

CONSERVATIVE

FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY

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Editor in chief: Mart Helme
Copy editor: Hille Saluäär
Translators: Kristopher Rikken, Margus Enno,
Siiri Ollerma, Merike Koppel
Layout and design: Tiina Sildre
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Volker Kauder

FOREWORD

It's said that security is indivisible. But to the same extent that security cannot be subdivided, threats to security can be reduced to smaller units and analysed individually.

This collection of articles subjects security – inevitably a central, existential concern for every state, nation and individual – to a somewhat more multifaceted treatment.

We view the concept of security from an undoubtedly Estonian- centric point of view, but without the conceit that Estonia is the navel of the world. At the same time, there is no doubt that Estonia is one of the best-integrated countries in today's Europe and has a greater influence on the security situation than one would presume on the basis of its size and location on the periphery of the community. Estonia is firmly anchored as a member of NATO and the European Union, and belongs to both the Eurozone and the Schengen area, to say nothing of our close local and regional ties.

As a NATO member state, Estonia has for an entire decade participated in many international missions aimed variously at fighting terrorism, keeping local ethnic and religious tensions under control or ensuring humanitarian aid to those in need. In doing so, we have made our modest contribution to providing security in our troubled world.

Even so, concerns in its own neighbourhood mean that Estonia will inevitably also be a consumer of security. NATO membership and the alliance's presence in our corner of our world has surely had a sobering effect on those with dreams of restoring the Soviet Union in some modified form or of using a fifth column in the Baltics states to carry out a policy of divide et impera.

As a member of the European Union, Estonia stands as a kind of watchtower on the community's external frontier. Our being part of the Schengen visa area means a weighty responsibility to safeguard our internal security as well as that of our fellow parties to the agreement, and to keep potential risks from materializing.

Yet as the articles in this volume show, security themes go far deeper than direct and conventional threats, also taking in corruption risks latent in political systems which, in the even the barest of favourable conditions, can burst into full flower, as well as delayed-action bombs stemming from possible misuse of the natural environment.

Indeed, we can confidently state on the basis of the foregoing that security is indivisible. Whatever we do or fail to do will inevitably resonate with our neighbours as well as in the unions and alliances to which we belong. Conversely, developments in our partners, neighbours and organizations have the same inevitable influence on us.

Everything is interconnected, as even the ancient philosophers were well aware. The question is only one of why, how and with what consequences. In its own modest way, this volume attempts to analyse these questions.

Tunne Kelam,
Member of the European Parliament, EPP Group

One of the main challenges for a country is to ensure that its citizens are protected against internal and external threats. It is important to remember this promise of protection, especially at times when extensive debates on national, European and international financial architecture are pending. If we, as European citizens, want to ensure the strong continued representation of our values and interests, we need the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP). Concurrently, we know that our interests are derived from our values: human dignity, freedom, democracy, justice and peace. We are united in the European Union through solidarity.

The pressure to consolidate state budgets affects European defence budgets. That is why countries make extensive reform efforts in order to secure the future of national defence forces. However, the general objective should be to adapt these national reforms so that any friction and unnecessary overlapping structures are avoided within the framework of the European Union – and also NATO – and stronger and increasingly efficient cooperation becomes obvious. The respective programmes – Pooling & Sharing as well as Smart Defence – are the first steps in the right direction, but they still need to be put into practice.

The aim of this collection is to provide a new impulse for stronger cooperation. Particularly noteworthy is that the book brings together a wide variety of European voices pursuing a common goal. This sounds very optimistic and also necessary, as we cannot afford long and cumbersome processes, especially in the field of security policy. Threats and crises have the capacity to hit us with sudden inevitability, as the civil war in Libya has demonstrated. We must be able to act at the moment of crisis, not only later. Preference is given to a proactive security policy that is focused on avoiding all crises and military conflicts from the outset.

Thus, this collection of ideas is being published at the right time. We are in dire need of a broad debate on the future of European Common Security and Defence Policy that brings together as many clever thinkers as possible. The following pages are well suited to acting as a starting point for such a debate.

Dr Hans-Gert Pöttering, *MEP*
Former President of the European Parliament
Chairman of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung. V.
Member of the Executive Board of the Centre for European Studies

RULE OF LAW (20) AND SECURITY (10)

Trivimi Velliste, politician and diplomat

Estonia is defined by its location and roots. As an indigenous people with deep connections to nature and the land, existing for many centuries as a peasant people, Estonians have not had great kings or priests of their own. Spellcasters and shamans are another matter. All this has left a trace in Estonian identity. Our culture's onetime leading historian Voldemar Miller once noted that icons have always been foreign for Estonians, that Estonians do not tolerate a single supreme ruler or the truth dictated by such a ruler.

This is important for understanding our first Constitution, which came into existence during the War of Independence. The basic foundation of Estonian rule of law was a democratic one in the original sense of the word. All power was vested in the people and their elected representatives. The government was more akin to a Parliamentary committee than a separate executive branch. It was extremely easy to disband and replace the cabinet. There was no head of state in the accustomed sense.

Naturally such a system of government – especially as the economy went downhill – encouraged uncertainty and political fatigue for the electorate. Thus, ten years later, the time was ripe for the other extreme. Gripped by the populism of an association of veterans of the War of Independence, the people gave their blessing to a new Constitution where Parliament's power was reduced in favour of a strong head of state. This Constitution was instrumental in the staging of a coup in 1934 to keep a fairly hard-line right-wing regime from taking power.

Of course, Konstantin Päts and Kaarel Eenpalu were riding on the crest of the zeitgeist. Very few old European democracies were able to refrain from doing so. Yet authoritarian rule in late 1930s Estonia was relatively toothless and moderate, as attested to by the memories of those who experienced the era first-hand. Constitution adopted in 1937 – partly inspired by professor Jüri Uluots – was a step toward returning to democracy.

But small countries had little reprieve from the foreign policy and security situation on the cusp of World War II. It is pointless to gloat in hindsight over short-sightedness. Things should be seen in the context of that era and if anyone deserves reproach, it should be the political "foresight" of the larger countries (including democratic ones). Small countries cannot after all be

expected to establish an all-encompassing security system. Talk of a silent surrender by Estonia is a patent exaggeration. There is persuasive evidence that the treaty allowing Soviet Russia to establish bases in Estonia bought extremely valuable time, for a greater probability of military success. The decision came fairly unanimously – even Jaan Tõnisson of the opposition supported it. Let us not forget: no nation exists to mythologize itself; the goal is to survive, and, if possible, overcome and triumph.

The long years of resistance during the Soviet occupation gave many Estonian citizens both home and in exile time to think about what should be avoided the next time around – if the unthinkable should happen and there was a next time. And the miracle did in fact occur. Contrary to what many wiser heads thought, the Soviet Russian empire did not last for ever. Not only did it cease to be, it proved possible to be victorious without fighting a second War of Independence. Fate had been extraordinarily generous.

During the turbulent years of perestroika and the singing revolution, no one could imagine how the return to independence would actually take place. By that time, most Estonians had no doubt in the legal continuity of the Republic of Estonia. Yet two completely different political wings had developed – the Supreme Council and the Congress of Estonia. The situation could be compared to a duumvirate, which has ended very badly for many countries in many centuries. Now, in hindsight, we see that two female politicians – Marju Lauristin and Liia Hänni – came up with a brilliant solution and led the Estonian people across the abyss safe and sound. They proposed that a common assembly be elected by each body on equal terms, and this assembly be entrusted with a task of drafting a new constitution, which would be put to referendum.

The 60-member Constitutional Assembly was duly elected, where supporters of Estonian national continuity had the upper hand. They maintained that the Republic of Estonia had never been part of the Soviet Union, not even for a minute. A number of the members of the assembly elected by the Congress of Estonia were also Supreme Council deputies. Yet many of the politicians in the Supreme Council were of the mindset that although *de jure* continuity was logical, it served no purpose in practical politics. Estonian society faced a dangerous rift.

As it stood, the 1938 Constitution had never been repealed. It had merely been impossible to govern the country under that basic law, because of the occupation. The Assembly essentially had a choice of two draft Constitu-

tions – one drafted by a working group led by the then Justice Minister Jüri Raidla, the other by one of the Congress of Estonia’s primary ideologists Jüri Adams. The Adams version passed by a vote of 29-22. This was a political achievement of decisive importance.

For Adams, the de jure continuity of the Republic was self-evident. But he too understood that the 1938 Constitution could not be implemented even with the best of intentions. The rival Raidla version also was based on de jure continuity but unlike Adams, it did not support democratic parliamentarism but rather a strong presidential power. In the course of endless discussions, many changes were introduced to the Adams bill, with some aspects transposed from the Raidla text. National defence was the only field where (at the behest of Enn Tarto) the president retained strong powers. In those days no one dared leave the defence forces at the whim of turbulent party politics, as it was believed that governments would not last long. (This conflict with the spirit of the rest of the Constitution was eliminated only 2011, in the most recent amendment to the Constitution.)s

The Constitution drafted 20 years ago puts significant weight on people’s fundamental rights and liberties. For people coming from a Soviet society, it was a very profound and important message. Individual rights were protected to the extent one could even have questions rather how successfully common interests might be defended. Governance experts Rein Taagepera and Peet Kask were instrumental in shaping the spirit of Estonia’s current constitution. The services of redaction committee chairwoman Liia Hänni in seeking difficult but ultimately successful compromises were invaluable.

If the Constitutional Assembly had not taken shape as it did and the Supreme Council had had the final say, Estonian history would have been different. Estonia would have been interpreted as having split off from the Soviet Union, as a successor state – along with everything that that entails. All Soviet Union citizens who had settled in Estonia would automatically have become Estonian citizens. Parliament would have become similar to the former Supreme Council, one-third of the deputies would have been Russian-speaking and it is very likely that Estonia would have two official languages. We would not be in NATO and the European Union.

