

# EVANGELISCHE AKADEMIE LOCCUM

## **The Renewal of the Transatlantic Partnership The Responsibility of the European Union and the U.S.A. for Stability, Security, and Peace in the World**

Advance Information

about the International Conference of the Evangelische Akademie Loccum (Loccum, Germany)  
in cooperation with the Vesper Society (Hayward, California)  
from March 9-11, 2001

### **1. Background**

For the USA and Canada as well as the European states -- especially West Germany -- since the second World War transatlantic relations have been a central element of their political orientation, and these relations have decisively determined thought and action on both sides of the Atlantic. As regards these relations, they were stamped by the existence of the then-current global state of affairs and the concrete developments of the West-East conflict. Accordingly, policy and politics regarding security stood in the foreground, and it was the common worry about the collective defense and the ensuring of peace that brought the North American and west-European states so tightly into relationship and bound them together in spite of all their different interests (which naturally led to continuing and numerous irritations, tensions, and crises). However, the transatlantic relations did not remain limited to the politics of the military and security dimensions: they evolved into manifold ties whose internal structure was strongly determined by common values and through a mix of mutually-arranged and competitive business and trade interests. In this connection, it was characteristic to see a tight coupling of the military and security dimension with the dimension of value orientation and with the dimension of the economy, trade, and monetary value.

After the end of the West-East conflict, the framing conditions for the transatlantic relations have fundamentally changed. Here at the beginning of the 21st century, what these relations should be and how they should be shaped is an open question.

At best, a durable perspective for the future of economic, trade, monetary relations can be recognized. In spite of all existing competition and occasionally emerging differences, a symmetry and a parity of these relations is definitely in evidence, and this promotes fruitful processes of cooperation and integration. We can concur with the opinion of the political scientist E.O. Czempel that the socio-economic basis („gesellschaftlich-wirtschaftliche Fundament“) of the relations between western Europe and the U.S.A. is in order („in Ordnung“).

With regard to the important political area of "Security", the U.S.A. and the Europeans have not yet found a clear and productive structure for relations. Still, they can both agree upon a concept for the continuance of NATO and for its expansion, and together they have been able to agree on a new strategy for the alliance and carry through the NATO operation "Allied Force". Unfortunately all efforts to find an architecture and an agenda for the transatlantic partnership, which could lead to an agreed-upon clarification of the questions about tasks, roles,

and division of power between the U.S.A. and the Europeans, have until now remained without success.

Such a clarification seems at present to be moved even into the far future.

On this side and on the other side of the Atlantic more projects are being urged forward that hold a substantial potential for conflict and could seriously damage – maybe even lead to the disintegration of -- the transatlantic partnership.

- In the U.S.A. plans are being developed for the construction of a missile defense system in order to be able to effectively protect its own territory. The justification, that a shield against attacks of so-called "rogue states" should be created, cannot dispel the critical considerations of the Europeans. They see in the project the endangering of the arms control and disarmament policies, and even an impulse for a new arms race. In addition, they fear that the project, through which the U.S.A. will add to its defenses and thereby safeguard its claim to world leadership -- which also includes the global use of military force -- would for one thing separate American security from that of Europe and for another would destroy once and for all the European hope for equal rank and equal rights in the field of security policy.

To the Europeans remains only the alternatives to bear with the policies of the U.S.A. and thereby submit to the American claim to leadership, or to refuse such followership and develop their own, where possible "not offensive", policies. The latter would mean the end of the joint world-policy ("Weltpolitik") of the transatlantic partnership.

- In the European Union the formation of an independent "European Security and Defense Identity" (ESDI) is being advanced with concrete resolutions and measures, and in this context the building up of a "Rapid Reaction Force" for military intervention in crises has begun. The justification, that therewith the powerlessness of the Europeans that became apparent not for the last time in the conflict over Kosovo would be ended, cannot dispel the critical considerations in the U.S.A. Here in this project we see the attempt of the Europeans to make themselves increasingly independent of NATO -- and thereby of the U.S.A. – in order to be able to act if NATO does not want to. If in the process the EU develops not only its own decision mechanisms, but also has control of the means of carrying out its decisions, from an American assessment this would weaken the transatlantic unity and thereupon create many-faceted new problems in the field of international politics.

The inquiry concerning the future architecture and agenda of the transatlantic partnership is consequently more urgent than ever before.

If it is to be attended to, for one it must address the specification of the tasks and roles and the distribution of power. Also, however, a clarification must be brought about concerning where and with what means stability, security, and peace will be furthered in the future.

Considering the fact that in many regions of the world there are dangerous conflicts and again and again explosive crises, and considering the experience that there is very limited (if any) success with military means to achieve the sought-for political goals, the highest priority fields of action for the U.S.A. and for Europeans in world politics must be newly surveyed. And then to be discussed is according to what principles and with what instruments these priority areas should be treated. The inquiry about ethical orientations and guiding political values is central to this discussion.

