

Towards Mutual Security

Fifty Years of Munich Security Conference





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Finally, it should be noted that the opinions expressed in the contributions to this volume are the opinions of the respective authors alone and do not necessarily reflect the opinions of the Stiftung Münchner Sicherheitskonferenz gGmbH. The authors were last able to review the manuscripts in early fall and were thus unable to include any developments that may have occurred afterwards. All information in this book, including biographical information about the authors, was last updated on November 30, 2013.

Wolfgang Ischinger
Tobias Bunde
Antje Lein-Struck
Adrian Oroz

Anniversary Messages



Message from the Federal Chancellor to Mark the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Munich Security Conference

Angela Merkel

The Munich Security Conference, a unique forum for the debate on international security policy, is taking place for the fiftieth time in 2014. It brings together decision-makers and opinion leaders who shoulder a special responsibility in the constant struggle for peace, freedom, and stability. This conference enjoys a high standing, largely owing to dedicated individuals who devote their energies to promoting dialogue year after year. All of them deserve our thanks and recognition for the great success of the conference, which now has a long tradition.

The success story of the Munich Security Conference is and remains first and foremost linked to the name Ewald-Heinrich von Kleist. As a young lieutenant, he was one of those willing to risk their lives in the resistance to Hitler. After the end of World War II, the promotion of transatlantic relations was a matter very close to his heart. A key expression of this endeavor was the establishment of the International Wehrkunde Conference fifty years ago, later renamed the Munich Security Conference, which

Ewald-Heinrich von Kleist developed within a short space of time into a central forum for exchanging views on transatlantic security policy and which he chaired until 1998. This conference offered an excellent opportunity for Germany to actively take part in the dialogue on the global political situation.

Ewald-Heinrich von Kleist died in March 2013. We have honored his memory. His achievements as the long-standing chairman of the Munich Security Conference have received a particularly fitting tribute in the form of the award that bears his name. The Ewald von Kleist Award, first presented in 2009, is granted to individuals in recognition of their outstanding commitment to peace and conflict resolution.

Although the aim of the conference, to give substance to the dialogue on security policy, has not changed during the last half-century, the political environment has changed fundamentally. While the first conference years were marked by the Cold War, new challenges came to the fore once the East-West confrontation was overcome, initially in the Balkans and then in particular in the wake of the appalling terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.

The Munich Security Conference has always addressed topical issues and further developed its areas of focus in the spirit of networked security. Inevitably, this has also resulted in the circle of participants being expanded—a real boon for the conference—to include representatives from other regions, from Central and Eastern European countries, from Russia, and from Asia.

However, the transatlantic dialogue—the cornerstone and fixture of the Munich Security Conference—has retained its outstanding importance, especially when it is put to the test, for example by data protection issues. The unique partnership between the United States and Europe remains the fundamental basis for our security and freedom.

We work closely together within NATO. In partnership with other allies, we stand shoulder to shoulder in carrying out missions such as the one in Afghanistan. We Europeans and Americans are cooperating to tackle key foreign policy challenges. This applies—to name just a few examples—to the situation in Syria and the changes sweeping the Arab world, the Middle East peace process, Iran's nuclear program, the promotion of democracy and stability in Mali, as well as to the fight against terrorism and piracy.

Ewald-Heinrich von Kleist called Europe—once a divided and today a united continent—a fortunate oasis. And he added: “However, it has to be looked after.” This is the aim of the Munich Security Conference. It is always

open to new participants and themes. It thus remains in step with the times as an international forum for fostering understanding and mutual appreciation. On that note, I would like to wish all participants a sure hand and continued success.

Dr. Angela Merkel is chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany.



Congratulating the Munich Security Conference on Fifty Years of Contributions to Transatlantic Security¹

Joseph R. Biden

For more than fifty years, American foreign and defense ministers, legislators, and academics—and even vice presidents—have regularly made the annual pilgrimage to Munich to share in an open dialogue with our closest friends and Allies on the most pressing issues affecting the transatlantic partnership and beyond.

I first went to the Munich Security Conference during the grip of the Cold War in 1980, when it was still known as *Wehrkunde*. Those were very different times, but even then there was not a question in my mind, or in the minds of those who had traveled to Munich with me, that our work was essential and that the opportunities before us were genuine and significant.

Since that time, much has changed. The Iron Curtain that once divided Europe was replaced by an open door. NATO grew from fifteen allies in 1980 to an ever strengthened and more inclusive alliance of twenty-eight countries. During the same period, the size of the European Community tripled.

New forces have begun shaping the twenty-first century. We have realized that neither the United States nor Europe can afford to look inward, that instead we must engage in the world around us. And we have.

Today's threats are as real and, at times, as daunting as those we faced during the Cold War. They transcend borders and nation states and impact global security and economic prosperity in profound ways. And so the work of the Munich Security Conference has become even more essential.

Preserving stability and peace for our children and grandchildren requires constant vigilance, dialogue, and cooperation. It requires that we strengthen our ability to prevent cyber attacks, to stop the spread of the world's most dangerous weapons, and to mitigate the consequences of a warming planet. And it requires continued work at home, from stimulating new growth to continuing the important work of building a Europe that is whole, free, and at peace.

And just as the transatlantic relationship has evolved, so too has the Munich Security Conference, in part thanks to the vision and leadership of my good friend Ambassador Wolfgang Ischinger.

Munich started out as a small gathering of Germans and Americans focused on defense and security in Europe. Over time, it added other Europeans, other disciplines, and other countries. And now instead of looking inward at the Euro-Atlantic space, today's Munich is focused on how Americans and Europeans engage in the world around us.

Today, Munich is the place to go to hear bold policies announced, new ideas and approaches tested, old partnerships reaffirmed, and new ones formed. Like no other global forum, today's Munich connects European leaders and thinkers with their peers from across the world to have an open and frank exchange of ideas on the most pressing issues we currently face—from the crisis in Syria to the global financial crisis and its impact on security, as well as cyber security. And while the formal discussions are important, it is the informal chats in the coffee bar and the *Stuben* that cement relationships, foster intellectual ferment, and bring people from disparate political stripes together, including many of my colleagues from Congress.

