

STUDY

Soft Power for Solar Power: Germany's New Climate Foreign Policy

Lina Li

Brief Summary

This study offers an analysis of Germany's relatively new efforts to integrate climate change into its foreign policy agenda, with a focus on its government players at a national level. It is an initial step towards filling in gaps in understanding and deepening the discussion about Germany's unique climate diplomacy experience.

The author concludes that in some areas, such as the G7, German climate diplomacy has been surprisingly effective, while in other areas it has made less progress, including fostering EU level climate diplomacy and engaging with foreign non-governmental players. There are also areas showing positive developments but that still require further efforts, such as diplomatic networking, the integration of climate policy into development and cooperation strategies, cross division/unit and ministry coordination and bilateral energy partnerships. Some areas also display a lack of coherence, for example the parallel existence of the old energy security diplomacy and the new climate and "Energiewende" diplomacy.

The author provides suggestions on how Germany could be more effective in its climate foreign policy and identifies strategic and emerging opportunities. She also argues that German experience is of great merit to big international players such as China who can learn from it in order to fulfil the dual demands of acting as a responsible global power, as well as providing a clean and sustainable future for its citizens.

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Content

Foreword	4
Executive Summary	5
Acknowledgements	7
Introduction	8
1 Motivation and Objectives	9
2 Governance and Major Players	11
2.1 Ministries in Germany	11
2.1.1 The Federal Foreign Office	11
2.1.2 The Federal Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation, Building and Nuclear Safety	13
2.1.3 The Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs and Energy.....	14
2.1.4 The Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development	16
2.1.5 Coordination between the various ministries	18
2.2 Non-state actors	19
2.3 Interlinkages between energy and climate diplomacy	21
2.4 Links to EU climate and energy foreign policy.....	24
2.5 Links to British and French climate foreign policy	27
3 Narratives and Approaches	29
3.1 Narratives.....	29
3.2 Formats and approaches.....	30
3.3 Summary of approaches taken by different ministries on climate diplomacy.....	41
4 Results/Impacts	43
4.1 Sustainable resources	43
4.2 A brief assessment of the German climate foreign policy's coverage and effectiveness.....	44
4.3 Spill-over effects on other countries.....	46
5 Key Lessons and Recommendations	47
6 Conclusion	50

Foreword

Climate change is among the most urgent global challenges of our time. Addressing the climate crisis is a rising issue for international policy making and diplomacy, going much beyond the UN climate negotiations.

These negotiations have led to the Paris Agreement that was concluded at the end of 2015 and provides clear objectives in terms of limiting global warming to well below 2 degrees and pursuing efforts to hold it to 1.5 degrees, increasing resilience and aligning all financial flow with climate objectives. But without broader climate foreign policy efforts (including by Germany and the EU) the Paris Agreement would not have been possible. Even more importantly, without climate foreign policy, it may not be possible to fully implement the Agreement and make its ambitious objectives a reality. Climate foreign policy is a sustained effort of engaging key countries and actors globally on decarbonisation and climate-resilient development over several years. -

The United Kingdom, Germany and the EU have been among the first to develop a climate foreign policy. The UK as the frontrunner launched the new foreign policy issue with fresh capacities in its Foreign Office about a decade ago. This study takes stock of the experiences made by German foreign policy actors and the author formulates recommendations for the future. Germany not only has a responsibility for addressing climate change as a country with comparatively high past and present per-capita emissions. It also has resources and experiences to bring to the international debate, in particular regarding its environmental policy track record and the transition to an energy system based on renewable energies. Furthermore, it is in Germany's best interest to use every promising path to internationally promote an ambitious response to climate change, as climate change reinforces crises, conflict and instability in its neighbourhood and throughout the world.

Germanwatch has advocated for German and European foreign policy to engage on climate change already for many years, with intensified efforts from 2010 onwards. During these years, Germanwatch has accumulated experience alone and with various partners in promoting dialogue and better cooperation between Germany and countries that are crucial in the global fight against climate change, including China, India, Russia, Morocco and Poland.

We are thus especially pleased to be able to publish this policy paper on the very young policy field of Germany's climate foreign policy. The author Lina Li is one of China's most knowledgeable and influential civil society experts on climate policy. As a Chancellor Fellow of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, Lina Li spent a year at Germanwatch researching German climate foreign policy.

This paper represents a starting point for a first stock take amongst the climate, development cooperation and foreign policy communities of what has been achieved so far. We hope it can also inform a discussion on how – after Paris – climate and *Energiewende* foreign policy in Germany and the EU can be developed further. Additionally, the paper identifies lessons learned from which other countries, including China, may benefit. Climate action is certainly an issue for cooperation between the two countries, for instance through their presidencies of the G20 in 2016 (China) and 2017 (Germany).

While the views and findings presented in this paper are those of the author and not necessarily those of Germanwatch, we are convinced that it provides a very helpful outside view of German climate foreign policy. We hope this study will contribute to a fruitful debate about the next steps for climate foreign policy in Germany, Europe, China and beyond.

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Executive Summary

Germany is one of the key diplomatic players at regional (EU) and international levels, and it has been pursuing a strong and successful soft power strategy based on its national advantages e.g. on the economic, technological and social fronts. Alongside its domestic efforts to implement its new energy policy, known in Germany as the “*Energiewende*” (energy transformation), Germany has recently started to place its climate change policy in a broader diplomatic and foreign policy context.

This research paper looks at the key motivations behind Germany's new climate foreign policy, its major players and its new institutional structure. The paper analyses how these players work and interact with each other and how the German strategies and efforts interact with the EU (European External Action Service EEAS) as well as other key European countries such as the UK and France. What are the key narratives driving climate diplomacy and what approaches are taken? How effective are they?

Based on a literature review and interviews with eighteen policy-makers, diplomacy practitioners across four German ministries, researchers and experts from think-tanks, academia and various foundations, it has been found that Germany's climate foreign policy, despite being a relatively new endeavour, is evolving rapidly. Driven mainly by Germany's Federal Foreign Office and Federal Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation, Building and Nuclear Safety, this new climate foreign policy is also supported by the Federal Ministry of Economic Affairs and Energy and the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, along with its implementing agencies the GIZ and KfW and sometimes coordinated or led by the Federal Chancellery. It is a peculiarity of Germany's climate foreign policy that non-state players such as NGOs, independent service providers, think-tanks and political and non-political foundations are frequently turned to for consultancy services and for the implementation of different aspects of the policy. With a diversity of narratives and objectives, a range of approaches are taken, including information gathering and dissemination, dialogues, consultations and communication, political platforms, institutions, partnerships and networks, capacity building, funding and technical/financial support projects. The efforts are embedded in a dedicated and sometimes new institutional setup within each ministry and supported by budgetary resources.

In some areas, German climate diplomacy has been quite effective (such as the G7, UNSG, UN-FCCC and IRENA, with considerable leadership from the Chancellor, Angela Merkel). In other areas it is not yet as advanced as would be desirable, for example further work is required regarding the overarching integration of the climate agenda into Germany's foreign policy and the development of a cooperation strategy, fostering EU level climate diplomacy, vision and capacity, and engaging with foreign non-governmental actors. There are also areas where there have been positive developments, especially in the past year, but they still require more efforts (such as diplomatic networking, cross division/unit and ministry coordination, development cooperation and bilateral energy partnerships). Some areas also display a lack of coherence, for example the parallel existence of the old energy security diplomacy and the new climate and “*Energiewende*” diplomacy. There is a genuine difference between the “old” foreign policy on energy, which focuses mainly on how to secure energy, especially oil and gas supplies, with the new energy and climate diplomacy, which focuses on communication and the promotion of sustainable energy, such as renewable energy. This can also lead to incoherent messages regarding Germany's experiences in connection with its transition to a renewables based energy system.

Germany's rather successful start with regard to its new foreign policy is due to its credibility as an economic and technological power and a key donor country, with its overall emphasis on multi-lateral and soft power approaches. Additional credibility comes from Germany's quick advances in

the field of renewable energy and other decarbonisation projects. There is considerable curiosity amongst its counterparts, regarding these experiences, which constitutes a major opportunity for further developing Germany's climate foreign policy.

Looking ahead, this study argues that Germany needs to continue its high-level political commitment to its climate foreign policy, build on win-win, pragmatic, multi-stakeholder and soft power approaches and extend its efforts to engage in a more in-depth way with the emerging economies (like the BASIC countries) and other globally important countries such as Russia, Japan, Australia, Canada and the USA, even though their positions on climate change can sometimes be challenging. Resources and human capacity both at an EU level (such as the EEAS) and in bilateral relations (embassies, non-state actor co-operations) are in need of advancement. Strategic opportunities and critical windows for engagement in the coming years should be fully utilized, such as the G20 (2016 Chinese Presidency and 2017 German Presidency) or the OSCE (Germany holds the Chairmanship for 2016). Germany should use both for advancing multilateral decarbonisation dialogues and initiatives. The AIIB (Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank), initiated by China, is envisaged to promote interconnectivity and economic integration in the region and cooperate with existing multilateral development banks. As one of the founding members, Germany could play a positive role in introducing and promoting climate-responsible investment by the AIIB.

Communication about the "*Energiewende*" needs to be considerably advanced so as to make best use of energy transition debates and cooperation opportunities. If pursued like this, a more comprehensive, coherent, and effective German climate foreign policy will emerge.

Last but not least, German experiences, both past and future, with regard to its foreign policy on climate change are of great merit for countries like China to study carefully and to learn from. China is at a crossroads with regard to (re)shaping its international diplomacy as a rising power, and deepening its domestic economic and political reforms, as a country that has promised to provide its citizens with blue skies, clean water and safe food. China is deeply engaged in shaping international climate policy, providing public goods and pursuing domestic climate action and its own energy transformation. However, China has not yet made climate diplomacy a top priority, as such, leaving multiple benefits of its domestic and international ambitions untapped. This study finds that China could draw many lessons from Germany's experiences in developing its climate diplomacy strategy.

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Introduction

Climate change is one of the greatest challenges of 21st century diplomacy and international governance. Although it has long been in discussion in the context of foreign policy, it has not been integrated effectively into wider diplomatic efforts in many countries.

Germany is a key champion of climate change action at the international level – the second country after the UK to have a climate diplomacy strategy, a key country in the push for the EU's climate leadership as well as one of the top climate finance providers to help developing countries to reduce emissions and adapt to climate change. It also acts on climate change domestically with its popular, energy transformation strategy, known as the “*Energiewende*”. As a Chinese researcher having been involved in climate policy analysis and advocacy since 2009, the author finds Germany a very interesting case, not only to showcase how to use climate diplomacy as a soft power tool to promote national and international interests, but also to generate new narratives and perspectives on future Sino-German cooperation in the context of climate protection and energy transformation.

With regards to Germany, there are two concepts of “climate diplomacy”. The narrow term “*Klimadiplomatie*” often refers to the engagement in the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) process and the related activities, led by Germany's Federal Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation, Building and Nuclear Safety (BMUB). The broader concept, often called “*Klimaaußenpolitik*” (translated: climate foreign policy), which this paper applies, is concerned with integrating climate change into foreign policy strategy and practices. This covers both multi-lateral (such as UNFCCC but also G20 and regional forums) and bilateral levels, and ranges from political/diplomatic channels, to foreign aid or development cooperation, to dialogue or cooperation oriented platforms and networks, to citizen and cultural related activities. It also encompasses activities by non-state players such as think-tanks, NGOs and foundations.

As this paper analyses only Germany's “*Klimaaußenpolitik*” it uses the two English terms climate diplomacy and climate foreign policy interchangeably, when referring to the broader “*Klimaaußenpolitik*” concept.

Analysing Germany's experience regarding climate diplomacy will bring numerous benefits to both Germany and other countries, including China. On the one hand, climate change is a cross-cutting global topic under dynamic development and as such the German decision makers and implementers can benefit from recommendations on its relatively young climate foreign policy. On the other hand, a country like China which is deeply engaged in climate and energy transformation domestically and internationally has yet to form its own strategy, therefore much could be learned from Germany's experiences. Last but not least, new narratives and ideas for Sino-German cooperation could emerge from bringing the above two angles together.

There has not been a comprehensive study so far on Germany's climate diplomacy experiences. This paper is an initial attempt to achieve the ambitious goals mentioned above, focusing on the current state of play. It will start by giving an overview of the motivation and objectives of German climate diplomacy. It will then show the key ministries and government bodies involved, in which linkage with its “*Energiewende*” diplomacy, the EU and other European countries will briefly be explored. This is followed by what are the main narratives and approaches of Germany's climate diplomacy. Chapter 4 will then summarize the key impacts of these efforts and approaches. Finally, key lessons will be drawn and areas for improvement identified.

1 Motivation and Objectives

A different set of motivations have driven various ministries in Germany to pursue the climate diplomacy agenda. There is a gradual shift from a UNFCCC-centric and government-to-government approach, to a more “beyond UNFCCC” and soft and diversified approach. A win-win strategy is also key and more and more efforts are being focused on identifying common needs between Germany and the targeted countries or regions and fostering pragmatic cooperation on the ground.

- 1) **Mainstream climate diplomacy on the international agenda:** Germany believes that climate change is a crucial global issue and needs to be treated as such on an international political level. This is not limited to the UNFCCC, but also other multi-lateral avenues such as G20, G8/7, UN General Assembly and the UN SDG (Sustainable Development Goals) process. Another important aspect to this motivation is to raise the importance of climate diplomacy in dialogue with and in key countries such as the US and emerging economies.
- 2) **Complement and support the UNFCCC process:** The most distinctive characteristic of German foreign policy of the past decades has been its commitment to multilateralism. It is no surprise that Germany has been and will remain one of the key supporters of the UNFCCC, the legitimate multilateral process whereby the global community of more than 190 countries together addresses the climate change issue.
- 3) **Address climate and security nexus:** Another concern driving German climate diplomacy is the interlinkage between climate change and security. There is political consensus in Germany that climate change has an immense impact on food, water and energy security, as well as on the world economy and relations between countries. Climate change is seen as a “risk multiplier” to human security and human rights. Many observers are concerned that climate change threatens the environment and thus the basis of livelihoods. Combined with other factors such as “failing states”, it may increase national security challenges and amplify regional and international tensions. As a result, climate change is also seen by many in Germany as a threat to bridging the global North-South divide. The objectives of Germany’s climate diplomacy in this regard is to raise the awareness and understanding of the climate and security nexus at an international level, and to discuss the risks as well as concepts and mechanisms to deal with the challenges.
- 4) **Build alliances:** combating climate change needs alliances to build momentum and to make things happen on the ground. This means Germany needs to work with other countries in a network or bilaterally to move climate politics forward at an international level, or to advance measures against climate change at a national and regional level.
- 5) **Harness potential for economic and development cooperation:** climate change is not only an environmental issue, but also very much an energy and economic issue – the solution is to transform the energy system, industrial systems and economic models. Given Germany’s experience and reputation as a pioneer in technologies and its transformative energy policies, it is in a good position to use climate diplomacy to harness the potential for economic and development cooperation.
- 6) **Enhance trust building:** one of the key obstacles in fighting climate change at an international level, which is also a legacy of the COP17 conference in Copenhagen, is a lack of trust among key countries or key blocs of countries. A good diplomatic strategy would contribute to enhancing trust-building at institutional and personal levels. It will need continuous efforts as it will not be a one-off but rather an on-going process.

- 7) **Build channels of communication and cooperation with important countries, including those whose climate policy is sometimes less ambitious:** Climate diplomacy also serves to open channels of communication and cooperation with countries who take a different or less ambitious approach on climate change and might be perceived as "difficult" in the UNFCCC negotiations. A broad climate diplomacy approach has the potential to mobilize different resources, bring together and reach different players, and use different approaches, both with the governments as well as other stakeholder (for example business associations, researchers and NGOs) within these countries, which have included the USA (especially during the Bush administration period), Japan, Australia, Canada and Russia.

2 Governance and Major Players

At a German federal level, four different ministries in charge of foreign affairs, environmental issues, energy related matters as well as international cooperation are – together with the Federal Chancellery – the key players with regards to Germany's climate and energy diplomacy. They are the main focus of this paper. There are also diversified groups of non-state actors which are quite active and which play their own role. Energy and climate matters are intrinsically linked, although the institutional structure and narratives are mostly separate. Germany also plays a key role at the European Union level whilst also cooperating with major European peer countries, most recently with France and the UK, on moving forward with the climate diplomacy agenda.

The concept of climate diplomacy is relatively new. It is a shift from just technical negotiation between negotiators in a specialized international forum, to a broader dimension of communication as well as outreach to broader groups, such as other ministries, businesses, media and civil societies in other countries¹. Climate diplomacy also uses tailor-made, but consistent messages and narratives for different countries (consistent with the countries' own interests in transformative climate action and with country specific relations)², as well as target groups, and messengers/channels.

