

46th Munich Security
Conference **msc**
46. Münchner Sicherheitskonferenz

February 5-7 **2010**
5.-7. Februar

Munich Security **msc**
Conference

Münchner Sicherheitskonferenz

Munich Security **msc**
Conference

Münchner Sicherheitskonferenz

Munich Security **msc**
Conference

Münchner Sicherheitskonferenz

Munich Security
Conference

Münchner Sicherheitskonferenz

Munich Security
Conference

Münchner Sicherheitskonferenz

Name:

Table of Contents

Foreword	4
Windowpane	6
Day 1	9
Day 2	23
Day 3	55
Speakers & Participants	79
Organizational Information	105
Partners & Sponsors	117

Inhaltsverzeichnis

Vorwort	5
Kurzprogramm	7
Tag 1	9
Tag 2	23
Tag 3	55
Sprecher & Teilnehmer	79
Organisatorische Informationen	105
Partner & Sponsoren	117

Imprint – Impressum:

Munich Security
Conference **msc**
© Münchner Sicherheitskonferenz

Printed on recycling paper
Gedruckt auf 100 % Altpapier
Status: 26 January 2010

Aus praktischen Gründen wird in diesem Booklet immer die maskuline Form der Darstellung gewählt und nicht z.B. von Teilnehmern/Teilnehmerinnen gesprochen. Selbstverständlich sind immer – soweit keine Einschränkungen angegeben sind – Frauen und Männer gemeint.

Munich Security
Conference **msc**
Münchner Sicherheitskonferenz

Message from the Chairman, Ambassador Wolfgang Ischinger, to the Participants in the 46th Munich Security Conference

It gives me great pleasure to welcome you all as my personal guests at the 46th Munich Security Conference. Every year, this Conference brings together here in Munich the 300 most important decision-makers in the sphere of international foreign and security policy, as well as captains of industry and representatives of civil society. They are joined by a large number of observers from many different countries. More than 300 journalists report from Munich during our Conference, and more than 60 government delegations from around the world come to take part in discussions at the Bayerischer Hof. Last year, the MSC further consolidated its position as a globally respected and renowned forum. The MSC, which has a history stretching back more than 40 years, is also embarking upon new paths. In addition to the annual main conference held in Munich and following the successful inaugural event in Washington D.C., further MSC Core Group Meetings will be held once a year in different capitals. At the start of 2010, my appeal to MSC participants is:

Now is the time to act!

After 2009, the “year of declarations of intent”, 2010 should be a year of action, of implementation. In February 2009, appeals by US Vice-President Biden, President Sarkozy, Chancellor Merkel and Deputy Prime Minister Ivanov initiated a “political spring” at the MSC. The planning phase is now over – now is the time for action, the time to seek initiatives which can end conflicts and usher in peace, security and prosperity, as well as lasting protection of the global climate. The expectations placed in those responsible for international foreign and security policy are greater now than ever before.

This year, the MSC will again focus on issues relating to transatlantic and European security. In addition, new global challenges, such as resource security and global governance issues, will be addressed. The conflicts in Afghanistan and the Middle East, as well as NATO’s future strategy, are also on the agenda, as are disarmament and non-proliferation. To what extent can the vision of a world free of nuclear weapons be realized?

Never before has the growing interdependence between our nations been so clearly demonstrated as during the current global economic and financial crisis. No-one – not a single

country – can ignore the burden which this crisis has placed on our societies. Likewise, no country can successfully tackle climate change or combat terrorism on its own. I invite you all to put forward your own personal views on these and other challenges here in Munich, but also to be prepared to listen to others. The Munich Security Conference is not an intergovernmental conference: we do not draft communiqués. But thanks to its special and intimate character and its unusual make-up, the MSC can develop creative and stimulating contributions, and help build personal trust and better understanding among you, the decision-makers. During the last few years, there has often been an alarming lack of trust. Without mutual trust, it is impossible to resolve conflicts and to ensure that they remain resolved long-term.



I would like to conclude by extending a particularly warm welcome to three groups:

First, to all speakers and panellists, especially the representatives of the Spanish EU Presidency, as well as of NATO and the European Union. Second, to the delegations from outside the Euro-Atlantic world, particularly the first ever delegation from the People’s Republic of China to be present here at the MSC. We are all eager to discuss China’s foreign policy priorities and goals. Third, to the participants in the Munich Young Leaders Round Table, which was established in 2009 in collaboration with the Körber Foundation. These young men and women will be taking up key positions in their countries in just a few years’ time, and they have come to Munich with great expectations, hoping to learn from you. We do not want to disappoint them this year, either!

I wish you – all of us – a productive and stimulating 46th MSC!

Yours sincerely,


Wolfgang Ischinger

Grußbotschaft des Vorsitzenden, Botschafter Wolfgang Ischinger, an die Teilnehmer der 46. Münchner Sicherheitskonferenz

Es ist mir eine große Freude, Sie alle als meine persönlichen Gäste herzlich zur 46. Münchner Sicherheitskonferenz begrüßen.

Die Münchner Sicherheitskonferenz führt alljährlich die 300 wichtigsten außen- und sicherheitspolitischen internationalen Entscheidungsträger, Unternehmensführer und Vertreter der Zivilgesellschaft in München zusammen. Hinzu kommen zahlreiche Beobachter aus vielen Ländern.

Über 300 Journalisten berichten aus München während unserer Tagung, und über 60 Regierungsdelegationen aus aller Welt reisen an, um im Bayerischen Hof Gespräche führen zu können.

Im vergangenen Jahr hat die MSC ihre Stellung als global respektiertes und anerkanntes Forum weiter ausgebaut. In ihrer über 40jährigen Geschichte geht die MSC dabei auch neue Wege. Neben der jährlichen Hauptkonferenz in München soll nach dem erfolgreichen Auftakt in Washington D.C. das Veranstaltungsformat der "MSC-Core Group Meeting" jährlich einmal in wechselnden Hauptstädten fortgesetzt werden.

Zu Beginn des Jahres 2010 rufe ich den MSC-Teilnehmern zu:

Jetzt muss gehandelt werden!

Nach dem "Jahr der Ankündigungen" 2009 soll 2010 ein Jahr der Taten, der Implementierung, werden. Im Februar 2009 haben US-Vize-Präsident Biden, Präsident Sarkozy, Bundeskanzlerin Merkel und Vize-Premier Iwanow mit ihren Appellen auf der MSC einen „politischen Frühling“ eingeleitet. Jetzt ist die Zeit des Planens vorbei – jetzt muss gehandelt werden, um die Initiativen anzustreben, die zur Beendigung von Konflikten und zu Frieden, Sicherheit und Wohlstand sowie zu einem nachhaltigen Schutz des Weltklimas führen. Die Erwartungen an die Verantwortlichen in der internationalen Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik sind heute größer denn je. Auch in diesem Jahr werden wieder Themen der transatlantischen und europäischen Sicherheit im Mittelpunkt der MSC stehen. Darüber hinaus sollen aber auch neue globale Herausforderungen, wie z.B. Ressourcensicherheit und Fragen von "global governance" angesprochen werden. Die Konflikte in Afghanistan und dem Nahen Osten sowie die zukünftige Strategie der NATO stehen ebenso auf der Agenda wie die Abrüstung und Nichtverbreitungsagenda. Inwieweit lässt sich die Vision einer nuklearwaffenfreien Welt in die Tat umsetzen?

Nie zuvor ist die wachsende Interdependenz zwischen unseren Nationen so klar demonstriert worden wie in der gegenwärtigen Weltwirtschafts- und Finanzkrise. Niemand – kein einziges Land – ist immun gegenüber der Last, die diese Krise unseren Gesellschaften aufbürdet. Aber es gibt auch keine erfolgreichen Alleingänge für den Klimawandel oder die Terrorismusbekämpfung.

Ich lade Sie alle ein, zu diesen und anderen Herausforderungen Ihre persönlichen Auffassungen hier in München vorzutragen, aber bitte auch anderen zuzuhören. Die Münchner Sicherheitskonferenz ist keine Regierungskonferenz: Wir entwerfen keine Kommuniqués. Aber München kann wegen seines besonderen und intimen Charakters und seiner außergewöhnlichen Zusammensetzung kreative und weiterführende Beiträge entwickeln und zum Aufbau von persönlichem Vertrauen und zum besseren Verständnis zwischen Ihnen, den Entscheidungsträgern, beitragen. In den letzten Jahren fehlte Vertrauen in oft erschreckender Weise. Ohne gegenseitiges Vertrauen sind Konfliktlösungen aber weder zu finden noch dauerhaft aufrecht zu erhalten.

Abschließend ein besonders herzliches Willkommen an drei Gruppen:

Erstens an alle Redner und Panelisten, insbesondere auch die Vertreter der spanischen EU-Präsidentschaft und an die Vertreter der NATO und der Europäischen Union.

Zweitens an die in München anwesenden Delegationen außerhalb der euro-atlantischen Welt, insbesondere an die erstmals hier auftretende Delegation der Volksrepublik China. Wir sind alle begierig, über die außenpolitischen Prioritäten und Ziele Chinas zu sprechen.

Drittens an die Teilnehmer des gemeinsam bereits 2009 mit der Körber-Stiftung gegründeten "Munich Young Leaders Round Table". Diese jungen Männer und Frauen werden wichtige Führungspositionen in ihren Heimatländern bereits in wenigen Jahren einnehmen, und sie sind mit großen Erwartungen nach München gekommen, um von Ihnen zu lernen. Diese Erwartungen wollen wir auch in diesem Jahr nicht enttäuschen! Ich wünsche Ihnen – uns allen – eine fruchtbare und spannende 46. MSC!

Mit freundlichen Grüßen


Ihr Wolfgang Ischinger

Windowpane

Friday, 5th February 2010

15.30	Opening Statement by the Conference Chairman
16.00	Statements
16.30	Panel Discussion Resource Security and Shifting Global Power
19.30	Reception hosted by the Mayor of the City of Munich, Christian Ude (Venue: Altes Rathaus)
20.00	Dinner

Saturday, 6th February 2010

	The Future of European and Global Security
9.00	Video Message from the Secretary General of the United Nations
9.15	Statements and Discussion
15.00	Panel Discussion The Future of Arms Control and the NPT – Is Zero Possible?
17.00	Panel Discussion Security and Stability in the Middle East
20.00	Dinner hosted by the Minister-President of the State of Bavaria, Horst Seehofer – by special invitation –

Sunday, 7th February 2010

	The Future of NATO: Its Strategy and Its Missions
9.00	Statements and Discussion
10.00	Panel Discussion NATO's Strategic Concept
12.00	Panel Discussion Afghanistan
13.30	Closing Statement by the Conference Chairman
13.45	Buffet Luncheon (optional)

Kurzprogramm

Freitag, 5. Februar 2010

15.30	Eröffnung durch den Vorsitzenden der Konferenz
16.00	Statements
16.30	Podiumsdiskussion Ressourcensicherheit und globale Machtverschiebungen
19.30	Empfang durch den Oberbürgermeister der Stadt München, Christian Ude (Ort: Altes Rathaus)
20.00	Abendessen

Samstag, 6. Februar 2010

	Die Zukunft europäischer und globaler Sicherheit
9.00	Grußbotschaft des UNO Generalsekretärs
9.15	Statements und Diskussion
15.00	Podiumsdiskussion Die Zukunft von Rüstungskontrolle und Nichtverbreitung – Ist eine Null-Lösung möglich?
17.00	Podiumsdiskussion Sicherheit und Stabilität im Nahen und Mittleren Osten
20.00	Abendessen auf Einladung des Bayerischen Ministerpräsidenten, Horst Seehofer – nur auf gesonderte Einladung –

Sonntag, 7. Februar 2010

	Zukunft der NATO: Ihre Strategie und ihre Missionen
9.00	Statements und Diskussion
10.00	Podiumsdiskussion Das strategische Konzept der NATO
12.00	Podiumsdiskussion Afghanistan
13.30	Schlussstatement des Vorsitzenden der Konferenz
13.45	Mittagsbuffet (optional)

Munich Security
Conference **mSc**
Münchner Sicherheitskonferenz

Day 1
Tag 1

Day 1
Tag 1

Day 2
Tag 2

Day 3
Tag 3

Speakers & Participants
Sprecher & Teilnehmer

Organizational Information
Organisatorische Informationen

Agenda

Day 1
Tag 1

Friday, 5th February 2010

15.30	Opening Statement by the Conference Chairman
16.00	Statements
16.30	Panel Discussion Resource Security and Shifting Global Power
19.30	Reception hosted by the Mayor of the City of Munich, Christian Ude (Venue: Altes Rathaus)
20.00	Dinner

Freitag, 5. Februar 2010

15.30	Eröffnung durch den Vorsitzenden der Konferenz
16.00	Statements
16.30	Podiumsdiskussion Ressourcensicherheit und globale Machtverschiebungen
19.30	Empfang durch den Oberbürgermeister der Stadt München, Christian Ude (Ort: Altes Rathaus)
20.00	Abendessen

Resource Security and Shifting
Global Power

Topic

Ressourcensicherheit und globale Machtverschiebungen

Introduction to the Topic

Global Energy Security. The Challenges Ahead and How to Meet Them

By Andreas Goldthau

During the past decade, “energy security” has made it to the top of policy agendas, in industrialized and emerging economies alike. A unique blend of threats and challenges – gas crises in Europe, a resurgence of resource nationalism, massive oil price volatility and climate change – call for a fundamental restructuring of the global energy system. The predominant lens on global energy challenges is a geopolitical one portraying energy security as a zero-sum game. But contrary to conventional wisdom, neither reinforcing the navy in the Strait of Hormuz nor putting NATO in charge of energy security will address the core issues at stake. Such hard security remedies do little to bolster global energy security. Rather, what is needed in 2010 is a bold push to upgrade and reform the rules and institutions that structure global energy relations.

Four factors are changing the global energy landscape. According to baseline projections of the International Energy Agency (IEA), global primary energy demand will grow by 40% until 2030. Demand increase will almost exclusively be driven by non-OECD countries. China’s annual energy consumption alone will almost double until 2030. At the same time, the era of ‘easy oil’ is over, rendering prospection geologically more difficult, technologically more demanding, and more time consuming. Furthermore, the world urgently needs to go ‘low carbon’. To reach the Copenhagen target of curbing global warming at 2° Celsius, CO₂-heavy fossil fuels need to give way to renewable energy. Non-action generates significant economic costs and harms human security, due to rising sea levels or food shortages. Adding to this, the economic crisis has dramatically altered the landscape for financing energy endeavors. An estimated \$26 trillion – roughly equivalent to twice the entire annual US GDP – will need to be spent until 2030 to meet projected global energy demand, with an additional \$10.5 trillion if climate goals are to be met. Yet since late 2008 capital spending on energy projects has faced massive cuts and investment in renewables has plummeted over-proportionately.

These intertwined trends result in fundamental challenges to the international energy system. First, new consumer heavyweights weaken established instruments to buffer oil supply shocks. By 2030, the IEA members’ share in global oil consumption will stand at 36% – down from 68% in 1974. As a consequence, the IEA’s strategic petroleum stocks will become ineffective in the event of a sudden supply drop, due to a strike in Venezuela, turmoil in Nigeria or renewed conflict at the Gulf.

Moreover, as latecomers to the oil business, new consumers do not trust current market structures, which are seen as biased toward established players, notably the US. To be sure, bilateral deals struck by Chinese National Oil Companies (NOCs) in Africa or Central Asia are not a problem as such. The oil brought onstream either ends up on the global market or is shipped back home to China, thus taking pressure off demand. Yet, this crude is no longer made ‘visible’. In that, energy diplomacy adds to a prevalent transparency problem: state companies, often opaquely governed, have come to control the bulk of global oil and gas reserves. As a consequence, information on fundamental market parameters is not available, opening the floor for enhanced speculation and, thus, price volatility.

In fact, and finally, oil prices saw an all-time high of \$142 per barrel in July 2008, fell to \$30 a few months later, and more than doubled again at the end of 2009. This is detrimental to both energy security and a low carbon future. Producer countries will only invest billions of dollars into finding new resources if they can anticipate a stable and sufficient return on their investment. To the same extent, shifting towards low carbon sources requires planning security. Public money alone will not do the trick. The bulk of funds will need to come from companies, households and commercial investors. All of them need a reliable price environment – long term.

Dealing with these challenges requires an adjustment of the institutions governing global energy. The goal of such an overhaul is to accommodate the new consumer heavyweights, to reduce oil price volatility and to secure the necessary investments, both in fossils and renewables. The steps to be taken are manifold. They include aligning China and India with the IEA's emergency response programs; strengthening instruments enhancing market transparency such as the Joint Oil Data Initiative (JODI); making renewed efforts towards a Eurasian energy trade regime, crucially including a veritable dispute settlement mechanism; and revising the WTO's provisions on trade in energy services, renewables and biofuels to foster a globally optimal allocation of capital and technology. Most importantly, producers and consumer need to sit down and discuss long term energy futures. Putting the IEA and OPEC in charge of this task is ill advised as they represent vested interests and fail to accommodate either major or emerging producers, such as Russia and Brazil or new consumers such as China and India. The G8 is an economic club that does not represent key producers. The International Energy Forum, a fairly recent institution, may be a promising platform. Strengthening the dialogue within the IEF will give producers enhanced planning security on future demand trajectories in consuming nations, while providing consumers with a clearer picture of what key producer regions will bring onstream. It also helps to build trust between old and new consumers, and to strengthen confidence in markets among more energy-mercantilist countries like China. These efforts could be politically flanked by the G20, a forum that enjoys increasing legitimacy in a multi-polar world.

