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Master Thesis

# GERMANY'S FOREIGN POLICY: FRANCE WEARS THE BREACHES?!

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# PREFACE

The process to the final version of this thesis was one with a lot of obstacles - like every student who finished his master studies with the creation of the thesis will probably claim. The process in thinking, in understanding, in being capable to see the events around us in a different context and from several perspectives, is one, which needs a lot of effort. Adaptation of the way of thinking is one of the most difficult adaptations the mind needs to go through. Next to the development concerning critical thinking and gaining the knowledge which is necessary to follow and participate in the highly valuable discussions of the lessons, private developments arise. Not only the question, where I would like to go after my studies, but first of all the question, what specific goals I have in life, kept my mind busy. These factors and also external influences on the process of writing my thesis made me consider an internship in the area of International Relations before finishing the thesis. The choice to do an internship at the Asser Institute in The Hague was one of the best of my young career. I got to know the most important international and national organisations, and it left me with not only a lot of knowledge and a big network, but also with friends. During several application processes, I benefitted from my network I built up during my internship at the institute and in The Hague. My network and my gained knowledge on military missions resulted in a job at the Dutch Association for the Defence and Security Industry (NIDV).

My gratitude goes to my supervisor Dr. Kamp-Alons for her inexorable support. The topic I chose has not been the easiest, especially with barely knowledge about foreign policy from my side. Without her enduring advice and support in finding the right theories, articles and authors, this thesis would not have been possible of course.

I would like to thank my parents for their unbelievable support during the period of my whole study career. Instead of pushing me to quickly find a job after my bachelor, they motivated me to continue studying and to follow my dreams. The two months at my parents' house after my internship put me back to my roots in good old Germany and taught me to appreciate even more their support. I am unbelievably thankful for having them in my life.

Next to that, I would like to thank my friends, especially Kathi K. Superstar. She showed me how ambitious working looks like and supported me in the most difficult moments. And – last but not least – she corrected my English. Without her happy face, the majority of days in the library would be a lot more boring. Savanne, 'the internationals', the 'pre-masters' and all other friends were solid as a rock and I would like to thank them not only for the support during the writing of the thesis but also for these unbelievable wonderful years in Nijmegen.

Anne Brockherde, May 2016

# ABSTRACT

The German foreign policy poses contemporary political scientists a riddle since Germany's unification in 1990. The economic strength, which the split country has built up already during the period of the cold war, would have allowed it to regain its strength in power after the fall of the wall and the reunion of Eastern and Western Germany. But there seems to be no clear line concerning the decision-making of German foreign policy under Kohl, Schröder and Merkel.

However, when looking at the development of Germany's foreign policy under its different chancellors, foreign ministers and defence ministers, a connection between their interests, the interests of their organisations and the decisions taken can be made.

In this thesis the "Governmental Politics Model" introduced by Allison, which is combined with a poliheuristic model and another variable ('non- compensatory organisational loss aversion variable') by Klaus Brummer, is tested. Brummer used this model in an article, which analyses Germany's participation in the EU military mission in Democratic Republic (RD) Congo in 2006. While Brummer uses mostly domestic factors to analyse the influence on the decision-making process of the German foreign policy, this thesis will in addition focus on the influence of Germany's quasi-marriage with France and how it influences the decision-making. Furthermore, the distribution of power of decision-makers in the decision-making process will be observed and analysed.

In the empirical part of this thesis, Brummer's approach is applied by focussing on military interventions outside of the EU, which are Germany's non-participation in Libya in 2011 and its participation in Mali (MINUSMA) in 2013. After having analysed the cases, it becomes clear that an additional variable, which takes Germany's relationship with its partner France into consideration, can help to enhance Brummer's model and to explain the decision-making in the German foreign policy in another and eventually better way.

**Key words:** foreign policy, decision-making, Franco-German relationship, Graham Allison, poliheuristic model, MINUSMA, Libya, UNSC

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# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AFISMA :	African- led International Support Mission to Mali
AQUIM :	Al Qaeda in Islamic Maghreb
CDU :	Christlich-Demokratische Union (Christian Democratic Union)
CFP :	Comparative Foreign Policy
CPO :	Causal- process observation
DIW :	Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung, German Institute for Economic Research
DR :	Democratic Republic of (used for the official country name Democratic Republic of Congo)
ECOWAS:	Economic Community of West African States
EEAS :	European Union External Action Service
EU :	European Union
EUFOR :	European Union Force
EUBAM :	European Union Border Assistance Mission
EUTM :	European Union Training Mission (in Mali)
FDP :	Freie Demokratische Partei (Liberal Democratic Party)
FPA :	Foreign Policy Analysis
FRG :	Federal Republic of Germany (former Western Germany)
GDR :	German Democratic Republic (former Eastern Germany)
GPM :	Governmental Politics Model (G. Allison)
GUT :	Grand Unified Theory
IR :	International Relations
LAS :	League of Arab States
MINUSMA:	Mission multidimensionnelle intégrée des Nations Unies pour la stabilisation au Mali
MNLA :	Mouvement National de Libération de l’Azawad
MSDO :	Most similar case, different outcome
MUJAO :	Mouvement pour l’Unité et le Jihad en Afrique de l’Ouest (Movement for Unity and Jihad in West Africa)
NATO :	North Atlantic Treaty Organization

SOP : Standard operating procedure  
UK : United Kingdom  
UN : United Nations  
UNSC : United Nations Security Council  
US : United States of America  
WFP : World Food Programme (UN organization)



# 1 INTRODUCTION

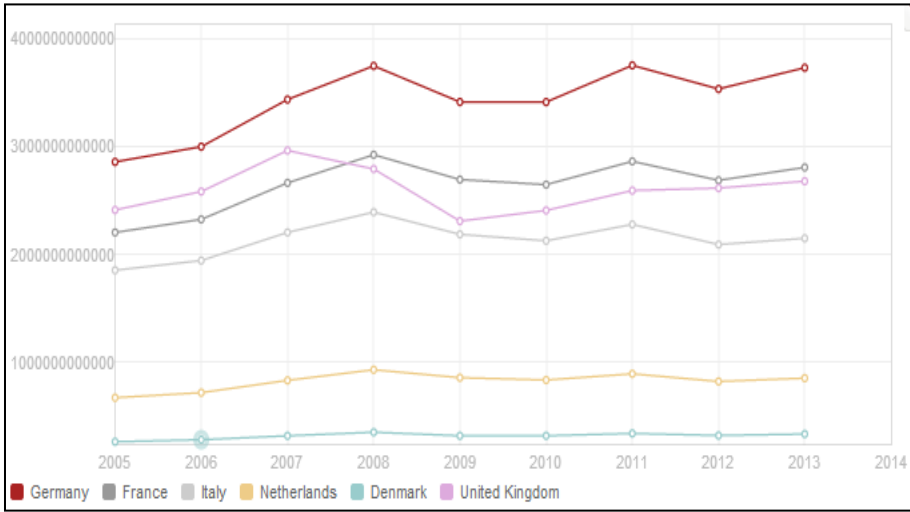
*Bonn's foreign policy appears hectic, uncertain and short- breathed... clearly the trusted recipe from the era of the cold war isn't good anymore (Erb, 2003: 4).*

Germany has definitely a special past when it comes to its foreign policy. From the clear loser of the Second World War to one of the founders of the European Union and the strongest economic power in Europe in terms of their GDP (GDP (current US\$), 2005-2015), it seems that it adapts its foreign policy behaviour consistently. Nowadays, looking at contemporary conflicts in which the EU is involved, Germany seems to play one of the main roles when it comes to decision-making on a multinational level. Special attention has to be directed to Germany's decisions regarding military missions outside of the EU. While Germany rejected a participation in Bosnia in 1994 under Kohl, the EU military mission in Kosovo was supported mainly by German forces under Schroeder in 1999. While Germany fought in the War on Terror in Afghanistan, the question for participation in Iraq was abnegated. More similar recent observations can be made when Germany's role in the current economic crisis is analysed. Germany's financial abilities seem to be a stabilizer in today's post-crisis chaos and it played a leading role in installing the Fiscal Pact in December 2011. However, this assertiveness is not used when it comes to supporting the intervention in Libya (Bulmer and Peterson, 2013: 1400). Since its reunification in 1990, the Federal Republic of Germany does not reveal a clear strategy when it comes to its decision-making in foreign policy. It seems that no golden thread is running through their strategy.

## 1.1. THE PUZZLE

The country is already one of Europe's biggest economic powers in 1989, when the course was set for a reunion of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and the German Democratic Republic (GDR) (Federal Statistical Office, 2015). Not just became it a European Great Power (Rittberger, 2001: 12), it also regained its right to actually form their own foreign policy themselves, without observation of the Allies. The "Treaty on the Final Settlement with Respect to Germany" allowed it to regain its sovereignty in all spheres of its policy, among which is the foreign policy both inside and outside the EU (Treaty on the Final Settlement with Respect to Germany, 1990). The change from a bipolar to an unbalanced multipolar world (Mearsheimer, 1990) after the fall of the Iron Curtain also had its influence on the German policy. With its geographical position in the middle of Europe and its dominating capabilities on all important materialist but also cultural areas (Schöllgen 1993: 26- 31), Germany as a unitary actor was expected to take the chance of regaining its influence in the range of international politics directly after its reunion. It could have taken the possibility to adapt to its new power position and was one of the potential countries for a European hegemon back then.

**Figure 1:** GDP (current US\$) of Europe’s strongest economies in the years 2005- 2013



Source: The World Bank, 2005-2013

However, a policy of reticence (Malici 2006: 37) was the line of Germany’s foreign policy in the first years after its reunion. Kohl, as the former chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany from 1990 until 1998, focussed on a peaceful approach outside the EU and a policy of integration inside of it. The first decision to be made on the field of military missions outside of the EU was during the civil war in Bosnia. Germany presented itself with a behaviour of integrity and discretion. But when it came to the conflict in Kosovo 1998/ 1999, which is geographically and ethically comparable to the one in Bosnia, the former chancellor Gerhard Schröder decided to participate and to make use of Germany’s influence on the European foreign policy. The same input was given to the military mission in Afghanistan starting in 2002. Up to this point, a rejection of the approach of Germany as a rational unitary actor and a characterization of the country as aberrant arise (Reich, Markovits, 1997: 91). Rather an approximation towards a policy dependant on the chancellor’s and his party’s interests is revealed.

When taking this approach into consideration, it is questionable why Germany refused participation during the war in Iraq. Gerhard Schröder was chancellor of Germany both with the Afghanistan war and with the war in Iraq. He was supposed to lead Germany from the above mentioned policy of reticence into a more independent international power which is more self-confident (Dettke, 2009: 3).

As a consequence, by analysing the above-mentioned missions, a rationalist approach towards German foreign policy and at the same time the assumption that it is dependent on the chancellor, can be swept away.

Several political scientists lunge at a theory of foreign policy which takes the influence of state actors into account. Among those theories is the well-known and popular approach of Graham Allison (1971, 1999), who analyses the foreign policy of the United States’ (US) in Cuba during the missile crisis by looking at the situation using three different approaches. The third approach is based on the assumption that an actor’s preferred choice in the decision-making process is influenced by his organisation. With grounded criticism, the German political scientist Klaus Brummer (2013) adds his own idea to the third model of Allison, namely combines it

with the poliheuristic approach, and applies his model to a military mission with the leadership of Germany and France in the DR Congo. His article underpins his approach by showing that the decision to participate in the military mission in DR Congo is mainly influenced by two stages of decision-making: the first one filters the options in whether they are useful and profitable for the actor and his organisation. The second stage includes bargaining and the proceeding of the decision making with the resultants as an outcome of the bargaining process. The result of Brummer's article is that chancellor Merkel chooses her preferred option but seems to adapt it to the preferred options of her foreign minister and defence minister (Brummer 2013: 14,17) .

The puzzle, the thesis will be about to solve, is the role of France in this decision-making process. What is striking about Brummer's article is, that Merkel actually finally bypasses the two ministers and their options and pushes through her favoured solution of the discussion. When observing the process towards Merkel's decision-making on the foreign policy concerning the mission in RD Congo, it is obvious that the French position plays a role in forming her preferred policy option. She adapts her final decision only minimally to the preferences of her ministers. Consequently, Merkel's adapted solution may not only be the result of negotiation and resultants, and with that the approval of Brummer's theory, but could also be caused by French influence on the decision-making process as they guided that mission in a co-leadership with Germany.

## 1.2 RESEARCH AIM

It would therefore be of importance to do research on the factors, which are having the main influence on the decision-making process regarding Germany's foreign policy. The important factor of France' influence on the decision-making process regarding German foreign policy will be added as an intervening constructivist variable to Brummer's model. This is done by approaching the German decision-making process on two different cases of military missions outside the EU.

The assumption, which is the basis for the analysis, is that the special relationship variable provides a significant addition to the combination of the poliheuristic model and Allison's Government Politics Model (GPM) for the explanation of the foreign policy decision-making process of Germany concerning the participation in military missions.

The choice of cases which will be analysed by applying Brummer's model plus an intervening variable to it, are based on the following arguments:

When looking at the case, which Brummer has chosen for his article, some variables are necessary to not be changed when applying his concept to other cases. The German foreign policy is in Brummer's case analysed by looking at the decisions regarding military missions outside the EU. In line with Brummer, several authors state that military power is one of the main tools to execute foreign policy (Alden and Aran, 2013). With military power, decisions coming out of negotiations and bargaining are backed (Ebaye, 2010: 220). The advantage with applying Brummer's improved model on especially military missions is the fact that the outcome of the decision-making process is explicit and clearly defined. Another variable which will be adopted from Brummer's

article is the time lapse. Only military missions under Chancellor Angela Merkel (2007-2016), present a potential case for this research. Inherent to the research question is furthermore the restriction that both Germany and France should take part at least in the decision-making process.

The United Nations (UN) intervention in Libya was one where UN member states voted on by accepting or rejecting the resolution 1973 in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) (Brockmeier, 2013). With a clear rejection by abstaining from the resolution which authorized intervention in Libya, Germany took a decision which made the already scrawled line of Germany's foreign policy to change direction again. This is notably striking because Germany's allies France and the United Kingdom (UK) were the initiators of the intervention.

The military mission in Mali represents a case where France and Germany are both cooperating in order to fight the present rebel groups Al Qaeda in Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and le Mouvement pour l'Unité et le Jihad en Afrique de l'Ouest (MUJAO) and provide new order in the government and country. France was the initiator of the mission and expressed openly its expectations regarding military support towards Germany, it is highly questionable in how far the German decision-makers decided on the basis of their own and their organisation's interests and in how far they were influenced by the French expectations regarding their participation in the mission.

An analysis of the decision-making process regarding the French foreign policy exceeds the scope of this thesis.

### 1.3 JUSTIFICATION

The scientific relevance of this thesis lies in the fact that foreign policy analysis, as it is known as of today, is updated by analysing the preferences of ally countries as an influential factor on foreign policy decision-making regarding military missions. The thesis tries to answer the question, if allies or partnerships with other countries can have such a strong influence on the decision-making processes regarding a country's foreign policy that responsible actors as the chancellor or ministers adapt their prior chosen preferences to the preferences of the ally country. The above mentioned question focuses especially on the influence of French preferences on the decision-making process regarding military missions. If the hypothesis is confirmed, the decisions taken in favour of or against a military intervention are not only dependent on the national interests, but also on the international interests of the country.

Furthermore with adding a variable to Brummer's model, the model itself is also again applied to a case which gives it more strength when confirmed.

Regarding the diminishing influence of the individual on the decisions made in international organisations as the EU and UN, it is of high societal relevance to analyse in how far the responsible actors are representing their own country without the influence of a relationship of their own country with an ally. The thesis can contribute to the research on the effectiveness of the system and the necessity to adapt it to the current developments in the range of international policy.

## 1.4 STRUCTURE

In the second chapter of this thesis, the theoretical framework will be presented. Different theories concerning foreign policy decision-making and its influencing factors are discussed. Among these theories is the GPM by Allison and the poliheuristic model as it is used by Brummer. These theories will be linked to the cases chosen for this thesis.

The third chapter will present the methodology with which the research will be undertaken. The models explained in the second chapter will be analysed in more detail and will be made measurable by defining the tools which will be operated to test the hypotheses mentioned in the second chapter.

The theoretical and methodological framework, elaborated in the previous two chapters, will be employed in the fifth chapter to lead to empirical findings, which are capable of giving a first indication of answering the research question presented in the introduction.

In the last chapter the empirical findings are discussed and the research question will finally be answered. The relevance of this thesis will be again demonstrated by linking the empirical findings to contemporary debates on the German foreign policy. Furthermore, research limitations and recommendations for further research will be indicated.

# 2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

## 2.1 INTRODUCTION

The central research question to be answered in this thesis, resulting from the assumption made in section 1.2, is the following:

*Does the special relationship variable provide a significant addition to the combination of the poliheuristic model and Allison's Government Politics Model for the explanation of the foreign policy decision-making process of Germany concerning the participation in the military missions in Libya 2011 and Mali 2013?*

To answer this question, empirical research based on a theoretical model and a methodology will be conducted. This chapter will explain the theoretical framework and the theoretical model which will be used. The theoretical model is based on a model built by Klaus Brummer, which he applies to the example of Germany's foreign policy decision-making on a military mission in RD Congo (2013). The general idea of his model which needs to be critically analysed and eventually improved, is the following:

The poliheuristic model of decision-making is the basis. The non-compensatory political loss variable, which is inherent to the poliheuristic model, is transformed into a non-compensatory organisational loss variable in Brummer's article. As a result of the discussion of the different approaches and Brummer's combination of the approaches, two improvements will be made: Firstly, a new variable, the special relationship variable, will be added to the model, and second, a weighting of the power of the decision-makers in the negotiation process will be added to improve the model and eliminate the shortcomings of the existing approaches.

In order to make the different theories comprehensible, they are embedded in the debates of Foreign Policy theories. In the first section, an overview about the origins of Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) and its different approaches will be given. One direction of FPA, the one about the decision-making theory, will be explained in more detail in the second section because that direction includes the core approaches used in this thesis. The poliheuristic model and the GPM of Allison receive special attention and will be explained and critically analysed. These approaches are combined in Brummer's model. The explanatory model proposed by Brummer will be critically discussed in the third section. Furthermore, it will be defined how Brummer's model solves the shortcomings of the poliheuristic theory and the GPM model. In the fourth section, the shortcomings of Brummer's model will be discussed and solved with two adaptations of the theoretical model: The 'special relationship' variable is added to the model as well as the weighting of the power of the decision-makers during the negotiation process. The chapter will be concluded with the fifth section, the explanation of the complete model used for this thesis and the formulation of the hypotheses which will be tested in the following chapters.

## 2.2 AN OVERVIEW OF FPA AND ITS ROLE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

It is necessary to explain the different theories of FPA in order to answer the central question of this thesis. FPA is an area of International relations (IR), which was covered in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century in different side notes of IR theories but which had its actual origins in the 1960s.

One of the most important authors, who explains the link between FPA and IR and emphasizes why FPA is an essential part of IR, is Valerie Hudson (2005). Before the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold War, most IR scholars characterised the state as a black box, a rational unitary actor. That changed after the fall of the Berlin Wall as its outcome could not be explained when analysing the state as one unitary actor and assuming that a state is in a continuous security dilemma. The end of the Cold War confirms that states can get out of that security dilemma (Lebow, 1994:252). When detailed knowledge on the decision-making process of foreign policy is desired, the ground of IR studies gets visible: The ground is the human being with all it contains: behaviour, ideas and actions. The decisions, taken by human beings, are capable of changing the actions conducted by the state and therefore are capable of changing the international system and international relations. This means that foreign policy is actually inherent to IR. Knowledge about the actual decision-making units can be gained by opening up the black box and inspecting the decision-making units' influence on the policy which follows. That is what FPA does. Therefore, FPA is agent-oriented and agent-specific. It is capable of linking material and ideational factors of state behaviour and contributing that to IR (Hudson, 2005: 2).

The early origins of FPA lie in the 1950s and 1960s when the first scholars wrote down their ideas about foreign policy and the process of decision-making in general. Richard Snyder, Henry Bruck and Burton Sapin (1959), James Rosenau (1961) and Margaret and Harold Sprout (1960) have written the most influential works in this area. Snyder, Bruck and Sapin (1959) stated that opening up the black box and going beyond nation-level will lead to a more detailed understanding about foreign policy. Furthermore, they were the first scholars who wrote about the decision-making process and its influence on the actions taken on the international stage. Rosenau (1961) emphasised that general testable methods for FPA are necessary to make it a generalizable theory. Finally the Sprout couple (1960) focussed on the psycho-milieu and its influence on the decision-making process for countries' foreign policy.

Further research on the topics of the above-mentioned three groups of scholars was conducted. The first one is the area of Comparative Foreign Policy (CFP), the second one is research on the psychological and societal milieu of foreign policy decision-making and the third one is putting an emphasis on bureaucratic politics and organisation persisted with different degrees of success.

The first area of research is CFP. The developments, which finally led to the subarea, resulted from Roseneau's emphasis on the necessity for generalisation (Rosenau, 1968: 329). The discussion about CFP was based on whether the comparison of different countries mostly based on quantitative research would result in a grand

unified theory (GUT), which means a generalisation of FPA in all states and at all times (Hudson in Smith, Hadfield and Dunne, 2012:22). Authors like Stephen Andriole, Jonathan Wilkenfeld and Gerald Hopple conducted research on this topic. The conclusion of the discussion was that there is a possibility for generalisation (Hill as cited in Smith, 1986: 19), but that the chance for that possibility is too small to continue the research on it.

The second group of scholars put an emphasis on the psychological and societal milieu and its influence on FPA. The research was initially promoted by the Sprouts and was carried on by influential scholars as Irving Janis (1977), Margaret Hermann (1989), Bryan Ripley (1993), Philip Tetlock (1996) and Jack Levy (2003). The scholars especially focus on the factors which the decision-maker carries with him and which have an influence on the decision-making process. Examples for the psychological context are beliefs and emotions.

The third approach will be the most important one for this thesis. The group of scholars belonging to the third direction did research on the organisational and bureaucratic influence on FPA. The roots of the emphasis on bureaucratic politics and organisation as having an impact on the decision-making process in FPA has its origins in Weber's research, written down in his book about social and economic organisation in the 1920s. This approach is based on the assumption that foreign policy decisions are constructed by group decision-making. Valerie Hudson assumes that most decisions made are centred on a group of fifteen people or less (Hudson, 2007: 66). Of course there is the possibility that bigger groups or even organisations are part of the decision-making, but they do not participate in the actual negotiations about the decision outcome. However, most decisions are implemented by organisations which the decision-maker belongs to. The organisations would like to increase their turf. Increasing the turf means to increase their impact on a specific subject in comparison to other organisations (Mintz and De Rouen, 2010:71). The most influential author about bureaucratic politics impact on foreign policy is Graham Allison. His approach is used by Brummer for his model in his article about Germany's foreign policy regarding its military mission in Congo.

