

Defence and International Understanding:

For a Harmel Report II of NATO

Resolution of the National Committee of the CDU for Foreign and Security Policy
chaired by Dr. Friedbert Pflüger MP
on March 18, 2002
(Courtesy Translation)

The new threat of the civilized world by a new opponent has become obvious since September 11, 2001. The enemies of today are unlike the old Soviet Union more vague, more anonymous and more difficultly to catch and grasp. Yet, their fanatic hatred of our world is possibly more destructive than the Soviet ideology ever was.

The fight against international terrorism takes place to a large extent without the Western Alliance, although the case of an attack on the Alliance (defined by article 5 of the NATO-treaty) was proclaimed for the first time - and applies to the present day. Instead of a concerted action of the NATO partners, the world experienced a race of national vanities. The increasing gap in the Alliance appears as striking as never before since September 11, 2001: the US-Americans lead wars - the Europeans clear up and finance the reconstruction. In addition, the differences in the political evaluation between Europe and the USA increase also threateningly, especially now in times of the greatest threat. The Europeans accuse the US-Americans of unilateralism; the US-Americans accuse the Europeans of being wimpy.

North America and Europe must prepare themselves *together* for the global risks of the 21st century. They must not be split asunder by their opponents. Security politics has become the *central* topic of the transatlantic relations by the terrorist attacks on the USA. NATO must become again the *central* instrument to meet the common threats. Dangerously long enough have Americans and Europeans ignored the Alliance, the USA by their demonstrative renunciation of the military use of NATO, the Europeans by their strategic lack of funding of their military means for years.

NATO must position itself as a main participant in global security politics at the Prague summit on November 21 and 22, 2002. According to the CDU, three great tasks must be carefully prepared within the Alliance in the coming months:

1. The second round of the NATO enlargement to the east

An enlargement by as many as possible accession candidates is more necessary than ever since September 11, 2001. The German Government has not given any opinion yet to this topic and has - in contrast to the first round of enlargement - hardly taken part in the conceptual preparation of it, although NATO enlargement is in the final analysis about the transfer of stability *in Europe*. The CDU resolutely supports the position of the USA of a united and peaceful Europe, as it was outlined by US-president Bush at his speech in Warsaw in June 2001. The CDU approves that besides the Baltic states, Slovakia and Slovenia also Bulgaria and Romania are accepted as important linking elements for the stabilization of South-Eastern Europe.

2. The strategic partnership with Russia

In the moment, when NATO declared the case of an attack on the Alliance for the first time, Russia entered the scene as an important ally of NATO.

President Putin has also positioned Russia on the world stage in a new way by his speech at the German Bundestag, because the Russian president recognized that the fight against international terrorism serves also Russian security interests against threats from the region south of its territory.

Therefore it is of little help before this background that the *Nuclear Posture Review* of the Pentagon mentioned Russia again as a possible target of nuclear missiles. The CDU demands that the historic chance for a strategic partnership with Russia, but also with the Ukraine, is exploited. The CDU demands in particular the advancement of the NATO-Russia Council, substantial progress in the fight against the proliferation of arms of mass destruction, and in strategic disarmament. Just as important is the further development of the "Partnership for Peace" programme with the other succession states of the Soviet Union.

3. Elaboration of a common strategy for the future – and global – tasks of NATO

This piece of work remains according to the CDU the most important task of

the Alliance. US-Americans and Europeans should in meeting this challenge build on their long-standing prescriptions to success. 35 years ago, in a period with likewise great political differences, NATO found a new and ideal conception. It was fixed in the so-called Harmel Report (named after the Belgian minister of foreign affairs in 1967): instead of an uncompromising choice between deterrence and détente, NATO defined a “double strategy” of both military strength and a policy of willingness to co-operate. That approach has turned out historically as visionary.

Today, the Alliance needs that same far-sightedness again. It is still as true as it was with regard to the Soviet Union: we cannot get hold of opponents such as the Al Quaida or Saddam Hussein without maintaining military pressure, because they neither shrink from terrorist attacks of hitherto unknown dimensions nor from the use of arms of mass destruction. But it is also true that we will not be able to organize the world of tomorrow by military might alone. Again diplomacy must be applied besides the threat of using military means. NATO must aim at establishing a “just and permanent peace order” for the “Southern Crisis Crescent” from Northern Africa, via the Near East and the Persian Gulf to Central Asia like for Europe three decades ago. The results of the Prague summit of NATO will have to be judged on whether the US-Americans and Europeans will have succeeded in agreeing on such a “double strategy” like in the 1970s. It is about a Harmel Report II, this time for the long struggle against terrorism and the deadly arms of mass destruction.