



**INTERNATIONAL  
SECURITY POLICY**

**IN THE GLOBAL WORK OF THE  
KONRAD-ADENAUER-STIFTUNG**



Konrad  
Adenauer  
Stiftung



## CONTENTS

<b>I.</b>	FOREWORD .....	<b>5</b>
<b>II.</b>	EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA – WORKING TOGETHER TO SHAPE EUROPEAN AND GLOBAL POLICIES .....	<b>7</b>
<b>III.</b>	ASIA-PACIFIC – THE SIGNIFICANCE OF TRACK 1.5 DIPLOMACY .....	<b>14</b>
<b>IV.</b>	MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA – FOSTERING ROBUST STATEHOOD IN THE REGIONS NEIGHBOURING EUROPE .....	<b>24</b>
<b>V.</b>	SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA – SENSITISATION TO HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES IN THE SECURITY SECTOR .....	<b>31</b>
<b>VI.</b>	LATIN AMERICA – ORGANISED CRIME AS A SECURITY CHALLENGE .....	<b>38</b>
<b>VII.</b>	HIGHLIGHTS FROM GERMANY – PROVIDING IMPULSES FOR DEBATE, INTRODUCING IDEAS AND FOSTERING NEW TALENT .....	<b>44</b>
<b>VIII.</b>	FUTURE TASKS FOR GERMANY IN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY POLICY .....	<b>52</b>
<b>IX.</b>	A SELECTION OF PUBLICATIONS BY THE KAS ON SECURITY POLICY ISSUES .....	<b>55</b>



## FOREWORD

# I



The German public is becoming increasingly aware of security policy issues. These have always been of great importance for Germany – one merely needs to recall the dispute about the NATO Double-Track Decision of the early 1980s. Throughout the Cold War period, Germany had, however, remained a second-class strategic actor, divided as it was into two non-sovereign states. And when the country became used to a more active role in international security policy after reunification even much-discussed conflicts such as the Kosovo war and the deployment in Afghanistan appeared remote events to most citizens. To them, it was more about abstract moral obligations under the alliance agreement, which Germany fulfilled as a very minor partner leaving most of the dangerous work to the U.S., than about concrete threats to their own security.

The present scenario, however, is better characterised by the sentence uttered by a high-ranking German diplomat during an off-the-record debate organised by the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung: “The impacts are coming closer.” For the first time in decades, we have to deal simultaneously with serious crises in the east and in the south of the European continent. Russia’s aggression in Ukraine in violation of international law undermines the foundations of the European order of peace, and the extremist violence of “Islamic State” is threatening to turn into a conflagration sweeping the Middle East and Northern Africa, potentially spilling over into Europe – not least through Islamist terrorists with European passports, who bring their experiences from the jihadist war back to Europe.

Besides these typical violent conflicts, we are seeing our society becoming increasingly vulnerable in this era of globalisation. Today, goods, data and ideas can be moved around speedily to mutual gain, but this also applies to pathogens such as the Ebola virus, the proliferation of which is becoming increasingly more difficult to prevent. And the mounting dependence on a digitised and networked system makes phenomena such as cyber-attacks and environmental disasters particularly dangerous.

Against this backdrop, it is no coincidence that a debate on Germany’s engagement in international security policy has broken out. As an export nation, Germany relies to a particularly high degree on a stable and liberal international environment. Due to its economic strength and political stability, it has also grown into the role of a leading power within the European Union. President Gauck was not the only one to derive from this situation Germany’s obligation to engage “earlier, more decisively and more substantially” within the UN, NATO and the EU to promote security and freedom in the world.

Based on its decades of experience from its international activities, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung wants to contribute to Germany fulfilling this responsibility. The foundation is present in over 100 countries with some 80 offices; in cooperation with local partners, it works towards furthering democracy and the rule of law, the implementation of social and market-economy structures as well as the realisation of human rights. It complements the Federal Government’s foreign policy and governmental development cooperation – not least through knowledge transfer from and to Germany.

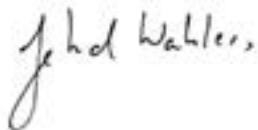
In our work throughout the world – in Latin America as well as Asia, Europe, Africa and North America – we have found that security-related deliberations are becoming more relevant. It is thus no longer adequate to consider development cooperation purely in terms of combating poverty. To solve problems long term and provide what our local partners need from us will require an integrated approach taking into account different perspectives. Economic development, political consolidation and the reliability provided by law and order are not achievable without security and stability – and they will strengthen these in turn.

And it is precisely at this interface that the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung operates. Over the years, we have gained considerable experience in a great variety of circumstances, particularly in the areas of conflict prevention and post-conflict recovery. Our projects have brought together actors from science, politics, the military, the judicial system and the media, always with a view to practical application and consolidation at a regional level. We intend to continue with this approach while remaining open to new ideas and challenges.

This brochure is consequently intended to provide an insight into our international work relating to security policy to date. It does not provide a comprehensive review or put forward universally applicable models on how greater security can be achieved. Instead, it explains our objectives, presents methods and illustrates achievements, all done on the basis of selected examples from all continents on which KAS operates.

The following pages add an important facet to the image of KAS' international work, highlighting the security challenges facing Germany and its international environment. I hope that the described projects will stimulate some creative thinking about how instruments of foreign policy can be interlinked at a national and international level to enable Germany to make an even more effective contribution to a liberal and peaceful world.

I trust that you will find the brochure a stimulating read!



Dr. Gerhard Wahlers  
Deputy Secretary General  
Department Head, Department European and International Cooperation  
Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung e.V.





**II. EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA –  
WORKING TOGETHER TO SHAPE  
EUROPEAN AND GLOBAL POLICIES**



## II

### KEY TOPICS OF OUR WORK RELATING TO SECURITY POLICY IN EUROPE/NORTH AMERICA

European security policy integration and the strengthening of the transatlantic security alliance form the basis of KAS' work in the area of security policy in Europe and North America in equal measure.

Particularly in the states of Eastern and Southeast Europe, the focus is less on the need for military preventive security measures than on the further development of the Common Security and Defence Policy of the European Union. The debate on this topic also includes discussions on domestic relevance in the individual countries in which KAS operates – including Germany.

Potential political setbacks, such as a renewed fragmentation of the continent into zones of diverging stability or re-emerging conflicts of loyalty and threat scenarios are debated and assessed at various events. The current crisis in Ukraine, for instance, shows that the role played by international security alliances such as NATO has not diminished either, but that they continue to fulfil their purpose of the conventional defence of allied territory. There are great discrepancies in the levels of acceptance of the European Union and NATO particularly in the states of the former Yugoslavia. The ongoing process of integration of new and prospective EU members forms an important key area of our work, especially as Germany retains some military responsibility in the Western Balkans as well. Added to this are conflicts at the external borders of the EU, including problems arising from growing migration due to armed hostilities or the consequences of religiously motivated violence.

Germany's expanding international role and the need for improved coordination of European security strategies are particularly relevant in connection with conflicts that are not on the top priority list for U.S. security, such as those in Europe's neighbouring regions. The transatlantic partnership is undergoing changes which mean that the European states can no longer take military support from the USA for granted as they could in the past.

While Germany has benefited from the protective umbrella provided by NATO and from globalisation over recent decades, this has gone hand in hand with the need for developing a new, more advanced security architecture. To ensure that the transatlantic alliance in particular continues to be of significance, trusting cooperation between Europe and the USA is essential. This realisation is the guiding principle and basis for the work the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung does in the area of security policy. Obviously, security policy does not exist in isolation, but is closely linked to the discussions about values, social systems and the economic prospects of the European countries and the USA.



## PARIS, FRANCE FRANCO-GERMAN STRATEGY FORUM – CONTINUATION OF COOPERATION AND FRIENDSHIP

## II



With the Élysée Treaty, a manifestation of reconciliation, solidarity and cooperation between Germany and France, Konrad Adenauer, whom KAS is named after, and Charles de Gaulle laid the foundation for Franco-German friendship in 1963. Now, over 50 years on, this friendship is still highly significant for Germany and Europe.

In this spirit, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung organises the Franco-German Strategy Forum in collaboration with the French *Institute for International Relations* (IFRO) based in Paris. This forum, which provides a platform for parliamentarians, govern-

ment representatives and experts from Germany and France to discuss long-term challenges in the area of foreign and security policy, has become a well-established tradition, meeting every year alternately in Paris and Berlin since 2005.

Germany and France are providing essential contributions to the EU Common Foreign and Security Policy. Under Franco-German leadership, the EU has taken on tasks that nobody would have thought possible considering the situation at its inception, i.e. before the Treaty of Nice. However, there are huge challenges ahead. The crises in the European neighbourhood, the fight against international terrorism as well as the need to guarantee energy security make collective efforts by all EU countries absolutely essential.

Support for a security and defence policy from all Member States is also necessary with a view to the future relationships between the EU and the USA, China and Russia. Only if the European stance in these areas is backed by an overwhelming consensus between Member States will the EU be perceived and taken seriously as a global actor. The Franco-German Strategy Forum provides an important contribution by addressing critical issues such as proliferation, disarmament and nuclear strategy, transatlantic relations, and Europe's security capabilities. It is particularly important for Germany and France to carry out a joint threat analysis as both countries play a significant role not only in the EU but also in NATO. In any case, the desire and need for an intensive exchange and close strategic cooperation between Germany and France are strong – illustrated anew each year at the Franco-German Strategy Forum of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung.



## II

LONDON, UK  
**GERMAN-BRITISH SECURITY DIALOGUE –  
 COMMON INTERESTS AND A LACK OF POLITICAL WILL**



Experts are unanimous: while Germany and the UK may differ in their policies towards Europe, they pursue very similar objectives and interests in security and defence policy. At the same time, there is a lack of concrete initiatives for improving bilateral security cooperation, which would also be to the benefit of the other allies and partners within NATO and the EU.

For this reason, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung and the British *Royal United Services Institute* jointly invite politicians, representatives from the military and experts from both countries to confidential discussions on security issues twice a year. The dialogue pursues three objectives: first, to gain a better

understanding of the respective other side's thinking on security strategy; secondly, to identify areas where more intensive cooperation would be possible and useful; and thirdly, to draw up concrete proposals on how the respective governments could strengthen the security cooperation.

The workshop held in 2012, for instance, focused predominantly on the question of medium-term defence force planning as well as on potential synergies regarding the naval capabilities of the two countries. High-ranking officials such as Air Marshall Stephen Hillier, Deputy Chief of the Defence Staff at the British Ministry of Defence, and the German Rear Admiral Heinrich Lange, Deputy Chief of Staff of the German Navy, provided the discussions with the necessary expert input. Ultimately, the impression remained that whatever the budgetary constraints and strategic logic, the implementation of German-British cooperation potential was hampered by a lack of political will.

In May 2014, the dialogue centered on the two countries' ideas about future cooperation with the USA. The topics discussed included the lessons learned from the deployment in Afghanistan that was coming to an end, NATO's strategic stance ahead of the September summit, as well as the crisis in Ukraine. There was unanimity about the fact that providing reassurance to the NATO members in Eastern Europe in line with Article 5 is essential for the alliance, but not at the expense of other tasks it has to perform. In concrete terms, the discussions covered joint initiatives for planning for a state of defence and cooperation between the secret services and in cyberspace.

The main aspect on which there is still disagreement between Germany and the UK – apart from controversial EU issues – is the use of military resources. The UK acknowledges and welcomes the fact that the Federal Republic is assuming greater responsibility in matters of foreign and security policy. However, Germany's understanding of its own role differs from the UK's viewpoint. While the Federal Republic is still reluctant with respect to the deployment of military means, partly due to a lack of support from its population, the UK does not question the deployment of its armed forces in certain situations despite a certain amount of domestic dissent. The willingness of both countries to engage in military intervention, where called for, was therefore also discussed in connection with the refusal of the British parliament in August 2013 to approve military deployment in Syria. The British representatives stressed that this had been more of an "accident" than a fundamental shift towards the reluctance seen in Germany.

## WASHINGTON D.C., UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TRANSATLANTIC DEFENCE IN TIMES OF STRAINED BUDGETS – CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR GERMAN-U.S. COOPERATION

## II



International conflicts, such as those involving Afghanistan, the Balkans and Iran, as well as cuts that the USA's defence budget is facing because of automatic sequestration require a constant revision of German-U.S. security cooperation. Some of the necessary discussions and preparatory work took place in Washington D.C. on 4 March 2013 at an event organised by the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in collaboration with the *American Institute for Contemporary German Studies* (AICGS). Members of the Defence Committee of the German Bundestag and their American colleagues discussed the need for transnational cooperation and defence policy as well

as the relationship between Germany and the USA. While the two sides were largely in agreement in their assessment of the current situation, some differences became apparent in their approaches to conflict management.

One of the first items on the agenda concerned the mission in Afghanistan and the question of what form Germany's engagement in that country should take in the future. Ernst-Reinhard Beck, who was the spokesman on defence matters of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group in the Bundestag at the time, highlighted the significance of Germany's engagement in Afghanistan. With over 4,500 soldiers, the Federal Republic had provided the third-largest troop contingent. The Bundeswehr (German Armed Forces) is also involved in numerous other missions, for instance in Kosovo and in the fight against piracy. Beck pointed out that although the deployment in Afghanistan was unpopular with the majority of the German population the Federal Government was honouring its commitments.

