



Positive- Scenario 2025-2040

Europe's role for peace in the world

- *How do we create a sustainable peace order that takes into account different security interests?*
- *How can Europe contribute to overcome the imperial dominance of Russia, China and the USA?*
- *What can Europe do to make global disarmament possible?*
- *Europe's potential contribution to safeguard the natural foundations of life*

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Introduction

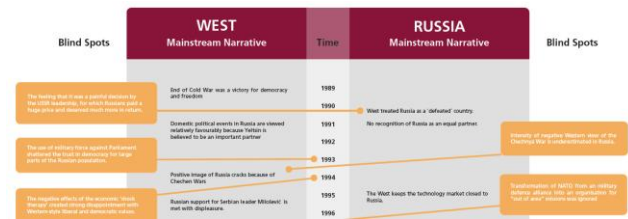
A world beyond wars, climate catastrophe, migration crisis and international confrontations is possible!

We can make a conscious decision to do so – and gratefully reject the horror scenarios that are often offered to us.

- Under the impression of increasing violence and disorder worldwide, constant wars and a worsening climate crisis, many have almost given up hope for a peaceful world¹.
- The destructive forces and the relapse into a violent mentality of international bloc formation and warfare seem too strong: "The consciousness of the political elites in the West is increasingly allowing itself to be co-opted by the logic of war." (Jürgen Habermas)²
- A transition from the previous global Western dominance to a cooperative multi-lateral world order that reduces violence is possible - if we in Western Europe first self-critically reflect on our own contribution to the current violent developments:
- How do we create a sustainable peace order - first in Europe - that takes into account different security interests? How can Europe contribute to overcome the imperial dominance of Russia, China and the USA? What can Europe do to make global disarmament possible? What do we stand for? Clear objectives and attitudes are needed to contribute to securing the world's natural resources within planetary boundaries³.
- This positive scenario encourages us to bring our lives into (a new) order. It shows how the EU's "Strategic Compass", adopted in 2022,⁴ can be further developed into a peace-building civilian geopolitical role for Europe that includes the UK and all European countries, including Russia, and thus goes far beyond the EU.⁵

The positive scenario shows how by 2040 the security policy, which is currently still largely militarily determined, can be overcome by a civilian geostrategy of the EU.

- It builds both on our scenario "Rethinking Security" published in 2018 following the logic of peace, and on the impulse papers of our initiative published afterwards (most recently No. 4 "Rethinking Security Strategies. Stop and overcome violence! In Israel and Palestine. In Ukraine. Global").⁶
- The idea of neutral states with international security guarantees is based on a proposal by Ukrainian Foreign Minister Kuleba during the peace negotiations in March/April 2022.⁷
- Chapters 3 to 8 show the target images for 2040, arranged according to world regions - also in order to overcome Eurocentrism in each case.⁸ The draft of the Africa chapter has already been penned by our African partners Marie-Noelle Koyara and Sylvain Koffi. We want to continue on this path.
- The scenario was designed by Ralf Becker (Initiative Rethinking Security) and Gerd Bauz (Niemöller-Bonhoeffer Foundation) with input from Andreas Zumach and further developed in broad feedback processes, also with the participation of European partner organisations.
- We contrast the complexity of reality with theses on one DIN A4 page each, which may stimulate the debate. For more information on each topic, see the given paragraphs at the end of the scenario.
- Our theses are an invitation to dialogue – we expressly ask for your resonance and feedback. **Invite us to a joint exchange – your feedback will enrich our next impulse papers.**



1. How does Europe create a European conflict and peace order that includes Russia?

1.1 (Military) threats emanating from Russia

- Russia annexed Crimea in 2014 and attacked Ukraine in 2022 in violation of international law – and was and is a real war criminal threat there. Russia is pursuing an imperial policy in Ukraine with the goals of owning Crimea, conquering the four regions in Donbas and Ukraine's non-membership in NATO.⁹
- The location of the Baltic NATO states between two territories of Russia is militarily very vulnerable, as is the situation of the states between NATO and Russia.
- Through its belligerent actions, Russia – like we ourselves with our lifestyle and economy – is also involved in endangering the global UN goals for global sustainable development and the global climate goals. In addition, destabilization in cyberspace against democratic states comes from Russia.¹⁰

1.2 Exaggerated threat scenarios

- Russia's conventional military capabilities are vastly overestimated, as evidenced by Russia's modest military successes in Ukraine.
- Russia cannot reasonably attack a NATO member state due to the far superior military capabilities of NATO - even only the European NATO countries. The Baltic states are credibly secured by the obligation to provide assistance in NATO.
- Common statements such as Russia threatening the Baltic states, Poland, other Eastern European NATO states and finally Germany do not stand up to scrutiny.

1.3 NATO's military superiority

- In terms of conventional military capacities, NATO is just as much superior¹¹ as it is in military spending¹²: NATO \$1,341 billion, Russia \$109 billion.
- Even without the USA and taking into account the different purchasing power, the clear preponderance in favor of NATO remains (NATO-Europe \$430 billion, Russia \$300 billion).¹³

1.4 Acknowledging and overcoming mutual threat perceptions

Russia sees itself threatened by NATO's missile deployments in its immediate vicinity just as the West sees itself threatened by Russia's missile deployments. Arms control and dialogue projects can recognize and overcome mutual threat perceptions.¹⁴

- Russia is to be persuaded by offers of negotiations to end its threat and use of force. A strong incentive for Russia would be the offers of a UN-secured neutrality zone for the states between Russia and NATO¹⁵ as well as renewed further cooperation.

1.5 Common European security with Russia

- NATO could send a clear signal to end the war in Ukraine – by offering a gradual, jointly controlled reduction of mutual threat potentials.
- Russia's imperial claims are also a reaction to the continuing hegemonic claims of the USA. It is necessary to overcome the worldwide inter-imperialism.



2. How can Europe contribute to overcome the imperial dominance of Russia, China and the USA?

2.1 Really enforce the UN Charter's prohibition of the use of force

- The prohibition of the use and threat of military force against other states, which has been enshrined in Article 2 of the UN Charter since 1945, is a significant historical step forward.¹⁶
- However, powerful states such as the USA, Russia and China in particular continue to use violence and threats of violence to enforce their national interests,¹⁷ regularly without or even against decisions of the UN Security Council and without recognition of the international courts (ICJ/ICC).
- In order to overcome the enormous global challenges such as the climate crisis, we urgently need to actually overcome violence and the threat of violence as well as unfair trade relations in line with the UN Compact for the Future.¹⁸

2.2 Multilateralism as a challenge and an opportunity

- The geopolitical dominance of the USA and its allies ends. It leads to the 'De-Westernization' of international power relations. This is the real turning point (Zeitenwende). A plurality of geopolitical centres of power is emerging.
- "The US is [nevertheless] not ready to give up its dominance. To assert its hegemonic claim against China and Russia, the US primarily resorts to the use of its military, technological and economic instruments of power."¹⁹
- A strong hegemon ensures a certain international order, but at the expense of other states as well as the planet and future generations as a whole.

- Russia's and China's imperial actions follow the logic of imperial actions of the United States²⁰. The strongest determines the rules, even if the US does not annex other countries, but only devastates them. *The U.S. operates about 800 foreign military bases worldwide,²¹ and the U.S. America First policy explicitly opposes multilateral rules based on international law.²²*

2.3 Europe's task: communicate political solutions

- Europe should first give up its still existing privileges in international institutions, structures and relations (IMF, WTO, World Bank, imperial way of life, France's continued neo-colonial influence in Africa,²³ etc.).
- The world urgently needs the containment and ultimately overcoming of hegemonic and imperial geopolitics²⁴ of both the USA, Russia and China.²⁵
- Due to its unique relationship, Europe is able and obliged, together with the Global South, to persuade both the US, Russia and China to turn away from their violent policies – and to mediate non-violent political solutions and mutually controlled military disarmament between them.²⁶

2.4 Perception of the security interests of all parties involved for peaceful conflict resolution

- "The communication patterns of threats and accusations must be replaced by cooperative patterns of understanding and explanation."²⁷
- Essential to amicable conflict resolution is the satisfaction of the (security) needs of all parties to the conflict, as we already practice within society.²⁸

Positive scenario until 2040



3. The states between NATO and Russia will be neutrally secured

3.1 The deadly dilemma of states between NATO and Russia

- In the case of Ukraine, it was not its neutral status that motivated Russia's invasion, but its intention to join an hostile alliance from Russia's point of view²⁹.
- As if in a magnifying glass, the Ukraine war shows the muddled situation in Eastern Europe. On the one hand, NATO cannot really defend Ukraine because it does not want to become a party to the war itself. On the other hand, it does not offer Ukraine³⁰ to live in neutral sovereignty with material security guarantees.
- This would require an agreement with Russia on the deployment³¹ of weapons systems and security guarantees, including military ones, possibly with the involvement of other states and the UN.
- However, NATO, together with the Government of Ukraine, adheres to the goal of Ukraine's NATO membership, a goal that significantly hinders a peaceful solution to the current war and thus a sustainable security perspective for Ukraine and Europe.³²
- The same applies to the other still neutral Eastern European states that are forced to choose in between: Russia or NATO. Will Moldova, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan also be forced into military-existential dilemmas?

