

**Guidelines for the foreign and security policy work
of the Heinrich Böll Stiftung**

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1. The goal of this paper

The vagaries of the global political situation have a more pronounced effect on foreign and security policy than other policy areas. The Heinrich Böll Stiftung must therefore continuously address new challenges, trouble spots and constellations in its work. However, as an institution with limited financial and human resources, it is essential for the foundation to select medium-term focal points in which it can make the most effective contribution. Agreement on goals, topics and central projects in foreign and security policy is also essential for cooperation with other units and international offices of the foundation.

The Heinrich Böll Stiftung has been systematically addressing foreign and security policy issues since the late 1990s. In May 2003, the foundation developed a dedicated foreign and security policy program. In late 2006, an independent department for foreign and security policy was established.

The objective of this department is the ongoing conceptual development of relevant topics and coordination of our overall foreign and security policy work, as well as the planning and realization of dedicated events and publications, frequently in cooperation with regional departments, foreign offices and other units of the foundation.

This paper describes the issues and goals relevant to our work, thus providing the basis for medium-term planning in the department and the foundation as a whole. In light of the concentration required, this paper is not intended to cover all relevant foreign and security policy topics, nor will it be possible to grant equal weight to the issues it addresses.

2. The Heinrich Böll Stiftung in the context of the Green movement

The Green movement in Germany – and thus also the Heinrich Böll Stiftung – is rooted in the peace movement that arose to protest the nuclear arms race and bloc confrontation in the early 1980s. The desire for comprehensive nuclear disarmament, initial proposals for a cooperative security structure in Europe and a public discussion of a broader definition of security and a new set of security policy instruments date back to that time. The foundation of our worldwide human rights work and fostering of democratic culture in Germany and abroad, with its special focus on gender democracy, was also laid in the early 1980s. These values remain central to our foreign and security policy work.

With its highly developed international political network, the Heinrich Böll Stiftung can provide background information and analyses that put current events into context, contribute specialist expertise to the political discourse and integrate partners from civil society and the sciences into the political debate. Our special strength lies in the international nature of our expertise and contacts. The international offices of the Heinrich Böll Stiftung serve as nodes in international dialogue as well as foreign and security policy cooperation. They also observe local developments relevant to foreign

and security policy and contribute relevant information to the German debate. We concentrate the international expertise of the foundation in our annual foreign policy conference, dossiers and current articles on our website at www.boell.de.

3. Roles, tasks, instruments

The Heinrich Böll Stiftung assumes a number of different roles and works with a broad range of instruments. We especially want to contribute to the culture of Green foreign and security policy debate through studies, evaluations and analyses of central topics. We also intend to shape public discussion with studies, events and partnerships. We critically illuminate current political processes and present positions designed to heighten public awareness of issues, providing political education in keeping with our basic values. We also continuously foster the networks of our domestic and international work and promote our partners through our local project work.

Two aspects are central to the foundation in these activities: we want to ensure the sustainability of our activities through thematic continuity over extended periods, continuous verification of results and appropriate journalistic work. We also aim to enhance the foundation's intervention capabilities. These include the ability to place topics on the public agenda and promote the development of informed political opinions through events and publications.

4. Partners, networks, target groups

The Heinrich Böll Stiftung sees itself as an active political participant at the European level. Our central objectives include the Europeanization of foreign and security policy debate and the promotion of European networks. The Heinrich Böll Stiftung is also active in nearly every region of the world, and this unique position among German political foundations plays a central role in our work.

In foreign and security policy, the Heinrich Böll Stiftung is a part of an international political network that has grown steadily over the years. The foundation interacts with three different groups of participants in this political network:

- the foundation's partners in its regional work, primarily in civil society
- national and international political think tanks and academic institutions
- governments, parliamentarians and IGOs.

All of these target groups are essential to accurately reflect debate in society as a whole and successfully realize our mission of political education and action. Depending on the topic at hand, individual groups of participants can be the focus of our work as target groups or partners.

