

Argam Gasparian

Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv

THE PECULIARITIES OF THE GERMAN SECURITY ENVIRONMENT

The article analyzes state and problems of the German security environment, goals and principles of German security and defense policy. Views of Geopolitics concerning importance of surroundings for the German security were researched. The security of Germany considering environmental factors was examined. As a whole, the security of Germany can be considered taking into account a set of external and internal factors (implicit and explicit threats and challenges), given the destabilizing potential in the neighborhood at the periphery of Europe. SWOT-analysis made possible to assess the security environment and to determine the state of national security of Germany. So, the security dimension of the German foreign policy include three levels such as national (internal component), European (external) and international (external), that are interconnected and characterized by high vulnerability.

Key words: security, Germany, security environment, challenges, threats, European security.

Introduction. Safe environment is considered an important determinant of foreign and domestic policy since such a state makes it possible to realize the foreign policy interests and ensure a stable internal political development. Scientific analysis of external environment in terms of security and its consideration in the context of internal security of Germany seems as a relevant part of practical aspects of Berlin's internal and foreign policy priorities.

Analysis of recent researches and publications. Analyzing the state of the researched issues, it should be emphasized that much attention was devoted to this subject by foreign researchers, among whom are the following scholars: G.A. Mattox, J. Techau, J. Jane, J. Kranz, F. Tettweiler, U. Speck. Speaking about Russian and Ukrainian political science schools, we should note the following authors: N. Pavlov, A. Akhtamzyan, A. Subotin, R. Kryvonos and the explanation of European geopolitical concepts by S. Andrushchenko. The geopolitical vision along with the analysis of principles of formation, considering the threats and challenges of Berlin's foreign and security policy are important for understanding the broader aspect namely the security environment of Germany as a whole.

Purpose of the article is to analyze state and problems of the German security environment.

Presentation of the basic material. Undoubtedly, an essential condition for the existence, functioning and prosperity of any state and its citizens is security. National security is defined as the safeguarding of vital interests of person and citizen, society and the state that insure sustainable development of society as well early detection, prevention and neutralization of implicit and explicit threats (external and internal) to national interests¹. It should be noted the importance of such categories as "interest" (vital needs), "security" (state of safety) and "threat" (destruction effects and factors). So, the environment of security is defined as the ensuring conditions of German national security as well a set of challenges and threats that could undermine the state of security. Thus, the security interests of Germany include the following dimensions: 1) national security; 2) promoting European security and cooperation, with emphasis on avoiding new dividing lines in Europe; 3) safe and stable neighborhood of Europe; 4) international stability.

Hence, understanding the environment importance for the safety of Germany and vice versa is confirmed above all in terms of geopolitics. Thus, the prominent German geographer F. Ratzel (1844-1904) in his works paid attention to "living space" (Lebensraum) in the East since the desire for expansion was imperative for each state, including the German Empire. These plans confirmed the spread of the slogan "push eastward" ("Drang nach Osten") whereupon were the practical purposes in an easterly direction, which A.Hitler identified in his book "Mein Kampf" (1925).

Austrian general and journalist of geopolitical subjects H. J. von Lohausen (1907-2002, the representative of the European "New Right") in turn also drew attention to the security situation in Europe.

¹ Закон про основи національної безпеки України 2003 (Верховна Рада України). Офіційний сайт Верховної Ради України. <<http://zakon1.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/964-15>>.

The key category of this approach was the "geographical location", and in particular the threats that could undermine the security of not only individual countries but also entire regions as a whole. H. J. von Lohausen asserted that consistently bordering each other, the three countries form the "backbone of the European Peninsula": Spain, France and Germany. But Germany among all takes the leading "intermediate location" with seven sides open doors being coordinate cross between ocean and continental, northern and Mediterranean worlds and consequently the global point of intersection of the axes formed by countries (Lohausen singled 7 axes)¹.

The concept of "Central Europe" (known for the same work of F. Naumann's «Mitteleuropa», 1915) was supported by R. Kjellen (1864-1922), J. Partsch (1851-1925) and F. Naumann (1860 -1919). It included the unification of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) countries within a single geopolitical project for the protection from France, Russia and England. Taking into consideration the "central position" of Germany and its capability, it was essential to expand the "living space" (Lebensraum) of Germany for the purpose of ensuring own safety and moving to another level of political and economic cooperation with the countries of CEE.

