

Civil Security



Rethinking Security

From military
to civil security
Towards 2040: a scenario

Abridged version

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Translated from the original German by Gordon Matthews

PREFACE TO THE INTERNATIONAL EDITION OF “RETHINKING SECURITY”

I am delighted that one year after the publication of “Sicherheit neu denken - Von der militärischen zur zivilen Sicherheitspolitik” („Rethinking Security - from military to civil security”), this book is now appearing in both English and French. When we published the scenario, “Rethinking Security”, in April 2018, we never imagined that there would be such a high demand for it in Germany. We already printed a second edition in January 2019. And more and more people from other countries were approaching us and asking us to have it translated. I am pleased that the Protestant Church in Baden agreed to have the abridged version translated into English and French and thereby to facilitate the promotion of an international debate about civil security policy as an alternative to the current military security policy.

It is unusual for a church publication to arouse so much interest both within the church and outside it. And it is equally unusual for the church to make such a clear political statement. How did this happen?

The starting point for this scenario was a resolution which was put to the synod of the Protestant Church in Baden in 2011 by Christians in one of the church districts. They called for a reorientation of protestant peace ethics in accordance with the core biblical messages of the Christian faith. They took issue with the “preferential option for non-violence”, which is advocated especially in the EKD (Evangelical Church in Germany) memorandum “Live from God’s Peace - Care for Just Peace” and legitimises military violence under certain circumstances.

The Protestant Church in Baden subsequently wrote a position paper which was sent to the 25 church districts for discussion. There was a process of intensive discussion, at the end of which the Synod resolved that it wanted “to become a just peace church”.

The resolution states:

“Committed work for peace is rooted in prayer and worship. Prayers for peace in the world are an integral part of many church services. In addition, the annual ecumenical “Peace Decade” and the International Day of Prayer for Peace (21 September) will continue to be occasions for celebrating worship services for peace. Working for peace and reconciliation is at the heart of the Church’s witness. This witness cannot just be left to the Church as a whole; It requires long-term commitment at every level within the Church. The Church is regarded by the public as an authority on ethical issues and is rightly expected to express its views on violence, injustice, and persecution.

As we turned our attention to peace ethics, we became aware that we have paid too little attention to the subject of peace and have not done enough to strive for peace. We need to ask ourselves more often how much our lifestyle and consumption aggravate conflict and sow the seeds of war. We do not take a clear enough stance, when people are threatened or hurt by violence. We do too little to ensure that nonviolent means are used to resolve conflicts.

We now want to take responsibility for justice and peace. And we urge Christians at all levels of our Regional Church to do as much as they can to implement the following suggestions and recommendations in their own circles.”

The resolution then listed 12 practical proposals and recommendations. Unfortunately the position paper has not yet been translated into other languages in its entirety. So far only the resolution has been translated into English.

This resolution is the basis for our work on peace ethics. Decision no. 6 of the resolution sets out the task of creating a scenario which entails turning away from military security

(see see page 6). A working group was set up for this task and this publication is the result.

This book shows that a different security policy is possible and outlines what shape such a policy might take. A lot of people in Germany have been protesting against arms exports and military intervention, etc. for years, because they recognise that neither peace nor lasting security can be brought about by military means. But so far, in Germany, these protests have not led to any change in security policy. We believe that it is necessary not only to protest against injustice but also to work for a world with a different understanding of security. This book shows what changes might be possible between now and 2040. The focus is on German policies. Positive examples and approaches from Germany and also from other countries have been used as a basis for this scenario, the goal of which is to bring about a change in German policy and to influence international alliances as well. This book is intended to stimulate a rethinking of security policy.

Can the scenario be transposed onto other countries? We hope that this book will provide ideas and suggestions which each country can use to develop their own scenarios (positive, extrapolating current trends, and negative). These scenarios will turn out to be different, depending on the situation and the conditions prevailing in each country. Some initial thinking has already been done in the Netherlands. We hope that a lot of people in many countries will set to work with as much enthusiasm as the group in the Protestant Church in Baden did. And we hope they are convinced that this will inspire a positive response in other countries too. In Germany, more than 30 organisations have now declared their willingness to join a campaign for a new security policy.

Please let us know how you get on. You will soon be able to find downloadable texts in English and French on our website (www.ekiba.de/friedensszenario). If you want to contact us, please send an e-mail to Ralf.Becker@ekiba.de or Stefan.Maass@ekiba.de

Karlsruhe, May 2019

Stefan Maass

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Europe faces a choice: Militarisation or a transition to civil security

- “At their summit in Newport in Wales NATO’s member states agreed to make further increases to their military budgets. According to a formal declaration, the target of at least two per cent of GDP is to be reached within ten years.”¹
- “The EU Commission proposes that the budget of the IcSP (the “Instrument contributing to Stability and Peace”, which is essentially a civil programme) be increased by 100 million euro by 2020 in order to integrate military capacity-building into the programme.”²
- On 13 November 2017, the President of the European Parliament, Mr Tajani, called for the EU’s total budget to be doubled from 140 to 280 billion euro, in part because of the need to finance defence cooperation³ and the fight against terrorism.

These three statements foreshadow a strong militarisation of EU policy. But why? Has the current military-based security policy brought lasting security? Or has it instead created ever increasing insecurity? Have the overseas missions of the Bundeswehr (the federal armed forces) since 2000 been successful? What about the negative consequences of military security policy (the number of victims, traumatising of civilian populations and soldiers, hindrance of the development of democratic societies, physical destruction, and environmental disasters)?

The conventional wisdom still seems to be that violence can get rid of “evil” and thereby banish any threat to security. This thinking is fundamental to the so-called “logic of security”. But it leads neither to security nor to peace. Hanne-Margret Birckenbach’s peace-logic approach represents an alternative way of doing things: It frames a problem in terms of the task of “building peace, which means facilitating relationships in which violence is unlikely because cooperation is successful.”⁴

What follows is intended to describe this idea and how the problems and threats can be tackled at a practical level in a different, i.e. non-military, way - in the course of a process similar to the transition from nuclear power to alternative sources of energy.

We are talking here about a transition from military to civil security policy as a consequence of German sustainability policy between now and 2040. And we are also talking about conversion of the German armed forces, the Bundeswehr, from its current form as an institution which is designed to use various forms of violence to deal with conflict. The authors of this text wish to show by means of a scenario how German security policy could evolve from a military security policy into a civil security policy.

1 News on faz.net dated 6 September 2014, accessed on 12 January 2018.

2 C News on faz.net dated 6 September 2014, accessed on 12 January 2018.

3 Cf. *ibid.*, p. 2ff. This is a reference to the so-called Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO).

4 Cf. Birckenbach, 2016, p. 4.

1.2 The starting point: the resolution of the Regional Synod⁵

The resolution of the synod of the Protestant Church in Baden, that the church become a just peace church, includes the following decision regarding implementation (point 1.6):

“Now that a national law has been passed to phase out nuclear power as a source of energy, it is time to draft - perhaps in agreement with other EU Member States - a medium-term

scenario for phasing out military means of securing peace.”

5 For further information regarding the regional church’s resolution on peace ethics, see: www.kirche-des-friedens.de

1.3 How the “Rethinking Security” scenario was created: The scenario technique

The goal of the working group was to draft by the autumn of 2018 a scenario setting out the ways in which a democratic society based on respect for human rights might assert itself nonviolently. The scenario was also intended to indicate how the transition might be made in the medium term from military peacekeeping to nonviolent ways of securing peace.

In order to reach this goal, the working group chose to use what is called “the scenario technique”. This is “usually used to explore solutions to future problems, for global modelling, or to predict long-term develop-

ments.”⁶ The working group decided to develop the scenario “Rethinking Security” with 2040 as the end point.

The positive scenario is presented in the greatest detail, because this is in line with the task of producing a scenario phasing out military approaches to security. Set against the positive scenario are two alternative scenarios: One extrapolates current trends and the other is a negative scenario. Both of them are presented as a series of milestones.

6 Cf. Albers und Broux (1999), p. 57.

1.4 What is our vision in practical terms?

“We must move past indecision to action. We must find new ways to speak for peace ... and for justice throughout the developing world, a world that borders on our doors. If we do not act, we shall surely be dragged down the long, dark, and shameful corridors of time reserved for those who possess power without compassion, might without morality, and strength without sight. Now let us begin.” Martin Luther King⁷

Shared security means, for the sake of our own security, adopting appropriate lifestyles and developing an economy, which uses the Earth’s

ecological resources only in proportion to our share of the world’s population, and which also leads to global trade and economic relations which are ecologically and socially just. Shared security requires rigorous implementation of the global sustainable development goals (SDGs), which have been agreed at the UN level and are to be achieved by 2030. This scenario entails the diversion of all financial resources from military security to civilian prevention and management of conflicts by 2040. In this scenario, Germany works together with other countries as civil (as opposed to military) actors within the EU, the OSCE, the UN, and NATO. In this way Germany promotes aware-

7 Clayborne, Carson; King, Martin Luther, 2000, *The Autobiography of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, New York, Abacus. p. 342

ness throughout Europe and the world of the importance of training and education in nonviolent conflict resolution. This leads at the international level to the demilitarisation of conflict resolution by UN police forces, the outlawing and abolition of war and armed forces, and the promotion of a culture of non-violence in responding to conflict.