5. Political focal points

In the coming years, the following political areas will be the core of the foreign and security policy work of the Heinrich Böll Stiftung in keeping with the goals and

capacities defined primarily by our regional and topic-specific departments and international offices:

5.1 *New global order: international institutions and security in the 21st century*

The need for a global regulatory framework to resolve conflicts of interest peacefully, promote cooperation and prevent the escalation of potential disputes has once again become apparent. The urgency of developing such a political architecture is increasing in light of mounting conflicts over the distribution of dwindling resources, the rise of new powers and the challenge of new forms of extrastate violence. The vision of a Pax Americana – a unipolar global order that appeared viable at the end of the Cold War – failed due to the complexity of the new global conflicts and the hubris of the USA, especially with regard to Iraq. Two models of a new global order are currently being discussed: a multipolar global order relying on a more or less precarious balance of power, or a multilateral one within the framework of a reformed United Nations. In our view, ‘effective multilateralism’ is the better option for preserving peace and addressing global change than a return to the traditional balance of power.

Geopolitics is also a term that has returned to the public debate. Geopolitical categories are often used in describing the worldwide competition for energy resources. The old ‘Western’ and Soviet ‘Eastern’ spheres of influence are currently in a state of flux. The ‘West’ is no longer united by the threat of the Cold War and must find new functions and shared values to prevent it from breaking into separate EU and US entities. Russia is currently trying to reassume its role as a world power and restore the old Soviet sphere of influence. Meanwhile, China, India and Brazil are also establishing their own regional spheres of influence.

While the term ‘geopolitics’ is certainly useful when describing the competition of major and mid-sized powers for economic and political spheres of influence, it is not adequate when describing European interests from the Green vantage point. Geopolitics recognizes the distribution of power and other realities of today's world without integrating standards of values in its own definition of interests. Tension therefore arises between geopolitical realities and value-based goals. The stated goal of the Heinrich Böll Stiftung is to develop theoretical underpinnings and options for action designed to foster foreign and security policy guided by values, yet marked by realism.

5.1.1 New security policy

5.1.1.1 Predominant security policy topics

The end of the Cold War has been followed by an age of global change that is more than the current process of economic globalization. The opening of borders, the dramatically increased mobility of people, goods and capital, global communication and rapid technological progress have provided new opportunities for global cooperation but also created new risks for the security of states and individuals. The security strategies of the USA and EU cite three main risk factors that are tightly intertwined: global terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and

organized crime. Also, the end of the Cold War certainly did not do away with traditional international conflicts of interest. Ethnically-charged conflicts and full-scale civil wars often spill across the borders of individual countries and may provoke wars between countries or the collapse of state structures.

Addressing the various aspects and parties involved in **Islamist terrorism** not only involves 'hard' security policy issues, but also a dialogue between Europe and predominately Muslim countries in politics and society. The tasks of the Foreign and Security Policy Department overlap here with the regional departments of the International Division (Middle East, Asia) and topics of the Domestic Division (integration of migrants, religion and politics). A further task of the Heinrich Böll Stiftung is to determine which developments lead to greater instability or promote radical ideologies. In this regard, the Foreign and Security Policy Department will cooperate closely with the Globalization/International Policy Department.

The necessity of establishing stable democratic structures in **fragile states** has been of central importance for the foundation for some time; this is likely to be one of the major challenges of the coming decades. Due to its numerous civilian and military international deployments, Germany is increasingly being confronted with the question of promising state-building strategies. The Foreign and Security Policy Department will cooperate closely with the 'Promoting Democracy under Conditions of State Fragility' working group as well as the appropriate regional departments and foreign offices when addressing these topics.

Nuclear disarmament and the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons is a topic that has been of central interest to the Greens since the movement was established. It is currently gaining importance due to the nuclear ambitions of Iran, North Korea and other states, and in connection with the threat of international terrorism. The Foreign and Security Policy Department especially intends to observe the discussion of the future of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) and take action with studies and events as appropriate.