Estonia’s strivings to get into NATO began when the Russian troops were still in country. Progress had to be made slowly, with small steps, while winning the minds and hearts of the politicians of old Europe. They were used to thinking of the Baltics as part of “Russia” and did not imagine a

different reality. Some even admitted afterwards that they did not believe Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania would regain independence.

Thus, in order to overcome this psychological inertia, we had to do our homework with three times the intensity and care. The Partnership for Peace (PfP) and Membership Action Plan mechanism offered a good opportunity. We had to prove we were an old society with democratic traditions and European roots, and that our military took its orders from politicians elected by the people. And we succeeded in doing that, even though we did not enter NATO in the first round after the fall of the Berlin Wall. At that point, there had been too little time for a paradigm shift. The Baltic states did not yet have the image comparable of other countries that shared their destiny, such as Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary.

But this meant that the invitation to join NATO, on 21 November 2002 at the Prague summit, was all the more firm. By that time, visible changes had taken place in the Baltics. Estonia's economic and political reforms and rapid development in particular were hailed by the media as a role model for Eastern Europe. Prague represented a major breakthrough, aided by the international security situation, which was by then quite different. On 11 September 2001, the twin towers in New York had been attacked. The focus of NATO's activity was changing – international terrorism was a concern for everyone.

Still, the fact that new dangers were arising did not mean the old ones had gone away. Estonia remembers its history well and knows there is no such thing as a free lunch. We have taken development of our defensive capacity seriously, and are among the few NATO members who spend 2% of their GDP on defence. And young Estonians are ever more bullish on defending their country – doing one's compulsory military service is considered a matter of honour, and membership of the volunteer Defence League is up. All this instils optimism.

If there is any concern, it is a question of the extent of freedom and responsibility. We have managed to get so used to freedom that no one notices it anymore. Freedom is like fresh air around us, something we don't think about as long as there is enough of it. The exodus of many young people – many of them for good – leads to serious discussion about whether they still care about the noble basic principles set out in the preamble of our Constitution. Will the things our forefathers once held dear still important for our grandchildren?

President John F. Kennedy once called on the American people: Ask not what your country can do for you – ask what you can do for your country. Couldn't we recast that idea for young Estonians? Shouldn't we emphasize it: the material side of life is always important, but there is something more important still – the spirit of our forefathers and our future?



Trivimi Velliste is a politician, diplomat and activist. Known as one of the initiators of the heritage conservation movement and the Estonian citizens' committees, Velliste served as Estonian Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1992–1994 and Ambassador to the UN from 1994–1998. Between 1999–2011, Velliste served as a member of Parliament's National Defence Committee, one of the leaders of the Baltic Assembly and the chairman of the Parliamentary heritage conservation association. Velliste is the chairman or honorary chairman of several societies. He is a recipient of the Order of the National Coat of Arms second class as well as decorations from Latvia, Poland, Norway and other countries.

NEW TRENDS IN MODERN SECURITY

Mart Nutt, *Member of the Parliament*

Like the world itself, the world's security risks and security measures are constantly changing. Security is as old as humankind. As societies developed, security became an institutional activity. Throughout history, the goal of ensuring security has been to allow countries to survive and their rulers to remain in power. With the rise of the modern nation-state, the purpose of defence shifted from conserving the power of a ruler to safeguarding legitimate, democratically formed governments. As human rights became recognized, protection of the individual became the object of ensuring security, which in a conflict is manifested above all as protection of civil society. Thus security has traditionally been divided into **state/national security** and **individual security**.

- **National security** means preservation and defence of national sovereignty, territorial integrity and the constitutional order. National security is increasingly associated with international and collective security (international organizations, regional groups of countries). The following concepts come up in connection with national security:
 - a) **external security**, above all, provided by a country's armed forces. Political measures include a state of war;
 - b) **internal security**, provided by police, the judiciary and rescue services. Political measures are a state of emergency;
 - c) **asymmetric security threats**, a hybrid of both external and internal security problems;
 - d) **collective (international) security**, which began with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 and which was intensified by the Congress of Vienna in 1815, the Congress of Berlin in 1878, the Treaty of Versailles in 1919, the League of Nations, the UN, the Helsinki Process starting in 1975 (CSCE and OSCE) and other international instruments;
 - e) **globalization and asymmetric security threats**, which have created a completely new situation in collective security and may be the greatest international security related challenge since the Peace of Westphalia.

- **Individual security** means the security of an individual or group of individuals with regard to factors that jeopardize life, liberty and all other human rights. Individual security may be threatened by:
 - a) governments, above all in non-democratic countries, as well as anarchy in a situation where a power struggle is taking place and the state is not able to ensure the legal order but exercises its power in a violent manner;
 - b) arbitrary actions of authorities, corruption, impunity;
 - c) crime, including organized crime;
 - d) power struggles between competing groups (paramilitary units, guerillas, mafia etc.);
 - e) terrorism;
 - f) actions of foreign countries – aggression, occupation, ethnic cleansing etc.

The functions of ensuring security are above all shouldered by states as units that wield real power. In this framework, international organizations constitute the level of uniting and coordinating the powers of states. In today's world, international organizations have taken on a quite independent role in ensuring security, and countries take this into consideration. This role manifests itself primarily in the fulfilling of the following functions:

- preventing, avoiding and ending military and other armed conflicts and thereby ensuring peace;
- preservation of countries' territorial integrity and preservation of legal government;
- protection of civilians.

From the standpoint of collective security, the UN, NATO, European Union, African Union, Arab League, OSCE and a number of smaller regional organizations and international tribunals (Bosnia, Rwanda) and the International Criminal Court in The Hague all have significance. The competence of the ICC lies in dealing with genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity. ***Thus ensuring security at the international level also means ensuring human rights.***

In today's world security environment, security problems are actually indivisible. National and individual security cannot be distinguished from one another and are almost completely interdependent, at least in democracies. Nor is there any longer a fundamental difference between external and internal security. It is not important whether acts of terror, cyber attacks or propaganda are organized from within a country or from outside. The identity organizer of the activity that poses a threat to security is important, not the place where the organizer is acting from. Another way in which asymmetric security risks are expressed is the disappearance of a front line between external and internal enemy. National security is now threatened just as much by fifth columns, civil unrest and acts of terrorism as it is by an attack across borders by a foreign army. Sometimes it is easier to orchestrate regime change, where a government is replaced with one more to the liking of a hostile state, by using an internal enemy and subversion and propaganda rather than conquering a country piece by piece.

Political warfare aimed at changing people's thinking and actions have taken on a new role in the contemporary security environment. The basic principles of propaganda and psychological operations were laid down in writing 2,500 years ago by Chinese military theorist and commander Sunzi (a.k.a. Sun Tzu), who emphasized:

- ruin everything good in the enemy's land;
- implicate the enemy's leading statesmen in criminal activity;
- damage the prestige of the enemy's military leadership and, at the right moment, cast them in a deleterious light in the public eye;
- incite conflicts and clashes among the civilians in the country that is hostile to you;
- incite young against elders;
- make use of all means to disrupt the work of the enemy's government;
- use all available means to disrupt the enemy forces' supply lines;
- hobble esprit de corps with music and songs;

- do all you can to bring down the enemy's traditions and smash their faith in their gods;
- be generous with propositions and gifts when buying information and collaborators;
- do not be parsimonious with money or promises as they produce excellent results.

Subversion of solidarity and common values has been an effective stratagem throughout history. Sunzi's recommendations on psychological operations and propaganda work marvellously today. Only a few other aspects might be added to the list, along with the fact that political warfare is rendered many times easier by the use of modern communication devices. One must only have sufficient resources and professionally propaganda planners. Here are a few brief examples of the long list of political warfare tactics that can be used to damage a country's international reputation and breed internal discontent for the purpose of weakening security:

- Actions via international organizations. The enemy is portrayed as a failed state and its image is damaged by groundless accusations (e.g. of human rights violations and persecution of minorities, economic hardship, political incompetence and instability, foreign policy aggression, influence of extremists on politics, glorification of fascism or terrorism, racism and xenophobia, anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, falsification of history, etc.). The goal of such activities is to shape international opinion to make the country appear culpable in the event of conflict and not worth aiding.
- Influencing the media for the purpose of cultivating negative stereotypes of a country, including, among the population, exposing the regime's "criminality and hostility to the people". Sometimes such activity taps into destructive opposition.
- Amplifying economic hardships and exploiting political discontent. Increasing tensions, unemployment using economic measures such as dumping, sanctions, boycotts.
- Convincing politicians of the benefits of actions made in the

interests of other countries – be it for the state, city, party or politician.

- Influencing businessmen with favourable offers, often merely by dispensing promises.
- Bribes, recruiting agents for collaboration.
- Use of so-called agents of influence to shape public opinion in the interests of a foreign country. These people need not be enemies of the state but as “useful idiots” they are made to believe that they are acting for a good cause.
- Subverting integration in any way possible.
- Establishing and financing think tanks and organizations, including human rights organizations, and media organizations that are hostile toward the state. Forcing another country’s policies on a state through ostensibly independent associations.

Conventional security threats are still with us today as well, as the Russia-Georgia war showed, and likewise a number of armed conflicts in Africa. Russia is preparing actively for this as it builds up forces in Kaliningrad oblast and North Caucasus. It would be short-sighted to see conventional threats as being in the past and to leave a vacuum in this security space. But asymmetric security threats are intruding at breakneck speed, right alongside conventional threats. It is high time for NATO to start dealing with asymmetric threats and aggression stemming from within a country’s borders with the same level of seriousness it reserves for foreign aggression.



Mart Nutt is chairman of the Estonian Institute of Human Rights. He has been an MP 1992–2011. Nutt graduated from the University of Tartu in 1985 as an historian, and in 1988 completed post-graduate work in ethnology. Since 1998, he has been a member of the Council of Europe’s Anti-Racism Commission. In 2007, Nutt served as a high-level UN Human Rights Council expert on the Dar-fur mission. Nutt has contributed significantly to the development of conservative thought in Estonia – both as an author of ideological parts of conservative party platforms as well as through public lectures and articles – in academic and popular media. He was decorated in 2001 with the Order of the National Coat of Arms.

