CHAPTER III
CIVILIAN FOREIGN POLICY

A country’s foreign policy is usually based on certain values (such as democracy and rule of law), certain interests (such as defense of or expansion of territory) and reflects broad national objectives. It can also be a very specific response to a particular situation. These foreign policy goals can be achieved by employing a variety of instruments ranging from political, diplomatic, military, economic, social and cultural. It is often influenced by different variables – a country’s historical ties to other nations, its culture, and type of government, size, geographic location, economic strength and military power. Also, a country’s foreign policy is usually aimed at preserving or promoting its economic and political interests abroad and its position in the world.274

German foreign policy, post-unification, clearly reflects this. It is definitely based on values like democracy and the rule of law and is in response to a specific situation – unification and quelling the spectre of a resurgent Germany. To lay the ghost of the Third Reich to rest, united Germany, since unification, has painstakingly evolved a foreign policy, which can be broadly termed as a civilian foreign policy. A civilian power is defined by Hans J. Maull in the following terms: A power that,

- Accepts the notion of the necessity of cooperation with others in the pursuit of international objectives

• Concentrates on non-military, primarily economic means to secure national goals with military power left as a residual instrument to safeguard other means of international interactions

• Willingness to develop supranational instruments to address issues of international management

Today, all powers are civilian powers as no power is overtly militaristic. This is because, given the nature of conflicts across the globe as well as the costs involved in waging and dealing with a conflict it is impossible for any power to be so. Thus, even the US expeditions in Afghanistan and Iraq cannot be attributed to the policies of a militaristic power. They are, in fact, claimed as attempts to rid the world of terrorists and Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) in Afghanistan and Iraq, respectively. A civilian foreign policy is a foreign policy conducted by a civilian power in tune with the values that Maull mentions. It is a policy of peace, responsibility and commitment – ideals that most powers in the world subscribe to.

Germany’s case is special. Prior to 1945, it was seen as a militaristic power; after 1945, it was forced to be a civilian power conducting a civilian foreign policy. Post-unification (1990), there were speculations of Germany reverting to being a militaristic power. Yet, since 1990, Germany has laid these fears to rest. It has clearly committed itself to being a civilian power conducting a civilian foreign policy. It has projected itself as a state with no militaristic ambitions, which aims to achieve its foreign policy goals through political, economic, diplomatic and cultural means. This has been dictated by its historical burdens, geographic location and economic strength.

Thus, a civilian foreign policy aims at remaining a “peace policy committed to safeguarding the future of the global community.” The basic principles of German civilian foreign policy include the creation of a peaceful and stable political order in Europe, the development of effective strategies for dealing with conflicts, support for human rights and renunciation of force (non-violence). It must be noted that certain traditional principles of foreign policy have been carried over from the pre-unification era. These principles (despite changes in government) have not changed. They include solid ties with the West, giving up claims to the status of a superpower and a commitment to European Integration. There have been minor adjustments in these principles but the underlying consensus has been the same. This consensus has cut across party lines. Hence, one can say that German foreign policy is characterized by continuity and dependability. Continuity is seen in Germany’s basic principles; dependability can be seen regarding its commitment to these fundamental tenets. It is therefore evident that a civilian foreign policy does not mean an isolationist policy. This is because in a world that is increasingly interdependent, national isolation is no longer possible.

One scholar identified two schools of thought amongst German scholars regarding the future of German foreign policy. One of these maintains that Germany should pursue a special and independent path now that it has achieved unity and sovereignty. Its anchoring in the West has outlived its utility with the end of the Cold War. This is the view of the right of center and the new right. German power should now evolve independently and shake off its vassal like attitude. The other school of thought refers to the idea of continuity. The majority of mainstream political groups

277 Ibid.
278 Ibid.
share this viewpoint. They favor Germany’s continued entrenchment in Western institutions and feel that these ties are not the by-products of the Cold War but represent the fundamental orientation of German foreign policy. It is only by maintaining this continuity i.e. associating closely with the West and sharing its values that a recurrence of aggressive nationalism can be prevented.279

Come Carpentier de Gourdon points to two views of Europe – Atlanticist and Continental. The former considers the USA and Western Europe as a natural unit and their natural opponents (Russia and the states sharing a pro-Russia view). The Western alliance should push its borders to the East to widen the buffer zone with Russia weakening it wherever convenient. At the core of this alliance are the Anglo-Saxon states like USA and the UK with the rest of Europe forming a decentralized mosaic of regions with a wide autonomy within the framework of a free trade zone. The latter feel that the axis of the confederation of Europe is seen renewing itself through the Rhine and the Danube basin connecting the North and Black seas. In modern Europe, the liberals and socialists tended to support the Atlanticist view, which is also the view of mainstream politicians/scholars in Germany while the Continental view is supported by the far right.280 As of now, Germany follows a watered down version of the Atlanticist view.

Ewan Harrison refers to a few schools of thought in German Foreign policy. The three main views are: the Neo realists, the Institutionalists and the Liberals. The Neo realists have drawn pessimistic conclusions about the role of Germany in international politics. In their view, Germany will seek greater prominence in international affairs in the absence of the Soviet Union. It will see no need to

279 Banerjee Jyotirmoy, United Germany; Role In The Post-Cold War Era, International Studies, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2000, p.50.[41-59]
remain tied to the NATO and in general be more assertive in its dealings abroad. The Institutionalists feel that Germany will be locked into a complex pattern of interdependent relations with other industrial democracies. It will thus participate in a web of multilateral frameworks established over the post-War period. Like other states, Germany will also pursue institutional activity where it is beneficial, and reject it where it is not. The Liberals are of the opinion that domestic factors will play an important role in shaping German foreign policy. It will remain committed to a culture of restraint; seek a distinct identity for itself as an international actor and will no longer remain a passive player in global affairs. In short, it will shift from a policy taker to a policy maker.\textsuperscript{281}

Michael Mertes points out that, a recent addition to the foreign policy vocabulary in Germany, is Verantwortungs politik (responsibility politics) – the opposite of Macht politik (power politics). It means the politics of good intention, symbolism etc.\textsuperscript{282} This idea is evident in Germany’s contributions to the UN, the CFSP, its humanitarian aid programmes all over the world and, above all, in the case of the ’s participation in the Out-of-Area Operations (OOA), which will be discussed in the next chapter.

Before delving into the details of Germany’s civilian foreign policy, it is necessary to understand the difference between the terms civil society and civilian power. There is a general tendency to confuse the term civilian power with the term civil society. A distinction must, therefore, be made between the two. The term civil society can be traced right to the works of the ancient Greek


philosophers. The modern idea of the *civil society* emerged with the Scottish and Continental enlightenment of the late eighteenth century. A host of political thinkers from Paine to Hegel developed the notion of *civil society* as an area parallel to, but separate from, the state – a domain where the citizens associate according to their own interests and wishes. This thinking reflected changing economic realities viz. the rise of private property, market competition and the *bourgeoisie*. It also grew out of the mounting popular demand for liberty as manifested in the American and French revolutions.

The term fell into disuse in the mid-nineteenth century as political philosophers turned their attention to the social and political consequences of the industrial revolution. It came back into focus after the Second World War through the writings of the Marxist theorist Antonio Gramsci, who revived the term to portray *civil society* as a special nucleus of independent political activity and a crucial sphere of struggle against tyranny.

In the decade of the 1990s, *civil society* once again became the watchword for all. The global trend towards democracy has opened up space for *civil society* in former non-democratic countries as well as democratic ones. Public fatigue with party systems sparked interest in *civil society* as a means of social renewal. In the developing world, privatization and other market reforms offered *civil society* a chance to step in as governments retracted their reach.\(^{283}\) *Civil Society* as a concept draws its sustenance from the notion of equality of citizens, the integrity of the person, and the

freedom of belief. In this, it closely became associated with the ‘troika’ of Reason, Equality and the Public Realm.\(^{284}\) Mary Kaldor sums up the notion of a *Civil Society* as having five meanings:

**First**, *Civil Society* as a rule of law and a political community, a peaceful order based on implicit or explicit consent of individuals, a zone of civility. (Not just good manners or polite society but a state of affairs where violence has been minimized as a way of organizing social relations). Later definitions of the term are predicted on the assumptions of a rule of law and the relative absence of coercion in human affairs at least within the boundaries of the state. Thus, *societas civilis* requires a state with a public monopoly of legitimate violence. *Civil Society* is distinguished not from the state but from non civil societies—state of nature or absolutist empires.\(^{285}\)

**Second**, *Civil Society as a Bourgeois Society*. For Hegel and Marx it was an arena of ethical life in between the state and the family. It was a historically produced phenomenon, linked to the emergence of capitalism. Thus, markets, social classes, civil law and welfare were all part of the civil society.\(^{286}\)

**Third**, is the activist version, which refers to active citizenship, to growing self organization outside formal political circles and expanded space in which the individual citizens can influence the conditions in which they live. This can be done both through self organization and through political pressure.\(^{287}\)


\(^{286}\) *Ibid*.