3.2 A UN-secured neutrality zone

- Instead, these states could create a pacified, neutral area secured by arms limits and international UN security guarantees

(including UN protection forces, if the states want it)³³ – the example of which would set a precedent worldwide. The area would be removed from mutual imperialism.

- This would have an immensely positive effect in the form of a permanent security order in the whole of Europe up to the Urals, designed together with Russia.
- The bias in the military thinking of the current European governments has so far prevented a debate on such perspectives³⁴. Although this would create the negotiating framework that could initially help the suffering Ukraine to secure sovereignty with a ceasefire – initially for its western part, and in the future, as a result of peace negotiations with Russia, also with the possibility of an eastern Ukraine integrated with far-reaching autonomy rights.

3.3 Germany and Europe open up a secure perspective for peace

- NATO – together with Russia – can and should open up such prospects³⁵. With their high financial and non-material commitment in Ukraine, Germany and Europe should actively discuss such a secure neutrality of Ukraine as a prospect of peace for all Eastern European states located between NATO and Russia through various channels.

Last but not least, such a peace course is in the very best interest of our country and Europe in order to reduce the burden of war and avoid a future doubled armament burden; not to mention the risks of escalation and the negative impact on our economies and societies as a whole.³⁶



4. Transatlantic relations on an equal footing

4.1 Common values and interests with the US

- Europe owes a lot to the United States, including its contribution to liberation from the Nazi dictatorship, but also as a pioneer of liberal democracy and technological development.
- Europe and the US share many common values. In the face of dictatorships, Europe and the USA represent the value of liberal human rights worldwide. The United States and Europe are the largest contributors to the institutions of the United Nations.
- However, they also share the increasing threat to our liberal democracies due to growing polarization within society.
- Other common interests are highly problematic, such as the dominance of global economic institutions, which has so far enabled Europe and the USA to achieve unprecedented economic prosperity at the expense of third countries in the Global South.

4.2 Different values and interests

- The United States is pursuing a military policy of dominance and intervention worldwide to enforce its national interests, which has been undermining the establishment and enforcement of a truly rules-based international order for decades.³⁷

Christoph Heusgen, Chairman of the Munich Security Conference

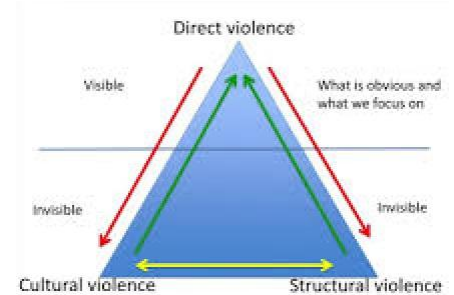
*"The rules-based international order will only endure if the US commits to it. The U.S. must define compliance with international law as the basis for all its actions."*³⁸

- The European states are more credibly committed than the USA to an international order that meets all interests, as the MSC Report 1/2024 on Western double standards shows.³⁹

- The consequences of the US wars in Iraq, Afghanistan and Libya⁴⁰ in the form of the enormous migration and increasing terror resulting from these wars, endanger Europe's security.
- Even though Great Britain and France, but also Germany, have participated in wars of the USA in violation of international law, the European states nevertheless recognise the International Court of Justice (ICJ) and the Criminal Court (ICC) in The Hague in principle, while the USA does not.
- Europe is geographically and militarily incomparably more vulnerable than the USA, which is located between two oceans.
- Europe and the USA also pursue partly different interests with regard to China. Europe sees itself endangered rather than protected by the hegemonic competition between the two states.

4.3 The goal of European sovereignty

- Europe's central interests in an international order that minimizes violence and migration, in peace and in overcoming the climate crisis can only be achieved through a global political emancipation of Europe from the USA.
- Europe should be more sovereign in world politics and design its partnership with the USA more differentiated.⁴¹ Europe must also publicly criticize the behavior of the United States in violation of international law and must not continue to participate in it.
- Strategically, Europe should invest much more in the instruments of civilian crisis prevention, civilian crisis intervention and peacebuilding, as well as in inclusive security systems such as the OSCE, the UN and in the recognition of international courts and international police, than in military security policy.



5. Conference on Security and Cooperation for the Middle East / West Asia ⁴²

5.1 Helping to overcome the trauma of violence in the Middle East through a clear vote from outside

- The conflict situation in West Asia (= in the Middle East) is extremely complex and challenging.
- The spiral of violence between Israel and Palestine associated with the traumas of the Shoah and the Nakba⁴³ can only be overcome by clear votes from outside for sustainable non-violent conflict resolution by the conflict participants in the region.⁴⁴
- Europe should accept this challenge and consistently and unequivocally align its policy with the goal of sustainable overcoming of violence and lasting peace and prosperity in the region.
- Germany and Europe are directly linked to the traumas in the Middle East. Europe will live up to its historical responsibility above all if it clearly and unequivocally advocates for stopping and overcoming the violence vis-à-vis all parties involved.

5.2 Negotiations with the aim of a sustainable security partnership between all states in the region

- Israel's attempt to ensure lasting security through military superiority and dominance fails at regular intervals.⁴⁵
- The spiral of violence in the Middle East can only be overcome by a joint regional fight against criminal acts of violence by the Arab states.

- A sustained commitment of the Arab states and Iran to Israel's security is only possible in connection with a credible perspective for the self-determination of the Palestinians as well as by perceiving and taking into account the interests and needs of all states in the region.
- This requires negotiations and a political process with the aim of achieving equal coexistence between the Israeli and Palestinian populations as well as between states with different religious orientations.⁴⁶
- Europe should therefore devote its energies to the establishment of a **Conference on Security and Cooperation in the Middle East (CSCME)** to negotiate a sustainable security partnership for all states in the region, based on the model of the CSCE ⁴⁷. In 2020, the idea of a CSCMO was endorsed by António Guterres, among others, in the UN Security Council.⁴⁸

The draft treaty of the Middle East Treaty Organization (METO)

A coalition of civil society activists from Israel and Iran, among others, is promoting the idea of a zone free of weapons of mass destruction (WMD-free zone) in the Middle East.⁴⁹

A concrete, evolving draft treaty opens a gateway for the governments of the region to a tangible and realistic path to regional security and peace.⁵⁰



6. Europe's contributions enable a reconciled partnership with African states

6.1 Legacy, slavery and colonialism

- The injustices and violence resulting from the slave trade and colonization have left devastating trauma in today's Africa, hampering its recovery and development. A complex legacy of pain, cultural and linguistic alienation and ethnic fragmentation has transformed the African region into a breeding ground for conflicts of all kinds.⁵¹
- The legacy of slavery and colonization, in addition to the collapse of sustainable political and economic systems, has also eroded and, in some cases, wiped out traditions, languages, beliefs, and social structures that were unique to African communities.

6.2 Neocolonialism no longer prevents the emancipation of Africa

- By 2040, Europe will overcome the phenomenon of colonial continuities that prolong the perverse effects of slavery and colonization and hinder Africa's political, socio-economic and diplomatic emancipation.⁵²

Why Africa Is Turning to China (Tsafrir Cohen)

"Perhaps the only country that was able to undermine the world order of colonialism was the People's Republic of China. It has lifted several hundred million people out of poverty. This is actually the biggest success story of the last decades, which in a certain way makes any development work from the West ridiculous.

In view of the simultaneity of progress, authoritarianism and brutality of the modernization project against its own population, this is of course extremely problematic, but China has achieved what the African states could not do, because the depth of colonialism was so enormous that no cooperation or development cooperation there changed anything. That is why Africa's gaze today is on China.

The West has little credibility because it ignores its own history of violence and has no offer for large parts of the world, but defends its imperial way of life. A world without authoritarianism is won today in the repair of history."⁵³

6.3 Mutual understanding enables a sustainable partnership

- In a long consultation process with African societies, Europe is expanding the Strategic Compass adopted by the EU in 2022⁵⁴ to include a deep understanding of its common history with Africa.
- In 2030, Europe is asking African states to apologise for the centuries-long violence against Africans practiced by Europe and is financing a reparations fund under the umbrella of the African Union (AU).
- By actively supporting the AU's Agenda 2063 "The Africa We Want", this excuse will become so credible that African states will agree on a reconciled strategic partnership with the EU in 2035.⁵⁵



7. Europe cooperates fairly and critically with China

7.1 "Systemic Rival"?

