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ABSTRACTS

Krzysztof MISZCZAK, Niemcy w polityce globalnej (Biała Księga) / Germany in Global Politics (White Paper)

The aim of this article is to analyse the global and European foreign, security and defence policies of the Federal Republic of Germany and their implications for the broad international environment of Germany. Special attention is paid to the issues of Germany’s emancipation in the international order after the end of the East-West conflict, when it became clear that the regional conflicts and their transnational impact gained a new and multidimensional character for the German security policy. Given this evolution of the international system, Germany has gradually changed its former foreign and security policies. The state currently intends to take greater responsibility for international politics, which translates into a simultaneous increase in its political and economic power in the international arena. This new global role of the Federal Republic of Germany is manifested by the so-called White Paper on German Security Policy and the Future of the Bundeswehr approved on 13 July 2016. This document presents primarily the hierarchy of threats in today’s world, their definitions and attempts to neutralize them in compliance with German interests. Instruments to ensure a smooth achievement of this goal include the modernization of the German armed forces, the creation of intervention troops and their participation in multinational military operations conducted by NATO and the European Union.

Keywords: new international order, the foreign, security and defence policies of Germany, defining German interests, new dimension of international conflicts, White Paper on German Security Policy, modernization of the Bundeswehr

Piotr MADAJCZYK, Niemiecka wizja miejsca Rosji w multipolarnym świecie / The German Vision of Russia’s Place in a Multipolar World

The commonly held truth is that the attitude of German society and the German elite to Russia is different to the attitude of Poland. This is not entirely true because due to Russian policy, the Germans have become more critical of Russia in the twenty-first century than before.
Germany, however, pursues a more global policy than Poland. As Russia and Germany are of great significance in Polish politics, it is important to question the German vision of Russia’s place in today’s multipolar world. This is all the more important given that Germany, as the strongest country in Europe and the one that stabilized the euro zone, has difficulty in defining its role in the international arena. It is only as a result of the recent debate about the hybrid war, that Germany has overcome its unilateral geo-economic perception of the world. It is clear that the Germans are facing a new challenge, which they have not been prepared for.

**Keywords:** Germany, Russia, Ukraine, multipolar world, geopolitics, geo-economics, regional power, globalization

**Józef M. FISZER, Polityka RFN wobec Rosji – szanse i zagrożenia dla Europy i świata w XI wieku / German Policy towards Russia – Chances and Threats for Europe and the World in the 21st Century**

This article presents the policy of the united Germany towards Russia, its underpinnings and its positive and negative effects on Europe and the world in the twenty first century. The author questions the objectives and consequences of this policy for Germany, Russia and Europe. He tries to answer the questions of whether there will be another Rapallo and whether Russia and Germany will try to play a dominant role in Europe. Does the cooperation of Germany and Russia contribute to peace in Europe and Euro-Atlantic relations? Will the position of Germany in the EU increase after Brexit? This is not an easy task, given the complex and dynamic situation in the world and the difficult socio-political and economic situation of contemporary Russia, as well as the enormity of the tasks that the country needs to perform to become a modern, strong, wellmanaged, democratic and peaceful power. Russia has long been assisted by Germany in this process, a country which today is the undisputed leader in Europe and plays an increasingly important role in the world. The main thesis of this article is that the way to a new democratic and multipolar global order is still very long and that Germany – mindful of history and the tragic experience – will not return to the policy of cooperation with Russia, which would lead to a new division of Europe and the world. According to the author, Germany remembers the past and will therefore remain a democratic country and an important link in the Euro-Atlantic system. Furthermore, Russia will also
become a democratic, peaceful state and an important actor in a new, multipolar global order. This will happen after it liberates itself from the rule of Vladimir Putin. This will not happen quickly unless Russia faces an economic disaster and the eruption of social discontent (Euromaidan on the Red Square), which forces Vladimir Putin to leave the political scene.

