

## **IX. Germany as a responsible partner in Europe and the world**

German foreign, European and development policy serves to promote peace in the world. Our shared aim is to seize the opportunities globalisation offers our country and make an effective contribution to conflict prevention and settlement, the struggle against international terrorism, and poverty alleviation. The foundation for this is a reliable foreign, European and development policy which enjoys the trust of our allies and partners. For peace, freedom and security, as well as a policy which fosters democracy and social justice, European integration and Atlantic partnership remain of paramount significance.

Maintaining continuity in German foreign policy, we will be guided by the interests and values of our country.

Adherence to international law and respect for human rights, as well as the commitment to a comprehensive concept of security, are cornerstones of German foreign policy.

We will seek to strengthen European policy within multilateral bodies, promote transatlantic relations and shape our relations with neighbours, allies and partners with balance and good judgement.

Since the major political changes in the world after 1989, Germany has increasingly taken on international responsibility and has gained in international standing.

European integration and Atlantic partnership are not at odds; rather, they are the two most important pillars of our foreign policy. Together, they form the basis for our relations with other countries, particularly our close friendship and cooperation with France, Poland and our other neighbours, with the United States of America, and also our relations with Russia. At the same time, we affirm Germany's special responsibility towards Israel.

We support the implementation of the European Security Strategy. It combines a forward-looking peace policy, preventive capabilities and an emphasis on negotiated solutions to conflicts, with an expansion in capacities for joint military action.

European and Atlantic security cannot be separated. NATO remains for us the central instrument of our security and defence policy.

Through our development policy we will make a central contribution to combating poverty worldwide, safeguarding peace, protecting the environment, preserving the natural resource base and Creation, making democracy, the rule of law and human rights reality, and shaping globalisation in a just fashion. To this end, we will create conditions at international and national level which allow globally sustainable development. This is all the more necessary since the development of the global population, together with the refugee flows stemming in part from poverty, armed conflict and the effects of climate change, represent dramatic challenges for the industrial nations too. We intend to tackle the roots of these problems and give people in the developing countries opportunities and perspectives in their home countries. Not only does development policy arise from the responsibility we bear; it also serves our own security policy interests.

In order to tackle the major global challenges, we will work together with our partners and allies, in particular at the United Nations, the international financial institutions, the OSCE, the Council of Europe and other international institutions.

## **1. Europe**

The European Union is the guarantor of political stability, security and prosperity in Germany and Europe. Only by working together can the Europeans successfully safeguard their interests. Due to its history, and its political and economic weight, Germany bears a particular responsibility for preserving and developing the European integration process. Europe is founded on the appropriate combination of unity and diversity. Different experiences of civilisation and culture make up the richness of Europe.

We view the current crisis in the EU as an opportunity to adapt the European project to the needs of our time. We must regain the trust of the citizens which has been lost. This will only be possible if we in Europe concentrate together on the essentials, if we agree on the goals and tasks, competences and limits of the enlarged European Union, strictly respect the subsidiary principle, coordinate our national efforts towards reform more effectively,

particularly within the eurozone, and inform our citizens better about the further development of European policies.

We will seek to ensure that European rules and regulations promote functioning competition, growth and economic dynamism and safeguard social cohesion. We intend to strengthen the citizens' Europe, shape German European policy on the basis of fair cooperation between larger and smaller states and give the people of our continent hope for their future.

During the first half of 2007, Germany will assume the European Union presidency. We bear a particular responsibility for the European project at a decisive point in time. We will do everything in our power to make our presidency a success.

German-French cooperation and the important momentum it creates remain vital and will serve the interests of our partners within the European Union. In addition, we intend in particular to lend a new quality and intensity to cooperation with our neighbours and the new Member States. We intend to further intensify forms of cooperation such as the Weimar Triangle.

### **1.1. A Citizens' Europe**

We will actively seek to ensure a stronger democratisation of the European Union, to safeguard the European institutions' ability to act in an enlarged EU and to further develop Europe's many-faceted model of society. We will therefore actively use the period of reflection agreed by the European Council to enter into a wide-ranging debate with citizens, the social partners, churches and groups within society.