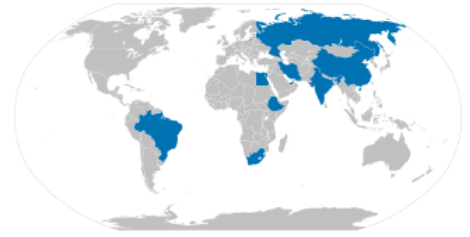
- "The German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) also sees potential in China's new role, provided that China also takes into account issues of sustainability and debt sustainability of partner countries in its foreign activities, for example in Africa."⁵⁶
- The German Foreign Ministry takes a different view of China: "China is a partner, competitor and systemic rival for Germany and the EU at the same time."⁵⁷ The Chinese social system is significantly different from ours. However, rivalry only arises when liberal democracies or China try to impose their own economic and social systems on other countries by force.
- In this respect, China and the USA are both very mission-conscious and proud of superiority. This is dangerous, because the USA is (still) the hegemon of world politics, China is trusted to be able to become one and possibly to become one.⁵⁸
- In the interest of the security of all people and the ecological and humanitarian tasks that can only be solved together, Europe should prevent an already looming diadochi struggle⁵⁹ between the USA and China through mediation.
- According to Article 2 of the Charter of the United Nations, international law is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its members⁶⁰. In terms of foreign and military policy, a competing opposition to China exists primarily from the point of view of the USA's striving for supremacy, not from the point of view of Europe.

7.2 Strategic cooperation partnership for the UN Development Goals

- There is a need for clear criticism of the Chinese leadership regarding its domestic

human rights violations and foreign policy threats in the South China Sea area.

- Europe should not participate in a strategy of containment vis-à-vis China, but should strive for comprehensive strategic cooperation with China to achieve the 17 UN goals for global sustainable development, as already laid down in Germany's climate partnership with China, while confidently preserving its own free social order.⁶¹
- This cooperation must be fair in all areas. This is far from working, for example in patent protection, dumping prices, etc. In this regard, self-confident negotiations and agreements are necessary, if necessary, also demarcation measures.⁶²
- At the same time, Europe should avoid everything that arises from the emphasis on so-called systemic rivalry: endangering free trade and investment, squandering resources on military armaments, breaking off scientific exchanges, etc., as well as the dangers of war.
- Europe should not succumb to the illusion of classical geopolitics, which relies on military strength, but rather secure its military security with relatively little effort (see *there for Russia and Eastern Europe*) and conduct an open dialogue process with China and other BRICS countries on a new, common understanding of the UN Charter as well as comprehensive civilian cooperation and common security policy.⁶³
- China's Global Security Initiative (GSI) formulates twenty possible priorities as well as possible platforms and mechanisms for international security cooperation, which is far from an attempt at Chinese dominance.⁶⁴



8. BRICS countries become Europe's partners

8.1 BRICS countries feel patronized by Europe and the USA

- Together, the BRICS countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa, Iran, Egypt, Ethiopia and the United Arab Emirates), which are home to more than 45 per cent of the world's population ⁶⁵, are pushing ever more confidently for equal international relations on an equal footing.
- The various BRICS countries are united above all by the desire to end the supremacy of the USA in the existing world order. ⁶⁶
- Many BRICS countries still see themselves patronized by Europe today. The President of the BRICS candidate country Democratic Republic of the Congo, Felix Tshisekedi, put this as an example to French President Emmanuel Macron at a press conference in Kinshasa in 2023: *"The way France and Europe treat us. They have to start respecting us and seeing Africans in a different way. They must stop treating us this way and speaking to us in a certain tone. As if they were always absolutely right and we weren't."* ⁶⁷
- The BRICS countries criticize "the liberal narrative of democracy and human rights, which is often presented in a masterly manner by Western governments." ⁶⁸ They demand a greater say in international organizations such as the UN, the IMF, the World Bank and the WTO. As early as 2014, they founded their own development bank as a counterweight to the World Bank and IMF. ⁶⁹

8.2 Negotiating a new global understanding with the BRICS countries

- Europe should promote its values, its concept of democracy and human rights, including compliance with the International Convention for the Prevention of Torture, to the world, of course in consistent compliance with international law. ⁷⁰ And we should conduct an open dialogue process with the BRICS countries on a common understanding of the UN Charter. ⁷¹
- The previous, Western-influenced understanding of the existing world order is not shared by numerous states of the world and is perceived as not freely negotiated by the Western community of states under colonial or postcolonial conditions.
- If Europe promotes such a new global understanding, international rules can emerge on how to carry out conflicts non-violently and how even European armies can be replaced by a common international police force in the future. ⁷²

Federal Chancellor Olaf Scholz

In this sense, in his speech to the European Parliament on May 9, 2023, he spoke out against an effort to position the EU as the third great power alongside the USA and China, and pleaded for a place for Europe *"not above or below other countries and regions, but on an equal footing"*. ⁷³

- A partnership between Europe and the BRICS countries is also in line with the international rules and goals agreed at the United Nations Future Summit in September 2024. ⁷⁴



9. The Five Pillars of Civil European Geopolitics

9.1 Comprehensive ecological safety

- In view of the global existential climate and biodiversity crisis, Civil Geopolitics defines ecological security as the top priority.⁷⁵ Global disarmament is seen as part of climate protection.⁷⁶
- The achievement of the globally agreed goals in this regard (Paris Climate Targets of 2015⁷⁷, Biodiversity Targets⁷⁸, UN Future Pact 2024⁷⁹, etc.) is subordinated to all other policy areas because of their importance as the basis for all human and other life.⁸⁰

9.2 Equitable use of global resources

- Out of responsibility for a fair distribution of available resources worldwide, Europe practices a moderate lifestyle, limits luxury consumption and uses resources and energy sparingly (sufficiency).⁸¹ This enables a worldwide fair participation in the use of finite resources.
- All people will receive transfer payments from the global revenues of rare earths and other raw materials, the distribution of which can be reached under the auspices of the UN in 2035.
- In line with the recommendations of the Club of Rome's 2022 Earth for All report, society, politics and business in Europe are making bold decisions and investments that strengthen intra-European and global social cohesion, build trust and reduce poverty both globally and Europe-wide. Europe is sustainably transforming its food and energy systems and establishing an economic system that ensures the well-being of all on a limited planet.⁸² The G20 countries ensure effective taxation of billionaires.⁸³

- In accordance with the UN Compact for the Future, the WTO, the IMF and the World Bank will be democratized.⁸⁴
- A consistent reduction in climate-damaging subsidies, progressive financing contributions from the rich and the adjustment of debt criteria in the euro area will also enable social justice within Europe and avert exorbitant future damage and adaptation costs.

9.3 Common security and peace through inclusive security structures

- Following the example of the inclusive European peace and security architecture, Europe supports the expansion and development of inclusive peace and security structures in all regions of the world, as described in the report "Common Security in the Indo-Pacific Region" of the international Common Security Initiative of October 2024.⁸⁵

9.4 Freedom, Human Rights and Democracy

- Through its own consistent adherence to international law and non-violent and respectful advertising for its liberal model of democracy, Europe credibly promotes the worldwide observance of civil, political, economic, social and cultural human rights.⁸⁶

9.5 Worldwide mutually controlled military disarmament

- By 2040, Europe's contributions will enable comprehensive international disarmament steps and a global paradigm shift from military to civilian security policy.⁸⁷ National armies are increasingly giving way to international police.⁸⁸



10. Scenario milestones of European peacemaking until 2040

2025 Beginning dialogue in Germany

- Civil society achieves a dialogue with the new German government on the perspective of a civil EU geostrategy. A ceasefire heralds the end of the Ukraine war.
- At COP 30 in Brazil, it is agreed that from 2028 all countries will also publish and reduce CO2 emissions caused by their military.⁸⁹

2026 Peace negotiations for Ukraine

- Peace negotiations begin in the spirit of creating a sustainable European conflict and peace order that preserves Ukraine's rights and takes into account the different security interests of all parties involved.
- At the same time, lobbying for civil security is picking up speed in the Netherlands, Austria, Italy, Switzerland, Great Britain and Central and West Africa⁹⁰ with the support of the European Peacebuilding Liaison Office (EPLO) in Brussels⁹¹.