The basic global vision underlying this scenario is as follows:

A (reformed) UN is the central institution which regulates the peaceful coexistence of peoples and nation states. It is an umbrella organisation for continental organisations (OSCE, OAS, AU, ASEAN, etc.), each of which has its own security council and police force. Everywhere in the world conflicts are dealt with through the use of nonviolent mechanisms (prevention, early warning, rapid response), which can be found in every culture on Earth. These mechanisms promote mutual respect, compromise, and fair outcomes, which together remove the causes of the escalation of violence in conflict situations. If a continental security council decides that these mechanisms are not functioning effectively in a

particular situation, UN police and peacekeeping forces are sent in. The purpose of all UN missions is to defend human rights and save lives. And all UN staff are trained in unarmed civilian peacekeeping and other instruments and methods of civilian conflict management. Because the UN and the continental organisations have the necessary structures and financial resources to be able to guarantee that the population of every nation state is protected, there is no longer any need for any nation to keep a standing army. War is outlawed not just in theory but in practice.

Because of the great importance of global trade, the institutions and regulatory instruments of the WTO are subordinated to a new organisation governing the global economy according to universal social and ecological standards. The vision described here was created by further developing the SDGs, the 17 global goals for sustainable development which are to be achieved by 2030. Goal 16 “Peace and Justice” states the framework very clearly:

“Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels.”

1.5 Who should bring about the transformation?

Because politics is always an interplay of social forces, in order for this scenario to become reality there will have to be a broad social movement, like there was behind the phasing out of nuclear power and the energy transition. The churches could play a leading role, especially in implementing the sustainable development goals (SDGs), just as they did in the successful Jubilee Debt Campaign between 1996 and 2000. The SDGs can be taken up by the ecumenical movement and promoted throughout civil society. Broad general discussion of the sustainability goals could contribute a great deal towards their implementation.

The Protestant Church in Baden’s initiative could stimulate the development of a broad alliance of churches and civil society organisations (including other faith organisations) throughout Germany from 2018 onwards.

Then church networks in particular throughout Europe could campaign for widespread acceptance of a sustainable civil security policy by 2040.

1.6 Focus on the role of Germany

The positive scenario focuses on Germany, because the authors want to highlight the political power and the opportunities which their country has in relation to the demilitarisation of European security policy, and the

power and opportunities therefore of the people in Germany, together with everyone else, regardless of origin or nationality, who wants to set out on the same path.

1.7 Factual basis and note regarding copyright

In the positive scenario the case studies and data relating to the years up to and including 2017 are based on fact. Most of the data is taken from the Fourth Report of the Federal Government on the Implementation of the Action Plan “Civilian Crisis Prevention, Conflict Resolution, and Post-Conflict Peace-Building” or from the guidelines “Preventing Crises, Resolving Conflict, Building Peace”.⁸

The positive scenario is a compilation and development of a large number of contributions to the debate made by other authors. These are listed in the bibliography.

⁸ Cf. Die Bundesregierung, 2017 and Die Bundesregierung, 2014.

1.8 Full-length version and distribution of the scenario

This is a complex scenario, which should be recounted in detail. The authors have therefore created a full-length version which draws on a large number of concrete examples, both historical and current, of nonviolent action at the local, national, and international levels.

The authors hope that the scenario “Rethinking Security: From military to civil security” will set the discourse about security and peace off in a new direction. Your support is needed for this scenario to be made available to a broad public throughout the churches and civil society and for it to become part of a public debate within the churches and civil society. We are willing to present the scenario at conferences and events.

The full-length version of the scenario, further copies of this short version, and an information sheet about the scenario are available from:

Ralf Becker

project coordinator
„Sicherheit neu denken“
Email: ralf.becker@ekiba.de

Stefan Maass

programme manager
„Kirche des gerechten Friedens werden“
in der Ev. Landeskirche in Baden
Email: stefan.maass@ekiba.de

Evangelische Landeskirche in Baden
Postfach 2269, 7610 Karlsruhe

For further information regarding the regional church’s peace ethics programme, see our website at: www.kirche-des-friedens.de

Current news about the scenario can also be found at www.ekiba.de/friedensszenario

2 THE POSITIVE SCENARIO “SUSTAINABLE CIVIL SECURITY”

2.1 FROM 2018 TO 2040 - MILESTONES ALONG THE WAY

2017: Minister of Defence von der Leyen seeks support for civil security policy

Minister of Defence von der Leyen seeks support for a strengthening of the civilian pillars of European security and defence policy.⁹ Diplomacy and also support for economic development in the countries in the EU's neighbourhood should be strengthened in future.

2018: The Protestant Church in Baden publicises the scenario as a contribution to public debate

The synod of the Protestant Church in Baden entrusts the church leadership with the task of publicising - in conjunction with other civil society and church organisations - the scenario “Rethinking Security: From military to civil security” as a contribution to public debate in Germany and Europe in 2018 and 2019. The scenario is then presented at more than 500 events in cooperation with other regional Protestant churches and many other organisations, including the Konsortium Ziviler Friedensdienst (Civil Peace Service Group), AGDF (Action Committee Service for Peace), the Verein für Friedensarbeit im Raum der EKD (the Association for Peace Work within the Evangelical Church in Germany), Brot für die Welt (Bread for the World), Misereor, Misio, the Plattform Zivile Konfliktbearbeitung (German Platform for Peaceful Conflict Management), the Netzwerk Friedenskooperative (Network of the German Peace Movement), Kooperation für den Frieden (Alliance for Peace), the Berghof Foundation, Pax Christi, the EAK (Protestant Working Group for Con-

scientious Objection and Peace), the BSV (Federation for Social Defence), the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Werkstatt für gewaltfreie Aktion (Nonviolent Action Workshop).

In the Federal Foreign Office, the number of staff in Section S - Humanitarian Assistance, Crisis Prevention, Stabilisation, and Post-Conflict Rehabilitation, created in 2015, is increased from 500 to 1,000.

A publicity campaign run by churches and civil society organisations concerned with human rights leads to restrictions on the number of films and film trailers with violent content on public service television.

2019: EKD commissions study to devise a sustainable civil security policy for Germany

The scenario will also be fed into the public debate at the European level through the European network Church and Peace, the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Community of Protestant Churches in Europe (CPCE), the WCC in Geneva, and the Commission of the Bishops' Conferences in the European Union (COMECE).

The head of the German Armed Forces Association, Mr Wuestner complains publicly that the Bundestag is not setting clear aims for the armed forces' overseas missions and is thereby regularly putting soldiers in an intolerable position.

The Evangelical Church in Germany (EKD) criticises the fact that the armed forces' overseas missions increasingly rarely fulfil the criteria, laid down in 2007, for ethically acceptable use of military force as a last resort. The EKD, in cooperation with a nascent campaign for a civil security policy, calls on

⁹ Verbal statement by Defence Minister von der Leyen during the TV programme “Anne Will” shown on ARD on 22 January 2017.

the federal government to fund a comprehensive inquiry into the potential effectiveness and limitations of a sustainable civil security policy.

The widespread problem of traumatising of soldiers through participation in overseas missions comes increasingly to the attention of the public.

The sustainable civil security scenario becomes known to a broad spectrum of the public as a result of newspaper advertisements, a large poster campaign, and days of action funded by various churches and civil society organisations throughout Germany. Various news programmes report on the scenario and representatives of the scenario are invited to take part in television talk shows.

In Austria, Sweden, and the Netherlands there is a positive response to the ideas of the scenario not only from civil society and the churches, but also from the national governments.

2020: A civil society campaign for a civil security policy is founded

A national campaign for a civil security policy is founded as an independent association by 30 member organisations whose goal is the passing of a corresponding resolution by the Bundestag in 2025. The member organisations commit initially to participating in the campaign until 2025.

Fifteen of the campaign's 30 member organisations employ staff to support the campaign. The campaign council, which is made up of representatives of the Protestant Church in Baden and other church and civil society organisations, draws up the campaign's policy and programme of action. The campaign focuses initially on calling on the federal government to work at both the European level and the international level for a universal and complete nuclear weapons ban.

Several major terrorist attacks shake Germany, France, and the Benelux countries. There are violent demonstrations by citizens who call for their country to leave the Schen-

gen Area. Germany and the Benelux countries react to this by building up their police forces and expanding social integration programmes.

2021: The state no longer guarantees arms exports

The Bundestag passes a definitive ban on nuclear weapons on German soil. Germany lobbies with growing success at both European and international levels for a universal and complete nuclear weapons ban.

“Aktion Aufschrei - Stoppt den Waffenhandel!” (“Operation Outcry: Stop the Arms Trade”) succeeds in getting a resolution passed by the Bundestag to end state guarantees for arms exports. Their demand for an end to all arms exports has been taken up by the national campaign for a civil security policy. As a result of a successful action campaign and extremely creative public relations work the campaign gains more than 1,000 member organisations. In the run-up to the general election in 2021 the campaign conducts a large number of public debates throughout Germany and succeeds in making the scenario “Rethinking Security” known to the parliamentary candidates of all the political parties.

2022: Government commissions inquiry into sustainable civil security

The civil society and church organisations involved in the campaign intensify their dialogue with members of the Bundestag and government ministers by organising numerous events throughout Germany at church study centres and with the think-tank foundations associated with each of the political parties.

The dialogue is also promoted through a nationwide campaign in which people send postcards to members of the Bundestag. And imaginative events are held in every constituency.

The EKD works in cooperation with the campaign and succeeds in persuading the federal government to commission a comprehensive inquiry into the potential effectiveness and limitations of a sustainable civil security policy.

Politicians belonging to conservative parties and representatives of the armaments industry set up the “Organisation for Military Security”, which places full-page advertisements in all the major daily newspapers and advertises on television for the continued maintenance of a military security policy.

