

## Munich Conference on Security Policy - 2006

### Global security policy interests in Asia

By Bettina Hunold

**Munich. (05. Feb. 2006).** - This year, the foreign and security policy situation in Asia is back on the agenda, which indicates that Asia is not considered a "serious problem", as Zhang Zhijun, China's Vice Minister in the Central Committee, stated with a smile. So his speech was marked by the picture of a peaceful and stable China, willing to contribute to global peace by means of dialog and cooperation. Against the background of the tensions existing between North Korea and Taiwan, the suggestion of Mr. Zhijun to build up a regional security cooperation was an important point. M.K. Narayanan, the national security advisor of India, warned not to underestimate the dimensions of international terrorism. For quite a long time, the international terrorism had no longer been promoted only by the poor and the oppressed, but was also supported by a highly educated elite. Besides, India hoped to achieve a new cooperation with the USA in the field of nuclear power. Yasuhisa Shiozaki, the Senior Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan, said his nation would like to intensify the relationship with Europe and NATO. And his government fathomed out the possibility of changing the Japanese constitution in terms of the participation of the Japanese forces in international operations. This participation was planned to be extended, although Japan would continue to renounce the use of military power, Mr. Shiozaki said.

Mr. Zhijun, the Chinese Vice Minister, emphasized that China would like to contribute to global peace by implementing a peaceful, open-minded and cooperative development. In this context, his nation had made "an inevitable choice". Asia offered countless opportunities, not only due to its economic power. Asia pursued politics of a close, peace- and cooperation-based relationship with its neighboring countries, in particular with Japan and India, as well as with the EU and the USA. Based on the stability of its own development, based on its active neighborhood politics and based on its willingness to communicate in a dialog, China was capable of providing a critical contribution to global security. Neither would China like to run an arms race, nor would it be interested in maintaining military bases abroad. Accordingly, China had reduced its forces by 2.3 million as compared to the eighties.

Yet Mr. Zhijun also stressed that Asia, just like other nations, was marked by its distinctiveness. This required mutual respect. It was necessary to communicate in a dialog, differences should not be swept "under the carpet". The rapid economic development in Asia, which had shifted the region into the focus of public interest, should result in a win-win situation for everyone. Not only the rich countries should benefit, he said.

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From left to right: Yasuhisa Shiozaki, M.K. Narayanan, Prof. Dr. h.c. Horst Teltschik and Zhijun Zhang, . Foto: Kai Mörk.

M.K. Narayanan, the Indian Vice Minister of the International Department, drafted a picture of a peaceful India which cooperated with its neighbors and had no "imperialist objectives". The rapid globalization of the last 50 years had some positive aspects, also in terms of security policy. Nowadays, basically no country could afford to withdraw to isolation, Mr. Narayanan said. He considered fears that the economic development of single Asian nations could produce a global imbalance to be unfounded. In his opinion, North America, together with Europe and Japan, would keep their technological top positions also in the future and provide the right counterweight to Asia and China. However, the growing economies would also require ever more energy. To satisfy their energy consumption it was necessary to intensify the use of nuclear power. Regarding this issue, India hoped to continue the close cooperation with the USA. Last year, India and the USA had concluded an agreement on the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

Mr. Narayanan explicitly warned the international community not to underestimate the dimensions of international terrorism. By now, there were at least 33 different terror organizations, which maintained a worldwide network. His own practical experience had taught him that the masterminds of terrorism are excellently educated individuals holding university degrees and academic titles. "Terrorism is a scourge of our times knowing no bounds," he warned.

Japan's Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Shiozaki, predicted that Asia's strong economy would lead to peace and stability as long as it was open to the world. Asia had to further enhance the global dialog. Japan particularly wished to extend the relations with Europe and NATO. Mr. Shiozaki expressed his regret that the international community had failed to duly acknowledge Japan's role in the war against Iraq. Although Japan had not been able to send troops because of its constitution, it had made a substantial financial contribution. Currently, his government was fathoming the possibility of changing the Japanese constitution in terms of extending

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the participation in similar missions. However, he ruled out that Japanese forces would use military force. Referring to the tensions in South-East Asia, Mr. Shiozaki stated that this was indeed a "very insecure" region. He warned Europe not to try to provoke tensions if there were differing points of view. This would have negative effects across all of Asia. At the same time he affirmed Japan's readiness to do whatever it took to avoid "distrust to escalate". Japan wanted to enhance mutual understanding to reduce fear. Addressing the issue of totalitarian regimes, Mr. Shiozaki emphasized that there was no real democracy without free elections. Democracy was not something you could force upon people nor something that could be taught like mathematics or science, the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs concluded.

### **Global Security Issues**

**In their speeches, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defense of the Russian Federation Sergey Ivanov, Germany's Foreign Minister Dr. Frank-Walter Steinmeier and US Deputy Secretary of State Robert B. Zoellick left no room for doubt: There is no alternative to a close cooperation between Europe, Russia and the United States to secure global peace. The question now is: What should cooperation look like in concrete terms?**

By Ariane von Großmann

### **Russia, NATO and the European Union heading out on a joint course**

Be it the European Union, NATO or other alliances, the problem is always the same: There are many opinions, stories, expectations and strategies that need to fit into the greater whole. While yesterday saw the debates on the future interaction between NATO and the EU, a second power came in early on the second day of the conference: The Russian Federation. After the verbal attacks by US Senator McCain on the day before, everyone was eagerly expecting the speech held by Russian Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defense Sergey Ivanov. At first, though, Minister Ivanov did not directly comment Secretary McCain's accusations concerning Russian gas policy and the position of Russia in the Iran conflict. Rather, he defined Russia as a Euro-Asiatic power, thus explaining that it was a country relating to the European countries. Listing different examples, he showed that Russian politics were making an approach to EU politics. In particular, he referred to the international problem of proliferation and explained an impending Russian program which, once it had been passed, would guarantee the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction until 2010.

