



# THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE GERMAN AMBIVALENCE ON GREECE

A PRELIMINARY EVALUATION

NOVEMBER 2012

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# WHAT IS HAPPENING TO GERMANY?

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**“In the past, government policy seemed to be based on clear visions: Konrad Adenauer focused on integrating the Federal Republic into the West, Willy Brandt on Ostpolitik and the Third World; Helmut Schmidt put the fate of little Europe in the broader context of the global economy; and Helmut Kohl wanted to link German reunification to European integration. In short, all of them wanted something. Gerhard Schröder, on the other hand, tended to be reactive rather than proactive, but at least Joschka Fischer called for a decision on the “finality” of European integration. However, since 2005, things have been completely blurred. It is no longer possible to work out whether there is even an aim beyond winning the next election”. J. HABERMAS, A pact for or against Europe, 2011, ECFR.EU**

# UNDERSTANDING GERMANY

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“But before they agree to a European Germany, voters may need to be reminded that trying to create a German Europe always leads to disaster”.

**A. KALETSKY REUTERS, 20/6/2012**

“Angela Merkel’s surprising visit to Athens can be seen as a first step to convince the German public of the necessity to radically change the Eurozone. The visit was purely symbolic”.

**U. GUEROT-J. MATTHESECFR.EU  
16/10/12**

“Reunification has led to a new mentality in Germany, which, as academic studies show, has changed the way Germans see both themselves and German foreign policy and, in particular, made them more self-centred”.

**JURGEN HABERMAS, ECFR.EU 2011**

“It is impossible to understand Germany’s behaviour on the European and global stages – on the euro, Libya or nuclear energy – without understanding the debates within Germany itself. Berlin’s view of its role in the world has shifted, and that affects everything.”

**U. GUEROT, ECFR.EU 2011**

# STEREOTYPING IN EUROPE

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IEWS HELD IN:	MOST HARDWORKING	LEAST HARDWORKING	MOST CORRUPT	LEAST CORRUPT
BRITAIN	GERMANY	GREECE	ITALY	GERMANY
FRANCE	GERMANY	ITALY	ITALY	GERMANY
GERMANY	GERMANY	GREECE	ITALY	GERMANY
SPAIN	GERMANY	GREECE	SPAIN/ITALY	GERMANY
ITALY	GERMANY	ROMANIA	ITALY	GERMANY
GREECE	GREECE	ITALY	GREECE	GERMANY
POLAND	GERMANY	GREECE	POLAND	GERMANY
CZECH R.	GERMANY	GREECE	CZECH R.	GERMANY

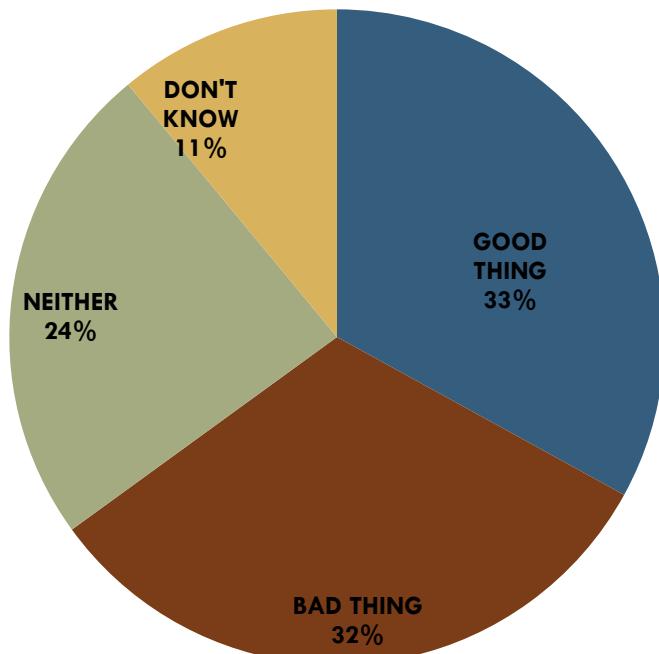
The Germans and most Europeans believe that Greeks are least working which is a bad starting point with Italy taking the honors for the most corrupt.

SOURCE: PEW RESEARCH CENTER,  
GLOBAL ATTITUDES PROJECT, MAY  
2012.