We are committed to the European Constitutional Treaty. It represents important progress in the process of achieving a values-oriented and socially just Europe, greater rights for citizens, a clearer division of responsibilities between the EU and the Member States, the reduction of over-regulation and red tape and stronger involvement of the national parliaments. This will make the European Union more democratic, capable of acting, efficient and transparent.

We are therefore in favour of the process of ratification of the European Constitutional Treaty being continued beyond the first half of 2006 and given fresh momentum during the German presidency in the first half of 2007. In this context, we will support a strengthening of the role of the national parliaments through the use of the subsidiarity early warning system even before the Constitutional Treaty enters into force, something which does not require any changes to the existing treaties. We are determined to use the possibilities provided for in the Act to Extend and Strengthen the Rights of the Bundestag and the Bundesrat in EU Affairs in a positive way for Parliament and will immediately begin discussions with the Bundestag on the conclusion of an agreement to this effect. Such an agreement does not prevent the Federal Government, even though it is aware of the views expressed in Bundestag votes, from exercising its right to take divergent decisions for compelling reasons of foreign policy and integration policy.

We will work to ensure that the German language enjoys a status in Europe which reflects its importance. We intend to ensure that German interests are represented in a coordinated and efficient manner within the European institutions.

Successfully cutting red tape and limiting European legislation to what is strictly necessary will be decisive in gaining public support. This also applies to transposing European directives into national law. We will seek to ensure that the European Union uses its competences responsibly, in order to prevent an erosion of the responsibilities of the Member States. We welcome the proposals put forward by the European Commission on reducing over-regulation and improving impact assessment for new EU proposals. In addition, we are in favour of the European Council making use, in individual cases, of its right to call on the Commission to withdraw a legislative proposal, or, where necessary, even existing legislative provisions.

We support the Lisbon Strategy, reviewed in March 2005, which aims to create more growth and employment by enhancing the European economy's competitiveness. The Member States and the EU must rigorously implement the Lisbon Strategy in their respective areas of responsibility and work together to develop it further. In light of globalisation, strengthening Europe's competitiveness is of central importance. The Lisbon Strategy provides the appropriate framework for economic and social renewal in Europe. Sustainable growth, social

cohesion, education, research and innovation must be given priority. European industrial policy will have to place our value creation on a competitive and secure base for the future.

The eurozone states have a particular role to play in modernising Europe. By coordinating their policies more closely, they can make a major contribution towards demonstrating Europe's ability to act and willingness to reform.

We need to strike a new balance between economic performance and social cohesion which is conducive to growth. The principles of social market economics can only be made to prevail at European level if we improve our competitiveness on a sustainable basis and, at the same time, take into account people's justified needs for protection.

We are aiming to achieve a common tax base for company taxation and an approximation of minimum tax rates, in order to prevent unfair tax competition.

In the future too, we will seek to ensure that the abolition of frontiers within the Single Market does not lead to deterioration in the security situation here in Germany and in our neighbouring states. In the European framework, we are in favour of closer and more efficient cross-border cooperation between the Member States in combating terrorism and organised crime, and of strengthening the responsible European institutions like Europol and Eurojust.

In European environmental policy, our goal will be to achieve a high level of environmental protection, without damaging the competitiveness of our companies.

## **1.2 Financial framework**

We would like to see a rapid conclusion of the negotiations on the Financial Perspective. EU financial planning must take into account Germany's economic situation and support consolidation of the national budgets. We would therefore like to see a relative reduction in the burden placed on Germany and we reaffirm our position that Germany should not contribute more than 1% of gross national income to the EU. To this end, the EU's spending structures need to be streamlined. A correction mechanism to balance out excessive net burdens should also be used to help ensure that no extra burden is placed on Germany. The

commitments contained in the 24/25 October 2002 compromise on agricultural financing will not be called into question. Reform of agricultural policy will be continued along the current lines.

We view the European Union's structural policy as an important expression of intra-Community solidarity. The EU's spending on regional policy and the burden on individual countries paying into the system must, however, be shaped in a more just manner. In the future too, the new *Länder* will be important beneficiaries of European structural funding, but the same applies to German regions bordering the new EU Member States, which have to cope with particular adaptation processes. Germany must not be put at a disadvantage compared to the other Member States by the new arrangements for Objective 2 funding. In addition, we will actively support an increase in national leeway in regional policy.