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Robert B. Zoellick and Frank-Walter Steinmeier. Photo: Kai Mörk

### **The biggest global security problem: international terrorism**

Mr. Ivanov left no doubt as to Russia's will to closely cooperate with the European Union - and NATO as well - to stand up against terrorism. "The world won't become a safer place unless a means is found to counter its biggest threat: terrorism." The Russian Minister pointed out that most recently events had demonstrated that terrorists were challenging the world. In this context, he criticized the different positions as to how terrorism is to be defined, alluding to the problem of Russia and Chechnya. A uniform and joint approach - to include a political approach - was needed, for example to eliminate the legal loopholes that made it possible for terrorists to stay in a country without being bothered by the authorities. Minister Ivanov commented favorably on the political and military dialog with France and Germany. However, he did see a much larger potential than had been used so far concerning cooperation with the European Union on defense and security-related matters. "Much remains to be done!" he concluded.

Contrary to Senator McCain, Minister Ivanov's estimate of the relations to the USA was a positive one, though he admitted that differences did exist, one of them concerning the two nations' energy policies. As for the accusations in dealing with Georgia, Ivanov justified Russia's actions by saying that his country was adhering to the principles of the WTO. "Energy is a commodity," the Russian Minister stated, indirectly criticizing the American position of opposing Russia's joining the WTO.

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### Generally good relationship with the USA despite the differences

Nevertheless, contact between the respective ministries was maintained and Russia was participating in NATO's Operation Enduring Freedom against international terrorism. On the whole, Ivanov wished for a mutual approaching of military structures so that they would be compatible. "Russia is reliable and predictable and a partner that can be depended on!" the Minister proclaimed. As for Iran, the ensuing debate revealed that Mr. Ivanov's policy rather was one of wait-and-see. In his view, sanctions were not an effective means of bringing a conflict under control, as "there will always be countries, even direct neighbors, which fail to comply with them."

### "Transnational problems call for transnational solutions!"

In the speech that followed, Dr. Frank-Walter Steinmeier advocated an open dialog between NATO and the other nations, especially the Russian Federation. Communication within NATO must not just amount to members communicating with themselves. "Transnational problems call for transnational solutions!" as Mr. Steinmeier put it. In his review of the political events of the past week, he explained the importance which the mutual consultation among the EU, NATO, Russia and China had even at this stage. He was critical about "old patterns of thought dating back to the time before 1990." During his talks in Russia, he often had had the feeling that his Russian counterparts still proceeded on the assumption that the Western powers were seeking to weaken Russia. "I don't see it that way!" he confirmed. Rather, the point was to have a partner in finding solutions to global security problems. In Mr. Steinmeier's opinion, what was needed was "a Russia that is open-minded, capable of taking action and accepting criticism," with the latter remark referring to President Putin's position towards Russian Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs).



Robert B. Zoellick, Frank-Walter Steinmeier, Prof. Dr. h.c. Horst Teltschik

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and Sergej Iwanow. Photo: Kai Mörk

### Iran, international terrorism and energy politics

The German Minister named Iran, international terrorism and energy politics as the significant current global security problems. The Iran problem needed to be solved in order for a nuclear armaments race in the Near and Middle East to be prevented. He regretted the fact that the Iranian leadership had refused Russia's offer to cooperate. Referring to international terrorism, he spoke of proliferation and called for an intensive cooperation and mutual information. Mr. Steinmeier attributed the fact that energy politics was becoming more and more a factor of security politics to the limited availability of resources, and he demanded that concrete steps should be taken, for example in the field of renewable energies. "Pursuing a policy that secures the supply of energy means to pursue a policy of peace," he emphasized.

Commenting on the most recent caricatures depicting Prophet Mohammed, he clearly said he was against subjecting the religious beliefs of others to ridicule. On principle, both of the basic rights - freedom of opinion and freedom of religion - needed to be respected.

Admittedly, the use of violence was no acceptable response. This position was supported by US Deputy Secretary of State Robert B. Zoellick, who was quoted as saying that "we may criticize and we may debate, but violence is not an option."

### Germany as a role model for a change in strategies

Mr. Zoellick's comments on the US-Russian relations were less harsh than those of Senator McCain on the previous day, but he conceded that President Putin had "overshot the mark in the buildup of his country." Now, this might even hamper the economic development of the country, the Deputy Secretary added. Also, he made an appeal for Russia to fundamentally change its position towards its direct neighbors, not without referring to the subject of energy politics. Russia was still treating its neighbors based on a view of the world dating back to the 19th century, when the strong wanted to control the weak. Meanwhile, the aim was one of strengthening the weak so that migration would not become a problem, Mr. Zoellick continued. Such fundamental changes were possible, as could be seen in the case of Germany, which had to undergo a fundamental change in strategy for it to deploy German soldiers to missions abroad. On the whole, Mr. Zoellick held the view that current global developments such as globalization or the fast developments in China presented great challenges but did offer opportunities, too.

