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**Transatlantic Foreign and Security Policy
in Focus: Common Problems, Shared
Solutions**

Honorable Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is great to be with you. Thank you so much for granting me the privilege to talk to such a distinguished audience. Thank you to *Roger Kubarych* and the American Council on Germany for having us here at this illustrious place. I would also like to thank the *Heinrich Böll Team* for co-hosting today's event.

It would be my pleasure to have an intense debate with you. So please feel free to engage in a vital discussion. Before that, let me say a few words on the topic that was set for me which is:

**Transatlantic Foreign and Security Policy in
Focus: Common Problems, Shared Solutions.**

There is no doubt: We share only one single world. You and me, *Bill* in Chicago, *Lee* in Beijing, *Hans* in Munich and *Fatima* in Ramallah, we are condemned to get along with each other. Our earth has become a village. We face common challenges, common risks, common destiny. Realizing that fact, we have no choice but adjusting world politics accordingly and shaping common policies. In our joint effort of making the world a better place we should:

1. Support freedom and democracy
2. Protect the natural resources of our planet
3. Think globally
4. Act multilaterally

The Arab spring – Europe to support freedom and democracy

During the last months, the world has been looking at the Arab world. We were taken by surprise by a revolution triggered by a young man in Tunisia who was so desperate about oppression that he set himself on fire – and died. Since, the upheaval in the Middle East and North African region is at the center of the foreign policies agenda. Unfortunately one chapter of the story is the stuck situation in Libya where we face the

limits of military action in complex crises. It makes us reflecting and debating about the concept of the *Responsibility to protect*.

However, the democratic sun is rising over Tunis, Cairo, Sana, Bengasi, Amman and many other places. Freedom will prevail. Oppression will fail. The region **will never be again what it was**. But, more important – German and European foreign policy can not remain unreviewed.

German and European policy towards the Arab and North African countries did not meet its own criteria. Our policy missed ethical values and moral standards. The women, the men and the children in the region know that.

But there is another, serious truth:

Our *realpolitik* has failed. Indeed.

Seeking for stability without democracy and rule of law eventually led to the destabilization of a whole region. **Establishing constitutional democracies is not just an add-on, but the foundation of political stability.**

Germany and Europe must give up double standards. **Preaching human rights and the rule of law in public and feeding despots behind closed doors: that's what you call hypocrisy but not sustainable foreign policy.**

The actual example is Saudi Arabia. 1,000 soldiers from Saudi Arabia and Qatar put down the Shiia-majority in Bahrain. Germany now delivers 200 high-tech-tanks to the Saudis and is also willing to deliver to Qatar – ally of the west in

Libya. These tanks are specialized in asymmetric conflicts.

It seems as if Ms *Merkel* and her government have learned little from the Arab Spring.

One of the lessons must be, that the *responsibility to protect* does not start when tanks are rolling against people.

The *responsibility to protect* starts when tanks are delivered.

A common European foreign policy instead of national solo attempts

Europe's cross-Mediterranean relations have to be **completely reshaped**. What we need, is an approach at eye-to-eye level towards the Arab countries: Supporting, stabilizing and accompa-

nying their process of change. Civil society groups and democratic forces and rule of law programs have to be encouraged. The era of patronizing is over.

Turkey plays a key role for the future of the region. First off, there is its geographical position and secondly, more important, Turkey can be an exemplary role model for the development of a nationalist but still secular dictatorship towards a democracy which will be home to millions of religious Muslim people. If the EU is ready **to offer Turkey a real European opportunity**, its role model can remain dynamic and visible.

Supporting the freedom movement in the *MENA* region makes only sense, if Europe stands united and acts as one. The representative for Foreign Affairs of the EU, Lady Ashton, did not

manage to make Europe in this crisis a visible and capable player.

Still, this is not her personal fault. As long as big EU member states cultivate their national egoisms, **not only the EU is weak, but also all its members.**

Europe needs stronger European institutions – real European institutions.

To strengthen the Council means to weaken Europe. This is what happened with the new High Representative for Foreign Affairs.

That is why *Lady Ashton* is less influential than *Xavier Solana*.

National solo attempts are counterproductive. But even more fatal are such attempts combined

with the zigzag course the German government is taking on the issue of Libya.