MORE VALUES AND MORE ESTONIA ESTONIA'S ROLE IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Andres Herkel, Member of the Parliament

We have to make one thing clear for ourselves. Estonia has prestige, authority and a voice in making decisions: more clout than we realize. It's a truth that we must become more accustomed to. We no longer have to prove to the world that we aren't a camel, as a Russian saying goes – explaining oneself to people who aren't interested. True, in the 1990s and even in the first decade of this century, we sometimes found ourselves in the position of having to explain that we really don't tread on minorities' rights, that our citizenship policy is in fact moderately liberal, and that Estonia's anti-Soviet resistance were no Nazi sympathizers. But the need for this sort of explanatory public relations has nearly disappeared, or at least it isn't something over which Estonia's representatives should be unduly concerned.

This does not mean that Russia's propaganda mills have stopped churning. But what has changed is that no bona fide international organization takes the accusations seriously. There are a number of reasons for this. Estonia has met the qualifications for membership in organizations with the most stringent democratic requirements, while the accuser has had clear problems meeting basic standards of democracy and human rights. The winds of democratic change that once swept briskly through Eastern Europe and the peoples of the former Soviet Union have essentially stopped blowing. Estonia is among the few success stories from a now long-ago era.

So if any politician or diplomat still thinks his main calling is to defend Estonia's positions in a propaganda war with Russia, then I think they haven't understood how the world around us has changed. Estonia's job is now to shape the policy of international organizations in various matters. Oddly enough, a new, unexpected problem has contributed to this – the backdrop on which Estonia became the newest member of the Eurozone in 2011. While the debt crisis is a problem, Estonia is an example of how the problem has been kept under control. With its economic success and good financial discipline, Estonian has earned much more moral capital than we could dream of a few years ago.

What can we do with this moral capital? Different organizations have different priorities, but the lesson of the debt crisis has introduced a new topic on the map of basic values, one that is perfect for Estonia. The basic values of European political culture are usually summed up with three major watchwords: democracy, human rights and rule of law. The debt crisis has led to the need to formulate a fourth basic pillar – fiscal responsibility. Estonia with its low government debt and strict budgetary policy is a good candidate

to serve as a spokesman for fiscal responsibility. But for now it is mainly a European Union topic, and at the end of the day Europe's sustainability depends on whether strict fiscal policy principles can be followed.

The debate over sovereignty vs. federalism that is related to the concerns over the European Union and Eurozone can presently lead us to much more important choices that pertain to the EU, its functioning and its future. We have to be prepared to define our national interests and participate in the debate. Estonia needs pan-European organizations, not least for guaran-teeing its security and staying out of isolation. Yet we cannot concede any of our sovereignty if the move toward federalism starts going past reasonable boundaries. We should welcome a situation where stringent fiscal policy becomes the norm for everyone, but this does not necessarily mean that a unified set of principles is right for us in other fields, such as citizenship policy.

Estonia's image as a successful country creates important opportunities for us in other organizations outside the European Union. I refer to the possibility of being a more demanding voice on democracy issues. This pertains to Russia-related topics, and human rights protection in the broader sense, as well as sharing our transition experience with countries looking to receive assistance to build their own democratic institutions. Estonia's role in international organizations is above all to represent values-based policy – to safeguard the principles of international law, to oppose Realpolitik and power brokering. Even if it seems otherwise in some cases, it is clear in light of our historical experience (we cannot stake our future on sheer might) that we cannot distance ourselves from values. We have to note that often the gulf between pragmatic policy and values manifests itself as a latent conflict, it might be expressed in the form of avoiding some topic or an attempt to dodge controversial issues.

Due to its very nature, Estonia may need effective international organizations more than they need Estonia. We undoubtedly have, even on our own, influence and decision-making rights, but as a small country, we do need strategic partners in the key organizations. In NATO, the United States is such a partner and it is increasingly clear that Germany fulfils the corresponding role in the EU, or more narrowly in the Eurozone. But relations with partners that share all of the same values are important. In organizations that embody "soft" values – above all the Council of Europe and the OSCE – we must make effort to keep the values-based coalition or core as effective as possible and not allow the fragile effectiveness of the organizations to be cancelled out.

One can't agree with the claim that Estonia lacks sufficient possibilities to contribute to the dialogue or that we do not have enough people. Estonia's message is primarily conveyed by career diplomats who have a wealth of experience and sufficient professional training. Undoubtedly this has been the right choice in developing our foreign service. A danger here may be the

possibility that people are used to a more passive role, with a more cautious “low profile” – a defensive position adopted due to long habit – and that they are unprepared to actively bring up the topics. Parliamentary foreign relations may fall short of the required level if political parties start to consider foreign policy a secondary concern and if foreign policy competence ceases to be a prerequisite for those entering politics.

In truth, Estonia’s capability to fulfil a values-based role depends primarily on one chief aspect: how well Estonia’s internal democracy works. Estonia serves as a role model, a model student if you will. An Estonia with a functioning democracy will be able to cull and empower, for the purpose of exercising foreign policy, individuals who are able to successfully manage their role. But if stagnation occurs and it should turn out that Estonia “wears no clothes”, we shall find our possibilities to effectively convey our messages exhausted. Danger signs include abandonment of principles, the political landscape becoming a closed preserve, erosion of internal democracy within political parties; in other words, if Estonia were no longer to function as an open society where everyone has a chance to attain success based on their abilities and skills in an environment of fair competition.

For that reason, Estonian society must have an “allergic reaction” to anything that would reduce dialogue, concentrate decision-making processes in the hands of a small elite or perpetuate the power of an existing elite. Estonia has authored an impressive success story in the first decades of its regained independence, but it now has a duty to maintain it – both for its own citizens and in the much broader international view.

In short, our ideals and viewpoints could be summed up with the following motto: more values, and more Estonia!



Andres Herkel, member of the Estonian Parliament since 1999. Vicepresident of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe 2009–2011. Graduated from the University of Tartu cum laude with a degree in psychology (1985), MA in history (1997). Previously employed at Pedagogical Research Institute as a researcher, editor of the *Vikerkaar* literary journal, editor in chief of the *Kultuur ja Elu* supplement *Eesti Elu*, teacher at the Estonian Institute of Humanities, advisor to the Parliament chancellor. Member of the Pro Patria and Res Publica Union, vice-president of the Estonian Academic Oriental Society, member of the council of the Buddhism Institute. Has authored a number of books and has published numerous articles and other publications in the Estonian and international press.

ESTONIA IN A RAPIDLY CHANGING WORLD

Marko Mihkelson, chairman of the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee

There is nothing unique in the world changing, whether the change is large or small. Several decades ago, it was the height of naivety to think that the end of history had been reached and that all peoples and countries were approaching the same understanding of good and evil. Humankind is such a complex mosaic that countless differences exist within even the most like-minded countries. For an example, we need look no further than the Europe of today.

Major world-collapses and the accompanying shifts in the geopolitical balance often spawn tragic events. Wars and conflicts have been an inseparable part of such transformations. World War II, the outcome of which shaped the world in which we still live today, was one such example.

For the countries along Europe's eastern edge, the last few decades have been among the most prosperous in their history. The relatively bloodless end of the Soviet empire gave new breathing room for oppressed peoples.

Estonia is undoubtedly among the beneficiaries of the watershed changes of the last 20-30 years. As a small state, we have achieved more and gone farther than ever before in our years of independence.

While a comparison of different historical epochs is will always be relative, the current period of globalization and technological revolution has certainly helped put smaller countries on the big map. Estonia's renown for its electronic public services and general wired-ness is the best example in this department.

Today most of us carry the whole world in our pockets. Smartphones and tablet computers bring the most distant events before our eyes and directly into our consciousness. The world has also been turning physically smaller due to developing flight connections. You can now get from Tallinn to India about as fast as it takes to drive from the Estonian capital to Lithuania.

But the current major changes in the world are not just the product of globalization or technological advances – they are above all the result of the shift in the centre of power to Asia and political awakening taking place for

tens, if not hundreds, of millions of people around the world. We stand on the threshold of major changes, one where the West-centred view of the world is being borne into the past, and more and more is being determined by the interaction of various power centres seeking mutual equilibrium.

For understandable reasons, after regaining independence, Estonia directed the brunt of its foreign policy and security policy efforts in a transatlantic direction. This choice was then as now the core of our efforts to secure our freedom. At the same time it is clear that in spite of our limited resources, we have to broaden our presence in regions that are increasingly the economic and political centre of the world – and we have to do it today.

It is obvious that the centre of power is shifting from the Euro-Atlantic region to other parts of the world. There has even been talk of the possibility of the Asian and Pacific region becoming the new dominant centre influencing global developments in the 21st century. It is believed that the British and American century will be followed by an Asian century.

In the middle of the 19th century, the British empire dominated the world, and the mother country accounted for more than one-third of the gross world product. Great Britain alone consumed five times more energy than America; 155 times more than Russia. The British controlled more than one-fifth of world trade.

Quickly recovering from the chaos of the Civil War, the United States became the world's leading economy back in the 1880s and remains so today. Even leaving aside the additional stimulus World War II gave the US's economic positions in the world, America's share in the world's economy constantly remained above one-quarter for an entire century .

The normalization of relations with China since 1972; the fall of the Soviet Union, India's resurgence in the 1990s, the rise of the Gulf States and a number of other events have accelerated global processes that have markedly reduced the relative influence of the US and the West. The IMF believes that by 2016 China could pass the US to become the world's largest economy.

Actually, the Asian century first began to be talked about in the late 1980s. One impetus in the development of this term was a 1988 meeting in Beijing between the premiers of China and India, Deng Xiaoping and Rajiv Gandhi. By that time, China had been on a new ascendant for nearly a decade, but India was just starting out on its road toward an international economy.

The rapid rise of India, and China in particular, over the last few decades has been a factor that has made the world sit up and take more notice of Asia. Earlier success stories such as Japan, South Korea, Hong Kong, Singapore and others naturally add dynamism and additional facets to the picture of Asia.