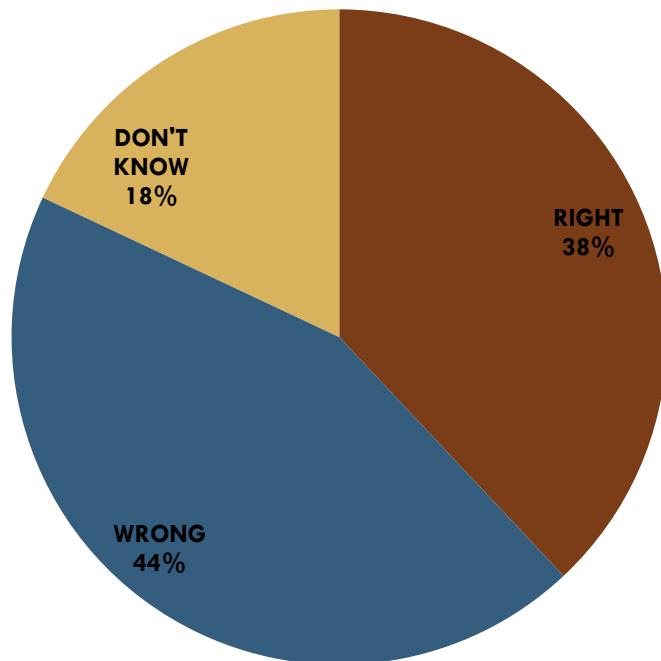
# WHAT THE GERMANS THINK ABOUT THE EUROZONE CRISIS?

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IF ONE OR MORE MEMBERS LEFT THE EUROZONE DO YOU THINK THIS TO BE A GOOD OR BAD THING FOR YOUR COUNTRY?



DO YOU THINK EUROPE IS RIGHT OR WRONG TO SPEND MONEY TO TRY AND SAVE THE EUROZONE?

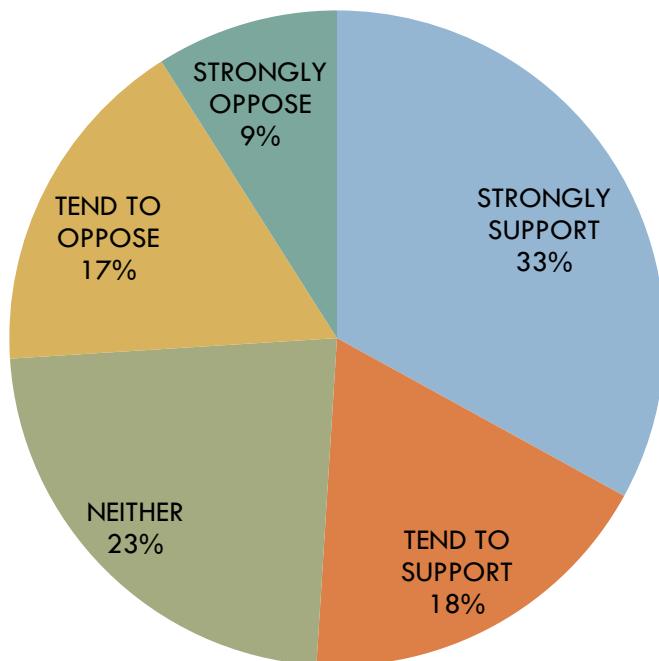


SOURCE: YOUGOV-CAMBRIDGE SPRING SURVEY

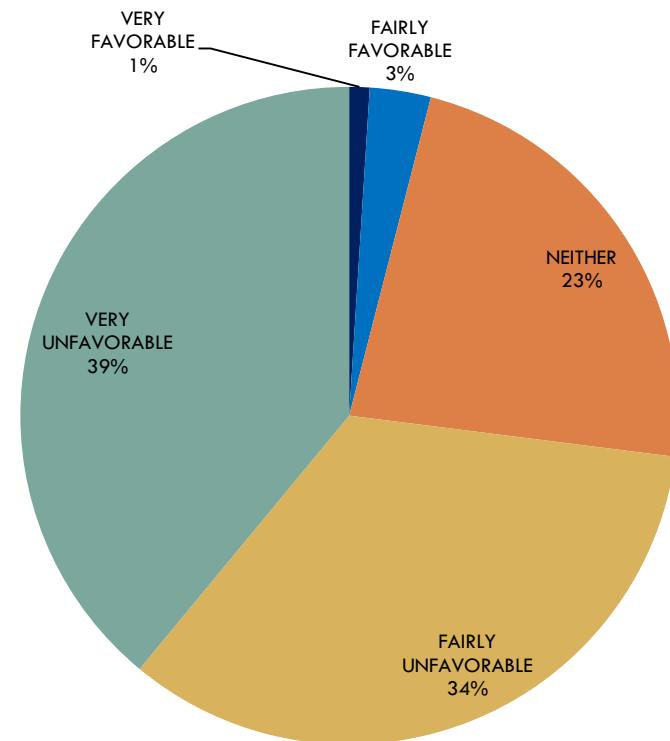
# WHAT THE GERMANS THINK ABOUT THE GREEKS?

