

AIR WAR COLLEGE

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AUSTRIAN SECURITY STRATEGY
NEED FOR REFORMULATION DUE TO SECURITY
DEVELOPMENTS?

by

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Biography

Colonel Gerfried R. Promberger, Austrian Air Force, graduated in 1990 from the Federal Technical College Mödling in mechanical engineering. Following mandatory service and volunteer militia officer training, he attended professional officer training at the Theresian Military Academy in Wr. Neustadt. Graduating in 1995, Col Promberger entered the Military Pilot School in Zeltweg followed by operational military pilot training in Hörsching. In 2000, Col Promberger attended the 16th Command and General Staff Course at the National Defense Academy in Vienna; he also completed a Master degree study in National Defense and Higher Command at the University of Vienna.

Col Promberger has served as pilot, instructor pilot, staff officer, and commanding officer. His key assignments include: Director of Division A3 & AOC-Director in the Austrian Joint Forces Command; Deputy Commander & Chief of Staff of the Aviation & Air Defense School; and Chief of Operations at the ISAF Joint Command in Kabul, Afghanistan. He also served as the Head of the Planning section in a reform-project group (Management ÖBH2010) and as Head of the Air Force Training & Doctrine section in the Ministry of Defense. Before attending the U.S. Air War College, he served as the Commanding Officer of the Fighter Wing at Hinterstoisser Airbase in Zeltweg. He has flown over 2,000 hours, mainly in Pilatus PC-7 and Saab 105.

Abstract

In this professional studies paper (PSP), I briefly describe the Austrian Security Strategy (ASS) - including an excursus on the European Security Strategy 2015-2020 - the current security situation in Austria and the European Union (EU), and the parliamentary debate in 2011 and 2013. I have also analyzed the opinions of various security institutes and articles in renowned Austrian magazines with respect to this debate. The PSP concludes with twelve recommendations and a summary.

In 2011, the federal government approved the ASS and forwarded it to the Parliament. A reformulation was necessary due to the changed security environment in the past decade. It took two years from submission to decision-making before approval in Parliament in 2013. During this period a referendum on the military system (conscripts versus volunteer armed forces) in Austria was conducted. Austrian voters decided by a majority in favor of maintaining compulsory military service. The decision of the ASS was controversial and was hotly debated in Parliament before adoption.

However, the implementation of the ASS and the realignment of the Austrian armed forces cannot go on due to budgetary restraints. Early warning systems failed to register the wave of migration from Africa and the Middle East, and reality has overtaken the security strategy. The terrorist attacks in Paris and the sexual assaults on women throughout the continent have demonstrated the vulnerability of European society. The Paris-attacks were just the beginning.

“They cry for our help when they can’t cope, then wish us away as soon as the danger has passed.”¹

— Prince Eugene of Savoy-Carignan² (* 1663 in Paris; † 1736 in Vienna)

Introduction

In 2011, the federal government approved the Austrian Security Strategy (ASS) and forwarded it to the Parliament. A reformulation was necessary due to the changed security environment in the past decade. It took two years from submission to decision-making before approval in Parliament in 2013. During this period a referendum on the military system (conscripts versus volunteer armed forces) in Austria was conducted. Austrian voters decided by a 60%-majority in favor of maintaining compulsory military service. The decision of the ASS was controversial and was hotly debated in Parliament before adoption. In this professional studies paper (PSP) I will describe the ASS (including an excursus on the European Security Strategy 2015-2020), the current security situation in Austria and the European Union (EU), and the parliamentary debate. I shall also analyze the opinions of various security institutes, and articles in renowned Austrian magazines with respect to this debate. The PSP concludes with recommendations and a summary.³

The starting point for the ASS was the Security and Defense Doctrine adopted in 2001.⁴ The federal government considered accession to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) as an option. Under the Austrian Constitution, the federal government wanted to maintain the militia system and compulsory military service.⁵

Before describing the ASS, it is important to clarify some definitions as a starting point for discussion. It is essential to understand what we mean by terms like state, strategy, security policy and the comprehensive security provision.

Definitions

According to the sociological definition, Max Weber defined “the state (is) the community claimed within a certain area, the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force” i.e., a state is a system based on the legitimate “relation of domination of man over man.”^{6, 7}

Strategy is defined in the military glossary of the Austrian armed forces: “Strategy is the coordinated application and use of all means and possibilities of the state to safeguard the security objectives against all threats.”^{8, 9} Carl von Clausewitz wrote in his book *On War*, “Strategy is the use of the engagement for the purpose of the war.”¹⁰ Of particular importance is the fact that the strategist defined a clear political objective of war.¹¹ The term strategy in Clausewitz is less extensive because the terminology refers to the military application, and not the entire spectrum of action.¹² Over the years, there were changes in the definition of strategy, and according to Dueck, “grand strategy involves the prioritization of foreign policy goals (ends), the identification of existing and potential resources (means), and the selection of a plan or road map (ways) that uses those resources to meet those goals.”¹³

Austria’s security policy is more comprehensive: “The Austrian Security Policy in the 21st century includes all the action at national, European and international level to actively shape an overall beneficial safety situation for Austria and its population as well as the EU, to prevent the emergence or effect of threats and to protect against threats or to overcome them.”^{14, 15}

While there is no clearly defined definition for comprehensive security policy,¹⁶ it generally encompasses the basic theme that Austria’s security policy falls within the concept of a comprehensive security provision. The various policy areas with their partial strategies should systematically cooperate. The result from the use of synergies in the security area would be a state-security cluster.¹⁷

Thesis

This research paper uses a qualitative approach to argue that the Austrian Security Strategy should be revised and finalized due to the changed security environment.

