

Book Proposal

"German out of area military deployments in the Merkel era. Trading state, civilian power or leading power?"

Zdeněk Kříž
Jana Urbanovská
Stanislava Brajerčíková
Masaryk University

1. Statement of Aims

Generally, the proposed book deals with German out of military deployments in Angela Merkel's terms (2005-2019). The book aims to (1) describe the main tendencies in German out of area military deployments in the analyzed period; (2) reveal conditions leading to the German participation in these military operations; and (3) assess whether Germany follows the logic of civilian power, trading state or leading power.

The proposed book will defend the following general arguments:

1. German participation in out of area military deployments does not fit the logic of trading state;
2. Despite many German political declarations asserting that Berlin is willing to provide in multilateral framework leadership in out of area military deployments, the German modus operandi is not in accordance with the leading power;
3. German policy in this area inclines to civilian power.

The book describes the coverage of this topic in available academic literature, explains the techniques of data collection and methods of data analysis, introduces the concepts of civilian power, trading state and leading power, analyzes the German role in international organizations (UN, NATO, EU) that are relevant for military crisis management, sheds a light on the history of German participation in out of area military deployment and, finally yet importantly, analyzes the German participation in military deployments under the UN, NATO a EU umbrella. In the concluding chapter, the reader will be provided with the QCA formulas describing necessary and sufficient conditions, which will be explained against the background of the above-mentioned analytical concepts.

The main contribution to the state of art lies in focusing on the period that is not extensively covered by academic literature and in using QCA as one of the methods of data analysis.

2. Detailed Synopsis, Including Chapter Summaries (47-50,000 words)

2.1 Introduction (1000 words)

This chapter will explain the main goals and structure of the proposed book to the readers. The book defends the argument that German modus operandi in out of area military deployments is very close to civilian power.

2. 2 German out-of-area military deployments and their reflection in the academic literature (2000 words)

This chapter will provide the reader with a brief overview of the state of art regarding German participation in out of area military deployments.

2. 3 The conceptual basis: civilian power, trade state, leading power (5,000 words)

This chapter introduces three main concepts used as a conceptual backbone of the book: civilian power, trade state, and leading power concepts.

2. 3.1 Civilian power

Civilian power is not expected to totally abandon the instruments of power in politics. If the civilian power is to live up to its mission of civilizing international relations, it can use military force and can do so even outside its own territory. The civilian power concept does not reject using military force *a priori*. The fundamental characteristics (conditions) of a civilian power's use of armed force include: (1) military force is the last resort in resolving the conflict, used only after all non-military options have been exhausted; (2) the military operation is in absolute conformity with international law; (3) the military operation aims to support and defend human rights; (4) when military force is used, an effort is made to reduce damage and losses not only on one's own side, but also on that of the adversary; and (5) the military action takes place in a multinational framework (with the exception of self-defense) and is not an instrument of a unilateral policy.

2.3.2 Trade state

The trading state is skeptical about the use of military force because military capacities are expensive and their deployment seldom results in the welfare of society. If military force is deployed, it is used within an alliance, and the trading state seeks to bear the lowest costs possible. The trading state will not initiate military operations unless the crises in those regions in which they are to take place directly endanger its commercial interests. The behavior of the trading state is based on the belief that it will gain a more favorable position in the international environment by economic development and trade rather than by war conflicts. Military spending, accompanied by an accumulation of military forces, undermines the economy, and thus military power accumulation is not a priority. This implies that the trading state will participate in a military operation in particular if it seeks to stabilize commercially important regions or to ensure the viability of key trade routes. Conversely, if these objectives are not covered by the mandate of the military operation, the trading state will tend to evade them.

3.3.3 Leading power (Führungsmacht)

The leading power is performed by the state as a social role in a certain group of states (i.e. in the international system or a section of it). This role can be defined in terms of time or function and is always identified based on of the relationship with other members of the group. Not just the behavior of the leader, but also the actions of the led and their ability and willingness actively to embrace the role of followers, are crucial for understanding the meaning of a leading power. Thus, the role of a leading power is not based on claims, but constituted through both its own and others' expectations, depending on the function that has been assumed and the objectives outlined. The important roles of a leading power include representing the led, integrating their interests, identifying appropriate sets of solutions and agenda-setting. Many authors argue that, given Germany's political and economic might, the country is

predetermined to take on the role of a leading power in various international institutions, in order to resolve crises and conflicts in the contemporary world.