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GREECE SHOULD BE ASKED TO LEAVE THE EUROZONE



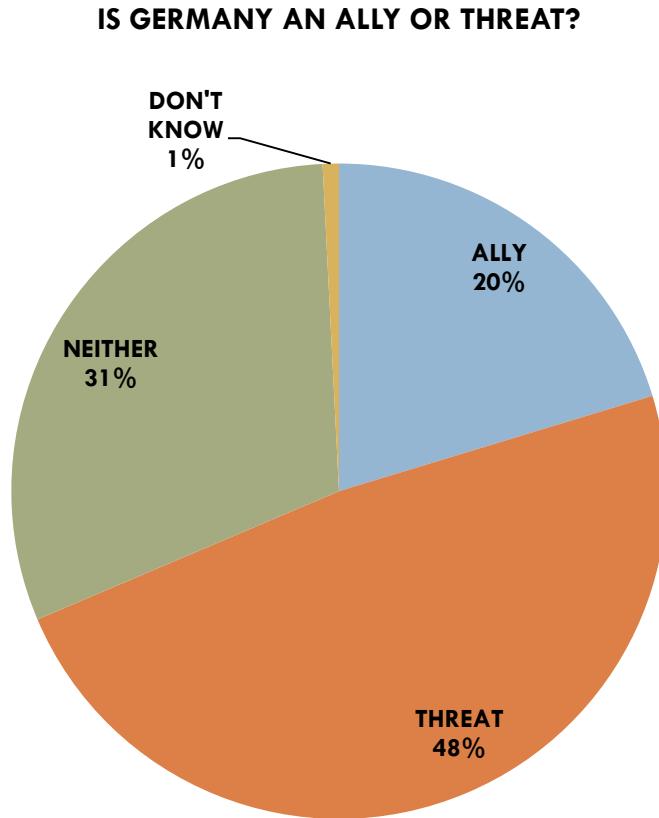
HOW FAVORABLE YOU FEEL, IF AT ALL, ABOUT GREECE INFLUENCE IN THE WORLD STAGE?



