



>>> A SECURITY STRATEGY FOR GERMANY

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from May 6, 2008

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“We need to develop a strategic culture that fosters early, rapid, and when necessary, robust intervention.” European Security Strategy from 12 December 2003

A Security Strategy for Germany

Germany – embedded within the European Union and NATO in a region of freedom, security and under the rule of law – is one of the safest countries in the world. Still, our security is threatened by terrorism, organized crime, energy and resource dependency, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and armament, regional conflicts, failed states, migration, pandemics and epidemics; the consequences of climate change could further exacerbate these security risks.

These risks are gaining momentum through **globalization** and increased interdependence among states. These are developments that, for the time being, are transpiring far from our shores, but could rapidly spread and have a negative impact on our security. Germany is highly integrated into the global infrastructure of transport, energy, information and financial markets and is as an import/export nation highly dependent on these critical infrastructures remaining open and operable as they secure access to capital markets, sales markets and procurement markets, to communication networks, transport infrastructure and pipelines. Modern mass communication, most importantly the internet, growing global mobility and a growing global awareness are bringing our citizens, companies and civil society ever closer in a tightly woven international network.

Our environment is changing: through the emergence of non-state actors; the ascent of new powers like China and India; the growing significance of non-governmental organizations. These changes provide us with new imperatives and opportunities to cooperate in solving global and regional security problems; shifts of power on the international level could, however, trigger new conflicts.

All of this directly or indirectly influences Germany’s security. Germany will only be able to effectively confront the security risks of a globalized world in close alliance with other nations. Moreover, managing these challenges will require a comprehensive security strategy that includes domestic and economic policy, energy and environmental policy, fiscal, as well as research and education policy in addition to the classic areas of foreign, European, defence, human rights and development policies. These must be firmly embedded in a set of instruments that can be employed in cooperation with other nations, non-state actors and organizations such as the United Nations, NATO and the European Union. **The goal must be to minimize security risks pre-emptively and be in a position to intervene quickly and effectively anywhere crises that may affect our security are coming to a head in conflict.**

I. German Security Strategy within the Framework of the European Security Strategy

It is the responsibility of the German State to uphold for our citizens the values outlined in the Basic Law (Grundgesetz) such as the rule of law, freedom, democracy, security and welfare, to protect our citizens from harm, and to secure the sovereignty and integrity of the German territory. These are complimented by the obligations arising from Germany’s membership in alliances such as NATO and the European Union.

In view of the threats to our security specified above, it is in our interest to consider the following points,

- regional crises and conflicts that could compromise our security and our interests should be prevented if possible, or we should make a contribution to resolving them where they originate,
- global challenges such as the threat of transnational terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the consequences of climate change must be tackled,
- we must contribute to the sharing of respect for human rights, freedom, democracy and the rule of law (good governance),
- we must promote free and unfettered global trade, including secure raw material and energy supplies as the foundation of our prosperity, and close the divide between rich and poor regions of the world based on the concept of social market economy,
- strengthen the cohesion amongst the European Union, NATO and the transatlantic partnership, and increase their political, economic and military efficacy,
- we must deepen relations with states that share our goals and values and create strategic partnerships with them, and
- we must contribute to strengthening an effective multilateral international order based on international law.

II. Key Challenges and Strategic Objectives

The following challenges are of central significance for Germany's security.

1. Fighting Terrorism

The security threats our country faces are completely different, but in no way inferior, to the threats of the "Cold War". Today's transnational terrorism presents the largest threat to the security of our community.

This danger emanates from non-state actors that are purposely conducting asymmetric conflicts. These terrorists differ from the RAF terrorism of the 70s and 80s in that they are not targeting heads of state and society, but are after soft targets. Using quasi-military methods they seek to produce the largest number of victims and are attempting to shake nations and societies to their very foundations.

This altered threat situation requires an entirely new understanding of security policy. The fact that this terrorist violence extends beyond national borders and is deliberately organized within an international network means our division of internal and external security can no longer be preserved.

European countries are not only targets but serve as logistical strongholds of terrorism; Germany's Basic Law, which is based on the principles of democracy and liberty, is under threat from within and from without. Attacks on German soil have thus far been thwarted, but they cannot be ruled out in the future.