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### **Cooperation as a concept of security**

By Lorenz Hemicker

**Munich. (04. Feb. 2006).** - The last group of topics focused on the solution of conflicts by international cooperation in quite different regions and for quite different problem constellations. Accordingly, there was a wide variety of speakers and briefings: Sali Berisha, the Prime Minister of Albania, Joseph Liebermann, U.S. Senator of the Democratic Party from Connecticut, and Anatoliy Grytsenko, the Ukrainian Minister of Defence.

### **Plea for an independent Kosovo**

In his speech, Sali Berisha outlined the development of stability and security in the Balkans after the end of the Cold War. He underlined that it were strategically important for the conflict to be solved by the international community. Dictatorships were gradually changed into democracies, legal systems and constitutions were established and promoted the democratisation process. Berisha indirectly criticised the international community for their late intervening in the nineties. The delayed intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina had resulted in the deaths of 250,000 people. However, the finally executed operation in Bosnia, which has been lasting up to date, had brought about an important basis and some precious experience with regard to the Kosovo approach. In this context, Berisha praised KFOR "as an example of an internationally successful cooperation". The main topic of his speech was the demand for independence of the Kosovo region. He said this would improve stability, not only in the Kosovo region, but also in the neighbouring countries of Albania, Montenegro and Macedonia. All of these three countries supported the independence of the Kosovo region. Berisha reckons with a stabilizing effect for Serbia, too.

### **Robust mandate demanded for Darfur**

In the introduction to his speech, Joseph Lieberman praised the historical meaning of the German chancellor's briefing. Merkel had emphasized the meaning of the NATO alliance and belied those that had predicted the end of the alliance after the end of the Cold War. The U.S. senator emphasized that he thought NATO should act not only as a military alliance. You would get more with a weapon in your hand and a smile in your face than just with a weapon in your hand, Lieberman said. And a joint action would always be more successful than a solo effort. His statement on the Iran topic was in line with those of the previous speakers. He said the U.S. took

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the statement of the Iranian government quite serious. The statement were in line with Adolf Hitler's "Mein Kampf" and the appeals of Osama Bin Laden. Lieberman emphasized that his criticism were directed against the government of Iran, and not against the Iranian people. The government did not speak on behalf of the majority of the people. So, Lieberman hoped that the meeting of the U.N. security council would lead to sanctions hurting the government, while going easy on the people. A first step might be the blocking of net foreign investments and the freezing of the Iranian public assets.



From left to right: Joseph I. Lieberman, Prof. Dr. h.c. Horst Teltschik and Prof. Dr. Sali Berisha. Foto: Kai Mörk.

As to the Darfur region, Lieberman demanded NATO to get more involved. According to Kofi Annan, the U.N. Secretary General, the situation keeps deteriorating despite the deployed 7,000 E.U. assets. 3 millions of people urgently required support. The tense situation actually prevented any support by the relief assets. It were possible that the tension would spread to the Chad. Lieberman would not accept any alibis justified by transgressions in the past. Those depending on our help did not care about the colonial history of the acting parties, but about being supported. Lieberman argued a more robust intervention by NATO were imperative, not only for ethical reasons. We must not admit the making of other failed states, which might be used as a refuge by terrorists.

### **NATO membership as an objective of the far future**

Finally, Anatoliy Grytsenko, the Ukrainian minister of defence, referred to the debate on the Ukrainian-Russian energy conflict that had been mentioned several times during the conference, before he started his actual briefing. He said he personally did not believe the made compromise to be a long-term solution. For the support of his opinion, the Ukrainian listed

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several reasons. First of all, the extremely cold winter with temperatures of about minus 30 degrees centigrade and the near elections in the Ukraine had set quite bad conditions for negotiations. Principally, a solution that is not in accordance with the market-economy philosophy could not be supported. Under the agreement of the two successor nations of the Soviet Union, Russia had, however, turned into a monopolist energy supplier for the Ukraine. This had resulted in prices that were much too high, and in putting other energy suppliers, such as the neighbouring nations of the Caucasus region, at a disadvantage. The monopolistic position might be eventually understandable for political-strategic interests, at least from the Russian point of view; yet this position were not acceptable under consideration of the security of the whole of Europe.

For the future development of security politics, Grytsenko clearly envisaged his nation's NATO membership as an objective of the far future. In this context, he referred to the already existing participation of his nation in a lot of crisis operations, such as the Kosovo mission, and the numerous transportation services. Additionally, there were efforts of drastically reducing the Ukrainian forces and forming an immediate response force of 6,000 men. To that end, it were planned to set up a joint command of all operative missions as of 2008. NATO experts already provided valuable services in the relevant planning work. No matter what the decision about the membership issue would be, Anatoliy Grytsenko finally recommended to stronger emphasize the orientation of the NATO structures, capabilities and capacities to the prevention of conflicts. Such prevention took just a tenth of the funds required for conflict management.

The end of the third group of topics ended the Saturday briefings.

### **Europe and the USA: Partnership Being Put to the Test**

By Bettina Hunold

**Munich. (03. Feb. 2006).** - As for the central topic of the conference – transatlantic relations – there was indeed broad agreement between US Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and his colleagues, French Minister of Defense Michèle Alliot-Marie and UK Secretary of State for Defence John Reid regarding the joint goals and the threats which the world community faces in the 21 st century. International terrorism, the spreading of weapons of mass destruction and the risk posed by instable governments, especially in Africa, were to be seen as the new challenges. Only by making joint efforts could solutions be found. Rumsfeld left no doubt that this required the NATO alliance, to which he saw no alternative.