Sure: There might be good reasons for Germany not to participate in military operations in Libya. A war that was started against the advice of the military command of the US, the UK and France. A war that ran out of ammunition after three weeks. A war that we now have to wish that it will be successful. **But wishes can fail like good will.**

However: the abstention by Germany in the Security Council on *resolution 1973* has given the wrong foreign policy signal.

An arms embargo the federal government ostensibly appreciates, is *de facto* not supported. Instead, the same German government wants to

export 200 Leopard tanks to Saudi-Arabia, a regime that assisted in bloodily oppressing the uprising in Bahrain.

We do not recognize any coherence, consequence or effectiveness here.

Be it the conflict in Libya, handling the issue of refugees from North Africa or the monetary crisis of the Euro – we need **more of Europe** to be capable of acting effectively and to cope with such crises.

More of Europe will only be possible with an **ambitious European leadership**. That is where *Merkel* failed. In no other policy field this is more obvious than in non-managing the Euro-crisis.

It is in the core interest of an exporting country like Germany to stabilize those 25 % of its markets that are in economic trouble. This crisis cannot be overcome by speeches on lazy Greeks and other prejudices. And the crisis will not be solved by pure austerity. We need a strategy of economic recovery with massive investment in a better infrastructure.

And Germany has to overcome its dependency on export by strengthening the interior demand. It has to understand that:

The Euro Crisis is not a Greek or an Italian crisis.

It is a European crisis. And it is Germany`s crisis.

Thinking globally – facing risks and manifest hazards

In my view, we need to give Europe a new impetus, in order to **step forward towards a new culture of cooperation – on an European and a global level**. Because we know: Global risks cause global consequences. So our answer to these risks can only be given at world level.

Nowadays, more than **6.9 billion people** live on our planet, until 2050, it will **be 9.1 billion – three times more than 1960**. Developing countries are growing rapidly. Food and social security as well as humanitarian aid are becoming vital foreign policy issues.

Let's have a look at the **four main risks** which are connected to a growing world population and shrinking supplies of natural resources, that pose a threat to global peace:

1. **Climate change** – global warming is advancing every day. Already now, it's causing damages that exceed global foreign aid – damages that wither entire regions and deepen the food crisis. It already makes more people refugees than any civil war.
2. **Competition on resources** – 15% of the world's population use up more than 50% of all fossil resources. The fast development of emerging nations increases pressure on limited resources. Speculation on food compounds the situation.

3. **Global exclusion** – While a few people get extremely rich, by now more than one billion people worldwide are starving. Two billion have to live on less than two US dollars a day, one billion has no access to clean drinking water, and two billion do not have access to modern energies.
4. **Rearmament** - Following a period of disarmament in the nineties, today global spending on weaponry rise again. Nuclear powers modernize their potentials. The market for weapons of mass destruction technology is booming. And not only countries such as Iran follow a hidden agenda by using nuclear energy in order to control the nuclear fuel cycle.

In their effects, the risks I mentioned **amplify each other**: climate change caused by rich countries hits in particular the poorest – and the increasing competition over resources is boosting the arms race.

Combined effects of such risks and the increased loss of governance, may lead to threats for broad regions and sometimes for the whole world. **Global risks promote the failing of whole nations.**

Afghanistan or Somalia demonstrate **the global effect failed states can have.**

Yet, it does not always have to be a breakdown of a nation or terrorism. Areas of law-wise non-regulation, tax havens like the Cayman Islands or Guernsey also cause global effects, since they

undermine options of regulation of the global financial market.

Countering manifest threats requires global action.

Acting multilaterally – a new effort

Traditional foreign policies fall short of dealing with globalized risks and crises. Today, **national interests and ethical values have to be seen as one**. Therefore, we need new integrated instruments on European and global range.

Today's complex world order is made of an immense variety of protagonists: governments, banks and private cooperation, governmental and non-governmental organizations, religious communities, armed groups. In order to organize

the political and social life across borders we need to bring together all kinds of transnational players. We need to establish **a new multilateralism**.

The concept of *Global Governance* within and beyond the **United Nations** does not yet fit to current circumstances. It's our duty to adjust it.

Reforming the Security Council is overdue.

World's number one forum doesn't reflect the realities of the 21st century and is jeopardizing its legitimacy.

Rising powers such as India and Brazil as well as **economic giants** like Japan and Germany should be represented permanently.