2027 EU Decision + OSCE Activation

- Europe's geopolitical role in peacemaking is being discussed at government level in the EU, the UK and other European countries, including Russia.
- The European Union, in coordination with Great Britain and other European countries, adopts a peace-building geostrategy. The OSCE will once again become the universally recognised forum for the creation of a sustainable European conflict and peace order for all 57 OSCE States.⁹²

2028 OSCE adopts European Peace and Conflict Order

- The OSCE adopts a sustainable European conflict and peace settlement that takes into account different security interests and, in line with the model for

Ukraine, includes a UN-secured neutrality zone for all states between NATO and Russia.

- Within the framework of the implementation of the UN Pact for the Future, the OSCE member states are committed to a just world order that is intended to overcome their own and imperial striving for dominance by Russia, China, the USA and others.

2029 Peace agreement in Ukraine

- Russia, Ukraine and the states supporting them sign a far-reaching peace agreement.
- At the initiative of the EU and the OSCE far-reaching UN disarmament negotiations begin.⁹³

2030 UN adopt new UN Charter

- After patient negotiations, the UN General Assembly adopts a new world order in the form of a further developed UN Charter.
- Europe apologizes to African states for centuries of violence and is financing a reparations fund.

2032 Start of global disarmament

- Thanks to numerous new disarmament treaties, regionally controlled military disarmament is beginning worldwide.

2035 Global Human Security

- Worldwide, more and more resources from previous military defense are flowing into investments to ensure human security.

2040 Peace Dividend

- For Europe and in many places around the world, there is a peace dividend through halved instead of doubled military spending.

Photo Credit

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Further notes

Introduction

- 1 see the article "Creeping Militarization" by Margot Käßmann from 15.11.24, <https://www.bpb.de/shop/zeitschriften/apuz/bundeswehr-2024/556398/schleichende-militarisierung/>
- 2 Jürgen Habermas, "It had to get a little better...", conversations with Stefan Müller-Doohm and Roman Yos, Berlin, 9.9.2024, Suhrkamp Verlag
- 3 see the chapter "Respecting National and Planetary Boundaries" in our SND Impulse Paper No. 4, <https://www.sicherheitneudenken.de/media/download/variant/353462/snd-impuls-papier-nr.-4-sicherheits-strategien-neu-denken-20.11.2023.pdf> as well as Dirk Messner: Prosperity in Planetary Boundaries, December 2024, <https://www.blaetter.de/ausgabe/2024/dezember/wohlstand-in-planetaren-grenzen>
- 4 see <https://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-7371-2022-INIT/de/pdf>
- 5 Europe is not a clearly defined term. According to Wikipedia, "Europe is geographically a subcontinent that forms the continent of Eurasia together with Asia. The term 'Europe' also refers to historical, artistic, political, economic, legal or ideational aspects. Therefore, the continent is considered an independent continent. Important political alliances in Europe are above all the Council of Europe and the European Union. The eurozone exists as the largest currency area on the continent." <https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Europa>. Another political alliance is the European Political Community (EPC), founded in 2022, as an intergovernmental organisation of 47 European and Middle Eastern states that work together in the fields of politics, security, energy, transport, investment, infrastructure and passenger transport. [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Europ%C3%A4ische_Politische_Gemeinschaft_\(2022\)](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Europ%C3%A4ische_Politische_Gemeinschaft_(2022))
- 6 see <https://www.sicherheitneudenken.de/media/download/variant/353462/snd-impuls-papier-nr.-4-sicherheits-strategien-neu-denken-20.11.2023.pdf>
- 7 see Foreign Affairs: The talks that could have ended the war in Ukraine, Samuel Charap and Sergey Radchenko, 16.4.2024, <https://www.sicherheitneudenken.de/media/download/variant/406427/the-talks-that-could-have-ended-the-war-in-ukraine--foreign-affairs.pdf>
- 8 see e.g. Hans-Dieter Heumann (former President of the Federal Academy for Security Policy BAKS): Strategic Diplomacy. Europe's Opportunity in the Multipolar World, 2020, 249 pp., <https://www.ernster.com/de/detail/ISBN-9783506785695/Heumann-Hans-Dieter/Strategische-Diplomatie>

1. How does Europe create a European conflict and peace order that includes Russia?

9 see the conditions for negotiations formulated by President Putin on 14.6.2024: <https://www.tagesschau.de/ausland/europa/putin-vorschlag-friedensgespraeche-ukraine-100.html>. Moscow has already recognized the four regions in the Donbas as "Russian republics" in violation of international law.

There is no longer any talk in Moscow of the once planned conquest of the entire Ukraine. The Russian armed forces would not be able to do this, let alone a subsequent permanent occupation and control of the entire Ukrainian territory and its population, even after the relative improvement of their capabilities since the beginning of the war.

Under President Putin's rule, Russia once again sees itself as a cultural hegemon with great power ambitions – especially in its immediate neighbourhood: "From a Russian perspective, this status as a great power in international relations automatically includes a regional zone of influence. A zone in which the regional hegemon – i.e. the great power – sets the rules, in which the hegemon, the great power, is in a position to have the right, so to speak, to intervene in the sovereign rights of neighboring states." (Sabine Fischer, Russia expert, German Institute for International and Security Affairs, <https://www1.wdr.de/daserste/monitor/sendungen/putins-aggressive-aussenpolitik-100.html>), but Russia's hegemonic ambitions relate exclusively to states with a large proportion of Russian-born populations.

10 See e.g. <https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/politik/deutschland/cyberangriffe-china-russland-bitkom-100.html> and <https://www.faz.net/aktuell/wissen/computer-mathematik/kriminalitaet-im-internet-stammt-vor-allem-aus-russland-19644840.html>. Even the announced further increase in Russian military spending to 130 billion euros in 2025 does not significantly change this balance of power. <https://www.tagesschau.de/ausland/europa/ukraine-drohnen-angriffe-jahrestag-annexion-100.html>

11 According to the Global Firepower Index web portal, this applies even to scenarios in which NATO deploys only 25 percent of its capacities, but Russia uses 75 percent. Despite its increased armament efforts since the beginning of the war against Ukraine, Russia will not be able to compensate for NATO's clear superiority in many years. The Greenpeace study "When is enough enough? A comparison of the military potentials of NATO and Russia" from November 2024 gives the following figures:

Table 2: Comparison of operational major military weapons systems

	Battle tanks	Armored vehicles	Artillery	Attack helicopter	Main warships	Submarines	Combat aircraft	Strategic bombers
NATO total	9.011	45.619	22.145	1.301	274	143	5.406	140
of which USA	2.640	15.679	6.463	880	122	66	3.244	140
of which Canada	74	1.118	283	0	12	4	89	
of which Europe	6.297	28.822	15.399	421	140	73	2.073	
Russia	2.000	11.020	5.399	348	33	50	1.026	129

(Source: International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS): Military Balance 2024.London.)

The study concludes: "NATO is far superior to Russia in almost all key military parameters. Even without the USA. Even the European NATO states alone are ahead of Russia in terms of military budget, troop strength and large weapons systems." <https://www.greenpeace.de/frieden/kraeftevergleich-nato-russland>

A "Comparison of NATO and Russia Military Strength 2024" based on SIPRI and the Global Firepower Index lists the following figures, which also includes non-operational weapon systems (<https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/379080/umfrage/vergleich-des-militaers-der-nato-und-russlands/>):

Comparing NATO and Russia Military Strength in 2024

	NATO	Russia
Staff		
Total military personnel	7.628.782	3.570.000
Active soldiers	3.390.797	1.320.000
Reserve	3.440.165	2.000.000
Paramilitary units	797.820	250.000
Air force		
Total Air Force	22.308	4.814
Fighters/ interceptors	3.275	809
Aircraft for ground attacks	1.195	730
Transport planes	1.493	453
Special aircraft (e.g. reconnaissance)	4.349	552
Tanker aircraft	655	19
Total helicopters	8.950	1.547
Combat helicopter	1.460	559
Army		
Tank	11.390	14.777
Armored vehicles	849.801	161.382
Self-propelled artillery	4.637	6.208
Towed artillery	5.909	8.356
MLRS Systems ²	1.868	3.065
Naval forces		
Total military ships	2.258	781
Aircraft carrier	16	1
Helicopter carrier	13	0
Destroyer	95	14
Frigates	134	12
Corvettes	57	83
Submarines	139	65
Patrol Boats	323	122
Mine Boats	151	47
Nuclear weapons		
nuclear warheads ¹	5.759	5.889

One of NATO's weaknesses is that its expenditures do not stand for an integrated army and air force, but for numerous armies and weapon systems organized side by side, the necessary coordination of which somewhat relativizes the purely numerical superiority. But NATO forces regularly exercise their joint striking power - and are conventionally superior to the Russian armed forces, which have been weakened by enormous corruption on their part.

