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**Features of the Expertise by the German Think Tanks of the Military and  
Political Cooperation between German and Sub-Saharan Africa**

SUMMARY OF THE DISSERTATION  
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### *Scientific problem and relevance*

The present-day world is changing at a staggering rate. Politicians should analyze and understand the changes that are taking place almost instantly, view all the prospects, see changes in the legal, economic, military-political and other spheres of international relations, and calculate the results of these changes. The price of political decisions is extremely high. But do they have sufficient resources to do so? Often, politicians simply do not have the time to conduct a thorough analysis of the situation. Therefore, the demand for political expertise is particularly high, even though the results of analytics can lose their relevance as quickly as the world itself changes. Experts, like politicians, can be hopelessly late, and the latter often make decisions that are regarded by researchers, journalists and ordinary people as irrational and completely contradict the proposals of experts.

Part of the policy expertise is research on military-political cooperation, which is part of the broader field of security studies. The content of the latter concept expands over time and affects an increasing number of different aspects and spheres of life. Nevertheless, in international relations, the main issue and task of ensuring security remains the protection of political actors from various challenges and threats. It becomes obvious that security expertise is extremely relevant in the face of increasing risks at all levels. This becomes especially clear in the light of recent events around Ukraine, which force politicians in many countries to reconsider their views and approaches to protecting the state from external and internal threats, and carefully analyze the possibilities of bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the military-political sphere. States are forced to adapt their national interest policies and partly their strategic culture to the changing realities. Think tanks as a key part of the expert community, are the institutions that help one understand how best to organize and conduct such adaptations. Traditionally, they play a big role in the United States, but this country, with the largest number of such institutions, is not unique in this regard. The European Union and especially Germany is no exception, as the latter desires to strengthen its status on the world stage. Understanding the principles of the work of European (EU) and German think tanks allows to

understand better the mechanisms of decision-making as well as the influence of strategic culture on them.

Due to the fact that Germany is considered to be the driving force of the European Union and is its largest economy<sup>1</sup>, the Federal Republic of Germany is of particular value for the research. The study of possible factors influencing the decision-making process in Germany will allow to build relations with Germany, quickly and adequately respond to its actions on the world stage. And taking into account the current situation in modern international relations and the challenges of European and global security, this study also shows the main trends in the foreign policy of the European Union, which Germany sets due to its position as a leading power, and also reveals the key features of the new European security architecture, which Germany helps to build.

Another thing that is of a particular interest in the expert community and among the political establishment of different countries is the African continent. It has a huge economic potential, especially the countries of sub-Saharan Africa, which constitute quite an important region from an economic and geopolitical point of view. The events taking place in many countries of the region directly affect the state of both global and regional security, which forces the world community to be more actively involved in the processes of crisis and post-conflict settlement on the continent. Germany is also actively developing the African direction of its foreign policy. The peculiarities of the country's strategic culture create difficulties for full-fledged military-political cooperation with sub-Saharan Africa, forcing to switch to finding alternative ways of interaction to solve African problems. Since the term "military-political cooperation" does not appear in official documents, it is worth explaining that in the framework of this study, we are talking about joint efforts to ensure security and achieve stability on the continent, which is a priority on the continent for Germany.

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<sup>1</sup> Gross domestic product at current market prices of selected European countries in 2021 // Statista. URL: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/685925/gdp-of-european-countries/> (accessed 24.10.22).

The study of German experience in conducting political expertise, which has a lot of examples of both successes and failures, and a comprehensive analysis of expert and analytical data on Germany's military-political cooperation with sub-Saharan Africa is relevant not only in the academic sense. For the Russian Federation, the above considerations are important, firstly, because our state faces serious challenges to its national security, and it is faced with the task of ensuring full readiness for them. The presented research will allow to get acquainted with both the approaches and tools of security policy expertise in general, and with the features of the expertise of German analytical centers in particular. This may be of interest for more effective interaction between specialized Russian think tanks and the government. Secondly, familiarization with the results of research on the methods of forming and implementing German military-political cooperation with sub-Saharan Africa and studying the mistakes made there will enable Russia, which is faced with the task of strengthening cooperation with African countries, to optimize its own African policy and minimize the number of failures in it.

**Scientific problem of the study:**

On the one hand, the world of politics and the world of science live in different logics of attitude to knowledge. For politicians with ideological commitments, participating in political competition and fighting for public support for their positions and programs, the primacy of politics over science is obvious, even though erroneous political decisions often lead to the most serious consequences. Experts, on the other hand, operate with knowledge as a certain set of theories and concepts that have great explanatory potential, but not always obvious practical significance. In many areas of domestic and foreign policy, there is often a significant gap between the decisions taken by the ruling elites and the recommendations of experts.

On the other hand, the expert community is steadily increasing its influence. Without an effective system of expert support for foreign policy, the state is uncompetitive. The revealed contradiction exposes an important problem of studying the real, true value of the activities of experts interacting with politicians and the results of their analysis – is it rather epistemological, scientific and/or

practical, pragmatic? "... When we talk about ... major problems of <global politics>, the answer to the question about the direct influence of <experts> on the community of politicians is unsatisfactory. Therefore, rather, it is an attempt to influence the "market of ideas". If you are able to offer solutions to problems that people don't think about, at least to the extent that they should think about, say, understanding the consequences of a new deep collapse in relations between Russia and the United States, and your decision resonates in different places, then in this case you have the opportunity to influence a community of politicians. But this is a slow and indirect process."<sup>2</sup>.

With regard to the African vector of German foreign policy, the formulated problem takes the following form: on the one hand, German politicians, guided by different considerations, regulated by different political ideas and traditions of their strategic culture, pursue an ambiguous and not very successful policy of military-political cooperation with sub-Saharan Africa. On the other hand, the analytical centers of the Federal Republic of Germany, which are engaged in the examination of the African vector of German foreign policy and interact with the authorities, mainly because they are affiliated with political parties (which is one of the distinctive features of the work of German centers), offer specific considerations that, if implemented, would avoid mistakes and develop a more optimal "African" the course of Germany. But the gap between the decisions made by the ruling elites and the recommendations of experts is shrinking extremely slowly.

A separate problem lies in the fact that when studying the foreign policy decisions taken by Germany during the formation of the parameters of military-political cooperation with the countries of the European Union, it is important to understand their structural determinants, which is fundamentally important in any analysis of any foreign policy activity of an EU member state. This refers us to the "agent-structure" relationship, where the agent is the FRG and its political elite, and

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<sup>2</sup> Legvold R. The fourth working session of the International Forum "Primakov Readings" on November 29, 2016. "A new form of international security for a polycentric world order". International Forum "Primakov Readings". The materials. 2016r. M.: FIRO-XXI. 2017. c. 137.

the structure is the EU, which we understand as a material and resource factor and as an actor that determines the rules and norms of the agent's foreign policy by its identity. In our work, we obviously take into account that the existing structural conditions of the political existence of Germany, including not only the EU, but also the regional and global balance of power, limit the room for maneuver for it in building military-political cooperation with the AJ. It is necessary to first coordinate the interests of the EU member states, and only then directly launch a peacekeeping mission, the launch of which is initiated at the supranational level. We focus on the study of agency "from the inside" and do not single out an analysis of its ability to potentially influence the structure in a separate case. By the agency "from within" we mean the strategic culture of Germany in the period under study; the interaction of political parties on the African vector of foreign policy that are part of the ruling coalition during the four Merkel legislatures; the debate of the internal political forces of Germany on the essence of the country's military-political cooperation with third (non-EU) countries; the support of German experts of these debate.