We are committed to the European Stability and Growth Pact and wish to ensure that the stability criteria are met in 2007. Our policy for more growth, employment and innovation will also contribute to sustainable consolidation of public finances.

### **1.3 Enlargement**

A circumspect enlargement policy, which does not overtax the European Union's capacity to absorb new members, constitutes an important contribution to peace and stability on our continent. In this context, the further development of an ambitious and differentiated EU Neighbourhood Policy is gaining in significance.

Past enlargement represented a major step towards overcoming the painful division of our continent. Germany, in particular, is one of the beneficiaries. We stand by the commitments which have been made. Accession negotiations with Romania and Bulgaria have been completed. The schedule for Romanian and Bulgarian accession is tied to the fulfilment of clearly defined requirements. We will take a decision on ratification of the accession treaty with Bulgaria and Romania based on the European Commission's progress reports and recommendations.

We welcome the fact that accession negotiations have begun with Croatia. We stand by the European perspective for the other states of the Western Balkans, too, as agreed at the European Council in Thessaloniki.

We will ensure compliance with fair conditions of competition within the enlarged Europe and see to it that social distortions, for example through wage dumping and illegal employment, do not arise. Transitional periods will ensure that the German labour market remains protected from an uncontrolled influx of workers for up to seven years. Moreover, checks on persons at borders to the new Member States will only be discontinued once the strict security standards of the Schengen Agreement have been met.

Germany has a particular interest in a deepening of mutual relations with Turkey and in binding the country to the European Union.

The negotiations launched on 3 October 2005 with the aim of accession are an open-ended process which does not imply any automaticity and whose outcome cannot be guaranteed at the outset.

This poses a particular economic, demographic and cultural challenge. Against this background, we welcome the reform efforts undertaken in Turkey. We want to make every effort to foster development in the areas of democracy, the rule of law and economic affairs in Turkey, with which we are also closely linked within NATO.

There must be strict compliance with the conditions contained in the negotiating mandate and the Declaration by the European Community and its Member States of 21 September 2005, also as regards the EU's absorption capacity. In accordance with the Copenhagen criteria, this also encompasses the exercise of basic liberties, including religious freedom.

Should the EU not have the capacity to absorb Turkey, or should Turkey not be able to comply completely and in full with all of the commitments which membership entails, Turkey must be linked to the European structures as closely as possible and in a way that further develops its privileged relationship with the EU.

## **2. Transatlantic cooperation and European security policy**

We want to shape transatlantic relations in a way that looks to the future without forgetting our shared history. For this, close, mutual trust between the USA and a self-confident Europe which sees itself as a partner, not a counterweight, is essential. That does not rule out the possibility of differing views, which must be dealt with in a dialogue based on partnership and in a spirit of friendship. The Atlantic partners are linked by a shared foundation of values and many common interests, arising not least from the fact that they are the most closely intertwined, and thus the most interdependent, economic areas in the world. We want to endeavour, inter alia, to improve the procedures for settling trade disputes, and to promote a better understanding of the USA among the German public, as well as of Europe and Germany in the USA.

Together with the USA, we will continue in future to support peace, democracy and freedom in the world. Cooperation with the USA is particularly important in ensuring fruitful relations between the Islamic world and the West, in securing peace and stability in the Middle East and the Balkans, in the struggle against poverty and hunger, in dealing with failing states, the plight of refugees and persistent structural imbalances of the world economy, in the struggle against terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and in tackling the consequences of natural catastrophes and epidemics.

NATO is the strongest anchor of our security and defence policy. We are in favour of the Atlantic Alliance becoming the central forum of the transatlantic security-policy dialogue, where the transatlantic partners consult each other and coordinate their strategic concepts on an equal basis. In this way, too, we want to strengthen the alliance. Attention must be paid in this context to close and seamless coordination and cooperation between NATO and the EU.

The European security and defence policy is not intended to compete with the transatlantic security partnership. In our view, European action in the field of security policy should be guided by the European Security Strategy of December 2003. With a view also to strengthening the European pillar of the Atlantic security partnership, we are in favour of enhancing the EU's capacities and options for action. In this context, we will avoid unnecessary and costly duplication with NATO.