Opinions differed, though, as to how this should be achieved most effectively. The USA and the UK prefer a determined stance as their means of choice, and they prefer to see the fight against terrorism as a war to be fought for a long period of time, which – if need be – would not exclude the use of military means, even against the reservations of some of the partners within the alliance. Contrary to this, in her speech Minister Alliot-

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Marie rather took the position of German Chancellor Angela Merkel, advocating a transatlantic alliance of cooperation, with responsibilities clearly assigned. Within their EU and NATO alliances, Europe and the USA needed to play together like a "symphonic orchestra", with each nation playing the part it knows best. Only by everybody playing in tune could effective solutions be found, the French Minister of Defense pointed out. Her British counterpart John Reid, though, rather uses the image of NATO as a "jazz band", with every member responding "instinctively" and "nobody telling the others what to do".



Michèle Alliot-Marie and Dr. h.c. Horst Teltschik  
Foto: Kai Mörk.

However, Secretary Rumsfeld's statements on the future of NATO and the future decision-making process in the alliance were rather reserved. In his speech, he mainly addressed the fight against terrorism, making an appeal to the community of nations to act against it jointly and with determination. No longer was terrorism targeted only at those countries which deployed troops to Iraq. Rather, the terrorists were leading a war against

the "entire civilized world", aiming to "re-establish a caliphate they hope, one day, will include every continent". "Success depends on will," Rumsfeld said with a view to the future but also referring to the differences in opinion regarding the war in Iraq which ushered the transatlantic relationship into one of its severest crisis. But he also conceded that understanding requires conviction and that even in the future, agreement within the alliance could not be achieved without dialog. Mr. Rumsfeld drew a parallel to the Cold War, which in the end was not won through fate or luck but by the allied nations showing resolve. His view of NATO as the suitable means to achieve this remained unchanged, the Secretary said, but he strongly encouraged its members to provide the required financial assets for the alliance to be able to accomplish its tasks. No less than 19 allies allocated less than two percent of their Gross Domestic Product to defense purposes. Furthermore, NATO had to reconsider its role, which was no longer about defending the alliance but about solving global problems. The membership of new countries like Japan or Australia could be useful in that respect, the Secretary of Defense stated with a view to the ongoing discussion about reorganizing NATO into a global defensive alliance.

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As for Iran, Mr. Rumsfeld made his point clear. Iran, being the main sponsor, was now the focal point in the fight against terrorism. In the long run, this conflict could only be solved by finding partners and allies in the crisis region, by exerting constant pressure on the country and by cutting off its financial sources, Mr. Rumsfeld explained.

French Minister of Defense Alliot-Marie spoke in favor of redefining the joint project of EU, NATO and the UN. This would not always necessitate common agreement among all the members, but the emphasis should be on protecting shared values and international legitimacy. Despite being the undisputed upholder of those, the UN needed to implement the necessary reforms and to become more effective. Alliot-Marie did warn, though, against getting lost in a struggle for competencies in the face of looming crises. Action should be taken by those among the alliances which would be most effective given the situation at hand. For example, the EU's rapid response force would be suited for quick operations, while NATO's were designed for long-term missions including operations with US involvement. Regarding the transatlantic partnership, Alliot-Marie encouraged both sides to put it on a new basis forthwith. However, she also said that the different views held by the two partners to the alliance needed to be taken into consideration.



John Reid. Foto: Kai Mörk.

UK Secretary of State for Defence John Reid also demanded that an effective stance needed to be taken by the partners to the alliance. People should put a stop to endless analyzation. In the future, he wished to see more "do tanks" rather than "think tanks". NATO needed to change profoundly and Europe needed to accept its share of responsibility. Mr. Reid referred to

financial resources, the reform of the armed forces and determination as the three basic requirements for the future of NATO. Because of NATO's shared values and past, there was indeed no alternative to it, the Secretary explained.

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### No more doubts as to the great significance attached to the transatlantic alliance

By Ariane von Großmann

**München. (04. Feb. 2006).** - In the afternoon – after some delay – the agenda focussed on the much-debated future role of NATO in securing international peace. Right at the beginning, German Minister of Defense Dr. Franz Josef Jung made his appeal: “Never again must we allow controversial discussions to continue to a point where the transatlantic relations are damaged.” This was followed by a look into the future, ending with another appeal: “If the alliance wants to keep its position as the first address on security issues, it needs to become more political again.” Here, Mr. Jung was referring to Article 4 of the NATO Treaty, which requires members to consult each other, citing two topical examples to highlight the problem. Firstly, there was Iran’s nuclear program, which the Minister considers an urgent topic for political discussion, and secondly, there was the issue of energy supply, which was becoming increasingly important within the scope of globalization. “The shock caused by the transatlantic misunderstandings,” – Mr. Jung was referring to the developments in 2002 and 2003 – “would have quite a healing effect provided it gave rise to a new culture of controversial dialog.”



From left to right: John McCain, Prof. Dr. h.c. Horst Teltschik, Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, and Dr. Franz-Josef Jung. Photo: Kai Mörk.