Reducing the likelihood of terrorist attacks by exercising restraint in foreign policy is not a real option for Germany; appearing weak would only make terrorist networks even more dangerous.

We have to get to the root cause of terrorism in order to fight it and capture those that are planning terrorist attacks or who have already carried them out. Most importantly, we must prevent terrorists from recruiting new forces. **The struggle against terrorism will require the active deployment of political, diplomatic, civil, development and policing instruments.** If terrorist networks are operating from weak states or are using them as a place of refuge as was the case in Afghanistan before September 11th, **deploying armed forces may become necessary to combat terrorism.** The military is dispatched for operations in which violent aggressors must be defeated in order to establish security for civil forces involved in reconstruction and establishing good governance structures. **A central objective of German security policy is to prevent providing terrorists with a place of refuge. This will only be attained in close international cooperation and will be a task for both internal and external policy in equal measure.**

Terrorists not only target the global infrastructure, they make use of it in order to operate throughout the world. This makes it an additional objective of German security policy to prevent terrorist operations and, at the same time, protect the global infrastructure. We can **detect** and **prevent** planned attacks with measures that impede the financing, communication and movement of terrorist groups. In addition, further **precautionary measures** must be taken at home to reduce the vulnerability of our critical infrastructure. Among these items are equipping the Federal Criminal Police Office with authorization to deter the threats of international terrorism throughout the country, securing communication amongst all security offices, and the deployment of the Bundeswehr within Germany in especially dangerous situations to support state and federal police. The aim is to prevent or ease the aftermath of terrorist attacks - to make **Germany less vulnerable to terrorists.**

In order to prevail in the fight against terrorism it is important to understand that freedom and security are two sides of the same coin and not opposites. **Standing for our values and upholding them in the fight against terrorism is our biggest strength.** The rights that were intended to protect the individual against the state must be revised in such a way that they continue to ensure that we can **live our lives in freedom and security.**

2. Prevent Proliferation and Accelerate Disarmament

Preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery has not been successful. There is a real danger of a nuclear arms race in the Middle East and Southeast Asia. Stability in the region as well as the security of Germany and its allies is threatened by the uncontrolled proliferation of ballistic missile technology and the criminal smuggling of technology and expertise. The threat of attacks with biological, chemical and nuclear weapons will grow if they fall into the hands of terrorist groups and non-state actors that are prepared to use violence. **A central objective of our security policy is therefore to make the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction more difficult and prevent them from being passed on to terrorists. We are holding fast to our long-term objective of completely eliminating all weapons of mass destruction.**

In future, the use of disarmament and arms control must be intensified as a strategic instrument of German and European security policy. **Germany cannot contain this threat alone despite its restrictive arms export and rigid arms control policies.** It's rather a question of strengthening arms control and non-proliferation regimes that already exist at a multilateral level and closing the present gaps. Uniform positions among the member states on export control issues for **dual use products and improvements in the internal control regimes** are equally necessary.

Countries that wish to use nuclear energy must be shown a way to minimise the risk of proliferation and avoid spreading nuclear materials, technology and expertise. To this end, **a strengthened International Atomic Energy Agency should be placed in a position to control the supply of nuclear fuels.** The enrichment of nuclear materials should be conducted multilaterally and controlled by the IAEA.

The objective of our security policy also includes helping create systems of collective security in other regions that contribute to our security in Europe. We can only convince other states to forego nuclear weapons if they reside in a secure regional environment.

In non-proliferation policy we rely on the nuclear deterrence of NATO and our other allies to **protect** us from attacks with weapons of mass destruction in addition to conventions, export controls and sanctions. The long-standing nuclear sharing within the framework of NATO guarantees Germany influence here. Antibalistic missile defence systems and other protective components make it less appealing to acquire nuclear weapons and it is therefore in our interest to support them. On a national level it is important to have sufficient capabilities to defend ourselves against ABC warfare with such things as vaccines, antitoxins and an emergency care infrastructure for our citizens in order to reduce our vulnerability to terrorist attacks and weapons of mass destruction.