2. 4 Multilateral framework of German out-of-area military deployments in the Merkel era (7,000 words)

The chapter explores the multilateral framework of German out-of-area military deployments during the governments of Angela Merkel in order to outline the role that Germany plays in each of the international organizations under investigation (NATO, UN, EU). Last but not least, this chapter will clarify the institutional context in which these military deployments take place.

2. 4. 1 Germany and the North Atlantic Alliance

NATO has been a crucial security institution for Germany since it was established. This statement is valid for Germany under Merkel's government, too. However, there are discussions about whether Germany contributes appropriately to common security. The chapter defends the argument that Germany cannot be seen either as a free rider or a leading power and its security posture is very close to civilian power.

2. 4. 2 Germany and the European Union

It is widely acknowledged that Germany is a de facto leader of the European Union, a so-called *primus inter pares*. This gives Germany a strong position in the development of the EU's security and defense policy. However, due to its traditional culture of restraint and due to the need to balance between the European and transatlantic dimension of its foreign policy, Germany has been hesitant to push for a "militarized" EU and has stressed the civilian dimension of EU crisis management in the first place.

2. 4. 3 Germany and the United Nations

Besides the European Union and the North Atlantic Alliance, the United Nations belongs to the key multilateral pillars of German foreign and security policy. Due to the importance of the UN for Germany and the simultaneous importance of Germany for the UN, their relationship can be seen as mutually reinforcing. Although Germany is a prominent contributor to the UN budget and has a strong presence in UN bodies and platforms, its support for the UN's military instruments of conflict management has so far lagged behind.

2. 5 Evolution of German participation in military crisis management in 1990-2005 (6,000 words)

The increase in German military engagement, including its participation in NATO PSO, cannot be definitely interpreted as a revival of German militarism.

Except for the 1999 Kosovo, the German military engagement in NATO operations has taken place strictly within the international law and included dominant features of endeavor to improve the humanitarian situation of local civilians (that can be also applied on Kosovo). For the time being, the German domestic political debate and foreign political practice imply that Kosovo was an exception and not a model of acting in similar situations. It is also evident from the negative attitude of Germany towards the 2011

engagement in Libya. The Afghan engagement is a convincing proof that the German society still views participating in war as inappropriate and that Germany also wanted to conduct a post-conflict reconstruction when the situation was not post-conflict.

2. 6 German out of area military operations in the UN framework (8,000 words)

The chapter explores the performance of Germany in the field of EU's civilian and military crisis management operations. Generally, Germany has been supportive of the development of the Common Security and Defense Policy of the EU, which has provided the framework for the deployment of EU's crisis management operations since their launch in 2003. It is, nevertheless, obvious that Germany strongly tends to contribute to civilian crisis management operations and remains cautious towards taking part in the military dimension of the EU's crisis management.

2. 7 German out-of-area military operations in the NATO framework (8,000 words)

The chapter will analyze the German participation/non-participation in the NATO out of area military deployments from the perspective of the above-mentioned theoretical concept focusing on Afghanistan and Libya. The chapter defends the argument that the German modus operandi is very close to civilian power and deviates in a very significant way from trading state and leading power.

2. 8 German out-of-area military operations in the EU framework (5,000 words)

The participation of Germany in UN peacekeeping operations dates back to the beginning of the 1990s and since then it has become an inseparable part of the German UN-policy. Owing to the limited nature and extent of German contributions, Germany is said to be a "cautious contributor". In spite of that, Germany has taken part in a significant number of UN peacekeeping operations and its participation has been on the rise recently, even leading to a prominent position among European contributors.

2. 9 Data QCA analysis and interpretation against the background of the theoretical concepts (5,000 words)

This chapter provides the reader with the outcomes of the QCA analysis and its interpretation against the background of the above-mentioned key theoretical concepts. Sufficient and necessary conditions for German participation in out of area military deployments will be reported and cases that do not fit to the obtained formulas will be properly explained.