To be able to fulfil its international responsibilities and represent its interests, the EU needs, in this framework, civilian and military means for conflict settlement and conflict prevention. We want to further develop the European security and defence policy into a Security and Defence Union.

For the purpose of conducting joint European operations as part of a broader understanding of security, the EU needs planning and command capabilities which can be deployed within the framework of the agreements concluded between the EU and NATO. The development of EU multinational task forces will be continued. They will remain interoperable with NATO.

We will adhere to the currently applicable regulations governing arms exports, and support harmonisation of arms exports guidelines within the EU.

European foreign policy and Atlantic partnership must prove their worth with respect to joint action. German foreign policy will endeavour to help bring about positions coordinated between the European and transatlantic partners. Such a policy is having a positive effect in the Balkans and Afghanistan. We will also pursue this approach towards other crisis spots or problem areas, including the Middle East peace process, the stabilisation of the Middle East and its integration in global development, the fostering of democracy and modernisation efforts in the Arab world, support for peaceful conflict resolution in the East Asian region, the strengthening of disarmament, arms control and the non-proliferation regime, the dangers of nuclear and biological terrorism, and a global climate policy.

### **3. The Bundeswehr as an instrument of national and international security**

The Bundeswehr's fifty-year existence is the success story of an army in a democratic society which, in addition, has played an important part in bringing the reunified Germany closer together.

Security-policy developments are a major factor in determining the Bundeswehr's future spectrum of tasks and the structural consequences. Accordingly, the Bundeswehr serves the objectives of international conflict prevention and crisis management, support for Alliance partners, national defence, rescue and evacuation operations, partnership and cooperation, as

well as national disaster relief. Germany gears its security-policy structures towards these tasks, and is willing to make a contribution to strengthening international security commensurate with its size and importance.

The EU's security-policy capabilities must be consistently strengthened within the framework of a credible European Security and Defence Policy. Germany will therefore continue in future to participate, within its means, in further developing and making available necessary capabilities. The Federal Government will make every effort to advance European defence cooperation while maintaining the core capabilities of the German defence technology industry and its international competitiveness.

The Bundeswehr is an operational army. Its structures must ensure that Germany has the ability to act in the field of foreign and security policy, and that the Bundeswehr can be deployed to secure the borders of the Alliance area, is capable of fulfilling commitments to the UN, NATO and the EU, and can continue in future to protect Germany and its population.

The Federal Government is willing to continue to take on responsibility within the multinational framework in future. The Federal Government can decide to deploy the Bundeswehr abroad, subject to the German Bundestag's consent, in so far as this is necessary in terms of security policy and is in the national interest. It will ensure that the Bundeswehr receives the necessary resources for this.

By the end of 2006, the Federal Government will produce a white paper on Germany's security policy and the future of the Bundeswehr, under the direction of the Federal Minister of Defence. This white paper will also set out the tasks and procedures for cooperation of the institutions responsible for security within a comprehensive national system of preventive security. On this basis, the constant further development of the Bundeswehr since German reunification will be continued in a way which will enable the armed forces to successfully carry out their tasks in the security-policy environment of the 21st century.

The Parliamentary Participation Act will remain the procedural basis for Parliament's binding decision on Bundeswehr missions abroad. If experience should indicate a need for further development, the coalition parliamentary groups will table bills.

Alongside involvement in international conflict management, national defence remains the Bundeswehr's core constitutional task, despite changed conditions and tasks. Particularly in view of asymmetrical threats, posed in particular by terrorist activities, it is no longer possible to draw a sharp distinction between external and internal security. Where there is a need for statutory or constitutional regulation to counter particular threats to our country's security, the Federal Government will introduce legislation.

Efficient national defence requires reliable regional structures as well as cooperation between the civil and military authorities in the use of existing capabilities. The concept of civil-military cooperation will be further developed.

The Federal Government is committed to general conscription, which remains the best form of military service. It determines the development of the Bundeswehr and the way in which it perceives its role while maintaining a strong bond between the armed forces and society.