Our security in Europe was enhanced by **cooperative conventional arms control** after the end of the East-West conflict and it is important to carry forward and reinforce this policy.

3. Assure Energy and Raw Material Supplies

Our dependence on energy and raw materials as well as a secure supply infrastructure presents additional risk factors. By the year 2030 more than two thirds of Europe's energy consumption will have to be covered by imports, predominantly from Russia, the Gulf region and North Africa. We can already anticipate bottlenecks, resource conflicts and higher prices due to the rise in global demand for energy and raw materials, especially in China and India. Disasters, terrorism or violent conflicts in our supplier countries could endanger our energy and raw material supplies and damage our economies. There is also the danger that our dependence will be exploited and we could be put under political pressure.

In view of this double risk, we need a **national energy and raw material strategy** that is embedded in a European energy and environmental strategy; one that meshes energy and environmental policies with other important policy areas such as climate, development, finance, research and trade policies and takes security policy into account. Cooperation in development work is particularly suited to stabilizing politics, economies and societies in developing threshold countries which minimizes import risks and can contribute considerably to securing energy and raw material supplies.

We must work together with business to encourage dialogue and cooperation with transit and supplier countries. Our security objective here is to **diversify** energy sources, supplier countries and transport routes as well as to build up our own **strategic reserves**.

On a European level we must also create stronger links between foreign and security policy issues and trade policy towards important energy and raw material suppliers and continue work on creating energy partnerships. A **common EU external energy policy** with pooled bargaining power would increase supply security and be much more effective than bilateral agreements among individual states. The EU will have to utilize its leadership role in creating concepts and technologies for renewable energy and atomic fusion technology as well as nuclear security research.

We advocate a **European Energy Security Union** that can come to the assistance of any member experiencing supply difficulties; in order to implement this, member states will have to be networked and be required to adhere to equal storage standards.

Establishing energy security and secure raw material supplies may necessitate military activity for instance in the safeguarding of vulnerable maritime trade routes and infrastructure such as ports, pipelines and conveying systems. The Bundeswehr, for example, is already part of the EOF at the Horn of Africa and Active Endeavour in the Mediterranean.

China and India must be integrated in securing the global energy supply chain; as large consumers they are equally interested in stable supplies.

4. Coping with the Consequences of Climate Change

Climate change is not only an environmental or energy issue - it also presents a security threat. The first effects of climate change are already visible and flooding, heat waves, food crises, droughts, forest fires and rising sea levels are all on the increase and if we are unable to counteract these developments the number of **conflicts will multiply**. We must be mindful of the distribution of water, land and food, and cope with migration and refugee movements that will reach Germany's borders, we must secure compensation payments between those that cause climate change and the countries hit most hard by it. These issues could elicit the spread of local and regional conflicts and even cause wars between entire countries, destabilizing the international system and endangering the development of the global economy. The same applies to a somewhat lesser degree to other forms of environmental damage such as desertification, soil salinization, erosion and the toxic contamination of water and soil.

Germany's security policy must be in a position to address the impact of climate change and contribute to managing the consequences this has for our security.

Germany and the other EU countries must meet the **Emission Reduction Targets** that were agreed on in 2007 and must urge the other industrialized nations as well as the developing and threshold countries to scale up their climate protection efforts with the aim of a uniform per capita consumption of fossil fuels.

Supporting developing countries in adjusting to climate change and coping with environmental damage must become an integral component of development cooperation. We need to step up cooperation to

avoid water crises, redesign agricultural development strategies and strengthen disaster preparedness activities. More effective **financing instruments** will be necessary to manage the high cost of adjustment.

The United Nations must find a more efficient, and more importantly, more pre-emptive approach to the security risks presented by climate change. In addition, international law must be extended so that the **Security Council of the United Nations is authorized to act in instances of considerable environmental destruction or major breaches of environmental legislation.**

In view of the increasing number of environmental disasters, we need closer cooperation at the **European level** so that we can call upon the member states' emergency services and armed forces more promptly and better coordinate their effective deployment.