A comprehensive analysis of the German agency "from the inside" with an emphasis on expert support of its policy of military-political interaction with the countries of the AJ will allow, firstly, to understand the specifics of the interaction of German politicians and German foreign policy experts in the formation of a specific (African) direction of the state's foreign policy; secondly, to approach the conceptual understanding of the reasons for penetration into the sphere of foreign policies of analytical and academic research that trigger various social and political processes. The study will also expand the existing theoretical and empirical base for studying and adequately understanding the specifics of foreign policy expertise. This is the scientific significance of the dissertation work.

### ***Research question***

What features of the German think tanks' expertise of German military-political cooperation with sub-Saharan Africa contribute to reducing the gap between politicians and experts in understanding the goals and tools of this cooperation and thus indicate a certain influence of the expert community on the

formation of mechanisms for such cooperation, and what features prevent the reduction of this gap?

**The aim of the study** is to identify the features of the German think tanks' expertise of German military-political cooperation with sub-Saharan Africa.

**Research objectives:**

1. Clarify the specifics of the policy and security expertise;
2. Identify and streamline the main approaches to the implementation of expert support for foreign policy;
3. To identify the features of analytical centers as a key element of the institute of political expertise, to clarify the features of analytical centers in Europe and, in particular, Germany;
4. To identify the place and key principles of military-political cooperation in the African direction of German foreign policy, as well as to identify the features of the practical sphere of such partnership;
5. To trace the influence of the strategic culture of Germany on the formation of the policy of military-political cooperation between Germany and sub-Saharan Africa;
6. To characterize and compare the main areas of expertise of the African direction of German foreign policy by German analytical centers in different periods of Chancellor Angela Merkel's tenure;
7. To identify the correlation between the results of the examination of military-political cooperation between Germany and sub-Saharan Africa and the foreign policy decisions taken by Germany;
8. To determine the specifics of the forecasts of German analytical centers on the prospects of military-political cooperation between Germany and sub-Saharan Africa.

**The research hypothesis** is the assumption that if the gap between German politicians and experts in understanding the goals and tools of German military-political cooperation with sub-Saharan Africa is growing, this is determined by such features of the expertise of German think tanks of this cooperation as the desire for

autonomy and focus on academic research. If the gap is narrowing, then the features of expertise, as a rule, are instrumentalism and practice orientation.

***Scope and chronological framework of the study.***

The dissertation research covers the period from 2005 to 2021. The choice of the lower limit of the research is determined by the terms in power of the chancellor Angela Merkel, who made a huge contribution to the formation of the African direction of German foreign policy. The upper limit of the study corresponds to the change of government offices and the actual completion of Merkel's "view" on the African direction of German foreign policy.

In general, the chosen boundaries of the study are dictated by the fact that during this period active changes in Germany's approaches to shaping the African direction of foreign policy began, the search for goals and approaches began, and there was a fundamental revision of relations between Germany and sub-Saharan Africa, the key feature of which was the understanding of the latter as an important and independent much more attention is paid to it than in the 20th century. In addition, during this period, there are important changes in the position of Germany itself on the world stage, which contributes to a number of changes in the processes of making foreign policy decisions. All this can be traced in the key foreign policy documents of the country for this period. In some necessary cases, the study retrospectively goes beyond the proposed chronological framework in cases where it is necessary to trace the background of the issues considered in the work or identify possible consequences of making certain decisions.

The focus is on the analysis of Germany's military-political cooperation with sub-Saharan Africa, which is understood primarily as a partnership to achieve stability, resolve conflicts and ensure the security of both the continent's countries and Germany. The study focuses on the problems of combating terrorism, peaceful resolution of conflicts in sub-Saharan Africa, as well as the impact of processes in this region on the security of Germany itself. Among Germany's think tanks, two were selected – the Konrad Adenauer Foundation and the German Institute for International Politics and Security. The choice is determined by their high position



in the world ranking of think tanks compiled by the University of Pennsylvania, recognized by officials as a significant influence of key experts of the aforementioned centers in German political circles, high citation in the German and world media, as well as a wide coverage of various aspects of cooperation between Germany and sub-Saharan Africa.

### ***Empirical base of the study and criteria for selecting primary sources***

The empirical base of the research involves careful processing of a wide range of empirical sources that are directly related to the research topic. The criteria used by the author to select such sources include authenticity, novelty, representativeness, reliability, and completeness.

The sources used in the study are divided into several groups.

*The first group* includes documents that form the conceptual framework for German security policy: the Bundeswehr White Paper on Security Policy and its Future 2006<sup>3</sup> and 2016<sup>4</sup>, the White Paper on Multilateralism 2021<sup>5</sup>, the guidelines "Crisis Prevention, Conflict Resolution, Peace Consolidation" 2017<sup>6</sup>, the German Cybersecurity Strategy 2021<sup>7</sup>, and the Strategic Compass<sup>8</sup>. It also includes documents and ideas that form the conceptual basis of Germany's defense policy.

*The second group* includes documents demonstrating the development of relations between Germany and sub-Saharan Africa and the formation of Germany's strategic goals on the African continent. This includes German foreign policy

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<sup>3</sup> Weissbuch zur Sicherheitspolitik und zur Zukunft der Bundeswehr 2006 // ARCHIVES: Livre blanc sur la défense et la sécurité nationale. URL: [http://archives.livreblancdefenseetsecurite.gouv.fr/2008/IMG/pdf/weissbuch\\_2006.pdf](http://archives.livreblancdefenseetsecurite.gouv.fr/2008/IMG/pdf/weissbuch_2006.pdf) (accessed 1.06.22).

<sup>4</sup> Weissbuch zur Sicherheitspolitik und zur Zukunft der Bundeswehr // Bundesministerium der Verteidigung, URL: <https://www.bmvg.de/resource/blob/13708/015be272f8c0098f1537a491676bfc31/weissbuch2016-barrierefrei-data.pdf> (accessed 1.09.22).

<sup>5</sup> Weissbuch Multilateralismus // Deutsche Botschaft Singapur. URL: <https://singapur.diplo.de/sg-de/aktuelles/-/2463896> (accessed 17.12.22).

<sup>6</sup> Krisen verhindern, Konflikte bewältigen, Frieden fördern. Leitlinien der Bundesregierung // German Foreign Ministry. URL: <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/blob/283636/d98437ca3ba49c0ec6a461570f56211f/leitlinien-krisenpraevention-konfliktbewaeltigung-friedensfoerderung-dl-data.pdf> (accessed 27.10.22).

<sup>7</sup> Cybersicherheitsstrategie für Deutschland 2021 // Bundesministerium des Innern, für Bau und Heimat. URL: [https://www.cio.bund.de/SharedDocs/downloads/Webs/CIO/DE/it-sicherheit-und-netze/it-sicherheit/cybersicherheitsstrategie-fuer-deutschland/cybersicherheitsstrategie-fuer-deutschland-2021.pdf?\\_\\_blob=publicationFile&v=1](https://www.cio.bund.de/SharedDocs/downloads/Webs/CIO/DE/it-sicherheit-und-netze/it-sicherheit/cybersicherheitsstrategie-fuer-deutschland/cybersicherheitsstrategie-fuer-deutschland-2021.pdf?__blob=publicationFile&v=1) (accessed 17.12.22).

