian border and up toward the Bering Strait.
- The Northern Sea Route runs along the coast of Russia
- The Central Arctic Route would run from Iceland straight through the middle of the Arctic Circle. This route could be navigable by around 2050 with current ice trends.

Currently, the Northwest Passage and the Northern Sea Route are only open part of the year and are fraught with delays. However, with the melting of ice caps and the shifting of existing ice structures their utility will increase and so will the amount of shipping that goes through the Arctic Circle. An official from the U.S. National Academy of Science says, “sometime between 2035 and 2040 there is a pretty good chance that the Arctic Ocean will be essentially ice-free for

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<sup>24</sup> <https://nationalinterest.in/bolstering-military-abilities-in-indian-ocean-region-ior-3906efe20ba7>

about a month each year<sup>25</sup>.” This can cut down substantially on shipping costs. Just as an example the Northern Sea Route can save a medium bulk carrier “18 days, 540 tons of fuel, and [~250k Euros]” versus the alternate Suez Canal route from Europe to Asia.<sup>26</sup>

The 1966 Ottawa Declaration established the Arctic Council as a forum to:

- Promote "cooperation, coordination, and interaction among Arctic states."
- Recognize issues of sustainable development and environmental protection
- Involve indigenous communities and Arctic inhabitants

Member states include Canada, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, the Russian Federation, Sweden, and the U.S.A. Permanent participants like the Inuit Circumpolar Council (ICC) and the Saami Council (SC) represent the interests of indigenous people.<sup>27</sup> Germany became an official observer in 1998, while India and the PRC became official observers in 2013.<sup>28</sup> Besides India, PRC, and Germany, the other observer states include France, Poland, the Netherlands, Spain, the United Kingdom, Italy, Japan, South Korea, and Singapore.<sup>29</sup>

The Arctic Council has signed into law three binding international treaties:

- 1) Agreement on Enhancing International Arctic Scientific Cooperation: Solidified “work toward an arrangement on improved scientific research cooperation among the eight Arctic States.”
- 2) Agreement on Cooperation on Marine Oil Pollution Preparedness and Response in the Arctic: “strengthen[ed] cooperation, coordination and mutual assistance on oil pollution preparedness and response in the Arctic in order to protect the marine environment [from oil]”
- 3) Agreement on Cooperation on Aeronautical and Maritime Search and Rescue in the Arctic: “Strengthen[ed] aeronautical and maritime search and rescue operations and coordination in the Arctic.”

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<sup>25</sup> <https://thediomat.com/2011/04/the-arctic-sea-a-new-wild-west/?allpages=yes>

<sup>26</sup> <http://www.globaltrademag.com/global-logistics/a-breakthrough-in-arctic-trade-routes>

<sup>27</sup> <https://arctic-council.org/index.php/en/>

<sup>28</sup> <https://arctic-council.org/index.php/en/about-us/arctic-council/observers>

<sup>29</sup>

[https://www.bmel.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/EN/International/Leitlinien-Arktispolitik.pdf?\\_\\_blob=publicationFile](https://www.bmel.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/EN/International/Leitlinien-Arktispolitik.pdf?__blob=publicationFile)

Germany has acted as a vocal proponent of Arctic cooperation even as an observer state. Notably, Germany hosted a 2009 Arctic Conference, “New Chances and New Responsibilities in the Arctic Region,” a follow-up 2011 conference with Finland, and a third 2013 conference with Norway<sup>30</sup> as well as giving its voice in Arctic Council meetings and being a signatory of the Spitsbergen Treaty.

In 2017 the International Marine Organization (IMO) signed into effect a Polar Code, a key German priority.<sup>31</sup> This international treaty standardized shipbuilding regulations and set other safety measures to protect both ships and passengers from the wildly different marine conditions of the Arctic Circle.

### 2.2.3. Other Regional Spheres

Moving back inland, Germany has faced renewed criticism over its support for the Nord Stream 2 pipeline. The debate over the pipeline, which would “double the natural gas carrying capacity from Russia to Germany” is emblematic of a larger European question<sup>32</sup>. Given the annexation of Crimea, the resurgence of Russian aggression in and around the Sea of Azov, and the revelation of mass electoral interference from Russian IPs in American and European elections, how can Europe and Germany specifically respond to Russia to dissuade them from their aggressive actions, both cyber and kinetic?



