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German Security Policy in the Difficult Times: Introduction

Germany is economically the strongest country in Europe. As such, it is striving for leadership in the EU and keeps developing into a geo-economic power with global interests. The dynamism of the variety of international phenomena and processes forces Germany to modify or transform its previous security strategies and policies. The actions taken by the country's authorities have resulted not only from their own interests and goals, but were the aftermath of the growing expectations of other external participants, which required greater financial, economic, political and military involvement in order to solve various crises and international conflicts.

Thirty years after German unification, six years after the so-called "Munich Consensus"¹ was announced, four years after the publication of the 2016 White Paper (13 July 2016), and in view of the worsening turmoil in NATO and crisis processes in the EU, many experts have been asking the question about the

¹ The announcement of the controversial "Munich Consensus" in January–February 2014 seems to be essential in shaping the current German security policy, i.e. Germany's announcement that it will take on more responsibility and a more active role in international politics. This was presented in a factually differentiated manner by the then Federal President Joachim Gauck, Defense Minister Ursula von der Leyen, and Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier during the security conference held in Munich.

fulfilment of the announcement that Germany would take on greater international responsibility. In other words, how and with what effect unfold the disputes within the German leadership elite between the USA-oriented “Transatlanticists” and the “Europeans” advocating strategic autonomy for the EU/Germany in order to develop a future-oriented security strategy?

The Articles and Materials section contains studies dealing with the issues of changes that have occurred in the areas of Germany's foreign and security policy since 1990 (Lutz Kleinwächter, *Drei Jahrzehnte neue deutsche Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik*; Erhard Crome, *Umriss deutscher Außenpolitik*) – in particular the problems of non-proliferation and disarmament, and Germany's involvement in the process of strengthening the role of the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (Hubert Thielicke, *Nukleare Nichtverbreitung und Abrüstung – eine Sicht aus Deutschland*), as well as difficulties in German-American relations (Klaus Larres, *Komplizierte deutsch-amerikanischen Beziehungen im 21. Jahrhundert*). This part of the journal also includes articles devoted to the relations between the security policy of the united Germany with NATO, as well as the European Security and Defence Policy (Bogdan Koszel, *Germany's Security Policy vs. NATO's and the EU's Security and Defence Policy in the Twenty-First Century*), German stance toward Russia in the face of key issues related to international security that emerged after the end of the Cold War (Michał M. Kosman, *Germany's Policy towards Russia in the Context of the Key post-Cold War International Security Challenges*), and the role of the Bundeswehr as a parliamentary army and internal leadership concept in the army (Aleksandra Kruk, *The Bundeswehr: a Parliamentary Army*). This part of the section ends with the articles that look at the problem of combining migration, security and development in Germany and Austria in the context of the European migration crisis of 2015/2016 (Anna Paterek, *Addressing the Root Causes of Migration through Development Aid – the Security Development Nexus. A Case Study of Austria and Germany*), and the challenges of German energy security in connection with the acceleration of the energy transformation, the development of renewable energy sources and the coal phase-out, as well as the earlier nuclear phase-out (Beata Molo, *Challenges for German Energy Security in the Context of Nuclear and Coal Phase-Out*).

In the section entitled From the History, Małgorzata Świder (*A Look from behind the Wall. West German Studies of Political Preferences of East German Citizens*) scrutinises what was known in the Federal Republic of Germany about the second German state; in this context, what is really interesting is the issue of obtaining materials on the views and attitudes, or the political preferences of the citizens of the German Democratic Republic, including their identification with the state, and their attitude towards the idea of bringing together the two German states.

The Varia section contains articles that, in turn, look at issues in state sovereignty in the context of spheres of influence on the example of the Republic of Serbia and Montenegro as well as the bilateral cooperation they have established with Russia, the USA, Germany, Turkey and China (Ewa Bujwid-Kurek, *State Sovereignty in the Light of Spheres of Influence – a Case Study of Two States: the Republic of Serbia, and Montenegro*), activities related to the protection of Polish cyberspace in 2015–2019 (Karol Piękoś, *Actions Taken to Protect the Cyberspace of the*

Republic of Poland in the Years 2015–2019), and the cause and effect relationship between famine and pandemic on the example of socio-economic conditions, health situation and government policies in Latin America against the coronavirus pandemic (Raina Zimmering, *Apologetische Tautologie: Hungertod durch globalen Lockdown der "Corona-Gläubigen"? Das lateinamerikanische Sakrileg*). The Varia-Forum contains articles published in the WeltTrends journal (Vladimír Handl, *Erfolgreiches Krisenmanagement mit Lücken. Eine Bilanz der deutschen EU-Ratspräsidentschaft*; Hartmut Elsenhans, *Bedingt zukunftsfähig. Herausforderungen deutscher Außenpolitik*; Walter Schilling, *Die neue Art der Konfliktaustragung des Westens. Über Illusionen und Realitäten beim Regime Change*).

The issue ends with the Reviews section, which features a detailed review and analysis of several noteworthy publications: Johannes Pollak, Peter Slominski (eds.), *The role of EU Agencies in the Eurozone and Migration Crisis – Impact and Future Challenges* (Dominika Gawron), Recep Doğan, *Political Islamists in Turkey, and the Gülen Movement* (Paulina Stępniewska); Francisco Rojas Aravena (ed.), *The Difficult Task of Peace. Crisis, Fragility and Conflict in an Uncertain World* (Polina Khmielevska); Benedikt Erforth, *Contemporary French Security Policy in Africa: On Ideas and Wars* (Adrianna Grudzińska).