2023: Papal encyclical “Fructus justitiae pax”

The Pope, in an encyclical entitled “Fructus justitiae pax” (The fruit of justice will be peace, Isaiah 32:17), calls on every country in the world, and industrialised countries in particular, to transfer funding from military to non-military security. As a consequence, more and more congregations and churches in Germany and throughout Europe join in the campaign, which has more than 3,000 member organisations by the end of the year.

In order to comply with a Directive issued by the Federal Constitutional Court, the federal government passes a regulation to protect freedom of conscience as enshrined in Article 4 (1) of the German Constitution. The regulation makes it illegal to force any tax-payer to pay towards armaments or armed forces against their conscience. More and more people assert their right to conscientious objection to paying taxes for military purposes, to the extent that some political parties begin to include in their manifestos proposals for winding down the armed forces.

Both the Protestant and the Roman Catholic churches in Germany work within their European networks to push for acceptance in the other EU Member States of the intended demilitarisation of European security policy in conjunction with Germany’s policy to promote sustainability.

In opinion polls, as many as 40% say that they are in favour of Germany making the transition to civil security.

2024: Government commission recommends implementation of the campaign’s scenario

The government-appointed commission of inquiry into the potential effectiveness and limitations of a sustainable civil security policy, reports in its findings that civilian peacekeeping is economically and politically efficient in terms of the input of resources and the achievement of the desired goals. The commission recommends that a series of steps be taken to implement the scenario advocated by the campaign.

The campaign for civil security policy now has 5,000 member organisations which organise a series of actions at military bases throughout the country over several months. This wins sympathetic media coverage at the national level. In opinion polls as many as 60 % say that they are in favour of a sustainable civil security policy.

2025: The Bundestag resolves that Germany should make the transition to a civil security policy

The sustainable civil security scenario for Germany gains widespread support at the ecumenical Kirchentag (church gathering) in Bonn, and the topic dominates the national news. The leaders of almost all political parties are open to the idea, and they promise that it will be implemented step-by-step after the forthcoming general election. During a historic session, the newly-elected German Bundestag resolves, with a large majority in favour, that Germany shall make the transition from a military security policy to a sustainable civil security policy based on five pillars:

1. Just foreign relations (development of foreign relations which are ecologically, socially, and economically just);
2. Sustainable development in the EU’s Neighbourhood countries. (promotion of economic development and security in the EU’s eastern and southern neighbourhood);

3. Participation in the international security architecture (German membership of the EU, the OSCE, NATO, and the UN);
4. Resilient democracy; and
5. Conversion of the federal armed forces and the armaments industry.

The Bundestag’s resolution also stipulates that Germany should push for the creation by 2030, of a common economic area encompassing the EU and Russia/the EAEU (Eurasian Economic Union). This should be the basis for a security partnership between the EU and Russia to be agreed in 2030. The Bundestag’s resolution also includes support for education and training in the field of civilian conflict management and resilient democracy. This is to be provided by the member organisations of a newly created civil society organisation: the Nonviolence Association.

The Bundestag Subcommittee for Civilian Crisis Prevention, Conflict Resolution and Joined-up Action is reconstituted as the “Resilient Democracy” committee.

2026: Negotiations take place between the EU and Russia on the creation of an economic area

Having reached the goal of a resolution by the Bundestag to implement the scenario, the campaign for a civil security policy, founded in 2020 for a limited period only, winds itself up. A successor organisation is set up: The national civil society organisation, the Nonviolence Association, starts off with 2,500 member organisations and 7,500 individual members. This association works together with the churches and government bodies to further the following aims: to develop education and training throughout the country; to establish another temporary campaign to build the Fourth Pillar, “Resilient Democracy”; and to provide support, including constructive criticism, for the implementation of the Bundestag resolution within Germany.

At the same time, civil society and church organisations from within the EU and the EAEU come together under the leadership of the World Council of Churches to form the Civil Se-

curity Forum. The Forum launches various campaigns to promote the concept of common civil security, as envisaged by the scenario, amongst the churches and civil society in the Member States of the EU and the EAEU.

The Bundestag initiates a re-launch of the organisation “desertec” by the EU together with all the countries (government and civil society) bordering the Mediterranean. The aim of the organisation is to realise the eco-social vision of the UN’s SDGs.

Under the umbrella of the OSCE (Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe) and at the behest of Germany, the EU and the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU), which encompasses Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Armenia, and Kyrgyzstan, begin negotiations with the aim of creating a common economic area from Lisbon to Vladivostok. This common economic area is intended to form the basis of a security partnership between the EU and Russia, which is to be created at the same time.

2027: ITHW receives first delivery of equipment from the Bundeswehr

In the course of conversion of the Bundeswehr (German armed forces), the International Agency for Technical Relief (ITHW) receives the first delivery of equipment which can be used for civilian purposes, thereby increasing its capacity for future medical and technical missions worldwide.

Arms factories develop and manufacture the first items of equipment for use by the ITHW and thus begin converting their production to the manufacture of civilian products.

NATO criticises the 2025 resolution of the Bundestag to change over to an exclusively civil security policy. The German cabinet resists the pressure from other NATO Member States and points out that they have the clear backing of public opinion for the intended policy transformation. The USA responds by temporarily suspending cooperation of their intelligence agencies with the German authorities.

2028: Negotiations for a security partnership with Russia begin

On the basis of promising negotiations for the creation of a common economic area encompassing the EU and Russia/the EAEU, negotiations begin on the formation of a security partnership with Russia under the auspices of the OSCE.

The Munich Security Conference and the Federal Academy for Security Policy orient their programmes in line with the Bundestag’s 2025 resolution, i.e. in accordance with a purely civil security policy. The Munich Security Conference Change Project and the national campaign for a civil security policy have both done a lot to bring about this transformation.

2029: Nonviolent conflict management and resilient democracy are a compulsory part of the curriculum in all schools

In accordance with the 2025 Bundestag resolution, which was also agreed with the states of the federal republic (Bundesländer), the German states make nonviolent conflict management and resilient democracy part of the compulsory curriculum of all schools. Throughout the federal republic, in consultation with the state ministries of education, civil society organisations belonging to the Nonviolence Association are given responsibility for teaching these subjects. This serves to demonstrate how important a functioning civil society is to resilient democracy.

2030: Economic and security treaty with Russia/EAEU

The Economic and Security Partnership between the EU and Russia/the EAEU is founded under the auspices of the OSCE. With the creation of a common economic area from Lisbon to Vladivostok, Europe overcomes the economic division which reached its height during the Ukraine crisis in 2014. In the partnership agreement the economic and security interests of Russia and all the other Member States of the EU and the EAEU are recognised in their entirety and are balanced out.

The Bundeswehr stops holding information events in schools.

2032: OSCE Centre for Civilian Crisis Prevention and Intervention opens in Stockholm and UN Centre for Social Resistance opens in Bonn.

The Economic and Security Partnership between the EU and Russia/the EAEU facilitates a continuous process of disarmament throughout Europe. This is accompanied by the creation of an OSCE police force to protect the economic and security interests of the states which are part of the partnership. 70% of Germans have confidence in the Economic and Security Partnership with Russia/the EAEU.

As a result of German involvement, the OSCE expands its civilian crisis prevention and intervention activities and opens a new centre in Stockholm.

At the same time the UN Secretary General inaugurates the UN Centre for Social Resistance in Bonn as a training centre for building resilient democracy.

2035: Bundestag resolution on complete conversion of the Bundeswehr by 2040

As a result of intensive cooperation by the German government with the Civil Security Forum and the Nonviolence Association, the ground is laid for a Bundestag resolution in 2035 which provides for the complete conversion of the German Bundeswehr into a purely civilian section of the (International) Agency for Technical Relief. Henceforth the OSCE plays the key role in ensuring peace and security in Europe.

2037: NATO accepts the purely civilian nature of Germany’s contribution to peace-keeping

At a NATO summit, Germany’s allies agree to allow Germany to make a purely civilian contribution to peacekeeping within the NATO alliance in future.

The last German armaments factories are converted to the production of (non-military) technical equipment for the International Agency for Technical Relief.

2040: Complete conversion of the Bundeswehr

What has until now been the Ministry of Defence becomes the Ministry for Civilian Crisis

Prevention. The Bundeswehr hands over its last facilities and equipment to the International Agency for Technical Relief. Germany has completed the conversion of its security policy to sustainable civil security.

2.2 The PILLARS of German sustainable civil security policy from the year 2025

From the year 2025, in accordance with the trail-blazing resolutions of the German Bundestag in 2025 and 2035, Germany’s sustainable civil security policy rests on the following pillars:

1. Development of foreign relations which are ecologically, socially, and economically just;
2. Promotion of economic development and security in the EU’s eastern and southern neighbourhood countries;
3. Participation in the international security architecture: German membership of the EU, the OSCE, NATO, and the UN;
4. Resilient democracy;
5. Conversion of the Bundeswehr and the armaments industry.

2.2.1 Just foreign relations

2040 - Overview

Germany, Austria, Sweden, and the Netherlands

- conduct foreign relations which are ecologically, socially, and economically just, and maintain a fair balance of trade,
- steadily increase the proportion of traded goods which are certified as fair trade,
- practise a lifestyle which places demands on ecological resources which are commensurate with their share of the world’s population,

- rigorously implement the climate goals to which they committed themselves in the 2015 Paris climate agreement,
- in cooperation with their European partners, invest in measures to end hunger, poverty, and disease throughout the world.