5.1.1.2 New definition of security

While the threat scenarios formulated in the security strategies of the EU and NATO are not incorrect in their description of today's security challenges, they are incomplete. For example, they neglect the effects of **global environmental destruction and climate change** as well as the destabilization of international security by **conflicts over dwindling resources** such as water and arable land and the resulting **mass migration**. For the Heinrich Böll Stiftung, these dimensions of global security are core topics of our work (see Section 5.3, Climate and energy security).

Both human security and a broader general definition of security have played a productive role in the debate in recent years. The concept of human security complements the debate over development policy. The broader definition of security integrates important impulses provided by the Green movement since the 1980s. Its goal must not be an arbitrary expansion of security policy, however, but to link new issues related to actual threats to the security policy debate.

Developing a workable definition of security in the 21st century and instruments of effective multilateralism that can be deployed in a security policy context will be central to the work of the Foreign and Security Policy Department in cooperation with other departments of the foundation in coming years.

This work will take the following issues into account:

- Which definition of security is applied by whom, when and where?
- Who guarantees which forms of security for whom? Who defines security according to which interests?
- What is the connection between the internal and external security of states?

The Foreign and Security Policy Department is responsible for addressing these questions.

5.1.2 Promoting democracy

The Heinrich Böll Stiftung defines itself as a 'democracy foundation' and an active participant in shaping European democracy policy. The **promotion of democracy, rule of law and human rights** is central to our work.

In addition to promoting democracy in the field on a project-related basis, the foundation is also active at the analytical level, exploring the degree to which the external promotion of democracy can become a lasting part of German and EU foreign and security policy. At present, the United States is unmistakably moving from democracy promotion back to its traditional policy of checks and balances, and a lively debate is currently taking place in Europe about the value of democracy promotion and suitable implementation strategies. In light of these developments it is necessary to explore the degree to which a **convergence between the democracy agenda and foreign-policy goals** (political stability, economic interests) can be realized.

The Foreign and Security Policy Department will focus on determining the value of democracy promotion in NATO and EU foreign and security policy, as well as strategies for moving it forward. This question is particularly relevant with regard to the Middle East, Russia and China.

The department will be cooperating with the working group on democracy promotion in fragile states and the relevant regional departments and offices in this regard.

5.1.3 Gender aspects of security policy

The critical analysis of gender aspects of peace and security policy is of central importance to the Heinrich Böll Stiftung, which has gender democracy enshrined as one of its guiding principles. Gender policy aspects are relevant throughout the full range of topics in the foundation's foreign and security policy agenda. We will also be explicitly addressing gender policy dimensions of security policy in the future, for example with regard to the participation of women's organizations in security policy consultations or the specific effects of conflict and post-conflict situations on women and men. Strategies for crisis prevention must therefore include analyses of the sex roles and gender dynamics of the affected societies, taking them into consideration among the causes of conflict.

In general, women are rarely involved in decision-making processes related to violent conflicts, but are frequently affected differently by conflict situations than men. Women also remain underrepresented in traditional foreign and security policy networks. In the view of the foundation, women must be more tightly integrated in the decision-making processes related to war and security issues as well as peacebuilding and peacekeeping measures governed by relevant guidelines such as **UNSC resolution 1325**.

When developing crisis prevention concepts for conflict regions, we also consider it essential to **strengthen of the social and political position of women** with special empowerment programs and other measures. In a similar vein, demilitarization concepts must offer **alternative perspectives for the mostly male armed combatants** in order to be effective. The Heinrich Böll Stiftung intends to apply the considerable expertise it has acquired in addressing those topics.

The overall responsibility for action in the individual issues outlined above will thus be allocated on a case-by-case basis between the recently-founded Gunda Werner Institute and the Foreign and Security Policy Department.

5.1.4 International institutions and the future of international law

Great hopes were placed in the UN following the end of the bloc confrontation in the early 1990s. Old and newly arising regional conflicts were addressed by numerous diplomatic initiatives and peace missions. The great challenges of global change were put on the international agenda by a series of world conferences. Nongovernmental organizations were given a more active role in the UN system.