Security policy in the 21st century

The current and foreseeable framework for the security of Austria and the EU in the 21st century is fundamentally different from that of the second half of the 20th century.¹⁸ The East-West conflict is no longer the determining factor of security policy. After the collapse of the Warsaw Pact and the Soviet Union, Western democracies have downsized their armed forces quite significantly strongly relying on the U.S. and NATO alliance, and have reallocated the so-called peace dividend to stimulate the economy and invest in infrastructure projects. Modern security policy must be assessed in all areas, since this is a cross-cutting issue. It must “be comprehensive and integrated, created, designed and implemented active solidarity.”¹⁹ Among other things, external security, internal security, civil and military aspects of security are intimately linked. Austria pursues an active security policy and does not want to give rise to threats. Neutral Austria sees solidarity in security policy associated with the EU.

The Austrian security concept in the new decade concerns security policy values, interests and goals. I shall describe security policy at the national level, within the EU and in an international context.²⁰ Conceptually, the European Security Strategy 2015-2020 has been restated due to current security-related developments and new threats. A brief summary is included in the appendix.

The assessment of the security situation in Austrian security strategy begins with an analysis of the environment, taking into account the situation in Europe and at the international level, a description of the challenges, risks and threats, as well as opportunities

and the design of opportunities.²¹ The security situation is completed with an analysis of the Austrian situation.

Current security situation in Austria and the EU

In 2011, the government adopted the ASS, which was passed by Parliament in 2013. To understand the implications a brief analysis of the current security situation in Austria and the EU and in the neighboring environment is required. I therefore depict the situation in Ukraine, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey. In March 2014, the annexation of the Crimea took place by Russian troops. Subsequently, there was a revolt of separatists in eastern Ukraine, who were obviously supported directly and indirectly by Russia.

The civil war in Syria already has lasted 5 years and the situation continues to be unstable. Combating the Islamic State (IS)-Caliphate has been unsuccessful to date. Therefore, people are fleeing from the region to begin a new life. Due to a lack of alternatives in the neighboring countries, Europe is the goal.

Jordan receives massive international support from both the United Nations (UN) and the EU. A reorganization of the refugee camps has taken place and thus a mass exodus has been avoided.

In Lebanon there are currently about 1.2 million refugees, who pose a huge burden on the public structures.²² Overall, there were bad experiences with Palestinian refugee camps. Lebanon has closed the borders with Syria because of encroachment by the IS and terrorist attacks and arms smuggling to Syria; the borders are open for limited passenger traffic only. There will be a trend towards the impoverishment of the local population, resulting in attacks on refugees, increased petty crime and increased xenophobia in the population. Through this internal destabilization there is internal political chaos (e.g., the unresolved waste problem). The active support for the Assad regime by Hezbollah to destabilize the security situation has

led to a temporary spillover of the Syrian conflict into Lebanon. Insufficient support of the public structures by the international community in recent months led to secondary movements of Syrian and Palestinian refugees to Europe.

In Turkey, there is a known secondary migration potential of about 2 million people, and indications that the number could raise to 4 million people.²³ Turkey hosts mostly Syrian refugees, but also a large number of Iraqi refugees. Turkey is actively involved in the war in Syria and Iraq (alliance against IS) and performs simultaneous attacks on Kurdish areas inside and outside its borders. The international community has thus far supported Turkey only marginally. This results in a massive destabilization of the border areas with Syria and Iraq (southern boundary). There are repeated terrorist attacks inside Turkey, leading also to the primary migration of Turkish Kurds to Europe and the uncertainty of the refugees, and to migration to the EU (strong secondary migration).

With the massive migration movement from the Middle East to Europe, particularly heading for Germany, Sweden and Austria, the Austrian security situation does not seem to be guaranteed. The result is a significant destabilization of Austria and the EU.