The rest of Foreign Policy Analysis ideas also went through a great development throughout the years. One of the most drastic events, which contributed to the development of IR and to the development of approaches of FPA, is the fall of the Berlin Wall. While the situation of the Cold War could be roughly explained by approaching it with an actor-general theory, a detailed analysis of that situation and more specifically the situation after the Cold War can be better explained by looking at how individuals and groups come to their decision (Zakaria, 1992: 198). After the end of the Cold War, scholars developed theories and approaches to fill the gaps, which arose as a result of the events. Especially the nonviolent dissolution of the socialist block could not be explained with the rationalist views which represent the continual desire of states to gain power (Petrova, 2003: 115). The contrary of the actor-general theory, the actor-specific approach, was described by Alexander George and is meant to be an addition to the earlier theory (George, 1995: 162). The approach towards an actor-specific theory enables to look specifically at the factors, which lead individual actors and group actors to the decision they take.



As eluded in the paragraphs above, one of the main topics in FPA is the analysis of the process of decision-making. An overview of approaches will be given in the next paragraph. The approaches, which are especially important for this thesis, the bureaucratic model of decision-making and the poliheuristic model, will be explained in more detail.

## 2.3 DECISION-MAKING THEORY

The decisions made on foreign policy are decisions, which affect the national behaviour in the international arena and therefore have an impact on the international system and as a consequence on international relations.

An important discussion in the area of decision-making approaches was the one between the cognitive scholars and the rational choice scholars. According to cognitive scholars as Snyder (1954) and more recently Hudson (2005) and in contrast to the rationalist scholars like realists as Waltz and Mearsheimer and liberalists as Moravcsik, individuals definitely do matter in international affairs especially when it comes to decision-making on foreign policy. The idea was picked up by authors who set up approaches during the second research wave of foreign policy studies. This wave came in the 1970s. The approaches as the theory of group think (Janis, 1982) and the GPM (Allison, 1999) were set up. They brought cognitive factors, as the psychological and organisational aspects in decision-making processes, to the front. In contrast to the rational-choice scholar, Kenneth Waltz' claims that state leaders adapt to the state's situation in the international system and therefore focus not on personal and individual interests. Scholars such as Allison and Janis could fill the gaps in the rational choice theory, which were discovered by Glenn Snyder (1991), and Richard Rosecrance and Arthur Stein (1993). The result of their research was that the systemic explanation, which supports the rational unitary actor model, could not be the only approach, which explains all decision-making. Especially because of the Cold War, scholars assume that the systemic approach misses something, what the focus on the individual actor regarding foreign policy decision-making can provide. Therefore the creation of a complex decision-making process model would eliminate the critical points of the systems approach automatically. An example for this is the difference in conception of threats. These differences can be explained by the perception with which different actors see and interpret a threat (Hagan, 1994b: 6). Therefore, scholars, amongst which Alex Mintz (2004), constructed models, which were a combination of the rational choice model and the cognitive model. One example is the bureaucratic politics approach by Allison (1999); another example is the poliheuristic model by Mintz (2004).

The bureaucratic politics model is a combination of small group dynamics, organisational process and domestic politics (Hudson, 2007: 89). Allison has translated the idea into practice by introducing the GPM. The GPM states that various actors in various agencies are involved in the decision-making process. The impact of the organisational structures is according to the bureaucratic politics approach the most important one in this process (Mandel, 1986: 258). Decisions consequently do not result from rational choice thoughts but from

bargaining (Allison, 1999: 255, 256). The bureaucratic politics approach will be further elaborated on in section 3.2.

The poliheuristic model states that decisions are taken on the basis of two stages, the opinion selection stage and the bargaining stage. The first stage is divided into two steps: the cognitive stage and the rational stage. The cognitive stage is based on the assumption that policy makers choose different alternatives and create their decision matrix. In the second step, it is assumed that the remaining alternatives are evaluated on the basis of a profit-loss calculation to the decision matrix (Mintz, 2005: 95). The second and final stage is the bargaining stage which represents the bargaining between decision-makers, and will then lead to the final policy outcome. This theoretical approach will be explained below in section 3.2.

A combination of the GPM and the poliheuristic model will provide the basis for this thesis and the two approaches will therefore be explained in more detail in this chapter.

## 2.3.1 POLIHEURISTIC MODELS

### 2.3.1.1 EXPLANATION AND AUTHORS

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Some scholars construct a very simple model of the decision-making process, which consists of the identification of the problem, the search for alternatives, the choice for an alternative and the execution of that alternative (Robinson and Snyder: 1965, 437). Other scholars construct a more detailed model which analyses the different factors having an impact on the decision-making process and therefore on the choice for an alternative. One of these models is the poliheuristic model. This approach is used by Brummer as the basis for his theoretical model. Below, the origins of the model and the model itself will be explained.

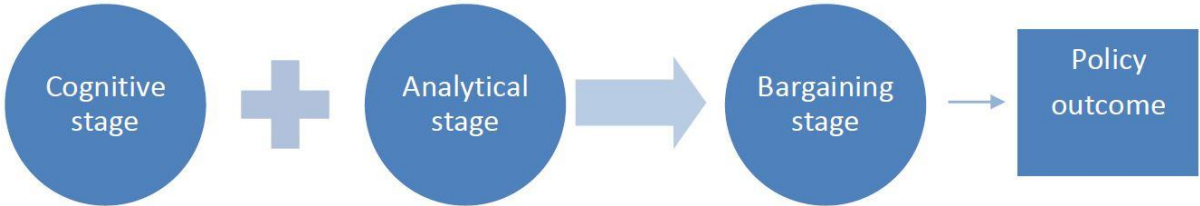
The theory was introduced by Mintz in 2004. It is a combination between research on heuristics and experimental cognitive psychology. The advantage of this multiperspectivist model is that it combines the why and the how of the decision-making process. This can also be expressed as both the process of the decision-making and the outcome (Mintz, 2004: 3). In the poliheuristic theory, options are named alternatives and criteria are referred to as dimensions.

The theory is based on different assumptions. An actor does not always use the same strategy to make decisions. The strategies are adapted to several factors. The factors will be explained in more detail below. Other assumptions can be referred to as characteristics of decision-making. These characteristics are nonholistic, dimension-based, noncompensatory, satisficing and order sensitive (Mintz, 2004: 7, Mintz, Geva and DeRouen, 1994: 456). Firstly, nonholistic means that decision-makers compare a limited number of alternatives either to each other or to a specific standard. They compare the alternatives on the basis of dimensions or other alternatives (Mintz and Geva, 1997: 85). Secondly, the search for a policy option is dimension-based. Dimensions can be explained as values, which are important for the decision-maker in that specific situation. The search for a policy option will be based on what impact the different alternatives have on the dimensions. Every dimension has a minimum standard of what has to be met. If an alternative is not able to meet that standard, it is eliminated as an option (Mintz and Geva, 1997: 86). Third, the noncompensatory characteristics can be explained on the basis of the definition of the key policy option of the policy maker.

While Brummer sees only the first step of the first stage as a non-compensatory dimension, Mintz sees the result of the whole first stage as non-compensatory. In this thesis, Brummer’s approach will be adopted. There are several alternatives available. The set of alternatives can vary between states. In bigger and more powerful states, there may be more alternatives than in small and weak states. The goal of the poliheuristic theory is that, after weighing alternatives and criteria which the decision maker uses to make his choice, a key option is chosen and unacceptable options are eliminated. Some criteria are called to be non-compensatory. It means that a criterion which is not fulfilled represents a loss in one dimension. With a non-compensatory loss variable, a low score cannot be compensated by an advantage that is an option with a higher score, in another dimension (Brulé, 2008:269). Fourth, decision-making has a satisficing character. To assume that decision-making is satisficing implies that an acceptable policy outcome is desired. This stands in contrast to the optimizing principle. An optimizing principle is simply not possible as the demands of several dimensions have to be met (Mintz and Geva, 1997: 86- 87). Fifth, decision-making is assumed to be order-sensitive. That means that the order in which policy options are described and presented to the decision-maker has an impact on the decision-making process (Mintz and Geva as cited in Stern, 2004:109)

When approaching a decision-making process with a poliheuristic theory, it is assumed that the decision-making process looks as follows:

Figure 2: The poliheuristic model



The poliheuristic model assumes that decisions are taken in two stages.

The first stage of the poliheuristic model is called the opinion selection process. The opinion selection process can be divided in two separate steps: The cognitive stage and the rational stage. The second stage is the bargaining process.

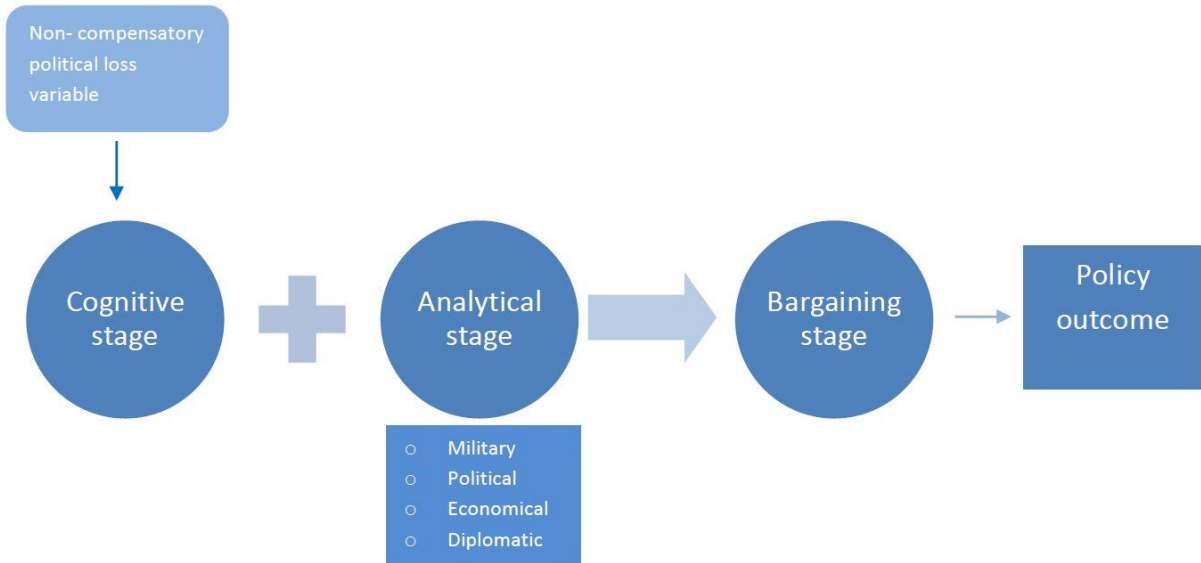
The opinion selection process implements the scan of the possible options in combination with the expected results. The possible options are based on heuristics. Heuristics are rules or indicators which policy makers use in order to test the opportunities included in their own schemas (Smith, Hadfield and Dunne, 2012: 488). They are based on the acceptance of alternatives (Mintz and Geva, 1997: 82). The influencing factors of the first stage can be compared to the influencing factors of several decision making theories, which were developed before, for example the schema theory of Robert Axelrod (1973). The first step of the first stage is to decide which alternative to prefer and which to eliminate, and is mainly based on cognitive shortcuts. The goal of the poliheuristic theory is the choice for a key option and the elimination of unacceptable options. (Mintz and De

Rouen, 2010: 34). The option, which represents a loss is then eliminated, no matter what. The reason is that it does not matter which of the alternatives score high on other dimensions because the dimension was non-compensatory.

The second step of the first stage is called the analytical stage. This non-compensatory option is then scaled in order to compare it to other alternatives. This stage can be equated with the expected utility principle regarding the given values associated with the possible remaining outcomes. The decision made during the second step of the first stage is based on rational profit loss calculations and therefore includes maximization or lexicographic rule of decision-making (Mintz and Geva, 1997: 86). A maximizing rule of decision-making includes the desire to maximize profit for the individual regarding the outcome of the decision. A lexicographic rule of decision-making means that the most desired outcome is selected as preference. If that alternative is not possible due to non-compensatory variables or other factors of high importance, the second most preferred option is chosen and the policy-maker evaluates that alternative with the same factors as he did with the first preferred alternative. The factors are dependent on the decision, which has to be taken. Applied to this thesis, that means that for the decision-making process regarding military missions outside of the EU, the important variables are military, political, economic and diplomatic factors (James and Zhang, 2005:32). The dimensions, as they are called by Mintz, are themes that are assumed to be important for states when making decision about the usage of force (De Mesquita and Lalman as cited in Geva and Mintz, 1997: 91).

The second stage of the process, the bargaining stage, implements the choice of the final policy outcome. The final outcome consists consequently of the remaining alternatives from the first two stages, where different options are already eliminated. There is a favourite alternative per actor left. A choice between the acceptable alternatives which rest from the first stage and the bargaining process between all actors involved in the decision-making takes place.

Figure 3: The poliheuristic model in more detail



### **2.3.1.2 DISCUSSION ON THE POLIHEURISTIC THEORY**

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Based on the different approaches towards the theory of foreign policy decision-making which are described in detail above, three important short-comings are elaborated on. The short-comings will be discussed in the following. Brummer's model will be extended later in order to diminish these deficiencies and to complete the model.

The first point of discussion is about the second step of the first stage of the poliheuristic model. According to the theory, the second step is completely rational. The decision-making process is based on profit-loss calculations regarding the military, political, economic and diplomatic variables. What is debatable here is whether policy makers go through a stage where purely profit-loss calculations count for the decision-making process. Regarding the approaches mentioned in section 2.3, my opinion is that it is possible that also in the second step, ideational factors influence the decision-making process. It is not possible to change the second step into a constructivist process of decision-making as the main idea of the model would then be lost. However, the shortcoming can be compensated in the new model by integrating missing ideational variables into the rational model of the second step. The ideational variable would then be regarded as a further influencing factor next to the military, political, economic and diplomatic factors. The variables will be included into the model as factors influencing the rational cost-benefit analysis and not as factors which are constitutive of interests, as from a constructivist perspective.

The second point of discussion in Brummer's model is that the domestic political constraints, which limit the options of the decision-maker, are seen as the only influencing factors on the preference formation of the actor. I would argue that influencing factors as for example framing of politicians and institutions are at least as important as the domestic factors. Contextual factors such as the nature of the regime but also the current political situation which goes together with considering coalition partners are also significant (Stern, 2004: 110, 111). Consequently, during the second step of the first stage where the profit-loss calculation takes place, not only domestic and organisational factors but also international factors play a role.

The third and final shortcoming, which can be recognized when analysing critically the poliheuristic model, is the bargaining process. The poliheuristic model is merely used to analyse the decision-making process of individual actors. However, group decision-making processes can also be analysed with the help of the poliheuristic model by adding the second stage, the bargaining process. It is obvious that the different actors which participate in the decision-making process have different influences on the final decision. While some decision-makers may have more influence when it comes to the participation in military missions, other decision-makers may have more influence when it comes to decisions referring to the national economy. Dependent on the decision to be taken, the methodology of the research has to be adapted to be able to weigh the influence of the participating actors.

If and how Brummer tries to eliminate these shortcomings in his model and also if he finally succeeds in their elimination is explained and discussed under section 4.2.

## 2.3.2 BUREAUCRATIC MODELS OF DECISION MAKING IN FPA

### 2.3.2.1 MODELS

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Several bureaucratic models of decision making are constructed and described since the beginnings of FPA. The influence of bureaucracy on the decision-making on foreign policy is taken into account in Brummer's model and therefore also in the thesis model. Therefore, the origin of the approach and several important authors and different models on bureaucratic politics will be explained and discussed in this section.

Small-group decision-making, comparative foreign policy and also the societal milieu all include the assumption that the organisational and bureaucratic system of a state has an impact on the decision-making process and outcome. The first author, who focussed on this approach, was Max Weber in his book "The theory of social and economic organization" (Weber in Udy Jr., 1959: 792). Richard Neustadt developed the approach further in 1960 with his book "Presidential Power" in which he argues that the foreign policy decision-making process is influenced by several individuals on different levels in organisations with different bureaucratic, political and personal objectives (Neustadt 1960: 262).

The bureaucratic theory says that as soon as more than one agent is influenced by the decision-making, organisations will play an influencing role when it comes to the outcome and process of decision-making. Bureaucracies are, as they are defined by Mintz and De Rouen, hierarchical organisations that try to have an influence on foreign policy in order to defend their own turf (Mintz and De Rouen, 2010:71). Bureaucratic models state that organisations have an impact on the decision-making process of policy makers as they try to benefit the most of foreign policy decisions.

The authors who researched predominantly on the bureaucratic model were Morton Halperin and Graham Allison (1972). Halperin's main statement is that there is no direct and simultaneous presidential policy mechanism (1972). Allison's model is integrated in Brummer's theoretical model. His statements are published in the book "The Essence of Decision" (1971) and will be explained in more detail below.

#### **ALLISON**

There is a significant difference between Mintz and De Rouen (2010) as described above, and Allison (1999). While Mintz (2004) uses a combination of the rational and cognitive school, Allison's book "The Essence of Decision" (1971) uses these schools as two different and separate explanations. The book describes the action of the president of the US concerning the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962. The author develops three models for answering the same question on the factors influencing the behaviour of the president.

The first model is the rational actor model. That model made Allison famous in the years of the first publication of the book (1962). Before the fall of the Berlin Wall, most of the political events and processes could be explained by approaching the situation with a rational choice theory. The approach states that the state is a unitary actor and is purely looking at the costs and benefits of different options in the decision-making process.

Allison was not satisfied with this model because of its limitations. Consequently, he presented two other approaches towards the decision-making process in the Cuba Crisis. Allison's critique on his own model was

later supported by the end of the Cold War. With its results and consequences, the first model was regarded to be insufficient for explaining the process and the outcome of the decision-making. The next two models involve not only one actor but several actors in the decision-making process and also give attention to the organisational structure.

The second model is the organisational process model. It is a bureaucratic model which is based on inter-organisational factors. The process of decision-making is based on key actors such as political leaders and the organisation, policy makers belong to. Its basic unit of analysis is the government and its action as an output of an organisation. The political leader's main interest is the decrease of short-term uncertainty whereas the organisation follows the standard operating procedures (SOPs), which are set up in all big organisations. SOPs are, among culture and budget, the organizing concepts of the second model.

The third model, the Governance Politics Model, assumes that an actor's decision is influenced by his organisation (Allison, 1999: 255). This model is used by Brummer as a starting point to improve the poliheuristic approach and will also be used in the model of this thesis. It therefore has to be explained and analysed in more detail:

The model is based on the assumption that the foreign policy of a country is the result of government action. Government action is influenced by individuals whose preference is based on outer circles when it comes to foreign policy decision-making. In the outer circles, there are struggles between different players who are central to the topic the decision is referring to. It is therefore a combination of organisational preferences. All individual bureaucratic actors have their own preferences based on norms, values and culture. The final decision in foreign policy will be created by a game of negotiating and bargaining and is in the end a compromise of the preferences of all actors, including their organisation, involved.

There are several influencing factors for the formation of the final decision regarding the country's foreign policy. Especially the power of individual actors regarding the topic of decision and the position of the organisation, to which the individual actor belongs, has a significant influence. The power, which is used to form the final decision, also includes the hierarchy in the government. The organisation is influencing the policy maker especially by its culture and priorities. Inherent to the third model of Allison is the claim that: "Where you stand depends on where you sit." (Allison, 1969: 711). This is one of the most famous quotes, which are used to explain the bureaucratic politics model. The quote means that policy makers are influenced by their organisations and their responsibilities, which come along with their position in the organisations.

However, the individual actors do not have to negotiate and bargain about all topics. Allison assumes that there are basic values and facts which are shared by all actors involved and which lead to a common understanding of these without the necessity of negotiation. This will eventually lead to a fast adoption of the existing values by individual policy makers.

## **DISCUSSION ON THE GOVERNMENTAL POLITICS MODEL BY ALLISON**

Although Allison's book is immensely popular, several discussions and critics arose around the decision-making models. The critics presented below will focus mainly on Allison's third model as that model will be used in this thesis. The shortcomings will be presented and discussed and will finally be challenged by the introduction of Brummer's model in section 2.4.

There is a critical point which is often mentioned: On the one hand, the model seems to be too complex as it includes a lot of variables. On the other hand, the model just covers the bureaucratic factors as influencing factors for the decision-making process. Consequently, the advantage of the GPM is at the same time its pitfall. Several authors find Allison's third model too thick because it contains a big number of assumptions and because no variables of possible relevance are excluded (Bendor and Hammond, 1992: 318). This point of criticism is especially challenging for this thesis because of the fact that a lot of variables are necessary to conduct research in the form the third model prescribes it. And although the model has a high number of variables, it still only covers the bureaucratic factors which have an impact on the decision-making process of the policy makers. Several other influencing factors are missing. According to Stephen Krasner, the description of the objectives and the conceptualization of the values and beliefs from individuals are missing (Krasner, 1972: 179). This limitation is supported by the criticism of Christopher Jones (2008), who states that the model does not take the personal background and the history of events into account.

In the following, the model of Brummer is explained. The description and discussion will explain if and which critical points can be eliminated by his combination of the poliheuristic model and the GPM. Some points of discussion cannot be eliminated and also new points of discussion will be the consequence of Brummer's combination. These points will be solved later in section 2.5.

## **2.4 SHORTCOMINGS OF THE THEORIES AND BRUMMER'S SOLUTION**

The above mentioned points of critics about the poliheuristic model and the GPM can be seen more as limitations of the model than as points of criticism concerning coherency. These limitations can therefore be solved with the adaptation of the model. Brummer solved most limitations by combining Allison's third model and the poliheuristic model of foreign policy.

### **2.4.1 THE MODEL AS IT IS USED BY KARL BRUMMER**

In his article "The reluctant peacekeeper: Governmental politics and Germany's participation in EUFOR RD Congo" (2013), it is Brummer's goal to analyse the process of Germany's foreign policy decision-making regarding its military mission in RD Congo in 2007. To reach the goal, Brummer takes the behaviour of the chancellor, the foreign minister and the defence minister, into account and analyses their behaviour by using a combination of specific theoretical approaches of FPA.