### Europe - a strong partner of NATO

Mr. Jung also warned against overextending the alliance. NATO must not be

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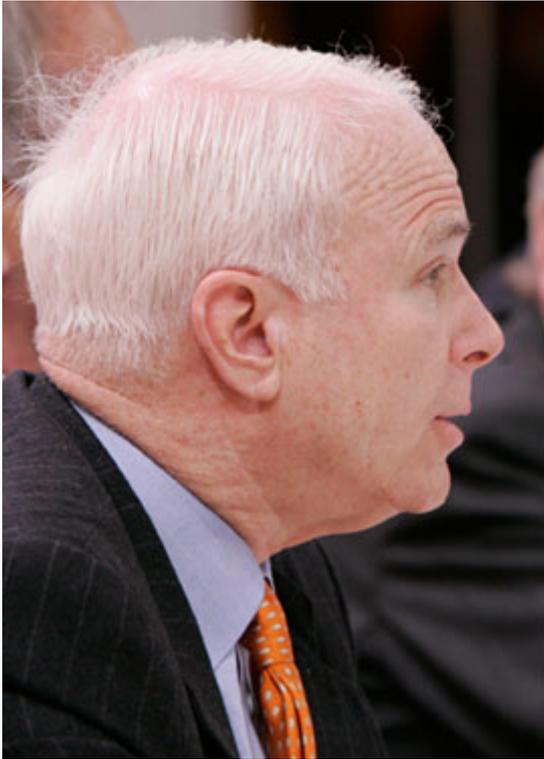
imposed the burden of dealing with all peace and security tasks. Mr. Jung also voiced his concerns that there was an increasing risk of NATO getting bogged down by just too many panels being established. Instead, the German Minister of Defense advocated task sharing, concerted capability development, and "jointly coordinated crisis management," especially with a view to the relationship between NATO and the EU. " Europe as a whole must become a strong partner." As concrete examples for cooperation, which needed to go beyond mere mutual information, the Minister named the "cooperation of intelligence services on a concerted armed forces plan" and the joint training of NATO's Response Force (NRF) and the EU's Battle Groups. Concerning the Balkan states, Mr. Jung emphasized the great significance as well as the challenges of the stability transfer, pointing out the necessity to have Russia as a partner.

### **McCain criticizes Russia**

In his speech, US Senator John McCain questioned the role of Russia as a partner. He plainly stated that under Mr. Putin, Russia today were neither a democracy nor one of the world's leading economies, a statement which caught the attention of many listeners. He made clear his criticism of Russia's position towards the Iran conflict and of the actions taken by the Russian government in Chechnya. Referring to the most recent controversies with Georgia and Ukraine, the US Senator – who is known to be unambiguous in his statements – said during the ensuing debate that even in the worst days of the Cold War, Russia never played the oil card.

With that, Mr. McCain went on to discuss the current challenges of international security politics. He left no doubt as to the intentions of Iran to use its nuclear energy research efforts not solely for peaceful purposes – despite the affirmations made by Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister Abbas Araghchi some hours before – and called for immediate multilateral sanctions such as a travel ban and assets freezing.

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John McCain. Photo: Kai Mörk.

After briefly outlining the events leading up to the current situation of tension, he concluded that “there is only one thing worse than military action, and that is a nuclear armed Iran.” Furthermore, the Republican senator mentioned the perspective of having to look for willing partners outside the UN should Russia and China fail to join in. But he also referred to the longing of young Iranians to finally put an end to international isolation and to promote a peaceful and democratic Iran. This should have our support, Mr. McCain said, calling on Russia and China to join the solidarity efforts to support this cause and apprising Europe of its special responsibility in this regard.

### **How much is everybody willing to contribute?**

As for the NATO enlargement debates, Senator McCain said that the question that has always arisen is whether new members will be contributors or consumers of alliance security. Citing Romania as an example, which is active in every NATO operation in the world, he dismissed any such concerns with regard to those nations who recently joined the alliance. On the other hand, he was quite outspoken as to his view of Germany’s role in international security issues: “ Germany has been a bit quiet on the world stage.”

The argument that the alliance had been irreparably strained by the disagreements in recent years was refuted by Senator McCain, who claimed that NATO had engaged in successful operations in Afghanistan even at the peak of Iraq-related tensions.

### **NRF - a lottery in reverse**

Senator McCain’s views were shared by NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, who in his speech focussed on the economic and financial

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aspects of NATO's future, demanding that members should cooperate more effectively and reliably. It was considered an incentive by new members to join NATO in times of stability. Concerning the NATO Response Force (NRF) – which he would like to see fully operational – he jokingly said: "Participating in the NRF is like a lottery in reverse – if your number comes up, you are going to lose money." This might put off potential members, the Secretary General explained, pointing to the importance of solidarity as far as funding is concerned. The Secretary General underscored the benefit of such solidarity as is shown by the use of AWACS for the Olympic Games in Turin or the Soccer World Championships in Germany. Everyone could share in the costs, thus making a contribution to greater security. Joint logistics, Jaap de Hoop Scheffer said, are expected to result in an increased work output and time savings. On the whole, his diagnosis of the relationship between NATO and the EU was that there would be a duplication of efforts, thus resulting in a waste of tax money. Pragmatism must prevail against dogmatism, the Secretary General demanded. It was desirable to have a strong EU as NATO's partner. While the partnership was never put to the test during the Cold War, this was what was happening now, he concluded.