The continuing migration from the Middle East and Africa completely overwhelmed the police at the border crossing between Austria and Hungary and Slovenia. On 14 September 2015, the federal government ordered the deployment of the Austrian armed forces with a maximum of 2,200 soldiers to assistance operations (according to Defense Act § 2 paragraph 1 letter b; for border security and support of the police). On 15 September 2015 orders were released, defining the details of the implementation as well as the concrete tasks and the period of time by the government.²⁴ “In close cooperation with the police, they will assume transport tasks, law and order activities; in the Burgenland at certain border crossings, in Upper Austria in Linz and Wels as well as the train stations at the River Inn-crossings and in Salzburg in the area of the central station.”^{25, 26}

On 24 September 2015, the media published the special confidential report and analysis of the current migration situation of the Federal Ministry of the Interior. At first, this special report was denied by the Ministry of the Interior, but later it was confirmed. In this report the Directorate General for Public Security in the Ministry of the Interior drew two main conclusions. First, there is a “danger for maintaining public order, peace and security due to the massive commitment of police personnel for handling activities related to illegal entries.”^{27, 28} Second, there is an estimated “risk of inter-ethnic and inter-religious conflicts among migrants” leading to an “abrogation of the legal structures.”²⁹

The freedom to travel is guaranteed for EU citizens in accordance with the Schengen Agreement. On the one hand, this is associated with the protection of the EU's external borders, and on the other hand there is no right to travel freely within the EU for migrants. This obligation to protect the EU's external borders is not sufficiently conducted by several EU countries (e.g., Italy, Greece, and Spain), therefore it came to the introduction of border controls along the borders between Austria,³⁰ Germany,^{31, 32} Hungary, Croatia, and Slovenia.^{33, 34, 35}

At the end of October 2015 refugees broke through the barriers several times at the border crossing point Spielfeld in Styria (between Slovenia and Austria).³⁶ Austria has committed itself to providing protection for all human beings from persecution, but illegal migration must be fought.³⁷ Since the beginning of the migration movement, migrants were traveling partially without travel documents and without registration through Austria. Some of the migrants said they were traveling to Germany. However, many migrants in Austria decided to apply for asylum. From January to the end of November 2015 migrants submitted 81,127 asylum applications (versus 23,861 in the previous year; this is an increase of 240.00 %).³⁸

The migration movement from the Middle East and Africa is potentially destabilizing Austria and Europe. The targeted security policy values, interests and goals can be granted only with the utmost effort.^{39, 40} Action by the Austrian Government and the authorities is contrary to national and EU law (e.g., the Dublin Agreement and the Schengen Agreement). An illegal border crossing is an administrative offense and should be penalized with a fine. If an asylum application is made after the illegal border crossing, the offense is treated with impunity. In most cases this does not happen since the migrants want to get to Germany.

The terrorist attacks in Paris on 13 November 2015 included coordinated, Islamist-motivated attacks at five different locations in the 10th and 11th arrondissement and in three locations in the suburb of Saint-Denis. According to the French Government, 130 people were killed and 352 injured, including 97 who were seriously wounded.⁴¹ The Paris-attacks were just the beginning.

On New Year's Eve in Cologne, several groups of young men carried out numerous sexual assaults on women. In many cases, these sexual and property offenses including aggravated assault against the women's male companions. Although to a lesser extent than in Cologne, similar sexual assaults were reported in Hamburg, Stuttgart, Frankfurt, Salzburg, Zürich, and Helsinki. According to eyewitness testimony and police reports, the suspects appeared to be of "North African" or "Arab" descent.^{42, 43}

The terrorist attacks in Paris and the sexual assaults on women throughout the continent have demonstrated the vulnerability of European society. There is a need for closer linking of foreign, security and defense aspects of security policy by strengthening the National Security Council.⁴⁴ It would be necessary to consider a merger of the National Security Council and the Council for Issues of Austrian Integration and Foreign Policy.

Political debate in Parliament

On 3 October 2011, the National Defense Committee in Parliament conducted an intense committee debate about the future military service system before the decision was made on the ASS. The former Minister of Defense and Sports Norbert Darabos spoke in favor of an objective political discussion and for a referendum, and explained to the Members of the committee his motives and arguments which led him to order the General Staff to come up with alternative models to conscription in October 2010. Minister of Defense and Sports Darabos renewed its commitment to neutrality and against joining NATO. The dismissal of General Edmund Entacher, the Chief of the Defense Staff, was justified by Minister of Defense and Sports Darabos on reasons of loss of confidence and that General Entacher was hindering the reform and expressing critical views in public.⁴⁵

On 1 March 2011, the Federal Government noted with approval the report on a new Austrian Security Strategy and forwarded it for further debate to the National Council. The Defense Committee discussed the ASS in its inaugural meeting on 1 March 2011, and in other meetings on 16 March 2011, 21 May 2011, 5 June 2013 and on 26 June 2013. On 14 June 2013, the National Council set a deadline for reporting to 2 July 2013. On 26 June 2013, the Defense Committee, in accordance with § 28b paragraph 4 of the Rules of Procedure Act of the National Council, unanimously decided not to finish this report. The sub-committee discussions on the ASS reached no consensus of all political parties.⁴⁶

Then, on 3 July 2013, several speakers at the plenary of the 213th session of the National Council in the XXIV Legislative period took part in the debate about the ASS. The members of the parliament of the governing parties (SPÖ and ÖVP) and parts of the opposition (FPÖ, TS) voted for the adoption, and part of the opposition (BZÖ, Grüne) against the acceptance of the ASS.⁴⁷