In 2014, Russia officially annexed the region of Crimea from Ukraine. President Merkel expressed strong displeasure stating “Russia will not get away” with the annexation of Crimea and placed targeted sanctions on Russia. Nevertheless, Crimea continues under the control of the Russian Government. In 2017, Germany’s BfV agency stood by reports of Russian cyber attacks on U.S. elections and warned that “a cyber attack on the German Government

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<http://eu-arctic-forum.org/allgemein/arctic-conference-opened-by-german-foreign-minister-westerwelle-and-commissioner-damanaki-in-berlin-on-17-march-2011/>

31 <http://www.imo.org/en/MediaCentre/HotTopics/polar/Pages/default.aspx>

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<https://www.economist.com/business/2018/07/19/the-nord-stream-2-pipeline-will-strengthen-russias-hand>

remained a possibility.<sup>33</sup> A 2018 interview with the Ukrainian president, warned of an imminent 2<sup>nd</sup> Russian occupation, this time of the Sea of Azov.

Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko: *“Russia’s purpose is to occupy the Azov Sea, the same way it did Crimea. This is a brutal violation of international law, and we cannot accept it. We are strengthening our military there and launching a case against Russia in the international Permanent Court of Arbitration. We have absolutely clear legal status in the Azov Sea. Russia has no right to attack or stop our vessels, which carry goods and passengers from two important Ukrainian ports, Mariupol and Berdyansk. If Russia does not stop, we have only one instrument, which is sanctions.”*<sup>34</sup>

The situation is further complicated by the ongoing conflict in Syria. Though bilateral talks with Russia have Putin and Merkel discussing the need for a ceasefire and for humanitarian aid to affected Syrians, the conflict rages on. There have been potential chemical attacks by the Syrian Government in the region of Idlib and a fragile ceasefire in Idlib has lapsed, though fighting has not yet resumed in earnest<sup>35</sup> Germany now threatens to join the military alliance with the U.S., U.K., and France if Syria commits another chemical attack on its populace<sup>36</sup>. This balancing act of pushing for peace in Syria, the reunification or otherwise solution to Crimea’s annexation, the cessation of Russian cyber and kinetic aggression, and the development of badly needed oil infrastructure despite ongoing Russian sanctions must be handled carefully.

## 2.3. Current Situation

### 2.3.1. Indian Ocean

Germany has the following key interests in the IOR:

- Protect free-trade and open sea lanes of communication (SLOC) throughout the region, and especially in the three vital chokepoints. Any trade disruption would be damaging to Germany’s broader economy.

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<sup>33</sup>

<https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2017/09/germany-merkel-putin-elections-cyber-hacking/540162/>

<sup>34</sup>

[https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/russia-is-advancing-on-ukraine-again--and-ukraine-isnt-going-quietly/2018/09/13/90162764-b6cd-11e8-a2c5-3187f427e253\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.45480687679c](https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/russia-is-advancing-on-ukraine-again--and-ukraine-isnt-going-quietly/2018/09/13/90162764-b6cd-11e8-a2c5-3187f427e253_story.html?utm_term=.45480687679c)

<sup>35</sup>

<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-syria/turkey-talking-to-all-sides-in-syria-conflict-for-idlib-ceasefire-idUSKCN1LU22A>

<sup>36</sup> <https://www.businessinsider.com/germany-alliance-usa-uk-france-syria-2018-9>

- To promote a “value-driven foreign policy, championing conflict resolution, democracy, and human welfare.” Humanitarian missions, a push for democratic values, and multilateralism.
- Increase German and EU trade relations with all IOR countries and in particular India and PRC. As an export-driven economy that hasn't entirely broken into the IOR market, Germany stands to gain from a largely untapped market of consumers.

Germany's military presence has largely been far more of the multi-lateral than unilateral type. Germany contributed or participated in EU-NAVFOR to fight piracy, The Standing NATO Maritime Group, annual exercises with India and South Africa, multinational exercise “Deep Sabre,” and as part of post-tsunami disaster relief in 2005 and 2009<sup>37</sup>.

From a value-driven foreign policy, Germany has been key in providing disaster aid and foreign aid throughout the region. A USD 45 Million early warning Tsunami system in Indonesia, funds for UNHRC, ICRC, and WFP programmes, and ongoing humanitarian missions in Sri Lanka, Somalia, South Sudan, and Indonesia show Germany's dedication to the region. Germany has also operated anti-piracy missions like Operation ATALANTA.