That's why I chose Munich as the place to outline the Obama administration's new approach toward foreign policy, including our desire to reset relations with Russia while maintaining our principled position rejecting spheres of influence.

It's why, in 2013, I returned to Munich to take stock of what America had accomplished with our friends and partners over the previous four years, including responsibly ending the war in Iraq and drawing down our forces in Afghanistan, to lay out a new agenda of cooperation for the next four

years—challenges we face together, such as strengthening our global trading system and creating jobs on both sides of the Atlantic, and broadening our engagement in the Asia-Pacific.

All of us who have participated in the Munich Security Conference over the years know something simple and fundamental: important partnerships do not build themselves. They require hard work and constant conversation, and are best fostered at forums like the Munich Security Conference. I have every confidence that Munich's best days are yet to come. Congratulations on fifty years of essential work!

Joseph R. Biden is vice president of the United States.

Notes

- 1 This foreword is meant to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the Munich Security Conference and does not suggest approval or endorsement by the vice president or the White House of any particular views expressed in the anthology.



The 50th Munich Security Conference— Security Policy in the Era of Globalization

Wolfgang Reitzle

When, in the fall of 1963, the first *Internationale Wehrkunde-Begegnung* was held in Munich, nobody could guess how significant the conference would one day become. It was the time of the Cold War, the Cuban missile crisis, and the historic speech by President John F. Kennedy from the balcony of Berlin City Hall.

Today we know: that beginning, fifty years ago, marked the start of a success story. *Wehrkunde* was to become one of the most important international conferences on questions of foreign and security policy: the Munich Security Conference, which has been held under the leadership of Ambassador Wolfgang Ischinger since 2008.

Ewald von Kleist, the formative chairman of the conference for more than three decades, had conceived the conference as an independent private discussion forum, bringing together international personalities and experts from the worlds of transatlantic politics, military, and diplomacy. From the very start, the opportunity for an informal exchange untrammelled by protocol and for confidential discussions on the margin was an essential feature of the conference.

Against the background of the Cold War, the conference in those initial decades was characterized above all by questions of military cooperation and collaboration within NATO. After the end of the Cold War, it was continuously opened up and expanded to include new themes and regional priorities. This development was steadily pushed forward under the auspices of Kleist's successor as chairman, Horst Teltschik, and led to more intensive collaboration in particular with the states of Central and Eastern Europe. Furthermore, Horst Teltschik emphasized the significance of the rising powers.

Under the current chairman, Ambassador Ischinger, the Munich Security Conference has continued to explore new topics, building his concept of the conference on a more extended understanding of security.

Today, topics such as threats to global trade routes and data streams, economic espionage and cyber security, the secure procurement of raw materials, and environmental and climate risks complement the agenda of the conference—of course, without losing sight of more traditional areas of security policy.

This diversity is also apparent among the participants: alongside heads of state, ministers, and high-ranking military representatives, guests now also include Nobel Peace Prize laureates and representatives of organizations such as Greenpeace. In the future, the objective is to continue to make the conference a bit younger and less predominantly male.

In recent years, the Munich Security Conference has become even more relevant internationally under the leadership of Ambassador Ischinger. We in the MSC Advisory Council would like to express our very sincere thanks to him for his vision and his great personal commitment to modernizing the focus and organization of the conference.

The end of the Cold War was not—as many had hoped—“the end of history.” Given the current conflicts and challenges, the Munich Security Conference remains an essential institution in the international debate on foreign and security policy. With that in mind, the Advisory Council wishes everyone a successful fiftieth conference—and hopes that you will find the diverse mix of essays in this book both entertaining and insightful.

Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Reitzle is chief executive officer of Linde AG and chairman of the Advisory Council of the Munich Security Conference.

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Former Minister-President of the Free State of Bavaria

The Chairmen



Towards Mutual Security: From *Wehrkunde* to the Munich Security Conference

Wolfgang Ischinger

Since its inception in the fall of 1963,¹ the conference we today call the Munich Security Conference has changed in many ways—not just in terms of its name. Yet in some ways, it has not changed at all. What was the main rationale behind the first conferences remains true today. Munich was, is, and will hopefully continue to be an important independent venue for policymakers and experts for open and constructive discussions about the most pressing security issues of the day—and of the future. These debates take place both on the podium and, crucially, behind the scenes, at the margins of the conference. Since its inaugural meeting under the name of *Internationale Wehrkunde-Begegnung*, the conference has built a unique reputation as a not-to-be-missed meeting for the strategic community, particularly for those from NATO member states. As Ivo Daalder, at the time US ambassador to NATO, remarked last year via Twitter, Munich is the “Oscars for security policy wonks.”

The Munich Security Conference has attracted many of the West’s leading practitioners and thinkers on security issues. In 2013, more than sixty

foreign and defense ministers were in attendance, along with eleven heads of state and government. We have hosted United Nations secretary generals, heads of international organizations, the president of the European Council, vice presidents of the United States, and Nobel Peace Prize laureates such as Tawakkol Karman. Given the limited space at the Hotel Bayerischer Hof—the conference venue in the heart of Munich—and the few spots on the different panels, setting the agenda, inviting participants, and selecting the speakers is not always an enviable task. Yet it is a challenge we happily embrace.