### **The Chancellor's Successful Debut in the Field of Security Policy**

By Lorenz Hemicker

**Munich. (04. Feb 2006). - In her introductory speech and the following discussion, Dr. Angela Merkel convinced those in attendance at the 42 nd Munich Conference on Security Policy by her clear statement in favour of Germany accepting a greater share of responsibilities in the field of international security policy. This, she pointed out, needed to be based on a stronger role of NATO.**

A sound economic development in the ten years ahead would provide the basis for a greater commitment on the part of the Federal Republic of Germany. Only if the Germans felt safe economically would they support an increase in responsibility. The Chancellor went on to say that NATO also needed to be "the venue of political consultation on newly emerging conflicts" in order for it to continue as an alliance of shared interests and values in the next decades. Within this context the Chancellor advocated NATO's primacy in decision-making, meaning that discussions should also be held on conflicts for which there was no general consent. According to Mrs. Merkel, it was only by providing information as complete as possible that differences could be set to rest in the long run which otherwise might cause differing comments to be released in case of a conflict. "This does not mean that everyone is taking part in everything."

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Dr. Angela Merkel. Foto: Sebastian Zwez.

For Angela Merkel, European integration and the Euro-Atlantic partnership are also important preconditions for Germany's commitment. With a view to the USA, she made an appeal to that country to see European integration as a chance. "The EU has grown into a role which has prepared us to accept real political responsibility, including military security." Europe was establishing itself more and more as a reliable partner of the USA, not least because of the emerging European armaments industry,

the agreement on a joint European strategy of defence in 2003, and the increasingly broader missions with EU lead.

Finally, Mrs. Merkel demanded that NATO should be networked with international organisations to a greater degree. Despite being ready to accept greater responsibility, NATO could not – and would not want to – become the world's police force. This is why the Chancellor advocated a greater networking of NATO with other international organisations as well as the promotion of regional organisations such as the African Union.

As for the current need for consultations, Mrs. Merkel named four topical issues, turning against Iran in particular. "Deliberately, Iran has crossed the red lines of whose existence it was well aware." People were now concerned as to what was going on, and rightfully so. Therefore, referring the matter to the UN Security Council was not a provocation. In this context, the role of Russia was of "greatest importance". What was urgently needed now was for the Iranian government to give in regarding the controversial nuclear issue. Her audience of 300 applauded when Mrs. Merkel clearly was backing Israel in her statements, demanding that the new Iranian government should acknowledge Israel's right of existence.

A reform of the United Nations, especially the Security Council, would be needed now more urgently than ever to be able to solve future conflicts more efficiently, as the Security Council was the central body for the prevention of conflicts and the further development of international law.

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### Georgia's Wishes: Freedom, Democracy and NATO

**Mikhail Saakashvili, the president of Georgia, demands close links between his country and the E.U. / NATO; he guarantees Europe his support in finding new energy sources. The dinner speech of Saakashvili, the Georgian president, and a festive dinner marked the beginning of the formal part of the 42nd conference of security politics in Munich. Horst Teltschik, who hosts this conference, welcomed first of all State Minister Erwin Huber, who represents the Bavarian government, and Christian Ude, the mayor of Munich.**

by Bettina Hunold

Saakashvili started his speech by looking back at the time of his studies during the eighties, when he was listening to news from the West, broadcasted by "Radio Liberty". He had been moved to "tears" when he learnt of the fall of the Berlin Wall. At this very moment, he had known that nothing would ever be the same. And at the same time, he had drawn confidence from this event, hoping that his nation, too, would master the path to freedom. If Germany and Eastern Europe had succeeded in gaining freedom, Georgia would be capable of doing the same. Yet he had never thought that it would take 14 years.

Saakashvili emphasized that the greatest achievement of the so-called rose revolution was the fact that the Georgian people succeeded in wringing new elections out of the old rulers and thus succeeded in reorienting themselves towards freedom and democracy. The developments in his nation would be the best example of the fact that freedom would "bring the best out of people", as the Georgian president said. They would at the same time be a warranty of the freedom and the security of other nations, Saakashvili said with regard to Georgia's security policy interests.

Saakashvili emphasized the progress his country had made on the path to democracy. Considerable progress was made in countering corruption, in particular. Yet he also underlined that the financial support provided by the E.U. was a major factor in allowing the Georgian people to advance their independence. From 1992 - 2003, the E.U. had provided mainly humanitarian support and support in development politics. Saakashvili thanked Germany, too, for supporting the reform of the judicial system in his country.

The Georgian president also referred to the part played by the media. "Every dictator in the world appears to be strong and invincible - until his decline is reported by CNN", Saakashvili said. He was glad that CNN was present during the revolution in the Ukraine, and he wished that the broadcasting station now sent their correspondents to Minsk, too. Referring to the latest energy crisis, Saakashvili said that this crisis had made it clear to his nation and to the E.U., too, that it is advisable not to rely on one source of energy only. The aim would be to find ways to redeem oneself from this dependency. The region of the Black Sea as well as the

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nations of the Southern Caucasus and Central Asia offered huge reservoirs of energy, which might help in redeeming Europe from its current dependency. Georgia was willing to support Europe in finding new sources of energy, the President explicitly stated.

Just as explicitly, Saakashvili underlined the wish of Georgia to become a member of the NATO alliance. His nation would take any effort required for achieving this goal. They had already implemented the major part of a military reform, and they provided support for the NATO missions in Iraq, Afghanistan and the Kosovo region.

Looking at the problems Georgia faces in the autonomous border regions of Southeast Ossetia, Abchasia and Ajaria, Saakashvili emphasized his will to solve these issues in a peaceful way.