Russia plans to increase the number of active soldiers to 1.5 million from 2025, which does not significantly change this balance of power, <https://www.tagesschau.de/newsticker/liveblog-ukraine-montag-412.html>

The Friedrich Ebert Foundation's project "Visualization of Military Capabilities" also presents the military capacities and defense capabilities of European states in a clear and understand-

dable way and concludes, among other things, that Russia is currently equipped with older, less combat-worthy systems in a qualitative comparison with the EU states in five out of six dimensions presented. https://www.erhard-eppler-kreis.de/wp-content/uploads/go-x/u/fc426fd2-a72c-4efc-bcc0-69706ed3f668/2_FES-Briefing-Militaerische-Faehigkeiten.pdf

12 see SIPRI report of 22.4.24, <https://www.sipri.org/media/press-release/2024/global-military-spending-surges-amid-war-rising-tensions-and-insecurity> and <https://www.greenpeace.de/frieden/kraeftevergleich-nato-russland>. Russia will increase its military spending to €130 billion in 2025, which does not significantly change this balance of power, <https://www.tagesschau.de/ausland/europa/ukraine-drohnenangriffe-jahrestag-annexion-100.html>

Especially since Russia's economic power is less than half of Germany's economic power and only one-ninth of the economic power of the EU and 1/22 of the economic power of NATO member states: Russia's GDP in 2023 was 1,869 billion euros, Germany's 4,121 billion euros and that of the EU member states 16,970 billion euros, <https://www.laenderdaten.info/Europa/Russland/wirtschaft.php> and <https://www.laenderdaten.info/laendervergleich.php?country1=RUS&country2=DEU>.

The GDP of NATO member states amounted to 40,850 billion euros in 2022, supplemented by the new member states Sweden and Finland 41,724 billion euros, <https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/1002057/umfrage/vergleich-des-bruttoinlandsprodukt-bip-von-nato-und-soz/>.

In addition, a significant part of Russia's economic power is based on the export of fossil fuels and will therefore decrease rather than increase in the long term.

13 see <https://www.greenpeace.de/frieden/kraeftevergleich-nato-russland>

14 see, among others, the inmedio project "RUSSIAN-WESTERN BLIND SPOTS: From Dialogue on Contested Narratives to Improved Understanding, supported by the German Federal Foreign Office, https://www.inmedio.de/wp-content/uploads/russian_western_blind_spots.pdf

15 see chapter 3

2. How can Europe contribute to overcome the imperial dominance of Russia, China and the USA?

16 "All members shall refrain from any threat or use of force in their international relations directed against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state or otherwise incompatible with the purposes of the United Nations," <https://unric.org/de/charta/>

17 Since 2003, the USA has been responsible for over 500,000 deaths, mostly civilians, in the war against Iraq alone, which violates international law. See e.g. <https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/us-studie-500-000-iraker-starben-im-irak-krieg-1.1795930>, <https://www.dw.com/de/irak-krieg-nach-der-l%C3%BCge-folgte-der-v%C3%B6lkerrechtsbruch/a-64942299>, <http://www.ag-friedensforschung.de/regionen/USA/kriege.html>, https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liste_von_Milit%C3%A4roperationen_der_Vereinigten_Staaten, https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liste_von_Milit%C3%A4roperationen_Russlands_und_der_Sowjetunion, <https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/philippinen-china-suedchinesisches-meer-konflikt-lux.EitrmmoXh8uhpnqkRBNSkN>

18 see <https://www.un.org/en/summit-of-the-future>

19 These and other descriptions of the dominant policy of the USA that are well worth reading can be found in the discussion paper "Peace Policy for the World of the 21st Century" of the initiative "Never Again War – Lay Down Your Arms!", <https://nie-wieder-krieg.org/friedenspolitik-21-jahrhundert/>

20 On the concept of imperialism: Hausteiner / Huhnholz (eds.), Understanding Empires. Theories, Types, Transformations, Baden-Baden 2019, Nomos-Verlag, esp. the contribution: Ulrike Jureit, Europe as a post-sovereign space. On Imperiality, Concepts of Large Spaces and Post-Sovereign Rule, pp. 101-127

21 See https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liste_von_Milit%C3%A4rbasen_der_Vereinigten_Staaten_im_Ausland as well as <https://www.siper.ch/frieden/infografiken/milit%C3%A4rst%C3%BCtzpunkte-der-usa.html>, Russia operates only 31 military bases in (almost exclusively post-Soviet) countries, <https://www.siper.ch/frieden/infografiken/milit%C3%A4rst%C3%BCtzpunkte-von-russland.html>, China only a few almost exclusively in the area of the China Sea, <https://www.siper.ch/frieden/infografiken/milit%C3%A4rst%C3%BCtzpunkte-von-china.html>

22 see <https://www.zeit.de/kultur/2024-11/trump-regierung-liberale-internationale-ordnung-un-wto-usa> and <https://www.swp-berlin.org/10.18449/2019S27/>

23 "'France Afrique' is the name given to the system of rule that France developed after the formal independence of the French colonies from the 1950s onwards in order to de facto maintain its influence in Africa. To this end, Paris did not shy away from the use of mercenaries, bribery or military intervention for individual inclined rulers.", tagesschau.de 11.09.2023, <https://www.tages-schau.de/ausland/frankreich-einfluss-afrika-100.html> (accessed on 15.09.2023)

See also chapters 8 "Shaping International Relations at Eye Level" and 9 "Shaping Global Reconciliation and Understanding" of our impulse paper No. 4 "Rethinking Security Strategies. Stop and overcome violence! In Israel and Palestine. In Ukraine. Global." from 20.11.2023, <https://www.sicherheitneudenken.de/media/download/variant/353462/snd-impuls-papier-nr.-4-sicherheits-strategien-neu-denken-20.11.2023.pdf>

24 Wikipedia defines geopolitics "as a synonym for the spatially related, foreign policy actions of great powers within the framework of a geostrategy" and adds: "Both in the media and in large parts of political science, the term geopolitics is used as a synonym for violent and unscrupulous power politics," <https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Geopolitik>. The term geopolitics is defined in this respect and colloquially describes the world as it is, determined by power politics, which in turn is characterized by military and economic strength, by imperialism. So a description that is quite appropriate for the world, but a limited one. Another pattern of possible geopolitics has also been in the world since the first Hague Peace Conference of the States in 1899. If humanity wants to solve its problems, it needs the lane change now, for which there are already many successes and approaches. That, too, is a realistic description – with a view to the future. To do this, you have to understand power geopolitics and take it seriously. A good source for this are authors like Herfried Münkler - imperialist in two ways: they understand something about it, but want to stick with it, are militarily biased in the Habermasian sense.

In order to overcome hegemonic and imperial geopolitics, the results of the UN Future Summit must be taken into account with regard to necessary structural changes - especially the composition of the Security Council, see <https://www.un.org/en/summit-of-the-future>. Nuclear-weapon-free states such as Brazil, South Africa and Indonesia, for example, could become veto power in the UN Security Council.

25 Historically, changes in the hegemonic order have often led to war. A Harvard study examined 16 such cases in world history. War broke out in twelve of them, including the two world wars. See Allison, Graham. *Destined for War: Can America and China Escape Thucydides's Trap?* Boston/New York. 2017, p. 42 ff. From: Discussion paper "Peace Policy for the World of the 21st Century" of the initiative "Never Again War – Lay Down Your Arms!", <https://nie-wieder-krieg.org/friedenspolitik-21-jahrhundert/>

26 see also Chapter 8 "Shaping International Relations on an Equal Footing", 13 "Together Instead of Against Each Other: Jointly Expanding Regional and Global Security Structures" and 14 "Globally Controlled Disarmament" of our Impulse Paper No. 4, <https://www.sicherheitneudenken.de/media/download/variant/353462/snd-impulspapier-nr.-4-sicherheits-strategien-neu-denken-20.11.2023.pdf>.

27 "An indispensable prerequisite for de-escalation and constructive conflict resolution is not to threaten or use violence. Since the clouding of the ability to perceive is a typical characteristic of escalating conflicts, one's own perception and interpretation of events must not be absolute. Rather, they must be subjected to review and correction in order to recognize one's own part in the conflict. The willingness to do so is already an important step towards recognizing the rights of the other party to the conflict." – see, among others, State Agency for Civic Education BW, Recognizing, Understanding and Resolving Conflicts: https://www.politikundunterricht.de/1_18/konflikte.pdf

28 See e.g. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nonviolent_Communication
Within society, more and more non-violent instruments of conflict management (NVC, mediation, courts and police instead of the military) determine our culture. If violence within society has increased again in recent years, this is not least due to the continuing escalation of violence in international relations, in which Western countries are involved through decades of structural, cultural and direct military violence.