Nonetheless, the participation of high-level speakers is not the only feature that makes the Munich Security Conference unique. Most importantly, there is a very special atmosphere that fills the corridors every year when decision-makers and experts from different fields of foreign and security policy invade the Hotel Bayerischer Hof. Where else do you find a couple of European ministers in a small corner of the rustic Palais Keller restaurant in the hotel's basement arguing—amicably, I should add—with Cathy Ashton over a beer, without protocol, without staff, without a preset agenda? Where else is the mix of high-ranking participants so diverse, and the physical space so limited, that you can hardly avoid running into officials whom you would rather not talk to? Where else can you see, just a few steps from the hotel, a head of government running into another leader right after one of them snuck out to buy a pair of *Lederhosen* and both having a good laugh about it? We may not spend much time during the MSC weekend celebrating *Fasching* anymore—as the attendees did in the early *Wehrkunde* years—but the event continues to be, despite so many official delegations, an informal event featuring Bavarian hospitality, and with the always welcome opportunity to sneak away for an hour or two into downtown Munich, right outside the door. Many of the foreign participants have also enjoyed coming to the conference for these very reasons.

In turn, the extraordinary commitment not only of the German government but of every single US administration and of key members of Congress has contributed enormously to the success and the reputation of the conference. For Germans, *Wehrkunde*, which literally translates as “military science,” is a rather old-fashioned notion, but the fact that our US participants continue to refer to the conference as *Wehrkunde* underlines the powerful tradition of the institution. Over the years, the annual meeting has built lasting ties across the Atlantic, in many cases personal friendships. I am glad that the US commitment to the Munich Security Conference is as strong as ever. Last year, one full tenth of the US Senate attended the conference. Where else do you ever find ten senators—from both parties—in one

room together outside the United States? I very much appreciate the continued dedication by the congressional delegation, especially by its long-time leaders William Cohen, John McCain, and Joe Lieberman, who have all contributed personal essays to this book.

Moreover, it is certainly no coincidence that, in 2009 and in 2013, Vice President Joe Biden came to Munich for the Obama administration's first major foreign policy addresses of both the first and second term, and that Munich was the place Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and Secretary of Defense Leon Panetta attended together in 2012 to try and dissipate European worries about the so-called rebalancing of the United States toward the Asia-Pacific. While the transatlantic security relationship will certainly change, US representatives have underscored in recent years that Europe remains America's most important partner in engaging with the world, which is why the conference will remain an important date in the calendar of our US allies. As Secretary of State John Kerry writes in his contribution to this volume, "President Obama's plan to rebalance our interests and investments in [the Asia-Pacific] region does not diminish in any way our close and continuing partnership with Europe."

Our participants come to Munich to talk—and to listen. The conference itself does not "produce" any direct "result," and this is actually a good thing. Since there is no need to agree on a final communiqué, participants are free to voice their views and explore their divergent opinions. This does not mean that the conference does not have an impact. On the contrary, contributions to this volume point out how some of the debates have had a major influence on a number of diplomatic initiatives. In contrast to many other diplomatic events controlled by protocol, the Munich Security Conference is a rather unregulated marketplace of ideas. Here, new or old proposals are floated—sometimes successfully, sometimes not. But if they are uttered here, they will be heard and not soon be forgotten by the community. One example among many: when NATO secretary general Anders Rasmussen proposed his Smart Defence initiative in 2011, he did so in Munich.

The annual meeting also often becomes a hub for diplomatic initiatives and the preparation for important decisions in response to crises. After all, it is hard to imagine a place where it is easier to get as many key players into a single room than here. In 2012, for example, informal UN Security Council deliberations essentially took place in Munich, as many key foreign ministers were present, arguing the merits of the proposed Syria resolution both on the podium and behind closed doors. And the essays contributed to this volume by Rudolf Scharping and Klaus Naumann, for instance, provide insight into the decisions relating to Kosovo during the 1999 conference.

In addition, the MSC offers protected space for informal meetings between representatives from governments who might not be on the best terms but who may wish to meet informally, behind the scenes. Where else do you have the chance to see so many of your colleagues in one spot? Some ministers have been known to hold up to two dozen bilateral meetings over the span of a conference weekend.

Sometimes, foreign and defense ministers even use their joint presence in Munich to agree on and sign important bilateral documents. One particularly noteworthy example could be witnessed during the 2011 conference, when Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov and US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton exchanged the instruments of ratification for the New START treaty in the Hotel Bayerischer Hof.

Increasingly, the conference also serves as a meeting place for a number of nongovernmental initiatives and events. For instance, important Track II initiatives such as the Euro-Atlantic Security Initiative or the Global Zero Commission have met in the context of the MSC and presented reports, providing independent food for thought for the decision-makers present in the audience or the wider public. And side events like the “women’s breakfast” or a CEO lunch provide unique opportunities to bring key people together.

Today, the debate about security issues involves an ever-increasing number of people. For the first decades of the Munich Security Conference, the participants did not hail from as many countries as they do today—and that was entirely by design. Back then, the audience was relatively small, not exceeding a few dozen people. While *Wehrkunde* was an international conference from the very beginning, it was first of all a venue where German participants met their counterparts from their most important ally, the United States, but also from other NATO member states. Mutual security at that time meant, first of all, shared security among the transatlantic allies. Debates in Munich concentrated on Western policy within the overarching framework of the Cold War confrontation. Long-time participants such as Lothar Rühl, Karl Kaiser, Richard Burt, Sam Nunn, and others describe some of these debates in this volume. The basic idea of *Wehrkunde* was to bring together decision-makers and experts from NATO member states to discuss and develop a common strategy *vis-à-vis* the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact. Just like today, these intra-alliance debates were far from uncontroversial, at times even heated. Yet *Wehrkunde* was an important meeting place where differences could be voiced and mitigated, and where conceptual thinking beyond the urgent issues of the day had a place. As a result, the conference has often been dubbed the “transatlantic family meeting.” It is a testament to the extraordinary work and personality of Ewald von

Kleist, who sadly passed away in March of 2013, that it developed and kept such a high reputation. The Munich Security Conference will always be his conference. We will continue to honor his name by each year dedicating the Ewald von Kleist Award to a leader who has contributed to global peace and security.