Alternative civilian service will remain as a substitute for military service. Given the great social importance of civilian service (for example in the realm of support for persons with disabilities) and its role in youth policy, it undoubtedly merits retention, not least as an important field enabling young men to acquire key knowledge and skills.

General compulsory military service for men and women is rejected. The performance and duration of civilian service will continue to be based on the rules governing military service. We shall look into the question of whether the system of compulsory military service and the call-up system can be further improved in terms of their fairness, with a view to providing a secure planning basis for all parties involved in civilian service.

We shall examine the extent to which the time spent acquiring practical vocational skills and theoretical knowledge during civilian service can be deducted from the duration of subsequent training periods to an even greater extent. The practical arrangements for the induction of conscripts into civilian service will be further developed. As part of the same process, we shall examine whether the number of training centres for civilian service should remain at twenty.

Bundeswehr planning will be continued on the basis of task-based funding, with a balance being struck between operational and capital expenditure. The implementation of the Bundeswehr stationing concept will be continued.

Within the overarching aim of guaranteeing the operational capability of the Bundeswehr, armaments planning will seek to preserve appropriate core industrial capabilities. We shall strive to ensure that capital expenditure in the defence budget is categorised in the budgetary guidelines as investment, in accordance with European rules.

Enhanced cooperation with business, privatisation measures and public-private partnerships are suitable means by which additional capital and know-how from the private sector can be made available to the Bundeswehr. The decisive criteria must be that the Bundeswehr makes efficiency gains and is relieved of responsibilities that lie outside its core tasks. A critical review will be undertaken and any necessary adjustments made. This review will cover budgetary and procurement law as well as planned projects, with consideration being given to experience gained to date.

The special characteristics of military service will be taken into account in social legislation and welfare rules. In this context, the possibility of creating a separate system of remuneration for members of the armed services will be examined. We shall also examine how structural surpluses of older military professionals can, in light of the needs of the armed forces, be reduced as part of the transformation process.

An efficient military administration is essential to the operational capability of the Bundeswehr. The adjustment and restructuring measures that have already been initiated are based on that goal. In setting up new structures, consideration will continue to be given to the social welfare of civilian staff.

#### **4. Stability, security and cooperation in Europe and the world**

Germany has a vital interest in the permanent stabilisation of the western Balkans. For this reason, we shall actively endeavour, together with our partners and allies, to bring the

countries of the western Balkans closer to the EU and NATO, to support political and economic change in those countries and to settle unresolved issues.

Together with our European partners, we shall work towards a strategic partnership with Russia, which we will advance in all fields at the level of bilateral relations and at EU level. Germany has a particular interest in supporting the country's difficult modernisation process through increased political, economic and societal cooperation. The aim remains a Russia which prospers and which – guided by the values to which Europe is committed, and taking into consideration its traditions – successfully completes its transformation into a stable democracy. We want to increase trade and create a long-term energy partnership without one-sided dependencies. Russia remains an important partner for us in dealing with regional and global challenges, in the struggle against international terrorism, and in the context of relations with its immediate neighbours. Offers by Germany and the EU to support Russia in creating better conditions for a political solution to the Chechen conflict still stand. We want to shape our relations with Russia in a way that includes our common neighbours in a spirit of friendship and trust.

We will continue to develop, on the basis of shared values, our relations with the other states of Eastern Europe and the countries of the southern Caucasus and Central Asia.

It remains our aim to make every effort to support the democratic and economic reform process in Ukraine. We are committed to implementing the path towards deepening and strengthening relations between the EU and Ukraine set out in the EU action plan adopted on 21 February 2005. We are in favour of Ukraine finding its place in Europe.

Together with our partners in the EU, we support a strengthening of democracy, the rule of law and human rights in Belarus.

In light of its history, Germany's relationship with Israel is marked by a special responsibility. We affirm Israel's right to exist and the right of its citizens to live within secure borders, free of fear, terror and violence, as well as the right of the Palestinian people to their own state, existing side by side with Israel in security and within recognised borders. We want to work together with our partners, on the basis of the roadmap, towards a peace solution which is in the interests of all involved and lays the foundations for the lasting, peaceful coexistence of Israelis and Palestinians in two sovereign states.