As regards Germany's role within NATO and as a partner of the USA, the so-called burden sharing was one of the most important points under discussion. The participants had different opinions on this. On the one hand, Germany was viewed as an indispensable and highly engaged partner of the USA; on the other hand, it was criticised for being reluctant to take on tasks entailing greater military involvement. It was also noted that Germany had not received recognition for its engagement in many cases, such as Afghanistan. However, the consensus was that it would not be helpful to continue adhering to old mutual stereotypes, and that defence and security not only entailed military defence but in a wider sense also aspects such as energy and environmental security, cyber security and social security. The allies need to bear equal responsibility in these areas. The KAS dialogue forums will continue to provide a platform for these consultations.

## II

### BRUSSELS, BELGIUM KAS EUROPEAN SECURITY FORUM – STRENGTHENING A EUROPEAN STRATEGIC CULTURE

The development of a strong European strategic culture is a prerequisite for Europe's capability to master the security challenges of the future. Particularly in view of civil-military tasks and Europe's neighbourhood, an effective Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) is essential.

Progress so far has frequently been hampered by a lack of coordination between NATO, the EU and the Member States as well as a lack of political will and trust (particularly where the commitment of resources in specific instances was concerned). Against this backdrop, the European Office of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung invites representatives from the Bundestag, ministries and think-tanks who are involved in security matters to Brussels with the aim of generating understanding for German positions on security policy as well as promoting international CSDP initiatives.

The KAS European Security Forum is central to these efforts. This forum regularly brings together German politicians engaged in security matters from NATO, the EU and Berlin and provides a platform for coordination on current issues of foreign and security policy.

In 2012, Members of the Bundestag Dr. Andreas Schockenhoff and Roderich Kiesewetter presented a paper entitled "Strengthening Europe's ability to act in the area of security policy – It is high time". With this paper, they bolstered understanding of the German position and reinvigorated the debate on strengthening the CSDP. A presentation to a select group of high-ranking EU and NATO representatives was followed by a public event attended by numerous members of the strategic community in Brussels. The propositions discussed during the KAS European Security Forum thereby came to inform the debate among security experts on strengthening the CSDP.

At the 2013 KAS European Security Forum, MEPs Krzysztof Lisek, Arnaud Danjean and Michael Gahler presented a paper entitled "Towards a stronger Union Defence Policy". Changes in the EU's strategic environment, the clear message from the U.S. that Europeans should assume greater responsibility in their neighbourhood, and the uncoordinated cuts in national defence budgets – both internal and external factors produce the need for a fresh start in European security policy. For this to be successful, the MEPs identified various political measures with different time horizons.

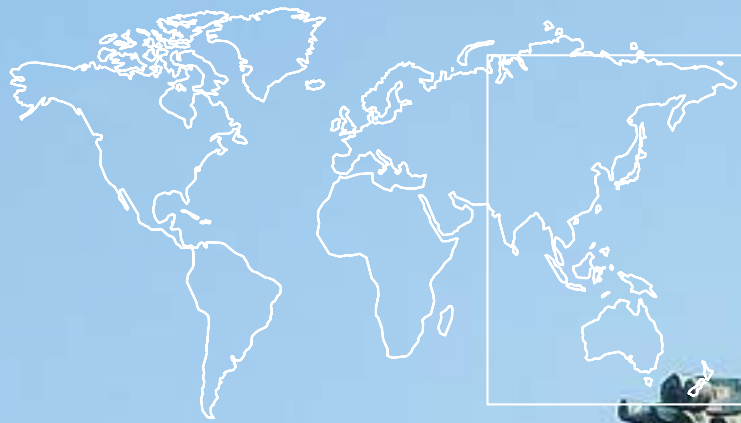
To enable an effective European foreign and security policy, heads of state and government would have to guarantee that the concept of networked security is actually implemented, that civilian and military capabilities and personnel are better linked, and that the security mechanisms the EU has at its disposal, such as the *Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO)*, which had so far remained unused, are activated. Furthermore, a review of national defence capabilities should take place followed by the identification of the resources required for the protection of European interests.

In the medium term, an EU strategic civilian and military headquarters should be established and an EU White Paper on Security and Defence should be drafted in order to identify and prioritise the EU's security interests.

In the long term, the EU should to be developed as a strong European pillar of NATO. The authors expressed their support for EU security policy to go beyond the Lisbon Treaty and for European standby forces to be established under Union command. Also, regular formal Council meetings on defence should be set up.

The KAS European Security Forum intends to continue to provide space and an audience for ideas such as these.





**III. ASIA-PACIFIC –  
THE SIGNIFICANCE OF  
TRACK 1.5 DIPLOMACY**



Foreign and security policy represents an important key area of KAS' work in Asia. The Regional Program Political Dialogue based in Singapore organises events at which important issues of foreign and security policy in the region are discussed. The Singapore office initiates forums of regional and international renown, which represent KAS flagship projects in the area of foreign and security policy in Asia. They include the Asia-Pacific Roundtable, der NATO-Asia Dialogue and the EU-Asia Dialogue. These events form part of the so-called Track

1.5 diplomacy, as they bring together political decision-makers (Track I) and opinion makers from think-tanks and universities (Track II). Each country office focuses on the specific foreign policy and security challenges faced by the country or region it covers.

#### **Consortium of South Asian Think Tanks (COSATT)**

As one of the world's politically most unstable regions, South Asia is facing a large number of security challenges. Separatism, terrorism as well as border disputes and resource conflicts are inherently trans-national problems, which no country can deal with on its own. Through its involvement with COSATT, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung contributes to the debate on more intensive regional cooperation in South Asia.

Established: 2008 by the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung and the Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies (IPCS).

Goal: To analyse the region's opportunities and challenges in the area of foreign and security policy during regular meetings in order to draw up concrete policy recommendations for intensifying regional cooperation in South Asia.

Activities: Organising meetings of the Consortium of South Asian Think Tanks with the involvement of a wide network of associated think-tanks, institutes, universities, NGOs and experts from all SAARC member states; publication of policy papers with recommendations for action for the summits of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC).

Further information and all publications are available at <http://cosatt.org> and <http://www.kas.de/politikdialog-asien/en>.

#### **NORTHEAST ASIA**

In China, Japan and Korea, the territorial disputes in the East China Sea are a recurring key issue. The field offices engage in efforts to develop proposals for a sustainable security architecture, taking the respective country perspective into account. In addition, the offices try to play a mediating role within the region and introduce German and European ideas and approaches into the debate. This is particularly pertinent in connection with the process of coming to terms with the past.

#### **SOUTHEAST ASIA**

Security issues had represented a significant foreign policy challenge to the countries in Southeast Asia even before the conflicts in the South China Sea became more heated. The eight KAS field offices in the ten ASEAN member states promote dialogue on foreign and security policy issues through a variety of measures. One important element of this is the European-Southeast Asian exchange on common security challenges such as cyber security and maritime security.

#### **SOUTH AND CENTRAL ASIA**

With the end of the ISAF mission in 2014 and the beginning of the Transformation Decade in 2015, the West and Afghanistan's neighbouring countries are facing the ongoing task of strengthening security, democracy and prosperity in the country. To this end, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung is taking measures



## III



to foster networking between Afghanistan and Pakistan at the levels of civil society and politics and between these levels. India, for its part, is aspiring to rise to the top rank within the international community of states. The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung is complementing this process with German-Indian strategy forums. By way of a contribution to regional integration in South Asia, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung is further supporting the exchange between South Asian think-tanks on central issues such as climate and trade. Besides the security challenge that is common to Afghanistan and Central Asia, the deliberations on foreign and security policy in the post-Soviet republics are concerned predominantly with their geographic location (between Asia and Europe) and the equitable use of natural resources. Energy policy is consequently at the center of KAS' activities in the area of regional cooperation.

NEW DELHI, INDIA  
**INDIA-NATO DIALOGUE – FURTHERING  
 COOPERATION WITH A STRATEGICALLY  
 IMPORTANT PARTNER IN ASIA (2005-2011)**

**III**

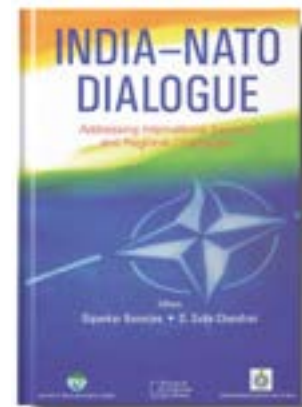
In 2005, the KAS New Delhi office organised the first India-NATO Dialogue program. It was also the first time that official NATO representatives, Members of the Bundestag and foreign and security policy experts from Germany met their Indian counterparts to discuss current issues of foreign and security policy.

Initially, the event was held biannually; later on, at the special request of the Indian side and looking ahead to – or following on from – NATO's new Strategic Concept, on an annual basis. The actual semi-public dialogue sessions with an expert audience were complemented on the second day by a closed roundtable discussion with members of the Indian *National Security Advisory Board* and bilateral talks for the NATO delegation at the Ministry of External Affairs and the Ministry of Defence. Participants included political decision-makers (Members of the Bundestag), official NATO representatives such as the NATO spokesman, members of the Secretary General's planning staff, the Assistant Secretary General of NATO, representatives from the NATO Defence College and from the Bundeswehr University in Munich. On the Indian side, participants included high-ranking representatives from the military as well as from the Ministry of External Affairs and the Ministry of Defence, and in later years also the Minister of State for Defence and representatives from the *National Security Advisory Board*.

Initially, the dialogue topics were kept very general, such as "NATO post-9/11"; in later years, the discussions focused increasingly on highly specific topics, such as the political and military options to combat the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction or the stabilisation of Afghanistan and Pakistan through mechanisms of regional cooperation.

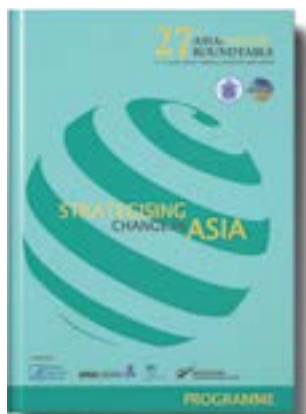
With the initiation of an informal India-NATO dialogue, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung made a contribution to significantly improving the understanding of transatlantic and European positions. The program proved to be a highly successful tool for both sides to learn about the other's views in the area of security policy and to clarify their own stance. The program aroused interest in Indian government circles (Ministry of External Affairs and Ministry of Defence) in engaging in informal dialogue with NATO. The Indian military also expressed its interest in taking part in joint operations with NATO. The initiative was successful in correcting prejudices about Western security policy and contributing to a rethinking process with respect to security alliances in India itself. It also stimulated discussions within India by drawing attention to new aspects of a more active Indian engagement in international efforts towards peace and stability. The KAS India-NATO Dialogue was the only Track 1.5 forum of this type for a long time.

It has become clear that India is developing a greater interest in NATO. While the dialogue was initially dominated by endeavours to probe potential common interests, the 2011 meeting stood out in that both the NATO delegation and the Indian participants were eagerly engaging in discussions on potential areas of cooperation beyond NATO's presence in Afghanistan.



### III

#### KUALA LUMPUR, MALAYSIA ASIA-PACIFIC ROUNDTABLE – A REGIONAL PERSPECTIVE ON NATIONAL, REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY CHALLENGES



The Asia-Pacific Roundtable (APR) is a regional forum in Asia to promote dialogue and communication about challenges in regional security policy. The APR is first and foremost a so-called Track II forum, i.e. a forum for representatives of think-tanks, research and consulting institutions. It is organised by the ASEAN-ISIS network, the informal association of *Institutes for Security and International Studies* (ISIS) from the ASEAN member states. The ASEAN-ISIS network comprises one institute each from the ten ASEAN member states.

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung has been supporting the Asia-Pacific Roundtable for many years via its Regional Program Political Dialogue Asia based in Singapore. Besides encouraging a regional exchange of views and trust building in Asia with respect to controversial issues, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung can thereby also promote the active participation of German and other European representatives in the forum and play its part in ensuring that European experiences of security cooperation will be paid attention to in the debate in Asia.

The first Asia-Pacific Roundtable took place in 1987. Initially limited to a small number of participating institutes, this forum has increasingly gained in recognition and attention over the years, becoming the most important Track 1.5 forum in Asia on issues of regional security. Today, participants are not restricted to representatives from think-tanks, research institutes and consultancies, but also include representatives from governments, the security forces and the media. More than 250 people from numerous Asian countries, from the United States, Australia and New Zealand as well as Europe take part in the forum each year.



In terms of topics, the APR continues to focus mainly on Asian security issues. Discussions at the APR held from 2 to 4 June 2014 covered a wide range of topics, including local and national developments such as the economic and political reforms taking place in Myanmar, the elections in Indonesia and their effects on the country's foreign policy, Japan's view on the topics of securing peace and economic growth in the region, and political stability in Thailand. At the same time, more long-term developments affecting the region as a whole also featured on the agenda: relations between major powers, possibilities of greater integration of ASEAN, ways of securing maritime common goods, as well as security dilemmas and trust-building measures.