From a trade perspective, both India and PRC are vital trade partners. Germany is India's biggest European trading partner, with bilateral trade above 18 Billion USD<sup>38</sup>. They have a "Strategic Partnership" since 2001, and the interchange of students, company's, and ideas have established a robust relationship. Germany's total FDI in India from April 2000 until September 2017 amounted to US\$ 10.63 billion. There are more than 1600 Indo-German collaborations and over 600 Indo-German Joint Ventures in operation.”<sup>39</sup>

Germany and China have only been pushed closer together by the at times confusing trade rhetoric of the U.S. A 2018 package of deals valued at over 20 billion euros<sup>40</sup> and total bilateral trade surpasses 180 billion euros<sup>41</sup>. China is a top destination for Germany's high value-added exports, and more than 5,000 German companies are operating there today. Until recently,

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<sup>37</sup> <https://icwa.in/pdfs/IB/2014/GermanyInterestinIORIB06112017.pdf>

<sup>38</sup> <https://www.dailyo.in/politics/india-germany-ties-diplomacy-trade-china/story/1/23106.html>

<sup>39</sup> [https://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/Bilateral\\_brief\\_5\\_January\\_2018.pdf](https://www.mea.gov.in/Portal/ForeignRelation/Bilateral_brief_5_January_2018.pdf)

<sup>40</sup> <https://www.cnbc.com/2018/07/10/germany-and-china-sign-deals-lobby-against-us-trade-tariffs.html>

<sup>41</sup> <https://www.dw.com/en/germany-and-china-trade-partners-and-competitors/a-43901890>

China was the main source of cheap labor for German multinational corporations. German imports from China include products made in China for German companies and products sold by Chinese companies, including low added-value products such as textiles." <sup>42</sup>

Nevertheless, Germany is not altogether happy with aggressive BRI courting around the world, the continued closure of Chinese consumers to outside companies, and the threat that Chinese maritime build-up poses to the continued freedom of maritime routes.

Germany should push for a strong and robust Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA). The IORA enjoys broad support across the region including China and India, pushes diplomacy rather than unilateralism, and will fight to make sure trade continues unabated. To counter military aggression, Germany could also consider showing support for "security quadrilaterals like the potential India-US-Japan-Australia naval arrangement <sup>43</sup>" or other similar minded arrangements (perhaps a more unified EU military presence). Offering German investments for infrastructure projects could also provide an alternative for countries that badly need the development capital but don't want to become indebted to China.

### 2.3.2. Arctic Sea

Germany has the following key interest in the Arctic Sea:

- Ensure the Arctic Trade routes remain as open as possible. A push to claim EEZs or to monopolize trade by any of the Arctic countries will be a huge net loss to our shipping ambitions.
- Protect the biodiversity of the Arctic Region from exploitation and encourage scientific research as well as safety for all shipping voyages
- Push to ensure the Arctic Council continues to be the pre-eminent voice in the region.

Germany boasts the "third-largest merchant marine in the world" and the "largest fleet of container ships." Essentially Germany is a naval shipping powerhouse and is among the countries most likely to benefit from open Arctic Trade Routes, especially for Euro-Asian trade.

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<sup>42</sup> <https://geopoliticalfutures.com/future-german-chinese-trade-prospects-pitfalls/>

<sup>43</sup>

[http://www.gppi.net/fileadmin/user\\_upload/media/pub/2017/Mohan\\_2017\\_Engaging\\_with\\_the\\_Indian\\_Ocean.pdf](http://www.gppi.net/fileadmin/user_upload/media/pub/2017/Mohan_2017_Engaging_with_the_Indian_Ocean.pdf)

Moreover, Germany's advanced and innovative ship technology is perfect to navigate the still treacherous arctic routes and will only improve as expeditions continue.

Germany is only a permanent observer at the council and doesn't claim any land in the Arctic Circle. However, Germany's long involvement in the Arctic Council and previous successes at diplomacy do offer it some weight among even the land claimants. Maritime-sector cooperation for research and shipping can solidify these previous relationships. Moreover, new countries will attempt to move into this region. Plans, like the EU "Developing a European Union Policy towards the Arctic Region: progress since 2008 and next steps" are essential to avoid diplomatic friction or misunderstandings and Germany will have to be an advocate for multilateral communication and cooperation.

