



# **Rethinking Security**

- from military competition to civil cooperation**

Travemünde, october 5th 2024

Ralf Becker | project coordinator

# Learning from Afghanistan

"We have to learn from our mistakes.  
18 veterans a day have taken their own  
lives since the beginning of the war."



# Are military instruments effective?

"Finally, one must agree with the assessment that wars are 'always guided by wishful thinking and power fantasies' and that the potential of military intervention is 'chronically overestimated'."

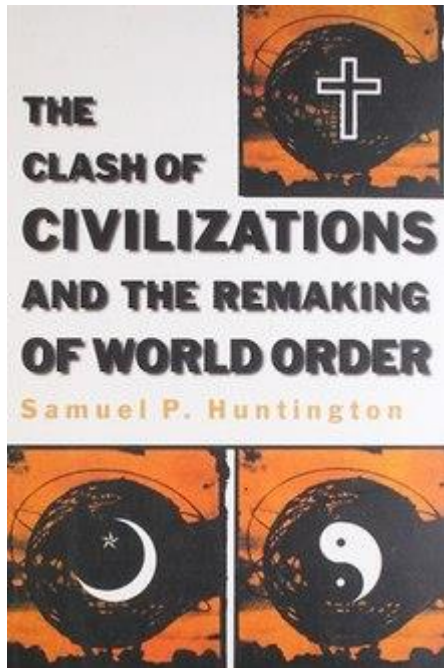


*Oberst Prof. Dr. Matthias Rogg*

*Leadership Academy Bundeswehr in Hamburg,*

*German Institute for Defence and Strategic Studies*

# Cooperative crisis management

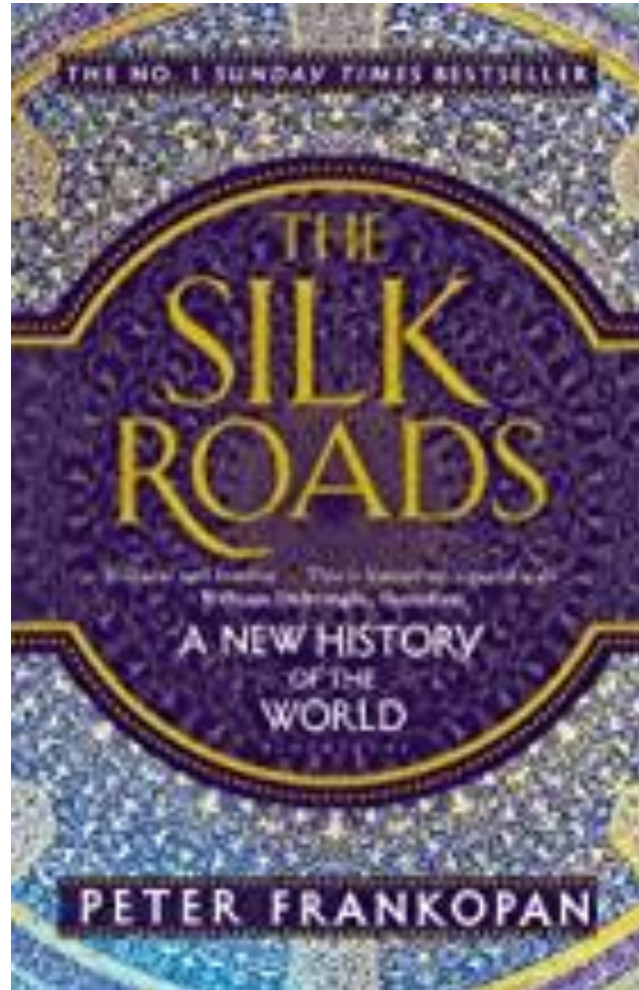


## Huntington:

"The belief in the universality of the Western world suffers from three problems:  
it is wrong, it is immoral, and it is dangerous."

**Western policy should take into account "different cultural values."**

# Worldwide Military Power Politics



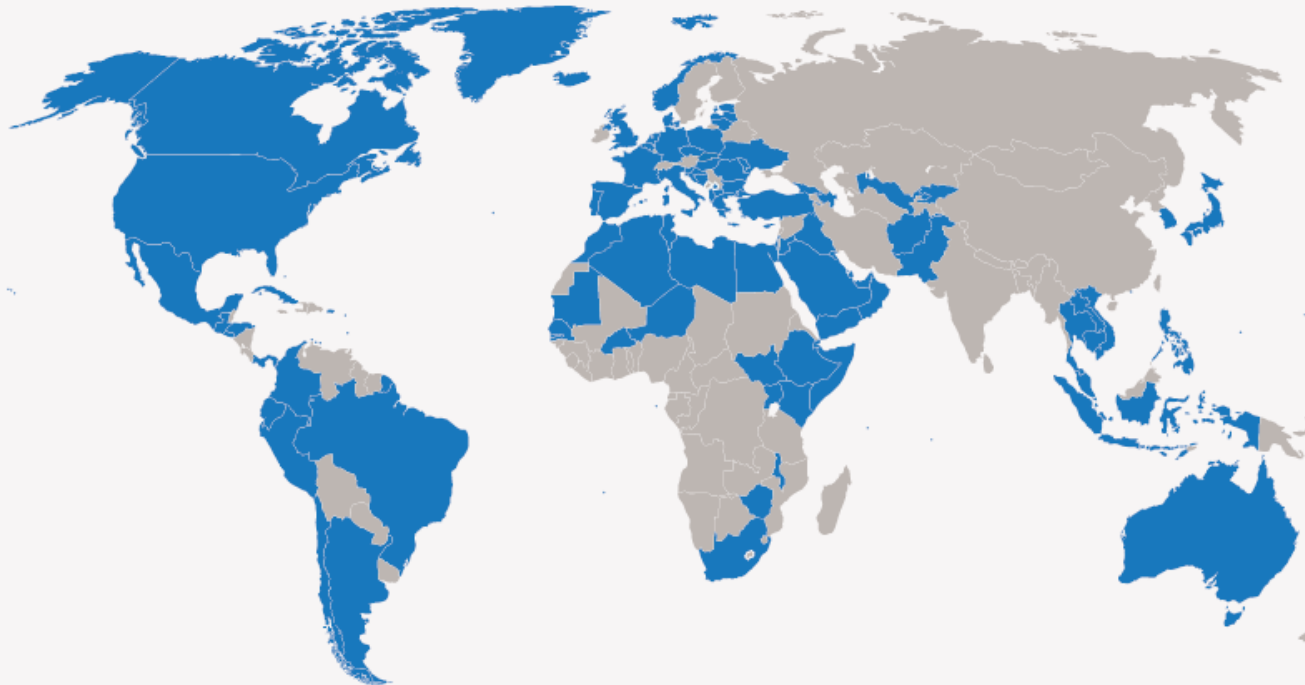
# U.S. Dominance Strategy

- U.S. strategy paper "Joint Vision 2020" (2000)
- **Goal: military "superiority in all areas"**  
**("Full Spectrum Dominance")**
- Infrastructure: including ten aircraft carrier battle groups on all the world's oceans.
- [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joint\\_Vision\\_2020](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joint_Vision_2020)