\(^{287}\) *Ibid*. 
Fourth, the neo-liberal version. In this civil society consists of associational life - the non profit voluntary third sector that not only restrains state power but also promotes a substitute for many of the functions performed by the state.288

Fifth, the post modern version. Civil Society is an arena of pluralism and contestation, a source of civility and incivility. The emphasis is on the importance of national and religious identities as well as multiple identities as a precondition for civil society.289

In contrast, a civilian power is not merely a non-militaristic power. It is a responsible, participatory power committed to world peace and security. Here, the term ‘responsible’ means sharing the burdens of world peace and security and the term ‘participatory’ means contributing to resolving conflicts globally. In the case of Germany, the latter idea has raised questions as to whether Germany’s participatory attempts will be restricted to maintaining international peace and security. Germany has laid to rest such speculations by clearly defining its security policy. It includes the exploration of political, economic and diplomatic avenues before taking recourse to force. It also implies providing political, economic, social and ecological stability. These, in turn, must be founded based on respect for human rights, social justice, rule of law, preservation of natural resources, participatory decision making etc. all over the world. Finally, it means the use of the mechanisms of conflict resolution. Thus, a civilian power, in the German context is one with no personal military ambition, willing to commit its armed forces only after exploring all other roads to conflict resolution.

288 Ibid. It was Alexis de Tocqueville who referred to civil society as the third sphere of society. The first being the state and the second the economy.
289 Ibid
Two meanings can be distinguished of the word ‘civil’ – first, ‘civil’ can mean ‘of or relating to the state or citizenry’ as in the civilized society. The second is ‘adequate in courtesy and politeness’. These two meanings have been merged in any discussion concerning the meaning of the term civil society. It is equally applicable in the case of a civilian power. The civil society is a broad concept encompassing all the organizations and associations that exist outside the state and the market. It includes the entire gamut of organizations that political scientists traditionally label – interest groups including labour unions, professional associations, ethnic associations etc. It also incorporates the many other associations that exist for purposes other than advancing specific social or political agendas such as religious organizations, student groups etc. Non-governmental organizations also come within the ambit of civil society. It thus consists of what Edmund Burke called the little platoons.

This automatically leads to two conclusions. First, a civil society means a ‘society understood as a commonwealth or a society in which people function as effective citizens committed to public values and purposes’. Second, this definition in turn implies that civil society inheres the public good – a notion that is incorrect. This is because civil society everywhere is an array of the good, the bad and the bizarre. It is important to remember that people in any society associate and work together to advance nefarious as well as worthy ends; the same is true of civil society as well. The components of a civilian power include a strong, developed civil society, a strong and stable civil government and clearly delineated political and economic structures.

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However, whether a strong *civil society* ensures democracy or whether democracy ensures a strong *civil society* is still a hotly debated issue with no definite conclusions having been reached in this regard. For instance, totalitarianism is defined by the abolition of *civil society* and the growth of private associations, lobby groups etc, post-communist societies are seeing the re-emergence of *civil society*. In conventional liberal view, *civil society* is seen as a realm of choice, personal freedom and individual responsibility whereas the State operates through compulsory and coercive authority. That is why a vigorous and healthy *civil society* is regarded as an essential feature of a liberal democracy. The Marxists and the socialists have viewed the *civil society* unfavorably associating it with unequal class power and social injustice. Hence, the call for the overthrow of *civil society* as presently structured or the expansion of state control and regulation to contract this *civil society*.295

This brings us to the next question that is ‘does the rise of the *civil society* signal the decline of the state?’ In this regard, it is necessary to refer to the ongoing and spreading debate between the Liberals and the Communitarians. One focused on the state and the other on the *civil society*.

The Civic Republican/Jacobin/Statist model holds that there is only one really important community – the political community whose members and agents are the citizens themselves and who are regarded as active participants in democratic decision-making. Administration and distribution are left to professionals i.e. to a civil service whose work is determined by but not joined by ordinary citizens. In principle, at least all citizens participate in deciding how they are to be served and then the civil service serves everyone.

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The Pluralists/Multi-Culturalist model holds that there are many communities based on class, religion, ethnicity etc. The state is now understood as a framework, a union of social unions where intensity, commitment and the most satisfying forms of common work are realized in the plural social unions, which the singular state supports and facilitates. In the different communities, participation, because it is generated by very strong feelings of solidarity, is focused less on arguments and decision-making than on mutual aid and the professional civil service is partly replaced by a voluntary social service. Here, citizens are more widely committed than they commonly are as they work as recruiters, organizers, administrators, teachers etc.

Michael Walzer rejects these two models calling them reactive in character. The first one responds to a decline in the commitment and participation of citizens as manifested in non-voting, distrust of governmental institution, apathy etc. The second one responds to a kind of individualism that undercuts religious, ethnic, class and regional identification and weakens the familiar loyalties that ground all the forms of collective identity and helps to reproduce them.  

Neera Chandoke points out that at an elementary level, the concept of civil society pinpoints and values associational life. However, if self interested action is allowed to develop to its logical end, society itself disintegrates and dissolves into a host of mutually competing fragments. She says that the civil society neither possesses a distinct logic of its own which is in sharp contrast to that of the state, nor is it autonomous of other spheres. The State enables the civil society on the basis of its own notions of what is politically, culturally and socially permissible. This may enable or disable a civil society. She also adds that the relationship between the civil society and the State is not always

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confrontational. It can also be cooperative and collaborative. Alternately, *civil society* can be manipulated by the state.297

The state and the *civil society* can help each other. Communities and associations inhabit the space of *civil society*, which is framed by but not dominated by the state. Given the various financial, political and moral difficulties of the contemporary state, it is to the *civil society* that many people look to solve the problems that the state was once expected to solve (unemployment, poverty etc.).

However, there are three features of the *civil society* that stand in its way of performing that role – inequality, fragmentation and fitfulness. *Civil society* is a realm of inequality. Its various groups do not have anything like the same capacity to accumulate resources and provide services. The stronger groups sometimes extend their help to members of the weaker ones but this is a far cry from the self-help and mutual aid that is needed. This equality of communal capabilities requires the engagement of the state itself.

It is also a realm of fragmentation and division. The state by contrast, at least in principle, is a universal society. Finally, *civil society* is also a realm of fitfulness of part-time engagements and occasional undisciplined work. For most people, it is an *after hours* activity.

Hence, these three maladies will have to be addressed before the *civil society* comes to the rescue of the state. *Civil society* can and should challenge, irritate and even, at times, antagonize the state. But *civil society* and the state need each other and generally develop at tandem and not at each

other’s expense. The civil society in the Federal Republic of Germany is a very active and developed one. There are numerous associations and organizations, which represent certain professional, business or social interests. Homeowners, tenants, women’s groups, war victims, minorities etc. have formed associations. These common interest associations engage in public relations to win sympathy for their cause. Their expertise can also be called upon in legislation. A new type of association is the citizens’ action group, many of which have been formed in Germany since the early 1970s. Citizens get together usually spontaneously to try to remedy a grievance when they feel public authorities or parliaments have neglected a matter. The Federal Government supports such groups that draw attention to social problems and play a constructive role in their solution. Some legislation like the Federal Building Act provides scope for civic participation in the legislative process.

There are also about 90 supra-regional youth organizations to which a quarter of the German youth belong. Many of the national associations are affiliated with the German Federal Youth Council including the Young Protestants Association, the Federation of German Catholic Youth Association, the trade union youth associations etc. There are also political youth associations. Most of the parties in the German Bundestag (Parliament) have youth organizations under their wings, which belong to the Council of Political Youth Association. Youth associations sponsored by the churches, unions, adult education centres; foundations and other educational institutions play an important role in the political education of young people outside school. This, in turn, is

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298 Ibid.
intended to encourage the youth to play an active role in shaping a free and democratic social and political order.\textsuperscript{300}

Finally, political parties in Germany have played an active role in shaping policy. The constitution recognizes the fundamental importance of political parties for the functioning of democracy. Article 21 defines their task as ‘helping to form the political will of the people’. Parties within the meaning of this provision must be democratically structured and are required to disclose their sources of income and their assets. As mentioned in Chapter I, since the first general elections held in United Germany (1990), there have been six parties in the Bundestag, viz., the SPD, the CDU/CSU, the Greens, the FDP, the PDS/WASG or The Left Party.