The first model which Brummer uses to analyse the above mentioned military mission, is the GPM model. As explained above, the model works with the assumption that the organisation, to which an actor belongs, has an



impact on the actor's priorities and therefore on the decision-making processes the actor is part of. Brummer conceptualizes this assumption by integrating Allison's model into the poliheuristic theory of decision-making. Brummer adds Allison's variable, arguing that the actor also takes the priorities of his organisation into account by replacing the non-compensatory *political* loss variable with the non-compensatory *organisational* loss variable in the first step of the first stage. The non-compensatory political loss variable states that policy makers overvalue losses. Potential losses are non-compensatory. The transformed variable includes the assumption that an organisation's loss is non-compensatory. Brummer stresses that both organisational affiliation as well as other factors have an impact on the alternative preference formation of the actor (Verbeek and Stern as cited in Brummer, 2013: 5). This assumption leads to Brummer's **first hypothesis**:

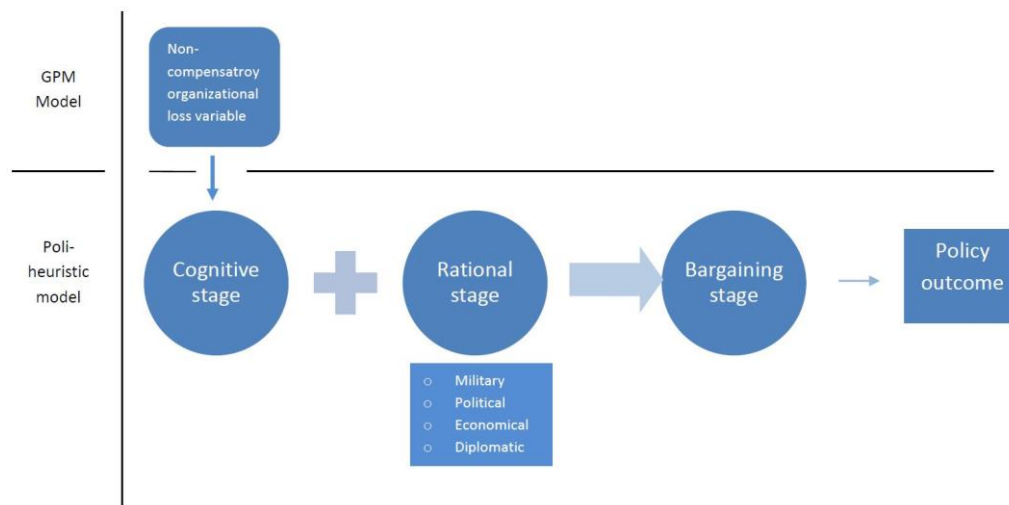
"If a policy option entails unacceptable costs to an actor's organisation, then the option will be quickly rejected in the first stage of the actor's option selection process ("non-compensatory organisation loss aversion"). (Brummer, 2013: 7).

The opinion selection process represents the preference formation of an individual actor in the whole decision-making process. To complete the process, intergovernmental bargaining between the actors, participating in a decision-making process, takes place. Individuals will enter the second stage, the bargaining process, with their explanations of rejection and selection of policy options they made in the opinion selection process. According to Brummer, the bargaining process, which ventures the explanation of a group decision-making, in combination with the first two steps of the poliheuristic model is still underdeveloped. He hopes to solve that underdevelopment with the combination of the poliheuristic model and Allison's GPM.

Brummer describes the poliheuristic model in his article less detailed as other scholars do, assumedly because of the limits which the publication of an article brings with it. What Brummer misses in the description of the poliheuristic model is a detailed definition of the second step of the first stage. Most authors, who make use of the poliheuristic model in combination with the decision-making process regarding military missions, conduct the profit-loss calculation during the second step of the first stage with referring to four important influential factors: military factors, economic factors, political factors and diplomatic factors (Mintz, 2005: 96). These factors were already eluded under section 2.3.1.1.

For most researches, the poliheuristic model is used to analyse the decision-making process of one individual. With Brummer's addition of the GPM model, which means by adding a political element, it is possible to overcome the shortcomings regarding its use for group decision-making.

Figure 4: Brummer's model



With the model presented above, Brummer looks at the behaviour of three main players in the decision-making process regarding the military mission in RD Congo. The positions and preferred options of Chancellor Merkel, Defence Minister Jung and Foreign Minister Steinmeier are analysed in detail and approached by the poliheuristic model. Brummer analyses the process based on the **second hypothesis**, which will also be used in this thesis:

“Among the surviving policy options, the option is chosen in the second stage of the actor’s option selection process that promises the highest benefit and lowest risk with respect to the actor’s organisational as well as domestic interests.” (Brummer, 2013: 7)

In the conclusion, the author states that further research on other factors, influencing the preference formation of policy makers, is desirable (Brummer, 2013: 1- 20). The desired further research will be conducted in this thesis by improving the model firstly with another variable in the second step of the first stage, the rational stage, and secondly with a changed methodology of the bargaining stage. The model will then be tested on two cases.

#### 2.4.1.1 SOLVING THE SHORTCOMINGS OF THE POLIHEURISTIC THEORY AND THE GPM

During the explanation and discussion of the poliheuristic model and the GPM, which will be used in this thesis, different shortcomings showed up which are partly eliminated by the model of Klaus Brummer.

One challenge was that when looking at assumptions with which the poliheuristic model has been created, there is the common opinion that international factors do matter when applying the poliheuristic model but that domestic factors are far more important, because it is the essence of the decision-making process (Mintz and Geva, 1997: 83). With the combination of the poliheuristic model and Allison’s GPM, Brummer has to integrate variables under the terms of both approaches. Allison says in the description of the GPM that international and intra-national relations do play an essential role in decision-making processes regarding the foreign policy of a country (Allison, 1999:309). It is assumed that states have an impact on each other. This

aspect of influence between states and, in the case of model III between international and intra-national organisations, is integrated in the conceptualization of Brummer's model in the diplomatic variable.

Another challenge was the shortcoming of Allison's third model. It is eliminated by the combination of the poliheuristic model and the GPM as it is used by Brummer: The point of criticism was that the GPM is very complex and that a researcher needs a lot of variables to apply the model to a decision-making process of foreign policy (Bendor and Hammond, 2012: 318). Furthermore, as Krasner claims, although a lot of variables are essential for its application, still not all relevant variables are included (Krasner 1972: 179). The integration of the GPM into the poliheuristic model combines it with other influential factors which are of importance when it comes to the decision-making process regarding foreign policy. The poliheuristic model includes domestic and cognitive factors.

Consequently, there are still some shortcomings left, which have to be solved before being able to present a theoretically coherent model.

## 2.4.2 SHORTCOMINGS OF BRUMMER'S MODEL AND ITS SOLUTIONS

### 2.4.2.1 SHORTCOMINGS OF BRUMMER'S MODEL

The shortcomings of the poliheuristic model and the GPM are only partly tackled by Brummer by combining the GPM and the poliheuristic model.

There is firstly the challenge of a completely rational second step of the first stage of the poliheuristic model. As already mentioned above, I am convinced that when taking the positions of other partners during the second step of the first stage into account, the most profitable alternative is not only chosen on the basis of a rational profit and loss calculation but also on the basis of ideational variables. Which ideational variables have to be integrated into Brummer's model will be explained in the following.

Secondly, there is another challenge concerning the international impact on the decision-making process, which this thesis will tackle. The fact that Brummer does not take the alliance, better said the friendship, between Germany and France into account, leads to the striking question if that very factor could be another significant variable in the analysis of the decision-making process. The influence of the Franco-German friendship has been analysed by other authors before (Krotz, 2011; Hendriks & Morgan, 2005; Cole, 2011). In order to conceptualize the variable it is important to define the word alliance and friendship. The relationship between France and Germany is strengthened since the beginning of the Coal and Steel Union of the two countries (Schuman-declaration, 1950). It can be assumed that this relationship also plays a role in international military missions when both countries are involved in the decision-making process towards these missions. The strength of this relationship is especially supported by the impressive amount of institutions, which were created since the first post-war rapprochement of the two countries. The institutions' function is to strengthen this friendship. Several declarations, starting with the Schuman declaration, alliances and treaties

stress the relationship. Alliances in the area of economy, culture and military show how close the two countries have grown together. The result of this discussion is an **adapted version of hypothesis 2**:

*Among the surviving policy options, the option is chosen in the second stage of the actor's option selection process that promises the highest benefit and lowest risk with respect to the actor's organisational interests, domestic interests as well as interests concerning the special relationship with France.*

It is therefore necessary to expand Brummer's model by adding a variable about the influence of the friendship between Germany and France on the decision-making process regarding foreign policy. With the addition of the new, non-rationalist variable, the model is able to be applied to cases of military missions in which more than one nation is responsible for the conduction of the mission.

The third criticism on the model is referring to the bargaining process. This shortcoming is also not solved by Brummer. Brummer stresses that the influential power is unevenly distributed between the decision-makers and the bargaining process, which may lead to compromises. Brummer shows the consequences of an uneven distribution of power but he does not mention *how* the distribution looks like. To be able to create a coherent theoretical and methodological model, it is necessary to create a theoretical concept of the influence of the three decision-makers.

Consequently there will be two improvements of the model:

1. The influence of the special relationship between France and Germany on the decision-making process needs to be added.
2. The uneven distribution of influence of the ministries and the ministers on the decision-making process needs to be added.

In section 2.4.2.2, the contemporary debates and the theory on friendships and special relationships between countries will be discussed. The power of influence of the decision-makers will be analysed in section 2.4.2.3. The final model and hypotheses which will be used in this thesis will be presented afterwards under section 2.5.

#### **2.4.2.2 SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP VARIABLE**

There are several theories, which discuss the topic of friendships, alliances and special relationships between countries. Several scholars, as Mark Blyth (2002) and Colin Hay (2001) regard common institutions as the basis of friendships and special relationships between countries. There are four theories, which give an approach towards special relationships between countries based on institutions. Realism is the first theory in this regard. It has put its question marks towards the relevance of institutions in the international system. According to the realists, special relationships are created because of a focus on security measurements (Krotz, 2011: 52, 53). The second theory, namely neoliberalism, puts an emphasis on international institutions and international economic cooperation. However, it sees states as the key actors in influencing the foreign policy. It claims that institutions influence the final policy outcome but not the underlying interests of the state (Krotz, 2011: 53). In contrast to neoliberalism, liberalism, the third theory, sees multiple actors as having an influence on policy

formation among which are institutions. But liberalists see the role of interstate institutionalisation as no priority although it can be relevant that interstate institutions support societal interests (Krotz, 2011: 55). The fourth approach, the constructivist approach, will be explained in more detail because it is the approach, which will be applied in this thesis.

For the conceptualization of the variable which describes the special relationship between France and Germany, the constructivist approach is important to define. After that, the approach of Ulrich Krotz as presented in his book "The Flying Tiger" (2011) will be explained because his approach will be the basis for the conceptualisation of the special relationship variable. Krotz' expertise on the subject of the French-German relationship and his outstanding work on that special relationship provide a professional and sufficient basis for this research.

Constructivism means that we see the world as a world of our making. The origins of constructivism lie in the 1980s. While some scholars argue that it is an empty theory because it does not challenge the ideological convictions of realism or liberalism, others say that it is the only theory which is able to explain the end of the Cold War (Snyder, 2005: 55). The constructivist scholar Alexander Wendt states that the central feature of constructivism is that actors act towards other individuals or objects on the basis of the importance that the individual or object has for them. The result is that states will show different behaviour towards states they consider being their friends than to states they regard as their enemies (Wendt 1992: 396).

The term special relationship will be used to describe the variable added to the thesis model to describe the relationship between Germany and France. In earlier research, it often referred to the relationship between the UK and the US. Since the beginning of the states' history, the two countries are connected and linked via a special relationship (Dumbrell, 2009: 449).

What is still missing when it comes to the research on relationships between countries is the research on how interstate relationships can change domestic factors and as a consequence foreign policy decision-making. This mechanism also works the other way round: domestic politics and the structure of (international) institutions can also structure interstate relationship. Krotz does research on this effect in his book 'The Flying Tiger' (2011) where he analyses the decision-making process concerning the foreign policy outcome about the construction of the Flying Tiger, a helicopter and a joint project of France and Germany. He conducts research on the influence of institutionalized relations versus domestic constructions on the decision-making process regarding the foreign policy of Germany and France.

The assumption which will be made in this thesis is that international institutions, which were constructed by both countries and are therefore common for them, are regarded as an indication of a special relationship. The interaction between states increases with the increase of shared norms and institutions (Van der Kamp-Alons, 2005: 22). The special relationship is expected to have an impact on the outcome of the decision with respect to military missions outside the EU in which France and Germany are involved. The variable results from the integration of the special relationship into the model and is treated in constructivist terms. Rationalists' definitions about the creation of preferences seem to be outdated because they regard the actor's ideas and

discourses separate from the understanding of interests (Crespy and Schmidt: 2014: 1086). How this constructivist variable will be integrated into the model and how this will relate to the rational cost-benefit-analysis will be explained at a later stage in this section.

Regarding the institutionalized relations, Krotz states that the intergovernmentalism between France and Germany has developed an own mechanism which leads to the construction of the huge amount of institutions between the two countries (Krotz, 2011: 31). The institutionalization of the relationship between states can be observed with the help of three main components, as they were described by Brummer (2011). The three components with which particular relationships between states can be defined are regularized intergovernmentalism, predominantly symbolic acts and practices, and parapublic underpinnings of interstate relations (see appendix 1).

Next to the question *if* there is a special relationship between France and Germany, it is necessary to look at the mechanism of the special relationship between the two countries. In other words, the question in this thesis is not only *if* Germany adapts its behaviour based on the influence on France when it comes to the decision-making process, the question is also *how* it adapts its behaviour.

As Dirk Leuffen et al. (2013) state, the position of France and Germany are not close when it comes to security and foreign policy (Leuffen, Degner and Radtke, 2013: 8). That is because the positions of the two countries regarding their foreign policy is, next to the special relationship, also influenced by domestic factors, which are important for the country. The influence of the domestic factors and consequently the domestic interests of Germany and France are rarely the same. Therefore the positions regarding decision-making about military missions vary immensely. If the two countries want to represent an effective coalition in international organisations, it is necessary that the positions of the two countries are adapted and become one voice (Carton, 1995: 75). Therefore, Germany and France agree in current times that there have to be compromises regarding the cooperation of the two countries, claims Stephan Martens. The two countries are often referred to as the European engine (Artman et al., 2015: 3, Leuffen, Degener, Radtke, 2013: 2) regarding the decision-making process in the European Union. It can be assumed that the cooperation of the two countries with reference to the political decisions in the EU can be projected on the decision-making process in other international organisations as for example the UN. There, too, France and Germany have to speak with one voice to be heard by powerful states like the U.S. and China. But it is not the French and German interests which lead to a cooperation of the two countries. The decision-makers are also influenced by ideational factors, for example the identity of their country (Alons, 2010: 505). The identity is formed by shared norms and values. The special relationship between Germany and France is based on the historical principle of integration into Europe, which resulted from its outsider position after The Second World War. Simon Bulmer and William E. Paterson even see the Franco-German friendship an integrated part of the German identity (Bulmer and Paterson as cited in Alons, 2010: 506). This results in the assumption that the countries do not support policy options which are contradicted by the other country although it might serve their domestic and economic interests (Webber, 1999: 48). The reason is that these options could have a negative effect on the other country's interest. This constructivist assumption leads to the expectation that, dependent on the domestic

pressure on the government, the perpetuation of a special relationship between countries might be more important than material interests.

Extending this assumption to the previous assumptions of this thesis, it can be concluded that Germany and France adapting their behaviour to each other's positions so that a compromise can be reached with regard to the decision-making process on military missions under the condition that the non-compensatory variable is taken into account.

The special relationship variable is a factor, which influences the decision-maker during the second step of the opinion selection process. It can be regarded as a factor comparable to the military, economic, political and diplomatic factors, which influence the decision-making process during that stage. The special relationship variable is a constructivist variable. The military, economic, political and diplomatic factors are rationalist variables and the second step of the first stage is a rationalist step. At first sight, the combination of a constructivist variable in a rational stage seems like a challenge. Several scholars were and still are discussing about the combination of rational and constructivist variables and if there are models capable of combining the two. Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink discuss in their article international norm dynamics and political change (1998). They state that instrumental rationality and social construction are not meant to oppose each other but can stand next to each other (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998: 910). The special relationship between Germany and France is a variable, which is based on a constructivist ontology. However, policy makers can act on the basis of the variable rationally. They can for example conduct a profit loss calculation on the basis of the Franco-German special relationship, which was built due to constructivist norms and views. This ideational variable can be an answer to numerous criticisms of constructivist scholars on rational choice supporters (Alons, 2013: 507). With the help of these assumptions, it is possible to include the special relationship variable into the thesis model.

The detailed thesis model will be explained below under section 2.5.3.

#### **2.4.2.3 THE UNEVEN DISTRIBUTION OF POWER OF INFLUENCE DURING THE BARGAINING STAGE**

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The other point of criticism is referring to the bargaining stage of the poliheuristic model. As Brummer announced in his article, there is an uneven distribution of the power of influence in the bargaining process. Unfortunately, Brummer does not expand on this topic. Therefore a detailed conceptualization of that distribution can be found in this thesis.

Based on theory and earlier research, it can be assumed that the different ministries and their preferences have a different grade of influence on foreign policy decision-making.

Germany is a parliamentary democracy which entails that decisions regarding foreign affairs are under the responsibility of the executive power. Although Germany is a federal state and its federal states, have a lot of power, the German constitution emphasizes the dominance of the federal government, when it comes to foreign affairs. The federal government plays the central role regarding the decision-making on foreign affairs. The federal government consists of the chancellor and its ministers. The German parliament, and the Federal

Council of Germany only have rights of participation and no right of initiative in this domain. However, close cooperation with the parliament is necessary as they have to approve troop deployment (Schmitt, 2012: 64). The different ministers have equal rights during cabinet meetings, however with one exception. The president has only formal rights when it comes to decision-making on topics of foreign affairs (Bierling, 2005: 21- 22, 28). When it comes to a defence mission, the chancellor gets the power of command of the military (Bierling, 2005: 28). Miller-Rommel has done research on the decision-making process in the German cabinet with a focus on the influence of the chancellor in different cases of decision-making. The cases were referring to among others foreign affairs. In Miller-Rommel's research, 24 party members have answered the question about whether the chancellor has influence on foreign affairs decisions to be taken. 79% of all party members said that the chancellor indeed influenced the decision-making process. According to the research, the chancellor has compared to other cases, such as cases about economic issues, the most influence on cases referring to foreign affairs.

Helga Haftendorn (1999) who describes the changes in Germany of the power over time, partly confirms the large degree of influence of the chancellor on foreign policy decision-making processes. Especially in the first years of the federal republic, the chancellor was the main actor when it came to policy decisions. That is why Germany was called to have a "Kanzlerdemokratie", a democracy of the chancellor (Baring and Niclauss as cited in Haftendorn, 1999: 249). But in the 1960s, a powerful ministerial administration was developed and that led to consequences for the power of the chancellor regarding decision-making in foreign policy. The chancellor had to give competences on military security to the defence minister and the foreign minister. Stephan G. Bierling (2005) also argues that the post-war period entailed the loss of power for the chancellor. At the present time, both the chancellor and the foreign minister are the centre of power when it comes to decisions on foreign affairs (Bierling, 2005: 38). However, it is not possible to generalise this distribution of power to all cases regarding foreign policy decision-making. The German decision-making processes are continuously developing (Haftendorn, 1990: 422). It depends on the case and on the individual chancellor and the ministers how the final distribution of power looks like (Bierling, 2005: 37).

Dirk Eckert states that in earlier decision-making processes on military missions, the defence minister also plays a central role (Eckert, 1999). In the Somalia case in 1993, he reached the participation in the mission by presenting the national opponents with *faits accomplis* (Volger, 2008: 181). Consequently, the bargaining process between all three ministers becomes continually more important (Miller-Rommel, 1994: 162).

A decision on the participation in a military mission, as it is researched in this thesis, will therefore assumedly be based on a bargaining process where the chancellor has the highest power of influence, the foreign minister the second highest power of influence and the defence minister the least power of influence. The hypothesis, **hypothesis 3**, which follows from this assumption, is the following:

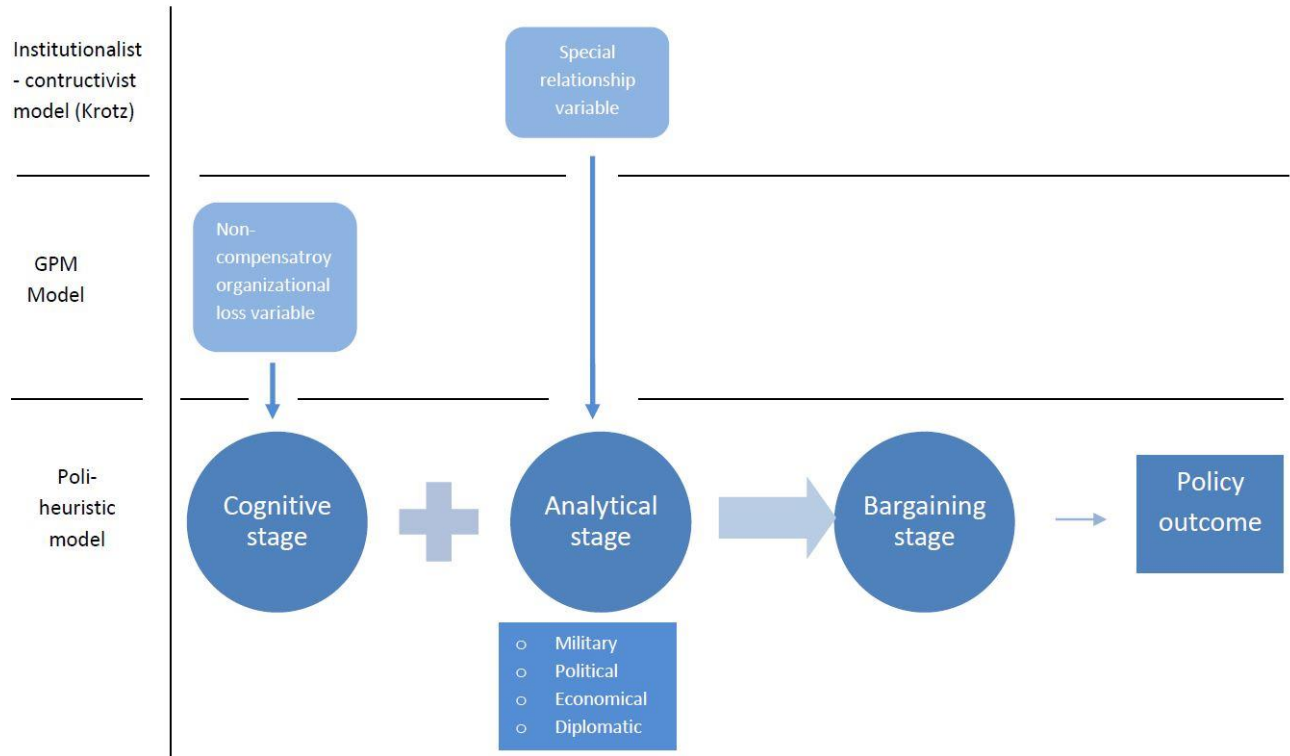
If the decision-makers have different policy options as their preferred options in the bargaining stage, then the chancellor has the most influence on the final decision taken, followed by the foreign minister and the defence minister.



