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Islamic fundamentalism as a systemic threat to the national security of the Federal Republic of Germany

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The article examines the problem of Muslim migration to the Federal Republic of Germany, the issue of their integration and the spread of Islamic fundamentalism and terrorism. At the beginning of the XXI century, Germany faced new challenges, such as migration from the countries of the global south, especially Muslim regions, religious fundamentalism and terrorism. After the end of the Cold War, the country was not ready for the new geopolitical reality. The main reasons for these problems were the close geographical location of Germany in relation to the countries of the Middle East, the high standard of living in the country, the tolerance of the population and globalization. After the terrorist attacks on the United States in September 2001, and the beginning of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, terrorist attacks began in Germany, which were carried out by Islamic terrorist organizations. The migration crisis in the European Union in 2015 created many problems for Germany. In large cities of the country, areas populated by migrants began to appear, Islamic schools, Arabic language centers and mosques began to open. Gradually, over time, the number of Muslims in the country began to grow, due to high birth rates and further migration. The majority of Muslim migrants are from the Arab countries of the Middle East, North Africa, as well as from Turkey and Central Asian countries such as Afghanistan and Pakistan. For many years, the German authorities have been unable to solve the problem of integrating Muslim migrants. The original theory and, based on it, the melting pot strategy, that is, the gradual mixing of ethnic groups, religions and cultures in the country, did not lead to the desired result. The younger generation of Muslims in Germany feel like strangers. They become victims of Islamic fundamentalist propaganda and commit terrorist acts. These factors pose a threat to Germany's national security. To solve this problem, the authorities and various services need to take a set of measures to integrate Muslim migrants into German society, improve their level of education, integrate them into the economic sector, and special attention should be paid to countering extremism and terrorism.
Key words: *Germany, Islam, Islamic fundamentalism, migration, terrorism.*

Introduction. Since the beginning of the XXI century, the Federal Republic of Germany has seen an increase in citizens professing Islam. This is due to several factors. These include migration that began after the end of World War II and the beginning of economic recovery, an increase in the birth rate among Muslims living in Germany, the cultural and religious spread of Islam as a religion, culture, education and Arabic language, as well as a high degree of tolerance among the indigenous population of the country to a foreign culture. Over time, the problem of integrating Muslims into German society has arisen. Many experts have already noted the failure of Germany's integration policy. The problem has already manifested itself in ethnic and religious intolerance between Muslim migrants and the indigenous German population, which leads to conflicts and even murders. Also, starting around 2015, the problem of Islamic radicalism and terrorism has arisen, which has threatened the country's national security. On the other hand, the indigenous population's response is a rise in nationalism and radical actions, which are skillfully used for their own purposes by right-wing German political parties and civil organizations.

The purpose and objectives of the study: study of the process of islamization of the Federal Republic of Germany, the processes of spreading religious fundamentalism, extremism and terrorism and the dangers emanating from them.

Recent literature review. The topic of Islam and Islamic fundamentalism in Germany has been studied by scholars such as Sarah Demmrich, Olaf Müller, Detlef Pollack, Götz Nordbruch, Russell A. Berman, Martin Beck, Ruud Koopmans, Marc Helbling, Richard Traunmüller, Hamed Abdel-Samad, Karl-Heinz Ohlig, Julika Enslin, Artur Ciechanowicz and etc.

Research methods: to study the topic of Islam in Germany, the author used various research methods widely used, such as social science, comparative analysis and social data measurements.

The main research material. Today, 5.5 million Muslims live in Germany, and 3 million of them have citizenship in the country of residence. Relations between Germany and the Islamic world have a long history. Contact between Muslims and the Holy Roman Empire occurred in the Middle Ages, especially during the Crusades. In the eighteenth century, many Muslims began to come to Germany as part of diplomatic, military and economic relations between Germany and the Ottoman Empire.

Muslim society has always had a positive attitude towards Germany, due to the fact that, compared to other Western empires, Germany had no colonial

possessions in the Muslim world. In 1898, speaking in Damascus, Emperor Wilhelm II declared himself the "eternal friend" of the Muslim people. The German government also financed the reconstruction of the tomb of Saladin, a Muslim war hero who fought against the English king Richard the Lionheart during the Crusades. The German Reich developed close relations with Sultan Abd al-Hamid II. Germany took an active part in the reform and modernization of the armed forces of the Ottoman Empire, which became an ally of the German Empire during the First World War [15, 519–522].