# Worldwide Military Power Politics

## // MILITÄRSTÜTZPUNKTE DER USA

Die USA unterhalten in mindestens\* 42 fremden Ländern Militärstützpunkte



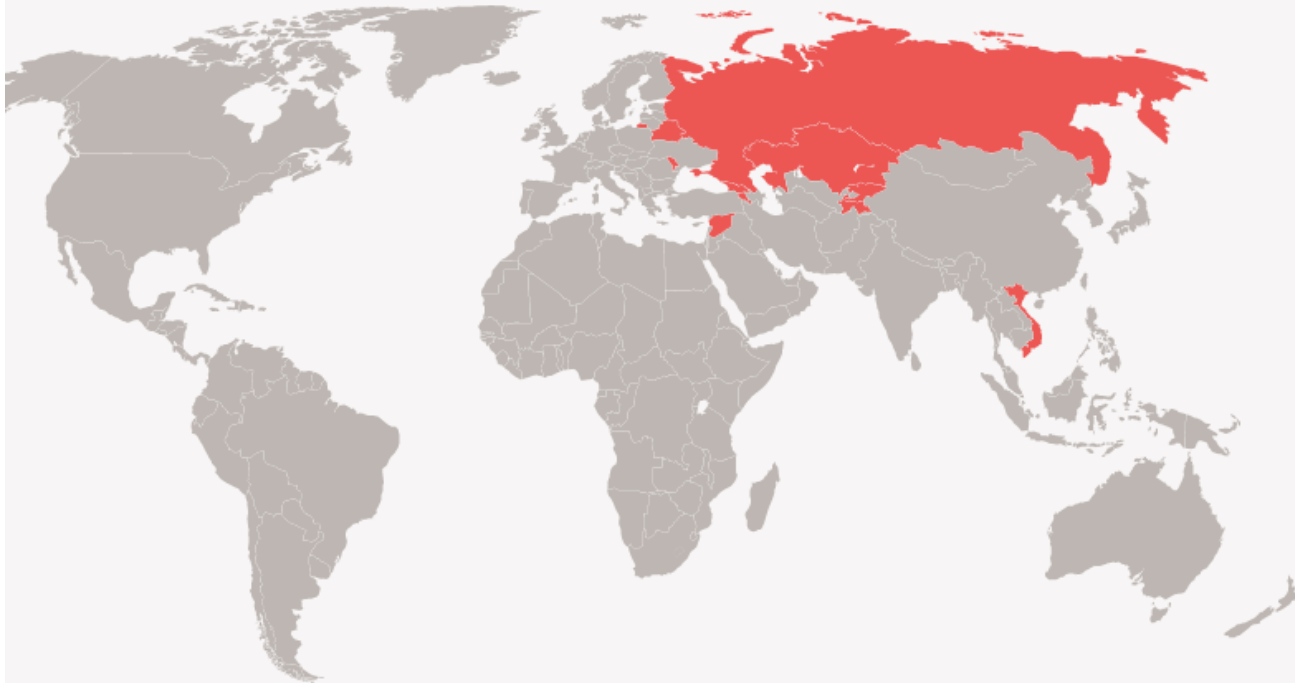
\*offiziell 587 Militärstützpunkte in 42 fremden Ländern neben 4154 Militärstützpunkten im eigenen Land und 114 Militärstützpunkten in 7 US-Überseeterritorien zuzüglich Stützpunkten von NATO-Bündnispartnern und inzwischen öffentlich bekannten, ehemals geheimen CIA-Drohnenflugplätzen und anderen "Black Sites"  
Datenquelle: Department of Defense Base Structure Report FY 2015 Baseline (Länder mit mehr als 10 US-Soldaten im Gefechtsdienst ohne Russland & China) // empire.is // SIPER Research  
© Alexandre de Robaulx de Beurieux, SIPER AG 2016. [www.siper.ch](http://www.siper.ch)

Swiss Institute for  
and Energy Rese  
**SIPER**

# Worldwide Military Power Politics

## // MILITÄRSTÜTZPUNKTE VON **RUSSLAND**

Russland unterhält in 9 fremden Ländern\* Militärstützpunkte



1 in Vietnam, 9 in Georgien (4 in Südossetien + 5 in Abchasien), 1 in Moldawien (Transnistrien), 2 in Armenien, 4 in Weissrussland, 4 in Kasachstan, 1 in Kirgistan, 7 in Tadschikistan  
m: Sputnik International (2015) - Russian Military Bases Abroad: How Many and Where? // World Heritage Encyclopedia - List of Russian military bases abroad // SIPER Research  
e de Robaulx de Beaurieux, SIPER AG 2016, www.siper.ch



# Worldwide Military Power Politics

## // MILITÄRSTÜTZPUNKTE VON CHINA

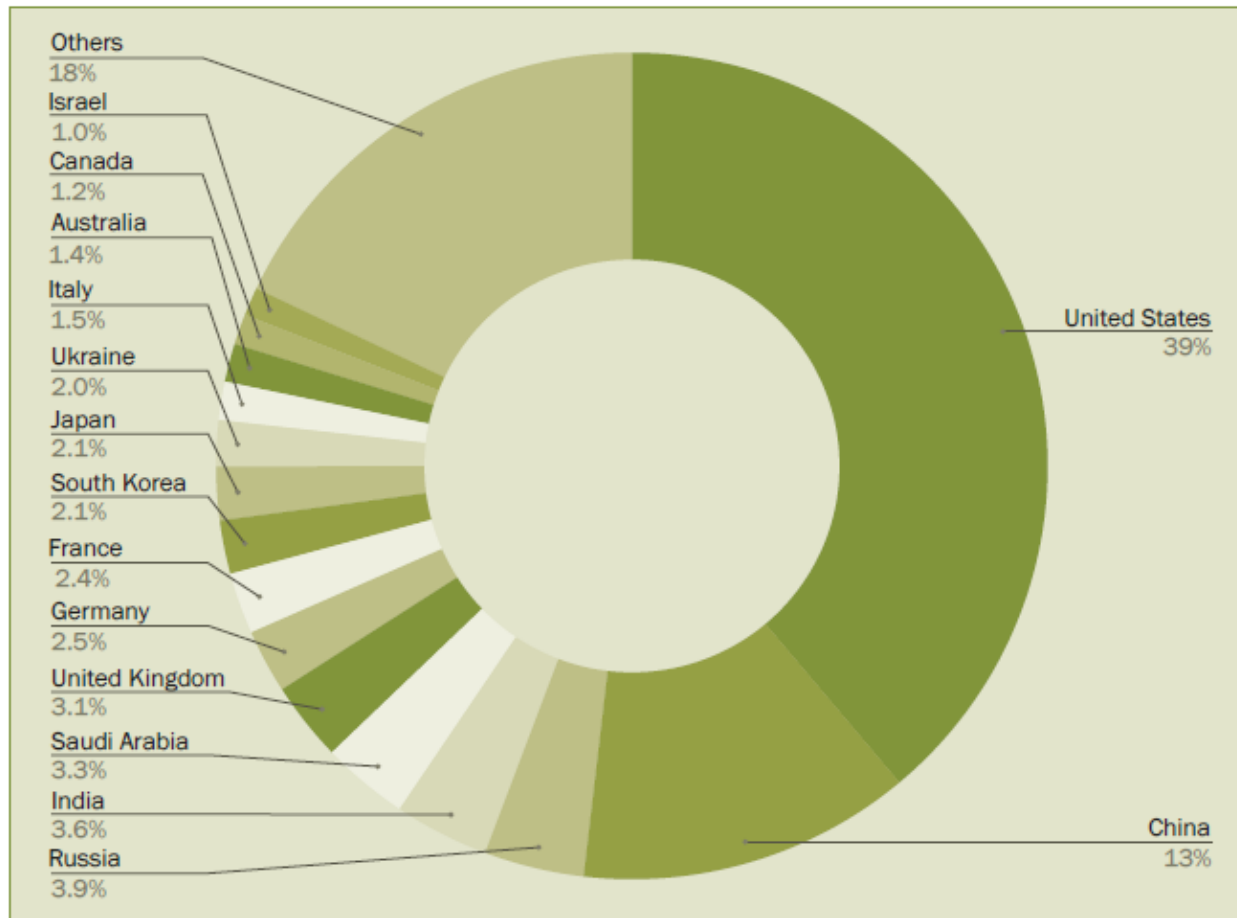
China\* unterhält in einem fremden Land (Djibouti) einen Militärstützpunkt



