

Towards Mutual Security

Fifty Years of Munich Security Conference





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Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht

You can find additional material to this book on our website:

www.v-r.de/Munich-Security-Conference



Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data available online: <http://dnb.d-nb.de>.

ISBN 978-3-525-30054-1

ISBN 978-3-647-30054-2 (E-Book)

© 2014, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen /
Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht LLC, Bristol, CT, U. S. A.
www.v-r.de

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Copyediting by Rebecca van Dyck
Image editing by SchwabScantechnik, Göttingen
Layout and typesetting by textformart, Göttingen | www.text-form-art.de

Printed and bound in Germany by ☺ Hubert & Co, Göttingen

Printed on non-aging paper.

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Acknowledgments

We would like to thank all of the authors as well as their respective staff members for their personal commitment and enthusiasm. This project would not have been possible without their support and dedication.

We would also like to extend our thanks to the team of our publisher, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, for their advice, patience, and cooperation throughout the project. This applies especially to Dr. Wilhelm Ruprecht, Dr. Martina Kayser, Daniel Sander, Ulrike Bade, and Rebecca van Dyck.

Working on this book, we were grateful for the kind support of a number of archives and committed individuals regarding documents and photos. We particularly thank the Political Archive of the Federal Foreign Office, the Archives for Christian-Social Politics, and the *European Security & Defence Magazine* for granting printing rights and providing the necessary scans, as well as Karin Ehinger and Haide Hormann from the German Federal Foreign Office for the transcription of the conversation with Chancellor Helmut Schmidt.

For their legal consulting throughout the project, our gratitude goes to Ksenia Ilina, Matthias Lupp, and Hans Peter Wiesemann.

We are particularly grateful to Munich Re and the Federal Foreign Office, without whose generous contribution the compilation of this volume would not have been feasible.

We extend our thanks to Dr. Timo Noetzel for his valuable academic advice throughout this project. Our most cordial thanks go to Thomas Bauer for crucially reinforcing the editorial team. His work and dedication ensured thoroughly observed style guides, turning individual contributions into a homogeneous volume.

Last but not least, we would like to offer a special note of appreciation to Helmut Bialek, Björn Boening, Kathleen Damerius, Dr. Benedikt Franke, Tim Gürtler, Michael Heller, Mirjam Issing, Marcel Lewicki, Barbara Mittelhammer, Mirjana Richter, Oliver Rolofs, Jean-Pierre Schnaubelt, Florian Wiesböck, and Sara-Sumie Yang, the team members of the Munich Security Conference Foundation, and to Sabine Schulz-Plink and Gonca Treu. They spent endless hours supporting us by contributing ideas toward the volume's concept, arranging for photographs, identifying interesting documents, and providing the necessary administrative support for the project.

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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Stoiber, Dr. Dr. h.c. Edmund

Former Minister-President of the Free State of Bavaria

The Munich Security Conference, founded in 1963 as the *Internationale Wehrkunde-Begegnung*, has evolved into a leading independent forum for security policy. On the occasion of the conference's fiftieth anniversary, numerous prominent participants—including former and current heads of state and government as well as foreign and defense ministers—reflect on the conference's history and significance, on some of the major issues debated, and on key security challenges facing the international community.



ISBN: 978-3-525-30054-1



9 783525 300541

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