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### IMPRINT

## DEAR READER,



every year the work of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung is shaped by three leitmotifs: the Social Market Economy, the future of European governance and the ethical foundations of modern civil society. Anniversaries and celebrations are also important milestones. One multi-year project that began in 2008 is of special importance. Entitled "Setting the Stage for the Future," it commemorates the 60th anniversary of the founding of Germany and the 20 years that have passed since reunification. All departments are involved in the project, which goes beyond providing information on these anniversaries to highlight the crucial role that Christian Democrats played in setting Germany on its path to the future.

The foundation aims to counter a tendency towards oversimplification and relativism of history. On the contrary it wants to draw attention to the elements and decisions necessary to set the stage for stability and free development, while also strengthening faith in the democratic order and its institutions. Three essays in the "Perspectives" chapter of this annual report are dedicated to this topic.

Further contributions in this chapter address the situation in Europe in an election year as well as options for a resilient foreign and security policy in times of crisis.

The international financial crisis and its grave consequences still caught the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung by surprise, despite its development of longer-term and far-sighted scenarios. But thanks to the political connections of the KAS worldwide and its team of specialists well prepared to tackle globalisation issues, the foundation could leverage its economic and political expertise to first assess the facts and discernible consequences of the crisis, and then propose a series of tasks and measures drawing from the principles of the Social Market Economy. The crisis is grave. But it also provides a unique opportunity to draw attention to the fact that the governance principles of the Social Market Economy lie at the heart of the solutions to all current concerns. The "Perspective" chapter examines these aspects in detail.

The Social Market Economy has always been at the core of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's worldwide mission. Indeed, the model not only provides a solid foundation of a liberal democratic order, but also the mechanisms that limit and balance the forces at play. In a globalised world, no better system exists that both sup-

ports the development of strong markets and guarantees a social safety net along with the opportunity for personal advancement.

In 2008 – and continuing into 2009 – the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung began a comprehensive programme of analyses, reports, guidelines and brochures, as well as seminars and conferences as a way to face up to its particular responsibility in Germany and the world.

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's web site puts forth a wide-ranging portfolio of activities through its specialised web pages that complement its publications and events. These tools – with their pedagogical approach to civic education – help the foundation make its content more accessible, enlarging its audience by reaching out to a public for which classic seminars usually hold little appeal. That is why the foundation's communication strategy will continue to prioritise the expansion of its Web presence. This extends to its English-language web site, which has been systematically built up in recent years. The web pages of KAS offices abroad also provide publications in the local languages.

But content can only be disseminated if it has been developed beforehand. Which is why, this year again, we want to especially thank the employees of the foundation in Germany and in more than 100 countries around the world. Without their efforts and commitment, despite frequently difficult circumstances, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung would not be able to present again such impressive results of its work.

The English edition of the annual report including the chapter "Perspectives 2009" provides an overview of the complete spectrum of our work. It showcases in an exemplary fashion the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's political expertise, which provides the basis to our activities and projects around the world. We commit ourselves thereby to never give up in our quest for democracy, freedom, human rights, the rule of law and justice.

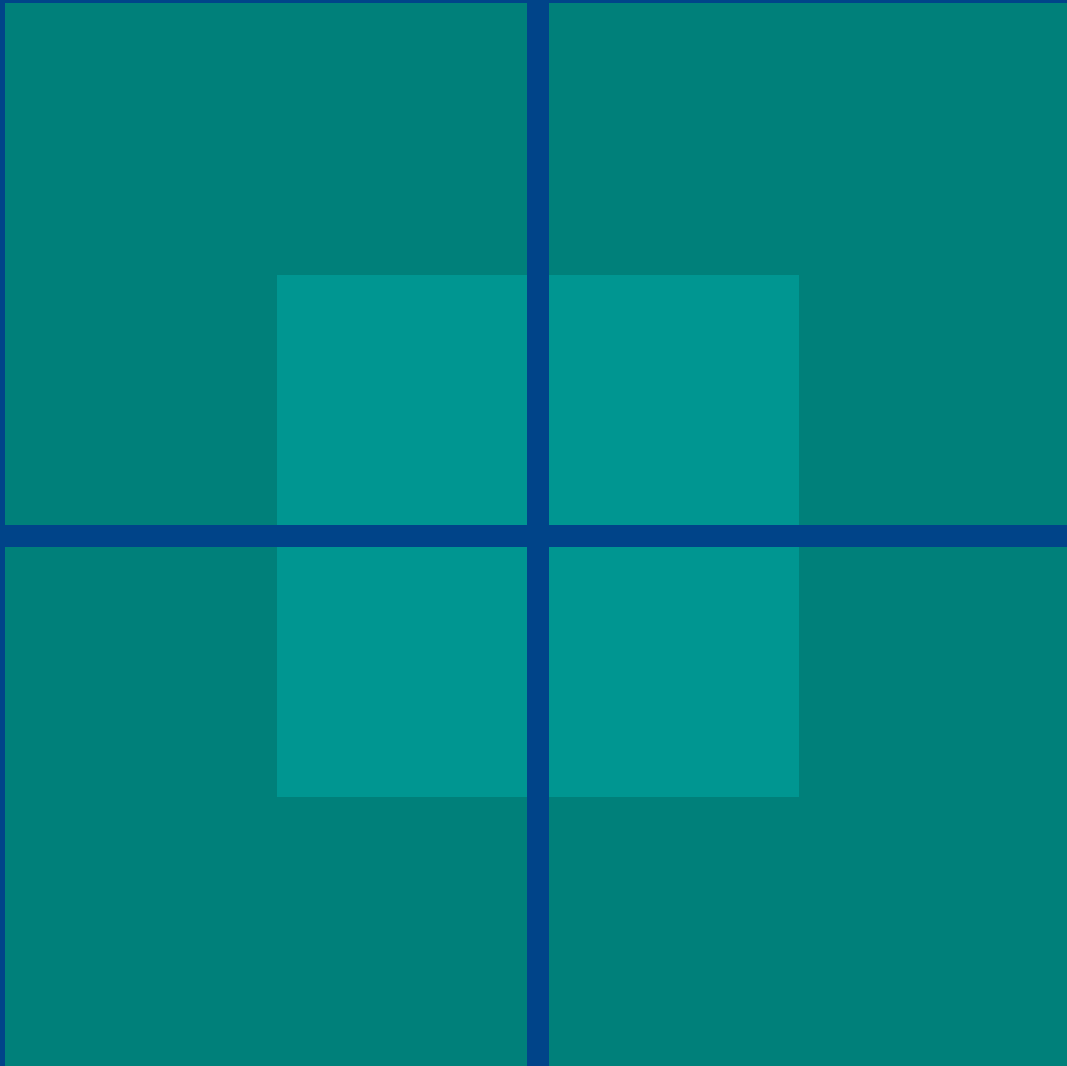
Sankt Augustin/Berlin,  
March 2009



Bernhard Vogel



Michael Thielen



## H I G H L I G H T S

IN 2008, SEVERAL OUTSTANDING ACTIVITIES, EVENTS AND PROJECTS AGAIN TOOK PLACE – FAR TOO MANY TO DETAIL IN THESE PAGES. A SELECTION OF THE WIDE RANGE OF TOPICS THAT WERE COVERED IS PRESENTED HERE.



*German Chancellor Angela Merkel and the chairman of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Professor Bernhard Vogel, in conversation with the Belarusian opposition politician and leader of the For Freedom movement Alexander Milinkevich.*

## SECOND ANNUAL KAS SUMMER OPEN HOUSE

# PROTECTING HUMAN RIGHTS WORLDWIDE!

**That was the motto of the second annual Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung Open House in Berlin on 17 September 2008. More than 2,000 visitors learned more about the foundation's multifaceted projects, and were encouraged to reflect on and discuss the challenges of securing human rights worldwide.**

Already on 15 September, more than 100 young people gathered for a daylong student symposium and a creative discussion on the topic of human rights. In workshops, they produced short films, a photo-reportage and play, and developed an advertising campaign. For the first time, a training workshop for teachers took place. The night before the open house, a rapt audience watched the prize-winning documentary "The Last Just Man," the story of Canadian General Romeo Dallaire's experience during the Rwandan genocide. Dallaire, the commander of UN peacekeepers in Rwanda in 1994, pleaded vehemently but ultimately in vain for additional troops to protect the civilian population. Over a period of 100 days, he was unable to stop the brutal massacre of more than 800,000 people, most of them from the Tutsi minority. In the discussion that followed, Esther Mujawayo-Keiner – who lost her husband and several family members in the massacre – and others discussed the causes, history and consequences of the genocide, and the failure of the international community to intervene.

On 17 September the open house began with a discussion among renowned human rights advocates and representatives of international human rights organizations. Travelling to Berlin were the president of the Inter-American Court for Human Rights, jurist Cecilia Medina Quiroga; Josep Casadevall, a judge at the European Court of Human Rights; the president of the African Commission on Human and People's Rights, Sanji Mmasenono Monageng; and Andi Matallata,

Indonesia's justice and human rights minister. These four guests also took part in a podium discussion, moderated by Günter Nooke, the German government's commissioner for human rights. A further guest was the Belarusian opposition politician Alexander Milinkevich, the director of the rights group "For Freedom" and winner of the Sakharov Prize for Freedom of Thought. In his speech, Milinkevich clearly spoke in favour of European values and for the defence of human rights. "The concept of human rights will be the guiding light for societies in the process of change," he told the audience.

High point of the day was a speech by German Chancellor Angela Merkel, in which she addressed aspects of a value-driven foreign policy in a globalised world. In his introduction, KAS Chairman Professor Bernhard Vogel pointed out the discrepancy between the widespread recognition of the UN Declaration on Human Rights and serious deficits in the protection of human rights in many countries around the world. "Public support for human rights at the international level is one thing, but implementing them at home is another," he said in reference to the situation in Darfur, Iran, Myanmar and Belarus.

"An interest-driven foreign policy must also be a value-driven foreign policy," said the chancellor. She underscored the universal nature of human rights that all nations had to respect. The most important tool for spreading and ensuring human rights was dialogue, which had to be based upon solid values and a willingness to disagree.

Throughout the day, the principal departments of the foundation presented important aspects of their work to the public in the Academy and at the Café Konrad, placing a particular focus on the field of human rights.

The day ended with a garden party, at which more than 1,500 guests had an enjoyable evening thanks to the support from many sponsors.

Helmut Kohl,  
Professor Bernhard Vogel  
and Professor  
Hans-Gert Pöttering.



## VALUES MUST GUIDE OUR ACTIONS

# THE COMMON GOOD IN A GLOBALISED WORLD

**We all live in one world – a world that is changing, becoming ever more interconnected and growing closer together. How can the common good, the *bonum commune* of a society, be realised in this changing global environment so that everyone benefits equally? That question stood at the centre of an international symposium the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung held in Berlin on 15 February 2008 on the occasion of the 75th birthday of its chairman, Professor Bernhard Vogel.**

Former chancellor Helmut Kohl opened the symposium and thanked chairman Vogel, whom he referred to as a “stroke of luck for politics,” for the long path they had jointly covered. Kohl said Vogel was a “passionate democrat, a German patriot and a European” who had worked hard for Franco-German reconciliation.

The President of the European Parliament Professor Hans-Gert Pöttering, the Archbishop of Dublin Diarmuid Martin and the former director general of the World Trade Organisation Peter Sutherland, stressed that political, church and business leaders believe realising the common good is especially relevant in an age of ever increasing globalisation. Government-backed social welfare systems are being weakened, while long established political, legal and religious values of the West face competing governance models. Where do globalisation and the common good intersect? Wolfgang Schürer, a professor at the University of St. Gallen in Switzerland, posed this question at the outset of a panel called “Getting International Recognition for the Common Good.” The four speakers, political science professor Peter Molt, law professor Stefan Oeter, public policy professor Inge Moll and Member of Parliament Christian Ruck all addressed the importance of the common good in development cooperation, international law and in providing public goods for the world. The panellists agreed on one issue – globalisa-

tion could only succeed if a common societal goal is established and valued. Sufficiently powerful institutions are seen as essential to fulfil the promise of such a worldwide common good.

In her closing speech, Chancellor Angela Merkel said a value-led foreign policy must form the basis of global participation in politics. Democracy and the protection of human rights stand at the core of a value-centred global governance system. At the level of the nation state, the basic parameters of Germany’s governance framework are part of a successful societal model. We should therefore back this approach worldwide with an appropriate sense of self-confidence, the chancellor said. One challenge is that cooperation requires working with others than the Western partners. Instead, there is a need to adjust to different governance models and political approaches as countries that are not shaped by Western values, but have increasing economical and political clout and are gaining ground. We have to cooperate and form partnerships with states that have a different cultural history and that operate within other networks and under other regulatory mechanisms, she said. Developing a framework for global governance is an ambitious challenge that is difficult to execute. “If we take on these challenges then our lives and our politics will change,” said Merkel. “But this change cannot happen at the expense of our values. They will remain valid, but must be adapted to a different playing field.” If this were to succeed, then the huge opportunity that globalisation represents would be realised.

Following the international symposium, Professor Norbert Lammert, President of the German Bundestag, opened a festive reception for the chairman’s 75th birthday.



### PASSIONATELY AUTHENTIC

Hanna Renate Laurien, the former education minister of Rhineland-Palatinate, education senator in Berlin and president of the Berlin parliament, decisively shaped four decades of German politics. She always let her Christian beliefs guide her actions. On the occasion of her 80th birthday the foundation held a symposium in April called "Christian understanding of values and political action." Federal Research Minister Annette Schavan, the president of the Central Committee of German Catholics (ZdK), Professor Hans Joachim Meyer, political science professor Heinrich Oberreuter and Georg Hefty of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* newspaper participated in the discussion of value-based political activities at the KAS Academy. "Passionately authentic" was how ZDF Director Professor Markus Schächter described Laurien in his speech.



### HISTORY AND MEMORY AFTER THE HOLOCAUST

"Memory is a living process." That idea shaped discussions at an international conference in November called "History and Memory after the Holocaust. 1938-1948-2008." It brought together researchers and artists at the Academy ahead of the 70th anniversary of Kristallnacht. Lectures and performances addressed the varied issues surrounding the politics and aesthetics of memory. In his opening speech entitled "From the Ashes," former Israeli ambassador to Germany Avi Primor recalled the political processes connected to both 1938 and 1948. A group of young actors – accompanied by Veronica Jochum von Moltke at the piano – impressively staged the premiere of the play "Ark of Innocence" by Karin von Trotha. The piece addressed various dialectical aspects of history and memory.



### LOOKING TOWARDS THE FUTURE OF EUROPE

What challenges does Europe face in the 21st century? Some 250 former fellows of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung addressed this core issue at a one-day symposium during their annual conference from 22 to 25 May 2008 in Königswinter. Prominent officials took part in podium discussions about energy security, innovation, Europe's opportunities in the global competitive race and Islam – with interested alumni participating in lively discussions. Those attending elected Markus Zeitzen to be the alumni's new spokesman, while Michael Wolf was re-elected as the group's treasurer. A festive ball at Germany's federal guest house on the Petersberg in Königswinter near Bonn – as well as two concerts by the KAS Scholars' chamber orchestra – were among the high points of the successful alumni meeting.



### POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN GEORGIA

Just weeks before the outbreak of war in the Caucasus, on 24 June, Georgian President Mikhail Saakashvili was a guest of the Academy of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in Berlin. In his lecture "Between Sovereignty and Integration – the Transformation and Development of Georgia since 1991," the president laid out a vision for the future of relations between Georgia and the European Union. The country had changed a great deal since the Rose Revolution of 2003 and was now built on democratic principles. "The radical reforms we implemented did not just change the economy or the structure of government but they transformed the entire political culture," Saakashvili said. Even if Georgia had no current plans to become a member of the EU, it did want to reach the stage that would be sufficient for it to become a candidate country.



*Avi Primor, former Israeli ambassador to Germany, in the KAS Academy in Berlin on 22 April 2008*



## 60 YEARS OF ISRAEL

### A LONG-STANDING FRIENDSHIP

**Israel celebrated the 60th anniversary of its founding in 2008, and the KAS joined in the festivities. The foundation presented a wide range of its German-Israeli activities on 8 May at the “market of possibilities” during the Israel Fest on Berlin’s Gendarmenmarkt. Employees from various departments of the foundation informed some 2,000 visitors by handing out information and talking with them.**

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung commemorated the founding of the state of Israel at the Academy on 22 April. Prominent speakers, such as the Israel’s former ambassador to Berlin, Avi Primor, the former state minister in the German Federal Chancellery, Hildegard Müller, and other German and Israeli guests discussed the past, present and future of the Jewish state under the motto “Shalom – 60 Years of Israel.” The event was jointly organised by the Central Committee of German Jews and the KAS. On the same day, a youth forum with more than 300 Berlin school pupils took place, during which the young people discussed German-Israeli relations and the Middle East conflict with experts from the German-Israeli Society, the American Jewish Committee, the coordination centre of German-Israeli youth exchange ConAct and the Israeli embassy.

In an exhibit held in Hamburg and Berlin developed to coincide the anniversary of Israel’s founding, the KAS presented the work it carried out in Israel as well as the many national and international projects it organised in collaboration with the Jewish community. A studio exhibition the Chancellor Adenauer House in Rhöndorf jointly developed with the foundation presented documents and pictures showing the difficult beginning of German-Israeli relations, as well as Adenauer’s personal contacts with Israel – especially with Israel’s first Prime Minister David Ben Gurion.

During the annual Jewish Cultural Days the professor of history Michael Wolffsohn and the former publisher of the Jerusalem Post, Ari Rath, discussed the important role the yekkes (a Yiddish term for Jews originating from Germany) played in the development of the state of Israel.

The KAS civic education offices held a speakers’ tour through 20 German cities. The event, featuring eight Israeli participants, helped students and others gain first-hand knowledge on politics, the economy and society in Israel, as well as the situation in the Middle East in general. A cultural highlight of the anniversary was the “Literature and Responsibility” event, held in the former plenary hall of the German Bundestag in Bonn, which the foundation organised with the Rheinischer Merkur newspaper. Former German federal minister Dorothee Wilms recalled the meeting between Adenauer and Ben Gurion at the beginning of the 1960’s, which provided the basis for Germany’s reconciliation with Israel, and for a dialogue between both nations. Robert Menasse read from his novel “Expulsion from Hell,” which covers the history of European Jewry in the 17th and the 20th centuries.

Israel’s Foreign Minister Tzipi Livni was a guest speaker at the anniversary celebration at the KAS Jerusalem office, held by the foundation and the Jerusalem Centre for Public Affairs. Livni described the dual challenge facing her country today: ensuring the physical existence of Israel on the one hand, but also defending the values that Israel as a democracy stands for.

# US-WAHLEN 2008

## THE IMPORTANCE OF THE US PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN FOR EUROPE

The longest and most expensive presidential campaign in history was a popular subject for political experts. Even if not everything is transferable to Germany, the latest developments in the United States warrant a closer look. In May, the KAS invited 10 American campaign experts to the 6th International Conference for Political Communication to report on their insights from the primaries. The speakers presented the latest trends in microtargeting, online fundraising and negative campaigning, and, using Hillary Clinton as an example analysed the gender issue.

Towards the end of the campaign, the foundation organised a trip to Washington, D.C. and Ohio to observe the get-out-the-vote effort. At the centre of the Washington event stood Barack Obama's successful strategy to mobilise young and first-time voters with a combination of new technology and classic campaign methods.

Obama's election inspires hope that a revitalised trans-Atlantic partnership can address the many urgent international challenges. The list is long: the uncertain situation in Afghanistan, global climate change, the scarcity of strategically-important resources and Iran's push to acquire nuclear weapons and the relationship with China and Russia. Which is why the KAS invited a number of experts to a panel discussion in December 2008 to give their views on paths to an efficient multi-lateralism. Elmar Brok MEP, Patrick Child, head of cabinet of the EU commissioner for external relations, Slovakian Ambassador Ivan Korcok, Eckart von Klaeden MP and Jamie Fly of the US National Security Council discussed the matter with politicians, the business and scientific community, and the media. In the end stood the realisation that none of the global problems can be solved if the trans-Atlantic axis is broken. Increased European commitment and a more cooperative US government make one hope that the future can be shaped according to Western interests and values.