\*Truppen auf TerritoriaL unstrittigen Inseln im Südchinesischen Meer (Subi Reef, Mischief Reef, Johnson Reef, Hughes Reef, Gaven Reefs, Flary Cross Reef & Cuarteron Reef) nicht mitberechnet  
Datenquellen: Asia Maritime Transparency Initiative // ChinaTopic (2016) – China's First Overseas Military Outpost and Naval Base to Open in 2017 at Djibouti  
© Alexandre de Robaulx de Beurfeux, SIPER AG 2016, [www.siper.ch](http://www.siper.ch)

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and Energy Research  
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# U.S. Dominance Strategy



**Figure 2.** The share of world military expenditure of the 15 countries with the highest spending in 2022

# Decision of the Protestant Church of Baden 2013

*"Like the national phase-out law  
from nuclear energy production  
a scenario for the medium-term exit  
from military peacekeeping must be  
drawn up."*



# Blueprint Energy Transition



# Publishing of the Scenario 2018



## Rethinking Security

From military  
to civil security  
Towards 2040: a scenario

Becker, Ralf & Meass, Stefan &  
Schneider-Hargprecht, Christoph [Eds.]

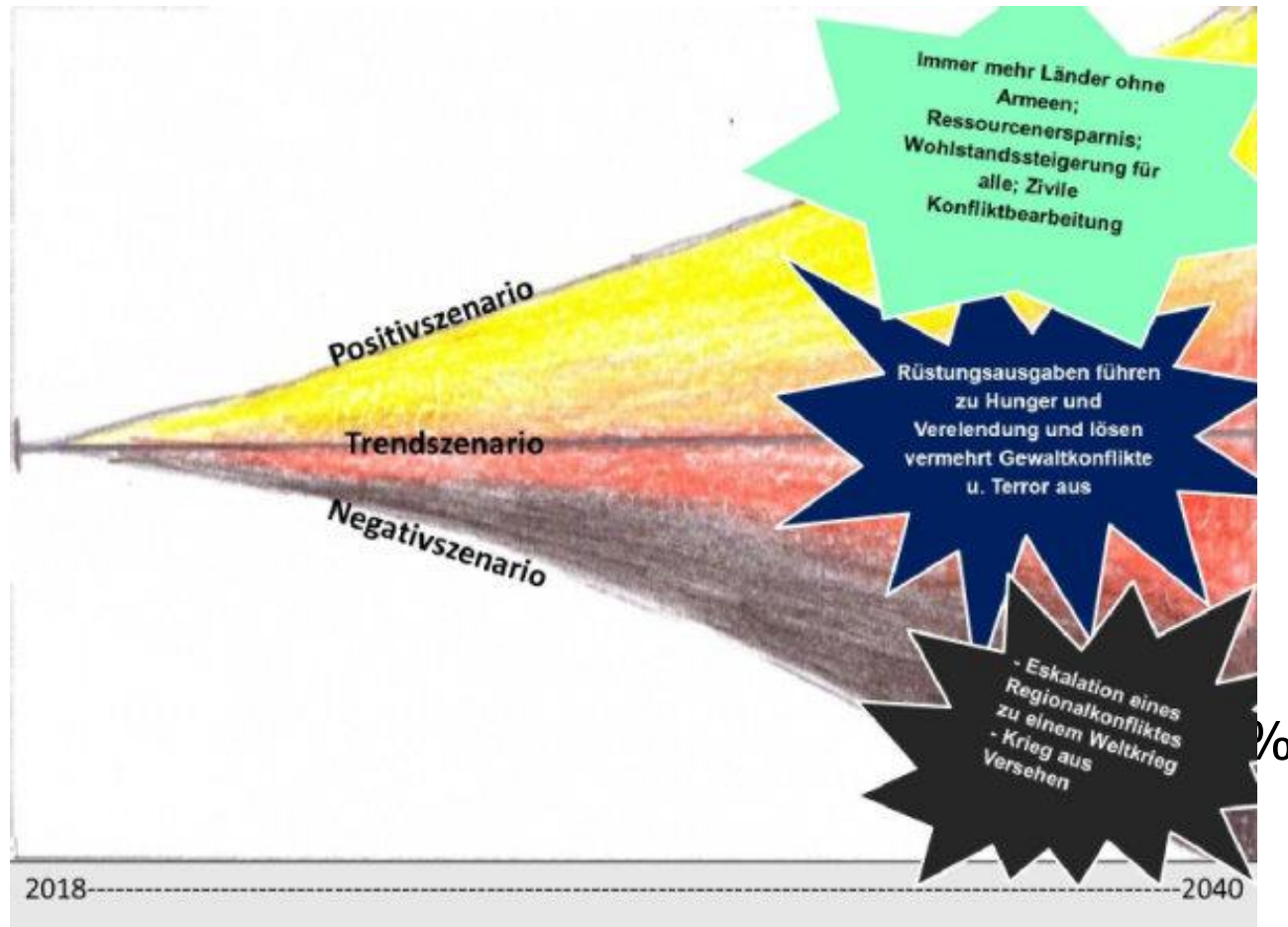


# Positiv-Examples

Action Plan of the Federal Government  
"Civilian crisis prevention, conflict  
resolution and peacebuilding"  
2004



# Trend, Negative and Positive Scenario



# Civil Security Policy

just foreign relations



Sustainable development in the EU's neighborhood



International security-architectur



Resilient demokracie



Conversion of the armed forces





# The logic of peace

Thinking and acting in a logical way of thinking and acting in peace takes into account what we know about the conditions under which peace is created and what principles can guide those who are gathered here and elsewhere in the name of peace if more peace is to be the result.

