

## **Renewing Transatlantic Relations: The Global Euro-Atlantic Agenda**

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After the contentious debate over the war in Iraq, it is time to renew the Euro-Atlantic agenda and the international cooperation needed for a successful security strategy. The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 was a triumph of the moral values underpinning a common European-American commitment to democracy and human rights as well as of the true strength of America to stand steadfastly with its allies that ended an existential Soviet threat that for decades had kept the United States and Europe together. When the Berlin Wall fell on November 9, 1989, the world celebrated the end of the Cold War, and we imagined at that moment that there could be a new world based on democracy, human rights and the rule of law.

However, in the years that followed the world descended quickly into terror, genocide and war. Bosnia, Chechnya, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Afghanistan, Darfur, and Iraq have wrecked that dream of a peaceful, democratic world. In its place we find that it is inescapable that today's political and strategic cooperation and competition takes place in the context of competition for energy. Following the surge in Chinese and Indian demand for oil, the need for greater supplies of energy, more refining capacity and the uncertainty in the suppliers market, including Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Iran, Nigeria, Venezuela, Central Asia, the Caspian and others, will sow the seeds of conflict in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

The old realist school in America and in Europe, based in the Wilsonian commitment to universal principles embedded in international law and human rights, now faces its greatest challenge. Preventive war in Iraq and the new U.S. National Security Strategy with the pre-emption doctrine has divided Europe and the United States. Until international agreement can be reached on who decides the legitimacy of preventive war and on what basis, the world will be more instable.

As we face this new, more dangerous world, it is clear that it would take something extraordinary or an unusual combination of circumstances to get Europe, Asia and the United States to agree on global collective security. To see the challenge, one needs only to look at China, which is shedding its communist dogma; Russia, which is moving between democracy and autocratic governance; Europe, which has introduced transnational, pooled sovereignty; France, which strives to be the leader of Europe; Germany, which has emerged from the disaster of the Second World War and the Holocaust with a strong commitment to human dignity; and the United States, which envisions a transformed, democratic world.

Nevertheless, a global Euro-Atlantic agenda can define a common course for the United States and its European friends by building on common interests that we share at our core. The key challenge for Euro-Atlantic nations, as Henry Kissinger reminds us often, is “to develop a new sense of common destiny in the age of jihad, the rise of Asia, and the emerging universal problems of poverty, pandemics, and energy, among many others.”

President Bush’s revised National Security Strategy is based in twin pillars of promoting freedom and confronting challenges, and his aspiration is to create a transformational American Foreign Policy promoting democracy globally with the ultimate goal of ending tyranny in our world. The United States needs its allies now in new ways, and in coming years we will succeed only in partnership. Can America and Germany as well as the transatlantic community come together to put into practice that understanding?

The transatlantic community, with Germany and the United States, has the chance to seize the agenda and shape the transformation of this uncertain world. Historically, a solid and stable relationship between the United States and Germany has been the indispensable precondition for progress in democracy and rule of international law and provides the basis to renew the transatlantic relationship.

We know that old formulas don't work; the world is faced with threats that have caused fear. Germans and Europeans are not immune to increasing fear in the wake of a new kind of terrorism in Europe and around the world; however, fear is not a sound basis for policy. American leadership, which is vital for unity and strength of the West, has promoted international stability despite the tumult caused by global terrorism and other threats. Can a new American strategy that is based on military pre-emption against global terrorism continue to achieve international security? Can international security and stability flow from increasing economic globalism based on shared values, commitment to democracy and human rights?

Europeans and Americans believe in freedom and wish to promote democracy and human rights, while establishing international order and managing the competition over energy resources found in the most instable parts of the world. In order to set out on a common policy course, I offer three urgent issues for the debate over a global Euro-Atlantic agenda.

Germans and Americans must better understand the roots of the 1989 Democratic Revolution in Europe that brought down the Berlin Wall and ended communism in Europe. We triumphed because we built our policies together in NATO, the UN and other international bodies and treaties on the basis of our united belief in freedom, democracy, rule of law and the inviolability of human dignity. Setting aside the differences in pursuit of war in Iraq that have divided us, we need to reaffirm that these values guide our foreign policy. The end to the policy clashes, especially over Iraq, between the United States and Germany that we have endured will come slowly as we rebuild policies that are legitimized in international law.

The September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks that disrupted the UN-NATO-EU partnership ended the short-lived peaceful interregnum since the fall of the Berlin Wall. Now America and its allies struggle to eradicate the terrorist threat while maintaining our values. Some Europeans and Americans charge American action, such as rendition, holding prisoners without access, and violating civil liberties at home runs counter to

basic American and European values. Other Americans charge that such action is necessary to fight terrorism, and also to shake up a paralyzed, sluggish Europe and a sclerotic Middle East. Whatever our differences, we need to understand better the changes to the international structures – the United Nations, NATO, European Union and others that were wrought on November 9, 1989, and on September 11, 2001. Those changes must not erode our common moral commitments. Without a commitment to our values, especially human rights and human dignity, we will not sustain public support for our policies.

German Chancellor Angela Merkel has stated that a common global policy is the only answer to the new challenges facing the Euro-Atlantic community. Chancellor Merkel's speech at the 42nd Munich Conference on Security Policy, addressed the threats from "the erosion of state structures, terrorism, and weapons of mass destruction in the hands of unreliable regimes," and endorsed NATO as the key institution for managing the transatlantic community's responses based on shared interests and values. However, if NATO is to remain the key Euro-Atlantic institution over ten or twenty years, it must become the body which constantly carries out and discusses joint threat analyses. Merkel in Munich said that NATO "must be the place where political consultations take place on new conflicts arising around the world, and it should . . . be the place where political and military actions are coordinated."