Since January, Germany has been holding a **non-permanent seat** on the council and even chair-

ing it this month. I expect Germany to **push for reforms** during its term. Furthermore Germany should create momentum for multilateral approaches and initiatives.

But the necessity for reforms is not limited to the Security Council. We need to strengthen the **UN institutions**. We need an *United Nations Environment Organization*.

We have to rebalance the decision-making within other international institutions like the *International Monetary Fund*. There will be more power, but also more responsibility for countries like China, India or Brazil.

And the International Community can no longer accept, that the international financial market is ruled *de facto* by three private rating agencies.

It is the lack of international governance that makes them strong.

Protect natural resources – secure energy supplies

One of the internationally most controversially debated questions is: How to supply raw materials sustainably? It's an issue that goes beyond the aspect of energy security.

Let's have a look at the global situation of resources and energy supplies. It is obvious: we have to elaborate renewable energy technologies and increase energy and resource efficiency. Otherwise we head straight forward to an age of disastrous conflicts.

Modern life with smart mobile phones, computers, air-conditioning and 24h shopping depends on energy supply. Old capitals such as Paris or Washington or today's megacities such as Lagos or Beijing, they all are very greedy in energy. Wealth of the rich and improving living standards, aims and hopes, big and small, it all depends on energy.

The race on resources and energy is well under way. It's all about **power, influence** and **pipelines**. Be it China's engagement in Africa or the European Strategy on Central Asia, the struggle for **oil** or **noble earths**: The destination seems to be clear. We all want to maintain control over the remaining gas, oil and uranium supplies of our planet.

Right now, we are stuck in the middle of a competition **we all are going to lose in the end.**

Let`s have a look at the alarming figures of the World Energy Outlook 2010 of the International Energy Agency.

Assuming the IAE thesis of no intensive change of course, even conservative estimations of the economic growth of India and China predict an increase in the world`s need for energy of **44% until 2035**. **93 %** of this increase accounts on **non-OECD countries** with **China tripling** its demand for electric power until 2035.

Let's face it:

We have to minimize pressure of demand on energy resources.

This is especially of significance, regarding the historical background of industrial nations that are responsible for the largest share of climate change. It is our turn now to curtail our demand for energy.

We can only achieve this with a **three-pillar strategy** which is also crucial for a suitable foreign energy policy. It consists of **renewable energy sources, energy efficiency** and **energy saving**.

A report of the *German Institute for Applied Ecology (Ökoinstitut)* proves that an ambitious climate strategy paired with a phase-out of nuclear energy could enable the EU to reduce its

greenhouse gases by **30 % until 2020**, and by **40 % until 2030**.

This climate policy would **dramatically decrease** our dependency on **energy imports**. Europe's dependency on oil, gas, uranium and other energy imports would be **downsized from 74% to 49 %**. That is how **climate protection causes energy security**.

The issue of energy security currently is at the center of the worldwide debate.

The disaster of *Fukushima* revealed that nuclear energy is anything but cheap, if the external human, economic and ecological costs are being included.

✎ Nuclear energy **does not create energy security**.

↳ Nuclear energy **cannot meet the demand for electricity.**

↳ Nuclear energy dramatically **boosts the risk of proliferation** while the question of a final disposal of waste is not solved anywhere in the world.

Japan`s current supply gap did not emerge *despite* nuclear energy, but *because* of it. At the moment, only 17 out of 54 power plants are on-line, the share of renewables amounts to only 9 %, with **only** 1% of solar-, wind- and geothermal sources.

Many people, also in Japan where I spend a few days last month, ask: Now, after the phase-out, does Germany have to import nuclear energy from France?

My answer seemed to surprise people: With its permanent upgrades on renewable energies Germany became a **net exporter of electricity** instead. In other words: without the nuclear consensus of 2001 and the expansion of the renewable energy sources since then to a share of more than 17%, we couldn't just close **half of our nuclear power stations** at once without having any supply gap.

The **solution of global energy concerns** now is **crucial for controlling the four great risks** of climate change, scarcity of resources, poverty and proliferation.

The way towards this solution is a global energy policy turnaround.

Vital elements of an energy transition include the nuclear phase-out, the transfer from fossil to **renewable energy** sources, **energy efficiency** and **energy savings**. This transition requires international coordination.

It has to be based on a **strong European Union** and a **strong transatlantic cooperation**. This will be the greatest challenge of the future.

Thank you very much.