*Prof. Hanne-Margret Birckenbach*

# The logic of peace

	<b>Logic of Security</b>	<b>Logic of Peace</b>
<b>What is the problem?</b>	<b>Threat, danger, insecurity</b> Actions aim to: Avert danger and defend oneself	<b>Any violence that is imminent, takes place, has taken place</b> Actions aim to: Protect people from violence and distress – prevent, reduce and deal with the effects of violence
<b>Who or what caused the problem?</b>	<b>The problem was caused by others / External factors</b> Actions are aimed at: Blaming others while safeguarding and protecting one's own interests	<b>The problem is a result of destructive conflict dynamics</b> Actions are aimed at: Transformation on the basis of a comprehensive understanding of conflict, including own contribution to or role in the conflict
<b>How is the problem addressed?</b>	<b>By defending and protecting oneself</b> Actions taken: Unilateral means, including escalatory ones – expansion of the security apparatus, deterrence, threat or even use of direct force	<b>Through civil conflict transformation</b> Approaches taken: De-escalating, dialogic, confidence-building, cooperative measures – excluding direct violence
<b>How do actors justify their deeds?</b>	<b>By asserting that their own interests prevail</b> Courses of action: Values and norms are re-defined, subjected and adapted to one's own interests	<b>By using the ethos of humanity – human rights and international law</b> Courses of action: Implementing norms, modifying one's own interests, recognizing the legitimate interests of others
<b>How do actors react to failure?</b>	<b>By affirming rather than reflecting critically on themselves</b> Approaches to action are directed at: Intensifying the means used so far and, if necessary, withdrawing and ignoring the situation	<b>By reflecting oneself, learning experientially, willingness to recognize mistakes</b> Approaches to action are directed at: Dealing constructively with mistakes, avoiding harm through impact assessment, closing perception gaps, implementing non-violent alternatives

Füh

## ▼ Logic of Security

**What is the problem?**

**Threat, danger, insecurity**

Actions aim to:  
Avert danger and defend oneself

**Who or what caused the problem?**

**The problem was caused by others / External factors**

Actions are aimed at:  
Blaming others while safeguarding and protecting one's own interests

**How is the problem addressed?**

**By defending and protecting oneself**

Actions taken:  
Unilateral means, including escalatory ones - expansion of the security apparatus, deterrence, threat or even use of direct force

**How do actors justify their deeds?**

**By asserting that their own interests prevail**

Courses of action:  
Values and norms are re-defined, subjected and adapted to one's own interests

**How do actors react to failure?**

**By affirming rather than reflecting critically on themselves**

Approaches to action are directed at:  
Intensifying the means used so far and, if necessary, withdrawing and ignoring the situation

## ▼ Logic of Peace

**Any violence that is imminent, takes place, has taken place**

Actions aim to:  
Protect people from violence and distress - prevent, reduce and deal with the effects of violence

**The problem is a result of destructive conflict dynamics**

Actions are aimed at:  
Transformation on the basis of a comprehensive understanding of conflict, including own contribution to or role in the conflict

**Through civil conflict transformation**

Approaches taken:  
De-escalating, dialogic, confidence-building, cooperative measures - excluding direct violence

**By using the ethos of humanity - human rights and international law**

Courses of action:  
Implementing norms, modifying one's own interests, recognizing the legitimate interests of others

**By reflecting oneself, learning experientially, willingness to recognize mistakes**

Approaches to action are directed at:  
Dealing constructively with mistakes, avoiding harm through impact assessment, closing perception gaps, implementing non-violent alternatives