Germany contributes 4 billion euro annually to the UN World Food Programme.

The results of this policy are as follows:

- The EU ends subsidies for agricultural exports;
- The “global South” is no longer structurally disadvantaged because of Western domination of the global trade and financial system;
- In the raw materials sector, there are clear and transparent global regulations and effective institutions which guarantee that there is no violent conflict and that environmental and social standards are upheld;
- Germany contributes 6 billion euro annually to the UN Sustainable Development Goals Fund. The Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development invests an additional 6 million euro annually in global climate protection.

The Global extractive Resources Initiative

The Global extractive Resources Initiative (GeRI), which was launched at the beginning of 2012, promotes the creation of clear and transparent legal regulations and the establishment of effective institutions in the mining sector.

During 2007/2008, following the recommendations of the G8 summit in Heiligendamm in 2007, the Federal Institute for Geosciences and Natural Resources, working together with partner institutions on behalf of the federal government, developed a raw materials certification system (Certified Trading Chains). This system was the first to specifically address the challenges of artisanal and small-scale mining, while also monitoring environmental and social standards, including the degree to which minerals are “conflict-free”.

After a successful pilot scheme covering five mines in Rwanda, German support for certification measures was extended initially to the Great Lakes region and subsequently to the whole of the African continent and then to the whole world.

The importance of the issue of raw materials and crisis prevention and German action to tackle it were highlighted internationally by the publication in 2014 of the EU’s draft regulation on responsible trade in tin, tantalum, tungsten, and gold.

The global orientation of the EU regulation, which was finally adopted in 2020, led to growth in the importance of due diligence measures and certification in the African Great Lakes Region and beyond.

2.2.II Sustainable development in the EU’s Neighbourhood countries

2040 - Overview

- The countries of Africa, the Middle East, and Eastern Europe form a stable “peace belt” around the EU.

- From 2030 the Economic and Security Partnership between the EU and the Russian-led EAEU regulates the economic interests of all the partner states by means of a treaty and through the creation of a common economic area.
- Germany is the biggest supporter of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) and contributes more than 60% of the EU’s support for the African Union’s (AU’s) budget for this.
- Germany contributes 12 billion euro annually to the UN Development Plan for the EU and the member states of the African Union and the Arab League. The focus is on fair trade, good governance, sustainable private and public investment, bottom-up economic development, entrepreneurial spirit, and jobs and employment.
- The African and Middle Eastern countries supply 30% of the EU’s consumption of energy from renewable sources. For this purpose Germany invests a further 5 million euro in the energy infrastructure of countries bordering the Mediterranean.

The UN Development Plan for Africa and the Middle East¹⁰

The UN Development Plan stands on three pillars:

1. Economy, trade, and employment
2. Peace and security, and
3. Democracy and the rule of law.

Cooperation is governed by the following guidelines:

- an effective ban on harmful exports to Africa; a transition from free trade to fair trade; support for the development of infrastructure; targeted development of value-adding processes at source;

¹⁰ This is an extrapolation of ideas drawn from BMZ, 2017.

- the upholding of international environmental and social standards;
- the closure of international tax havens; pressure on international financial markets and banks to end illegal transfers of funds out of Africa;
- restrictions on arms exports to Africa, especially on the export of small and light weapons;
- pressure on governments which finance religious extremism in Africa and thereby destabilise entire regions, to stop doing so.

The Development Plan is driven by a new economic policy which focusses on economic diversification, the development of value chains, targeted promotion of agriculture and small and medium-sized enterprises, and greater recognition of the value of crafts and trades and thereby the creation of a new middle class. Europe supports the development of Africa and the Middle East by opening up access to its internal market and by removing existing trade barriers.

Strengthening the peace and security architecture in Africa and the Middle East

In 2013/2014 the BMZ (Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development) published a policy document entitled “Development for Peace and Security: Development Policy in the Context of Conflict, Fragility and Violence”. This document emphasises the importance of institutional and legally established mechanisms for political participation and for negotiated management of conflicting interests as preconditions for peaceful and inclusive development in the Neighbourhood of the EU.

Key partners in the prevention and de-escalation of conflict in Africa are the African Union (AU) and other regional organisations which together form the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA). Germany is the biggest supporter of the APSA, especially where the funding of current peace missions is concerned. Indeed Germany contributes more

than 60% of the total EU support for this section of the AU budget.

Support for regional civilian peacekeeping training centres in Africa

One of the main priorities of these measures is to support regional civilian peacekeeping training centres in Africa. The support focusses on the training of African police officers for UN and AU peace missions.

The federal government has therefore been funding training courses at the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (KA IPTC) in Accra, Ghana, since 2008. More than 100,000 West African police officers have been trained since 2012.

Alongside its support for African regional civilian peacekeeping training centres, Germany is also funding UNITAR (United Nations Institute for Training and Research). UNITAR supports the training of personnel for UN missions at African civilian peacekeeping training centres and is building up an African regional network of 25 civilian peacekeeping training centres.

Integration of the economic areas of Russia/ the EAEU and the EU

In 2026, prompted by Germany, Austria, Sweden, and the Netherlands, the EU and the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU, encompassing Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Armenia, and Kyrgyzstan), which was founded in 2014, begin negotiations with the aim of creating a common economic area from Lisbon to Vladivostok. From 2030, as a result of this economic partnership, Europe overcomes the economic division which reached its height during the 2014 Ukraine crisis, because the economic interests of Russia and all the other Member States of the EU and the EAEU are recognised in their entirety and are balanced out.

2.2.III Participation in the international security architecture (EU, OSCE, NATO, UN)

2040 - Overview

- The OSCE is the key organisation for early warning, crisis prevention, conflict resolution, and post-conflict rehabilitation throughout Europe. As a subsidiary organisation of the UN, the OSCE tackles all conflicts within Europe using only civilian methods of policing, etc.
- From the standpoint of shared or common security, security in Europe has to take into account the security interests of all the players. One’s own security is always dependent on the security of one’s neighbour or opponent.
- Germany invests 6 billion euro annually in the creation of a pan-European UN police force under the auspices of the OSCE. This police force is always on stand-by and ready to intervene, so it can go into action just as rapidly and effectively as army units were expected to in the past.
- NATO accepts the purely civilian contributions made by two of its members, Germany and the Netherlands.
- The training of the population in resilient democracy becomes established as a pillar of common security policy in the EU, the OSCE, and NATO.¹¹
- Germany contributes more than 5,000 police and 50,000 civilian experts to international UN peacekeeping missions and is the largest contributor to the UN Peacebuilding Fund.
- Germany pushes for UN peacekeeping missions to be organised as police operations and hosts the annual UN police conference.
- The UN Security Council is now composed of representatives of the continental security councils.

Paradigm shift from “national security” to “common security”¹²

Common security is a concept based on the understanding that a peaceful European order depends on a form of European security which respects the security interests of all the parties involved. According to this concept, one’s own security always depends on the security of one’s neighbour or opponent. It does not work for each of us to seek our own security by defending ourselves against our neighbours. We must all seek our security together. Common security rests on the recognition of economic and political interdependence and on shared and indivisible responsibility for peace. Socio-political differences need to be recognised and accepted. The overriding aim is coexistence: There may not be a consensus in terms of shared values, but everyone’s interests can be balanced out.

The federal government’s 2016 White Paper on security policy adopted the national security paradigm and portrayed our own interests as naturally justified. The White Paper states that these interests can be pursued using any suitable means, including military, anywhere in the world. But political opponents are not granted the same right to pursue their own interests using these same means. The White Paper does not mention the risk to world peace and international security which arises when every nation claims this right for themselves.

Before and after the German Bundestag resolutions on sustainable civil security policy are passed in 2025 and 2035, Germany builds up its contributions to non-military peacebuilding under the auspices of the UN, the EU, and the OSCE in accordance with its action plan “Civilian Crisis Prevention, Conflict Resolution, and Post-Conflict Peace-Building”. This

11 Drawn from FEST (Ed.), 2017.

12 Cf. FEST (Ed.), 2017, p. 8.

action plan was published in 2004 and most recently revised in 2017, when it was re-published as guidelines for “Preventing Crises, Resolving Conflicts, Building Peace”.

EU - Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP)

According to Article 42 (1) of the EU treaty, the Common Security and Defence Policy is an integral part of the Common Foreign and Security Policy. “It shall provide the Union with an operational capacity drawing on civilian and military assets. The Union may use them on missions outside the Union for peace-keeping, conflict prevention and strengthening international security in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter.”

From 2030 onwards, Germany, Austria, Sweden, and the Netherlands participate only in the civilian missions within the framework of the CSDP. From the beginning of the 2020s, civilian missions already play an increasing role compared with the military components of the CSDP. But it is not until the Bundestag’s 2025 resolution and the subsequent increase in funding for the civilian components of the CSDP that they develop into an important pillar of the EU’s security and defence policy.¹³

OSCE - the key to peace and security in Europe

From the point of view of Germany, the OSCE (Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe) is the key organisation for early warning, crisis prevention, conflict resolution, and post-conflict peacebuilding throughout Europe.

Following the Bundestag’s resolution in 2025, it is Germany’s stated aim to work together with all the states of Europe to build up the OSCE into the sole security institution in Eu-

rope. It is intended that - as a subsidiary organisation of the UN, as described in Chapter VIII of the UN Charter - the OSCE should in future tackle all conflicts within Europe by using policing and other civilian measures only. With the creation of an international OSCE police force, all the remaining national armies are to be drastically reduced in strength. This development is made possible by the existence of the Economic and Security Partnership between the EU and the Russian-led EAEU. From 2030 onwards, this Partnership regulates the economic interests of all the partner states by means of a treaty and through the creation of a common economic area.