When the Cold War came to an end, both von Kleist and his successor as chairman from 1998 on, Horst Teltschik, built on the unique character of this transatlantic meeting, but they also decided to invite participants from countries that had not been part of the Western world before. They made room for participants from Central and Eastern European countries that had begun their transition processes from Soviet-dominated state economies to liberal democracies with a market-based economy. As these countries made clear that they wanted to become a part of the West, where they felt they belonged anyway, they also became regular participants of the Munich conferences. But even beyond those states that would soon become members of NATO and the European Union, Kleist and Teltschik reached out to the successor states of the Soviet Union, notably the Russian Federation. They understood that the conference—much like NATO—had to move beyond the confines of one “side” of the Cold War if it were to remain relevant.

In fact, it is this ability to transform itself that a number of contributors to this volume see as one of the key reasons that the MSC’s relevance has managed to remain so remarkably high. As US Secretary of Defense Chuck Hagel writes in his essay, “[t]he Munich Security Conference has stayed relevant for fifty years because of its ability to adapt to a constantly changing world.”

Over the years, as the number and variety of important players in international security has increased, the circle of conference participants has continued to grow wider. At the same time, the core of the conference will always be transatlantic. It is sometimes said of NATO that it is not a global alliance but an alliance in a global world. The same is true for the Munich Security Conference. It cannot and will not become a global conference, but it has to be a conference reflecting a globalized world.

Today, we welcome high-ranking participants from key rising powers, such as China, Brazil, and India. They will have an important role to play in any future international security architecture. Moreover, I am glad that, over the past decade, the MSC has evolved into a meeting that allows both NATO member states and prominent representatives from the Russian Federation to address their respective grievances and to attempt to find more common ground. As such, both Vladimir Putin’s speech in 2007 (as well as the reactions to it) and Joe Biden’s “reset” speech in 2009 reflect the role of Munich.

In this volume, Igor Ivanov, former foreign minister of the Russian Federation, and Frank-Walter Steinmeier reflect on the ups and downs of NATO-Russia relations.

In addition, in recent years, both the Arab uprisings and the debate about Iran's nuclear ambitions brought leaders from the Middle East to Munich, sparking both controversial arguments and the opportunity for further dialogue on and off the conference stage.

The audience today is not only more diverse in terms of geography, it also mirrors the broader understanding of security itself. Now, when the participants gather at the Hotel Bayerischer Hof, you still see military leaders—and rightly so. But you also see CEOs, human rights activists, environmentalists, and other leaders representing global civil society. Munich will not lose sight of its core themes belonging to traditional “hard security.” We will continue to debate traditional topics such as regional crises, arms races, nuclear proliferation, the purpose and role of NATO, transatlantic burden sharing, or European military capabilities. However, current security policy is more than counting missiles and debating military doctrines. When the financial crisis hit our economies, I welcomed participants to the conference by saying that we would have to discuss “banks, not tanks” in the opening session. We have also invited specialists who inform our audience about issues such as cyber security, energy, or environmental challenges that affect our mutual security. Moreover, together with the Körber Foundation, we initiated the Munich Young Leaders program, bringing a group of younger experts and practitioners to Munich each year.

Another aspect in which today's Munich Security Conference clearly differs from *Wehrkunde* is the degree of transparency. The early meetings were held behind closed doors. Security policy, and NATO military doctrines in particular, were discussed by elites and often kept secret. Over time, the conference has become more transparent. For a number of years, the panel debates have been transmitted not only in parts by our broadcast partners, Bayerischer Rundfunk and Deutsche Welle, but also as a live stream on our website. Whereas space in the Hotel Bayerischer Hof itself is limited, this service offers the opportunity to everyone with access to the Internet to follow the debates in Munich. Increasingly, this will cease to be a one-way street. We have already welcomed input by our friends and followers on Facebook and Twitter and are confident that these new ways of interacting with the interested public can strengthen the social debate on security policy. In 2013, our hashtag #MSC2013 became trending on Twitter for the first time, with participants at the Hotel Bayerischer Hof commenting on the panel debates and interacting with people who followed the debates online.

Of course, the increasing level of transparency does have its drawbacks. High-level speakers who know that their words will be immediately spread across the globe are understandably more careful about what they say. As a consequence, speeches may be less controversial than they used to be. However, given the technological advances, the public interest, and the number of participants, keeping the entire proceedings off the record would today be futile and next to impossible. With that said, we are mindful of the importance of smaller formats, which is why we have begun to introduce breakout sessions during the main conference. Similarly, we have initiated a number of smaller conferences throughout the year: the MSC Core Group Meetings held in a number of capitals around the world, bringing together roughly fifty high-level participants, as well as day-long events such as the Cyber Security Summit in 2012 and 2013 or The Future of European Defence Summit in April 2013.

Thus, as it turns fifty, the Munich Security Conference is evolving, and it is as alive and well as it has ever been. Instead of asking you to take my admittedly biased word for it, I would simply point you to the table of contents of this book. I am proud that the conference enjoys such a reputation that not only is it a must for so many to find their way to Munich each year, but that so many also found the time to contribute to this volume. The authors provide unique perspectives on the first fifty conferences held in Munich and on key security challenges that the international community has faced and continues to face.

In many ways, this is a book much like the Munich Security Conference, and the essays are much like the debates and speeches. Some are short, others long. Some focus on one or two concrete arguments or events, others span decades. Some refer in particular to the debates in Munich, while others frame a certain issue more broadly. A number of essays mostly look ahead—on key issues such as European security policy, cyber security, the “rise” of the Asia-Pacific, or the future of transatlantic and Euro-Atlantic security.

Finally, it is important to note that this is not, and cannot be, a work of history. The conference itself does not have an official archive dating back to the first meetings. The book does, however, aim to illuminate some aspects of the conference’s history. You will be able to read a number of very personal, heartfelt reflections about *Wehrkunde* and Ewald von Kleist. A number of authors shed light on specific conferences, including the one held in 1999 just before the Kosovo intervention, and, depending on where you stand, highly publicized highlights or lowlights of the conference, such as the transatlantic crisis over Iraq, epitomized by the proceedings in Munich in 2003. I am delighted that former German chancellor Helmut Schmidt, who

came to the conference for the first time in the mid-sixties, found the time to reflect on a number of key debates of the *Wehrkunde* era.