3. The states between NATO and Russia will be neutrally secured

29 The pressure that the EU has been building up since 2013 against Ukraine to choose between joining the EU or the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) with Russia has also increased tensions within Ukraine and between Russia and the West and led to a first discharge of tension in 2014 due to Russia's annexation of Crimea in violation of international law.

In February 2013, the then President of the EU Commission, José Manuel Barroso, declared with regard to a possible customs union between Ukraine and Russia that a country could not be a member of a customs union and at the same time in a far-reaching free trade zone with the EU. Ukraine must decide which path it wants to take. See https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ukraine_und_die_Europäische_Union and <http://www.derwesten.de/politik/ukraine-will-sich-nicht-auf-eu-festlegen-id7657836.html>.

Eastern Ukraine and Russia have always been a single economic area without customs borders. For this reason, all of Ukraine's – alternating – narrow majority decisions for or against the EU and the EAEU, as well as for or against NATO accession, already carried an impetus for the increasing division of the country.

30 Material security guarantees by third countries under a UN mandate would have to be equivalent to those of the mutual assistance obligations of NATO member states. See note 5.

31 Deployment describes the spatial distribution of units carried out by a military command, see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Military_deployment

32 Russian President Vladimir Putin is concerned, among other things, that if Ukraine joins NATO, US weapons such as Tomahawks will be stationed on the territory of Ukraine. From there, Putin complained, they would be in Moscow in less than 35 minutes and would thus be "a knife to the neck," <https://www.morgenpost.de/politik/article406773504/tomahawks-auf-deutschem-boden-was-die-waffe-wirklich-kann.html>. US hypersonic missiles stationed in Ukraine would reduce the warning time to defend Moscow to up to 4 minutes.

Russia continues to suffer from the trauma that it has been overrun by the Western military several times in recent centuries, see chapters 4 and 5 of our impulse paper No. 2 "For a determined and level headed response to Putin's war", <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>

33 on the concept of neutrality, see, among others, Heinz Gärtner: Between the Blocs of Neutrality and Non-Alignment, APuZ 2022, <https://www.bpb.de/shop/zeitschriften/apuz/inter-nationale-sicherheit-2022/513512/zwischen-den-bloecken/>

UN protection forces draw their strength in particular from the fact that all participants have agreed on their purpose, their task, function and the rules of their deployment. Against the background of this agreement, UN protection troops tend not to need to be militarily armed at all, but can act as a kind of international police force with correspondingly only police armament, see <https://www.sicherheitneudenken.de/veranstaltungen/fach-dialog-polizei/>. If significant contingents of UN protection forces are provided by BRICS member states such as China, South Africa, India and Brazil, a UN protection force armed only by the police would also be respected by Russia.

34 This bias in military thinking is also reflected in the fact that Russian conscientious objectors and deserters are largely and unconstitutionally denied the right to asylum. The military principle prevails, although any defection from the 'enemy' would be an advantage for Ukraine at the front, <https://de.connection-ev.org/article-4252>

35 after agreement, there could be stronger economic interdependence again

36 An end to the armed acts in Ukraine also opens up the prospect of economic interdependencies growing again in the medium to long term.

4. Transatlantic relations on an equal footing

37 In German foreign policy, the term "rules-based international order" is of particular importance. The Federal Foreign Office understands this to mean the interaction between the UN, international law, the 2030 Agenda, the G7, G20, NATO, OSCE, and the Council of Europe: <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/de/aussenpolitik/regelbasierte-internationale-ordnung>.

However, according to wikipedia, the understanding of what is to be understood by "rules-based international order" differs considerably depending on the point of view and is criticized by numerous states as a softening of international law, since according to the understanding and practice of Western states, it also opens up the space for military options against international law: "Rules-based international order" has been used as soft law since 2008, especially in countries of the Western world (a term for non-binding agreements, declarations of intent or guidelines) and political term for concepts of partly conflicting views and without a clear definition. The understanding of the term depends on who uses it; the underlying rules and their origin are unclear. Thus, from the point of view of the USA, Australia, Germany and India, the meanings differ significantly from each other and do not coincide with that of the United Nations. Other states reject this term altogether and rely on international law in contrast to it as a legal term (*hard law*) for the supranational established legal order consisting of principles and rules." https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Regelbasierte_Ordnung, see also <https://www.woz.ch/path-preview/node/92043>

38 The then German ambassador to the UN and 2024 acting chairman of the Munich Security Conference (MSC), Christoph Heusgen, in a very clear and convincing article in the recognized journal Foreign Affairs of May 12, 2022: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/germany/2022-05-12/war-ukraine-will-be-historic-turning-point>

39 see Munic Security Brief 1/2024 "Standard Deviation - Views on Western Double Standards and the Value of International Rules", <https://securityconference.org/en/publications/munich-security-brief/standard-deviation/main/#fn-anchor-73>

40 However, the US is not solely responsible for the war in Libya. France and Great Britain were also involved in the overthrow of the Libyan head of state Gaddafi, which violated international law. Although the no-fly zone, initially legitimized by the UN Security Council and enforced under the leadership of NATO, was legal to protect the civilian population of Libya, France, Great Britain and the USA abused the trust placed in them by China and Russia by using this military operation for a violent regime change in violation of international law, which plunged Libya into chaos and was and is the starting point of the enormous spread of terror to the Sahel region.

41 see e.g. Hans-Dieter Heumann (former President of the Federal Academy for Security Policy BAKS): Strategic Diplomacy. Europe's Opportunity in the Multipolar World, 2020, 249 pp., <https://www.ernster.com/de/detail/ISBN-9783506785695/Heumann-Hans-Dieter/Strategische-Diplomatie>

5. A conference on security and cooperation has been established in the Middle East / West Asia

42 In science, the term MENA (Middle East and North Africa) is increasingly gaining ground for the Middle East region. <https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/MENA-Region>. For the sake of the matter and for general understanding, we use the regional designation "Near and Middle East" here, as it is appropriate from the perspective of Europe, even if we want to help overcome Europe's Eurocentricity with this impulse paper. For possible conceptual alternatives, which regularly include North Africa, see SWANA, WANA, MENA - Away from Eurocentrism, <https://renk-magazin.de/swana-wana-mena/>

43 Nakba is the Arabic Term for the violent expulsion of the Palestinians in 1948.

44 Ultimately, peace in the region can only be shaped by peace actors from the region itself, such as the combatants for peace, <https://cfpeace.org>, Women wage peace, <https://www.womenwagepeace.org.il>, Women of the Sun, <https://womensun.org> and others. However, these require clear support from abroad.

45 An ARD commentary from October 25, 2023 puts it: "There is no more security for Israel through a highly armed army, through more and more isolation and surveillance. That is the lesson of the terrible terror of October 7," <https://www.tagesschau.de/kommentar/gaza-hamas-kommentar-100.html>

46 Gideon Levy of the Israeli daily Haaretz put it this way in the Tagesthemen interview on 7.11.2023: There is only a perspective for the future "if the international community turns to Israel and the Palestinians to say, 'Enough is enough.' Now it's time for a solution.' You need something that is fundamentally fair for the Palestinians as well. Otherwise we will never be safe," <https://www.tagesschau.de/multimedia/sendung/tagesthemen/video-1269928.html> (on 12.11.2023)

47 During the East-West conflict, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) served as a forum for building trust between the hostile states of the Western and Eastern Blocs. The first of a series of conferences opened in 1973 and ended in 1975 with the signing of the Helsinki Final Act. See https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Konferenz_%C3%BCber_Sicherheit_und_Zusammenarbeit_in_Europa

48 see also further impulses for a CSCMO at Mohssen Massarrat: Historic opportunity for

a Persian Gulf CSC Initiative, 2020, <https://www.sicherheitneudenken.de/media/download/variant/351430/kszmno-neustart2020.historische-chance.mm201211.pdf> as well as IPPNW and IALANA: Basic Document Conference on Security and Cooperation in the Middle East (CSCMO), 2007, <https://www.sicherheitneudenken.de/media/download/variant/351429/kszmno-kurzfassung.pdf>

49 see <https://www.wmd-free.me> as well as a 2020 interview with the founders of the Middle East Treaty Organization, <https://www.pressenza.com/de/2020/11/interview-mit-den-gruendern-der-middle-east-treaty-organization/>

50 see <https://www.wmd-free.me/home/draft-treaty/>

6. Europe's contributions enable a reconciled partnership with African states

51 The arbitrary demarcation of African borders by the colonial powers at the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 did not take into account ethnic realities. This was partly the cause of the deep fractures and crises that the continent was experiencing.