Such a fundamental process needs to crucially involve key stakeholders, notably the US and China. Functioning market and planning security are both in their national interests. Both the US and China are in the process shifting towards green technologies. In addition, Chinese NOCs and their private US counterparts, seeking access to foreign reserves, have an interest in stable and reliable conditions of investment.

Make no mistake: all this is a thoroughly political exercise. Yet, the focus needs to be on creating win-win situations through institutions, not on zero-sum games. As energy affects all aspects of human security, it certainly also require special care. But in political economy terms, not hard security ones.

Canada and South Korea co-chair the G20 summits in 2010. They should heed this call.

Andreas Goldthau is Associate Professor in Public Policy, Central European University and Fellow, Global Public Policy Institute (GPPi) in Berlin.
Email: goldthau@gppi.net

Munich Security
Conference **mSc**
Münchner Sicherheitskonferenz

Day 1
Tag 1

Day 2
Tag 2

Day 2
Tag 2

Day 3
Tag 3

Speakers & Participants
Sprecher & Teilnehmer

Organizational Information
Organisatorische Informationen

Agenda

Saturday, 6th February 2010

	The Future of European and Global Security
9.00	Video Message from the Secretary General of the United Nations
9.15	Statements and Discussion
15.00	Panel Discussion The Future of Arms Control and the NPT – Is Zero Possible?
17.00	Panel Discussion Security and Stability in the Middle East
20.00	Dinner hosted by the Minister-President of the State of Bavaria, Horst Seehofer – by special invitation –

Samstag, 6. Februar 2010

	Die Zukunft europäischer und globaler Sicherheit
9.00	Grußbotschaft des UNO Generalsekretärs
9.15	Statements und Diskussion
15.00	Podiumsdiskussion Die Zukunft von Rüstungskontrolle und Nichtverbreitung – Ist eine Null-Lösung möglich?
17.00	Podiumsdiskussion Sicherheit und Stabilität im Nahen und Mittleren Osten
20.00	Abendessen auf Einladung des Bayerischen Ministerpräsidenten, Horst Seehofer – nur auf gesonderte Einladung –

The Future of European
and Global Security

Topic

Die Zukunft europäischer und globaler Sicherheit

Introduction to the Topic

European Security: Moving Toward a Warmer Peace

By Thorsten Benner and Raphael Bossong

In his speech to the 1998 Munich Security Conference then NATO Secretary-General, Javier Solana proclaimed “the end of the Post-Cold War era. What we have put in its place is a new strategic consensus – a strategic consensus on the main pillars of our security in the next century.” The twelve years since have made it painfully clear that Solana’s consensus was little more than a mirage. The Post-Cold War era has produced a cold peace at best and is anything but over. The countries of Greater Europe, including Russia, the post-Soviet successor states and the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, do not share a consensus on organizing security. Europe, the US and Russia have found themselves at loggerheads over NATO expansion as well as Kosovo. The hot war in Georgia was the sad culmination of a steady deterioration.

What is more, even within the European Union there are few traces of a “strategic consensus” on a European security architecture. The relations and division of labor between NATO, the EU, the OSCE are still very much contested. New EU members from Central and Eastern Europe put a premium on NATO as a bulwark against what they perceive as looming Russian aggression. This often puts them at odds with the security outlook of countries such as Spain, France and Germany. The rift right in the middle of Europe impairs the EU’s ability to develop a common security identity and live up to its global ambitions and responsibilities.

Twenty years following the end of the cold war this is a sobering diagnosis. It is all the more crucial to make 2010 the year of renewed efforts to establish the foundation for a warm peace: a comprehensive European security architecture that is shared by the US and Russia. Both the Obama administration and the Russian government have prepared the ground for such an initiative. Exactly one year ago, the US Vice President invoked the “reset button” for the relationship with Russia. Russian

President Medvedev reciprocated with conciliatory language toward the US and the EU while fleshing out his proposals for a “European Security Treaty”.

The West should not waste this opportunity by rebuffing the Medvedev proposal out of hand. There are only two clean options: Either present NATO members offer Russia the prospect of membership or they rule out further enlargement. But they cannot continue with the enlargement process while de facto ruling out the membership of only one country, namely Russia. This position only serves to embolden the revisionist and ultranationalist forces within Russia who have not come to terms with Russia’s loss of an empire and seem to see the role of the paranoid spoiler as the only one that is left for Russia. Instead of playing into the hands of these forces whose views already hold too much sway in the Kremlin’s halls of power, European countries should take up Medvedev’s invitation to have a serious discussion on a pan-European security architecture.

Ritualistic charges of appeasement against the voices who demand to give it serious consideration are misplaced. After all, the initiative could provide an urgently needed focal point for long-term confidence-building. It was as a mistake for Europe to wait that long with a substantial response after the initial Russian proposal in 2008. Europe should have used the opportunity to fill a decidedly vague initial idea with its own proposal. Without any European input, Russia has by now tabled a full draft. This draft which contains a number of provisions that are unacceptable for most Europeans has received a rather lukewarm response. In particular, the idea of a legally binding provision on the principle of indivisible security is a red rag that could quickly scupper the chances for a productive discussion process.

But it would be all too easy to use this element of the Russian proposal as a pretext for not entering into any serious negotiation. After all, negotiations are about coming to terms with different viewpoints. At the same time, there are too many issues in the neighborhood that urgently require cooperation with Russia for Europe to forgo this opportunity. The general elections in Ukraine could fuel antagonism between the Russia and the West. Georgia also threatens to flare up again, as the international status of South Ossetia and Abkhazia remains unresolved. Several other “frozen conflicts” as well as organized crime are additional issues of mutual concern and potential conflict.

One thing should be clear: any pan-European security architecture that could address these issues can only profit from a strong European Union at its core. There are two steps EU members should take in this direction. First, work on the strategic rift within Europe vis-à-vis Russia that paralyzes the EU and regularly poisons dealings with Russia (and the US). As the natural linchpin between West and East, Germany has a particular role to play as a facilitator for bridging this divide. While any such effort is an uphill struggle at best, there is no alternative to pushing hard for finally addressing this divide.

Second, the EU should push forward with building capacity in the diplomatic, civil, humanitarian and military realms that make up today’s peace and security apparatus. With the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty EU members should finally bury the symbolic beauty contest about whose vision for Europe holds more sway and focus on creating operational capabilities. Thus, the EU could relieve NATO and get serious about conflict prevention and management in its neighborhood.

A united and strong EU core can then underpin discussions involving US and Russia and other countries of Greater Europe on the shape of a common security architecture. The US no longer denies that a strong foreign and security capacity of EU is also in its interest. To make the growing security role of the EU acceptable to Russia, the two partners need to keep working on social and economic integration against all obstacles. The EU should take President Medvedev by his word in his renewed emphasis on modernization and more accommodating stance towards the EU’s Eastern Partnership.

Cooperating on issues in the EU’s neighborhood will help to rebuild trust between Europe, Russia and the US. This is badly needed for enabling cooperation on issues beyond the EU neighborhood (Iran, Afghanistan and the broader Middle East). Serious dialogue and cooperation are the only way to move from the zero-sum game of spheres of influence to the positive-sum logic of areas of common responsibility. 2010 should be the year to establish the foundation for finally moving beyond the post-cold war era toward a warm peace.

Thorsten Benner is co-founder and Associate Director of the Global Public Policy Institute (GPPi) in Berlin

Raphael Bossong is a research associate with GPPi.

Munich Security
Conference **msc**
Münchner Sicherheitskonferenz

The Future of Arms Control and
the NPT– Is Zero possible?

Topic

Die Zukunft von Rüstungskontrolle und Nichtverbreitung
– Ist eine Null-Lösung möglich?

Introduction to the Topic

Reinvigorating the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Regime: Towards a New Consensus

By Stephan Mergenthaler and Joel Sandhu

Growing threats from the North Korean and Iranian nuclear programs as well as the prospects of nuclear terrorism make the case for a strong nuclear non-proliferation system more urgent than ever. But these acute crises as well as faded faith in the sincerity of the central bargain between nuclear haves and nuclear have-nots have brought the current regime to a critical tipping point. With the crucial review conference of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) this coming May, 2010 is a critical moment for decisive actions to promote a new global consensus on nuclear non-proliferation.

On balance, the nuclear non-proliferation regime has been a success story. It has prevented a rapid avalanche of proliferation. With only nine nuclear weapon states to date, 183 UN member states have eschewed acquiring such arsenals, including more than 40 countries with the technical ability to do so. Despite the persistence of more than 20,000 nuclear warheads worldwide, no nuclear weapon has been used in over 60 years. These remarkable achievements are increasingly under threat. To face the challenges of nuclear weapons in the 21st century, the nuclear non-proliferation regime critically depends on universal acceptance of its underlying norms and principles. However, the suspicion that the regime merely exists to cement the dominance of the post-World War II powers and to prevent others from joining the club has gradually eroded its legitimacy as an impartial instrument for peace and security.

By emphasizing his support for nuclear disarmament, US President Obama has reaffirmed the US commitment to the NPT. Now he has to ensure that the position of the Pentagon and the upcoming nuclear posture review fully reflect the direction set by the US commander-in-chief. Combined with the initiation of negotiations with Russia for concrete

reduction targets the new US posture offers a unique window of opportunity. It is a crucial first step, indicating that the US and Russia are ready to embrace their responsibilities as paramount nuclear powers. Unequivocal action towards complete abandonment of all nuclear weapons (“global zero”) is the only viable bond that can keep the global non-proliferation consensus intact by addressing long-held grievances of the nuclear have-nots.

This creates an opening to reinvigorate the nuclear non-proliferation system as a whole. The challenge in 2010 is to overcome the collective action dilemma that has paralyzed progress over the past decade: a deadlocked cycle of mutual suspicions and the shift of initiative to other parties. One-sided efforts on disarmament are unlikely to achieve success. The goal must be to assure equilibrium between all three pillars of the non-proliferation regime: disarmament, non-proliferation and peaceful use of nuclear technology. To make this happen, second-tier as well as non-nuclear weapon states cannot afford to sit idly. They have an equally important role in making the new global nuclear governance consensus a success. Now that the US has taken the first step, the time for insisting that others go first on these critical issues is over.

This is where rising powers could make a decisive difference. China in particular has an important responsibility as both an established nuclear power and a leading power amongst developing countries. But also India as a nuclear power outside the non-proliferation regime as well as non-nuclear rising powers such as Brazil and South Africa enjoy influential positions within the Non-Aligned Movement. Whether they throw their weight behind hard-line sceptics of the non-proliferation regime such as Iran, Cuba and Venezuela by

refraining from tough action against their attempts to spoil negotiations or contribute to seeking middle-ground between established camps will ultimately make or break the new non-proliferation consensus. Yet by supporting views that brand all responsibility for the lack of progress on the decadence of the paramount nuclear powers, rising powers are shying away from taking responsibility.

The road to progress is clear: Nuclear weapon states need to apply the same rigidity and transparency to their disarmament obligations they request for controlling non-proliferation; and measures for safeguarding peaceful use must unequivocally counteract suspicions of technology denial. The difficulty is that all these steps are interlinked. Striking a balance will therefore require far-reaching cooperation between established and rising powers as well as key non-nuclear weapon states from developing countries.

Concretely, this means that nuclear weapon states need to act on the positive momentum for disarmament initiated by US and Russian leadership and take steps to advance ratification of the treaties to stop nuclear testing and to end the production of fissile material. Beyond this, concerns of non-nuclear weapon states, including negative security guarantees and the implementation of nuclear weapon free zones, need to be addressed by more than mere open-ended declarations. In turn, non-nuclear weapon states and NPT non-signatories that reject the universalisation of stricter safeguards and verification measures need to realize that their resistance to greater transparency on non-proliferation only serves to hamper disarmament. If China, India, Brazil and South Africa, as rising powers, have a real stake in disarmament, they have to show more initiative to contribute to the conditions facilitating such steps.

This also includes dedicated support for innovative approaches to countering the proliferation risk inherent in peaceful use – an essential element of the new non-proliferation consensus given the rapid rise of global demand for nuclear energy. Various proposals based on multilateralizing the nuclear fuel cycle have met great suspicion by states in the Non-Aligned Movement. As largely Western initiatives, this scepticism is directly linked to the political rift within the non-proliferation regime. With its dual identity as an established nuclear power and leader of the Non-Aligned Movement, China plays a key role in addressing the concerns of states that see the debate on multilateral fuel cycle arrangements as merely another attempt to cement the division between haves and have-nots. A proactive stance from China would also call Western powers to task since only a clear commitment to the full internationalization of the fuel cycle activities of all states can be a viable governance vision that strengthens the overall non-proliferation regime.

Now is the time for joint leadership. So far, narrow-minded ideological fights between established groups have hindered progress. Established powers must deliver on their commitments; rising powers must embrace their new responsibilities. Only such joint leadership can bring about a new consensus strong enough to pull the regime from the daunting precipice.

Stephan Mergenthaler and Joel Sandhu are Research Associates with the Global Public Policy Institute (GPPi) in Berlin.
Email: smergenthaler@gppi.net / jsandhu@gppi.net



Member of the German Bundestag, Chairman of the SPD Parliamentary Group,
Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs (ret.), Federal Republic of Germany
MdB, Vorsitzender der SPD-Bundestagsfraktion, Bundesminister des Auswärtigen a.D.,
Bundesrepublik Deutschland

Dr. Frank-Walter Steinmeier

Berlin

Notes
Notizen

Day 2
Tag 2

Munich Security
Conference **msc**
Münchner Sicherheitskonferenz

Security and Stability in the
Middle East

Topic

Sicherheit und Stabilität im Nahen und Mittleren Osten

Introduction to the Topic

Middle East Security: Toward a Decade of Progress?

By Michael Schmidmayr and Thorsten Benner

Another war between Israel and Hezbollah, Gaza moving further toward a failed non-state, the Iraqi civil war refueled, Iran's nuclear program triggering a regional arms race, human development indicators on the decline across the region. It does not take much imagination or audacity to argue that 2010 will be another dismal year for the Middle East. How could the story unfold differently? Could 2010 be the year that starts a decade of progress in this embattled region? To give this more positive scenario a chance, the key players should (re)start the search for a regional security architecture.

The rationale for this is simple: dealing with the region's two hottest-button issues, the Arab-Israeli conflict and Iranian nuclear program, alone will not solve the region's security problems. Both call for regional answers. And even if the Arab-Israeli conflict were over tomorrow, deep security problems such as the divide between Sunni and Shia dominated countries would continue to plague the Middle East. Therefore, the only promising path forward is a comprehensive regional security approach.

Any push in this direction would do well to learn from the failures of previous approaches to establish regional security systems in the Middle East. First, we need to consider the failure of unilateral approaches, such as the "democratization through regime change" effort led by the US administration under George W. Bush. This is just the last in a line of efforts by militarily superior external powers to remodel the Middle Eastern security system to their own image without lasting success – oftentimes creating turbulence and conflict rather than security. Second, we need to learn from past regionally driven efforts to establish (sub)regional security institutions. The Arab League's defense system has never taken on any palpable form. While the Gulf Cooperation Council's defense pact's future is more promising, all these models share one key deficiency: they are too exclusive and keep key actors out (e.g. Israel or Turkey, and even more external actors such as the US

or Russia). Likewise, the multilateral part of the 1991 Madrid conference, which represented the embryonic structure of a regional dialogue system, has not yielded substantive results. Existing global structures such as the UN have proven unable to guarantee regional security.

Some proposals have been made for new regional structures, drawing on the lessons learned from previous experiments and the shortcomings of existing institutions. One overarching lesson is clear: a gradual, confidence-building approach toward a regional security community is the only one with a chance of success. The CSCE/OSCE process can serve as a source of inspiration, giving up on the (unrealistic) idea of collective defense pacts and instituting fora for dialogue instead.

Such a Conference for Security and Cooperation in the Middle East (CSCME) must be inclusive; no regional security initiative can afford excluding 'difficult' players. All states in the region (including those at the margins, such as Turkey) and key external actors (the U.S., the EU, Russia, maybe China) need to be on board.

Like in the Helsinki process, a general conference should establish the principles of engagement, maybe reproducing the famous 'basket' structure of the CSCE process. Most important, it should guarantee a minimum level of mutual recognition between the different parties. The formula for recognition needs to square two key concerns: the concern of authoritarian incumbents with the threat of external regime change and Arab states' reluctance to recognize Israel. A resolution stressing the principle that regime change by force is not an option could be a viable compromise. This addresses the concerns of authoritarian incumbents while also covering Israel. Similar to the ten principles of the CSCE agreement reached in Helsinki in 1975, participants would agree on a range of other basic principles including a minimum definition of human rights.