When the *Internationale Wehrkunde-Begegnung* first took place, mutual assured destruction and zero-sum thinking were the ideas of the time. The term “mutual security” could only be applied within NATO. Today more than ever before, the quest for “mutual security” is a global proposition. National interests will not suddenly disappear, and neither will those instances when states understand them too narrowly. Munich is a place where we can and should define and search for our common interests, understood as enlightened self-interest that thinks in win-win categories. As Poland’s foreign minister Radosław Sikorski puts it in his essay, in the future “what defines a superpower will not be its weapons of mass destruction that can never be used or the ability to conquer and destroy. It will be the ability to combine and build, the power of mass innovation and mass teamwork based on flexibility, tolerance, and inclusiveness.”

The conflict that helped give birth to the conference no longer exists, but that does not mean that the Munich Security Conference’s reason to exist has become any less relevant. Quite the contrary: it may well be even more important in an era in which global governance in general, and international security in particular, is certain to become messier and more difficult to manage, and in which the transatlantic partners will have to both stick together as well as reach out to new partners.

Ambassador Wolfgang Ischinger took over from Professor Horst Teltschik as chairman of the Munich Security Conference in 2008. His career in the German foreign service included positions as director of policy planning, as political director, and as state secretary (deputy foreign minister), followed by appointments as German ambassador to the United States and the United Kingdom. He is currently global head of public policy and economic research at Allianz SE, Munich.

Notes

- 1 A quick note on why the 2014 meeting is the conference’s fiftieth edition, although a 1963 founding might suggest 2012 would have been: a few years after the meeting was founded, one year was skipped when the conference date moved from late fall to early February. Moreover, in 1997, when Ewald von Kleist had indicated his intention to retire as chairman, the conference did not take place. In 1991, the planned and prepared conference was canceled at the very last minute due to the start of the Gulf War, but was always counted.



The Munich Conference on Security Policy—Continuity and Change

Horst Teltschik

When I took over the chairmanship of the Munich Conference on Security Policy, now the Munich Security Conference, in 1999, it was a case of continuing a great tradition: a tradition that my predecessor, Ewald-Heinrich von Kleist, had established in 1963 and carefully fostered. The thirty-fifth conference was to be my first.

The conference was not new territory for me, since Ewald-Heinrich von Kleist had previously invited me to be a participant on numerous occasions. He had twice invited me to a private discussion to talk about his succession. We discussed various names but never mine, until one day a request came via the chairman of my supervisory board at the BMW Group, Mr. Eberhard von Kuenheim, asking for me to take over the conference. Our first joint response was negative. There followed calls from the German chancellor Helmut Kohl, the Bavarian minister president Edmund Stoiber, and even Egon Bahr from the Social Democratic Party urging me to chair the conference. The latter was particularly important for me, as his call showed the impartiality of the conference. With that, the decision was taken.

In the run-up to my first conference in February 1999 I was frequently asked what I wanted to do differently than my predecessor. As a result, I said rather provocatively in my opening speech: "It is impossible for anyone trying to follow in the footsteps of their predecessor to overtake him." However, I added that anything that had proved its worth should not be changed, and I quoted the German chancellor, Gerhard Schröder, who was present, and who had said during the election campaign that he did not want to do everything differently than his predecessor but just do some things better.

I was absolutely determined to continue with Kleist's important decisions in principle and experience.

Although the Munich Conference on Security Policy was generously funded almost exclusively by the Federal Press Office of Germany's federal government, it nevertheless had to preserve its private character. The chairman of the conference has sole responsibility regarding the subjects to be discussed, the speakers, and the participants. That did not rule out recommendations or consultations with respect to content. They were, and remain, a natural element of the preparations. Only experts on foreign, security, and defense policy from politics, the military, academia, and the media were invited, together with a few representatives from commerce and industry. To keep costs down, volunteers handled the entire organization and running of the conference. The civilian staff and soldiers of the German Bundeswehr deserve special thanks for their diverse and selfless support.

The Munich Conference on Security Policy had to retain its nonpartisan character. The participation of the current German chancellor and that of the opposition leader had to be guaranteed.

The prevailing and future policy of the Atlantic alliance and the development of transatlantic relations had to remain a constant in the content of each conference, and so it was taken as a given that the secretary general of NATO would take part. For the same reason, the participation of a strong American delegation from the administration and Congress was inevitable. To some extent, the impressive number of senators and members of the House of Representatives from both parties as well as participants from the State Department, the Pentagon, and the White House, and other American experts taking part year after year formed the backbone of the Munich Conference on Security Policy. A high point was reached in 2000, when fifteen members of the US Congress came to Munich. For the first time, seven members of the House of Representatives took part, together with eight senators. The two US senators John McCain (R-AZ) and Joe Lieberman (D-CT) led the annual American delegation very successfully and vigorously.

It was essential to maintain the tradition of speaking openly at the Munich Conference on Security Policy, developing new ideas and options for action, and holding intense discussions while nevertheless keeping the conference public. Up to a peak of around seven hundred journalists from all over the world followed the live broadcast in adjoining rooms. Two German television stations broadcast the speeches and discussions simultaneously. To facilitate an intense and lively debate, it was traditional for the chairman himself to lead the conference.

However, what was supposed to change?

It was the American senators who immediately expressed a wish to return to the traditional venue, the Hotel Bayerischer Hof. After a firm promise by the new owner and manager of the hotel, Mrs. Innegrit Volkhardt, to host the conference at her hotel, subject to possible security requirements, there was no longer anything to prevent a return. Mrs. Volkhardt was to prove to be an extremely charming and obliging hostess for all the participants.

