

WARSAW SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS  
COLLEGIUM OF SOCIO-ECONOMICS

Karol Janoś, M.A.

THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY TOWARDS THE COMMON  
SECURITY AND DEFENCE POLICY OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

Scientific field: social science  
Discipline: public policies

Doctoral thesis

written under supervision of

Prof. dr hab. Krzysztof Miszczak

Warszawa, May 2023

## Summary

The overarching objective of this dissertation was to analyse the activity of the Federal Republic of Germany under the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) of the European Union (EU) over the years 2009-2017. Its aim, in particular, was to identify the main motivations for Germany's involvement in this segment of EU policy and their interests, as well as to present the crucial factors that favour and restrict their activity in this dimension of co-operation between EU Member States. Furthermore, the intention of this work was to explain the reasons for their varying degree of involvement in individual CSDP dimensions. For instance: Why was Germany much more involved in the process of institutional development of this segment of EU policy and less in its operational dimension, that is, missions and operations implemented by the EU? This work also aimed to demonstrate the impact of actions undertaken by Germany on the development of CSDP and on the process of strengthening the development of EU capabilities in the field discussed.

### **Main research problem and thesis argument**

The main research problem was to find the answer to the following question: What determined the nature of activity of the Federal Republic of Germany as part of the EU's CSDP between 2009 and 2017? The answer to the question being the main research problem was based on the analysis of Germany's foreign, security and defence policies using the theory of international roles. The CSDP is a segment of EU policy where interests, norms, and values of individual Member States, as well as their diverse identities, traditions, and historical experiences clash. On the grounds of foreign policy analysis, role theory is the instrument enabling the analysis of interactions of such factors as values, traditions, or historical experience. It is understood in this context as a constructivist approach, according to which cultures, roles, and identities of their transformation are the very basis for defining the interests of states and their activities in the international system.

The central assumption of this theory is the existence of the influence of the concept of international roles on foreign policy enforced by states. They provide an indicative framework for decisions made by foreign policy actors. They are defined, among others, as sets of "norms expressing expected foreign policy behaviour and course of action". International roles are understood as "planned, that is, collectively standardised and individually designed – and

implemented by representatives – patterns of positions and behaviours of states and other actors in international systems”. The concepts of international roles are based on external expectations (*alter part*), or expectations of other participants in a given international system, and internal expectations (*alter ego*). The latter are shaped on the basis of common values and norms shared by foreign policy actors, which arise as the outcome of socialisation processes and a historical learning process. Internal expectations are roles that states assign to themselves as actors in an international system. And in an international system, they play numerous roles simultaneously. It is not always possible to harmonise all international roles played by various states, which may in turn result in tensions or conflicts between them. Literature provides two types of role conflicts: *intra-role conflicts* and *inter-role conflicts*. In works referring to the role theory, it is usually assumed that the international roles of a state are stable, however, their evolution in the long term is also possible. There are internal and external drivers impacting the process of role evolution, including changes in the international system or the process of socialisation related to participation in international organisations, amongst others.

In this doctoral dissertation, the role theory has been applied in order to explain the long-standing norms and values affecting Germany’s activity in the context of the CSDP. As it assumes that the analysis takes into account both external factors, including expectations on the part of allied states and other actors of the international system, as well as internal constellations and expectations, it allows for a comprehensive presentation of the framework for decision-making processes in foreign, security, and defence policies. The friction between the expectations of the international system and those of a domestic nature compel the actors of German foreign, security, and defence policies to face a choice of different options for possible action. The possibility of tensions and conflicts between roles, as well as the process of their evolution, described in theory, provided an explanation for Germany’s varying degree of involvement in the CSDP.

The main argument of this thesis is as follows: Two factors had a decisive impact on Germany’s activity as part of the CSDP over the years 2009-2017. First: striving to maintain an equal distance in relations between the French Republic, which is their main partner in the EU, and the United States of America, treated by Germany as their most important ally and guarantor of security – that is, countries with diverging interests in European security policy. And second, an attitude of restraint towards the use of the armed forces as an instrument of security policy. In terms of the role theory: Of key importance to the nature of Germany’s involvement in the CSDP were the tensions between the roles of an important partner of France and a country strongly involved in the process of European integration within the EU and of a

close ally of the USA and at the same time of a country involved in NATO, on the one hand, and the tensions between the role of a state with a restrained approach to using military instruments in security policy and a state which, due to its historical experience, is particularly committed to ensuring peace and security, on the other.

### **Structure of the doctoral thesis**

The work includes an introduction, six chapters, a closing chapter, a list of tables, and a bibliography.

The first chapter presents the theoretical and methodological assumptions. It has been divided into two main parts. The former discusses the use of the role theory as an instrument of foreign policy analysis, the stages of development of this theoretical concept, its main assumptions, as well as the advantages and limitations as a theoretical orientation in foreign policy research. The latter focuses on methodological assumptions. It includes a description of the course of the research process along with the analytical patterns used at its individual stages as well as the research methods and techniques used.

The main assumptions of the German foreign policy in the years 1949-2009 constitute the subject matter of the second chapter. It presents, on the basis of literature on this subject, the main directions in German international activity during the Bonn Republic and the Berlin Republic: connections to the West, multilateralism, the concept of a “commercial state”, restraint towards the use of military force as an instrument of foreign policy, and the concept of a “civilian power”. These directions can be treated as a framework for the design of Germany’s international roles in the analysed period, particularly with regard to the *ego part* element, that is, expectations of an internal nature.

