

Peace and security policy

Sardinia, 2-4 May 1988

1. The European Free Alliance is an association of political parties which are essentially non-imperialist and non-aggressive. Our internationalism is reflected in our past and in our struggles for self-determination. The EFA believes that there will only be real cooperation in Europe when all its countries, nations and regions are able to deploy their capacities at an international level, together constituting a genuine force for peace.

2. The European ideal of EFA, a Europe of peoples, is an alternative to the domination of militaristic nation states which are responsible for the many conflicts which we see today. Our principles of action will help to build a future in which conflicts will give way to the spirit of cooperation.

3. The struggle for self-determination in our countries cannot be separated from its international aspects. Our struggle for self-determination has adopted the same ultimate objective as the pacifist movement: a world evolving irresistibly towards unity in diversity. Accordingly, our international policy must target the following objectives:

- the protection of human rights and the rights of the national communities to which individuals naturally belong,
- prosperity for all,
- the development of a rational security policy.

4. Security exceeds the narrow scope of military conceptions. Violence can take many forms and may vary a good deal in intensity: an aggressive neighbour, economic sanctions, blocking supplies of basic necessities, high unemployment rates, environmental degradation, or the continued exploitation of the third world.

5. A balanced peace policy is a policy which tries to combat violence in all its forms and which essentially aims at creating the conditions required to establish peaceful relationships between nations and peoples. A sound peace policy must address not only military problems but also those of a non-military nature, in order to contribute to building a better world.

6. The problem of North-South relationships is quite as important as the clash between East and West. Furthermore, it is now more essential than ever to pay attention to armed conflicts in the Near and Middle East, where demarcation lines and conflicts of interest should be considered in accordance with very different criteria.

7. The European Free Alliance welcomes the INF which has been concluded between the USA and the USSR, in which it sees the first negotiated reduction in nuclear arms and a first step, small but important, towards a denuclearized Europe. The EFA will encourage the conclusion of further agreements leading to the reduction of the number of intercontinental ballistic missiles, a worldwide ban on chemical weapons, the conclusion of a nuclear test ban

treaty, the limitation of conventional weapons and tighter controls on the international arms trade.

8. The triple-zero option is necessary but not sufficient if it only affects ground-based missiles. The USA and the USSR are not the only nuclear powers: dismantling must involve the others - at least, as a first step, in an international conference. Alongside the denuclearization of European space, we must also consider the matter of terminating French nuclear testing in the Pacific, which disregards the integrity of the people who live there.

9. The withdrawal of a whole series of nuclear weapons from western Europe will open the way for a revival of European thinking. Western Europe has an opportunity to develop its role and to become an active mediator between the two superpowers.

10. A more integrated western Europe would entail:

- the rejection of violence used for political ends,
- the principle of non-aggression,
- the rejection of the deterrence theory,
- the use of regional policy (for example, demilitarised zones in central Europe, simultaneously incorporating regions of eastern and western Europe) as an effective contribution to peace,
- the principle which states that cooperation between eastern and western Europe is the only possible guarantee of lasting peace and security,
- the opening of dialogue with the Islamic world,
- an end to oppression, occupation and the unjust violation of the right of peoples to self-determination.

11. The European Free Alliance calls for a dynamic policy of detente, leading to the growth of a climate of stability between eastern and western Europe through the intertwining of interests, increased mutual commitments and the encouragement of cooperation. Genuine detente assumes a growth in cultural exchanges, the removal of obstacles to trade and the conclusion of an agreement between the EEC and COMECON. But it also means expanding networks of contacts at every level, in a dialogue between the authorities and "independents".

12. The unification of Europe in security terms must go hand in hand, within the EEC, with an extension of defence to the whole scope of peace policy and a reactivation of the East-West dialogue. It does not aim at establishing a third block.

13. The creation of a Paris-Bonn axis, intended to promote new forms of European cooperation, has recently been suggested. It is difficult to imagine the development of such an initiative. Recent events (combined military manoeuvres, the joint construction of a military helicopter, the proposals for a military Eureka programme, the establishment of a Franco-German defence council) lead us to fear that this initiative owes more to a distorted concept of security than of a commitment to disarmament.

14. NATO has been diverted from its original aim. It is now the United States which is trying to involve Europe in the defence of its interests, presented as being those of us all. EEC Member States which are also part of the NATO alliance must be able, in the short-term, to study all the decisions which NATO commits them to take without time pressure, to present their own security model and to establish an innovative foreign policy. In the longer term, there should also be a review of the NATO treaty as a whole in order to re-focus existing armaments policy, which should be defensive rather than offensive, thus also reducing the excessive defence costs.

15. The Helsinki Accords must be respected in their entirety. The Accords concluded should be regarded as indivisible, including the respect of human rights. It will also be essential to the success of the peace policy that the processes which should lead to more openness, freedom and democracy and the respect of human rights in eastern Europe should take a significant step forward, and be highlighted by tangible changes. Glasnost is a significant and encouraging development which must be reflected in events, including measures to help the many political prisoners.

16. The European Free Alliance therefore demands that Europe's foreign policy be governed by the following fundamental principles:

- encouragement of all efforts which support the creation of a peacemaker Europe. A dialogue between the EEC and countries such as Switzerland, Sweden and Austria would be particularly opportune. The strengthening of European cooperation with neutral and non-aligned countries will create new opportunities for "satellite" countries;

- support for countries and regions which, in both East and West, take practical measures to promote peace by creating demilitarised zones and work to have these policies recognised;

- contributing to the creation of a denuclearized Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, and a rejection of any effort to drag the EEC into a confrontation between the superpowers;

- encouragement for the non-proliferation of weapons throughout the world by strengthening the role of the United Nations;

- support for the initiatives of either superpower which aim to limit armaments and strengthen disarmament cooperation;

- denuclearization will not solve all the issues. Security in Europe will be achieved by a defence policy which should be clarified, in particular in respect of the alternatives founded on the balance of power between existing or revised conventional arsenals;

- large-scale disarmament (denuclearization, reduction of conventional arsenals, etc.) requires attention to the impact on jobs and the foreign trade of the countries concerned. Restructuring with a view to the manufacture of socially useful products requires planning, not only at national level but also regionally and in Europe;

- support for all the initiatives designed to introduce or boost the control of the production and export of weapons, munitions and military hardware; all embargos on arms intended for countries at war or caught up in internal conflicts should be supported and respected; support for all initiatives for the conversion of the arms industry to production for peaceful ends;

- cooperation with all European countries in the economic, social, cultural and environmental fields;

- support for any initiatives designed to ensure the respect of human rights.

17. The European Free Alliance reiterates that its long-term aim is the gradual dismantling of blocks and the end to the nuclear arms race. EFA will oppose any initiatives designed to update or deploy new nuclear arms in western Europe and will lend its support to organisations working for peace and disarmament and which are also looking for a new political direction. The European Free Alliance proposes to replace the defence policies of the traditional European parties with an alternative solution focused on the future, realistic and such as to promote peace in the world.