The nonpartisan nature of the conference was reinforced by the invitation—for the first time—to the Bündnis 90/Die Grünen party. Foreign Minister and Vice Chancellor Joschka Fischer, Antje Vollmer, and Jürgen Trittin, to name just a few, were not only regular participants but also active speakers and contributors to the discussions. In the following years, the first, proficient representatives of NGOs, such as Kenneth Roth of Human Rights Watch, were also to come along.

It was a particular concern of mine to increase the number of participating countries. In view of international developments toward a multipolar world, the emergence of new hotspots, particularly in Eastern and Southeastern Europe and the Middle East, and the growing significance of the Asia-Pacific area, it was absolutely essential to invite high-ranking politicians from these regions: first and foremost from the People's Republic of China, Japan, India, Singapore, but also from Pakistan, Egypt, Israel, Palestine, Jordan, and Iran. Finally, there were also representatives from Latin America who had expressed their own interest in attending. Since the number of participants was of course limited, observers were invited as well.

With the additional new participants, the range of subjects to be discussed was equally expanded. Naturally, attention focused on the latest crises such as the wars in Iraq and in Afghanistan and the necessary political decision-making processes in NATO, the European Union, or at a national level. However, the bloody terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, in New York and Washington demonstrated new threats such as international terrorism. The so-called asymmetric threats came to the forefront and were to have a determining influence on the conference agenda.

The large number of personal meetings and talks on the fringes of the Munich Conference on Security Policy, particularly between parties to a conflict, proved to be the major and indispensable capital of the annual meeting. Year after year, completely confidential personal talks took place between conflicting parties in the side rooms and suites of the hotel, without any minutes, note takers, press, or public, and unnoticed by the other participants. These informal talks gave and still give cause for the hope that new approaches to conflict resolution are being sought and, hopefully, found, and they underline the value of the conference.

The latest crises, such as the two Iraq wars and the military intervention in Afghanistan, were also to change the environment of the conference. It had regularly been accompanied by protest demonstrations since 2001. On one occasion, during the First Iraq War, Ewald-Heinrich von Kleist even had to cancel the conference. Thanks to the precautions of the Bavarian state government and the Munich police and their discreet courses of action, the safety of participants and of the city of Munich was never jeopardized. In order to emphatically underscore the peacemaking character of the conference, I organized it under the overarching slogan “Peace through Dialogue.” This was backed up by selected invitations to conflicting parties to take part in public discussions, be they representatives of Iran, Israel and Palestine, India and Pakistan, or others. A “peace prize” in the form of a “Peace through Dialogue” medal has been awarded since 2005. The first recipient of the prize was United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan, followed in 2006 by Senator McCain, who had pushed a law on a general ban on torture through Congress. In 2007 NATO Secretary General Javier Solana was honored, and in 2008 soldiers of the Canadian armed forces who had been wounded during an international peace mission in Afghanistan.

Less helpful in these public disputes with the demonstrators was the leadership of the City of Munich, who certainly stressed the importance of the Munich Conference on Security Policy for the worldwide reputation of the Bavarian capital in personal discussions and through their role as host, but who nevertheless failed to adequately address the public.

The ten years of the Munich Conference on Security Policy under my leadership produced a wealth of high points that were particularly characteristic of the conference. I shall recall just a few here.

The opening speaker at the first conference I hosted was Chancellor Gerhard Schröder, who continued the fine tradition of his predecessor, Helmut Kohl. It is self-evident that the speeches by the German chancellors from Helmut Kohl and Gerhard Schröder right up to Angela Merkel were always among the high points of the conference. International participants see them

as defining the position of German foreign and security policy in general and on the latest crises in particular. Gerhard Schröder was eagerly awaited in 1999. Only in office since October 1998, he announced a “joint foreign and security policy” for Europe and the “development of a European security and defense identity” at my first conference. His message was: “A new Europe for a new NATO, and the new NATO for a new Europe!”

These two topics were to substantially define all of the conferences in the light of the Kosovo War of 1999, 9/11, and the American intervention in Afghanistan in 2001 and in Iraq in 2003.

The lessons of the Kosovo War for NATO and for the European Union were drawn jointly at the 2000 conference. Not least, it was the first “out-of-area” deployment of the German Bundeswehr in the context of NATO, which was, moreover, undertaken without a United Nations mandate.

On the other hand, it was striking that Munich Conference on Security Policy participants initially paid only little attention to the high-ranking representatives from the rising world powers in Asia, China, India, and Japan, with their analyses of regional and global security. The potential for conflict between India and Pakistan, China and Taiwan, and the arming of North Korea with ballistic missiles still seemed to be a long way off for European participants at that time.

US Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld had only been in office for thirteen days when he came to Munich in 2001. In subsequent conferences he was to become an influential and quite invigorating factor for the Munich Conference on Security Policy on a series of controversial themes. It started with the announcement that the United States intended to set up a missile defense system. The high point was reached in 2003 with the almost proverbial exchange of blows with Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer, when the latter, reacting to the American plans for intervention in Iraq, fired back at Rumsfeld by saying: “Sorry, I am not convinced!”

From 2001 onwards, the politics of Russia and its position in a European security architecture have increasingly been placed on the agenda. Year after year, Defense Minister Sergei Ivanov vigorously represented Russian interests, particularly against American participants. However, the speech by President Vladimir Putin in 2007 was to meet with a worldwide response. Candidly and directly, he addressed the entire catalogue of Russian interests and the existing differences of opinion with the West. Unfortunately, the answers largely failed to materialize. It almost seemed as if the conference participants had been paralyzed.

After the terrible terrorist attack of 9/11, international terrorism dominated the Munich Conference on Security Policy agenda in 2002. NATO had

for the first time invoked the assistance clause of Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty. American intervention in Afghanistan took place in October. A military confrontation with Iraq was looming on the horizon.