## 2.5 THESIS MODEL

The thesis model looks like the following:

Figure 5: Thesis model



## 2.6 HYPOTHESES

The hypotheses resulting from the theoretical discussion are the following:

As this thesis model is based on the model used by Brummer and therefore his hypotheses, the first and second hypotheses are the ones which are also used by Brummer in his article on the military mission in RD Congo.

1. If a policy option entails unacceptable costs to an actor's organisation, the option will be quickly rejected in the first stage of the actor's option selection process ("non-compensatory organisation loss aversion").

(Brummer, 2013: 7)

The second hypothesis will be analysed in two ways. Brummer's original version of the hypothesis will be analysed as to test Brummer's original model on the two chosen cases.

2.

1. Among the surviving policy options, the option is chosen in in the second step of the opinion selection process that promises the highest benefit and lowest risk with respect to the actor's organisational as well as domestic interests.

(Brummer, 2013: 7)

To test if the model constructed on the basis of the discussion and findings in this theoretical chapter provides a better explanation of the foreign policy decision outcome, the second hypotheses will be slightly changed because of the addition of the special relationship variable to the model.

2. Among the surviving policy options, the option is chosen in the second step of the actor's option selection process that promises the highest benefit and lowest risk with respect to other actor's organisational interests, domestic interests, *as well as interests concerning the special relationship with France.*

The improvements of the bargaining stage regarding the distribution of influence among the decision-makers leads to the last hypothesis:

3. If the decision-makers have different policy options as their preferred options in the bargaining stage, then the chancellor has the most influence on the final decision taken, followed by the foreign minister and the defence minister.

In the following, the methodological chapter will discuss the best research method for answering the central research question and for testing the above mentioned hypotheses. The choice of qualitative research for this thesis will be explained, the data used will be clarified and all variables of the thesis model will be operationalized.

# 3 METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

## 3.1 INTRODUCTION

To test the hypotheses mentioned under section 2.6, the following methodological framework will define the different variables used in the model in more detail and will moreover present their operationalisation. After the research, it is then possible to state whether the hypotheses can be confirmed based on the empirical findings.

## 3.2 JUSTIFICATION OF THE USAGE OF A QUALITATIVE RESEARCH METHOD

### 3.2.1 THE QUALITATIVE RESEARCH METHOD

The methodological framework is based on Brummer's research and Mintz' method of application of the poliheuristic model (Mintz, 2005: 96). That means that the research conducted is approached with a deductive qualitative research method. The choice is not only based on Brummer's article, but it is also based on the contemporary discussion about the advantages and disadvantages of qualitative and quantitative research methods.

During the 1970s and the 1990s, classic works about qualitative research were emerging. The 2000s brought a second wave of literature, which was grounded on these classic works but which presented a new qualitative method wave. The method that will be used in this thesis is based on the findings of that second research wave on qualitative research.

Next to the fact that Brummer also used a qualitative research approach to either confirm or reject his model, there are two other reasons for choosing a qualitative research method. Because of the limited number of cases pertinent to the research question, a qualitative research method is the only research possible (Bennett and Elman, 2006:467). This is explained in more detail under section 3.3. Furthermore, the theoretical model which is described in the previous chapter is a complex one and asks for an in-depth analysis. Thus, it is more beneficial to apply a qualitative method rather than a quantitative one (Bennett and Elman, 2006: 458).

The ultimate goal of this research is the validity of all findings. Without sufficient validity of the research method, the findings are not credible and the research results will not be accepted. For both quantitative and qualitative research, internal and external validity are of importance. Internal validity describes the validity that

results from the conclusion of causal relationships. It can be achieved by a well-designed research where alternative explanations for a phenomenon can be excluded (McDermott, 2011: 27). External validity can allow the researcher to generalise the findings of a research (Burke, 1997: 289). To put it in other words, the results can be applied to different researches on different groups and populations (McDermott, 2011: 34).

For internal validity, mental comparisons can be made (Burke, 1997: 287). The application of Brummer's original model will be compared with the application of Brummer's model in combination with the special relationship variable. Regarding the external validity, there is nearly no possibility to generalise the findings of this thesis as being implementable for other countries. A special relationship is often built on the common history, norms and values, and institutions of the two countries. It is not possible to generalise these factors, consequently it is also not possible to generalise the special relationship. A generalisation of the research result is only possible when analysing other cases of decision-making processes of the German foreign policy regarding a military mission outside the EU. Furthermore, the generalizability increases when similar findings are made in other case studies (Yin, 2010: 22). When a similar dynamic of a special relationship between two other countries can be observed, there might be a possibility to generalise the findings of this thesis for their decision-making processes. When similar dynamics are present, the norms and values on which the special relationship is based is not a limiting factor of the generalisation anymore. An example can be the special relationship between the US and the UK.

### 3.2.2 PROCESS TRACING

The goal of the research is to open up the black box of the decision-making process by discovering causal mechanisms, which lead to the outcome of the decision and consequently the foreign policy strategy of a country. By opening up the black box, the mechanisms which exist between the independent and dependent variables are analysed and can lead to a rejection or acceptance of the hypotheses. A challenge for the model which is presented in the theoretical framework, is the fact that it is a combination of rational and constructivist variables. The application of different tools to approach empirical facts demands a well-chosen methodological framework. A solution for the challenge concerning the usage of different theoretical models is process tracing (Kelley and Checkel as cited in Checkel, 2006: 366).

With process tracing it is important to look within the case and to study the causal mechanisms which are assumed in this thesis. The question is whether a specific event occurs as a consequence of a former event, that means whether there is a causal mechanism between the two events (Mahoney, 2012: 2). That is why the method is especially suitable for this thesis. When looking within a case, the probability that alternative explanations are discovered, which can also contribute to the decision-making process and therefore the decision outcome, is far higher with process tracing than with alternative qualitative methods or even quantitative methods (Bennett and Elman, 2006: 460).

The process tracing method contributes especially to the research of the cognitive process of decision-making. While a quantitative method focuses more on the *ratio* between informational input and the outcome, a

research based on process tracing targets the *factors which have an impact*, especially on the decision-making process which takes place between the informational input and the decision outcome (Ford et. al, 1989: 75).

Based on what the goal of the process tracing is, there are several methods to conduct a research. In the case of this thesis, the goal of the empirical research is theory testing. The theoretical model as it is presented in the theoretical framework needs to be confirmed or rejected in order to answer the central research question (see appendix 2). The challenging cause in the theoretical model of this thesis is the special relationship variable. The influence on the outcome will be researched with the help of the special relationship variable. To eliminate the controversy of the added variable, data concerning the actual existence of the special relationship and its influence on the decision-making process will be analysed.

### 3.3 CASE JUSTIFICATION

The cases studied in this thesis are selected based on their variation on the dependent variable. While some authors, especially the ones who support a quantitative research method, see that as a problem (Geddes, 2003: 87), others admit that it provides a better opportunity to have an in-depth analysis on the cases (Collier et al., 2004: 87). In this research, the cases are chosen on the basis of the different policy outcomes. This selection criteria, linked to the negative case sampling mentioned above, includes the application of an approach called “Most similar case, different outcome” (MSDO). MSDO means that the case selection should take place based on the fact that all influencing variables should stay constant, that means the same, while a different outcome is achieved. Its aim is to explain why “some initiatives result in other decision-making pattern than other initiatives” (De Meur et. Al., 2006: 71). The first case is a case where the policy outcome in both France and Germany is the same. Both countries take the decision to participate in a military action. The second case chosen is based on a policy outcome, which differs in both countries. That means one country participates in the military mission and the other country rejects the participation. Consequently two cases with different outcomes are chosen.

Because of the complexity of the theoretical model and the condition of the MSDO design, it is necessary to hold all variables as constant as possible.

The first criterion for the choice of cases is that the presidents should be the same in both cases. The fixation of the leadership variable opens the possibility to exclude the assumption that the characteristics of the leader have an impact on the variation in the outcome.

Other criteria towards the case choice are based on the fact that the theoretical model explained above is based on Brummer’s article. The goal of this thesis is to improve Brummer’s model. This implies theory testing. To test whether the special relationship variable accounts for improvement and completion, the case selection has to meet the same criteria as the case selection of Brummer does. That is the only way to create the same environment for MSDO design. In his article, Brummer chooses a military mission outside the territory of the EU to analyse the decision-making of the German chancellor and ministers regarding their foreign policy decisions. In Brummer’s conclusion, he mentions openly that more research is necessary to further approve or

reject the theoretical model he built (Brummer, 2012: 16). It is obvious that, to approve or reject Brummer's model including improvements, the case choice has to meet Brummer's criteria: The second criterion is consequently the choice of a military mission outside the EU.

The European Union External Action Service (EEAS) provides an overview of all completed and ongoing military missions on their website. Because of the necessity of detailed documents on the crisis, it is favourable to choose cases, which are already completed since at least a year. The cases which can be distinguished as a EU military mission outside its own territory can be defined as military missions which does not belong to the territory defined in article 355 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (2012) (see appendix 2).

There are also other limitations when it comes to the case choice. By eliminating the shortcomings of Brummer's model with the addition of a new variable, namely the special relationship variable, there are new factors which have to be taken into account when a decision about the choice of cases is made.

The special relationship variable is based on the assumption that Germany is influenced by the friendship with France. The relationship is claimed to have a significant influence on the decision-making process of Germany's foreign policy decisions. To test and consequently approve or reject the variable as an improvement to Brummer's model, the third criterion is that both France and Germany need to be involved in the case. The fourth criterion is that the case should not be older than the military mission in RD Congo, Brummer's case. The reason is that the special relationship between Germany and France is a dynamic one which is strengthened over time. The research is aimed to analyse the influence of the special relationship on Germany's recent decision-making processes.

To get a first impression of which cases are possible, all cases where Merkel and Sarkozy were not the presidents of the countries in question are excluded. The resting military missions outside the EU are the EUFOR Congo mission, the EUFOR Chad mission, the Somalia naval mission against piracy, the Somalia/Uganda training security mission and the mission in Libya to contribute to humanitarian aid. The EUFOR mission in Congo is also analysed by Brummer in his article. The mission in Libya was never arranged in the end. Both France and Germany participated in the majority of the missions. The choice for the MSDO design also asks for a case, where only one of the countries participates. This case does not appear among the ones mentioned above, which means that a compromise has to be made and that a less important criterion has to be neglected.

Brummer states that the focus on the one and only leader, the chancellor or president, is not absolutely necessary with coalition governments in parliamentary systems like it is the case in Germany and France (Brummer, 2013: 6). The participation of both France and Germany in the military mission and the presence of two missions with a different outcome is a necessity for this empirical research whereas a constant leadership variable is only a desirable addition to the case selection. Furthermore, only Germany's foreign policy decision-making process will be analysed in the empirical part of the thesis. As the German leader stays the same in both cases, the risk of using missions under another French leadership is taken. New potential cases which came up under François Hollande as a French president are then the UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilisation Mission in Mali (MINUSMA), where both countries participate, and the EUBAM Libya mission

which only received the French support. In both missions, Germany and France are involved in the decision-making process of participation in the mission. With these two cases, the MSDO design can be used. Both countries participated in Mali and only France participated in Libya which means that the two missions have a different outcome. Both leaders of the countries, Hollande and Merkel, are the same whereas the ministers change during the period between those missions. Regarding the achievement to fulfil all other criteria with these two cases, the change in leadership regarding the foreign minister and the defence minister will be accepted.

Some variables are difficult to measure for the Libya case due to the fact that Germany did not participate in the mission and therefore did not mention assumptions about costs and amount of forces needed. It is hard to predict the costs which will be used during a military mission. Moreover, the end of the mission can hardly be foreseen. This thesis will use the calculated costs of a similar mission in the past which can be used to analyse the impact on the military costs for Germany. The UN mission in Lebanon (UNIFIL) is comparable to the mission in Libya. It is a mission started by the UN. The mission started for Germany in 2006 after a civil war in the country, which can be compared to the situation in Libya in 2013. Blue helmet soldiers are responsible for the compliance of the ceasefire between Israel and Lebanon (Der Einsatz im Libanon, 2016). The civil war and its consequences led to an addition to the former UN mandate and demanded German military support. The military costs and the amount of forces needed will be used to analyse the military factors for the Libya case.

The Libya case and the Mali case comply with the criteria mentioned above and will therefore be chosen for the empirical research of this thesis.

### 3.4 OPERATIONALIZATION

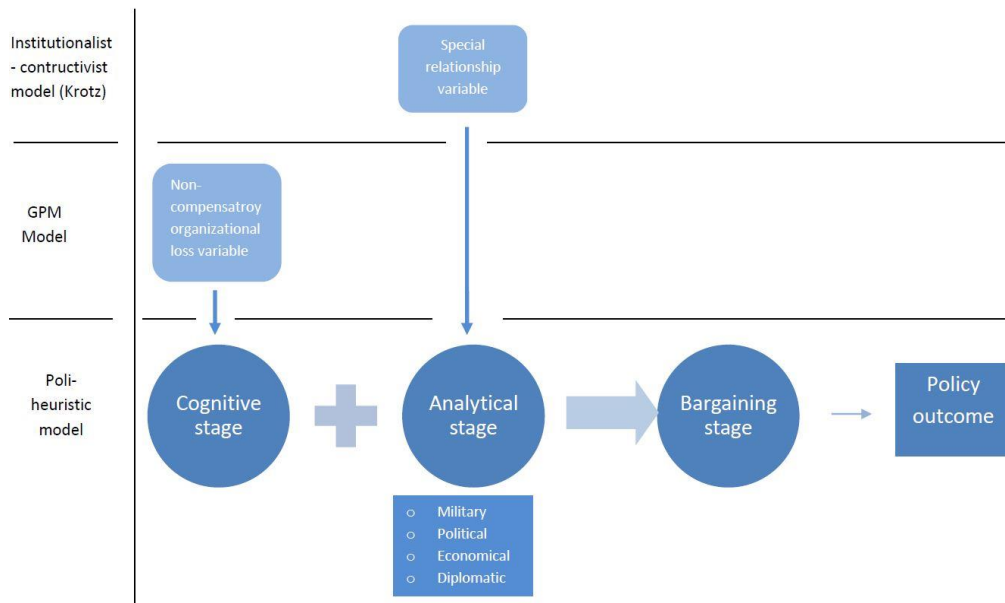
The operationalization of the variables necessary for testing the hypotheses will be explained below.

The thesis model is shown again below:

For the methodological framework of the thesis model as it is shown above, a set of alternatives is needed. The alternatives represent the different choices the decision-makers have. Because this thesis will do research on the decision-making process regarding military missions, the most obvious alternatives will be (financial or military) participation (A1) or non-participation (A2) in a military mission. During the empirical chapter, the alternatives for the decision-makers will be explained in more detail. In this chapter, the different alternatives will be referred to as A1, A2, A3, Ax.

The operationalization of the variables which have an influence on the final outcome of the decision-making process regarding Germany's foreign policy will be done chronologically, that means the variables from the first step of the first stage will be operationalised first. After that the variables from the second step of the first stage and the second stage will be covered. The different variables and stages are pointed out below:

Figure 6: Thesis model



### 3.4.1 THE “Y”

The “y” of this research will be the result of the different “x”, the decision-making process factors. There are, strictly speaking, two different “y”. The first “y”, the result of the decision-making process concerning the Libya case, can be the vote in favour of or against resolution 1973 or the abstention from the vote. Resolution 1973 is about the establishment of a no-fly zone but is expected to result in a military intervention in the future. The second “y”, the result of the decision-making process concerning the Mali case, will be the result of the Bundestag mandate to participate or to not participate in MINUSMA.

### 3.4.2 THE “X”: THE COGNITIVE STAGE

#### The non-compensatory organisational loss variable

The non-compensatory organisational loss variable assumes that the cognitive stage is among others influenced by the term ‘where you sit, depends on where you stand’. That means that the policy makers which are involved in the decision-making process are highly influenced by the interests of their organisation during the first step of the first stage. They are even influenced in such a way that an alternative can become non-compensatory and therefore not accepted if it presents a significant loss for the organisation.



To measure the non-compensatory organisational loss variable, the interests of the actors' organisations, their ministries, have to be analysed. Normally, the actor's organisation is in the case of this thesis the Federal Chancellery, the Ministry of Defence and the Foreign Ministry. However, German politicians often base their choice not only on the interests of their organisations but also on the interests of their parties. In Germany, party policy is a very important element of the factors which influence decision-makers in the choice for their preferred alternatives. Party policy can vary over time and can adapt to national and international circumstances (Hofferbert & Klingemann, 1990: 299). Consequently, the empirical research will take the decision-makers' ministries' and parties' interests into consideration when analysing the decision-making process. To measure the influence of the different alternatives on the party policy, the question 'Is A(x) expected to result in the growth or status quo of the party's interests?' will be asked. A negative answer results in a negative impact on choosing A(x) as the preferred policy option.

Brummer describes in his article in detail the five most important organisational interests, which can possibly contribute to the decision that the consequence of an alternative will be a loss for the decision-maker's organisation, which is non-compensatory, and will therefore lead to the elimination of that alternative. The five organisation interests, named by Brummer, will be adopted as a measurement for the non-compensatory organisational loss variable. The first criterion is that the policy option makes it possible to hold up the 'essence' of the organisation. The essence of an organisation is about the mission and vision of an organisation which is supported by a major group within the organisation (Halperin and Clapp: 2006: 27). The second criterion is that the policy option does not lead to 'turf' losses. Turf, as explained in section 2.2, means to increase an organisation's influence in a specific area of expertise, when this collaborates with the organisation's essence (Brummer, 2013: 4). Third, the policy option should make it possible to keep an organisation's autonomy. This refers to autonomy in the areas of for example finance and personal resources (Wilson as cited in Brummer, 2013: 4). These three questions will be compiled due to the limitations in finance, time and availability of literature of this thesis. They will be summarized as the 'overall interests of an organisation'. A deterioration of one of the three factors will result in a negative impact on the decision-maker's preference formation. The question to be asked for these three criteria is: 'Is A(x) expected to result in the growth or status quo of the organisation's overall interests?'. The fourth criterion is the amount of resources, an organisation can win or lose with the introduction of a specific policy. Financial and personnel strength is a sign for a strong or weak organisation and, as mentioned above, for its autonomy. The question, which has to be asked is: 'Is A(x) expected to result in the growth or status quo of the organisation's resources?' The final criterion is the influence of new policies on the morale and motivation of its personnel. The morale and motivation has a significant influence on the organisation's position. The final question to be asked is: 'Is A(x) expected to result in the improvement or status quo of the morale and motivation of the organisation's personnel?' (Hudson as cited in Brummer, 2013: 4). This factor might have a negative impact if for example party colleagues publicly militate against A(x) in newspaper interviews or during plenary debates.

If more than one question for an alternative is answered in the negative, this alternative is eliminated as the variable is non-compensatory.

Consequently, a decision-maker decides on a go or no go of a specific policy option in the first step of the first stage based on the policy’s influence on the party’s interests, its influence on the essence of the organisation, its influence on potential turf losses, the influence on the organisational autonomy, the influence on the profit or loss for the amount of resources of the organisation and finally its influence on the morale and motivation of the organisation’s personnel. If one of the above mentioned criteria suffers from great losses as a consequence of the implementation of a specific alternative, that alternative will be eliminated as non-compensatory.

### 3.4.3 THE “X”: THE ANALYTICAL STAGE

Mintz advises the division of the poliheuristic procedure in two steps, when applying his theory to the empirical cases. Firstly, the alternatives, the dimensions and the implications of the alternatives on the dimensions have to be defined. Secondly, poliheuristic calculations have to be conducted based on the decision matrix (Mintz, 2005: 95).

Below, the dimensions which are important for foreign policy decision on military missions will be defined. The alternatives and its implications on the dimensions will be explained during the description and analysis of the cases.

The domestic variables are the dimensions of the second step of the first stage of the poliheuristic model. The second stage, the analytical stage, consists of the classical profit-loss calculation, which is the origin of the poliheuristic model. The simplest outcome of the analytical stage is the choice of the most profitable alternative for the policy maker. After the cognitive stage and during the analytical stage, the policy maker chooses the alternative which is extant and provides the highest benefit to the actor.

The example of a methodological model of the poliheuristic approach will look like this:

Figure 7: The poliheuristic decision matrix

		Alternatives			
		A1	A2	A3	A4
Dimensions	Political	10	8	6	2
	Economic	6	2	10	8
	Diplomatic	2	8	6	10
	Military	8	6	2	10

Source: Mintz, 1997: 91

The number scale used above in Figure 7 explains the decision-maker’s weighing of alternatives on the specific dimension. It is a ten-point scale, where ‘one’ is used to express that an alternative, according to the decision-maker, has a relatively negative effect on the dimension and a ‘ten’ is used when an alternative has a very good influence on the dimension. For this thesis, a smaller scale will be used due to the fact that such a detailed

variation is not possible with the analysis of this thesis. Ten different potential scores are hardly feasible empirically and would lead to 'pseudo-accuracy'. Therefore, a three-point scale is used for the empirical analysis in this thesis. Alternatives can have a positive (+), a neutral (+/-), or a negative (-) impact on the domestic interests of a country. The alternative with the most positive score is then the policy outcome which will be implemented in the bargaining stage by the decision-maker as the preferred alternative.

In the column, the table shows different alternatives (A1- A4), which are possible decision outcomes in a specific situation. Under the point 'dimension' (x1- x4), four terms can be found: military, economic, political and diplomatic. In the following, the terms will be operationalized.

#### **Military factors:**

If a military mission would mean a significant debilitation of the military forces of a country, the participation in a military mission is not attractive. This is dependent on the military costs of the participation in a conflict. The military costs are the number of forces needed to take part in a mission and the logistics. The participation in a military mission can be impossible because of bad condition of military equipment and insufficient budget. Moreover the timing of the mission has an impact on the foreign policy decision. The logistics and the infrastructure for a military operation should be ready (James and Zhang, 2005: 41). All these factors are dependent on other military missions but also the economic and financial state of a country.

The military costs of missions in the last years varied greatly. Moreover, they are obviously very hard to calculate for the federal government. The party 'Die Linke' asked for an overview of the costs of military missions of the Bundeswehr and the federal government replied in the beginning of August 2013 with an overview of the costs since 1992.