Bilaterally and together with our partners, we shall provide targeted support for reform processes in the countries of the Middle East, while respecting their independence and traditions, and shall also thereby make a contribution towards overcoming the problem of Islamist terrorism and easing the migratory pressure emanating from that region.

Beyond the bounds of the region, improving mutual understanding with cultures shaped by Islam is an important objective which, besides cultural and economic aspects, also serves to safeguard peace.

In this rapidly intertwining world, we want to intensify further our relations with the states in Asia, Latin America and Africa on the basis of shared values and guided by the principles of democracy, the rule of law and human rights. We shall place special emphasis on promoting and reinforcing subregional and interregional cooperation.

We shall devote increasing attention to the political, security and economic challenges facing Asia. In this context, in addition to our established links with Japan and other Asian states, we intend to develop long-term partnership strategies with China and India in particular. The economic and political potential of these countries is growing, and we would like to seize the opportunities this offers. We want to intensify our dialogue with China on the rule of law with the aim of strengthening democracy, the rule of law and human rights.

We wish to give our relations with the states of Latin America and the Caribbean the emphasis this traditional partnership deserves, thereby pursuing our interest in regional stability, democracy, prosperity, thriving economic relations and cultural exchanges as well as helping to combat drug-trafficking and terrorism. In so doing, we intend to take a firm stand against dictatorial tendencies and human-rights abuses.

Developments in our neighbouring continent of Africa confront us with important humanitarian tasks and affect our strategic and political interests. Africa faces enormous social, political and economic challenges. Among the priorities of our involvement in Africa are combating poverty, protecting the natural resource base and pursuing policies for the stabilisation and reconstruction of weak or failed states. We are therefore resolved, for the sake of both continents, to support the emergence of self-sustaining development in Africa for

which Africa itself would take ownership. To this end, we want to lend active support and bolster Africans' efforts to solve problems themselves, particularly in the framework of NEPAD, but at the same time we shall also take the extent to which African states exercise responsibility for their own destiny as a yardstick. African states are increasingly developing their own sense of political responsibility for the security of their region; we shall support this by helping to develop the bodies responsible for security policy in the African Union and African regional organisations.

Cultural and education policy abroad is the third pillar of German foreign policy. We wish to strengthen inter-cultural dialogue and to awaken interest in Germany and Europe, especially through cooperation in the realms of research and higher education. In order to enhance the efficiency of our cultural policy abroad, we intend to streamline its instruments, interlink them to a greater degree and improve their quality. The Deutsche Welle broadcasting service, as the voice of Germany, and the system of German schools abroad must be strengthened.

## **5. The United Nations**

German action in the foreign-policy field is primarily taken in multilateral contexts. We shall make particular efforts to strengthen the common foreign policy of the EU and to gain support for common European positions, particularly in international forums such as the United Nations. We support effective multilateralism, in which each specific problem is entrusted to the international organisations best equipped to solve it.

The United Nations continues to have a key role to play in preserving peace and solving global challenges for the future. We are in favour of a reform of the United Nations which enables it to meet future requirements. We will advance the reform initiatives of the UN summit held in September 2005, such as the new Peacebuilding Commission and the Human Rights Council, and actively support management reform. We will also advocate the further strengthening of the rule of law in international affairs. Any reform of the UN which does not involve reform of the Security Council would be incomplete. Germany remains ready to accept more responsibility, including by taking up a permanent seat on the Security Council. As a long-term perspective, we will continue to strive for a permanent seat for the EU.

We shall maintain our commitment to the development of Bonn as a location for UN offices and international non-governmental organisations.

## **6. Global issues**

German foreign policy is rooted in a comprehensive security concept, which combines elements of foreign, security and development policies. In this context, we intend to develop the range of instruments available to us for crisis prevention and response in particular. This priority cross-cutting task requires the pooling of available financial and human resources, as well as additional funding. Besides military capabilities, these resources must also include enough civilian personnel for the establishment or restoration of viable democratic institutions subject to the rule of law, such as the police force, the judiciary and the public prosecution service. The Interministerial Steering Group for Civilian Crisis Prevention should be strengthened, and early-warning mechanisms should be improved. National and EU mechanisms should be even more neatly dovetailed. We shall implement the Federal Government's Action Plan on Civilian Crisis Prevention.