2. 10 Conclusion: Germany as a civilian power, trading state or leading power? (3,000 words)

As the research has been almost completed, the research team will defend the argument that German participation in out of area does not fit the logic of the trading state. Further on, although Germany proclaims in its main security documents that it is ready to take over leadership in security issues, we came to the conclusion that in out of area military deployments, German foreign policy does not fit the logic of leading power. Therefore, we argue that the prevailing modus operandi is very close to civilian power.

3. Description of the Target Market

The typical reader of the book will be a lecturer or graduate as well as post-graduate student in the fields of Political science and International relations, Security studies and Defense studies. The topic of German out-of-area military deployments is widely discussed in academic journals such as German Politics, International Peacekeeping, Contemporary Security Policy, Security Dialogue, Survival, Armed Forces and Society and Internationale Politik. However, the book will be accessible for a well-informed reader who is not an academic expert on IR or German foreign and security policy and just properly follows world politics.

Since Germany is a leading European power and the most influential member of the European Union, we expect the book to have a significant international appeal among European scholars and students. We also expect the book to reach its audience in multiple specialized departments of US universities.

Germany as a foreign policy and/or security policy actor is a widely researched topic and German participation in out-of-area military operations is an important part of this research field. Moreover, the approaching end of Angela Merkel's chancellorship is expected to promote even more research in this field in order to review this special period of German post-unification politics.

Although the book is not intended primarily as a textbook, it can be used as supplementary reading in courses dealing with German foreign, security and defense policy and international crisis management at both graduate and post-graduate levels.

4. A Review of the Main Competing Titles

There are several books composed of empirical case studies of particular German out-of-area military deployments, such as a monograph by Andreas M. Rauch (*Auslandseinsätze der Bundeswehr*. Nomos 2006) or an edited volume by Hans J. Gießmann and Armin Wagner (*Armeeim Einsatz: Grundlagen, Strategien und Ergebnisse einer Beteiligung der Bundeswehr*. Nomos 2009); however, they lack a theoretical perspective and, given their date of publication, omit up-to-date deployments. A more recent publication was issued by Ulf von Krause (*Die Bundeswehrs Instrument deutscher Außenpolitik*. Springer 2013), conceiving the German out-of-area military deployments as instruments of German foreign policy and exploring them in the context of German parliamentary and societal debates. A theoretically informed analysis of German out-of-area military deployments was presented by Klaus Brummer (*Die Innenpolitik der Außenpolitik. Die Große Koalition, „Governmental Politics“ und Auslandseinsätze der Bundeswehr*. Springer 2013), who applies a conceptual framework of a “Governmental Politics model” to find out what impact the interests of particular members of the coalition government have on the formulation of the mandates for Bundeswehr's out-of-area deployments; thus, the book is primarily concerned with domestic political aspects of the issue. Last but not least, Henrike Viehrig (*Militärische Auslandseinsätze: die Entscheidung europäischer Staaten zwischen 2000 und 2006*. VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften 2010) aims to explain the decision-making processes behind the participation of European countries in fourteen out-of-area military operations, using analytical concepts drawn from political science, media and communication sciences; here, however, Germany is but one focus of analysis along with France, United Kingdom, Austria, Poland, and Spain.

Obviously, despite their undeniable academic quality, the biggest weakness of these titles as regards their ability to reach an international audience is that they are written in German, which significantly limits

their impact. In addition, none of the existing publications on German out-of-area military deployments is comprehensive enough in the sense that it covers military deployments under all of the most significant international organizations dealing with crisis management – NATO, UN, and EU – within a substantial period of time. Finally yet importantly, in comparison with the existing titles, the book we propose is based on solid theoretical underpinnings and therefore is able to offer a deep insight into the problems of German out-of-area military deployments.

5. Format and timeline

As the research has been almost finished, the authors intend to deliver the manuscript (47 - 50,000 words) no later than by September 2020. We assume that the manuscript will not include material coming from other sources.