There are recent successful NATO policies, such as the Dayton Accords, which have worked to provide stability in Europe and have allowed the Balkans to recover from the terrible conflict of the 1990s. In 1999 Germany joined the United States in authorizing NATO to bomb Kosovo to end the Milosevic campaign of ethnic cleansing. That military action shaped new international law authorizing international use of force to prevent humanitarian disasters or human rights violations. These policies are shaping a new Euro-Atlantic agenda in keeping with our principles.

It is perhaps in the Middle East where we need most to have a global Euro-Atlantic agenda to create hope, security and stability in Iraq and to contain Iran and reinforce

nuclear non-proliferation measures of the Non Proliferation Treaty and defuse conflicts over energy resources.

There remains an urgent need to address security and stability in Iraq following the withdrawal of American forces, which offers the region as a whole the opportunity to create a new security structure. Ambassador Ischinger addressed this idea when he wrote: “an effective regional security arrangement would need to take into account the interests of Israel as well as those of Iran and the Arab countries, and it would need to be led and supported by the United States, Europe and Russia. As has recently been suggested, the U.N. Security Council might provide a framework for the elaboration of such an arrangement.” In the longer term, the Iraqis will need to provide for their own security and economic well-being as well as to develop their own democracy.

Germany is committed to stability in Iraq and supports the creation of viable Iraqi democratic and economical structures. Euro-Atlantic cooperation is helping to assist the Iraqi authorities in building a justice system, in establishing a free press, in training university tutors and engineers and especially in developing vocational training. However, those tasks will fail without security and the Euro-Atlantic community should make the establishment of a regional security structure a critical component of its strategy.

In the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the recent withdrawal of Israeli settlers from Gaza and parts of the West Bank has opened a new chapter in the region and requires a new response on our part. Germany and America have affirmed the need for security and the cessation of terrorism, recognizing that the international community must do more than merely decry the violence and loss of human life affecting both sides in the conflict. In addition, economic development, such as captured in the motto “Peace through Jobs, “ is needed in order to provide hope for those who have suffered severe economic deprivation because of the conflict, particularly in Gaza, is critical to any lasting security and peace between Palestinians and Israelis. Without jobs for the people of Gaza, the grinding

poverty of the area will breed more despair and violence that in turn will affect Palestinians and Israelis alike.

The most urgent threat in the region is Iran. Iran is extremely challenging, especially as the regime claims it is at most a few years away from completing its nuclear program. Iranians have created a huge obstacle to good relations by pursuing nuclear weapons and by stating officially that Iran wants to wipe Israel off the map. Germans, Americans and others have begun the necessary international cooperation necessary with the EU3 to bring European-American diplomatic and military power to bear on the proliferation of nuclear weapons in Iran. A policy to extinguish a neighboring country is morally as well as politically repugnant.

Containing Iran's desire for those weapons is a common agenda item, and the danger is both in the Iranian acquisition of nuclear weapons capability and also in the doctrine of pre-emption, which could lead to United States' use of force in Iran. If military force is preemptively used to intervene in Iran, instead of diplomacy, that use of force will set the stage for another transatlantic standoff. We must have more diplomatic options and to create them the prerequisite is face-to-face negotiations between the Iranians and the Americans.

Most certainly in Iran we need the help of global partners like China to deal with a non-functioning nuclear non-proliferation regime. If Iran acquires nuclear weapons, it will be the world's most formidable challenge in the Middle East. At the same time, China has become both a partner in trade and a competitor for resources such as oil, including from Iran. The United States and Europe now have an interdependent relationship with China that links them in critical issues, such as nuclear non-proliferation in Iran and global competition for energy resources. The Euro-Atlantic agenda urgently needs a strategy with China to deal with a wide range of global problems.

The United States also needs China to ensure a smooth-running global economy and to know when and how Europe and America can cooperate with China even as we compete.

Looking back on the debate over lifting the EU arms embargo against China is a case in point about the uncertainties in the region that will affect the Euro-Atlantic agenda. Lifting the embargo at a time when China enacted new ‘anti-succession’ legislation against Taiwan was ill-advised. East Asian politics are greatly influenced by unresolved issues surrounding Imperial Japanese Army actions in the region from World War II, which need to be addressed. A serious potential confrontation that could pit the United States against its European allies comes in addition to those historical grievances when Japan recently announced its support for a peaceful resolution of the Taiwan Strait conflict, which aligns the United States with Japan in a bi-lateral security treaty that could be seen as directed against China.

Of course any confrontation, unthinkable as it may be between the Chinese and Taiwanese, could lead the United States to deploy the Seventh Fleet into the Strait. It does not take much to see the possibility of Chinese arms, supplied with EU technologies or arms, directed at Taiwan but hitting United States ships in the Strait. In Congress, the strong Taiwan lobby – there is no Chinese lobby to match – would press for vigorous action against our European friends. Consequently, we need a much deeper understanding of China and our common interests in dealing with all aspects of that relationship. It is encouraging that the consultation process between the U.S. and EU has begun to shape a deeper understanding of the potential in the United States’ and EU’s relations with China.

Yes, in the end the transatlantic relationship can be reborn with a new Euro-Atlantic agenda. How the United States and Germany manage these issues will shape the future of the German-American relations and the world.

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