## EUROPE AND LATIN AMERICA: FILLING A PARTNERSHIP WITH LIFE

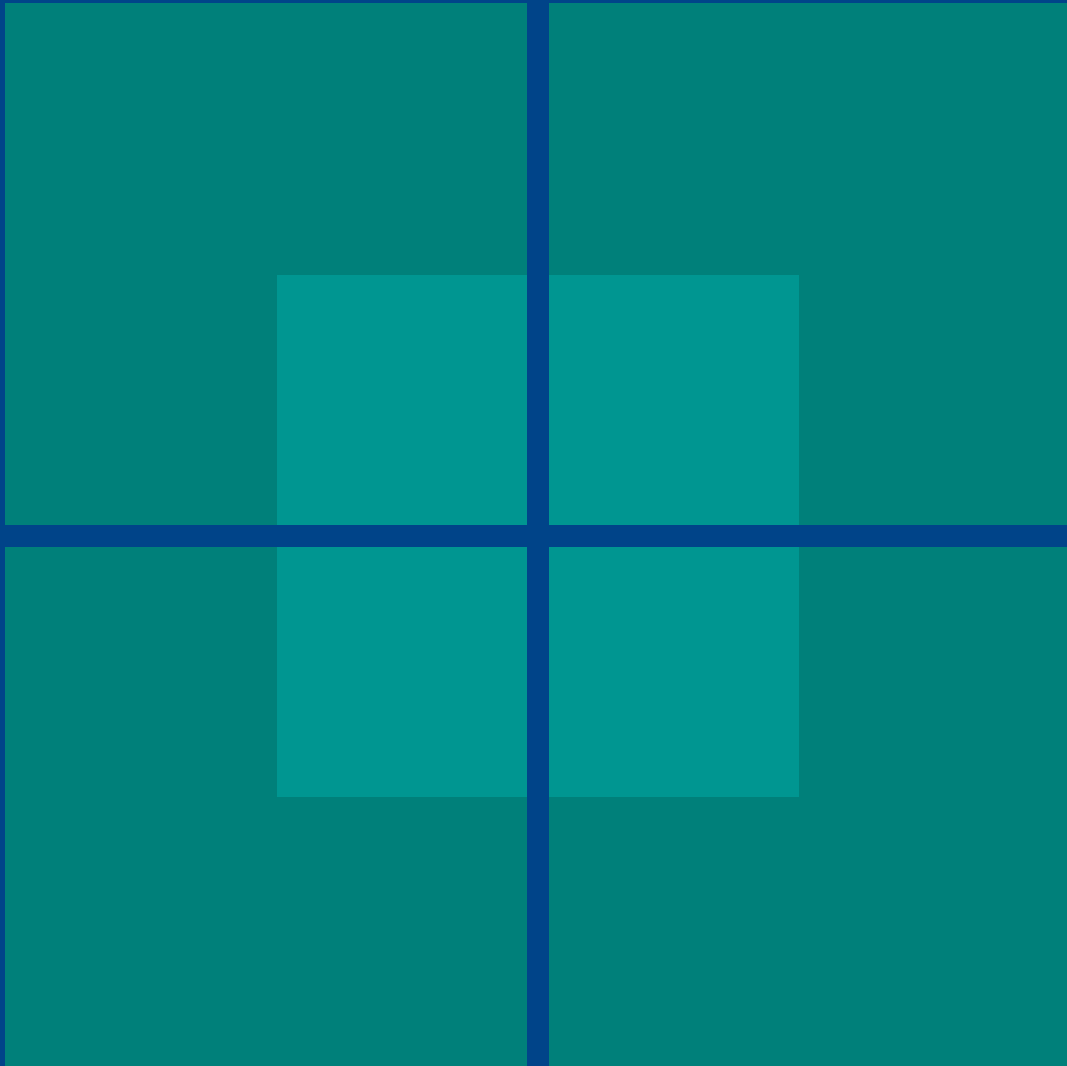
At a joint conference of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, the CDU/CSU parliamentary group and the German Chambers of Industry and Commerce on 8 May 2008, Chancellor Angela Merkel called for filling the strategic partnership between Europe and Latin America with life. If cooperation was to succeed, Latin American countries had to combine their strengths and interests. The variety of political directions was so far hampering this ambition. With Asian countries increasingly interested in Latin America, Merkel underscored that "as long-time partners, we Europeans must work hard to remain important partners" for the continent.

The chairman of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group, Volker Kauder, called for Europeans to again invest more in the region. Given the opportunities a Social Market Economy provided especially to the poor, the chances of a positive development were good.

Anton Pfeifer, deputy chairman of the KAS, recalled the foundation's major contributions towards overcoming military dictatorships in Latin America. But it could not rest on its laurels. "Every generation has to be won over again for democracy."

Eckart von Klaeden, foreign policy spokesman of the CDU/CSU's parliamentary group, presented the group's Latin America strategy. "Because of demographic developments, the future will be shaped less by the Euro-Atlantic relationship," he said. "Which is why we need reliable partners so that our interests are taken into account – and we find these partners especially in Latin America." But Europe's influence there was potentially under threat, given that economically powerful partners such as China showed increasing interest in the continent. It behoved Germany to step up its presence in Latin America, whether in regards to foreign policy, economic and development policy, or cultural areas.

Soledad Alvear, Chilean senator and president of the Christian Democrat party (PDC), Germán Martínez, president of Mexico's National Action Party (PAN), and Benita Ferrero-Waldner, EU external affairs commissioner and European neighbourhood policy took part with inspiring talks (see picture above).



P E R S P E C T I V E S  
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THE KONRAD-ADENAUER-STIFTUNG USES ITS EXCEPTIONAL KNOWLEDGE AND GLOBAL POLITICAL EXPERTISE TO EFFECTIVELY ADDRESS CURRENT CHALLENGES. THE FOLLOWING CONTRIBUTIONS ADDRESS SOME OF THE TOPICS THAT GUIDE THE FOUNDATION'S WORK BEYOND THE DAY TO DAY.

## NO REASON FOR DISCOURAGEMENT

### EUROPE IN AN ELECTION YEAR: TAKING STOCK

DR. PETER R. WEILEMANN

*Director of the  
European Office of the  
Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung  
in Brussels*

*In June of 2009 EU  
citizens will vote for their  
representatives in the  
European Parliament.*

European elections are no hit. In most EU member states, the polls remain far less important than national elections, as proven by the long-established low turnout. This is not only regrettable for the sake of democracy but it is also politically unfortunate.

Prior to the 1999 European elections, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung published a study on the importance of the European Parliament called "The Underestimated Power." This statement remains just as relevant to this day. The European Parliament is stronger than ever. Once the Lisbon Treaty becomes law, the parliament will finally rid itself of the remaining limitations dating back to its creation as a Consultative Assembly. During its current legislative term, the parliament has already strengthened its position in the power game between the key European institutions – European Council, European Commission and European Parliament – and put its stamp on many decisions.

One example is the REACH Regulation, which oversees the handling of chemical substances. Parliamentarians were able to change the bureaucratic requirements the commission had originally drafted to prevent the rules from undermining the competitiveness of small- and medium-sized businesses, or weakening Europe as a location for the chemical industry. Legislators also supported a number of consumer protection measures, although they sometimes overstepped the line separating consumer protection from prescribing pre-determined individual lifestyles.

### EUROPEAN PEOPLE'S PARTY STRONGEST GROUP IN EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

These experiences make clear how important it is to vote and participate in deciding who sits in parliament, and what their basic political convictions are. The European People's Party/European Democrats (EPP/ED) faction by far makes up the largest group in the European Parliament. But it always needs coalition partners to successfully push through its positions. None of the parties in the 785-strong parliament has an absolute majority. Not only does the strength of a parliamentary group determine leadership positions in parliament such as president and vice-president as well as committee chairs etc. But since the last election, an unwritten rule sees to it that the president of the European Commission come from the same political background as that of the strongest faction. The leaders of the EPP expressed their support very early on for José Manuel Barroso, the current office holder, as their candidate. Heads of state and government propose the commission president by unanimous decision, while the other members of the commission are proposed by individual national governments. Under the current Treaty of Nice, however, not every country will have



*German Chancellor  
Angela Merkel and  
EU Commission President  
José Manuel Barroso.*

a commissioner. The majority of parliament has to vote in favour of the commission before it can take office. But this only occurs after critical hearings, and often stringed to political conditions. Once the commission takes office, it is bound by an inter-institutional agreement with parliament that lays out cooperation procedures. So a great deal is at stake in the parliamentary election for the direction European policies will take.

Past experience shows however that national debates often overshadow these European topics during the campaign. This will at least be the case in Germany in 2009. Coming shortly after the election for German president and only a couple of months before the German parliamentary election at the end of September, the vote for the Strasbourg parliament will more likely be seen as a dry run for the national parties. In other countries too, like Luxembourg or Bulgaria, European elections are followed within a short time span by national elections. This can create difficulties for members of or candidates for the European Parliament and European Parties. In general it will not be easy to bring in line the programmatic statements or political priorities of the various actors i.e.: the political groups in the European Parliament, the European Party associations and the national parties. The big European Party associations such as the EPP, the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats, the party of European Socialists and the Greens, therefore have committed themselves to a common code of conduct which states that until transnational electoral lists are established, European elections will be organised as "national elections with a European result."

Independent of the situation in individual countries, we find ourselves in a difficult time for European politics. Many countries that are not in the European Union see the EU as a community that they would like to join. But approval ratings within member states for European policies have been dropping for years. Creating understanding for European policies is a never-ending political task. This involves more than just explaining questions about the decision-making process and how the institutions go about it. It also includes the debate about EU enlargement and its integration capacity, in short the question: How large can or should the EU be in order to meet the challenges of globalization. But most of all, participants in the political debate must accept that critical voices are not necessarily opposed to a unified Europe. Rather, they express dissatisfaction with the kinds of decisions Brussels makes, and the way in which they are reached. The risk that people's dissatisfaction with politics could turn into outright rejection of the system – an anti-European attitude – is far greater at the European level than nationally. Therefore creating a pro-European attitude in this election year is a basic precondition for winning a European election campaign.

#### WHAT KIND OF EUROPE DO WE WANT?

The current political challenges provide good arguments for such a constructive campaign. Overcoming the financial crisis and its consequences for the real economy; confronting demographic changes or the demands immigration puts on our society's ability for integration; climate change and energy security – these are political issues too demanding to be handled by one nation alone. It is however not enough to just call for Europe to the rescue. What the EU also needs to provide is the right answers to deal with the kind of economic and societal change that confronts Europeans in the age of globalisation. Two important political cleavages clearly emerge. The debate on the one hand centres on whether the EU actually has jurisdiction over certain issues. This becomes particularly apparent in the area of integration and immigration policy or on domestic issues such as the expansion of law enforcement and security issues. The correct application of the subsidiarity principle also ranks high in the EU's economic and social agenda. This has become clear once again in the debate on how to deal with the financial crisis, such as whether to establish a *gouvernement économique*.



#### "A Transparent Europe"

*In order to enable German citizens to understand the EU better, the department Civic Education offers seminars on political issues and events with excursions to Brussels as well as informative discussions on subjects such as*

- *The future of the Lisbon Treaty*
- *Being in touch with ordinary citizens*
- *The European policy of the Christian Democrats*
- *Subsidiarity: the EU and its member states*

The second presumably even more intense debate will probably revolve around the question of the how – how to implement political decisions that are in the remit of the European Union. Concepts vary on how to shape the future European societal and social model, especially how to balance competition, social security and sustainability. These do not just vary from country to country but they also reflect different values as well as the philosophies and platforms of different political parties. These debates will take place across Europe, especially in the European Parliament.

The EU's security policy is also characterised by uncertainty in a world where concerted action is required. Coping with the new challenges that have arisen following the end of the East-West conflict – such as international terrorism, nuclear proliferation or failed states – requires a joint European policy. While formerly great powers still assert themselves, emerging powers are increasingly making themselves heard. Not only are they asserting their interests but they are also reinterpreting the current rules of the game of international politics. As the EU reaches the limits of expansion, the previous definition of EU foreign policy as soft power is also reaching its limits. The conflict in Georgia was a dramatic example of the fragility of the international situation. If the EU had not acted quickly, the negative consequences for Georgia and for European security policy would have been much worse. This was however not the only way in which Europe assumed responsibility – and this was not the only instance showing how crucial a Common Foreign and Security Policy is for Europe's security as a whole.

#### THE FUTURE OF THE LISBON TREATY

The Irish rejection of the Lisbon Treaty has made the treaty's future uncertain and is weighing on the European election campaign. Two possible scenarios exist for the future. The optimistic version assumes that a solution will be found that takes the Irish No into account while still allowing the treaty to come into force prior to the vote. The more realistic scenario takes a longer view. It is more afraid of a failed second referendum than if the treaty took effect with a delay. Indeed, the EU's capacity to act would then be impaired and there would be opportunity costs due to the lack of an improved institutional framework. But these would surely only be felt over the medium- or long-term. The effects on the European elections in June however would be immediate. Mobilising voters would become more difficult while opponents to a unified Europe would be buoyed. The possibility of a European Parliament dominated by anti-European and populist right or left-leaning groups, preventing a stable majority, should be of concern to every committed citizen.

One conclusion can be drawn: In light of these current and future challenges there are many reasons for a constructive pro-European election campaign, and even more good arguments in favour of a successful campaign.



#### What Citizens Expect from Europe

*What Brussels needs to deal with; how Europe can become more citizen-oriented; who belongs to Europe and what unites Europeans; where are Europe's borders and how can a secure Europe be created: these are all topics of KAS civic education seminars in 2009. Picture: Seminar centre, Schloss Eichholz*

## BANKS ON THE BRINK

### THE FINANCIAL CRISIS THROUGH THE LENS OF THE SOCIAL MARKET ECONOMY

MATTHIAS SCHÄFER

*Coordinator for Fiscal and Labour Market Policies, Department of Politics and Consulting, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung*

The financial crisis hit the world's banks and stock markets head on. As the markets spun out of control, the global economy seemed to be on the brink of collapse. Now that we have had the time to quietly review those turbulent days of 2008, it is clear that a careful analysis of the root causes of the crisis is required, as is a reflection on the lessons to be drawn.

Once again it is evident that markets are capable of wild excesses when neither reliable rules nor a system of oversight exist. The Social Market Economy requires a framework of rules and regulations. Failures have been most evident at the international level. If the international financial markets were structured as they are in Germany, excesses could have been recognised at the outset and might have been prevented.

### THE ECONOMIC CRISIS UNDERMINES THE BASIC VALUES OF OUR SOCIETY

The financial crisis as it affects banks and stock markets has created considerable unease in society at large. Not only the freedom of the market is called into question when both the state and the politicians protect the financial markets with billions in bailouts or even acquire a direct stake in the banks. Values that grew out of this freedom like responsibility and initiative, individual effort and the courage to meet the challenge of freedom, are also put on the defensive. An economic crisis can undermine the public trust and affect society as a whole if no efforts are made to tackle it. This is evident from the way the financial crisis has enthralled journalists everywhere. From the politics and business sections to the arts and culture pages – hardly an economic topic has ever been as ubiquitous as the financial crisis.

Is our system of values being undermined? The Social Market Economy answers to this threatened loss of values since it does more than just explain how the economy works. Unlike other economic models, it contains a normative commitment to how the economy *should* work. The Social Market Economy transcends what the business section of the newspaper provides, calling for the economy to be strongly rooted in politics and society.

If the system of government regulation is dysfunctional and the policies designed to constrain and govern the free operation of the market are ineffective, then principles such as freedom and competition will remain empty promises, subject to arbitrary actions where might makes right, with dire consequences for all.

"A free economy and a strong state," – this simple formula by Alexander Rüstow sums up the idea behind the Social Market Economy. When a strong state is the guarantor of the liberal order, both will serve the people and give them a stake in society.



*A complete loss of trust: The international financial crisis has deeply shaken the belief in free markets. But the crisis is not the fault of the markets, instead, it is due to a lack of general principles of governance, which is provided by the Social Market Economy.*

## LESSONS FROM THE CRISIS

If we are faced with a crisis, then overcoming it will require an approach that takes account of the interdependence of orders for the benefit of the whole of society (Walter Eucken). This is the philosophy of Ordoliberalism, which arose after the economic crisis of the 1930's. The current financial crisis offers an opportunity to self-confidently introduce the ordoliberal principles of the Social Market Economy into the debate, whether at the national, European or global level. Specifically, we need free markets, including free financial markets, with effective competition among all the actors. But equally essential is a framework of governance to maintain functioning financial markets. *"Freedom must not degenerate into a form of idolatry, without responsibility, commitment or roots. The relationship between freedom and responsibility requires regulation."* (Ludwig Erhard)

In the context of a Social Market Economy, the right way forward would be to mull over improved governance and oversight principles of the financial market, and to develop a coordinated and concerted approach on both a European and a global level. Further conditions include more transparency, improved oversight, a reliable auditing process and an ongoing review by the ratings agencies of companies' creditworthiness. These are fundamental requirements for free and hence functioning financial markets.

### MAINTAINING CURRENCY STABILITY – MORE IMPORTANT THAN EVER

Let us recall a further principle of the Social Market Economy: currency stability. Walter Eucken used to cite Lenin: *"In order to destroy the bourgeois society, one must destroy its monetary system,"* which is why Eucken considered currency stability essential for a liberal economic system. Those reflections resulted from the experience of hyperinflation during the Weimar Republic, when the black market flourished and the Reichsmark lost all credibility as a currency. With monetary reform and the lifting of price controls 60 years ago, Ludwig Erhard contributed substantially to establishing a stable currency. In the face of the current financial crisis, there is no denying that the loss of confidence in the global financial system has reached an alarming level. The stability of the euro and the European central bank system is therefore all the more important for the reestablishment of trust, a frequently underappreciated public good. This explains the insistence of German governments on ensuring the independence of the European Central Bank and maintenance of currency stability at the European level.

To quote Wilhelm Röpke: *"What counts are strict regulations to limit the supply of money. Such a sensible control of money supply does not result from ... open competition, but only from a carefully thought-out system of monetary regulation that the government establishes and oversees."* While the United States has substantially contributed to the crisis with its policy of cheap money and nearly limitless liquidity for the economy by its central bank, overall the euro zone seems to have been more restrained and conservative in its policies.

This restraint nonetheless could not prevent the financial crisis from spreading to affect other economic centres, with people in Germany and in Europe facing its consequences.





## STRENGTHENING THE SENSE OF LIABILITY AND INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY

At this point we should focus on a further governing principle of the Social Market Economy: the principle of liability or of responsibility for one's actions. Market players are responsible for their actions – they have to account and vouch for the consequences. These are the principles of the honourable merchant as stipulated by the accounting rules of the code of commercial law.

Transparency and an understanding of the system of financial markets is a fundamental requirement here. Another necessity is a new approach to compensation and responsibility, one that again ties individual actions to the necessity of taking individual responsibility for the consequences. In this respect, family-owned companies play a decisive role within a Social Market Economy. There an entrepreneur responds with his personal wealth to the consequences of his actions, as an essential element of moderation, a principle established by Erhard. Indeed guaranteeing decisions with one's personal wealth encourages prudence and restraint.

The current financial crisis highlights the fact that some individuals were only motivated by short-term success and profit. They were implicitly accepting that the state and the taxpayer would bear potential financial losses resulting from failed opportunities – with their attendant long-term consequences for the overall economy. To avoid any misunderstanding: the principles of Social Market Economy do not, strictly speaking, foresee a role for the government in establishing compensation rules for board members of privately-held companies. But it behoves politicians to intervene when the compensation rules voluntarily agreed to by owner and management blatantly place short-term gain above the long-term interests of the company. This is particularly applicable when business leaders, in their quest for short-term gain, take for granted that the government would intervene with billions in bailouts should failure occur – while one's own responsibility would amount to nothing more than the cost of a liability insurance premium. Such risky behaviour stands in stark contrast to the basic principles of liability and responsibility – and to the principles of good governance that industry has voluntarily laid out for itself. That is why it is important to help the companies in reconsidering their incentive structures.

## THE COMEBACK OF THE SOCIAL MARKET ECONOMY

Society will emerge strengthened from the present crisis if people become fully aware of the importance of these principles, and of what happened to undermine them. The Social Market Economy can provide ways out of the crisis, in contrast to pure capitalism and to socialism that is apparently regaining social respectability. It makes it possible to move beyond the everyday conflict between economic freedom and social equality by putting them both on equal footing and making them interdependent.