Also, if it does turn out that the present problems in relations between the U.S.A. and the European Union are dealt with quickly and soon lead to paths to the future, the renewal of the transatlantic partnership will succeed only if it is established as a long-term process and if this process is carried out not only with the traditional elites in politics, diplomacy, military, and business but also with the civil community on both sides of the Atlantic. Without participation from stakeholders in the civil community, the responsibility for stability, security, and peace in the world will no longer be perceived as effective and lasting. The renewal of the transatlantic politics, therefore, calls for a broad discussion that is openly carried out. The prospects for success will depend heavily on constructively bringing the succeeding generation into the discussion.

## **2. Goals and Content**

The International Conference in Loccum, Germany, from March 9-11, 2001, should foster open discourse about the condition of the transatlantic partnership and ways to renew it. The Loccum Conference is the first event in a broader International Discussion Project that will be continued with a workshop for "young leaders" in San Francisco, California, USA.

With the International Discussion Project the organizers desire

- to promote the open discussion about the condition of the transatlantic partnership and approaches to its renewal.
- couple the discussion about structures and instruments of international politics again with the discussion about the ethical orientation and link with values of political action in a global context.
- advance the clarification of the questions of where and how the EU and the U.S.A. should carry out their responsibility for stability, security, and peace in the world and how they can work together to do it.
- To broaden the discussion of the question of the future of the transatlantic partnership to include the question of what future role the civil society (general populace) should play and how its contribution to the promotion of stability, security, and peace can be coupled with what is done at governmental levels.
- bring the succeeding generation constructively into the discussion about the renewal of the transatlantic partnership.

At the International Conference in Loccum participants will examine

- how the international politics and the international system have changed in the last few years, what trends or tendencies are operating, what structures are evolving, and where new problems and challenges for stability, security, and peace exist.
- how the U.S.A. understands its role in international relations, what interests it is pursuing, through what structures it is acting, and what means and instruments it makes use of.
- how the countries of the EU understand their common role in international relations, what interests they are pursuing, through what structures they are acting, and what means and instruments they make use of.
- what problems and conflicts presently burden the relations between the U.S.A. and the EU, what structures, reach, and effectiveness characterize present relations, and what options may there be to shape the architecture and agenda of the transatlantic partnership so that on the one hand the preferred goal settings and interests of both the U.S.A. and the EU can be pursued, and on the other hand a clear and consistent policy for the promotion of stability, security, and peace in the world can be hastened.

These questions centered on the roles, tasks, and division of power should be supplemented by and coupled with questions that relate to the sustainability and future usefulness of the political

concepts with which the U.S.A. and the EU want to realize their claims to leadership and demand for shaping relations in the area of stability, security, and peace.

Participants will also discuss

- how far the guiding ideas about values and order (human rights, democracy, constitutional state, market economy, etc.) can carry us, where they can come in conflict with each party's interests and what is then to be done, what political concepts make a credible and success-promising opening for values and models of order and how might they be realized.
- what tasks concretely stand before us if stability, security, and peace in the world shall be promoted, what corresponding political concepts must be developed, and what structures/ organizations and means must be created in order to carry through these tasks.

As a specific focus the discussion should examine the question of what initiatives and contributions for the renewal of the transatlantic partnership (may) come from the civil society (i.e., the general populace). We will discuss

- what non-governmental organizations and citizen groups on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean contribute to the fostering of stability, security, and peace in the world and how they might be able to work together more intensively.
- how the existing structures of transatlantic politics should be opened in order to have a constructive cooperation among citizen participants, and how a transatlantic policy for stability, security, and peace -- a policy that deploys the potential of the governmental level just as well as the potential of the civil society -- needs to look.

### **3. Sponsors/Organizers**

The International Seminar is being sponsored and organized by the Evangelische Akademie Loccum (Loccum, Germany) and the Vesper Society (Hayward, California, USA).

### **4. Participants**

There will be an open invitation to the International Conference in Loccum. Participants from a variety of fields and levels of responsibility are expected to take part in the seminar. We will invite politicians, officials in national governments, workers in international organizations (especially the EU and NATO), diplomats, military officers, representatives of national and international non-governmental organizations, business people, members of business associations and unions, scientists, and journalists.

### **5. Design and Future Course of the Discussion Project**

The International Conference in Loccum is the first event of an International Discussion Project that will be continued in September 2001 with an international workshop for "young leaders".

We plan to specifically invite 20 to 24 "young leaders" to the International Conference in Loccum. These individuals will be "next generation" experts from various disciplines, levels of responsibility, and fields of action (e.g., politics, diplomacy, military, communications media, business, science and engineering, universities, and other civilian institutions). They should be roughly between 28 to 38 years old and in their chosen career be on the way to leadership positions or positions where their influence is strong and can spread widely. About half will come from the U.S.A. and the other half from Germany and other EU countries. These "young leaders" will take part in the seminar discussions as normal participants. At the conclusion of the event the "young leaders" will jointly evaluate the conduct of the seminar and the results it generated.

In September 2001, the "young leaders" will meet again in California for a follow-up workshop. The workshop should serve to develop the guiding framework and concrete new ideas and proposals for the future structuring of the European-American relationship. The ideas and proposals of the workshop shall be consolidated and published in a "policy paper".

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