To be sure, mutual recognition and the institution of some basic principles are a necessary first step, yet not a sufficient process per se. The process would need to prove itself step by step through concrete results: committees and subcommittees would contribute to building confidence, help melt intransigent positions and produce some tangible results. Annual or biennial general assemblies should endorse results, reward cooperative partners and set the agenda for the following period.

Who could sponsor efforts to create the CSCME? Any such organization or forum needs to be regionally driven but outside powers must play a supporting role. So far, regional actors have played on the basis of a zero-sum logic. To nudge them toward the win-win rationale of a comprehensive security arrangement, outside powers can bring in incentives, offering financial support and better political, trade and scientific relations.

However, while ownership of the dialogue structure would fall to regional players, its creation will most likely not take place without leadership from the outside. There lies the first and indispensable role for the US, the EU and possibly some other powers like Russia. They must convince their primary partners in the region – Israel, Saudi Arabia, Egypt – of the CSCME's benefits, thus triggering momentum even more recalcitrant players could hardly ignore.

To be sure, starting such a process needs to go hand in hand with pushing for progress on the region's two hottest security issues, the Iranian nuclear program and the Arab-Israeli conflict. Both need to be addressed in a broader regional context. In its dealings with Iran, other states in the region as well as external powers need to demonstrate that nuclear armament and threatening fellow UN member states is not an option. At the same time, they need to make it clear that, just like any other country in the world, Iran has legitimate interests for security, prestige and recognition. On this basis, negotiations

should continue toward a bargain that includes the civil use of nuclear energy, security guarantees offered by the U.S. as well as perspectives for better long-term integration into a Middle East security architecture and into the global economy and global fora. As for the Arab-Israeli conflict and the question of Palestine in particular, the parties have to move beyond the failed roadmap and take steps toward a comprehensive bi- or multilateral settlement through an international conference. The parameters of such a settlement have been quite clear to the parties for a while. However, all conflict parties refuse to endorse them so far in their entirety, for various tactical as well as strategic reasons. The U.S., Europe and other outside powers would do well to clearly name this game: cheap bargaining strategies as well as proxy wars waged by players in the region at the expense of the peace process will no longer be tolerated.

Does pushing for a CSCME while dealing with the Arab-Israeli and Iranian question guarantee success? The better question is: what is the alternative? Tragically, the past decade has set the bar for success in the Middle East very low. For the region to have a fighting chance to escape its vicious cycle of insecurity, there is no alternative to advancing a regional security architecture.

Michael Schmidmayr is a lecturer and Associate Director for International Relations at the French-German Campus of Sciences Po Paris as well as a fellow with the Global Public Policy Institute (GPPi) in Berlin.

Thorsten Benner is co-founder and Associate Director of the Global Public Policy Institute (GPPi) in Berlin.

Munich Security
Conference **mSc**
Münchner Sicherheitskonferenz

Day 1
Tag 1

Day 2
Tag 2

Day 3
Tag 3

Day 3
Tag 3

Speakers & Participants
Sprecher & Teilnehmer

Organizational Information
Organisatorische Informationen

Agenda

Sunday, 7th February 2010

	The Future of NATO: Its Strategy and Its Missions
9.00	Statements and Discussion
10.00	Panel Discussion NATO's Strategic Concept
12.00	Panel Discussion Afghanistan
13.30	Closing Statement by the Conference Chairman
13.45	Buffet Luncheon (optional)

Sonntag, 7. Februar 2010

	Zukunft der NATO: Ihre Strategie und ihre Missionen
9.00	Statements and Diskussion
10.00	Podiumsdiskussion Das strategische Konzept der NATO
12.00	Podiumsdiskussion Afghanistan
13.30	Schlussstatement des Vorsitzenden der Konferenz
13.45	Mittagsbuffet (optional)

The Future of NATO:
Its Strategy and Its Missions

Topic

Zukunft der NATO: Ihre Strategie und ihre Missionen

Introduction to the Topic

NATO's Political Will in Hard Times

By Timo Noetzel and Philipp Rotmann

The deep divisions within NATO today result from years of disintegration over goals, priorities and capabilities. The 1999 strategic concept has been thoroughly outdated almost since 9/11 and the beginning of the operation in Afghanistan. With America's "first pacific President" finishing his first year in office, it is high time for NATO to redefine its role and decide how to bridge the growing gap between its members.

The new strategic concept will have to address this challenge. While it has always been a cumbersome process in which member states are forced to acknowledge and work out their differences, the development of strategic concepts has also been vital to keep the alliance alive. Because of its disintegration into a fluid 'multi-tier' alliance, however, the task of forging a new political doctrine is tougher than ever before.

NATO's strategic posture is defined by a system of power centres that oppose each other on the most basic issues of strategy. The role of military power is fundamentally contested. The declining role of Europe in the grand strategy of the United States, the lack of common threat perceptions and widely divergent levels of interest and engagement in far-flung parts of the world, and the inability of most European allies to muster capabilities for operations add up to a growing divergence amongst members. Neither the principle of solidarity nor the concept of collective defence remain sacrosanct in a majority of NATO members' strategic thinking. The glue that has kept the alliance together for a long time is loosening.

One tier of member states, represented by the United States, Denmark, the Netherlands and Great Britain wants NATO to embrace a wider set of challenges and to take on a core role in global security and as a guardian of liberal principles. A second tier, led by Germany and France, is firmly against a Global NATO, in part lest such a course may jeopardize its priority to enhance European defence integration, but also for fear that a globalized alliance might alienate China and Russia. Finally, a third tier, led by Poland and the Baltic states, understands the alliance to be first and foremost one of collective territorial defence, based on article 5.

As a result of this ever-growing fragmentation, NATO lacks consensus and coherence; hence, its ability to marshal political will diminish continuously. This is the core challenge to its new strategic concept.

The Atlantic Alliance should take the debate about a new strategic concept as an opportunity to fundamentally reassess its political role and purpose in the global security order. Through this debate, NATO needs to accommodate different positions of its members on a variety of issues without undermining its strategic coherence. The new strategic concept will need to re-balance the interests of the existing tiers of member states and needs to clarify the issue of NATO's global role. Central Europeans will not accept a prioritisation of expeditionary missions before they are safe at home. On the other hand, a NATO restricting itself to a regional role will be of diminishing strategic interest to the United States and would lose its integrative capability as a security organization.

The balance struck in the new strategic concept will therefore need to recognize a political imperative not to focus exclusively on military crisis management operations in faraway countries and oceans at the expense of the pressing concerns of those European members who are not enjoying eternal peace and the full sense of security from conventional attack just yet. On top of collective defence, this will require much more attention and engagement with Russia to overcome the antagonism that has re-emerged out of the wounded pride of the former superpower. Neither NATO nor Washington, London or Berlin can afford to ignore or dismiss the voice of Moscow, inconvenient as it may seem to many in the West, if they want to remain true to the purpose of the Atlantic Alliance and the security of its members.

Such a reshaping of NATO's priorities on the political level must come with a stronger operational focus on the alliance's crisis management missions, from coherent aims and strategy through capabilities and force generation to doctrine, rules of engagement and command structures. The crucial case will be the future of ISAF, the alliance's flagship operation in Afghanistan, for which the London conference of January 28

marks the next turning point of an ongoing process of strategic debate.

In the development of a new strategic concept, practical solutions to many of the rifts within NATO will depend on introducing a new principle of 'variable geometry' which would enable a variety of coalitions within and across tiers to contribute particular assets, support particular operations and promote particular policy issues. If brought to life by creative institutional design, 'variable geometry' will help to reduce the explosive growth in complex ad-hoc arrangements in force generation, operational rules of engagement and collective assets that have progressively reduced NATO's agility and flexibility in recent years. It will also be a key foundation for addressing many of the specific priorities of each tier.

To reassure the Central and Eastern European tier, NATO member states should agree on reinterpretation and ultimately reform of Article 5. Beyond a renewed commitment to collective defence as the backbone of the Alliance, its meaning and interpretation needs to be modernized to embrace new threats such as cyber warfare. By tying emerging threats into the alliance structures, NATO can both reassure its more vulnerable members and better avoid inadvertent escalation, one of the key dangers of cyber warfare.

This step needs to come with a broader process of political and institutional reform addressing NATO's cooperation with the European Union and its strategic partnership with Russia that is in urgent need of revitalization. Variable geometry will provide new ways of overcoming the paralyzing obstacles to deeper NATO-EU ties, allowing NATO to draw on some of the advances in EU defence integration. Along with the direct needs of ongoing operations and strategic enablers such as airlift, defence integration is the only realistic driver to improve military capabilities on the part of European members right now. The capability gap is not confined to hardware, however – for example, institutional knowledge and capacity on places like Pakistan remains minimal in most European capitals.

Beyond the strategic concept itself, the debate about the conditions of membership needs to be taken forward. A full American commitment to NATO will re-emerge only if European nations are willing and become capable to share the burden of global stability for the wider Western world. If this scenario were to be pursued, is it sustainable in the medium-term to strictly limit potential membership to the countries of Europe? What should be the new conditions if the membership article 10 was changed? Not every key country can become a member, either, so NATO's partnership structures need to be overhauled to provide for different levels of co-operation for close partners on the way into the alliance as well as for other important countries or international organizations. Again, variable geometry could help bridge the gap between the European isolationist camp and the two other tiers if a fundamental bargain with very few obvious candidates such as Australia was struck.

Now is time to set NATO on either of two paths: Either the alliance will reverse to its traditional posture of being a collective defense organization with an elaborated diplomatic and politico-military apparatus, or it will take the leap and become what Brzezinski called a "hub of a globe-spanning web of various regional cooperative-security undertakings among states with the growing power to act".

Timo Noetzel is Senior Policy Advisor to the Chairman of the Munich Security Conference. He is also a Research Group Leader at Konstanz University and a Fellow with the stiftung neue verantwortung, Berlin.

Philipp Rotmann is a McCloy Scholar at the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, and a Fellow with the Global Public Policy Institute (GPPi) in Berlin.



Minister of National Defence, Canada

Peter Gordon MacKay

Ottawa

Notes

Notizen



Admiral, U.S. European Commander and Supreme Allied Commander Europe for NATO

James G. Stavridis

Mons

Notes

[Notizen](#)

Munich Security
Conference **msc**
Münchner Sicherheitskonferenz

Day 3
Tag 3

Afghanistan

Topic

Afghanistan

Introduction to the Topic

Engage, or Lose: A New Grand Bargain on Afghan Strategy

By Timo Noetzel and Philipp Rotmann

The coming weeks and months are going to seal the fate of the US-European partnership in Afghanistan. With Canada and the Netherlands close to a quick exit and Germany also debating a timeline toward exit, the new U.S. strategy is the final chance for the alliance to strike a grand bargain on goals, means, burden-sharing and implementation and to avoid a failure of the ISAF mission. Most allies recognize that absent a major turnaround before President Obama's July 2011 mile stone (and similar political constraints in other alliance capitals), strategic defeat for ISAF is a real possibility. If we fail, every ally – including Washington – will have an even harder time rebuilding political support at home, with potentially disastrous consequences.

For NATO to make the U.S. strategy fully its own allies must strike a new consensus on both the politico-strategic and the operational level. For each element of a reliable transition to Afghan security responsibility, NATO members need to find political agreement on how to make it happen: first, building effective Afghan security forces; second, improving Afghan governance and accountability; third, regaining the initiative against the insurgency; and fourth, focusing resources on populated areas to protect the people.

After years of neglect, a new American President refocused his country's attention from Iraq to Afghanistan, appointed a new commander and more than doubled U.S. forces to implement a radically revised and more limited strategy. On the substance, the U.S. set goals that its European allies can much more easily support. From his March 2009 strategy to his December speech at West Point, Obama moved from “disrupt, dismantle and eventually destroy extremists” to “deny al Qaeda a safe haven” and “the Taliban the ability to overthrow the government.” Compared to his predecessor, Obama discarded the language of “whatever it takes” for “goals that ... can be achieved at a reasonable cost, and [that] we need to achieve to secure our interests,” and chose not to mention “victory” even a single time. By pragmatically reducing its political objectives, the United

States opened the door to a substantive power-sharing deal with a “degraded” Taliban who no longer pose an existential threat to the Afghan state and government.

At the same time, crucial preconditions for such a deal are outside the reach of Western influence and strategy-making. What if the Afghan government and sub-national authorities remain flawed partners in 2011 and beyond? What if, for instance, Pakistan is unable or unwilling to prevent Al Qaeda and the Taliban from using parts of its ungoverned spaces as sanctuary, or if Iran uses its influence in Afghanistan to retaliate against Western pressure to give up its nuclear program? In addition, the July 2011 timeline sets expectations far too high in almost every sector, given the level of complexity involved in Afghanistan. Actors on the ground but NATO in particular will need to find ways to cope with this.

If Washington does not want to face these challenges alone, surrounded by only a token alliance similar to the more recent period in Iraq, it needs its allies genuinely engaged in a common cause. In order to better absorb friction, the U.S. and its allies rapidly need to build deeper intellectual and institutional links. The current trend points to the opposite direction: the new two-tier ISAF command structure in Kabul concentrated almost all of the key positions in the hands of U.S. or British officers.

With renewed engagement, America's allies expect to have some reasonable influence on strategy – not to start from scratch, but to find openness and serious engagement with their questions. How to deal with the drug economy effectively? How to build civilian governance capacity and foster genuine checks and balances against major corruption in Afghan politics? After all, more dollars do not always make better results. Finally, we have yet to open debate about a long-term perspective for stabilization and development in Afghanistan, including voices and engagement, perhaps even troops, from the region and the Muslim world.

Such a reengagement will require three steps to be taken. First: get real. Some allies such as Germany need to catch up to the U.S., Britain, Canada, Denmark or the Netherlands in conducting a deep and honest review of their performance and their willingness to provide resources and political will so far.

Second: clear the air. Years of small slights in every direction – whether about police training, civilian casualties or deals with insurgent groups – left the sense of trust into the loyalty and commitment of partners in tatters. Neither is as one-sided as it might seem. Political and military support was offered and rejected by the U.S. in 2001, only to be bitterly missed when things turned for the worse. NATO allowed the Taliban insurgency to re-emerge only because it collectively failed to take the challenge of stabilization and state-building seriously in the first few years after the Bonn Agreement.

Third: rebuild the coalition in order to make a genuinely common strategy. To breathe new life into the mission and realize the commitments made on January 28 in London, the allies need to go beyond technical tinkering and small-scale collaboration within safe distances of their respective hot buttons. Unlike Washington, however, Berlin, Paris or Madrid failed so far to support their insights with a rapid increase of resources or institutional change, as required.

There is no obvious fix. The Afghan operation threatens to overburden NATO. The alliance struggles to maintain politico-strategic unity and lacks adequate capabilities. Inevitably, failure in Afghanistan would result in growing strategic rifts within NATO and will shrink its potential as a global security actor. However, regardless the degree of fallout, Afghanistan is not going to be NATO's last stabilization challenge. The glaring gaps of European military forces trained for counter-insurgency as well as police builders, governance and development experts ready to deploy into war and conflict zones require better institutional responses, as does the need to capture their experiences, support critical reflection and contribute to

collective learning. And most importantly, a real “civilian surge” requires a much greater reliance on and development of civilian capacity.

A new deal for the second stage of post-9/11 international engagement in Afghanistan requires a willingness to invest more from European countries, but it also requires America to be engaged and compromise where its allies offer to take a lead – particularly as results rarely flow directly from dollars spent and troops deployed.

Timo Noetzel is Senior Policy Advisor to the Chairman of the Munich Security Conference. He is also a Research Group Leader at Konstanz University and a Fellow with the stiftung neue verantwortung, Berlin.

Philipp Rotmann is a McCloy Scholar at the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, and a Fellow with the Global Public Policy Institute (GPPi) in Berlin.