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung should play a role in this process by adopting the lessons learned from the financial crisis and applying the governance tools that the Social Market Economy provides. At the international level, the foundation will increasingly participate in the dialogue on the global governance framework necessary for free markets and societies. The particular strength of the Social Market Economy is precisely that it is always capable of stating and justifying its basic commitment to the human good, especially in difficult times.



*Members of the "Initiative on a New Social Market Economy," a non-partisan reform movement established to create more competition and jobs in Germany, placed symbolic milestones of the Social Market Economy outside Jena University in June of 2008, while inside festivities marking the 60th anniversary of the Social Market Economy were taking place.*

## CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

### OPTIONS FOR A RESILIENT FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY IN TIMES OF CRISIS

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When a journalist asked then British Prime Minister Harold MacMillan what would shape the policies of his government, he replied, "Events, dear boy, events!" The recognition that (often unforeseen) events are what usually cause or force a government to act, or legitimate its actions, applies in particular to foreign and security policy. The international community was largely unprepared for the war between Russia and Georgia in August 2008. But as a result, the conflict helped NATO, the EU and individual states to better define their policies in this regard. Still, aside from sudden events, policy planning can also be steered with already scheduled events and slowly evolving challenges in mind. Aside from the European and German federal elections, two such events that Germany's foreign and security policy must take into account in 2009 are the inauguration of the new US president and the 60th anniversary of NATO.

The North Atlantic Treaty was signed on 4 April 1949, and celebrations commemorating the event will take place in Strasbourg and Baden-Baden in 2009. This milestone offers an opportunity to look back and honour the accomplishments. Looking ahead, however, is even more important since NATO is in the middle of a process of transformation that began with the end of the Cold War; its future direction, let alone its goal, is impossible to foresee. NATO is, simply put, currently in its third phase. The first spanned from the founding of the alliance to the collapse of the Communist Eastern Bloc. During this phase, the alliance defined itself along two axes: Deterrence of the Soviet Union and classic national defence capabilities. NATO only survived the second stage during the 1990's because it found a new *raison d'être*. By admitting new members from Central and Eastern Europe, it made an essential contribution towards stabilisation of a "Europe whole and free." The security guarantees NATO provided and the reforms it required for membership contributed substantially to the success of these developing market economy democracies.

The third phase of NATO's existence began at the latest on September 11, 2001 – but it really started with the Kosovo war in 1999. During this phase, the alliance has first and foremost defined itself via the success of its missions. These missions are located outside – sometimes far outside – of the alliance's territory. But since they stabilise critical regions they help improve the security of NATO members. The process of globalisation is not only helping markets and societies become more closely connected, but it also makes far-away threats directly relevant to the security in the Euro-Atlantic area. So in 2009, NATO is simultaneously a protector of globalisation and a defender against globalisation. The three stages however did not follow one another but really



*The signing of the  
North Atlantic Treaty in  
Washington on April 4,  
1949.*

can be seen as overlapping. Even in the age of NATO missions, the alliance still has a stabilising effect in Eastern Europe and is a deterrent against possible conventional attacks on its territory. NATO is thus a far more complex entity in the 60th year of its existence than when it was founded.

Complexity requires a political response. In 2009, one can hope a new strategic concept will emerge that can provide the alliance with a political orientation for its third phase. Clarifying NATO's basic purpose also relates to many other urgent issues. For instance, how can NATO defence policy be coordinated with Europe's security and defence policies in a sensible and forward-looking manner? How should eastward expansion continue, and what about the alliance's relationship with Russia? How can cooperation with NATO's global partners such as Australia or Japan be improved, and under what conditions? And most importantly, what lies ahead in Afghanistan? Despite noble goals, the results there are so far quite meagre. How can one implement a strategy of interdependent security to prevent state structures from collapsing once again?

As in the past, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung will contribute to formulating answers to these questions and accompany the decision-making process within NATO with analyses and reports. An important international conference in Berlin in the autumn of 2009, for instance, will provide an opportunity to take stock of the many celebrations and NATO events in the spring. It will provide answers on where NATO stands, and which steps should be taken next.

The second key event of the year is closely connected to NATO policies but goes much further than that. The inauguration of the new president of the United States in January brought with it a great deal of hope for a renewal of trans-Atlantic relations and global politics in general. At the same time, all political camps in Germany are secretly aware that the Bush years were extremely easy years. It was easy to block unwanted demands, initiatives, and requests from Washington by pointing to the unpopular president. This will likely change under Barack Obama, especially since, as a candidate, Obama did not hold back calls for Germany to get more involved, in Afghanistan for instance. One thing is certain: every US president is first and foremost focused on his country's interests. And the view of international politics of a superpower is obviously different from that of a middle-sized power such as Germany.



*Barack Obama*

This is particularly the case when a superpower such as the U.S. is still the guardian and guarantor of the current international system – a system from which the other liberal and highly developed democracies benefit disproportionately. But for most European countries, it became a delicate issue that under Bush the U.S. acted less as a guardian – that is a protector of the status quo – but more like a revolutionary power, shaking the very foundations of the liberal international system. This issue lies at the heart of the dispute over pre-emptive war, violent regime change and American unilateralism. Bush already had to change tack during his second term because of the different state of international politics, especially due to the difficult situation in Iraq. With this in mind, it remains to be seen what kind of approach to security policy the new president will take.

The NATO anniversary and the new US president form the framework for the debate on foreign and security policy in 2009. A number of other challenges exist as well. The list of questions over Germany's foreign and security policy has grown so long that only a few select examples are needed to illustrate the complexity of the issue. How can European integration and cooperation be strengthened and made more effective? How can non-proliferation be reinforced, especially in light of Iranian attempts

to acquire a nuclear weapon? Which paths could lead to a secure worldwide disarmament process, and what particular responsibilities do nuclear powers face? How can progress be made in the Middle East peace process given difficult conditions? And how can the effects of globalisation be fair and safe, in particular in the context of the battle against international terrorism?

The variety and complexity of these different challenges calls for a broad-based and sophisticated debate on security policy in Germany, one that takes place among the foreign policy elites as well as among the population in general. But this debate is hardly keeping up with Germany's steadily growing responsibilities in the foreign policy arena. Quite the contrary: The tendency at German universities is toward fewer programmes and tenured positions dealing with foreign and security policy issues. The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung has decided to counter this trend, even if the many election campaigns in 2009 will not facilitate an open and factual discussion of these questions.

One proven approach to cultivate and educate young foreign policy experts – and to have them connect with each other – is through a young leaders study group and a security lecture series. This kind of external expertise is dovetailed with internal expertise. For instance various studies provide talking points in favour of the deployment of German soldiers in Afghanistan, or civic education courses that strengthen the debate over foreign and security policy in Germany. The cooperation with the German Bundestag, ministries and the chancellery will continue – following a particularly successful series of talks on security policy at the Cecilienhof in Potsdam in 2008. This will provide new impulses and ideas.

All of these measures and initiatives will not shield us from Macmillans' far-reaching events. But they will contribute to a solid conceptual foundation of German foreign and security policy, with which it will be possible to master even the unforeseen events.

*German soldiers deployed in Afghanistan. The German Army's involvement abroad is not always met with understanding from the German people. What is missing is a broad and discerning debate on security issues. The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung has tasked itself with the responsibility to contribute to the debate.*



## CHINA'S INVOLVEMENT IN AFRICA

### CAUGHT BETWEEN COMPETITION AND PARTNERSHIP WITH THE OLD DONOR COUNTRIES

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Europe and China have been involved in development cooperation in Africa for five decades. But only since the 1990's has Africa seen a new wave of Chinese involvement. Even though the most populous nation of the world still has many characteristics of a developing country, development cooperation with African countries has become an important pillar of China's economic and foreign policy strategy. In 2007, some \$1.2 billion of bilateral aid flowed from China to Africa, accompanied by a debt relief agreement of the same amount. In addition, China directly invested more than \$7 billion in Africa in 2006, while its trade with Africa has risen rapidly. It currently stands at \$40 billion and is set to double by 2010. Infrastructure projects, particularly in the commodities and energy sector, stand at the centre of activities by both state-owned and private Chinese companies, while only a very small share lies in manufacturing.

China's development aid is part of a more comprehensive strategy supporting its ascent to economic and geopolitical superpower. A closer connection between African countries and China – a kind of South-South cooperation – increases its profile in the United Nations. And China is only the precursor in a series of so-called new donors. India, Thailand and the Gulf States are making their own foray into development cooperation. That has put them in competition with the traditional donor countries of the OECD, in particular in Africa.

Depending on calculation methods, between \$500 billion and \$1 trillion in development aid flowed to Africa between 1960 and 2004. Germany allocated €2.8 billion of federal funds to sub-Saharan countries in 2006. But among Western donor countries including Japan the concept of development aid has clearly changed in recent years. One of the main reasons is because decades-long efforts at fighting poverty have frequently failed. The main donor countries have thus agreed on a set of principles and conditions for sustainable development assistance, and they are now trying to push this through among recipients. In development policy circles, this is generally referred to as conditioning. At the centre lie the OECD/DAC (Development Assistance Committee) principles of good governance, transparency and personal responsibility.

Western nations count on long-term democratisation as a goal and guarantor of enduring development, while China officially adheres to the principle of non-interference in a country's internal affairs. But the Chinese development model that combines economic prosperity with an authoritarian political system is gaining in attractiveness, especially among African elites.



So are Western countries headed for a direct conflict with the rising power China? How is Chinese involvement perceived in Africa itself? Under the Heiligendamm Process, which the German government under the leadership of Chancellor Angela Merkel initiated in the summer of 2007, G8 member states and the most important emerging nations – including China – agreed on joint responsibilities for the development of Africa. There is by now widespread consensus that Africa will not reach the Millennium Development Goals – agreed by the UN General Assembly in the year 2000.

The intellectual elites in Africa increasingly understand that the creation of transparent and effective (government) institutions is essential to development. However, long-term development can only occur if African countries are progressively integrated at a regional and global level – witness the successes in combating poverty in east and southeast Asia. The political will for development now exists in Africa, where an increasingly self-confident civil society is coming of age.

Local cooperative efforts involving new donors should take advantage of this situation, as it could turn into additional opportunities for trilateral cooperative projects. To sound out such opportunities, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung has carried out a series of discussions in Beijing, Bonn and Brussels since 2006. These events made clear that despite commonalities among the actors, irreconcilable differences remain – such as over the establishment of democratic structures and the rule of law.

The new Asian competition is an opportunity for established donors to assess their own effectiveness. But there is no reason for Germany and the European Union to move away from their value-based principles in development cooperation with Africa. The jury is still out whether China's approach to development – with its rejection of good governance, transparency and personal responsibility – is a more successful one.





## INDIA WANTS TO CROSS THE THRESHOLD

### THE KAS HAS BEEN COMMITTED TO THE SUBCONTINENT FOR FORTY YEARS

*India was one of the first countries in Asia where the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung committed itself to development work. A few months after Chancellor Kurt-Georg Kiesinger's visit to New Delhi in 1968, cooperation began with the well-known national Youth Academy Vishwa Yuivak Kendra. The "awakening of the Indian elephant" is not simply due to increased growth rates; it is in the political sphere that India's growing significance is most apparent. During her last visit in 2007 Chancellor Angela Merkel emphasized this by renewing the strategic partnership between both countries. But it is in South Asia that India is increasingly challenged to provide stability and drive continued regional development. At the same time, there are considerable reservations about close cooperation with India; the*



*sources of conflict go back to the dissolution of the British colonial empire. The conflict over Kashmir has repeatedly taken India and its neighbour Pakistan to the brink of nuclear war. Extremism based on religion or social status has permeated the history of the subcontinent for decades. India is directly affected by the current crises in Afghanistan and Pakistan, and has increasingly become a target for*

*terrorism. KAS programs in India focus on foreign policy and security issues and have contributed to the good reputation the foundation enjoys among Indian decision makers. Regular talks between NATO and India, on the one hand, and Europe, India and the United States, on the other, as well as between India, China and Germany represent innovative approaches to the processes of building mutual trust and shaping opinions. By cooperating with new partners such as the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, the Energy and Resources Institute or the Indian Council of World Affairs, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung hopes to find answers to new challenges such as the global financial crisis, terrorism or climate change.*

*Compared with the press in other Asian countries, the press in India is pluralistic and takes a critical view of political and social developments. While major national newspapers have a considerable influence on public opinion, local and regional newspapers are not yet up to the standards of professional journalism. Thus the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung has been supporting a training and continuing education program for journalists for more than 10 years. A study of values and attitudes held by young Indians as regards family, society and politics, modelled on the German Shell study of youth and extending over a period of several years, was concluded in October 2008. Thus the KAS took up the subject of youth again, which had been on the agenda 40 years ago when activities in India were initiated.*

*P. H.*



## TWO FOUNDINGS OF STATE:

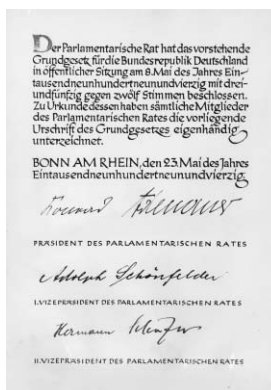
### IN 1949 THE COURSE WAS SET FOR SUCCESS AND FAILURE OF THE TWO GERMANIES

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On 8 May 1949, the Parliamentary Council passed the Basic Law by 53 to 12 votes. It had deliberately not been declared a “constitution,” in order to emphasize its temporary status as long as the Germans in the Soviet sphere of influence were excluded from the right of self-determination. The Basic Law provided a stable foundation for a pluralistic society; at the same time the experience of National Socialist dictatorship ensured an underlying consensus on values. As far as the Parliamentary Council was concerned – even the liberal and Social Democratic members – the conscious reference to the metaphysical origins of the system of laws, as exemplified by the preamble and the section on basic rights, constituted the best protection conceivable against a recurrence of the kind of formal legal dictatorship which the Third Reich had initially represented, as in the *Decree on the Burning of the Reichstag* and the *Enabling Act*. By preventing the possibility of revoking the articles of the Basic Law, its creators made sure that a potential dictator would have to admit a breach of the Basic Law.

In areas such as the economic order, however, where the democratic parties differed in their conceptions, there was only a rough attempt to establish rules. But the fact that the 1948 currency reform and the elimination of most of the rationing rules had already been successfully carried out by this time lessened the appeal of alternative models to a Social Market Economy on the domestic political scene, even though unemployment remained relatively high in the West until the early 1950's. The conception underlying this term, which goes back to Alfred Müller-Armack and was made popular by Ludwig Erhard, had already been developed during the Nazi dictatorship by the so-called Freiburg School, an oppositional group of professors at the University of Freiburg under Adolf Lampe and Franz Böhm. Their concept of a liberal order (*ordoliberal*) included private property and extensive market freedom while allowing for the strict control of mergers which would give rise to trusts; once the concept was amended to give workers a substantial role, it proved to be *the* model for West German economic and social policy.



*The Basic Law is the constitution that has been in force longer than any other in modern German history.*

By 1949 the former mayor of Cologne, Konrad Adenauer, was already the undisputed leader of the CDU, as was evident, for example, from the Düsseldorf Guidelines of 15 July 1949, a further development of and, in part, a revision of the previously conceived Ahlen program, which had not been as liberal with respect to the economy. A coalition with the Liberals (FDP) was the logical consequence once the economic course was set and the CDU had won the election of 14 August 1949; it won 31 percent of the votes and thus just managed to emerge as the strongest party. Adenauer himself was elected as the first Chancellor of the Federal Republic and Theodor Heuss of the FDP became the first President of the Republic.



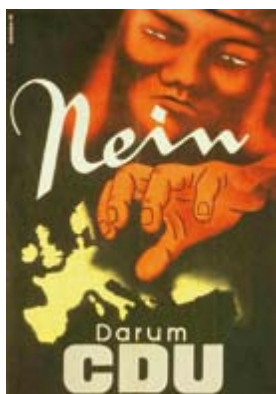
In addition to economic policy, Adenauer's success was also based on his successful foreign policy. Denigrated by Kurt Schumacher as "the allies' chancellor," Adenauer actually managed to wrest more and more concessions from the Western powers in the course of time. The trust that he personally enjoyed was a decisive factor, as was his willingness to assume responsibility for German history by taking unpopular measures such as negotiations on reparations with Israel or rearmament. In terms of social policy the Adenauer era was far more modern and progressive than it is given credit for today. It was in this supposedly so "reactionary" period that the course was set for the system of financial compensation for losses suffered in World War II, the social security system, support for the private accumulation of capital and the structure of national health insurance.

*The founding of the SED in 1946 – here with the two party chairmen Wilhelm Pieck and Otto Grotewohl, as well as, on the right, the future general secretary of the party and head of state Walter Ulbricht – was a necessary precondition for the transformation of East German society into a dictatorship.*



The situation in the Soviet occupation zone was much less favourable than in the western zones. Moscow dictated that the Soviet occupation zone was to exercise a series of functions: Industry was to achieve a high level of current production; in addition, newly developed, cost-intensive uranium mining conducted by the Wismut company was enormously important since it provided the Soviet Union with the material for its first atomic bombs. At the same time, however, a huge proportion of displaced persons – the euphemism was resettlers – needed to be integrated in the Soviet occupation zone. And, finally, once the initial extent of the respective spheres of power was established with the foundation of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) in January 1949 and the end of the Berlin Blockade on 12 May 1949, East German socialist society was to serve as a figurehead for the Eastern bloc.

At the political level, the Third German Peoples' Congress completed the East German constitution in May 1949. The fact that this parliament lacked political legitimacy meant that the Liberal Democrats (LDP) and the East German CDU paradoxically had a stronger voice in consultations on the constitution than one would have expected in view of the many arrests which had taken place previously. If the representatives of these parties had retreated the SED would have suffered a complete loss of credibility. This explains why the phrasing of the first constitution of the GDR is partially democratic; while essential aspects of the protection of basic rights and the separation of powers were omitted, the churches, for example, were explicitly given the right to take a public position on basic political questions. The fact that the GDR became a dictatorship is thus not to be attributed so much to the specifics of its first constitution as to the non-observance of that constitution in reality.



*The communist threat played a major role in the first parliamentary elections: a CDU election poster from 1949.*

When it became apparent in the summer of 1949 that the ambition to establish the Federal Republic of Germany did not – contrary to communist expectations – fail, but was carried out as planned, the People's Congress (Volkskongress) declared itself the People's Chamber (Volkskammer) and established the German Democratic Republic by declaration on 7 October 1949. The former chairman of the Communist Party of Germany, Wilhelm Pieck, became the first president and Otto Grotewohl, who, as the chairman of the East German SPD, had reluctantly agreed to the founding of the SED, became the first prime minister. But in reality the strong man behind the scenes was Walter Ulbricht, who, based on his connections to the Soviet occupying power and his control of the party, was doing everything possible to stalinise East German society. A dual structure of government and party offices was quickly created, making the GDR the model of a "dual state", to use the concept developed by Ernst Fraenkel for the National Socialist dictatorship.

As a result of differing economic and political structures, the two German societies drifted apart within just a few years. In 1949 the Federal Republic embarked on a successful course, with "prosperity for all," in Ludwig Erhard's terms, becoming evident beginning in the mid 1950's as a result of the German economic miracle. Besides, despite all the Cassandra-like predictions from leftist intellectuals, Adenauer did not show the slightest tendency to restore undemocratic structures: on the contrary,

West Germany became one of the most stable and freedom-loving democracies in the West. While the East Germans were just as much achievers as the West Germans, conditions in the Stalinist dictatorship with its planned economy along Soviet lines did not allow for the kind of development that occurred in the Federal Republic. It was not merely that material affluence never remotely approached the western level but that the political situation was an unwelcome reminder of the previous dictatorship. Thus the Federal Republic clearly won out as regards competing systems: by "voting with their feet" approximately 2.7 million GDR citizens had fled to the West Germany by the time the Wall was built in 1961.