NATO - Germany as a purely civil actor

There has been a strong peace movement in Germany ever since the Second World War. The peaceful revolution which brought down the Berlin Wall in 1989 already gave rise to hopes that it might become possible in future to resolve conflicts using nonviolent means.

Since 1989, the German government has repeatedly stressed that civilian means of conflict management take precedence, while the use of military force has always been regarded as a last resort. And yet in the years up until 2016 Germany spent ten times as much (36 billion euro annually) on military as opposed to civilian means of preventing and resolving conflict.¹⁴

By 2024 Germany even increases its annual military defence spending to more than 60 billion euro.

By the time the Bundestag passes its resolution in 2025, it is generally recognised that spending on military peacekeeping, as opposed to purely civilian peacemaking, cannot no longer be justified economically or socially.

Bearing in mind, amongst other things, our violent history up until 1945, and in an attempt to inspire other countries to disarm, Germany

¹³ These structures are part of the federal government’s report on the implementation, between 2010 and 2014, of the action plan “Civilian Crisis Prevention, Conflict Resolution, and Post-Conflict Peace-Building”. See: Die Bundesregierung, 2014.

¹⁴ Cf. Bund für Soziale Verteidigung, January 2017, p. 1.

decides in 2025 to disarm militarily by 2040 and to make its contribution to common security as a member of NATO through the expansion of the civilian capacities of the OSCE. Prior to 2024, Directorate General S of the Federal Foreign Office, “Crisis Prevention, Stabilisation, and Post-Conflict Peace-Building”, which was created in 2015, already undergoes major expansion.

Germany’s increasing prioritisation of civil security encounters strong resistance from NATO partner countries initially. But several factors lead to a growing willingness to accept Germany’s concentration on policing and civil security measures only: the growing success of German diplomacy; the establishment of the Economic and Security Partnership between the EU and the EAEU; and the contribution made by German civilian experts to crisis prevention and de-escalation, which can no longer be overlooked.

So from 2040 onwards Germany contributes to common security in Europe and the world exclusively through civilian staff and resources under the umbrella of the OSCE. Although this contribution initially meets with sceptical sneers and opposition, it nevertheless gains growing recognition within NATO. The deployment of civilian peace experts and the training of local people in resilient democracy become established pillars of the OSCE. Even NATO, in its policy and practice, recognises these measures as a contribution of the EU’s Common Security and Defence Policy.

The UN - the global security architecture

Since 11 September 2001 the world has become more and more accustomed to individual groups of states claiming for themselves the right to wage war against other states, parastate entities, or terrorist organisations - even without an explicit mandate in accordance with Chapter VII of the UN Charter.

In conjunction with the reduction and finally the termination of Germany’s oft disputed participation in international military intervention, the German Bundestag instructs the federal government in 2025 and 2035 to push

strongly for a strengthening - instead of the continued weakening - of the UN and to increase its diplomatic and humanitarian involvement. This means bolstering and increasing the use of existing UN instruments for peaceful conflict prevention and resolution whilst also reforming them and developing them further. During the years running up to 2030, it is possible to further develop the “just policing” model as a project which demonstrates the way forward. This model is outlined in the Catholic-Mennonite dialogue in the USA and is recommended as a preventive measure, which the international community can use in response to threats to world peace, by a study published by the FEST (Forschungsstätte der Evangelischen Studiengemeinschaft) in 2017.¹⁵

From 2025 Germany pushes for emerging nations and the global South to have better opportunities to participate in international bodies commensurate with their growing potential. Germany thereby promotes more equal participation in the development of the international order. At the same time, Germany drives the growth and development of international criminal law under the aegis of the UN.

Strong participation in UN peacekeeping missions

Although Germany contributed only 19 police officers and 63 civilian experts to international UN peacekeeping missions in 2014,¹⁶ this contribution increases to 1,000 police officers and 2,000 civilian experts in 2030. In 2017 the federal government committed itself to long-term, strong and highly qualified support for international missions in its guidelines “Preventing Crises, Overcoming Conflict, Promoting Peace” (Chapter 3.2.2). Following the Bundestag’s 2025 resolution, Germany increases its involvement in international UN peacekeeping missions to more than 5,000 police officers and 50,000 civilian experts.

15 Cf. Schabach, 2007 and Werkner et al, 2017.

16 Cf. Bundesregierung, 2014, p. 46

A UN police force

Germany pushes for UN peacekeeping missions to be organised as police operations. There is growing support worldwide for the model of UN peacekeeping missions as purely police operations. Germany now pushes unequivocally for the demilitarisation of conflict resolution by UN police missions, and for the outlawing and abolition of war and armed forces. Police forces which are neutral, trained in human rights and policing, and under the command of the relevant continental security council of the UN are to intervene in all cases of interstate conflict or crimes against humanity to protect the people who are directly affected.

The proposal to replace military UN peacekeeping missions with UN police operations has been under discussion within the World Council of Churches since the beginning of the millennium.

2.2.IV Resilient Democracy

2040 - Overview

- Education and training in constructive conflict management and a reflective understanding of conflict are provided for children, youth, and adults everywhere.
- More intensive community work blocks the spread of enemy stereotypes and reduces hate speech.
- Widespread mediation centres serve to prevent violent conflict within and between societies. These centres are open to all UN Member States.
- The national Nonviolence Association and a large number of think-tank foundations and professorships promote further professionalisation of conflict resolution and the spread of a culture of civilian conflict resolution.
- Both state and civil society are resilient in the face of restrictions on civil liberties, whether internal or external, due in part to structured planning and preparation of organised civilian resistance.

- All churches and faith organisations offer training courses for peacemakers.
- Civilian crisis prevention is the trade mark of German, Austrian, Swedish, and Dutch foreign and security policy.
- The police and judiciary are provided with sufficient personnel and financial resources to enable them to prevent and/or investigate terrorist attacks.
- Independent studies are regularly undertaken to evaluate levels of education and training, and also to evaluate the effectiveness of the culture of nonviolence in response to conflict as a means of maintaining the country's security.

Building a culture of nonviolence as the standard response to conflict

The key component of the 2025 Bundestag resolution is the wholesale conversion of German security policy from a military culture to a civil culture which embraces nonviolence as the standard response to conflict. Germany's special strength in the field of security policy is in its diplomacy and civilian capabilities. In 2025, as a result of the Bundestag's resolution and following consultation with the federal states, civilian conflict resolution is made a compulsory subject in all schools throughout Germany, so that all schoolchildren in Germany learn nonviolent communication, mediation, and other constructive methods of conflict observation, analysis and management. There is also a huge expansion of adult education in this subject area.

Academic studies advocate a civil security policy

Since an increasing number of studies¹⁷ and evaluations have shown that civilian conflict resolution is much more successful than military intervention, politicians can no longer ignore the facts and the arguments against the continued adoption of military security policy.

17 E.g. Chenoweth/Stephan, 2011, and Müller and Büttner, 1996.

The study into the potential effectiveness and limitations of a sustainable civil security policy, which was commissioned by the federal government in 2022, is published in 2024. The final report demonstrates that civilian peace-making is both economically and politically efficient in terms of the resources invested and achievement of the desired goals.

Founding of national and international mediation centres

From 2018 onwards, the following mutually reinforcing developments take place in Germany, Austria, Sweden, and the Netherlands:

- universal education and training of children, youth, and adults in constructive conflict management and a reflective understanding of conflict;
- more intensive community work to counter hate speech and the spread of enemy stereotypes;
- a significant increase in the training and deployment of peace experts;
- the setting up of peace academies which not only train experts but also evaluate the experience gained and the transfer of mediation skills to people throughout society, including members of the diplomatic service;
- the setting up of numerous mediation centres in situations of potentially violent conflict within or between societies. A growing number of private dialogues between opposing parties from within Germany, from within Europe, or from other parts of the world are being held in these centres with the aid of well-trained facilitators. These centres are available to all the UN Member States as a resource for the prevention and de-escalation of conflict.

Founding of professional associations and professorships

The founding of numerous national professional associations and networks, such as the Action Committee Service for Peace (AGDF) in

1968, the National Mediation Association in 1992, the German Platform for Peaceful Conflict Management in 1998, the Fachverband Gewaltfreie Kommunikation (Nonviolent Communication Association) in 2010, and the national Nonviolence Association in 2026, serves to promote further professionalisation and the spread of a culture of civilian conflict resolution. Increased financial support for the promotion of the culture of civilian conflict resolution is provided by newly created foundations. And numerous professorships are founded in the field of peace and conflict research. These developments stimulate public discourse and ensure that politicians and other people throughout society know about civil security.

All the study and research centres, and academies, such as the Federal Academy for Security Policy (BAKS), which until now have focussed on military security policy, focus their attention more and more - and, ultimately, exclusively - on the sustainable civil security paradigm. The Munich Security Conference also completes this paradigm shift in consultation with the Munich Security Conference Change Project.

The “Common Security” Approach

The concept of “common security” as an approach to security issues becomes more and more popular amongst academics.¹⁸ Every analysis of strategic options takes into account our own potential contribution to the resolution of problems with security implications. And a change in our own behaviour is always one of the strategic options under consideration. The security challenges listed in the 2016 White Paper on security policy and the future of the Bundeswehr can only be met using the common security approach. The Federal Foreign Office promoted this change in thinking through numerous reviews. In particular, asymmetrical wars, which Germany was being confronted with increasingly often, required such re-evaluation and new thinking

¹⁸ Cf. Jaberg, 2015.

or - as identified in the Federal Foreign Office's 2014 Review - “further thinking”.