Particularly noteworthy was the speech by Member of Parliament and former Minister of Defense Herbert Scheibner. He noted party political issues within the government in creating the ASS. Scheibner argued that the tasks of the Austrian armed forces must be defined before a debate on compulsory military service, and the former Minister of Defense and Sports Darabos estimated the security doctrine 2001 to be oriented too much towards NATO. There was praise for the good beginning (in 2011), but then the compulsory military service debate in the government began. First, however, the strategy should be defined prior to making the decision on the military service. The timing of the decision was criticized by Scheibner because the decision on an ASS should have been made at the beginning of the term of government, so that enough time would have remained to implement the measures. The militia has only been addressed in the chapter on missions abroad. It therefore has lacked the tasks for the militia at home (for example, property protection and protection of critical infrastructure or disaster relief during floods). There has been no clear position of Austria on nuclear policy and nuclear weapons in the ASS. Despite the decision of the government in 1998 to participate with the Austrian armed forces in NATO combat missions, neutrality has still been maintained. Due to the predetermined schedule and the agreement of the governing parties in the Parliament, the opposition has been unable to contribute to the common consensus.⁴⁸

On 3 July 2013, the National Council accepted the new ASS by a two-thirds majority of the resolution. This then replaced the Security and Defense Doctrine of 2001.^{49, 50, 51}

Critique and differing perceptions

The ASS was reported and criticized by many political institutions, media and personalities with respect to this debate. The various reports, recommendations and opinions are now analyzed and compared with the ASS.

The Austrian study center for Peace and Conflict Prevention (Österreichisches Studienzentrum für Frieden und Konfliktforschung [ÖSFK]) ascertained a blurring and arbitrariness of the security concept and warned of a “totalization of security policy.”⁵² In particular, the retention of the state military paradigm was criticized, and ÖSFK offers an alternative: a peace-oriented security policy. This should be guided by the principles of the UN, and Austria should continue to pursue an independent policy of neutrality within the EU. ÖSFK recommended greater transparency, participation and expertise of civil society and science and peace policy as preventive security measures at the national, EU, and international levels. ÖSFK’s recommendations mainly concern peace policy rather than security policy. These recommendations relate mainly to “conflict resolution by peaceful means” and call for the primacy of civil over military means.⁵³ The military’s crisis management was considered to be inappropriate.

The Austrian Institute for International Affairs (Österreichisches Institut für international Politik [OIIP]) described in a brief analysis the world of yesterday (bipolarity, Cold War), the world of tomorrow (multipolarity, inter polarity) and the comprehensive approach to security of the Copenhagen School (prismatic approach to security dimensions).⁵⁴ According to OIIP the ASS is built on a “non-polarized and liberal worldview.”⁵⁵ Moreover, OIIP stated that the ASS supports a multilateral partnership and cooperation between the organizations, strengthens international crisis management as a form of solidarity in the EU, and considers security as a public good.⁵⁶ OIIP criticized the “comprehensive approach as being non-specific and liable to prevent profiling.”⁵⁷ “Much will depend on the focus of the comprehensive security precautions and the sub-strategies in terms of a prismatic and human security.”^{58, 59} “Although the political and strategic objectives are formulated as global principles and norms; solidarity is still too limited to the EU. Art. 3 paragraph 5 of the Lisbon Treaty calls for global solidarity with these principles and norms.

Climate change, disasters, terrorism, and nuclear proliferation are global phenomena which are not limited to a country or region – and neither is solidarity. The Fukushima disaster and the terrorist attack in Norway require additional solidarity via the EU framework.”^{60, 61}

The European Security Research (Europäische Sicherheitsforschung [ESFO]) analyzed that “the Austrian government will in the future continue to form a close cooperation within the framework of the EU and be active in the design and development of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and the Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP). Within the framework of other international organizations, the Austrian interests are pursued and cooperation strengthened. This includes cooperation with the UN and the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). The accession option to NATO that was included in the initial analysis of the strategy in 2011 was eliminated from the current security strategy.”⁶²

The Austrian weekly magazine Profil called the ASS a sloppily-worked paper due to the conflict within the government, and dubbed the article “Cyber War instead of tank battle, civil protection and the fight against terrorism: Austria adopts a new security doctrine for current threats.”⁶³ Despite the withdrawal of the Austrian contingent from the Golan Heights after 39 years of peacekeeping mission, the Middle East remains a foreign policy focus area. However, the magazine did not offer alternatives or improvements.

The former Director General for security policy in the Ministry of Defense, Dr. Erich Reiter, wrote an article criticizing the ASS for overseeing the conversion of the former armed forces to a fire-fighting and police organization.⁶⁴ Dr. Reiter commented that the ASS had no influence on the process of armament or the alignment of the armed forces and the result would be the demilitarization of the armed forces. In his view, the duties of the armed forces would become “assistance tasks, in particular the civil protection mechanism, as well as the involvement of the Austrian armed forces in international operations with more police than

military character.”⁶⁵ Dr. Reiter described the removal of the NATO accession option as purely political motivation.