After the end of World War II, Germany's economy was in ruins. In 1961, Turkey and Germany signed a joint agreement to bring Turkish workers to work in Germany. Both countries benefited from the agreement. West Germany received cheap labor needed to rebuild and develop its economy, which began to experience high growth in the sixties. Turkey also benefited from the agreement, which helped relieve tension in the social sphere. The agreement also strengthened the relationship between the two NATO member countries.

After 1973, Germany's economic growth began to slow down, but many Turkish workers decided to stay in the country and brought their families. In addition, many Turks began to move to Germany illegally or using tourist visas and working unofficially.

In the late seventies, the political situation in Turkey worsened. In 1980, a military coup took place in the country, which led to a new flow of Turkish migrants to Germany.

In 1983, the German ruling coalition passed the Law for the Promotion of the Repatriation of Foreigners (Gesetz zur Förderung der Rückkehrbereitschaft von Ausländern) aimed at bringing migrants and their families back home. The law was the result of a negative situation characterized by high unemployment and problems with the integration of migrants into German society. After the law was passed, approximately 250,000 Turks returned home. Their return was encouraged financially by the German government, which paid 10,500 DM as a return fee and another 1,500 DM for each family member.

In the nineties of the twentieth century, the armed conflict between the Turkish armed forces and the armed units of the Kurdistan Workers' Party led to the Kurds massively seeking refuge in Germany, which became the cause of conflicts between Turks and Kurds in the European country [1, 4–5].

At the end of 2010 and the beginning of 2011, a series of coups and civil wars began in the Arab countries. In Tunisia and Egypt, the ruling regimes were overthrown. In Libya, a civil war began, which also led to the murder of the country's leader Muammar Gaddafi and the continuation of the war. In Syria and Yemen, civil wars also began. All these events caused a migration crisis in Europe, which gradu-

ally developed and reached its climax in 2015. It became the largest migration crisis since the Second World War. In Germany, the most acute period of the crisis occurred in the second half of 2015. According to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the German government, a total of 441,899 people applied for asylum. Of these, 158,657 were from the Syrian Arab Republic, 53,805 from Albania, 33,427 from Kosovo, 31,382 from Afghanistan, 29,784 from Iraq. The rest were from other countries. In 2016, the number of applicants was 722,370. Of these, 266,250 were from Syria, 127,012 from Afghanistan, 96,116 from Iraq, 26,426 from Iran, 14,484 from Pakistan and from other countries [3, 3].

Thus, the historical process of migration of the Turkish population to Germany, and since 2015 also of the Arab population, who are fleeing war in their countries, influences the change in the demographic and ethnic component of Germany.

Since the beginning of the migration crisis, Western media started to shape public opinion towards migrants among citizens of the European Union.

In June 2015, during a panel discussion in the German city of Rostock, and a meeting of German Chancellor Angela Merkel with refugees, a Palestinian girl from Lebanon, Reem Sahwil, burst into tears and asked not to deport her and her family from Germany. She told the German Chancellor that she would like to stay in the country and continue her education. Angela Merkel responded to the girl that this was politics, and many refugees would have to return. The video of the meeting between the German Chancellor and the Palestinian refugee went viral on the Internet and caused public criticism. International organizations called on the German leadership to provide asylum and conditions for refugees from the Middle East [10].

On September 2, 2015, three-year-old Kurdish boy Aylan Kurdi from Syria died in the Mediterranean Sea along with other refugees who were trying to reach Europe. The photo of the little boy lying on the shore was broadcast around the world and became a symbol of the refugee tragedy.