It is envisaged that the Federal Foreign Office will have a stronger role, taking advantage of its diplomatic network (i.e. embassies). The UK was the first player and front runner of climate diplomacy, with John Ashton as the Special Representative for Climate Change (2006-2012) and Margaret Beckett as Foreign Minister. They realized this need first but Germany quickly got the idea and set out on its own journey³. It is worth highlighting here, before this chapter goes into further detail about the four key ministries, the crucial role of the Federal Chancellery and Angela Merkel in international climate diplomacy. Numerous examples have shown a critical role of the German Chancellor, via high-level multilateral processes e.g. at the G7, G20, the Petersburg summit, and UN summits, as well as bilateral channels e.g. recently with visits to Brazil⁴ and India⁵, which both resulted in bilateral joint statements on climate change. In addition, the Federal Chancellery plays an important role as a coordinator and in decision-makers on critical questions.

2.1 Ministries in Germany

2.1.1 The Federal Foreign Office

The German Federal Foreign Office (known in Germany as the Auswärtiges Amt or AA) is one of the key players. It began increasing its climate change capacity from around the time of the COP17 conference in Copenhagen. The commitment of the German Chancellor, Angela Merkel, at Copenhagen has created strong political motivation for different ministries and ministers (including the Federal Foreign Office and the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development) to participate⁶. There has been steady development in the Federal Foreign office since then. Never-

¹ For BMUB, climate diplomacy isn't entirely new as they have been in charge of UNFCCC climate negotiation but for other ministries, especially AA and BMZ, climate diplomacy is a relatively new approach.

² See more information in the chapter on narratives.

³ Andrew Smith, Personal Interview. 27 May 2015.

⁴ See the Brazilian – German Joint Statement on Climate Change (20 August 2015), www.bmub.bund.de/fileadmin/Daten_BMU/Download_PDF/Klimaschutz/klimakonsultation_deutschland_brasilien_en_bf.pdf

⁵ See the Indo-German Joint Statement on Climate Change and Energy Technology Cooperation (5 October 2015), www.bundesregierung.de/Content/EN/Pressemitteilungen/BPA/2015/2015-10-05-erklaerung-klima-und-energie-indien_en.html

⁶ Dr. Susanne Dröge, Phone Interview. 15 Jun. 2015.

theless, some external observers have also expressed their worry that currently it seems climate change is not at the top of the Federal Foreign Office's political agenda and there is no sufficient high level ownership. On the other hand, it was also mentioned that new topics have been quickly included into the scope of the Foreign Office's work on climate change, such as water issues in East Asia and adaptation in South East Asia⁷.

Funds for additional posts and a series of practical initiatives were forthcoming after 2011. Foreign ministry officials in the climate diplomacy unit work to sensitise other departments to the issues related to climate security with a view to mainstreaming the latter across all other areas of policy⁸. The unit supports the Federal Ministry for the Environment in the UNFCCC process as well as supporting dialogues and activities in other countries, especially through its embassy networks.

The establishment of a foreign policy on energy as a parallel and partly supportive process dates back to as early as 2005, the first term of the current foreign minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier. Since then the unit responsible for environmental issues that covers climate diplomacy has also become more formalized and better staffed.

The main goals of German foreign policy are world peace and soft power while climate change and energy are closely linked to both. More specifically, firstly, Germany is committed to a global solution for climate change and energy challenges. Secondly, the Federal Foreign Office is also in charge of "the image of Germany abroad", and the new climate change and energy policy is among the items at the top of the list for such soft power building exercises. Thirdly, there are also economic motives to create more markets and cooperation for German technology and industry.

The foreign office sees its role as having three aspects⁹:

- 1) The UNFCCC related foreign policy aspect, which more or less aims to support UNFCCC negotiations: Supporting the delegation headed by the Federal Ministry for the Environment at the United Nations climate negotiations, primarily by supplying information and analyses from the German missions abroad. In addition, it flanks the negotiators' work by addressing individual topics in talks with government representatives of other countries and organising events on these issues.
- 2) Climate and security aspect: German foreign policy aims to take account of climate change in creating strategies to preserve peace and prevent conflicts. Germany is already actively working in this direction, for example as a member of the UN Security Council for 2011-2012. There are also workshops and in-country dialogues abroad.
- 3) Engaging in dialogue with a broader international community: While the respective national government and parliament have a final decisive role in defining a given country's climate position, in many countries there is also a strong influence from scientists, business representatives, civil society and the media. The Federal Foreign Office sees the importance of promoting broad dialogue involving these stakeholders in other countries too, in order to raise the awareness of the need for far-reaching climate protection, support bilateral dialogue on this issue and identify opportunities for cooperation with Germany in this field. There is a modest budget available for such projects in other countries.

Under the Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs Dr. Frank-Walter Steinmeier and four Ministers of State/ State Secretaries, there are 10 Directorate-Generals in the Federal Foreign Office, leading

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Katie Harris, Climate change in UK security policy: implications for development assistance? January 2012, ODI Working Papers (Online) ISSN 1759 2917.

⁹ Federal Foreign Office, Climate Change- a foreign policy challenge.

http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/EN/Aussenpolitik/GlobaleFragen/Klima/Uebersicht_node.html

around 10 divisions each.¹⁰ Climate change and energy comes under the Directorate-General 4 for Economic Affairs and Sustainable Development. The responsible Deputy Director General for Globalisation, Energy and Climate Policy is Peter Fischer. One relevant unit is Unit 404, dealing with international climate and environmental policy and sustainable economy, led by Thomas Hermann Meister. The other relevant unit is Unit 410, headed by Dr. José Schulz, which deals with international energy policy including the EU energy policy; fossil fuels, renewable energy sources and international commodity policy including the EU commodity policy. They deal inter alia with communicating the Energiewende and energy cooperation. Generally, the setup of the unit is that it has one head of unit, 1-2 deputy heads, 2-3 senior staff members and 2-3 junior staff members¹¹. Additionally, there are 227 German missions abroad, including embassies, consulates and other missions¹², which are also an increasingly strong vehicle for climate foreign policy and energy. A few embassies have energy or climate desk officers, for example in Brussels and Beijing, who report to the Federal Foreign Office. Where there is no energy or climate desk officer, there is contact with the economic department of the mission, whose scope of work normally covers energy or with the environment department, whose scope of work covers climate change. In 2014 the Federal Foreign Office created a new senior Energy Transition position in order to better coordinate and strategically develop Germany's cooperation with other countries on renewable energy, energy efficiency and related issues. The role of this new "energy transition ambassador" is also to coordinate the communication of Germany's climate change and energy policy in a situation where observers globally look at Germany's Energiewende as a test case for other countries.

2.1.2 The Federal Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation, Building and Nuclear Safety

The Federal Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation, Building and Nuclear Safety (known in Germany as BMUB) is without any doubt another key player driving climate diplomacy abroad, along with developing Germany's own climate policies at home. Like in many other countries, Germany's climate governance is mainly organized by its Ministry for the Environment¹³. It represents Germany in climate debates or processes in the European Union and international organisations, including the UN, OECD and WTO.

It has been leading the German delegation in the UNFCCC since the UNFCCC was established, hence its main role in climate diplomacy is related to that particular avenue and the related processes.

Another key role it plays in the broad climate diplomacy field is related to climate finance. Since 2008 the BMUB's International Climate Initiative (IKI)¹⁴ has been financing climate and biodiversity projects in developing and newly industrialised countries, as well as in countries in transition. The

¹⁰ See organizational chart of the AA:

<http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/cae/servlet/contentblob/373562/publicationFile/206373/Organigramm-en.pdf>

¹¹ Note that foreign ministry's staff are mainly generalists with frequent shift in different country/regions as well as topics/functions.

¹² See details here:

www.auswaertiges-amt.de/sid_B925702E6CB546847DF6520A0BA06E32/EN/AAmt/Auslandsvertretungen/Uebersicht_node.html

¹³ In December 2013 the Chancellor issued a decree transferring responsibility for urban development, housing, rural infrastructure, public building law, building, the construction industry and federal buildings to the BMUB, thus bringing the ministry key additional responsibilities from the former Federal Ministry for Transport, Building and Urban Development (BMVBS) but at the same time taking away renewable energy and energy efficiency.

¹⁴ Overview of IKI projects: <http://www.international-climate-initiative.com/en/projects/projects/>

IKI does not constitute the majority of Germany's climate financing, since the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development channels 90% of climate financing, but the IKI still has an important role to play as it is a well-known brand, able to support innovative approaches and as such a key programme for supporting climate action¹⁵.

The BMUB also works across its divisions on bilateral cooperation projects, in the fields of climate and environment. Traditionally there have also been bilateral cooperation programmes in relation to renewable energy but this has become less of a priority now as the responsibility has been moved to the Federal Ministry of Economic Affairs and Energy.

Under the Federal Minister of the BMUB, Dr. Barbara Hendricks, and 4 State Secretaries (two of which are Parliamentary State Secretaries), there are 10 Directorate-Generals leading, each comprised of two or three directorates.¹⁶ Climate comes under the Directorate-General KI Climate Protection, Europe and International. The responsible Director General is Franz-Josef Schafhausen, and there are two Deputy Director Generals overseeing two Directorates, respectively for domestic climate policy (KI I) and European and international cooperation (KI II). KI II, headed by Karsten Sach has seven divisions under it. The most prominent divisions are on the one hand Division KI II 6 International Climate Policy, led by Nicole Wilke, which is in charge of leading the German UN-FCCC delegation; and on the other hand Division KI II 7 International Climate Finance, International Climate Initiative, led by Norbert Gorißen, which is in charge of the implementation of the IKI programme and engagement with the Green Climate Fund (GCF)¹⁷. The responsibilities of the divisions KI II 2-5 are divided up by respective regions and/or countries: KI II 2 covers the EU and EU countries, KI II 3 covers OECD and OECD countries, KI II 4 covers the UN, Post 2015 Agenda, developing and emerging economies, and KI II 5 covers East Europe, Central Asia and the MENA region. Each division has a head of division and around 4-5 staff members.

A rather new development is the introduction of Climate Attachés, i.e. BMUB staff seconded to take charge of the climate issues at a limited number of the German embassies with one BMUB expert at each embassy¹⁸. The system was established around 4 years ago, in 3 countries and with relatively different scopes:

- Tokyo (climate change and renewable energy)
- Washington (climate change)
- Nairobi (climate change and sustainable development)

2.1.3 The Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs and Energy

The Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs and Energy (known in Germany as BMWi) is, among other things, in charge of the energy system, renewable energy and energy efficiency. Until 2012 responsibility for energy was split between two ministries, BMUB was responsible for renewable energy and energy efficiency and BMWi was responsible for all other energy matters. Now this has all been

¹⁵ Steffen Menzel. Personal Interview. 17 Jun. 2015.

¹⁶ See introduction of the ministry's structure <http://www.bmub.bund.de/en/bmub/tasks-and-structure/>; and organizational chart of BMUB: http://www.bmub.bund.de/fileadmin/Daten_BMU/Organigramme/organigramm_bmub.pdf

¹⁷ The role is shared with BMZ, for example see the GCF board member list: <http://www.gcfund.org/board/board-members.html>

¹⁸ Andrew Smith, Personal Interview. 27 May 2015. In comparison, UK also has such a system with longer history and more resources, i.e. 20-30 key persons and 60-70 relevant staff. UK also takes a more flexible approach, i.e. the staff can come from different ministries.

shifted to BMWi (with the expectation of developing more coherent energy policies). It thus plays a crucial role in negotiating the German position in EU level energy policy making and international institutions such as IRENA (International Renewable Energy Agency), as well as carrying the responsibility for technical and practical cooperation. BMWi's work in this area has two key aspects:

- 1) International energy policy, including new partnerships and dialogues¹⁹: Energy partnerships²⁰ are a key instrument in the Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs and Energy's foreign energy policy strategy. In addition, the ministry coordinates Germany's participation in multilateral organisations, forums and initiatives on energy matters. The BMWi also engages in the energy and climate policy debate at an EU level, such as the 2030 climate and energy package discussion²¹.

Since the development of the Energiewende, BMWi's role in engaging other countries in energy transformation and renewable energy development has become more vital. This trend is also true for the work of BMZ. This will be explored further in the next sub-chapter on the inter-linkages between energy and climate diplomacy.

- 2) Climate technology cooperation²²: this function is mainly represented by an organisational role related to the technology mechanism under the UNFCCC. BMWi hosts the national contact point in Germany (National Designated Entity – NDE) to the Climate Technology Centre and Network (CTCN), which serves as the first point of contact for all enquiries about German technology as well as for enquiries from German companies and investors.²³ In 2012, BMWi set up the Climate Technology Transfer Working Group, which supports the work of the NDE and the German representative on the UNFCCC's TEC (Technology Executive Committee)²⁴. The relevant ministries, the German Society for International Cooperation (GIZ) and KfW Banking Group are all represented in the working group, as are businesses and scientist.

Under the Federal Minister for BMWi, Sigmar Gabriel, who was minister of the environment from 2005 to 2009, and six State Secretaries (three of which are Parliamentary State Secretaries), there are 10 Directorate-Generals, each comprised of around 10 to 25 Divisions.²⁵ One key State Secretary is Rainer Baake, who is a key architect of the Energiewende and responsible for European policy as well as all aspects of energy policy. He negotiates most of the relevant energy issues with EU partners and the European Commission and is responsible for the German engagement and cooperation with IRENA. The foreign relations work concerning energy falls under the Directorate-General II Energy Policy- Heating and Efficiency. Under the Division II A International Energy Affairs,

¹⁹ Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs and Energy, International Energy Policy webpage:

<http://www.bmwi.de/EN/Topics/Energy/European-and-International-Energy-Policy/international-energy-policy.html>

²⁰ Energy partnership as a key approach will be further elaborated in next chapter on narratives and approaches.

²¹ Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs and Energy, European Energy Policy,

<http://www.bmwi.de/EN/Topics/Energy/European-and-International-Energy-Policy/european-energy-policy.html>

²² Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs and Energy, Technological cooperation within the United Nations Convention on Climate Change. <http://www.bmwi.de/EN/Topics/Energy/climate-technology-cooperation.html>

²³ During the climate negotiations held in Cancún at the end of 2010, the Conference of the Parties (COP) to the Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) agreed to foster their cooperation in the area of technologies designed to mitigate and respond to climate change (the reduction of greenhouse gases and adaptation to climate change) and decided to set up the Technology Mechanism. This is composed of a policy unit – the Technology Executive Committee (TEC), and an implementing unit – the Climate Technology Centre and Network (CTCN).

²⁴ The working group aims to strengthen practical co-operation with developing countries and emerging economies on technologies designed to mitigate climate change, and to foster the development of new business sectors for German companies. In doing so, it is also to serve as an information source for the work of the TEC and the CTCN and to help countries engage in technological co-operation with Germany.

²⁵ See introduction of the ministry's structure: <http://www.bmwi.de/EN/Ministry/tasks-and-structure.html>; and organizational chart of BMWi:

<http://www.bmwi.de/English/Redaktion/Pdf/organisation-chart,property=pdf,bereich=bmwi2012,sprache=en,rwb=true.pdf>

two units are most relevant: II A 1, headed by Dr. Martin Schöpe, deals with general issues of international energy policy and foreign policy on energy, multilateral cooperation on energy (excluding IEA) and cooperation on energy policy with industrialised countries; and Division II A 2, headed by Wolfdieter Böhler, deals with energy cooperation in the International Energy Agency and bilateral cooperation on energy policy with non-OECD countries. It is interesting to note that the staff in these units, for example the unit head Dr. Martin Schöpe, were transferred from BMUB to BMWi. So energy policy – the key to the Energiewende – which used to be split between BMUB and BMWi is now under one roof. Meanwhile, there are several units under the Directorate-General IV Industrial Policy related to Climate, namely in the directorate IV C Environment, Climate and Bio-economy, most importantly IV C 2 Climate Change, International Environmental Policy and Energy Taxation, headed by Dr. Antonio Pflüger, who also represents Germany in the UNFCCC's TEC.

2.1.4 The Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development

The Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development (known in Germany as BMZ) is Germany's ministry for development cooperation and has incorporated climate change into its work²⁶. The earliest discussion about introducing climate change related issues into the German development cooperation goes back to 2007 and 2008. Some observers have pointed out that this was rather later, 15 years after the UN climate change convention was signed. In April 2007, BMZ published its Action Programme on Climate and Development. The action programme frames both mitigation of climate change and adaptation as global public challenges, which are directly linked to combating poverty and securing international peace.²⁷

The majority of Germany's contribution to international climate finance, around 90%, is channelled through BMZ and its implementing agencies²⁸. In a submission to the UNFCCC, Germany has described its framework for international climate finance as “the major part of climate finance provided by BMZ e.g. through the German Energy and Climate Fund (ECF), the Initiative for Climate and Environmental Protection and by the BMUB International Climate Initiative (ICI) goes to bilateral projects. Projects are, amongst others, implemented through the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) and the KfW Development Bank, both supporting the German Government in achieving its objectives in the field of international cooperation for sustainable development”²⁹. Germany interacts with its international partners through both bilateral and multilateral channels³⁰.