## A NEW WEB PORTAL: KONRAD ADENAUER 1876–1967

PROFESSOR HANNS JÜRGEN KÜSTERS

*It was long overdue: the comprehensive web page on the life and work of the founding chancellor whom the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung is named after. On 5 January 2009, Adenauer's 133rd birthday, the Archives of Christian-Democratic Politics (ACDP) went online with the Adenauer homepage. It addresses a broad spectrum of web users: anyone with an interest in recent history, particularly students, teachers and true Adenauer fans, but also scholars specialising in the field. The page is constantly expanded and updated. An overview is given of the many phases of Adenauer's life throughout four periods of German history from 1876 to 1967 and his political convictions, insights and experience are portrayed, as is the historical context. Particularly striking are his remarkable achievements in modernisation as mayor of Cologne from 1917 to 1933 and, especially, as Chancellor of the Federal Republic from 1949 to 1963. The portal presents a broad spectrum of information and responses to both popular and scholarly questions and includes documents and pictures, which give the user an idea of the status of research on Adenauer.*

*Six categories facilitate using the page, while search functions enable the user to conduct research. In addition to the most important biographical data including a vita, a gallery of photographs and a genealogical table, an array of inventions, patents and honours (honorary doctorates, honorary citizenships, medals of honour, monuments, postal stamps, etc.) are documented, along with a trove of quotes. Key words such as his Moscow trip in 1955 explain the facts, provide background information and refer to specific literature and archival data. Beginning with his birthday*



*on 5 January in 1876 and up to his funeral on 25 April 1967, a day-by-day account is provided of all the available data, including his daily appointments as chancellor as well as all the relevant political events. The counterpart to this is an index of names that contains biographical data, sometimes including a brief vita, of all the people with whom Adenauer enjoyed a close relationship. In addition to family members, this included cabinet members; leaders of the CDU, CSU, FDP and SPD; foreign personalities; the prime ministers of the German states; representatives of interest groups; personal staff; colleagues from his tenure as mayor and companions from the 1930's and 1940's and from his tenure as chancellor. Eventually a "Who's Who around Konrad Adenauer" will emerge.*

*The documents provide users interested in Adenauer with both well-known and new source material, including notes, speeches, letters and statements, as well as posters, statistics (for example, survey results) and video sequences. This is the first bibliography to include all the writings of Konrad Adenauer, as well as a large selection of the most important primary and secondary literature relating to the key policy areas of his tenure in office.*



## 1989 – BEFORE THE FALL OF THE WALL

PROFESSOR  
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Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung*

In early 1989 no one expected the Wall to collapse. In the intra-German policy all signs were pointing to a continuation of the politics of dialogue, reconciliation and the search for new modes of cooperation. When conducting arduous negotiations with the GDR, the Kohl government always stuck to its basic principles: the preamble to the Basic Law, in which the German people were called upon to regain their unity was not negotiable, nor was the right to self-determination. But overcoming the partition of Germany should not infringe on the legitimate interest of neighbouring countries in keeping their borders secure. The federal government respected the treaties of Moscow and Warsaw of 1970, making no territorial demands but never excluding the possibility of border changes that occurred peacefully and by mutual agreement, as allowed for in the Helsinki Accords of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) of 1975. Obviously any change in the status quo in Germany could only take place with the agreement of the four powers responsible for Germany as a whole.

The government's priority was to achieve more freedom of movement for people in the GDR: to overcome the Wall, the border and the shoot-to-kill order. But during a visit by state prime ministers to East Berlin in early 1989, Honecker disputed the existence of such an order. In his view, the border regime was a non-negotiable subject. Instead he insisted on the demands formulated at Gera, which were unacceptable to Kohl: permanent recognition of the border dividing Germany, recognition of citizenship of the GDR and abolition of the central office at Salzgitter which documented acts of violence by GDR government organs. Honecker preferred to point to positive developments such as easing travels and visits between the two Germanys, which had improved appreciably since his visit to West Germany in 1987.

It was Moscow, not East Berlin that represented the key to effective progress in intra-German in politics dealing with the German question. In light of the unwillingness of the SED leadership to countenance reforms it was impossible to tell whether Gorbachev's policy of perestroika would achieve anything. It is true that, at their meeting in October 1988 in Moscow, Kohl and Gorbachev had agreed that differing views on basic questions were not to stand in the way of practical cooperation. But there were two issues where their points of view were irreconcilable: Moscow continued to seek recognition of the territorial and political status quo in Central Europe and deprived the Germans of the right to self-determination.

*As late as 1988 the status  
quo appeared to be  
firmly in place. But in reality  
the slow collapse of the  
GDR had begun long ago.*

Gorbachev's visit in Bonn from 12 to 15 June 1989 marked a historic turning point in German-Soviet relations. In a joint statement, the Soviets in principle recognized the German right to self-determination for the first time since the end of World War II. In addition, it was evident that Kohl and Gorbachev were on the same wavelength as regards their ideas on the future of Europe. The decisive factor was their mutual willingness to reduce their capability of carrying out an invasion. Kohl did not intend to modernize the Lance missiles before 1992, was hopeful about the chances of negotiations about short-range nuclear missiles if the CSBM (Confidence and Security Building Measures) negotiations in Vienna made progress and considered a worldwide ban on

chemical weapons feasible. Gorbachev indicated that neutralism would merely lead to destabilisation in Europe and represent a threat to the Soviet Union. Kohl, for his part, claimed not to want to change the European balance. In his view it was Honecker himself who was gradually destabilising the GDR by refusing to countenance reforms.

Democratic developments in Poland and negotiations about the reduction of conventional armed forces in Europe were touchstones for the changes occurring in the Eastern Bloc. Developments in these areas would indicate whether Gorbachev was willing to give up the Brezhnev doctrine and accept confidence-building measures in the relationship between the East and West. Kohl and Bush agreed upon this in June. Prior to his visit to Poland in the fall, the chancellor made every effort to get agreement on credits for Poland, which helped pave the way for new ways to reach an understanding. He hoped that the pressure on the SED leadership would be increased by the Polish reform movement as well as by the increase in tourist travel and in legal emigration to the Federal Republic.

During late July and early August, when more and more Germans were fleeing from the GDR to the West German embassy in Budapest, there was also an increase in the number of people seeking help at the Permanent Representation in East Berlin. On 14 August Kohl asked Honecker, who was seriously ill, for constructive solutions, but Honecker rejected the idea of any special regulations.

In the meantime the Hungarian government had indicated that it was willing to open its borders. This was based on the fact that Hungary had signed the Geneva Refugee Convention, which provided the legal framework for such an act. On 25 August Kohl and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher met with Hungarian Prime Minister Miklós Németh and Foreign Minister Gyula Horn at Gymnich castle for secret discussions and agreed on opening the borders. On 11 September, just prior to the CDU party convention in Bremen – where opponents of Kohl within the party sought to depose him as chairman – Németh stated his willingness to let the Germans leave the GDR via Austria. In return the chancellor promised to pledge financial support prior to the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party convention

on 6 October. East German lawyer Wolfgang Vogel tried in vain to resolve the increasingly desperate situation of the more than 5,000 people at the West German embassy in Prague wanting to leave the country, by promising that if they returned to the GDR they would be formally allowed to leave the country within six months.

*Joyous GDR refugees with their passports in Austria. In August 1989 approximately 600 citizens of the GDR used a pan-European picnic at the border between Hungary and Austria to flee to the West. (Photo below)*



*A historic moment: Alois Mock, the Austrian Foreign Minister, and his Hungarian counterpart, Gyula Horn, opened the Iron Curtain on 27 June 1989. (Photo on the right)*



The discussions between Genscher, Eduard Shevardnadze and Oskar Fischer, the foreign minister of the GDR, on the fringes of the UN General Assembly in New York did not bring a clarification. The only successful negotiations were conducted by Minister Rudolf Seiters at the chancellery. On 30 September the GDR offered that the people seeking refuge in Prague and Warsaw could leave on 1 October in special trains provided by the GDR via GDR territory to West Germany. Thus the SED leadership hoped to counter the pressure it was subjected to. It was on embassy grounds, where Genscher was in charge in his capacity as foreign minister, that he, rather than Seiters (the actual coordinator of the measure) announced that the refugees would be allowed to leave.

On 11 October Kohl assured Gorbachev by telephone that he had no interest in letting the situation in the GDR get out of control. By emphasizing that the GDR needed to be included in the process of reform and that destabilisation was not the goal, he sought to counter fears of a shift in the European balance of power. In reality the federal government definitely was interested in destabilising the GDR but wanted to steer the process in the right direction. An explosive situation would not have benefited anyone, as it would have provoked the Soviet Union to intervene.

Honecker's fall on 18 October was not enough to reduce the pressure in the GDR: The new general secretary of the SED Egon Krenz adhered to the orthodox line. Vis-à-vis Kohl he called for respecting GDR citizenship and promised a new ruling on travel, which, however, would have economic implications. During these weeks the mood of the population in the GDR fluctuated between hoping for change, being at a loss about future developments, gloating about the fact that the SED leadership was losing the population and self-reproach for not having had the courage to take such a step sooner. In connection with the 'prayers for peace' in the Nikolai Church in Leipzig, which took place every Monday, the scenes of protest spread, escalating into a new mood with calls for change that no one could possibly have anticipated from a supposedly lethargic population. People demanded social change, democracy and freedom. Many of the more than 200,000 demonstrators saw this as their last chance to make a difference.

In early November Alexander Schalck-Golodkowski, who had been in charge of obtaining foreign currency for the GDR, indicated to Seiters that East Germany was on the verge of bankruptcy. The West German government made comprehensive financial aid dependent on political reforms and on granting freedom of movement. In particular, the SED was to lose its monopoly on power, opposition groups were to be allowed to exist and free elections were to be held. In this situation the SED was forced to deal with a ruling on leaving the country: again 5,000 refugees had massed in the West German Embassy in Prague.

On 2 November the chancellor told François Mitterrand that he "was concerned about avoiding a blow-up." Kohl was waiting to see how things would develop. His priority was a trip to Poland, which was set to begin on 9 November and in the course of which he was to give signs of West German-Polish reconciliation. In view of the continuing mass demonstrations in Leipzig and East Berlin, the trade union leader Lech Walesa asked him what would happen "if the GDR opened its borders completely and tore down the wall" – would the Federal Republic of Germany have to build it up again? Kohl's prognosis was that the GDR was going to collapse. While he did not believe in radical change, he did think it was possible for the GDR leadership to be swept away if there were no genuine reforms.

When he received the news that the wall had been opened in Berlin, there was initially barely any indication that he felt any joy; instead Kohl appeared to feel some uncertainty as to what would happen next. His ten-point plan of 28 November was an important indication of a possible federation. And shortly before his visit to Dresden on 19 and 20 December, he was already focusing on an economic and currency union between the two Germanys as a step to be taken soon to restore German unity.



*They want freedom, and they want out of the GDR: On 4 October 1989 in the German embassy in Prague, and in front of it, approximately 8,000 citizens of the GDR are waiting to leave for the Federal Republic of Germany.*



## ANNIVERSARIES OF UNIFICATION AND FREEDOM: SETTING THE STAGE FOR THE FUTURE

**DR. GÜNTER BUCHSTAB**

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2009 is a year of celebrations for Germany. Sixty years ago, on May 23, 1949, Germany's Basic Law was ratified, an important step towards a parliamentary democracy based on the rule of law. And 20 years ago, on November 9, 1989, citizens of East Germany, in the Peaceful Revolution, began to tear down the wall that had separated the two Germanys. That was the decisive step towards unification in liberty. In 2010, Germany will celebrate the 20th anniversary of its reunification.

**DR. MELANIE  
PIEPENSCHNEIDER**

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The anniversaries of the coming years have one thing in common: without the courageous decisions of Christian Democrats such as Konrad Adenauer, Ludwig Erhard and Helmut Kohl – to name only three – Germany's history would have certainly turned out differently. It may be pointless to think about the "what ifs," but such anniversaries are an opportunity to reflect on our heritage, basic common values and the achievements of personalities who shaped Germany. Two web portals commemorate two of the most accomplished Christian Democratic politicians and provide users with a great deal of important historical information: [www.Konrad-Adenauer.de](http://www.Konrad-Adenauer.de) and [www.Helmut-Kohl.de](http://www.Helmut-Kohl.de).



*On May 23, 1949,  
68 delegates including  
those from Berlin  
ratified the Basic Law of  
the Federal Republic  
of Germany.*

But looking back is insufficient. The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung aims at highlighting how the stage is being set for the future. The foundation is using the anniversaries as an opportunity for a number of events. Trust in politics can only be regained by reviving the values that enabled the rebuilding and modernisation efforts of Christian Democrats. What matters today are the values of a democratic and caring federal state; the basic principles imparted by Catholic social teaching and Protestant social ethics; and the regulatory foundations of the Social Market Economy. People in Germany should use these traditions as a guideline for modernisation measures. If a political system based upon Christian values is to be relevant in this day and age, then it needs to be legitimated and revitalized again and again. Herein lies the key to Germany's self-assurance and trust in its power to reform itself.

Between 2008 and 2010, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung is drawing attention to the extent to which Christian Democratic politicians have contributed to Germany's success story. The foundation's activities are organised around the crucial events shaping Germany's path after World War II.

- The Federal Republic of Germany gave itself a liberal constitution with the signing of the Basic Law, a precondition for the establishment of a stable parliamentary democracy.
- The Social Market Economy, which is inextricably tied to Ludwig Erhard, decisively contributed to West Germany's "economic miracle" during the 1950's.

## ANNIVERSARIES OF FREEDOM AND UNIFICATION Shaping the path of the future

*This web portal is dedicated to the contributions Christian Democrats have made to Germany's success story. It addresses how Germany's defining elements will be shaped in the future. It also underscores that the only way to gain back some of the lost trust in politics is through a revival of Christian Democratic values. The portal features texts, documents, photographs, film extracts, and gives information on events. The site is structured along the following topics: Parliamentary Council; Western Alignment; Social Market Economy; Bilateral Relations; European Policy; and Reunification.*

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

- Konrad Adenauer's domestic political decisions led to the country's renewal and modernisation. His policy of alignment with the West and of European reconciliation set the course of the new country's foreign policy.
- Fostering relationships with France, Great Britain, Israel, Poland, the Soviet Union and the United States was required for West Germany to win back the trust of its wartime opponents and enemies, and to become a partner within the international community. This was the precondition for a reunified Germany that respected the interests of its neighbours.

After 40 years of Socialist Unity Party (SED) dictatorship, the people of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) strived for freedom, peace, the rule of law and prosperity. Their courage led to the fall of the Socialist regime in 1989 and the free and peaceful establishment of a unified Germany – thanks to the diplomatic groundwork and the support of Helmut Kohl's policies. The moral courage of the East German people during the Peaceful Revolution formed the basis for German unity. And having achieved this unity is, despite the many problems, a central element in the success story of every German in the 20th century. The existence of so-called *Ostalgie* – nostalgia for the former East Germany – and many people's ignorance of history, particularly among the young, makes education about the failed socialist model of the GDR and the reality of life in a dictatorship all the more necessary. This is all the more important as concepts of a putative socialist alternative could undermine the rule of law, economic governance and the values of a liberal parliamentary democracy.

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung has set up a web site ([www.kas.de/weichenstellungen](http://www.kas.de/weichenstellungen)) that provides information and material on the aforementioned key events in the history of the Federal Republic of Germany. It features texts, documents, photographs and film extracts, and also gives information on events. The aim is to ensure that essential and up-to date information is available quickly. A further web site confronts both myths and reality of the GDR ([www.DDRmythen.de](http://www.DDRmythen.de)). This web portal, featuring didactic material, was developed with teachers and young people in mind. The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung has also developed a specific program for pupils and schools, featuring conversations with witnesses to history, civic education days and once a year a young people's congress.

Beyond that, a number of special events have been organised. The Hohenschönhausen forum is an event the foundation jointly organises with the memorial at the former Stasi prison in Berlin. It focuses on the analysis of the GDR dictatorship and the promotion of a culture of memory. Topics of discussion at other events are also the Central and Eastern European liberation movements, as well as the extent to which these countries have been transformed. In the series "Auslandsinformationen", the KAS published a booklet on 1968, including a detailed historical analysis of the Prague Spring. For the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung and its 70 offices stretching from Amman to Shanghai, the anniversary of the founding of the Federal Republic of Germany and of the fall of the Wall is a major event that will spur international cooperation and exchange. The valuable experience of Germany's peaceful path to unity and liberty will be the background for discussion with our partners to promote the development of democracy, the rule of law, security and a Social Market Economy worldwide.

The future is made of memories – so looking back is a precondition for shaping the future. Which is why, in 2008, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung began to focus its work around the anniversaries of unification and liberation.

# THE GDR MYTH: A NEED FOR EDUCATION

The GDR enjoyed the rule of law; everyone could go to university; women had equal rights. Nearly 20 years after the Peaceful Revolution in the GDR, young people across Germany still have surprisingly positive views of the German Democratic Republic. Especially young people in the so-called new states – those in the former East Germany – tend to play down what happened in a country full of injustices. This was the result of a recent study by the *Forschungsverbund SED Staat* at the Free University of Berlin. Students in east and west Berlin in particular said they knew very little about the GDR, and that in class the topic was hardly addressed, if at all.

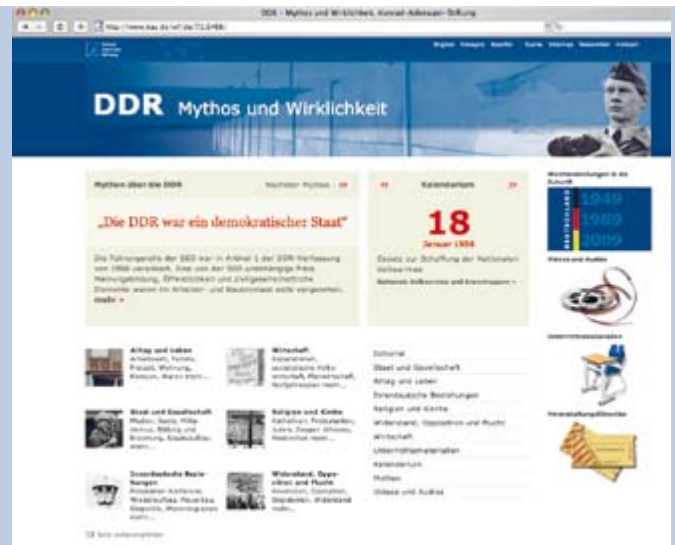
The generation growing up today is not the only one to view the GDR more positively as time goes by – the same applies to many of those living in what used to be East Germany. Because of their difficult economic and social situation, they are caught up in *Ostalgie*, or nostalgia for East Germany. But a glorified look back at a system that undermined or destroyed so many peoples' lives does not help matters. Needed instead is a realistic debate about the SED system.

To that end, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung has established a new knowledge platform on the Web. Entitled "GDR: Myths and Realities" (DDR: Mythos und Wirklichkeit), the web site provides information about the undemocratic political system of the GDR and aims at closing knowledge gaps. Six categories – Everyday Life, Economy, Government and Society, Church, Relations between the Two Germanys as well as Resistance, Opposition and Flight – inform the visitor in a scientific and didactic manner.