In the light of the multitude of different challenges to regional security in Asia and the lack of robust structures of cooperation and trust building in the area of security policy, the Asia-Pacific Roundtable is a forum for an open and informal exchange of ideas between government representatives, academics and consultants. The APR's function therefore extends far beyond mere academic discourse.



## SINGAPORE AND BRUSSELS NATO-ASIA SECURITY DIALOGUE – PAVING THE WAY FOR CLOSER SECURITY COOPERATION

### III

Since 2011, NATO's Public Diplomacy Division has been collaborating closely with the KAS Political Dialogue unit in Singapore and the Multinational Development Policy Dialogue Brussels. Every year, the NATO-Asia Dialogue attracts a wide range of experts from Asia and relevant decision-makers from Brussels. In view of the existing sensitivities, the main objective of the event is still to establish and foster dialogue between NATO representatives and the Asian think-tank community. The fact that the discussions remain confidential makes for an open and constructive atmosphere, in which even difficult issues, particularly with respect to the conflicts in the South and East China Sea, can be discussed. The event also helps to raise NATO's profile as a security actor to whom the stability of the Asia Pacific region is of substantial interest. The 2013 conference can serve as a typical example. It was split into two parts: a one-day public event for experts from Brussels and Asia and a visitors program. Informational meetings at NATO headquarters and NATO Shape (*Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe*) provided a considerably deeper and more differentiated understanding of NATO and its working practices, which the visitors from Asia were able to take back to their home countries.

In 2013, the discussions focused on four current issues: defence budget developments, human security in post-2014 Afghanistan, current issues of maritime security, and lessons learned from the NATO mission to combat piracy in the Gulf of Aden.

Details provided on China's large military expenditure were particularly informative. In this context, it was stated that the military budgets of the countries in Asia Pacific had exceeded those of the U.S. for the first time. The expenditure per soldier, however, is still far lower in Asia. The military equipment of the region's countries is not comparable to that of the United States in terms of quality. Nonetheless, the dynamic arms policies in the region give cause for concern, particularly as there is a lack of cooperative structures for disaster relief, humanitarian support and political transparency.

Another area that was identified as requiring improvement is the *United Nations Convention on the Law of the Seas* (UNCLOS), as this does not include any enforcement mechanisms to deal with piracy in international waters. It is therefore up to the affected states to make decisions on any legal proceedings. The convention also has deficiencies with respect to piracy by children and the links between piracy and other organised crime, such as money laundering. When maritime security is concerned, participants highlighted the natural gas reserves in the South China Sea and the disputes about the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands. Any escalation of these territorial conflicts would also affect European trading interests as many goods pass through the major ports in these waters. Where the tense relations between China and Japan are concerned, it was noted that actors from Europe could potentially mitigate differences by acting in a neutral, mediating role.



## III



Concerns which the conference participants shared with respect to human security in Afghanistan included the emergence of criminal networks, which cannot be combated by conventional armies, drugs production, Afghanistan's relationship with Pakistan and the increasing uncertainty among the Afghan population about the country's future. Afghanistan sinking back into civil war after the departure of the combat troops – a development that would have terrible consequences for the civilian population – is considered a real danger. It would also affect neighbouring countries, which would face large flows of refugees among other things.

## BILATERAL SECURITY DIALOGUES – STRENGTHENING RELATIONS BETWEEN GERMANY AND KEY COUNTRIES IN ASIA

### III

#### MALAYSIA

The Germany-Malaysia Security Dialogue was introduced in June 2012 as a new dialogue forum of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in Kuala Lumpur in collaboration with the *Institute of Strategic and International Studies*. The goal is to bring together German and Malaysian security experts from the military, government, parliament and academia to discuss current security challenges, exchange information and experiences and deliberate on possibilities for cooperation. The results from the sessions are passed on to decision-makers in both countries as well as actors from the EU and ASEAN to provide fresh ideas. The German attendees include high-ranking representatives from the Federal Chancellery, from various federal ministries, from NATO, from the European External Action Service, former leading members of the Bundeswehr as well as experts from think-tanks. The Malaysian side is similarly represented each year by high-ranking military personnel, government representatives and security experts. The topics discussed to date included possibilities of greater cooperation between ASEAN and the EU, maritime security with special reference to the Gulf of Aden, the geostrategic impact of the development of new gas and oil reserves, the fight against terrorism and extremism, cyber warfare and China's role in the region.



#### CHINA

What form will a responsible future Chinese foreign and security policy take? In line with this key question, the Beijing KAS office puts new interpretive approaches, assessments and options for a multilateral security debate in Northeast Asia forward for discussion. The increasing transnational importance of Beijing and the resulting consequences for the scopes of action of global actors demand a critical analysis of China's geopolitical positioning and of the influence it exerts on regional and global security structures. Diverse interests, subjective threat perceptions and national safeguarding (so-called hedging) of each individual state make it difficult to find a consensus. The Chinese foreign policy principle of non-interference, seen as a controversial issue domestically and abroad, is just one example. This makes the diverse dialogue opportunities offered by the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung all the more important to political decision-makers involved in the Northeast Asian debate.

Embedded in the foundation's network of relations with leading Chinese institutions advising on policy matters, this events program is effective in building trust and fostering understanding. International conference participants value the foundation's mediating role in shaping foreign relations with China; Germany does not, after all, pursue any geostrategic interests of its own in the region and can therefore play the part of a neutral actor. Renowned experts, including military strategists, policy and social consultants, university professors and think-tank representatives are taking advantage of the dialogue events organised on the Chinese mainland and in Hong Kong. With this interdisciplinary dialogue program, the KAS office is successfully fostering the debate and understanding about different methods for the West to effect a rapprochement with China (and vice versa) and laying the foundation for closer cooperation in foreign and security policy forums.

## III

## SOUTH KOREA

Hardly any other region in the world is affected as much by political and military tensions as the North-east Asian subcontinent. Despite significant levels of intraregional trade, historically grown differences between China and Japan on the one hand and between South Korea and Japan on the other make for a climate of distrust and mutual rejection, exacerbated by the lack of efforts to come to terms with the past. This difficult situation has been intensified lately by worsening territorial disputes between the three states, which are not only about territorial claims and spheres of influence on land and at sea

but also about access to the reserves of natural resources thought to be present in the disputed areas. Due to the country's special geopolitical location between the conflicting parties, there is a heightened level of threat perception in South Korea. Strong nationalism on all sides has long hampered any policy of rapprochement being pursued. Another aggravating factor on the Korean Peninsula obstructing a secure regional peace is the



#### Topics of the bilateral security dialogue

- 2011** European and Asian Perspectives on International Security Policies
- 2012** The Changes of the Global Security Environment
- 2013** Leadership Changes and Security Challenges in Asia-Pacific
- 2014** Military Cooperation between Europe and Korea

In parallel with these dialogue events, annual workshops have been held since 2011 to examine the current questions on regional maritime security.

ongoing conflict between the two Korean states. Security conflicts in Northeast Asia would also have serious consequences for Germany as almost a quarter of EU trade is conducted with East Asia. Furthermore, the EU does not have any means of ensuring the security of the maritime trading routes in the event of hostilities.

Nevertheless, Europe and Germany have so far hardly shown any presence in East Asia in a security policy context. In Korea, Europe is still to a large extent an unknown quantity as a political actor, particularly where security issues are concerned. It took the international financial crisis to raise awareness of the mutual dependence – in political, economic and security matters.

The German-Korean Security Dialogue, which the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung launched in 2011, addresses all these questions and problems. Its purpose is to facilitate the process of decision-makers in the area of security policy getting to know each

other and to foster mutual understanding of the security strategies pursued in Germany and South Korea. The dialogue focuses on current regional security challenges as well as the ubiquitous topic of maritime security in the region.

## JAPAN

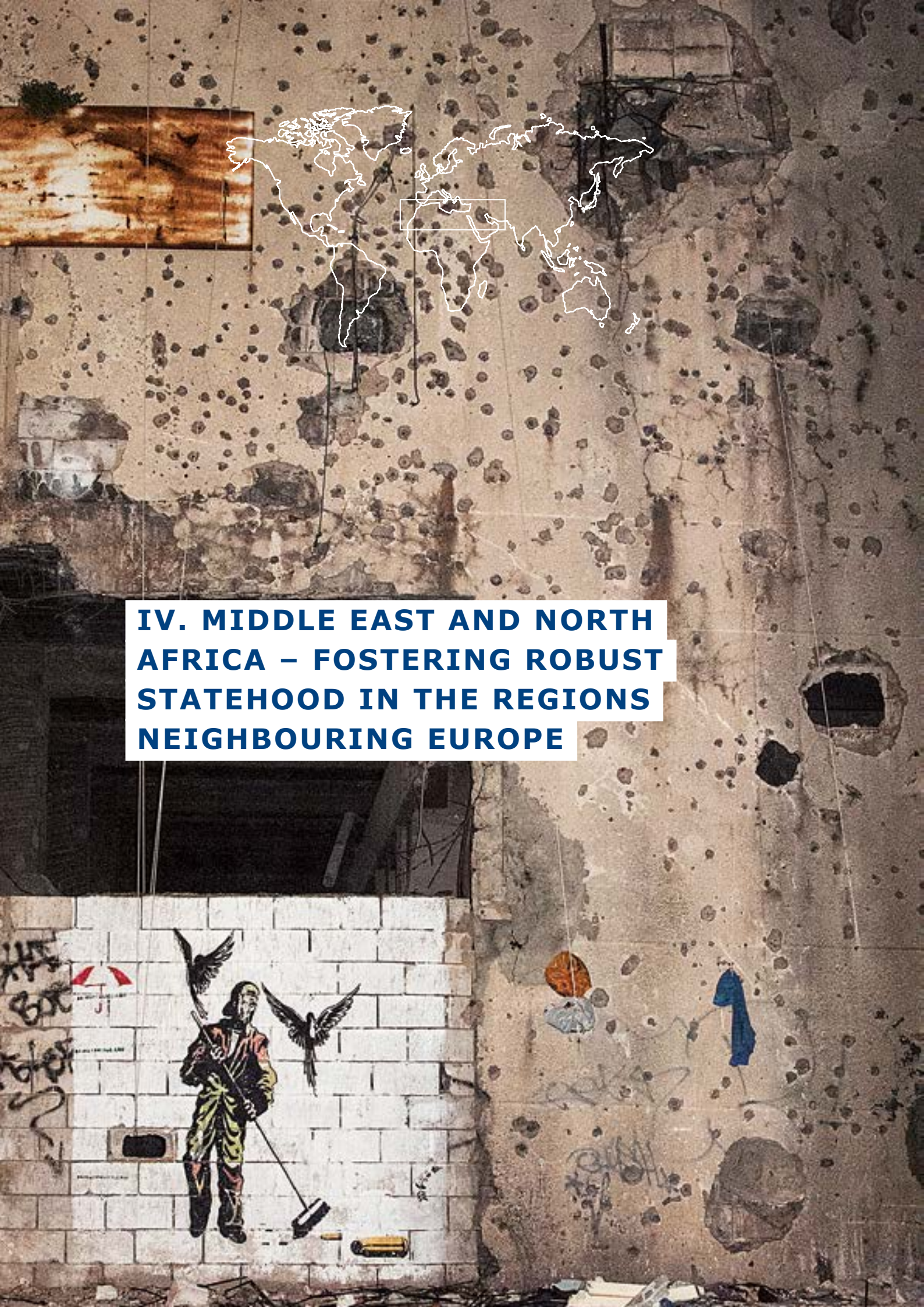
The Japanese government is intent on reshaping its security policy. Amongst other things, it wishes to enshrine the country's right to collective self-defence in law, entitling Japan to provide military assistance to allied states under certain circumstances. In addition, Japan wishes to strengthen the role it plays in armed UN peacekeeping missions.

This mission profile, announced as "proactive pacifism", is subject to controversy among the Japanese public and domestic politicians. The challenges faced by Japan now are reminiscent of the debate on security policy in Germany after the end of the Cold War. From the early 1990s, the Bundeswehr suddenly had to be prepared for deployments outside the national borders and NATO territory. Even before and during the 1992-1993 UN mission in Cambodia, Germany's first major foreign military involvement, the deployment of Bundeswehr soldiers was met with opposition from the German public and parliament. Germany's involvement in the deployment of NATO forces against what was then the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1999 proved an acid test in domestic politics.

In Japan too, the debate centers on the constitutional framework for the intended new mission profile of the self-defence forces. The KAS Office Japan regularly contributes to the debate with events and publications. Besides questions relating to maritime security in the region, these center on changes in the area of security policy in Germany since the early 1990s.







**IV. MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA – FOSTERING ROBUST STATEHOOD IN THE REGIONS NEIGHBOURING EUROPE**



The Middle East and North Africa, also referred to as the MENA Region, are at the focus of security deliberations in Europe as probably no other region of the world. This is initially due to the geographic proximity. To streams of migrants, terrorist logistics or other criminal activities, the Mediterranean and the Bosphorus do not represent unsurmountable obstacles. But even disregarding the geographic aspects, the Arab countries, their conflict with Israel and, not least, Iran and its nuclear program pose security challenges of a global scale. The interest in lasting stability in the region is therefore correspondingly high in Germany and Europe.