As one of the strongest advocates for sustainable extraction of Arctic resources, Germany may have to push back on resource-hungry countries when there might be damage to bio-diversity, scientific research, or to the livelihood of the Arctic indigenous people.

### 2.3.3. Other Regional Spheres

Germany has the following key interest in other regional spheres:

- Push for a ceasefire in Idlib as well as in Broader Syria and prevent another chemical attack on the populace by any means necessary. Whether that involves joining the U.S, U.K, France alliance remains to be seen.
- Continue putting pressure on Russia to solve the Crimean Question, deter aggression in the Azov Sea, and signal that cyber attacks on election infrastructure or otherwise will not be tolerated.
- Push for the completion of the Nord Pipeline while ensuring continued Russian diplomatic pressure.

Part of the reason that Germany continues pushing for the development of Nord Stream 2 is not just because Russia supplies the vast majority of oil imports into Germany (though energy imports of almost 31.5 Billion Euros do put Germany as one of Russia's top three trade partners). Rather a policy of *Ostpolitik* drives the philosophy that the best way to gain leverage with and ultimately forestall conflict with Russia is to create deeper economic ties even

alongside targeted political sanctions. Whether that strategy will work is something this cabinet must explore alongside a broader strategy of pushing back against Russia<sup>44</sup>.

## 2.4. Bloc Positions

### 2.4.1. The Benefits of BRI and Chinese investment

Chinese investment through OBOR/BRI in the Indian Ocean, Africa, and even South America offer many countries the ability to embark on infrastructure projects that they would otherwise not be able to afford. They offer long-term loans with low interest and the expertise to construct massive ports, hydroelectric dams, roads, and bridges. Critics, however, see "dual-use" projects as a veiled excuse to increase PRC Power Projection and see long-term loans as a way to trap countries in a cycle of debt and use money as leverage to pursue PRC diplomatic priorities (like isolating ROC).

### 2.4.2. Pivot to India or China as an Economic Partner

While it is certainly not an either-or trade preference there may be isolated cases where Germany must choose whether to lean towards one trade partner or the other. Keep in mind the implications across the IOR region to any actions you take. China does offer more raw bilateral trade in the short term, but perhaps a short-term financial gain might result in a long-term crisis.

## 2.5. Discussion Questions

1. How does Germany protect IOR and Arctic ocean free trade?
2. How does Germany counter military aggression in the IOR?
3. What if any alternative can Germany provide to push back on possibly predatory BRI loans?
4. How can Germany increase its presence and influence in all relevant spheres of influence?
5. What military or economic partnerships have yet to be explored in all relevant spheres?
6. How can Germany continue to respond to U.S. trade isolationism?
7. How can Germany increase relations, both economic and political, with China Russia and India? What dangers should Germany watch out for with said increase in relations?

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<sup>44</sup> <https://www.politico.eu/article/germany-russia-gas-nord-stream-2-foreign-policy/>

## 2.6. Key Terms

### 2.6.1. Indian Ocean

- Indian Ocean Region (IOR)
- String of Pearls
- Strait of Malacca
- Strait of Hormuz
- Bab El-Mandeb
- “Dual Use” Development Projects
- One Belt One Road Initiative (OBOR) / Belt Road Initiative (BRI)
- Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA)
- Sea Lines of Communication – SLOC
- Asia Infrastructure Investment Bank - AIIB

### 2.6.2. Arctic Sea

- Ottawa Declaration
- Polar Silk Road
- Northern Sea Route
- Northwest Passage
- Central Arctic Route
- All Arctic Council Acronyms:  
<https://arctic-council.org/index.php/en/about-us/arctic-council/acronym-list>
- The National Master Plan for Maritime Technologies
- Convention for the Protection of the Marine Environment of the North-East Atlantic (OSPAR Convention)
- International Arctic Science Committee (IASC)
- European Polar Board (EPB)
- UNCLOS
- International Maritime Organization
- Barents Euro-Arctic Council
- Polar Code
- Ilulissat Declaration

### 2.6.3. Other Spheres

- Crimean Question
- Nord Stream 2 Pipeline
- DDOS
- Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC)
- *Ostpolitik*
- Sergei Skripal