If we were to think outside the box of the last centuries – in which the Western world has dominated – we will quickly understand that the rise of Asia is not a unique phenomenon. After all, we tend to forget that China has existed as a state for more than 2,000 years and that Asia has given us a significant part of the discoveries that have influenced civilization.

According to economic historian Angus Maddison, Asia played the dominant role in the world economy up to 1500. As late as 1850, China and India combined accounted for a total 40 percent of the world economic product. Until the Ming dynasty in the 17th century, China was the most powerful country economically, accounting for close to one-quarter of the world's gross product and one-third of its economic growth.

Estonia currently has a minimal profile in Asia. It has embassies in Tokyo, Beijing and New Delhi and a consulate in Shanghai. Enterprise Estonia has offices in Tokyo and Shanghai. As of 2012, Estonia has a non-resident ambassador to the countries of Southeast Asia. In addition, Estonia has a number of honorary consuls in Asian countries.

Until recently, Estonia's embassies in Asia have been merely symbolic representations. After all, it is not normal that our Beijing embassy has long been as big as our representation in Athens.

The pickup in interest in the Asian direction is changing the situation and the construction of Estonia's first embassy building in Beijing was in some sense a game-changing step. The Asia strategy report up to 2025, drafted by the Estonian Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee in 2012, also found that it was in Estonia's long-term interests to strengthen its existing embassies and, if possible, establish new ones in South Korea and Singapore – especially given the foreign economic policy goals.

The resources for this could come from closing several smaller embassies in the EU. This certainly need not mean a decline in the importance of Europe, but rather the increase in the internal integration of the EU. The EU is our home, a place where we can represent our interests through disparate institutions and activities even in places we lack embassies.

But Asia is not the only one of the world's regions that has been successful in the new globalization cycle. We could add the oil-rich states of the Persian Gulf, as well as Turkey, Brazil, South Africa and a few other rising stars, and it is clear that the world has never been as big, developing and open as it is now.

Competition among countries in the international division of labour and trade has likely never been as close as it is now, with mutual lines of dependence so intertwined and yet influenced by very different factors. Thus it is also much harder to forecast.

Estonia has fared quite well in this stiff competition. The World Economic Forum's Global Competitive Report for 2012 places Estonia 34th out of 144 countries. Our most important trade partners – Finland and Sweden – come third and fourth, respectively. This gives us a good role model and also puts pressure on us to increase our competitiveness.

Even so, it is quite evident that in addition to our good geographic position and support from Europe in the broad sense, we will have to raise our profile and knowledge in the world's new growth environments. This would also help make our foreign trade portfolio more diverse and better able to withstand regional setbacks.

Returning to the topic of diplomatic missions abroad, besides increasing our profile in Asia, we would need to make flexible investments into new missions, such as in Brazil, South Africa and at least one Persian Gulf state.

Naturally, Estonia has no real chance of penetrating everywhere with an embassy network. Thus we should make more use of the opportunities that a rapidly changing and IT-diverse world affords small countries. Skype is one of the best keywords in this regard. It is both a superb tool and a symbolic calling-card brand for the country.

As a uniter of countries and peoples, public diplomacy now has a much more important role to play than anyone could have imagined even ten years ago. NGOs have been increasing their role over quite a long period of time. In Estonia as well, non-profits engaged in development cooperation have found their stride, taking part in aid projects both in the neighbourhood and Africa.

Social media has become a full-fledged addition to the public diplomacy toolbox. Due to its large user community, it has influence similar to the classical media in shaping opinion.

It is really the above means of public diplomacy that allow a small state like Estonia to actively increase its prestige and visibility. President Toomas Hendrik Ilves experienced this himself when some of his recent tweets met with a major international response. For this reason it is extremely important that we stay on top of both what is said of us in the classical media as well as by opinion leaders in social media.



Marko Mihkelson. Member of the 10th to the 12th Parliament of Estonia. University of Tartu, history 1993, master's degree in history 1999. 1993-94 Postimees daily foreign news editorial office editor, 1994-97 Moscow correspondent for Postimees. 1997-2000 editor-in-chief of Postimees, 2000-03 director of the Baltic Centre for Russian Studies. Pro Patria (IRL) member, member of the board of MTÜ Baltic Centre for Russian Studies; member of the board of the Estonian Foreign Policy Institute Foundation. Author of numerous political books and articles in the Estonian and foreign media. State decorations: Poland's Officer's Cross of the Order of Merit 2009, White Star, fourth class 2006, French National Order of Merit (Chevalier), Estonian Ministry of Defence gold decoration for distinguished service 2004, Grand Cross of Commander of the Order of the Lithuanian Grand Duke Gediminas 2004, Grand Cross of Commander of the Order of Merit of the Italian Republic 2004, Republic of Portugal's Commander Cross of the Order of Prince Henry 2003.

COUNT ON NATO, BUT KEEP THE POWDER DRY

Mart Laar, *Member of the Parliament*

On 1 January 2004, Estonia became a full member of NATO. The occasion was preceded by years of dedicated work and preparations, which was probably the reason that the first years of membership were as successful as they were. Estonia has pressed its case and cause in NATO, and it had paid off. Despite its small size, the country has a position of authority in the organization and been recognized by the other member states. The achievement is all the more significant considering that early on several members of the alliance felt that Estonia would be a “member of convenience” who would be a security consumer but not a provider. That has not been the case.

Estonia has claimed a secure place in the NATO structures and many Estonian officers have made a career in NATO. Estonia’s decision to increase its defence spending to 2% of GDP, as promised, has been an especially important one. It means that Estonia is swimming against the current in today’s Europe, as with every NATO meeting, fewer countries meet that goal. Only three are left now.

Tough economic times are often cited as a reason for cuts in defence spending, although this neglects the fact that the real problems often lie elsewhere. No country can resolve its economic problems by cutting expenditure on national defence. Estonia has demonstrated this vividly, raising its defence spending to the 2% mark in the same year that it entered the Eurozone. Estonia is an example of a country whose sound economic policy helps it develop an effective defence policy.

Estonia has been a very active participant in NATO missions. In Afghanistan, Estonia’s per capita contribution of troops was biggest of any country. Unfortunately losses have also been proportionally high. Estonia understands why it makes these sacrifices, and the Afghanistan mission has thus not caused major problems in the public eye. Estonia is also taking part in the NATO counter-piracy mission as our ship security teams have served on both French and German frigates and earned Estonia a good reputation in these circles. Along with British and Danish forces, Estonia’s soldiers will remain in Afghanistan for as long as necessary and they will pull out pursuant to the joint plan on the principle of “together in, together out”. The principle of Estonian defence policy is to take part in such operations without reservations and this has fostered a very good reputation for the country.

Estonia has also found its place in NATO – cyber defence. For this, Estonia is partially in debt to its neighbour Russia and cyber attacks that originated there in 2007, awakening the whole world to the prospect of cyber warfare. The NATO cyber defence centre created by Estonia is in operation and growing. It is playing an increasingly major role in NATO cyber defence policy. Awareness of cyber threats as well as of the opportunities in this field has recently been expanding. Cyber warfare is a cost-effective way of dealing serious damage to much bigger and more powerful countries. Thus such tactics are of interest to countries who lack conventional military might. If the world lacked the capability of responding to such attacks, we would be vulnerable to pressure. For that reason, countering cyber threats requires close cooperation between civilian and military structures and is a good opportunity for developing cooperation in NATO and the European Union.

In exchange for Estonia's commitment, NATO has increased its presence in Estonia as well. The decision to extend the Baltic airspace policing mission indefinitely was extremely important for the security of the Baltic states. Estonia has also received aid from NATO to build the necessary infrastructure, and the Ämari air base is the most up-to-date in the Baltics. All this shows that Estonia is a part of the life of NATO and the changes taking place there, because after all NATO is changing, too, like it or not. Estonia has been one of the proponents of these changes. NATO has responded to budget cuts with new "smart defence policies" and cut back on many of its expenditures. This has allowed NATO to fulfil its role at an increasing pace; take the Libya operation, for example. This otherwise successful intervention exposed serious rifts in the organization, however. Some of the member states sat out during the operation. In this connection, Estonia has drawn attention to the fact that NATO's reforms cannot be a smokescreen for defence budget cuts. NATO Secretary General Rasmussen has warned that if European defence spending continues to decrease, it will be impossible to carry out operations similar to Libya.

The reduction of Europe's defence spending has tilted the whole organization decidedly toward the US, appreciably increasing America's role in NATO. As to how long the US is ready and willing to assume this role, no one knows. Given that, it is natural that Estonia is also putting effort into bilateral cooperation with the US, which has led to a number of joint security projects being carried out. Estonia and the US have held a number of exercises where they practice joint operations in a crisis. Scenarios where materiel is brought ashore from US ships have been practiced. US and Estonian special forces units will start working together in Afghanistan have also engaged in cooperation. On this backdrop, Estonia views the diminishing US role in

Europe with concern – troops are being pulled out and more effort is going into the Pacific region. Estonia understands the new American security priorities, but is concerned about maintaining transatlantic ties, especially on the backdrop of what is going on in Europe. It appears that Europe has for decades been a net consumer of security but has not paid enough attention to providing security. This situation runs the risk of embroiling in problems not just NATO but all of Europe. In fact the whole security policy situation around NATO is changing, and in many ways Estonia has had its own role to play in responding to these changes.

Estonia has also been accused of influencing NATO policy significantly. We take it as a compliment. The countries concerned should not criticize the mote in our eyes before removing the beam from their own. At the end of the day, countries are generally to blame for their own problems.