To a large extent, United Germany’s civilian foreign policy is because of a strong civil society. For example, all the political parties talk about the values of human dignity, tolerance, further integration of Europe, a strong commitment from Germany in bilateral and multi lateral fora like the UN, OSCE and the NATO.\textsuperscript{301} Added to this is the desire to be German Europeans and European Germans,\textsuperscript{302} thus making it clear that Germany no longer wished to upset the balance of peace in the world and wanted to be part of the European political framework.

German Civilian Foreign Policy includes within its scope maintenance of international peace and security (responsible power). This, in turn, requires setting in place the mechanisms of conflict

resolution. The latter includes three principles: Conflict/Crisis Prevention, Crisis Management/Peaceful Settlement of Conflict and Post-Conflict peace building. In this way, it intends to deal with potential crisis and conflict areas through the early prevention of violent conflicts, the limitation of violent conflicts already underway, and, following the end of armed disputes, the prevention of recurring outbreaks of violence by means of effective peace-building and reconstruction measures.

_Crisis-Prevention:_ The German commitment to crisis prevention is based on the concept of _culture of prevention_. The UN Secretary General, in his speech to the 54th UN General Assembly, put forth this concept. Germany is well aware of the fact that the twenty-first century idea of conflict prevention is more urgent and demanding. This is due to several reasons:

- The changes in 1989/90 released resources that had been engaged during the Cold War. These include material, time and attention of the leaders and the media world over.
- The end of the Cold War has not created a peaceful world (in 1990 alone there were 34 violent conflicts).
- Majority of these conflicts were internal.
- Increase in the role and importance of the non-state actors.
- International Terrorism.
- Globalization – it has brought the world closer in a positive and negative sense: positively through an expanded world economy with new and powerful trading partners and negatively, the world has been brought closer due to the increased proliferation of WMD and the networking of terrorism.

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303 www.auswaertiges-amt.de, section on Foreign Policy accessed on 21/10/06 at 2400hrs.
This makes it clear that the strategy so evolved ought to be effective as instruments of conflict prevention. Germany believes in a three-pronged strategy of conflict prevention. First, procedural methods, which include, further development of International Law, submission of conflicts to law on a regular basis, use human rights policy as a preventive tool and improving the methods of imposing sanctions. Second, structural methods, by which the structural causes of conflict are to be removed and new instruments aimed at promoting peace are to be developed. These include developing democratic structures, improving the economic, social, ecological and political situation in affected countries, and helping in the development of a strong civil society, enhance peace and conflict research, develop a media policy targeted at dismantling enmities and foster closer cultural ties between countries. Third, multilateral methods, under which Germany will use its position in multilateral fora to promote disarmament, renunciation of force, promoting engagement in dialogue by the conflicting sides, arms control and arms export control and preventing/combating the accumulation of small arms in the crisis areas.304

The concept of crisis prevention is clearly seen by Germany as a civilian challenge. However, it is also aware that this does not mean that the use or threat to use force will not be required. But as put forth earlier, Germany sees it only as a last resort. To sum up, crisis prevention is a long-term, structured approach. In order to be effective, it must be coherent and cooperative.

Conflict Management/Conflict Settlement: This is applicable in the case of situations where violence is imminent or has already broken out. In this case, rapid and appropriate action by the international community is to be taken. This is to ensure that the existing situation does not exacerbate. This has two aspects to it. First, to manage to contain the conflict in such a way that it does not have a spillover effect i.e. it does not spread to other regions. Second, to ensure that the intensity of the conflict does not increase. Thus, conflict management comes prior to conflict settlement. Once a conflict has been successfully managed, the next step should be conflict settlement. For both, traditional instruments of diplomacy ranging from verbal statements, mediation to sanctions are to be used. Here also, Germany admits that force may be required to both manage and settle the crisis in order to prevent its renewal, but should be used only after exploring other means. This is because it strongly feels that use of force may spark off counter-violence.

Post-Conflict Peace Building: It is not enough to set in place the mechanisms of crisis prevention or crisis management/crisis settlement. There should be effective strategies for dealing with the aftermath of a conflict. For this effective peace building and reconstruction efforts are to be made.

The three must be viewed as a complete concept, based on an overall political strategy coordinated at both the national and international level. They must be specific to a particular situation and bring together specific policy instruments related to foreign, security, development, economic, culture, legal and ecological aspects. Non-state actors like NGOs, churches and business groups should also be involved as far as feasible.
In the application of these principles, one can identify two levels: *National and International.*

**National Level**

At the national level, the Civil Peace Initiative initiates dialogues between non-state actors and state bodies in the field of development cooperation. It is made up of civilian experts working for the Federal Foreign Office and is a joint task force for promoting non-violent settlement of conflicts. This is part of the bilateral development policy by which the Foreign Office trains people for international missions. Since 1999, this office has been offering basic and specialized courses as well as courses for specific missions as preparation for international operations. Those who complete this course are included in a specially created Personnel Pool. Thus a pool of more than 500 civilian experts has been created and used for UN peace missions as well as for OSCE missions and crisis reaction forces. This pool of trained civilians is deployed at short notice for tasks like police monitoring, de-mining operations, observation of election proceedings etc. A project group of civilian peacekeeping personnel advises on the conceptual further development of the training. A Civilian Personnel Data Base has been developed to keep track of this training and deployment details. The initiative has reached a level where, following the lead of other countries, outsourcing is being considered. In future, the needs of the EU are also to be taken into account when building up such a group. There are plans to throw open these courses to foreigners.\(^{305}\) They are financed by the Federal Foreign Office’s Budget (DM 3.12 billion was allocated in 2000). A centre for international peace missions was established in June 2003 by the Federal Government to deploy civilian experts serving with international peace missions on a more systematic footing.\(^{306}\)


\(^{306}\) [www.auswaertiges-amt .de](http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de), section on Germany and the UN accessed on 23/10/06 at 2100hrs.
**International Level**

Given the complexity of conflicts and the fact that they are mushrooming in large numbers, these cannot be tackled by individual countries and organizations exclusively. They require a subsidiary multilateral and multi-defense structure as well as the coming together of government, social and economic players.\textsuperscript{307} Hence, at the International level, this policy will be carried out in close coordination with Germany’s partners in the EU, NATO as well as through participation in the UN and the OSCE. A brief review of Germany’s attempts at conflict resolution at the international level follows.

**United Nations:** The German Bundestag resolved as early as November 1999 to significantly increase the budget for the support for peacekeeping measures by the United Nations and other international organizations to DM 28.6 million. The same figure was earmarked for the financial year 2001. In 2004-2005, Germany contributed € 3.6 million /US $ 15.6 million. Parallel to the budget increase, the targets were also extended to include international crisis prevention and conflict management measures. These two factors created the pre-requisites to take *initiatives to improve the competence and funding of the United Nations* and to help establish an *infrastructure for crisis prevention and civil conflict management*.

The resulting package of measures fits neatly into the comprehensive concept of the Federal Government on *Civilian Crisis Prevention, Conflict Resolution and Post-conflict Peace Building* together with other political fields of action described therein, for example, development policy.

tasks. This is in tune with the UN Secretary General's call for a culture of prevention replacing a culture of reaction in 1999. The package of measures is divided into the following three areas:

**Civilian personnel and material support for UN Mission:** On the basis of Chapter VI of the UN Charter, the United Nations, supported by its member states, developed and put into practice instruments for peaceful conflict settlement. In the Agenda for Peace (1992), the traditional instruments of peacekeeping in accordance with Chapter VI were extended, in particular through the preventive deployment of peacekeeping troops, the creation of UN stand-by forces and the strengthening of the role of regional organizations in this field. Furthermore, the role of preventive diplomacy was emphasized within the framework of crisis prevention.

Germany is involved in the UN stand-by arrangements and has provided UN missions with civilian personnel (e.g. sending of police officers to Bosnia and Kosovo as well as experts to East Timor) and military capacities. Germany has pledged civilian contributions to the United Nations Stand By Arrangements in three spheres: medical components, mine clearance and stress intervention teams (to help members of missions who are suffering stress). The Federal Ministry of Defense, in the military sphere, has offered the UN Secretary-General transport and medical services, engineering, telecommunications and related security units, naval reconnaissance units as well as military observers.309

**Support for international peace processes and conflict management instruments:** Support is being provided, for example, for the UN Secretary-General's mediation efforts from the "Trust

308 www.auswaertiges-amt.de section on Germany and the UN last accessed on 23/10/06 at 2100hrs.
309 Ibid.
Fund for Preventive Action", the "Conflict Management Centre" of the Organization of African Unity and the international panel to investigate the genocide in Rwanda. Germany is a regular contributor to the UN’s Standby Arrangements Systems set up in 1994. Under this, designated resources and personnel are made available as when required on a global basis. 310

Post-conflict peace building: The German Government has, since 1996, tabled draft resolutions on "Consolidation of peace through practical disarmament measures" in the First Committee of the United Nations General Assembly. In 1996, the resolution that was co-sponsored by forty-two countries across a regionally balanced and politically broad spectrum was adopted by consensus. Since then, the number of co-sponsors has increased year by year. In tabling these resolutions and helping to draw up corresponding guidelines in the United Nations Disarmament Commission, Germany is seeking to make a major contribution to this task (disarmament).311 On the basis of the 1997 resolution, a group known as the Group of Interested States (GIS) was set up at the United Nations in 1998 in order to provide support in implementing practical disarmament measures in post-conflict situations. The Group is chaired by Germany and meets in New York.312 The group’s approach is two-fold: to create the conditions for disarmament and weapons destruction and, at the same time, to provide a secure political and social environment for people affected by the conflict. This can take the form of programs designed to eliminate direct threats to the population (weapons destruction, arms conversion, mine clearance), to control weapons flows and to rebuild society (demobilization and reintegration of former combatants into civilian life, help in rehabilitatitng social structures, confidence-building among former combatants).