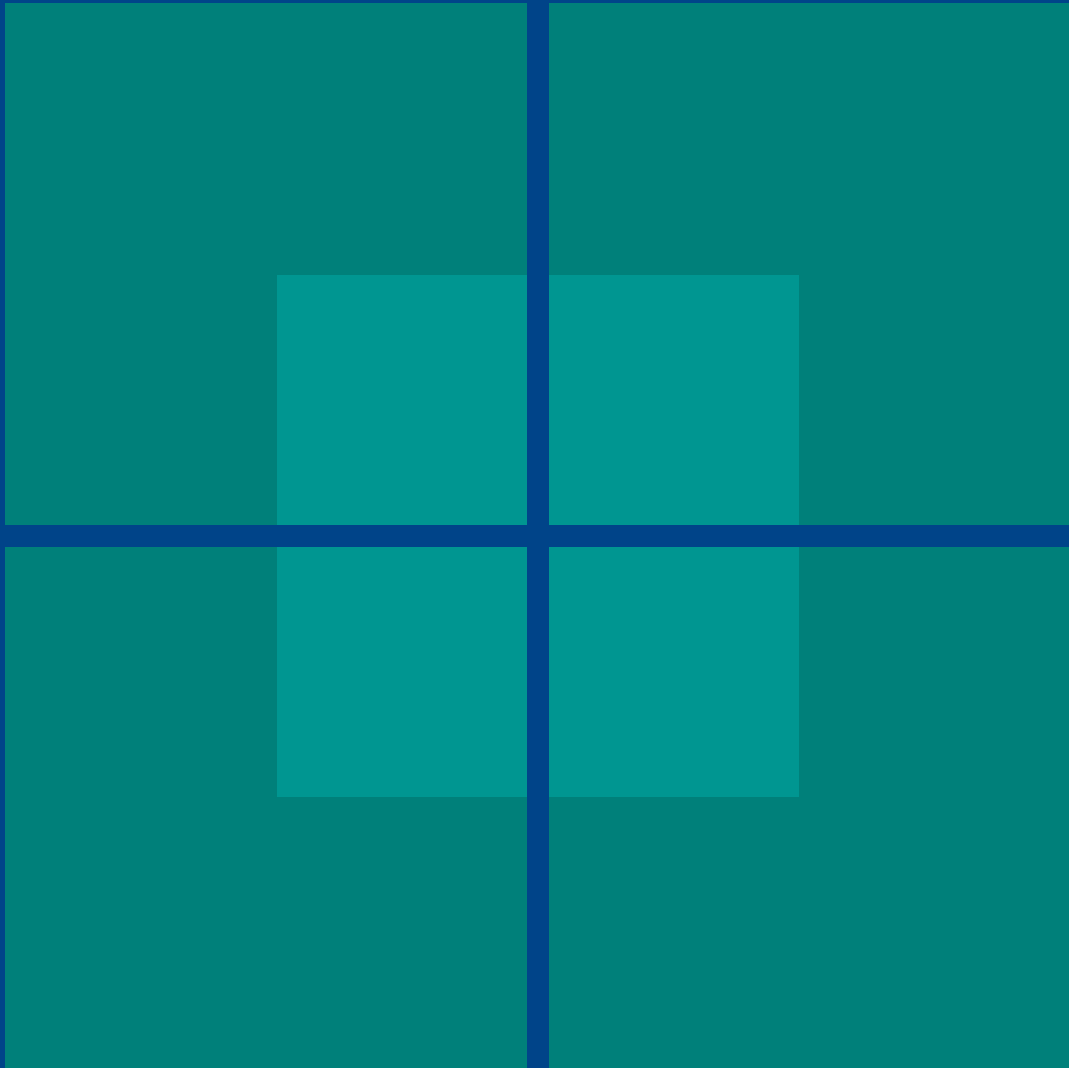
Furthermore, a glossary lists the most popular misconceptions on the GDR and provides a critical counterpoint. Also included are interviews with witnesses to history and videos – among them a conversation with Bishop Joachim Wanke about church and religion in the GDR – and a calendar of important anniversaries. All in all, the site is full of information for everybody; teachers in particular can download teaching material.

The events section provides up-to-date information on the various events organised by the program and conference centres of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, among them debates, film screenings and discussions, concerts and readings.

[www.ddrmythen.de](http://www.ddrmythen.de)







## F O U N D A T I O N

THE KONRAD-ADENAUER-STIFTUNG IS A POLITICAL FOUNDATION WITH TWO CENTRES AND 16 REGIONAL OFFICES FOR CIVIC EDUCATION IN GERMANY. SOME 70 OFFICES ABROAD OVERSEE PROJECTS IN MORE THAN 100 COUNTRIES. OUR HEADQUARTERS ARE LOCATED IN SANKT AUGUSTIN NEAR BONN AND IN BERLIN.

## ABOUT US

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KONRAD ADENAUER AND HIS PRINCIPLES DEFINE OUR GUIDELINES, OUR DUTY AND OUR MISSION. THE FOUNDATION HAS CARRIED THE NAME OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY'S FIRST CHANCELLOR SINCE 1964; IT GREW OUT OF THE "SOCIETY FOR CHRISTIAN-DEMOCRATIC CIVIC EDUCATION," FOUNDED IN 1955.

FOUNDATION



■ We use civic education both at [HOME AND ABROAD](#) to promote freedom, peace and justice. Our most important goals are strengthening democracy, furthering European unification, improving trans-Atlantic relations and increasing development cooperation. Current and well-researched analysis forms the basis of our political activities. The Academy in Berlin is the forum for dialogue on issues crucial to our future – from politics and the economy to religion, society and science.

■ We bring together people who have something to say for [CONFERENCES AND CONGRESSES](#). In Germany alone, about 145,000 people attend the 2,500 events that are held every year. We provide material and moral support to gifted young people, not only from Germany but also from Central and Eastern Europe as well as developing countries. We also keep in close touch with our alumni, whose number by now has risen to 10,000.

■ [EXHIBITS, READINGS AND AWARDS](#) complete our programme. We support young artists and award the prestigious KAS Literature Prize every year. We have awarded a prize for local journalism since 1980. The "Social Market Economy Prize" has recognised since 2002 distinguished personalities who have supported and encouraged the development of the Social Market Economy. And for the past eight years, our [Denkt@g](#) competition has awarded an annual prize to web sites in which young people confront issues surrounding the Holocaust and Nazi dictatorship, right-wing extremism, xenophobia, intolerance and violence.

■ The Archives of Christian Democratic Politics research and explore [THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY](#) in Germany and Europe. Users have access to a comprehensive body of documents, state-of-the-art media and a specialised library with 175,000 volumes of books on history and politics.

## WE WOULD LIKE TO THANK OUR DONORS, SUPPORTERS AND SPONSORS

We are particularly grateful to our donors and sponsors. In 2008, they again supported the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's work with their donations and sponsorships, with specific pledges or as cooperation partners.

The renowned Else Heiliger Fund scholarship for artists, which supports young contemporary artists, in 2008 gained the support of several more trustees who each contributed €30,000.

We would like to thank our supporters for their trust and commitment to the foundation, as well as for the recommendations that have opened the door for many deserving people. Their many good ideas and suggestions have enabled us to expand the private funding of our foundation.


We can do a lot more if we know people who back us with their ideals and financial support surround us. If you would like to help shape the future and are particularly interested in supporting programmes focusing on civic education, the intellectually gifted, international cooperation, art and culture, then a foundation or fund is the ideal approach to contributing to the common good.

Further opportunities for such support are highlighted in a brochure on bequests published by the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung. There you can find facts and useful information on bequests and inheritances in clear language, as well as check lists to calculate your own personal wealth. You can order the brochure at the address listed below.

We are happy to provide you with more information.

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IN MORE THAN 100 COUNTRIES, THE KONRAD-ADENAUER-STIFTUNG APPROACHES INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION BY SUPPORTING THE DEVELOPMENT OF FREE AND DEMOCRATIC STRUCTURES BASED UPON THE RULE OF LAW AND THE SOCIAL MARKET ECONOMY. THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CRISIS AND THE NEW US PRESIDENCY WILL STAND AT THE CENTRE OF OUR WORK, AS WILL RUSSIA'S NEW ASSERTIVENESS ABROAD.

## TAKING RESPONSIBILITY WITHIN GLOBALISATION

### INTRODUCTION

Some 20 years after the end of the East-West conflict, global politics again faced serious challenges. Many observers suggested that the party was over. The conflict in Georgia showed that Russia is not only more self-confident but that it is also a more robust power on the international stage. With the eyes of the world upon it in the run-up to the Olympics, China demonstrated its attitude towards the protection of minorities or media freedom. In Europe, the Irish "no" to the Treaty of Lisbon hindered progress towards European unity. The uncertain transition of power in South Africa meant that the stabilising role this major country plays in the region is increasingly being called into question. And finally, the long-term effects of the global financial crisis are impossible to ignore, while issues ranging from the threat of terrorism, to the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction or climate change persisted in 2008.

The new dangers make international involvement by the political foundations all the more necessary and urgent. Their mission is to extend Germany's efforts on political cooperation abroad by strengthening what former German president Roman Herzog called "the power of argument", to support the development of humane and enduring societies in peace and freedom. After all, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung spends more than half of its budget on projects outside of Germany that strengthen democracy and the rule of law, and help develop and expand the Social Market Economy and the European idea. Employees from Germany as well as some 300 locally hired staff oversee projects in more than 100 countries.

The strategic decision that the KAS took several years ago – it would no longer merely focus its expertise on regional issues but also on sector- and content-related issues – is paying off. As part of the global governance project, employees from the Berlin headquarters work on interdisciplinary projects to develop a dialogue on values and religion and reflections on global economic and social governance; on development policy and democracy; on how to support parliaments and parties as well as on energy, the environment and natural resources. The foundation also fosters the strengthening of the rule of law and the improvement of journalistic standards with its global rule of law and media programme.

Thanks to the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's seminars, international conferences and congresses, as well as study tours, many visitors to Germany met with representatives and key personalities from the fields of politics, science, the economy, civil society and the churches. The foundation's project-specific fellowship programme welcomed more than 120 fellows in 2008. Fifty-one new young leaders from emerging and developing countries, as well as countries in transition, received support for the first time last year.



#### Fellows from North Korea

*Since 2008, the KAS has supported two legal scholars from North Korea for the first time. Both fellows are from the capital Pyongyang, where they teach at the Kim Il Sung University. While in Germany, they will improve their knowledge of the rule of law and of international economic law. Our picture shows the two fellows, Ro Kum Chol and Kim Un Nam.*



Professor Hans-Gert Pöttering,  
President of the European  
Parliament, in the European  
Office of the KAS in Brussels.



## EUROPE/NORTH AMERICA

Everything in 2008 revolved around the presidential elections in the United States. Expectations of the new administration are high on both sides of the Atlantic. The goal of the KAS was to improve *transatlantic relations* and examine each side's views of the transatlantic relationship. One such event was the 7th Franco-German strategy forum, which focused on the future of the Paris-Berlin-Washington axis under the new US president. A further high point was the two-day conference of experts entitled "A Change of Direction in the White House?" which took place at the beginning of December in Berlin, in cooperation with the American Jewish Committee and the Brussels-based Centre for European Policy Studies. The *Washington* office dedicated its efforts to helping Germany's US partners better understand Berlin's position on global issues, and to comprehensively informing German decision-makers on current developments in the United States.

*The KAS European Office in Brussels picked up the discussion on European security and energy policy.*

The KAS *European Office in Brussels* took up issues related to European security and energy policy. It also placed the EU's political priorities in connection with the Lisbon Treaty on the agenda. The president of the European Parliament, Professor Hans-Gert Pöttering (see photo above left), gave several lectures as a guest of the foundation's European Office. The foundation also opened a new office in Rome, which will put ties with the Vatican at the centre of its work.

In *Poland*, cooperation with the Church was also a big topic. In September, the KAS Warsaw field office, the Papal Theological Academy in Krakow and the Robert-Schuman-Foundation jointly organised the 8th International Conference on the Role of the Catholic Church in European Integration. The Archbishop of Krakow, Stanisław Cardinal Dziwisz, and Auxiliary Bishop Tadeusz Pieronek opened the conference. The first meeting between German and Polish parliamentarians focused on Europe's *Ostpolitik* as well as developing a joint security and defence policy.

The goal of Europe's future policy towards *Russia* must be to strengthen ties between Russia and Europe. That is why the Moscow and St. Petersburg offices placed relations with the European Union at the centre of their activities. The high point was a journalism conference in October, in which some 100 German and Russian journalists took part. Ahead of the NATO Summit in Bucharest in April, a conference on NATO's eastward expansion was held in Berlin and gathered high-ranking specialists. A report by the KAS addressed the opportunities in and limitations to this expansion. At a conference at Schloss Wackerbarth near Dresden, the KAS started a German-Russian dialogue on security issues and potential future problems.



### Local KAS Employees from Asia Visit Berlin

*The human being is the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's most important form of capital. Employees from the finance and project administration offices in Asian countries travelled to Berlin in September for a training seminar.*

Strengthening civil society took centre stage with efforts in *Ukraine*. A conference of top officials from Belarus and Moldova saw Christian-Democratic politicians continue their dialogue with the Orthodox Church. In addition, large German and Ukrainian companies explored together the ethical and social responsibility of business for the Social Market Economy.

The country programme in *Belarus* expanded further. Strengthening civil society and debating the country's future development were among the emphases. In light of the upcoming parliamentary election, leading Belarusian opposition representatives were brought together with selected international experts for a discussion called "An Opportunity for Democracy?"

In the *Baltic states*, the focus was on the development of democratic parties. The KAS supported its two partner parties in Lithuania as they merged into one. The Homeland Union – Lithuanian Christian Democrats won the parliamentary elections in October, and their party leader is now prime minister.

The rule of law programme in Southeast Europe backed efforts towards constitutional reform in *Bosnia and Herzegovina*. In the former Yugoslav countries of *Serbia, Croatia* and *Macedonia*, the extensive cooperation with partner parties and support of youth organisations continued. The goal is to help the parties develop into modern organisations with meaningful programmes and democratic structures.

In February 2008, *Kosovo* declared its independence. The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung is focusing on party sponsorship there to encourage the development of a democratic state in the Balkans. In connection with this issue, KAS Chairman Professor Bernhard Vogel met in Pristina with President Fatmir Sejdiu for detailed political discussions. KAS Deputy Secretary General Gerhard Wahlers, welcomed Albania's Prime Minister Sali Berisha and several of his ministers to Berlin. They explored the possibility of opening a new KAS office in *Albania* in 2009.

In *Bulgaria* the foundation dedicated itself to education reform, which is gaining ground in the wake of the country's EU membership and the inclusion of education in the Lisbon Strategy. A network of KAS alumni was also founded. In Romania President Traian Basescu gave a keynote speech at a KAS conference in Constanca on the issue of cooperation around the Black Sea, which the KAS plans to support and expand in 2009.

## ASIA

The increasingly global role of Asia is demonstrated by the hope resting with countries such as China in the global financial crisis. Within Asian nations, the dramatic economic and social change under way is unstoppable – and with it comes a need for new economic and social governance systems. The Global Economic and Social Governance project undertook a first assessment with two regional workshops in *India* and *China*. At a regional conference in *Vietnam* comparing different governance concepts and the possibilities for the development of systems based on the Social Market Economy, experts discussed potential future measures on the Asian continent.

Since Asian countries both cause and are affected by global climate change, they also play a key role in tackling the issue. China and India have a particular responsibility here. KAS offices have organised conferences addressing issues of development, economic growth and the responsible stewardship of natural resources. Three global challenges – food supply, energy security and climate protection – were on the agenda at a regional KAS conference in the *Philippines*.



## Impact Assessment

*Impact assessment plays an important role in the international cooperation of the KAS. It is a central tool to ensure and improve the quality of international programmes, and to expand them. In 2008, the evaluation department placed a particular emphasis on learning from assessment results. It published a booklet called "Lesson Learned – What Assessments Teach Us" (Lernen aus Evaluierung), which for the first time gave a complete overview of its activities in 2006 and 2007. The goal is to consolidate the insights and recommendations gained from evaluations and apply them across national, regional and sectoral lines, thus improving the effectiveness of international projects.*

The fact that many Asian countries have a fairly young population is structurally important, and is something the foundation is trying to react to in a targeted fashion. The motto of the 7th Mongolian-German Forum was "Youth and Politics." German President Horst Köhler underscored the importance of this subject with his participation in the forum as part of his state visit to *Mongolia*. In *India*, a large-scale KAS-led youth study was concluded. In *Cambodia*, the foundation held a series of training seminars for young politicians on the fundamentals of political work, in collaboration with the youth organisation of the Swedish Conservative party.

The political situations in *Thailand* and *Malaysia* were shaped by parliamentary elections, respectively in December 2007 and in March 2008. The political stalemate in Thailand was resolved with the dissolution of the ruling party at the end of 2008, with uncertain political consequences. Malaysia's legislative elections however could lead to the opening up of the political system over the long-term, since the ruling coalition lost its two-thirds majority for the first time ever. The KAS is providing targeted political consulting to support the reform process in both countries.

In *South Korea*, the deputy chairman of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Professor Norbert Lammert, President of the German Bundestag, received an honorary doctorate from the University of Seoul for his support of friendship between South Korea and Germany and for backing the development of South Korean democracy.

The states of *Central Asia* are still experiencing a difficult democratisation process. In Kazakhstan, the foundation was officially registered for the first time in 2008 and established itself with its own staff. In Uzbekistan, the introduction of habeas corpus gave the foundation the opportunity to expand its activities, especially in the field of human rights.

The crises in South Asia (*Afghanistan/Pakistan*) and in the southern Caucasus (the war in *Georgia*) underscored the importance of preventing and mastering regional conflicts. The KAS reacted to the South Asian crisis by opening a new office in Islamabad, which was able to organise a joint visit by Afghan and Pakistani legislators to Germany. The KAS bureau in Georgia – that opened in 2007 – was able to continue and expand its efforts despite the conflict with Russia.

The regional *Asia media programme* of the KAS has been very successful with its 20-year-old Asia News Network (ANN). It is now a mostly independently funded organisation with 20 members. In July 2008, it signed a contract with the German news agency dpa, which will pick up about 40 reports from ANN every day to supply to its customers.

## MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA

The 60th anniversary of the founding of the state of *Israel* stood at the centre of the Jerusalem office's activities. For the first time in 25 years of partnership between the KAS and the American Jewish Committee, a German-American group travelled to Israel to explore the shared links between Germany, Israel and the United States. Israeli-Palestinian relations also played an important role. With the help of two Israeli and Palestinian opinion research institutes, the KAS offices in Jerusalem and Ramallah developed and regularly carried out surveys relevant to the Middle East peace process.

Supporting the development of the Social Market Economy in the *Palestinian Territories* was a major task for the office in Ramallah. At a conference in May, more than 120 Palestinian representatives from the private sector agreed on an economic agenda guided by the concept of the Social Market Economy and developed by the KAS in

collaboration with its partner, the Palestinian Federation of Industries. Palestinian Prime Minister Salam Fayyad was presented with the agenda in the presence of Tony Blair, special envoy of the Middle East Quartet, and promised to implement it.

The field office in *Turkey* organised for the first time a German-Turkish security conference, attended by 30 Turkish and German military experts, along with the long-time organiser of the Munich Security Conference, Professor Horst Teltschik and the former inspector general of the Bundeswehr, retired General Klaus Naumann. New geo-strategic challenges and the common security interests of Germany, Turkey and Europe stood at the top of the agenda.

Most of the measures by the *Regional Programme Near East/Mediterranean* were carried out with the founding of the Mediterranean Union in mind. At the centre stood the development of specific policy recommendations by an expert advisory group founded by the KAS, as well as the further support of a parliamentary network in the Euro-Mediterranean area. The goal of an expanded exchange among legislators is to strengthen parliaments in the southern Mediterranean countries. Beyond that, the KAS in *Morocco* and a group of experts from the Moroccan Institute for International Relations drew up a report on the development of the Mediterranean Union, which became a part of the recommendations made by the Euro-Mediterranean Study Commission.

In Amman, the respected conference on Religion and the Rule of Law in the Near East took place under the auspices of *Jordan's* Prince Al-Hassan bin Talal. Cooperation established in 2006 between the KAS and the Arab League's Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organisation on the image of Arab women in curricula was successfully continued. In addition, the KAS expanded its cooperation with the second most important university of the Sunni Muslim world, Zaitouna University in Tunis.



*Participants of the "Elite Macht Afrika" conference discussed approaches to support African elites and to force them to take responsibility (14 October 2008 in Berlin).*



*His Royal Highness Al-Hassan bin Talal of Jordan (centre) and his wife, Princess Sumaya met during their visit to the KAS with (from left to right) Professor Bernhard Vogel (KAS chairman), Eckart von Klaeden MP (foreign policy spokesman for the CDU/CSU parliamentary group) and Gerhard Wahlers (deputy KAS chairman).*



## SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

The foundation held an event in *Rwanda* for the first time since 1994 – when the KAS had to shut its field office in Kigali because of the genocide. Prime Minister Bernard Makuza and Professor Bernhard Vogel opened the event. The rule of law programme offered actors from the legal field – among them judges of the African Court of Human and Peoples' Rights – a forum to discuss their practical experiences with the protection of human rights.