The reason that NATO security policy changed was largely Russia's 2008 invasion of Georgia. To that point, it had been believed that such a thing was impossible in today's world, but Russia showed that it was in fact possible. All pretence has since been discarded. The Russian president has said that the war against Georgia had been in the works since 2006 and Dmitri Medvedev has confirmed that the goal was to stop NATO enlargement; thus claims of a regional conflict or Georgian genocide in South Ossetia are not accurate. At the same time, the Georgian war included a number of elements of 21st century warfare: cyber war and information warfare were combined with military operations. As soon as Russian tanks began moving into Georgia, a massive cyber war was also unleashed along with information offensives. Georgia was hard hit by both of these and the aftermath of the propaganda offensives can still be felt today. To take out Georgia's cell phone network, Russian hackers attacked communication systems using cyber techniques while Russian planes bombed transmitter towers and other terrestrial structures. The fact that Russia's attempt to cut Georgia off from the rest of the world does not render it any less dangerous. Estonia is glad that NATO has continued its open policy toward Georgia, highlighting the republic at the Chicago summit as being among countries with an open door to NATO. NATO has also responded to Russia's invasion of Georgia at the military planning level.

Considering the massive and constant growth of Russian military spending, the country's behaviour has become a serious problem. Russia claims that it will not attack its neighbours, and until recently NATO tended to believe it. The war in Georgia exposed these vows as a sham. NATO has prepared defence plans for Poland and the Baltic states and its repertoire of military

tactics has undergone numerous changes: early warning time has decreased, the importance of cyber and information warfare has increased. The policy of reset in relations with Russia has been devalued. The changes in NATO are also visible in the exercises it holds. Estonia has organized cyber defence exercises at the government level, with international partners participating. A scenario where Article 5 was triggered was played out throughout NATO. This also showed that a new regional cooperation is taking shape around NATO. The very active participation of the Nordic countries in this exercise shows how a number of important attitudes have changed. It is especially noteworthy in Sweden, which has unequivocally given up its past neutrality policy. NATO's challenges are to respond to these opportunities and new situations. Thanks to its close ties to the Nordics, Estonia has an historical opportunity to contribute to these processes, drawing NATO's attention to the existing shortcomings. Nordic cooperation will only aid this process.

Still, Estonia knows very well that NATO can only help those interested in helping themselves. In developing cooperation with NATO, Estonia cannot neglect its primary defensive capability, as inevitably NATO intervention will happen only after a conflict has already begun. Estonia and its partners have a number of contingency plans for action to pre-empt conflicts, but in any case it is critical to consistently develop defensive capability. Estonia is doing just that by maintaining a reserve army and compulsory military service. Estonia must carefully weigh every decision that it makes to develop its armed forces to avoid scattering and wasting its resources. In the spirit of the old Arab proverb, "trust in God but tie up your camel", our slogan might be: count on NATO but keep the powder dry.



Mart Laar is an internationally renowned politician and historian, member of the Estonian Parliament. He graduated from the University of Tartu as an historian in 1983, received his master's degree from the same university in 1995 and his PhD in 2005. In the past, Laar worked as teacher at Secondary School no. 24 in Tallinn, and head of the historical monuments department at the Ministry of Culture. He was member of the Supreme Council of the Estonian SSR. He was an MP in three successive Parliaments, including Prime Minister of Estonia on two occasions (1992–1994 and 1999–2002), and 2011–2012 Minister of Defence of the Republic of Estonia. Laar is a member of the Estonian Students Society. Laar has authored numerous books on history. He was awarded the Milton Friedman award in 2006 for promoting freedom.

ESTONIA'S DEFENSIVE CAPABILITY IN A CHANGING ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT

Paul Tammert, *economist*

We need a system of coordinates to orient in time and space. If a person wants to inform others of his whereabouts – or if a community is trying to understand where it has ended up and what should be done in that situation – a cognitive map based on a coordinate system can be a useful tool.

Today's Western society tries to explain all social phenomena using a one-dimensional, linear left-to-right coordinate system. Such a model sows rifts in society, as it automatically means that it is antagonistic to everyone wanting to move in the opposite direction.

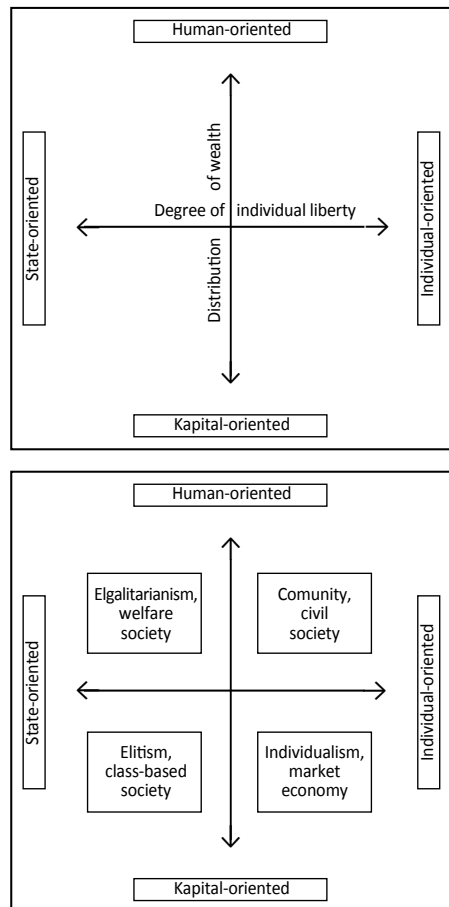


Figure 1. *The two dimensional model of society and the four ways of life. The mutual relationship between the adherents of each way of life shapes the reality of the social order. Diagram by author.*

We get a much more multifaceted picture when we visualize society using a two-dimensional coordinate system akin to a Nolan chart¹ – where the horizontal axis plots the degree of individual liberty and the vertical one describes distribution of wealth in society. This set of axes gives us a model of the social order based on four ways of life.

The communitarian way of life

The communitarian way of life is based on individual liberty and people's common needs. The basis of people's subsistence is the land owned by each person and the un-redistributed return on the land. But an individual's well-being depends on the capacity of the community's cooperative activity. In a pastoral village society there is no specialization, or if there is, it exists at only a very rudimentary level, and thus every person fulfils all of the roles him or herself.

If such a social community is attacked from outside, each landowner must take action to defend his land, in cooperation with others. The basis of the community's defensive capability is home guard and so-called total defence. As history has shown time and again, a people is able to defend its freedom and drive off invaders if it acts in concerted, coordinated fashion. This is exactly what the Estonian people experienced in the 1990s. An entire people cannot be shackled but it can be destroyed if the opponent is too powerful.

If the development spiral comes full circle to the communitarian way of life, it means the society has become a civil society, which is likewise based on a general military duty and total defence concept. This is a natural outcome, or there is nothing more important for a free man than safeguarding his own freedom.

The individualist way of life

The individualistic way of life is associated with specialization, market economy, management of the money supply and urban society. This is an engine for development of society in which people, out of selfish bid for

¹The Nolan Chart is a political view assessment diagram popularized by the American libertarian David Nolan. First published the current version of the chart in an article named "Classifying and Analyzing Politico-Economic Systems" in the January 1971 issue of *The Individualist*, the monthly magazine of the Society for Individual Liberty (SIL).

greater well-being make the world a better place for everyone, as in a market economy driven competition everyone tries to do better things for even less cost, to obtain greater profit. Unfortunately this technological progress does not bypass military technology, which also becomes increasingly better in this environment.

In the classic urban society – ancient Greece and the Roman Republic, freemen themselves defended their property and their country. Depending on the level of the income received, everyone had to procure what armaments they could afford and to be prepared to protect their assets and the freedom of their community. Under the reform instituted by Athenian statesman Solon (638–558 B.C.) free citizens were divided into four census classes (the daily grain ration was 1.2 l per person):

- Hippeis (horsemen) – persons whose income was at least 11,000 kg of grain per year. Cavalrymen.
- Zeugitae (ox-cart owners) – people with an income of more than 7,200 kg of grain a year. Heavy infantry.
- Hoplites (infantrymen). Could also serve in lesser political posts.
- Thetes (serfs) – persons with an income of less than 7,200 kg of grain a year.

As labour productivity grows, specialization also starts to extend to the military due to technological progress, and a professional military comes into existence, although this in turn requires the adoption of an effective tax and budget system, which thanks to monetary management is feasible

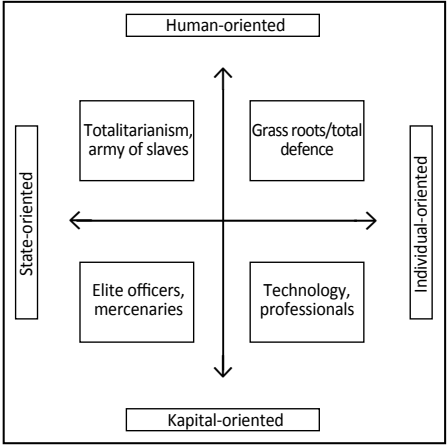


Figure 2. Means of effectuating defense policy based on the model of ways of life. Diagram by author.

as people understand the need for paying taxes due to threats from elitist states. Yet technological progress, totally new weaponry and the related tactics, all driven by individualism, have shifted the equilibrium and led large elitist empires to the brink of destruction.

As the individualistic way of life is built around a monetary system, which is necessary for exchanging goods and services, it must defend precisely the monetary system above all else. Nothing is more harmful to the individualistic market economy than if money backed by a firm material standard were to be replaced by virtual currency and the right of banks to leverage money and issue debt. If we lose our trust in money as the equivalent of labour in frozen form, as it were, then we lose our belief in this way of life - and a nation that has abandoned the right to decide things for itself starts seeking strong leaders who would do that for them and restore order. But the order it restores will no longer be a market economy.

The elitist way of life

An elitist way of life means violence and deceit, beginning with street-level racketeering, evolving into a Mafia-like organization that extorts payments from companies and finally becomes a military unit led by a warlord that starts demanding fealty from the surrounding villages and cities. The oldest elitist title is that of “baron” – warrior.

In an elitist way of life, the common folk are cowed by violence, and the land they subsist on (or money, in the present day) is controlled by the elite. People give up their critical thinking faculties and start blindly following leaders and paying rent for use of land, paying taxes to the baron for his upkeep and that of the warriors in his court, without receiving anything in return.