310 Ibid.
311 Ibid.
312 Ibid.
GIS-sponsored projects have clearly helped to facilitate and keep up the momentum of the peace-building process at regional level. As the principal sponsor of the resolutions "Consolidating peace through practical disarmament measures", Germany, with its contribution of thus far US $ 280,000 (US $ 136,000 in 2001), is the principal national donor.

Some of the projects funded are:

- Yaoundé seminar "train the trainers" in July 1998: training Central African experts in disarmament, demobilization and reintegration;
- Guatemala seminar in November 1998: workshop on Central Africa's experience with the arms problem, demobilization and the reintegration of former combatants;
- Albania project in summer 1999: weapons collection and destruction along with help in rebuilding the civilian infrastructure;
- Reference paper project: drawing up a comparative study of national practices and legislation concerning illegal possession of firearms in countries at the Horn of Africa;
- Niger project: weapons collection and destruction along with help in rebuilding the civilian infrastructure etc.  

In a global disarmament context, the GIS initiative is currently the only one in which, without protracted procedures, small-scale, post-conflict, peace-building projects can be quickly put in place and implemented.

In fact, Germany is the third largest contributor to the UN contributing 9% of the budget, which is financially higher than four of the five permanent members of the Security Council. In the field of

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313 Ibid.
conflict prevention and peace missions, Germany provides, in addition, substantial funding (a 2-digit million figure) for a large number of individual projects. Germany, furthermore, provides additional funding – beyond that made available in the form of its assessed contribution (which is 10% of the UN budget) – for particular projects and groups/units within the UN organization/system (e.g. Lessons Learnt Unit in the Department of Peacekeeping Operations) around US $ 13.8 million a year. It is also one of the highest contributors in terms of personnel.

In the light of these contributions to the UN and its commitment to multilateralism, Germany has supported the various reform proposals of the UN. Of all the organs requiring reorganization, Germany feels the Security Council, which is at the heart of maintaining peace, needs attention. Since conflicts are growing stretching across continents, growing in complexity, the competency of the Council must improve by expanding its permanent membership to those who can and want to make a meaningful contribution to maintaining peace and security around the world. Along with India, Brazil and Japan, Germany feels it is ready to shoulder the responsibility of this. It has therefore submitted the G 4 draft for a framework resolution on reforming the Security Council to the General assembly on 6th January, 2005. The proposal calls for enlarging the Council to include new members, Asia and Africa, the Western States, Latin America and the Caribbean. It also added that non permanent members be also included from the same areas and Eastern Europe.

Karl Kaiser feels…“As an open democracy and the world’s third largest economy, Germany is inevitably affected by international developments and is particularly vulnerable to crisis. Membership to the Security Council will give Germany an opportunity to bring its strong

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315 www.auswaeriges-amt.de Section on UN accessed on 23/10/07 at 1300hrs.
commitment to multilateral traditions and effective global organization to bear in enhancing the UN’s role in shaping the conduct of international affairs."

Recently the Federal Foreign Minister, Steinmeyer, has made it clear that Germany will support the UN to the best of its ability. At the sixty-first General Assembly, Germany submitted Resolutions on Consolidating Peace Through Practical Disarmament Measures, along with Japan and France submit a resolution to declare 2008 as the International Year Of Sanitation etc.

**European Union:** The EU has a central role to play in preventing crisis in the region. In the words of former Federal Foreign Minister Kinkel, *if we do not succeed in exporting stability we are bound to import instability instead.* Germany feels that the enlargement process of the EU will go a long way in promoting stability. The European internal market would become stronger. People, goods, capital and services will now also to be able to move freely in the ten accession states. Exporting countries such as Germany will profit from these freedoms.

The ten accession states are bringing into the EU their own cultural heritage, their languages and their own unique capabilities. This, in turn, will develop a dialogue of cultures and facilitate greater understanding among the people of Europe. The EU is taking common action to combat cross-border crime. As a result of enlargement, the police and the judiciary of the old and the new member states will, in the future, be working closely together and will strengthen the security of all citizens of the Union. Even in the short term, enlargement will bring Germany and the other

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316 [www.auswaertiges-amt.de](http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de) section on UN accessed on 21/4/05 at 2100hrs.


member states a whole range of concrete advantages. For example, it is expected that the GDP in Germany and Austria will increase by around 0.5% as a result of the accessions. There are already two Central and Eastern European countries among Germany's top 15-trade partners.\footnote{www.auswaertiges-amt.de, (Stability Pact.) accessed on 23/6/04 at 13.00hrs.} The prosperity gap between Germany and its neighbors to the East will be narrowed as the standard of living in those countries improves.

By improving environmental standards in the candidate countries, cross-border air and water pollution will be greatly reduced.\footnote{www.germanembassyottawa.org/gfp/index.html (European policy), 15/2/1999 accessed on 26/2/99 at 18.45 hrs. Also, Ten Good Reasons For EU Enlargement, Press and Information Office of the Federal Government. www.bundesre.de accessed on 11/12/05 at 1200 hrs IST. Also Traser Julianna, Byrska Monika, Napieralski Bartosz, Report On The Free Movement Of Workers In EU-25: Who’s Afraid of EU Enlargement?, September, 2005. www.ecas.org/file_uploads/810.pdf accessed on 3/6/06 at 0730hrsIST.} The Euro, which has already replaced the previous national currencies in twelve EU countries, has proved to be fairly stable and has maintained its value against the US dollar. Its importance in the context of world trade will continue to grow once it is introduced in the accession countries. There will be less immigration as a result of growing prosperity.

As part of its commitment to conflict resolution, Germany is also concentrating on improving its bilateral ties with its neighbours. For instance, Poland and Germany have laid to rest a recent row over World War II compensation claims. As a result of consultations by a commission of lawyers from both countries, it was decided that this issue would not be raised again. A joint team of lawyers has been set up to challenge any compensation claim from Germans seeking to reclaim property lost after 1945.\footnote{Germany, Poland Appoint Coordinators For Closer Ties, www.dw-world.de, 4/11/2004 accessed on 23/11/04, at 1200hrs.} The establishment of the Weimer Triangle – a forum for regular
consultations between Germany, France and Poland – is also proof of improving relations between the two. However, today’s political relations between Germany and Poland remain overshadowed by the legacy of the Nazi invasion and occupation. The main issues are:

- Germans and Russians agreed on the construction of a natural gas pipeline through the Baltic Sea, then Polish Defense Minister Radoslaw Sikorski felt reminded of the grim days of Nazi Germany: "That's the Molotov-Ribbentrop tradition," he says, referring to the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany who divided Poland up between them prior to the 1939 German invasion of Poland. "That was the 20th century. We don't want any repetition of that."

- When Berlin-based daily Die Tageszeitung published a satirical piece on Polish President Lech Kaczynski ("Poland's New Potato"), Foreign Minister Anna Fotyga accused the paper of having produced a "collection of disgusting remarks reminiscent of the language of (Nazi propaganda newspaper) Stürmer."

- When Germany's Federation of Expellees (BdV), an organization representing ethnic Germans in Eastern Europe, organized an exhibition on the fate of European war refugees after 1945, entitled "Forced Paths," Polish Prime Minister Jaroslaw Kaczynski called it a "very bad, very disturbing and very sad event" and "an attempt to relativize the history of World War II." "It's important to remember who the murderers were and who the victims were," he said.