Experiences by Muslim defenders of human rights in *Mali*, *Senegal* and the *Democratic Republic of Congo* shaped the agenda of speeches and debates during a conference in Dakar in February. The experts took a close look at the importance of freedom and human rights within Islam, and underscored Muslim values such as justice, tolerance and human dignity as a reason for their initiatives. In *Tanzania*, the KAS supported a conference that introduced high-ranking Catholic dignitaries to the compendium of Catholic social teaching. A greeting from Pope Benedict XVI specifically recognised the efforts of the KAS.

The 7th Media Leadership Conference organised by the media programme in *Uganda* brought together journalists from 16 countries to network, swap stories and discuss trends in new and digital media. For the first time, editors in chief, publishers and media experts from West Africa were in attendance.

Ahead of elections in *Angola*, the KAS published a handbook for election observers and trained journalists on election reporting. The KAS joined with the Democracy Development Programme to inform voters in *South Africa* about the electoral process for the 2009 legislative elections. With the start of the Green Goal Action Plan in Cape Town in October 2008, the KAS contributed to making next year's World Cup, to be hosted by South Africa, an environmentally friendly football event.

Despite hyperinflation, power blackouts, lack of food supplies and uncertain political perspectives, the KAS continued its work in *Zimbabwe*. In April, a project to fight poverty by educating and training women in rural areas was launched. The KAS and its long-time partner, the Self Help Development Foundation, are carrying out the project, with funds from the EU and the German Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development.

## LATIN AMERICA

Until the global financial crisis broke out, Latin America had very good macroeconomic results within the context of the existing social imbalances. Politically speaking, the continent is divided into democratic countries that adhere to the rule of law and populist countries that have turned increasingly authoritarian.

On a regional level, the KAS continued its cooperation with the Christian Democrat Organisation of America ODCA, the umbrella group of Caribbean, Central and South American Christian Democratic parties. As part of the regional rule of law programme, the 15th Latin American meeting of judges of constitutional law took place in Honduras, with the participation of German experts. The regional media programme presented a study on how environmental problems and climate change are perceived in the media. It also expanded consulting on political communication issues with the Organisation of Latin American Political Consultants.



*Promoting the protection of human rights is a central aspect of the foundation's worldwide rule of law programme. KAS Chairman Professor Bernhard Vogel opened a conference on this issue in Kigali, with delegates from 14 African countries. Our picture shows him talking with the prime minister of Rwanda, Bernard Makuza.*



*The KAS planning committee met in June 2008 under the leadership of former state secretary Volkmar Köhler in Cadenabbia, Italy to discuss challenges to democracy in Latin America. At the centre stood the unresolved social challenges democracies face in the region, as well as the spread of populist governments with authoritarian characteristics.*

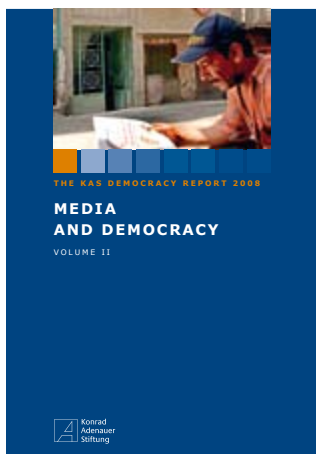
The *political participation of indigenous people* was championed through workshops for elected officials from Andean countries and Guatemala, as well as with a booklet on legal reforms that would help strengthen indigenous rights. In the context of the SOPLA regional project on *social governance* a comprehensive study on growth and social advancement attracted attention.

So, too, did the project that looks at ways to integrate the issue of social responsibility of the elite within the curriculum of the Catholic universities – organised in cooperation with the papal commission *Justitia et Pax*. The democracy index of Latin America, compiled by the KAS for the last six years, was also well received by the press.

In *Mexico*, cooperation with the PAN party, a foundation partner, along with its parliamentary groups, foundations and subsidiary organisations took centre stage. The debate over regulation and political reforms also played an important role – and got a boost with a visit from the chairman of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group Volker Kauder. Political consulting and education was a further highlight in *Central America*, as well as the development of a regional network of think tanks and seminars on Central American integration.

Despite an increasingly problematic situation in *Venezuela* the KAS continues to cooperate with the opposition, both through its political arm as well as its civil society forces. In *Bolivia*, increasing violence made the foundation's work more difficult. On the occasion of the EU – Latin American summit in *Peru*, the president of the European Parliament, Hans-Gert Pöttering, and the foreign policy spokesman for the CDU/CSU parliamentary group, Eckart von Klaeden, held events under the slogan "Latin America, Our Future – Europe, Our Partner" –. The highlight was a political breakfast where young politicians met Chancellor Angela Merkel.

In *Columbia*, cooperation with the parliament on the reform of its rules as well as another project with the think tank *Corporación Pensamientos Siglo XXI* continued. In *Chile* the political work focused on supporting the Christian Democratic Party in connection with the establishment of a new policy programme and its support of talented young individuals. A visit by the prime minister of North-Rhine Westphalia, Jürgen Rüttgers, and his appearance at the 15th Brazil-Europe forum was a highlight of the activities by the KAS field office in *Brazil*. The 5th security policy conference in Rio de Janeiro and the German-Brazilian symposium in Berlin were other central events.

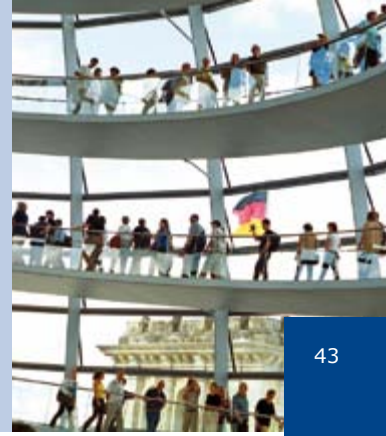


### **KAS Democracy Report 2008**

*The KAS Democracy Report provides information on the state of democracy in the partner countries of the foundation. The fourth volume, "Media and Democracy, Vol. II," was published in October 2008 and assesses the media landscape and media freedom in 16 KAS project countries in five regions.*

*The analysis shows that the degree of media freedom is strongly dependent on the country's general development with respect to democracy and the rule of law. Even though contributors to new media such as the web and blogs have carved out a niche in undemocratic states where they can freely report and express their opinions, freedom of the press is still threatened in many cases. Principal reasons are for example the people's low degree of education, limited media variety, a lack of well-trained journalists, the hindering, threatening or even violently attacking of critical journalists, self-censorship, corruption and the concentration of many media outlets in the hands of extremely few people.*

THE POLITICS AND CONSULTING DEPARTMENT HAS DEVELOPED INTO AN ESTABLISHED FORCE AMONG POLITICIANS IN BERLIN AND THROUGHOUT THE GERMAN STATES. AROUND 20 RESEARCH ASSISTANTS WORK IN THE AREAS OF DOMESTIC POLICY, SOCIAL POLICY, ECONOMIC POLICY AND FOREIGN POLICY. WITH CURRENT ISSUES IN MIND, THEY DEVELOP ANALYSES AND SOLUTION-ORIENTED CONCEPTS, TAKE PART IN EXCHANGES BETWEEN RESEARCHERS AND POLITICIANS, AND PROVIDE THE PUBLIC WITH POLITICAL STRATEGIES AND CONTENT.



## SUPPORTING DECISION MAKING WITH EXPERTISE

Our political consulting projects in 2008 focused on the German party landscape, the situation of parents and the main issue of globalisation.

### DOMESTIC POLICY

Conservative-Green party coalitions are finding approval, especially among younger Germans. A project Conservative-Green Alliances, which was expanded further in 2008 with analyses and events, takes this into account. At the centre stands local politics through the provision of basic services and energy policy.

Several studies were published on the issue of political extremism that received a great deal of response. Three analyses of right-wing extremist alliances and the NPD party were published; three others took on the left-wing spectrum.

The project on the reform of federalism continued with an international conference of experts in Cadenabbia, Italy looking ahead on how German federalism could be structured in the year 2020 ("Der deutsche Föderalismus 2020 – Die bundesstaatliche Kompetenz- und Finanzverteilung im Spiegel der Föderalismusreform I und II."). A further high point was the 3rd Berlin law conference on reforming federalism in Germany and finding ways to strengthen parliamentarianism. The president of the German Constitutional Court, Professor Hans-Jürgen Papier, gave the dinner speech.

The study group on local politics published a book on how education and its role in local integration policies, as part of the series "Documents for fieldwork". The study group also addressed the issue of finances at the local level and for the first time it reflected on the local involvement of civil society.

A study on "UN guidelines on decentralisation and the strengthening of local communities" was well received, while a yearbook detailing local election results was turned into a web publication. The discussion group on new German states met in Cadenabbia for the third time. Central to the discussion were the aftermath of the East German SED dictatorship, the challenges for financial policy and how the new *Länder* can grow into a location for innovation and investment.

### ECONOMIC POLICY

Important topics for the economic policy team included the 60th anniversary of Germany's currency reform, the lifting of price controls and the governance concepts embodied in the principles of Social Market Economy, whose founding fathers were honoured in a lecture series. The foundation also explored the values guiding the actors of the economy, as well as those shaping economic policies. To this end, a panel was held in March to discuss the responsibility of corporations towards society at large. Among those who participated were the chairman of the Robert Bosch corporation, Franz Fehrenbach, Laurenz Meyer MP, Bishop Wolfgang Huber and the head of the food service and restaurant union NGG, Franz Möllenberg.



*The chairman of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Professor Bernhard Vogel, and the president of the German Constitutional Court, Professor Hans-Jürgen Papier.*



*In the series "Celebrating Unity and Peace," the Politics and Consulting department has so far put out publications on the Parliamentary Council, the Social Market Economy and Anti-Fascism as the official doctrine of the GDR.*



*Reinhard Bahnmüller of the University of Tübingen, Franz-Josef Möllenberg, chair of the food service and restaurant union, Thorsten W. Alsleben from ZDF television and Martin Kannegiesser, the president of the Metal Industry Employers Association, on 8 May 2008 in Berlin.*

At the forefront of last year's globalisation project stood the goal of highlighting the opportunities and advantages Germany can gain from worldwide market integration. A group of experts analysed the strengths and weaknesses of Germany as a location for industry. It stressed that one of the biggest challenges lay in ensuring that education policy be adapted to the demands of a globalised world. A discussion organised with Berlin-area radio station Inforadio addressed the demands which globalisation places on the Social Market Economy in Germany.

The study group on employee participation continued its work as well. A conference on the future of collective bargaining explored how collective bargaining policy can address the problems of global interdependence, competition and wage pressure (downward and upward) due to specialised niche unions. Experts held a workshop on the extent and consequences of the boom in temporary work, resulting from the greater flexibility of the labour market. The gathering provided scientific and empirical data to develop perspectives on how to develop this controversial part of the labour market. Part of the foundation's consulting work also included participating in a CDU-organised commission on *Solidarisches Bürgergeld*, an unconditional basic income for everyone.

#### FOREIGN AND SECURITY POLICY

In foreign policy, interest in the US presidential elections took centre stage. KAS employees enriched the political discussion with their political expertise, giving more than 50 interviews and conversations with experts, and publishing articles in newspapers and magazines. At a conference in Berlin in December the subjects ranged from climate change to international terrorism and confronting the rise of authoritarian states.

The NATO Summit in Bucharest in the spring of 2008 was central to security policy issues, since the gathering was seen as a turning point for the alliance and its future. A study published at the time reviewed the current situation and highlighted elements of a new strategic concept for NATO.

As part of a newly created discussion group, a closed-door meeting took place in Potsdam between representatives of the chancellery, the German defence ministry and other institutions that handle global security issues. The same expert roundtable met in December 2008 to develop how Germany might make contributions towards a new strategic concept for NATO – and how that would change Germany's role in international security policy. A number of informal discussions with German Bundestag staff took place on the same topic.

Top-ranked politicians specializing in security issues and nuclear experts exchanged their views on nuclear disarmament, as preventing the proliferation of atomic weapons is considered one of the most important security policy issues of the future.

A discussion spurred by the French president on the creation of a Mediterranean union shaped European policy at the outset of 2008. French and German politicians and researchers came together for a Franco-German strategic roundtable to explore issues concerning EU cooperation with the states bordering the Mediterranean. A joint event with the German Council on Foreign Relations was dedicated to perspectives for European security and defence policy, a central subject under discussion at the EU Council of Ministers in December.

Recent developments on security issues have made clear that asymmetric threats increasingly characterise Germany's foreign and security policy. Hence the foreign policy team took on a new issue – that of interconnected security in the 21st century, and charged the working group of young foreign affairs politicians and the newly founded group "Interconnected Security" to review the many issues at closed-door meetings.



*Herder published the book on medical science between humanitarianism and competition. The series "Medical sciences – Ethics – law" will be continued in the fall of 2009 with a volume about common diseases – challenges for a prosperous society.*

How do increasing competition in the health care sector, new diseases and rising life expectancy affect health care? How can one ensure quality and scientific progress? These main questions guided the foundation's activities on health issues in 2008. The 6th Cadenabbia roundtable discussion on medical sciences, ethics and law addressed the subject of common diseases and the consequent challenges for health policy. Workshops and publications addressed issues ranging from prevention to basic conditions for biomedical research.

At the centre of the foundation's work on religion and values stood the question of the relationship between religion and politics, and how politics can be based upon Christian values. The roundtable debate "Christians and Politics" was held for the third time, with the title "Justice strengthens a people". Events during the German Catholic Convention (*Katholikentag*) in Osnabrück were a highlight this year, attracting a great deal of attention in religious circles and among politicians. A book with the title "Justifying Human Dignity and Human Rights" was published in German by Herder Verlag. A series on the specifics of social ethics, called "Globalisation and Justice," jointly organised with the Catholic academies in Münster and Essen, provided an international look at issues of the day.

Among the cultural policy events worth mentioning is the 8th Potsdam conversation on cultural policy with Minister of State for Culture and the Media Bernd Neumann, which focused on libraries. A conference on cultural education took up proposals from an enquiry committee on culture in Germany. The initiative on character-building (*Bildung der Persönlichkeit*) continued with the 18th Wartburg discussion, and like the Berlin roundtable on education, it placed a particular emphasis on current developments in the education sector. In cooperation with the German Association of University Professors and Lecturers, the conference "University of the Future – the Future of the University" at the Villa La Collina in Cadenabbia took up the current debate about university reform.

In the area of family policy, the focus was again on the subject of parents. The foundation organised an event with the German Ministry of Family Affairs on how to protect children if there is violence in the parents' relationship (*Schutz des Kindeswohls bei Gewalt in der Partnerschaft der Eltern*). Its contributions were documented in an issue of the magazine *Im Plenum*. A set of guidelines on "community-based family policy – arguments, methods and practical examples" was another important publication.

An important socio-political responsibility is the integration of people from an immigrant background in Germany. The foundation's *Almanya* programme published a monthly review of Turkish press on issues concerning integration of foreigners in Germany and immigration policies. The KAS also published two studies on education, pointing out that schooling was an area where integration issues were being explored. A study on immigration and health explored barriers to obtaining medical treatment. The foundation also participated in a representative review of the lives of people in Germany with an immigrant background.

Energy and climate policy stood at the centre of environmental politics. Experts from the world of business, politics and organisations came together for a conference on the conflicting aims of finding a secure energy supply on the one hand, and protecting the climate on the other. They discussed how to connect energy and environmental policy, and what kind of power plants Germany needed. Two studies were published on renewable energy and energy prices.

**CIVIC EDUCATION** EDUCATION AIMS TO INFORM CITIZENS AND MOTIVATE THEM TO PARTICIPATE IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS. THE GOAL IS TO DEMONSTRATE THAT POLITICS AND CHANGE ARE NOT AN IRREVERSIBLE PROCESS, BUT THAT THEY CAN BE SHAPED WITHIN THE LIMITS OF OUR PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY. POLITICALLY EDUCATED CITIZENS ARE MORE RESISTANT TOWARDS EXTREMISTS, AND THEY CAN BETTER CATEGORISE AND ASSESS POLITICAL DECISIONS. IN 2008, SOME 100,000 PEOPLE PARTICIPATED IN AROUND 2,000 EVENTS.

## ENCOURAGING POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

These days prosperity is no longer constantly on the rise – many people find these times instead rather difficult. And the willingness to take personal responsibility and towards civic involvement has apparently fallen. That is where civic education comes in, by explaining the roots of political, social and economic governance while also addressing the major developments of our time. Carrying this out requires a didactic and methodical approach.

### ETHICAL FOUNDATIONS OF CIVIL SOCIETY

Christian Democratic values are the spiritual foundation that helps shape civil society. They can provide real-life solutions to political challenges. A series of events titled “The Christian-Democratic Idea” is contributing to the process. In 2009, a new series of seminars “Profile and Depth of Focus” will ask whether the future of Christian Democratic governance. The KAS supports citizens who form organisations that help civil society by offering a series of seminars on managing organisations.

### SOCIAL MARKET ECONOMY

On the occasion of the currency reform’s 60th anniversary former German Central Bank president, Professor Hans Tietmeyer, recalled the principles of the Social Market Economy during a speech at the Bonn “Wasserwerk”. He also addressed current challenges such as competition oversight, securing social justice and striking a balance between regulation and liberalisation.

During the second half of the year, the financial crisis provided a reason to underscore the Social Market Economy’s ability to deal with the threats posed by globalisation. The goal at various events was to communicate what limiting economic power meant in practice, that basing the market on fundamental social values was a precondition for success, and for the Social Market Economy to be accepted.

### TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONS AND THE FUTURE OF EUROPEAN GOVERNANCE

Seminars on the United States were particularly popular in a presidential election year. US experts gave incisive reports from the campaign trail, while also providing participants with information on the fundamentals of American politics. Many events appealed in particular to young people. One goal of the Konrad Adenauer Summer School was to again to counter anti-American clichés. An analysis and assessment of the presidency will shape seminars in 2009.

The foundation believes in the importance of the “Europe For Citizens” programme, where everyday life for Europeans is under constant improvement. The seminar series “Facts Instead of Myths” underscored the advantages of Europe, in which conversations with EU legislators and representatives along with the media, lobbyists and other Brussels institutions took centre stage. Young adults were particularly interested in



*At a “Wasserwerk” Lecture in Bonn on 3 October 2008, Professor Horst Teltschik, formerly Helmut Kohl’s foreign policy advisor, provided a vivid description of national and international issues surrounding German unification.*



*(from left to right) Joachim Klose, the head of the Dresden civic education centre, Professors Richard Schröder and Professor Beate Neuss, and the prime minister of Saxony, Stanislaw Tillich.*

*"There is no such thing as a dictatorship with kid gloves," said Saxony Prime Minister Stanislaw Tillich in his opening remarks to more than 1,400 people at the Dresden Opera House on 28 September 2008. They were there for the lecture series "What was the GDR like – paths to a culture of remembrance," organised by the KAS. The deputy chairman of the KAS, Professor Beate Neuss, had welcomed the participants beforehand and pointed out that coming to terms with the GDR's past called not just for empathy with those who suffered during the regime but also confronting one's own past. The keynote speech was held by the president of the Deutsche Nationalstiftung in Weimar, Professor Richard Schröder. He described the path towards commemoration through everyday stories about life in the GDR, and made the audience laugh with a number of jokes.*

this programme. At a lecture series at Bonn University, prominent speakers, among them EU Parliament President Professor Hans-Gert Pöttering, presented their views on how to govern the EU in the future. At an event in the summer titled "Weimar lies on the Rhine," French, German and Polish politicians and experts met to discuss Europe's future.

#### THE ANNIVERSARIES OF UNIFICATION AND FREEDOM

2008 was the first year of events for the project "anniversaries of unification and freedom: setting a course for the future." Commemoration of the constitutive meeting of the Parliamentary Council in 1948 was an opportunity to draw attention to the political system of the Federal Republic of Germany, with its principles of a free and democratic national order and adherence to the rule of law, and to discuss its future viability. The battle against rightwing and leftwing extremism and populism was also part of the debate on the rule of law and militant democracy. Civic education contributed to the process with several seminars and publications.

The KAS celebrated the Day of German Unity in traditional fashion – with a lecture series at the Bonn "Wasserwerk". Nearly 1,000 participants listened to Professor Horst Teltschik, formerly Helmut Kohl's foreign policy advisor, review the events leading to German unification and the foreign policy aspects of German unity. In a second lecture, Adenauer biographer Professor Hans-Peter Schwarz made the link to the anniversary year 2009. He described the accomplishments of Chancellor Adenauer in renewing the young German republic, which turns 60 this year.