As elitist society develops, an officer class develops. An elitist military is based either on units consisting of loyal vassals or an army of mercenaries. Forming the latter requires the state to possess administrative capability, including for tax collecting. In practice this means the ruler delegates a good share of his power to the state bureaucratic corps, which grows in influence and ultimately becomes dominant, sparking a transition to egalitarianism.

The weakness of elitist military power is the fact that the military's interests are elite-centred, and the commoners try to abstain at all cost. The diminished opportunities to pursue happiness start to slow and finally halt technological progress, and this in turn reduces the elitist military's striking power. If there is a mercenary army, there is the constant danger

that the opposite side will make them a better offer and that they will switch sides. And if the ruler no longer pays them, such an army will turn against his land and people, despoiling it.

Countries ruled by a military elite are always ready to perpetrate new aggression to bring neighbours near and far under their power while suppressing the domestic opposition. Only the exhausting of resources or general popular uprising can placate such states.

The egalitarian way of life

The biggest threat to elitism is too much success. If the governed territory becomes too large and the elite is no longer to rule its inhabitants by itself single-handedly, it must delegate power to a bureaucratic apparatus. The role of the latter is, first of all, to placate the discontents by providing moderate assistance. Yet it must be careful not to provide too much, or if the class differences disappear altogether, the egalitarian society would lose its *raison d'être*.

Egalitarian society subjugates the people through aid and legislation. Bureaucracy exercises its authority, restricting freedoms by enacting laws, licensing every walk of life, making the economy uncompetitive through taxation and rewarding the obedient with hand-outs. A great example is milk, which is cheaper in the shops than a bottle of water.

An egalitarian state renders every action all-encompassing. As egalitarianism is the final death knell for individual liberties, the technological decline that started in elitist society continues. An egalitarian military attempts to compensate this shortfall with sheer mass and scale – establishing universal compulsory military duty and a large standing army. An egalitarian state is not generally aggressive, but it may become so in a situation where the general popular discontent grows too great and there are no other ways of suppressing it but to establish martial law.

Developments in estonia in the context of the above ways of life

No matter what the social community, no matter at what time, representatives of all of the above modes can be found. That means that the current reality and system of government in a given society depends on which of the ways of life has achieved the dominant position. If a country's economic policy or other doctrine is in harmony with the interest of those representing the dominant way of life, then the state is able to exercise its will. Otherwise, society encounters irreconcilable conflicts and loses its capability to make anything of itself.

If we look back at Estonian history, we can say that up to the 12th century, the communitarian way of life was predominant on these shores. Although the power of those representing the elitist way of life began to grow in the second part of the first millennium, it got the upper hand only after the German and Danish conquests. Only the merchants and artisans in the cities exemplified the individualistic way of life, most of these people being of foreign origin.

Individualism began gaining in influence among Estonians only in the 19th century after the national schools were established. World War I sowed chaos in Estonian development – the foreign elite left or perished in wars and the communitarian way of life returned to dominance, but now in conjunction with strong individualism. Although the forces assembled around head of state Konstantin Päts tried to found a home-grown elite, they failed.

Right before World War II, after Soviet Russia annexed Estonia, the totalitarian social order became dominant in Estonia, which was a mix of egalitarianism and elitism. It crumbled 50 years later and starting from the 1990s

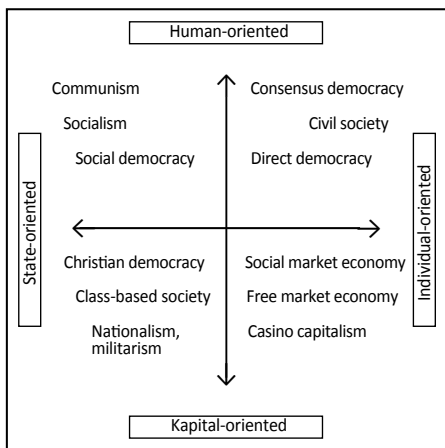


Figure 3. *Model of the ways of life and the forms in which civil society is organized, individualistic economic doctrines and political ideologies of subjugated societies. Diagram by author.*

Estonia was likely the world’s most individualistic society, as the Russian elite departed and the image of the communitarian way of life had so soured in Estonians’ minds due to the Soviets’ egalitarian propaganda that it was anathema to them. This influence persists today and is amplified even more by Estonia’s current educational system, which unilaterally disseminates capitalist market economic views.

Because an extreme form of the market economy took power in Estonia – casino capitalism² our society in the first decade of the 21st century has been once again moving toward an elitist society, in which there are distinct social strata and everyone with any initiative and proactivity is leaving for other places with more freedom and opportunities for self-actualization. This process is amplified even more by the debt crisis raging in Europe, which financial and banking circles had the leading role in fomenting.

Looking at our two-axis model, Estonian society has over the last thousand years moved from the upper right to the lower left, then back to the upper right, then from left to centre and then once more to lower right. Now it is inching along the lower margin from right to left. It should be noted here that society is capable of development if no single way of life is dominant and all paths are open, meaning that the sum of the relative dominances of each way of life can be plotted in the central region of the grid. But if the exemplars of one way of life become dominant, the social sphere develops rifts and loses its capacity for growth. Estonia's current problem is that Estonians' incapability of acting in concert constitutes a vacuum where civil society should be, and thus we have descended to the lower edge of the Nolan chart.

In this context, it is logical that Estonia's own defence forces first underwent a strong trend of professionalization; then some parties, led by the Reform Party, began propagating the establishment of a purely professional army.



Paul Tammert is an economist and fiscal law professor. 1986 master's degree in engineering from Tallinn University of Technology; 1993 master's degree in economics from the same institution. 1987–1991 Estonian Research Institute of Agriculture junior researcher, 1992–1994 Parliamentary Finance Committee consultant; 1994–1997 Tallinn City Council economics and financial adviser; 1998–2001 Keila City Government and Keila Health Centre CFO; 1994–2004 Tallinn University of Technology Institute of Accounting lecturer, 1987–2004 Institute of Accounting deputy director; 2004–2008 Academy of Security Sciences Financial College lecturer; 2008–2010 member of the management board in the capacity of managing director of *MTÜ Eesti Ühistegeline Liit*; 2010–Academy of Security Sciences Financial College lecturer.

²Strange, S. *Casino Capitalism* (1997) ISBN 0719052351, pp. 14–21.

THE ENVIRONMENT AS A SOURCE OF SECURITY RISKS

Mart Helme, *Ambassador*

Today, everyone knows the phrase global warming. Although a more sceptical part of the scientific community has recently questioned the process, the concept of climate change is nevertheless chiefly responsible for bringing the environment into people's consciousness as a factor that influences international relations and human progress.

Without getting caught up in the polemic about how real global warming really is, we should acknowledge that, one way or another, the "environment problem" is a key component of international politics.

We should also be cognizant that the focus is often placed on some specific aspect of the environmental problem, as determined by region and context, forgetting that the environmental problems are one comprehensive whole.

Let's start from the beginning, though: the world around the time of the Industrial Revolution. Back then, in the middle of the 18th century, the world's population was about 800 million people, a far cry from today's seven billion. Population pressure on the planet's resources (both renewable and non-) was long relatively modest, and primarily local in character. The same can be said about human activity's environmental impact. Although in places – major metropolises, mining regions, next door to factories – the environment (and water especially) could be quite polluted, people still had a negligible effect on the ecosystems of Earth as whole. Only starting in the early 20th century can we speak of human activity having a large-scale, global impact on the environment. It is no wonder that it wasn't until the 1960s that environmental problems became a theme in their own right at international forums. Although we have come a long way since that era and myriad bilateral, regional and multilateral environmental agreements have now been signed, environmental problems have become an increasingly salient and acute component of international relations.

One reason is that natural processes are essentially long-term and have a built-in lag time. Plants have their own specific vegetative cycle, animals have their own life cycle, the ocean currents take a certain period to come full circle, and neither do the climate changes from deforestation become

evident right away. This means is that changes in the environment have a cumulative nature; this fact alone makes it very complicated to develop and implement policies, often rendering them incomprehensible or unacceptable in the public's eyes.

Take for instance the world's oil reserves. Peak oil has been referred to as an inevitability for at least 20 years. Yet petroleum and petroleum-based transport and industrial output are the cornerstone of today's modern lifestyle and economy. You can get a taste of the intellectual and emotional dilemma through this simple thought-experiment. Imagine that the world's governments suddenly limit availability of oil-based products and services, citing the impending end of oil, and at the international level, the UN member states' governments sign a universal treaty raising the prices of oil-based goods and services. There's no doubt that such a step would lead not only to major social problems but require all of the world's nations to completely restructure their economies, entailing complications for international economic cooperation and the security balance.

This example is, of course, an exaggeration, but it serves up the aspects of environmental issues that directly – increasingly extensively – influence countries' security as well as security on the planet as a whole.

In other words, environmental problems are far from being tied solely to pollution, emissions of carbon dioxide into the atmosphere and the cumulative (i.e. having consequences we may not even currently be aware of) effect of global warming. A greater and more immediate impact on security stems from the exhaustion of diverse natural resources. This impact is not just felt in the context of interstate relations. Resource exhaustion is also a source of major social risks. For instance, we know that the planet's silver reserves are nearly used up. At the same time, over the last decades, we have made a huge leap forward in the field of information technology. Just as we cannot imagine that we will have to get into a coach and four after oil runs out, we cannot foresee a day when we have to give up mobile phones, computers and all the other fixtures of our current wired life.

My aim here is not to be a catastrophist. On the contrary, humankind's development to this point is nothing if not a demonstration that substitutes will be found sooner or later for everything that runs out. It is likely precisely new technologies that will replace the currently indispensable examples of oil and silver. But it will be much harder to replace fertile cropland and clean water. Alas, these are also on the wane, even as demand for them is growing consistently due to population growth and a higher quality of life.