## 2.7. Resources

### *Indian Ocean Region:*

German Interest in the IOR Brief:  
<https://icwa.in/pdfs/IB/2014/GermanyInterestinIORIB06112017.pdf>

Germany: National Involvement in IOR Brief:  
<http://www.futuredirections.org.au/publication/germany-national-involvement-in-the-indian-ocean-region/>

Engaging The Indian Ocean, Challenges and Opportunitites for Germany:

[http://www.gppi.net/fileadmin/user\\_upload/media/pub/2017/Mohan\\_2017\\_Engaging\\_with\\_the\\_Indian\\_Ocean.pdf](http://www.gppi.net/fileadmin/user_upload/media/pub/2017/Mohan_2017_Engaging_with_the_Indian_Ocean.pdf)

### *Arctic Sea:*

2013 German Arctic Policy Guidelines:  
[https://www.bmel.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/EN/International/Leitlinien-Arktispolitik.pdf?\\_\\_blob=publicationFile](https://www.bmel.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/EN/International/Leitlinien-Arktispolitik.pdf?__blob=publicationFile)

2012 EU Arctic Policy:  
[https://ec.europa.eu/maritimeaffairs/content/developing-european-union-policy-towards-arctic-region-progress-2008-and-next-steps\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/maritimeaffairs/content/developing-european-union-policy-towards-arctic-region-progress-2008-and-next-steps_en)

## 3. Topic 3 - Domestic Affairs

### 3.1. Topic Overview

Domestically, Germany has three main areas to focus on, all of which are, in a way, tied together. Most tension is generated from the refugee crisis, which has lost media attention since its peak in 2015 but remains an ongoing problem for the state.<sup>45</sup> The influx of refugees into Germany has resulted in the rise of Euroscepticism and modern-day populism in the state, which is characterized by nationalist sentiments and isolationist policies.<sup>46</sup> Increasingly, the people of Germany doubt the effectiveness of the European Union and resent the role that Germany plays within the EU; shouldering the burden of refugees and helping to bail out countries that default on their debts.

All of this contributed to historic losses by Chancellor Angela Merkel's party, the Christian Democratic Union and sister party, the Christian Social Union, as well as to the Social

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<sup>45</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2018/jun/05/five-myths-about-the-refugee-crisis>

<sup>46</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Euroskepticism>

Democratic Party. Together these three parties had formed the former coalition government, and the German people made their displeasure with the work of that coalition very, very well known.<sup>47</sup> After an attempt to form a new coalition failed, however, the CDU and the SPD were forced to reform their “Grand Coalition.” The challenge of this government is now to balance personal and party values with the desires of the German people in order to prevent the further losses in the next election cycle.

### 3.2. Historical Background

Although some form of Euroscepticism has existed since the founding of the European Union, in many places, it began as a response to the Eurozone debt crisis when countries such as Greece defaulted on their debts, and the EU looked to countries like Germany to help bail them out.<sup>48</sup> That crisis helped to foster the beginnings of populism not just in Germany, but throughout Europe. Eurosceptic parties were able to capitalize on these sentiments to make gains in their own countries and in the European Parliament.<sup>49</sup> Populist sentiments increased again when the refugee crisis washed onto Europe’s shores, and onto television screens across the world, in 2015.

In Germany, the populist, far right part is known as Alternative for Germany, or AfD. The party began to gain ground in 2013 when they achieved nearly 5% of the vote. While it wasn’t enough to gain seats in parliament, it left some feeling uneasy. A European-orientated identity helped Germany to put its demons away after the Second World War. Historically, Germany has been a strong supporter of the EU, preferring open borders and central-liberal leadership to populist policies. While the Eurozone crisis gave Euroscepticism and populism a foothold in Germany once again, it was the refugee crisis that continued to push the German people over the edge.

Most refugees coming to Europe come from the Middle East, fleeing unrest that began with the Arab spring, and culminated in the Syrian civil war and the rise of ISIS. Most refugees coming to Germany come from Syria and Afghanistan, and most differ from the native German population in their ethnic, cultural, and religious backgrounds. Many refugees are Muslim males, which heightens anxieties based on racial stereotyping.