5. Prevent, Contain and Resolve Conflict

Weak states or regions with no or limited state capacity are **victims of security risks as well as a source of threats to other states.** They provide transnational terrorist groups and criminals an ideal refuge, are in a position to block the supplies of raw materials that are crucial for our economy, bring about extremism, stimulate demand for weapons of mass destruction, illicit human trafficking and people smuggling and force people to become refugees.

They also have a negative effect on global norms such as the respect for human dignity or the state monopoly on legitimate force.

The pervasiveness of organized crime in weak states makes the terrorism threat even more ominous. War, extremism and terrorism are financed with the profits made from illicit activities such as drug trafficking in particular, as well as illegal weapons trade, human trafficking, money laundering and piracy.

It is imperative we support weak states, first and foremost with development assistance, and contribute to an environment in which new state structures emerge or those already in place have a chance to consolidate and stabilize. Together with our partners we must make a **concerted effort to increase our prevention capabilities** in order to **pre-empt** conflict and crises and be in a position to offer solutions for stabilization that take into consideration cultural and religious issues.

Migration within and between nations will increase. Efforts in international migration policy must be stepped up to meet this challenge and be geared towards the interests of both the destination country and the transit countries and countries of origin. Activating the forces that would allow countries where migration originates to help themselves is key in any approach to coping with increased migration. These people must be encouraged and actively supported in their efforts to create brighter prospects in their own countries, employing items such as improved education and realistic ways to overcome poverty with opportunities for private asset creation. Micro credits are particularly effective in achieving this and should be promoted.

Weak states are a global problem. A top priority of German security policy must be to **stabilize our neighbourhood** in close collaboration with our European partners. The successes we have had in the **Balkans** must be consolidated. We must continue work within the EU to ensure that a **buffer of responsible states** is created on our Eastern borders and

along the Mediterranean Sea. The European Neighbourhood Policy must make a more effective contribution to these goals. The **countries in the Caucasian, Caspian and Central Asian region as well as the Middle East** must be helped to attain security and political stability. In particular, the right of Israel to exist as a Jewish state must be secured, along with a viable Palestine in the framework of a two-state solution.

Security and stability in these regions are not only important because of their wealth in energy resources, but are also significant because they serve as a cultural bridge to Europe.

We are equally interested in having stable developments in **Africa**. Here, security policy also includes promoting good governance, sustainable economic growth, education, health care systems as well as strengthening rural development and demand-based food production. The consequences climate and environmental change have for security also make it necessary to work closer together with African countries.

Europe needs a strategic approach that is aligned with our transatlantic partners in order to make a contribution to dealing with security challenges in **Asia** and to make the best possible use of the opportunities presented by this region. We seek to support the efforts of many of Asia's countries to promote democracy, the rule of law, political stability and development, effective counter-terrorism and closer regional co-operation. We must be more consistent in our efforts to create a network of allies and like-minded countries in the region with which we can pursue common political goals. We must make an attempt to integrate **China** more in meeting security challenges, particularly climate protection, disarmament, energy and raw material supplies and the fostering of good governance in developing countries.

We must persuade Latin America to be our partners for "global governance" as they have always considered themselves part of the Western world and members of the community of democracies; only by doing so will we be able to create rule-based order. We must intensify political dialogue with them. Economic and development cooperation must be improved and security integration brought to a new level. In addition to helping consolidate democracy and reducing deficiencies in the rule of law, our security interests in the region extend primarily to fighting drug crime, human trafficking, terrorism and the kidnapping industry.

We must improve our **abilities to forge alliances** and make the alliances we need for our security **more effective**. As the largest financial contributor to the EU, second largest in the North Atlantic Alliance and third in the United Nations we have a vested interest in having the resources we contribute being used effectively and in line with our strategic objectives. In addition, we need to continue strengthening civil and military responsiveness of the **European Security and Defence Policy** and assure it is complementary and interoperable with NATO. We will have to create, among other things, appropriate strategic capabilities on both national and European levels, including a European police force or rapid civil disaster response teams made up of diplomats, legal experts, as well as administration and development experts. We must also continue to develop the transatlantic partnership, bolster the United Nations and equip international law to deal with key challenges.