President, Islamic Republic of Afghanistan

Hamid Karzai

Kabul

Notes

Notizen

Munich Security
Conference **mSc**
Münchner Sicherheitskonferenz

Day 1
Tag 1

Day 2
Tag 2

Day 3
Tag 3

Speakers & Participants
Sprecher & Teilnehmer

Speakers & Participants
Sprecher & Teilnehmer

Organizational Information
Organisatorische Informationen

Speakers, Panelists and Moderators

Sprecher, Panelisten and Moderatoren

Secretary of State for Defense	Bob	Ainsworth	page 73
U.S. Secretary of State (ret.), Chair, Albright Stonebridge Group	Dr. Madeleine K.	Albright	page 63
President	Ilham Heydar oglu	Aliyev	page 17
Chairman, King Faisal Center for Research and Islamic Studies	Prince Turki Al Faisal bin Abdulaziz	Al Saud	page 48
Director General, International Atomic Energy Agency	Yukiya	Amano	page 38
Deputy Foreign Minister	Daniel	Ayalon	page 49
Ambassador (ret.), Managing Director, McLarty Associates	Richard	Burt	page 39
Minister of Foreign Affairs	Prof. Dr. Ahmet	Davutoğlu	page 50
Prime Minister, Palestinian National Authority	Sallam	Fayyad	page 51
Main Presenter, BBC World News	Nik	Gowing	Moderator
Chief Executive Officer, RWE – Vorsitzender des Vorstands, RWE	Dr.-Ing. Jürgen	Großmann	page 18
Minister of Defence Bundesminister der Verteidigung	Dr. Karl-Theodor Freiherr	zu Guttenberg	page 14, page 61
Ambassador, U.S. Special Envoy to Afghanistan and Pakistan	Richard C.	Holbrooke	page 74
President	Dr. Gjorge	Ivanov	page 32
First Deputy Prime Minister	Sergei B.	Ivanov	page 40
Minister of Foreign Affairs	Yang	Jiechi	page 16
General, National Security Advisor	James L.	Jones	page 30
President	Hamid	Karzai	page 72
President, Federation of German Industries (BDI) Präsident, Bundesverband der Deutschen Industrie	Prof. Dr.-Ing. Hans-Peter	Keitel	page 15
Senator, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations	John F.	Kerry	page 41
Minister of State for Foreign Affairs	Nawabzada Malik Amad	Khan	page 75
Anchorman, ZDF (heute journal) Nachrichtenmoderator, ZDF (heute journal)	Dr. Claus	Kleber	Moderator
Chairman of the International Affairs Committee, State Duma of the Russian Federation	Konstantin	Kosachev	page 64

Minister of Foreign Affairs	Sergey	Lavrov	page 29
Senator, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs	Joseph I.	Lieberman	page 52
Minister of National Defence	Peter Gordon	MacKay	page 65
Senator	John	McCain	page 76
Chairman, Atlantik-Brücke e.V. – Vorsitzender, Atlantik-Brücke e.V.	Friedrich	Merz	Moderator
Minister of Foreign Affairs	Miguel Ángel	Moratinos Cuyaubé	page 31
National Security Advisor (ret.), Governor of West Bengal	Mayankote Kelath	Narayanan	page 42
Minister President of Baden-Württemberg, Designated EU Commissioner for Energy Ministerpräsident des Landes Baden-Württemberg, Designierter EU Kommissar für Energie	Günther H.	Oettinger	page 19
Minister of Foreign Affairs	Radosław	Sikorski	page 33
Senior Advisor to the President for International Affairs	Dr. Rangin Dadfar	Spanta	page 77
Admiral, U.S. European Commander and Supreme Allied Commander Europe for NATO	James G.	Stavridis	page 66
Associate Editor, Financial Times	Editor	Stephens	Moderator
Secretary General, NATO	Anders Fogh	Rasmussen	page 60
Deputy Secretary of State	Prof. James B.	Steinberg	page 20
Member of the German Bundestag, Chairman of the SPD Parliamentary Group, Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs (ret.) MdB, Vorsitzender der SPD-Bundestagsfraktion, Bundesminister des Auswärtigen a.D.	Dr. Frank-Walter	Steinmeier	page 43
Director of Foreign Policy and Defence, Centre for European Reform	Tomas	Valasek	page 62
Vice-Chancellor and Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs Vize-Kanzler und Bundesminister des Auswärtigen	Dr. Guido	Westerwelle	page 28
Deputy Chairman, State Duma of the Russian Federation, President of the Russian Gas Society	Prof. Dr. Valerie Afonasyevich	Yazev	page 21
Chairman of the Management Board, Institute of Contemporary Development	Prof. Igor	Yurgens	page 53

Participants

Teilnehmer



Aaviksoo, Prof. Jaak
Minister of Defence, Republic of Estonia, Tallinn



Abrial, Stéphane
General, Supreme Allied Commander Transformation, NATO, Brussels



Achleitner, Dr. Paul
Member of the Management Board, Allianz SE, Munich;
Member of the Advisory Council, Munich Security
Conference, Munich
Mitglied des Vorstands, Allianz SE, München; Mitglied
des Beirats, Münchner Sicherheitskonferenz, München



Ainsworth, Bob
Secretary of State for Defense, United Kingdom of
Great Britain and Northern Ireland, London



Al Saud, Prince Turki Al Faisal Al Abdulaziz
Chairman, King Faisal Center for Research and Islamic
Studies, Riyadh



Albright, Dr. Madeleine K.
U.S. Secretary of State (ret.), Chair, Albright
Stonebridge Group, Washington D.C.



Aliyev, Ilham Heydar oglu
President, Republic of Azerbaijan, Baku



Amado, Luis Filipe Marques
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Portugal, Lisbon



Amano, Yukiya
Director General, IAEA, Vienna



Andreani, Pascale
Ambassador, Permanent Representative of the French
Republic to NATO, Brussels



Arad, Dr. Uzi
National Security Advisor, Head of the National Security
Council, State of Israel, Tel Aviv



Arnold, Rainer
Member of the German Bundestag, Spokesperson
Defence Policy of the SPD Parliamentary Group, Berlin
MdB, Sprecher AG Sicherheits- und Verteidigungspolitik
der SPD-Bundestagsfraktion, Deutscher Bundestag,
Berlin



Asmus, Dr. Ronald D.
Executive Director, German Marshall Fund of the United
States, Brussels



Asselborn, Jean
Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs,
Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, Luxembourg



Aurescu, Bogdan
State Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Romania, Bucharest



Ayalon, Daniel
Deputy Foreign Minister, State of Israel, Tel Aviv



Barbknecht, Klaus-Dieter
Board Member, Commercial Affairs/Human Resources, Verbundnetz Gas, Leipzig
Vorstand Kaufmännisches/Personal, Verbundnetz Gas, Leipzig



Barták, Dr. Martin
Minister of Defence, Czech Republic, Prague



Bartels, Hans-Peter
Member of the German Bundestag, Berlin
MdB, Deutscher Bundestag, Berlin



Bayh, Evan
Senator, U.S. Senate, Washington D.C.



Beck, Ernst-Reinhard
Member of the German Bundestag, Member of the Defence Committee, German Bundestag, Berlin
MdB, Mitglied im Verteidigungsausschuss, Deutscher Bundestag, Berlin



Belloni, Dr. Aldo
Member of the Executive Board, Linde, Munich
Mitglied des Vorstands, Linde, München



Berger, Prof. Dr. h.c. Roland
Chairman of the Supervisory Board, Roland Berger Strategy Consultants, Munich
Vorsitzender des Aufsichtsrats, Roland Berger Strategy Consultants, München



Berger, Samuel R.
Co-Chairman and Co-Founder, Stonebridge International LLP, Washington D.C.



Biegun, Stephen E.
Vice President of International Governmental Affairs, Ford Motor Company, Dearborn



Bildt, Carl
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Kingdom of Sweden, Stockholm



Bischoff, Dr. Manfred
Chairman of the Supervisory Board, Daimler, Stuttgart
Vorsitzender des Aufsichtsrats, Daimler, Stuttgart



Bitterlich, Prof. Joachim
Chairman, Veolia Environnement Germany, Berlin
Vorsitzender, Veolia Environnement Deutschland, Berlin



Bold, Luvsanvandan
Minister of Defence, Mongolia, Ulan Bator



von Bomhard, Dr. Nikolaus
Chairman of the Board, Munich Re Group, Munich;
Member of the Advisory Council, Munich Security Conference, Munich
Vorsitzender des Vorstands, Münchner Rückversicherungs-Gesellschaft, München; Mitglied des Beirats, Münchner Sicherheitskonferenz, München



Born, Dr. Wolf-Ruthart
State Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Federal Republic of Germany, Berlin
Staatssekretär, Auswärtiges Amt, Berlin



Bornemann, Jürgen
Lieutenant General, German Military Representative to the Military Committee of NATO, EU and WEU, Brussels
Generalleutnant, Deutscher Militärischer Vertreter im Militärkomitee der NATO, EU und WEU, Brüssel



Brandenburg, Ulrich
Ambassador, Permanent Representative of the Federal Republic of Germany to NATO, Brussels
Botschafter, Ständiger Vertreter der Bundesrepublik Deutschland bei der NATO, Brüssel



Braun, Dr. Harald
Head of the Central Directorate-General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Federal Republic of Germany, Berlin
Leiter der Zentralabteilung, Auswärtiges Amt, Berlin



de Brichambaut, Marc Perrin
Ambassador, Secretary General, Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, Vienna



Brod, Michael Ehrenfried
President of the Military District Administration South, German Armed Forces, Munich
Präsident der Wehrbereichsverwaltung Süd der Bundeswehr, München



Brok, Elmar
Member of the European Parliament, Foreign Policy Coordinator of the European People's Party (EPP), Brussels
MdEP, Außenpolitischer Koordinator der Europäischen Volkspartei (EVP), Brüssel



Burt, Richard
Ambassador (ret.), Managing Director, McLarty Associates, Washington D.C.



Calmy-Rey, Micheline
Federal Councillor, Head of the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs, Swiss Confederation, Bern
Bundesrätin, Vorsteherin des Eidgenössischen Departements für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten, Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft, Bern



Campbell, Sir Walter Menzies
Member of the British Parliament, House of Commons, London



Chacón Piqueras, Dr. Carme
Minister of Defence, Kingdom of Spain, Madrid



Chalyi, Oleksandr
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Kiev



Chambliss, Clarence Saxby
Senator, U.S. Senate, Washington D.C.



Chipman, Dr. John
Director-General and Chief Executive, International Institute for Strategic Studies, London



Clarke, Charles
Member of the British Parliament, House of Commons, London



Cohen, Prof. Eliot A.
Counselor to the Secretary of State (ret.), Robert E. Osgood Professor of Strategic Studies, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington D.C.



Cohen, William S.
Secretary of Defence (ret.), Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, The Cohen Group, Washington D.C.



Collins., Susan M.
Senator, U.S. Senate, Washington D.C.



Cowper-Coles, Sherard
Ambassador, Special Representative to Afghanistan and Pakistan of the Foreign Secretary, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, London



Craner, Lorne W.
President, International Republican Institute, Washington D.C.



de Crem, Pieter
Minister of Defence, Kingdom of Belgium, Brussels



Crocker, Ryan C.
Ambassador (ret.), Dean and Executive Professor, George Bush School of Government and Public Service, Texas A&M University, College Station



Cserveny, Vilmos
Assistant Director General for External Relations and Policy Coordination, IAEA, Vienna



Daalder, Ivo H.
Ambassador, U.S. Permanent Representative to NATO, Brussels



Daase, Prof. Dr. Christopher
Member of the Executive Board and Head of Research Department, Peace Research Institute, Frankfurt
Mitglied des Vorstands und Programmbereichsleiter, Hessische Stiftung für Friedens- und Konfliktforschung, Frankfurt



Darabos, Mag. Norbert
Minister of Defence and Sports, Federal Republic of Austria, Vienna
Bundesminister für Landesverteidigung und Sport, Bundesrepublik Österreich, Wien



Davutoğlu, Prof. Dr. Ahmet
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Turkey, Ankara



Di Paola, Giampaolo
Admiral, Chairman of the Military Committee, NATO, Brussels



Dibelius, Dr. Alexander
Director Germany, Goldman Sachs International, Frankfurt
Geschäftsführer Deutschland, Goldman Sachs International, Frankfurt



Dora, Johann-Georg
Lieutenant General, Deputy Chief-of-Staff of the German Federal Armed Forces, Ministry of Defence, Federal Republic of Germany, Berlin
Generalleutnant, Stlv. Generalinspekteur der Bundeswehr, Bundesministerium der Verteidigung, Berlin



Drozdiak, William
President, The American Council on Germany, New York



Edelman, Dr. Eric S.
Ambassador, Undersecretary of Defense (ret.), Distinguished Fellow, Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments, Washington D.C.



Ederer, Dr. Markus

Head of the Policy Planning Staff, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Federal Republic of Germany, Berlin
Leiter Planungsstab, Auswärtiges Amt, Berlin



Eide, Kai

Ambassador, Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General for Afghanistan and Head of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan, Kabul



Eldon, Stewart

Ambassador, Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to NATO, Brussels



Enders, Dr. Thomas

President and Chief Executive Officer, AIRBUS, Toulouse



van Essen, Jörg

Member of the German Bundestag, Deputy Member of the Defence Committee, German Bundestag, Berlin
MdB, Stlv. Mitglied im Auswärtigen Ausschuss, Deutscher Bundestag, Berlin



Evans, Prof. Gareth

Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Commonwealth of Australia (ret.), Honorary Professorial Fellow of the School of Social and Political Sciences, University of Melbourne, Melbourne



Fassi-Fihri, M. Taïb

Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, Kingdom of Morocco, Rabat



Fayyad, Sallam

Prime Minister, Palestinian National Authority, Ramallah



Fitschen, Jürgen

Member of the Management Board, Deutsche Bank, Frankfurt
Mitglied des Vorstands, Deutsche Bank, Frankfurt



Flake, Jeffrey

Representative, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington D.C.



Fox, Dr. Liam

Shadow Secretary of State for Defense, House of Commons, London



Frankenberger, Klaus-Dieter

Senior Foreign Policy Editor, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Frankfurt
Redakteur für Außenpolitik, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Frankfurt



Frattini, Franco

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Italy, Rome



Friedrich, Dr. Hans-Peter

Member of the German Bundestag, Chairman of the CSU Committee of the CDU/CSU Parliamentary Group, Berlin
MdB, Vorsitzender der CSU Landesgruppe der CDU/CSU-Bundestagsfraktion, Deutscher Bundestag, Berlin



Fritsche, Klaus-Dieter

State Secretary, Ministry of the Interior, Federal Republic of Germany, Berlin
Staatssekretär, Bundesministerium des Innern, Berlin



Gallagher, Richard K.

Vice Admiral, U.S. Military Representative to NATO Military Committee, Brussels



Gallois, Louis
Chief Executive Officer, EADS, Paris



Gehrcke, Wolfgang
Member of the German Bundestag, Berlin
MdB, Deutscher Bundestag, Berlin



Gill, Dr. Robert Bates
Director, International Peace Research Institute,
Stockholm



Gönül, Mehmet Vecdi
Minister of Defence, Republic of Turkey, Ankara



Gordon, Philip H.
Assistant Secretary for European and Eurasian Affairs,
United States of America, Washington D.C.



Gottlieb, Prof. Dr. h.c. Sigmund
Editor-in-chief, Bavarian Broadcasting Corporation,
Munich
Chefredakteur, Bayerischer Rundfunk, München



Gottwald, Peter
Ambassador, Federal Government Commissioner for
Disarmament and Arms Control, Ministry of Foreign
Affairs, Federal Republic of Germany, Berlin
Botschafter, Beauftragter für Abrüstung und
Rüstungskontrolle, Auswärtiges Amt, Berlin



Gowing, Nik
Main Presenter, BBC World News, London



Graf, Thomas
Deputy Director of the private office of the Secretary
General, NATO, Brussels



Graham, Lindsey O.
Senator, U.S. Senate, Washington D.C.



Grant, Charles
Director, Centre for European Reform, London



Gref, German Oskarewitsch
President and Chief Executive Officer, Sberbank RF,
Moscow; Member of the Advisory Council, Munich
Security Conference, Munich



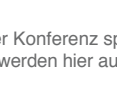
Großmann, Dr.-Ing. Jürgen
Chief Executive Officer, RWE, Essen
Vorsitzender des Vorstands, RWE, Essen



zu Guttenberg, Dr. Karl-Theodor Freiherr
Minister of Defence, Federal Republic of Germany,
Berlin
Bundesminister der Verteidigung, Bundesrepublik
Deutschland, Berlin



Haass, Dr. Richard N.
President, Council on Foreign Relations, New York



Haber, Emily
Political Director, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Federal
Republic of Germany, Berlin
Politische Direktorin, Auswärtiges Amt, Berlin



Hadley, Stephen J.
National Security Advisor (ret.), Senior Advisor for International Affairs, U.S. Institute of Peace, Washington D.C.



Heisbourg, François
Chairman of the Council, International Institute for Strategic Studies, Geneva Centre for Security Policy, London



Haibach, Holger
Member of the German Bundestag, Member of the Defence Committee, German Bundestag, Berlin
MdB, Mitglied des Verteidigungsausschuss, Deutscher Bundestag, Berlin



Hellenthal, Dr. Markus
Chief Executive Officer, Thales Germany, Stuttgart
Vorsitzender der Geschäftsführung, Thales Deutschland, Stuttgart



Halsdorf, Jean-Marie
Minister of Defence, Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, Luxembourg



Helm, Robert W.
Corporate Vice President for Government Relations, Northrop Grumman Corporation, Arlington



Hamáček, Jan
Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, Chamber of Deputies of the Parliament of the Czech Republic, Prague



Herrmann, Joachim
Minister of State, Bavarian State Ministry of the Interior, Munich
Bayerischer Staatsminister des Innern, München



Hanning, Dr. August
State Secretary (ret.), Ministry of the Interior, Federal Republic of Germany, Berlin
Staatssekretär (a.D.), Bundesministerium des Innern, Berlin



Heusgen, Dr. Christoph
Foreign and Security Policy Advisor to the German Chancellor, Federal Chancellery, Federal Republic of Germany, Berlin
Außen- und sicherheitspolitischer Berater der Bundeskanzlerin, Bundeskanzleramt, Berlin



Harman, Jane Margaret
Representative, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington D.C.