<sup>8</sup> Ein Strategischer Kompass für Sicherheit und Verteidigung // Rat der Europäischen Union. URL: <https://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-7371-2022-INIT/de/pdf> (accessed 17.12.22).

strategies for Africa, including the Enhanced Partnership with Africa<sup>9</sup>, as well as past strategies<sup>10</sup>, which are important for understanding Berlin's priorities in the region.

*The third group* includes speeches and statements of political figures, streams and transcripts of their speeches or press conferences, which contain information about the vectors of the political course towards Sub-Saharan Africa, demonstrate the official position of the authorities<sup>11</sup>, allowing them to compare it with the recommendations of experts.

*The fourth group* includes sources that demonstrate the principles of interaction between experts and politicians in shaping the African direction of German foreign policy. This includes reports of Bundestag meetings, which include requests to the relevant committees of individual parties related to the reports of analytical centers, analytical materials used by members of the Bundestag, which either contain links to the work of experts, or present their direct conclusions and recommendations.

*The fifth group* includes research papers from German think tanks, such as draft policy initiatives<sup>12</sup>, analyses of decisions taken<sup>13</sup>, and recommendations for policymaking in sub-Saharan Africa<sup>14</sup>, which is the essence of expert assistance. The paper analyzes 936 papers dated from 2000 to 2021. These materials are the primary sources on which this study is based, therefore they were placed in a separate category.

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<sup>9</sup> Eine vertiefte Partnerschaft mit Afrika // German Foreign Ministry. URL: <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/blob/2204146/61736c06103e9a28e328371257ee34f7/afrikaleitlinien-data.pdf> (accessed 27.10.22).

<sup>10</sup> Aktionsplan „Zivile Krisenprävention, Konfliktlösung und Friedenskonsolidierung“ // German Foreign Ministry. URL: <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/blob/217534/34f381909cf90443fa3e91e951cda89d/aktionsplan-de-data.pdf> (accessed 27.10.22).

<sup>11</sup> Migrationspolitik: Merkel will Partnerschaft mit Afrika - ohne nennenswerte Selbstkritik zu üben // RT Deutsch. 2018. 16 Aug. URL: <https://deutsch.rt.com/afrika/74571-migration-eindammen-merkel-will-partnerschaft-aber-fehler/> (accessed 27.10.22).

<sup>12</sup> Ein Marshall Plan mit Afrika – Denkschrift für die Bundesregierung // Senat der Wirtschaft. URL: <http://www.senat-deutschland.de/politische-impulse/marshall-plan-mit-afrika/> (accessed 27.10.22).

<sup>13</sup> Beer L. Chinas Afrika-Strategie: Masterplan statt Marshallplan? // Konrad Adenauer Stiftung. 2019. 18 Oct. URL: <https://www.kas.de/documents/252038/253252/Chinas+Afrika-Strategie+-+Masterplan+statt+Marshallplan.pdf/20c658e5-54b3-7b78-c351-178479b2059c?version=1.0&t=1577444840305> (accessed 27.10.22).

<sup>14</sup> Tull D. Deutsches und internationales Krisenmanagement im Sahel // Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik. 2020. 4 Jun. [Электронный ресурс] URL: <https://www.swp-berlin.org/publikation/deutsches-und-internationales-krisenmanagement-im-sahel/> (accessed 27.10.22).

*The sixth group* contains both information about analytical centers, such as their ratings<sup>15</sup>, and media materials, primarily speeches and articles by experts of analytical centers<sup>16</sup>, since the citation of the latter's materials on TV, in print publications and electronic media is considered in the work as an important indicator of the demand for their expertise.

*The seventh group* includes materials that include data on think tanks, experts, or various policy initiatives, which is necessary for the completeness of the study.

*The eighth group* includes materials that allow analyzing the general context of the research being conducted. For this purpose, media publications that covered key political events are considered. News chronicles of key German media outlets, as well as their online versions have been used.

The presented empirical base is extensive and multidimensional, consistent with the goals and objectives set in the study.

### ***Historiography of the work.***

The principle of presenting historiographic sources: problematic

The state of scientific development of key research issues in foreign literature is characterized by the presence of an extensive body of scientific papers devoted **primarily to the object of research** – the formation of the African direction of German foreign policy in the period from 2005 to 2021 in the context of the results of its expertise by German think tanks. However, most of the research focuses more on analyzing *the products* of research activities, rather than on analyzing *the reasons for disagreements* between scientists and politicians or explaining why some think tanks are more favored by the authorities and others are not.

In the Russian scientific literature, works related to the object of research are extremely rare. They often contain generalized theoretical data on the presented topic, and the authors practically do not go into details. This state of knowledge of

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<sup>15</sup> McGann J.G. 2020 Global Go To Think Tank Index Report // Penn libraries, University of Pennsylvania. [Электронный ресурс] URL: [https://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1019&context=think\\_tanks](https://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1019&context=think_tanks) (accessed 27.02.22).

<sup>16</sup> Neuerer D. FDP-Politiker sympathisieren mit Euro-kritikern // Handelsblatt. 2014. 10 Sep. [Электронный ресурс] URL: <https://www.handelsblatt.com/politik/deutschland/lob-fuer-neue-liberale-denkfabrik-in-deutschland-fehlt-eine-liberale-wirtschaftspolitische-stimme/10679962-2.html?ticket=ST-2035499-ZRzzqifaff4BpaF9uPCv-ap3> (accessed 27.10.22).

the object of research can be explained by the fact that, on the one hand, in Russia they do not attach due importance to the activities of analytical centers, and, on the other hand, in the West, it is the practical activities of experts that are of much greater interest to researchers, and therefore the analysis of theoretical aspects either fades into the background, examples such as the peculiarities of German foreign and security policy<sup>17</sup>, in particular the principles of foreign policy decision<sup>18</sup>-making and strategic culture<sup>19</sup>.

In Russian science notable works include those by Bogaturov A.D., Kosolapov N. A., Khrustalev M. A.<sup>20</sup>, who described in their works the principles and mechanisms of foreign policy decision-making; Shakleina T.A.<sup>21</sup>, who made an important contribution to the development of domestic research of think tanks and their role in the decision-making process, as well as their place as a network actor in international relations; Borodkin L.<sup>22</sup>, who studied political processes and the regularity of their changes; Elensky A.V.<sup>23</sup>, who wrote about the history and main approaches to expert support, contributed to the study of the expert factor of foreign policy foreign policy in Russia. Of particular interest are the works of Varfolomeev A. A., Ivanov O. P., Surma I. V., Trefilova Yu. A.<sup>24</sup>, who considered the features of foreign policy expertise in Russia; Chumakov V. A.<sup>25</sup>, who described think tanks as a new and influential actor in international relations; Voitlovsky F. G., Bernstein

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<sup>17</sup> Belov V. German foreign policy during the modern challenges // *International analytics*. – 2021 – Issue 12 (3). – pp. 38–58; Dempsey J. Germany's No-Go Foreign Policy // *Carnegie Europe*. 2018. 17 Apr. URL: <https://carnegieeurope.eu/strategieurope/76091> (accessed 03.03.2022);

<sup>18</sup> Blum S., Schubert K. *Policy analysis in Germany*. Policy press, 2013.