Figure 8: Costs of military missions as calculated by the German government (2010/2012)

Name	Location	Starting Date	Real costs (in € million) until 2010/2012
Enduring Freedom	Kuwait/Afghanistan	2002	1071.63/1071.63
Concordia	Macedonia	2003	2.8/2.8
Artemis	Congo	2003	5.4/5.4
Aid mission	Indonesia	2005	13.7/13.7
EUFOR	RD Congo	2006	43.7/43.7
AMIS	Sudan	2004	2.3/2.3
UNMEE	Ethiopia/Eritrea	2004	1.2/1.2
<b>UNMIS</b>	Sudan	2005	7.7/8.7
EUFOR Althea	Bosnia and Herzegovina	2004	201.3/217.6
Pegasus	Libya	2011	No estimation available.
Active Endeavour	Mediterranean Sea	2011	0/8.8
UNFIL	Lebanon	2006	276.2/322.2
UNAMID	Sudan	2007	1.3/2.0
EU Navfor Atalanta	Somalia	2007	124.6/274
EUTM	Somalia	2010	0.8/2.9
UNMISS	South Sudan	2011	0/0.8
<b>Total</b>			<b>1752.63/1977.73</b>
<b>Average</b>			<b>134.81/131.85</b>

Source: Deutscher Bundestag, Antwort der Bundesregierung 1714491

It is important to use information for the empirical analysis which was already available when the decision-makers chose their preferred policy option. The decisions were taken in March 2011 and in June 2013. This research will assume that an increase in demand of one third of the average costs for military missions will have a negative impact on the organisations. An increase of one fifth of the average costs will have a moderate impact. The average costs of military missions, which started not earlier than 2002 is therefore €134.97 Million in 2010 and €131.85 Million in 2012 (see figure 8). An increase of the costs of more than €44.93 Million in 2010 and of €43.95 Million in 2012 will lead to a negative impact on the organisation and the decision-making process. An increase of one fifth of the average costs, that is €26.96 Million in 2010 and €26.37 Million in 2012, will have a moderate impact.

The number of human forces per military operation is of course also variable. An increase in demand of one third of the average number of forces used in military missions will have a negative impact on the organisations. An increase in demand of one fifth of the average number of forces will have a moderate impact. The distribution of forces in 2010 and in 2012, which are the numbers which were available for the decision-makers when forming their preferred policy option for the intervention in Libya (2010) and in Mali (2012) are shown in figure 9 and figure 10 below.

Figure 9: German military missions abroad (2010)

	Name of operation	Area of operations	Upper limit of force
1	UNMISS	South Sudan	75
2	EUFOR Althea	Bosnia and Herzegovina	900
3	KFOR	Kosovo	2500
4	ISAF	Afghanistan, Uzbekistan	5350
5	UNIFIL	Lebanon	300
6	UNAMID	Sudan	50
7	NAVFOR ATALANTA	Somalia	950
8	EUTM SOM	Somalia	10

Source: German Military (Aktuelle Einsätze der Bundeswehr, 2016), plenary protocols

The number of the upper limit may vary between missions in 2010 and 2012 as the agreement of mandates in 2010, 2011 and 2012 may result in an increase or decrease of forces in a mission.

Figure 10: German military missions abroad (2012)

	Name of operation	Area of operations	Upper limit of force
1	UNMISS	South Sudan	50
2	EUFOR Althea	Bosnia and Herzegovina	800
3	KFOR	Kosovo	1.850
4	ISAF	Afghanistan, Uzbekistan	4.400
5	UNIFIL	Lebanon	300
6	UNAMID	Sudan	50
7	NAVFOR ATALANTA	Somalia	950
8	EUTM SOM	Somalia	10
9	Active Fence	Turkey	400

Source: German Military (Aktuelle Einsätze der Bundeswehr, 2016), plenary protocols

The average number of the upper limit of military forces allowed to military missions outside the EU in 2010 is 1.266 forces. Therefore a demand of 1.688 forces will have a negative impact; a demand of 1.519 forces will have a neutral impact. The average number of the upper limit of military forces allowed to military missions outside the EU in 2012 is 1.171 forces. A demand of 1.561 forces will have a negative impact; a demand of 1.405 forces will have a neutral impact. The preference formation on the second stage will be measured by analysing primary and secondary sources. The concrete time frame has to be decided on per case as the decision-making process of national and international institutions demands time whose lengths differ.

**Political factors:**

It is argued that foreign policy decisions are primarily political decisions (Morgan and Bickers, 1992: 26). For the political dimension (x2), a foreign policy decision should have no influence on the sovereignty of the country. (James and Zhang, 2005: 41). Loss of sovereignty is related to domestic economic losses. These can result from high spending on military resources. This influence is mentioned under “military factors” in this thesis. It can also result from economic sanctions. This impact is mentioned under “economic factors”. These losses will not be used to measure the political factor in the empirical analysis. Another factor is the deterioration of the reputation of the country. Next to the impact on the country’s sovereignty and its influence on other states, foreign policy decisions can also influence the chance for a re-election of the actor. The decision-maker will therefore tend to decide on the basis of a good reputation for his own position and organisation (Redd, 2002: 358).

**Economic factors:**

There is a big overlap between the economic factor (x3) and the political factor. The economic situation can have a huge impact on the political situation of a country and on the organisation of the decision-maker. Causes for economic losses can be economic sanctions because of participating in a military mission (James and Zhang, 2005: 42). Trade would not be balanced anymore and economic growth would be negatively influenced (Redd, 2002: 358). Another negative impact on the economy would be a decreasing trade or a decrease in the number of export markets. The economic factor will be measured by analysing the percentage of the total amount of export to and import from a certain country. If the percentage of the total import and export is more than 1%, the intervention and consequently the interruption of economic trade will have a neutral impact on Germany. If the percentage is more than 5%, it has a negative impact.

**Diplomatic factors:**

The participation in military missions can have negative effects on the diplomatic dimension (x4), as it can affect relations with other countries. That can be the case when for example the country is an ally of the invaded country. Furthermore, the participation or non-participation can provide an impact on the country’s reputation in international organisations, for example the UN (James and Zhang, 2005: 42), and its position on the international stage (Redd, 2002: 358). Germany is member of more than fifty international organisations. But as Germany is member of the UN, the EU and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), most decisions whether or not a military mission is conducted, will come out of these organisations. Dependent on the organisation, if at least one third of the members of the organisation are against A(x), the choice of Germany for A(x) would have a moderate impact on Germany. If more than half of the members of the organisation are against A(x), the choice of Germany for A(x) would have a negative reputational impact on Germany. Concerning military missions, Germany’s allies are the members of the NATO. Its closest allies are France, Great-Britain and the U.S.. Whereas the political factor (x2) is more influenced by internal impact, the diplomatic factor (x4) is more based on external influences. It is necessary to do research on the availability of information about the preferences of the different member countries before Germany needed to express its

own opinion. With that information, it is possible to analyse the influence of the countries' opinions on the choice of the German decision-makers.

Figure 11: Observations leading to potential scores on each dimension

Dimensions	Positive influence (+)	Neutral influence (+/-)	Negative Influence (-)
Political	In case of conducting A(x): No change or positive change in sovereignty of the country, no change or positive change in impact on other countries, no change or positive change in popularity of decision-maker (or his organisation).	In case of conducting A(x): Moderate change now or as a consequence on the sovereignty of the country or the impact on another country, slightly negative change now or as a consequence on the popularity of decision-maker (or his organisation).	In case of conducting A(x): Negative change now or as a consequence on the sovereignty of the country or the impact on another country, negative change now or as a consequence on the popularity of decision-maker (or his organisation).
Economic	In case of conducting A(x): No change or positive change on the international economy of the country, that means no change or an increase in import and export.	In case of conducting A(x): Moderate change on the international economy of the country, that means slightly decrease in import and export (more than 1% of the total amount of import/export).	In case of conducting A(x): Negative change on the international economy, i.e. economic sanctions or a decrease of import and export to important trading partners (more than 5% of the total amount of import/export).
Diplomatic	In case of conducting A(x): More than two third of the member states of the international organisation of which Germany is a member state is in favour of A(x).	In case of conducting A(x): More than half of the member states of the international organisation of which the country is a member state is in favour of A(x).	In case of conducting A(x): Less than one half of the member states of the international organisation of which the country is a member state is in favour of A(x).
Military	In case of conducting A(x): Less than the average costs of military missions, less than the average number of forces needed for military missions.	In case of conducting A(x): Less than a one third increase of the average costs of military missions, less than one third increase of forces needed for military missions.	In case of conducting A(x): More than a one third increase of the average costs of military missions, more than a one third increase of forces needed for military missions.

**The special relationship variable**

The table shown above, which analyses the second stage of the decision-making process, will also include the special relationship variable as an ideational variable.

Figure 12: The poliheuristic methodological model including the special relationship variable

Dimensions	Alternative 1	Alternative 2	Alternative x
Military			
Economic			
Political			
Diplomatic			
Special relationship			
Evaluation			

The biggest challenge is the introduction of the new special relationship variable and its operationalisation. Krotz' constructivist institutionalism theory forms the basis for the special relationship variable. He presents a detailed way of how to do research on the constructivist institutionalism model in his book 'The Flying Tiger' (2011).

The special relationship variable describes the assumption that a close relationship between countries will lead to an influence of that relationship on the decision-making process regarding their foreign policies. To put it in other words, the interests of one country then has an ideational impact on the decision-making of another country. In which situations this is the case and which degree of influence is linked to the situations will be explained with the help of the conceptualisation of Krotz as used in his book.

In this thesis, it is not the goal to do research on the features of institutionalism between France and Germany and if they exist at all. That has been researched already by several scholars in detail, such as Krotz' works show. It is the goal to decide on the influence which these factors have on the decision-making process of Germany regarding its foreign policy. To answer these questions, it is necessary to take into account the research of other scholars on the special relationship between France and Germany.

Martens claims that Germany and France reached a point where they are willing to compromise in order to maintain their special relationship. That would result in the assumption that if A(x) has a negative influence on France, Germany rather tends to not choose A(x) as its preferred policy option because it is not in line with its norms and values (see hypothesis 2.2 and section 2.5.3). With the help of bargaining and negotiation, it is expected that France and Germany reach a compromise and choose a common alternative.

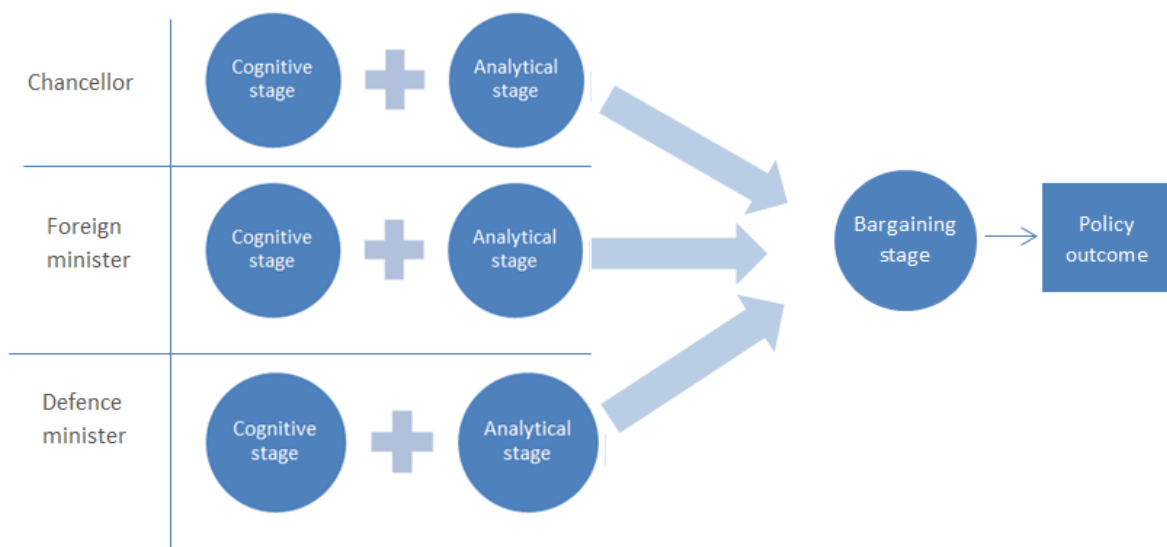
It is expected that when Germany chooses another alternative which results in the opposite of what France chooses, the choice has a negative impact on the special relationship. If they both choose the same alternative, it has a positive impact on the special relationship. In case Germany chooses not the same alternative as France but goes for an alternative which does not infringe the French interests, it has a moderate impact on the variable.



### 3.4.4 THE “X”: THE BARGAINING STAGE

The bargaining stage is what makes the poliheuristic model a model for group decision-making. It includes the process of negotiation of the different decision-makers. The decision-makers are in this research the chancellor, the foreign minister and the defence minister. Regarding hypothesis 3, the chancellor is supposed to have the highest chance to enforce its preferred policy option in the bargaining process; the defence minister has the lowest chance. To observe the bargaining phase in the empirical part, it is necessary to see the first stage, of the poliheuristic model as a different stage for each individual. The bargaining stage is the stage where all decision-makers come together and will decide on the policy outcome. The model for all three decision-makers together will look as the following.

Figure 13: The poliheuristic model including the individual process for the three decision-makers



Imagining a compromise between the three preferred options as the policy outcome of the bargaining stage, the compromise has to show a significant leaning towards the chancellor’s preferred option, much more than to the defence minister’s policy option.

## 3.5 DATA USED

A challenge for the empirical analysis is, like Allison and Zalikow confirm that the GPM requires a lot of research sources (Allison and Zalikow, 1999: 312). Brummer’s solution for this challenge is next to the usage of official documents, which are often not available because of the actuality of the topic, the usage of several primary and secondary sources like speeches, interviews, protocols, news agency reports and newspaper articles (Brummer, 2012: 3).

The research will be based on primary and secondary literature, as did Brummer in his research (2013). The decision, which sources to use will be based on the availability of documents about the conflicts. As relatively recent conflicts are used, the most important official documents are not yet published. The research has to rely on primary and secondary sources. Primary sources can be speeches and interviews, published online, and parliamentary protocols. Secondary sources can be news agency reports but also newspaper articles (Brummer, 2012: 3). All sources have to be analysed by taking the position and interests of the country, the organisation and the individual into account.

### 3.6 REFLECTION

As mentioned earlier, the thickness of the combination of the GPM with the poliheuristic model includes some negative effect when it comes to the research design. To prevent the model from being a kitchen sink argument where everything matters, it is important to not include too much variables in the model.

Furthermore no generalisation of the empirical analysis is possible. The research is about the special relationship of two specific countries and therefore does not offer the possibility of generalisation regarding the relationships between other countries.

What is important to take into account is that there will be some limitations to the amount of data collection. Process tracing often needs a huge amount of data as do the models, which will be combined in this thesis. It is probable that the constraints of time and financial means will lead to a restriction in data collection and to a research outcome which is supposed to be more valid if there were fewer limitations (Checkel, 2006: 368).

In the following, the Mali case and the Libya case will be explained and analysed with the help of the theoretical and methodological framework.

# 4 EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS

## 4.1 INTRODUCTION

The theoretical framework and the methodology provide a solid basis for the empirical research. The result of this chapter is the acceptance or rejection of the hypotheses. The chapter will start with a brief introduction of the two cases which is the outcome of the case selection in section 3.3. After that, the research method of Mintz (2005) will be applied which means that first the possible alternatives will be mapped out and second their impact on the dimensions in both cases will be analysed. This will be done with the help of the corresponding operationalisation. Thereafter, the bargaining processes will be investigated. The final part of the empirical framework is to refer back to the hypotheses and to either reject or accept them.

## 4.2 THE LIBYA CASE

### 4.2.1 INTRODUCTION OF THE CASE

The conflict in Libya originated in the Arab Spring. The Arab Spring is a synonym for the revolution in several countries of the Arab League and beyond, where the population rose up against their rulers to fight for more democracy and less corruption. It started with the revolution in Tunisia at the end of 2010. The roots for the causes, resulting in the rebellion of the population, are said to lie in several factors such as the economic situation, the heavy corruption and the restriction on the freedom of opinion and expression. The initial cause was the self-immolation of a local vendor in Tunisia. The events influenced the atmosphere in its neighbouring countries, for example in Libya and Egypt and as a consequence put the Arab Spring on the international agenda (Müller, 2011: 2).

A suitable reaction from the West on the events was awaited, but reticence was the first answer. The relation of the West with the Libyan regime was difficult since the beginning of Muammar al-Gaddafi's dictatorship. However, after several economic sanctions from the US, the UK and also the UN, Gaddafi met all requirements for the dissolution of all sanctions in 2003. That situation changed with the beginning of the conflict in Libya. The reason was that the threat of an escalation of a potential civil war in Libya could result in region-wide conflict and a new dictatorship in the area (Rühl, 2011: 562).

The protests for more democracy in Libya started on 15 February 2011 reaching Libya's capital on 20 February. The country was then banned from The League of Arab States (LAS) (Dunne and Gifkins, 2011: 519). While Gaddafi in a television broadcast addressed Libya's population to prevent the country from slipping into a civil war, the U.N. implemented, after the demand of the LAS, resolution 1970 and prepared resolution 1973. Resolution 1973 contained the establishment of a no-fly zone above Libya for the protection of the civilians. The response time of the UNSC was relatively quick in comparison to the reaction on other crises (Dunne and Gifkins, 2011: 520). The term "Responsibility to Protect" (R2P), which was introduced by the UN and which

ensured that sovereign states treat their people according to the human rights, was mentioned as the main reason for the resolutions (Müller, 2011: 3). The conflicts in Libya in combination with the implementation of resolution 1970 and 1973 resulted in a continuing battle until October, when Gaddafi was killed in the battle for Sirte, which became Gaddafi's alternative capital after being expelled from Tripoli in August (Who is Saif al-Islam Gadhafi?, 2011).

The military UN mission 'Unified Protector' in Libya started on 19 March 2011. Participating countries entered Libya to implement resolution 1973, which was approved by ten member states of the UNSC, among others by France. Five countries abstained from the vote; Germany was one of them (UNSC, 24 March 2011: 2). Next to the abstention to the vote on the UN mandate, Germany withdrew its forces in the Mediterranean and from the NATO AWACS, which were operating in that area (Larrabee et al., 2012: 99). Beside Germany, the BRIC countries, which are Brazil, China, India, and the Russian Federation, abstained from the vote on the resolution as well. Their ambition to protect the civilians with the help of a no-fly zone as described in resolution 1973 (UNSC, General Assembly Resolution 1973, 2011) probably clashed with their political positions regarding the situation in Libya.

Germany failed to live up to the expectations of its biggest allies, amongst others France (Oppermann, 2012: 503). There was an official announcement of mass murder by Gaddafi and therefore Germany became, together with the other member countries of the UNSC, responsible for action against the regime.

Why did Germany abstain from the vote concerning resolution 1973 despite the fact that all of its allies voted in favour of it. Where domestic factors the main trigger during the decision-making process? The official declaration for the abstention is, according to Chancellor Angela Merkel, that the government has serious doubts about the military implementation of the resolution. That is why Germany was not planning to send any German forces to Libya. However, Germany was supposed to support the goals of the resolution (Merkel, 22 October 2011). The striking fact is that France, one of Germany's important allies, is one of the main actors in the military mission. That raises some questions concerning Germany's vote.

That is why the decision-making process regarding the participation in the military mission in Libya will be analysed in detail by testing the hypotheses as mentioned in the theoretical and methodological chapter.

#### 4.2.2 ANALYSIS

To analyse the several steps of the thesis model, it is necessary to define the policy options among which the decision-makers can choose. With the Libya case, the analysis is based on the decision regarding the preferred vote in favour of resolution 1973. The resolution contains the document for the establishment of a no-fly zone above Libya. A vote in favour of the resolution would very likely result in the participation in the mission. The different policy options are therefore first **a vote in favour of the resolution (A1)**, second **a vote against the resolution (A2)** and third **the abstention (A3)** from the vote. This classification can be related to the participation as the following: A vote in favour of the resolution is a vote in favour of a participation and a vote against the resolution or an abstention from voting is a vote against the participation in the mission.

#### 4.2.2.1 THE FIRST STEP OF THE FIRST STAGE: THE COGNITIVE STAGE

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During the cognitive stage the non-compensatory organisational loss variable is the factor based on which the decision-maker will choose its preferred policy options. The questions to be answered when analysing the situation, are the following:

1. Is Ax expected to result in the growth or status quo of the decision-maker's party interests?
2. Is Ax expected to result in the growth or status quo of the organisation's overall interests?
3. Is Ax expected to result in the growth or status quo of the organisation's resources?
4. Is Ax expected to result in the improvement or status quo of the morale and motivation of the organisation's personnel?

##### The Chancellor Angela Merkel

When analysing the potential risks for the chancellor's organisation, it has to be taken into account that Merkel, the CDU and the federal chancellery were next to the situation in Libya also concerned about the economic crisis and Greece' impending doom on the long-term and the Fukushima nuclear disaster on the short-term (Miskimmon, 2012: 404, 405).

For the chancellor, a vote against the resolution (A2) would result in a negative answer on all three questions. It would not be in line with the essence of both the CDU and the federal chancellery. Moreover, it would lead to a demotivation of the CDU personnel. This is because several CDU parliamentarians mentioned in the plenary protocols ahead of the vote on the resolution by the UNSC, that the CDU is sceptic about participating in any military mission. However, they find it obvious for everybody that the UN has to take action regarding the menacing situation in Libya (Mißfelder, Polenz & Schockenhoff, 2011: 10826, 10831 and 10820).

The reasons for the chancellor, her party and the federal chancellery to be against a vote in favour of the resolution (A1) were the potential long-term consequences. As one of the biggest powers in Europe, the expectation of other countries regarding Germany's commitment to the intervention would have been high. But the government took the Latin term 'Quidquid agis, prudenter agas, respice finem', which is translated "Whatever you do, act smart and take the possible end into consideration" as the motto for Germany's abstention (Müller, 2011: 8). A long-term military mission was not in the interest of the federal chancellery and the CDU.

An abstention (A3) is generally seen as a non-positive vote from non-permanent UNSC members. However, it has the least negative influence on the CDU and the chancellor's office and maintains best its status quo. The prudence of the CDU and the current government regarding military missions is respected when choosing the abstention as the preferred policy option. The only question which has to be answered negatively is the one about the organisational interest on the international stage. Germany was, already in 2011, the unofficial leader in the EU regarding its measures concerning the economic crisis. This influence could have grown alongside with the participation in the military mission in Libya with its French ally. With the decision against the participation, Germany is definitely losing that area of influence. Joschka Fischer, member of the party

Bündnis90/Die Grünen and former foreign minister, even called the German abstention the biggest debacle since its unification (Fischer as cited in Oppermann, 2012: 503).

Consequently, a vote in favour of the resolution (A1) was excluded due to the long-term consequences for the chancellery and the party policy. A vote against the resolution (A2) would be a too harsh reaction and would have a negative impact on the chancellor's organisations. The abstention from the vote (A3) would answer most questions positively and is therefore the preferred alternative for Merkel after the analytical stage.