The so-called "Arab Spring" has shown that stability founded on repression and merely cementing authoritarian structures is illusory. There is further the risk of a number of failed states emerging at the fringes of the Arab World and in the region under the influence of the increasing hostilities. In the Sahara, in Yemen as well as in parts of Syria and Iraq, Islamist terrorists are filling the political power vacuum and, in some cases, controlling entire swathes of land. Added to this is the conflict between Sunnis – under the leadership of Saudi Arabia – and Shia – under the leadership of Iran – in the Gulf, fighting for hegemony in the region and for interpretational sovereignty in political Islam.

Particularly in this region, security issues are therefore closely linked to the constitutional organisation of the relevant countries. Consequently, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung is pursuing a very wide-ranging approach in its work there. Besides fostering democracy and supporting the development of essential institutions such as political parties, independent media and active civil society organisations, the foundation concerns itself very intensively with issues relating specifically to security policy. In this work, KAS needs to be sensitive to views differing from one country to the next, which is reflected in the diversity of the projects in which the foundation engages in the region.

## IV

## ANKARA, TURKEY GERMAN-TURKISH SECURITY DIALOGUE – COMMON REGIONAL CHALLENGES

Because of various geopolitical developments and upheavals of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Europe and Turkey are facing new security challenges and paying greater attention to common strategic interests. To Germany and the EU, stability and peace in the Middle East remain of outstanding importance. Consequently, Germany is following Turkey's foreign and security policy activities with great interest. But the EU, NATO and European governments have also highlighted the increasing significance of Turkey in issues of foreign and security policy for some time.



As a member of NATO, Turkey occupies a special geopolitical role in the tension-filled scenario involving the transatlantic relations, the relations with the EU, Russia and Central Asia, and the dramatic geopolitical developments in the Middle East. The situation in Turkey's neighbouring countries is becoming increasingly acute. All around Turkey, unstable configurations have emerged, which could (potentially) spark conflict, particularly in Syria, Iraq, Iran and the Gulf region. As a consequence of these developments, not only Turkey but Germany too is facing new strategic and security challenges.

- 2008** Turkey in its Geo-Strategic Environment
- 2009** Security Challenges for NATO from German and Turkish Perspectives
- 2010** Relevance of Developments in Iran to Security Policy
- 2011** New Security Challenges – NATO's Strategy Concept
- 2012** Threat Scenarios in the Middle East and the Gulf – Egypt, Syria, Iraq and Iran
- 2013** Regional and Global Repercussions of the Arab Spring
- 2014** Latest Developments in Iraq, Syria and Iran – Regional and Global Implications

Against this backdrop, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung took the initiative back in 2008 and established a regular German-Turkish Security Dialogue to reflect Turkey's enhanced geostrategic role and importance.

To foster the bilateral security dialogue, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung collaborated with the Strategic Research Center at the renowned Bahcesehir University in assembling a wide-ranging group of competent security experts. Since its inception, this forum has become established as an important platform for dialogue between German and Turkish experts on security-related issues. The conference series provides the opportunity to examine and discuss current questions of common strategic interest as well as threat scenarios. Subsequent to each conference, an outcome document comprising options for action is forwarded to selected opinion formers and decision-makers in both countries and, if appropriate, also to regional actors from the EU and NATO in the region.

## IV



To date, a total of seven such dialogue events on security issues have been held in Ankara, with parallel meetings in Brussels and Berlin. Networking is a further important aspect of this regular exchange. The personal contacts between German/European and Turkish representatives from politics, think-tanks and the military encourage an exchange of information and ideas on questions of bilateral as well as international security cooperation well beyond the annual conferences.

## IV

AMMAN, JORDAN  
**JORDAN'S ENERGY SECURITY –  
 AN ECONOMIC AND SECURITY CHALLENGE**

The Middle East controls over 70 % of global oil and gas reserves. Jordan, however, does not have any oil reserves, but only one gas field near the Iraqi border. Ensuring a reliable energy supply is therefore of paramount importance to the Kingdom. For this reason, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung has been operating a cooperation program on energy security with the *Arab Center for Security Studies* in Jordan for a number of years. One example of this cooperation is a conference on energy security in the Middle East held in Amman in June 2013. The discussions between experts and political decision-makers focused on the fostering of alternative sources of energy with the aim of securing Jordan's stability, not least in the light of the upheavals in the Arab World since 2011.



After the overthrow of Egyptian President Mubarak, gas supplies from Egypt dropped dramatically. Since 2011, the Egyptian gas pipelines near Al-Arish have been cut several times by radical Islamist groups. While there had been some terrorist cells in the Sinai even before the upheavals in Egypt, Al Qaeda and groups affiliated to it have been taking advantage of the unstable political situation since then to carry out attacks on the gas pipelines. This illustrates very dramatically the importance of diversification with respect to the countries of supply and energy sources.

Imports of oil derivatives have risen sharply in recent years. Besides the loss of gas supplies from Egypt, the main reasons include a massive increase in energy demand and the influx of refugees from Syria. The country's dependence on foreign energy supplies is therefore acute.

To ensure Jordan's energy security, diverse and secure energy sources are essential. For strategic reasons, the government is still pursuing the nuclear option. However, due to the high cost and unresolved safety issues – particularly in connection with the terrorist groupings operating in Jordan – this option is meeting with opposition from large parts of society. Experts are advising Jordan to rely on renewable energies as an alternative.

The electricity that could be produced in Jordan's deserts alone would cover up to two thirds of the rising regional energy demand. This would require a combination of wind power plants, photovoltaics and solar thermal power plants. It would also greatly reduce the dependence on fossil fuels. However, the enormous potential of renewables frequently comes up against a serious lack of political will to use new, particularly renewable, energy sources. Events such as the energy dialogue organised by the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung can help to bring home the urgency of a strategic energy policy and encourage the debate on possible approaches for tackling the key challenge that energy security poses for the government.



TUNIS, TUNISIA  
**RETHINKING SECURITY – THE MEDITERRANEAN  
 REGION IS FACING NEW CHALLENGES**



Over four years on from the onset of the upheavals in North Africa and the Middle East, the security implications are becoming all too clear. In places where repressive regimes had ruled with the support of security apparatuses that had been designed almost exclusively to prop them up and where new democratic and constitutional structures have not yet taken root, militant Salafist groupings, terror cells of Al Qaeda in the Maghreb and criminal gangs and smugglers have taken advantage of the power vacuum. The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung and the *Centre of Mediterranean and European Studies* (CEMI) therefore once again made the increasing threat to the general security situation in Tunisia as well as to the entire Maghreb the topic of the annual "Sud-Sec-Med" conference, which took place in Tunis on 2 and 3 May 2013. This conference has since

become an established tradition. The aim of the forum, which included participants from around the world and was organised in collaboration with the Tunisian Ministry of Defence, was to discuss the current security challenges in the region at the national, regional as well as international level and devise potential approaches to meet them. In this context, the events in Libya and in the Sahel revealed crucial connections and illustrated clearly that in addition to the existing North-South collaborations such as the NATO Mediterranean Dialogue and the European foreign and security policy there was a need for mechanisms of cooperation between the countries in the Maghreb itself and beyond.

Due to the geopolitical position of the Mediterranean region, terrorism and militant Salafism pose serious threats to both Europe and the region itself. The attack on the Bardo Museum in Tunis on 18 March 2015 illustrated this yet again in terrifying fashion. In view of this threat scenario, governments should take measures to tackle not only the necessary economic reforms but very importantly also a reform of the security sector.

Particularly a young and still fragile democracy such as Tunisia is faced with the challenge of ensuring the efficiency of its security forces while doing justice to the demands of a democratic state based on the rule of law. The required tasks range from strengthening the parliamentary control mechanisms to new approaches for training the security forces to establishing a new trusting relationship between citizens and the police.

With the adoption of the constitution on 27 January 2014 and the newly elected government taking office in early 2015, the political conditions for a rigorous reform of the security sector in Tunisia are now in place. Against this backdrop and in consideration of the increasing external threats facing Tunisia, such as that produced by the increasing destabilisation of Libya in particular, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung refocused attention on the matter at the "Sud-Sec-Med" conference in April 2015. Amongst other things, the discussions revealed Tunisia's strong desire for an international exchange of expertise and the extent to which it has to rely on support from its partners in the reform and modernisation of its security forces. The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung will continue to support the reform of the security sector through measures to sensitise the public, political consultancy as well as opportunities for dialogue. These events provide high added value as they bring together representatives from institutions relevant to security, such as the police and the military, and from the relevant ministries as well as experts from academia and politics, and facilitate the drafting of comprehensive long-term strategies.

## IV

## JERUSALEM, ISRAEL RECARIOUS STATEHOOD, NON-STATE ARMED GROUPS AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE MIDDLE EAST



Just over 40 years ago, at the time of the Yom Kippur War, the main problem for Israel's security was the existence of strong, hostile neighbouring states with powerful conventional armies. Today, the main problem lies in the fact that Israel's neighbouring states – with the exception of Jordan, with which Israel signed a peace treaty as far back as 1994 – are too weak to fully enforce the state's monopoly on the use of force within their own borders. In many areas, central state authorities compete for political, economic and ideological influence with non-state armed groups. Some non-state authorities in the

region form permanent, highly institutionalised quasi-states. But there are also less organised actors, who are more difficult to pin down, operating in the arena. Some are involved in insurrection against the relevant central state, while others only operate within limited areas or have developed something of a symbiotic relationship with the weak central state.

Non-state authorities such as Hezbollah and Hamas have been part of the regional patchwork for years or decades. Very recently, however, particularly since the so-called "Arab Spring", many new actors have extended their operations across large swathes of North Africa and the Middle East. This new reality is changing the security configuration and the regional geopolitical topography at a rapid pace. Some developments are unprecedented in nature and there is as yet no conceptual understanding of the phenomena involved. To encourage progress in this area, *the International Institute for Counter-Terrorism* (ICT) and the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung Israel Office held an experts' workshop on pertinent topics from 11 to 13 February 2014.



In his opening speech, Knesset MP Schaul Mofas, former Chief of Staff and Israeli Defence Minister, addressed an illusion that is widespread among his fellow countrymen, namely that one can rely on the continuation of the status quo, which is relatively convenient for Israel, in total disregard of the upheavals in the neighbouring countries. He maintained that the security situation on the West Bank would deteriorate sooner or later. It was true, he said, that Israel would clearly have the upper hand in any military confrontation with the Palestinians. But Mofas, who had experienced the Second Intifada in his time as Chief of Staff and Minister of Defence, added that he realised the high price that the Israeli population would have to pay for violent conflicts, be they conventional or asymmetrical. He stressed that the two-state solution was the only option to retain the Jewish and democratic character of the State of Israel for good: "We cannot pass these problems on to our children and grandchildren. This is the moment for us to make difficult decisions in order to enable them to have a better future."

A woman in the foreground carries a large metal pot on her head, which is covered with a white cloth featuring a blue and yellow sunburst design. She is wearing a black and white striped shirt. In the background, a busy street scene is visible with several soldiers in camouflage uniforms walking. There are buildings, a street lamp, and a signpost with two green signs. The sky is overcast.

**V. SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA –  
SENSITISATION TO HUMAN RIGHTS  
ISSUES IN THE SECURITY SECTOR**





## V

## KEY TOPICS

Since the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, sub-Saharan Africa has been subject to a variety of security challenges. As illustrated by diverse examples in Southern and Eastern Africa, there is a breeding ground for political destabilisation and potential for conflicts along ethnic lines. In 2013, Mozambique experienced a wave of political violence in the heart of the country, when the opposition party Renamo unilaterally revoked the peace agreement made in 1992 and gained notoriety through armed attacks on government representatives. In connection with the 2007 elections in Kenya, there were armed clashes between ethnic groups reminiscent of civil war, involving Luo, Luhya and Kalenjin on the one side and Kikuyu on the other. In response, the KAS Kenya Office in Nairobi initiated an EU-sponsored conflict prevention program in the provinces affected particularly badly by political tensions. Although the latest elections in 2013 proceeded peacefully, the political situation remains volatile and, most importantly, the question of how to bring the perpetrators of criminal acts at all levels to justice remains unanswered. The KAS Rule of Law Program for Sub-Saharan Africa based in Nairobi engages in the fight against the culture of impunity in the entire sub-Saharan region through the *African Expert Study Group on International Criminal Law*.

Eastern Africa is facing challenges from organised crime, piracy and militant Islamist groups such as al-Shabaab, which the national security forces are ill-equipped to deal with. In Nigeria, the government underestimated the potential of the trouble spots in the Niger Delta as well as in Borno in the far northeast of the country for years. The actions of the terrorist organisation Boko Haram in 2014 demonstrated both the extremists' capabilities to undertake terror campaigns throughout the country and the weaknesses of the national security forces. In knowledge of the fact that manifest threats combined with poorly trained security personnel frequently leads to overreaction, with human rights violations as a result, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung has been collaborating with the Nigerian armed forces and police for some years, sensitising their members to human rights issues and working practices based on conflict prevention.