The question of military intervention in Iraq was to dominate the 2003 conference. The political atmosphere had intensified. The US saw the end of diplomatic efforts for a peaceful solution to the Iraq conflict approaching. Three days before the conference convened, Secretary of State Colin Powell presented alleged proof of Iraq producing weapons of mass destruction to the UN Security Council. On the other hand, Chancellor Schröder, speaking at a market square in Goslar during the Lower Saxony election campaign, announced that Germany would not advocate intervention in Iraq, even if the United Nations voted for it. There were rumors of an independent Franco-German initiative. CDU party leader Angela Merkel spoke cautiously in favor of supporting the US. In the run-up, Donald Rumsfeld had ridiculed the “old” and the “new” Europe. The general mood was that the Iraq conflict divided NATO.

The fact that a high-ranking representative from the Islamic Republic of Iran spoke at that conference for the first time was virtually drowned out.

At the next Munich Conference on Security Policy, in 2004, it was absolutely necessary, in view of the “disaster” caused by the dispute regarding the Iraq conflict in the Atlantic alliance and in view of the war in Afghanistan, to focus on the future of the transatlantic relationship and the future of NATO. Jaap de Hoop Scheffer appeared for the first time as successor to NATO Secretary General George Robertson. At the same time, the conference directed its attention to the overarching crisis in the Middle East. King Abdullah II of Jordan gave introductory talks on this, as did high-ranking representatives from Israel and Palestine. Foreign Minister Fischer and Defense Minister Peter Struck proposed new transatlantic initiatives.

This discussion on the future of the Middle East was continued at the 2005 conference with the Egyptian foreign minister, among others, and once again a top representative from Iran. However, the high points were speeches by German President Horst Köhler and UN Secretary General Kofi Annan. They were concerned with discussing the subject of security policy in detail—beyond the latest military conflicts and the terrorist threat. It was the task of President Köhler to open the discussion on the interaction between economic underdevelopment and security. Kofi Annan dealt with the future role of the United Nations, on which US Senator Hillary Clinton also made a notable speech.

However, as it did every year, the Munich Security Conference also dealt with the future tasks of NATO. The speech by Gerhard Schröder also caused

a stir. As he fell ill at short notice, it was read out by Peter Struck. Schröder regretted that NATO was “no longer the primary venue where transatlantic partners discuss and coordinate strategies.” The same applied for “the dialogue between the European Union and the United States” Consequently, he proposed “a high-ranking panel of independent figures from both sides of the Atlantic to help us find a solution.” This proposal led to fierce controversy regarding the future of NATO.

In the following year, 2006, Angela Merkel, who had since become the German chancellor, set out her foreign and security policy program for the first time. Right at the start, she triggered a lively exchange with the Iranian deputy foreign minister with her unequivocal criticism of Iran’s nuclear policy and President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad’s statements on the Holocaust. Frank-Walter Steinmeier, the new foreign minister, emphasized the significance of close cooperation with Russia in European and global security matters. The discussion on the future of NATO continued. Central to this was the question of whether and how the Alliance should take on global responsibility. The importance of this discussion was underlined by the speeches by leading politicians from China, India, and Japan on their foreign and security policy interests.

A sensational inquiry loomed in the run-up to the 2007 Munich Conference on Security Policy. Mahmoud Ahmadinejad wanted to take part. However, that would have jeopardized the conference as a whole. The speech by Vladimir Putin was sensational enough. Russia’s policy remained an essential component of the conference agenda. In her speech, Angela Merkel had gone so far as to propose further development of NATO-Russia relations. Israeli Foreign Minister Tzipi Livni had given conference participants an introduction to the crisis situation in the Middle East. Leading political representatives from Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Iran went into the subject in more depth. The first appearance of US Secretary of Defense Robert Gates, who stated, after six years of NATO intervention in Afghanistan, that there was still no joint comprehensive strategy and that the available civilian and military resources were insufficient, caused general disillusionment. The despaired cry by NATO Secretary General George Robertson—who had already declared at the 2002 conference that what was needed were “capabilities, capabilities, capabilities”—was unforgettable.

This discussion on burden sharing by NATO in Afghanistan continued at the last Munich Conference on Security Policy that I chaired. The high point, however, were the speech by Turkish Prime Minister Recep Erdoğan on Turkish foreign and security policy and the speech by Serbian President Boris Tadić, who had been elected only a week before. For the first time there

was a discussion panel on issues of pan-European development that included three presidents from Eastern and Southeastern Europe.

In the ten years of the Munich Conference on Security Policy, its international importance increased dramatically. This is reflected by the number of high-ranking participants, which has risen year after year—from presidents and heads of government, fifty foreign and defense ministers, to American senators and large numbers of parliamentarians from more than fifty countries, who often had registered of their own accord during the year. It became more and more difficult to limit the number of participants to a maximum of five hundred. The rapidly growing number of journalists from throughout the world demonstrated the great public interest in the conference.

In the end it was possible to say: the Munich Conference on Security Policy has become a guaranteed success. For me, that was the right time to pass the chair of the conference on to someone new.

Professor Horst Teltschik was chairman of the Munich Conference on Security Policy from 1999 to 2008. Prior to his chairmanship of the BMW Foundation Herbert Quandt from 1993 to 2003 and his membership in the Board of Management of the BMW Group, he served as national security advisor to Chancellor Dr. Helmut Kohl.



Remembering Ewald von Kleist

John McCain

The Munich Security Conference, for me, will always be synonymous with Ewald von Kleist. It was Ewald who created the annual *Wehrkunde* conference fifty years ago. It was Ewald who turned it into the world's premier gathering for policymakers, military officials, civil society leaders, and journalists to debate the world's most pressing security challenges and strive to overcome them. And despite his passing last year at the age of ninety, it is Ewald who will always be *Wehrkunde's* deepest inspiration, just as he was my inspiration for over thirty years as well as a personal hero and friend to me.