- Warsaw was especially outraged over compensation claims by the privately owned "Prussian Trust." Twenty-two German war refugees went to the European Court of Justice in Strasbourg demanding the restitution of property lost to Poland in 1945. Jaroslaw

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322 A History Of Hostility Between Poland And Germany, 20/6/07 www.spiegel.de, accessed same date at 1300hrs.
Kaczynski insisted angrily that no country in the world could allow for there to be "property claims from citizens of another country on one third of its territory." Kaczynksi also argued, in the Polish tabloid *Fakt*, that if Germany's elites failed to react firmly, "the nation could again move in a direction that already ended once in a great European tragedy." And yet Berlin had repeatedly emphasized that it does not support the compensation claims and that there were no longer any open questions about property from World War II.

- The prime minister went even further during a parliamentary debate on the compensation claims. "There was and continues to be a genuine front for the defense of German interests in Poland. One has to say very clearly that this front consists, on one side, of active collaborators of the German intelligence agencies, including those inherited from (East Germany's secret police) Stasi. That's a very large group of people who live off German money and pretend to be independent scholars or independent journalists -- a large group of useful idiots with a beggarly attitude. It's simply not possible that almost all people in Poland who deal professionally with German-Polish relations live off German money."

- Polish anger was also provoked when the German weekly news magazine *Stern* wrote about an alleged CIA prison in Masuria, one of the infamous "black sites." The Polish tabloid *Super Express* published an angry article about "those arrogant Germans, who want to lecture us again."

- Jaroslaw Kaczynski put yet another spin on the tensions between his country and Germany three years ago: "Relations between Poland and Germany will be normal only when Poland is just as wealthy as Germany," he stated during the electoral campaign he was conducting at the time.
It is expected that these will not cause the relations to deteriorate further and will be resolved. Germany will continue to follow a policy of constructive cooperation between the CIS, Russia etc. Along with the global economic institutions as well as other countries, Germany has always supported the states of Central and Eastern Europe in their endeavors.\(^{323}\) German-Italian ties came closer over the proposed EU constitution.

The EU has strongly committed itself to bringing peace and stability to the Balkans and its main objective is to integrate the countries of the region into Europe’s political and economic mainstream. The *Stabilization and Association Process* is its principal policy instrument involving Albania, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Croatia, Yugoslavia, Macedonia, Rumania, Bulgaria and Moldova (since 2001).\(^{324}\) To complement the process, the EU leaders, at Germany’s initiative, adopted the Stability Pact (SP) for South East Europe in Cologne in 1999. The Pact aims at bringing all parties together to help build new forms of cooperation and stimulate practical and financial support from the international community. This, in turn, will result in efforts towards sustainable stability in the region. Germany sees in this an instrument of crisis prevention and is concentrating its efforts at consolidating and linking such areas of stability in South East Europe through its commitment to this Pact. Since its inception, Germany has earmarked DM 1.2 billion for this; as of 2004, it has gone up to € 2.7 billion.\(^{325}\) It believes this will create a firm base of stability on which can be built up peaceful democracies in the whole region. Not only has it made financial commitments, but also several structural initiatives have been set in motion. These include:

- Promoting democratic and legitimate governments.
- Creating open and pluralistic civil societies.

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\(^{325}\) [www.auswaertiges-amt.de](http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de).
• Promoting human rights, including the rights of minorities.

• Fostering a free and independent media.

• Developing market economy structures.

• Enhancing cross-border cooperation, particularly in combating crime, thus strengthening cooperative security structures.

• Creating conditions for the return of refugees.\textsuperscript{326}

Thus, following its commitment to its basic principles, Germany is following an integrated approach to tackle the political, economic and social causes of conflict in the region. This includes attempts to integrate these countries into the Euro-Atlantic structure.

The SP has initiated a large number of projects in the region. In March 2000, a quick start package of infrastructure measures has been adopted, totalling € 2.7 billion. 80\% of these have been completed. It has set in motion a broad CSCE style political process in Europe. Since 2002, on the initiative of the General Affairs Council of the EU with Germany playing an active role, certain priorities have been fixed as part of the SP process. These include creating a broad network of bilateral free trade agreements, eliminating obstacles to investment, projects to develop infrastructure, repatriation of refugees, cross border cooperation and establishing a clearing house for eliminating small and light arms in Belgrade. An informal consultative body has also been established with a view to coordinating the work of the EU Commission, the Council Secretariat and the SP. The SP forms a bridge between the resolving of conflicts in the region, post-conflict peace building and the integration of these states into the EU. Its success is apparent in the recent

\textsuperscript{326} Ibid.
enlargement of the EU to include some of the states of the former Communist bloc\textsuperscript{327}. Germany has taken over the EU presidency for six months in 2007. The areas addressed by it are:\textsuperscript{328}

1. Future of the Constitutional Treaty/ Reform of the Treaties
2. Berlin Declaration on the Future of the European Union
3. "Bringing the EU Closer to the Citizens"
4. The Future of the European and Economic Social Model
5. Common Energy Policy and Climate Protection
6. Internal Security (Combating Crime and Terrorism)
7. EU Immigration Policy
8. EU Enlargement
9. Eastern Policy of the European Union
10. Crisis Management
11. Strategic Partnerships and Multilateral Trade Policy

Recently, the heads of state and government of the European Union agreed on a new European Union treaty. German Chancellor Angela Merkel said the agreement was a milestone in the history of the enlarged EU. The Reform Treaty is to be signed in Lisbon in December 2007. Chancellor Merkel aims to initiate its ratification by Germany in Cabinet before Christmas. The groundwork laid down during the German EU Presidency in the first six months of 2007 had paid off, the Chancellor explained with satisfaction. She said there had only been "minor additions” to the proposals drafted at the end of the German Presidency. The European Union aims to help stabilise the process of rapprochement between Israel and the Palestinians. Taking up a suggestion from the

\textsuperscript{327} www.europa.eu.int section on Stability Pact, accessed on 13/5/05 at 1500hrs .
German Foreign Minister, the EU foreign ministers agreed to draft a European Action Plan for the Middle East. Security structures and education facilities are to be expanded and support is to be provided for the economy.  

**OSCE, NATO and G8:** In June 2000, the OSCE adopted a special REACT programme (Rapid Expert Assistance and Cooperation Teams), implemented since April 2001, for the mobilization of civilian crisis reaction forces at short notice for new OSCE missions. The training, which has been organized by the Federal Foreign Office since July 1999, backs up and complements these OSCE efforts. German personnel in the OSCE have been increased accordingly (currently there are more than 120 Germans in OSCE missions including police officers). The country’s expenditure on seconding personnel to the OSCE in 2001 amounts to just under DM 10 million.

Conflict prevention, as an independent issue, has been included in the G-8 agenda at Germany's suggestion (special Foreign Ministers' Meeting held in Berlin in December 1999). At the Foreign Ministers' Meeting in Miyazaki in July 2000, concrete initiatives have been agreed upon (fight against uncontrolled and illegal transfer of small arms and against the illegal diamond trade being used to finance wars, crisis-preventive orientation of development policy, ending of the use of child soldiers and the alleviation of the impact of armed conflicts on children as well as the provision of civilian police officers for international operations). In 2007 Germany takes over the presidency of G8. The core theme of the G8 under Germany was *Growth and Responsibility.*

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329 *Merkel, EU Has Regained Its Capacity To Act*, www.auswaertiges-amt.de 19/10/07 accessed same date at 1400hrs.
330 www.auswaertiges-amt.de relevant section accessed on 23/10/07 at 1400hrs.
331 For Greater details refer to www.g-8.de/content/EN/artikel
Through its presence in Bosnia and Kosovo, along with NATO, with Germany is making an indispensable contribution. The Federal Armed Forces continued 2,300 troops for SFOR and 25,400 for KFOR towards preventing fresh violence from breaking out. The Partnership for Peace program (PfP) and the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPR) with its 46 member states foster security and co-operation in the Euro-Atlantic area with their consultation fora and a host of activities, thus also serving the purpose of crisis prevention. In addition to this, the maintenance of a credible deterrence potential remains an important element of peacekeeping.

Germany has supported the opening up of NATO. It believes that this move will only strengthen the integration of Europe and build a safe and peaceful continent. In this context, the newly established Euro Atlantic Partnership Council and a strengthened Partnership for Peace will pave the way for a new model of pan-European security to become a reality. That this partnership also includes the Ukraine was given prominence in 1998 in Madrid through the signing of a special NATO-Ukraine charter. The Federal Government is aware that there are considerable obstacles in the path towards full EU and NATO membership for some of its Eastern neighbors. However, there is no alternative and it is incumbent on Germany, in particular, to lend a helping hand in the evolution of this partnership. NATO has plans of being used as a tool kit against global threats. For this purpose, NATO has come up with a Response Force or the NRF made up of some 26,000 soldiers. The NATO member states will provide troops on a rotational basis. Germany is one of the largest contributors.