Hoagland, Jim
Associate Editor and Chief Foreign Correspondent, The Washington Post, Washington D.C.



Haun, Frank
Chief Executive Officer, Krauss-Maffei Wegmann, Munich; Member of the Advisory Council, Munich Security Conference, Munich
Vorsitzender des Vorstands, Krauss-Maffei Wegmann, München; Mitglied des Beirats, Münchner Sicherheitskonferenz, München



Hoff, Elke
Member of the German Bundestag, Member of the Defence Committee, German Bundestag, Berlin
MdB, Mitglied des Verteidigungsausschuss, Deutscher Bundestag, Berlin



Heintz, Stephen B.
President, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, New York



Holbrooke, Richard C.
Ambassador, U.S. Special Envoy to Afghanistan and Pakistan, Washington D.C.

**Homburger, Birgit**

Member of the German Bundestag, Chairperson of the FDP Parliamentary Group, Berlin
 MdB, Vorsitzende der FDP-Bundestagsfraktion,
 Deutscher Bundestag, Berlin

**Hoyer, Dr. Werner**

Member of the German Bundestag, Minister of State, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Federal Republic of Germany, Berlin
 MdB, Staatsminister, Auswärtiges Amt, Berlin

**Imami, Arben**

Minister of Defence, Republic of Albania, Tirana

**Ischinger, Wolfgang**

Ambassador, Chairman, Munich Security Conference, Munich; Global Head of Governmental Affairs, Allianz SE, Munich
 Botschafter, Vorsitzender, Münchner Sicherheitskonferenz, München;
 Generalbevollmächtigter für Regierungsbeziehungen, Allianz SE, München

**Ivanov, Dr. Gjorge**

Macedonian President, Skopje

**Ivanov, Prof. Igor S.**

Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation (ret.), First Deputy Principal, Moscow State Institution for International Relations (MGIMO), Moscow

**Ivanov, Sergei B.**

First Deputy Prime Minister, Russian Federation, Moscow

**Jackson, Bruce P.**

President, Project on Transitional Democracies, Washington D.C.

**Japaridze, Tedi**

Ambassador (ret.), Alternate Director General, International Centre for Black Sea Studies, Athens

**Jelušič, Dr. Ljubica**

Minister of Defence, Republic of Slovenia, Ljubljana

**Jeremic, Vuk**

Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Serbia, Belgrade

**Jiechi, Yang**

Minister of Foreign Affairs, People's Republic of China, Beijing

**Joffe, Dr. Josef**

Editor, Die Zeit, Hamburg
 Herausgeber, Die Zeit, Hamburg

**Jones, James L.**

General, U.S. National Security Advisor, The White House, Washington D.C.

**Juknevičienė, Rasa**

Minister of National Defence, Republic of Lithuania, Vilnius

**Kagan, Dr. Frederick W.**

Resident Scholar, American Enterprise Institute, Washington D.C.



Kaiser, Prof. Dr. Karl
 Director Program on Trans-Atlantic Relations,
 Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, John F.
 Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University,
 Cambridge



Karzai, Hamid
 President, Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, Kabul



Kather, Roland
 Lieutenant General, Commander Allied Land
 Component Command, NATO, Heidelberg
 Generalleutnant, Kommandeur Allied Land Component
 Command, NATO, Heidelberg



Keane, John M.
 General (ret.), Vice Chief of Staff (ret.), Senior
 Managing Director and Co-founder, Keane Advisors,
 West Chester



Keitel, Prof. Dr.-Ing. Hans-Peter
 President, Federation of German Industries (BDI),
 Berlin
 Präsident, Bundesverband der Deutschen Industrie,
 Berlin



Kempe, Frederick
 President and Chief Executive Officer, The Atlantic
 Council of the United States, Washington D.C.



Lord Kerr of Kinlochard, John
 Ambassador (ret.), Deputy Chairman and Senior
 Independent Director, Royal Dutch Shell, The Hague



Kerry, John F.
 Senator, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign
 Relations, U.S. Senate, Washington D.C.



Khalilzad, Dr. Zalmay
 Ambassador (ret.), Chairman and Chief Executive
 Officer, Khalilzad Associates, Washington D.C.



Khan, Nawabzada Malik Amad
 Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Islamic Republic of
 Pakistan, Islamabad



Kissinger, Dr. Henry A.
 Secretary of State (ret.), Chairman Kissinger Associates
 Inc., New York



von Klaeden, Eckart
 Member of the German Bundestag, Minister of State,
 Federal Chancellery, Federal Republic of Germany,
 Berlin
 MdB, Staatsminister, Bundeskanzleramt, Berlin



Klamer, Guenter
 Head of Development, Sales Support and Aftersales,
 BMW, Munich
 Bereichsleiter Entwicklung und Unterstützung Vertrieb
 und Aftersales, BMW, München



Kleber, Dr. Claus
 Anchorman, ZDF (heute journal), Mainz
 Nachrichtenmoderator, ZDF (heute journal), Mainz



von Kleist, Ewald-Heinrich
 Publisher and Founder of the Munich Security
 Conference, Munich
 Verleger und Begründer der Münchner
 Sicherheitskonferenz, München



Klose, Hans-Ulrich
 Member of the German Bundestag, Deputy Chairman
 of the Foreign Committee, German Bundestag, Berlin
 MdB, Stlv. Vorsitzender Auswärtiger Ausschuss,
 Deutscher Bundestag, Berlin



Knobloch, Dr. h.c. Charlotte
President, Central Council of Jews in Germany, Berlin
Präsidentin, Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland, Berlin



Kohler, Berthold
Editor, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Frankfurt
Herausgeber, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Frankfurt



Kohout, Dr. Jan
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Czech Republic, Prague



Kornblum, John C.
Ambassador (ret.), Senior Counselor, Nörr Stiefenhofer
Lutz, Munich



Kornelius, Stefan
Foreign Editor, Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich
Ressortleiter Außenpolitik, Süddeutsche Zeitung,
München



Kosachev, Konstantin
Chairman of the International Affairs Committee, State
Duma of the Russian Federation, Moscow



Kossendey, Thomas
Member of the German Bundestag, Parliamentary State
Secretary, Ministry of Defence, Federal Republic of
Germany, Berlin
MdB, Parlamentarischer Staatssekretär,
Bundesministerium der Verteidigung, Berlin



Kotenev, Vladimir V.
Ambassador of the Russian Federation to the Federal
Republic of Germany, Berlin



Kouchner, Bernard
Minister of Foreign and European Affairs, French
Republic, Paris



Kyl, Jon L.
Senator, U.S. Senate, Washington D.C.



Lahl, Kersten
Lieutenant General (ret.), President, Federal College for
Security Studies, Berlin
Generalleutnant (a.D.), Präsident, Bundesakademie für
Sicherheitspolitik, Berlin



Lajčák, Dr. Miroslav
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Slovak Republic, Bratislava



Graf Lambsdorff, Alexander
Member of the European Parliament, Deputy Chairman
of the ALDE Group, Brussels
MdEP, Stv. Vorsitzender der ALDE-Gruppe,
Europäisches Parlament, Brüssel



Lamers, Dr. Karl A.
Member of the German Bundestag, Deputy Chairman
of the Defence Committee, Berlin
MdB, Stv. Vorsitzender des Verteidigungsausschusses,
Deutscher Bundestag, Berlin



Langhammer, Fred H.
Chairman, Global Affairs, The Estée Lauder Companies
Inc., New York



Larrabee, Dr. F. Stephen
Senior Political Scientist, RAND Corporation,
Washington D.C.



Lather, Karl-Heinz
General, Chief of Staff, Supreme Headquarters Allied Power Europe, NATO, Casteau



Lauk, Prof. Dr. Kurt J.
President of the Economic Council of the CDU, Berlin;
President of Globe Capital Partners, Stuttgart
Präsident des Wirtschaftsrates der CDU, Berlin;
Präsident, Globe Capital Partners, Stuttgart



Lauvergeon, Anne
Chief Executive Officer, Areva, Paris; Member of the
Advisory Council, Munich Security Conference, Munich



Lavrov, Sergey
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Russian Federation, Moscow



Lehman, John F.
Chairman and Founding Partner, J.F. Lehman &
Company, New York



Lellouche, Pierre
Minister of State for European Affairs, French Republic,
Paris



Lieberman, Joseph I.
Senator, Chairman of the Senate Committee on
Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, U.S.
Senate, Washington D.C.



Lieģis, Imants Viesturs
Minister for Defence, Republic of Latvia, Riga



Lürssen, Friedrich
Managing Partner, Fr. Lürssen Werft, Bremen
Geschäftsführender Gesellschafter, Fr. Lürssen Werft,
Bremen



MacKay, Peter Gordon
Minister of National Defence, Canada, Ottawa



Mahr, Dr. Horst
Chairman, Foreign Affairs Association, Munich
Erster Vorsitzender, Gesellschaft für Außenpolitik,
München



oglu Mammadyarov, Elmar Maharram
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Azerbaijan, Baku



Mangold, Prof. Dr. Klaus
Chairman, Committee on Eastern European Economic
Relations of the German Economy, Berlin
Vorsitzender, Ost-Ausschuss der Deutschen Wirtschaft,
Berlin



Marshall, James Creel
Representative, U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington D.C.



Martynov, Sergei N.
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Belarus, Minsk



Mascolo, Georg
Editor-in-chief, Der Spiegel, Hamburg
Chefredakteur, Der Spiegel, Hamburg



Mathews, Jessica Tuchman
President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington D.C.



McCain, John
Senator, U.S. Senate, Washington D.C.



McChrystal, Stanley A.
General, Commander, International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), Kabul



McDonald, Simon
Foreign Policy Advisor to the British Prime Minister, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, London



Merk, Dr. Beate
Minister of State, Bavarian State Ministry of Justice and Consumer Protection, Munich
Staatsministerin, Bayerisches Staatsministerium der Justiz und für Verbraucherschutz, München



Merz, Friedrich
Chairman, Atlantik-Brücke e.V., Berlin
Vorsitzender, Atlantik-Brücke e.V., Berlin



van Middelkoop, Eimert
Minister of Defence, Kingdom of the Netherlands, The Hague



Miloshoski, Antonijo
Macedonian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Skopje



Mißfelder, Philipp
Member of the German Bundestag, Member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Berlin
MdB, Mitglied des Auswärtigen Ausschusses, Deutscher Bundestag, Berlin



Mladenov, Nickolay E.
Minister of Defence, Republic of Bulgaria, Sofia



de Montbrial, Prof. Thierry
Founder and President, French Institute for International Relations, Paris



Moratinos Cuyaubé, Miguel Ángel
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Kingdom of Spain, Madrid



Morel, Pierre
EU Special Representative for Central Asia, Council of the European Union, Brussels



Morin, Marie-Lucie
National Security Advisor to the Canadian Prime Minister, Associate Secretary to the Canadian Cabinet, Ottawa



Müller, Kerstin
Member of the German Bundestag, Spokesperson on Foreign Policy of the Alliance 90/The Greens Parliamentary Group, Berlin
MdB, Außenpolitische Sprecherin der Bündnis 90/Die Grünen-Bundestagsfraktion, Deutscher Bundestag, Berlin



Müller, Klaus-Peter
Chairman of the Supervisory Board, Commerzbank, Frankfurt
Vorsitzender des Aufsichtsrats, Commerzbank, Frankfurt



Müllner, Karl
Major General, Military Policy Director, Ministry of Defence, Federal Republic of Germany, Berlin
Generalmajor, Leiter der Stabsabteilung Militärpolitik und Rüstungskontrolle, Bundesministerium der Verteidigung, Berlin



Nouripour, Omid
Member of the German Bundestag, Berlin
MdB, Deutscher Bundestag, Berlin



Murphy, Philip D.
Ambassador of the United States of America to the Federal Republic of Germany, Berlin



Nuland, Victoria
Ambassador (ret.), Washington D.C.



Mützelburg, Bernd
Ambassador, Special Representative for Pakistan and Afghanistan, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Federal Republic of Germany, Berlin
Botschafter, Sonderbeauftragter für Pakistan und Afghanistan, Auswärtiges Amt, Berlin



Nunn, Dr. Samuel A.
Co-Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Nuclear Threat Initiative, Washington D.C.



Mützenich, Rolf
Member of the German Bundestag, Berlin,
MdB, Deutscher Bundestag, Berlin



Nyberg, René
Ambassador (ret.), Chief Executive Officer, East Office of Finnish Industries, Helsinki



Nagl, Dr. John A.
President, Center for a New American Security, Washington D.C.



Fürst zu Oettingen-Spielberg, Albrecht
Member of the German Council on Foreign Relations, Berlin
Mitglied der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik, Berlin



Narayanan, Mayankote Kelath
National Security Advisor (ret.), Governor of West Bengal, Republic of India, Kolkata



Oettinger, Günther H.
Minister President of Baden-Württemberg, Stuttgart; Designated EU Commissioner for Energy, Brussels
Ministerpräsident des Landes Baden-Württemberg, Stuttgart; Designierter EU Kommissar für Energie, Brüssel



Naumann, Dr. Dr. h.c. Klaus
Vice President, German Atlantic Association, Berlin
Vizepräsident, Deutsche Atlantische Gesellschaft, Berlin



Özdemir, Cem
Party Leader, Alliance 90/The Greens, Berlin
Parteivorsitzender, Bündnis 90/Die Grünen, Berlin



Neville-Jones, Baroness Pauline
British National Security Adviser to the Leader of the Opposition, Conservative Party, London



Paet, Urmas
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Estonia, Tallinn

Speakers & Participants
Sprecher & Teilnehmer



de Palacio, Ana Isabel
Member of the Executive Committee and Senior Vice President of International Affairs and Marketing, Areva, Madrid



Pamir, Ümit
Ambassador (ret.), Turkish Member of the NATO Group of Experts, Brussels



Peel, Quentin
International Affairs Editor, Financial Times, London



Perthes, Prof. Dr. Volker
Director and Chairman, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), Berlin
Direktor und Vorsitzender, Deutsches Institut für Internationale Politik und Sicherheit, Berlin



Pflüger, Dr. Friedbert
Senior Advisor, Roland Berger Strategy Consultants, Munich; Visiting Professor, Department of War Studies, King's College, London



von Ploetz, Hans-Friedrich
Ambassador (ret.), German Member of the NATO Group of Experts, Brussels
Botschafter (a.D.), Deutsches Mitglied der NATO Group of Experts, Brüssel



Polenz, Ruprecht
Member of the German Bundestag, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Berlin
MdB, Vorsitzender, Auswärtiger Ausschuss, Deutscher Bundestag, Berlin



Poroshenko, Petro
Minister for Foreign Affairs, Ukraine, Kiev



Porsche, Dr. Wolfgang
Chairman of the Supervisory Board, Porsche Automobil Holding SE, Stuttgart
Vorsitzender des Aufsichtsrates, Porsche Automobil Holding SE, Stuttgart



Powell of Bayswater, Lord Charles
Member of the British Parliament, House of Lords, London



Prinz, Prof. Detlef W.
Owner and Publisher, PrinzMedien Holding, Berlin
Inhaber und Verleger, PrinzMedien Holding, Berlin



Racine, Bruno
French Member of the NATO Group of Experts, Brussels; Director, National Library of France, Paris



Ralston, Joseph W.
General (ret.), Vice Chairman, The Cohen Group, Washington D.C.



Ramms, Egon
General, Commander, Allied Joint Force Command, NATO, Brunssum



Rasmussen, Anders Fogh
Secretary General, NATO, Brussels



Rassoul, Dr. Zalmay
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, Kabul



Reiter, Janusz
Chairman, Center for International Relations, Warsaw



Roth, Kenneth
Executive Director, Human Rights Watch, New York



Reitzle, Prof. Dr.-Ing. Wolfgang
Chairman of the Board, Linde, Munich; Chairman of the Advisory Council, Munich Security Conference, Munich
Vorsitzender des Vorstands, Linde, München;
Vorsitzender des Beirats, MSC, München



Ruck, Dr. Christian
Member of the German Bundestag, Berlin
MdB, Deutscher Bundestag, Berlin



Riekstinš, Maris
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Latvia, Riga



Rudloff, Hans-Joerg
Chairman of the Executive Committee, Barclays Capital, London; Vice Chairman, Novartis, Basel;
Member of the Advisory Council, Munich Security Conference, Munich



Robbe, Reinhold
Parliamentary Commissioner for the Armed Forces of the German Bundestag, Berlin
Wehrbeauftragter des Deutschen Bundestages, Berlin



Rühle, Volker
Minister of Defence (ret.), Federal Republic of Germany, Hamburg
Bundesminister der Verteidigung (a.D.), Hamburg



Roegner, Dr. Harry
Member of the Executive Board for Communication & IR, Linde, Munich
Bereichsvorstand Kommunikation & IR, Linde, München



Rühl, Prof. Dr. Lothar
Department of Political Science, University of Cologne
Forschungsinstitut für Politische Wissenschaft und Europäische Fragen, Universität zu Köln



Rogozin, Dr. Dmitry
Ambassador, Permanent Representative and Head of the Mission of the Russian Federation to NATO, Brussels



Sanchez, Loretta
Representative, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington D.C.