#### ISLAM AND INTEGRATION

Civic education also takes up issues surrounding the integration of Muslim foreigners living in Germany – and does so by providing basic facts and practical information. In a series of seminars on "Islam – Religion and Societal Model," experts gave talks on Islamic faith, Muslim life, the structure of Islamic organisations and the political decisions Muslims make. Specific experiences and problems with integration are addressed in the series "On Site Integration," which also provides solutions to the issues.

In cooperation with the German-Turkish Forum, the foundation held an event in Bonn entitled "Integration – a Key Task for Christian Democrats," at which Professor Maria Böhmer MP, the German government's commissioner for migration, refugees and integration, spoke. At a further event, the question of how to successfully tackle integration in the face of Islamist challenges was addressed. Specialists from Austria, France and the Netherlands pointed to the dangers migrants faced in those countries, whether it was from Islamist organisations and their international networks. At the invitation of the foundation, the mayor of Cologne, Fritz Schramma, met with leading representatives of Turkish groups. The event "Culture Meets Politics" fused the political debate with entertaining routines by stand-up comedian Serhat Dogan.



*The media's influence on public opinion is just as strong in Israel as it is in Germany, according to a talk by David Witzthum, chief editor and host for Israeli television channel 1, and lecturer at Tel Aviv and Jerusalem Universities. Witzthum attended events in Saarbrücken in conjunction with the series Israel at 60 (seen here with students).*

## POLITICAL COMMUNICATION: PRESENTATION MATTERS!

In the political arena, it is insufficient to just have the better ideas – presentation matters, too. Only those who know the rules of the media democracy will succeed in the opinion wars and gain an upper hand. The political communication department aims to give people the tools to express their opinions in a convincing manner. Its program is mostly organised with local communities in mind. It includes trainings and workshops on public information and public relations, on using cameras and microphones as well as on writing and giving speeches. Online communication is also becoming increasingly important. Courses on designing political web sites or election campaigns using the web are attracting keen interest from younger people. More extensive seminars look into how politics is portrayed in the mass media, whether in talk shows or in TV debates.

For years, the department has observed and debated trends in political communication in other countries. For instance, the foundation offers experts the opportunity to experience election campaigns abroad during crunch time. In 2008, the foundation's international conference on political communication covered the US presidential campaign. Ten campaign experts came to Berlin in May to report on their experiences and trends during the primary campaign. In October, a delegation travelled to Washington, D.C. and Ohio to experience the get-out-the-vote effort first hand.

## CIVIC EDUCATION CENTRES: A WAY TO GAUGE REGIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

A particular strength of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's civic education efforts lies in its regional presence. The education centres of Schloss Eichholz and Schloss Wendgräben, along with the 16 local education offices promote the foundation's topics and message at the grassroots level. The KAS boosted its cooperation with schools in 2008 – aiming to pique young people's interest in politics. Methods include conversations with witnesses to history and the topics of the Nazi and Socialist Unity Party dictatorships. The series "Israel at 60," featuring speakers exclusively from Israel, was organised throughout Germany.

Fourteen education offices are located in state capitals, where they represent the interests of the foundation at the state level. Since 2008, the heads of these education offices have also taken on the capacity of state representative of the foundation. They help gauge political and economic developments and report them to the foundation headquarters. They also help communication with the groups the civic education department is trying to reach – using the networks developed with organisations and officials from politics, business, science, religious institutions, media, culture and the arts.

One of the emphases at the Eichholz civic education centre lies in providing a wide array of seminars, which are mostly geared towards people who are interested in politics at a state and national level. The Schloss Wendgräben education centre's main aim is to provide information about German unity and European integration.

## NEW AT THE EICHHOLZ EDUCATION CENTRE

Since 2008 the guest rooms at Schloss Eichholz are being renovated. Guesthouses III and V have already been renovated. All guesthouses will have been completely modernised by the end of 2009. Schloss Eichholz also has had a state-of-the-art media centre since 2008, which allows for computer-assisted training courses using PCs and laptops. The centre offers courses on web design, the web and other skill sets.



*State of the art technology: the media centre in Eichholz.*



FINDING NEW TALENT, PROMOTING THE FUTURE – THESE ARE THE GUIDELINES OF THE **SCHOLARSHIPS AND CULTURE** DEPARTMENT. FROM SUPPORTING STUDENTS IN GERMANY AND FROM ABROAD AND THE JOURNALISM ACADEMY TO GRADUATE SCHOLARSHIPS, CAREER COUNSELING AND SUPPORT – THESE FIELDS MAKE UP THE DEPARTMENT'S COMPREHENSIVE RESPONSIBILITIES. A WIDE VARIETY OF CULTURAL EVENTS ALSO FALLS INTO THE PURVIEW OF THE DEPARTMENT.



## A STRONG PROGRAM FOR MORE SCHOLARS

The academic landscape in the 21st century is comprehensively changing. The Bologna Process is creating new courses of study. Universities have to face up to international competition, and their courses must be adapted further so as to ensure student employability. Education and science are undeniably gaining importance in shaping our country's future. With this in mind, Germany's Education and Research Minister Annette Schavan initiated a scheme that will help one percent of students a year develop their full potential. The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's program for the gifted has thrown its entire weight behind the initiative.

The foundation's goal is to support more scholars with the additional funds, but it intends to do so without lowering the standards of scientific excellence, the students' social and political commitment, and the level of integrity. The foundation is creating an academic landscape that gives young researchers the required non-material support.

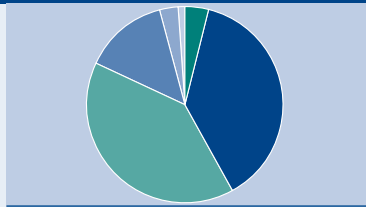
The foundation has expanded its extracurricular programme that it developed to promote Christian values. That approach aims to give scholars with an orientation and action framework that provides the basis for an ethical education. The interdisciplinary programme helps scholars connect with each other and prepares them in concerted fashion for the challenges that Germany and the international community may face in the future. More than ever, promoting academic excellence means relying on the resources and synergies provided by the network of scholars, alumni and advisors. The programme now includes external partners while also drawing on the expertise of other departments in the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung.

### SUPPORTING GERMAN STUDENTS AND GRADUATES

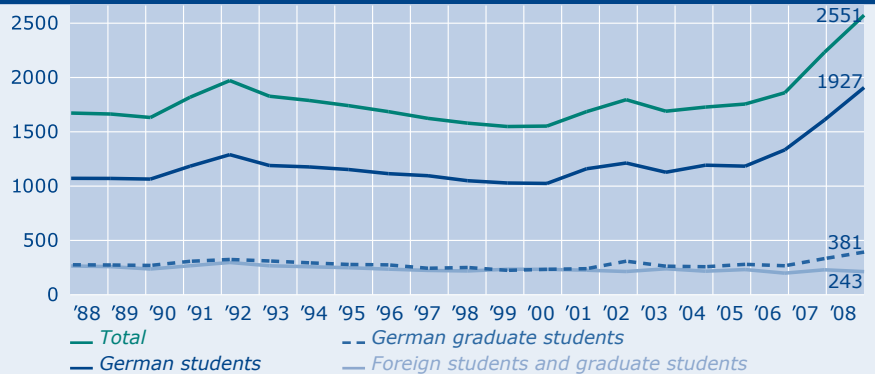
More qualified young people applied for a KAS scholarship than ever before – over 2,300 applications were submitted to the foundation's graduate scholarship programme. More than 500 scholars received fellowships. To maintain the high level of student achievement, the foundation broadened its outreach to Germany's 60 best schools, and to KAS alumni now teaching in high schools. An ongoing goal is to increase the number of qualified applicants from an immigrant background and from disadvantaged groups. North-Rhine Westphalia was at the centre of this effort in 2007 and 2008 – at the end of last year, the effort was expanded to Baden-Württemberg.

Other fields were also successful. Some 580 young researchers applied for a fellowship to pursue their doctoral degree or a post-graduate program in the arts. About a quarter of them were chosen. A new scholarship graduate programme called "When Germany Was Divided – Experiences of Dictatorship, Intra-German Relations, European Dimensions" became a part of the program the Stiftung Aufarbeitung – a foundation working





with distinction	4%
excellent	40%
good	38%
fully satisfactory	14%
satisfactory	3%
fair	1%



\* Source: Deutsche Studentenförderung, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung

on issues related to the GDR and the socialist regime – developed about the new beginning in 1989, “Aufbruch 1989.” Doctoral students in contemporary history also have a new opportunity through a venture with the Dorothee-Wilms-Stiftung. It awards short-term fellowships to Ph.D. candidates from the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung to complete their dissertations – if they are focusing on Germany’s turbulent history and relations with its eastern European neighbours. Three female doctoral candidates from the KAS graduate promotion program and the support program for foreigners received such a scholarship.

PROMOTION OF FOREIGNERS

Through its support of foreign graduate students, the foundation sends a signal to the world on the education of future leaders, while it also gains qualified partners for Germany. During their scholarship, the fellows contribute to a more diverse and international student body. Foreign students are increasingly helping to develop seminars, while university-based scholarship groups are stepping up their efforts to promote excellence. This is helping German and foreign elite students to form networks among each other. In 2008, 243 foreign nationals were given support; scholars came from Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Middle East, the Central and Eastern European countries as well as one each from Italy and the United States. Recruiting events to select new scholars were held in the Palestinian Territories, Brazil, Poland, Russia and Ukraine, as well as in Germany. Once again, foreign scholars excelled academically.

SEMINARS AND CONFERENCES

The increased number of scholars required a corresponding rise in the number of seminars. To ensure quality, the program for the gifted integrated the professional qualifications of the advisors within the program. Four scholars were able to gain insights on elite international research. Three of them travelled to Lindau in southern Germany with their advisor, Professor Hans-Peter Röser to a conference of Nobel physics laureates. One scholar took part in another Nobel conference in Lindau, the “3rd Meeting of Winners of the Bank of Sweden Prize in Economic Sciences in Memory of Alfred Nobel.” Non-material support for the scholars is seen as particularly important. This support was the result of seminars that scholars organised of their own volition, or through events university student groups put together. More than 1,000 such events took place in 2008.

At the annual conference of *academic advisors* in Neustadt an der Weinstraße, the deputy chair of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Professor Beate Neuss gave an update on the board’s activities. The advisors contributed substantially to the conference agenda, giving speeches and organising an ecumenical service, for instance. Professors Anna Horatschek and Hans-Joachim Cremer were elected to the organisation’s board, while Professor Wolfgang Weigand will take over the chairmanship. Fifteen new advisors were welcomed to the organisation.

Promotion of students in Germany

According to field 2008

Economic and social sciences	28%
Philology and cultural studies	21%
Law	16%
Mathematics and natural sciences	12%
Human, dental and veterinary medicine	10%
Engineering	8%
Fine arts	3%
Agricultural sciences, forestry, nutritional sciences	1%
Other	1%

## SUPPORT FOR YOUNG AND TALENTED JOURNALISTS

Demand to join JONA, the foundation's program for young journalists, hit a new high with 187 applicants. Thirty-nine young people, the majority of them women, were accepted into the training programme. The focus lay on multimedia seminars and workshops outside of Germany. For instance, in Warsaw students produced a radio magazine programme addressing the relationship between Poles and Germans. In Stuttgart, fellows researched the effects of climate change for a print magazine and a TV programme. Young journalists travelled to Lake Como in Italy – writing stories from Adenauer's former holiday region for the KAS magazine *collina*. Scholars also put together two dossiers for the web on the opportunities and limits of elite universities, as well as on the dangers of rightwing extremism. A seminar in Münster about aging taught participants how to apply their TV, radio or print journalism skills in many different kinds of media. While in a media workshop, students getting ready to graduate from high school learned about the nuts and bolts of journalism.

*The KAS aids scholars in reconciling careers and children.*



*At a tribute to prima ballerina Birgit Keil, dancers performed from her academy, which receives support from the Else-Heiliger Fund.*

## CAREER COUNSELING AND SUPPORT

The career counselling department organised interview and communication skills seminars and training to improve creativity skills for scholars, developed programmes specifically for women, and provided access to companies, organisations, foundations and politicians. The foundation tracked alumni as they advanced in their careers. Alumni in leadership positions made their experience and their network available to scholars, acting as contacts and mentors. The new project "Successfully mastering children, studies and starting a career" helps young fellows balance career and children. The motto "Career and Children" promotes this concept among the general public. Markus Zeitzen has headed up the *alumni network* since May 2008, when he was unanimously elected chairman at the annual alumni conference in Königswinter. He succeeded Ralf Heimbach, who stepped down after a decade on the board. Michael Wolf was confirmed as treasurer. You can read more about the annual conference, which was titled "Challenges for Europe in the 21st Century" in the Highlights chapter of this report. A conference in Berlin on public-private partnerships brought together alumni to discuss the many kinds of cooperation underway between businesses and politicians. This major event again sent a clear public signal on the matter.

## ART AND LITERATURE

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung is the only political foundation to write the support of culture and the arts into its articles of association. The *culture department* of the foundation, based in Berlin and Sankt Augustin regularly brings politicians, cultural representatives and the general public together. The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung has become a popular cultural venue – a place where exhibits, readings, soirees, international events, podium discussions or seminars are held. The tribute to the great ballerina Birgit Keil, the annual art exhibit to raise funds for the Else-Heiliger Fund, a solo exhibit with works by Miwa Ogasawara and a soirée with author Imre Kertész, actor Jutta Lampe and the president of German Bundestag, Professor Norbert Lammert – all of these events proved extremely popular. Among the smaller events that took place was the music conference that has turned into an annual tradition. It featured the budgetary spokesman for the CDU/CSU parliamentary group and KAS alumnus, Steffen Kampeter, who spoke about the political interests of the German music industry.

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung also continued to strongly back cultural issues by extending its Else-Heiliger Fund Trustee Programme, EHF 2010, which brings culturally committed individuals together with generous multipliers, especially those from the German business community.

The high point of the foundation's year in literature was awarding the KAS Literature Prize to Ralf Rothmann in the city of Weimar. Twelve authors, among them KAS prize winner Burkhard Spinnen, read from their unpublished works at the 14th Author's workshop in Cadenabbia. A new conference series titled "The Future of Memory – Literature in the educated European class" began in Berlin. At the 12th literary gathering "Freedom of the Word" and a theatre seminar in Berlin, German scholars, politicians, authors – among them KAS laureates Thomas Hürlimann and Herta Müller – and students debated political aspects of artistic freedom. Foundation-sponsored literary series focused on current topics. For instance, the Fifth Bonn Dialogue on Religion took up spirituality and literature at an event featuring KAS Literature prize laureate Hartmut Lange. While in Bonn a soiree was held on the occasion of Israel's 60th birthday, called "Remembrance is an opportunity to meet each other," (*"Erinnerung ist eine Chance der Begegnungen,"* Helmut Kohl) featuring former German minister Dorothee Wilms, the writer Robert Menasse and a Klezmer performance.



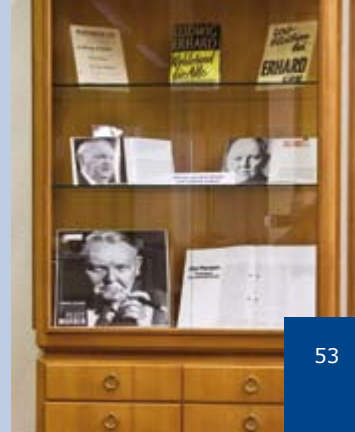
#### **We Thank the Partners of our Scholarship Programme**

*So as to prepare young scholars for the world of work as early as possible – and to give alumni professional opportunities – our scholarship programme partners with companies, consulting firms, law practices and business associations. The projects range from information sessions for groups of scholars from a region to multi-day workshops at companies, and can include offers of internships in Germany and abroad to participating in career-oriented training sessions.*

*The network is also utilised for offers that are on a job portal for talented schools. In 2008, some of our prestigious partners included Accenture, BASF, Roland Berger Strategy Consultants, Booz & Company, The Boston Consulting Group, Career Venture/MSW & Partner, CMS Hasche Sigle, Hengeler Mueller, KPMG, The Linde Group, McKinsey & Company, Oliver Wyman, RWE Power und zfm – Zentrum für Management- und Personalberatung Edmund Mastiaux & Partner.*

*A long-established partnership with the Ludwig-Erhard-Stiftung and the The Baden Württemberg Employers' Association of the Metal and Electrical Industry provided projects to prepare students and doctoral candidates for leadership roles in business and politics. The Arcandor Corporation and the energy supplier EnBw backed JONA, the foundation program for young journalists, a radio academy in Poland and a multi-media seminar in Baden-Württemberg.*

WITH ITS ARCHIVE, LIBRARY AND DOCUMENTATION CENTRE, THE REFERENCE AND RESEARCH SERVICES/ ARCHIVES OF CHRISTIAN-DEMOCRATIC POLICY (ACDP) DEPARTMENT RESEARCHES THE HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN-DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT, THE UNION OF THE CDU AND ALL ITS REGIONAL ASSOCIATIONS AND THE KONRAD-ADENAUER-STIFTUNG ITSELF.



*A glass cabinet that once belonged to Ludwig Erhard*

## RESEARCH AND PRESERVATION

The department "Reference and Research Services/Archives of Christian-Democratic Policy" effectively works as the memory of Christian democracy. Focussing on historical research and service, it aims to give fresh impetus to writings on the history of the CDU. In 2008, publications on the common European identity, an analysis on school-books, on the student revolt in 1968, a history of the CDU of Lower Saxony, a biography of Johannes Hoffmann, the first prime minister of the State of Saarland, the historical journal of the ACDP (Historisch-Politische Mitteilungen/HPM) and a volume on the CDU/CSU members of the Parliamentary Council were released.

The ACDP also placed particular emphasis on the Helmut Kohl era. The webpage [www.Helmut-Kohl.de](http://www.Helmut-Kohl.de) was completely redesigned, and the conference series "Colloquy on the Kohl Era", at which contemporary witnesses and researchers discussed the former chancellor's intra-German policy, was continued. The web pages with information on contemporary history are also being reworked in order to appeal to a broader audience. A new web portal on Konrad Adenauer, [www.Konrad-Adenauer.de](http://www.Konrad-Adenauer.de) was also launched at the beginning of 2009. Smaller web sites recalling the 100<sup>th</sup> birthday of Josef Hermann Dufhues and the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Franz Meyers' birthday were also well received.

### HISTORICAL ARCHIVE

A central focus lay in securing documents belonging to CDU party bodies and office holders and elected officials at a state and federal level. The acquired and evaluated archive material came up to 250 metres of written material including pictures, films and posters.

Among the remarkable acquisitions were the files of former CDU secretary general Heiner Geißler. The files, substantial in both quantity and quality, document Geißler's start in politics as a minister in Rhineland-Palatinate and the changes within the CDU when he was its secretary general. In addition to the extensive correspondence the records contain speeches and drafts. The archive also took over the files belonging to Klaus Scheufelen, who co-founded the CDU's economic council, and papers from the former prime minister of Lower Saxony, Ernst Albrecht. In addition, the archives acquired a large photography collection of former German president Roman Herzog; the collection was presented to the public on the occasion of the nationwide Archives Day.

Aside from research of party materials at the federal, state and county level, third-party funded projects also play a substantial role. As in years gone by, the German Bundestag funded the acquisition and description of 90 metres of correspondence by the CDU's parliamentary group as well as records from members of parliament, which the general public now has access to. Part of this project allowed for the cataloguing and digitalisation of 500 CDU campaign posters from federal elections.



*Documents from the office of Heiner Geißler.*



*Picture archives (right).*

*Friendly employees help visitors in the library (left).*



Information and research were just as crucial in 2008 as they were in previous years. The foundation's newly launched web site provides limited online access to archived items. Using the archive requires an inquiry in written form or by phone, or by personally visiting the archive. There were more than 100 visitors to the archives last year from within Germany and abroad; among them were researchers from Japan and the United States. Altogether, about 3,000 items from 180 record groups were obtained, and some 9,000 copies were produced.

Aside from the written material, audiovisual items were also particularly popular. Audio recordings, films, posters, flyers and pictures are an integral part of historical civic education – and they are often requested by publishers, movie production companies, and museums and to help illustrate schoolbooks. The poster, film and audio archives have also been available on the web since 2008. Similar to the holdings, which were made available for research in 2007, these archives are comprehensively searchable online. In addition to publications, conferences and guided tours, the exhibits the archive organises are also an important component of its public information work.