Germany will remain ready to exercise its international responsibility and participate in international peace missions in the framework of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Basic Law. This commitment will be honoured on the basis of international law and in close coordination with our partners and allies in the EU, NATO and the UN. In this context, Germany supports the process of stabilisation, nation-building and reconstruction, especially in Afghanistan and the Balkans. This support is reflected in a comprehensive approach involving the use of political, economic, developmental and military resources. We shall take decisions on Bundeswehr missions abroad with our allies, having due regard to the need for a fair distribution of burdens, and we can be relied upon to honour the pledges we have made. Bundeswehr missions abroad will always be accompanied by overarching political strategies and will be closely coordinated among the departments of the Federal Government involved.

Missions in other countries are dangerous. Our service personnel, police, diplomats and development and reconstruction workers deserve our thanks and our recognition. Their welfare is our special concern.



We want to enhance our contribution to the struggle against international terrorism. To combat terrorism efficiently, we must intensify our international cooperation on the basis of a comprehensive long-term strategy, with particular emphasis being placed on tackling the causes of terrorism. This means that agreement must be reached on a comprehensive UN anti-terrorism convention and implementation of all UN conventions relating to terrorism; it also means engaging in dialogue with Islam and ensuring close cooperation among intelligence services. Where necessary, consideration must also be given to the use of military resources.

Treaty-based non-proliferation, disarmament and arms control are core priorities of German foreign and security policy. We stand by the long-term goal of complete abolition of all weapons of mass destruction. We are committed to nuclear disarmament and the reinforcement of the international non-proliferation regime. We advocate strengthening the role of international organisations such as the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). International capabilities to monitor and verify compliance with the non-proliferation regime and to enforce the provisions of the Non-Proliferation Treaty must be improved.

In the conflict about the Iranian nuclear programme, our aim is to achieve a negotiated solution. We want to work together with our European and American partners to ensure that the international community receives objective guarantees that the Iranian nuclear programme serves peaceful purposes only. With this aim in mind, we want to continue the negotiations and, as a first step, ensure ratification of the Additional Protocol to the Non-Proliferation Treaty by Iran. We are in agreement with our European and American partners that Iran has the right to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, but not to possess nuclear weapons. We will make every effort to ensure that Iran makes its necessary contribution to peace and stability in the region and recognises the right to exist of all states in the region.

We shall continue to press for progress in the control of small and light weapons of war.

Our policy on human rights is an important component of our political efforts to promote peace and security. Systematic violations of human rights can also pose a threat to peace and international security. Human rights are indivisible. Our foreign and development policies will not fail to respond when democracy, freedom, the rule of law and minority rights are in danger. We are committed to credible foreign and development policies, policies that can address shortcomings openly, while at the same time actively seeking to promote the interests

of our country. Bilateral dialogue on the rule of law, measures to strengthen civil society and promotion of democracy in the multilateral framework can underpin this process.

Familiar and new infectious diseases, such as HIV/AIDS, malaria, tuberculosis and bird flu, as well as the ever greater number of natural disasters, are endangering more and more people and, increasingly, entire regions. We want to take part in international efforts to combat such diseases and disasters.

We intend to develop a comprehensive strategy for energy security in order to ensure that energy supplies to Germany and Europe are also safeguarded in the long term. Part of this strategy must focus on the efficient use of increasingly scarce global resources and the promotion of energy from renewable sources.

In 2007, Germany will be hosting the G8 summit, and will make every effort to bring the summit to a successful conclusion.

## **7. Development policy**

Development policy is a distinct component of our overall German foreign policy.

The consequences of increasingly critical development problems, particularly in Africa but also in parts of Asia and Latin America, pose a direct threat to peace and prosperity in Germany and Europe.

We are pursuing the aims and applying the principles of the Millennium Declaration, especially the Millennium Development Goals for 2015, including the results of their review conducted at the UN Millennium Summit in 2005, the Monterrey Consensus adopted at the International Conference on Financing for Development and the Plan of Implementation agreed at the Johannesburg World Summit on Sustainable Development. We regard development cooperation as a task of the international community, to which German development policy makes effective and visible contributions.