Rotfeld, Prof. Adam Daniel
Foreign Minister (ret.), Member of the NATO Group of Experts for the Republic of Poland, Brussels



Sandschneider, Prof. Dr. Eberhard
Director, Otto-Wolff-Research Institute of the German Council on Foreign Relations, Berlin
Direktor, Otto Wolff-Institut der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik, Berlin



Roth, Claudia
Member of the German Bundestag, Party Leader, Alliance 90/The Greens, Berlin
MdB, Parteivorsitzende, Bündnis 90/Die Grünen, Deutscher Bundestag, Berlin



Saudabayev, Kanat B.
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Kazakhstan, Astana



Scharioth, Dr. Klaus
 Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to the United States of America, Washington D.C.
 Botschafter der Bundesrepublik Deutschland in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika, Washington D.C.



Schmitt, Dr. Gary J.
 Director of Advanced Strategic Studies, American Enterprise Institute, Washington D.C.



Scheunemann, Randy
 President, Orion Strategies, Washington D.C.



Schnappauf, Dr. Werner
 Director General and Member of the Presidential Board, Federation of German Industries (BDI), Berlin
 Hauptgeschäftsführer und Mitglied des Präsidiums, Bundesverband der Deutschen Industrie e.V., Berlin



Schily, Dr. jur. h.c. Otto
 Federal Minister (ret.), Lawyer, German Consult GmbH, Berlin
 Bundesminister a.D., Rechtsanwalt, German Consult GmbH, Berlin



Schneider, Siegfried
 Member of the State Parliament of the State of Bavaria, Director, Bavarian State Chancellery, Munich
 MdL, Leiter, Bayerische Staatskanzlei, München



Schlie, Dr. Ulrich Stefan
 Director, Policy Planning and Advisory Staff, Ministry of Defence, Federal Republic of Germany, Berlin
 Leiter des Planungsstabes, Bundesministerium der Verteidigung, Berlin



Schockenhoff, Dr. Andreas
 Member of the German Bundestag, Deputy Chairman of the CDU/CSU Parliamentary Group, Berlin
 MdB, Stlv. Vorsitzender der CDU/CSU-Bundestagsfraktion, Deutscher Bundestag, Berlin



Schmemmann, Serge
 Editorial Page Editor, International Herald Tribune, Paris



Seehofer, Dr. Horst
 Prime Minister of the Free State of Bavaria, Munich
 Ministerpräsident des Freistaates Bayern, München



Schmid, Helga Maria
 Director of the Policy Unit, Council of the European Union, Brussels



Sequi, Ettore Francesco
 EU Special Representative for Afghanistan, Council of the European Union, Brussels



Schmidbauer, Prof. Dr. Wilhelm
 President, Police Headquarters, Munich
 Polizeipräsident, Polizeipräsidium, München



Shaheen, Jeanne
 Senator, U.S. Senate, Washington D.C.



Schmidt, Christian
 Member of the German Bundestag, Parliamentary State Secretary, Ministry of Defence, Federal Republic of Germany, Berlin
 MdB, Parlamentarischer Staatssekretär, Bundesministerium der Verteidigung, Berlin



Shea, Dr. Jamie
 Director Policy Planning Unit, NATO, Brussels



Sherwood-Randall, Dr. Elizabeth
Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for European Affairs, National Security Council, The White House, Washington D.C.



Shultz, Dr. George P.
Secretary of State (ret.), Thomas W. and Susan B. Ford Distinguished Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford



Sikorski, Radosław
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Poland, Warsaw



Silberhorn, Thomas
Member of the German Bundestag, Berlin
MdB, Deutscher Bundestag, Berlin



Silverberg, Kristen
Ambassador (ret.), Chief Operating Officer, Vorbeck Materials, Jessup



Solana de Madariaga, Dr. Javier
Secretary General of NATO (ret.), Secretary General of the European Council (ret.), High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy (ret.), Brussels



Sommer, Dr. Theo
Editor-at-Large, Die Zeit, Hamburg



Spanta, Dr. Rangin Dadfar
Senior Advisor to the President for International Affairs, Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, Kabul



Spillmann, Markus
Editor-in-Chief, Neue Zürcher Zeitung, Zürich
Chefredakteur, Neue Zürcher Zeitung, Zürich



Stavridis, James G.
Admiral, U.S. European Commander and Supreme Allied Commander Europe for NATO, Mons



Steinberg, Prof. James B.
Deputy Secretary of State, United States Department of State, Washington D.C.



Steinmeier, Dr. Frank-Walter
Member of the German Bundestag, Chairman of the SPD Parliamentary Group, Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs (ret.), Federal Republic of Germany, Berlin
MdB, Vorsitzender der SPD-Bundestagsfraktion, Bundesminister des Auswärtigen a.D., Deutscher Bundestag, Berlin



Stephens, Philip
Associate Editor, Financial Times, London



Stinner, Dr. Rainer
Member of the German Bundestag, Member of the Defence Committee, Berlin
MdB, Mitglied des Verteidigungsausschusses, Deutscher Bundestag, Berlin



Stoiber, Dr. Edmund
Prime Minister of the Free State of Bavaria (ret.), Munich; Chairman of the High Level Group of Independent Stakeholders on Administrative Burdens, European Commission, Brussels; Member of the Advisory Council, Munich Security Conference, Munich
Ministerpräsident des Freistaates Bayern (a.D.), München; Vorsitzender der Hochrangigen Gruppe zum EU-Bürokratieabbau, Europäische Kommission, Brüssel; Mitglied des Beirats, MSC, München



Støre, Jonas Gahr
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Kingdom of Norway, Oslo



Teo, Chee Hean
Minister of Defence, Republic of Singapore, City of Singapore



Stuart, Gisela
Member of the British Parliament, House of Commons, London



Thomson, Dr. James A.
President and Chief Executive Officer, The RAND Corporation, Santa Monica



Szekeres, Dr. Imre
Minister of Defence, Republic of Hungary, Budapest



Townsend, James J.
Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defence for European and NATO Policy, United States Department of Defence, Washington D.C.



Takemasa, Koichi
State Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan, Tokyo



Trenin, Dr. Dmitri
Director, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Moscow



Talbott, Strobe
President, The Brookings Institution, Washington D.C.



Trittin, Jürgen
Member of the German Bundestag, Chairman of the Alliance 90/The Greens Parliamentary Group, Berlin
MdB, Vorsitzender der Bündnis 90/Die Grünen-Bundestagsfraktion, Deutscher Bundestag, Berlin



Tauscher, Ellen O.
Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security, U.S. Department of State, Washington D.C.



Udall, Mark E.
Senator, U.S. Senate, Washington D.C.



Tellis, Dr. Ashley J.
Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington D.C.



Ude, Christian
Lord Mayor, City of Munich
Oberbürgermeister, Stadt München



Teltschik, Prof. Dr. h.c. Horst
Former Chairman, Munich Conference on Security Policy, Munich
Ehemaliger Vorsitzender, Münchner Konferenz für Sicherheitspolitik, München



Uebber, Bodo
Member of the Executive Board of Daimler, Stuttgart;
Chairman Board of Directors, EADS, Leiden
Mitglied des Vorstands von Daimler, Stuttgart;
Vorsitzender des Aufsichtsrats, EADS, Leiden



Uhrlau, Ernst
President, German Foreign Intelligence Service (BND), Berlin
Präsident, Bundesnachrichtendienst, Berlin



Valasek, Tomas
Director of Foreign Policy and Defence, Centre for European Reform, London



Volker, Kurt
Ambassador (ret.), Senior Fellow for Transatlantic Relations, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, John Hopkins University, Washington D.C.



Vondra, Dr. Alexandr
Senator, Czech Senate, Prague



Walter, Robert
President, European Security and Defence Assembly, Paris



Walther, Dr. Christoph
Chief Executive Officer and Partner, Communications & Network Consulting, Munich
Geschäftsführer und Partner, Communications & Network Consulting, München



Warburg, Dr. Max M.
Partner, M.M.Warburg & CO, Hamburg



Waschadse, Grigol
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Georgia, Tbilisi



Wehmeier, Dr. Klaus
Deputy Chairman of the Board, Körber Foundation, Hamburg
Stellvertretender Vorsitzender des Vorstands, Körber Stiftung, Hamburg



Weidenfeld, Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. Werner
Director, Center for Applied Policy Research (C.A.P.), Munich
Direktor, Centrum für angewandte Politikforschung (C.A.P.), München



Weisser, Ulrich
Vice Admiral (ret.), Director, Policy Planning and Advisory Staff at the Ministry of Defence (ret.), St. Augustin
Vizeadmiral (a.D.), Leiter Planungsstab im Bundesministerium der Verteidigung a.D., St. Augustin



Wessels, Gert
Major General, Commander Military Subdistrict Command IV, Munich
Generalmajor, Befehlshaber, Wehrbereich IV, München



Westerwelle, Dr. Guido
Vice-Chancellor and Federal Minister for Foreign Affairs, Federal Republic of Germany, Berlin
Vize-Kanzler und Bundesminister des Auswärtigen, Berlin



Wieker, Volker
General, Chief-of-Staff of the German Federal Armed Forces, Ministry of Defence, Federal Republic of Germany, Berlin
Generalinspekteur der Bundeswehr, Bundesministerium der Verteidigung, Berlin



Wexler, Robert
President, Center for Middle East Peace and Economic Cooperation, Washington D.C.



Wilhelm, Ulrich
State Secretary, Head of the Press and Information Office of the Federal Government, Federal Republic of Germany, Berlin
Staatssekretär, Leiter des Presse- und Informationsamtes der Bundesregierung, Berlin



Williamson, Richard S.
Ambassador (ret.), Partner, Winston & Strawn, Chicago



Zoller, Dr. Stefan
Member of the EADS Executive Committee and Chief Executive Officer of the Defence & Security Division, EADS, Munich
Mitglied des Executive Committee und Leiter der Division Verteidigung und Sicherheit, EADS, München



Woolsey, R. James
Senior Executive Advisor, Booz Allen Hamilton, Washington D.C.



Wolf, Rüdiger
State Secretary, Ministry of Defence, Federal Republic of Germany, Berlin
Staatssekretär, Bundesministerium der Verteidigung, Berlin



Yazev, Prof. Dr. Valerie Afonasyevich
Deputy Chairman, State Duma of the Russian Federation, Moscow;
President of the Russian Gas Society, Moscow



Young, Dr. David R.
Executive Chairman, Oxford Analytica Ltd., Oxford



Yurgens, Prof. Igor
Chairman of the Management Board, Institute of Contemporary Development, Moscow



Zapf, Uta
Member of the German Bundestag, Deputy Spokesperson on Foreign Policy of the SPD Parliamentary Group of the German Bundestag, Berlin
MdB, Stv. Außenpolitische Sprecherin der SPD-Fraktion, Deutscher Bundestag, Berlin



Zepos, Yannis-Alexis
Ambassador, Member of the NATO Group of Experts for the Hellenic Republic, Brussels

Participants of the 2nd Munich Young Leaders Round Table on Security Policy (4 to 7 February 2010) Teilnehmer des 2. Munich Young Leaders Round Table on Security Policy (4. bis 7. Februar 2010)



Paulsen, Thomas
Berlin
Chair



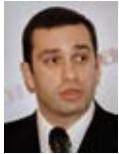
Freiin von Seherr-Thoss, Dr. Benedikta
Berlin



Aitzhanov, Kemel
Astana



Groth, Sebastian
Berlin



Alasania, Irakli
Tbilisi



Hetmantschuk, Aljona
Kiev



Bergman, Dr. Ronen
Tel Aviv



Horvat, Marko
Zagreb



Böhnke, Olaf
Berlin



Ismailzade, Fariz
Baku



Bouaïda, Mbarka
Rabat



Khlopov, Anton Viktorovich
Moscow



Danjean, Arnaud
Brussels



Koytak, Ayse Hilal
Ankara



Lüttenberg, Matthias
Berlin



Ryshekov, Maxim
Minsk



Matar, Hayfa
Manama



Satory, Bea
Berlin



Meincke, Barbara
Berlin



Swelam, Ashraf
Cairo



Mikser, Sven
Tallinn



Weglarczyk, Bartosz
Warsaw



Müller, Nora
Berlin



Philippe, Dr. Hartmut
Berlin



Ratkovic, Jovan
Belgrade

Munich Security
Conference **msc**
Münchner Sicherheitskonferenz

Day 1

Tag 1

Day 2

Tag 2

Day 3

Tag 3

Speakers & Participants

Sprecher & Teilnehmer

Organizational Information
Organisatorische Informationen

Information / assistance

Point of contact	Staff on duty	Telephone / fax
Reception Hotel Bayerischer Hof	24 hours	Tel.: +49-89-2120-0 Fax: +49-89-2120-906
Reception Hilton Park Hotel	24 hours	Tel.: +49-89-3845-0 Fax: +49-89-3845-2588
Information Desk Atrium / Fireplace Lounge	Friday, 5 Feb 2010: 8.00 a.m. - 10.00 p.m. Saturday, 6 Feb 2010: 7.00 a.m. - 10.00 p.m. Sunday, 7 Feb 2010: 7.00 a.m. - 2.00 p.m.	Tel.: +49-89-2120-3801
Conference Office Club Room / Intermediate Floor	Friday, 5 Feb 2010: 10.00 a.m. - 11.00 p.m. Saturday, 6 Feb 2010: 8.00 a.m. - 10.00 p.m. Sunday, 7 Feb 2010: 8.00 a.m. - 1.00 p.m.	Tel.: +49-89-2126-8791 +49-89-2126-8885 Fax: +49-89-2126-8886

Conference Badges / Security

The organizer and the local security authorities will do everything to ensure your security. Please be prepared that [you will have to go through security check every time you enter the Hotel Bayerischer Hof](#). We already apologize for any inconvenience or waiting periods that might occur.

Furthermore we kindly ask you to [wear your security badge visibly all the time](#) and to observe the following security rules set up to ensure a safe and pleasant stay at the conference. If you have any questions, please feel free to contact the staff at the security desk.

- Access to the hotel and the HypoVereinsbank (HVB) forum will only be provided for badge-holders. All badges are colour-coded and show the passport photo of the holder. Within the Hotel Bayerischer Hof and at the HVB as well as during the evening receptions hosted by the City of Munich at the Altes Rathaus (Old City Hall) on Friday, 5 February 2010, and by the Bavarian state government at the Residenz (Munich Residence) on Saturday, 6 February 2010, conference badges must be worn visibly at all times.

In case of a lost badge, please contact the organisation office or our reception desk in the atrium immediately.

- Inside the hotel access to specific areas will be based on the following colour codes:

Blue = Entire conference area.

Pink = Entire conference area, except for the conference hall.

Yellow = Specially defined areas for media representatives.

- The HVB Building (2 minutes walking distance) will serve as the designated media center of the conference. It will also be used as a meeting and working area for delegations.

For security reasons and because of space limitations, only a limited number of people will be permitted to stay inside the hotel on a permanent basis. Television screens have been set up in the HVB atrium to allow additional delegation members to watch the live coverage of the conference and to be available to you on short notice.

- Extensive measures have been taken to ensure your security. If you travel with your own personal security team, we therefore kindly ask that your team will not remain permanently in the conference hall. Especially, we shall appreciate that your security team will not accompany you to the dinner events.

Conference hall

Because of space limitations, a strict limited-access policy will be enforced which will permit only conference participants to enter the conference room. The galleries will be reserved for invited observers so that they may follow the conference proceedings from there.

Conference participants are kindly requested not to carry receivers or headphones of the simultaneous interpretation system with them when leaving the conference room. Also, we kindly ask that you switch off your mobile phones in the conference room.

Speeches

Pick-up copies of German and English speeches will be available at the cocktail lounge at the ground floor after speeches have been delivered, as far as they have been released on time by the speakers.

Bilateral talks

As the number of rooms available for bilateral talks is limited, we ask that all such requests be referred timely in advance to the "bilateral talks" organisation team (1st floor, Palais Montgelas). Any such requests made on short notice during the conference may be difficult to fit into the room occupancy schedule.

Smoking area

Please note, that smoking is prohibited in all public areas of the Hotel Bayerischer Hof. For your convenience, a smoking area has been designated in the Pranner Passage, so that you will not have to pass security. It is located behind the hallway at the far end of the hotel's reception area.