Such geopolitical views are not lost relevance at the time of collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s since the post-communist countries were regarded as a source of potential security challenges across Europe. Therefore, crises, increasing migration flows, regional conflicts and environmental disasters directly affect the security situation of the continent. Thus, Germany has decided to protect national safety by filling a vacuum which was created after the breakdown of three formations namely the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon), the Warsaw Treaty Organization (Warsaw Pact) and the Soviet Union (USSR). Russian expert N. Pavlov pointed out that "Germany has tried to create a buffer zone on the basis of such countries as Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic and Slovakia towards destabilizing processes taking place in the former USSR"². It demonstrated the spread of economic and political impact on CEE countries, which shortly after such a policy called for the European and Euro-Atlantic integration. The fact of transfer of the EU border to the east was immensely important for Germany as it changed its peripheral political and geographical status and ceased to be a frontline state on the border with Eastern Europe³.

The reunification of Germany on October 3, 1990, led to geopolitical changes in Europe since Poland became a neighbor of the European Communities and NATO. As well as the event has become one of the accelerating factors for economic and political integration of Europe and transformation of the European Communities into the EU. Germany, as a member of NATO and the EU, supported EU enlargement to the East therefore showing that Germany doesn't pose a threat to the eastern neighbors. Thus, the concept of "geographic enlargement" of the EU aimed at stabilizing the market economy and democratic principles in Central and Eastern Europe countries, and ultimately to establish a "security space", which was no less important than economic goals. Former Foreign Minister of Germany Hans-Dietrich Genscher has rightly judged that prosperity can not be achieved in the west faced with instability in the east⁴.

Obviously, security is not defined in geographical terms only. The development in regions at the periphery of Europe and outside the European zone of security and stability can have an immediate impact on the security of Germany⁵, which is one of the strongest players both on the European continent and on international arena. It is evidenced by Berlin's international involvement and active representation within the international organizations, such as the United Nations (UN), the Council of Europe (CoE), the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), the North Atlantic Treaty Association (NATO) etc.

¹ Jordis von Lohausen, H. (1998). Wie sicher ist Europa? / Mut zur Identität. Alternativen zum Prinzip der Gleichheit. *A New Internet Archive*. <<https://web.archive.org/web/20130506020332/http://velesova-sloboda.org/archiv/pdf/lohausen-wie-sicher-ist-europa.pdf>>.

² Павлов, Н. (2012). *История внешней политики Германии. От Бисмарка до Меркель*. Москва: Международные отношения, 621.

³ Kranz, J. (1998). Polska-Niemcy: spójzenie w przyszłość / *Stosunki polsko-niemieckie w latach 1970-1995. Próba bilansu i perspektywy rozwoju*. Warszawa: Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN, 71.

⁴ Kranz, J. Germany, Quo Vadis? A View from Poland. *Academia.edu*. <http://www.academia.edu/2083940/Germany_quo_vadis_A_view_from_Poland>.

⁵ Defence Policy Guidelines. Safeguarding National Interests – Assuming International Responsibility – Shaping Security Together (2011). *German Ministry of Defence*. <http://www.bmvg.de/portal/a/bmvg!/ut/p/c4/LYsxEoAgDATf4gdIb-cv1MYBzcQbMDgQ8ftSONtssUsrddQ3iDdk9YImWnaM4XXhauIq9pPLYbB65wRDdF6FQzZ2R47PxdqtcTHGAXIU_q72byv9tgQFK91xGj6tRgx1/>.

Thus, since joining the United Nations in 1973, Germany 5 times has been elected as a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council (1977-1978, 1987-1988, 1995-1996, 2003-2004, and 2011-2012). Moreover, Berlin wants to join the permanent members of the UN Security Council, showing its willingness to assume the same responsibilities as permanent members of the UN Security Council, even if Germany is not a nuclear power. The chosen model of the German national security is membership in the system of collective security within NATO. In any case, the foreign political ambitions and economic strength of Germany is the evidence of the country's active role at mentioned levels. For this reason the political establishment in Germany calls for assumption more leadership responsibilities in the world.

The Counselor of Defense Policy at the German Federal Academy for Security Policy Falk Tettweiler underlines the main principles of German security and defense policy. Three of the most important of them are comprehensiveness in crisis management, the preference for crisis prevention and multilateralism¹.

These principles are also confirmed in the White Paper 2006 on German Security Policy and the Future of the Bundeswehr (as an instrument of a comprehensive and proactive security and defense policy) together with the goals of safeguarding the interests of Germany. In general, the values, goals, and interests of the German security and defense policy include the following: 1) international conflict prevention and crisis management, to include the fight against international terrorism; 2) support of allies; 3) protection of German territory and its citizens; 4) rescue and evacuation operations; 5) partnership and cooperation; 6) subsidiary assistance (legal and administrative support, help in the wake of natural disasters and particularly grave accidents)².