²⁶ BMZ climate protection website http://www.bmz.de/en/what_we_do/issues/klimaschutz/index.html

²⁷ Additional main thought-pieces from GIZ (then called GTZ), DIE and SEI, as well as Adelphi. See:

http://www.preventionweb.net/files/8023_enclimatesecurity1.pdf;

http://www.die-gdi.de/uploads/media/adaptation_strategy_draft_110208.pdf;

http://www.adelphi.de/en/projects/project_database/dok/43525.php?pid=246&pidpdf=246

²⁸ Since BMZ has a long-standing history and structure in developing countries, such a distribution of roles between BMZ and BMUB on climate finance is coherent and reasonable. Dr. Susanne Droege, Phone Interview. 15 Jun. 2015.

²⁹ Submission of Germany to UNFCCC, no date.

http://unfccc.int/files/adaptation/cancun_adaptation_framework/loss_and_damage/application/pdf/gdc.pdf

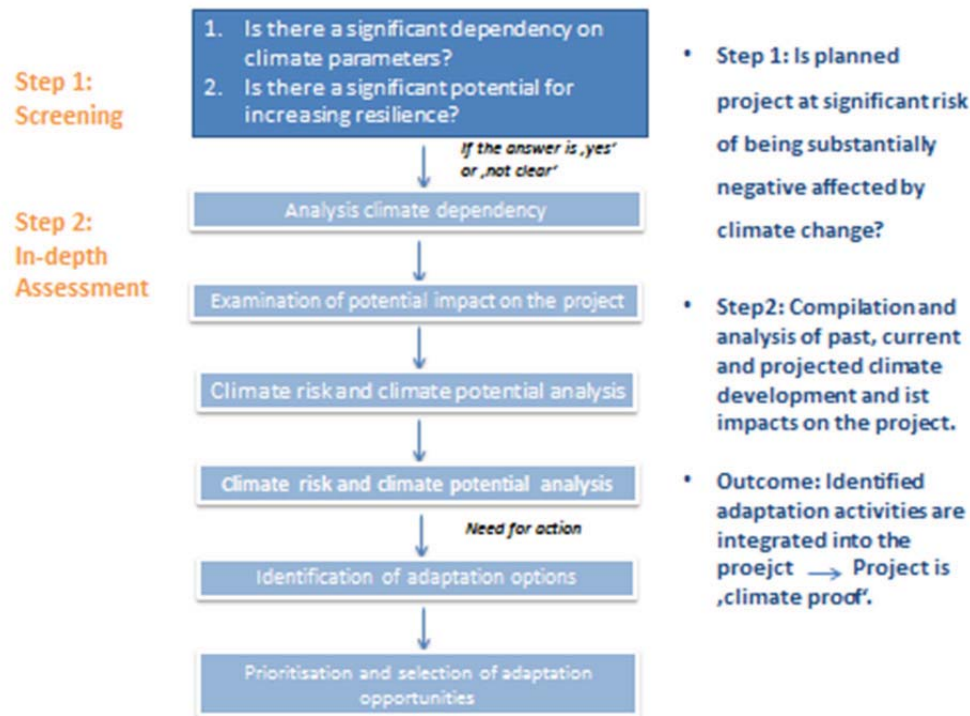
³⁰ See more details from:

http://www.bmz.de/en/publications/type_of_publication/information_flyer/information_brochures/Materialie192_Climate_Challenges.pdf;

http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/EN/foraff/137587.pdf;

and http://ec.europa.eu/clima/policies/international/negotiations/docs/eeas_26062013_en.pdf

There were major efforts made to systematically mainstream climate change into BMZ's work, initiated by Minister Heidemarie Wiecezorek-Zeul (1998-2009)³¹. Climate change was less of a priority under her successor, Dirk Niebel from the end of 2009 until 2013. Nonetheless, BMZ continued making its work more climate-sensitive. For example, in January 2011, the BMZ-Environmental and Climate Check (in German *BMZ-Umwelt- und Klimaprüfung*) was introduced. This means that all projects financed by BMZ are subject to an environmental and climate check³². Based on that, KfW has a manual for sector specific climate assessment as standard procedure for appraisals (see chart below for the key steps)³³. This is seen as a tool for taking the climate change aspect into consideration when carrying out BMZ projects.



Under the current minister, Gerd Müller, who has been in office from late 2013 onwards, climate has regained prominence, particularly with the creation of a “Special Unit Climate” (see below). In general, mainstreaming climate change into BMZ's work has not yet been completed. Some observers have noted that there is reluctance from some BMZ staff who would prefer to see climate change treated as a separate “environmental” topic rather than including it as yet another “mainstreaming” issue (in addition to gender and others) that would need to be reflected in all projects.

BMZ has separate divisions and units for energy and climate topics. Under the Federal Minister of the BMZ, Dr. Gerd Müller, and 3 State Secretaries (two of which are Parliamentary State Secretaries), there are 10 Directorate-Generals leading a total of 11 directorates and 2 special units, in which climate and energy comes under the Directorate-General 3 for Global issues – sector poli-

³¹ At that time external think-tanks were used i.e. Wuppertal Institute on developing mainstream strategy for mitigation issues and German Development Institute (DIE) for mainstream for adaptation issues. GIZ and KfW were asked by the ministry to develop methodologies for mainstreaming climate change in their projects and programmes. Dr. Imme Scholz, Personal Interview. 5 Jun. 2015

³² Both its implementation agencies GIZ (at that time still GTZ) and KfW have taken measures to implement, see details: <http://www2.gtz.de/dokumente/bib-2010/gtz2010-0422de-umwelt-klimapruefung.pdf>; and https://www.kfw.de/PDF/Download-Center/Konzernthemen/Nachhaltigkeit/FZ-Nachhaltigkeitsrichtlinie-2014_D.pdf

³³ Andreas Holtkotte, Adaptation to Climate Change in the Water Sector presentation, May 2012, www.icafrica.org/fileadmin/documents/ICA_sponsored_events/4th_African_Water_Week_May2012/Presentation_AWW.pdf

cies and programmes.³⁴ The responsible Director General is Ingrid Gabriela Hoven. Directorate 31 covers sustainable development, natural resources, economic issues and infrastructure. In includes division 311, headed by Kerstin Faehrmann, which covers energy, infrastructure and raw materials – this division has 5 members of staff. Less directly but nevertheless relevant, the division 310 covers the environment, sustainable use of natural resources, marine conservation and biodiversity. Division 312 covers water, urban development and transport. In addition, there is the Special Unit on Climate, as one of the two new special units since 2014 (the other one focuses on “One World No Hunger”)³⁵. The special units operate at the same level as directorates. The Special Unit on Climate is headed by Frank Fass-Metz, the climate policy and climate financing commissioner, and supported by Philipp Knill as head of division.

2.1.5 Coordination between the various ministries

As the working areas and the institutional set-up of the climate and energy diplomacy are quite widespread and complicated, there has not been an overarching coordination mechanism that also involves divisions/units across different angles of climate and energy diplomacy. However, coordination and interaction mechanisms relating to specific working areas and processes are in place and in many cases are becoming more and more structured and efficient.

With regards to the UNFCCC negotiations, BMUB takes the leading role while BMZ and Federal Foreign Office provide support and responsible for certain issue areas. The BMZ focuses mainly on the topic of adaptation and capacity building and plays a secondary role in the finance negotiations, of which BMUB is in charge.. On the other hand, BMZ is the leading ministry for two related international processes, namely the United Nations’ Post-2015 Agenda (Sustainable Development Goals) and Financing for Development (FfD)³⁶.

Regarding broader climate diplomacy and outreach, BMUB and the Federal Foreign Office work together³⁷. Initially this cooperation was a bit ad-hoc but over the last two to three years the cooperation has become more and more systematic with joint strategies, including objectives, approaches, messages and priority countries, which are reviewed and updated every three months³⁸. Both ministries more recently started to involve other ministries, such as BMZ, but less systematically and less in-depth.

In connection with the G7/G20, the German Federal Chancellery has a coordinating role³⁹, and each ministry provides relevant technical input. For BMUB, and perhaps also other ministries, there is also a general coordinator to coordinate the ministry’s work for the G7, as different topics across different divisions are concerned. The ministries focus on different topics related to the summit and ministerial meetings. For example, during the G7 in 2015, BMWi focused on energy

³⁴ See introduction of the ministry’s structure <http://www.bmz.de/en/ministry/structure/>; and organizational chart of BMZ: http://www.bmz.de/en/ministry/structure/orgplan_en.pdf

³⁵ Previously it has the same name as a division under the Directorate General 3, next to other sectors/issues like energy, biodiversity, environment, forest; then at beginning of 2014 the special unit was created with more personnel and the strive to mainstream climate change in bilateral and multilateral cooperation. Climate policy in general was already there before and gained more presence through this structure. Samuel Germain. Phone Interview. 11 Jun. 2015.

³⁶ Germany is in general supporting linking climate change to these two processes.

³⁷ Traditionally BMUB had considered climate diplomacy more in relation to the UNFCCC process and AA thinks it needed to be about working with countries and their domestic stakeholders and in a more diplomatic manner. Over the past few years the coordination of the BMUB and AA on their climate diplomacy efforts has been improved.

³⁸ Andrew Smith, Personal Interview. 27 May 2015.

³⁹ It is worth noting that it is a general situation that the Chancellery has limited own staff and other ministries with content expertise will second their staff to give support when/where needed e.g. from BMWi on energy issues, from AA on foreign affair issues.

and energy security, BMUB on climate finance and decarbonisation, the Federal Foreign Office on climate risk and BMZ on the climate insurance initiative and mobilization of private investments for renewable energies in Africa. Interestingly each ministry also uses different third parties to give them input on the preparation of the G7 strategy⁴⁰.

With regards to the development of the bilateral energy partnerships, there are close working relationships between the Federal Foreign Office, BMWi and BMZ. It has normally been the Federal Foreign Office or BMZ who has started the bilateral engagement process, while once it is established i.e. the MOU signed between the two countries, then BMWi generally takes a leading role while the Federal Foreign Office or BMZ provide support. BMUB also continues to play a role in some energy partnerships, but to a more limited extent since the renewable energy portfolio has been shifted to BMWi. The Federal Foreign Office and BMWi also work together on other initiatives, e.g. the Berlin Energy Transition Dialogue, an annual international conference first held in 2015.

Regarding IRENA, BMWi now takes the lead – previously BMUB – and, works with BMZ, the Federal Ministry of Finance, and the Federal Foreign Office.

It is worth noting that the framing of an issue largely determines the level of priority, the departmental responsibility, the mechanisms established to manage the issue and the way it is subsequently funded and programmed. At a basic level in Germany and the UK, the framing of climate change as an environmental and developmental priority brings it under the environmental (climate and energy) ministry and international cooperation (foreign aid) ministry⁴¹. When it is seen as a foreign policy and security concern, other players, such as the foreign office take the lead.

2.2 Non-state actors

Various non-state actors take more bottom-up, de-centralized and organic approaches in foreign climate engagements.

The business community is very strong with the main aim being to export and sell more green technologies and products to other countries. This is to a large extent distinguishable from the German government's climate diplomacy and there has been little interlink so far.

The foundations, be it party political foundations (which is quite unique in Germany⁴²) such as Heinrich-Böll-Foundation, Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation and Konrad-Adenauer-Foundation, public or private foundations such as the Humboldt Foundation, German Federal Environmental Foundation (Deutsche Bundesstiftung Umwelt), Mercator Foundation, Robert Bosch Foundation, BMW Foundation and the European Climate Foundation have all picked up climate change as an issue and developed activities or even programmes around it. The box below gives an example regarding the Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation⁴³.

⁴⁰ According to the non-exhaustive information collected: BMUB – climate finance/insurance (Climate Policy Initiative); AA – climate risk (Adelphi); BMWi – energy security (Ecofys consortium), BMZ – climate resilience (MCII). NGOs such as Germanwatch have also been strongly involved in the G7 process, see: <http://germanwatch.org/g7-2015>

⁴¹ The AA seems to be more aware of climate change as a foreign policy issue than the BMZ is aware of it as a mainstream development issue.

⁴² The party foundations are characterized by 1) their own dedicated resources from the national budget based roughly on the size of the respective party, i.e. on the votes gained in elections; 2) good access to the respective party, its members of parliaments and politicians; 3) broader international presence – network of national offices overseas.

⁴³ Based on Nina Netzer. Personal Interview. 12 Jun. 2015.

Example: Energy and climate work of the Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation

- History: 2009 – present
- Structure:
 - Coordination and management by headquarters: one policy coordinator and 5 administrative supporters with 4 regional offices: Vietnam, Mexico, Jordan and South Africa
 - Additionally, a strong network of 107 offices in different countries, with quite a long history in some (some go back 50 years), as a back-bone of operations for climate and energy activities
 - Work with partners (governments, social-democratic parties, trade unions, environmental organizations, media and others)
- Three pillars:
 - Socio-ecological-transformation/sustainable energy: longest history and strongest pillar
 - Climate justice and equity (UNFCCC, strengthens voices from global south and civil society)
 - Adaptation (capacity building in developing countries)
- Approaches:
 - Reports, study tours, conferences and workshops, training, position papers etc.
- Characteristics:
 - The Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation is oriented towards social democracy and traditionally has strong ties with social-democratic parties and trade unions and focuses on the social dimension of climate and energy policy (e.g. sustainable jobs, just and sustainable economic transformation)

German NGOs are quite active in engaging in international processes as well and there are dedicated efforts from them to work together with partners in other countries to share experiences and develop joint projects. Bread for the World and Germanwatch are just two examples.⁴⁴

Foundations, NGOs and research institutes in Germany play quite an important role in shaping and implementing climate foreign policy, through independent research and advocacy, strategy and policy advice, technical know-how and capacity building expertise, communication, events, networks and dialogue approaches.

Across the four ministries, engaging different stakeholders (including businesses, media, civil society, think-tanks and academia) has been mentioned as a valuable approach, and their respective roles are appreciated.

There are also initiatives aimed at promoting the business sectors' economic opportunities such as BMWi's Energy Efficiency Export Initiative (supporting German suppliers of products, systems and services in connection with energy efficiency) and the similar Renewable Energies Export Initiative ("renewables – Made in Germany"), supporting German companies in the renewable energy

⁴⁴ The focus of this paper is mainly on the state sector.

sector in their efforts to position themselves successfully in international markets. Extensive information regarding specific international markets, seminars, business trips abroad, assistance with establishing contact with collaborative partners in the respective target country, marketing support, and much more are all provided to small and medium-sized enterprises, particularly to assist them in starting up activities abroad⁴⁵.

2.3 Interlinkages between energy and climate diplomacy

There is an important difference between the “old” energy foreign policy, which focuses mainly on how to secure energy supply, especially oil and gas (i.e. imports and routes) with the new energy and climate diplomacy, which focuses on communication and the promotion of sustainable energy such as renewable energy. To date, both of these policies still exist in parallel⁴⁶.

The transition to a renewables-based energy system, whilst phasing out nuclear power by 2022 and reducing carbon dioxide emissions, referred to in Germany as the “Energiewende”, has made Germany a unique case that other countries follow with great interest. With its position as a pioneer in both the energy transformation and in climate diplomacy, it seems quite natural to extend the new domestic energy policy into a foreign policy on energy transformation (“Energiewendeaußenpolitik” in German). Energy transformation diplomacy and climate diplomacy mutually support each other⁴⁷.

Until early 2014 most political and policy debates surrounding the transition to a renewables-based energy system in Germany addressed the topic exclusively from a domestic perspective. European or international aspects of the new energy policy were largely absent, which might be a consequence of a mostly energy experts-driven debate⁴⁸. This has gradually changed since then. For example, the Federal Foreign Office and BMWi, together with renewable energy business associations such as Bundesverband Erneuerbare Energie e.V. (BEE), Eclareon, Bundesverband Solarwirtschaft (BSW), hosted an international conference on the “Energiewende”, under the theme of “Berlin Energy Transition Dialogue – towards a global Energiewende” at the end of March 2015 in Berlin⁴⁹. The conferences brought representatives, often at the ministerial level, from 60 selected countries together and led to a vivid discussion on various technical and policy sides of the energy transformation. Building on these positive experiences, Germany (the Federal Foreign Office and BMWi) is hosting the conference again in 2016. An international “Energiewende” exhibition is also due to tour the world under the auspices of the Federal Foreign Office.