Sustainable civil security policy tackles diverse risks, conflicts, crises, and challenges with tailor-made strategies and instruments: diplomacy, development cooperation, active participation in the work of international organisations, the Agency for Technical Relief, early-warning and conflict prevention, the cultural and educational work of the Federal Foreign Office abroad, intercultural dialogue, mediation centres, and police training assistance. It is always a question of balancing conflicting interests and seeking and building consensus.

Expanding civil peace services

The federal government has already been funding a civil peace service since 1999. Initially the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development played the leading role, in consultation with the Federal Foreign Office (from 2040 onwards the Federal Ministry for Resilient Democracy).

In order to guarantee the continued independence of peacebuilding activities, the peace service agencies of civil society came together to form the Civil Peace Service Consortium.

Unarmed civilian peacekeeping

Unarmed civilian peacekeeping (cpk) involves the deployment before, during, and after violent conflict of unarmed civilians who have undergone professional training and preparation. Their task is to prevent or reduce the intensity of violence, provide physical protection for threatened civilian populations, and strengthen or create stable local peace structures (organisations and institutions). Between 1990 and 2015, more than 50 civil society organisations worldwide applied methods of cpk in 35 conflict zones.¹⁹ By 2030, this had grown to 80 organisations active in 500 conflict zones. A culture of nonviolence as a response to conflict

makes it possible to combat the causes of migration.

From 2025 onwards, due to the saving of financial resources which had previously been spent on military peacekeeping - between 20 and 50 billion euro annually - these resources are available in Germany alone for combating the causes of migration in the countries to the south and east of the EU.

Preparation for civilian resistance

There are internal as well as external threats to the freedom and democracy of our social order, as can be seen from the growing strength of autocratic governments within the EU and NATO. One important component of sustainable civil security policy is therefore the planning and preparation of organised nonviolent social resistance against attempts - from inside or outside our borders - to violently restrict our freedom. Even at a time when Germany really no longer faces any imminent threat of military intervention from outside NATO, it is incumbent upon us to prepare our society as a resilient democracy for such an unlikely eventuality, as long as the concept of sustainable civil security has not yet been adopted throughout the world.

On the basis of the Bundestag's 2025 resolution, a nationwide training programme is launched to train the German population in the principles and practice of social resistance, the purpose of which is to deter any possible armed intervention and to prepare for the defence and restoration of freedom in the case of armed or unarmed intervention in Germany.

Support for civilian resistance in other countries

In 2025, through its resolution that Germany should make the transition from military to sustainable civil security, the German Bundestag decides, as have the parliaments of Austria, Sweden, and the Netherlands, to train groups from other countries in nonviolent civilian resistance, because its chances of success are twice that of armed rebellion.

¹⁹ Cf. Bund für Soziale Verteidigung, July 2015, p. 5.

Before the 2025 resolution was passed, it was especially the provision in the resolution for training groups from other countries in nonviolent civilian resistance which provoked an international outcry. Many countries feared that they would be destabilised if people were trained in civilian resistance. They asked whether their national sovereignty would be threatened if people were trained to resist the state. Some accused Germany of wanting to use this action to benefit its own economy by encouraging people to go on strike, for example, thereby causing a reduction in the economic productivity of another country. It would also be theoretically possible for heads of government to be driven out of office, if they did not agree with the policies of the German government. Some European countries expressed great scepticism because this policy would also allow other countries to train people to protest. In particular it was feared that anti-democratic forces could use such training for their own ends. The federal government expressed its surprise that there should be such strong objections to the decision after there had been so much discussion about the transformation of security policy at the EU and in NATO. The government pointed out that the transformation should be seen as a whole, standing on five pillars and including the intention to establish foreign relations which are fair and just. It also clarified that this kind of training had already been provided since the 1990s. After a great deal of discussion it was finally possible to find common ground. It was agreed that the training should take place in a UN training centre for civilian resistance which would be created in Bonn.²⁰

Resilience in response to terrorism

Armed forces are also unnecessary for combating terrorism. People who classify terrorism as an act of war and seek to fight it with military means, are playing into the hands of the terrorists. A sustainable civil security pol-

icy would recognise that the roots of radicalisation and terrorism are to be found in our own society. Many of the Islamist perpetrators of violence have their roots in our society and have been radicalised here. The lack of prospects, the lack of social status, and the lack of political participation are all causes of radicalisation. People who prevent radicalisation and strengthen social cohesion are helping to create sustainable security.

2.2.V Conversion of the Bundeswehr and military industries

2040 - Overview

- The myth of the effectiveness of violence has been debunked;
- The Bundeswehr has handed over the last of its facilities to the (International) Agency for Technical Relief;
- Germany, Austria, Sweden, and the Netherlands no longer export weapons;
- Arms industries have been converted to the production of civilian goods in a way which is compatible with social justice;
- The International Criminal Court has convicted not only leaders of ISIS but also leaders of Western governments because of their violent actions;
- A global truth and justice commission has investigated allegations against Western states brought by Islamic and African states;
- The flow of funds to terrorist organisations has been stopped;
- All nuclear weapons have been removed from Germany.

Debunking the myth of the effectiveness of violence

The conversion of the Bundeswehr has been brought about largely as a consequence of academic studies which gradually debunked the myth of the effectiveness of violence:

²⁰ Cf. Paulitz's reservations: Paulitz, 2017, p.166 ff.

1. Civilian resistance is twice as likely to be successful as armed intervention.²¹
2. The likely effectiveness of military intervention is invariably overestimated.²²
3. Wars are always accompanied by unrealistic expectations and delusions of power.²³

Arguments put forward during the 2025 Bundestag debate

The German Bundestag resolves in 2025 and 2035 that the military pillar of German security policy, the Bundeswehr, should be converted to a purely civil institution as part of the (International) Agency for Technical Relief. A large number of military personnel leave to join the police or to strengthen the conflict analysis and early-warning department of the Federal Foreign Office. The Bundeswehr’s medical corps is integrated into the German Red Cross, and the Music Corps of the Bundeswehr becomes the civilian music corps of the Office of the Federal President.

During the debate the following arguments, some of which have already been expressed before, are put forward:

1. Military missions abroad often lack clear and achievable goals.
2. Robust military intervention necessitates contravention of international law, if it is to be effective.
3. Bundeswehr deployments are useless in the fight against terrorism.²⁴
4. Regime change brought about by violent intervention by outside forces does not work.²⁵
5. Military peacekeeping is basically a contradiction in terms and is uneconomic.

An hour’s flight by a Tornado aircraft costs 75,000 euro and the deployment of a US

soldier in Afghanistan for a year costs 2 million US dollars. In contrast, the deployment of a Nonviolent Peace Force worker for one year costs only 50,000 euro. In the light of these facts, people are less and less willing to accept the disproportionate costs of military security policy in relation to its extremely limited effectiveness.

6. Military intervention tends to escalate conflict.²⁶
7. Civilian prevention and management of conflict leads to greater security.

The government-commissioned study into the potential effectiveness and limitations of a sustainable civil security policy, published in 2024, calculates that Germany would enjoy greater security if the 60 billion euro spent each year on the Bundeswehr were to be spent instead on: aid for refugees; combating the causes of migration; sustainable development at home and abroad; and nonviolent conflict prevention, conflict resolution, and peacebuilding.

The number of people serving in the armed forces is reduced in a way which is compatible with social justice; Members of the armed forces are retrained and now work in national and international disaster response, refugee support, international health work, and work to end hunger.

Abolition of the arms trade and conversion of military industries

In 2025 the German Bundestag resolves that - as part of the sustainable civil security policy and as a contribution to the demilitarisation of European security policy - arms exports are to be stopped by 2030. And all German arms factories are to be converted to the production of civilian goods.

21 Cf. Chenoweth/Stephan, 2011, and later studies.

22 Cf. Gromes and Dembinski, 2013.

23 Cf. Kolko, 1999, p. 384 ff.

24 Cf. Misereor, 2016, p. 5.

25 Cf. IFSH, 2016, p. 7.

26 Cf. EKD, 2013, p. 49.

3 CIVIL SECURITY IN NUMBERS

An overview of the relevant lines in the federal budget

Figures are billions of euro per year.

Average annual expenditure	annual average 2010-2013	2024	2030	2040
UN - UN Development Plan for Africa and the Middle East	0	1	4,5	12
UN - World Food Programme (WFP)	0,1	0,5	2	4
UN - Peacekeeping operations	0,4	1	2	4
UN - Sustainable Development Goals Fund	1	2	4	6
UN - Peacebuilding Fund (PBF)	0,05	0,1	0,5	1
OSCE	0,02	0,1	3	6
NATO Civil Crisis Prevention and Management	0	0	1	1
EU - Desertec 2.0 North Africa and the Middle East	0	0	2	5
EU Civil Crisis Prevention and Management	0,1	0,2	1	4
Federal Foreign Office Department for Crisis Prevention	0,1	0,5	2	4
Ministry for Resilient Democracy				2
Civil Peace Service (CPS)	0,04	0,2	1	2
BMZ Prevention of Conflict, Fragility, and Violence	0,1	0,2	1,1	1
BMZ Promotion of the Judiciary and the Rule of Law	0,05	0,2	0,5	1
BMZ Climate Protection	2	3	4	6
Ministry of Education: Resilient Democracy and a Culture of Nonviolence in Response to Conflict	0	0	0,5	2
Civil Society Organisation: Nonviolence Association	0	0	0,2	2
International Agency for Technical Relief (ITRW)	0,1	0,2	0,5	5
Bundeswehr (from 2040 onwards pension obligations only)	33	60	40	6
Totals	37,06	69,2	69,8	74

4 A SCENARIO EXTRAPOLATING CURRENT TRENDS: „CREEPING MILITARISATION“

2018: War in Syria and Iraq continues at a lower level of intensity

In the autumn the synod of the Protestant Church in Baden recommends that the scenario presented by the Regional Church Council, "Rethinking Security: From military security to civil security", be distributed more widely.