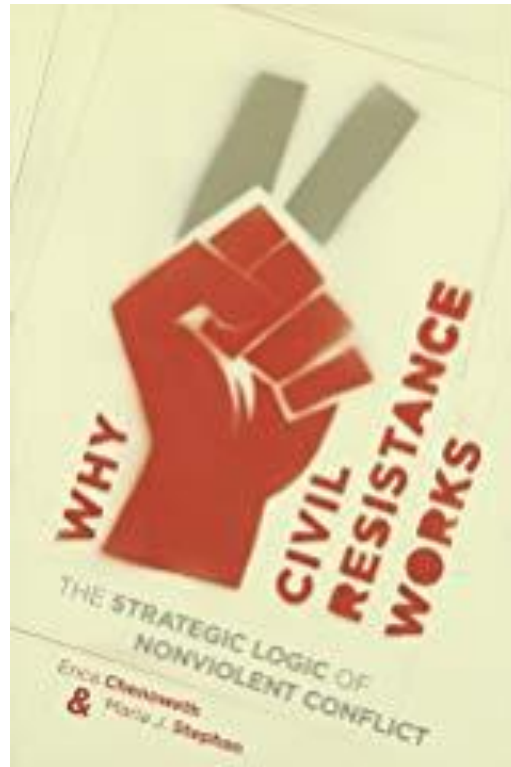
# 500 Public Events - 20.000 People



**ea** EVANGELISCHE  
AKADEMIE  
FRANKFURT

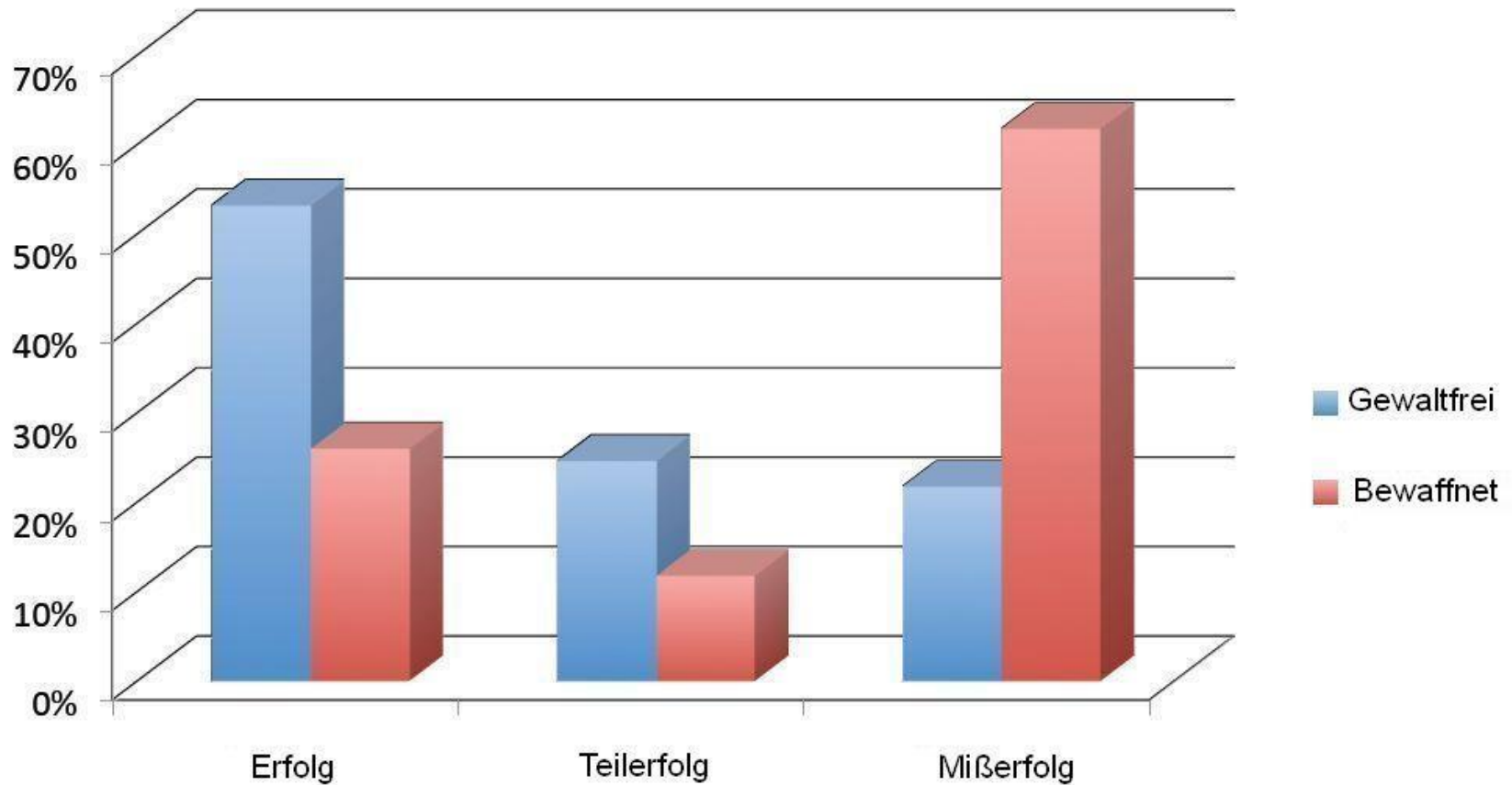


# Study by Erica Chenoweth Maria J. Stephan 2011



[www.ericachenoweth.com/research/wcrw](http://www.ericachenoweth.com/research/wcrw)

# Erfolgsquoten der gewaltfreien und der bewaffneten Aufstände von 1900 bis 2006



p=.000

# Resonance: Hope

- "The scenario brings hope."
- „The scenario allows us to believe in possible change."
- "I have been active in peace work for over 40 years now... rarely have I heard such a well-founded lecture, which also spreads hope!"

*Andreas Schrappe,  
Leiter Ev. Beratungszentrum Würzburg 13.10.22*

# Translations into 6 languages



## Repenser le concept de sécurité

De la politique de sécurité militaire à une politique de sécurité civile

Un scénario jusqu'en 2040

Becker, Ralf & Maass, Stefan & Schneider-Harpprecht, Christoph [Eds.]



## Rethinking Security

From military to civil security  
Towards 2040: a scenario

Becker, Ralf & Maass, Stefan & Schneider-Harpprecht, Christoph [Eds.]



ENGLISH



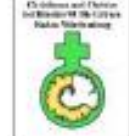
FRANCAIS



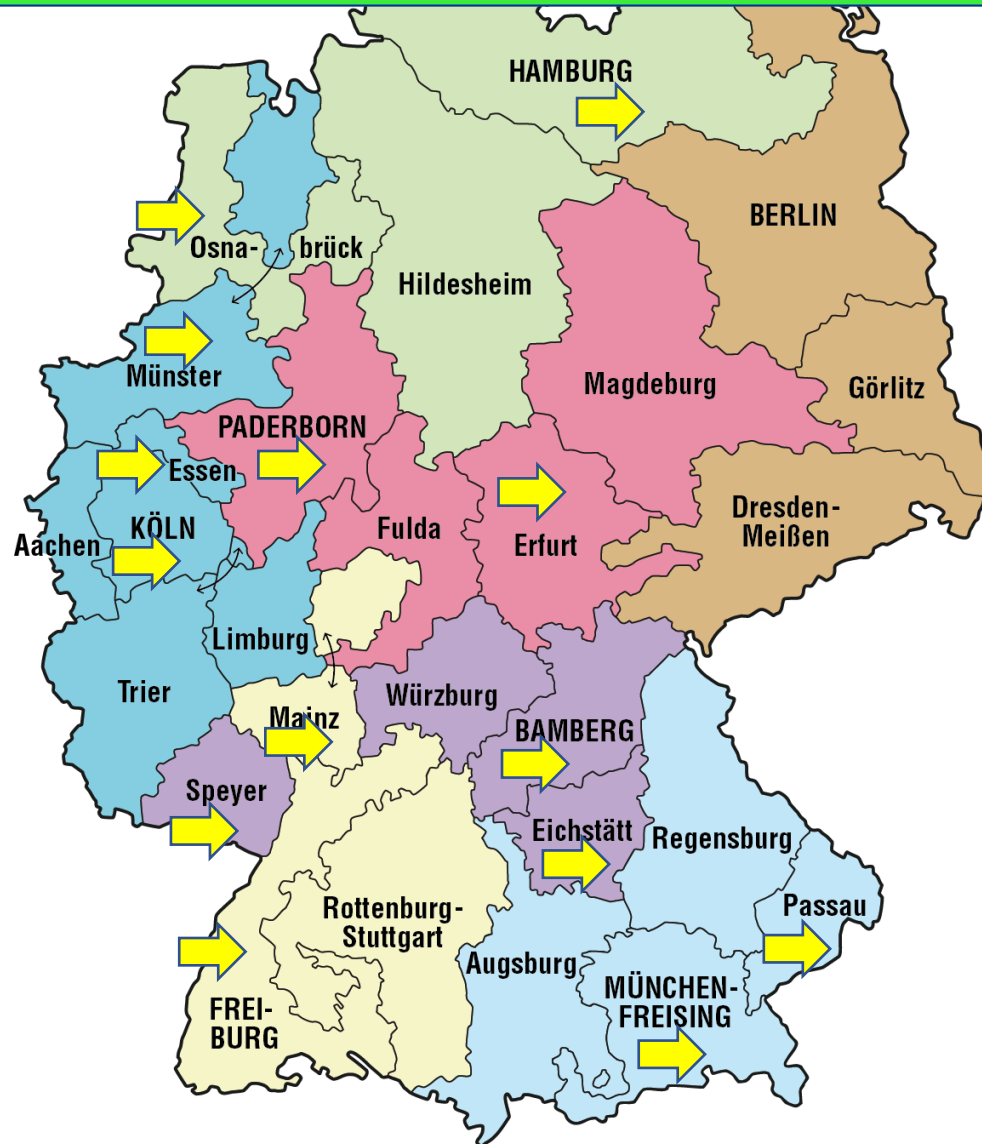
<https://www.sicherheitneudenken.de/sicherheit-neu-denken-unsere-vision/international/>



# 150 supporting organizations



# Cooperations with 14 dioceses



Frieden leben.  
Partner für  
die Eine Welt.

