

## **Grußwort\***

**James D. Melville**

Professor Dr. Teltschik, General Scowcroft, Dr. Pöttering, distinguished panelists and guests. It is truly an honour to welcome you all to this discussion of one of the most exciting periods in the history of Germany and of the German-American relationship. It is very fitting that we meet here today on the Petersberg in Bonn. It was here at Petersberg that Chancellor Adenauer reached wide-ranging agreements with the High Commissioners of the Western Allies, agreements that provided the basis for rebuilding trust between the Federal Republic of Germany and partners in Europe and across the Atlantic after two disastrous and destructive World Wars within the space of fifty years.

And it was here in Bonn that through those post-war years and the Cold War our transatlantic partnership grew and developed, based on the foundation of mutual trust and respect that was established in those early post-war years. And of course it was here in Bonn that Chancellor Helmut Kohl steered the course in the final years of a divided Germany and the first years of a reunified Germany. Those were important years for this country. They were transformational for Germany, for the German-American partnership, the transatlantic relationship and the parameters of the global security system.

I had the opportunity to pick up on those undercurrents of change. East Berlin was my first posting in the Foreign Service. I served there from 1986 to 1988. When President Reagan came to the Brandenburg Gate and demanded that Gorbachev tear down the Wall, I was there. Nobody, however, in the East or West believed that it could happen so quickly or for that matter really happen at all. Two years later, as everyone knows of course, the Berlin Wall did come down.

And Petersberg is also symbolic in terms of the new world that has ushered in. Over the past 25 years, leaders have met here at the German Camp David, as some call it, to discuss issues ranging from European security cooperation to Kosovo, to Afghanistan, to development in Africa. A number of illustrious guests have graced these premises, Emperor Haile Selassie, Michael Gorbachev and Nelson Mandela, to name but a few and Dr. Pöttering has already told the anecdote of the unfortunate combination of Leonid Brezhnev and Mercedes Benz and the road up here. Having just driven it for the first time, I can see how it happened.

But today we are all honoured and privileged to welcome two people who played a crucial role in the process that peacefully and officially ended the

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\* Grußwort anlässlich der Veranstaltung „Die Ära Kohl im Gespräch“ am 3./4. Februar 2014 auf dem Petersberg in Königswinter.

Cold War. General Brent Scowcroft, the United States' National Security Advisor under President George H. W. Bush and his counterpart at the time in the Federal Republic, Horst Teltschik. We will be hearing more from both of them on those transformational years, years that Dr. Teltschik has described as "one of the best times in German-US relations". At an Atlantik Brücke dinner in 2009, Dr. Teltschik said that his friend Brent Scowcroft told him that in 1989 and 1990 in the White House they sometimes held their breath recognizing what Chancellor Kohl and his team were doing. But they didn't interfere because of the mutual trust that had been built.

In my career as a diplomat, having served in the German Democratic Republic, in the Soviet Union and much later in Russia again and now back in Germany, I have seen the power of trust, of common values, of how words and ideas in passionate conviction and determination can indeed achieve miraculous good. Given that backdrop, we fully understand the distress that has been caused by the recent disclosures regarding the NSA. For that reason, Ambassador Emerson's top goal since he arrived in Berlin last summer has been to work to rebuild that trust. This applies to everybody at Mission Germany. Consul General Stephen Hubler, my colleague who is sitting right next to me from our consulate in Dusseldorf, and I and our colleagues have missed no opportunity to discuss the issue and to hear German concerns. And we have made sure that Washington is aware of how the NSA story has impacted Germans' views of the United States and the partnership that is so important to us and to the world.

And I can tell you, having spent the last three days at the Munich Security Conference (MSC) that this was the topic of many, many discussions between German officials, opinion leaders, our Secretary of State, our Secretary of Defence and a very substantial congressional delegation. I can assure you that these concerns are being taken very seriously. President Obama discussed some of the changes that will be made in US intelligence activities earlier this month as a result of the policy review that he ordered a number of months ago. Discussions are ongoing both within the Government, in Congress and with the senior leaders of the intelligence services of our partners, including Germany, about how to strike the right balance between protecting our security on the one hand and protecting our personal privacy and liberties on the other. The President has outlined a path forward to give the American people greater confidence that their rights are being protected while preserving important tools to keep us and our allies safe. The report addressed significant questions that have been raised overseas. One thing, however, is clear. We are confronted by a different assortment of weapons than during the Cold War. Less overtly lethal perhaps, but potentially just as destructive of the institutions by which we all work, travel, save for our families' futures and live our lives. And the reality is that since 9/11 the efforts of our collaborative intelligence gathering efforts have thwarted numerous such attacks including some on German soil.

Let me address one final aspect of this issue. And that is the concern that the United States may be conducting industrial espionage in particular here in Germany. As President Obama said in his remarks on our intelligence activities and I quote: “We do not collect intelligence to provide a competitive advantage to US companies or US commercial sectors.” But what we do do, and that is why Steve and I are here today, is to exchange opinions and discuss trends on issues ranging from trade, investment, development to entrepreneurship and innovation with industry and government. The goal is to bring together our economies, our markets and our companies with the goal of creating greater prosperity for all of us. The information that is exchanged and discussed, I might add, is often publicly available. This model of discussion and dialog of cooperation and collaboration is part of what has made the transatlantic partnership so successful. And today in this increasingly complex and economically driven world, economic power is inextricably intertwined with security, stability and prosperity. That is why, by the way, the transatlantic trade and investment partnership is so important.

And so it is essential that while we grapple with the challenges that have arisen as a result of the NSA story, we do not lose sight of the incredibly broad array of issues where the US and Germany cooperate on a daily basis. From the economy to Syria, to Iran, from the Horn of Africa to Afghanistan, from the promotion of democratic institutions, human rights and the rule of law around the world to the provision of humanitarian assistance in some of the toughest crisis regions in the world, we closely coordinate and cooperate with our German partners. Many of these issues were discussed at the MSC this weekend. Dr. Teltschik knows full well how the agenda of that conference has changed over the years. As we were to rebuild confidence and trust in our relationship we can look back to the past as we are doing in part today for important lessons on how we can further strengthen the transatlantic bridge that has withstood the challenges and the tests of even the toughest of times. We can strive, as we are doing, to put our relationship back on the sort of footing that will allow us to say in a not so distant future, as Dr. Teltschik said in 2009 that, because of the work we did to restore a mutual trust, this was one of the best times of German-American relations.