The political and military transformation of the North Atlantic Alliance must continue. There are many important issues that extend beyond the steady build-up of collective military capabilities and the successful execution of ongoing deployments, primarily for stabilizing the Balkans and Afghanistan. These include: taking in new members that fulfil the

criteria and can contribute to security and stability of Europe and North America; improving relations with Russia to move toward a strategic partnership based on core principles, values and obligations; the extension and delimitation of existing partnerships in a global outlook; precautionary measures for troubling nations using strategic missile defence; adding topics that are of relevance to security such as “cyber defence” or certain aspects of energy security to its range of tasks.

III. Consequences for German Security Policy

Pursuing our interests and strategic objectives will require **taking action** in a more **active, timely, speedy, coherent and, if necessary, firm** manner. We must apply this to all the instruments and capabilities at our disposal for conducting crisis management and conflict prevention. We must assure these instruments are **more interlinked with one another**.

1. Networked Homeland Protection for Effective Disaster Management and Civil Defence

Large-scale damage caused by natural disasters, terrorist attacks or biological, chemical or nuclear disasters can only be dealt with properly when the federal and state governments work together to create a homeland protection system that is tightly interlinked. The task of combating threats entails – in the spirit of co-operative federalism:

- Implementation by each and every relevant institution. Increased German military strength abroad and at home must be reflected in the structure of Germany’s security architecture. The institutions, instruments and capabilities of national and international security must be integrated in a better way and must include the work and expertise of the many non-state organizations. Adequate coordination between the Federal Government, the Länder and Municipalities must be assured.

European coordination of civil protection and disaster aid must be improved – so that concerted deployment is possible both inside of Europe and in non-European countries.

Where a particularly grave danger is present the deployment of the Bundeswehr within Germany’s borders must be made possible within a tightly defined framework. The Bundeswehr possesses very specific capabilities in disaster management and dealing with terrorism that complement those of the state and federal police. A legal basis for this must be created and the responsibilities must be adjusted accordingly.

The Bundeswehr must provide sufficient soldiers to carry out tasks within **homeland protection** such as combat engineering, medical services and ABC defence. This will require improving the new structure of cooperation between civil and military facilities at both the federal and local levels so that efficacy can be heightened. **General conscription** will also benefit homeland protection by creating the conditions for an effective defence of the country and the Alliance which, in addition to deployments abroad, continues to be of elementary importance for our security. Conscripts, together with Bundeswehr reservists, represent a pool of qualified soldiers that can be particularly useful in homeland protection and back up their comrades serving abroad.

Home protection includes elements of **marine security** and possible terrorist attacks conducted from the seas. Here, we must analyse and

avert all the threats to provide security for shipping and goods traffic as well as for the environment and fishing. Cooperation between the German Navy and the Coast Guard must be improved to thwart maritime terrorist attacks; the Coast Guard is not equipped to deal with an attack if one should occur. In order to establish maritime security outside of Germany's territorial waters on the open seas, clear legal provisions must be made allowing the German Navy to pursue terrorists or pirates into foreign territorial waters (with the consent of the individual countries involved).

2. Strengthen Civil and Military Instruments for Crisis Management and Prevention Abroad

We must strengthen our capabilities to make an even more effective contribution to crisis management and prevention.

Germany is actively committed to work in crisis management together with its allies and NGOs. We must have the capacity to act before a crisis occurs. If violent conflict cannot be averted, we must be prepared to combat it in its place of origin, especially if we can anticipate negative consequences for Germany's security and that of its citizens.

Inter-agency **mission planning** in Germany must be more coherent and involve all the relevant instruments, including enhanced coordination with our partners from the EU, NATO and the United Nations. We need more transparency **in the field**. The activities of governmental and non-governmental entities such as emergency relief, reconstruction and development work must be better documented and coordinated, the division of labour and coordination with civil society actors must be aligned.

Civil personnel and police are becoming increasingly important for stabilization missions. There is not enough of this kind of manpower available in Germany. In order to meet this need and fulfil Germany's international responsibilities, we must continue the transformation of the Bundeswehr and take stock of our resources using operative targets in order to close the gaps in personnel, education, equipment and legal matters as soon as possible.