It is also necessary to point out the humiliations that slavery has produced. The most severe humiliation is that suffered by women: by order, some were forced to bathe in their excrement (bowel movements, urine and menstruation), and by order, some were cleaned and taken to the governor for sexual services before being chained to the group and separated from their children. The phenomenon had weakened the African kingdoms; which facilitated the colonial conquest a few years later. Colonization - also called colonial expansion or territorial expansion (usually after a period of territorial conquest) - is the occupation of a space, a foreign country, its cultivation for the exploitation of its natural and human resources, and the installation of settlers. Colonization took very different forms depending on the colonizer and the colonized. In practice, it is a process of adaptation and exploitation of non-European territories and peoples by European powers. These colonialist longings of Europe manifested themselves in a factual way around the turn of the century around 1880.

52 see note 6 - this form of domination and influence, also known as France Afrique, allowed the colonial powers to continue to directly control African governments and territories long after the end of the colonial era, with all that this entailed in terms of exploitation and plundering of African resources.

53 Tsafir Cohen, Managing Director of medico international in medico Circular 3/2022: <https://www.medico.de/blog/was-schon-heiner-mueller-wusste-18787>. Our development cooperation with African countries has of course also made development possible there, but not in the quality of poverty reduction and increase in prosperity that we see in China.

54 see <https://www.consilium.europa.eu/de/press/press-releases/2022/03/21/a-strategic-compass-for-a-stronger-eu-security-and-defence-in-the-next-decade/>

55 Among other things, the reconciliation achieved by the Truth and Reconciliation Commissions in South Africa can be a guiding principle here. Our African partners Marie-Noelle Koyara and Sylvain Koffi formulate: "Whichever side you are on - on the side of Africa, which has suffered and is still suffering, or on the side of Europe - the necessary and difficult work of reconciliation must begin. This work must be carried out with ourselves and with the descendants of slave traders and colonists.

In view of this situation, which is having a negative impact on relations between the two continents, the governments of some of these former colonial powers have discussed the issue of reconciliation with some African countries. These initiatives, which are still tentative, require the mobilization of partners with a different and avant-garde vision. We quote, among other things:

- Restitution of artifacts: Many African countries are demanding the return of cultural property that was stolen during colonization. This movement is a strong symbol of the recognition of past injustices.
- Education and awareness: Educational programs in Europe on colonial history and its effects are essential to change perceptions and promote enriched dialogue.
- Economic partnerships: Economic cooperation based on fair conditions, such as free trade agreements and investments in sustainable development, is one way to build fairer relations.

Not to mention that on May 21, 2001, the law was passed in France recognizing the slave trade and colonial slavery as crimes against humanity. The fact is that this recognition must become full and complete, supporting initiatives that make it possible to overcome resentment with a view to full reconciliation.

Despite these initiatives, which are commendable, we must be aware that there are still challenges to overcome:

- Structural inequalities: Economic and social inequalities inherited from colonisation continue to have an impact on relations with Europe. Africa is still not seen as a development partner, but as a colony and backyard.
- Political discourse: Some political speeches by European leaders continue to fuel stereotypes about Africa and complicate the reconciliation process.
- Geopolitical conflicts: International rivalries, especially between major powers, are a major obstacle to reconciliation efforts and initiatives.

For the future of Africa and Europe, we need to engage in an approach based on sincere, open and honest dialogue, which allows each of the parties to be respected and listened to. Africa, like Europe, will have to work to build relationships based on mutual trust, respect and fairness, which are necessary and indispensable elements for genuine, consolidated and lasting reconciliation.

Reconciliation always requires the search for truth, which is essential if the process is not to be blocked. However, the goal is not to find out what was happening in the past, but rather to understand in order to recognize how to look to the future together. In other words, the question to ask yourself is not simply "What happened? But rather: "How are we going to continue with what happened?" In the light of historical facts, a reassessment of the common past within a given society can indeed take place. The reconciliation that is sought here must be protected from ideological and political competition and the unbridled quest for power, which is one of the common causes of the collapse of systems of understanding and peace.

Europe must make a loyal contribution to the promotion of Africa's little-known history and to the understanding of its complexity. All of this is essential for Africa to take its rightful place in globalisation. In short, reconciliation between Europe and Africa is a complex and multidimensional process that requires time, joint efforts and a sincere will to overcome the wounds of the past."

Further aspects of a fair partnership between African and European states are already mentioned on p. 45 ff under the title "The UN Development Plan with Africa and the Middle East" in our scenario "Rethinking Security" from 2018, https://www.sicherheitneudenken.de/media/download/variant/288191/e--friedensszenario_langfassung_a5.pdf. The VENRO paper "For a fair partnership between Africa and Europe" is also dedicated to this topic: <https://venro.org/publikationen/detail/fuer-eine-faire-partnerschaft-zwischen-afrika-und-europa>.

7. Europe cooperates with China in a fair and human rights-critical manner

56 <https://www.bmz.de/de/laender/china> (last accessed on 24.09.24)

57 <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/de/service/laender/china-node/bilateral/200472>

See also the Federal Government's China Strategy <https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/blob/2608578/810fdade376b1467f20bdb697b2acd58/china-strategie-data.pdf> (last accessed on 24.09.24) The term "systemic rival" encompasses, pseudo-systemically constructed, conceals and combines two aspects that would be better treated separately: domestic policy - there must be clear criticism, especially on human rights violations -, and foreign and military policy with regard to the 'rivalry' adheres to the military logic, which should be replaced by peace-logical constructive conflict resolution and arms limitation.

58 So far, China has only spoken of its interest in acting internationally on an equal footing and on an equal footing with the US and the West. The assumption that both Russia and China would militarily occupy any space that would become available in the event of a US withdrawal with their own imperial interests and would in turn dominate and oppress the West in the long term carries the danger of projection and so far lacks any factual basis.

Militarily, China has so far only acted aggressively in the area of the China Sea – and also disregards decisions of international courts there. This must be clearly criticized. But it is possible that China will be content with the role of an equal partner and economic competitor of the West globally and not seek global dominance over the West – as the West has done so far.

According to the government in Beijing, the People's Republic should become a global superpower in the field of industrial manufacturing and innovative research and development (R&D) on its 100th anniversary in 2049 (see e.g. <https://merics.org/de/externe-publikation/chinas-streben-nach-dominanz-globalen-zuliefer-und-wertschoepfungsketten>) and with its Belt and Road Initiative, which was proclaimed in 2013, which is pursuing a global economic expansion strategy that we have so far only known from the Western community of states (see e.g. <https://www.bpb.de/shop/zeitschriften/izpb/internationale-sicherheitspolitik-353/517310/china-eine-weltpolitische-herausforderung>).

But the return to the greatness of past dynasties, which China's head of state and party leader has promised the Chinese people since he took office in 2012, is primarily intended to end the period of China's own economic, military and political oppression by the states of the West, which the Chinese perceive as a "century of shame" (see e.g. <https://www.dw.com/de/xi-jinping-und-der-chinesische-traum/a-43545156>).

59 Diadochi struggle refers to the struggle for power between military commanders who fought for power in Greece immediately after the death of Alexander the Great, <https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Diadochen>

60 see <https://unric.org/de/charta/>

61 see <https://www.international-climate-initiative.com/projekt/chinesisch-deutsche-kooperation-zu-klimawandel-klimapartnerschaft-20-i-421-chn-g-klimapartnerschaft-phase-4/> and the Germanwatch position paper "Realistic China Climate Policy - Recommendations for a Strategic Realignment in Geopolitically Tense Times", www.germanwatch.org/de/87952

62 ... with the help of game theory, keyword "tit for tat" - https://www.spektrum.de/lexikon/neurowissenschaft/tit-for-tat/12995?qad_source=5&qclid=EAIaIQobChMlv5TQmub-WiAMVI2RBAh3pDQZeEAAYASAAEqJGofD_BwE

63 Only then we will be able to live up to the claim formulated in the German National Security Strategy, among other things: "In order to be able to offer better and long-term options, the Federal Government will expand its global partnerships in a targeted way. Its goal here is fair, respectful and long-term cooperation between sovereign and equal partners." The Federal Government: Robust. Resilient. Sustainable. Integrated Security for Germany. National Security Strategy, June 2023, p. 42, <https://www.nationalesicherheitsstrategie.de/National-Security-Strategy-EN.pdf>

64 see Alice Ekman, European Union Institute for Security Studies: China's Global Security Initiative. When the process matters more than the content, 2023.