On September 14, the German magazine Der Spiegel published an article entitled "Alan Kurdi's father tells his story." In the article, the father of the deceased boy, Abdullah Kurdi, tells how they had to move in Syria to escape the war, how they did not have enough money to live on and in what difficult conditions they lived for three years. After part of Syria was captured by the Islamic State, the Kurdi family had to leave for Turkey. There, maintaining contact with relatives in Europe, they learned that life in the European Union was much better. The family decided to move to one of the countries of the European Union. With the help of Turkish smugglers, for 4,000 euros, he and his family tried to sail from

the Turkish city of Bodrum to Greece on a motorboat. The boat got caught in a storm, and Abdullah Kurdi's entire family died, his wife, daughter and son. After he was found by the Turkish authorities, he was deported back to Syria, where he continued his life. The article was specifically written to create sympathy among Germans for the difficult fate of refugees from Syria and other Middle Eastern countries [14].

Thus, under the influence of public opinion, which was formed by the media, Germany began to accept refugees. The German government hoped that the melting pot theory, that is, the mixing of various ethnic and cultural groups, would help avoid conflicts based on cultural incompatibility of peoples. In December 2015, Angela Merkel said that the theory of multiculturalism is a fiction and such an approach to solving the problem will not work. Also, the German Chancellor added that one should not compare the American model of multiculturalism with Europe, since the United States was formed as a nation by people from different cultures. As an example, Chancellor Merkel cited an example of a long-term conflict between Catholics and Protestants in Europe, but in the United States, people professing these two directions in Christianity live peacefully. At the same time, the conflict between Christianity and Islam has a thousand-year history and has not ended. The migration crisis and the wrong policy of Germany leads to a conflict between Christians and Muslims in Germany itself, and this conflict will only intensify over time. European multiculturalism can be seen as part of the European tolerance policy, but in reality, we are witnessing the formation of ethnic and religious ghettos in major cities of the European Union where Muslims continue to live in their own cultural and religious space, which does not contribute to their integration into German or European society at all. Refugees can only obtain documents that will give them the right to be citizens of Germany, but they will never be able to become Germans in their souls. One can only be born a German. The multiculturalism project has not worked, and refugees will either be forced to leave Germany or the clash of civilizations will lead to conflicts in the country [9].

The long-term migration of Muslims, especially its intensive nature since 2015, has led to a change in the demographic situation in Germany. According to the American Pew Research Center, between 2010 and 2016, the number of Muslims living in Germany increased from 3.3 million (4.1% of the population) to almost 5 million (6.1%). Emigration has become the main factor in the increase in the number of Muslims in Germany. The problem is that even if migration stops, the number of Muslims will still grow due to the fact that German Muslims are much younger than the native population of Germany and have more children [21].

As of 2023, there are 5.5 million Muslims living in Germany. 3 million of them are German citizens. Muslims make up 6.6% of the total population of Germany. Followers of Islam are the second largest religious group after Christians.

In terms of gender distribution, Muslim men make up 52%, while the percentage of women who profess Islam is 48%. The average age of men and women is 32 years, while the average age of the native German population is 44 years.

A more detailed analysis of the Muslim population of Germany shows that people from Turkey make up 2.5 million people, or 45%. The second largest group in terms of numbers are people from Arab countries and North African countries, who make up 27%. Another 19% are representatives of the southern regions of Europe. Muslims from Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Iran make up 9%.

Also, two thirds of Muslims in Germany are followers of the Sunni branch of Islam. Sunni Islam is the dominant branch of Islam in the world. Shiite Muslims make up 4% of the Muslims in Germany. Then come the Islamic sects: Alevis – 8%; Ahmadi – 1%.

Many Muslims in Germany practice religious traditions. Their number is 70%. Also, 66% of Muslims celebrate Islamic holidays such as Eid al-Fitr, the festival of breaking the fast at the end of Ramadan, and Eid al-Adha, the "festival of sacrifice", which is celebrated in the same month as the Hajj pilgrimage.

39% of Muslims in Germany pray five times a day, every day. 25% of Muslims say they do not pray at all and 11% of Muslims pray several times a year [12].

Muslim migrants mainly live-in large cities of Germany. Large diasporas are located in such cities as Berlin, Frankfurt, Cologne, Dortmund, Frankfurt, Essen, Munich, Duisburg, Nuremberg, Darmstadt, Goppingen and Hamburg. The majority of Muslims live in cities of Western Germany. This is due to the historical process of their labor migration before 1989. There are also Muslim diasporas in the territories of the former German Democratic Republic, but they are not significant in numbers.