Saakashvili finished his speech by quoting from the memoirs of Konrad Adenauer, who he praised to be one of the most important politicians of the 20th century. After World War II, Adenauer had warned Germany not to become a no-man's land between the East and the West. Germany would grow strong again only as a member of a partnership. And Georgia, too, would be able to master the challenges of security politics only when cooperating with the other nations of Europe; by doing so, Georgia would at the same time provide a contribution to peace and stability in Europe.

### **Consensus in a Friendly Atmosphere**

**At a press conference on Friday night Donald Rumsfeld, the U.S. secretary of defence, and Dr. Franz Josef Jung, the German minister of defence, underlined their joint responsibility for the transformation of the NATO alliance and expressed their concerns about the current developments in Iran.**

by Lorenz Hemicker

Jung was looking forward to the joint talks in a good, friendly atmosphere and underlined their joint responsibility for the advancement of NATO cooperation. "We intent to form the alliance's transformation process in a positive way and to include a closer contact with the European Union."

Rumsfeld and Jung are both concerned about the developments in Iran. The E.U. three, France, United Kingdom and Germany, think their efforts should be supported by the U.S., Russia and China, Jung said. In Afghanistan, too, they will continue carrying out their joint tasks in order to promote a peaceful development in the Hindukush region.

Donald Rumsfeld, who regularly attended the conference since the mid seventies, was looking forward to another visit to Munich; he expressed his

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satisfaction about the talks with Angela Merkel, the German chancellor, in Washington and with his German counterpart.

The brief press conference after a photo shooting session offered a first opportunity for the media representatives to ask the conference attendants questions in a plenary session.

### **Interview with Prof. Dr. h.c. Horst Teltschik**

**For eight years, Professor Dr. h.c. Horst Teltschik has been hosting the Munich Conference on Security Policy. In the run-up to the conference, the former Foreign and Security Policy Advisor of German ex-Chancellor Dr. Helmut Kohl talked to Ariane von Großmann about the current challenges of global security policy.**

*1) What are your expectations or hopes for this year's security conference?*

Mr. Teltschik: The new German Chancellor Angela Merkel will have a decisive influence on the 42nd Munich Conference on Security Policy. High hopes are placed on her. She can give the transatlantic relations new impetus. The main thing is that the Atlantic Alliance convenes common objectives for all core international issues, develops a joint strategy and implements this strategy jointly or by sharing the workload in a coordinated manner.

*2) What is your personal topic no. 1 this year? What do you expect or hope for?*

Mr. Teltschik: As usual the focus will lie on current crises. The danger of Iran's nuclear buildup will certainly be a top issue but also the victory of Hamas in the Palestinian elections, to mention just two explosive issues. In addition, the international agenda includes other important issues such as the future of Kosovo, Russia's policy towards its neighbors, terrorism and the developments in Asia.

*3) When are the topics selected, who chooses them and which criteria apply?*

Mr. Teltschik: I determine the topics. But first I talk to people in Berlin, Washington, Moscow or Beijing to get ideas and some inspiration I might use.

*4) How do urgent security issues as, for instance, the recent developments in Iran or the Palestinian elections impact the agenda?*

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Mr. Teltschik: The conference must address issues that move the people and which they are confronted with in the media day by day. Current crises and threats, no matter where they occur in today's very small world, are entering the homes of the citizens and produce worries and fear. This is what the politicians and experts in charge must address. The conference is an excellent platform reaching publics worldwide.



Professor Dr. h.c. Horst Teltschik Foto: Kai Mörk.

*5) Can you think of a guest or conflicting parties you would like to invite to your panel in Munich?*

Mr. Teltschik: Each year, there is a different answer to this question. This year, for instance, the top politicians of all major negotiating partners essential for solving the Iran problem are attending the conference, i.e. the German government, France,

Great Britain, the United States of America, Russia and China. Iran will be represented by Deputy Foreign Minister for Legal and International Affairs, Abbas Araghchi, and by Javaz Vaeidi, the chief negotiator in nuclear issues. I am very pleased about this and hope that the conference will help to solve the conflict.

*6) Which meetings have been particularly outstanding in the history of the Security Conference (such as the meeting of India and Pakistan in 2002 on the topic of the Kashmir conflict)?*

Mr. Teltschik: In the 42 years of the conference life, there were a lot of top-level meetings – i.e. confidential bilateral talks – that contributed to the solution of crises. It is, indeed, the advantage of such talks that it is possible to hold them off-records and without involving the public. The examples may be taken from the attendant list. If such talks are meant to be successful they need to remain confidential.

*7) What was your personal highlight?*

Mr. Teltschik: For me, each conference is a highlight. I am now heading my eighth conference, and each time I was successful insofar as the attendants approached me and told me that this conference had been the best

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conference so far. As long as this approval keeps existing, there is nothing but highlights for me.

*8) There is the opinion that the really important talks are those held on the corridors – i.e. outside of the formal programme. What is the real importance of such informal talks?*

Mr. Teltschik: For a lot of the attendants, it would not be possible to meet in a formal meeting, for various reasons. The Munich conference does not require the politicians to take such formality considerations. It is possible for them to meet without the public being involved. This opportunity is welcomed by almost everybody.

*9) How important are personal relationships for international politicians and experts on this level?*

Mr. Teltschik: Personal relationships play an important part just as in everybody's life. If I like someone, talking is easier. But this should not be the critical factor. Urgent issues may sometimes force politicians to talk with the "devil" in order to avert damage from people and to prevent crises from breaking out.