Again, an example. In 1910, people worldwide used a total of about 500 km³ of water. By 2001, the figure was 3,750 km³. About three-fourths of the water used by humans went to agriculture – and not only in areas that use irrigation. Even the vegetables grown in on our greenhouses are thirsty consumers. This is not a problem in Estonia, given the plenitude of water. But it is a huge problem in such megastates as China and India.

A former World Bank president, Ismail Serageldin, has ominously predicted that in the 21st century, nations will go to war over water. The brunt of the water shortage does not really lie in too limited a quantity of water but rather in who controls the existing water resources. For example, Turkey controls the sources of the major Middle Eastern rivers Tigris and the Euphrates and is thus able to control the water use by the downstream countries (Syria, Iraq) for economic or political reasons. This specific case has already led to tensions between these countries. Nuclear powers India and Pakistan, which are by no means mutually friendly, also share the water of the Indus, which rises from the tributaries in Punjab state. There are other such examples.

As long as there is enough water, we need not fear conflicts over this resource. But we can only imagine what will happen if the global warming proves real and the high-mountain glaciers – which feed nearly all of the world's great rivers – melt away completely. Brief periods of flooding would be followed by fatal water shortages that would directly affect several billion people; and indirectly, everyone on Earth. Clean water would become essentially a priceless commodity. The question would no longer be about quality of life in the various countries but of basic survival.

Presumably the above scenario is nonetheless just a worst-case fantasy. Yet it vividly describes how environmental problems that have piled up over time and have been long ignored can one day prove fatal.

Fortunately, humankind has, either in spite of or partially thanks to the conflicts and tragedies, demonstrated that it can be a quick learner. Success stories are possible in the field of the environment. For instance, the countries on the Rhine have been able to agree not just on the more successful management of the river but also steps to save this watercourse, which in the second half of the 20th century was moribund due to pollution. The Mediterranean Action Plan adopted in 1975 by the states around the sea can be deemed another example: it was the framework for a number of individual agreements signed to reduce marine pollution. As a result, the condition of the Mediterranean, a body of water that is relatively landlocked,

has been greatly improved and the ecological catastrophe that seemed unavoidable in the early 1970s has been staved off.

Closer to home, we should mention that shoring up cooperation between the states on the Baltic littoral is also on the agenda precisely because of environmental and security concerns.

There is only one obstacle on the road to environmental cooperation, and it seems sometimes that it is an insurmountable one. Namely, environmental problems do not affect all countries and peoples in the same way. As water shortages intensify in the Middle East or Central Asia, Northern Europe and North America have sufficient water; while population grows in southern latitudes and cropland area diminishes, the opposite trends are true in the north; as many developing countries strive toward well-being and avoid onerous spending on nature conservation, the green ethos and lifestyle have become a veritable dogma in the industrialized countries.

If we factor in the “never-knows” – after all, we do not really know for sure whether climate change will be as extensive and irreversible as some scientists maintain – political leaders face complicated decisions. Should they spend large amounts to soften irreversible (?) environmental changes? Should they invest into alternative energy sources? Is massive immigration from chronically drought-ravaged southern lands something to be feared? Should global rescue package begin to be developed today in order to head off global climate conflicts?

There are more questions than answers. Yet it is clear that developments in the natural environment affect security both domestically and internationally. The question is only one of scope and nuances.



Mart Helme, graduated from the University of Tartu in 1973 with a degree in history, publisher, journalist; 1994–2000, Ministry of Foreign Affairs department head and under secretary, 1995–1999 ambassador to the Russian Federation. Currently lectures on international relations at the Tallinn University of Technology

GERMANY'S FOREIGN POLICY PRIORITIES: A FEW EXAMPLES

*Philipp Mißfelder MP, spokesman for foreign affairs
of the CDU/CSU Parliamentary Group in the German Bundestag*

Europe is at a crossroads. The debate on the future of the euro area, the consolidation of public finances and the further development of European integration outshines several foreign and security policy issues in everyday policy. The development of an economic and currency union, the reforming of national economies and the realignment of our social security systems are important tasks that need to be performed in order to ensure prosperity in Europe. This look inside the European Union (EU) is directly connected to its foreign policy dimension: Europe can strongly fulfil its responsibility towards other countries and meet the challenges of the international system only if it is healthy on the inside. Some of these challenges are extremely urgent from the standpoint of Germany: the situation in Syria, the pursuit of nuclear weapons in Iran and the role of the United Nations.

Germany has a special responsibility in the global arena due to the size of its population and its economic power. Europe benefits from the strength of Germany in the same way as Germany benefits from the strength of its European partners. German foreign and security policy is closely aligned with the policy of its allies in the EU and NATO. The Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) and the transatlantic alliance are cornerstones that support the role of Germany in international relations in the 21st century. No country can cope with today's challenges on its own. Wars and conflicts, threats caused by terrorism and weapons of mass destruction, the downfall of political order, cultural differences, economic crises and environmental problems – these are challenges that can be solved only in the context of multinational cooperation.

Besides the development of transatlantic relations, it is equally important to strengthen the bonds with new and old power centres around the world. It is no longer sufficient to refer to just the BRIC countries in order to describe the ever-growing multi-polar nature of the international order. Also, other countries besides Russia, China, India and Brazil – e.g. Turkey, South Africa and Indonesia – are playing an increasingly important role in the world. Functioning bilateral relations with these countries constitute an important precondition for the success of German foreign policy. Ideas about the proper political order and the organization of international relations may differ, sometimes

considerably. As Germany is pursuing its interests in the value-related context, these differences are also the subject of critical dialogue between partners. However, this must not constitute a hindrance to close cooperation.

The United Nations (UN) plays a central role as a mediator between nations. Each and every external action is aimed at the prevention of violence, the preservation of peace and the creation of wealth. These are also the underlying principles of the UN Charter. Hopes for peaceful coexistence are still not being fulfilled in many regions around the world. Syria is being torn apart by a civil war that could potentially escalate into an international conflict. Africa is witness to bloody conflict between ethnic and religious groups on a daily basis. Iran is pursuing nuclear weapons and poses an existential threat to our partners in Israel. Islamist terrorism networks are constantly looking for new fields of operation. The list of conflicts could go on. The international community must find viable answers to such pressing challenges under the UN. The CDU/CSU fraction of the German parliament has constantly stated that the United Nations and international law constitute the basis of responsible global actions. On this point, five permanent members of the UN Security Council in particular are responsible. If they cannot achieve consensus, all political efforts are faced with failure and this may lead to intolerable consequences, particularly in crisis areas.

The sad situation in the Syrian civil war makes this abundantly clear. Although the civilian population has been suffering for months because of military conflict, the death toll is rising daily and thousands of Syrians are on the run, the UN is not in a position to calm the situation. The UN Security Council is unable to reach agreement and the sanctions of the international community are being blocked. Still, after the gruesome events in the Balkans in the 1990s and in Rwanda in 1994 the UN adopted the principle of a 'responsibility to protect'. This means that the international community must have the right to intervene wherever human rights are being massively and systematically violated. Also, military resources can be used in extreme cases. Given the dramatic situation of the civilian population in Syria, the UN should have acted on its responsibility to protect a long time ago. China and Russia, however, vetoed and thus prevented the initiation of a peace process. The UN loses credibility with each day that the civil war in Syria continues without clear intervention. There are no "world police" of the UN in sight.

The CDU/CSU fraction, together with the German government, has invited the UN to finally act with greater resolve in such situations. This position was also emphasized by German foreign minister Guido Westerwelle in September 2012 when Germany assumed the leadership of the UN Security Council for a

month. He used this time not only to enforce a diplomatic solution to the conflict in Syria, but also to underline the need to reform various UN institutions. The UN Security Council mirrors the global balance of power that emerged after World War II, but not the geopolitical realities of the 21st century. Germany's foreign policy will therefore constructively participate in the debate on the future of the United Nations.

In close proximity to Syria lies the Jewish state of Israel. The protection of Israel's right to exist has been a focal point of German foreign and security policy since the birth of the Federal Republic of Germany. Chancellor Angela Merkel has justifiably raised this issue to the level of public policy. Germany will make every effort to ensure that Iran does not obtain nuclear weapons. On this point, the country can expect broad international support in the EU3 +3 format (the EU, France, the UK and Germany as well as the United States, Russia and China). Iran threatens not only its neighbours, but also the overall stability of international order. Tehran is in possession of delivery systems that can reach European countries. All options, including military options, should be kept open in order to restrain Iran. Meanwhile, all possible sanctions of the UN and EU must be utilized and those that support Iran in its hostile attitude towards our partners must be weakened. This includes the Shiite Hezbollah militia, who spread terror and hatred from Southern Lebanon. The EU has tailored tools for this purpose. The financial resources of the militia could weaken if they were included on the EU list of terrorist organizations. This would support stability in the Middle East.

Germany will fulfil its responsibility in the 21st century together with its partners around the world and particularly in Europe. A cooperative, active community is a prerequisite for effective multilateral action that ensures the peace and prosperity of nations. It is in the interest of all countries to provide a viable and sustainable basis for this cooperation within the framework of the United Nations. This will be a goal for the coming years.



Philipp Mißfelder, who was born in 1979, is a historian and a member of the German Parliament. He serves as the Spokesman for Foreign Policy of the CDU/CSU-Parliamentary group. Mißfelder is also chairman of the Junge Union Deutschlands (JU), the political youth organization of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), and member of the federal executive committee of the CDU.

VALUES-BASED FOREIGN POLICY IN PRACTICE COMMITMENT TO PERSECUTED AND OPPRESSED CHRISTIANS

*Volker Kauder MP, chairman of the CDU/CSU
Parliamentary Group in the German Bundestag*

A foreign policy based on values is an important part of Germany's presence in the world pursuant to the coalition agreement that sealed the Christian-Liberal government cooperation in 2009. The agreement states: "our political actions are guided by constitutional values and the aim of protecting the interests of our country. We are committed to the universality of human rights, the rule of law as well as the dominance of law in international relations, and consider human rights policy as a core of Germany's foreign and security policy". It also states: "The credibility of Germany is in direct relation with its consistent commitment to human rights [...]. Compliance with human rights is the foundation for democratic, economic and cultural development in each country". The need to address particularly the situation of Christian minorities is expressly mentioned in the agreement.