There are approximately 2,350 to 2,750 mosques in Germany. The exact number is not known. They also include community centers and prayer rooms [8, 141].

There are many Muslim public organizations in Germany that deal with various issues of the Islamic community. Below is a partial list of public and religious Islamic organizations in Germany. The main goal of Islamic public organizations in Germany is to help poor Muslims, support Islamic culture and the Arabic language. Active Muslim public organizations include the Turkish Islamic Union for Religious Affairs, the Central Council of Muslims, the Union of Islamic Cultural Centers, the Islamic Community Milli Goryus, Muslim Youth in Germany, the Islamic Council, and the Coordination Council of Muslims [11].

Organizations disguised as public organizations, but which raise funds to support terrorist groups in the Middle East, sometimes also act in this way. One such organization was the Al-Aqsa Foundation, founded in 1991 and operating in Aachen. The organization raised funds to support the Hamas movement in Palestine and jihadists in Yemen. The foundation was closed by order of the German government due to accusations of cooperation with terrorist organizations [18].

There are and have been several Muslim political parties in Germany. These include the Democratic Alliance for Diversity and Awakening, the Muslim Democratic Union, and the Union for Renewal and Justice. The Democratic Alliance for Diversity advocates for the inclusion of various ethnic and religious minorities and their aspirations for the development of the Federal Republic of Germany, as well as for a positive presentation of Islam in history textbooks in schools and the adoption of laws against Islamophobia [6].

The party is accused of promoting Turkish interests in Germany through the Muslim diaspora, mainly of Turkish origin [19].

Another Muslim party, the Muslim Democratic Union, existed between 2010 and 2014. The party advocated reforming all political and social institutions in Germany. In 2014, it merged with the political party Union for Renewal and Justice [16].

Another Muslim party in Germany is the Union for Renewal and Justice. The party was founded in 2010 and defends the interests of Muslims in Germany [4].

Muslims living in Germany face many social and everyday problems, such as employment, education, and living conditions. The German authorities do not have clear statistics on the employment of Muslims in Germany, since it is difficult to conduct an accurate sociological study. It is assumed that the unemployment rate is very high. The unemployment rate among Muslim youth reaches 30%. The main problem in the employment of Muslims is the lack or low level of education. Mostly, Muslim immigrants work in the mining and textile industries, car repair, trade, and self-employment in small businesses. Young Muslim women have little chance of finding a job. They mainly work as hairdressers, dental assistants, secretaries. Muslims often face discrimination on religious and ethnic grounds when looking for work.

The situation is also negative in the field of education. The academic performance of children from Muslim families is much lower than that of native German children. Also, Muslim children often do not finish school and do not receive a high school diploma, which in the future creates problems in obtaining higher education and finding a good job. Research by the International Student Assessment showed that 45% of Muslim children have less than a secondary education and less than 15% have a higher education.

Muslim migrants live in overcrowded and poor areas of large cities. They live in poor conditions, usually do not own their homes and are forced to rent. Migrant homes are usually smaller than those of the native population of Germany. Muslims, especially Turks, settle in certain areas, according to ethnic and religious principles, creating Muslim ghettos. In German, there is a term Kiezkultur for such areas. Kiez means district in German. So Kiezkultur means a district with a special culture, different from the German culture [11].

There are approximately 2,800 mosques and prayer houses in Germany. Most of them do not look like typical mosques with large domes and minarets. Most of them are nondescript buildings, often hidden in the courtyards of large cities. This is due to the fear of the native German population reacting to the increasing presence of Muslims in the country and Islamic infrastructure, which causes a feeling of Islamophobia [2].

Germany, as part of the Western world, took part in the war on terror that began after the terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001. German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder expressed solidarity with the idea of sending troops to destroy the Taliban movement in Afghanistan, which was considered at that time a stronghold of international Islamic terrorism. On November 6, 2001, the German Chancellor proposed sending 3,900 troops to Afghanistan [22].

The German military contingent was in Afghanistan for the 20 years that NATO troops were in the country. During this time, a total of 150,000 German troops served in Afghanistan. Over the two decades, 59 German soldiers were killed. In 2021, German troops left Afghanistan [13].