It should be noted that the turning point in the functioning of the German Bundeswehr was 1994. On July 12, 1994, the Constitutional Court of Germany decided to cancel the 1982 amendments to Chapter 24 of the Basic Law, which prohibited the participation of the German Bundeswehr in military operations abroad. It makes possible the German participation in international military operations, crisis reaction or conflict prevention for the purpose of the security ensuring.

As a whole, the security of Germany can be considered taking into account a number of external factors of the first level: Western Europe, Baltic Sea Region, CEE and the Balkans, which in turn affect the internal situation in the country, complementing domestic challenges.

The political component shows that Germany is surrounded by European countries with the stable power, which are not threatening neighboring countries. This description applies to the immediate neighbors of Germany, but not Ukraine. The crisis in Ukraine began in November 2013 and continues to evolve to this day. Geographically, Ukrainian crisis can be considered as the threat number one not only to individual countries, but also Europe as a whole since Crimea was annexed by Russia in March 2014. Therefore Russia has violated the European postwar and peaceful order.

Socioeconomic component could pose a threat to Germany in the following way: 1) in case of stability deteriorating in countries-importers of German products (this is due to the dependence of the German economy on exports); 2) continued debt crisis in the euro zone, which undermines not only the functioning of the EU and the eurozone, but also the image of Germany as a "locomotive" of Europe. At the level of social perceptions Germany is today in demand among the population of neighboring countries, so it creates migration problems such as "failure" of multiculturalism, reducing the internal security in Germany as a result of a "conflict of interest", religious beliefs, identities etc.

SWOT- analysis provides an opportunity to assess the security environment of Germany, dividing factors into four categories:

Strengths together with the opportunities have a positive impact: advantageous geopolitical and geostrategic location of the country; strong and competitive economy; participation in European and Euro-Atlantic integration and security organizations; strong position in international organizations; cultural diplomacy.

Weaknesses together with the threats have a negative impact: energy dependence (but the country effectively implemented energy efficiency programs and in 2011 was made a decision for moving to

¹ Tettweiler, F. (2014). The CSDP from a German vantage point. *European Geostrategy*.
<<http://www.europeangeostrategy.org/2014/12/csdp-german-vantage-point/>>.

² White Paper 2006 on German Security Policy and the Future of the Bundeswehr. *German Missions in the United Kingdom*.
<http://www.london.diplo.de/contentblob/1549496/Daten/78114/German_security_defence_summary.pdf>.

renewable energy by 2022 - the so-called "energy transition" (Energiewende); substantial dependence of the German economy on exports (which is vulnerable in nature).

Opportunities: preventive diplomacy; technological and resource capabilities; branding programs; intelligence activity abroad; multilateral cooperation, but not confrontation.

Threats: demographic problems; terrorism; problems of migration; destabilization in countries geographically close to Germany; regional conflicts including "frozen conflicts".

Regarding the conceptual framework for the Common Foreign and Security Policy and the European security context as a whole, it should be noted, that on 12-13 December 2003 comprehensive document entitled "A Secure Europe in a Better World – European Security Strategy" was adopted by the European Council. Key threats to European security were identified: terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, regional conflicts, state failure and organized crime¹.

Even in a time of globalization, geography is still important. Therefore, Europe is interested to have a safe neighborhood and good governance in neighboring countries to avoid the emergence of new dividing lines in Europe. After all, Germany, as the defender of EU's interests, advocates further integration and strengthening supranational institutions of the European Union. But along with the need to be prepared to geopolitical "interaction" with Russia, as the EU's normative management alone is insufficient to ensure peace and stability at the periphery of the EU.

In all, the EU's external borders are vulnerable, given the destabilizing potential in the neighborhood of the Union, including migration issues, conflict potential, terrorism or cross-border crime. Russian expert S. Golunov rightly notes that border problems that EU faced with due to the specifics of its supranational entity. The EU is in the process of enlargement, hereby borders between the Member States of the Union are more transparent; cross-border and visa issues fade into the past. Instead, the abolition of these barriers is accompanied by the strengthening of the new external borders. The "newcomers" of the EU are more responsible for defense of external borders of the Union, than the rest of. In the border policy of the EU the balance between the interests of security of Europe and the development of mutually beneficial cooperation with the countries that are at the periphery of Europe is observed. The aim of this policy is to create a zone of good neighborliness².