The observance of human rights has also been on the agenda for the KAS activities involving the Congolese armed forces (FARDC). The latter have the reputation of not only acting in the fight against the militias which are exerting a destabilising influence in the east of the country, but themselves frequently using violence against their own population. The work the foundation does with the FARDC instructors is contributing to the further professionalisation of the armed forces.

To be able to fight effectively against terror organisations, criminal and highly organised gangs as well as extremist groups, which virtually all operate across national borders, the exchange of information between the security forces of the different sub-Saharan countries is essential. By establishing a regional network of actors from the security sector, who meet regularly in an informal setting to discuss the relevant security issues, the "Political Dialogue West Africa" program is making a decisive contribution, which KAS intends to expand further in the light of the challenges in the Sahel.



## LOMÉ, TOGO CHALLENGES POSED BY THE SAHEL CRISIS

V



The fragility of the states in the Sahel manifests in socioeconomic problems as well as an unstable security situation, which arises from uncontrollable borders, organised crime and cross-border terrorism. The countries in this region tend to have a weak legislature, which is not fully aware of the extent of its competencies, facing a comparatively strong executive. In most cases, parliament does not exercise adequate control over the government. Amongst other things, this shows in the fact that the position of the military, which is particularly crucial in times of crisis, does not figure prominently in the work of the parliamentary committees.

In view of the lack of dialogue between the institutions that are crucial to the development and stability of the countries in the Sahel, the regional "Political Dialogue in West Africa" program initiated a regular regional conference in 2005, organised in collaboration with the Ministry of Defence of a different participating state each year. The aim is to foster dialogue on security matters between the parliaments and the militaries. Members of the defence committees of the participating states (Benin, Burkina Faso, Niger, Togo, Ivory Coast and Mali) and high-ranking members of the military discuss topical security issues as well as fundamental questions of the civil-military relationship. National and international security experts are present to inform the exchange. Over a period of eight years, a security community of close to 400 military personnel and parliamentarians has formed. The stable network is founded on the trust the institutions have in the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung. This facilitates an open discussion of difficult questions.

The 2012 conference in Lomé was held in cooperation with the security and defence committees of the parliaments and the defence ministries of the Francophone states of Burkina Faso, Niger, Mali, Benin, Togo and Ivory Coast. As it was scheduled to take place in a phase during which potential military interventions and peacekeeping missions in Mali figured in the political debate in Africa, the conference members homed in on the crisis in Mali as a typical case for them to examine. It illustrated how the combination of a security crisis, particularly involving a threat from Islamist terrorism, and an institutional crisis can come to pose an existential threat to a weak state.

The conference drafted recommendations for action for crisis prevention and crisis management. Various options of political and military action by ECOWAS and the African Union (AU) were subjected to critical analysis. The discussions brought out the regional significance of the crisis as well as the deficiencies in the capabilities of individual states. Questions were also asked about the position of the armed forces and their oversight bodies in the West African states. High levels of professionalism and neutrality are required in the military. However, the armed forces are still far removed from a clear commitment to republican principles combined with an acknowledgement of the primacy of politics.

As during the previous conference, the participants drew up recommendations for action, which were passed on to the parliamentary committees and the militaries of the individual countries. The essential aspect for Mali was that a political-social dialogue had been initiated. The need for more effective measures for conflict pre-

## V



vention throughout the region was highlighted. Further important points included the establishment of a culture of regional dialogue, improvements in the allocation of responsibilities to politicians and the military and – in view of the increasing threat from Islamist terrorists – better training and equipment of the armed forces. Emergency planning for the Sahel was identified as another area where action was needed.

The Lomé conference exemplifies the endeavours of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung to provide impulses for securing peace in the region. In addition, the foundation takes measures to help stabilise and promote the democratic process in West Africa. Beyond the African context, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung also intends to raise awareness among the German public about the volatile security situation in the Sahel.

## KINSHASA, DR CONGO RULE OF LAW AND HUMAN RIGHTS TRAINING FOR CONGOLESE SECURITY FORCES

V

At 100,000 strong, the Congolese army (*Forces Armées de la République Démocratique du Congo*, FARDC) is one of the largest armed forces in Africa. However, it is in no condition to meet the considerable challenges in a country with a territory the size of Western Europe. The FARDC has been fighting against various rebel groups in the country's resource-rich east and in other provinces for years. The Congolese military is also involved in international peacekeeping missions of the AU.



Some experts assume that only a quarter of the troops and equipment is in fact operational. The soldiers are generally poorly trained, frequently do not receive their monthly pay, on average just under 50 euros, and conditions at most barracks is dire. Social problems as well as the influence of criminal networks are resulting in occasionally serious human rights violations by members of the military. Apart from the rebel groups, the army is considered one of the main origins of looting, rape and murder in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Besides the domestic challenges, the Congolese security forces are also under a great deal of external pressure. The principles of democracy and the rule of law are hardly established at all in the DR Congo, the justice system and public administration are very inefficient, and corruption is widespread. The integration of former rebels into the units of the Congolese army is a difficult task. Successful integration of former enemies, which is a general condition of peace processes, requires a great deal of resources, and these are currently not available.

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung country project in DR Congo has been collaborating with the army's training unit *Service d'Éducation Civique et Patriotique* (SECP) since 2009 to counteract these deficiencies through training. As a result, over 1,200 officers of the various sections of the armed forces in the provinces have received training to correct misconceptions and address the lack of information about the rule of law and democracy. During these seminars, national and international experts convey the basics of human rights, the rule of law and democracy as well as leadership and obedience in the military. The training contents were devised in collaboration with the Congolese military.

To assist the soldiers in the internalisation and application of the contents, each participant receives the training manual "Armée et Etat de droit" from the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung. Amongst other things, this includes descriptions of the most important laws and regulations. The seminars also provide ample time for questions, discussion and dialogue with representatives of the government, public administration and civil society. The intention is for the participants to pass the essential training contents on upon their return to their units.

In connection with these measures, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung collaborates closely with the missions of the European Union, the United Nations and other bilateral security sector reform programs. Important reform components include the creation of suitable legal foundations, the democratisation of the internal structures of the FARDC and the training of the security forces. Some positive changes with respect to the observance of principles of the rule of law have already become apparent from follow-up interviews with participants and evaluations of the reforming efforts. Nevertheless, huge challenges still remain in this area.

## V

## RULE OF LAW PROGRAM FOR SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA, NAIROBI THE FIGHT AGAINST IMPUNITY IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA: EXPERT STUDY GROUP ON INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL LAW



The engagement of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in the area of security policy also includes the fight against impunity with respect to crimes against humanity, war crimes and genocide and providing support for the work of the International Criminal Court (ICC) in The Hague.

The activities involve special measures to familiarise political decision-makers and the wider public with the Rome Statute, the contractual foundation of the ICC, as well as the Court's operating procedures. Care is taken to stress that the actions the International Criminal Court takes are complementary to those taken by national courts. Another key aspect is the implementation of international criminal law standards in national legislation.

In 2010, an *African Expert Study Group on International Criminal Law* was created, modelled on the expert panel in Latin America, which goes back over ten years. It brings together academics, representatives from NGOs as well as lawyers and law experts who represent victims in ongoing proceedings in The Hague as well as having contributed their expertise in ad-hoc courts, particularly in the Rwanda Tribunal. The group, whose regular meetings are coordinated by the Rule of Law Program for Sub-Saharan Africa, published its first joint paper in 2012: "Power and Prosecution: Challenges and Opportunities for International Criminal Justice in Sub-Saharan Africa".

The number of violent conflicts in Sub-Saharan Africa is increasing and so are therefore crimes against humanity as well. Although the Court is also conducting preliminary examinations outside Africa, the ICC's current investigations exclusively relate to African states. Among the public in sub-Saharan Africa, the Court is frequently seen as an instrument of Western justice, although that is not the case. At the time of its inception, African heads of state were among the group of passionate proponents of such a tribunal. 34 of the 121 signatory states are located on the African continent.



However, the case against the Sudanese President Omar Al-Bashir as well as the investigations aimed at the acting President and Vice President of Kenya, Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto, are fuelling criticism of the ICC. In view of this increasing criticism, the African Expert Study Group not only makes a contribution to the development and harmonisation of national justice systems in the context of international criminal law. It is also an important instrument for using specialist expertise to counter sweeping patterns of argumentation and for doing essential educational work to strengthen the rule of law and democracy.



## ABUJA, NIGERIA COLLABORATIONS IN SUPPORT OF THE SECURITY SITUATION IN NIGERIA

# V

Nigeria is renowned the world over for its engagement with regional and global peace efforts, and it is also valued internationally for its steady foreign policy. In addition, the country contributes significant numbers to the troops for UN missions.

While the state monopoly on the use of force has democratic legitimacy, the countrywide enforcement and internal security are greatly restricted due to the significant weakening of police structures during the periods of military rule. Furthermore, politically motivated and organised criminal violence, which has burgeoned over the years, has been largely ignored. This allowed vigilante, militia and terror groups to establish themselves successfully particularly in the northeast (*Boko Haram*), in the Middle Belt and in the Niger Delta. In some states, a state of emergency was declared in 2013, and the security situation in Nigeria's remaining states is not satisfactory either. Added to this is the fact that both the government and civil society in Nigeria are lacking institutional early warning systems to flag up potential conflicts as well as mechanisms to deal with the aftermath of conflicts.

The cooperation between the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung and government security forces in Nigeria focuses on a key problem concerning Nigerian citizens across all classes as well as politics. The training of selected officers and soldiers of the *Nigeria Security and Civil Defence Corps* (NSCDC), a citizen-oriented police unit, represents an important foundation for fighting terrorism and gang violence. KAS has been offering and successfully conducting 5-day training courses in the areas of peacekeeping and conflict management for the NSCDC for nine years.

At the beginning of the cooperation, the focus was on use of the military to safeguard democracy and on deployments in international peacekeeping missions. In response to the increasing numbers of ethnic and religious conflicts, the training was adapted to the changing challenges the military is facing with respect to domestic security and the fight against terrorism. KAS' partner, the *Nigerian Army College of Logistics*, has adopted the training units as a fixed part of the curriculum for the officers undergoing training.

When the trained officers and police officers apply the newly learnt methods in their everyday work, this improves their interaction with the citizens affected by the deployments, which in turn contributes to the nation's long-term stabilisation. To cite one example, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung conducted a seminar for the 1<sup>st</sup> Division of the Nigerian Army in Kaduna before the parliamentary and presidential elections in 2011, providing instruction on minimum use of force in the event of unrest.

There are plans to focus more strongly on topics of political education, such as the separation of powers, in addition to fundamental training on prevention of violence and conflict resolution. Cooperation with the media is also to help to re-establish citizens' trust in the security forces over time. To this end, KAS broadcasts a weekly radio program involving studio guests and callers discussing current political events as well as fundamental political questions.

In 2014, a series of workshops was established, in which representatives from security forces from the military and the police as well as relevant NGOs are brought together with the intention of furthering better cooperation and coordination in the fight against criminal and terrorist violence. The cooperation with the Nigerian military and the successful expansion of cooperation with further security forces represents an important contribution to maintaining democracy in Nigeria.



**VI. LATIN AMERICA –  
ORGANISED CRIME AS A  
SECURITY CHALLENGE**



The topic of security policy is increasingly gaining in importance in Latin America. The proliferation of organised crime, in the form of the trade in drugs, people and arms, and the associated emergence of parallel quasi-state structures do not only threaten internal security. As organised crime crosses national borders, this also has negative implications for regional security.

The extraction of oil, gas, minerals and rare earths, which is currently taking place in many Latin American countries, is destroying the habitats of indigenous populations in many cases and frequently only benefits a small, already wealthy, proportion of society. This is increasingly prompting conflicts over the use of natural resources.

The work of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in the area of foreign and security policy is first and foremost aimed at sensitising its partners in the region to the significance of these issues and at trying to help them look at the bigger picture beyond the borders of their own country. This applies particularly to Brazil and Mexico, which figure as places of interest for foreign affairs in other regions of the world and particularly also in Europe. But the foundation's programs also address locations that are interesting from a commercial point of view, such as Chile, Colombia and Peru. Preventing the further proliferation of organised crime is essential for Central America. The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung is therefore fostering increased cooperation between the different states in matters of security policy as this is necessary for the fight against a cross-border problem to be effective.

KAS' activities are further aimed at exercising a positive influence on security-relevant framework conditions. This includes the requirements of effective civil rights protection, good governance, a judicial culture, the fight against the culture of impunity as well as the amelioration of extreme social inequalities.