15 years later, the UN has failed in a number of central challenges and is marked by a lingering crisis:

- the UN was not able to prevent the genocide in Rwanda or the war in Bosnia
- the World Trade Organization (WTO) was founded outside the UN system
- world conferences from Rio to Beijing did not lead to binding results
- the Security Council failed to reach a consensus in the Iraq crisis
- the UN bureaucracy itself was involved in the Oil for Food corruption scandal.

A special summit proposed by General Secretary Annan in 2005 was designed to realize a wide-ranging overhaul of the organization. However, a certain degree of reform fatigue has become apparent since the failure of that summit. In such times, it is a central objective of the Heinrich Böll Stiftung to keep concrete reform projects geared toward practical challenges on the daily agenda to improve the problem-solving capabilities of the UN. The goal of such measures is to restore the weight and legitimacy of the United Nations in the public sphere.

From the foreign and security policy vantage point, the foundation intends to focus on the **reform of the UN human rights regime**. A further task of the foundation will be to address the **field of tension between abstract international law and its concrete application**. For example, the concept of the 'responsibility to protect' was covered in detail in the foundation's memorandum on international law. The crux of the matter does not lie in its abstract formulation in the language of international law, however, but in its actual application. We will be using individual examples such as the genocide in Darfur and the UN's policies in response to that conflict as the basis

for our discussion. The foundation will also explore the growing **role of regional organizations** and their potential for securing and maintaining regional and global order.

5.2 Foreign and security policy of the European Union

The primary frame of reference for German foreign policy is the European Union. In principle, the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) of the EU aspires to global applicability but is currently marked by internal inconsistencies and gaps. Also, agreement has not been reached on the priorities of pending challenges or the strategic partners with which the EU intends to address them.

The Heinrich Böll Stiftung therefore stands for a stronger **European integration of foreign and security policy**. In the long term, the EU's global capacity to act can only be secured by the creation of effective European institutions, not merely by increased cooperation between individual member states.

We are aware that strengthening the CFSP involves curtailing the national scope for decision-making. It will not be possible to fully resolve the conflict between maintaining the authority of individual nations for security policy decisions on one hand and strengthened European integration in foreign and security policy on the other in favor of either side. European foreign policy will be shaped within cooperative and consultative structures between the member states and European institutions for a long time to come. In the coming years, it will be essential to strengthen European structures as envisaged in the draft of the European constitution.

At the same time, we will be working toward the **further development of the content of CFSP** with an orientation toward sustainable, cooperative development and universal human rights.

The foundation is already present in central and Eastern Europe with several foreign offices and the networks associated with them. We also intend to expand our existing contacts in Western Europe within the limitations of our financial resources in future. Our Brussels office performs a central networking function for identifying and cooperating with Western European partner organizations.

For the detailed guidelines of the foundation's European work, please see the Europe strategy paper. We coordinate our activities in European foreign and security policy closely with the Europe department group and the relevant foreign offices of the foundation.

5.2.1 Expansion and European neighborhood policy

The eastward expansion of the European Union is perhaps the most successful example of the western strategy to promote democracy and stabilize societies in transformation since the end of the Cold War. At the same time, the immediate neighborhood of the European Union is the most important target area for the union's common foreign and security policy. Promoting a **credible integration policy**

toward the neighboring states of the EU that addresses their interest in firm ties to the European Union and the transatlantic security architecture therefore remains a central goal of the Heinrich Böll Stiftung. The foundation offices in central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe play a major role in this regard.

To present credible security options regardless of a country's short-term options for accession to the EU, our work in Eastern Europe also takes the importance of a **NATO perspective** into account for individual countries. Regionally, we will continue to focus on the immediate Eastern neighbors of the EU (Belarus, Ukraine and Moldova), as well as the Balkans and southern Caucasus. In the Balkans, we have a special responsibility as a foundation associated with the Greens to provide an integration perspective for the countries of the Western Balkans based on our long-term civilian and military presence in the region.

The **EU membership perspective for Turkey** is a topic charged with increasing conflict potential. A negative vote of the EU can have dramatic consequences for Turkey's future internal and foreign-policy dynamics. We will continue to analyze the developments within Turkey and clarify their consequences for the European Union and Germany in events and publications. Turkey's importance with regard to security policy is also growing due to its increasing involvement and greater weight in the Middle East (i.e. Iraq).