The war in Syria and Iraq continues at a lower level of intensity. There is an increase in the number of migrants fleeing from civil war and poverty in Africa and Asia.

The EU-Turkey refugee agreement remains intact thanks to higher annual payments to Turkey from the EU.

2019: The military conflict in Eastern Ukraine continues to rumble on

The military conflict in Eastern Ukraine continues to rumble on. The federal government pushes for an increase in the number of OSCE observers, who "through their presence reduce tension and help to build peace, stability, and security". (Guidelines, p. 42) Germany sends more people to act as observers.

The terrorist organisation "Islamic State" (ISIS) has been driven out of Iraq and Syria and is subject to continuing pressure from the anti-ISIS coalition. Thereafter, ISIS and allied organisations in North Africa and the Middle East and in Europe increasingly operate through unpredictable local and regional terrorist cells and individual terrorists.

2020: The Bundeswehr's budget is increased to 42 billion euro

Both the synod of the EKD and the Catholic Bishops' Conference advocate Germany taking on greater international responsibility, including through participation in military operations. Both the Protestant and Catholic churches in Germany continue to call for increased efforts at civilian conflict manage-

ment, but the revision of the EKD's 2007 discussion paper fails to provide any significant political impetus in this direction.

The Bundeswehr's budget is increased to 42 billion euro.

2021: Increasing number of demonstrations

There is an increase in the number of public demonstrations both by nationalist and racist movements, and also by peace movement and environmental movement coalitions.

The militarisation of the EU is being driven forward more and more blatantly.

All the groups and organisations of the peace and environmental movements jointly finance a study into the effectiveness of military intervention.

2022: NATO decides yet again to increase military expenditure

The study into the effectiveness of military intervention is published and recommends alternative social and civilian methods of peacekeeping. The federal government is slow to take up these proposals and decides to increase military defence expenditure to 50 billion euro annually.

The number of staff in the Federal Foreign Office's Directorate General for Crisis Prevention, Stabilisation, and Post-Conflict Peacebuilding is doubled.

NATO decides to make further increases in the military expenditure of its European members in order to strengthen its European pillar.

2023: The police in Germany are equipped more and more like a military force

The papal encyclical, "Fructus iustitiae pax" (Isaiah 32:17), with its call for nonviolence and civilian conflict management, is well received by the public in Europe but is largely ignored by politicians.

There continue to be frequent terrorist attacks throughout Europe. Violence escalates in Turkey as a result of the unsuccessful attempt to combat terrorism with military means. The police in Germany are equipped more and more like a military force.

In spite of the 2015 Paris climate agreement, which has been in force since 2016, the agreed reductions in CO2 emissions are not implemented.

2024: Saudi Arabia launches repeated military attacks against Iran

The long power struggle between Saudi Arabia and Iran in the Middle East continues to fester. It is increasingly expressed through minor proxy armed conflicts within the region.

The industrialised countries fail to increase their financial contributions to the UN and its aid agencies sufficiently, so that the agencies are no longer able to alleviate all the famines in the regions hit by climate change. Nor is it possible for the UN to take care of all refugees in the vicinity of their home countries.

2025: Bundestag passes constitutional amendment allowing Bundeswehr to be deployed inside Germany

The German Bundestag votes to increase defence spending to 60 billion euro in 2030. There should then once again be 250,000 military personnel serving under the German flag. The Bundestag passes an amendment to the constitution which allows the Bundeswehr to be deployed within Germany.

Of the 28 countries which were regarded in 2017 as highly endangered by the rise in sea level, 12 are already partially or totally flooded. The affected populations flee into neighbouring countries, which makes these states even more fragile than they already are. More and more countries worldwide become so-called “failed states”.

2026: More and more demonstrations in Europe by groups which espouse violence

The European Union’s economy remains stagnant. The unemployment rate in Germany’s

neighbouring countries rises to 20% on average. And in southern Europe it reaches as much as 30%. There is growing social tension throughout Europe. Groups which espouse violence hold more and more demonstrations.

2027: African states collapse and the number of refugees increases

20,000 German soldiers are serving in UN and NATO missions in 10 countries in Eastern Europe, Africa, and the Middle East. Each year about 10 soldiers are killed whilst taking part in these missions and 500 are injured.

Another African country collapses and becomes a “failed state” and there is a corresponding increase in the number of refugees trying to reach the EU.

2028: NATO Member States end their support for the International Criminal Court

The Bundeswehr uses armed drones in its military operations and accepts innocent civilian casualties of this drone war as “collateral damage”.

At the same time, the federal government strengthens its efforts to build up the “Civil Peace Service” (CPS) under the auspices of the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development. The federal government is keen to increase the number of peace experts on active service with the CPS to more than 800.

Germany persists in maintaining its “nuclear participation”.

Because charges have been brought against several more war criminals from NATO Member States, more states withdraw from membership of the International Criminal Court.

2029: Well over 1 million refugees reach Central Europe

Well over 1 million refugees reach Central Europe each year via the Balkans or by crossing the Mediterranean. Germany groans under the burden of financing so-called “reception centres” in North Africa and taking in and integrating the never-ending stream of refugees arriving in Germany.

2030: Social tensions in Europe spill over into violence more and more often

Due to climate change and the frequent droughts in North Africa which are associated with it, and because of NATO’s War on Terror, the number of refugees reaching Europe each year reaches 1.3 million.

The growing number of refugees, growing unemployment, and increasing terrorist activity lead to increased social tension which spills over into violence increasingly often.

2035: The number of terrorist attacks remains high

Soldiers or police are on patrol in all public buildings, streets, and public spaces. The number of terrorist attacks remains high.

2040: Some countries become uninhabitable because of the rise in sea level

Eight more countries are flooded due to the rise in sea level and large parts of their territory have become uninhabitable.

5 NEGATIVE SCENARIO: CLOSE TO THE ABYSS

2018: Number of service personnel in Germany increased to 250,000

The German Bundestag votes for: the reintroduction of compulsory military service; an increase in the defence budget; and an increase in the number of active service personnel from about 185,000 in 2016 to a total of about 250,000 in addition to the approx. 90,000 reservists in the territorial army. The Bundestag also resolves that the Bundeswehr can be deployed for any purpose inside Germany.

Italy closes its ports to refugees. Because the EU remains unable to come to agreement on refugee policy, refugees are “held temporarily” in “floating accommodation” in the Mediterranean.

Following decisions by the Council of the European Union and the European Parliament, 100 million euro annually are appropriated from the Instrument contributing to Stability and Peace (IcSP) for equipping the armies of partner states.

2019: Turkey terminates the refugee treaty with the EU

Turkey terminates the refugee agreement with the EU, after the EU ended negotiations on Turkey’s accession in response to Turkey’s reintroduction of the death penalty. Turkey closes the refugee camps on its territory and begins the deportation of refugees to Europe using all the possible routes on both land and sea (Black Sea, Aegean, Mediterranean). The refugees are dumped on deserted beaches and left to their fate. In southern Cyprus in particular more than 300,000 refugees are landed within a very short space of time.

The military conflict in Eastern Ukraine continues to rumble on.

2020: The war in Syria and Iraq flares up again

The war in Syria and Iraq flares up again. There is a rapid increase in the flow of refugees. In Germany there is a growing number of attacks on refugee accommodation and there are even racially motivated murders.

The Bundeswehr’s annual budget is increased to 69 billion euro.

2021: Free movement of goods and people within Europe is stopped

The Schengen Agreement is suspended. There is no longer free movement of goods and people within Europe.

2022: A total of 6 million refugees reach the EU

NATO decides to increase the military expenditure of its European members once again in order to strengthen its European pillar.

A total of 6 million refugees have reached the territory of the EU since 2016. Most of the migrants, who are fleeing from Africa and the war zones in the Middle East, are stuck in the countries bordering the Mediterranean.

The number of terrorist attacks rises throughout Europe.

2023: The police in Germany are equipped more and more like a military force

In spite of the 2015 Paris climate agreement, which has been in force since 2016, the agreed reductions in CO₂ emissions are not implemented. The global average temperature has already risen more than 2°C above the pre-industrial average. The extreme weather events caused by climate change, such as droughts and flooding, destroy the basis of existence for the inhabitants of the worst hit countries, which are mostly in equatorial regions.

The police in Germany are equipped more and more like a military force.

2024: A state of emergency is declared in Germany and other EU countries, partly because of an increase in terrorist attacks

In all the countries of western and southern Europe, now including Greece, there are more and more demonstrations against the policies of the right-wing governments.

A state of emergency is declared in Germany, as in many other EU countries. The Bundeswehr is sent in against demonstrators who are mostly peaceful. This serves to strengthen those who espouse violence. Emergency legislation is passed which seriously undermines the parliamentary legislative process.

Both the federal police and the Bundeswehr undergo a huge expansion. To facilitate this, service in the police or armed forces is made compulsory for all unemployed people under the age of 50.

Military education is made part of the school curriculum.