Our main aim is to pursue a highly effective development policy. We want to achieve this by raising the profile of our policy, by establishing a clear national and international division of labour, successfully coordinating our activities with other donors and by improving the coherence and efficiency of bilateral and multilateral organisational structures and instruments. Through close interweaving of our foreign, security, development, human-rights, external-trade and cultural-relations policies, we intend to forge a coherent policy on relations with developing countries.

In order to improve cooperation in tackling global challenges, we wish to advance the further development of international institutions and global regulatory instruments such as the world trade order. In this context, we shall focus on the following objectives:

- greater fairness in the way in which global structures are shaped,
- further reform of EU development policy,
- continuing reform of the international financial institutions the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund,
- enhancement of the negotiation and implementation capacities of developing countries, and
- better opportunities for developing countries to mobilise their own resources for their own development.

We are in favour of the world trade order being adjusted so as to ensure that greater emphasis is placed on reducing poverty. Debt relief should be consistently focused on the Millennium Goals, and its effectiveness should be efficiently monitored.

Along with our partners in the WTO, we want to improve market access for developing countries. We intend to support the efforts at the Doha round of trade negotiations to reduce trade-distorting tariffs and agricultural export subsidies while creating differentiated market-opening mechanisms for developing and newly industrialised countries and to ensure that these efforts are successful.

Successful development depends on good governance - based on democracy, the rule of law and respect for human rights – as well as on gender equality and on a peaceful environment. These criteria, coupled with efforts to enhance good governance, promote the potential for self-help and strengthen and support civil society in developing countries, along with

sustained efforts to fight corruption, are defining elements of our development cooperation. For cooperation with countries where governance is inadequate, we intend to devise a new concept designed to establish the basis for a development-orientated transformation in the longer term.

With our partners in the EU, we shall strive to ensure that the dangers of destabilisation posed by contrasting demographic trends and by increasing pressure causing people to migrate to Europe can also, by means of development measures, be confronted effectively at their source.

By promoting the use of energy from renewable sources and energy efficiency in developing countries, we make an important contribution to worldwide sustainable development, to the creation of more jobs in Germany, to protection of the global climate, to reduced dependence on oil in energy supply and to the fight against poverty.

Preserving biological diversity for future generations is imperative to ensure our planet's sustainable development. We want to set new priorities and launch fresh initiatives designed to help the developing countries preserve biodiversity and promote the development-friendly use of resources.

In our bilateral cooperation, we will, in close consultation with other donors, review our priority areas for the achievement of the Millennium Goals and the number of our partner countries with a view to reducing this number. Our medium-term objective is to concentrate our bilateral cooperation on 60 countries. In this context, we shall also re-examine the balance between the resources available for bilateral, as opposed to multilateral, development cooperation.

We have committed ourselves to automatic increments in the resources allocated to official development cooperation and have included these increases in the timetable agreed at EU level. Accordingly, we shall devote 0.33% of our gross national income to public development cooperation by 2006, at least 0.51% by 2010 and the UN target figure of 0.7% by 2015 at the latest. These increases will be achieved with the aid of additional budgetary resources, debt relief and innovative funding instruments.

In the international arena, we shall remain active and focused on results in the framework of cooperative efforts to introduce innovative funding instruments for global sustainable development, particularly in the EU, the G8 and the Lula Group (Action against Hunger and Poverty).

Increasing the efficiency of German development policy and improving its structures will depend on further streamlining. This applies especially to the need to forge closer links between Technical and Financial Cooperation. Budgetary assistance will only be granted if the criteria of good governance are met.

Successful cooperation with non-governmental organisations, churches, foundations and business will be further developed. We shall further improve cooperation between governmental and non-governmental players. The political foundations will play a prominent role in our development policy.

German development policy will use the instruments of bilateral, multilateral and EU development policy in a targeted manner with due regard to the relative advantages of each, coordinating them more closely. We want to raise the profile of our development policy by means of consolidation and prioritisation and to ensure that it is a visible and effective part of the efforts of the international community. We will be seeking strategic partnerships with major newly industrialised countries.

We want to develop our presence and our influence in multilateral development organisations and their supervisory bodies.