<sup>19</sup> Berger, T. Norms, Identity and National Security in Germany and Japan // *The Culture of National Security* / eds. P. Katzenstein. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996; Mursaliev P. Features of the political culture of modern political elites // *eLibrary*. URL: [https://elibrary.ru/download/elibrary\\_35674798\\_28742349.pdf](https://elibrary.ru/download/elibrary_35674798_28742349.pdf) (accessed: 10.02.2022).

<sup>20</sup> Bogaturov A.D., Kosolapov N. A., Khrustalev M. A. *Theory and political analysis of international relations*. M.: NOFMO, 2002.

<sup>21</sup> Shakleina T.A. *Think tanks and their role in the formation of US foreign policy* // *Introduction to applied analysis of international situations*. Textbook. Edited by T.A.Shakleina. 2nd edition, revised. M.: Aspect Press, 2017.

<sup>22</sup> Borodkin L *Methodology of the analysis of unstabilities in political-historical processes* // *International processes*. – 2005. – Issue 3. № 1(7). – pp. 4–16.

<sup>23</sup> Elensky A. Different part in the history of the political expertise // *South Russian Institute of the social sciences*. – 2004. – № 3–4. – pp. 68–82.

<sup>24</sup> Varfolomeev A. A., Ivanov O. P., Surma I. V., Trefilova Yu. A. *Russian system of the foreign policy expertise* // *Vestnik MGIMO-University*. – 2020. – №13(5). – pp. 266–292.

<sup>25</sup> Varfolomeev A.A., Chumakov V.A. *Network ideas and informal actors in modern politics and international security* // *Journal «Law and security»*. – 2009. – №2. – pp. 78–82.

V. S., Simonov A.<sup>26</sup>, who conducted comprehensive research on the activities of think tanks; Sungurov A. Yu<sup>27</sup>, Malinova O. B.<sup>28</sup> who worked on the study of expert assistance and its features; Klimova O., who studied the history of the development of expert assistance for politics<sup>29</sup>. A.P. Tsvetov writes about trends in the development of think tanks<sup>30</sup>, N.V. Ivkina writes about the German experience of think tanks<sup>31</sup>. S. A. Karaganov, F. A. Lukyanov and A.A. Sushentsov also speak about the importance of expert assistance in their works and interviews<sup>323334</sup>. Expert assistance mechanisms are discussed in the works of experts from the Valdai Club<sup>35</sup> and the Council on Foreign and Defense Policy<sup>36</sup>. Among the comprehensive studies of analytical centers, it is also necessary to highlight the Atlas of Russian "Think tanks", compiled by the Center for Crisis Society Studies<sup>37</sup>, which collects and systematizes information about all the think tanks that exist in Russia and their place in the expert community of the country and the world.

Among the foreign books and articles devoted to the issues of expert support of politics, special attention should be paid to the works of K. Boswell on the use of expert knowledge in politics; D. March, D. Olsen on methods of political decision-

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<sup>26</sup> Voitlovsky F. G., Bernstein V. S., Simonov A. Think tank // Humanitary encyclopeadia. URL: <http://gtmarket.ru/concepts/7296> (accessed 05.10.22).

<sup>27</sup> Sungurov A. Yu. Expert activities and expert networks // Philosophy and culturology of the current expert activities. Collective study. St-Pb.: Publ RGPU of A.I. Hertsen, 2011. pp. 98-124.

<sup>28</sup> Malinova O.B. Expert communities in forming the agenda: the tasks of the scientific projects // Role of the expert communities in forming the agenda in modern Russia. M.: INION RAS, 2017.

<sup>29</sup> Klimov O. Intellectual elite: advisors and consultants of the Hellenistic kings // MNEMON. Studies and publications on history of the ancient world. – 2011. – Issue 10. – p. 151.

<sup>30</sup> Tsvetov A.P. Factories of thought in search of meaning // The Russian Council for International Affairs. 2019. 4 Feb. [Electronic resource] URL: <https://russiancouncil.ru/analytics-and-comments/analytics/fabriki-mysli-v-poiskakh-smysla/> (accessed 05.10.22).

<sup>31</sup> Ivkina, N. V. European security: Studies of analytical centers in Germany. Moscow: Publishing House "Aspect Press", 2020.

<sup>32</sup> Karaganov S. XXI century and Russian interests // Journal «Modern Europe». URL: <http://www.sov-europe.ru/images/pdf/2004/3-2004/karaganov3-2004.pdf> (accessed 05.10.22).

<sup>33</sup> Lukyanov F. "World doesn't collapse, it shatters" // RIA. 2018. 10 Dec. URL: <https://ria.ru/20181012/1530505549.html> (accessed 05.10.22).

<sup>34</sup> Sushentsov A.A. Think tanks and US foreign policy // International Discussion Club "Valdai". 2021. 25 Mar. [Electronic resource] URL: <https://ru.valdaiclub.com/a/highlights/mozgovye-tsenry-i-vneshnyaya-politika-ssha/> (accessed 05.10.22).

<sup>35</sup> Bystritsky A. Splendor and poverty of the modern think tanks // International discussion club «Valdai». 2018. 21 Feb. URL: [https://ru.valdaiclub.com/a/chairman-speech/blesk-i-nishcheta-sinktankov/?sphrase\\_id=422911](https://ru.valdaiclub.com/a/chairman-speech/blesk-i-nishcheta-sinktankov/?sphrase_id=422911) (accessed 05.10.22).

<sup>36</sup> Ilnitsky A. Intellectual leadership as a core of national security // CFSP. 2021. 4 Jan. URL: <http://svop.ru/main/35689/> (accessed 05.10.22).

<sup>37</sup> Atlas of Russian "Think tanks" // Center for Crisis Society Studies. URL: [https://centero.ru/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/atlas\\_03\\_04-1.pdf](https://centero.ru/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/atlas_03_04-1.pdf) (accessed 05.10.22).

making; S. Jasanoff on modern approaches to expert support of foreign policy; N. Oreskes on the relationship between political and scientific spheres, A. Denham, D. Stone on how think tanks fit into the system of expert support; M. Buravogo on the phenomenon of "border structures" between the political and scientific spheres. Among the authors writing about the think tanks are Fischer D., Miller D., McGann M., Ahmed E., Mendizabal D., Smith D., Abelson L., Edwards and M. Brown<sup>38</sup>.

The situation is somewhat worse with works related to the subject of dissertation research. In the Russian literature, this topic is addressed in the context of larger works, primarily authored by employees of the Institute of Europe of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Noteworthy are the works of V. S. Tsirenschikov, who reviewed the features of forecast activities of European think tanks, V. B. Belov, who studied the role of Germany in the implementation of EU foreign policy, M. G. Nosov, who considered the processes of creating an autonomous security system in Europe, and others<sup>39</sup>.