Moreover, energy has already been a key theme for several of the ministries that are involved in climate diplomacy.

⁴⁵ Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, Protecting the climate, <http://www.bmwi.de/EN/Topics/Energy/Renewable-Energy/renewable-energies-export-initiative.html>

⁴⁶ Germany is still quite dependent on energy imports so the old energy diplomacy still plays a role, which clearly has been weaker and complicated by the new Energiewende diplomacy, focusing on renewables.

⁴⁷ In Germany roughly 40% of its emission reduction is due to the collapse of (former) East-German economy and 40% of development of renewables; only 20% from all the other mitigation measures. Ellen von Zitzewitz. Personal Interview. 18 Jun. 2015.

⁴⁸ Climate change diplomacy: the way forward for Asia and Europe, editors: Dr. Wilhelm Hofmeister, Patrick Rueppel. Singapore : Konrad Adenauer Stiftung : East Asian Institute : European Union Centre in Singapore; Brussels, Belgium: European Policy Centre, [2014] , see online: http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_40561-1522-2-30.pdf?150227062219

⁴⁹ Federal Foreign Policy, The global energy elite meets in Berlin to shape concepts for an intelligent transition towards renewable energy: <http://www.energiewende2015.com/>

For the Federal Foreign Office, the search for permanent and reliable sources of energy is becoming increasingly important in terms of foreign and security policy because Germany is a major industrial and technological nation that has relatively few raw materials. Firstly, it must cooperate more closely at regional and global levels to guarantee a sustainable energy policy in the future. Secondly, it must play an active role in changing from fossil fuels to renewables⁵⁰.

Germany is a prime mover and co-initiator of IRENA (the International Renewable Energy Agency), an intergovernmental organization that promotes the development of regenerative energy around the world⁵¹. Originally the ministry in charge was BMUB but this more recently changed to BMWi with the latter taking over the scope of renewable energy and the “*Energiewende*”. The IRENA headquarters are located in Abu Dhabi, while the German city of Bonn houses one of its three specialized departments, the IRENA Innovation and Technology Centre (IITC). The German government was very keen, but ultimately not successful, in actually bringing the IRENA headquarters to Bonn.

Another initiative was the Renewables Club. By invitation from the Federal Environment Minister at the time, Peter Altmaier, high-level representatives from ten countries gathered in Berlin to establish the Renewables Club in June 2013. It was a political initiative to scale up the deployment of renewable energy worldwide, supplementing and supporting IRENA.⁵² The founding members were China, Denmark, France, Germany, India, Morocco, South Africa, Tonga, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom and the Director-General of IRENA Adnan Amin. There seems to have been limited progress since its initial set-up, inter alia due to the change in ministers and responsible ministry in Germany at the end of 2013.

The key and perhaps even the primary ministry regarding Germany's energy diplomacy, is BMWi, with its “international/foreign energy policy”⁵³, which aims to safeguard the reliability and affordability of energy imports over the long term. A vision for a “transformative shift” in the world economy and “the energy transition” are both mentioned (without specifically referring to the German term “*Energiewende*”) in the ministry's own description of its work⁵⁴. It ranges from energy partnerships (a key instrument in the ministry's foreign policy on energy strategy) to the work in multilateral organisations, forums and initiatives. In general, BMWi has worked on the following three areas.

- 1) Cultivating good relations with the energy producing and transit countries most important for Germany and Europe's provision of energy. Creating and guaranteeing favourable, stable economic parameters for energy projects by German and European investors. Diversifying the sources from which Germany procures energy and the routes by which it is transported.
- 2) Cooperating both with major energy consumers such as Brazil, China and India, and with major energy producers such as Russia on “clean energy technologies”, a field with particularly bright prospects, as well as energy efficiency and renewable energies.
- 3) Creating and guaranteeing transparent, competitive, environmentally conscious, more global energy markets through active participation in the work of multilateral organisations, forums and initiatives.

⁵⁰ Federal Foreign Policy, External energy policy,

http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/EN/Aussenpolitik/GlobaleFragen/Energie/Energiesicherheit_node.html

⁵¹ IRENA, Creation of IRENA, <http://www.irena.org/menu/index.aspx?mnu=cat&PriMenuID=13&CatID=30>

⁵² Energy Transition – The German *Energiewende*, A Renewables Club to change the world, <http://energytransition.de/2014/05/a-renewables-club-to-change-the-world/>

⁵³ Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs and Energy, International Energy Policy,

<http://www.bmwi.de/EN/Topics/Energy/European-and-International-Energy-Policy/international-energy-policy.html>

⁵⁴ Ibid.

A key approach are the bilateral energy partnerships mentioned earlier, jointly run by BMWi and the Federal Foreign Office (with the former taking the leading role in)⁵⁵. Energy partnerships have been established with India, China, Brazil, Russia, South Africa, Morocco, Tunisia, Kazakhstan, Nigeria, Turkey, Norway and other countries. The latest one is with Algeria. The aim of the energy partnerships is to support the partner country, especially as regards expanding renewable energies, increasing energy efficiency and furthering the use of modern energy technologies. It also plays a role in creating market-economy conditions and open markets. They provide German companies with export opportunities, thus helping to further the use of innovative technologies in the field of renewable energies and energy efficiency. By reducing global competition for energy resources, they also increase Germany's security of supply in the long term. The partnerships are diverse in form and content, some are based more on private sector engagement (e.g. the partnership with Algeria is mostly run by companies), others are more government to government (such as the partnership with South Africa), and the partnership with Nigeria has different stakeholders (a high level commission meets once a year, working level government meetings are held twice a year and it also includes business dialogues and NGO engagement). Some partnerships focus more on renewables, such as those with Morocco and Tunisia, while others on more conventional energy such as the one with Nigeria on gas and LNG, but also on the vocational training of solar energy workers.

Interestingly, in addition to BMWi's bilateral energy partnership with China, BMUB used to have a separate bilateral partnership with China focusing on renewables. When the team in charge was moved from BMUB to BMWi, it seemed wise to find synergies between the two partnerships and increase the renewable energy cooperation between Germany and China.

As mentioned above, BMWi is also utilising Germany's extensive range of instruments for the promotion of foreign trade and investment, including the Energy Efficiency Export Initiative⁵⁶ and the Renewable Energies Export Initiative⁵⁷.

Energy security, as a main driver for energy foreign policy, is a complicated factor. On the one hand, it raises the issue of energy to the top of political and diplomatic agendas e.g. with the European Energy Union and the G7 energy security initiatives (more details about these can be found in the following chapters 2.4 and 2.5). On the other hand, climate diplomacy does not always bring synergies, as different countries still have very different stances on what strategies and solutions help to secure the future of energy supplies. For example regarding the European Energy Union debate, the UK has a different view to Germany, i.e. the UK focus is on LNG, nuclear energy and offshore wind energy; while Germany focuses more on renewables, i.e. solar and wind energy, both onshore and offshore⁵⁸ and energy efficiency. France is another supporter of nuclear energy, even if this is weaker than before. Regarding the debate under the G7, Japan supports coal, CCS and nuclear energy; the USA promotes shale gas; and Canada unconventional fossil fuels, particularly tar sands.

Some may argue that the old energy security policy leads to high emissions and a high risk to peace and of accidents e.g. nuclear accidents, or cases like Deepwater Horizon. According to this widespread view amongst observers, energy efficiency and renewable energies increase climate security and limit the risk of wars – in many wars access to oil or nuclear energy has played a contributing role.

⁵⁵ Federal Foreign Policy, Energy Partnerships,

http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/EN/Aussenpolitik/GlobaleFragen/Energie/Energiepartnerschaften_node.html

⁵⁶ Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs and Energy, Energy Efficiency Export Initiative,

<http://www.bmwi.de/EN/Topics/Energy/Energy-Efficiency/energy-efficiency-export-initiative.html>

⁵⁷ Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs and Energy, Renewable Energies Export Initiative,

<http://www.bmwi.de/EN/Topics/Energy/Renewable-Energy/renewable-energies-export-initiative.html>

⁵⁸ Louisa Casson. Personal Interview. 17 Jun. 2015.

2.4 Links to EU climate and energy foreign policy

Historically, Europe has played a leading role in shaping the climate negotiations, with Germany taking a pioneering role⁵⁹. In the EU, the European Commission (DG Clima) and – to a lesser extent – the European External Action Service (EEAS) are key drivers for climate diplomacy and its related climate foreign policy⁶⁰. A series of conclusions and reflection papers were adopted⁶¹. There has also been high level political commitment. For example Federica Mogherini, High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and Vice-President of the European Commission, has made climate change a priority in her statement and activities⁶².

Compared to 2-3 years ago the EC's climate diplomacy is more structured⁶³. As an example of a key achievement of such efforts, on 19 January 2015 EU foreign affairs ministers endorsed a Climate Diplomacy Action Plan prepared by EEAS and DG CLIMA⁶⁴. One organizational structure (although quite loose and informal) is the EU Green Diplomacy Network, set up in 2003⁶⁵. Germany is a key participant and driver in these EU climate diplomacy efforts.

The European climate diplomacy work of the EEAS has the advantage of having a broader base, compared to a single country approach. The representatives of the EEAS in other countries generally compare their strategic analyses and coordinate their communication and engagement also with the EU Member State embassies⁶⁶. This is beginning to happen more systematically with a two-stage approach: Brussels collects the information from the head of the representatives and compiles updates on key developments and lists of key countries and shares these with member states to compare and comment. The coordination of the work in Brussels is carried out by the Dir VI B – Multilateral Relations and Global Issues, headed by Stephan Auer, who was the Director for Globalisation, Energy and Climate Policy in the German Foreign Office before being appointed to EEAS in 2012. Germany supported the introduction of his team to move EEAS' climate diplomacy work forward but so far VI B has only two to three members of staff working on this issue. Significantly more resources, especially personnel resources, are needed in this team to enable the EEAS to develop a more long-term vision and strategy⁶⁷.

In international climate diplomacy, Germany has played a critical role with regard to the EU's level of ambition, the relationship with China and the transatlantic relationship.⁶⁸ For example, in July 2011 the EU agreed new council conclusions on climate diplomacy, which admitted that by then much momentum had been lost. The conclusion was triggered by an Anglo-German letter com-

⁵⁹ Climate change diplomacy: the way forward for Asia and Europe, editors: Dr. Wilhelm Hofmeister, Patrick Rueppel. Singapore: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung: East Asian Institute : European Union Centre in Singapore; Brussels, Belgium: European Policy Centre, [2014], see online: http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_40561-1522-2-30.pdf?150227062219

⁶⁰ European Union- External Action, Climate Change Diplomacy, http://eeas.europa.eu/environment/index_en.htm

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² For example: Her statement on European Climate Diplomacy Day: http://eeas.europa.eu/statements-eeas/2015/150617_02_en.htm; and her engagement with China on climate topic: <https://euobserver.com/eu-china/128612>

⁶³ Andrew Smith, Personal Interview. 27 May 2015.

⁶⁴ Draft: Action plan for climate diplomacy From Lima to Paris: Climate Diplomacy in 2015 (publicly available only in a draft version), https://drive.google.com/file/d/1dSm8fhLv79LAuiO1tB-gWdmUgOHn-y6lC_94vs5I31ekWEyF0tcBJehA-EkXtEsFL9B6V3ToOjN_ZD52/view

⁶⁵ The EU Green Diplomacy Network, March 2011, see: http://eeas.europa.eu/environment/gdn/docs/gdn_more_en.pdf

⁶⁶ Andrew Smith, Personal Interview. 27 May 2015.

⁶⁷ Dr. Susanne Dröge, Phone Interview. 15 Jun. 2015.

⁶⁸ Climate change diplomacy: the way forward for Asia and Europe, editors: Dr. Wilhelm Hofmeister, Patrick Rueppel. Singapore: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung: East Asian Institute : European Union Centre in Singapore; Brussels, Belgium: European Policy Centre, [2014], see online: http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_40561-1522-2-30.pdf?150227062219

plaining that the EEAS needed to begin engaging in a more tangible and systematic fashion on the foreign policy dimensions of climate change. A climate unit that had originally existed in the Directorate General for External Relations (DG Relex, the predecessor of the EEAS) of the European Commission had been broken up and transferred out of the foreign policy orbit.⁶⁹

Another approach is to use the presidency of the European Union when it is Germany's term to push for agenda setting and initiatives. A good example is given in the box below⁷⁰.

Example: Transatlantic climate and technology initiative

The Federal Foreign Office launched the transatlantic climate and technology initiative during the German presidency of the European Council as part of the German Federal Chancellor's efforts to promote a broad-based "new transatlantic economic partnership" between the EU and the USA. The focus of this initiative lies on the harmonisation of standards, joint research projects and coordinated calls for tenders in the research field. The first concrete measures to be taken as a result of these steps were agreed at the joint EU-US summit in April 2007.

Goal: Closer transatlantic cooperation and consultation on climate protection and technology, in particular in the following fields: clean coal, development of renewable energies and energy efficiency.

Measures:

- Clean coal: the EU will fund demonstration power stations; the USA will increase financial incentives for CCS research; there will be joint action to encourage newly industrialising countries, such as India and China, to adopt CCS technology.
- Renewable energies: the EU has adopted a binding target of 10% for biofuels' market share by 2020; the USA wants to reduce fuel consumption by 20% by 2017 through the increased use of alternative fuels; common standards for biofuels are to be drawn up jointly by the end of 2007.
- Continuation of the work of the joint US-EU Energy CEO Forum as part of the "transatlantic technology initiative": among other things through the involvement of entrepreneurial expertise in the following areas:
 - Biofuels (harmonisation of standards, sustainability aspects).
 - Energy production (CCS, feed-in of renewable energies).
 - Energy efficiency (harmonisation of construction regulations, labelling, e.g. ENERGY STAR).
 - Research & development (CCS, second-generation biofuels, energy storage).
- Within the EU and in its discussions with the Commission, Germany is seeking an intensification of EU-US research cooperation in the field of climate-friendly energy technologies.

⁶⁹ Richard Youngs, *Climate Change and European Security*, 2015, see:

https://books.google.de/books?id=pg_EBAAQBAJ&pg=PA42&pg=PA42&dq=GERMAN+FEDERAL+FOREIGN+OF+FICE+department+on+climate+change&source=bl&ots=evLaainbQS&sig=PfbWIATs9EeBxl58LzZoV_RQieY&hl=de&sa=X&ei=GAQDVfLDFcfaU_iyng&ved=0CE8Q6AEwBg#v=onepage&q=GERMAN%20FEDERAL%20FOREIGN%20OFFICE%20department%20on%20climate%20change&f=false

⁷⁰ BMUB: *Key Elements of an Integrated Energy and Climate Programme: Decision of German Cabinet on August 23rd/24th 2007 at Meseberg, Aug. 2007*, see:

http://www.bmub.bund.de/fileadmin/bmu-import/files/english/pdf/application/pdf/klimapaket_aug2007_en.pdf

Another example is that under the German EU Presidency the heads of the European Union had adopted far-reaching political decisions on future EU energy policies and climate change reduction targets. The European Council agreed, after lengthy negotiations, on an action plan to put in place a European climate and energy policy by the year 2009, on 9 March 2007. This decision was pushed for forcefully by the German Chancellor, Angela Merkel.

On the climate security front, the seminal movement of the EU acknowledging the geopolitical dimensions of climate change came in 2007, and in 2008 the Commission and Council Secretariat set up an “informal steering group on climate change and international security”. Germany, Sweden, Denmark, France and the UK have played prominent roles in keeping this forum active.

With regard to energy security, it is a crucial issue for all the EU countries. For Germany, it is important to make its new energy and climate change policy coherent with EU energy security and at the same time transform the model from import and risk related energy resources to renewables and energy efficiency. BMWi has taken efforts to drive forward this energy security agenda with other European countries especially the neighbouring countries. A recent achievement has been the signing of a range of political declarations aimed at strengthening regional cooperation on ensuring secure electricity supplies among 12 neighbouring states, namely Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, France, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Poland, and the Czech Republic.⁷¹ It was drawn up following the in-depth exchange initiated by Rainer Baake, who has been State Secretary of BMWi since July 2014. Four conferences were held between the countries before a joint declaration was reached in June 2015.

A relevant development at a European level, is the agreement of forming the European Energy Union, with a forward-looking climate policy on the basis of the Commission's framework strategy, whose five dimensions are closely interrelated and mutually reinforcing (energy security, solidarity and trust; a fully integrated European energy market; energy efficiency contributing to moderation of demand; decarbonising the economy; and research, innovation and competitiveness)⁷². A blueprint for tackling global climate change beyond 2020 is part of a package unveiled by the European Commission⁷³.

The European Energy Council, where member states' energy ministers meet regularly, is the key decision making body, supported by the Energy Working Group which meets once a week. Out of approximately 200 staff members, there are three members of staff in the German Permanent Representation to the EU who are part of this working group, with BMWi taking the leading role and the Federal Foreign Office and BMUB providing support.

Regarding the EU and its member states' missions overseas, there are also regular coordination meetings such as the ambassadors' monthly meeting and the monthly meeting for department heads for each topic e.g. economy, education and politics.

⁷¹ See press release (8 June 2015): <http://bmwi.de/EN/Press/press-releases,did=713038.html> and more information: http://ec.europa.eu/priorities/energy-union/index_en.htm

⁷² European Council Conclusions on the Energy Union (19 March 2015): <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/press/press-releases/2015/03/conclusions-energy-european-council-march-2015/>

⁷³ See earlier press release (25 February 2015): http://ec.europa.eu/clima/news/articles/news_2015022501_en.htm

2.5 Links to British and French climate foreign policy

Germany is working with key European countries in the climate diplomacy field, particularly the UK and France⁷⁴.

The UK was the first country to actively integrate climate change into its foreign policy work⁷⁵. The UK and Germany have been working together closely on climate diplomacy, an example of this is the jointly agreed list of 20-30 countries on which to focus diplomatic resources in the past year.

One specific area is climate security. The UK's FCO (The Foreign and Commonwealth Office) championed the first-ever United Nations Security Council debate on climate change, energy and security in 2007, and Germany championed the second one in 2011, with strong support from Portugal. The proliferation of narratives in the 2000s thus played an influential role in formulating and then applying a security lens to climate change. This was accompanied by dialogues, both formal and informal, between different governments. For example, the UK's FCO has reportedly been discussing climate change and the security nexus with the German Federal Ministry for the Environment since 2001. In an effort to keep up the momentum in Europe and to devise a response to climate security, the UK's Foreign Secretary, David Miliband, and German Foreign Minister, Frank-Walter Steinmeier, wrote a joint article entitled 'Europe Has to Rise to the Security Challenges of Climate Change'. Referring to climate change as a 'stress multiplier', they argued that it "will reshape the geopolitics of the world in which we live, with important consequences for peace and security"⁷⁶.

As France was the hosting country for United Nations Climate Change Conference in December 2015 where a new global climate treaty was to be formed, it has significantly increased its diplomacy resources in relation to climate change. The German Embassy to the UK's website states that "Germany and the UK have been co-operating closely on climate foreign policy for several years. These efforts have been given further clout by France joining"⁷⁷. It further says "The collaboration involves implementing specific projects, as well as developing an international climate policy agenda and integrating our positions into international negotiations".

On 9 September 2014, the first German-British-French Climate Day took place. It paid tribute to the efforts made up until then, emphasized the geopolitical consequences of climate change in the future, and expanded co-operation between Germany, the UK and France in this area. There was also a joint event at the British Embassy in Berlin, attended by around 70 guests. Experts on climate diplomacy presented and discussed current foreign and climate issues with representatives from politics, science, business, NGOs and journalists. Domestic initiatives in Germany, the UK and France were also examined, followed by a reflection on how best to share the lessons learnt from various policy initiatives. On and around the day, the three countries' embassies put on events, demonstrating the importance of the climate diplomacy co-operation and showcasing successful projects in various host countries. For example, the German and British embassies in Kenya published a joint article in the local daily newspaper, The Star, calling for decisive action across the world and the commitment of governments and citizens worldwide. A lively discussion about

⁷⁴ It is in general a tradition of the EU that big countries play stronger roles in diplomacy and also by working together.

⁷⁵ Within the UK, through the latter part of the 2000s, there was a dramatic shift in the weight given to and inclusion of climate change in national security strategies.

⁷⁶ British Embassy Berlin: Europe has to rise to the security challenge of climate change, see: <https://library.ecc-platform.org/news/europe-has-rise-security-challenges-climate-change>

⁷⁷ Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany London, see:

http://www.london.diplo.de/Vertretung/london/en/__pr/Latest__News/09/Climate-Diplo-Day.html

German-British-French progress in combatting climate change took place on Twitter under the hashtag #ClimateDiploDay, and further events were held in Atlanta, Miami, Chicago and Bangkok.

The second European Climate Diplomacy Day took place on 17 June 2015 and the three countries were joined by the European Commission⁷⁸. In addition, the three countries and European commission also compared their notes with regards to the climate change policy development around the world and related to the UNFCCC⁷⁹.

⁷⁸ For more information: <http://www.euintheus.org/press-media/climate-diplomacy-day-2015/> and <http://www.ambafrance-de.org/European-Climate-Diplomacy-Day-2015-How-does-climate-change-concern-you>

⁷⁹ With regards to the future prospects of the engagement of France in the climate diplomacy beyond end of 2015 (Paris COP), there are different views among the experts I interviewed. Some believe that France will retreat from focusing on its domestic issues e.g. economic difficulties, while others think differently.

3 Narratives and Approaches

3.1 Narratives

Building on the motivations described in chapter 1, diversified narratives have been used in the climate and energy diplomacy of Germany. Below is a summary mainly drawing on two publically available resources concerning activities by the Federal Foreign Office, which have been cross-checked with information from other relevant ministries. They are the ECC (environment, conflict, and cooperation) platform⁸⁰ and the interlinked Climate Diplomacy Initiative⁸¹.

According to them, climate change for Germany is:⁸²

... **a concern for geopolitical change management**, since resources are likely to become scarcer in some areas (for example water in certain parts of Africa and Asia) and more accessible in others (such as Arctic minerals). Changing geographies of rivers or glaciers may require diplomatic initiatives to balance interests and avoid disputes over borders or water rights. Foreign policy approaches to address these challenges include joint risk assessments, the renewal and adjustment of international agreements or natural resource governance initiatives.

... **an opportunity for sustainable growth**. A **green economic transformation** can deliver sustainable prosperity and improved energy and resource security. Investment in environmentally sound technologies can provide a large source of new and stable 'green jobs' whilst reducing the economic and social costs of pollution. Bilateral and multilateral partnerships can serve as meaningful instruments for overcoming barriers to trade and investing in low carbon technologies, as well as developing robust carbon pricing mechanisms.

... **a threat to livelihood security**. Climate change threatens livelihoods through resource degradation and disasters. Many countries fear that it will become increasingly difficult to meet the basic needs of their populations. Foreign and development policies can support the strengthening of **adaptive capacities** through economic diversification, investment in infrastructure and agriculture, and the promotion of integrated water and resource management and disaster preparedness.

... about **preserving the heritage of humankind**. As stipulated in the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), "Parties should protect the climate system for the benefit of present and future generations of humankind". This narrative reflects the fact that the environment is a public good, and preserving a habitable planet is a core value and interest of humanity. Furthermore, many belief systems attribute an intrinsic value to nature, and stress the importance of solidarity and fairness in addressing climate change. Further development and application of international law can help incorporate these principles in all sectors of society and deepen understanding of the practical and moral imperative of sustainability.

⁸⁰ ECC website: www.ecc-platform.org

⁸¹ Climate Diplomacy, Overview and Road Ahead, see: http://www.ecc-platform.org/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&id=4847:climate-diplomacy-the-road-ahead&Itemid=660

⁸² Climate Diplomacy, Climate Change and Security Narratives, see: http://www.ecc-platform.org/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&id=4848:climate-change-and-security-narratives&Itemid=660

3.2 Formats and approaches

Given the multiple ministries playing their own role (though sometimes jointly or in a coordinated fashion) and various target groups and motivations, the approaches taken are also quite diverse. Below is an overview of the major approaches.

1) Intelligence and information gathering

Goal: Comprehensive, up-to-date reporting from German representatives abroad.

Measures: The Federal Foreign Office instructs German embassies, consulates and representatives at international organisations to submit more frequent reports on energy and climate policy topics. Apart from the continuation of annual reporting on energy policy from strategically important countries, this relates in particular to reporting on:

- Developments in the energy sector of the host country (political structures, changes to legislation, etc.).
- Developments with consequences for the security of energy supply in Germany and the EU (e.g. energy infrastructure projects, new extraction licenses).
- The host country's policies towards renewable energies (and at present the initiative started by Germany to establish an International Agency for Renewable Energies [IRENA]), as well as energy efficiency.
- Opportunities for German companies in the host country in the fields of energy and climate protection, including renewable energies; opportunities for cooperation on the basis of the CDM and JI mechanisms.
- Research projects and calls for tenders in the host country in the fields of new low-emission energy technologies, renewable energies and energy efficiency
- Energy and climate policy in international organisations.

Chiefly responsible: Federal Foreign Office

Source: Key Elements of an Integrated Energy and Climate Programme – Decision of German Cabinet on 23rd/24th August 2007 at Meseberg, August 2007, http://www.bmub.bund.de/fileadmin/bmu-import/files/english/pdf/application/pdf/klimapaket_aug2007_en.pdf

By and large, intelligence and information is much needed for supporting the international negotiation preparations as well as planning for other activities such as dialogues and cooperation projects. The information, collected via German foreign missions, helps the German negotiators to better understand the positions of other countries and to sound out compromises. The information about the national and local economic, climate/energy, social and environmental development, collected through various channels such as German embassies, consulates and representatives at international organisations and development cooperation offices, is also crucial to

understanding the priorities of the countries and to boosting effective communication and cooperation⁸³.

2) Dialogue/Consultation/Communication

Dialogue and communication are a key approach in exchanging understandings and concerns, raising awareness and identifying opportunities for cooperation.⁸⁴ This is based on the understanding that the climate change issues need to be taken up by a broad range of players and need public support.

A series of regional consultation processes in South and Southeast Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Pacific gathered representatives from civil society, academia and the public policy communities.

The region-specific public exhibitions “Environment, Conflict and Cooperation” were held in more than 40 cities and 13 countries; furthermore new modules on specific regional challenges were held in cooperation with partners from China, Brazil, India and South Africa.⁸⁵ The illustration on the next page shows an overview of climate diplomacy activities conducted by the consultancy Adelphi for the Federal Foreign Office⁸⁶.

⁸³ “28 Reporting on energy and climate policy by German embassies and consulates”, Key Elements of an Integrated Energy and Climate Programme, Decision of German Cabinet on August 23rd/24th 2007 at Meseberg, http://www.bmub.bund.de/fileadmin/bmu-import/files/english/pdf/application/pdf/klimapaket_aug2007_en.pdf

⁸⁴ Adriázola, Paola; Alexander Carius, Laura Griestop, Lena Ruthner, Dennis Tänzler, Joe Thwaites and Stephan Wolters 2014: New Paths for Climate Diplomacy. Berlin: Adelphi. http://www.adelphi.de/files/en/publications/application/pdf/new_paths_for_climate_diplomacy_web_copy.pdf

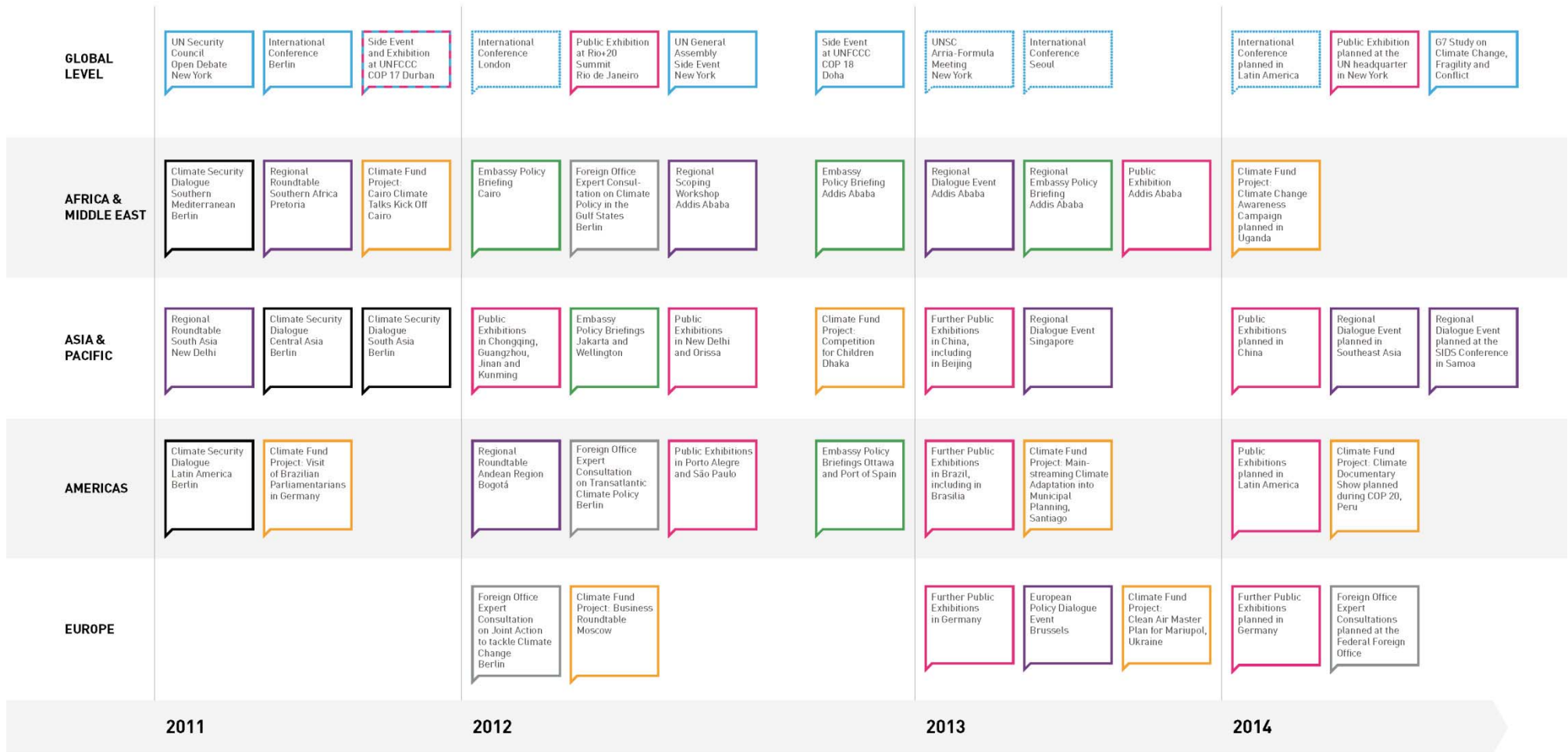
⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

A BRIEF TIMELINE OF CLIMATE DIPLOMACY

The German Federal Foreign Office initiated a long-term process of climate diplomacy engagement in early 2011. This is a selection of climate diplomacy milestones and activities carried out at the global and regional levels in cooperation with adelphi, beginning in 2011 and extending into the period 2014–2015.

- CLIMATE CHANGE AND SECURITY AT THE GLOBAL LEVEL
- GLOBAL LEVEL: EXTERNALLY ORGANISED MEETINGS
- CLIMATE SECURITY DIALOGUES AT THE FEDERAL FOREIGN OFFICE
- EMBASSY POLICY BRIEFINGS
- EXPERT CONSULTATIONS AT THE FEDERAL FOREIGN OFFICE
- PUBLIC EXHIBITIONS
- REGIONAL CONSULTATION PROCESSES
- FEDERAL FOREIGN OFFICE CLIMATE FUND PROJECTS



Source: Adriázola et al. 2014: New Paths for Climate Diplomacy. Berlin: Adelphi.

A new, multi-language and multi-year (most probably initially for 3 years) “*Energiewende*” exhibition and worldwide tour has been planned by the Federal Foreign Office and is expected to start at the beginning of 2016. It covers, among other topics, solar, wind and E-mobility. Key messages include that there will be continuity of Germany’s “*Energiewende*” strategy with strong public support expected and that “*Energiewende*” is not as a “blueprint” but a good experience to share.

An online platform was established to increase information exchange by creating networks among stakeholders from the environment, foreign and security, development and economic policy communities worldwide⁸⁷.

Various communication channels such as a website, traditional media, printed products as well as social networks like Twitter and Facebook are actively being used. Deutschland-Zentren or German Information Centres (GIC) have been set up by the Federal Foreign Office in eight different languages, including Spanish, English, Chinese, Russian and Portuguese.⁸⁸ It includes a special feature on Germany’s “*Energiewende*”⁸⁹. BMWi has a dedicated website on the topic of renewable energy containing information on Germany, the EU and other countries around the world⁹⁰. There is a brochure named “Who is Who of the *Energiewende* in Germany: Contact Partners in Politics, Industry and Society” which has been well received and further print runs are planned⁹¹.

In 2012 alone, 77 measures were taken by the Federal Foreign Office, such as conferences, exhibitions and meetings of decision makers and experts⁹². There are the IKI funded small-scale projects whereby embassies and consulates take a leading role and mostly outsource the organization of activities to partners or local organizations (NGOs, media outlets, consultancy firms and universities, etc.).

There are also support mechanisms for better communications. For example, the Federal Foreign Office has contracted The Renewables Academy (RENAC⁹³) to set up a helpdesk and hotline to support diplomats at its embassies with regard to technical questions related, for example, to renewables.

3) Training/Capacity Building

The complexities of climate change issues and their relatively new integration into broader foreign and international policy work raise the need for building the capacities of various players involved. A range of capacity building formats could be used.

The Federal Foreign Office and its partner, Adelphi, have taken on a programme including: a series of region-specific climate security dialogues for the Federal Foreign Office’s senior staff and other German government decision-makers exploring the particular linkages between climate and security with experts from four regions: Southern Mediterranean, Latin America, South Asia and Central Asia; three international expert meetings at the German Foreign Office in Berlin; a series of policy briefings for German Embassy staff and representatives of German donor agencies, chamber of

⁸⁷ ecc-platform.org

⁸⁸ See more information: http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/DE/AAmt/Auslandsvertretungen/GIC-D-Zentren_node.html

⁸⁹ One example in the German Information Center Africa: http://www.gicafrika.diplo.de/Vertretung/suedafrika-dz/en/02-Content/05__Env/Energie.html

⁹⁰ <http://www.erneuerbare-energien.de/EE/Navigation/DE/Home/home.html>

⁹¹ The brochure could be downloaded at:

https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/cae/servlet/contentblob/701026/publicationFile/203679/Energiewende_EN.pdf

⁹² BMF, Bericht des Bundesministeriums der Finanzen über die Tätigkeit des EKF 2012 und über die 2013 zu erwartende Einnahmen- und Ausgabenentwicklung, April 2013.

⁹³ <http://www.renac.de/en/home.html>

commerce and foundations in selected capitals⁹⁴; and a two-track executive training programme for diplomats.

The first track is a training programme by the Federal Foreign Office for German diplomats and embassy staff. Individual sessions span energy policy as a foreign policy subject, Germany's energy mix, future challenges for energy policy, UN climate change negotiations and the functions of the European Emissions Trading System. The training includes lectures, group work and delegation visits to think-tanks, advisory bodies and NGOs. Leading experts from ministries, universities and think-tanks are involved. The headquarters and embassy staff exchange their experience in implementing climate and energy diplomacy projects in their host countries, thus disseminating best practices to German foreign missions.

The second training track is for German diplomats from abroad, which covers an array of foreign policy instruments, as well as approaches and players' perspectives on climate change. Methods such as the simulation of UN Security Council sessions on climate security were used. In 2013, the training took place in Berlin and was conducted for diplomats from Latin America and the Caribbean.

4) Political Platforms

Thanks to its sizable political and diplomatic competency and connections, Germany is making use of both existing and its own newly created political platforms to popularize the climate diplomacy agenda.

Firstly, existing political platforms include the UN Security Council, UNFCCC, G20, G8/7, OECD, etc. One highlight is the largely successful push of the climate and security agenda at the Security Council and G8.

UN Security Council:

The Security Council first considered climate change in April 2007 at the request of the UK. In June 2009 the UN General Assembly passed resolution A/RES/63/281, proposed by several Small Island Developing States, which requested that the UN Secretary-General produce a comprehensive report on climate change and its possible security implications. A second open debate on climate change and security was convened under the German presidency of the UN Security Council on 20 July 2011. This was preceded by a high-level preparatory event at the German House in New York took place⁹⁵.

The approach reflected a desire to increase the urgency of climate change as a global issue, recognising that a security linkage carries with it increased political weight (Sindico, 2007, in Brauch, 2008). McDonald (2008: 11) notes, 'Copenhagen School proponents portray a securitising move as a highly intentional, strategic action'. David Miliband and Frank-Walter Steinmeier build on it and add an alternative reason. They suggest that tackling the climate security challenges '[...] will help us to avoid growing resentment between those most responsible for climate change and those most affected by it. A potential stand-off between 'polluters' – both in the North and among the emerging economies – and 'victims', who will be predominantly in the South, would put the already burdened international security architecture under increasing pressure.' It is worth noting,

⁹⁴ Ottawa, Canada; Cairo, Egypt; Addis Ababa, Ethiopia; Jakarta, Indonesia; Wellington, New Zealand; Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago. Ibid.

⁹⁵ Climate change diplomacy: the way forward for Asia and Europe, editors: Dr. Wilhelm Hofmeister, Patrick Rueppel. Singapore: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung; East Asian Institute; European Union Centre in Singapore; Brussels, Belgium: European Policy Centre, [2014], see online:

http://www.adelphi.de/files/en/publications/application/pdf/new_paths_for_climate_diplomacy_web_copy.pdf

that the “securitisation” is not an aggressive one but a cooperative one. It moves energy policy in a more cooperative direction – climate mitigation can only be successful by cooperation, not confrontation⁹⁶.

Political platform activities could be complemented and enhanced through extra dialogues or events, with other partner countries. German and Moroccan permanent missions connected to the UN organized a side event at the UN General Assembly in 2012. In February 2013, on the initiative of Pakistan and the United Kingdom, the Security Council again took up the issue of climate and security in an informal ‘Arria-formula’ meeting. Building on the momentum created by the 2011 Security Council Open Debate, a series of government-initiated international conferences on climate and security were held in Berlin (in 2011), London (in 2012) and Seoul (in 2013). This series of global events will likely continue, with other governments invited to explore regional risks and opportunities for enhancing security and development⁹⁷.

G8/7⁹⁸:

Energy – framed as energy security – has been a frequent top agenda topic at G8 Summits – given that one of the original triggers of the G8 summits was the 1970/80s oil crisis. Again, the UK was the first to take up climate issues in the 2005 Gleneagles Summit under its presidency⁹⁹. This resulted in a political statement, an action plan, a new dialogue on climate change, clean energy and sustainable development and the G8 +5 climate change dialogue¹⁰⁰. In 2007 the German presidency addressed climate change – framed as “Climate Change, Energy Efficiency and Energy Security” – as one core agenda item. The Heiligendamm Summit Declaration contains eleven pages with explicit commitments to climate change, energy efficiency and energy security. The core political achievement on climate change of the Heiligendamm Summit, however, is the explicit reference to national emission reduction targets and timeframes, i.e. the commitment to seriously consider the decision of some countries to halve their emissions by 2050¹⁰¹.

The impact of G8 Summit outcomes and associated political signals are difficult to measure. The impact of the three G8 Summits from 2005-2007, which were framing on-going protracted political negotiations under the UNFCCC, however, can be traced to some degree. A certain productive feedback process between strong political leadership exerted by two G8 Summit presidencies (the UK 2005 and Germany 2007), intelligently framed G8 follow-up processes with implications for the UNFCCC and in general a politically well-timed framing of a complex on-going negotiation process on climate change in need of strong additional political support. However, such influence could not be understood in a simple way, in the sense that the decisions under the UNFCCC will be the same as what G8 decides).

⁹⁶ The security threat of climate change is mainly a human security threat – and again cooperation as well as access to water, food etc. are the crucial actions to overcome this security threat.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ The Group of Eight (G8) is one of the most important international forums for dealing with global Issues, as an informal forum of Heads of State and Government. The current G8 members include Germany, France, the United Kingdom, Italy, Japan, the United States, Canada (since 1976) and Russia (since 1998). The G8 Presidency plays a very important role due to the organization's loose structure.

⁹⁹ Henrike Peichert, and Nils Meyer-Ohlendorf, G8 Impact on International Climate Change Negotiations: Good or Bad. 2007 <http://www.ecologic.eu/de/2220>

¹⁰⁰ Federal Ministry for the Environment Nature Conservation and Nuclear Safety, Key Elements of an Integrated Energy and Climate Programme: Decision of German Cabinet on August 23rd/24th 2007 at Meseberg, see: http://www.bmub.bund.de/fileadmin/bmu-import/files/english/pdf/application/pdf/klimapaket_aug2007_en.pdf

¹⁰¹ See Joint Declaration by the G8-Presidency and Brazil, China, India, Mexico and South Africa (8 June 2007), http://www.g-8.de/Content/EN/Artikel/___g8-summit/anlagen/o5-erklaerung-en,templateId=raw,property=publicationFile.pdf/o5-erklaerung-en.pdf

2015 saw once again Germany holding the G7 presidency (with Russia missing) and both energy and climate change were again featured prominently on its agenda¹⁰². On the energy agenda, Energy Ministers and their representatives from G7 countries and the European Commissioner for Climate Action and Energy, Miguel Arias Cañete, agreed on the G7 Hamburg Initiative for Sustainable Energy Security in May 2015¹⁰³. On the climate security side, the G7 Climate Change and Fragility Project made recommendations to the policy community on how to tackle security dimensions of climate change and developed an interactive platform for use by public and private players and civil society¹⁰⁴. On the climate change policy and finance side, the heads of states summit concluded quite strong messages and commitments¹⁰⁵, largely due to the personal engagement of the German Chancellor, Angela Merkel¹⁰⁶:

- The internationally agreed 2 degree target was translated into concrete long-term decarbonisation goals:
 - (1) the decarbonisation of the global economy over the course of the century;
 - (2) a global emission reduction target at the upper end of the range 40% to 70% by 2050, compared to 2010;
 - (3) the transformation of the energy sectors of G7 countries by 2050.
- An agreement was made to provide insurance and protection to the poorest and most vulnerable people, i.e. starting an own initiative for climate risk insurance in vulnerable developing countries, with a focus on Africa, with the aim of reaching up to 400 million people (less than \$2 a day) by 2020.
- An agreement was reached to accelerate renewable energy access in Africa and accelerate financial support.

Secondly, Germany has also developed its own political platforms where it is the initiator.

Besides making use of the German presidency of existing political platforms, Germany also set up its own political initiatives to advance the climate and broader political agenda. Examples include the Petersberg Climate Dialogue (held annually since 2010 and organized by BMUB)¹⁰⁷ and the annual Munich Security Conference with a broader security focus (running since 1963 and organized by a non-government foundation with strong support from the federal government and its foreign office) but in recent years also covering climate change¹⁰⁸. The Petersberg Dialogue brings in some 30 to 40 countries' ministers and created an informal exchange platform for moving the

¹⁰² The Federal Government, G7 summit, see:

http://www.g7germany.de/Webs/G7/EN/G7-Gipfel_en/Agenda_en/agenda_node.html

¹⁰³ G7 countries and EU underline commitment to sustainable energy security. 12 May 2015.

http://www.g7germany.de/Webs/G7/EN/G7-Gipfel_en/Agenda_en/agenda_node.html

¹⁰⁴ Adelphi, G7 Report and Knowledge Platform on Climate Change, Fragility and Conflict:

http://www.adelphi.de/en/projects/project_database/dok/43525.php?pid=730

¹⁰⁵ See the Communiqué: https://www.g7germany.de/Content/DE/_Anlagen/G8_G20/2015-06-08-g7-abschluss-eng.html?nn=1281586; and the Annex:

https://www.g7germany.de/Content/DE/_Anlagen/G8_G20/2015-06-08-g7-abschluss-annex-eng.html?nn=1281586

¹⁰⁶ After Copenhagen, Merkel retreated from being the "Climate Chancellor" and this year over the course of G7 presidency, her leadership played an important role for the strong outcome.

¹⁰⁷ BMUB Petersberg Climate Dialogue webpage, see:

<http://www.bmub.bund.de/en/topics/climate-energy/climate/international-climate-policy/petersberg-climate-dialogue/>

¹⁰⁸ Such as: <https://www.pik-potsdam.de/news/public-events/munich-security-conference-climate-change-as-a-challenge-of-international-politics>;

<http://www.mcc-berlin.net/en/events/event-detail/article/mcc-at-the-munich-security-conference.html>

climate agenda ahead, not only through the Petersberg plenary sessions but also through side meetings such as bilateral ministerial meetings with key countries¹⁰⁹.

5) Partnerships and Networks

In addition to more politically focused outreach and engagement, forming partnerships and networks bilaterally and multi-laterally, is a key method to further enhance the cooperation and real actions with key countries/regions as well as harness potential for economic cooperation.

BMWi and the Federal Foreign Office have worked together to develop bilateral energy partnerships with key countries that are important in terms of energy production, transit or consumption. Many of the energy partnerships are based on a joint declaration of intent or an agreement signed on a high political level. Day-to-day work generally takes place within formalised committee structures, while the partnership's policy work is the responsibility of a high-level steering group. The concrete project activities take place in bilateral working groups and include businesses and research institutes¹¹⁰.

BMWi also supports multilateral and regional cooperation and partnerships. For example: on the one hand specific initiatives under G7 (energy security initiative, African Renewable Energy Initiative), under IRENA (REMAP), under UNFCCC (Renewable Day at COP21 in Paris); and on the other hand other regional based events e.g. the 6th MENA renewables conference to be held in 2016.

BMUB also has bilateral cooperation partnerships with various countries across the world, in the fields of climate change, energy and environment protection. Take China as an example. There are four major relevant Sino-German partnerships, namely: the climate partnership including a joint working group¹¹¹ (with China's National Development and Reform Commission as lead on the Chinese side); the environment partnership (with China's Ministry of Environment Protection, MEP)¹¹²; and the more recent urbanization partnership that is still under development¹¹³. In addition to these there is also an energy partnership which now mainly falls under the responsibility of the BMWi¹¹⁴.

In addition, BMZ also plays an important role in establishing energy partnerships and cooperation projects with developing countries. A good example is the Africa-EU Energy Partnership, which is

¹⁰⁹ The recent 6th Dialogue was participated by top leaders from both Germany and France and considered as a strong political push for international climate momentum, see more details:

<http://www.bmub.bund.de/en/service/events/details/event/6th-petersberg-climate-dialogue-1/>

¹¹⁰ Federal Foreign Office, Energy partnerships, see:

http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/EN/Aussenpolitik/GlobaleFragen/Energie/Energiepartnerschaften_node.html

¹¹¹ Press release: Sino-German Climate Partnership Agreed, Berlin, 29.01.2009. http://www.bmub.bund.de/en/press/press-releases/detailansicht-en/artikel/sino-german-climate-partnership-agreed/?tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=2278; the working group meet since 2010 on yearly basis with rotation of location in China and Germany with relevant ministries from two sides involved, see the most recent climate working group meeting in 2015, at:

http://www.bmub.bund.de/en/topics/europe-international/international-environmental-policy/bilateral-cooperation/details/artikel/affirming-deep-cooperation-with-china-on-climate-change-1/?tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=861&cHash=4b1a3ccf95f800ec1d3a9406c5397133

¹¹² Minister Hendricks: the Sino-German environmental partnership is making good progress, Berlin, 10.10.2014.

http://www.bmub.bund.de/en/topics/europe-international/international-environmental-policy/bilateral-cooperation/details/artikel/minister-hendricks-the-sino-german-environmental-partnership-is-making-good-progress-1/?tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=861&cHash=f3fa31fca25a5e1b689e0cd69ebe1785

¹¹³ The first German-Chinese Conference Sustainable Urban China was held on 20 May 2015, in the scope of the Metropolitan Solutions exhibition in Berlin. See:

<http://www.bmub.bund.de/themen/europa-international/int-umweltpolitik/deutsch-chinesische-konferenz/>

¹¹⁴ Press release: New partnership for global transformation of energy systems: Germany and China sign agreement to cooperate on expansion of renewable energies, Berlin, 14.01.2013. http://www.bmub.bund.de/en/press/press-releases/detailansicht-en/artikel/new-partnership-for-global-transformation-of-energy-systems-1/?tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=861&cHash=796de996c98409f0d91a9dfc231183a

unique in that Germany plays a key role in such a broad based project, rather than a purely country-to-country bilateral partnership.¹¹⁵ BMZ supports energy programmes with partner governments in over 50 countries worldwide, and in 2009 BMZ invested over €1 billion in development programmes for renewables and energy efficiency¹¹⁶.

There are also government led initiatives aimed at promoting the business sectors (suppliers of products, systems, and services) in international markets, such as the BMWi's Energy Efficiency Expert Initiative and the similar Renewable Energies Export Initiative

The Renewables Club initiative by BMUB is another example of a network, as mentioned previously.

A multi-stakeholder network example is REN 21. At the international conference Renewables2004 in Bonn, the German Government initiated the creation of the policy network REN21. Largely financed by the German Government, REN21 is a multi-stakeholder forum including governments, the private sector, research institutions and NGOs from energy, development and environmental sectors. Its overarching goal is to promote favourable policies for renewable energy, focusing its action on three areas: framing priority issues in international and national policymaking processes, highlighting benefits and promoting knowledge generation and information flow. Its major publication has become the REN21 Global Status Report, reporting on the yearly developments of renewable energy worldwide¹¹⁷.