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333 Remarks by President Bill Clinton on the National Interest for enlarging NATO, www.state.gov/www/regions/eur
334 NATO Response Force Finally Ready For Action, www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,2182444,000.html/mac=eng-bulletin433-html, 30/9/06 accessed on 10/10/06 at 1130hrs.
**Other Areas (Disarmament, Arms Control, Confidence Building Measures, Humanitarian Aid, Cultural Policy, Stabilizing Conflict Prone Areas):** Other focal areas of German foreign policy are disarmament and arms control, non-proliferation and building confidence between states in matters of military and security policy through co-operation and transparency. In this regard mention must be made of the Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE), within the framework of which more than 50,000 heavy weapons have already been eliminated and which are now being adapted to the new political situation in Europe. Germany has had a big hand in this. Germany played an important role in bringing about the inclusion of arms control agreements in the Dayton accords. Nearly 7000 weapons systems have been dismantled since 1996. In the middle of 1998, Germany took the initiative of a joint action on the part of the EU to limit and control small and light arms. To promote the world-wide denouncement of anti-personnel landmines, Germany completely renounced the use and export of these weapons as early as 1996 and destroyed the ’s (German army) stockpiles by the end of 1997. It is due to the efforts of Germany that the “Convention on the Prohibition and Transfer of Anti Personnel Mines and on their Destruction” has become a reality. Germany has lobbied strongly to bring about the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling and use of Chemical Weapons and their Destruction (1997). A completely new aspect in this regard is the destruction of nuclear and chemical weapons. Germany is also involved in this aspect through projects in Russia and the Ukraine. Germany’s attempts to persuade Iran to avoid going nuclear is yet another example.

In the area of Human Rights, a four pillar strategy will be followed: sustainable human rights policy as an interdisciplinary task in all national and international policy fields; cooperation with civil

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335 German Foreign Minister Urges Iran To Consider Nuclear Offer, www.bundesre.de 2/6/06 accessed on 4/8/06 at 2345hrs.
society against extremism and violence; integration of foreigners through legislation on nationality, immigration and non discrimination; prosecution of perpetrators, combating organized right wing extremism etc.\textsuperscript{336}

One of the non-negotiable fixtures of German foreign policy is support for security and existence of the state of Israel. However, Germany is clear that security depends on peaceful balance of interests between Israel and its neighbours and supports the creation of two States – Israel and Palestine. It is keenly watching the progress made in the West Asia peace talks. It was part of Middle East Quartet (EU, the USA, Russia and UN) and played a significant role in bringing about the road map to peace in April 2003.\textsuperscript{337} EU funding towards Palestinian territories (developmental assistance) is € 240 million and Germany contributes 22\% of it. In 2004, Germany contributed € 6.4 million to the UNRWA (UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees in the Near East).\textsuperscript{338} Recently Germany has committed troops for Lebanon after much speculation.

In July 2003, at the 5\textsuperscript{th} ASEM (The Asia-Europe Meeting) summit, Minister of State at the Federal foreign office, Kerstin Muller, outlined three challenges before Europe and ASEAN – dealing with terrorism, strengthening multilateralism and the UN as well as developing strategic dialogue between conflict prone areas.

Terrorism cannot be dealt with by military means alone. The terrorist attacks in New York, Bali, Casablanca and Afghanistan Britain etc show that the threat remains. The police, judiciary and, in extreme cases, the military are needed to combat it. It is just as important to develop a

\textsuperscript{336} Address by Claudia Roth, Federal Human Rights Commissioner, to the OSCE, June, 2003, www.bundesre.de.

\textsuperscript{337} www.auswaertiges-amt.de, section on the Middle East accessed on 20/10/07 at 2300hrs.

\textsuperscript{338} \textit{Ibid.}
comprehensive policy to tackle the social and economic roots of terrorism. Poverty and social instability provide fertile ground for fundamentalism, hatred and terrorism. Hence, an enhanced dialogue between societies and cultures, between the West and the Islamic world is required. Actively pursuing this dialogue is a cornerstone of German foreign policy. The 4th ASEM Summit in Copenhagen showed that ASEM is an important bridge in such a dialogue. The international community launched its campaign against terrorism in Afghanistan; the war there was won over a year ago. Added to this is the increasing proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery as well as the danger of terrorists gaining access to nuclear, chemical and biological material. Hence, terrorism should not only be rooted out but its underlying causes and its various dimensions must be addressed as well. To this end, multi-lateralism and the UN must be strengthened. One appropriate response to the new challenge is a comprehensive, strategic dialogue, which takes up all issues of international security. A common analysis of the threat and agreement on suitable instruments must be part of this.339

Germany has funded several Aid Projects: In 2006, the Federal Foreign Office committed more than € 77 million for 303 projects in humanitarian aid and mine clearance. The areas aided by Germany include:

€ 12.6 million - for 54 projects in Asia
€ 12 million - Sudan
€ 3.6 million - Afghanistan
€ 5.7 million - Middle East
€ 188,425 - Peru and Bolivia (flood victims in 2005)
€ 632,000 - Uganda (2007)

339 www.bundesre.de. accessed on 21/10/07 at 2300hrs.
€ 2.7 million   -   Congo (2007)
€ 4.1 million   -   Iraq (2007)
€ 1 million     -   Indonesia (Earthquake-2007)
€ 500,000       -   South Asia (India, Bangladesh, Nepal in 2007)

Germany has also founded the UN International Strategy for Disaster Reduction (ISDR).\textsuperscript{340}

Culture has been identified as the \textit{third pillar} of Germany’s foreign policy, along with security and economic policy. Germany realizes that the key to international understanding rests not so much in the use of force as in the attractiveness of ideas and values. It believes that, in this regard, it has a lot to offer for e.g. constitutional patriotism, moderation, conflict resolution, economic resurrection, etc. Through the transfer of culture, Germany does not seek to project its power but seeks acceptance from the people of Europe and the world. It is part of its search for identity as a normal power.

As part of its strategy to promote stability, Germany is building up its ties with China, Libya and Africa. Germany is China’s most important European trading partner and its largest European investor. German technology providers are already involved in numerous large-scale projects in China including the installation of telecommunications networks, the construction of power plants and the creation of a Transrapid magnetic-levitation train line that began operating in Shanghai at the beginning of 2003. In Guangzhou, German and Chinese engineers have jointly built a subway

\textsuperscript{340} \textit{Ibid.}
system, which like Transrapid, is a pilot project that is to be followed by others. A similar theme has also been reiterated by the present Chancellor.

In a joint declaration, Germany and China noted extensive agreement in their assessment of key international issues. They agreed to build a partnership for global responsibility in the framework of the strategic partnership between China and the European Union. Both sides will endeavor to continue to expand cooperation with each other, to strengthen multilateralism and to closely coordinate their efforts to work towards the development of a co-operative world order. Both sides stressed the importance of dialogue, on the rule of law and human rights for bilateral relations. The new government has called for Germany and China to move ahead together.

Chancellor Gerhard Schröder encouraged Libya to continue to move away from a centrally controlled economy towards a market economy, noting that this will improve prospects of broad participation in economic and social progress for the people of the country. In a speech given at the German-Libyan Economic Forum in Tripoli on October 15, 2004, Chancellor Schröder observed that there is considerable potential for development of German-Libyan economic relations. He noted that an agreement concluded between the two countries on the promotion and protection of investments will be “a big help”. Schröder emphasized the interdependence of peace and development, underscoring the importance not just of material but also of social and cultural security. He said he would like to see stronger co-operation between Libya and the European Union.