## VI

RIO DE JANEIRO, BRAZIL  
FORTE DE COPACABANA

Brazil is not only an important location commercially, but, as one of the most populous states of South America and the fifth largest country in the world in terms of territory, it has also come to take on a significant role within the international order where matters of foreign and security policy are concerned. Thanks to its natural resources, in particular oil and iron ore, a free-market economy and a development and social system based securely on democratic principles, Brazil has secured and strengthened its position both on the Latin American continent and beyond over recent years. The fact that Brazil sees itself as a major power also provides the basis for the country's active diplomatic engagement, both in the Global South and vis-à-vis the Western countries and in the institutions of the liberal international system, such as the UN and the G20. Brazil is thus the only country in Latin America with which Germany is connected by a "strategic partnership". The bilateral cooperation does not only include the economy but also matters such as international crisis management, energy and defence.



Consequently, Brazil hosts the largest and most important security conference in Latin America. The international Conference of Forte de Copacabana is a high-ranking forum for dialogue between Europe and South America, at which matters of foreign and security policy can be discussed. First organised in 2003, this conference has become an annual event. The speakers and participants, who include academics, diplomats, military functionaries and journalists, come from various regions around the world, which illustrates the global relevance of the security development in the region and of the conference topics.

The list of topics discussed over the years is long. It includes cooperation in the area of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons; the evolution of Latin American and European security architectures; the multipolar world order; the significance of South Atlantic relations; and the serviceability of different development models. The purpose of these discussions and lectures is to illustrate possibilities of cooperation and common challenges. Particularly noteworthy is the work on topics that are relevant to all regions around the globe, such as climate change and energy, maritime security and illegal trade.

The achievements of the conference are impressive. The discussed topics frequently take on a significant role in shaping and directing the debate on defence policy in some of the participating states. One current example is the Brazilian White Paper on Defence, which was commissioned by the then Brazilian Defence Minister, Nelson Jobim, after the benefits of such policy documents had been discussed in the course of the conference.



## VI

Dialogue and the furthering of cooperation are the main concerns of the Conference of Forte de Copacabana on International Security. Since its inception, local and international actors have supported the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung with the conference organisation and management. Special mention should go to the *Brazilian Centre for International Relations (CEBRI)*, which was involved from day one. The same applies to the delegation of the European Union to Brazil, which has been supporting the conference for some years. The experience from the last few years has shown how important initiatives such as the Conference of Forte de Copacabana are for close bilateral cooperation and a successful exchange of experience.



In conjunction with the conference, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung publishes an annual collection of texts in Brazil relating to topics of international security. The purpose is to foster a constant exchange of ideas and views between Brazil, Europe and Germany.

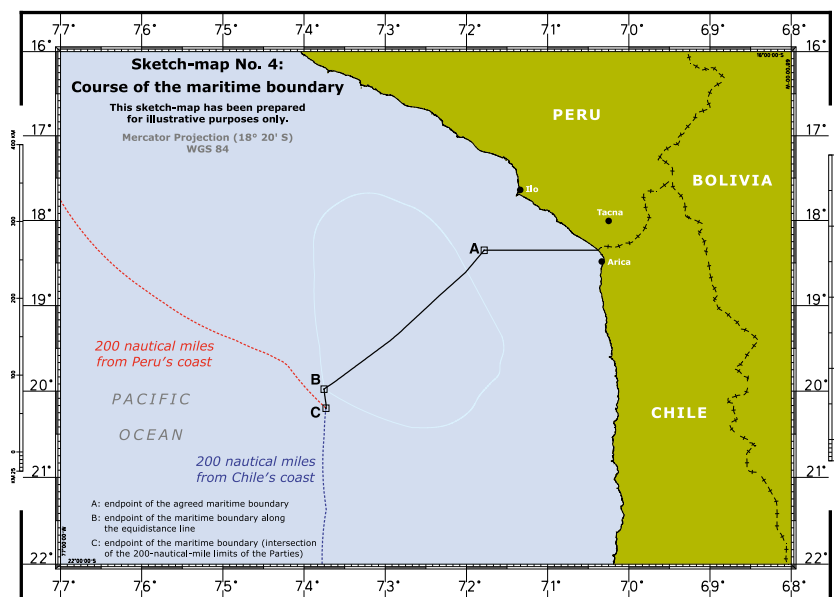
## VI

## SANTIAGO, CHILE AND LIMA, PERU DIALOGUE BETWEEN CHILE AND PERU – RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION TO IMPROVE BILATERAL RELATIONSG

The dialogue between the neighbouring countries of Chile and Peru has become more important than ever, particularly since the ruling of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) about the border conflict between the two countries. Encouraging this dialogue is the purpose of study group “Generación de Diálogo entre Chile y Perú – Perú y Chile en el marco de los nuevos desafíos bilaterales y regionales” (“Generation of Dialogue between Chile and Peru – Peru and Chile in the context of new bilateral and regional challenges”). This study group is a joint undertaking involving the *Institute of International Studies* of the University of Chile, the *Institute of International Studies* of the Catholic University of Peru as well as the two offices of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in Peru and Chile. The study group concerns itself with the bilateral relations between the two countries, aiming at creating mutual trust in spite of the two sides starting with different perspectives and priorities.

The documents the study group has published to date deal with subjects including economic aspects, the countries’ joint past, the role played by Chilean and Peruvian mass media, migration, as well as the topics of defence and security. Key areas are conflict prevention as well as work on cross-border projects. Most recently, the study group has looked at the ruling by the ICJ in The Hague about the maritime border conflict between the two states. As the ruling granted Peru sovereignty over areas of sea that had previously belonged to Chile, it evoked a certain amount of resentment on the Chilean side. Now, the ruling needs to be implemented, hopefully in good-neighbourly cooperation. To this end, the study group has drafted proposals on the basis of the documents it has published over recent years. In terms of content, they address a wide range of subjects, but focus particularly on northern Chile and southern Peru with the respective border towns of Arica and Tacna.

The study group’s recommendations for action range from social initiatives, such as joint church services and school exchanges, to educational measures to proposals addressed to the governments. Among other things, these relate to a more extensive involvement with international organisations such as the UN as well as international cooperation on climate change and on research and development of new information technologies. Copies of the document drafted by the study group were handed to the Chilean and Peruvian Foreign Ministers.



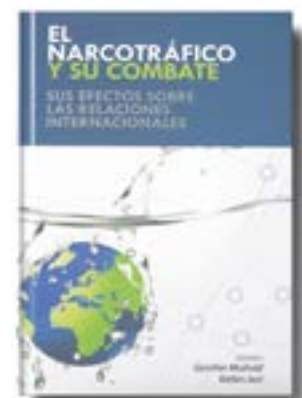
## MEXICO CITY, MEXICO THE FIGHT AGAINST THE DRUGS TRADE – A REGIONAL CHALLENGE

# VI

The “war against the drug cartels” has not only defined Felipe Calderón’s time in government in Mexico. The drugs trade and the fight against it have been on the agenda of many states for quite some time. Over recent years, the drugs trade has developed into a mainstay of organised crime, which does not only generate lucrative cross-border business. It has also entailed the development of parallel power centers which are independent of the state. Buoyed by improved means of communication and transport, many drug cartels now have organisational structures comparable to those of multinational companies. While this issue has long been recognised as an international security risk, there have so far been no in-depth analyses conducted about the effects of the internationalisation of the drugs trade. More intensive efforts are required to examine the question as to the potential impact of the fight against or regulation of the drugs trade on the conduct of states and regional alliances.

This complex subject matter was on the agenda of an international conference on “The Fight against the Drugs Trade and its Effects on International Relations” organised in October 2013 by the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in collaboration with the Humboldt Chair of the *Colegio de México*. The two-day conference was attended by experts from Mexico, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Ecuador, Colombia, Brazil, the USA and Germany. Topics covered included central questions regarding the geopolitical developments relating to the drugs trade as well as the effects of the globalisation of the drugs trade on national and regional security agendas.

Approaches employed in the “war on drugs” have become increasingly regional in nature. However, particularly in Latin America, there are still diverging interests, which not only make an international approach more difficult, but also entail considerable impacts on inter-state and multilateral relations. The conference participants gained a good insight into the different facets of the fight against drugs and the approaches of international cooperation above all from the presentations of the international panel of experts on measures such as the Mérida Initiative, an initiative by the USA and Mexico to combat the drugs trade in South and Central America, or the militarisation of the “war on drugs”. Ambassadors, students, members of the military and civil society representatives as well as numerous experts from politics, commerce and academia took part in the conference in person or online, and the German press also reported on it. The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung thus not only provides a platform for local dialogue through its work, but also contributes to education and public debate about regional and global security issues in Germany.





A high-angle, wide shot of a large, semi-circular conference room. The room is filled with people, mostly men in business suits, seated at long, curved wooden desks. The desks are arranged in a semi-circle, and the room is lit with warm, yellow light. The people are engaged in a meeting or debate, with some looking towards the center and others looking at documents or laptops. The room has a modern, professional feel with wooden paneling and a curved ceiling.

**VII. HIGHLIGHTS FROM GERMANY –  
PROVIDING IMPULSES FOR DEBATE,  
INTRODUCING IDEAS AND FOSTERING  
NEW TALENT**



International security policy is not only important to the international work of Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung but also to its domestic programs. KAS' activities in Germany benefit greatly from the exchange with the offices abroad; this global network of "ambassadors of Christian Democracy" sets KAS apart from other institutions of political consultancy or political education. This is the reason why combining the insights gained abroad with decision-making processes taking place in Germany is at the center of our security-related work in Germany. (Conversely, the international offices also serve to convey information on German policies around the world.)

Consequently, our projects on security issues conducted in Germany are aimed mainly at political decision-makers and those preparing and influencing the decision-making process, in other words particularly members of parliament, government representatives, academics, members of the military and journalists – but also the broad public. The foundation develops its own ideas and presents them to this public, but above all provides opportunities for joining the debate on security issues. This takes the form of public events, publications, symposia and off-the-record discussions.

On the following pages, we are presenting a number of these concrete measures, which show that besides the international exchange on ways to promote freedom, peace and security the work of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung focuses on Germany's responsibility in the world as well as on fostering young talent in the field of foreign affairs.

## VII

## EXEMPLARY VISITORS PROGRAM



The international visitors programs enable the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung to link its work in Germany with its activities abroad. Invitations to visit Germany are extended to both individuals in leadership positions and young talent from all areas of government and society who collaborate with the foundation in a spirit of partnership in their home countries. In terms of content, the visitors programs reflect all the topics KAS covers abroad, ranging from detailed examinations of subject-specific areas to the broad debate on the challenges of domestic and foreign policy.

The area of security policy is of particularly high relevance for the choice of topics. In the spring of 2014, for instance, high-ranking security experts from Montenegro travelled to Berlin to enter into discussions on the current problems and security perspectives for the Western Balkans and Europe as a whole with German foreign and security policy decision-makers. This exchange was of particular relevance as the states of the Western Balkans, while aspiring to join the EU, frequently take diverging positions where the roles played by Russia and NATO are concerned. However, these countries are facing challenges, for instance due to the Ukraine crisis, the lack of political stability, and problems in the area of energy security or in dealing with flows of refugees from the Middle East, which highlight the potential benefits of better regional coordination and the need for a more intensive exchange of experience. Given this scenario, the purpose of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in inviting the members of the Defence Committee and high-ranking representatives of the Montenegrin Ministry of Foreign Affairs was to inform them about Germany's role in the Euro-Atlantic structures and its strategies in the above-mentioned areas. In addition, the delegation was given the opportunity to learn about the relevant institutions first hand. In meetings with contacts there, the participants discussed political approaches and strategies for potential regional coordination to meet foreign and security policy challenges in the West Balkans.

This example proves yet again that the format of the visitors program is particularly well suited to intensifying discussions on security policy in meetings with relevant actors in Germany (as well as Brussels). The objective throughout is to make available sound expertise, convey the German and European viewpoints as well as complementing theoretical and abstract considerations by practical insights. Conversely, the exchange with foreign delegations also makes for an enriching experience for the German contacts. The changes in perspective that these exchanges offer can thus generally enhance mutual understanding.

The visit by the delegation from Montenegro and Serbia also showed that the intensive networking facilitated by the visitors program represents a further benefit. The joint trips strengthen the personal relationships between the participants as well as the relations between them and the foundation. This has a positive effect on our local networks and makes an important contribution to optimising our working conditions in the countries in which we operate. In addition, they encourage networking between the delegation members and their contacts in Germany or at the European level. Joint visits by delegations, which last several days and not only include official meetings but also offer various opportunities for informal exchanges, represent a unique way to build trusting relationships, which have proved to endure for many years to positive effect.

## ADENAUER CONFERENCE ON GERMANY'S ROLE IN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY POLICY

## VII

One month before the summit of the EU heads of state and government on the Common Security and Defence Policy in December 2013, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung organised the "1<sup>st</sup> Adenauer Conference on Germany's Role in International Security Policy" in Berlin. Besides an outlook in anticipation of the summit, the conference, which attracted over 200 experts, provided impulses for the security policy of the new German government and presented several aspects of the foundation's work in the area of security policy. In light of the impending summit, the conference focused on Germany's contribution to the Common Security and Defence Policy of the European Union (CSDP). But the discussions also extended far beyond Europe as well as beyond security policy in the narrow sense.