The African dimension of the subject of research is based primarily on the works of domestic Africanists, many of whom are employees of the Institute of

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<sup>38</sup> Boswell C. *The Political Uses of Expert Knowledge: Immigration Policy and Social Research*. Cambridge University Press, 2009; March J., Olsen J. *Ambiguity and Choice in Organizations*. Scandinavian University Press, 1976; Owens S. *Commentary. Making a Difference? Some Perspectives on Environmental Research and Policy*. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 2005. pp. 287–92; Lindblom C. *The science of 'muddling through'* // *Public Administration Review*. – 1959. – Vol. 19. №2. – pp. 79-88; Jasanoff S. *Quality control and peer review in advisory science*. // *The Politics of Scientific Advice: Institutional Design for Quality Assurance*. / J. Lentsch and P. Weingart (eds.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011. pp.19-35; Oreskes N. *Reconciling representation with reality: unitization as example for science and public policy*. // *The Politics of Scientific Advice: Institutional Design for Quality Assurance* / Ed. by J. Lentsch and P. Weingart. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011. pp.36-53; *Think Tank Traditions: Policy Analysis Across Nations* // *Policy Research and the Politics of Ideas* / D. Stone, A. Denham (eds.). Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004. p. 322; Burawoy M. *Public sociology of human rights* // *Journal of sociology and social anthropology*. – 2007 – № 4. – c. 27-44; Stone D. *'Think Tanks and Policy Analysis'* // *Handbook of Public Policy Analysis: Theory, Methods, and Politics* / F. Fischer, G. J. Miller. & M. S. Sidney (eds.). New York, Marcel Dekker Inc, 2006. pp. 149–157; Mendizabal E. *For-profit think tanks and implications for funders* // *On Think Tanks*. 2013. 23 Oct. URL: <https://onthinktanks.org/articles/for-profit-think-tanks-and-implications-for-funders/> (accessed 05.10.22); Ahmed. M. *US Think Tanks and the Politics of Expertise: Role, Value and Import* // *The Political Quarterly*. – Oct.-Nov. 2008. – Vol 79, № 4. – p. 534; McGann J.G. *2020 Global Go To Think Tank Index Report* // Penn libraries, University of Pennsylvania. URL: [https://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1019&context=think\\_tanks](https://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1019&context=think_tanks) (accessed 27.02.22); Smith J. *The Idea Brokers: Think Tanks and The Rise of the New Policy Elite*. The Free Press, 1993. pp.78-79; Abelson D. *Northern Lights: Exploring Canada's Think Tank Landscape*. McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016. p.16; Edwards L. *The Power of Ideas*. Ottawa, Illinois: Jameson Books, 1997. pp. 41–68; *Rational Choice and Security Studies: Stephen Walt and his Critics* / M. Brown (ed.). Cambridge. MA: MIT Press, 2000.

<sup>39</sup> Tsirenschikov V.S. *Forecasts of the European companies* // RAS. – 2018. – № 352; *Germany. 2018* / V.B. Belov [and others.]. M.: Institute of Europe RAS, 2019; Nosov M.G. *Why does Europe need its own army?* // *Modern Europe*. – 2005. – № 1. – c. 82–96; Surma I.V. *Legislation to counter and the migration core of the new "soft threat" to Europe* // *Law and politics*. – 2015. – №10. – c. 1391-1399.

Africa of the Russian Academy of Sciences and the HSE Center for African Studies<sup>40</sup>. First of all, the works of A.B. Davidson are extremely important, describing the role of Africa in the modern world<sup>41</sup>, the political formation of the continent as an important actor in international relations<sup>42</sup> and the place of Africa in the modern world from its own point of view<sup>43</sup>. Also significant for the dissertation research are the works of D.A. Degterev<sup>44</sup> on modern Africa and its place in the world. As part of the study of security problems in Africa, the works of this author on the peacekeeping activities of European countries in the Sahel and those variables that are often ignored by Western politicians are extremely interesting<sup>45</sup>. In order to compile the most complete picture of the entire diversity of political processes in Africa, the dissertation attracted to the study works on African history, security and peacemaking on the continent by I.V. Krivushin<sup>46</sup>, N.G. Shcherbakov<sup>47</sup>, G.M. Sidorova<sup>48</sup>.

The situation is better abroad. It is worth highlighting the works of think tanks' experts directly. Among the authors of such studies, one can especially mention B.Kunz, who contributed to the formation of the concept of "strategic autonomy", N. Pirozzi, who worked on the development of EU approaches to implementing the

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<sup>40</sup> Africa 2023. Opportunities and risks: expert and analytical reference book / A. A. Maslov, V. Yu. Sviridov, etc.; ed. by A. A. Maslov; Higher School of Economics, Center for African Studies, Moscow: HSE, 2023.

<sup>41</sup> We and Africa. For the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the center of African Studies and Research Institute of World History of RAS / ed.: A. B. Davidson; I.I. Filatova, A. S. Balezin, S. V. Mazov. M: Institute of World History of RAS, 2021; Balezin A. S. Davidsson A. B., Voevodsky A. V., Emelyanov A. L., Ivanova L. V. Krivushin I. V., Kurbak M. S., Mazov S. V., Savateev A. D., Filatova I. And., C. V. V., Shcherbakov N. G. Black Africa: past and present. ed.: A. S. Balezin, S. V. Mazov, I. I. Filatova; S. V. Mazov. M.: University of Dmitry Pozharsky, 2016.

<sup>42</sup> Africa: History and historians / Balezin A. S., Voevodsky A.V., Davidson A. B. (ed.), etc.; Higher School of Economics. Moscow: Publishing House of the Higher School of Economics, 2014.

<sup>43</sup> Pax Africana. The continent and the Diaspora in search of themselves / Ed.: A. B. Davidson. Publishing House of the State University — Higher School of Economics, 2009.

<sup>44</sup> Degterev D.A. The African continent as a pole of attraction: issues of solidarity and rivalry // Problems of national strategy. – 2023. – № 3 (78). – Pp. 256-273.

<sup>45</sup> Degterev D.A. Trouble spots of the African continent: Sahel (review of the situation and prospects) // Russian Council for International Affairs. 2022. May 11. [Electronic resource] URL: <https://russiancouncil.ru/activity/publications/bolevye-tochki-afrikanckogo-kontinenta-sakhel-obzor-situatsii-i-perspektivy/> (accessed 05.10.22).

<sup>46</sup> Krivushin I. V. The UN and the resolution of the political crisis in Ivory Coast // In the book: Peaceloving and peacemaking in Africa. To the 90th anniversary of Academician Apollo Davidson / Scientific ed.: A. S. Balezin, I. I. Filatova, S. V. Mazov. M. : Ves' Mir, 2019. Ch. 10. pp. 123-140.

<sup>47</sup> Shcherbakov N. G. From the history of Negroes to the history of African peoples: stages of a difficult path // Electronic scientific and educational magazine "History". – 2013. – № 3 (19), – Pp. 146-172.

<sup>48</sup> Sidorova G.M. The UN Security Council as an effective organization for ensuring peace and stability in Africa // Diplomatic Service. – 2021. – No. 1. – pp. 36-43.

African direction of foreign policy, S. Angenendt, M. Engler, D. Schneider, who became the authors of the quota system designed to solve the migration crisis in the EU, S. Mair and others. D. Tull, who actively promoted the idea of reforming the African direction of German foreign policy, T. Schiller, who described the security problems in the Sahel and ways to solve them, T. Weibezahl, who spoke about the need to reform the military-political cooperation between Germany and sub-Saharan Africa, as well as many others<sup>49</sup>. Their works are examples of expert assistance for the foreign policy of the European Union and are valuable materials for analysis.