The Heinrich Böll Stiftung is also taking perspectives of **closer cooperation with Mediterranean states** into consideration within the framework of European neighborhood policy. This pertains i.e. to the future of the Euromed process.

5.2.2 German and European security architecture

The EU and its member states are increasingly being confronted with the challenges of out-of-area deployments. This also prompts questions related to the future of the CFSP and the future role and scope of NATO. The discussion pertaining to the new White Book of the Bundeswehr also falls under this heading. One of the central security policy tasks of the foundation is to discuss the criteria for military intervention in light of previous experience and impending decision-making situations.

It would be a mistake, however, to limit the discussion to military crisis intervention. The complex day-to-day civilian efforts to promote peace hardly come to the public's attention in Germany. In the context of forward-looking security policy, we are primarily concerned with **conditions for the success of civilian conflict management** as well as **political and legal decision-making criteria for foreign military deployment**. Both of these questions will be addressed in case-specific analyses (Afghanistan, Lebanon, Kosovo, etc.).

A fundamental distinction must be made between short-term military missions (Congo) and long-term military and civilian undertakings (Kosovo, Afghanistan). The latter require considerable patience and political stamina, including a willingness to accept temporary setbacks. A further important point is that international crisis management becomes increasingly difficult, time-consuming and expensive if appropriate measures are not adopted in a timely manner. The choice of instruments suitable for the successful, timely containment of conflicts is a central issue from a peace policy perspective.

The question of required military capacities and structures in Germany, the EU and NATO is also integral to the discussion of future German and European security policy. As a Green foundation, it is essential that we take an active part in the **debate surrounding the formation of a European armed force and its relationship to NATO**. The question of **capacities and options for civil conflict management** such as the Civil Crisis Prevention action plan must also be addressed in this discussion.

We intend to expand our cooperation with security policy think tanks such as the Center for Strategic and International Studies and contacts to the military (i.e. the Bundeswehr Academy) in our work on this topic.

5.2.3 Regional focal points of German and European foreign and security policy

5.2.3.1 Russia

EU policy vis-à-vis Russia is shaped by the differing interests and historical experiences of the 'old' and 'new' European states. Russia policy is thus the central test case for a joint European foreign and security policy. This is especially true in light of mounting potential conflicts with Russia such as the Kosovo question, policy toward Iran, the dispute about the deployment of missile defense stations in Europe, or Russia's efforts to exert its influence in the states of the 'near abroad', from the Baltic to central Asia. Energy supply and energy policy issues cannot be separated from foreign and security policy in the EU's relations with Russia, thus making Russia also a test case for a common European energy policy.

Since Vladimir Putin's assumption of office, Russia has been dominated by an authoritarian system that displays little homogeneity and which uses its political and economic resources to remain in power and expand its sphere of influence abroad.

In light of the German discussion of a strategic alliance with Russia as a supplier of natural resources, we see it as our role to ensure that **democratic standards and human rights** are not subordinated to short-sighted energy policy perspectives. The one-sided fixation of Germany's *Ostpolitik* on Russia must be balanced by an **independent neighborhood policy toward other Eastern European states** (Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova and the southern Caucasus) that leaves the door to EU membership open to them.

Our support for the democratic opposition inside and outside the party landscape through shared values, common goals and concerted political action will remain a cornerstone of our work in Russia. In addition to the foreign and security policy dialogue, our relationship to Russia is marked above all by enhanced cooperation in democracy policy, current events, environmental policy and sociopolitical issues.

The overall responsibility will be allocated on a case-by-case basis between the Foreign and Security Policy Department and the Europe department group.