The Austrian Institute for European and Security Policy (AIES) noted that the “renaming of the document should be able to derive a realignment. While the concept of doctrine had certain rigidity, the momentum in the field of security and defense policy should be taken into account accordingly with the strategy.”⁶⁶

Recommendations

First recommendation: Start re-evaluating the ASS due to the changed security situation, and if necessary realigne the Austrian Foreign and Security Policy.

Second recommendation: Every effort should be made to forge an even closer relationship between foreign, security and defense aspects of security policy by strengthening the National Security Council.

Third recommendation: Examine a potential merger of the National Security Council and the Council for Issues of Austrian Integration and Foreign Policy.

Fourth recommendation: Despite the decision of the government in 1998 to participate with the Austrian armed forces in NATO combat missions, neutrality is still being upheld. An objective political discussion is needed for a rethinking of the policy of neutrality in accordance with the European framework.

Fifth recommendation: If overcoming the current European “identity crisis” does not appear possible, immediate consequences are to be realized in the field of foreign, security and defense aspects of security policy.

Sixth recommendation: Establishment of a general government Situation Centre (under the responsibility of the Federal Chancellery) with the participation of all relevant stakeholders in Austrian security policy for early detection and crisis management.

Seventh recommendation: Appropriate budgeting is a prerequisite for implementing the ASS, with direct impact on the reorientation of comprehensive security provision and thus also on the Austrian armed forces.

Eighth recommendation: Before making a decision about a future military system, the strategy and the tasks of the armed forces must be established first.

Ninth recommendation: The decision on an adopted ASS should be taken at the beginning of the term of government, so that enough time to implement the measures remains.

Tenth recommendation: Strengthening the role of the militia is essential. The militia is referred to only in the Chapter on missions abroad. It lacks the tasks for the militia at home (for example, property protection and protection of critical infrastructure or disaster relief during floods).

Eleventh recommendation: Include a clear position of Austria on nuclear policy and nuclear weapons in the ASS.

Twelfth recommendation: Compliance with national and international law (for example, the Dublin Convention and Schengen Agreement) must be mandatory for the Austrian government and the Austrian authorities.

Conclusion

By decision of the Government on the adoption of the ASS in March 2011, a long-overdue debate on security policy was initiated, affecting not only the security and defense aspects of the security policy, but also foreign policy, which is to be designed with new content. Nevertheless, points on the basic recommendations in the resolution do not automatically mean political consensus on a reorientation of Austrian Foreign and Security Policy. The passage to the active policy of neutrality reflects the confident appeal to the

identity of Austria, where the desire for an active policy of neutrality should be seen in line with the European framework for action. The Austrian contribution to a Europe of security, peace and justice, expresses the desire to overcome the European identity crisis. The Austrian security policy can only unfold within the primary framework of the EU and in special cases together with other organizations. This corresponds to the analysis of the contemporary political reality of interdependence, globalization and, in particular, the effect of European integration.

This sets the ASS as a core document on the Austrian security policy regarding content quality. The principle of comprehensive security provision theoretically committed all stakeholders relevant to security policy in Austria to work constructively. The general government approach can be improved with the creation of a corresponding recognized picture on content substance. Thus, the demand for early identification of strategic changes should be met. Former Minister of Defense and Sports Gerald Klug described the Austrian security policy with the ASS as a solid basis for the further development of the armed forces. However, the implementation of the ASS and the realignment of the Austrian armed forces cannot go on rapidly due to budgetary restraints. Early warning systems failed to register the wave of migration from Africa and the Middle East, and reality has overtaken the ASS. The terrorist attacks in Paris and the sexual assaults on women throughout the continent have demonstrated the vulnerability of European society. The Paris-attacks were just the beginning.

Appendix

The European Security Strategy 2015-2020 as a concept can be adapted to new threats.⁶⁷ In particular, three of the most urgent tasks to be addressed are fighting terrorism and preventing radicalization, fighting against organized crime, and combating cybercrime.

The EU Commission will set up a competence center to gather and disseminate expertise in the field of de-radicalization work. This will strengthen the exchange of experiences among practitioners concerned directly with the prevention of radicalization and violent extremism.

The legal framework for dealing with the phenomenon of foreign terrorism / fighters needs to be coherent. In addition, closer cooperation with third countries is provided.

The sources of financing of terrorists are to be cut off. Cooperation between the competent authorities in Europe will be expanded (in particular between national financial intelligence units whose computer network is to be anchored at Europol). The Commission will examine the need for new legislation to combat terrorist financing and to improve the confiscation of the proceeds of crime.

In 2015, the Commission will launch an EU Forum with major IT companies to help counter terrorist propaganda on the Internet and on social media and to address the concerns of law enforcement agencies with respect to new encryption technologies.

The tightening of the regulatory framework for firearms, to combat illicit arms trafficking and the reactivation of weapons, establishing common standards to step up information exchanges and expanding cooperation with third countries.

The most urgent task is the removal of barriers that hinder the investigation of online crime, particularly with respect to jurisdiction and rules on access to evidence and information.

The expansion of the capacities of Europol, in particular the establishment of a European Centre for the fight against terrorism, to the national prosecuting authorities to assist in their intensive crackdown on foreign fighters, terrorist financing, violent extremist online content and illegal trade in firearms.