After the Arab Spring of 2010-2011, the outbreak of civil war in Syria and Iraq, which led to the destabilization of the region and the emergence of the Islamic State, which was no longer a local problem, but a threat to security and stability in Europe. On December 4, 2015, the German parliament voted to launch a military operation against the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant, codenamed "Operation Counter-Daesh", or "Fight ISIS", as part of a larger military operation, "Operation Inherent Resolve". The decision to launch the military operation was made after the terrorist attack in Paris in November 2015. Germany contributed 1,200 soldiers, 6 Tornado fighters, two cargo planes and one naval frigate to the military operation. The military mission continued until January 31, 2022 [7].

After 2001, as well as after the migration crisis in Europe in 2015, Islamic fundamentalism and terrorism began to develop in Germany. This is due to several factors. Firstly, the country has long been a desirable place for migration of various peoples

due to the high standard of living and developed democratic institutions. Secondly, the country is part of the Western world, one of its foundations, as well as its participation in the war against terrorism, in the countries of the Islamic world in Afghanistan, Syria and Iraq. Also, the lack of a well-thought-out strategy for the integration of Muslim migrants into German society, which led to the creation of two parallel social groups, the German, consisting of the indigenous German population as well as migrants from European countries close to ethnic Germans in cultural, ethnic and religious terms, and Muslim communities that have created their own parallel society. Another reason is the indigenous inhabitants of Germany who converted to Islam and went to fight in various Muslim countries, mainly in Syria. They have combat experience, follow the ideology of Islamic fundamentalism and, upon returning to Germany, could pose a danger to the security of their country.

Islamic extremism and terrorism became a serious threat to Germany after the migration crisis began in 2015. For two years, in 2016 and 2017, Germany was shaken by a series of terrorist attacks by Islamic fundamentalists. In 2016, there were five terrorist attacks. The Islamic State claimed responsibility. The terrorists were of different ages and came from countries such as Morocco, Afghanistan, Syria, and Iran. In addition to the usual shooting and bombing, a knife attack was used, as well as a truck hijacking in order to kill as many people as possible [5].

Since 2001, Germany has made a number of strategic mistakes, both in foreign policy and in domestic social policy. The social concept of a melting pot, where different ethnic groups and religions mix, did not work. Today, Germany is forced to invest considerable funds in various programs, the purpose of which is to neutralize the foundation for the radicalization of the Islamic population of the country.

The growing threat from Islamic fundamentalism has led to the emergence and growth of Islamophobia in German society. Since 2015, an increase in Islamophobia, hate speech and attacks on Muslims has been observed.

In 2023, German President Walter Steinmeier stated that Islam, the Muslim way of life and Muslim culture have become an integral part of Germany. He also emphasized that the growing Islamophobia is a consequence of the propaganda of right-wing political parties that exploit the topic of the migration crisis in order to gain political dividends. Racism and xenophobia have become part of everyday life in German society [17].

According to the public organization Alliance Against Islamophobia and Muslim Hostility, 1,926 cases of Islamophobia were recorded in 2023. These include incitement to hatred, attacks on religious institutions, and Muslim cemeteries.

State Minister Rim Alabali-Radova said that Islamophobia is the result of a discourse at the everyday level of German society. In this way, Germans express hostility and hatred towards Muslims in Germany. He noted that everyone should condemn racism in Germany and counteract Islamophobia.

Islamophobia in German society has increased dramatically since the Hamas attack on Israel on October 7, 2023. The Germans attacked Muslims, people they considered Muslim, and women and children were also attacked [20].

It is worth noting that the growing Islamophobia in German society is the result of such processes as uncontrolled migration, the creeping Islamization of cities, and Islamic terrorism. These factors not only contribute to the development and spread of Islamophobia, but also to the growing popularity of right-wing nationalist ideas in German society, which may pose a threat to German democracy in the future.