**Keywords:** Germany, foreign policy of Germany, Russia, European Union, international security, new global order

**Wanda JARZĄBEK,** *Wpływ zalanania się koncepcji „resetu” w stosunkach amerykańsko-rosyjskich na stosunki amerykańsko-niemieckie / The Impact of the Failure of the ‘Reset’ Policy in US–Russian relations on US–German Relations*

The reset in Washington-Bonn relations resulted from a reorientation of US foreign policy after President Barack Obama took office. The new administration concluded that the problems they faced in relation to the international involvement of the United States and the economic crisis were global in nature and required cooperation not only with NATO allies (with whom its relations were also not the best), but also with Russia. President Obama hoped to cooperate with Russia, but some observers found his position naive and attributed it to his lack of experience. The policy of ‘reset’ quickly began to fade out and the Obama administration started to gradually withdraw from it. The Russian aggression in Ukraine and the annexation of Crimea in March 2014 put an end to this policy. The impact of the failure of the ‘reset’ policy in US-Russian relations on US-German relations should be viewed in terms of the policies pursued by the two countries and the hopes they place in their mutual relations. Because both countries have an important position in international relations, their bilateral relations are characterized by a factual and balanced approach. This also applies to their policy towards Russia.

**Keywords:** reset, US-Russian relations, US-German relations, foreign policy of the Obama administration
Krzysztof GARCZEWSKI, Republika Federalna Niemiec wobec państw Partnerstwa Wschodniego w kontekście niemieckiej polityki wschodniej w XXI wieku. Implikacje dla Polski / The Federal Republic of Germany’s Attitude towards the Eastern Partnership Countries in the Context of the German Eastern Policy in the Twenty-first Century: Implications for Poland

This article presents the relationships of the Federal Republic of Germany with six countries that joined the Eastern Partnership programme: Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia. It also contains an analysis of the German Federal Government’s approach towards the Eastern Partnership project, which was initiated by Poland with the support of Sweden. The author takes account of the implications for Poland of Germany’s policy in this region.

Keywords: German eastern policy, Eastern Partnership, Russian-Ukrainian conflict, Caucasian Initiative

Jens BOYSEN, Niemiecka „cywilność” a rosyjska „bojowość” jako czynniki strategicznej orientacji w kontekście międzynarodowego bezpieczeństwa / The German ‘Civic’ Approach and the Russian ‘Militant’ Approach as Factors of Strategic Orientation in the Context of International Security

Germany and Russia are key players in the area of security policy, particularly in Europe but also outside the continent. The two countries, however, show completely different approaches to specific issues. While Russia (like many other powers) quite openly continues to conduct traditional ‘realistic’ diplomacy guided mainly by national interests, Germany is a ‘champion of multilateralism’ that refers to the ‘interests of all humanity’. This remarkable altruism of the nation state has its origin in the history of National Socialism, which, according to the German political elite, delegitimized the concept and the policy of ‘national interest’. As a result of this peculiar political culture, Germany is indeed a reliable partner in NATO, the European Union and other organizations. However, in political practice, the neurotic attitude of the German elite with regard to military affairs often makes cooperation with its partners difficult in the area of security and defence. This attitude has also severely affected the condition of the Bundeswehr and led to disregard for the interests of German soldiers in
peacekeeping missions. In contrast, Russia (again) has never reviewed its Stalinist past and the social position of the army is as high as it was in Soviet times. As a result, the country may be less sympathetic than Germany and lacks civic culture, but the cynical policy of Moscow is somewhat more predictable when it comes to hard politics.

**Keywords:** Germany, Russia, stabilization policy, military culture, historical education

**Martin DAHL, Niemiecka droga do demokracji i gospodarki rynkowej jako przykład dla państw Europy Wschodniej / The German Road to Democracy and the Market Economy as an Example for Eastern European Countries**

The German experience with democracy and the market economy can be particularly valuable for other European countries for at least two reasons. Firstly, after World War II, the Germans effectively and permanently managed to enter the democratic political system based on the market economy. Initially, the economy was implemented only in the western part of the country and since 1990 all over the country. Secondly, after the collapse of the former Soviet bloc, Central European countries greatly benefited from German political solutions. This means that in favourable conditions, these experiences can be a valuable source of inspiration for other countries, especially those in Eastern Europe.

This study is a result of research conducted in 2016 as part of the project ‘Germany and Russia in a multipolar international order. Strategic vision and potential alliances’ with the support of the Foundation for Polish-German Cooperation. It consists of four parts. Part I is an introduction to the issues analysed. Part II shows the genesis and characteristics of the democratic political system of Germany. Part III contains an analysis of the German experience with the implementation of the market economy. In Part IV, the author presents his conclusions of how and to what extent Eastern European countries can use the German experience in reforming their political systems and what conditions they would have to meet.

**Keywords:** Germany’s political system, democracy, market economy, systemic transformations in Eastern Europe