Notes

1. Original quote: Prinz Eugen von Savoyen: “Sie schreien nach uns um Hilfe, wenn ihnen das Wasser in das Maul rinnt, und wünschen uns vom Hals, kaum als einen Augenblick dasselbige verschwunden“, accessed 26 September 2015, <http://gutezitate.com>.

2. Prince Eugene of Savoy-Carignan (* 18 October 1663 in Paris; † 21 April 1736 in Vienna), was one of the most important generals of the Habsburg Empire, he expanded significantly its position as a great power. From 1697 he was commander in the Great Turkish War. During the Spanish War of Succession (1701-1714) Prince Eugene was the supreme commander of the anti-French coalition. After the resumption of the war against the Ottomans (1714-1718) he secured the Austrian dominance in Southeastern Europe. In addition, he was president of the Imperial War Council and served as diplomat and in other high government offices. He was one of the most important patrons of his time.

3. As a scientific method I chose the Hermeneutic to create the PSP. Hermeneutics (ancient Greek ἐρμηνεύειν hermēneúein, explain, interpret, translate) is a theory of the interpretation and understanding of texts.

4. Bundeskanzleramt, *Sicherheits- und Verteidigungsdoktrin 2001* (Wien: Bundeskanzleramt Österreich, 2001), accessed 26 August 2015, http://www.bka.gv.at/2004/4/4/doktrin_d.pdf.

5. Information: In accordance with Article 79 Federal Constitutional Law, the armed forces are set up by a militia system, which meets in peacetime only for exercises and at inferior manning levels. Conscripts belong to the strength (active duty), the militia or the reserve for the duration of their compulsory military service. After the Second World War and the Austrian State Treaty of 1955, the Austrian armed forces were re-established on the principle of conscription only for men, which was initially governed by law. With the Federal Constitutional Law of 8 July 1975, the compulsory military service or alternative military service (civilian service) for men was enshrined in the constitution.

6. Max Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft - Grundriss der verstehenden Soziologie*, Studienausgabe, 5. Auflage (Tübingen: zeno.org, 1980), 822, accessed 26 September 2015, <http://www.zeno.org/nid/20011439998>.

7. Original quote: “... der Staat die Gemeinschaft, die innerhalb eines bestimmten Gebietes das Monopol legitimer physischer Gewaltbarkeit für sich beansprucht“ und „Herrschaftsverhältnis von Menschen über Menschen“.

8. Österreichisches Bundesheer, *Definition Strategie - Militärlexikon/Führungssysteme*, 1 July 2015.

9. Original quote: “Strategie ist die koordinierte Anwendung und Ausnützung aller Mittel und Möglichkeiten des Staates zur Wahrung der sicherheitspolitischen Ziele gegenüber allen Bedrohungen.“

10. Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, ed. and trans. Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), 177.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid., 128.

13. Colin Dueck, *Reluctant crusaders: power, culture, and change in American grand strategy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), 1.

14. Österreichisches Bundesheer, *Teilstrategie Verteidigungspolitik 2014* (Wien: BMLVS/Heeresdruckzentrum ASt Stiftgasse, 2014).

15. Original quote: Die österreichische Sicherheitspolitik im 21. Jahrhundert umfasst alle Maßnahmen auf nationaler, europäischer und internationaler Ebene zur aktiven Gestaltung einer für Österreich und seine Bevölkerung sowie die Europäische Union (EU) insgesamt vorteilhaften sicherheitsrelevanten Situation, zur Verhinderung des Entstehens oder Wirksamwerdens von Bedrohungen und zum Schutz gegenüber Bedrohungen bzw. zu deren Bewältigung.

16. Original quote: Umfassende Sicherheit.

17. Bundeskanzleramt Österreich, *Österreichische Sicherheitsstrategie* (Wien: Bundeskanzleramt Österreich, 2013), 10, accessed 26 August 2015, <http://www.bka.gv.at/site/3503/default.aspx>.

18. Ibid., 4.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid., 9-15.

21. Ibid., 5-8.

22. Bundesministerium für Inneres, Generaldirektion für öffentliche Sicherheit, *Sonderberichterstattung und Analyse der derzeitigen Migrationslage*, 1, veröffentlicht am 24 September 2015 durch österreichische Medien, accessed 29 September 2015, <http://images.derstandard.at/2015/09/25/Geheimbericht.pdf>.

23. Ibid.

24. Austria Presse Agentur, "Flüchtlinge - Bundesheer bereitet sich auf Assistenzeinsatz vor," Beschluss der Österreichischen Bundesregierung am 14 September 2015 über den Einsatz des Österreichischen Bundesheeres auf Ersuchen des Bundesministerium für Inneres, accessed 29 September 2015, http://www.ots.at/presseaussendung/OTS_20150914_OTSO142/fluechtlinge-bundesheer-bereitet-sich-auf-assistenzeinsatz-vor.