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343 Ibid.
in the framework of the Barcelona process, particularly in the areas of infrastructures, energy, scientific research, and cultural exchange.\textsuperscript{345}

It is an expression of a new spirit of partnership and development, first and foremost on the African continent, but also in Africa’s relations with Europe and the international community. Germany, and indeed Europe, wants to be an honest partner of the people of Africa as they embark upon this journey; a partner who works together with them to achieve regional cooperation, peace and sustainable development. Germany is determined to help Africa tackle its serious problems ranging from poverty and unemployment to epidemics and ethnic wars. It will continue to live up to this commitment, on a bilateral level, in the European Union and in the framework of the G8. This is not only a moral imperative, but it also makes good political and economic sense. No one can live in security if there is insecurity and strife in the neighborhood. State and continental borders are incapable of holding at bay not just armed conflict, failing states, poverty and underdevelopment but also epidemics and influxes of refugees. The transformation of Africa into a continent that overcomes wars and crises and gains access to the economic opportunities of globalization lies in the vested interest not only of peace, but also of the prosperity of the world.\textsuperscript{346} The visit by Chancellor Merkel recently (October, 2007) to the continent reveals the same intent and purpose.\textsuperscript{347}

The new government continues with the focus on civilian foreign policy. It feels that today, German foreign policy has to adjust and fit into the context of globalization. To the earlier principles, energy security and reviving the links with NATO seems to be on their agenda. Globalization

\textsuperscript{345} www.bundesre.de. accessed on 12/10/07 at 1200hrs
\textsuperscript{347} German Policy In Africa, www.auawaertigea-amt.de also see Africa Taking Its Destiny In Its Own Hand 10/10.07, Europe Must Do More In Africa 4/10/07 www.auawaertigea-amt.de accessed on 12/10/07 at 2300hrs
means, after all, a shrinking world in which distance hardly matters, a world of instant communication. That dramatically changes the parameters within which Germany conducts its foreign policy. As a result of globalization, the various parts of the world have become more closely linked with one another and it has become almost impossible to avoid being involved in some way in conflicts that occur elsewhere, Merkel noted, (In the 42nd the Munich Security Conference) citing as examples German involvement in reconstruction in Iraq, democratization in Afghanistan, and the Middle East peace process.348

She stressed that for the German government there is only one viable response to these global challenges, saying that Germany can address these dangers only in concert with its transatlantic partners. She noted that Germany is willing to assume greater responsibility, including participation in Out-of-Area missions.349

The German Foreign Minister, Steinmeier, pointed out that, three things must be kept in mind while analyzing German foreign Policy.Firstly, an increasingly globalized world means people have ever higher expectations concerning the speed and quality of information management. Whatever happens – natural disasters, civil wars – people all over the world are soon inundated with information about it, which often cannot be quickly processed or properly evaluated. Hence, in Germany as elsewhere, people expect the Government to come up with prompt and convincing responses.350

348 Merkel Calls For a Stronger NATO Role, www.bunesre.de 4/2/06, accessed on 23/6/06 at 2100hrs.
349 Ibid.
350 Speech by the Federal Foreign Minister to The German Bundestag, , www.bunesre.de, 14/12/05, accessed on 3/2/06 at 1300hrs also, Russia, Europe And The World, Prospects For cooperation on Global Security Issues,(the 42nd Munich security Conference), 5/2/06, www.bunesre.de accessed on 23/6/06 at 21.30hrs.
He said that, *in former times issuing instructions to our embassies was often all the response that was required. Today the situation is very different. Responding to such developments requires a plethora of consultations with our partners in Europe and the United Nations, public statements, briefings in Parliament and discussions with NGOs.* 351

Secondly, in recent years an increasing number of countries have been undergoing a *process of democratic transition. In the Balkans, in Iraq, in the Congo, in Afghanistan etc., it is seen just how fragile these transition processes are and how much support they are going to need often over a long period. It is also seen on a daily basis the horrific consequences that ensue when these processes break down, when entire regions are engulfed in anarchy and civil war. And for several years now Islamist terrorism, too, has of course posed an entirely new quality of threat.* 352 Germany is not unaware of this nor is it unaffected by this. In fact the general panic across the globe against Islamic Fundamentalism is also felt here.

Thirdly, Germany is increasingly affected by crises happening elsewhere in the world. German tourists abroad die in natural disasters or terrorist attacks; German companies are faced in some countries with endemic corruption or an absence of legal certainty; German citizens are seriously concerned about rising gas, oil and energy prices and what this implies for the country’s energy security. The reality is that instability, crisis and war in the immediate neighbourhood as well as further afield all have a direct impact on the security and prosperity of the country. A globalized world requires considerable rethinking from all foreign and security policy actors.

*A responsible foreign policy has to take this into account. It must respond to acute crises promptly and effectively, identify dangers at an early stage and seek in close cooperation with our partners* 351 *Ibid.* 352 *Ibid.*
to prevent them becoming reality. What that requires from us – as I see it and as I firmly believe – is not action for its own sake but responsible, level-headed and well-considered responses.\textsuperscript{353}

The Foreign Minister recently spoke about a farsighted foreign policy. Such a policy would be based on the instruments of dialogue, understanding and shared interests. The basic guidelines include global burden sharing, overcoming cultural alienation, shared domestic policy (EU), and combatting terrorism.\textsuperscript{354}

The principle of prevention continues to be a major guiding factor of German foreign policy. Civilian crisis prevention remains a major operational and research focus of Germany's foreign and development policy. For many years the Federal Foreign Office has been working intensively to promote civilian disaster prevention and bring scientists, policy-makers and practitioners together to this end.

Germany identifies that the main foundations of the nation's peace and prosperity are European integration and the social market economy. Particularly in view of the crisis gripping Europe following the "no" votes in the French and Dutch referenda, Germany feels the need to build a Europe that can act effectively both internally and externally and be a role model also for regions well beyond Europe's borders. Europe amounts to more than an internal market and a constitution. The Foreign Minister felt that for Germany EU was not just a project. It is in fact its response to Globalisation. He also reiterated the need to build closer ties between the EU and the USA.\textsuperscript{355}

\textsuperscript{353} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{354} Speech by Federal Foreign Minister Dr. Frank Walter Steinmeier on Current Foreign Policy Issues at The German Council For Foreign Relations Berlin, 11/9/07 in www.auswaertiges-amt.de accessed same date at 1800hrs.
\textsuperscript{355} Ibid.
Germany is supporting – together with its partners – *transition processes* in many parts of the world. At present Germany is doing its part in Afghanistan with a contingent of 2,500 soldiers. Germany wants to help Afghanistan stand on its feet.\(^{356}\) It has around 3,500 military personnel involved in reconstruction efforts in Kosovo and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Germany has also assumed international responsibility in the Horn of Africa, Sudan, Southern Caucasus, and at the Rafah border crossing.\(^{357}\)

Currently the EU is participating in over ten crisis management operations. For Congo, recently, on a bilateral basis Germany gave an additional € 10 million to the € 150 million provided by the EU for elections. To participate in the mission, Germany makes it clear that, it will require a UN mandate. Germany stipulated this as a condition for participation if all these requirements are met, Germany would then have a duty to participate in such a mission.\(^{358}\)

Another example of democratic transition at a more advanced stage can currently be seen in the Balkans. For Germany, given that the Balkans are really just next door working to make the conflicts there history is clearly in its interest. That means it will have to be prepared to provide political, financial as well as – where necessary – military support for a considerable time to come if lasting peace in the Balkans is to become a reality.

The issue that comes top of the agenda at the present time is the issue of Germany's enhanced responsibility in a dramatically changed security environment, a responsibility reflected in its ongoing efforts in connection with *Iran's nuclear programme*. Germany remains duty-bound to

\(^{356}\) Ibid.

\(^{357}\) Merkel, 4/2/06, Ibid.

\(^{358}\) Foreign Minister, 14/12/05 Ibid.
continue the search for diplomatic solutions. A number of options could be explored. Commenting on the recent nuclear cooperation agreement between India and the United States, he felt that in the light of negotiations on Iran's nuclear programme, the timing of the agreement was certainly anything but helpful. At the same time, he was willing to consider that it will enable to gradually integrate India into the non-proliferation regime.

*Energy security* requires a clear need for determined action to secure the country's energy supplies. In specific terms, that means working to foster political stability in crisis-affected regions, developing a consensual approach to resolving conflicts about access to or control over resources and promoting energy security systems based on cooperation. An energy security strategy calling for closer cooperation between consumer, producer and transit countries can make for better planning, more transparency and greater reliability in international energy relations has been advocated.

Three main aspects should be emphasized. Firstly, Russia remains the key energy source, above all for gas. The medium-term challenge is to maintain the mutual and equitable interdependency with Russia, whilst broadening the Russian-German relationship to create a Russia-EU relationship. Hence, greater integration in the energy sector is needed. The second key factor needed to ensure its future security of supply is the diversification of our suppliers. To this end, Germany will do more to develop its energy policy cooperation with Norway, North Africa and Central Asia. It intends to work on an EU Strategy for Central Asia during the German EU Presidency (2007). The third factor is energy cooperation on a global scale. For this, there is the need for functioning international energy institutions that involve emerging market economies more closely in their

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360 Federal Foreign Minister14/12/05 *Ibid.*
work. This aim will also be pursued by a conference the Federal Foreign Office plans to hold in the G8 framework next autumn. This should launch a dialogue on energy security with partners from China, India, Brazil, Mexico and South Africa. There is also transatlantic potential, above all in technology development for the post-oil age, most notably on the long road towards hydrogen fuel which has by no means been fully explored.³⁶¹

Key areas of the energy policy and energy foreign policy will become ever more embedded in European structures. Energy security is inseparably linked to climate and development policy. Energy efficiency, the promotion of renewable energies, technology transfer and climate partnerships are the key words here. The Federal Government has remained a driving force in international climate policy above all during its Presidency of the EU. The goal was to include the US and the major up and coming consumer countries in some post-Kyoto arrangement. The artificial divide between a technology-based approach and quantitative obligations must be bridged. Energy foreign policy and external economic affairs together have a potential that can be harnessed. German companies are international leaders in the fields of mechanical engineering, building insulation, measurement and control technology and process management.³⁶²