Press

This year, the media center for the 46th Munich Security Conference will no longer be located in the Hotel Bayerischer Hof, but right next to it on the premises of the Hypo Vereinsbank (HVB), Kardinal-Faulhaber-Straße 1, Munich. The new venue was chosen due to the strong media interest and the need for more room. The HVB premises provide excellent working conditions for the large numbers of international journalists inviting them to enjoy modern, bright and spacious facilities in a classy ambience. Here you will also find the accreditation staff, information desk and internet editorial staff of the Conference.

Our press centre is equipped with WLAN links as well as translation services (English, French, German and Russian) to assist the several hundred media representatives who are expected to attend the conference. Media representatives will not be admitted into the conference room itself. This no-admission policy also applies to designated "official photographers / television teams" and to media teams travelling with the delegations.

Conference proceedings will be broadcast live to the press centre, where pictures and sound signals can be recorded for further use. Details such as payment of fees for broadcasting sequences or technical issues need to be discussed / arranged with the Host Broadcaster. Also, we plan to hold various photo sessions as well as press talks at the conference hotel during the weekend. Efforts will be made, for example, to give the media the opportunity to talk to conference participants directly after the end of a panel discussion.

Inside the conference room, photos will be taken exclusively by our own photographers and will be made available shortly after in good quality for a free download from our home page www.securityconference.de. At the beginning of each

of the three conference days, we intend to give interested photographers and TV cameras a couple of minutes to take their own photographs or film sequences in the conference room. However, we reserve the right to establish pools where necessary.

On our home page, speeches will be made available both as Word documents and as an MP3 format. Also, we offer a Live Stream broadcast as well as selected video sequences on our home page.

The hotel's facilities for press meetings (stage, podium, backdrops with conference logo) will be reserved primarily for our own press activities. However, delegations and media representatives may use these facilities on a space-available basis for their own press-related activities (such as for the delegations' own media appointments or for use as backdrops by TV reporting crews). All reservations for use of these facilities must be made through the press centre.

Meals

Breakfast

For those guests lodging at the Hotel Bayerischer Hof, breakfast will be served at the hotel's roof terrace restaurant (6th floor) and at the garden restaurant (ground floor) after 7.00 a.m..

At the Hilton Park Hotel breakfast will be served at the Tivoli restaurant from 6.30 a.m. to 10.30 a.m. on Saturday and from 6.30 a.m. to 11.00 a.m. on Sunday.

Lunch

On **Saturday, 6 February 2010**, lunch for participants and observers will be served at the hotel's roof terrace restaurant (6th floor) and at the garden restaurant (ground floor).

The Federal Minister of Defence, Freiherr Karl-Theodor zu Guttenberg, will host a separate luncheon at the Königssaal (by special invitation only).

On **Sunday, 7 February 2010**, an optional lunch for participants and observers will be served at the hotel's roof terrace restaurant (6th floor).

Dinner

The Lord Mayor of the City of Munich, Christian Ude, has invited the [conference participants](#) to a reception [Friday, 5 February 2010](#), taking place at the Old City Hall. The reception will be followed by the official conference dinner at the same location. Admission to this event will be strictly by personal invitation only and limited to those guests who have been expressly invited to attend the conference in a conference participant status.

Guests who have received a special invitation to attend this dinner are kindly requested to meet at the lobby of Hotel Bayerischer Hof by 7.15 p.m. For security reasons, all invited guests will be transferred by bus and police escort to the Old City Hall. After the end of this evening event, transportation back to Hotel Bayerischer Hof will be provided for. Invited guests staying at Hilton Park Hotel will be shuttled by bus first to their hotel and then, by the same bus, to the reception at the Old City Hall, right after the last panel on Friday afternoon. Transfer arrangements are provided for these guests back to Hilton Park Hotel after the evening event. Dinner badges will be personally issued to invited guests at check-in.

For [observers and invited guests](#), a Bavarian Buffet will be offered at the hotel's roof terrace restaurant (6th floor) on [Friday, 5 February 2010](#).

Horst Seehofer, Minister President of Bavaria, will host a dinner at the Münchner Residenz (by special invitation only) on Saturday, 6 February 2010. Invitations to this dinner will be issued separately by the appropriate protocol department. Please be advised, that the conference organiser has no influence on who will be included in the circle of invitees for this event.

Guests who have received a special invitation to attend this dinner are kindly requested to meet at the lobby of Hotel Bayerischer Hof by 7.45 p.m. For security reasons, all invited guests will be transferred by bus and police escort to the Residenz. After the end of this evening event, transportation back to Hotel Bayerischer Hof will be provided for.

Invited guests staying at Hilton Park Hotel will be shuttled by bus first to their hotel and then, by the same bus, to the reception at the Residenz, right after the last panel on Saturday afternoon. Transfer arrangements are provided for these guests back to Hilton Park Hotel after the evening event.

Dinner invitations will be personally issued to invited guests at check-in.

Check-out

Guests staying at Hotel Bayerischer Hof or Hilton Park Hotel are requested to clear their rooms by noon on departure day.

For transportation arrangements (i.e. shuttle services to the airport) please contact the Transfer Desk at the fireplace lounge (next to the atrium) of Hotel Bayerischer Hof and at the Hilton Park Hotel lobby. Please be advised that there may be prolonged waiting periods at the airport because of tightened security requirements. Therefore, please plan a two hour minimum for your ride to the airport.

Coverage of expenses

Please be informed that the hotel will charge you directly for any additional extras (i.e. telephone, mini-bar, room service, early check-in, late check-out). If you are accompanied by your spouse, you will be required to pay the additional fee for double room occupancy. We ask for your understanding, that due to budgetary restraints, the conference organiser cannot cover these expenses.

All observers, attendants or other delegation members will have to cover their room and meal costs directly.

Bus transfer

A shuttle bus service is provided for transfers between Hilton Park Hotel / Westin Hotel and the conference hotel (Hotel Bayerischer Hof).

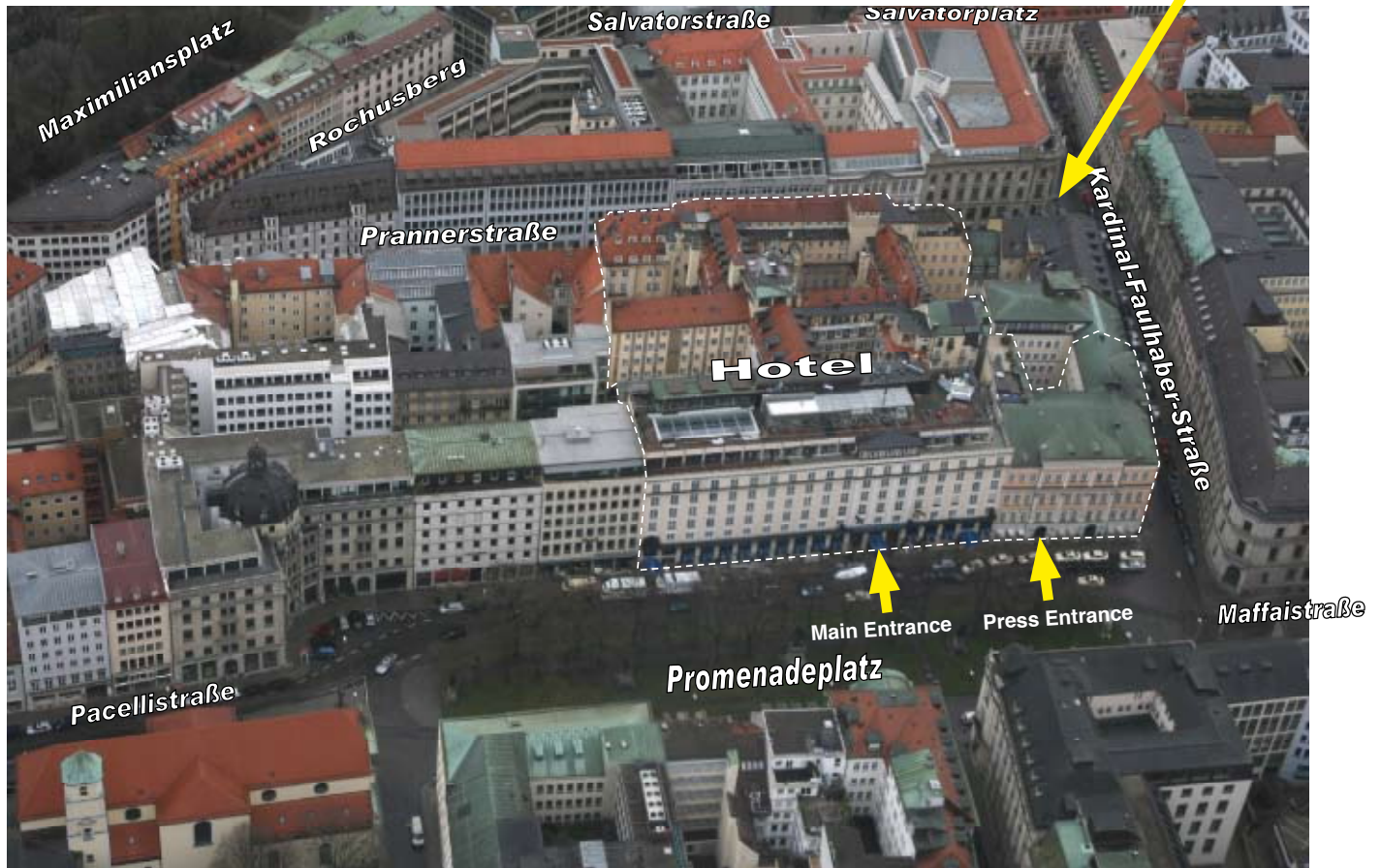
Exact departure times for transfer to the conference location or to the hotel are as listed below:

Date	Route	Departure Time	
Friday 5 th February 2010	Hilton Park	Hotel Hilton Park – Hotel Bayerischer Hof	First bus: 7.30 a.m. Afterwards: every 30 minutes Last bus: 8.00 p.m.
		Hotel Bayerischer Hof – Hotel Hilton Park	First bus: 8.00 a.m. Afterwards: every 30 minutes Last bus: leaves at midnight
	Westin	Hotel Westin – Hotel Bayerischer Hof	First bus: 7.25 a.m. Afterwards: every 30 minutes Last bus: 7.55 p.m.
		Hotel Bayerischer Hof – Hotel Westin	First bus: 7.55 a.m. Afterwards: every 30 minutes Last bus: 11.55 p.m.
Saturday 6 th February 2010	Hilton Park	Hotel Hilton Park – Hotel Bayerischer Hof	First bus: 7.00 a.m. Afterwards: every 30 minutes Last bus: 8.00 p.m.
		Hotel Bayerischer Hof – Hotel Hilton Park	First bus: 7.30 a.m. Afterwards: every 30 minutes Last bus: leaves at midnight
	Westin	Hotel Westin – Hotel Bayerischer Hof	First bus: 6.55 a.m. Afterwards: every 30 minutes Last bus: 7.55 p.m.
		Hotel Bayerischer Hof – Hotel Westin	First bus: 7.25 a.m. Afterwards: every 30 minutes Last bus: 11.55 p.m.
Sunday 7 th February 2010	Hilton Park	Hotel Hilton Park – Hotel Bayerischer Hof	First bus: 7.00 a.m. Afterwards: every 30 minutes until 11.00 a.m. Service continues at: 2.00 p.m. 2.30 p.m.
		Hotel Bayerischer Hof – Hotel Hilton Park	First bus: 7.30 a.m. Afterwards: every 30 minutes Last bus: 3.00 p.m.
	Westin	Hotel Westin – Hotel Bayerischer Hof	First bus: 6.55 a.m. Afterwards: every 30 minutes until 11.25 a.m. Service continues at: 2.05 p.m. 2.25 p.m.
		Hotel Bayerischer Hof – Hotel Westin	First bus: 7.25 a.m. Afterwards: every 30 minutes Last bus: 2.55 p.m.
	Hilton P.	Hotel Hilton Park – Airport	Departure: 2.30 p.m. Arrival: ca. 3.15 p.m. Departure: 3.30 p.m. Arrival: ca. 4.15 p.m.
	Westin	Hotel Westin – Airport	Departure: 2.30 p.m. Arrival: ca. 3.15 p.m. Departure: 3.30 p.m. Arrival: ca. 4.15 p.m.