8. BRICS countries become Europe's partners

65 see <https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/BRICS> (accessed on 11.9.2024)

66 tagesschau.de of 24.08.23: "The aim of the alliance is to form a counterweight to the geopolitical and economic dominance of the West. The BRICS countries also want to reduce their dependence on the US dollar as the global reserve currency.", <https://www.tagesschau.de/ausland/af-rika/brics-staaten-erweiterung-100.html> and <https://www.tagesschau.de/ausland/afrika/guterres-brics-gipfel-100.html> (accessed on 27.8.2023).

In March 2023, Brazil and China agreed to trade in their respective national currencies, the Chinese RMB-yuan and the Brazilian real. This mutual procedure is also used by China and Russia.

See also Herbert Wulf, Declaration of fight on the West. The BRICS countries aim for an end to the existing world order, in: IPG-Journal 12.6.2023, www.ipg-journal.de/regionen/global/artikel/kampfansage-an-den-westen-6766/?utm_campaign=de_40_20230613&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter (accessed on 21.7.2023) with the following statements, among others: "Vladimir Putin's mantra against a unipolar world in which the US is in charge is widely shared in the Global South. For them, the time of the 'global policeman' is over. In addition, there are memories of the colonial era, from which many countries of the Global South still suffer today. Even today, they often feel patronized."

67 from: Herbert Wulf: Kampfansage an den Westen, in: IPG, 12.06.2023, <https://www.sicherheitneudenken.de/media/download/variant/336715/kampfansage-an-den-westen-12.06.2023-ipg.pdf>

68 ditto, see also Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China: US Hegemony and its Perils, 20 February 2023, (accessed on 27.7.2023) https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjbxw/202302/t20230220_11027664.html

69 Herbert Wulf: Declaration of fight on the West, in: IPG, 12.06.2023, <https://www.sicherheitneudenken.de/media/download/variant/336715/kampfansage-an-den-westen-12.06.2023-ipg.pdf>

70 see https://www.bmj.de/DE/themen/menschenrechte/vereinte_nationen/cat/CAT_node.html

71 Only then we will be able to live up to the claim formulated in the German National Security Strategy, among other things: "In order to be able to offer better and long-term options, the Federal Government will expand its global partnerships in a targeted way. Its goal here is fair, respectful and long-term cooperation between sovereign and equal partners." The Federal Government: Robust. Resilient. Sustainable. Integrated Security for Germany. National Security Strategy, June 2023, p. 42, <https://www.nationalesicherheitsstrategie.de/National-Security-Strategy-EN.pdf>

72 see *Rethinking Security: Target Perspective* International Police and Implementation Aspects, 2023, <https://www.sicherheitneudenken.de/media/download/variant/307926/zielperspektive-ip-be-cker-et-al.-2022.pdf>, in: Dirk-M. Harmsen, Stefan Maaß, Horst Scheffler, Theodor Ziegler (eds.): *World domestic politics and international police. New Thinking in Peace and Security Policy*, 2023, 233 pages, <https://www.vandenhoeck-ruprecht-verlage.com/themen-entdecken/literatur-sprach-und-kulturwissenschaften/interdisziplinaere-geisteswissenschaft/57967/weltinnenpolitik-und-internationale-polizei>

73 tagesschau.de: Scholz in the EU Parliament. "Europe bears global responsibility", <https://www.sicherheitneudenken.de/media/download/variant/336640/scholz-im-eu-parlament-partnerschaften-auf-angenhoehe-2023.pdf>

74 see UN: The Pact for the Future, September 2024, <https://www.un.org/en/summit-of-the-future>

9. The Five Pillars of Civil European Geopolitics

75 On the concept of ecological security, see <https://www.sicherheitneudenken.de/media/download/variant/405004/basic-working-paper-warsaw-september-2024.pdf>

76 see <https://peacelab.blog/2021/02/global-abruesten-um-das-klima-zu-schuetzen>

Germany's military alone emitted around 4.5 million tonnes of CO2 equivalents in 2019 - significantly more than domestic air traffic with 2.5 million tonnes. Further global armament is also driving the climate crisis. According to the Climate Crossfire study, NATO countries produced almost 200 million tons of CO2 emissions in 2021 through their armies and infrastructure alone. This is more than a quarter of the total greenhouse gas emissions emitted by the whole of Germany in 2022, see <https://www.tagesschau.de/investiga-tiv/rbb/klimaziele-bundeswehr-co2-emissionen-101.html>, Angelika Claussen: Climate Killer War, IPG 13.07.2022, <https://www.ipg-journal.de/rubriken/wirtschaft-und-oekologie/artikel/klimakiller-krieg-6068> and https://www.ippnw.de/commonFiles/pdfs/Frieden/NATOs_Climate_Crossfire.pdf and Susanne Götze: NATO's two-percent target probably jeopardizes global climate goals, Der Spiegel, 10.10.2023, <https://www.spiegel.de/wissenschaft/natur/nato-zwei-prozent-ziel-gefahr-det-wohl-welt-weite-klimaziele-a-ed3b9a93-59c6-4e0d-b063-bc15a4f9508d>

77 see <https://www.bmz.de/de/service/lexikon/klimaabkommen-von-paris-14602>

78 See e.g. <https://www.tagesschau.de/wissen/forschung/wildnis-artensterben-100.html> as well as <https://www.umweltdachverband.at/themen/naturschutz/biodiversitaet/eu-biodiversitaetsstrategie-2030/>

79 see <https://www.un.org/en/summit-of-the-future>

80 on the importance of ecological security, see also chapters 5 "Focusing on Global Challenge No. 1: The Climate Crisis" and 6 "Respecting National and Planetary Boundaries" of our impulse paper No. 4 of November 2023, <https://www.sicherheitneudenken.de/media/download/variant/353462/snd-impulspapier-nr.-4-sicherheits-strategien-neu-denken-20.11.2023.pdf>

81 see e.g. Chapter 7 of our Impulse Paper No. 4, ditto

82 see https://earth4all.life/wp-content/uploads/2024/10/Earth4All-Deutschland_-_digital.pdf and Dirk Messner: Prosperity in Planetary Boundaries, December 2024, <https://www.blaetter.de/ausgabe/2024/dezember/wohlstand-in-planetaren-grenzen>

83 see the resolution of the G20 summit in Brazil in 2024 "Super-rich should be taxed more effectively", <https://www.tagesschau.de/ausland/amerika/g20-abschlusserklaerung-100.html>

84 see <https://www.un.org/en/summit-of-the-future>

85 see <https://ipb.org/common-security-in-the-indo-pacific-region/>

86 see <https://menschenrechte-durchsetzen.dgvn.de/menschenrechte/politische-buergerliche-rechte>

87 see Chapter 14 of our Impulse Paper No. 4 of November 2023 "Cooperation enables global controlled disarmament", <https://www.sicherheitneudenken.de/media/download/variant/353462/snd-impulspapier-nr.-4-sicherheits-strategien-neu-denken-20.11.2023.pdf>

88 see our book "World Domestic Policy and International Police", published in November 2022, <https://www.sicherheitneudenken.de/veranstaltungen/fach-dialog-polizei/>

10. Scenario milestones of European peacemaking until 2040

89 see <https://at.scientists4future.org/2023/05/15/co2-stiefelabdruck-des-militars/> and <https://ceobs.org/national-climate-action-plans-must-include-military-emissions/>

90 see <https://www.sicherheitneudenken.de/international/>

91 see <https://eplo.org/>

92 The consideration of different security interests in the sense of the concept of common security ties in with decades of efforts by the churches, including Willy Brandt, Ehrhard Eppeler, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Helmut Kohl and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, which led to the founding of the OSCE via the KSCE conferences in 1995.

The Palme Commission on Disarmament and Common Security did essential preparatory work for this concept in its report submitted to the UN Special General Assembly in 1982, see https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gemeinsame_Sicherheit. The Common Security Report 2022 by the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC), International Peace Bureaus (IPB) and Olof Palme International Centers updated this concept, <https://ipb.org/common-security-report-2022/>

93 More and more states are joining the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons. The US and Russia, which possess more than 90% of all nuclear weapons, are beginning effective negotiations on nuclear risk reduction and nuclear disarmament. Based on this, the other nuclear-weapon states such as China are also participating in the disarmament negotiations.

The initiative "Rethinking Security" is committed to a sustainable civil security policy under the umbrella of the European peace church network Church and Peace.

It is supported in Germany and Europe by the following organizations and networks, among others:

