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Executive Committee Resolution of April 28, 2003

Germany's foreign policy interests: **Stability through partnership and trust**

Peace, freedom and security in Germany and Europe are the outstanding goals of German foreign policy. The chances and risks of an increase in globalisation, the growing complexity of transnational relations and the threat from international terrorism, weapons of mass destruction and crumbling countries call for clarity and leadership in foreign policy. Within the shortest time possible the German government gambled away trust from our partners and allies which it had taken us decades to build.

Since the end of the Cold War the world has changed, which leaves us with new leeway and new requirements. Again we are called upon to fathom what Germany's fundamental interests in foreign policy are and derive from them the essential principles of our foreign and security policy.

To this end security at home and abroad, respect for human rights and promotion of freedom, democracy, the rule of the law and sustainable development the world over are the value-related basis for all foreign relations.

Above all, trust in us as a partner must again become indispensable capital in German policy. German foreign policy must be reliable and predictable. It must not be geared to achieving short-term successes in home policy. It must be tailored to serve the long-term interests of our country.

1.

Europe and America share the same values, interests and fate. Arising from this is a common responsibility for people's prosperity and a stable world order.

European unification and the transatlantic partnership are two sides to the same coin, they are inseparably connected. This connection made the German unification and removal of the Iron Curtain possible. European integration and transatlantic partnership must be the underlying axiom in German foreign policy as they continue to be indispensable for stability and security throughout Europe as well as for our allies.

Functioning relations across the Atlantic form the most stable basis for meeting our common responsibility as part of the West, i.e. to support poorer countries and regions in a fashion which enables them to develop and preserve their cultural identities, as well as safeguard the sustainable use and protection of the natural basis of our lives responsibly for future generations. Both are indispensable for a stable order and are thus in our own very interest.

There is no realistic alternative to the policy of double integration. Pacifism, isolationism, unilateralism and national solo efforts are the wrong answer to the challenges of the 21st century: they deprive our world of its defences and encourage terrorists, fundamentalists as well as authoritarian and totalitarian regimes of any kind. Attempts to be negligent and deviate from this path, a rather national determination in politics

trying to avoid integration, the choice of a “German road” or the attempt to “forge new axes” will lead to confusion and cause damage to our fundamental interests. The German government’s policy is marked by the illusion of a new German freedom of choice in politics causing a profound crisis in the European unification process and within NATO and harm to the transatlantic partnership. It is very much to be blamed for the disastrous inability of the United Nations to act in the Iraq crisis.

2.

The European unification process must be deepened. In a globalised and more and more complex world German interests are best at home in a strong, politically united Europe that is capable of acting.

European unification guarantees stability and security throughout Europe. The EU eastward extension marks the highlight of an epoch by overcoming the artificial division of our continent. For Germany and Europe the accession of Central, East and Southeast European neighbours is an investment in the future and a future safeguard and, therefore, the pivotal project through which Europe’s ability to act and future capability must stand the test. After all, the enlargement requires of the Union a unique economic and political integration effort.

This and future steps meaning to complete the unity of the continent also require a joint understanding of a European identity, of its nature of a community glued together by a joint heritage and of its borders. Only an intense discussion of these issues in the near future will enable the larger Union to define a clear, tightly knit and long-term relationship with its future neighbours. This also applies to the irreversible incorporation of Russia in the European and transatlantic structures which must remain the central task of a joint European and American policy.

Franco-German friendship is essential for European unification and transatlantic cooperation. However, it must not result in a marginalisation or disparagement of other members of the Union. Germany and France must arrive again at a kind of understanding on major policies allowing for the interests of the other partners in the EU and NATO and avoid any sign of dominance. It has always been our interests not to have to choose between Washington, Paris, London or Warsaw and to see ourselves as an advocate of the smaller partners in the European Union and NATO in which everyone can feel appropriately being taken seriously and noticed.

3.

America continues to be our friend and partner. The community is based on a foundation of common values which is unique in the world at large, comparable civil societies as well as joint efforts for an international implementation of democracy, human rights, individual freedom and a market economy. The European Union and the USA are the economic regions world-wide that are most interwoven by means of trade and investments – and therefore, also most dependent on one another.

A larger Europe, too, must remain an essential part of the transatlantic partnership. Therefore, any attempt to unite Europe against the USA is doomed to fail. Those who want to position Europe against America will divide it. A strong and united Europe which sees itself as a transatlantic partner in its own interest will be able to make a much larger contribution to coping with the joint challenges the West is confronted

with. Therefore, strengthening Europe and the transatlantic partnership is the best means to avoid unilateral actions.

If one tries to avoid world-wide unilateralism one must also efficiently strengthen multilateral structures. However, if one wants multilateral structures one ought to be able to make appropriate contributions. If one wants the World Security Council, NATO and the EU to be able to act especially in times of crisis one will have to be willing to act in a credible fashion. Capabilities and the will to achieve something are prerequisites for the very authority of multilateral and supranational organisations and alliances.

4.

In the medium term Europe must protect its own security and be able to join the United States in trying to establish a better world order. To this end Europe needs political and military options for action corresponding to its size, potential, responsibility and interests.

The failure of Europe in terms of the Iraqi crisis underscores the urgent necessity for developing a joint European foreign, security and defence policy worth the name. What is decisive, in the final analysis, for a successful European foreign policy is the actual will of the Europeans to seek the common ground and place it above the particular interests which requires a re-establishment of mutual trust in the first place. Since the German government has very much contributed to the current division in Europe, Germany should dedicate itself to rebuilding the basis of trust without ifs and buts.

In order to pave the way for joint European foreign policy decisions they should possibly be taken by majority vote in future. The members should take the pledge not to interfere in international matters by bringing up national issues before the EU itself had the opportunity to formulate a European view. This also applies to finding joint European positions in the United Nations Security Council.

In order to strengthen the joint European security and defence policy (ESDP) genuinely the goals set at the 1999 Helsinki Summit must be achieved in full. Moreover, a mutual assistance proviso should be included in the EU Constitution Treaty according to which the EU members assist any other member with all the means at their disposal in the event of a terrorist attack on it. Furthermore, an obligation for mutual assistance should be included in the constitution treaty similar to that in the WEU Treaty. A continued development of the ESDP including a joint armaments agency and integrated military capabilities as part of a process at the end of which must be the formation of a joint European army, should not exclusively be limited to a few countries only. It should be open to all EU members that want to take part in this policy.

5.

Europe can only effectively address the new threats to its security in cooperation with America. Therefore, NATO remains indispensable for defending Germany and Europe. The transatlantic partnership can only meet its needs if it permanently adapts to changing circumstances and challenges. Europe and America need a joint global agenda to cope with the new global challenges. NATO must face the new dangers to the security of its members arising from increasing instability in Europe's neighbouring regions, a rise in international terrorism, the collapse of countries and

weapons of mass destruction in the hands of irresponsible political leaders. To this end it needs a comprehensive political strategy towards the new threats and modern military capabilities. The importance of NATO as centrepiece of security in the transatlantic region has not receded since September 11 2001. It has increased.

America and Europe must, in the common interest and in the face of the challenges, agree on a forward-looking definition of security which – similar to the 1967 Harmel Report of NATO – comprises a twin-track strategy: Apart from the core function of defence and protection of the alliance territory and solidarity in the fight against terrorism and weapons of mass destruction, the alliance should arrive on a broader political mission offering our neighbouring regions in the Middle East, on the Persian Gulf and in Central Asia our readiness to make a contribution of our own to regional stabilisation by means of dialogue and cooperation.

6.

NATO as a transatlantic alliance of democracies will only be able to adopt such a role if the partners meet their requirements as laid down at the Prague Summit, especially building up the demanded capabilities for closing the gaping technological gap within the alliance which has come to endanger the military cohesion of the Atlantic Alliance. Combat readiness of the NATO Response Force (NRF) resolved in Prague must be achieved as soon as possible and be given top priority. It is the result of the analysis of threats started in 1999 in the context of the new strategic concept and the readiness on the part of NATO to make a contribution to a global order. Therefore, whether or not NRF will be established is the acid test for the ability of the alliance to build an instrument capable of looking after our security interests given the concrete risks.

For Germany the ability to comply with the needs of the alliance means that the Bundeswehr must be reformed along the lines of the actual spectrum of tasks and the needs of NATO and the European defence identity. While the Bundeswehr budget has been cut again and again and less material provisions have been made over the past few years the number of missions abroad has increased steadily. In a comparison of the NATO members Germany occupies the last but one position before Luxemburg in terms of per-capita defence spending. This jeopardises the readiness of the Bundeswehr for action, the compliance with our international duties and the security of our soldiers. In the medium-term the defence expenditure must be raised to meet the average of traditional NATO members. Above all, the gaps in technological capabilities also in comparison with some European NATO members must be narrowed down and also reflect in research and procurement.

7.

A strategic debate must be held in Germany, too, on the issue of which the new challenges and risks to our security are that arise from the changed situation in world politics. A realistic analysis of the present and future threats including coordinated conclusions on the strategies, military capabilities and structures with which our security can be guaranteed, is the prerequisite for observing responsibility in foreign policy. NATO and ESDP offer the proper and necessary framework for consultations to this end.

We must also address and answer the issues underlying the new American security strategy. Nowadays security can no longer be safeguarded by deterrence based on the mutual ability to wipe each other out as in Cold War times. Since today threats to

all parts of the world can emanate from countries which fall apart, terrorist organisations operating transnationally and from their possible possession of weapons of mass destruction the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity and the ban on interventions laid down in international law prove to be increasingly problematic as single parameters for order. Because the right to self-defence including assistance and the ban on intervention are no longer enough to secure peace and stability international law must be revised carefully. If, as a result, sovereignty loses in power as a factor for order a legitimisation by means of decision-making procedures based on international law assumes greater importance. In this spirit we are very interested in strengthening the ability of the United Nations to act and advancing the process of putting international relations on a solid legal basis. This also includes suitable reforms of the United Nations structures responsible for peace and security which must especially solve the pivotal problem of permanent legitimisation and the ability to act of the World Security Council and the other bodies (the UN Human Rights Commission!).

Everything must be done not to weaken the UN and especially the World Security Council because of disagreement and forming axes. European and transatlantic unanimity can contribute substantially to leading the United Nations out of the current crisis and strengthen it.

8.

Because of our history we bear special responsibility vis-à-vis Israel. This responsibility must prove its worth in efforts towards a peaceful solution to the Middle-East conflict as well as in our relationships with the Arab and Muslim world. Our relationships with the Islamic world are of special importance to the manageability and decrease in current tensions. Our traditionally good relations with Turkey and Arab societies and also the fact that Europe has become home for a growing number of Muslims should be an obligation for us to treat other cultures with respect. The good relations should also be used to speak out for freedom, human rights and an advancement of the civil society in the Arab world. In the face of the enormous pressure for changes in that region it is in our own interest to make a contribution to a dignified prospect for the people there and help them connect to globalisation.

For some centuries and through great sacrifices and failures Europe has gathered experience on how to offer the right to a free choice of one's religion and see it as a space for following one's belief and exercise tolerance at the same time. This experience must be put to uses in an open and mutually respectful dialogue with other cultures. The agreements the EU closes with third countries which, apart from economic aspects, increasingly contain political cooperation clauses, offer a good instrument in this respect. This cooperation should be complemented by means of an increase in exchanges on security matters - from non-proliferation, to confidence-building measures to disarmament – in the framework of consultation mechanisms of EU and NATO.

9.

As much as an international order for stability and peace cannot do without the capabilities and the will to enforce measures, whatever military instruments are there, they will not suffice. Concepts and efforts for political conflict-settlement and prevention, an effective and comprehensive regime of arms control and disarmament, sustainable development and a world-wide dialogue that respects different cultural and reli-

gious identities and insists on the binding nature of tolerance and fundamental human rights, assume an important role.

Human rights violations anywhere in the world must meet with our contradiction on principle. A selective approach harms our credibility and waters down our ability to judge the situation of democratic structures and the rule of the law even if it touches on big powers such as China or Russia. Furthermore, it would lead to an unacceptable negligence and implicit toleration of years of severe suffering and crimes in seemingly peripheral regions such as the big lakes in central Africa.

Globalisation must be seen as a chance which allows people to profit world-wide from international integration. Since, at the end of the day, a rejection of globalisation leads to more poverty in less developed regions, spreading word in the affected societies about the advantages of economic integration – with consideration given to the differing stages of development – is one of the most significant tasks in economic cooperation. However the main orientation of development aid must be the principle of granting help so they can help themselves. Therefore, we attach great expectations to the next WTO round. Between the USA and Europe the old idea of a transatlantic free trade zone (TAFTA) should also be put on the agenda again.

A global understanding of ecology must combine the principle of sustainable development with the notion of only a limited supply of resources. Therefore, national solo efforts such as in energy policy must be excluded and solutions sought which can ecologically tolerate growing energy consumption in less developed countries. This includes a policy which guarantees access to energy supply world-wide and campaigns against abuse by monopolies. Globalisation means opening markets and fair chances in competition for less developed countries. The process of a deepened division of labour world-wide must provide room for differing development and the preservation of identities. This is the only way in which we will manage to avoid grave destabilisation processes such as caused by growing mass migration.

10.

Germany will only be able to observe its foreign policy interests effectively if it regains its economic dynamics and competitiveness. At the moment our unsolved internal structural and growth problems burden our neighbours' national economies and jeopardise Europe's economic success. Deregulating our labour market, scaling down paralysing red tape, reforming the system of social safeguards thus making them fit for the future also in the face of the demographic development, concentrating on education and research trying to return to one of the top positions we once held, strengthening our external cultural policy and playing once more an active role in external economic development – these are the things that are linked to our ability to act in foreign policy in a twofold way: without economic competitiveness our influence becomes marginal – and vice versa, a society that is lethargic due to much affluence and lack of success, i.e. is tempted to become introverted rather tends to cling to what it has, denies necessary innovation and ceases to be active in foreign policy.

Against the background of the changed challenges our country is facing we can only look after our interests if appropriate assets will be allocated for foreign policy purposes. The share of expenditure for foreign affairs, defence and development policy in the federal budget has dropped from 20 per cent at the beginning of the 1990s to less than 12 per cent. A revision of this development demands leadership to put a

foot down and courage to use the assets incurred from more competitiveness and economic performance and to exercise cuts in routine affairs in other fields.

It requires an understanding for the necessity of increased public efforts in foreign, security and development policy. Therefore, spreading such awareness must also be a priority of the media and providers of political education.

Germany needs a comprehensive change in politics which, against the background of a realistic survey of chances and challenges, reliably connects international responsibility in European and transatlantic partnerships thus regaining trust in our foreign and security policy.