It is also important to mention domestic and foreign researchers who have dealt with issues of security policy in general and the security of Germany in particular. Thus, Basov F. A., Vasiliev V. I., Kokeev A.M., Khorolskaya M. V.<sup>50</sup> considered this issue through the prism of German foreign policy. F.O. Trunov analyzed the military dimension of Germany's foreign policy, including on the African continent<sup>51</sup>. A.A. Sindeev studied the transformation of German security policy<sup>52</sup>. V.K. Belozarov considered the influence of Germany's strategic culture on the formation of its national security strategy. M. Clark, A. Henschke, M. Sussex, T. Legrand investigated the general aspects of security policy and its features.<sup>53</sup> P.

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<sup>49</sup> Kunz B. Washington Should Help Europe Achieve 'Strategic Autonomy', Not Fight It // French Institute of International Relations. 2018. 12 Apr. URL: <https://www.ifri.org/en/publications/publications-ifri/articles-ifri/washington-should-help-europe-achieve-strategic> (accessed 05.10.22); Pirozzi N. EU support to African security architecture: funding and training components // EU institute for security studies. 2009. Feb. URL: <https://www.iss.europa.eu/sites/default/files/EUISSFiles/op76.pdf> (accessed 05.10.22); Angenendt S., Engler M., Schneider J. European Refugee Policy // Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik. 2013. Nov. URL: [https://www.swp-berlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/comments/2013C36\\_adt\\_engler\\_schneider.pdf](https://www.swp-berlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/comments/2013C36_adt_engler_schneider.pdf) (accessed 05.10.22); Mair S., Tull D. Deutsche Afrikapolitik: Eckpunkte einer strategischen Neuausrichtung // Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik. 2009. Mar. URL: [https://www.ssoar.info/ssoar/bitstream/handle/document/25047/ssoar-2009-mair\\_et\\_al-deutsche\\_afrikapolitik.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y&lnkname=ssoar-2009-mair\\_et\\_al-deutsche\\_afrikapolitik.pdf](https://www.ssoar.info/ssoar/bitstream/handle/document/25047/ssoar-2009-mair_et_al-deutsche_afrikapolitik.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y&lnkname=ssoar-2009-mair_et_al-deutsche_afrikapolitik.pdf) (accessed 1.06.22); Schiller T. Die Lage im Sahel // Konrad Adenauer Stiftung. 2020. Feb. URL: <https://www.kas.de/documents/259121/9357987/Die+Lage+im+Sahel.pdf/a64fc114-8817-5487-6b84-ece0d54f1327?version=1.0&t=1592473887187> (accessed 27.10.22); Weibezahl T. Afrika – eine strategisch hochwichtige Frage? // Konrad Adenauer Stiftung. 2016. Oct. URL: [https://www.kas.de/documents/252038/253252/7\\_dokument\\_dok\\_pdf\\_46653\\_1.pdf/7c34614e-ae84-7246-bfb8-781f3d20bbfd?version=1.0&t=1539650166363](https://www.kas.de/documents/252038/253252/7_dokument_dok_pdf_46653_1.pdf/7c34614e-ae84-7246-bfb8-781f3d20bbfd?version=1.0&t=1539650166363) (accessed 5.06.22).

<sup>50</sup> Basov F.A., Vasiliev V.I., Kokeev A.M., Khorolskaya M.V. German view of security // International Affairs. – 2018. – № 10. – pp. 34-53.

<sup>51</sup> Trunov F.O. Challenges for Germany's military presence in the zones of instability in Asia and Africa // Acute problems of Europe. – 2022. – No. 4. – pp. 160-187.

<sup>52</sup> Sindeev A.A. Germany and transformational processes in the field of security: tasks of the Bundeswehr in the context of political dilemmas // Society: politics, economics, law. – 2021. – No. 9. – pp. 18-21.

<sup>53</sup> Clarke M., Henschke A., Sussex M., Legrand T. The Palgrave Handbook of National Security. Palgrave Macmillan, 2022.



Taylor wrote about the German security policy and its evolution<sup>54</sup>? K Brummer- about the borders of the military-political sphere of German politics<sup>55</sup>. T. Weibetzal analyzed the German-African strategic partnership<sup>56</sup>, W. Laher considered the peculiarities of the German military presence in the Sahel countries<sup>57</sup>.

### **Methodological base of the study.**

The research is based on the subject-institutional approach. This allows us to look at the forms of influence of expert analytics on foreign policy decision-making by relevant ministries and departments of Germany from various angles. The subject component contributes to the analysis of think tanks as actors that influence decision-making in one way or another. The institutional component allows us to consider the expert community as a single body.

In addition, the study relies on a combination of systematic and political-historical approaches. The system approach allows us to consider the interaction of experts and politicians as a non-additive whole, the result of which is the adoption of certain political decisions. The political-historical approach helps to understand how the system was formed, what slowed down, accelerated and contributed to its development.

The research is based on the paradigm of neoclassical realism. In the paper "Neoclassical Realism, State and Foreign Policy" by N. M. Ripsman, J. V. Tagliaferro and S. E. Lobell<sup>58</sup>, the authors note the influence of so-called intervening variables that influence the political decision-making process. There are four such categories:

1. The mindset of foreign policy decision *makers* (*leader images*). This category of variables includes the personal qualities, character and way of thinking

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<sup>54</sup> Taylor P. Jumping over its shadow. Germany and the Future of European defense // Friends of Europe. URL: [http://www.friendsofeurope.org/sites/default/files/2017-10/GermanReport\\_v7\\_web\\_0.pdf](http://www.friendsofeurope.org/sites/default/files/2017-10/GermanReport_v7_web_0.pdf) (assessed 27.02.2022).

<sup>55</sup> Brummer K. Die begrenzten „war power“ des Bundestages // Zeitschrift für Parlamentsfragen (ZParl). – 2014. – № 3. – pp. 596–614.

<sup>56</sup> Weibetzal T. Afrika – eine strategisch hochwichtige Frage? // Konrad Adenauer Stiftung. 2016. Oct. URL: [https://www.kas.de/documents/252038/253252/7\\_dokument\\_dok\\_pdf\\_46653\\_1.pdf/7c34614e-ae84-7246-bfb8-781f3d20bbfd?version=1.0&t=1539650166363](https://www.kas.de/documents/252038/253252/7_dokument_dok_pdf_46653_1.pdf/7c34614e-ae84-7246-bfb8-781f3d20bbfd?version=1.0&t=1539650166363) (accessed 5.06.22).

<sup>57</sup> Lacher W. Unser schwieriger Partner // Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik. 2021. Feb. URL: [https://www.swp-berlin.org/publications/products/studien/2021S03\\_deutschland\\_frankreich\\_libyen\\_mali.pdf](https://www.swp-berlin.org/publications/products/studien/2021S03_deutschland_frankreich_libyen_mali.pdf) (assessed 27.10.22).

<sup>58</sup> Lobell S. E., Ripsman, N. M. and Taliaferro, J. W. Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy // Diplomacy & Statecraft. – 2009. – № 24:4 – pp. 691-693.

of elites, senior officials, and leaders of countries, through which their perception of signals coming from the international environment is explained;

2. *Strategic culture*. By strategic culture, the authors of the model understand how citizens of a country (including elites) perceive the world around them. This includes national identity, ideology, faith, informal and formal norms, and ideas about the country's place in the international system.