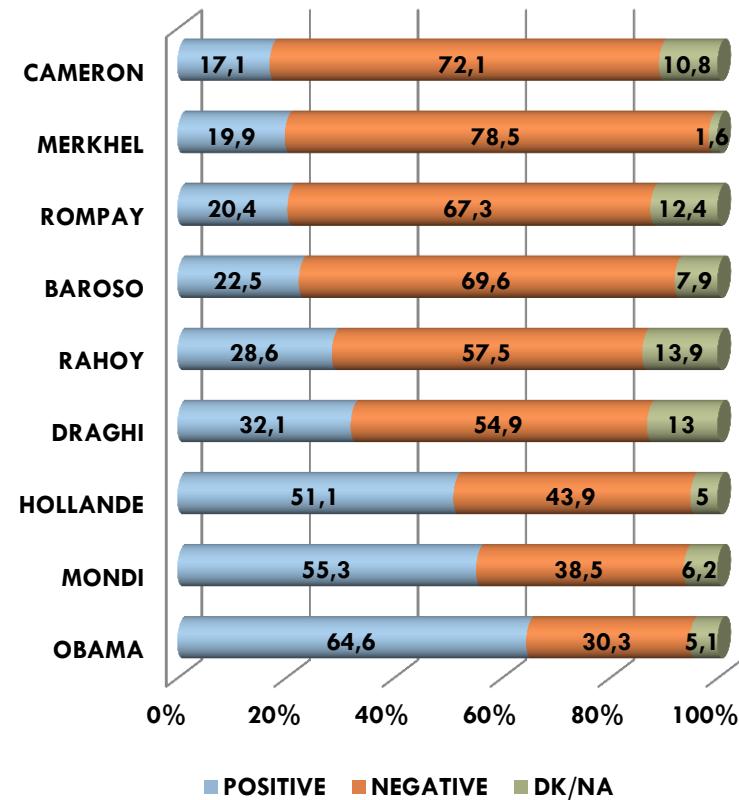
SOURCE: YOUGOV-CAMBRIDGE SPRING SURVEY

# WHAT THE GREEKS THINK ABOUT THE GERMANS?

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OPINION OF GREEKS ON INTERNATIONAL LEADERS

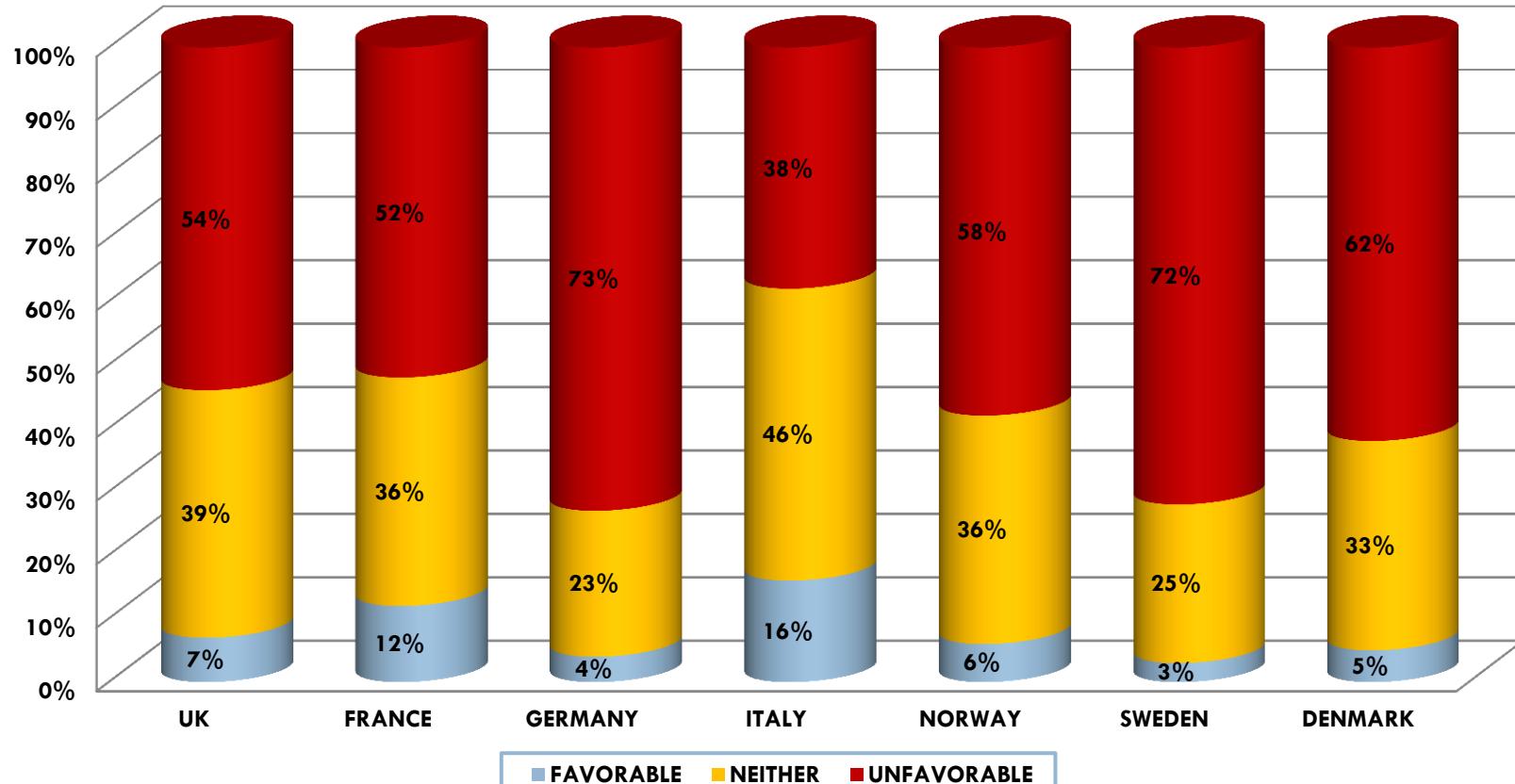


SOURCE: KAPPA RESEARCH FOR VIMA NEWSPAPER,  
NOV 2012.

# GREECE HAS FEW FRIENDS AROUND THE WORLD

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How favorable you feel, if at all, towards the influence of Greece on the world stage?