25. Austria Presse Agentur, „Bundesheer: Sicherheitspolizeilicher Assistenzeinsatz beginnt,“ Umsetzung des Beschluss der Österreichischen Bundesregierung durch das Bundesministerium für Landesverteidigung und Sport am 15 September 2015 über den Einsatz des Österreichischen Bundesheeres, accessed 29 September 2015, http://www.ots.at/presseaussendung/OTS_20150915_OTSO243/bundesheer-sicherheitspolizeilicher-assistenzeinsatz-beginnt.

26. Original quote: „In enger Zusammenarbeit mit der Polizei werden sie unter anderem Transportaufgaben, Absicherungs- und Ordnungstätigkeiten übernehmen; im Burgenland an bestimmten Grenzübergängen, in Oberösterreich bei den Bahnhöfen Linz und Wels sowie bei den Inn-Übergängen und in Salzburg im Bereich des Hauptbahnhofs.“

27. Bundesministerium für Inneres, Generaldirektion für öffentliche Sicherheit, *Sonderberichterstattung und Analyse der derzeitigen Migrationslage*, 3.

28. Original quote: „Gefahr für die Aufrechterhaltung der öffentlichen Ordnung, Ruhe und Sicherheit durch die massive Bindung des Polizeipersonals zur Abwicklung der Tätigkeiten im Zusammenhang mit illegalen Einreisen.“

29. Bundesministerium für Inneres, Generaldirektion für öffentliche Sicherheit, *Sonderberichterstattung und Analyse der derzeitigen Migrationslage*, 3.

30. European Commission, “temporary reintroduction of border controls by Austria, particularly at the Hungarian-Austrian border”, accessed 15 September 2015, http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_STATEMENT-15-5648_en.htm.

31. Bundesministerium des Innern, „Vorübergehende Wiedereinführung von Grenzkontrollen - De Maizière verkündet am 13 September 2015 die Wiedereinführung von Kontrollen an Binnengrenzen - Schwerpunkt vorerst Grenze zu Österreich, accessed 29 September 2015, <https://www.bmi.bund.de/SharedDocs/Kurzmeldungen/DE/2015/09/grenzkontrollen-an-der-grenze-zu-oesterreich-wiedereingef%C3%BChrt.html>.

32. European Commission, “temporary reintroduction of border controls by Germany, particularly at the German-Austrian border”, accessed 13 September 2015, http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_STATEMENT-15-5638_en.htm.

33. “Slowenien kündigt Einführung von Grenzkontrollen an,” *Die Presse.com*, accessed 17 September 2015, <http://diepresse.com/home/politik/aussenpolitik/4823595/Slowenien-kündigt-Einführung-von-Grenzkontrollen-an>.

34. European Commission, “temporary reintroduction of controls by Slovenia at the border with Hungary,” accessed 17 September 2015, http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_STATEMENT-15-5667_en.htm.

35. Information: Einführung von temporären Grenzkontrollen.

36. Walter Scheucher, "Spielfeld Flüchtlingslager 28.10.2015", accessed 29 October 2015, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Poh3Rke_NkM.

37. Bundeskanzleramt Österreich, *Österreichische Sicherheitsstrategie* (Wien: Bundeskanzleramt Österreich, 2013), 10-11.

38. Bundesministerium für Inneres, *Vorläufige Asylstatistik - November 2015*, accessed 2 February 2016, http://www.bmi.gv.at/cms/BMI_Asylwesen/statistik/files/2015/Asylstatistik_November_2015.pdf.

39. Bundeskanzleramt Österreich, *Österreichische Sicherheitsstrategie*, 9-10.

40. Österreich verfolgt folgende Interessen und politisch-strategische Ziele (auszugsweise nur die ersten sechs von 24 Punkten): Umfassender Schutz der österreichischen Bevölkerung; Gewährleistung der territorialen Integrität und der Selbstbestimmung sowie der Handlungsfreiheit der Republik; Schutz der rechtsstaatlich-demokratischen Verfassungsordnung samt den Grund- und Freiheitsrechten; Förderung von Gemeinwohl und Schutz von Würde und Persönlichkeit; Aufrechterhaltung des sozialen Friedens und des Zusammenhaltes der Gesellschaft in Österreich sowie Förderung eines guten, sicheren Zusammenlebens; Stärkung der demokratischen Gesellschaft gegenüber extremistischen und fundamentalistischen Strömungen und Einflussnahmen.