5.2.3.2 The Middle East

The Middle East is rightly considered to be a key region for global security in the 21st century. The effects of events there are felt well beyond the region itself. Central security policy challenges include the Israeli-Palestinian and Israeli-Syrian conflicts, the destabilization of Lebanon, the future of Iraq – especially after the partial US withdrawal in the foreseeable future – developments in Afghanistan and Pakistan, and Iran’s ambitions with regard to regional hegemony. The involvement of the EU and close transatlantic coordination are essential in addressing those challenges. We are therefore in favor of stepping up EU efforts within the framework of multilateral initiatives and advocate **three-way talks between the EU, USA and the relevant parties in the region.**

Greater international commitment is urgently required to overcome the various crises in the Middle East. It is apparent that the conflict parties cannot resolve their differences without outside assistance. Increased conflict management on the part of the international community is therefore overdue in bringing about a peaceful resolution of the intertwined conflicts. In particular, the EU must adopt a more active role. The question of whether a ‘Conference for Security and Cooperation in the Middle East’ would be a promising strategy warrants further study.

As a foundation, our primary role is to systematically observe the politics of the region, promote political dialog, support democratic forces and discuss promising initiatives and concepts. In doing so, we rely on the expertise and experience of our foreign offices in the region.

The overall responsibility for relevant projects will be allocated case-by-case between the Foreign and Security Policy Department and the Middle East Department.

5.2.3.3 China

As with Russia, the EU seeks to establish a strategic partnership with China. Indeed, the resolution of a range of security policy challenges depends on China’s contribution within the framework of multilateral institutions. The conflict regarding Iran’s nuclear program is a current example for that.

The possible foundations for a strategic partnership in the medium term are yet to be determined, as European-Chinese relations are still in a ‘prepolitical’ state. Currently, they are dominated by the economic and business interests of the major member states. Strategic proposals pertaining to the future role of China in the multilateral system and within the Pacific security architecture have yet to take shape. That also holds true with regard to China’s rapid military buildup, its lack of scruples in its policies toward Africa, its threatening position toward Taiwan and its own democratic deficits. In light of our basic values, we see it as our mission to illuminate these critical issues to contribute to **realistic and constructive relations with China.**

The question of whether and the extent to which China can be more tightly integrated into multilateral structures and partnerships will be decisive for the future global order. The topic of energy security warrants special attention in this regard. **Closer cooperation in energy investments, transport systems and climate protection** could, for example, help avert latent resource conflicts and form the core of a deeper economic and political partnership.

The overall responsibility will be coordinated case-by-case between the Foreign and Security Policy Department and the Asia department.

5.2.4 Transatlantic relations

Relations between the European Union and the USA are currently in a transitional phase. The balance between the transatlantic partners is in need of adjustment following the end of the East-West conflict. The changed world situation does not necessarily make the transatlantic alliance less important. However, it no longer automatically represents the central axis of US and European foreign policy, especially in light of the fact that the center of gravity of the global economy and world politics is moving toward the Pacific region. While the transatlantic alliance does not have a future as a patrimonial relationship, it clearly can live on as a community of democratic states with shared interests and values. A precondition for such a partnership of equals is a politically and militarily capable European Union.

Solutions to most problems related to global change still call for cooperation between the USA and EU and agreements with third parties in a multilateral framework. Yet the current loss of authority of the USA, which arose primarily from the disastrous effects of the war in Iraq, is a fact that places even greater global responsibility on the EU.

The present situation therefore calls for **renewing the content of the alliance** with regard to its goals and tasks and **promoting a new transatlantic generation** of younger protagonists from a variety of parties, think tanks, NGOs and media. The Heinrich Böll Stiftung will remain actively involved in both of these tasks.

Our objective, in keeping with the political agenda of the foundation, is the **'greening' of the transatlantic alliance** – expanding it with topics such as climate protection and the green market economy, multilateral security architecture and human-rights policies, as well as sociopolitical issues such as migration and integration. Joint transatlantic political projects following those guiding principles are of central importance in restoring the common ground of the West without simultaneously antagonizing the rest of the world.

An important function of the foundation – especially our Washington office – is to serve the German and European public by monitoring and reporting on the intense US debate about a reorientation of American foreign policy in light of the Iraq debacle. The growing importance of climate and energy policy issues in the USA is also of special interest for the foundation. The trend toward environmental awareness currently taking shape in the United States will provide further opportunities for transatlantic partnerships in one of the foundation's core fields.

