
Contents

1	Introduction	1
1.1	Methodology	13
1.2	Structure	20
2	Understanding Germany’s Use of the Navy in Foreign Policy	23
2.1	The Utility of Navies in Foreign and Security Policy	27
2.2	The Role of the Navy in Foreign Policy in German Discourse	41
2.3	Evolving German Thought on the Navy, Maritime Security and Ocean Governance	54
3	The State, Maritime Security and The Navy as an Instrument of Foreign Policy	57
3.1	The Parameters of Maritime Security	60
3.2	The Policy and Strategy Level	66
3.3	The Navy	85
3.4	Evolving German Strategy and the Navy	91
4	Phase 1: First Steps in International Crisis-Response	101
4.1	Introduction	101
4.2	Developing an Understanding of the Utility of the Navy	105
4.3	<i>Südflanke</i> and the Naval Response to the 1990 Iraq War	110

4.4	Sharp Guard: 1992–1996	114
4.5	Southern Cross 1994: Getting Germany's Peacekeepers Home from Somalia	123
4.6	Effects of the First Phase of Post-Cold War Naval Missions on German Foreign Policy and the Navy	134
5	Phase 2: The War on Terror: Becoming An Expeditionary Force for Good Order at Sea	145
5.1	Introduction	145
5.2	The Utility of the Navy to Germany in the War on Terror	149
5.3	Operating off the Horn of Africa	164
5.4	The Effects of the Schröder years on the Navy in German Foreign Policy	174
6	Phase 3: Comprehensive Maritime Security and Ocean Governance	189
6.1	Introduction	189
6.2	The Navy in the Economic and Foreign Policy Context of the Merkel Years	192
6.3	UNIFIL: The Arab-Israeli Conflict, Diplomacy, Presence and Training	197
6.4	EU ATALANTA: Comprehensive Maritime Security at the Horn of Africa	207
6.5	Refugee Crisis in the Mediterranean	226
6.6	Crisis-Response, Comprehensive Maritime Security and the return to Great-Power Confrontation	238
7	The Navy and Germany's New Global Role	249
7.1	The Paradox of German (Sea)Power	253
7.2	The Complexity of Challenges and the Increasing Relevance of the Navy	264
7.3	Emancipating the Navy from its Cold War Role	278
8	Concluding Remarks	281
9	Epilogue: The German Navy, Maritime Security and <i>Zeitenwende</i>	301
9.1	National Interests, Comprehensive Maritime Security and Ocean Governance	304

9.2	Contemporary Update to the Functions of Navies	307
9.3	Innovation as a Strategic Imperative	311
9.4	Regionally Rooted and Globally Committed	312
9.5	Rely on the Navy to Navigate Troubled Waters	319
Interviews		321
Bibliography		323