3. Relations between the state and society (*state-society relations*). This group includes the types of interaction between the state and individual groups of society. The article also examines the homogeneity of society and its ideas about the legitimacy of the current government. The political landscape and party interaction are also variables in this category. Variables in this category affect the extent to which the leaders of countries can extract (mobilize) the internal resources of the state.

4. *Domestic institutions*. This category includes variables that are responsible for "where and how" decisions are made: the structure of the country's political system as a whole, the effectiveness of the bureaucracy, the state of the media and governance institutions.

Within the framework of these approaches, the following methods were used:

- Historical and comparative method for comparing the formation of analytical centers in Germany and the United States;
- A chronological method that allows you to describe the history of military and political cooperation between Germany and sub-Saharan Africa, building its events in a time series.
- An idiographic method that allowed us to analyze individual historical events and their impact on the development of cooperation between Germany and the SSA countries in the field of security;
- The method of instrumental observation, which includes collecting information from open sources about events taking place in the world and, in particular, in the interaction of Germany and the SSA countries in the field of security;

- A historical and genetic method that makes it possible to establish causal relationships between current events and factors that have influenced the evolution of Germany's foreign policy approaches to the SSA;
- Methods of foreign policy analysis, including consideration of the main principles and goals of the political course, models of political decision-making and factors influencing it, as well as features of the strategic culture of the Federal Republic of Germany to explain the mechanisms and factors of formation of its main direction of foreign and security policy
  - Simple quantitative document analysis performed both manually and based on the Voyant tools platform.
  - Thematic content analysis of the analyzed works of experts from German think tanks;
  - Cognitive mapping of speeches of German politicians (Chancellor Angela Merkel);
  - Argumentative analysis or consideration of the arguments of experts on various issues, which consists in analyzing the text and highlighting the main statements confirming or refuting the author's point of view, in order to review the work of experts from analytical centers and identify key points.
    - In addition, the Bayesian theorem was used to analyze the probability of the influence of analytical centers on making certain decisions. There are two approaches to understanding probability: Frequentist (probability is the frequency limit as the number of experiments increases) and Bayesian (probability is the certainty that an event will occur). When analyzing a small number of data, the Bayesian approach is more productive. It allows you to explain events if the hypothesis put forward as an explanation of a particular phenomenon or event does not contradict known facts and new data about this phenomenon or about the surrounding context. The probability of this hypothesis is calculated by the formula  $P(A|B) = \frac{P(B|A)P(A)}{P(B)}$ , where the numerator is the probability that both the expected event and those events that make up the context simultaneously occurred,

and the denominator is the probability that events from the context represent a fait accompli.

### ***Scientific contribution of research to the development of the subject field***

In contrast to the existing studies of expert support for the foreign policy of individual countries, this paper provides a comprehensive analysis of the features of interaction between experts of think tanks and political circles, taking into account the national characteristics of decision-making mechanisms, the strategic culture of Germany, which is used as an example, the distinctive features of European and German analytical centers, as well as the main features of the African direction German Foreign and Security policy. In addition, the paper provides a mathematical analysis of the practical impact of expertise on the political process.

Specific elements of the scientific contribution of research within the subject field include:

1. The content and scope of the terms "expert community" and "expert support" have been clarified. It is argued that *the content* of the concept of "expert community" is determined by general requirements for knowledge production, general practices and standards of knowledge verification – impartiality, objectivity, scientific authority, professionalism, efficiency, special subject knowledge, experience. Efficiency means the density of evaluation tasks above the average value in terms of time spent or error rate. Possession of subject knowledge implies the possession of extensive and differentiated types of knowledge (facts, rules, methods, procedures), their skillful application to solving new problems that arise in a special field of knowledge. Experience refers to the possession of professional knowledge obtained over a long period of time, including empirical and time-consuming study of a particular subject. *The scope* of the term "expert community" includes both individual experts and their teams (expert groups), analytical centers, and advisory bodies of political organizations. *The content* of the concept of "expert support" includes the provision, supply of knowledge, protection from errors. It includes a set of possible materials, including analytical notes, reports, studies, national strategy

plans, roadmaps, as well as numerous consultations, round tables and exchange of experience;

2. The main approaches to the implementation of expert support for foreign policy activities are identified and studied, namely the instrumentalist approach, the theory of two communities, the theory of "power-knowledge" by Michel Foucault, the system approach, incrementalism, the clinical approach, the left-autonomous approach, the model of "effective foundations", the model of "border structures". The special significance of the theory of "border structures" is argued, according to which there are institutions that serve as a link between the expert and political spheres, and first of all, analytical centers belong to such structures.

3. Features of European think tanks are clarified and analyzed, such as: orientation to practical solutions, desire to cooperate with the political establishment.

4. The analysis of interaction between the political and expert spheres and their overcoming of the existing gap is carried out. The importance of think tanks as "border structures" that connect politicians and experts is emphasized and investigated, as well as the importance of having "revolving doors" in such structures that facilitate the transition of politicians to the expert sphere and create better analytics that have both theoretical and practical justifications based on their own experience. With the right balance in their research, such policy experts can be the key to truly bridging the gap between the expert and political realms.

5. It is revealed that the changing political situation, the participation of experts in political debates, their sense of their own importance and relevance of their research contribute to the birth of theories. And in some cases, theorists can influence practice. This calls into question the consideration of expert support for domestic and foreign policy as an exclusively utilitarian tool and partly solves the question of the influence of politics on the theory of politics.

#### *Specific novelty elements*

1. The main similarities and differences between political expertise and security expertise are identified, and it is revealed that there are many points of intersection between the sphere of politics and the sphere of security, and the latter

actively penetrates the former. It is emphasized that it is not necessary to talk about the identity of the expertise of these two areas, since policy research is aimed at considering processes, including decision-making, while in the analysis of security issues, its specific nature, as well as the features of threats and risks and ways to resolve them are of particular value. It is noted that security expertise faces extremely important issues, the solution of which can directly affect the existence of the state;

2. The features of the think tanks, such as the non-commercial orientation of activities, the presence of a team of experts, autonomy in conducting research, and their role in influencing the political decision-making process, are identified. It consists of consulting politicians responsible for decision-making, participating in the process of shaping the political views of society and the establishment;

3. The contribution of representative German think tanks selected in the study to the analysis of the main problems of sub-Saharan Africa is studied. It is revealed that the experts of the think tanks are focused on the ideas of developing democratic institutions, strengthening the legitimacy of local authorities and developing the economic potential of African countries.

4. The thesis reveals Germany's understanding of military-political cooperation as a complex process aimed at strengthening ties between Germany and sub-Saharan Africa simultaneously at different levels and in different areas—from strengthening security in the region to ensuring the security of Germany itself, to promoting the ideas of democracy.

5. The examples of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Mali, the practice of cooperation between Germany and sub-Saharan Africa in the military-political sphere is considered and it is found that while developing such cooperation, Germany faces the inefficiency of its own political course, which Germany is unable to correct in order to achieve its goals, since it does not have developed mechanisms for effective implementation of military-political cooperation, including with SSA countries.

6. The role of German think tanks in shaping the military-political direction of relations with sub-Saharan Africa is determined. It is argued that it consists in providing expert assistance for the existing political course, much less often-in assisting in its formation, consulting politicians both in Germany and in African countries, as well as in conducting practical events aimed at sharing experience and spreading the main ideas of the German political discourse in the circles of African experts and the establishment;

7. The main areas of expertise of the African direction of German foreign policy are described by German think tanks, and it is concluded that such institutions often adapt to the needs of the political establishment, performing research in those areas that are of greater interest to it. Hence the bias towards social and economic cooperation between Germany and sub-Saharan Africa.