Conclusion. Germany in the 21st century has faced new challenges. These include the migration of Muslims, the creeping Islamization of German cities, the emergence of Islamic fundamentalism and acts of terrorism, and the growing popularity of right-wing political parties that reach the radicalization. All of these factors threaten the stability of the German state, society, and democracy. Germany realized the scale of this problem too late. No preventive measures were taken, and no clear, well-thought-out strategy was developed that would help solve this problem. For several decades, the German authorities believed that the strategy of creating a multi-ethnic society would be able to solve the issue of migrants who moved to the country and integrate them into German society. But German governments, especially since the reign of Chancellor Angela Merkel, did not take into account such features as the difference between Muslim migrants and the native population of Germany in such elements as ethnicity, religion, and different cultural values. The melting pot theory, which the German authorities pinned their hopes on during the reign of Chancellor Merkel, did not live up to expectations. This is due to the fact that historically Germany developed as a mono-ethnic state. After World War II, workers from Turkey were invited to the Federal Republic of Germany, who later stayed in Germany and formed their own diaspora, but they were not fully integrated. The mass migration of Muslims that began in 2015, mainly from Arab countries, as well as from Afghanistan, created an even greater problem. Two parallel societies have formed in Germany. On one side, the native Germans, and on the other, the Muslim diaspora. Muslims in Germany are forced to live in poverty, without access to education and good medicine. Muslim ghettos have formed in large German cities. These people, especially young people, become victims of the propaganda of Islamic fundamentalists, who manipulate

them and push them to radical actions against German society, including acts of terrorism. They appeal to the fact that it is European Christian society that is to blame for the difficult living conditions of Muslims. Thus, a moral justification for aggressive actions is formed.

To prevent the problem from developing, German authorities need to take a number of measures to address the issues of integrating Muslim migrants or deporting them from the country. A clear strategy for integrating the Muslim diaspora into German society, free German language training, and providing education and jobs should be developed. Particular attention should be paid to children and adolescents from Muslim families. Explanatory work should also be carried out to counter the spread of Islamic radical teachings, which could have a detrimental effect on Muslim society in Germany and pose a danger to the country's national security.

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Ісламський фундаменталізм як системна загроза національній безпеці Федеративної Республіки Німеччина

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У статті розглядається проблема міграції мусульман до Федеративної Республіки Німеччини, питання їх інтеграції та поширення ісламського фундаменталізму та тероризму. На початку XXI століття Німеччина зіткнулася з новими викликами, такими як міграція населення з країн глобального півдня, особливо мусульманських регіонів, релігійний фундаменталізм та тероризм. Після закінчення епохи холодної війни країна була не готова до нової геополітичної реальності. Основними причинами виникнення цих проблем стало близьке географічне розташування Німеччини по відношенню до країн Близького Сходу, високий рівень життя в країні, толерантність населення та глобалізація. Після терористичних атак на США у вересні 2001 року і початку війн в Афганістані та Іраку в Німеччині почалися терористичні атаки, які проводили ісламські терористичні організації. Міграційна криза в Європейському Союзі у 2015 році створила багато проблем для Німеччини. У великих містах країни почали з'являтися райони, населені мігрантами, відкривалися ісламські школи, центри вивчення арабської мови та мечеті. Поступово з часом чисельність мусульман у країні почала зростати, за рахунок високої народжуваності та подальшої міграції. Основна частина мусульман мігрантів – це вихідці з арабських країн Близького Сходу, Північної Африки, а також з Туреччини та країн Середньої Азії, таких як Афганістан та Пакистан. Вже багато років влада Німеччини не може вирішити проблему інтеграції мусульман мігрантів. Початкова теорія та її основі стратегія плавленого котла, тобто поступового змішування етносів, релігій і культур країни не призвела до бажаного результату. Молоде покоління мусульман у Німеччині почуваються чужими. Вони стають жертвами пропаганди ісламського фундаменталізму та здійснюють терористичні акти. Ці фактори загрожують національній безпеці Німеччини. Для вирішення цієї проблеми, владі та різним службам потрібно вжити набір заходів для інтеграції мусульман мігрантів у німецьке суспільство, підвищити їх рівень освіти, інтегрувати їх в економічний сектор, а також особливу увагу слід приділити протидії екстремізму та тероризму.
Ключові слова: *Німеччина, іслам, ісламський фундаменталізм, міграція, тероризм.*