6) Institutions

Institutions, compared to partnerships or networks, are more structured and permanent, and also have dedicated operational budgets and processes.

IRENA is a key example here, as a milestone in Germany's foreign policy on renewable energy¹¹⁸. The idea of establishing an international agency for renewable energy was first proposed in 1981 at a UN conference in Nairobi. It was developed further at various conferences run by organizations involved in renewable energy, such as EUROSOLAR, and later Germany came up with concrete plans to help underpin it. The 2005 coalition agreement between the CDU/CSU and SPD, the ruling parties at the time, cited founding such an agency as a government policy goal. The statute establishing IRENA was signed in Bonn by 75 countries on 26 January 2009. It's worth noting that it was only after many failed attempts, within UN processes, to promote binding target and review mechanisms for renewables, that Germany decided to push for renewable energy outside of the UN framework, building on a coalition of the willing instead of trying to achieve a UN-wide consensus.¹¹⁹ There were three relevant ministries for pushing such an initiative – the Federal Ministry for the Environment (BMUB), The Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) and the Federal Foreign Office (the AA)¹²⁰. Spain and Denmark were also key countries behind the creation of IRENA. Today IRENA has the support of 170 countries, and 139 countries plus the EU have joined the agency and ratified the Statute – including EU member states, the USA, China, the Gulf States and most developing countries, making it not only the first international organization

¹¹⁵ Germany leads the EU Implementing Team with Austria as a Co-Chair and with the central coordination of the EU Commission. See more information:

http://www.ruralelec.org/fileadmin/DATA/Documents/07_Events/KFW_17062009/BMZ.pdf

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Sybille Roehrkasten, and Kirsten Westphal, IRENA and Germany's Foreign Renewable Energy Policy: Aiming at Multilevel Governance and an Internationalization of the Energiewende? Working Paper FG 8, 2013/01, September 2013, SWP Berlin

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ These ministries were all under hand of SPD (the Social Democrats), while the government was coalition between CDU/CSU and SPD.

that the USA has joined in quite some time but also a truly international one. A further 32 countries are in the process of joining¹²¹. The UAE and Germany provide by far the most financial support, their voluntary contributions alone amount to almost 40% of IRENA's budget¹²².

Germany is a member of many other energy relevant institutions and organisations, including the International Energy Agency (IEA), the International Energy Forum (IEF), the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), the Energy Charter Treaty (ECT), the Global Bioenergy Partnership (GBEP), the Clean Energy Ministerial (CEM), the Baltic Sea Region Energy Cooperation (BASREC), the Renewable Energy Policy Network for the 21st Century (REN21) and the Sustainable Energy for All Initiative¹²³.

7) Funding/Technical and Financial Support Projects

Germany has been one of the largest donors to climate action in developing countries and emerging economies for many years¹²⁴. In recent years it has systematically expanded its efforts: in 2005 its climate investments amounted to some €470 million and this more than doubled, to around €1 billion annually, in 2009¹²⁵. Between 2010 and 2012 (the so-called "fast start finance" phase under UNFCCC), €1.26 billion was pledged by the German government as financial support for developing countries (€356 million, €433 million and €471 million respectively), which was then in fact exceeded¹²⁶.

Both BMZ and BMUB are main players in providing technical and financial support. BMZ channels around 90% of Germany's climate financing. BMZ, as Germany's development and economic cooperation ministry, with GIZ as its implementing agency, channels financing through its bilateral development cooperation activities and several multilateral funds; while BMUB's main channel is the International Climate Initiative (IKI). Since 2008, the IKI has been financing climate and biodiversity projects in developing and newly industrialised countries, as well as in countries in transition. For 2011 and 2012 the German parliament budgeted €120 million project funding, for the IKI, annually. For the first few years the IKI was financed through the auctioning of emission allowances, but it is now funded from BMUB's budget.

¹²¹ IRENA, IRENA membership, see: <http://www.irena.org/menu/index.aspx?mnu=cat&PriMenuID=46&CatID=67>

¹²² Germany's continuous commitment to IRENA is to be seen under the overall rule of "zero growth" of budget for external usage. Currently IRENA total budget is 63 million USD for 2 years. Germany has base contribution (obligated as member) of 1.6 million, and beyond it also voluntary support (e.g. to Bonn center 4.7 million; other studies like the RE-MAP work etc). Ellen von Zitzewitz. Personal Interview. 18 Jun. 2015.

¹²³ BMWi website: <http://www.bmwi.de/EN/Topics/Energy/European-and-International-Energy-Policy/international-energy-policy.html>

¹²⁴ More specifically, the BMZ Minister has mentioned in its speech at the UN Climate Summit in September 2014 that Germany the world's second largest donor of climate finance. He further stated that over the last decade, Germany have quadrupled official funding – to a level of about 1.8 billion euros, among other achievements. See details at: <http://statements.unmeetings.org/media2/4651769/germany-2.pdf>

¹²⁵ BMUB and BMZ: Climate Challenges: Germany's international approach, October 2010

¹²⁶ Federal Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation and Nuclear Safety, Fast start finance Review and lessons learned for long term finance, see:

http://www.bmz.de/de/zentrales_downloadarchiv/themen_und_schwerpunkte/klimaschutz/201305-fast_start_finance-GER.pdf

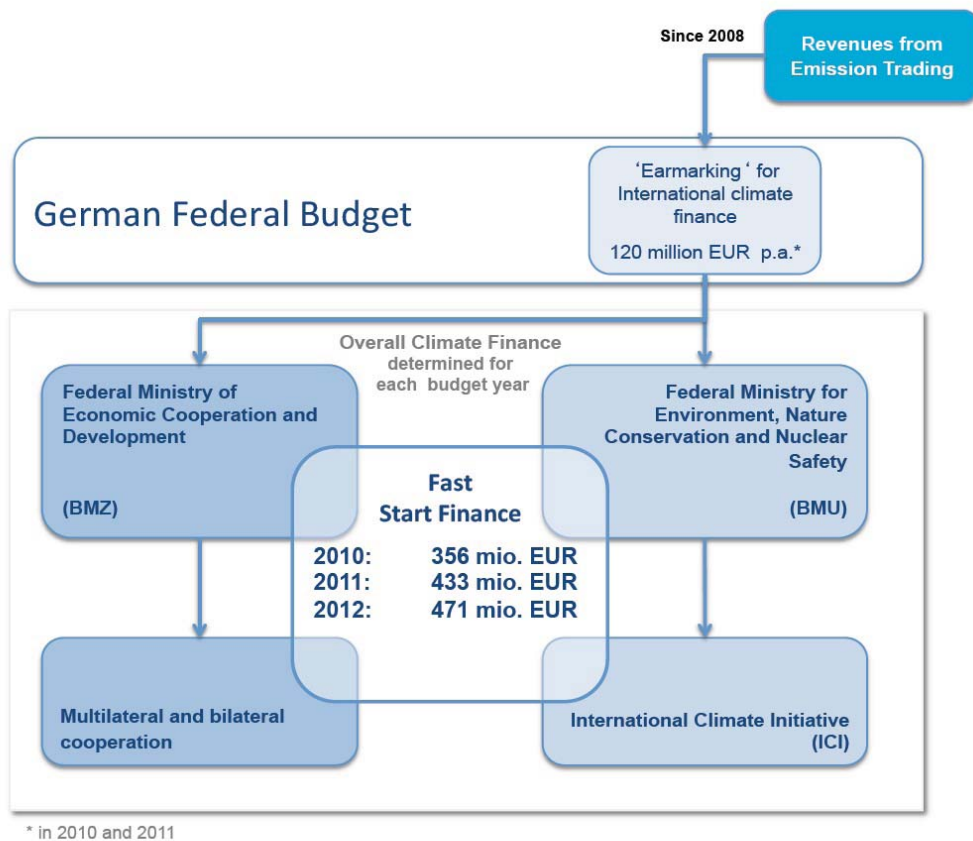


Figure 1 German funding structure for the delivery of Fast Start Finance

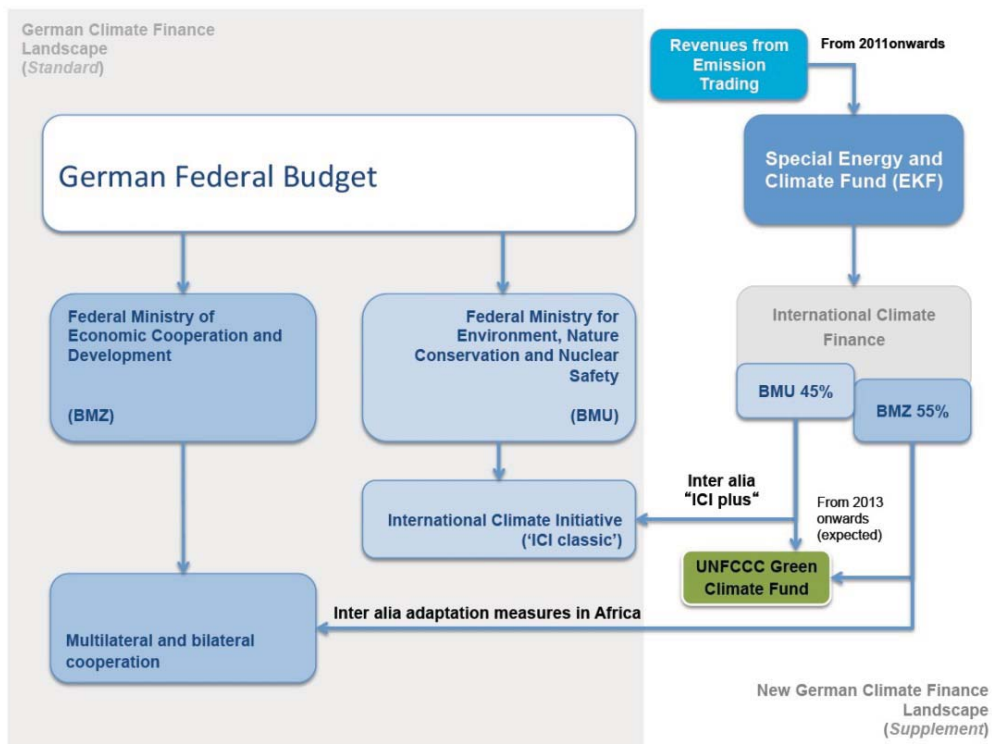


Figure 2 German Climate Finance Landscape – from FSF to LTF arrangements

Source: Vieweg et al. 2012: German Fast Start: Lessons Learned for Long-Term Finance. Eds.: Climate Analytics, Wuppertal Institute & Germanwatch.

Since 2011, the Federal Foreign Office has financed projects in various countries, with the aim of raising awareness of climate change and its consequences, and with a focus on presenting possible solutions. Examples of these projects include engaging the Brazilian parliament, and a quiz together with an art competition on the topic of climate change in schools in Bangladesh and a German-UK-Russian Business Roundtable Conference on Renewable Energies and Climate in Moscow¹²⁷. The funding initially came from the EKF (The “Energie- und Klimafonds” – a special energy and climate fund), and for approximately two years now it has been coming out of the Federal Foreign Office’s budget. This equates to around €7 million per year¹²⁸.

3.3 Summary of approaches taken by different ministries on climate diplomacy

Based on the information earlier in this chapter, the Table 1 below tries to provide an overview of the efforts and approaches by different German ministries in pursuing its foreign policy work on climate change, supplemented with some examples in the Table 2.

Table 1: Overview of different German ministries’ involvement in different approaches

(XX: significant; X: partial; blank: none or marginal)

	Intelligence/ Information Gathering	Dialogue/ Consultation/ Communica- tion	Training/ Capacity Building	Political Platforms	Partnerships/ Networks	Institutions	Funding/ Technical and Finan- cial Support Projects
AA	XX	XX	XX	XX	X	X	X
BMUB	X	X	X	XX	XX	X	XX
BMWi	X	X	X	X	XX	XX	
BMZ	X			X			XX

¹²⁷ Climate Diplomacy, New paths for climate diplomacy, 2014 Edition, see:

http://www.adelphi.de/files/en/publications/application/pdf/new_paths_for_climate_diplomacy_web_copy.pdf

¹²⁸ According to the national budget of 2015, the budget for “energy and climate foreign policy” was 7 million for 2014 and 7.35 for 2015. See details at:

http://www.bundeshaushalt-info.de/fileadmin/de.bundeshaushalt/content_de/dokumente/2015/soll/epl05.pdf

Table 2: Overview of the main examples of different approaches by different ministries

	Intelligence/ Information Gathering	Dialogue/ Consultation/ Communication	Training/ Capacity Building	Political Platforms	Partnerships/ Networks	Institutions	Funding/Technical and Financial Support Projects
AA	Embassies	Embassies, workshops and conferences, exhibitions, website, reports, social media,	Training, briefings, consultations	UNSC, G8/7, G20, MEF, EU, UNFCCC (support)	Bilateral energy partnerships, Regional Powers Initiative	IRENA (support)	AA Climate Fund
BMUB	Networks and partners	Reports, social media, workshops and conferences	Training, briefings, consultations	UNFCCC (lead), EU, Petersburg Climate Dialogue, G8/7, G20	Bilateral climate partnerships, Renewables Club	IRENA ¹²⁹	International Climate Initiative (IKI)
BMWi	Networks and partners	Reports, social media, workshops and conferences	Training, briefings, consultations	EU, UNFCCC (support), G8/7, G20	Bilateral energy partnerships, Energy Efficiency Expert Initiative, Renewable Energies Export Initiative	NDE to CTCN ¹³⁰ , Climate Technology Transfer Working Group; multilateral organisations initiatives (IEA, IEF, IRENA, IAEA, Energy Charter Treaty (ECT), Global Bioenergy Partnership (GBEP), Clean Energy Ministerial (CEM), Baltic Sea Region Energy Cooperation (BASREC), REN21, Sustainable Energy for All	
BMZ	Development cooperation agencies			G8/7, UN SDG (lead), FfD (lead)			ECF, Initiative for Climate and Environmental Protection, working with GIZ and KfW

¹²⁹ With the government structural change IRENA coordination has been moved from BMUB to BMWi.

¹³⁰ National Designated Entity to the Climate Technology Center and Network

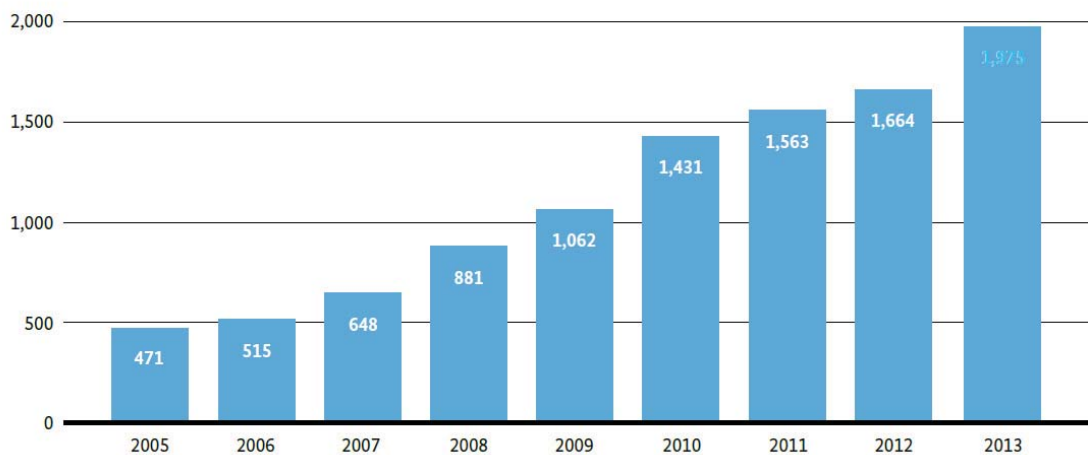
4 Results/Impacts

4.1 Sustainable resources

Having sustainable and sizeable resources (finance, personnel etc.) is on the one hand a precondition for taking any climate diplomacy initiatives but on the other hand it also shows the relevant effectiveness and significance of the work in the overall government structure and strategy. Gaining a comprehensive overview of different ministries' climate diplomacy budgets has proved to be difficult for the author given language barriers, however this chapter tries to present some of the figures available to demonstrate the size of the concerned ministries' resources.

According to BMZ's report, since 2005 Germany has quadrupled its contribution to international climate financing, from its national budget, to almost €2 billion in 2013 (see the chart below)¹³¹, in which bilateral cooperation has been the main focus (around 85%) and which mainly came out of the BMZ's budget.