#### The Foreign Minister Guido Westerwelle

Guido Westerwelle, Foreign Minister of Germany and member of the Liberal Democratic Party (FDP), chooses a position which could be compared to the one of the chancellor. The FDP and the CDU are as coalition partners obliged to communicate with each other before the public discussions during the plenary debate about the position of the governing coalition.

The Libya crisis was on the UN and the Bundestag agenda since January 2011. Westerwelle mentioned in February 2011, during the time of the first referendum concerning Libya, referendum 1970, that he classifies the conflicts in the countries of the Arab Spring as national conflicts. These need to be solved by its own population, among others for the benefit of a strong democratic involvement and the sovereignty of the states (Westerwelle as cited in Hansel&Oppermann, 2013: 23). This opinion within the FDP is confirmed by Gudrun Kopp, member of the Bundestag and of the FDP who states in a plenary meeting that the new start for the system in Libya has to come from within the country (Kopp, 2011: 10483).

Taking into account the history of the FDP and its opinion on former German military missions, it would be even justifiable to expect a vote against the resolution (A2) as a preferred policy option after the first stage of the poliheuristic model. The reason is the long-term official party policy (Hansel & Oppermann, 2013: 23). The FDP already has been against the military policy of the CDU and SPD coalition in 2006 when it came to the Congo mission (Jungbauer, 2012: 199, 200). As Westerwelle states, they learned from the history of the war in Iraq and Afghanistan (Westerwelle, 18 March 2011). He was convinced that Germany should not be militarily present in the Middle East regarding the probable long-term involvement and the doubts about the effectiveness of the operations (Zweifel, Sorge und Ablehnung vor Kongo-Mission, 2007). And also with the establishment of a no-fly zone in the Maghreb region, he is afraid of the deployment of ground forces on the long-term (Westerwelle, 2011: 10816). Moreover, the choice against the resolution would not have any influence on the resources of the Federal Foreign Ministry as they will not be necessary when deciding to not participate in the military mission. As a consequence, the choice for A2 would result in the improvement of the interests of the FDP, the improvement of the morale of the personnel of the FDP and maintenance of the status quo of the ministry.

Regarding the interests of the Foreign Ministry, it is especially influenced by international factors, for example Germany's role in the NATO and the UN. The support of the international organisation is in general very firm and has been proven during several military missions in the past (Maull, 2000: 61). Regarding the damage

which a choice for A2 or A3 would have on Germany, this would probably have a negative influence on the ministry as it would deteriorate its reputation and lead to a decrease in the morale of the employees.

Summing up, a vote in favour of the resolution would result in a negative impact on the party due to its policy. The vote against the resolution would represent the party's and ministry's essence but would have a strong negative effect on the turf. This may lead to the elimination of these two alternatives for Westerwelle. An abstention can be seen as a compromise between the clear opinion of the FDP towards the participation in military missions and the function of Westerwelle as Foreign Minister. He needs to be rather prudent with explicit comments and adapt to the common opinion of the government.

#### The Defence Minister Thomas de Maizière

As the Defence Minister of Germany and a member of the CDU, De Maizière had limited policy options. He had to handle the same challenges as Merkel when it came to the CDU's opinion and the motivation of the organisation's personnel on the participation in military missions. With the intervention in Iraq and Afghanistan in mind, De Maizière commented that, when starting a mission, it should be clear how long it will take to finish it (Libyen: De Maizière kritisiert, 2011). In the case of Libya, this clearance could not be provided. However, a vote against the resolution (A2) is against the CDU's essence, namely to provide help to solve the current crises and to decrease the threat for the civilians in the Arab World (Mißfelder, Polenz & Schockenhoff, 2011: 10826, 10831 and 10820).

On ministry level, the German military sector had to undergo severe planned cuts in defence spending which were exacerbated by the economic crisis and the recession (Larrabee et al., 2012: 95). A vote in favour of the resolution (A1) would result in a huge disadvantage for the resources of the Ministry of Defence. With a yes to the resolution, long-term military support, probably even the provision of ground forces, would become obligatory (Müller, 2011: 6). The aim of the ministry is furthermore the full integration of the Bundeswehr into society. It aimed cooperation and consensus-building on security issues to increase the population's and government's trust in the organisation (Schmitt, 2012: 65). A vote in favour of the resolution would result in the loss of the status quo of the different interests of the Ministry of Defence. The reason is that the sentiments of the population against military missions would result in the opposite of the above-mentioned aim and the population's and government's trust would decrease. But a vote against the resolution would raise questions about the German request for an arms embargo in the NATO. Germany was one of the first countries to require this embargo - and is now circumventing its consequences by not participating in the embargo surveillance (Friederichs, 2011: 2).

Consequently, the vote against the resolution would be against the organisation's essence. A vote in favour of the resolution would lead to a negative impact on the ministry's resources. As this variable is non-compensatory, the abstention (A3) is the perfect compromise. Moreover it is in line with on the one hand the prudent characteristics of a defence minister and on the other hand the anti-military sentiments within the CDU and the German population (Schmitt, 2012: 65).

#### 4.2.2.2 THE SECOND STEP OF THE FIRST STAGE: THE ANALYTICAL STAGE

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##### The military factor

The German Weißbuch from 2006, a publication written by the Ministry of Defence about the direction of the security policy of the government for the coming years, includes the comment that the German Bundeswehr will probably be involved in the fight against terrorism and crisis management (Bundesministerium der Verteidigung, 2006: 12), maybe even in distant regions. The book mentions the responsibility to protect, but the connection with the alleviation of its own forces is not mentioned. The deployment of German forces is rather meant to be in a supporting role rather than a leading one (Bundesministerium der Verteidigung, 2006: 51).

Ahead of the crisis in the Arab World, Chancellor Merkel proposed defence cuts of about €8 billion to the defence sector between 2011 and 2014 as a consequence of the sovereign debt crisis (Larrabee et al., 2012: 17). A military mission in Libya would mean a severe financial burden on the already decreased budget.

Consequently, the costs have to be based only on the material and forces needed regarding the participation in a no-fly zone. A new resolution from the UN is needed to agree on the fact that also ground forces will be sent to Libya in contrast to the UN forces which are responsible to establish the no-fly zone and to assist in the protection of civilians. It can however be expected, as also announced by the members of the Bundestag, that the participation when establishing a no-fly zone makes the members of the UNSC count on Germany when other measures will be necessary. If it should come to the situation where ground forces are needed (Brockmeier, 2013: 67), that means where the forces are needed that Germany was afraid to deliver, the Arab League has, according to Germany, the first responsibility in this. It has well trained military forces and material that should be sufficient, as several earlier conflicts in that area have proven (Müller, 2011: 8). The decision therefore takes the use of ground forces only indirect into account.

This thesis will use the calculated costs of the UN mission in Lebanon (UNIFIL) for the assumption of costs for the intervention in Libya (see section 3.4.3). The civil war and its consequences led to an addition to the former UN mandate and demanded German military support. The mission costs up until June 2013 €330.8 Million (Deutscher Bundestag, Drucksache, 17/14491, 2013). As stated in section 4.2 when defining a negative influence on Germany's military budget, the average costs per mission for Germany are €134.81 Million. Costs, higher than €179.74 Million will have a negative impact on the budget. The estimated costs of €330.8 Million would consequently have a negative influence on the military factor.

The upper limit of the military forces for the mission in Lebanon is 300 soldiers. 92 of the 300 soldiers were participating in the mission as of November 30, 2015 (see figure 9). The average amount of forces needed in 2010 is 1.266 forces. Assuming that the mission in Lebanon is comparable to the one in Libya and that the upper limit, 300 soldiers, will be decisive for the measurement of the number of forces, the mission has a positive impact on the military factor.



Military advantages could be created when cooperating with other countries which are militarily more advanced. Knowledge-sharing between the countries will result in a better German military on the long-term when the knowledge is needed for research on better material and strategies.

To sum it up, there are both military advantages and disadvantages resulting from all three alternatives. The fact that the impact on the forces needed will be quite high and that the mission is classified as very dangerous, can lead to the conclusion that a vote in favour of the resolution and a participation in the mission does not compensate the investment which can be estimated for the military mission in Libya. Therefore non-participation, that means an abstention from the vote or a vote against the resolution would result in the best impact on the military dimension.

The political factor

In 2011, the governing parties wanted to hold the status quo of their reputation regarding the upcoming elections in March. After the date for the vote on the resolution, the parties had to face an election date in Rhineland-Palatinate, Baden-Württemberg and Saxony-Anhalt. Especially for the FDP and its tarnished reputation, it was important to please its voters.

The policy makers had to cope with a strong public opinion about the military mission in Libya. The majority of the public was against German participation. This opinion was formed and supported by the media, especially by the tone of the newspaper articles about the situation in Libya before the election on the resolution. The German media started, in comparison with the one in France, relatively late with the topic in the news. However, there was an intense discussion on the legitimacy of a possible intervention (Bucher et al., 2013: 525). That results from the fact that the German population is very critical about the use of military force (Hellmann, 2000: 84), especially when it receives media attention (Bulmahn et al., 2011: 30). The German population has less interest in investing in situations not threatening German national interests (Bucher et al., 2013: 526). Therefore, the majority supported the decision of the German government to abstain from the vote on the resolution (Oppermann, 2012: 514).

Figure 14: German public opinion on a military mission in Libya

<i>Which actions should Germany take against Gaddafi?</i>	<i>Yes (%)</i>	<i>No (%)</i>	<i>Date</i>
<b>Trade embargo</b>	70	21	10- 11 March 2011
<b>Support for no-fly zone</b>	56	34	10- 11 March 2011
<b>Military intervention</b>	8	88	10- 11 March 2011

Data sources:

1. TNS Emnid, Focus 13/2011, 28 March 2011, p.19
2. Forschungsgruppe Wahlen, ZDF Politbarometer, 1. April 2011
3. Forsa, Stern 12/2011, 17 March 2011, p. 17

What has to be stressed is that the Germans are obviously not against military missions in general (Göler, 2012: 8; figure 13). The majority of the Germans would be for the support of a no-fly zone (56%), that means for the actions which were supposed to be taken when voting in favour of resolution 1973. But the public is not for an active military participation in the mission. It is important to take into consideration that the German decision-makers' assumptions were that a participation in the no-fly zone, where a majority of the population is in favour of, would lead to boots on the ground, where the majority is against.

If German forces are needed for guaranteeing a trade embargo, the majority is for an intervention. Obviously, the population's opinion is highly dependent on the ultimate goal of an intervention.

A vote in favour of the resolution (A1) and consequently the probable intervention in Libya would mean civil victims in Libya and a damage of reputation for the governing parties for the upcoming elections (Hellmann, 2011: 21). As Bucher et al. express it correctly: "Humanitarian interventions have high risks and low pay-offs in terms of public opinion." (Bucher et al., 2013: 526).

To sum it up, the vote against the resolution (A1) would be a too extreme reaction regarding Germany's public opinion. The vote in favour of the resolution including its probable long-term results, which means an intervention, would be against the public opinion. With an abstention the CDU and FDP pleased their voters and found a compromise between the negative impact which a vote in favour of or against the resolution would entail.

#### The economic factor

Germany's relationship with Libya was mainly economic in nature (Bucher et al., 2013: 528). After Italy, it was the most important trading partner for Libya with an amount of €12.380 million (Müller, 2011: 4) including the sum of import from and export to Libya. However, for Germany, Libya made up only a very small part of the total export income and import spending. The numbers used are from the years 2009 and 2010. The decision-makers probably used the numbers of 2009 for their preference formation because the numbers of 2010 were only published around March 2011. Therefore, there is a big chance that the policy-makers could not make use of these numbers before taking their decision.

Libya's percentage of German export and import numbers in 2009/2010 (calculation see appendix 3):

- Export: 0,14% / 0,1%
- Import: 0,42% / 0,39%

(Federal Statistical Office, 2009; Federal Statistical Office, 2010)

The elimination of the trading partnership between Germany and Libya was most likely no factor of high influence during the decision-making process regarding the vote on the resolution. The import and export percentages are both below 1%.

As a consequence, the abstention from the vote (A3) and a vote against the resolution (A2) would have no impact (+/-). A vote in favour of the resolution (A1) cannot be seen as an improvement of Germany's economic situation. Therefore the different alternatives have a neutral influence on the economic dimension.

#### The diplomatic factor

Germany stepped on the toes of its biggest allies, which are the UK, the US and most importantly France. The non-participation in Libya has created suspicion about the orientation of the German foreign policy. For its allies it becomes more and more unpredictable which decision Germany will take when it comes to the support of its partners in military missions against threats from outside the EU. It did not meet the expectations of its allies (Oppermann, 2012: 502). The abstention of Germany during the vote on resolution 1973 was denounced as a 'stab in the back' by them (Ash, 2014: 35). Even the question about a new German *Sonderweg* was raised. The consequence was that Germany ended up in isolation of its NATO and UN allies. Even President Obama said "Some nations may be able to turn a blind eye to atrocities in other countries." (Obama, 28 March 2011), probably referring to Germany and the BRIC states who abstained as well from voting on resolution 1973 and who did not send their forces to assist the UN mission. But Russia, India and China had their own reasons for an abstention from the vote. Brazil followed the direction of their decision as one of the BRIC countries and therefore a close ally. Germany did not fit in this group at all (Müller, 2011: 8). The question is which of the above-mentioned consequences could have been foreseen by the German decision-makers.

It was publicly known that after the adoption of resolution 1970, France and the UK were the countries which brought the idea about the no-fly zone in Libya into the heads of the UNSC members. That is why Germany started to discuss such a mission in the beginning but became more suspicious. A military mission could lead to the deployment of ground forces later on (Brockmeier, 2013: 68). The decision for a non-participation was based on Germany's general reluctance to military missions. But the decision for an abstention in the UNSC for resolution 1973 had other reasons. Fact is that Germany did not have enough time to discuss the issue. Brockmeier even claims that the decision was based on outdated information as the US changed their position only two days before the election and did not update Germany. It was not possible for Germany to debate properly on these last-minute changes. Imagine that the decision-makers would base their choices on the influence of external factors, they even did not have the chance to do so because they had no information about the allies' exact positions. The consequence is the choice for an abstention whilst believing that its allies would have a divided opinion about the resolution. That means, the decision-makers interpreted their allies' preference wrong and assumed that an abstention would be the best choice to go together with their allies (Brockmeier, 2013: 66, 67).

As described in the methodological framework, there is a negative impact on Germany if more than two third of the allies are against Germany's policy option A(x). However, Germany assumed another outcome and therefore expected its abstention to have a positive influence on the diplomatic dimension.

Probably as a compensation for the non-participation, Germany offered 3,000 soldiers for AWACS reconnaissance flights over Afghanistan shortly after the vote on the resolution, to keep the belief upright that Germany is a trustful partner regarding its role on the global stage (Germany's Libya Contribution, 2013).

#### The special relationship between France and Germany

Germany's foreign policy is with the majority of decision-making procedures regarding military missions in line with the French. As agreed in the Elysée-Treaty from 1963, it is the intention to support each other in this field. Since the treaty, Germany and France promised officially to work closer together on military issues. They agreed on cooperation when it comes to strategy and tactics, personnel exchange of military forces and a strong cooperation regarding armament (Elysée Treaty, 1963: 3).

France has a very strong preference for the vote in favour of the resolution. It is one of the countries who played an important role in the formulation of the resolution. After the adoption of the resolution, France implemented the operations as provided in the text of the resolution very quickly. Before the official vote during the meeting of the UNSC, Alain Juppé, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, took the opportunity to personally ask the members of the UNSC to vote in favour of the resolution. He emphasises the necessity of new and other measures as the previous sanctions did not accomplish the set goals. Moreover, he stresses the time limit. He claims that the Western nations have to offer their help and to prevent more chaos and the aggravation of the crisis (Juppé in UNSC Meeting Records, 17 March 2011). This speech seemed to not have an influence on the German decision anymore. It might be too late for Peter Wittig, Germany's Permanent Representative to the UN, to change the decision made by the government, or the French lobbying simply had no influence on the decision-making process.

The wrongly interpreted position of the US was only clear the morning of the vote on the resolution. But the French position was obvious for a longer period of time (Nelles & Weiland, 2011). Obviously, that position did not have such a big influence that it could overrule the other domestic factors.

As a consequence of the assumption concerning the special relationship variable, it would have been expected that the pressure of the special relationship would be high enough to influence Germany's vote in a way that it changes towards France's preferred policy option, regarding the earlier power of influence it had on the German decision-making procedures. Both an abstention (A3) and the vote against the resolution would result in a deterioration of the special relationship with France.

The poliheuristic table including the policy preferences of the decision-makers looks like the following as a result of the factors of the analytical stage:

Figure 15: The poliheuristic table filled as a result of the analysis for Chancellor Merkel

Dimensions	Alternative 1	Alternative 2	Alternative 3
Military	-	+	+
Political	-	-	+
Economic	-	+/-	+/-
Diplomatic	+	-	-
Special relationship	+	-	-
<b>Final Choice</b>	<b>(-)</b>	<b>(--)</b>	<b>(+/-)</b>

The table shows that the answer with the most positive impact on Germany is the abstention from voting. However, what needs to be taken into account is the fact that for specific decision-makers some factors are more important than others. Westerwelle might put more emphasis on the diplomatic factor in his decision-making process while De Maizière might stress the military factor when taking his decision. The weighting of this assumption needs to be carried out by discussing the rejection or acceptance of the hypotheses as announced in the theoretical framework.

As every politician enters the bargaining stage with the preferred policy option which is a consequence of the first stage (cognitive and analytical stage), it is first of all necessary to define these policy options. As a consequence of the analysis of the first stage, Merkel’s preferred policy option was probably the abstention from voting (A3) or a vote in favour of the resolution. This choice represented the essence of the CDU and had the least impact on the several factors, which are assumed to be important for the decision-making process during the analytical stage. The preference for an abstention can be observed during an interview with Merkel on the day before the vote on the resolution, in which she expressed her clear doubts about a participation due to the uncertainty of the end of the mission (Kanzlerin Merkel kündigt Überprüfung aller Atomkraftwerke an, 2011).

The foreign minister Westerwelle probably chose the voice against the resolution (A2) or the abstention as his preferred policy option. His party was explicitly against the participation in a military mission and the analytical stage show the abstention from voting as the best policy option regarding its impact on the domestic variables. The relationship with Germany’s allies could suffer under the vote and therefore, he did not want to take a too harsh decision, like a vote against the resolution might be. The abstention would show his reluctance towards a participation in a military mission but would express it in a more moderate way. Westerwelle’s speech to the Bundestag on March 17, 2011 confirms this assumption: He raised serious doubts about the efficiency of a no-fly zone and the possible transformation of a no-fly zone into a long-term intervention (Brockmeier, 2013: 72).

De Maizière, Germany's Defence Minister, preferred the abstention from voting. A non-participation would be in the interest of the CDU and his office, regarding the budget and the long-term planning as stated in the Weißbuch 2006. Moreover, he was following the opinion of Merkel as being in office for only one month at the moment that this decision had to be taken. This assumption can be confirmed as the government parties, among others the CDU, supported Westerwelle's position in the plenary sessions (Deutscher Bundestag, Drucksache 17/95, 2011: 10820-10823).

#### **4.2.2.3 THE SECOND STAGE: THE BARGAINING STAGE**

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Germany's abstention to the resolution can be interpreted as its new direction in foreign policy which means more prudence and distance (Göhler, 2012:16). It led to the assumption that Germany counters the pressure from its allies and takes decisions based on its domestic interest (Oppermann, 2012: 514).

An important factor which has to be taken into account when observing the bargaining process of the three decision-makers is the time frame. The resolution was adapted shortly before the vote and Germany was not updated about the position of the U.S. That resulted in a last-minute negotiation which took place in the morning of March, 17, the day of the vote on the resolution (Deutscher Bundestag, Drucksache 17095, 2011).

Whereas De Maizière and Merkel probably preferred the same policy option, an abstention, Westerwelle was explicitly deterred from participating in the military mission. On March, 16, Merkel expressed her scepticism concerning the participation, which could be equated, when taking Merkel's prudence in these matters into account, with an abstention (Kanzlerin Merkel kündigt Überprüfung aller Atomkraftwerke an, 2011). Media reports stated that career diplomats in the Foreign Office advised Westerwelle to vote in favour of the resolution (Oppermann, 2012: 515). The government denies this assumption but if it was true, Westerwelle obviously overruled the diplomats. When bargaining with Merkel and De Maizière, the abstention would have been a compromise between the preferences of the three policy-makers.

The time frame, from the moment when the decision-makers could form their own opinion based on the five factors of the second step of the first stage up to the moment of the UNSC meeting, was extremely short. Although the theoretical framework assumes more influence on the bargaining process from Merkel, it has to be taken into account once again that her priority lay on other recent policy matters at that moment. It can be assumed that Merkel expressed her opinion towards the case but stayed rather in the background of the bargaining process. As De Maizière was for a vote in favour of the resolution or an abstention and Westerwelle was for the abstention or a vote against the resolution, the abstention was the logical outcome of the bargaining process.

## 4.3 THE MALI CASE

### 4.3.1 INTRODUCTION OF THE CASE

The conflicts in Mali resulted indirectly from the Arab Spring, which also was the origin of the Libyan Civil War. However, in contrast to the roots of the conflicts in countries like Tunisia, Egypt and Libya, the conflicts in Mali were not initiated by the population that wanted to transform the country into a democratic state. The events in Mali were more a ‘fallout’ of the Arab Spring (Mali Coup, 2012). As a result of the frustration about the loss of the war in Libya, there was a backflow of pro-Gaddafi fighters to Mali and a huge number of deliveries of weaponry, left over from the Libyan war, went to the Malian Tuareg. The Tuareg came back to Mali to establish their own state in northern Mali, Azawad.

The conflict in Mali started long before the events were set on the international agenda. Several rebellions of nomad people have convulsed the country since its independence in 1960. The injustice of rights between the different ethnic groups and food shortage have been the roots of the crisis. Especially the third rebellion, which was unsettling the country since 2007 and first led to peace talks, was failing regarding the fight for a stable situation in northern Mali. Disappointment and the news about the atrocities in the Azawad region resulted in the initial cause for the civil war in Mali, the coup d’état on 21 March 2012. Thereafter, several important cities were run over by the rebels especially in the regions around Gao and Kidal. The rebel group Mouvement National de Libération de l’Azawad (MNLO) declared independence of Azawad on 5 April 2012. After the coup d’état, the UN has offered its support in the difficult situation.

After a period of reluctance by the EU and the UN, a direct demand for support followed. The UN finally agreed upon resolution 2071, adopted on 12 October 2012, which included the planning of a potential stationing of military forces. The forces should support the Malian army with the reoccupation of the regions in northern Mali (United Nations Security Council, General Assembly Resolution 2071, 2012). Resolution 2085 was adopted only in December 2012 (Marchal, 2013: 3). After a serious deterioration of the situation in January 2013, the UN discussed the improvement of the security situation in Mali with its own forces (MINUSMA Background). With the UNSC resolution 2100, the UN officially established MINUSMA on 25 April 2013. The resolution was unanimously adopted. The official start of action was 1 July by taking over the tasks of the Economic Union of West African States (ECOWAS) in northern Mali.