# Cooperation of academies



# Positive Examples: Civil Peace Service

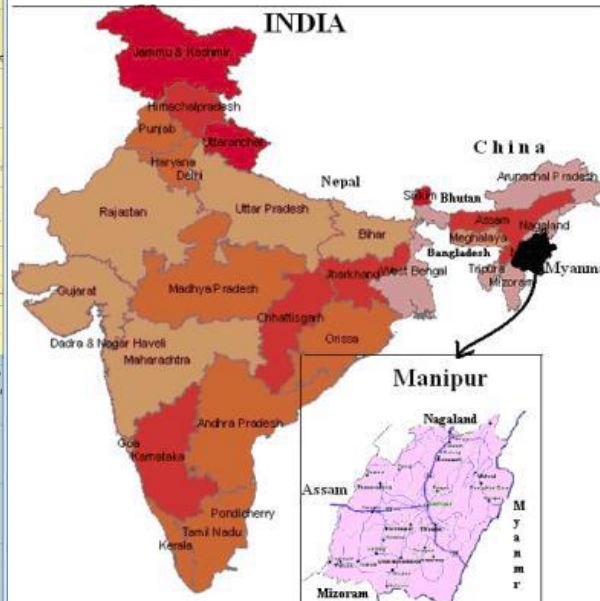
Der Zivile Friedensdienst weltweit – ein Überblick

Seit 1999 wurden rund 1.400 ZFD-Fachkräfte in knapp 60 Ländern tätig. Derzeit sind rund 300 Fachkräfte für den Zivilen Friedensdienst im Einsatz. Der ZFD ist in 42 Ländern aktiv.



Stand 30.06.2019

# Examples of successful civil interventions



<https://www.sicherheitneudenken.de/zivile-sicherheit-ist-wirksam/>

# West Africa Network for Peacebuilding

3

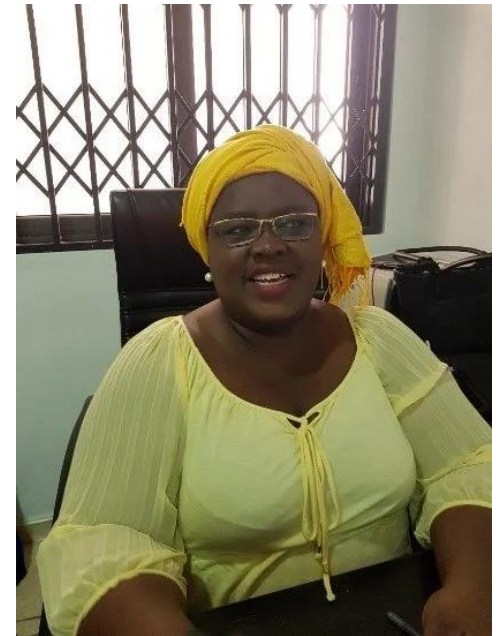
## Mali und die Sahelzone: Fragen des Engagements

Die globale Studie "Wie Frieden gewonnen wird - von zivilem Widerstand zu dauerhafter Demokratie" weist zivilen Widerstand als Schlüsselfaktor bei 50 von 67 Transformationen autoritärer Staaten zwischen 1972 und 2005 nach.<sup>26</sup>

Demzufolge ist auch in Mali und der Sahelzone die Unterstützung gewaltfreier statt gewaltbewehrter Akteur\*innen erfolgversprechend.

Der Beschluss Frankreichs und seiner europäischen Verbündeten vom 17.02.2022, militärischen Truppen aus Mali abzuziehen, ist daher folgerichtig.<sup>27</sup>

Levinia Addae-Mensah vom West Africa Network for Peacebuilding formulierte auf der Jahrestagung des Beirats der Bundesregierung für Zivile Krisenprävention und Friedensförderung am 2.10.2020 folgende Anforderungen zur Lösung der Krisen im Sahel:



<https://www.sicherheitneudenken.de/media/download/variant/353243/snd-impulspapier-nr.-1-overcoming-helplessness-2022.pdf>

# Professional African Peace Workers



University of Peace in Africa  
*trains civil peace experts.*

<https://ijab.de/alle-kurzmeldungen/campus-friedensuniversitaet-afrika-bildet-peace-builders-aus>



# Civil crisis intervention in Africa





# Interreligious reconciliation council CAR



Human Rights  
Film Festival  
Berlin

KONTAKT NEWS TEAM PRESSE NEWSLETTER ENGLISH

FILME RAHMENPROGRAMM ÜBER UNS



#justice #africa

**SÍRÍ**

Manuel von Stürler | CH | 2018 | 76 min | Französisch, Sango

Privacy settings

<https://www.humanrightsfilmfestivalberlin.de/de/siriri>



# Rethinking Security international



**Rethinking Security**  
for a just and peaceful world



# Colloquium Paris 2022



**Michel Roy**

Secretary General of the Episcopal Commission for Justice and Peace, former Secretary General of Caritas International



**Jean-Arnold de Clermont**

President of the Pharos Observatory, former President of the Protestant Federation of France (FPF) and the Council of European Churches (CEC)



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## **Rethinking Security**

for a just and peaceful world

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**Alternative  
Security  
Review**

**Rethinking Security**  
for a just and peaceful world

**Research Centre**  
Trust, Peace and  
Social Relations

**Coventry  
University** 

**How do the British People  
Understand their Security?**  
Responses from a new approach  
to public opinion surveying



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**Alternative  
Security  
Review**



## How do the British People Understand their Security? Responses from a new approach to public opinion surveying

By Sariya Cheruvallil-Contractor, Anna Gillions, David Curran and Zsófia Hasek



**Visualising  
Security**

**Rethinking Security**

for a just and peaceful world

# Famous supporters



# Education material for schools

**MISEREOR**  
● IHR HILFSWERK



## Leben in Frieden und Sicherheit?

Material zur Gestaltung eines Projekttags  
in gesellschaftswissenschaftlichen und wertorientierten Fächern

*Monika Bossung-Winkler und Richard Bösch*



(Bild: „Gewaltfreiheit“ oder „The Knotted Gun“ – bronzenes Friedenssymbol des Künstlers Karl Fredrik Reuterswärd, ein Geschenk der Regierung von Luxemburg an die Vereinten Nationen; Quelle: UN photo)