The foundation's central fields of action in the transatlantic dialogue are:

5.2.4.1 Climate and energy policy

This affects transatlantic cooperation with regard to political instruments (incentives and targets) and environmentally friendly technologies as well as shared commitments within a multilateral system. Such commitments are essential to building credibility prior to attempting to integrate developing states such as China, Brazil and India in efforts to attain sustainable global development.

At present, municipalities and states represent the leading edge of climate policy in the United States. Relevant legislation is also taking shape at the federal level, however. The result will be a wide range of partnership opportunities for the foundation. Dialogue at the legislative level will also become increasingly important in the impending energy policy turnaround in the USA.

5.2.4.2 Foreign and security policy

Interest in foreign and security policy increased significantly on both sides of the Atlantic in the wake of the attacks of September 11, 2001. The new challenges prompted an intense strategic debate between Europe and the USA. Specifically, our focus will be on the following topics and projects in the coming years:

- the continuation of the Middle East peace process
- the future of Iraq following a foreseeable US withdrawal
- policy toward Iran, especially regarding the Iranian nuclear program
- the dialogue about a common policy toward Russia
- communication regarding future strategy toward China
- the future of nuclear nonproliferation policy

5.2.4.3 NATO

NATO remains the most important shared institution in which Europeans and Americans coordinate their respective security policies. Not only the objectives, but also the membership and weights within NATO have changed in recent years. NATO is increasingly fulfilling a global role – in Afghanistan, for example – that goes beyond the territorial defense of the member states. As a regional organization, it has taken over tasks for the United Nations. Our goal must be to consolidate NATO as an alliance of democracies, strengthen the role of the EU within NATO and use the alliance as a political forum to promote a concerted approach rather than unilateral actions. The perspective of NATO membership for the transformation states in Southeastern and Eastern Europe and the Southern Caucasus is still an important topic. While it remains a means of stabilizing those regions, it must be combined with the offer of a security partnership toward Russia.

5.2.4.4 Sociopolitical dialogue

Demographic change, growing social disintegration, the balance between ethnic and cultural variety and the integrity of the community, the preservation of economic performance potential in the face of globalization, and the conflict between a sprawling security-oriented state and the principles of liberal democracy are challenges confronting nearly all western industrial nations at the start of the 21st century. Exchanging ideas related to these issues can help advance the reform

debate on both sides of the Atlantic and prevent Europe and America from drifting apart. A redefinition of the transatlantic alliance must not be restricted to foreign policy cooperation; it must also include sociopolitical values and goals.

5.3 Climate protection and energy security

Preface: the working paper 'Justice in Change' outlines a concept for the global climate and energy policy work of the foundation to which we will be referring here. We are primarily concerned with the complementary foreign and security policy aspects of this topic.

Energy and resource issues, climate change and security policy interests have come to be seen as facets of a single problem in strategic think tanks from Washington to Beijing. Energy security has thus become the new worry of the world community. From our perspective, this topic not only encompasses the reliable, affordable and environmentally friendly provision of energy to our society, but also an energy policy that ensures that new conflicts do not arise in competition over dwindling oil reserves and highly sought-after natural gas resources and that strives to preserve peace with a common set of rules, open markets and cooperation in the energy sector.

Concerns pertaining to energy security can be a powerful motivator for sustainable energy policy focusing on energy efficiency, renewable energy and multilateral agreements. However, we criticize geostrategically short-sighted views of energy policy for their dangerous implications.

- **Energy security is not possible without climate security**
 - The use of domestic coal reserves for electricity power generation is currently being promoted worldwide in the interest of energy security. The same argument is also being used to encourage the exploitation of oil shale and tar sand. This development is to a large extent responsible for the massive increase in emissions in recent years, however. Large-scale coal liquefaction as a source of gasoline is also a nightmare scenario for climate policy. We will therefore place the focus on energy savings, energy efficiency and alternative energies in a sustainable energy security concept. Climate change also entails security risks that can make addressing the problem of climate policy a necessity from the security policy vantage point alone.