In the White Paper 2006 on German Security Policy and the Future of the Bundeswehr threats were identified in the same way as in the European Security Strategy of 2003. It indicates that the national level of the German security environment merges with the European one. Some experts say that there is no German security policy at the national level, which is cut off from the European level. Therefore, it is considered that the conceptual framework of the Common Foreign and Security Policy formed the basis of a new platform, which ensures security in Europe, along with NATO and the OSCE. Thus, within the EU from the 1st January 2007 to Germany passed the presidency of the EU Council (which also coincided with the chairmanship of Berlin in "G8"). In late 2006 by Germany were defined the key tasks of the Union for the next six months³: European constitutional process; enlargement of the Union; energy security; the Middle East settlement; Common Foreign and Security Policy; environmental protection. Today these priorities in the area of security could be reduced to the following: energy security; crisis in the eurozone; Ukrainian crisis and related destabilizing factors that were caused by Russian aggression; terrorist attacks in Europe; the Arab-Israeli settlement; the Syrian Civil War; threat from Islamic State jihadists; negotiations with Iran; the Ebola epidemic; the environmental protection.

The election to the European Parliament on May, 2014 caused a sensation in the EU as Euro-skeptic and right-wing parties won in some countries. These parties oppose further integration of the EU and come out against the Union migration policy, rising unemployment, "inefficient" reforms, "failed" eurozone crisis policy etc. "Alternative for Germany" got 7% (5th place) in the national election, which can not disturb the country's leadership, given that this party was established in 2013. The Prime Minister of France Manuel Vall called the election and the victory of the "National Front" led by Marine Le Pen "more than a warning. It is a shock, a political earthquake". This trend in some countries of the Union (France, Germany, Austria, the Netherlands, Great Britain, Greece, Finland, etc.) can be explained by the fact that citizens vote for the

¹ A Secure Europe in a Better World. European Security Strategy (2003). *Council of the European Union*. <<http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf>>.

² Голунов С. Пограничная безопасность в ЕС. *Международные процессы*. <<http://www.intertrends.ru/twenty/005.htm>>.

³ Дяченко, М. (2007). Головування Німеччини в ЄС: час реалізації амбітних задумів. *Європейський протір*. <<http://eu.prostir.ua/library/1766.html>>.

right, seeing danger in policies of the European Union and its supranational institutions. Instead, nationalist parties associated with the defenders of national interests and values of mentioned countries. The growth of nationalism in the countries of the Union could increase problems like nationalism vs. supranationalism. Although the European People's Party and the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats still retained the majority in the European Parliament, the next election might be unexpected. Especially, if the right-wing parties will continue to attract the electorate against a background of growing problems within the EU.

Internal threat (which has also external nature in context of the thesis about "Islamization" of Europe) for Germany is to spread the anti-Islamic movement "Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamization of the West" (Pegida), which could lead to counter-demonstrations and result in religious clashes, conflicts increase on ethnic basis and so on. Such unrest is a direct threat to internal stability of "immigration" countries like Germany. Thus, political leadership of Germany should carry out a new migration policy which provide for avoiding discrimination. Moreover, the role and place of Islam and Muslims (mostly innocent in the actions of radical compatriots) as part of the Western societies should be reconsidered. It could refute the idea that immigrants from Islamic countries can not and do not want to integrate into German multicultural society.

Certainly, the 9/11 terrorist attack in 2001 was a turning point for international (in)security. Since then, many European countries have experienced terrorist attacks¹, and therefore terrorism as asymmetric threat is included in the priorities of the German Security Policy and the EU as a whole. The latest tragedy in Paris on January 7, 2015 (at least 12 people were killed after gunmen stormed Charlie Hebdo's central Paris office) and shortly thereafter anti-terrorist raids in Belgium and Germany are the clear examples. Terror, violence and anti-Semitism were a response to free speech and offensive cartoons. In the White Paper 2006 aptly stated that an effective response to new threats and challenges (traditional and non-traditional, symmetrical and asymmetrical, etc.) requires the application of a wide range of foreign, security, defense, and development policy instruments in order to identify, prevent, and resolve conflicts at an early stage. These challenges strengthen the EU's role as a security player on international arena since Unions "soft" power shows its weaknesses. This requires the preservation of unity and intensification of constructive cooperation within the EU. Obviously, in order to implement any action, resources are necessary - especially financial. Thus, according to the SIPRI (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute) Yearbook 2013, Germany was among the ten countries with the highest military expenditures, the amount of which in 2012 was \$45.8 billion² [13, p.124] (and \$48.8 billion in 2013). Moreover, Germany is among the top five suppliers of major conventional weapons. However, it should be noted that this amount is only about 1.3-1.4% of German GDP, in contrast to those countries that are ahead and spend more than 2% of their GDP.