The adopted resolutions concerning the crisis in Mali were resolution 2056, resolution 2071, resolution 2085 and resolution 2100. The decision-making process, which will be analysed, will be the decision-making process concerning the participation in MINUSMA in April 2013. The resolution for the mission 2100 was extended with resolution 2164 and resolution 2227 until 30 June 2016.

Germany decided to participate in the military mission resulting from resolution 2100 on 19 February during a plenary meeting of the Bundestag. The parties CDU/CSU, SPD, FDP and Bündnis 90/Die Grünen were in favour of participation while Die Linke was, not surprisingly, against the deployment of military forces (Deutscher

Bundestag, Beschlussempfehlung 17/12520, 2013: 4). All committees support the demand of the Bundestag. The decision is valid until 28 February 2014 (Deutscher Bundestag, Beschlussempfehlung 17/12522, 2013: 2).

Germany's relation with Mali is at first glance not one of close ties. It supports Mali militarily since 40 years but on a very small scale. Since the beginning of the last rebellion, Germany is providing training for Malian forces and equips Mali with discarded material (Mali, 2016). Furthermore, Germany has a permanent advisor team in Mali, which provides military training (Rogge, 2013) Like in nearly all crisis situations in countries outside the EU, Germany uses the "policy before force" strategy. Also in Mali, training personal was sent to improve the national military of the country and to prevent the country from sliding into chaos. The question remains why Germany chose, despite of its cautious foreign policy regarding the participation in military missions, to take part in the military mission in Mali.

### 4.3.2 ANALYSIS

The policy options among which the decision-makers can choose in the Mali case are different than the ones in the Libya case. Germany is not a permanent member of the UNSC anymore and therefore has no vote regarding resolution 2100. The analysis is based on the decision regarding the participation of Germany in MINUSMA, the military mission resulting from the adoption of resolution 2100. A request from the Federal Government towards the Parliament proves that the decision-makers, the same as in the Libya case, decided on a participation in the mission as the result of the decision-making process. The different policy options are therefore first **for the participation in MINUSMA (A1)** and second **against the participation (A2)**.

#### 4.3.2.1 THE FIRST STEP OF THE FIRST STAGE: THE COGNITIVE STAGE

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As mentioned under the analysis of the Libyan case, section 4.4.2, five questions need to be answered to be able to examine the preferred policy options of the decision-makers. These five questions will again be used for the analysis of the decision-making process of this case.

##### The Chancellor Angela Merkel

A lot of experts regarded the non-participation in Libya in 2011 a debacle for Germany's foreign policy relations. With the decision in favour of the participation in another military mission in Africa, Germany had the chance to restore its international self-image and improve its diplomatic relations with its allies.

However, Germany needs to take its own domestic culture into account, too. The German government under Merkel constantly refused the direct involvement in Mali. In the beginning, emphasis was put, like in the negotiations about the Libya mission, on humanitarian aid support and logistic support. The position of the CDU concerning the participation in a military mission did not change fiercely within the two years from 2011 to 2013. There is still a high aversion against the deployment of troops to regions like the Maghreb.

On the Federal Chancellery level, the chancellor prioritized the finding of a solution for the economic situation of the monetary union instead of the negotiations about the participation in the mission in Mali. This behaviour regarding the events on the international stage reminds of the Libya case in 2011. The Eurozone crisis, the



threat of a 'Grexit' and especially the risk of a failure of the monetary union required the German Chancellor's attention as well as the attention of the Federal Chancellery. With taking the responsibility for the management of the crisis, Germany got the main role when it came to decisions on measurements for a better economic security. However, next to the deterioration of the economic crisis, the perception of the international community towards the crisis in Mali changed. The same happened in Germany. That was the moment when ECOWAS and the AU asked for help from the UN. In October 2012, shortly before the negotiations about resolution 2085 started, the German chancellor expressed for the first time her willingness to support training missions in Mali (Merkel, 2012). Merkel's early answer to the crisis, already an assurance of support in October 2012, stands in contrast to her normal method of cautious but well-considered decisions. This can be seen as a result of the attempt to decrease the international military isolation of Germany after non-participation in Libya. For this attempt, she was obviously guaranteed the full support of her organisation, the chancellor's office. The motivation of her employees remains its status quo. The statement of being for a participation in the military mission might have a negative influence on the chancellery's resources as more employees need to work on the case of Mali although there were plenty of other events which asked for the attention of the chancellery.

Merkel's early answer led to some tensions within the chancellor's party, the CDU, and within the Bundestag. The contrasting answers of De Maizière, praising the cautiousness of Germany regarding the military mission, and his colleagues from the CDU, Ruprecht Polenz and Andreas Schockenhoff, asking for a more active role of Germany in the mission, prove divergence within the parliamentary group (De Maizière gegen Lammert, 2013).

The described situation including the divergence within the CDU and the careful but obvious switch of the chancellor's situation towards military missions abroad had both positive and negative results for her organisation. On the one hand the participation in the mission, in whatever form, would have resulted in an improvement of the organisation's interests and the employees' motivation. The autonomy and the turf of the decision-maker's organisation would increase because the Federal Chancellery would dare to take its former powerful position between the other ministries back. Furthermore the chancellor's reputation abroad will grow again if Germany participates in the improvement of the situation in Mali by deploying German troops at least on a small scale. On the other hand, her expressed preference goes towards a participation and consequently in the same direction as the party members' preference; however they do even want a more intensive participation in military actions. Therefore the choice of a limited participation results in a negative effect on the morale and motivation of the personnel and a negative effect on the essence of the organisation as the traditional position undergoes a severe transformation. Additionally, the resources of the chancellery are already limited because of several other responsibilities at the same time.

#### The Foreign Minister Guido Westerwelle

As the foreign minister, Westerwelle was, just as Merkel, forced to deal with several events at the same time. First, the civil war in Syria became more and more a global threat instead of a local one as the nationwide demonstrations against the Assad regime, starting in March 2011 were suppressed by their leader. Second, the

Israel-Palestine conflict escalated once again at the end of 2012. This was exactly at the same moment the situation in Mali deteriorated.

Like in 2011, Westerwelle, and with him his party, was clearly against the deployment of German combat troops but wanted to provide logistic and educational support to the region. In October 2012, when Merkel expressed thoughts in favour of a support of the mission in Mali, Westerwelle still excluded the deployment of combat forces to Mali (Mali-Mission, 2012).

But Westerwelle was weakened since his decision concerning the non-participation in the Libya mission what was seen as a severe mistake by many experts. Westerwelle's appeal towards the Bundestag end of February 2013 expressed that Germany wants again to be seen as a reliable partner, that means he wants to be seen as a dignified foreign minister. Therefore, Westerwelle's tone about the participation of German troops in Mali stayed vague for a longer period. In January, he ensures Germany's support in Mali, but still wants to stay indecisive about a potential participation in a European training mission (Hawley, 2013).

Westerwelle is faced with a dilemma. On the one hand, he can take another decision in favour of the culture of his party but against the international community and in the Mali case also against his coalition partner (A2). The FDP and with them the majority of Germany would like to follow its policy of military aversion. The morale and motivation of his personnel in the Foreign Ministry would increase in the short-term. However, as a consequence, the essence of his party will significantly shrink. On the other hand, the international community asks for a decision in favour of a military mission (A1) so that Germany is not again the marooning country and his ministry needs to secure its duties. Therefore, Westerwelle had not many alternatives left when choosing his preferred policy option, namely the participation in the mission.

#### The Defence Minister Thomas de Maizière

In comparison to Westerwelle, De Maizière was on Merkel's side. They belong to the same party; consequently they had the same opinion concerning the participation: The military instruments needed to be used cautiously. After Merkel's commitment for support of France in Mali, De Maizière considers a military mission, too. However, he still excluded a combat mission and reduces the possible tasks for German troops to training mission tasks (De Maizière erwägt Einsatz ohne Bundestagsmandat, 2012).

De Maizière was less vague than Westerwelle, by stating that there needed to be several preconditions fulfilled to let Germany be part of a military mission. He saw these preconditions fulfilled in the Council conclusions of the EU on 10 December 2012. The states agreed on the approval for a mission to provide training support and advice to the national military in Mali (European Union Council Decision, 2013). In spring 2013, Germany also planned to provide support in refuelling French combat jets. For this operation, De Maizière needed the consent of the Bundestag, which should take place soon. An approved mandate of the Bundestag is only needed in case of a military operation (De Maizière will Mali-Einsatz ausweiten, 2013). It was the luck of the federal government that the Bundestag was uncontested and that both mandates got the Bundestag's approval in February 2013 (Deutscher Bundestag, Antrag 17/12368, 2013). The decision of the ministry was

thus supported by the Bundestag. This support probably motivated De Maizière's employees. The participation in Mali would have the same effect as the vote in favour of resolution 1973 for Libya: Knowledge sharing would be an advantage. However higher financial costs would lead to a negative influence on the resources of the ministry regarding the cuts in defence spending. As the mission in Mali initially entails only supportive actions, it would have a positive influence on the interests of the organisation, for example the turf. The Ministry of Defence would execute the tasks it is responsible for.

And as time passes by, De Maizière's opinion towards a military mission in Mali becomes harsher. In March 2013, he already dares to state that the training mission in Mali will need more time than expected as the Malian army is in a disastrous situation (De Maizière rechnet mit längerem Mali-Einsatz, 2013). The gradually changing mind of De Maizière can be based on the shifting position of the CDU. His party had a clear position against the military intervention on the African continent during the Libya conflict in 2011. However, the critics from national experts and international heads of state gave him a reason to change his position concerning that topic. This should not be seen as an external factor as having influence on De Maizière in the first step of the first stage of the decision-making process. It is more the external factor having influence on the organisation of the actor. It is clear that the CDU and also the office of the defence minister are aware of the obligation which has to be assumed in Mali.

Therefore, when participating (A1), De Maizière would guarantee the status quo of the turf and the essence of his organisation. Moreover, the motivation and morale of the personnel will hold at least its status quo. However, the resources of the organisation will be extremely diminished with the participation in a military mission. But the choice for the participation would result in more positive than negative results for the defence minister's organisations and therefore De Maizière's preferred policy option would be the participation in the mission in Mali.

#### **4.3.2.2 THE SECOND STEP OF THE FIRST STAGE: THE ANALYTICAL STAGE**

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##### The military factor

In 2012 and 2013, the foreign policy still had to take the predicted saving measures for the military budget into account, as published in the Weißbuch from 2006. The cut by €8 billion to the defence sector between 2011 and 2014 is still ongoing. That means that the Bundeswehr is still undergoing belt-tightening measures. But still, the governmental budget committee and therefore the German parliament approved the demand of CDU/CSU, SPD, FDP and Grünen against concerns and voices of Die Linke, to participate in the actions coming forth from resolution 2071 and 2085. An important factor regarding the expenses for the eventual participation in MINUSMA can be the termination of the Afghanistan mission. The Afghanistan Conference in Bonn in December 2011 has decided that the security responsibility in the Afghanistan conflict will be handed over to the Afghan authorities. Therefore Germany's most expensive military operation since 1989 was terminated.

The approval of the Bundestag to participate in the measures coming forth from resolution 2071 and 2085 was a crucial step, even if this demand was only limited to the education of the Malian army and the logistic support (Deutscher Bundestag, Beschluss 17/225, 2013).

The government followed this path with its decision on 5 June 2013. The German Parliament approved the demand of the German Federal Government to support the actions, planned in resolution 2100, which describes the introduction of MINUSMA. The decision is valid until 30 June 2014. The work of the German forces is restricted to logistical support, self-protection measures and observation.

The international force for resolution 2100 and consequently the establishment of MINUSMA, will consist of 11.200 military personnel, including reserve battalions and 1.440 police personnel (MINUSMA Background). On 5 June, after the vote on resolution 2100, Germany decided that 150 forces will be deployed (Deutscher Bundestag, Antrag 17/13754, 2013). In January 2016, Germany even decided to increase the number of forces to participate in MINUSMA up to 650 soldiers (Bundestag: Bundeswehr schickt mehr Soldaten nach Mali, 2013; Deutscher Bundestag, Beschlussempfehlung und Bericht 18/7366, 2016). As expressed in the methodological framework, the average amount of German soldiers in military missions is 1.266. An amount of more than 1.519 forces will have a slightly negative impact on the military factor; an amount of 1.688 forces will have a very negative influence on the military factor. The Bundestag agreed with the deployment of 150 German soldiers to the region. That means that the deployment, which includes the vote in favour of the resolution, will have a no impact on the military factor.

The expenses of the German government for international military and peace missions can be found under plan number 14 of the Federal Budget Code of every year. There are very differing numbers on the expenses up until now and expenses which are still expected for the military mission in Mali. A few predictions for costs were made in January 2013 and on the donor conference, Germany confirmed a financial support of around €100 Million for the years 2013 and 2014.

The estimated expenses for MINUSMA, provided to the three main decision-makers in June, were €46,3Mio. for the year 2013-2014 (Deutscher Bundestag, Antrag 17/13754, 2013). It is difficult to estimate the costs of the coming years because the search for a solution of the crisis is extremely dependent on external factors and therefore cannot be predicted. Regarding the information, which is available now in 2016, the expenses for the mission are approximately €35 Million per year for MINUSMA. Germany participates since 2013 and increased the provision of forces in 2016. It is now willing to deploy up until 650 soldiers. Therefore, the budget needs to rise as well. Assuming that the expenditures in 2016-2017 will raise up to €40 Million, Germany will spend €156.3 Million up until 2017. It is difficult to predict the duration of MINUSMA. Thus the budget for the participation in MINUSMA will be estimated as €156.3 Million for this thesis research.

As described in the methodological framework, costs higher than €158.22 Million have a moderate influence on the decision of participating in the mission (A1), costs higher than €175.8 Million have a negative influence. Consequently, the participation (A1) with the costs of about €156.3 Million, will have no influence on the military factor. The non-participation in the mission (A2) will have a positive impact on the military factor,

although eventual knowledge sharing about new strategies and techniques would cease. Regarding the costs and the amount of forces deployed for the mission, it can be concluded that both the participation (A1) as well as a non-participation (A2) has no impact on the factor.

### The political factor

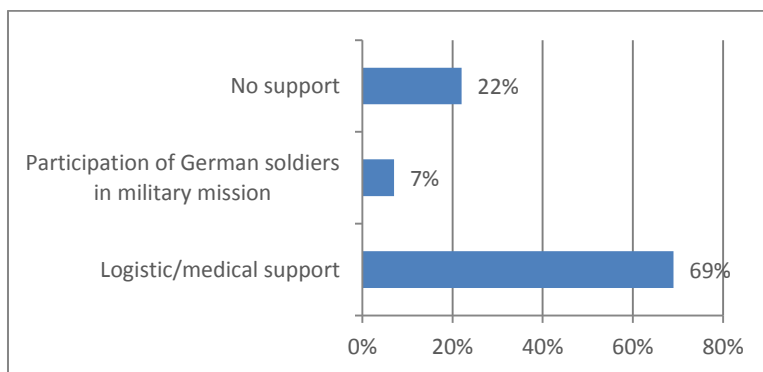
As mentioned in section 4.2.2, Germany has a military culture of risk aversion and restraint which can be traced back to the participation in the Afghanistan war on the short-term and its role in the Second World War on the long-term. As a consequence, Germany did not offer troops for infantry training or force protection in first instance but for engineer training and medical capacities. However, the decision-makers are for a participation in MINUSMA (A1). When deciding for the participation, it is a certainty, that the decision-makers partly based their preferred policy option on the will of the electors as Germany was facing parliamentary elections in 2013.

The polls regarding the public opinion towards a military mission in Mali can be compared to the ones in 2011 regarding the military mission in Libya.

*Figure 16: German public opinion on a military mission in Mali*

Morgenmagazin DeutschlandTREND Januar 2013

Frage: Französische Soldaten kämpfen seit Freitag im afrikanischen Mali gegen islamistische Rebellen. Die Vereinten Nationen unterstützen das Vorgehen Frankreichs. Wie ist Ihre Meinung: Sollte sich Deutschland mit Bundeswehrsoldaten an dem Militäreinsatz beteiligen? Oder sollte Deutschland logistische bzw. medizinische Unterstützung leisten, zum Beispiel mit Militärtransportern oder Sanitätern? Oder sollte Deutschland in keiner Form Unterstützung leisten?



Grundgesamtheit: Wahlberechtigte Bevölkerung in Deutschland

Weiß nicht/Keine Angaben: 2

Source: Mali: Mehrheit für logistische und medizinische Unterstützung, 2013

22% of the German population is for no engagement in Mali at all, and 7% are for the participation in the combat mission (see figure 15). The clear majority, 69%, prefers the medical and logistic support of the French groups (Mali: Mehrheit für logistische und medizinische Unterstützung, 2013) - and that is where the decision-makers put their focus on. With the approval of the mandate in June, Merkel, Westerwelle and De Maizière were still stressing the supportive nature of the mission for Germany. Germany was responsible for actions in

the background: The support of French troops and the logistics. As also in former foreign policy decisions, and due to the opinion of the population, they followed the risk aversion method (Rinke, 2014: 32).

Since the public speech of Merkel in October 2011, she left no doubt that she will follow the line of France this time. With negotiations beforehand of the announcement of the different solutions, Germany was included in the process. MINUSMA left the possibility to only support the French troops with medical and logistic aid. The participation therefore goes together with the opinion of the majority of the German public.

A non-participation (A2) would represent 22% of the German public, which is not the majority. And with choosing A2, Germany would be again the outsider of the UN. Consequently a participation or non-participation will not result in a change of the accountability of Germany as a country for its allies.

#### The economic factor

Germany has been among the countries that provided the most foreign aid to Mali next to Canada, France and the US. Over the period of the last 54 year (1960-2014), Germany spent around €1.16 billion as bilateral payments to Mali, among which €130 Million were paid in the period of 2013 and 2014 (Federal Foreign Office: Mali, 2016).

Mali's percentage of German export and import numbers in 2012 (calculation see appendix 3):

- Export: 0,008%
- Import: 0,0004%

(Federal Statistical Office, 2012)

Regarding the numbers above, it would have no considerable impact on the German economy, when participating in the mission (A1) or not (A2). The value is below 1%. A non-participation (A2) could have the indirect consequence that Germany's western allies could consider a dissociation from Germany due to the fact that it became an unreliable partner. Therefore no participation has a moderate influence on the economic factor during the decision-making process.

#### The diplomatic factor

The challenge of the conflict in Mali was that it was not comparable to the conflicts of the Arab Spring. The conflict was not one where the majority of the population fought against the dictator. It was more a conflict between several ethnic groups in Mali which have not been able accept the borders, which the Western world gave the country a couple of decades ago. Therefore, it was questionable whether the UN was capable of thinking regionally enough to be able to face that challenge (Marchal, 2013: 2). Now in 2016, the conflict still takes much longer, than the international community thought.

There are some significant differences, influenced by external factors, between the decision-making process regarding the German foreign policy in the Libya case and in the Mali case. Firstly, the conflict in Mali started in spring 2011 and only in autumn 2011, the Western powers started to consider a form of participation. The

German government had time to reflect on a suitable response. The politicians, and also the public, were able to form an opinion about Germany's role in the conflict. In the Libya case, all these processes and dynamics happened within two months instead of one year. Secondly, during the years 2012 and 2013, the engagement for a military mission in Mali developed simultaneously in Germany and other European states. The decision made in Brussels and the ones made in Berlin were interrelated. Consequently, the decisions in Brussels were backed by the German government which probably led to the conviction of the German public and politicians. The decisions concerning the mission were not only but among others influenced by Germany's voice. Thirdly, Germany had the opportunity to participate in the negotiations about the content of the resolutions. Consequently it had up-to-date information on France, which promoted the idea of a European training mission within the EU and a resolution within the UNSC to be able to cooperate with the other member countries and get their support for an intervention in this case (Marchal, 2013: 2). Finally, the experience of the Libya case still played in the back of Westerwelle's, De Maizière's and Merkel's minds. The non-participation of Germany in the military mission in Mali was seen as a mistake of Germany which resulted in the military isolation of the country in the UNSC and beyond. This created a feedback loop. Germany had the chance to take on its role as an equivalent military partner country next to the U.S., Great Britain and France.

Consequently, as all German allies were pro the military mission in Mali, a non-participation (A2) would result in a negative impact on Germany. Participation only (A1) would result in an improved relationship with its allies and the other NATO members.

#### The special relationship between France and Germany

France's decision to participate in the civil war in Mali was quite surprising. For months, President Hollande expressed his disinterest in bringing his forces to France's former colony. The focus lied mainly on bringing intelligence and logistical support to the region (Marchal, 2013: 2). Mali did not belong to the *Françafrique* region and Mali's natural resources were not held by French companies as it was the case in a few other former French colonies. Furthermore, the economic situation in France was relatively weak and no financial options were left for an increase of the defence budget. But both the Defence Minister Le Drian and the President's Military Chief of Staff, General Benoit Puga, approved a participation of the French military for stabilizing the situation in Mali (Marchal, 2013: 3).

Just like France, also the EU and UN were very reserved with their reaction on the dramatic situation in Mali. After the coup d'état and the rebellions rising up in Mali in the first half of the year 2012, both the EU and the UN did not pay any attention to the conflict.

In July 2012, France said that international forces under the command of African forces are needed. However, it does not want to take the lead as the formal colonial power of the country because that could complicate the mission. From September on, France plead for a resolution that allowed an African military intervention, followed by the formulation of resolution 2071. Its direct ally was the United States. The initiation for resolution 2085 came from France, the US, the UK, Morocco and Togo, which allows AFISMA to take all necessary measures to support the Malian authorities in regaining territorial support (see resolution 2085).

Although France wanted to avoid a military mission in its former colony, with the success of the rebels at the end of 2012, France's opinion shifted in the beginning of 2013 and led to the promotion of the AIFSM, EUTM and MINUSMA missions. Only in 2013, after many diplomatic negotiations on behalf of France in the autumn of 2012, the topic was put on the international agenda. The intense work, France put in the implementation of a UNSC resolution, proves its interest in an intervention in that region (Marchal, 2013: 4).

The EU changed its foreign policy strategy towards the situation in Mali very quickly. From February 2013 on, several countries provided forces for military training and military reorganisation. Germany remained cautious during that period.