The sister parties CDU and CSU carry the term "Christian" in their name entailing certain convictions and the respective commitment. Their actions are influenced by the Christian concept of man. Our unconditional call to protect human dignity is based on the idea that man was created in "the image of God" (Genesis 1:27). According to St. Paul's Letter to the Galatians, men are "called to freedom" (Galatians 5:13). Without this freedom it would be impossible for men to truly respond to God's love. The prerequisite for such a decision in favour of God is the moral aptitude of men, in particular their ability to distinguish between good and evil. Because freedom in the relationship between man and God is of such vital importance, neither the government nor anyone else may intervene by force or even violence. Rather, we must equip every individual with rights and thus ensure that they can live this freedom-based relationship between God and themselves in this world.

This Christian spirit and these Christian beliefs have essentially determined the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany. After the malignancy and barbarity of Nazism, the Judeo-Christian tradition on which European history is founded, and from which the continent draws its power was the starting point for a new free and democratic Germany. The constitution protects the dignity of man and guarantees his freedom. Starting from this Christian concept, the CDU- Chancellors were spelling out the political measures that have allowed for the astonishing success of the Federal Republic of

Germany. The result is a prosperous and peaceful country in Central Europe that pursues the peaceful unification of the continent for the benefit of all European countries.

In addition to our political position based on the Christian concept of man guaranteeing the freedom of man, including freedom of any religion and freedom of expression per se, there is another major motivation for many members of my party and for myself in our commitment to defend human rights and persecuted Christians. I would like to quote the Apostle Paul who reminds us in his first letter to the Christian community in Corinth that Christians as God's people are forming a common body. "If one member suffers, all suffer together; if one member is honoured, all rejoice together. Now you are the body of Christ and individually members of it" (1 Cor. 12:26). These significant words have touched me personally. They influence my thoughts and actions.

Mentioning Christian minorities, to whom we are committed so explicitly, has an additional apparent reason. No other religious group worldwide is suffering from persecution and oppression as much as the Christians. They represent the majority of people who have to expect discrimination due to their religious affiliation. According to estimates by the Christian relief organisation "Open Doors", up to 100 million people are affected by denial of a fundamental human right in one way or another.

According to Article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948: "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance". Every country belonging to the United Nations today recognises the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. However, the commitment to human rights is often only a formal one. General human rights, particularly the right to freedom of religion, only apply for certain groups or are interpreted in a certain way that violates international law in some countries. Regardless of the specific ideological reasons for such behaviour, most of the people who are affected by such restrictions of the right to freedom of religion hold Christian faith.

This discrimination, harassment and persecution have different faces and may be illustrated by the example of practice in various countries. I have personally visited many of these countries, have gained understanding of the situation and tried to initiate a dialogue with the authorities. To explain the extent of disregard for the human right of freedom of religion and the need for a values-based foreign policy, I would like to present some examples.

Noteworthy is, for example, the subtle discrimination in countries such as Turkey, which despite repeated requests by the European Union cannot bring itself to guarantee the protection and tolerance of religious minorities. The

Monastery of Mor Gabriel in southeast Turkey, one of the oldest Christian monasteries in the world, has become a symbol of state-tolerated and de facto sanctioned harassment of the few remaining Christians in Turkey. The monastery's new neighbours have begun to question the ancient rights of the Christian community in a series of trials. Government agencies have supported them in their demands. The Court of Cassation in Ankara regularly ignores centuries-old legal titles that were subsequently ratified, although the local courts recognise them entirely. Turkey will have to answer to the European Court of Justice for human rights, but it rather risks legal defeat than implementing signed international agreements protecting minorities.

In countries like Nigeria or formerly in India and also increasingly in Indonesia, Christians as a religious group are or were exposed to sporadic, but specifically targeted violence such as murder or arson. The violent acts organised by religious extremists, usually but not exclusively of Muslim origin, sometimes claimed over a hundred people dead and many injured. These countries appear to be partly overwhelmed in ensuring the effective protection of their citizens, although the questions arises to what extent a modern centrally-organised state may tolerate such organised violence. It must be mentioned that regional authorities in these countries sometimes deliberately fail to step in to prevent such atrocities. Only the strong intervention by the Indian government put a stop to the widespread violence against Christians in Orissa – a development that cannot yet be discerned in northern Nigeria. Here, the Islamist sect Boko Haram continues its bloody attacks, jeopardizing the central government's very existence. We hope that the Indonesian government will be able to effectively suppress the increasingly reported attacks on the Christian populace and preserve the traditional tolerant climate in this great country.

Huge problems arise for Christians as for all religious groups in totalitarian dictatorships like North Korea and Eritrea, especially if their convictions are considered not to be in conformity with the system. This also applies for communist China, even if the government no longer pursues such an uncompromising totalitarian course and increasingly allows for a private conviction to be held by Chinese citizens. The consequences of a behaviour not meeting the government's expectations can be dramatic depending on the perceived seriousness of the offense. Even in China, it is not uncommon that people who overstretch their freedom of expression or freedom of religion to an extent that exceeds the official standards "disappear" in camps – as for example Catholics who refuse the bishop appointments forced by the government. However, the "educational" methods used in China are not comparable to the brutal and inhuman measures that confessing Christians in North Korea or Eritrea are met with.

In countries where Islam is prevalent such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Iran,

Christians, especially those who have converted to Christianity, suffer under religious law influenced by the Sharia. Even the secular state of Egypt holding in contrast to Iran or Saudi Arabia a significant Christian minority finds itself at odds with the idea of individual religious freedom. While religious group rights are recognised in Egypt, transition from Islam to Christianity is not accepted, unlike the other way around. This usually leads to serious consequences for the person concerned who is barred of the transition by the state and must face sanctions by the family as well as a massive loss of rights, such as the parents' rights or the ability to inherit. In Iran and partly in Saudi Arabia, apostasy from Islam is still a capital offense, even if the execution of this sentence nowadays is frequently suspended.

The fact that accounts of open lawlessness and civil wars such as in Syria right now, or in Iraq before see acts of violence clearly targeted on an indigenous Christian populace alarmingly signals a global trend we may not close our eyes to. The postmodern world arising from the deconstruction of numerous once formative traditions and certainties is witness to an explosive increase in sectarian violence. Christians are not the only ones to suffer – many other religious groups find themselves persecuted, such as Bahai in Iran, Jehovah's Witnesses in many parts of the world, as well as Shiites or Sunnis, depending on which group of Islam controls the respective country. The disregard of the individual right to freedom of religion including the right to have no religion at all is a disturbing reminder of the totalitarian history of the 20th century.

This tour d'horizon on the forms and extent of discrimination, oppression and persecution, which both Christians and members of other religions are subjected to underlines it as an ominous phenomenon not only from a Christian perspective. In the cases discussed, the denial of the right to freedom of religion constitutes an indicator for a general lack of civil rights. Freedom of religion is a deeply person-related and personal right of every individual and a clearly defined part of indivisible human rights. Being guaranteed the chance to practice one's faith undisturbed is a prerequisite for life in freedom.

The politicisation of the question of where and why Christians are victims of discrimination and persecution seldom fails due to lacking proof of actual problems. For years, the media ignored massive human rights violations, sometimes connected to dire consequences, to which Christians were and still are exposed. Although voices were raised for many people, especially those persecuted for political reasons, those persecuted because of their religious affiliation were seldom mentioned. In particular, persecuted Christians were only most rarely the focus of human rights organisations. Acting on behalf of persecuted Christians worldwide as the grounding of foreign policy on values however is only conceivable on the basis of public awareness. Both CDU and CSU have thus expressly pursued to obtain this prerequisite for change since

2005. The new focus of our human rights policy was explained in a series of articles and interviews published in German newspapers. Here, I particularly opposed the tendency towards anticipatory taboos and advocated a clear language in speaking of human rights violations. This also means a challenge to secularized society. Since many people in Germany have lost their relationship to religion in recent years, they think this a private matter with no place in the public sphere. From this perspective, persecuted Christians had only themselves to blame for their persecution if it came about by a public or at least recognizable commitment to religion. We were remarkably successful in arousing public awareness. Many people were almost waiting for the shameful suffering of Christians to finally become a subject of political action.

The deteriorating situation in Iraq became a challenge all too quickly. In the bloody civil war, named “hell on earth” by the Bishop of Baghdad, Shlemon Warduni, Christians were increasingly targeted as victims for kidnapping, violence and deadly attacks. They were accused of a conspiracy with the American troops. In the frenzy of violence, the specific fate of this group never was a focus of the media, although hundreds of thousands of Christians had to leave the country. The Catholic NGO Missio finally succeeded in organising an impressive campaign to draw attention to this fact. CDU and CSU were then able to organise the admission of a group of stateless refugees to Germany as a part of resettlement – an unprecedented action so far.

Meanwhile, the freedom of religion has become a focus for action in German parliament accepted also by many members of the opposition. The Bundestag has by now raised issues on injustice in this field through numerous resolutions. As an example, public awareness raised on Mor Gabriel monastery in Turkey has contributed to the solidarity for Christians there in many European countries. Not least due to this symbol, Turkey’s membership in the European Union seems inconceivable today. Germany’s Chancellor Angela Merkel can rely on the support of the German parliament when speaking up worldwide in support of human rights and freedom of religion or belief and calling this universal human right to attention.



Volker Kauder, born 1949, first elected to German national Parliament Bundestag in 1990, has been the chairman of CDU/CSU parliamentary group there since 2005. Being a dedicated protestant himself, he is a driving force behind his party’s increasingly active role against freedom of belief limitations. He has been drawing public attention to the mistreatment and persecution of Christians worldwide by a variety of means, not least through his frequent visits to countries where such violence takes place. Volker Kauder is the author and editor of a range of publications dealing with the problem, his latest book being “Verfolgte Christen. Einsatz für die Religionsfreiheit” (SCM Hänssler, 2012)