# Dialog-partners

Major general Richard Rosmanith

2012 to 2018 Commander of the Operational Command  
Intervention Forces



Carsten Breuer

Commander of the Command  
Territorial Tasks of the Bundeswehr



**VERANT-  
WORTUNG**  
in der Wissenschaft

**VDW** VEREINIGUNG  
DEUTSCHER  
WISSENSCHAFTLER

  
**Sicherheit  
neu denken**



# Expert Dialogue on International Police and Global Domestic Policy



Deutsche  
Hochschule der Polizei

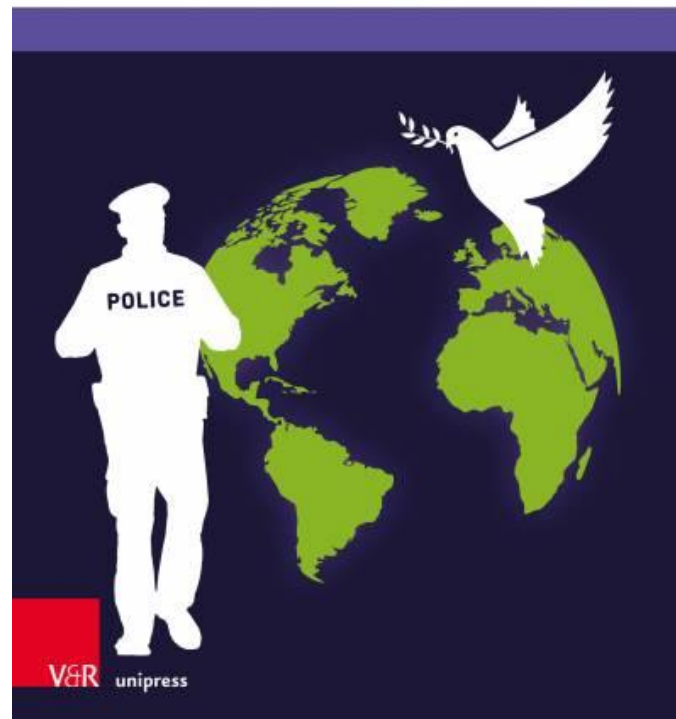


  
Sicherheit  
neu denken

# World Domestic Policy and International Police

Harmsen / Maaß / Scheffler / Ziegler (Hg.)

## Weltinnenpolitik und Internationale Polizei



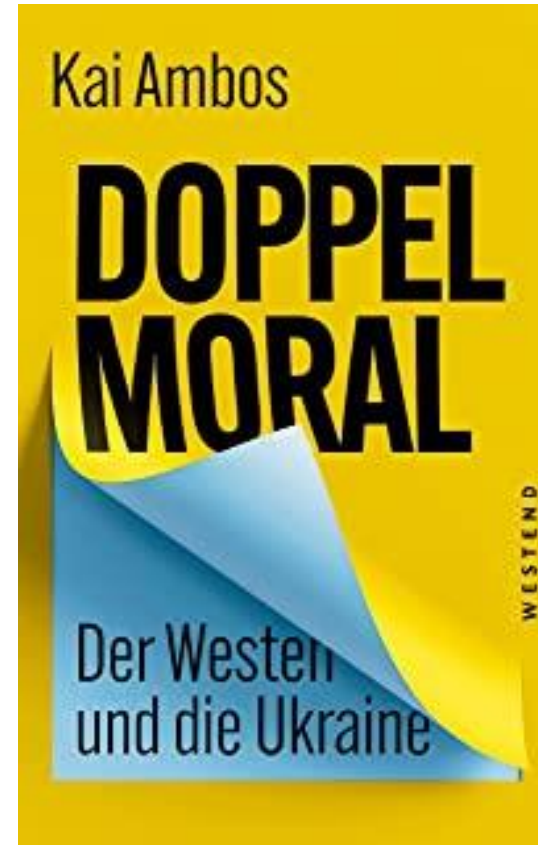
# Experts dialog with MSC



Munich Security  
Conference **msc**  
Münchner Sicherheitskonferenz



# Western Double Standards

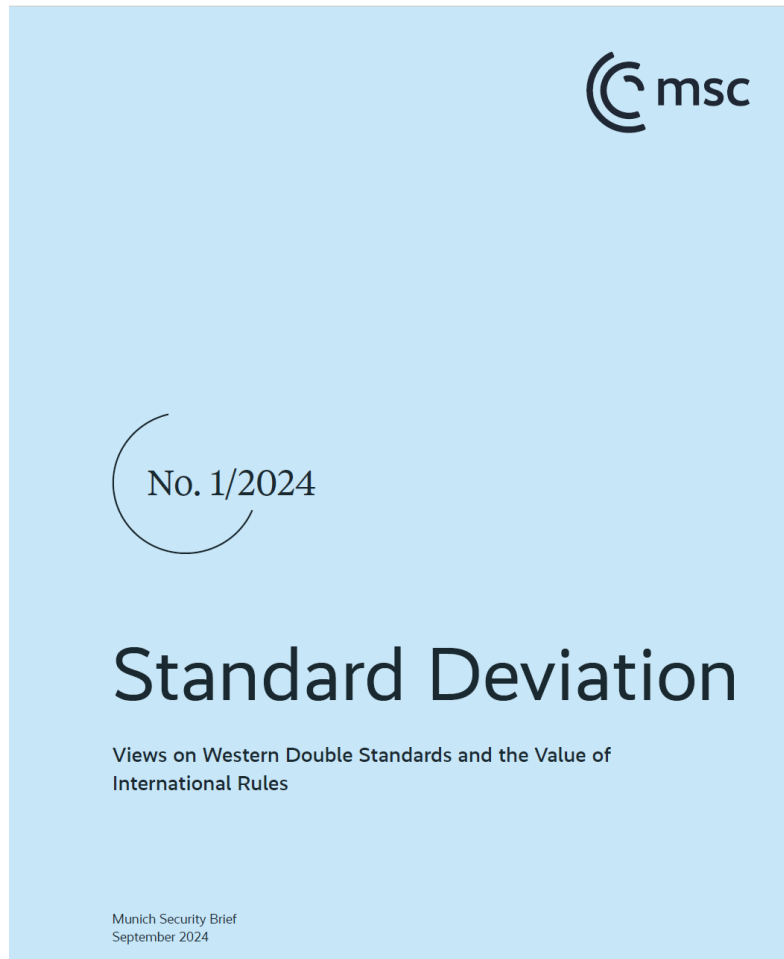


# Western Double Standards



<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/germany/2022-05-12/war-ukraine-will-be-historic-turning-point>

# Western Double Standards



<https://securityconference.org/en/publications/munich-security-brief/standard-deviation/main/#fn-anchor-73>

# Dialog-Partner\*innen Politicians



# Dialog-partners

**Dr. Karamba Diaby**

Spokesman Central/West Africa SPD parliamentary group



**Dr. Emmanuel Noglo**

Peace specialist Eirene Mali, Niger, Burkina Faso





# 1:1 increase in civil spending 2023

- Growth plan
- + 1 Mrd. € Foreign ministry
- + 1 Mrd. € Int. Cooperation
- Crisis prevention, stabilisation and peacebuilding from 480 to 570 million €
- Crisis management and reconstruction from 570 to 1240 million €

**Deutschlands zivile  
Friedensfähigkeiten  
stärken.**



<https://www.frieden-stark-machen.de>

# Impulse Papers



## **For a determined and level-headed response to Putin's war**

Impulses for civil solutions

*Rethinking security - right now!*

Suggestions for orientation  
and free use

## **Download English version**

<https://www.sicherheitneudenken.de/media/download/variant/400176/2-for-a-determined-and-level-headed-response-to-putins-war---rethinking-security-right-now-2022.03.19.pdf>





**Rethinking Security  
facing the war  
in Ukraine**



# Expressing Stop AND maintaining relationship



# Saying Stop!

"With one hand I say to a person who is angry,  
to an oppressor or to an unjust system:

Stop! what you do.

I refuse to obey you.

I refuse to respond to your demands.

I refuse to take the role of victim."