Room arrangements / site plans

Hotel Bayerischer Hof and HypoVereinsbank

Entrance HVB Forum:
Media Center and Delegations



Your way from Bayerischer Hof to HypoVereinsbank

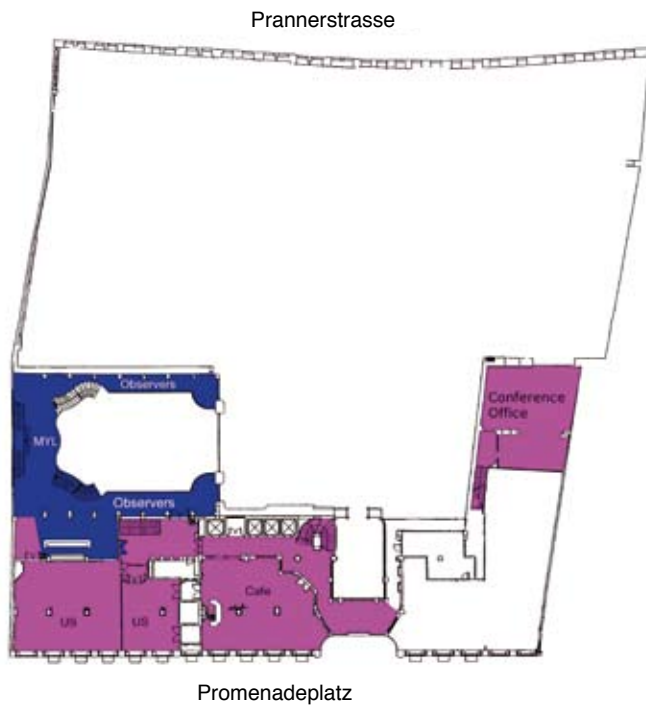


Hotel Bayerischer Hof

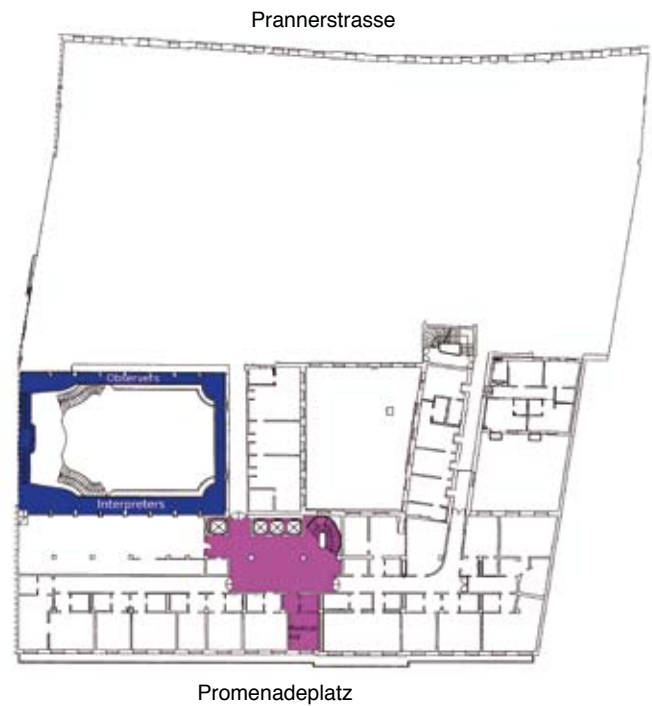


Street level Hotel Bayerischer Hof / Palais Montgelas

Hotel Bayerischer Hof

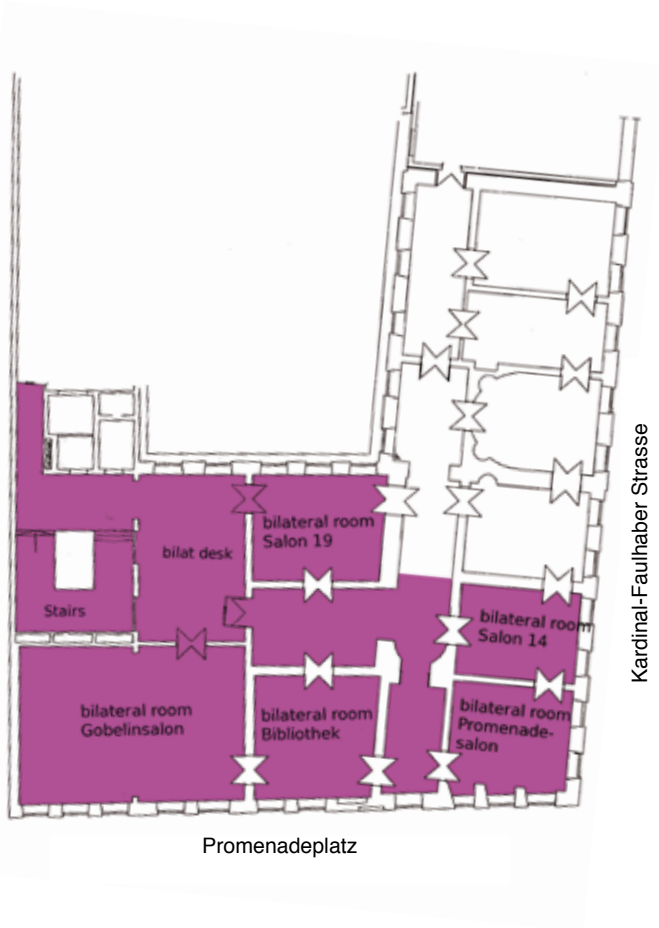


Mezzanine level Hotel Bayerischer Hof



1st floor Hotel Bayerischer Hof

Hotel Bayerischer Hof

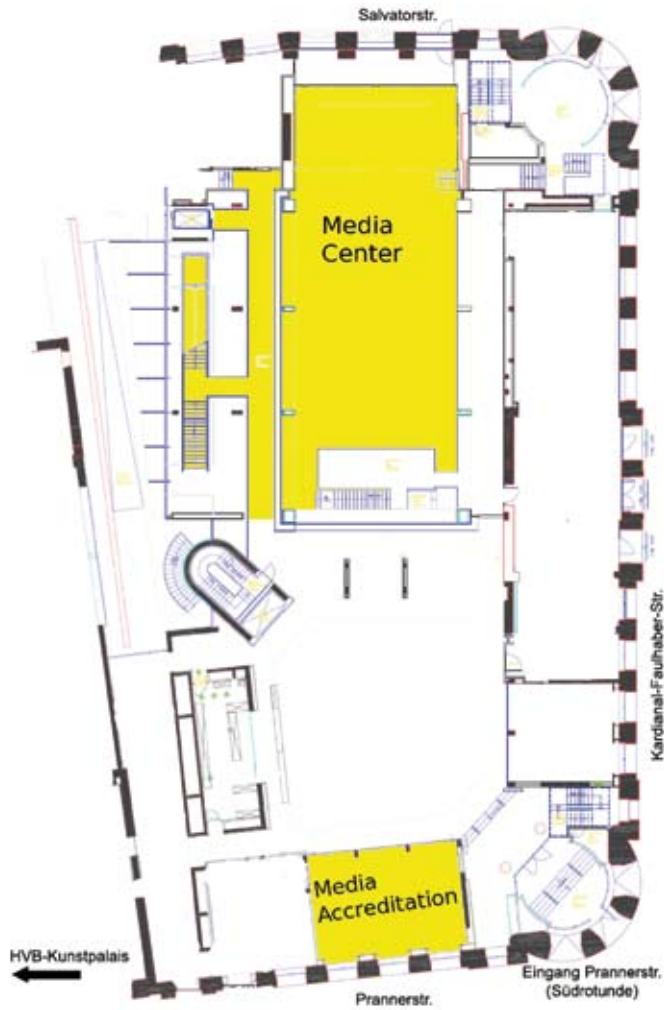


1st floor Palais Montgelas

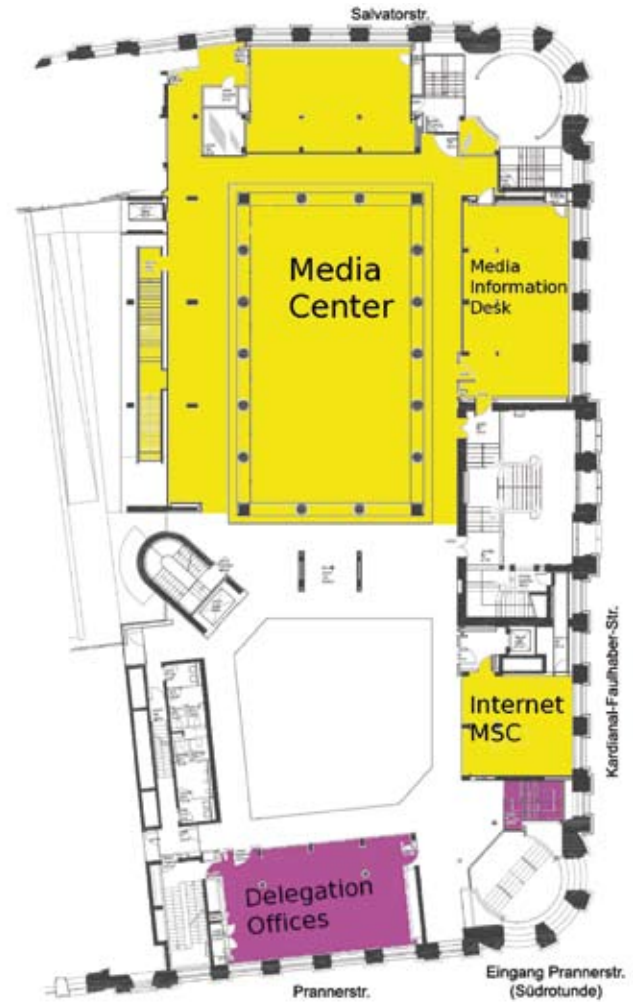


2nd floor Palais Montgelas

HypoVereinsbank



Street level HypoVereinsbank



1st floor HypoVereinsbank

We would like to thank you for your kind cooperation in implementing our security measures. We hope you have a pleasant stay!

Associates & Sponsors

A special thanks for the kind support of the 46th Munich Security Conference goes to the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, especially to the Federal Press Office, the Federal Ministry of Defence and the Foreign Office.

Wir danken der Bundesregierung für ihre freundliche Unterstützung, insbesondere dem Bundespresseamt, dem Bundesministerium der Verteidigung und dem Auswärtigen Amt.



LeadIng.


THE LINDE GROUP



Linde Hydrogen Center in Munich, Germany // [Linde Hydrogen Center in München](#)



Partner of the Munich Security Conference. Partner der Münchner Sicherheitskonferenz.

Today's debates on international security are inseparably interlinked to global economic and environmental challenges. Based on this new, expanded security concept, the Munich Security Conference (msc), led by Wolfgang Ischinger, increasingly discusses issues that range from energy and resource security, global environmental and climate protection to economic development and cooperation. The Linde Group supports this evolution of the conference as well as the development of new, additional event formats.

The Linde Group is a globally operating and innovative technology company with almost 50,000 employees working in around 100 countries worldwide. The company is world-leading in industrial gases and engineering, for instance with regard to "green" technologies that decrease the use of natural resources, prevent emissions that harm the climate and enable the environmentally friendly use of fossil fuels. These technologies include hydrogen as the 21st century's energy source, several processes for CO₂-free coal-burning power plants as well as facilities for the liquefaction of natural gas (LNG).

Prof. Dr Wolfgang Reitzle, Chief Executive Officer of Linde AG, assumed the chair of the msc's newly-founded Advisory Council in 2009. This circle of advisors will constructively accompany the mid- and long-term strategic reorientation of the conference. We are looking forward to continuing our partnership with the Munich Security Conference.

Debatten um die internationale Sicherheit lassen sich heute nicht mehr losgelöst von den globalen ökonomischen und ökologischen Herausforderungen führen. Auf der Basis des „erweiterten Sicherheitsbegriffs“ diskutiert die Münchner Sicherheitskonferenz (msc) unter der Leitung von Wolfgang Ischinger vermehrt Themenkomplexe, die von Fragen der Energie- und Rohstoffsicherheit über globalen Umwelt- und Klimaschutz bis zu wirtschaftlicher Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung reichen. Die Linde Group unterstützt die inhaltliche Weiterentwicklung der Konferenz sowie neue, zusätzliche Veranstaltungsformate.

Linde ist ein innovatives Technologieunternehmen, das mit annähernd 50.000 Mitarbeitern in rund 100 Ländern vertreten ist. Das Unternehmen ist weltweit führend in den Bereichen Industriegase und Anlagenbau. So zum Beispiel bei „grünen“ Technologien, die den Verbrauch natürlicher Ressourcen senken, klimaschädliche Emissionen vermeiden und die umweltschonende Nutzung fossiler Energiequellen ermöglichen. Dazu gehört Wasserstoff als der Energieträger des 21. Jahrhunderts, verschiedene Verfahren für CO₂-freie Kohlekraftwerke sowie Anlagen zur Verflüssigung von Erdgas (LNG).

Prof. Dr.-Ing. Wolfgang Reitzle, Vorsitzender des Vorstands der Linde AG, hat 2009 den Vorsitz des neu eingerichteten Advisory Council der msc übernommen. Dieser Beraterkreis wird den Prozess der mittel- und langfristigen strategischen Neuausrichtung der Konferenz konstruktiv begleiten. Wir freuen uns, die Münchner Sicherheitskonferenz auch in Zukunft als Partner zu unterstützen.



Communication matters.

CNC – Communications & Network Consulting – Official Media and Marketing Partner of the Munich Security Conference

CNC is an award-winning international strategic consultancy firm which advises governments, international organisations, multi-nationals, large corporations, mid-size companies, institutions and individuals on all aspects of strategic communications. CNC is an independent partnership and we employ about 100 highly qualified individuals in our thirteen offices in Beijing, Berlin, Brussels, Frankfurt, London, Moscow, Munich (HQ), New Delhi, New York, Paris, Seoul, Tokyo and Zurich. Our consultants have significant operational and managerial experience and come from positions in politics, industry and associated fields. We offer our clients consultancy services based on a deep understanding of their needs and perspective.

Our range of services includes:

- **Public affairs**
- **Crisis communications and special situations**
- **Reputation management and corporate communications**
- **Financial communications and investor relations**
- **Brand and marketing communications**

In the past seven years, we have advised over 500 clients on all aspects of strategic communications, including reputation management and positioning of several countries and international organisations as well as consultancy services for international fairs and conferences. Since 2002, CNC has acted on more than 90 national and international transactions with a total value of around USD 200bn. According to the 2009 mergermarket rankings, CNC was listed in the top ten PR agencies in the M&A segment measured by the value and the volume of the transactions advised on.



If you would like to know more about us and how we could be of value for the challenges you might encounter, please visit our website or call us for further information.
CNC – Communications & Network Consulting AG · Leopold-Palais · Leopoldstrasse 10 · D-80802 Munich · T +49 89 59 94 58-0 · F +49 89 59 94 58-100 · E info@cnc-communications.com

www.cnc-communications.com · Munich · Beijing · Berlin · Brussels · Frankfurt · London · Moscow · New Delhi · New York · Paris · Seoul · Tokyo · Zurich

KIZ – Kardiologie im Zentrum



The expert center for cardiovascular disease in the heart of Munich – KIZ – offers comprehensive and individualized state of the art medical care and consultation for second opinion.

Services include the full range of prevention, diagnosis and therapy of cardiac and vascular disease...

...from prevention to minimal invasive intervention.

KIZ provides special expertise in coronary heart disease, heart failure, heart rhythm problems, valvular heart disease, structural heart disease, vascular disease and stroke prevention – with a focus on innovative treatments by minimal invasive catheter techniques = interventional cardiology (e.g. coronary and carotid stent therapies, implantation of heart valves, closure of heart defects).

The experience in minimal invasive interventions is one of the largest worldwide

The multidisciplinary team includes specialists in risk factor prevention, noninvasive cardiology, atherosclerotic vascular disease, pediatric cardiology, heart surgery and interventional cardiology

In addition, KIZ has established and cooperates with an international network of leading experts in cardio-vascular medicine, which is available for the benefit of all patients of KIZ.

Based on the experience and expertise available within KIZ, KIZ offers Second Opinions prior to difficult and potentially life changing treatment decisions and – if desired – arranges contact to other expert centers, national or international.

KIZ – leading by experience & specialisation

For more information and location see the website of KIZ (www.kardiologie-im-zentrum.de)

Contacts:

Tel: +49 (0)89 2554479-0

Fax: +49 (0)89 2554479-10

Only during Munich Security Conference:

0176-24252780 or

0172-8513410

Munich's Winter Olympic Fairytale

Germany is a nation of avid winter sports fans who, every year, demonstrate their passion at a range of major sports events including world championships hosted in Germany.

Munich, combined with Garmisch-Partenkirchen and the Königssee artificial ice track, is an applicant city to host the greatest winter sports event of all, the Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games, in 2018. Munich hopes to welcome athletes and visitors from all around the world to experience not only the German passion for sport but also a friendly and peaceful winter sports celebration.

Thomas Bach, President of the German Olympic Sports Confederation, Deutscher Olympischer Sportbund (DOSB), says:

'The Olympic Movement is based on a philosophy of peaceful coexistence. One of the aims of the Olympic Games is to promote a peaceful society. The Olympic Games are a major celebration of friendship, solidarity and fair play. Any country would be greatly honoured to host the Olympic and Paralympic Games, and for Munich it could be the second time to have such an honour.'

Having hosted the summer edition of the Olympic Games in 1972, Munich would become the first city in Olympic history to also organise and host the Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games. The architects of the iconic 1972 Olympic stadium must have had the Olympic Winter Games in mind, as the bold curves of the world famous tent roof mirror the Alpine peaks that seem to rise from the very edge of Munich.

Willy Bogner, CEO of the Munich Bid Committee, says:

'Munich fulfils all the conditions to be a friendly host for the Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games. Our bid concept is friendly to athletes, friendly to the environment, friendly to visitors and friendly to the future, and we hope it will convince the International Olympic Committee to award the Games to Munich.'

Munich has proposed an exceptionally compact bid with ice competitions in Munich, snow competitions in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, and bobsleigh, luge and skeleton at the artificial ice track in Königssee. This dual-centre concept has passed rigorous sporting, transport and ecological tests, and will form the basis for an internationally competitive bid.

Furthermore, Munich hopes to set a benchmark for the sustainability of large scale sports events such as the Olympic Games whilst, at the same time, aiming to speed up the development of a new generation of ecological standards. Munich 2018's concept also aims for an innovative approach to planning sports venues, transport routes, security and other key areas. The objective is to utilise the synergies between tradition and forward-looking initiatives.

An ecological strategy which guarantees a sustainable 'Green Legacy' has been drawn up in collaboration with the German Sport University in Cologne and the Öko-Institut.



Landmarks in the bid process

Munich has been registered as an applicant city with the International Olympic Committee since 15 October 2009. The next milestone in the application process will be the IOC's decision as to whether Munich qualify as a candidate city for the final phase of the campaign. The IOC will elect the host city for the 2018 Olympic and Paralympic Winter Games at the 122nd IOC Session in Durban, South Africa, on 6 July 2011.

Munich looks forward to welcome the Olympic Family again and celebrate the Olympic and Paralympic Games in the spirit of Bavarian hospitality and openness.

Further information

Information on the overall concept, the latest progress of the bid and much more besides can be found at <http://www.muenchen2018.org>.

Follow us at

<http://www.facebook.de/muenchen2018> and
<http://twitter.com/muenchen2018org>.

Contact

Bewerbungsgesellschaft München 2018 GmbH
Agnes-Pockels-Bogen 1
80802 Munich
Tel.: +49 (0)89 540 428 0
Email: info@muenchen2018.org

The 46th Munich Security Conference

Chairman of the Munich Security Conference:

[Ambassador Wolfgang Ischinger](#)
Global Head, Group Government Relations
and Public Policy (Group GPP), Allianz SE

Chairman of the Advisory Council of the Munich Security Conference:

[Professor Dr.-Ing. Wolfgang Reitzle](#)
Chairman of the Board, Linde AG

Advisory Council of the Munich Security Conference:

[Dr. Nikolaus von Bomhard](#)
Chairman of the Board, Munich Re Group

[Michael Diekmann](#)
Chairman of the Board of Management, Allianz SE

[German Gref](#)
President and Chief Executive Officer, Sberbank

[Frank Haun](#)
Chief Executive Officer, Krauss-Maffei Wegmann
GmbH & Co. KG

[Ronald S. Lauder](#)
President, World Jewish Congress

[Anne Lauvergeon](#)
Chief Executive Officer, Areva

[Hans-Jörg Rudloff](#)
Chairman, Barclays Capital

[Sir Martin Sorrell](#)
Chief Executive Officer, WPP

[Dr. Edmund Stoiber](#)
Former Prime Minister, Free State of Bavaria

Staff:

Director of operations	Bernd Kempfer	Executive Secretary	Antje Lein-Struck
Project Manager	Ralf Wagner	Senior Policy Advisor	Dr. Timo Noetzel
Delegations	Joseph Höring	Executive Staff	Tim Gürtler Oliver Rolofs
Security	Peter Wendel	Hotel	Claudia Blechinger
Reception	Peter Gocht	Protocol	Michael Averhoff Marc-Aurel Bischoff
Press Relations	Carsten Spiering	Spokespersons	Helmut Kranzmaier Jürgen Jentsch
Accreditation	Matthias Stiffel	Finances	Rolf Birkholz
Transport	Anton Fischer	Sponsoring	Dr. Jens Thiemer
Bilateral Rooms	Dietmar Gauder	Advisory Council	Henock Teklu
Medical Assistance	Dr. Christian Hannig		

46th Munich Security Conference
5 to 7 February 2010
46. Münchner Sicherheitskonferenz
5. bis 7. Februar 2010

www.securityconference.de

Munich Security
Conference **msc**
Münchner Sicherheitskonferenz