*10) To a lot of recent conflicts, the statement applies that it is hardly possible to separate security politics measures from development politics measures. Will there be conference attendants coming from the field of development politics, too?*

Mr. Teltschik: In the previous year, Horst Köhler, the German Federal President, talked – upon my request – about the correlation of security and economic development. Kofi Annan, the U.N. Secretary General, also emphasized this topic, which we intensified during a relevant panel. I had planned to continue the discussion of this topic in this year and had invited Paul Wolfowitz, the new President of the World Bank. Unfortunately, he had to observe another appointment. But we will continue the discussion of this topic in 2007.

### **"Peace Through Dialogue"**

Press Conference in the run-up to the 42nd Munich Conference on Security Policy at the Presseclub München:

### **"More creativity in political issues"**

**Main subject "Europe and the United States: The renewal of transatlantic partnership" - German Chancellor Angela Merkel will**

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### **participate - US Senator John McCain will be presented with peace medal**

By Petra Spoerle-Strohmenger

**Munich. (17 Jan 2006).** - The Munich Conference on Security Policy has always been proud to present political "heavyweights", as the past conferences have shown. This year again more than 250 participants from over 50 countries are expected to come. More than 40 foreign and defense ministers have announced their participation in the conference taking place at the Bayerischer Hof from 03 - 05 February 2006. Georgian President Mikhail Saakashvili will talk about his country's role in international security policy and be the first speaker at this year's conference, said the host, Prof. Dr. h.c. Horst Teltschik, at a press conference in the Münchner Presseclub yesterday.

### **The "who is who?" of foreign and security policy**

As the media representatives had hoped for, Mr. Teltschik disclosed some names of participants. The German federal government will be represented by Chancellor Dr. Angela Merkel, Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier and Minister of Defense Franz-Josef Jung. French Minister of Defense Michèle Alliot-Marie confirmed she would come, as did her new British counterpart John Reid, NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer and Chief EU Foreign Minister, Dr. Javier Solana Madariaga.

The prominent members this year's US delegation will feature Mr. Teltschik could not yet tell. According to the host of the conference, US Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld had expressed his general interest in joining the conference but not yet given a definite confirmation. However one thing is for sure: Russian Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defense Sergei B. Ivanov will again come to this year's conference.

### **Main subject: "the renewal of transatlantic relations"**

Once more, the main topic of the upcoming conference will be the relationship between Europe and the United States. This time, the discussion will focus on the renewal of transatlantic relations. "What do Europe's new leading role or the future role of NATO look like and does the partnership between Europe and the United States prove to work out?" are the questions to be discussed. The discussion would not only cover the issue of NATO's new orientation, Mr. Teltschik said, but also its consolidation as a political platform. The ultimate challenge would be how to organize this new approach. "This question still remains unanswered", Mr. Teltschik stated at the press conference.

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### German foreign and security policy issues and current explosive international aspects



The host of the Munich Conference on Security Policy, Prof. Dr. h.c. Horst Teltschik, at the press conference in the run-up to the 42nd Conference. Photograph by Kai Mörk.

"I am particularly pleased that our new Chancellor confirmed her participation right from the start", Mr. Teltschik said at the press conference. "The fact that our topics actually follow the trend of Germany's foreign policy becomes obvious when taking a look at Dr. Merkel's current travelling activities. I am almost tempted to call it a continuation of her visits", the host added. Besides predetermined topics, some current political aspects will be addressed such as the Iran problem, the future of Kosovo and Asia's global foreign and security interests. The last topic is expected to be covered by

prominent speakers coming from the People's Republic of China, India and Japan.

### Peace plaque to US Senator John McCain

This year, the peace plaque introduced by Mr. Teltschik and awarded for the first time last year (to UN Secretary General Kofi Annan) is meant to go to the Republican US Senator John McCain. The medal is awarded to internationally outstanding people who deserve merit for exceptional peace initiatives and reflect the conference motto "Peace through Dialog". Mr. McCain will be presented with the plaque because he managed to pass an act on the prohibition of torture with a two-thirds majority in Congress and the approval of President Bush. Mr. Teltschik quoted the German weekly

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paper "Die Zeit" giving the following citation for the peace medal award to Mr. McCain: &Thus, Mr. McCain forces America to rejoin its history: The humane treatment of all enemies".

### "Peace Through Dialogue"

Main topic of the Munich Conference on Security Policy 2006:

### Restoring The Transatlantic Partnership

**Munich. (20 Dec 2005, kdt)** - The agenda of the 42nd Munich Conference on Security Policy (03 - 05 February 2006) is roughly settled. According to current planning, the event will start - just like in 2005 - with a ceremonial dinner on Friday. Saturday's agenda will focus on the foreign and security policy of Germany's newly-elected government and the future of transatlantic relations. This was announced by the host of the conference, Prof. Dr. h.c. Horst Teltschik, in Munich yesterday. The so-called "regional topic", however, is not yet known; this topic used to be scheduled for Sunday morning. There were a number of rather well-developed ideas but no definite proposal at present, he said.



Prof. Dr. h.c. Horst Teltschik

According to Mr. Teltschik, the overarching title of the conference would be: "Europe and the United States - restoring the transatlantic partnership". The top experts on international security and defense policy will meet in the hotel "Bayerischer Hof" and discuss the security issues of our times. The host did not yet want to give a clue as to who has confirmed their participation in the conference. However, the mere figure of 35 foreign and defense ministers having registered so far speaks for the high and unbroken acceptance of the Munich Conference.