German international climate finance 2005–2013 (in million EUR) *



* Actual figures: commitments from budgetary sources for all bilateral projects except Energie- und Klimafonds (Energy and Climate Fund, EKF), disbursements for EKF and multilateral projects.

BMUB spent €1.4 billion (excluding personnel costs) in the financial year 2010, while international climate protection totalled €82 million (excluding personnel cost), equivalent to 6% of the total departmental expenditure budget.

Below are some figures from the Federal Ministry of Finance (BMF) on the 2012 budget for and spending on international climate related items, namely international climate and environmental protection, international energy and raw material partnerships, and the foreign policy on energy and climate change, which all fall under this paper's scope¹³².

¹³¹ BMZ, International Finance: Germany's Contribution, November 2014.

https://www.bmz.de/en/publications/topics/climate/climate_finance.pdf

¹³² BMF, Bericht des Bundesministeriums der Finanzen über die Tätigkeit des EKF 2012 und über die 2013 zu erwartende Einnahmen- und Ausgabenentwicklung, April 2013.

International climate and environmental protection

	Expenditure – Budgeted	Allocated	Expenditure – Actual	Commitment Appropriation – Target	Allocated	Commitment Appropriation – Used
in million EUR						
BMZ	22.825	20.4	14.1	522.5	236.5	217.5*
BMU	18.675	17.2	16.3	427.5	193.5	210.2*
Total	41.5	37.6	30.4	950.0	430.0	427.7

*Transfer of commitment appropriation of €19m from the BMZ to the BMU, see 2.2.8.1 and 2.2.8.3 – DKTI. Essentially, the EKF also contributes to the Federal Government's ODA goal regarding this budget item.

International energy and raw material partnerships

	Expenditure – Budgeted	Allocated	Expenditure – Actual	Commitment Appropriation – Target	Allocated	Commitment Appropriation – Actual
in million EUR						
Total	6	3	1.7	6	4.2	1

Foreign policy on energy and climate change

	Expenditure – Budgeted	Allocated	Expenditure – Actual	Commitment Appropriation – Target	Allocated	Commitment Appropriation – Actual
in million EUR						
Total	7	3.5	3	-	-	-

Between 2011 and 2013 the Federal Foreign Office was able to draw on funds from the Federal Government's Special Energy and Climate Fund to finance the dialogue on climate protection. Since 2014 the resources from the Climate Fund have been incorporated into the Federal Foreign Office's regular budget for this specific purpose¹³³.

Funding continued through 2015 and is likely to continue further, also given the announcement by Chancellor Angela Merkel to double Germany's contribution to international climate finance (though it is not clear to what extent this will also benefit climate foreign policy directly).

4.2 A brief assessment of the German climate foreign policy's coverage and effectiveness

It is very hard to do a quantitative analysis so a qualitative approach has been used here. The Table 3 below is a brief summary of the assessment, which is the author's expert judgement based on the content of this paper and the interviews carried out over the course of the research.

¹³³ The dedicated budget code is "687 43", with the title "Energie- und Klimaussenpolitik(EKF)". See: BMF, Bundeshaushaltsplan 2015: Einzel Plan 05, p. 17.

Table 3: Angles/Areas of Germany's Climate Foreign Policy¹³⁴

Angles/Areas	Examples	Is it part of Germany's climate diplomacy (yes/no)	How effective is it (high/medium/low)
International Diplomacy and Relations	UNFCCC, European Union, transatlantic relations, relations with emerging economies, the United Nations system	Yes	Medium
Energy Security and Investment	Partnerships in the areas of clean energy approaches, renewable energy and energy efficiency	Yes	Medium
International Peace and Security	Promoting the climate-security nexus at international level (e.g. UN), incorporating climate change considerations into risk assessments of own foreign policy, security and development priorities	Yes	Medium-Low
Trade and Investment	Incorporating climate change elements in any aid-for-trade and/or trade facilitation efforts, World Trade Organization (WTO), Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA)	No	n.a.
Development Cooperation	ODA, climate finance under UNFCCC (GCF etc.), Export Crediting Agencies (ECAs)	Yes	Medium
Diplomatic Networking	A focal point within foreign ministry, ongoing political engagement, a diplomatic network	Yes	Medium-Low
Dialogue/cooperation with foreign non-government players	Associations, NGOs, business, think-tanks, academics, etc.	Yes	Medium-Low

¹³⁴ Building on and adapted from Climate Change and Foreign Policy: An exploration of options for greater integration, IISD 2007

4.3 Spill-over effects on other countries

The spill-over effects of the climate foreign policy of Germany are first and foremost largely within the EU. The majority of European countries have produced reports, policy statements and speeches, characterised by varying degrees of caution, on the links between climate change and security. The UK has been a key player in this regard, as have the governments of Germany (Schubert et al., 2008) and Sweden (Haldén, 2007) and the European Council (European Council, 2008). Although each report frames the issue in a slightly different way, the overall message calls for greater consideration of the security implications of a changing global climate by European nations.

Such effects also go beyond the EU level. The 2007 (by UK) and 2011 (by Germany) Security Council debates marked a shift in the framing of climate change. They introduced, on an international stage, the application of security narratives to an issue that had previously been confined to the environmental and developmental realm. Security narratives started to be used in the way climate change was identified and described as a threat, the prescribed implications for international security and the proposed responses. Moreover, according to the Security Council Report in 2011, there was a marked increase in the UN Member States' understanding of the security implications of climate change after the 2007 debate, and there was less resistance to having climate change on the Security Council agenda itself the second time around. However, this is not a straightforward analysis – of the 65 speakers who took part in the 2011 debate, there was by no means a consensus reached on whether or not climate change and security should be linked, let alone what such a link might look like in practice. The transcript of the debate makes it clear that there remain a number of contrasting framings of the climate change – security nexus¹³⁵.

With regards to promoting renewables, in 2004 Germany hosted an international renewables conference. It was the birthplace of REN 21 and IRENA. It also inspired China to host the second conference of its type in Beijing the next year, with the Prime Minister presented and over 6000 participants. These conferences have contributed to the acceleration of the renewables policy development in China since then¹³⁶.

¹³⁵ Transcript of the 2011 debate could be found here: <http://www.un.org/press/en/2011/sc10332.doc.htm>

¹³⁶ Ellen von Zitzewitz. Personal Interview. 18 Jun. 2015.

5 Key Lessons and Recommendations

The history of Germany's climate foreign policy goes back almost 10 years. Based on the research undertaken, this chapter aims to provide good practice examples and recommendations both for Germany and a broader audience such as decision makers and practitioners from countries that are engaged in climate diplomacy or those who ought to enhance their efforts in this area .

Key lessons and good practices, which Germany should continue with and others could learn from, are:

- 1) Dedicated resources are available across different ministries, both in the form of competent human resources (more people in existing units or set up of new units/teams) as well as financial resources; there has also been good cooperation between the ministries involved in some areas/initiatives;
- 2) Multiple narratives and approaches are used targeting different countries and regions according to the relevance to their domestic situation and political economy;
- 3) The trend is to bring in professional third parties e.g. consultancies, expert NGOs, think-tanks, PR companies, etc. to provide external input and or professional services concerning topics and tasks in which these third parties are specialized and/or experienced;
- 4) Stakeholders are involved in targeted countries; these stakeholders include businesses, the media, research institutes, academia, unions, civil society; and different approaches are taken in order to engage with them effectively;
- 5) To make the efforts more effective, Germany joins forces with others, which leverages more impact, such as working together in the EU, or in specific partnerships with other countries, such as the UK and France;
- 6) Germany has enjoyed relatively strong credibility through the launch of the “*Energiewende*” and other domestic low-carbon initiatives and international climate financing decisions. Germany's climate diplomacy players have insights and experiences to share with others abroad;
- 7) Germany strives to establish a win-win mentality: under bilateral and or multilateral cooperation, Germany tries to engage in a positive manner, e.g. using its own actions as examples, sharing its experiences and bringing in financial and technical support to others;
- 8) Soft-power: Germany has significant soft power tools such as advanced technology, a manufacturing tradition, education and vocational training systems, policy development experience etc.; and it has utilized these tools to strengthen its climate diplomacy work. Meanwhile, climate diplomacy has also had an impact on building a better image of Germany globally.

There are also some areas in which Germany could do better in order to achieve its climate diplomacy objectives more effectively:

- 1) Maintain leadership and political commitment: the political commitment from the top has not always been consistent, e.g. the Chancellor retreated from climate diplomacy in the years following Copenhagen but resumed her strong role in climate diplomacy, starting again from 2014. There were also changes within ministries that created hurdles and sometimes negatively affected efforts, e.g. different areas of focus for the BMZ minister from 2009-2013 or the decision by the new ministers in BMUB and BMWI from 2014 onwards to not actively pursue the Renewables Club any further. There needs to be con-

sistent political leadership and ownership of climate diplomacy within different ministries as well as sustained and accelerated resources.

- 2) More resources and expertise need to be provided. BMUB should have one of their climate experts in each important embassy globally (possibly in the form of a Climate Attaché) and the Federal Foreign Office should also increase its climate/energy related staff. Alternatively, or even additionally, embassies and consulates should be able to employ local or German experts with a relevant regional or issue related background. Funding is still at quite a low level for projects in or concerning target countries (e.g. projects that support research as well as cooperation and dialogue with local partners such as media, NGOs, think-tanks, business associations, universities etc.).
- 3) More synergies between climate and energy diplomacy and more strategic and accelerated efforts in energy diplomacy need to be explored and ensured: Germany's "*Energiewende*" experience is of huge value and interest for many other countries. But major stereotypes and misinformation on Germany's renewables, fossil fuel and energy efficiency developments prevail. This is a huge new area for the foreign policy work on climate change of the Federal Foreign Office, BMUB, BMWi, BMZ, GIZ and others.
- 4) The credibility of Germany's low-carbon success needs to be enhanced: The VW scandal has put a spotlight on the ailing decarbonisation of the German transport sector. Also energy efficiency is making little progress in Germany and the country may miss its 2020 greenhouse gas reduction goal. These issues negatively affect Germany's climate diplomacy soft power.
- 5) Coordination and integration needs to be enhanced: it is to a certain extent natural that different ministries and departments have different priorities (which for them also sometimes concerns gaining budget), and in several cases coordination has been advanced over the past few years. However, there is still some room for improvement. For example a more structured and deeper involvement of BMZ in the UNFCCC process would be desirable (together with BMUB and the Federal Foreign Office)¹³⁷; better coordination of Germany's engagement in non-EU countries (e.g. BMZ's development cooperation, BMUB's climate partnership, BMWi's energy partnership, the embassy based communication and dialogues, the GIZ and KfW offices and projects etc.) in setting joint priorities, avoiding duplication and avoiding overburdening the recipient or partner countries. Within each ministry coordinating could also be better between different teams working on energy and climate change, especially when developing their strategies for key countries.
- 6) Work under the G20 and other political platforms needs to be accelerated: there is currently a strategic window of opportunity, as China is the G20 president for 2016 and Germany for 2017. A focus on further cooperation in the fields of energy (renewable energy in particular), green finance and sustainable investment and trade relations, should be at the top of the G20 presidency's agenda. Also, Germany should strive to build a long-term and institutionalised decarbonisation/innovative energy/energy security dialogue within the OSCE of which it holds the 2016 Chairmanship.
- 7) Political and diplomatic capital needs to be increased to engage important emerging countries more strategically and systematically at different levels. So far political engagement with significant emerging countries has not been prioritized across different ministries and initiatives and these efforts need to be enhanced. Engagement with glob-

¹³⁷ This has been improved in past 12 months, but need further improvement.

ally important but complex countries needs to be enhanced: these include Saudi Arabia, Russia, Japan, Australia, Canada, India, China, and the USA. Germany has gained in its first strategic phase of climate diplomacy sufficient experience with medium-sized and smaller countries on these issues and can now make use of some of this experience when engaging with bigger and more complex players.

- 8) Germany could take a more pragmatic approach beyond a focus on targeting the UN-FCCC process. A stronger focus should be put on promoting effective communication and cooperation towards positive change.
- 9) Like in many other countries, the climate (diplomacy) efforts seem to focus more on mitigation than on adaptation. A rebalance would be beneficial, initiating more efforts with regards to adaptation, risk reduction and resilience building for example in connection with water or the agricultural sector and in vulnerable regions. Some progress has been made, such as with the InsuResilience initiative under the G7, and the Central Asia water nexus project of the Federal Foreign Office. More needs to be done particularly in connection with larger countries and more regions.
- 10) As the renewable energy and energy efficiency portfolio has been shifted from the Federal Ministry for the Environment (BMUB) to the Federal Ministry of Economic Affairs and Energy (BMWi), the BMUB staff members that worked on these issues were also transferred to BMWi. As a result, fewer experts and less resources remain within BMUB to engage in dialogues and communication with other countries on low-carbon/energy policy issues. On the other hand, BMWi is still trying to find its role in bilateral exchange and communication projects. More engagement, in a coordinated way, with EU and non-EU countries from BMUB, which is very experienced in these matters, and the newcomer BMWi is crucial for successful climate and low-carbon energy diplomacy. Furthermore, BMWi seems still too hesitant to outsource engagement activities with other countries to expert agencies, think-tanks and NGOs.
- 11) Climate foreign policy at the EEAS is still in an underdeveloped state. This needs to be developed firstly through adequate funding and secondly by giving the EEAS more weight on this issue through joint activities, statements, political initiatives with the EEAS, the Federal Foreign Office and best of all a third or fourth partner such as the FCO or the French MFA.

6 Conclusion

Germany's dual role of being both a strong international climate policy player and domestically a pioneer of the energy system transition, the "*Energiewende*", makes it quite a unique and interesting case. This study has found that Germany's climate diplomacy, interacting with its energy diplomacy and more recently "*Energiewende*" diplomacy, is a relatively new effort which has evolved quite rapidly over the past decade or so, with accelerated efforts being witnessed in the lead up to the UN climate conference in Paris in December 2015.

Four ministries play an important role here, these being the Federal Foreign Office (the AA), the Ministry for the Environment (BMUB), the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Energy (BMWi) and the Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), and they are sometimes coordinated or led by the Federal Chancellery. With a diversity of narratives and objectives, a range of approaches are taken, ranging from information gathering and communication, to political platforms, partnerships and networks, capacity building and technical and or financial support projects. The efforts are embedded in the institutional setup within each ministry and supported by dedicated resources. Leadership commitment from a head of state and minister level is quite important in driving climate diplomacy.

In some areas, German climate diplomacy has been quite effective (such as G7, UN Security Council, UNFCCC, IRENA), while in other areas more progress is needed. Such areas include the overarching integration of the climate agenda, effectively engaging with emerging economies and large complex countries, fostering EU level climate diplomacy vision and capacity and engaging with foreign non-governmental players. There are also areas showing positive developments, especially in the past year, but they still require more efforts (such as diplomatic networking, cross division/unit and ministry coordination, climate related development cooperation and bilateral energy partnerships). Some areas also display a lack of coherence, like the parallel existence of the old energy security diplomacy and the new climate and "*Energiewende*" diplomacy, relaying different messages regarding Germany's experiences and domestic policy processes.

Looking ahead, Germany needs to continue its high-level political commitment to climate diplomacy, build on the win-win, pragmatic, multi-stakeholder and soft power approaches and extend its efforts to engage in a more in-depth way with the emerging economies (like the BASICS) and other globally important (while sometimes complex) countries such as Russia, Japan and Australia. Resources and human resource capacities both at an EU level (such as the EEAS) and in foreign country networks, such as embassies, are in need of advancement. Strategic opportunities and critical windows for engagement in the coming years should be fully utilized, such opportunities include the G20 (2016 Chinese Presidency and 2017 German Presidency), the German OSCE Chairmanship in 2016, AIIB (Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank), and the "*Energiewende*" diplomacy and communication. Through these, a more comprehensive, coherent, and effective form of German climate diplomacy will emerge.

Looking to the author's homeland, China, German climate diplomacy experience is of great merit to study and to learn from. China is at a crossroads, (re)shaping its international diplomacy as a rising power and deepening its domestic economic and political reforms, as a country which has promised to provide its citizens with blue skies, clean water and safe food. China is deeply engaged in shaping international climate policy, providing public goods and domestic climate initiatives and energy transitions. Yet, the country has not made a climate diplomacy strategy top priority, as such, leaving the multiple benefits of its domestic and international ambitions untapped. Some initial steps towards improved Chinese climate diplomacy, would be to better engage with southern countries through its recently accelerated south-south cooperation efforts, under both the sustainable development goals agenda and climate agenda; to integrate climate change safe-

guards in its international trade, investment and development finance initiatives; to foster strategic partnerships with countries like Germany to proceed with coherent energy transition diplomacy and promote a better international climate regime; to engage internationally through different channels and involving different players, especially giving space to its non-government players in climate related matters.

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