8. Similarities and differences in the expertise approaches to the German military-political cooperation with sub-Saharan Africa by the studied think tanks are revealed. The similarities are that the institutions generally follow the German foreign policy and support the main approaches to its implementation. Differences – formats of analytical activities and approaches to ensuring the security of sub-Saharan Africa, as well as attitudes to the involvement of Germany in conflict resolution in the region;

9. The author clarifies the features of the modern German strategic culture, identifies and proves that the historical experience and features of the political development of Germany after World War II contributed to the fact that the state tends not to focus on its own national interests and not to pursue them openly, but instead pursues the interests of the European Union or NATO alliance partners. This leads to the fact that in relations with the SSA countries, Germany lacks a clearly defined and realistic foreign policy strategy, which would contain specific goals and describe effective mechanisms for achieving them. In addition, the rejection of a militaristic approach minimizes the desire to develop the military-political sphere of cooperation, while externally emphasizing its importance;

10. The thesis analyzes the recommendations of German analytical centers regarding the military-political direction of relations with sub-Saharan Africa. It is revealed that German experts do not have a common position on this issue. They agree that in order to minimize the terrorist threat and resolve regional conflicts, it is important first of all to strengthen the legitimacy of local authorities, emphasizing that African States can only do this on their own. At the same time, approaches to the role of the Federal Republic of Germany vary, ranging from promoting sustainable development to strengthen stability to Germany's participation in peacekeeping operations and active military involvement in the region;

11. The key principle of military-political cooperation is revealed - refusal of direct intervention and shifting responsibility for solving African problems to local leaders, which leads to a weakening of the protection of the Federal Republic of Germany itself, but at the same time is formulated as the goal of German security policy in sub-Saharan Africa, which contradicts the theses about the active and leading role of Germany in political cooperation based on official documents of the Federal Republic of Germany. The evolution of these documents shows that the country's authorities have moved from a low degree of interest in such cooperation with the SSA countries to a desire to acquire an initiative in military-political cooperation with sub-Saharan Africa. This fact shows that the German authorities in the African direction of their foreign policy understand that reality can prevail over values, ideas and concepts, but in the period under study they could not go beyond the boundaries of their strategic culture<sup>59</sup>.

12. It is proved that the political establishment in the studies period was limited to the German strategic culture. For this reason, even with the clear influence of the think tanks on decision-making, politicians accept only those proposals of the centers that fit into the principles of strategic culture, while ideas about military

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<sup>59</sup> It is interesting that at the same time the opposite is true on the Russian direction of German foreign policy – values, ideas and concepts rise above reality and make changing the strategic culture a necessary task. The study of this phenomenon poses a number of research problems related to the foreign policy of Germany, but beyond the scope of the subject of this work.



participation in solving African conflicts or pursuing their own interests independently from European ones are rejected;

13. The correlation between the foreign policy decisions made and the results of the expertise of the think tanks for military-political cooperation of Germany and sub-Saharan Africa is revealed. It is found that mathematically it can be represented by the ratio 7: 4, if we consider official documents as decisions and correlate them with the number of known recommendations adopted by the authorities. The correlation under study is also clearly visible in the traceable connection of the centers under consideration with the power structures;

14. The specific nature of think tanks' forecasts is revealed, which consists in the form of "brainstorming" or foresight, which allows to build potential scenarios for the development of events and, based on them, develop recommendations for action, which significantly increases the effectiveness of the centers ' predictive activities in the case of unpredictable and random events.

Based on the results of the study, **the following provisions will be submitted:**

1. There is a gap between the expert and political spheres that cannot and should not be bridged, but it is possible and necessary to reduce it. In theory, the harmonious interaction of these spheres is formed on the condition that experts maintain objectivity and politicians make informed decisions.

2. Only those think tanks that serve as "border structures" between politicians and experts can become a real platform that will help ensure a truly effective and productive dialogue and exchange of ideas between the expert community and political institutions.

3. The expertise of the think tanks under consideration demonstrates the need for Germany to develop a clear foreign policy strategy, including in the African direction. Taking into account the peculiarities of Germany's foreign policy, experts carefully but persistently suggest not focusing on allies, regional organizations and other actors, urging them to focus on their own priorities and goals. Otherwise, it is unclear whose interests are served by German political expertise.

4. Despite the fact that the general tendency of German think tanks is to follow Germany's foreign and security policy strategy, in some cases think tanks are moving to the vanguard on the African track, given the difficulties that the political establishment is experiencing in forming a clear African track of foreign policy.

5. Germany's strategic culture is crucial for the development of both the African foreign policy strategy as a whole and the cooperation of experts and politicians in this area. The commitment to multilateralism and serving the interests of the Allies, imposed historically, determines the process of forming Germany's own national interests. At the same time, experts face the fact that their proposals are evaluated not only from the point of view of rationality and compliance with the interests of the state, but also compliance with the provisions of the strategic culture. The paradox is that the missions of think tanks were also formed taking into account the emerging strategic culture, ideas of spreading democratic values and pan-European interests, which imposes additional restrictions on new generations of experts;

6. The lack of an African foreign policy strategy does not give an understanding of whose security Germany seeks to ensure in the framework of military-political cooperation with the SSA countries. Avoiding potential conflicts within German society and the political establishment due to the deployment of troops on another continent raises questions about the effectiveness of German military operations in Africa. The lack of an answer to the key question of who Germany is protecting casts doubt on the expediency of its military-political cooperation with the SSA countries as a whole.

### **Theoretical and practical significance of the study**

The materials of the dissertation research can be useful for teachers and students in studying the problems of expert support for German foreign policy and the activities of German think tanks, when preparing training courses in higher educational institutions related to the peculiarities of foreign policy decision-making and the formation of foreign policy in European countries.

The results obtained during the research may be of interest to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, relevant ministries and federal authorities of the Russian Federation, as well as Russian think tanks in studying the European experience of interaction of experts with authorities.

### **Approbation of the thesis**

Approbation of the thesis has been fulfilled as an open lecture in the Higher School of Economics. The topic of the lecture was “Role of German think tanks in forming the German’s African foreign policy (Sub-Saharan Africa’s case). This happened in Moscow, 14.02.2020.

#### *Publications on the research topic:*

1. Polyachenkov A.V. The role of analytical centers of Germany and France in shaping the policy of promoting sustainable development in relation to sub-Saharan Africa [In Russ.] // Vestnik Permskogo universiteta. Series: Political Science. 2020. Volume 14. No. 2. pp. 151-159. DOI: 10.17072 /2218-1067-2020-2-151-159

2. Polyachenkov A.V. Migration flows from African countries to Germany: a view of analytical centers [In Russ.] // Pskov Journal of Regional Studies. Issue 18. № 4/2022. C. 146-160. DOI: 10.37490/S221979310021406-9

3. Glaser M. A., Polyachenkov A.V. Political expertise of the Ukrainian crisis by the German Institute of International Relations and Security: new conclusions about the German strategic culture [In Russ.] // IMEMO RAS Journal, 2023, No. 2 (in print)