In his opinion, Germany will succeed in shaping globalization politically only if it also recognized the cultural dimension of this phenomenon. The recent caricatures controversy was a powerful reminder of just how explosive issues of cultural identity can be. Germany's cultural relations policy keeps in mind, that in today's globalized world culture is more than an after-work pastime or a way to manifest subtle social distinctions. Culture and language are the means by which people and nations communicate or fail in fact to communicate. They are fundamental to building

³⁶² Preview Of Germany’s EU Presidency, the Status Of The Federal Government’s Preparedness, State Secretary, Silberberg, www.bundesre.de 11/10/06 accessed on 13/10/06 at 1700hrs
understanding in the political domain as well as conducting economic exchange.\textsuperscript{363} This was re-emphasised recently by the German Foreign Minister\textsuperscript{364} - hence, the recent emphasis to overcome cultural alienation.\textsuperscript{365}

In the opening speech at the Munich Conference on Security Policy Chancellor Angela Merkel observed that NATO and the EU are the most successful security and value based alliances in recent history. She said a country like Germany, with a population of 80 million, would never be able to deal with the challenges of the twenty-first century on its own, adding that NATO should be the prime forum for policy debates and the coordination of military action. \textit{The erosion of government structures, terrorism, weapons of mass destruction falling into the hands of unreliable regimes - these are just a few of the challenges and threats we are facing in our time}, Merkel said in her speech. She said that the NATO needs to adjust to changes that have taken place in the world so that it can continue to be a cohesive framework for transatlantic interests and values, adding that a permanent joint analysis of threats needs to be carried out in the NATO framework.\textsuperscript{366}

She also said that NATO should be the prime forum for consultations on new trouble spots as well as for the coordination of military action. It is only if no agreement can be reached that other options should be considered. In her view, given scarce resources, the current broad range of NATO activities should be reviewed by 2008. The Alliance is carrying out a wide variety of missions that include peacekeeping, training, transport services, advisory services, disaster relief, and security at major sports events such as the 2006 World Cup. Merkel expressed concern that Iran may be pursuing military objectives with its nuclear program, adding: "A president who denies

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{363} \textit{Ibid.}  \\
\textsuperscript{364} Federal Foreign Minister, 11/9/07 \textit{Op.Cit.}  \\
\textsuperscript{365} Federal Foreign Minister, 11/09/07  \\
\textsuperscript{366} Merkel and NATO, \textit{Op.Cit.}..\end{flushleft}
Israel's right to exist and the Holocaust can't expect Germany to show even the slightest tolerance.\textsuperscript{367}

Merkel noted that Germany, too, is faced with a major task in helping to ensure that the transatlantic partnership preserves its ability to act. It needs to recover economic strength that will open up greater latitude for foreign and security policy action. She indicated that NATO and the EU need security partners in other regions as well, adding that the large number of conflicts in the world underscores the need for a tight network of international cooperation. She urged support for regional organizations such as the African Union as well as stronger consultations with partners such as Australia, New Zealand, and Japan.

Merkel remarked that the United Nations, too, is called upon to do its part. She referred to the urgent need for UN reform to be carried out, in particular with regard to the Security Council, with a view to improving the ability of the organization to act as well as the effectiveness of its actions. She stressed that any international interventions must remain within the limits of international law: "Further development of international law must take place in the UN framework so that there is a legitimate basis, with broad support, on which it will be possible to respond to the entirely new challenges facing us in the twenty-first century."\textsuperscript{368}

It must be remembered that, the Munich Conference on Security Policy looks back on a tradition of four decades. The international security community, now consisting of more than forty nations, has met annually in Munich since the early 1960s. Those who attend include armed forces personnel,

\textsuperscript{367} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{368} Ibid.
military experts, and ministers, legislators, and media representatives. Each year more than 250 participants come here to discuss transatlantic relations as well as European and global security. This international conference is a unique forum for the discussion of security and peace policy issues. In light of the global challenges being faced now, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, it provides key contributions in the process of shaping international security architecture for the future.

Germany is keen to forge ahead with new alliances. The areas of new alliances include Turkey and India. The proposed visit by the Chancellor to India in the third week of October 2007 is part of this agenda.\cite{fn369}

Why did Germany embark on a civilian foreign policy? The reasons are not far to seek. Firstly, it had no other alternative. If there had been the slightest doubt as to which course united Germany will tread, unification would never have happened. Secondly, it inherited its civilian policy, which had helped its re-establishment in the community of nations. Hence, it decided to continue this time-tested policy even after unification. Thirdly, the situation in the world at large called for a civilian policy. So, Germany was responding to the need of the hour. Fourthly, it was firmly bound within the EU and the NATO to prevent a repetition of the Third Reich. Finally, the stresses and strains of converting and integrating a command economy with a market economy (the economy of the former GDR with that of the former FRG) called for greater commitment to the domestic sector. Germany could not simply afford to distract itself with a non-civilian policy.

\cite{fn369} Foreign Minister, 11/9/07, Op. Cit. Also see, Merkel to Fly In With Nuke Thums Up, The Telegraph, Kolkata, India, 24/10/07 p.5.
While on the one hand one can clearly discern continuity in the foreign policy of Germany, post 1998 there has been a subtle reorientation in the same, nonetheless. The participation of the German armed forces in operations to establish and preserve peace and stability is the most visible sign of such a change. The war in Kosovo against the Yugoslav dictator Milosovic in 1999, the mission in Macedonia in 2000 and, in 2001, the mission against terrorism with the UN protection force in Afghanistan etc. were not ‘military’ in the strict sense of the term as none of these operations has been detached from political strategies to maintain or re-establish security or human rights. Yet, because Germany’s military action outside the NATO was for long unthinkable, this aspect of Germany’s changed role in world politics has sparked off a serious debate in the country.

It must be remembered that the German army is purely a defensive one. It has no weapons of mass destruction. The supreme command of the armed forces lies with the Federal Minister of defence and, in the event of war, with the Federal Chancellor. It is also firmly controlled by the German Parliament and all Out-of-Area operations require its approval. Also, all political parties, particularly the Greens, are against the use of nuclear energy for any purpose. Hence, a resurgent, militaristic Germany is a difficult image to conjure. It must also be noted that the integration of the Eastern and Western economies in Germany is occupying the latter’s interest full-time to preclude indulgence in external expansion.

At the same time, the reason for this re-orientation is necessary, given Germany’s new image and new importance after the end of the Cold War. Germany is no longer able to pinpoint its special status as a divided power; hence, it must meet the same obligations as its alliance partners. If Germany is to avoid the historical errors of its Sonderweg, or special path, it must adopt a more

370 Websites of Political Parties in Germany.
forthright attitude towards promoting its interests and rights as an equal partner. Further, it is not only Germany’s role that has changed but also the world at large. The system of East-West deterrence has given way to regional conflicts, the disintegration of the USSR and other states has adversely affected the security of Europe and the growth of privatized power like organized crime and international terrorism present an entirely new challenge. In this regard, Germany seems to have developed an all-encompassing security concept that its partners have come to accept.

To sum up, one can quote Chancellor Schröder that *post- 9/11, a fundamental change had occurred in world politics and, above all, in Germany’s role in the world. Germany must assume a measure of responsibility, which is in keeping with its role as a key European power and transatlantic partner, as well as a strong democracy and strong economy in the heart of Europe.*

The primary goal of German foreign policy is to preserve peace and security in the world. The expanded concept not only includes questions of conflict prevention, defense, disarmament and arms control but also ecological, development and social issues, including Human Rights. Foreign cultural and educational policy also forms an integral part. It is characterized by continuity and reliability. The key parameters of German foreign policy are ‘never again’, and ‘never alone’. The former is in the context of German history and is understood as a rejection of authoritarianism and militarism. The latter, is signifies Germany’s firm embedding in the institutions of The EU and NATO among others.

Post unification, Germany’s Foreign Policy has evolved steadily from being largely Eurocentric to being global. It is not following a passive foreign policy, despite its reluctance to commit troops in

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Iraq. Its active nature is evident from its participation in OOA, in its demand for a permanent seat in the UN Security Council, its leading role in the case of Iran, its ideas for the role of the NATO, and forthcoming presidency of the EU and the G8. It is a foreign policy firmly rooted in multilateralism. It is a responsible power and its identity is compatible with its responsibility.

This chapter has dealt with the responsibility aspect of German Foreign Policy. The participatory aspect has been dealt with in Chapter IV.