The extraordinary response the "1<sup>st</sup> Adenauer Conference" received from the expert public and the media showed that the demand for a strategic debate on security issues in Germany is growing. The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung therefore followed up with a second "Adenauer Conference" in June 2014. Bearing in mind President Gauck's exhortation that Germany had to participate "earlier, more decisively and more substantially", the foundation once again invited top representatives from politics, the military and the consultancy sector to a public debate on Germany's future role in international security policy.

In his [opening speech](#) at the 2<sup>nd</sup> Adenauer Conference in front of an audience of over 260, the Political Director of the Ministry of Defence, Dr. Géza Andreas von Geyr, outlined the guiding principles of German security policy. Because the second Adenauer Conference once again covered a wide range of urgent and long-term strategic questions, including the need to reflect on the Afghanistan mission, from which important lessons were learnt for future missions, as well as the challenges in Europe's immediate neighbourhood.

Looking ahead to the NATO summit in September 2014, the discussions also included Germany's contribution within the transatlantic alliance. As a long-time beneficiary of the stability of the international system and of U.S. security guarantees, Germany must gradually take greater responsibility for securing its own interests and the security of allies. The second Adenauer Conference was therefore also informed by the insight that being deeply embedded in global, mutual dependencies makes it essential for Germany to play an active role in international security policy.

To ensure that the contents, arguments and discussions of the conference are also accessible to anybody who could not attend, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung has made excerpts of the panel discussions available online in [video format](#). These are complemented by interviews with the speakers. The covered topics range from the "Gauck debate" to the NATO summit in Wales. This is another way whereby the Adenauer Conference is contributing to the security debate at the interface of academia, politics and civil society.

## VII

## "NETWORKED SECURITY" COURSE – EDUCATION FOR YOUNG TALENT WITH AN INTEREST IN SECURITY POLICY



To be able to devise and actively shape security policy for the long term requires multipliers educated in matters of security policy, particularly in the ranks of the political parties and their youth sections. One effective method to achieve this is to foster the young talent active in the area of foreign and security policy in Germany and provide them with networking opportunities. At the instigation of the Secretary General of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung and in response to the lively interest from security policy activists, a course entitled "Networked Security" was set up in 2008 to provide specialist education to twelve young talents, who include graduate and PhD students as well as young professionals.

The course members are fostered with specialist further education measures. The two-year course comprises four seminars, one research placement or internship as well as an event for careers guidance and support. The academic side of the course is managed by Prof. Carlo Masala from the Institute for International Politics at the Bundeswehr University in Munich, who prepares the contents of the individual course modules in collaboration with the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung.

The 2008/2009 and 2010/2011 intakes receiving instruction in the concept of "Networked Security" comprised a total of 21 young talents, one of whom, Mark Hauptmann, has since become a Member of the Bundestag. At various events, which took place in Brussels, Berlin, Munich and Bonn amongst other locations, the course members were brought together with actors from fields such as development cooperation, disaster control, science and the military to discuss practical concepts of crisis preparation, crisis management and post-crisis recovery and to learn about new approaches.

On completion of the course, each participant was handed a certificate by the patron, Federal Minister Dr. Thomas de Maizière. After an intermission due to organisational reasons, KAS is planning to resume the course with a new intake shortly.



## “CECILIENHOF” RETREAT – NEW SECURITY POLICY INITIATIVES IN THE MAKING

## VII



In collaboration with the Federal Chancellery and the Federal Ministry of Defence, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung has been organising a symposium on security policy held in Potsdam once or twice a year since 2008, originally at the historical “Schlosshotel Cecilienhof”. The purpose of the event is to enable experts to discuss strategic questions of German security policy in a confidential atmosphere and to develop new political initiatives. The symposium outcomes are recorded in confidential minutes and made available to the coordinating institutions.

Between 30 and 40 experts from the government, the Bundestag, academia, commerce, the military, the media and political consultancies take part in each symposium. To ensure the confidentiality and continuity of the format, a fixed core group of 20 experts has become established; this is joined by further experts to match the respective topic and demand. The organisers collaborate closely in planning the program and selecting the participants. This ensures that the topics under discussion are highly relevant to current political events and to the long-term strategic thinking year after year.

The success of the conference can in part be accounted for by the support from high-ranking politicians and officials, who can speak frankly behind closed doors and receive inspiration from the security community. The acting Defence Minister, for instance, has attended regularly in the past, as have various secretaries of state from the Federal Foreign Office, the Federal Ministry of the Interior and the Federal Ministry of Defence as well as numerous Members of the Bundestag. The continuity and success of the conference series has also been greatly aided by the committed involvement of Dr. Christoph Heusgen (National Security Adviser to the German Chancellor) and Dr. Ulrich Schlie (former Political Director, Federal Ministry of Defence) in all conferences to date.



The event brings concepts of security policy to life and encourages cross-departmental cooperation and communication. The format goes back to a joint initiative of the then Chief of the Chancellery, Dr. Thomas de Maizière, the former Head of the Planning Staff at the Federal Ministry of Defence, Dr. Ulrich Schlie, and the then Secretary General of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Wilhelm Staudacher. The Cecilienhof very quickly became established as a permanent fixture on the security policy calendar as a cornerstone of KAS’ work in the area of security policy.

## VII

PROSPECTS FOR GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY –  
FOSTERING PUBLIC DISCUSSIONS ABOUT SECURITY POLICY

For Germany as one of the world's strongest export nations, it must be of vital interest to be able to continue to benefit from stable sea routes, favourable international conditions and a strong Europe. But this also means that we cannot ignore developments in the Middle East, in Africa and other regions of the world. We must constantly bear in mind the question as to the consequences of these developments for Germany and Europe. In which areas should German foreign politics therefore become engaged more strongly? Which topics should be brought home to the German public more forcefully?

**Selected articles**

- Religionsfreiheit als universales Menschenrecht (Religious Freedom as a Universal Human Right)
- A Fragile Value Chain: The Need for German Maritime Engagement
- December Summit – Last Chance? Impulses for the revitalisation of the common security and defence policy
- More Subsidiarity in Europe – but in the Right Place
- Germany's Foreign Policy and the "Energie-wende" Action Areas and Approaches

All publications are available at  
<http://www.kas.de/prospects>.

With its series "Prospects for German Foreign Policy", the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung is contributing to this debate. This project involves the publication of short papers on a number of subjects which are deemed particularly important or which have not yet been given sufficient attention in the public debate. These articles combine foreign policy analysis with concrete suggestions for action for German policy-makers.

While some papers evaluate the implications of global megatrends, such as global power shifts and demographic change, others focus on selected regions in crisis around the world. The articles on the United Nations Force Intervention Brigade in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, security in the Sahel, or the political upheavals in the Maghreb states not only illustrate the huge challenges on the ground. They also show that it is in Germany's interest for these problems to be overcome. The different authors also provide suggestions on how and in which forums Germany can make a stronger contribution. By way of example, three papers examine the G7 Presidency, which Germany assumed in June

2014, asking questions such as which role Germany can play and which positions it can take within the G7 context to promote value-based global governance, or how economic incentives can further development and create prosperity. Other subjects covered in the papers include concrete, innovative ideas in the area of climate policy, such as how the lead the G7 have in matters of climate-relevant technologies can be beneficially employed through technology, capacity and scientific partnerships.

The range of regional, functional and topic-based articles offers numerous impulses for public discourse in Germany. At the same time, the authors, who include members of KAS staff as well as external contributors, propose areas in which Germany can and must become engaged more strongly – and make suggestions on what such an engagement should look like to reflect our values, our interests and our strengths. To make the analyses available to non-German speakers and enable them to gain an insight into the current German debate, the articles are also translated into English.

## WORKING GROUP OF YOUNG FOREIGN POLICY EXPERTS – FURTHERING FOREIGN POLICY EXPERTISE

## VII

The Working Group of Young Foreign Policy Experts comprises some 25 young academics, journalists, parliamentary staff and (former) KAS scholarship recipients. The members specialise in various areas including political and regional sciences, economics and business, and law. Despite this wide-ranging portfolio of expertise, there is one thing above all that the members have in common apart from their academic excellence: their interest in all aspects of foreign affairs, from the policy towards the EU to transatlantic relations, from security and defence policy to economic policy and development policy.

The Working Group of Young Foreign Policy Experts was established by the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in 2001 to bring together young talent with an interest and expertise in foreign policy issues and provide them with a forum for devising approaches to tackle current political challenges. In addition, the working group is intended to help to identify foreign policy expertise and engagement in Germany more effectively and provide opportunities for networking. By establishing the group and providing ongoing support, the foundation aims at contributing to a new foreign policy culture in Germany. The first patron of the working group was Member of the Bundestag Karl Lamers, then CDU/CSU speaker on foreign affairs. Since 2007, the honorary chairman of the group has been Dr. Karl-Heinz Kamp, President of the Federal Academy of Security Policy in Berlin.



The studies prepared by the working group, which are accessible to the public on the KAS website, are also presented to the critical expert public and to political decision-makers at conferences. In May 2009, for instance, the group published a study on the future of German foreign policy entitled "Impulse 2020. Akzente zukünftiger deutscher Außenpolitik" (Impulses 2020: Focal Points for the German Foreign Policy of the Future), which was presented at a symposium by Eckart von Klaeden, then the CDU/CSU speaker on foreign affairs in the Bundestag. Since that time, the group has organised international conferences

on selected German foreign policy issues in various locations including Berlin, Cadenabbia, Istanbul, Paris, Baku, Cotonou and Moscow. Representatives from the Working Group of Young Foreign Policy Experts have also been invited to give talks in the field offices of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in China, Vietnam, Morocco, Pakistan and the Czech Republic. Under the guidance of Dr. Patrick Keller, Coordinator for Foreign and Security Policy at the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, the working group has prepared numerous papers on a wide range of subjects, designed workshops and made presentations at conferences. The publications in series Facts & Findings deal with subjects such as the German G7 Presidency ahead of the 2015 G7 summit and the subject of global megatrends.

With the Working Group of Young Foreign Policy Experts, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung is thus contributing in a variety of ways. Fostering young talent in the area of foreign affairs goes hand in hand with bringing out a fresh perspective on foreign policy issues.



**VIII. FUTURE TASKS FOR  
GERMANY IN INTERNATIONAL  
SECURITY POLICY**





While it only provides a partial view of the work the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung does in the area of security policy, this brochure illustrates the wide range of topics, challenges and methods the term “security policy” covers. Nowadays, “international security” simply no longer equates to “defence”, even primarily; instead, questions of risk management, promotion of stability and resilience have gained in importance. Of even greater importance is the realisation that international cooperation, as practiced by political foundations such as KAS, no longer conforms to the clichés of development cooperation. It is now less about a rich patronising North giving alms to a passive destitute sub-Saharan South than, above all, about political stability at a global scale – albeit firmly rooted in concrete projects on the ground, focused on values and guided by interests.

A central concept in this context is security within the meaning of what Richard Löwenthal referred to as “society’s freedom of self-development”. After all, not only does the development of other nations depend on their societies being safe from internal and external violence, the security of Germany and Europe as a whole is increasingly dependent on developments in other parts of the world in the era of globalisation. It is therefore not only a moral obligation, but also an imperative of economic, social and ultimately defence policy prudence for Germany to promote stable liberal development. The political foundations have the task of supporting and complementing the work of German politics to this end.

This brochure has provided a few examples of precisely how this is done. When considering the overall picture, there are three problem areas that will determine German security policy in general and KAS’ work in particular.

Firstly, there is Germany’s changing role in international politics, first and foremost where international security policy is concerned. For some time, even before President Joachim Gauck’s speech at the Munich Security Conference in 2014, decision-makers have been deliberating on how Germany’s increased political and economic strength – particularly compared to other EU states – can be translated into a responsible foreign and security policy. The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung considers it its duty to provide assistance and impulses for this process. One area where KAS is ideally positioned to provide support is in explaining and conveying Germany’s commensurate role in the security arena to the public, both at home and abroad. At the same time, the foundation can serve as a gauge of international expectation and resonance, thereby providing valuable impulses for the discourse within Germany.

A second central task consists of the continuing development of the foundation’s international work, entailing an unprecedented diversity of methods, perspectives and actors. The foundation is not alone in this. “Networking” has been a key term used by all organisations operating globally for years, in phrases such as “networked security” and “networked development”. Because a large number of security challenges are no longer caused by inter-state conflict these days – disregarding the Russian aggression in 2014 – but have more to do with internal violence and problems of state disintegration and poor governance, international security policy must improve the flexible coordination of different instruments. Development aid, economic cooperation, military capabilities and diplomatic flexibility must act in concert to create stability. Through its concrete project work abroad and its promotional work in Germany, KAS can help to firmly establish and enhance this multi-perspective approach.

## VIII

The third central challenge also relates to establishing necessary connections, this time not between methods and instruments but between country-specific and region-specific knowledge. There is a paradox here. While individuals are becoming ever more directly and globally interconnected and societies are ever more dependent on one another, the knowledge about local idiosyncrasies, foreign cultures and their politics and history is not expanding to a comparable degree. In view of the disappearance of so-called exotic subjects and programs of area studies from the German university landscape, such specific bodies of knowledge are, in fact, in decline.