In 2008, the archive again took part in a nationwide Archives Day organized by the Association of German Archivists. More than 100 visitors informed themselves about the archive's work during guided tours and presentations. In addition, an exhibition of posters and flyers visualized the subject of "Flight, Displacement and Migration." Another exhibit of posters and flyers was presented in connection with the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's Open House at the Berlin Academy in September.

Smaller short-term exhibits in the reading room area – held during anniversaries or special events – are a further aspect of public relations. A cabinet that used to belong to Ludwig Erhard attracted a fair amount of attention. Erhard used the cabinet, which had been in private hands, to store gifts he received when he was chancellor. The cabinet is now being used for rotating displays of documents about Erhard.

As in previous years, the archive provided internships for high school and university students, and for budding archivists. The project "Schools and Archives" will continue in coming years.

## LIBRARY

The library's work last year focussed mainly on the expansion and maintenance of the collection. The number of volumes in the library rose to 175,550, thanks to purchases of literature on the Christian democratic movement, as well as systematically adding to the collection of party documents. The library was particularly blessed with a gift from Professor Hans Maier, who donated a meaningful collection of books on the philosophy of human rights, Enlightenment and the French Revolution, as well as on the historical and philosophical roots of Christian democracy in Europe.



*The ACDP's poster collection expanded by a number of valuable items – here a campaign poster by the Zentrum party for the 1932 Prussian state elections.*

The complete collection of books, magazines, essays and modern-day media is listed in the online public catalogue OPAC, researchers can call up via the archive's web site. In addition, readers can not only obtain the table of contents of collected editions or the information on the dust jacket but also information on reviews, magazine web sites and their archives. Readers have access to full text editions of more than 300 of the foundation's online publications, covering a wide variety of issues. During the past year, 6,619 research operations were carried out using the online catalogue.

The KAS library offers a wide range of information and research services for both employees and the general public. This includes literature research, processing requests, providing information on the special collections, access to the foundation's own publications and helping users of the database.

Among the library's long-term tasks is the active support of foundation employees in Germany and abroad in carrying out projects, events and publications. Staff are also informed on relevant books and magazines due to be published. All in all, 18,526 books were checked out directly from the library, while 1,075 volumes were checked out via interlibrary loan.

The 1,185 research requests received focused largely on the challenges faced by parliamentary democracy, the future of political parties, social development in a time of globalisation, the importance of science and education, and the consequences of the global financial crisis for the the economy and society.

The interest in history largely focused on events and anniversaries such as 40 years since the student revolution, the 50th anniversary of the Treaty of Rome, 60 years since the German currency reform, Parliamentary Council, the founding of Israel and so forth.

#### CENTRAL DOCUMENTATION

The central documentation department, with its press and media documentation units, is charged with obtaining a comprehensive overview of all published reports. It documents the most important reports from the print media and television, as well as essential publications of government institutions, political parties, associations, churches and community organisations.

A particular emphasis is placed on the work of political parties – about one third of the more than 300,000 documents consulted in 2008 were party-related.

There were some 80,000 publications added to the documentation department, from all policy areas, on events that took place abroad and in particular about cultural and intellectual life.

The complete collection of documents – digitally stored since 1994 – is available to every employee, either immediately or upon request. Students and researchers extensively use the press and media documentation service's comprehensive collection, particularly for queries on contemporary history. Aside from German researchers, scholars from Canada, France, Great Britain and the United States were among those who spent time in the documentation department in 2008.

#### Volume of the entire collection grouped into categories

##### ■ Written documents (in running metres)

<i>Department 1:</i>	
<i>Bequests and deposits</i>	4,200
<i>Department 2:</i>	
<i>County branches</i>	3,642
<i>Department 3:</i>	
<i>Regional and district branches</i>	1,877
<i>Department 4:</i>	
<i>CDU organisations</i>	1,045
<i>Department 5:</i>	
<i>CDU state parliament groups</i>	817
<i>Department 6:</i>	
<i>Special collections</i>	603
<i>Department 7:</i>	
<i>National party</i>	1,295
<i>Central collection of the CDU of East Germany</i>	385
<i>Department 8:</i>	
<i>CDU/CSU parliamentary group</i>	1,032
<i>Department 9:</i>	
<i>Europe</i>	379
<i>Department 12:</i>	
<i>Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung</i>	200
<i>Miscellaneous promotional material</i>	35
<b>Total collection</b>	<b>15,510</b>
<b>■ Audiovisual material</b>	
<i>Individual photos</i>	290,000
<i>Photo albums</i>	250
<i>Posters</i>	22,000
<i>Audio recordings (in running metres)</i>	235
<i>Films (in running metres)</i>	60



## KONRAD ADENAUER'S VILLA LA COLLINA- CULTURE AND POLITICS ON LAKE COMO

Konrad Adenauer lived in the Villa La Collina in Cadenabbia, located high above Lake Como, beginning in 1959. The villa was in a beautiful park with a fantastic panorama view. In 1977, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung purchased the holiday home of the man who gave the foundation its name. The goal at La Collina has ever since extended beyond the mere preservation of a historic site. It is also a location where work in Adenauer's spirit continues, and which like hardly any other location anywhere facilitates contemplation and intense conversations. The Villa La Collina serves as a European meeting and conference centre for prestigious panels and a creative place for artists and authors to gather – and as such one cannot imagine the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung without it.

The villa lies on a hill at one of Lake Como's most beautiful locations, with a view of the charming village of Bellagio and the Swiss Alps. Aside from the villa, the land is also home to the Accademia Konrad Adenauer, which was completed in 1992. The villa has 12 rooms, a restaurant and a conference room that can accommodate up to 80 people. Both buildings are located in a 28,000 square metre park, and can be used separately or jointly for up to 60 overnight guests.

Aside from events, the exceptional atmosphere can also be used for a short private holiday. Two Bocca courts provide an opportunity to discover Adenauer's favourite sport. The sauna and the gourmet kitchen satisfy your mental and bodily needs.

### Your contacts at the Villa La Collina are:

*Heiner Enterich, manager,  
Martina Süßmann,*

*Marinella Galli, Nicoletta  
Canzani, secretariat:*

*Telephone: +039 0344 441 11*

*Fax: +039 0344 410 58*

*e-mail:*

*cadenabbia@villalacollina.it*

*web:*

*www.villalacollina.com*



### Cadenabbia und der Comer See

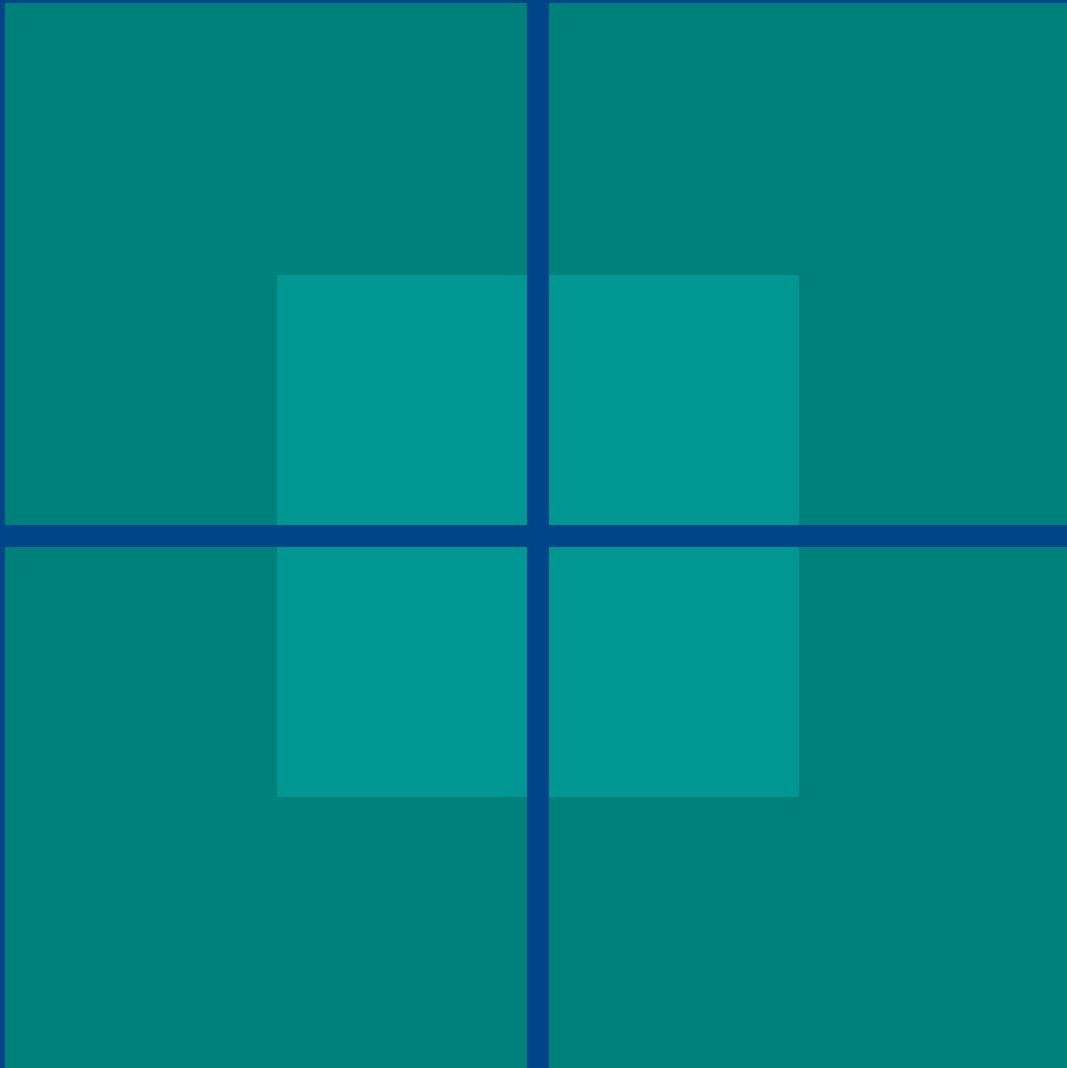
*A guidebook on Cadenabbia,  
Lake Como and Adenauer's  
Villa La Collina was published in German.*



### Collina – das Magazin vom Comer See

*The magazine was published in German  
by the Journalists' Academy of the  
Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung.*





## N A M E S , A D D R E S S E S , P U B L I C A T I O N S

IN THIS CHAPTER: THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS,  
MEMBERS AND TRUSTEES OF THE KAS AS WELL  
AS THE ADDRESSES OF THE KAS FIELD OFFICES  
AND PUBLICATIONS IN PRINT AND ONLINE.



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*On 6 June 2008 the general membership meeting elected State Secretary Michael Thielen the new secretary general of the foundation. He was born in Prüm in 1959, studied political science, modern history and philosophy. After stints with the CDU/CSU parliamentary group, as the head of the ministerial office and the policy planning group at the Federal Ministry for Education, Research, Science and Technology under Jürgen Rüttgers, and as head of department in the CDU's federal headquarters, he was a state secretary at the German Ministry of Education and Research from January 2006 until November 2008.*

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Chairman of the  
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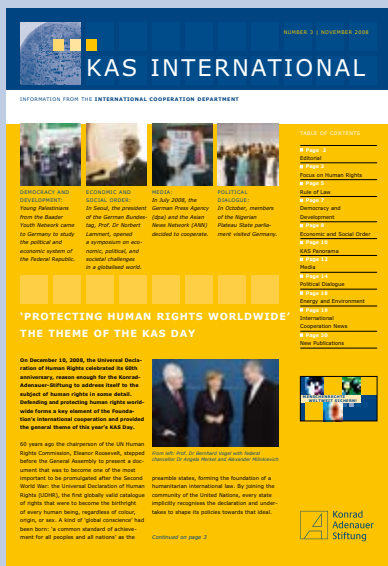


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This magazine on international relations – with its focus on foreign and development cooperation – is published every month. Among the contributors are Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung employees working abroad, along with scholars, politicians and other experts from the countries where the KAS is active.

The articles are written for politicians, journalists, scholars, representatives of companies, think tank and university libraries as well as for interested experts in Germany and abroad. *KAS Auslandsinformationen* has a circulation of 50,000 copies. Contributions are also summarised in English and can be read and downloaded at our web site. Among the central topics of reports in 2009 will be US policy under its new president Barack Obama.

[www.kas.de/auslandsinformationen\\_english](http://www.kas.de/auslandsinformationen_english)



## KAS INTERNATIONAL

This newsletter, published three times a year, illustrates the ongoing work of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in more than 100 countries. It reports on selected projects or events; and its contributions also take on political challenges. *KAS International* focuses on overarching topics like: Rule of law programmes, economic and social order, democratisation in developing countries, support of free media and political dialogue projects, as well as dialogues on human rights; on values and religion; on energy and the environment. The publication helps to understand – especially amid a rapidly increasing globalisation – how problems are interconnected.

Each edition is published in print as well as online. *KAS International* is available in German, English and Spanish. The latter is available only online on the homepages of the KAS offices in Latin American countries.

## PUBLICATIONS (SELECTION)

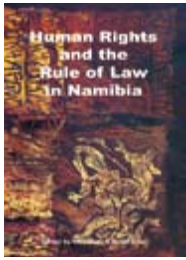


### **Position of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Respect to the Economic Criteria of EU Membership**

*Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (Ed.)*

*Sarajevo 2008 | In English*

*One of Bosnia and Herzegovina's strategic goals is to integrate the country in the European Union. One of the most important subjects in the process is an analysis of the economic criteria required for Bosnia and Herzegovina's EU membership.*

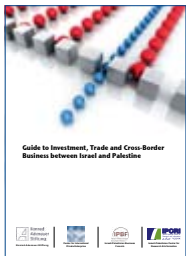


### **Human Rights and the Rule of Law**

*Anton Bösl; Nico Horn*

*Windhoek 2008 | In English*

*This volume examines Namibia's current situation regarding rule of law and human rights, and offers a critical analysis of its successes and failures.*

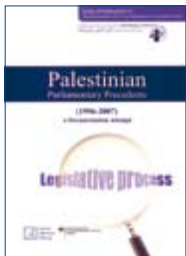


### **Guide to Investment, Trade and Cross-Border Business between Israel and Palestine**

*Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung und Israel/Palestine Center for Research and Information (Eds.)*

*Jerusalem 2008 | In Hebrew, Arabic and English*

*The handbook provides information on investments, business and cross-border trade between Israel and the Palestinian Territories. This overview of all relevant operational aspects lays the groundwork for the many challenges of bilateral trade.*



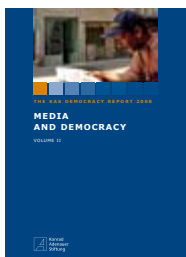
### **Palestinian Parliamentary Precedents (1996-2007) – A Documentation Attempt**

*The Palestinian Initiative for the Promotion of Global Dialogue and Democracy –*

*"MIFTAH" und Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (Eds.)*

*Ramallah 2008 | In English and Arabic*

*This publication documents efforts by the Palestinian parliament in making laws and setting an agenda. Test cases that are described demonstrate the weak points in the agenda and how legislators are interpreting them.*

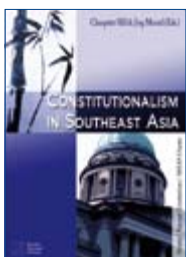


### **The KAS Democracy Report: Media and Democracy. Volume II**

*Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (Ed.)*

*Sankt Augustin/Berlin 2008 | In English*

*The 2008 Democracy Report titled Media and Democracy provides an overview of how free media are developing. It contains detailed studies on the situation of media in 15 emerging, developing and transitional countries in Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, Central and Eastern Europe as well as Asia.*



### **Constitutionalism in Southeast Asia**

*Hill, Clauspeter | Menzel, Jörg*

*Singapur 2008 | In English*

*These books published by the Rule of Law Programme Asia contain the constitutions of 10 Southeast Asian countries as well as the charter of ASEAN, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. Articles explore the history of the constitutions, as well as the structure of individual states. Further articles take up election systems and the protection of human rights.*

*Volume I – Constitutional Documents and ASEAN Charter*

*Volume II – Reports on National Constitutions*

*Volume III – Cross-Cutting Issues*

### **KAS – ONLINE**

*Everything worth knowing about the international cooperation of the KAS and its publications at [www.kas.de/wf/en](http://www.kas.de/wf/en)*

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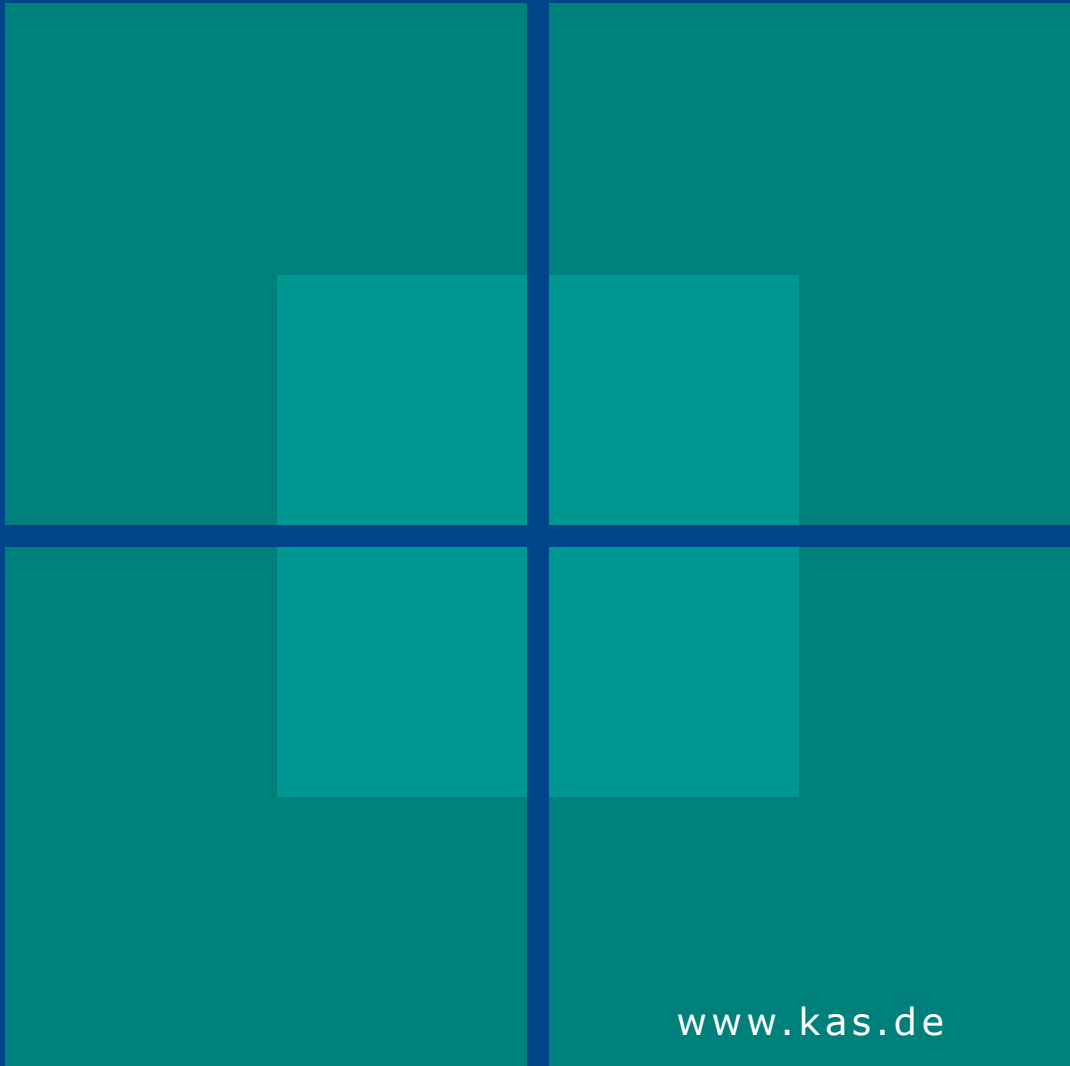
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In this report, titles of books and conferences have occasionally been translated into English although there is actually no English version.

We chose to do so in order to facilitate reading.

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