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<sup>47</sup> <https://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-skeptics/the-danger-establishing-new-grand-coalition-germany-23604>

<sup>48</sup> <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-27316198>

<sup>49</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Euroscepticism>

The refugees that come to Germany do not enter the EU there; many usually pass through other European countries first, then apply for asylum in Germany when they cross the border. Although this method is in violation of the Dublin Regulation, which requires that refugees apply for asylum in their country of entry, enforcement of the asylum was weakened during the 2015 refugee crisis. Chancellor Merkel also allowed an open-door policy during the crisis, which allowed for any refugee who could reach Germany to apply for asylum there.<sup>50</sup> As a result, about one million refugees from the Middle East came to Germany. While limits have since been placed on the number of refugees that Germany accepts every year, the damage was done, and Merkel's support among the people began to crumble.

Merkel herself has held the position of Chancellor for thirteen years. She has led several different coalition governments, but the last three have been made up of a "Grand Coalition," involving the CDU/CSU and the SPD, which are the two largest parties in Germany. Together, these two parties embody center politics; Merkel's party tends to be center-right, and the SPD leans center-left. Criticism has been rising since Merkel's response to the refugee crisis, however, that Merkel and her Grand Coalition are too liberal, and too out of touch with the needs of the people whom they are charged to govern and protect.

### 3.3. Current Situation

When the parties of the Grand Coalition lost voters in the last election cycle, those votes were shifted to Alternative for Germany, which earned 13% of the total vote. That percentage was not only enough to allow AfD to gain representation in government but also allowed AfD to now become the third largest party in the German government, and the leading opposition to Merkel's government. Support for AfD is strongest among workers in East Germany and younger voters, who all feel disconnected from their government representatives. This alienation of workers and the young is mainly what fuels populism and Euroscepticism in Germany. This government needs to combat that feeling of alienation by responding to issues that matter to the people, while also acting in their best interest, whether they appreciate that or not. As the European Union meets unrest, Germany must also step forward and serve as a leader for Europe and for the Western world.

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<sup>50</sup> <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/09/germany-merkel-refugee-asylum/405058/>

One way that the government can begin to do this is finding an effective response to the ongoing refugee situation. Conflict in the Middle East appears to be dwindling, and with it, refugees from the area, but action still needs to be taken to address the refugees that are here, and that are coming still. There is pressure to limit the number of refugees accepted into Germany every year, especially from supporters of the Christian Social Union in Bavaria.<sup>51</sup> Certainly, the presence of refugees has helped to give rise to far-right fringe groups such as AfD, but rejecting refugees does not make them disappear, and they must go somewhere. Ultimately, most Germans support a European Solution to the refugee crisis.<sup>52</sup>

The five months of coalition talks following the elections have not helped to garner support among the German people,<sup>53</sup> and the coalition has drawn criticism for being too liberal; some claim that it is a government of social democrats with a CDU chancellor. This criticism is especially strong regarding areas where the more liberal social democrats influence state affairs. For example, SPD politics may have some effect on the strict economic policies of Merkel's Christian Democrats.

With the official formation of the “new” government, policies and relations must be readdressed. While maintaining unity with the rest of the European Union is as essential now as it ever was—Great Britain’s exit from the union will soon be finalized, and the threat of populism and the rise of alt-right movements with it is not limited to Germany. This government must also evaluate what steps can be taken to regain the faith of the people, many of whom are joining those alt-right movements and giving their votes to AfD.<sup>54</sup> Merkel’s attempts to form a new government and charter a new course of German leadership were dashed the fall, and now steps must be taken to give hope that the government listens to the people and can work effectively in their favor. After conflict arose within the coalition surrounding the refugee issue, there will be stricter regulation of asylum seekers and refugees trying to enter the country.<sup>55</sup> Still, this step will likely not be enough. The German people need reassurance in many forms, and this government must provide it.

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<sup>51</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jun/15/angela-merkel-precarious-as-germany-refugee-row-intensifies>

<sup>52</sup> <https://www.thelocal.de/20180628/75-percent-of-germans-support-merkels-european-approach-to-refugee-crisis>

<sup>53</sup> <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-43276732>

<sup>54</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/02/07/world/europe/angela-merkel-coalition-germany.html>

<sup>55</sup> <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-44685727>

### 3.4. Bloc Positions

Together, the parties that form the Grand Coalition embody the center of the political spectrum in Germany. That said, Merkel's leadership has been criticized for becoming more liberal-leaning in the past years,<sup>56</sup> and conflict between the Christian Democratic Union and the Christian Social Union almost caused a collapse in government this summer. Together, these two issues may result in CDU and CSU ministers buckling down on more conservative policies, especially if it will help preserve voter loyalty. The Social Democratic Party leans center-left, and after experiencing losses in the last election cycle, intended to become the lead opposition in the German government, but many of the ministers in this cabinet have come from the previous government, and this coalition has governed effectively before.