Conclusions. Thus, analyzing the state of the security environment of Germany, it should be highlighted three levels studied issues such as national (internal component), European (external) and international (external) that are interconnected and characterized by high vulnerability. The set of challenges and threats of these levels form the state of (in)security environment (internal and external) of Germany. It should be taken immediate and effective steps for their neutralization. Although a direct military aggression in Europe is now unlikely, examining of European security as well the role and place of Germany in the context of the "Ukrainian crisis" and the geopolitical competition with Russia are the subjects for further security researches.

References

1. A Secure Europe in a Better World. European Security Strategy. (2003). *Council of the European Union*. <<http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf>>.
2. Defence Policy Guidelines. Safeguarding National Interests – Assuming International Responsibility – Shaping Security Together. (2011). *German Ministry of Defence*. <http://www.bmvg.de/portal/a/bmvg!/ut/p/c4/LYsxEoAgDATf4gdIb-cv1MYBzcQbMDgQ8ftSONtssUsrddQ3iDdk9YlmWnaM4XXhauIq9pPLyB65wRDdF6FQzZ2R47PxdqtcTHGAXIU_q72byv9tgQFK91xGj6tRgx1/>.
3. Dyachenko, M. (2007). Holovuvannya Nimechchyny v YeS: chas realizatsiyi ambitnykh zadumiv. *Yevropeys'kyi prostir*. <<http://eu.prostir.ua/library/1766.html>>.

¹ Terror attacks (2015). Charts, maps and infographics. *The Economist*.

<<http://www.economist.com/blogs/graphicdetail/2015/01/daily-chart-8?fsrc=scn/fb/wl/dc/terrorattacks>>.

² Щорічник СІПІ 2013 (2014). Озброєння, роззброєння та міжнародна безпека. *Stockholm International Peace Research Institute*. <<http://www.sipri.org/yearbook/2013/files/SIPRIYB13UKR.pdf>>.

4. Golunov S. Pogranichnaya bezopasnost v ES. *Mezhdunarodnyie protsessyi*. <<http://www.intertrends.ru/twenty/005.htm>>.
5. Jordis von Lohausen, H. (1998). Wie sicher ist Europa? / Mut zur Identität. Alternativen zum Prinzip des Gleichheit. *A New Internet Archive*. <<https://web.archive.org/web/20130506020332/http://velesova-sloboda.org/archiv/pdf/lohausen-wie-sicher-ist-europa.pdf>>.
6. Kranz, J. (1998). Polska-Niemcy: spojzenie w przyszłość / *Stosunki polsko-niemieckie w latach 1970-1995. Próba bilansu i perspektywy rozwoju*. Warszawa: Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN.
7. Kranz, J. Germany, Quo Vadis? A View from Poland. *Academia.edu*. <http://www.academia.edu/2083940/Germany_quo_vadis_A_view_from_Poland>.
8. Pavlov, N. (2012). *Istoriya vneshney politiki Germanii. Ot Bismarka do Merkel'*. Moskva: Mezhdunarodnyie otnosheniya.
9. Shchorichnyk SIPRI 2013 (2014). Ozbroyennya, rozzbroyennya ta mizhnarodna bezpeka. *Stockholm International Peace Research Institute*. <<http://www.sipri.org/yearbook/2013/files/SIPRIYB13UKR.pdf>>.
10. Terror attacks (2015). Charts, maps and infographics. *The Economist*. <<http://www.economist.com/blogs/graphicdetail/2015/01/daily-chart-8?fsrc=scn/fb/wl/dc/terrorattacks>>.
11. Tettweiler, F. (2014). The CSDP from a German vantage point. *European Geostrategy*. <<http://www.europeangeostrategy.org/2014/12/csdp-german-vantage-point/>>.
12. White Paper 2006 on German Security Policy and the Future of the Bundeswehr. *German Missions in the United Kingdom*. <http://www.london.diplo.de/contentblob/1549496/Daten/78114/German_security_defence_summary.pdf>.
13. *Zakon pro osnovi nacional'noi bezpeki Ukraini 2003* (Verkhovna Rada Ukraini). *Oficijnij sajt Verkhovnoi Radi Ukraini*. <<http://zakon1.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/964-15>>.