Germany increases its weapons exports and is one of the leading countries in the arms race.

2025: The Bundeswehr regularly deploys armed drones

The EU countries, whose constitutions are essentially democratic, develop more and more into autocracies. The industrialised countries reduce their contributions to the United Nations and its aid agencies to such an extent that these institutions are no longer able to alleviate the famines in the regions hit by climate change. In Africa alone about 3 million people die of starvation by the end of the year.

50,000 German soldiers are serving in UN and NATO missions in 15 countries in Eastern Europe, Africa, and the Middle East. Each year about 1,000 of them are killed whilst taking part in these missions and 5,000 are injured.

The Bundeswehr regularly uses armed drones in its military operations and accepts 500 innocent civilian casualties of this drone war as "collateral damage".

Of the 28 countries which were regarded in 2017 as highly endangered by the rise in sea level, 18 are already partially or totally flooded. The affected populations flee into neighbouring countries, which makes these states even more fragile than they already are. More and more countries worldwide become so-called "failed states".

2026: Major increase in number of climate refugees

Major increase in the number of climate refugees. The governments of affected countries try to transport refugees into regions which are not so badly hit by climate change. In Africa about 7 million people die of starvation during the year.

2027: Association of German Citizen's Militias founded

During this year only 4 million refugees from Africa reach the coast of the EU.

Humanitarian rescue operations for refugees in boats in the Mediterranean are stopped following decisions by the EU and NATO. Refugees arriving in boats are declared by decree to be unarmed invaders, and the sinking of their boats is thereby justified. Human rights organisations estimate that 2 million people are killed in this way.

There are about 18 million refugees, including those from the Middle East, on EU territory at the end of the year.

The Association of German Citizen's Militias is founded as a civil society organisation with 250 member organisations.

2028: There is a global economic crisis and world trade collapses

There is a global economic crisis; world trade collapses; and in Germany the unemployment rate rises to 20%. In the EU countries bordering the Mediterranean the unemployment rate is as much as 35%. Major economic disputes between the EU Member States cause the EU to fall apart. The German government reacts by deciding to build a 6-meter border fence along Germany's borders and to in-

crease the number of heavily-armed border police to 50,000.

2029: NATO and Russia threaten each other with a nuclear first strike

There is an escalation of the conflict between NATO and Russia along Russia's Baltic border. Both NATO and Russia threaten to launch a nuclear first strike, after the German Bundestag explicitly expresses support for this.

During military manoeuvres Pakistan accidentally launches an intermediate range nuclear missile towards an Indian military complex in an Indian desert region. Pakistan issues an immediate apology to the Indian government. The UN Security Council meets on the same day. By passing a unanimous resolution and as a result of intensive negotiations with the conflicting parties beforehand, it is possible to stop the escalation to a nuclear war. Pakistan declares its willingness to pay all the costs arising from this incident.

2030: There are 32 million refugees in the European Union

During the past 15 years 32 million refugees have arrived in the European Union; This migration is due to catastrophic climate change and the prolonged armed conflicts in the Middle East, Ukraine, and Africa.

2035: Dissolution of the OSCE

Dissolution of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) following major diplomatic rows.

2040: The Bundeswehr's annual budget is increased to 90 billion euro

The Bundeswehr's annual budget is increased to 90 billion euro.

During the year, all 28 countries which were rated as being seriously at risk from a rise in sea level have been flooded and rendered uninhabitable.

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Members of the “Rethinking Security” Working Group

Ralf Becker (Coordinator, gewaltfrei handeln, Wethen), Stephan Brües (Chairperson, Bund für Soziale Verteidigung, Wiesloch), Aline Jung (Evangelische Frauen in Baden, “Frauen unterwegs für das Leben”, Ettenheim), Christof Grosse (Spokesperson of the Pax Christi Peace Policy Commission, Pforzheim), Lucas Gutjahr (Steering Committee of Jugendwerk Karlsruhe), Dr. Dirk-M. Harmsen (Steering Committee of the Peace Ethics Forum of the Protestant Church in Baden, Karlsruhe), Michael Held (Ökumenisches Netz Deutschland, Bad Hersfeld †), Christian Keller (Dekan i.R., Villingen), Stefan Maaß (Peace Unit of the Office of the Protestant Church in Baden, Karlsruhe), Oberkirchenrat Prof. Dr. Christoph Schneider-Harpprecht (Office of the Protestant Church in Baden, Karlsruhe), Dr. Theodor Ziegler (Peace Ethics Forum, New Directions in Peace Ethics Coordinating Group), Algolsheim, France)

Although all the members of the Working Group participated in the drafting of the scenario, “Rethinking Security: From military to civil security”, the authors of the initial drafts of the individual sections are listed here.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Ralf Becker, Stephan Brües, Stefan Maass

Chapter 2: Positive Scenario

Ralf Becker, Stephan Brües, Christoph Grosse

Chapter 3: Scenario Extrapolating Current Trends

Dr. Dirk-M. Harmsen, Christian Keller, Stephan Brües

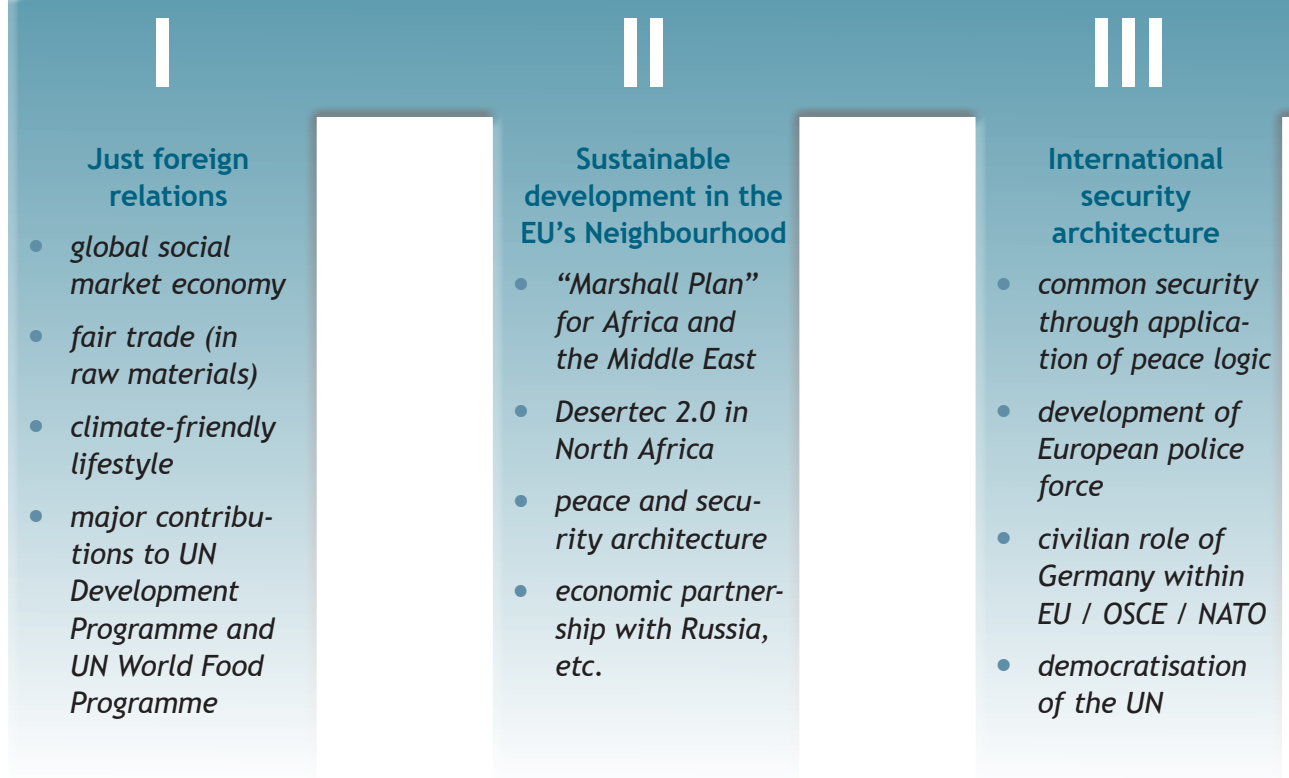
Chapter 4: Negative Scenario

Dr. Dirk-M. Harmsen, Christian Keller

Appendix: Events forming the basis of the scenario

Dr. Dirk-M. Harmsen, Christian Keller

Civil Security



Be sure to read the long version of this scenario (168-pages) as well!

The long version includes additional material which is not included in this short version:

Many more concrete examples of how civil security policy is already working:

- Examples of successful unarmed protective accompaniment in the midst of armed conflict
- Examples of successful local nonviolent resistance in armed conflicts
- 21 out of 55 examples of successful civilian resistance in national conflicts between 1907 and 2014
- Examples of how the lives of nearly all Jewish inhabitants were saved through successful civilian resistance in six European countries under Nazi occupation
- Examples of successful Christian-Islamic peace initiatives
- Descriptions of successful local peace zones in armed conflicts
- A comprehensive description of the concept of civilian resistance and the factors contributing to its success

IV

**Resilient
democracy**

- *peace education*
- *mediation centres*
- *civilian crisis prevention*
- *civil peace services*
- *practice of civilian resistance*
- *resilience in response to terrorism*

V

**Conversion of the
armed forces**

- *evaluation of military and civilian defence*
- *transformation into International Agency for Technical Relief and police force*
- *conversion of the arms industry*
- *withdrawal of all nuclear weapons*

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