Looking to broader policy, the government, as a whole needs to protect the interests of the German people without alienating them. Merkel tends to work with French President Emmanuel Macron to unite European countries and guide the European Union. Ultimately, the future of German leadership is uncertain. Some speculate that this term will be Merkel's last, and alliances and policies of this government must at very least cement a legacy that distances Germany from the alt-right politics that are reminiscent of a darker period in German history instead of giving power to the very forces that may decimate the reputation Germany has built in the years since.

### 3.5. Discussion Questions

- Both the CDU/CSU and the SPD experienced major losses in the last election due to voter attitudes towards this same Grand Coalition. How can this Grand Coalition restore voter faith?
- How can this Grand Coalition work with members from the would-be members of the Jamaica Coalition, the Green Party and the FDP, to continue to pass effective policy and combat the rise of the far right?

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<sup>56</sup> <https://www.dw.com/en/chancellor-angela-merkel-moves-left-as-german-politics-realign/a-41519290>

- What steps need to be taken to ensure that ranks aren't broken within the Grand Coalition, which threatens the collapse of the government?
- To what extent should the Grand Coalition be willing to work with AFD? Considering their values and the policies valued by the Grand Coalition, is cooperation possible, let alone advisable?
- How can this government address the ongoing refugee crisis in Europe without further alienating those who feel threatened and alienated by refugees in the country?
- How can Germany work with moderate allies within the EU to prevent the rise of alt-right movements not only within Germany, but also across Europe?
- How can this government work to stem Euroscepticism and restore the people's faith in the EU? How can Germany encourage State's rights while also supporting continued integration of the EU?

### 3.6. Key Terms

- Euroscepticism
- Populism
- Dublin Regulation
- CDU/CSU
- SPD
- Grand Coalition
- AFD

### 3.7. Resources

<https://www.theguardian.com/news/2018/jun/05/five-myths-about-the-refugee-crisis>

<https://www.britannica.com/topic/Euroskepticism>

<https://nationalinterest.org/blog/the-skeptics/the-danger-establishing-new-grand-coalition-germany-23604>

<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-27316198>

<https://www.britannica.com/topic/Euroskepticism>

<https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2015/09/germany-merkel-refugee-asylum/405058/>

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/jun/15/angela-merkel-precarious-as-germany-refugee-row-intensifies>

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-43276732>

<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/02/07/world/europe/angela-merkel-coalition-germany.html>

<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-44685727>

<https://www.dw.com/en/chancellor-angela-merkel-moves-left-as-german-politics-realign/a-41519290>

<https://www.thelocal.de/20180628/75-percent-of-germans-support-merkels-european-approach-to-refugee-crisis>

<https://www.dw.com/en/germanys-coalition-agreement-whats-in-it/a-42242741>

<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-germany-politics-pact/factbox-main-points-of-german-coalition-agreement-idUSKBN1GG0GY>

<https://www.cleanenergywire.org/news/coalition-watch-road-new-german-government>

[https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/democracy-post/wp/2018/02/07/is-germanys-grand-coalition-the-beginning-of-the-end-for-angela-merkel/?utm\\_term=.5724b16cbf55](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/democracy-post/wp/2018/02/07/is-germanys-grand-coalition-the-beginning-of-the-end-for-angela-merkel/?utm_term=.5724b16cbf55)

<https://www.haaretz.com/world-news/europe/refugees-on-borrowed-time-1.6343700>

[https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/asylum/examination-of-applicants\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/asylum/examination-of-applicants_en)

<http://carnegieeurope.eu/2018/01/08/is-euroskepticism-in-germany-on-rise-pub-75218>

[https://www.ecfr.eu/article/commentary\\_the\\_end\\_of\\_angst\\_germany\\_is\\_ready\\_to\\_lead\\_in\\_europe](https://www.ecfr.eu/article/commentary_the_end_of_angst_germany_is_ready_to_lead_in_europe)