- **Energy security can only be realized as common security**
 - There is no viable alternative to the constructive integration of developing states such as China, India and Brazil. In the medium term, energy policy based on a monopolization of resources is doomed to fail, as the continuously rising follow-up costs of security and economic policies that this would entail cannot be shouldered on a permanent basis by any individual country. We therefore see the need to embed national and regional energy policies in a multilateral cooperation framework and global reconciliation of interests.

Climate protection and energy security are of central importance for the Heinrich Böll Stiftung in the context of global justice and crisis prevention. The Foreign and Security Policy Department works closely with the Ecology and Sustainability and Globalization/International Policy departments, regional departments and interested foreign offices on this topic. The Heinrich Böll Stiftung can also rely on a broad network ranging from environmental NGOs to security policy think tanks.

5.3.1 Security policy consequences of climate change

In spring of 2007, the UN Security Council met for the first time to explicitly address the topic of climate change. The security policy consequences of climate change have thus arrived as an urgent field of action on the agendas of heads of state and governments. Seen from the 'human security' side – a perspective that frequently does not receive the same close attention from policymakers – climate change already threatens the livelihoods of millions of humans.

The Heinrich Böll Stiftung intends to analyze four essential issues in this context:

- the **security policy consequences of floods, epidemics and famines and the resulting migration streams** of previously unparalleled dimensions
- the **security policy consequences of droughts and crop failures** and the mounting competition for food, water and energy that this will prompt
- the **security policy consequences of the most severe economic crises since the end of second world war** prompted by climate change, as forecast in the Stern Report
- the **gender-specific consequences** of those three security policy developments and risks

5.3.2 Security policy consequences of the competition for energy resources

Ensuring the availability of worldwide energy resources has long since become integral to the foreign and security policy of major economic powers. The USA and Europe, as well as the rising powers China and India, are in competition for secure access to the world's shrinking oil and gas reserves. Russia's new imperial foreign policy is built on the might of the country's energy companies. These factors bear considerable potential for disputes, including the danger of armed conflicts. It will be necessary for a multilateral approach based on international agreements which does not sacrifice ecological considerations to the resource hunger of major powers to demonstrate its real-world feasibility in situations such as the currently escalating competition for natural resources in the Arctic.

The race for energy supplies also tends to undermine any policy that demands **legal, ecological and social minimum standards** in the face of multinational companies and resource-rich regimes. With its memorandum 'To Have and to Have Not', the foundation has already issued an orientation for responsible and sustainable resource policies that will serve as the basis for our work.

5.3.3 Security policy consequences of nuclear energy and nuclear proliferation

The need for energy security is frequently cited as an argument for the 'revival' of nuclear energy. However, nuclear energy poses serious dangers to health, safety

and the economy. A close link also exists between the civilian and military use of nuclear energy (i.e. the Iranian nuclear program) and security policy consequences such as the risk of radioactive material falling into the hands of terrorists.

The Heinrich Böll Stiftung is focusing on the following topics:

- the **link between civilian and military uses** of nuclear energy
- the **problem of final disposal** as a dual security concern (nonproliferation and the safety of final disposal sites)
- the **future of the nuclear nonproliferation regime**

5.3.4 International institutionalization of energy and climate policy

Energy governance is a topic of special interest for the Heinrich Böll Stiftung. Effective institutions and regulations at global and regional levels are the only feasible way to ensure the worldwide availability of energy while guaranteeing environmentally sound, climate-friendly and peaceful development.

In this context, we will be concentrating on the following issues in the coming years:

- **the strengthening of global regulations, arbitration mechanisms and institutions** in the energy sector: do we need a world environmental organization under the auspices of the UN, and if so, how can such a project be promoted?
- **expansion of regional networks and institutions to promote international energy partnerships** (e.g. the European Community for Renewable Energies, or the Trans-Mediterranean Renewable Energy Cooperation promoted by the Club of Rome)

The overall responsibility for these topics and projects must be coordinated between the Globalization program team, the Europe/North America department group and the Ecology Department.

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