41. Marlies Kastenhofer, "Die Paris-Anschläge waren nur der Anfang," *Die Presse*, accessed 26 December 2015, <http://diepresse.com/home/politik/aussenpolitik/4894276/Die-Paris-Anschlaege-waren-nur-der-Anfang>.
42. "Köln: Schock über sexuelle Angriffe," *Die Presse*, accessed 5 January 2016, http://diepresse.com/home/panorama/welt/4898151/Koln_Schock-uber-sexuelle-Angriffe?_vl_backlink=/home/index.do.
43. "Nach Silvesterattacken will Deutschland Strafverschärfungen," *Die Presse*, accessed 10 January 2016, <http://www.salzburg.com/nachrichten/welt/politik/sn/artikel/nach-silvesterattacken-will-deutschland-straftverschaeerfungen-179934/>.
44. Bundeskanzleramt, *Nationaler Sicherheitsrat*, accessed 26 August 2015, <https://www.bka.gv.at/site/3504/default.aspx>.
45. Parlament Republik Österreich, *Parlamentsskorrespondenz Nr. 113*, 3 February 2011, accessed 31 August 2015, www.parlament.gv.at/PAKT/PR/JAHR_2011/PK0113/.
46. Parlament Republik Österreich, *Landesverteidigungsausschuss – Österreichische Sicherheitsstrategie (2524d.B.) Bericht*, 3 February 2011, accessed 31 August 2015, www.parlament.gv.at/PAKT/PR/JAHR_2011/PK0113/.
47. Information: SPÖ – Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs; ÖVP – Österreichische Volkspartei; FPÖ – Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs; TS – Team Stronach für Österreich; BZÖ – Bündnis Zukunft Österreich; Grüne – Die Grüne Alternative.
48. Herbert Scheibner, *Österreichische Sicherheitsstrategie – Parlamentsdiskussion*, 3 July 2013, accessed 26 August 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OPJ6ipDzzwE>.
49. Parlament Republik Österreich, *213. Sitzung des Nationalrates*, 3 July 2013, accessed 26 August 2015, https://www.parlament.gv.at/PAKT/VHG/XXIV/E/E_00313/index.shtml.
50. Parlament Republik Österreich, *Bericht des Landesverteidigungsausschusses, 2524 der Beilagen zu den Stenographischen Protokollen des Nationalrates XXIV. GP*, 26 June 2013.
51. Bundeskanzleramt Österreich, *Österreichische Sicherheitsstrategie*, 17-21.
52. Österreichisches Studienzentrum für Frieden und Konfliktlösung, „Österreichische Sicherheitsstrategie. Sicherheit in einer neuen Dekade – Sicherheit gestalten“: Empfehlungen aus friedenspolitischer Sicht, 10 November 2011, accessed 26 August 2015, http://www.uni-klu.ac.at/frieden/downloads/Stellungnahme_sicherheitspolitische_Strategie_Bundesregierung.pdf.
53. Ibid., 3.
54. Heinz Gärtner, *Die österreichische Sicherheitsstrategie (ÖSS) im globalen Kontext – Kurzanalyse* (Wien: Österreichisches Institut für Internationale Politik, 2011), accessed 26 August 2015, <http://www.oiiip.ac.at/fileadmin/Unterlagen/Dateien/Publikationen/Sicherheitsstrategie.pdf>.
55. Ibid., 5.
56. Ibid., 6.
57. Ibid., 7.
58. Ibid.

59. Original quote: „Viel wird von der Fokussierung der umfassenden Sicherheitsvorsorge und den Teilstrategien im Sinne einer prismatischen und menschlichen Sicherheit abhängen.“

60. Heinz Gärtner, *Die österreichische Sicherheitsstrategie (ÖSS) im globalen Kontext – Kurzanalyse*, 7.

61. Original quote: „Obwohl die politisch-strategischen Ziele als globale Prinzipien und Normen formuliert werden, ist Solidarität noch zu sehr auf die EU beschränkt. Aber auch der Lissabonner Vertrag fordert in Art. 3, Abs. 5 globale Solidarität bei diesen Prinzipien und Normen. Klimaerwärmung, Katastrophen, Terrorismus, nukleare Proliferation sind globale Phänomene sind nicht auf ein Land oder eine Region beschränkt – Solidarität auch nicht. Die Katastrophe von Fukushima und der Terroranschlag in Norwegen erfordern Solidarität über den EU Rahmen hinaus.“

62. Caroline Grosse, „Österreichische Sicherheitsstrategie“, *Europäische Sicherheitsforschung*, 19 September 2013, accessed 31 August 2015, <http://www.sicherheitsforschung-europa.de/servlet/is/16508/>.

63. Otmar Lahodynsky, „Neue Sicherheitsstrategie für Österreich“, *Profil*, 3 July 2013, accessed 26 August 2015, <http://www.profil.at/home/neue-sicherheitsstrategie-oesterreich-361429>.

64. Erich Reiter, „Die österreichische Sicherheitsstrategie ist gar keine Strategie“, *Die Presse.com*, 4 January 2012, accessed 26 August 2015, <http://diepresse.com/home/meinung/gastkommentar/721215/Die-osterreichische-Sicherheitsstrategie-ist-gar-keine-Strategie>.

65. Ibid.

66. Arnold, Kammel, „Eine Sicherheitsstrategie für Österreich: Österreichs Sicherheit (neu) gestalten?“, *Austria Institut für Europa und Sicherheitspolitik*, 17 December 2011, accessed 26 August 2015, http://www.aies.at/lit/eintrag.php?we_objectID=2175.

67. European Commission, „Commission takes steps to strengthen EU cooperation in the fight against terrorism, organized crime and cybercrime“ (Strasbourg: European Commission, 2015), 28 April 2015, accessed 26 August 2015, http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-15-4865_en.htm.

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