In the third chapter, an empirical analysis of the concept of Germany’s international roles in the years 2009-2017 was conducted, which served to identify the individual international roles of Germany in the specified period, and to determine their potential transformations and conflicts that might have affected the form of Germany’s activity within the CSDP. The emphasis was on the analysis of *ego part* of international role concepts including internal expectations, or how Germany perceived itself as a participant in the international system. The next part of the chapter covers the results of the *alter part* analysis that is, the expectations formulated towards Germany from its international environment (including, but not limited to, states and international organisations), as well as conditional framework

expectations from the level of the international system. This chapter ends with a synthesis of the results of the *ego part* and *alter part* analyses, covering the issues of the continuation and evolution of Germany's international roles, as well as potential conflicts between them and within individual roles themselves.

The fourth chapter aimed to showcase Germany's involvement in the development of European co-operation in the areas of security and defence in the years 1949-2009. It constitutes the introduction to chapter five. Its structure is determined by a chronological framework. Its first part is devoted to the period beginning with the founding of West Germany until the end of the Cold War and ending with the reunification of Germany. Particular emphasis was placed on presenting the impact of the most crucial factors determining the nature of Germany's involvement in co-operation within those Western European organisations and structures whose focus was on issues related to security and defence policies. The second part of the chapter concerns the times of the Berlin Republic, that is to say the period when Germany was already a fully sovereign state and could independently shape the course of its security and defence policies. When describing this period, the focus was primarily on how "new" Germany viewed the process of expanding European structures and capabilities in the areas of security and defence policies, how it engaged in those processes, and what position it took on the relationship between the new forms of co-operation between European states in this field and within the previously created Euro-Atlantic structures responsible for this sphere of co-operation. The objective of this part of the dissertation was to pinpoint characteristic trends in Germany's activity in the field of co-operation in security and defence policies within European structures, which could have affected the nature of Germany's activity in the context of the CSDP in the period analysed in this work. Another objective was to diagnose to what extent Germany's course of action in in this area in those years was characterised by a continuation, and to what extent by an evolution compared to previous years.

The subject of the fifth chapter was Germany's activity in the context of the CSDP over the years 2009-2017. As is the case of the previous chapter, the structure of this one was also determined by a chronological framework and is therefore divided into two main parts. The former analyses the course of Germany's actions during the rule of the CDU/CSU-FDP coalition, whereas the latter during the term of office of the federal government co-created by the Christian Democratic parties and the SPD. The analysis of Germany's activity was performed on the basis of a four-category scheme. The first served to reconstruct Germany's general attitude towards the functioning and development of the CSDP and to characterise its involvement in the institutional development of this segment of EU policy. The second category

served to analyse how the German government viewed the relations between the EU and NATO in relation to security and defence policies, as well as whether and how it was involved in the development of co-operation between the two organisations. The next category covered Germany's involvement in the operational dimension of the CSDP, meaning its participation in missions and operations carried out by the EU. The final category concerned the process of Germany's domestic adjustments to participation within the CSDP. In this part, measures undertaken by the German government to increase the ability to participate in the operational dimension of CSDP as well as the process of implementing initiatives and projects agreed at the forum were analysed, whose aim was to intensify cooperation between Member States in this area, and thus to increase the effectiveness of the EU as an actor in security and defence policies.

The ultimate, sixth chapter is of a summarising nature. Its purpose was to synthesise the outcomes of individual analyses of the concept of Germany's international roles between 2009 and 2017, and its involvement in the CSDP in this period. The unification of results from both stages of the research process served to demonstrate the impact of the concept of international roles on Germany's course of action within the CSDP. This stage also aimed at showcasing the impact of tensions between the conflicting roles of Germany on the nature of its activity in this segment of EU policy and thus at verifying the main thesis argument of this dissertation.

## **Conclusions**

Germany's involvement in the CSDP over the years 2009-2017 was fundamentally influenced, on the one hand, by tensions between its roles in the EU, which assumed strong engagement in integration processes, the roles of *a close partner of France, a close partner of the US (in terms of security policy)* and of *a loyal member and partner of NATO* and, on the other hand, the roles of *a state aware of and fulfilling its responsibilities* and *a supporter of civilian instruments*. This dissonance between the roles in the EU and the roles of *a close partner of France and a close partner of the US (in terms of security policy)* and of *a loyal member and partner of NATO* was mirrored in the position and actions of Germany regarding the process of strategic reflection on the direction of CSDP advancement and its institutional development aimed at increasing the capabilities of the EU in the field of security and defence policies. Tensions between these roles also impacted the nature of Germany's outlook on the shape of relations between NATO and the EU as well as its involvement in developing co-operation between these two organisations. In turn, the tensions between the role of *a supporter*

*of civilian instruments and a state aware of and fulfilling its responsibilities* influenced the nature of Germany's participation in operational activities undertaken by the EU in the field of security policy as well as in the process of domestic adjustments to CSDP activity. The outcome of the conducted research, based on the role theory, thus confirmed the assumed thesis argument that the nature of Germany's activity in the context of the CSDP in the analysed period was determined mainly by two factors. The former was Germany's desire to maintain an equal distance in relations between France, the EU, and the United States of America (considered their most important ally and guarantor of security), that is, between countries that shared diverging interests in European security policy. And the latter is the restrained attitude to the use of the armed forces as an instrument of foreign and security policies.