France sent a direct demand for German support after the negotiations between the foreign ministers and defence ministers of both countries in October 2012 (Sold, 2012). As the agreements of the Elysée Treaty include the aim of reaching common conceptions (Elysée Treaty, 1963: 3), De Maizière's and Westerwelle's initial answers were a commitment. Germany would provide two airplanes for the support of the transport of ECOWAS troops. This immediate commitment could be established because no consent of the Bundestag was necessary. After that the initiation of EUTM started. De Maizière announced a demand towards the Bundestag to approve the deployment of 30 trainers to the pool of 250 European trainers. However, before even being able to obtain the approval of the Bundestag, France expressed its suspicion about Germany's engagement in the Malian crisis. The reason for that suspicion was clearly Germany's behaviour during the crisis in Libya. Although Germany and France have a tight relationship, the divergence of the two countries concerning the military intervention in Libya in 2011, led to a breach of trust. On February 19, the German cabinet decided to participate in the EUTM with 330 soldiers. Only Die Linke refused to vote in favour of the deployment.

The improvement of the situation in Mali due to the military mission AFISMA and France's support is mentioned as one of the main reasons that Germany made financial contributions as well as a provision of military forces to MINUSMA. Germany stated clearly that it wanted to provide support for the French (Deutscher Bundestag, Antrag der Bundesregierung 17/13754, 2013). While Germany deploys 150 soldiers, France has deployed 3,000 soldiers and deploys still 1,000 soldiers (1713822, 24 June 2013). With these 150 soldiers, Germany was responsible for actions in the background namely the support of French troops and the logistics. As in former foreign policy decisions, Germany followed the risk aversion method by choosing to only play a supportive role (Rinke, 2014: 28).

Since October 2012, Merkel left no doubt that this time, she would follow the line of France by supporting the mission (Merkel, 2012). In January 2011, Andreas Pesche, Deputy Spokesman of the Foreign Office, stresses that "Germany will not leave France alone in this difficult situation" (Logistische Unterstützung, 2011). In comparison to the process towards resolution 1973 concerning the crisis in Libya, the process towards resolution 2100 took a different path. France actively integrates Germany in the process of the intergovernmental consultation process (Sold, 2012). Westerwelle started negotiations with France about the potential support Germany could contribute to the mission, when Germany was still member of the UNSC (Germany considers options to aid Mali intervention, 2013). Germany's foreign policy still seems to rely on a case-to-case decision-making method and represents the tension between the external expectations and the



internal restraints. Merkel’s early answer to the crisis, which can be already interpreted as an assurance of support, stands in contrast to her usual reluctant but well-considered decisions.

The fact that Westerwelle initially started to negotiate with his French counterpart and that Merkel assured the support of Germany very early, prove that Germany tries to prevent another situation which reminds of the one in 2011. The attempt to decrease the international military isolation of Germany after the non-participation in Libya becomes very clear when observing the German behaviour at the end of 2012 and the beginning of 2013. The special relationship between France and Germany has taken a heavy blow and needs to be strengthened again.

Consequently, a rejection of the French demand to support its mission (A2) would result in a military isolation of Germany on the one hand and a dysfunctional relationship between France and Germany on the other hand. France is a strong economic and diplomatic partner and much diplomatic effort, from both sides, has been accomplished to make the relationship work. Therefore, a participation (A1) is the only alternative which improves the relationship between Germany and France again.

The poliheuristic table looks like the following as a result of the factors of the analytical stage as analysed above:

Figure 17: The poliheuristic table filled as a result of the analysis for the Mali case

<i>Dimensions</i>	<i>Alternative 1: participation</i>	<i>Alternative 2: non-participation</i>
Military	+	+
Political	+	+/-
Economic	+/-	+/-
Diplomatic	+	-
Special relationship	+	-
<b>Final Choice</b>	<b>++++</b>	<b>-</b>

The table shows that the answer with the most positive impact on Germany is a participation in the military mission. Again, it needs to be taken into account that for specific decision-makers some factors weigh heavier than others. It will be taken into consideration in 4.4.

The most preferred policy option for both Merkel and De Maizière is participation. Merkel is probably especially focused on the diplomatic factor in order to improve her relationship with the French president after the debacle in 2011 concerning the non-participation in the Libya mission. De Maizière has the same reasons as Merkel, the recovery of the German reputation on the international stage, for the participation in the mission. This assumption can be confirmed when observing the voices of the CDU parliamentarians before the

establishment of MINUSMA. They demanded the decision-makers to adopt a clear position in favour of a support of a military intervention in Mali (Neukirch & Repinski, 2013). In combination with Merkel's speech in October 2012 (Merkel, 2012), the CDU and the federal chancellery were clearly in favour of the participation. De Maizière was surely for a support of the mission in Mali but doubted a participation of the Bundeswehr until January 2013 (Heckmann, 2013).

At first glance, Westerwelle varies between the two options. On the one hand, taking into consideration his role as a foreign minister whose responsibility is to maintain and strengthen the positive relationship with its allies and other countries who are member of the international organisations, Germany is a member of, Westerwelle probably prone to a participation in the mission. On the other hand, the events before the establishment of MINUSMA show that Westerwelle had clear doubts in the beginning of the negotiations about a military intervention in Mali. His position was comparable to the one of De Maizière. But with the provision of airplanes to the mission after the direct demand of France (Jungholt, 2013), both minister indicated the continuing swift to a position in favour of a participation in the mission.

#### **4.3.2.3 THE SECOND STAGE: THE BARGAINING STAGE**

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As a result of Germany's behaviour in the Libya case, most parties in the Bundestag were aware that Germany needs to work on its international reputation because of its behaviour in the Mali case in 2013 (Germany considers option to aid, 2013). The SPD, for example, emphasizes the fact that regarding the changing situation in Mali and the discussion in the UNSC, Germany had to set a mark (Friederichs, 2013). It backed the centre-right wing of the German government with that. However, Germany does not want to run ahead with regard to its tradition of foreign policy concerning military missions on the African continent. As a direct answer to the coup d'état in the beginning of 2012, Germany suspended its bilateral cooperation and its financial aid established clear conditions to reopen the cooperation with Mali. In the course of the year 2012 and 2013, most voices in Germany were in favour of the provision of financial and educational support.

Although there were some tensions between the CDU and the FDP, more precisely between De Maizière and Westerwelle, concerning the type of support, Germany had to contribute to the mission. The first step of the first stage already contains some explanation of Merkel's, Westerwelle's and De Maizières opinion. While De Maizière was following Merkel's direction, being in favour of the support for the mission, Westerwelle was loyal to his party, which is in general more reverse with concessions (Friederichs, 2013). However, the period of bargaining between the different decision-makers was way longer than in the Libya case. Every politician had the time to form its own opinion and discuss it. While the decision-making process regarding resolution 1973 in 2011 took just a few days, the formulation of a resolution concerning the military mission in Mali was conceivable since France started to negotiate with the members of the EU and the UNSC about an eventual military mission in its former colony.

For Merkel, it was plain from the outset that France will get Germany's support. While De Maizière followed that line by adding that he supported a mission when the necessary preconditions are fulfilled, Westerwelle remained vague on his requirements to agree upon the support, which Merkel and De Maizière backed.

In June 2013, the Bundestag agreed on the mission in Mali but on the condition of a justifiable domestically limited scale. All parliamentary groups except the members of Die Linke who are standard against military missions approved the participation.

#### 4.4 HYPOTHESIS TESTING

The goal of the empirical research in this chapter is to test hypotheses.

The following hypotheses needed to be tested and can now be accepted or rejected:

1. *If a policy option entails unacceptable costs to an actor's organisation, then the option will be quickly rejected in the first stage of the actor's option selection process ("non-compensatory organisation loss aversion").*

The analysis of the decision-making process on the decision of a participation in the military missions in Mali and Libya show that the three decision-makers, Merkel, Westerwelle and De Maizière, take their organisation's character into account and reject options which entail unacceptable costs for their department. The decision-making process on the Libya case shows that Merkel and De Maizière rejected option A2, a vote against the resolution. That choice would mean not listening to their organisation's common opinion and threatening the organisation's turf, essence, the personnel's motivation and the personnel's opinion. Westerwelle was against alternative A1, the participation in the mission, as his party has a culture of high military aversion. During the Mali case, it can be observed that for all three decision-makers the option of non-participation entails too many costs for the organisations of the decision makers and is rejected on this ground.

Consequently, hypothesis 1 can be confirmed.

2. *Among the surviving policy options, the option is chosen in the second stage of the actor's option selection process that promises the highest benefit and lowest risk with respect to...*
  1. *...the actor's organisational as well as domestic interests.*
  2. *...the actor's organisational interests, domestic interests as well as interests concerning the special relationship with France.*

From the analysis, it results that the different decision-makers have different priorities when it comes to domestically motivated interests. Merkel is rather focused on the political and diplomatic factor. Westerwelle also emphasizes the diplomatic factor, which is a result of his appointment as a foreign minister. De Maizière focuses on the military aspects of the results but at the same time, follows Merkel as being a member of the same party. It is probable that the decision-makers bring these priorities into the bargaining process.

The influence of the special relationship between France and Germany is questionable when looking at the two decision-making processes. During the process concerning the vote on resolution 1973, domestic interests overrule the diplomatic factor and the special relationship factor. The decision-making process concerning a participation in MINUSMA proved an extra emphasis on these two factors.

It can be concluded that the added factor, the special relationship factor, has an influence on the decision-making process only when the decision involves an extreme impact on the relationship between France and Germany. In 2011, the domestic factors were considered to be more important for Germany. However, after heavy critique of experts, former politicians and its allies, the factor was prioritized and the decision-making on the participation in MINUSMA shows a tendency towards following the French intentions.

Hypothesis 2.2 can therefore be rejected. For further research, the factor could be analysed as part of the diplomatic factor, which comes to the foreground in cases of a severe threat of the relationship.

*3. If the decision-makers have different policy options as their preferred options in the bargaining stage, then the chancellor has the most influence on the final decision taken, followed by the Foreign Policy Minister and the Defence Minister.*

This hypothesis can be rejected. Indeed, the chancellor has a lot of influence when it comes to the decision-making process in the German government. However, in 2011, Merkel had other responsibilities which concerned the action on the Fukushima disaster and the search for a solution for the economic crisis and the Greek bailout. Due to several governmental documentation and the literature on the decision-making in the German government concerning the military mission in Libya, it can be assumed that the chancellor has a high influence on these processes but did not carry out that role.

The hypothesis that the foreign minister has a higher influence than the defence minister can be confirmed. Westerwelle's role in taking a decision in the UNSC in regard to resolution 1973 was much more important than the one of De Maizière. De Maizière can be seen as the follower of Merkel, who represents her opinion in the bargaining process.

Consequently, the hypothesis has to be reformulated for future research.

# 5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the central research question of this thesis is answered:

*Does the special relationship variable provide a significant addition to the combination of the poliheuristic model and Allison's Government Politics Model for the explanation of the foreign policy decision-making process of Germany concerning the participation in the military missions in Libya 2011 and Mali 2013?*

The question will be answered with the support of the theoretical and methodological framework, summarized in section 5.1 and with the results of the empirical analysis, summarized in section 5.2. Several research limitations came to light which will be explained in section 5.3. Some of these will lead to recommendations for further research mentioned in section 5.4.

## 5.1 RECAPITULATION

Since the Elysée Treaty, the cooperation of France and Germany concerning military missions in French former colonies and in other crisis regions is constantly growing.

To analyse the effect of the French-German relationship on the German foreign policy regarding military missions, suitable research questions were identified with the help of convenient foreign policy models. The article "The reluctant peacekeeper: Governmental politics and Germany's participation in EUFOR RD Congo", written in 2013 by Karl Brummer formed the basis of the theoretical framework of this thesis. Brummer combined the poliheuristic model for the analysis of decision-making procedures with the GPM by Allison and herewith eliminated several shortcomings of the two models. There are two additions to this combination which were tested in this thesis. First, the role of France when it comes to the decision-making process of Germany's foreign policy is considered insufficiently. This shortcoming is eliminated by constructing the special relationship variable, based on the constructivist theory and the intergovernmentalist approach. The special relationship was added to the second step of the first stage of the poliheuristic model as a factor next to the military, political, economic and diplomatic factor. Second, the uneven distribution of influence in the bargaining process was not covered by Brummer. This shortcoming was eliminated by the analysis of the German policy system and the addition of hypothesis 3. The result of the analysis was that the chancellor is assumed to have the most power, the foreign minister the second most power and the defence minister the least power.

The methodological framework operationalized the theoretical model so that the hypotheses could be confirmed or rejected after the empirical analysis. The poliheuristic model was held as the structure for the operationalization and the empirical research. The case selection was made based on the characteristics of the original case, namely the military mission in RD Congo in 2006. The outcome was the mission in Libya in 2011 and the mission in Mali in 2013. The decision-makers were Chancellor Merkel, Foreign Minister Westerwelle and Defence Minister De Maizière.

## 5.2 RESULTS

The analysis was conducted with the help of five hypotheses, which were about the different stages of the poliheuristic model and its additions. Based on the analysis, the five hypotheses were either confirmed or rejected and an answer to the central research question could be formed.

The first three hypotheses were adopted from Brummer's article (2013). Brummer confirmed these hypotheses and so do the results of this present research. However, the addition of the special relationship variable as an improvement of the model can be rejected. The results of the analysis indicate that the special relationship between France and Germany only plays a role if there is an extreme deterioration of the friendship. The variable could be clustered under the diplomatic variable, which is part of the original poliheuristic model. Also the addition of an uneven distribution of power during the bargaining process can be rejected as it is stated in the hypothesis. The power of the different decision-makers is too much dependent on other factors that it can be part of the bargaining process. However, in both cases, the chancellor and the foreign minister had to some extent more influence on the bargaining process than the defence minister.

## 5.3 RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

There were several limitations which restricted this thesis.

Firstly, the resolution concerning the no-fly zone in Libya has a different content than the one concerning MINUSMA in Mali. In Mali, Germany had the chance to play a modest, supportive role, while the decision to participate in the installation of the no-fly zone in Libya included a very probable deployment of military troops to the region (Brockmeier, 2013). It is therefore questionable if the decision-making procedures can be compared to the extent of this thesis. However, the case selection made was the only selection possible with regard to the factors, which were most important to coincide.

Secondly, the process before the vote on the resolution, for example Germany's role in its formulation, obviously played a vital role for decision-makers, when taking a decision concerning their preferred policy option. It is likely that the procedure had a major impact on the diplomatic variable in the rational stage. From the mission in Mali, it is commonly known that although France took the first steps by themselves in 2012, it got negotiations with Germany started shortly afterwards. As one of its most important allies, Germany took itself in the negotiations with France very serious and felt a specific responsibility to do its stint in this mission. Furthermore the negotiations before the vote on the resolution concerning the mission in Libya take place in a much shorter period of time and had been chaotic. It is therefore possible that the negotiations before the mission may have some impact on the overall research results.

Finally, the decision-making process of the Mali case could be based on a feedback loop. Ongoing shifts in Germany's culture have to be taken into account, which are among others influenced by the consequences of the Libya case. Year after year, Germany clearly tries to let go of its self-restraint and dares to play a role in the international development again. This can be observed when it comes to the economic crisis, where Germany sets the tone for several years. Consequently, from 2011 to 2013, the German culture again shifted a little bit

towards a more self-confident country. Furthermore, the Libya case results in a German position on the international stage in which the cooperation with its allies is significantly more important than in 2011. Their international reputation deteriorated in 2011 in comparison to its reputation in 2013. This can be another factor among many others, why Germany decided to cooperate with its allies and has taken part in the military mission.

## 5.4 RECOMMENDATION FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

As a consequence of the research results and the research limitations, some recommendations for further research can be made.

It can be assumed that Germany adapted its foreign policy strategy over the years. A detailed research about Germany's foreign policy and its development throughout the years is therefore necessary, especially when taking the Eurozone crisis and the increasing threat of terrorism into account.

Furthermore, due to the fact that hypothesis 3 is rejected, further research is recommended on the distribution of power of the decision-makers during the bargaining process. With a reformulation of the hypothesis, namely that both, the chancellor and the foreign minister have more influence than the defence minister, a new research can be conducted.

Finally, extended research on the influence of the special relationship on the foreign policy is necessary. Firstly, the question is, how decision-makers are influenced and not anymore that they are influenced. The simple hypothesis of France choosing for  $A(x)$  making the choice of  $A(y)$  for Germany less attractive, seems to be too straightforward. The Libya case leads to the speculation of Germany's choice being influenced by France's choice. In addition one may speculate that also France's behaviour towards Germany influences Germany's choice. Further researches could be conducted about for example the influence of the behaviour of the French president on the choice of the German chancellor. Secondly, more case studies based on the thesis model need to be conducted on the influence of special relationships between other countries, for example the UK and the US. This could lead to a higher generalizability of the thesis model (Yin, 2010: 22).

## 5.5 CONCLUSION

News on the German-French cooperation concerning military missions appears in the media regularly. With the research on Germany's foreign policy decision-making process, the foreign policy outcome can become better predictable. Germany's foreign policy evolves together with the fast-paced development of events around it and seems to be influenced by an uncountable amount of factors. With this thesis, detailed research is conducted on the influence of its ally France. Although the hypotheses about the special relationship between the two countries could not be confirmed, there is a significant observation of influence on the behaviour of the decision-makers.

However, Germany's foreign policy seems to underlie the influence of domestic factors to a large extent and it is definite that the politicians are still responsible of the duty they have to act on behalf of the German

population. But what should not be forgotten is that today's world and especially the EU are evolving towards one cooperation and the influence of partner countries will only increase. Therefore, the special relationship between France and Germany, too, is a factor which is constantly evolving and strengthened and needs to be closely monitored.



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# APPENDIX

## APPENDIX 1

Firstly, regularized intergovernmentalism describes a repetition of action between governmental or administrative officials of two countries. Intergovernmentalism is deeply linked with institutionalism as institutions often lead to the conduction of repetitive actions between two different states. But intergovernmentalism can also be defined as treaties and contracts between two countries which emphasize their cooperation in different areas. With contracts, treaties and institutions intergovernmentalism between two countries becomes regularized intergovernmentalism (Krotz, 2011: 30). The conduction of common actions and the perpetuation of the special relationship become routine. An example, which Krotz mentions is that the semi-annual summit meetings between France and Germany became regularized procedures. The result of the standardization of communication is an intertwined process of preference formation of both countries (Krotz, 2011: 29- 32).

Secondly, symbolic acts are mainly based on historical and cultural values. Common symbols are assumed to create a common identity on the long term between two states. Examples are private meetings or joint travels to other countries (Krotz, 2011: 33). An example is the praying together in Reims by Adenauer and de Gaulle in 1962 (Krotz, 2011: 32, 33).

Finally, parapublic underpinnings, also called transpolity, consist of effects, which help with the creation of an international objective. Transpolity education and training programs for example teach the same values for citizens of several states which represent a basis for long-term cooperation of countries as the cultivation of personnel will as a consequence lead to the ability to practice international affairs Parapublic underpinnings can contribute to the development of for example parapublic institutionalization and construction. As Krotz claims in his book, there are three main ways of parapublic underpinnings between Germany and France. The first one is the exchange on the educational stage. The second one is the partnership between German and French cities. And the final one is the amount of institutions and associations concerning French German affairs (Krotz, 2011: 34- 39).

## APPENDIX 2

### Consolidated Version of the Treaty on the functioning of the European Union

#### Article 355

(ex Article 299(2), first subparagraph, and Article 299(3) to (6) TEC)

In addition to the provisions of Article 52 of the Treaty on European Union relating to the territorial scope of the Treaties, the following provisions shall apply:

1. The provisions of the Treaties shall apply to Guadeloupe, French Guiana, Martinique, Réunion, Saint-Barthélemy, Saint-Martin, the Azores, Madeira and the Canary Islands in accordance with Article 349.
2. The special arrangements for association set out in Part Four shall apply to the overseas countries and territories listed in Annex II.

The Treaties shall not apply to those overseas countries and territories having special relations with the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland which are not included in the aforementioned list.

3. The provisions of the Treaties shall apply to the European territories for whose external relations a Member State is responsible.
4. The provisions of the Treaties shall apply to the Åland Islands in accordance with the provisions set out in Protocol 2 to the Act concerning the conditions of accession of the Republic of Austria, the Republic of Finland and the Kingdom of Sweden.

5. Notwithstanding Article 52 of the Treaty on European Union and paragraphs 1 to 4 of this Article:

- (a) the Treaties shall not apply to the Faeroe Islands;
- (b) the Treaties shall not apply to the United Kingdom Sovereign Base Areas of Akrotiri and Dhekelia in Cyprus except to the extent necessary to ensure the implementation of the arrangements set out in the Protocol on the Sovereign Base Areas of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland in Cyprus annexed to the Act concerning the conditions of accession of the Czech Republic, the Republic of Estonia, the Republic of Cyprus, the Republic of Latvia, the Republic of Lithuania, the Republic of Hungary, the Republic of Malta, the Republic of Poland, the Republic of Slovenia and the Slovak Republic to the European Union and in accordance with the terms of that Protocol;
- (c) the Treaties shall apply to the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man only to the extent necessary to ensure the implementation of the arrangements for those islands set out in the Treaty concerning the accession of new Member States to the European Economic Community and to the European Atomic Energy Community signed on 22 January 1972.

6. The European Council may, on the initiative of the Member State concerned, adopt a decision amending the status, with regard to the Union, of a Danish, French or Netherlands country or territory referred to in paragraphs 1 and 2. The European Council shall act unanimously after consulting the Commission.

Retrieved on May 26, 2016 from

<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:12012E/TXT&from=EN>.

## APPENDIX 3

### Calculations on German foreign trade to Libya

Germany's percentage of total amount of **export** to Libya (2009):

$$\text{(Germany's export to Libya in 2009 / Germany's total export in 2009)} * 100 = (1,133,558 / 803,311,845) * 100 = \mathbf{0,14\%}$$

Germany's percentage of total amount of export to Libya (2010):

$$\text{(Germany's export to Libya in 2010 / Germany's total export in 2010)} * 100 = (952,733 / 951,859,469) * 100 = \mathbf{0,1\%}$$

Germany's percentage of total amount of **import** from Libya (2009):

$$\text{(Germany's import from Libya in 2009 / Germany's total import in 2009)} * 100 = (2,819,021 / 664,614,892) * 100 = \mathbf{0,42\%}$$

Germany's percentage of total amount of import from Libya (2010):

$$\text{(Germany's import from Libya in 2010 / Germany's total import in 2010)} * 100 = (3,103,027 / 797,096,855) * 100 = \mathbf{0,39\%}$$

### Calculations on German foreign trade to Mali

Germany's percentage of total amount of **export** to Mali (2012):

$$\text{(Germany's export to Mali in 2012 / Germany's total export in 2012)} * 100 = (82,317 / 1,092,627,362) * 100 = \mathbf{0,008\%}$$

Germany's percentage of total amount of import from Mali (2012):

$$\text{(Germany's import from Mali in 2012 / Germany's total import in 2012)} * 100 = (3,419 / 899,404,978) * 100 = \mathbf{0,0004\%}$$