I have known quite a few brave and inspiring people in my life, but never anyone quite as brave as Ewald von Kleist, who twice prepared to sacrifice his life to rid the world of one of the cruelest, most depraved, and dangerous tyrants in history. It is never easy to answer fully the demands of conscience and always to have the courage of your convictions. There is always some price to be paid to live that nobly.

However, the kind of choice that Ewald made—to choose honor and duty over every personal consideration, to choose the world over his place in it, to choose history over his own future—that is a price that only people who possess the most sublime sense of honor and humility are willing to pay. To

be that brave and selfless, that morally irreproachable, at the age of twenty-one, in the springtime of life; to confront with courage a regime built on fear; to die rather than submit to tyranny; to leave the world rather than allow its continued destruction is an inspiration that should endure far beyond the lives of the generations who witnessed it.

That Ewald's mission did not succeed, and that his sacrifice was not required, does not diminish the nobility of his attempt or the power of its inspiration. For Ewald, his father, and the others who took part in the effort to assassinate Adolf Hitler belonged, as Winston Churchill described it, to one of "the noblest and greatest of resistance movements that have ever arisen in the history of all people."

It is the heroism of Ewald and people like him, who, in the face of unspeakable horrors, kindled the world's moral imagination to see the sufferings of millions without illusions and inspired others to act to save good from evil. His story reminds us that history is made not by abstract, inexorable forces but by human beings who have the courage to make the hardest decisions and the selflessness to pay whatever price necessary to ensure history is the record of humanity's progress and not just a series of tragedies wrought by iniquity.

After World War II, Ewald could have lived the rest of his life in leisure and comfort, having done his duty, and more, to save the world from darkness. No one would have begrudged him that. But that is not who Ewald was. He devoted himself not just to the defeat of the Third Reich but to building something decent in its place—to the defense of Western democracies and the advance of our values against new threats. From the ruins of a cataclysmic war, Ewald helped build and preserve an alliance that would make the world safer and freer. We cannot celebrate his legacy without paying tribute to his great contributions to the transatlantic alliance, the cause to which he devoted the rest of his long and accomplished life.

Ewald was my friend for three decades. I was blessed to have enjoyed the distinct pleasure of his company and blessed to have learned so many important things from his wise and generous counsel. And I have been influenced greatly by the many years I have attended the Munich Security Conference, which was among Ewald's greatest creations.

I was even more influenced by Ewald's personal example of statesmanship, leadership, courage, and civility, although my debating style at *Wehrkunde* might have caused a few observers to speculate that Ewald's possession of that last quality failed to make an adequate impression on me. I assure you, it did, although I have to admit that I have little hope of ever possessing as great a measure of any of Ewald's many virtues as I would like

to. He set too high a bar for courage and civility than most of us can match. But it is worth aspiring to Ewald's high standards, even if it is in vain, even if only to keep us humble.

Since I first attended *Wehrkunde* at the height of the Cold War, the world has transformed in unimaginable ways: from the collapse of the Iron Curtain to the rise of the European Union, from the attacks of September 11, 2001, to the dawn of the Arab Awakening. Hundreds of millions of people have been lifted out of poverty from China to India and elsewhere. Technological advances have transformed the way we live. I am reminded when I return to Munich each February that none of these developments happened by accident. They were made possible by the principled leadership of the transatlantic alliance and the international system we forged together with diplomacy and defended with military power.

It is easy to forget just how audacious an idea the transatlantic alliance was six decades ago. America had a long tradition of avoiding entangling alliances, and the nations of Western Europe had a long history of going to war with one another. But we had learned the lessons of World War II that we had failed to learn after the Great War. The founders of our alliance believed we could transcend our differences, allies, and former enemies together, with a diplomatic and security architecture designed around not only our shared security interests but also our shared values. This was a new promise made—a promise not just of security but of a better, freer way of life. In fact, it promised security because of our shared values.

What I came to understand about the Munich Security Conference and Ewald von Kleist's vision in creating it is that, at its core, this conference embodies the same idea that animates our broader transatlantic community. It is the idea that Euro-Atlantic democracies, the stewards of freedom, human rights, and the rule of law should not confront our challenges in isolation. It is the idea that we are stronger, safer, freer together. We broke with history and created our world anew—a community of independent nations with different languages, characteristics, and customs and occasional disagreements that had the wisdom to recognize an essential common identity as free and just civilizations and a common purpose to remain so.

Whether in the face of Soviet aggression in 1963 or the threat of terrorism in 2014, the transatlantic idea is the idea that our individual struggles are a shared endeavor that transcends time and place. In this way, one of the enduring values of the Munich Security Conference is the solidarity it creates and recreates each year through dynamic debate and in pursuit of common solutions to new problems and challenges.

The security challenges we discussed at *Wehrkunde* when I attended my first conference three decades ago were different than those we discussed last February. And the challenges that will be at the center of conversations at *Wehrkunde* three decades from now will undoubtedly be different than the ones we are grappling with today. But I am confident that the central idea that unites the transatlantic alliance and defines Ewald's legacy will endure: solidarity with each other and with the universal longings of the human heart for security, for basic rights and equality, for liberty under the law, for tolerance and opportunity.

At a time when America and Europe face many challenges at home and abroad, and when it has unfortunately become all too fashionable to suggest that our best days are behind us, Ewald von Kleist's legacy—his moral conviction, his optimism, his abiding faith in our shared interests and values—should lift our spirits and inspire us to carry on with confidence.

Though we have said goodbye to our friend last year and celebrated his extraordinary life, his memory must inspire us all to live as he did—for the right reasons and causes, cherishing the example of courage and humility this brave man gave us, and the laughter and loyalty that were his personal gifts to us. It was an extraordinary privilege to know Ewald, to help shape history with him, and to be considered his friend. We must endeavor always to be worthy of that privilege.

John McCain has represented Arizona in the United States Senate since 1986. He is a member of the Senate Committee on Armed Services, the Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, and the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. For many years, he has led the congressional delegation to the Munich conference.