SOURCE: YOUGOV-CAMBRIDGE SPRING SURVEY

# EXPLAINING GERMAN AMBIVALENCE

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## GERMANY LOOKING THE OTHER WAY

German experience from incorporating the Eastern regions has a negative impact on supporting the South and especially Greece.

German public opinion is turning negative on Europe and low on solidarity.

Germans increasingly believe that growth prospects in Europe are inferior to prospects in emerging countries and especially China.

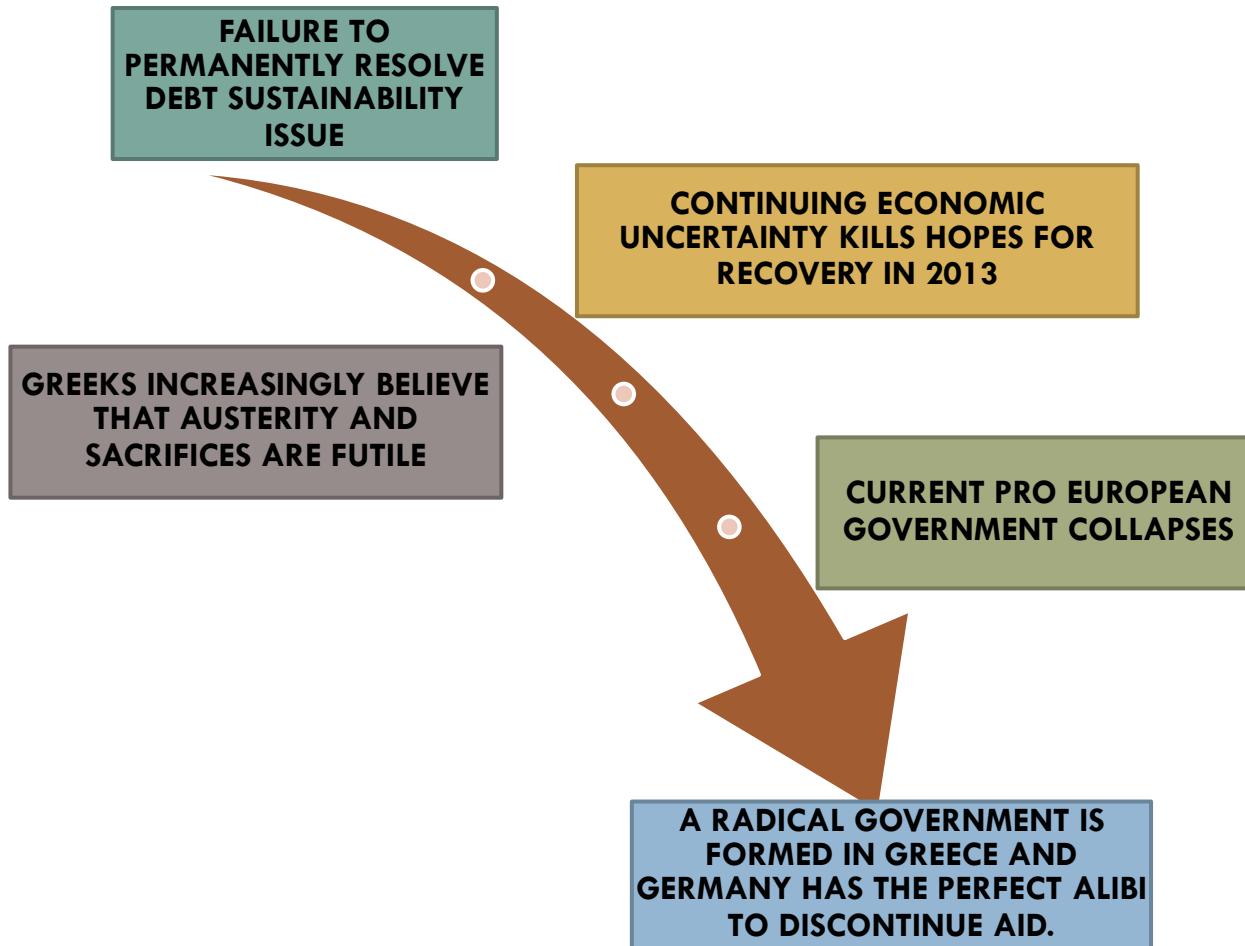
# GERMAN AMBIVALENCE UNDERMINES GREECE

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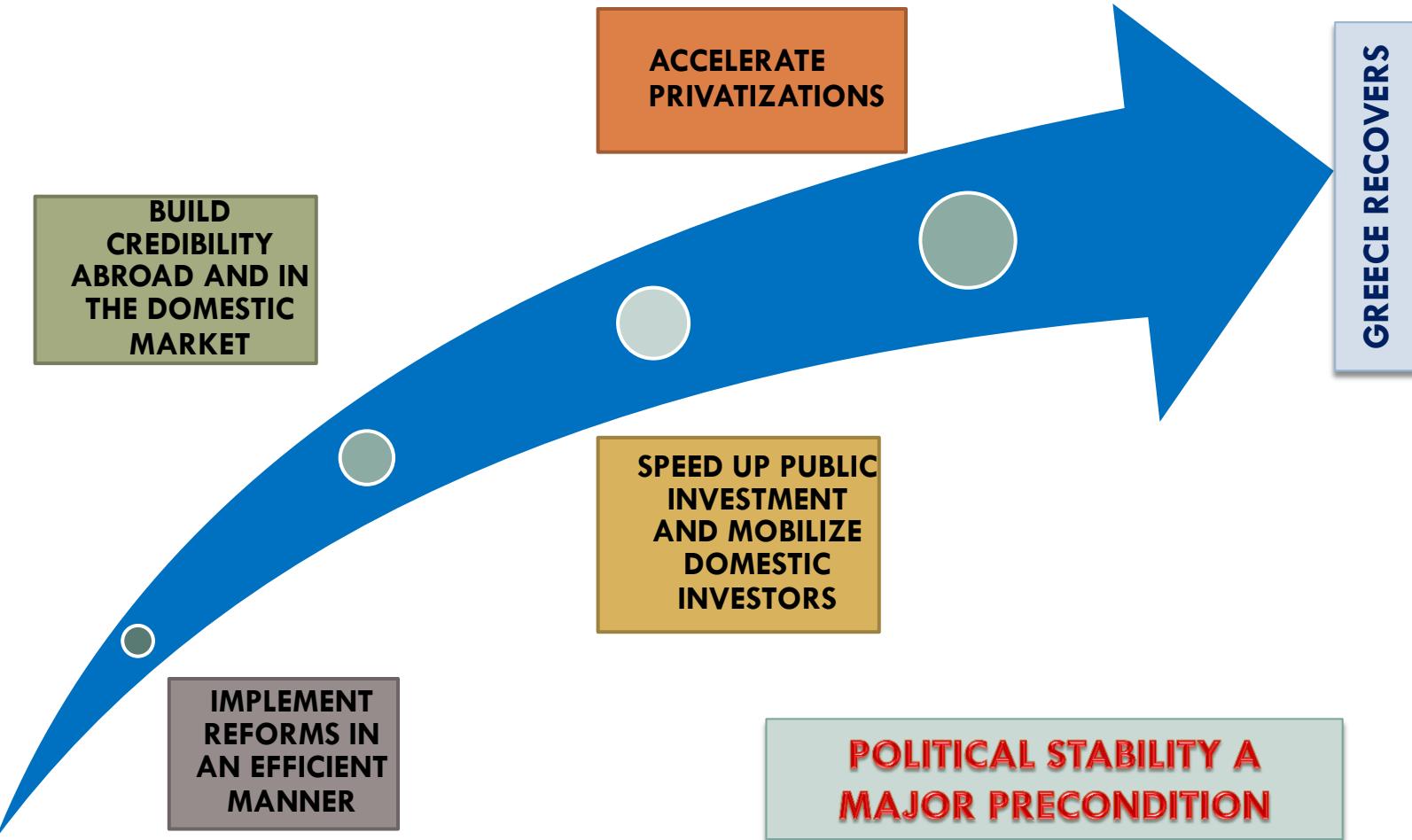
# SEQUENCE OF EVENTS MAY LEAD TO GREXIT WITHIN 2013

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# GREECE MUST GRAB THIS LAST HALF CHANCE

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# CONCLUSIONS

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Greece has greatly suffered over the last 3 years from uncertainty generated from half baked solutions.

GREXIT remains a distinct possibility but recovery is possible under certain conditions.

German policy on Europe is under formation.

Internal political debates in Germany the balance of power among political parties and economic interests will shape the outcome.

Credibility of Greece has greatly suffered and it will take a generation to rebuild it.

Current Greek government must wait, implement the reforms and built alliances in Europe and beyond.

German and Greek institutions beyond governments must try and rectify the damage done to bilateral relations.