This has consequences for the quality of political decision-making. Added to this is the fact that the Federal Foreign Office has gradually lost its claim to have sole authority to formulate foreign policy and assess the international situation and now shares this authority with other government institutions and further actors. The resulting plurality has (however) generated a new strength that enables Germany to have a larger presence and greater influence in the international arena. Through their activities in their respective areas of operation and their individual strengths, the different actors are making complementary contributions in the area of German foreign affairs.

One of these actors is the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, which sees itself not as one voice among many in a foreign affairs cacophony but as an organisation that provides guidance in an increasingly complex world through its unique network of field offices, international partners and domestic specialist expertise. It is precisely this combination of local presence and interdisciplinary competence that makes KAS stand out. Strengthening this combination of specific regional expertise and overarching political analysis and harnessing it for the German discourse is a key task for KAS' future work in the area of security policy.

Meeting the three challenges outlined here will take some considerable time. In some respects, we have already achieved a great deal as this brochure shows. In other respects, we are just at the beginning. In any case, we are convinced that this is the right approach for us to continue making our contribution to Germany's freedom, security and prosperity within a stable international order.



Dr. Patrick Keller  
Coordinator for Foreign and Security Policy  
Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung e.V.

**IX. A SELECTION OF  
PUBLICATIONS BY THE KAS  
ON SECURITY POLICY ISSUES**

## IX

## PUBLICATIONS DEALING WITH SECURITY POLICY

**FACTS AND FINDINGS**

<b>Author / Editor</b>	<b>Title / Information</b>	<b>Year</b>
Aylin Matlé, Alessandro Scheffler	After the Wales Summit: An Assessment of NATO's Strategic Agenda	2014
Patrick Keller	NATO in Newport: Guide through topics of the summit	2014
Christian Hübner	European Energy Supply Security in Light of the Ukraine Crisis	2014
Working Group Young Foreign Experts	The German G7 Presidency (III): Climate Policy: Develop Emissions Trading System. Advance the Transformation of the Energy System. Enhance Adaptability.	2014
Working Group Young Foreign Experts	The German G7 Presidency (II): Placing Emphasis on Economic Aspects to Further Development	2014
Working Group Young Foreign Experts	The German G7 Presidency (I): The G7 as an Opportunity – Returning to value-based Global Governance	2014
Jasper Eitze, Michael Gleichmann	Ten Myths Used to Justify Russian Policy in the Ukraine Crisis	2014
Dustin Dehez	The Intervention Brigade of the United Nations in the Democratic Republic Congo	2014
Working Group Young Foreign Experts	Global Megatrends (III): Resources – Tapping Alternatives and Creating Paradigms	2014
Andrea Kolb	Security and Development in the Sahel	2013
Christian Hübner	Germany's Foreign Policy and the "Energiewende"	2013
Maik Zarandi	European Island Solutions as a Basis for Strengthening European Defence Capabilities?	2013
Olaf Wientzek	December Summit – Last Chance?	2013
Peter Hefe	A Fragile Value Chain: The Need for German Maritime Engagement	2013
David Petrovic	The Fight against Piracy: One aspect of Germany's maritime security	2013
Anne Elisabeth Ludwigs	Economy as an Engine for Change: Opportunities of Increased Engagement in the Maghreb	2013
Working Group Young Foreign Experts	Global Megatrends (II): Demographic Change	2013
Working Group Young Foreign Experts	Global Megatrends (I): Global Power Shifts	2013
Patrick Keller	Discord in the Alliance: New Members for the NATO?	2013



<b>Author / Editor</b>	<b>Title / Information</b>	<b>Year</b>
Christian Hübner	Emissions trade – Principle and Responsibility	2013
Helmut Reifeld	Freedom of Religion as Universal Human Right	2013
Werner Becker, Horst Löchel, David Gregosz	Crisis Management in the Euro Area: Why Europe's Policy is on the Right Track (Online-Publication)	2013
Maik Zarandi	CELAC – Opportunity for a Redesign of Germany's and the EU's Relations to Latin America?	2012
Patrick Schünemann	Climate Change and Security Policy	2012
Patrick Keller	Romney vs. Obama. What the Atlantic Alliance can Expect from the next US-president (Issue 111   October 2012)	2012
Christian Hübner	Regulatory Perspectives on Affordability of the "Energiewende" (Issue 108   September 2012)	2012
David Gregosz	Economic Megatrends up to 2020 - What can we Expect in the Forthcoming Years? (Ausgabe 106   August 2012)	2012
Céline-Agathe Caro, Lukas Röber	Is it still possible to overcome the crisis? – About the Current Situation in Europe after the EU-summit on 28th and 29th of June 2012 (Issue 105   July 2012)	2012
Christian Hübner	Accelerated "Energy Transition" in Germany after Fukushima: An Overview of the German "Energiewende" (Issue 104   June 2012)	2012
Sebastian Barnet Fuchs	New Actors, better Effectiveness? Perspectives of the Development Cooperation after the Summit of Busan (Issue 102   April 2012)	2012
Patrick Keller	After the Operations: Outlook for the NATO Summit in Chicago (Issue 100   February 2012)	2012
Robert A. P. Glawe (ext.)	Alliance Obligation versus the Parliament Right? – About the Reach of Parliamentary Co-Determination at Missions of the Bundeswehr (Issue 98   October 2011)	2011
Céline-Agathe Caro, David Gregosz	Why Do We Need the Euro? – Good Reasons and Popular Errors (Issue 95   August 2011)	2011
Patrick Keller	The Strategic Reorientation of the Bundeswehr – Ten Theses about the defense-political Guidelines (Issue 92   June 2011)	2011
Klaus-Dieter Fritsche	Cyber Security – The Security Strategy of the Federal Government (Issue 89   March 2011)	2011

## IX

**IN PLENUM KOMPAKT**

<b>Author / Editor</b>	<b>Title / Information</b>	<b>Year</b>
KAS (ed.)	More Europe! Yes, but how? (published on 17 <sup>th</sup> of September)	2012
KAS (ed.)	The EU Foreign Policy in the Eastern States Using the Example of the Ukraine (published 30 <sup>th</sup> of May)	2012
KAS (ed.)	Perspectives for a Common Stability Culture in Europe – Meeting of experts organised by the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in Berlin, 27 February 2012 (published on 27 <sup>th</sup> of April)	2012
KAS (ed.)	New Approaches to Sustainable Cooperation. Europe – Gulf – Africa, Abu Dhabi, 2 <sup>nd</sup> of June 2011	2011
KAS (ed.)	Challenges in Foreign and Security Policy of the Arab Spring – Experts Conference of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in Cadenabbia, 27 <sup>th</sup> – 30 <sup>th</sup> of October 2011	2011
KAS (ed.)	Stability or Crisis: Has Africa the Choice? Africa Conference on 25 <sup>th</sup> of October in Berlin	2011
KAS (ed.)	Regulative Fundamentals of International Cooperation 4 <sup>th</sup> Eichholzer Symposium about the Development Policy of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung with the Alliance of Catholic Entrepreneurs, Wesseling, 15 <sup>th</sup> and 16 <sup>th</sup> of April 2011	2011
KAS (ed.)	Maritime Security. The Horn of Africa between Piracy and Development. Experts Conference from the Conversation Group „Linked Security“, Berlin, 15 <sup>th</sup> of December 2009 (ISBN 978-3-941904-47-7)	2010
KAS (ed.)	Police Missions in Crisis Countries. Civil Protection of Development Experts Conference of the Conversation Group „Linked Security“, Berlin, 12 <sup>th</sup> of May 2010 (ISBN 978-3-941904-76-7)	2010
KAS (ed.)	Ten Years Linked Security in Kosovo. Experts Conference of the Conversation Group „Linked Security“ Berlin, 27 <sup>th</sup> of October 2009 (ISBN 978-3-941904-31-6)	2010
KAS (ed.)	Elite Power Africa. (ISBN 978-3-940955-44-9)	2009
KAS (ed.)	EU – China – Africa: Opportunities of a trilateral Partnership (ISBN 978-3-940955-50-0)	2009
KAS (ed.)	Experts Conference of the Conversation Group „Linked Security“ and Development, Berlin, 17 <sup>th</sup> of June 2009 (ISBN 978-3-941904-10-1)	2009
KAS (ed.)	Challenge Afghanistan – Linked Security at Hindukusch (ISBN 978-3-941904-09-5)	2009
KAS (ed.)	More Oil than Gas. The Gulf Region as Security Politycy Challenge (ISBN 978-3-940955-58-6)	2009

**FUTUREFORUM POLTIC**

<b>Title / Information</b>	<b>Year</b>
Outlook 2020	2011
„Perspectives 2020“ Recommendations for an active German Foreign Policy (Nr. 108)	2011
„Impulses 2020“ Opinions on Future German Foreign Policy (Nr. 99) (ISBN 978-3-940955-74-6)	2011

**KAS INTERNATIONAL REPORT**

<b>Author / Editor</b>	<b>Title / Information</b>	<b>Year</b>
Gerhard Wahlers (ed.)	„Army and Society“, Issue 8/2014	2014
Gerhard Wahlers (ed.)	„Regional Cooperations“, Issue 2/2014	2014
Gerhard Wahlers (ed.)	„Security Policy“, Issue 12/2013	2013
Gerhard Wahlers (ed.)	„Nationalism in Asia“, Issue 11/2013	2013
Gerhard Wahlers (ed.)	„Regional Disagreements“, Issue 6/2012	2012
Gerhard Wahlers (ed.)	„Africa: Carinations and Decampments“, Issue 4/2012	2012
Gerhard Wahlers (ed.)	„Challenges of Security Polity“, Issue 8/2011	2011
Gerhard Wahlers (ed.)	„Carinations in Mideast“, Issue 5/2011	2011
Gerhard Wahlers (ed.)	„Carinations in Africa“, Issue 3/2011	2011
Gerhard Wahlers (ed.)	„Regional Cooperations“, Issue 2/2011	2011
Gerhard Wahlers (ed.)	„Security Policy in Mideast“, Issue 11/2010	2010
Gerhard Wahlers (ed.)	„International Terrorism“, Issue 8/2010	2010

**OTHER PUBLICATIONS**

<b>Author / Editor</b>	<b>Title / Information</b>	<b>Year</b>
Brooke Smith-Windsor (ed.)	Enduring NATO, Rising Brazil – Managing International Security in a Recalibrating Global Order	2015
KAS (ed.)	Terrorism Attacks in Paris: Reactions from the Islamic World	2015
Hans Maria Hejñ	Hamas on the Rise – New Survey from the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in the Palestinian Territories with Alarming Results	2014
KAS (ed.)	Russia’s Annexation of the Crimea – A Collection of International Perceptions and Consequences	2014
KAS (ed.)	German Economic Interests and African Resources – Sustainability and Transparency in a Globalised World	2013
Lisa Aronsson, Patrick Keller	British-German Defence Cooperation in NATO – Finding Common Ground on European Security	2012
KAS (ed.)	4. Future Panel Castle Wackerbarth: „The Future of German-Russian-Uzbekian Energy, Foreign and Security Policy“. 8 <sup>th</sup> – 10 <sup>th</sup> of June 2011	2011
KAS (ed.)	Christian Democracy: Principles and Policy-Making: Handbook for the European and International Cooperation of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung	2011

## IMPRINT

### Publisher

Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung e. V.  
Department European and International Cooperation  
Klingelhöferstraße 23  
10785 Berlin, Germany

Phone: +49 (0)30 26996-0  
Fax: +49 (0)30 26996-3555  
E-mail: [redaktion@kas.de](mailto:redaktion@kas.de)

### Editor-in-chief

Dr. Gerhard Wahlers  
Deputy Secretary-General  
Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung e. V.

Dr. Patrick Keller  
Coordinator Foreign and Security Policy  
Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung e. V.  
E-mail: [patrick.keller@kas.de](mailto:patrick.keller@kas.de)

### Responsible for the regional chapters

Jens Paulus (Europe/North America)  
Dr. Beatrice Gorawantschy (Asia-Pacific)  
Thomas Birringer (Middle East/North Africa)  
Andrea Ostheimer (Sub-Saharan Africa)  
Gisela Elsner/Olaf Jacob (Latin America)  
Dr. Stefan Friedrich (Germany)

### Coordination

Silke David

### Editor

Judith Weiß

April 2015  
Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung e. V.  
Sankt Augustin/Berlin

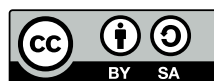
**[www.kas.de](http://www.kas.de)**

### Images

© Benjamin Lion/envato (p. 1, 62), © International Court of Justice p. 42), © Jack Malipa/envato (p. 24), © Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (if not marked differently), © racken (p. 38), © Tono Balaguer/Fotolia (p. 7), © vector\_master/Fotolia (p. 52). Elements used from © Designer\_things/envato (p. 3 ff.), © professorinc/envato (p. 17 ff.).

### Information on copyright

The text in this document is licensed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 3.0 Germany (CC BY-SA 3.0 DE) licence, available at: <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/de/deed.en>.



### Design and typesetting

racken GmbH – Agentur für nachhaltige Kommunikation, Berlin