The **Bundeswehr** is an important component of crisis management and prevention abroad. Its deployment is **based on our national obligations and goals collectively with our allies on a case-by-case basis and driven by our joint interests** in order to guarantee Germany's security and, at the same time, exert influence on international developments.

In view of the increasing number of crises that could have a negative impact on our country, Germany must prepare itself for **additional, prolonged deployment of the Bundeswehr** in order to stabilize or enforce peace. German society must gain a new understanding of the security risks and the strategic responsibilities of German security policy in order for the Bundeswehr to be able to operate on such a large scale. **The government must undertake to improve communication with its citizens and persuade them of the necessity for Germany to be prepared to assume responsibility for global security along with its allies.**

The Basic Law and international law provide **the legal basis** for the deployment of all German armed forces, including the fight against international terrorism. Deployment is authorized within the framework of NATO's and the EU's mutual assistance commitment, on the basis of a UN mandate or, without a mandate for self defence in accordance with

article 51, or when pursuing the objectives of the United Nations Charter (humanitarian intervention).

Bundeswehr units must be ready to respond quickly if and when they are to be deployed as a fixed component of a multinational military crisis management intervention. The **Parliamentary Participation Act** must be amended accordingly.

The Bundeswehr must be able to operate unfettered in a multinational environment. It is imperative that the **transformation of the Bundeswehr** remains on track and drives forward issues such as creating flexible armed forces that have staying power and can be deployed in the far abroad. Synergy potential will allow for a more efficient use of funding. **Having our own competitive core capabilities in defence technology** is therefore of key strategic significance in order to influence NATO and EU decisions and be able to participate in shaping European and transatlantic arms policy.

3. Effective Security Policy and a National Security Council

We must create a **National Security Council as a political analysis, coordination and decision-making facility** in order to guarantee consistent cooperation amongst all internal and external security forces. The **Länder** must be able to contribute according to their individual responsibilities. The National Security Council should be assigned three tasks:

First: The **comprehensive, inter-agency analysis** of possible threats to internal and external security. The wide range of information on security issues culled from diplomatic missions, intelligence services and development agencies must be translated into preventive, timely and targeted foreign, security and development policies.

Second: The coordination of civil and military crisis management and prevention abroad.

Third: **The coordination of the launch of appropriate defensive measures and emergency planning as well as the deployment of homeland protection forces** in the event that a disaster should overburden the capabilities of the individual Länder.

Whilst taking into account the division of authorities in Germany's federal system and the responsibilities of the federal government's departments and their subordinate agencies, the aim of a National Security Council is to ensure **a uniform political leadership and optimal disaster management both at home and abroad**.

The powers of the Federal Security Council chaired by the Federal Chancellor must be enhanced and equipped with a headquarters that uses already existing resources. Its interdisciplinary staff would perform inter-agency work and develop scenarios based on uniform situation reports and prepare options for action by the executive branch of government.

4. Security Partnership with Business and the Scientific Community

In view of the dangers cited here, we are in need of further intelligent solutions that offer us security and reinforce our culture of freedom. **Appropriate technologies** and strategies for action must be developed within the framework of **security research**.

There is a great need for research and implementation in sensitive communications infrastructures and the provision of “secure identities”. Long-neglected items such as epidemiology for defending against epidemics and the development of terahertz technologies for improved detection capacities are of crucial security significance.

But technical solutions alone will not suffice. Germany has a backlog demand for research in the humanities, social sciences and linguistics so that we can better understand the world we live in and improve our security policies.

Business as the driver of our economic power and the **owners and operators of our critical infrastructure** are confronted with new security challenges in the national and international environment and must be invited to participate in the **extended security precautions** being taken. National security at home and abroad must be improved and the protection of critical infrastructures enhanced; we can achieve this by working together to conduct risk assessment, by exchanging information on security issues and developing joint defensive measures to protect us from terrorism and organized crime.

IV. Conclusion

We are living in a world fraught with new threats. But there are also plenty of new opportunities. Germany, along with its partners in the EU and NATO, has the opportunity to make an important contribution to meeting these challenges. By acknowledging our democratic and constitutional values and norms we unleash enormous potential for creating an effective security policy and, at the same time, actively shape globalization.



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