# Maintaining relationship

"I also raise my other hand. I stretch it out.

With this hand I say:

I will not drive you out of the human community.

I trust that you can make a better choice than you do now.

And I'll be there when you're ready.

Whether we like it or not,  
we are connected."



*Source: Barbara Deming*

# Preparing for peace talks



Thomas R. Pickering, former U.S. Ambassador to the UN and Moscow, describes in an article in the renowned US magazine Foreign Affairs of 14 March 2023 realistically the possibilities for preparing for peace talks in Ukraine.

[www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/how-prepare-peace-talks-ukraine](http://www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/how-prepare-peace-talks-ukraine)

# Åland Islands 1918

## Conflict between Finland and Sweden

Strict demilitarization and neutrality.

Visible signs of Åland's independence are flag, anthem, national holiday, license plates, stamps, Internet domain and Swedish as the official language.





# Suggestion National Security Strategy

A rules-based international order with Russia and China

- Which active offer can and do we want to make to Russia and China for a lasting non-violent balance of our interests?



# Impulse Christian peace ethics

**zeitzeichen**  
Evangelische Kommentare zu Religion und Gesellschaft

Aktuell Ressorts Archiv Service

Z(W)EITZEICHEN KIRCHE POLITIK 23.03.2022

## Die Zeichen der Zeit erkennen

Über christliche Verantwortungsethik und die Notwendigkeit, Möglichkeit und Wirksamkeit gewaltfreier Konfliktbewältigung

RALF BECKER

<https://zeitzeichen.net/node/9624>



# Impulse Christian peace ethics

**zeitzeichen**  
Evangelische Kommentare zu Religion und Gesellschaft

Aktuell Ressorts Archiv Service



ARTIKEL KIRCHE GESELLSCHAFT MAI 2022

## Freiheit gewinnen

Christliche Verantwortungsethik und die Überwindung fossiler Konfliktbewältigung

RALF BECKER



Foto: picture-alliance/Rainer Unkel



<https://zeitzeichen.net/node/9701>



# Peace ethics facing the war in Ukraine



Evangelische Akademie Villigst im  
Institut für Kirche und Gesellschaft  
Evangelische Kirche von Westfalen





# Peace4Future.de

- Training of Peace Mentors
- Facebook
- Instagram
- Telegram





# Peace4Future.de





# Peace4Future.de



# Blueprint Jubilee-campaign



June 18 - 20, 1999





# Meeting of Activists 11.-13. Oktober

***Wir haben einen Traum...***

Sicherheit neu denken rund  
um die Bundestagswahl 2025

Aktiventreffen 2024 der Initiative  
'Sicherheit neu denken'

11.-13. Oktober 2024 in Fulda



# Background talks with German Party Leaders

1. to strengthen peace logic and diplomatic activities of Germany and the EU to end the Ukraine war
2. to strengthen a peace-based diplomatic geo-strategy of Germany and the EU with the long-term goal of global military disarmament

# Austrian scenario(2023)

## Österreichische Friedensstrategie

Österreichs außen- und  
sicherheitspolitische Beiträge für  
Europa und die Welt zivil gestalten



# Scenario Netherlands (2024)

Veiligheid  
Opnieuw  
Doordenken



Werkgroep Inclusieve Veiligheid

[www.sicherheitneudenken.de/  
international/](http://www.sicherheitneudenken.de/international/)

# Schweizer Szenario

SFR

SCHWEIZERISCHER  
**FRIEDENSRAT**

# 2022 - 2024 Rethinking African Security

1. Pilot Region Great Lakes CIRGL (Conférence Internationale sur la Region de Grands Lacs)
2. Pilotregion Westafrika ALG (Alliance Liptako-Gourma, Flüssesystem in Mali, Niger, Burkina Faso)
3. Coordination: Steering Committee
4. National Chambers of Kings and Traditional Chieftains



# 12.7.24 Steering Committee

Hubert HEINDL (APTE/Carera)

Ralf Becker

Koyara

Prof. S.Yawo KAKPO

DIARRA

Vincent Mambachaka

Patrice Iwabagu...

Sylvain Koffi

Banga Bothy Le...

# Schweizer Szenario

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SCHWEIZERISCHER  
**FRIEDENSRAT**



# Impulse Papers

*Impulspapier Nr. 5*  
*Entwurf*

2025

A Civil Geostrategy for Europe

# A Civil Geostrategy for Europe

- 1. Overcoming Imperialism: Resolving Conflicts Peacefully Worldwide**
- 2. Resocializing Russia**
- 3. Assured neutrality for Eastern Europe**
- 4. Eye level with the USA: similarities and differences**
- 5. Conference on Security and Cooperation for the Middle East**
- 6. Reconciliation with Africa**
- 7. China: Fair Cooperation and Human Rights**
- 8. Partnership with the BRICS countries**
- 9. Content-related target areas for all partnerships**
- 10. Process proposals for the development, coordination and implementation of the Civil Geostrategy at the European level**

rethinkingsecurity.org.uk

It is clear that in the short term, security in Europe must be organized, unlike Russia. In the long term, however, the European security architecture, while still requiring smart defense, needs to be rethought beyond traditional alliances and agendas to include Russia as a European state.

## Rethinking European Security

The 'Turning Point: Realising a Sustainable Security Architecture for Europe' project – referred to as 'Rethinking European Security' – is driven by the need to generate a sustainable security systems change in Europe and beyond.

<https://basicint.org/rethinking-european-security/>



# Rethinking European Security

Therefore, a new security architecture will include a trinity of traditional or hard, human and climate papers. These three aspects are interconnected and inseparable from a modern understanding of security. It is not enough for states to focus exclusively on traditional security without taking into account broader security aspects.

This project brings together representatives of the selected member states of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). In 2024 and 2025, five regional workshops will take place across Europe, bringing together government representatives and experts from more than 30 European countries.

The conversations are driven by a research-based working paper produced by BASIC, which highlights the issues that need to be considered in order to develop a new security architecture.

# Rethinking European Security

Workshop participants will co-educate and explore opportunities for the development of a new security model in Europe that prioritises human security and environmental security alike with traditional security concepts.

After the completion of the recommendation model for security of participants in Europe, the report "A New Model for Security in Europe" will be launched at the final conference in Vienna in 2025 with the participation of Track 1 and Track 2 from all countries that have dealt with the project.

We will present our findings to international organisations, institutions and experts from the European community and turn the vision of a new model for security in Europe into reality.

# Rethinking European Security

On September 19, BASIC and Rethinking Security hosted a Track 1.5 workshop in Warsaw entitled "Designing a Sustainable Security Architecture for Europe" with participation from Central and Southern Europe, including Croatia, Czech Republic, France, Italy, Poland, Portugal and Spain.

The third of five workshops that the Risk Reduction Programme and Rethinking Security will host in 2024-2025 as part of our project "Turning Point: Realising Sustainable Architecture in Europe" aimed to develop a model for the future of European security architecture.





[www.sicherheitneudenken.de](http://www.sicherheitneudenken.de)

[www.peace4future.de](http://www.peace4future.de)

