

**THE DEPARTMENTS OF KAS
EUROPEAN AND INTERNATIONAL
COOPERATION**

**GUIDED BY VALUES –
THE KAS AROUND THE WORLD**

POLITICAL DIALOGUE AND ANALYSIS

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POLITICAL DIALOGUE AND ANALYSIS

The links in this PDF will take you to further and primarily German-language information from the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung.

Against the backdrop of the many challenges around the world, the KAS Department of European and International Cooperation put the future of the European project at the centre of its activities. A number of discussions were held with decision-makers from Germany and abroad, addressing the debt crisis, EU integration, the Social Market Economy as an economic model for the EU, energy security, the implications of political change in North Africa and the Middle East as well as the consequences for Europe's Neighbourhood Policy.

In security policy, the focus lay on the reorientation of the German military, the Bundeswehr, in connection with the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP), against the background of the European debt crisis and the strategic debate on **Germany's role in the world**. A comprehensive study on foreign policy challenges facing Germany and analyses of **defence policy guidelines** and **cyber-security** rounded out the process.

Climate, the environment and energy issues remain major foci of the foundation's work. The **4th Eichholz Conference on Development Policy** addressed the challenges climate change poses for the governance of development policy. The KAS provided insights on the environmental and climate policies of several countries with its **2011 Climate Report**. The foundation also took part for the first time in a UN climate conference. At the summit in Durban, South Africa it presented a report on the role of mega-cities in the global fight against climate change.

The 50th anniversary of the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development provided the occasion for the KAS and the Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung to take stock of **development policy from the viewpoint of Christian responsibility**. **Religious freedom** and the **implementation of the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities in G20 nations** were central to the foundation's human rights work.

Top economists from selected G20 countries attended an event to explore **options on changing financial and economic policy** in the wake of the crisis. In November, Greek, Irish and Polish experts joined German experts and politicians to discuss ways out of the European debt crisis. Further discussions in Chile, China and India focussed on the **role of the upcoming middle class in emerging countries**.

EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA

No other topic has dominated public debate in Europe in 2011 as strongly as the debt crisis – and with it the fundamental question about whether the European Union and the euro have a viable future. As the crisis worsened in the course of the year, a number of remarkable political changes occurred. In Italy, Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi resigned as pressure mounted on him, and Mario Monti took over as head of government. In Spain, the Partido Popular under Mariano Rajoy won a landslide victory in early general elections. Other European nations are also facing tough reforms that are desperately needed to consolidate their national budgets. The KAS and its offices in Western Europe paid close attention to the events, by e.g. putting on the third conference of experts on the financial crisis in Cadenabbia. Cooperation among eurozone members on financial policy issues and structural budget reforms of EU member states were on the agenda.



The 4th Eichholz Conference on Development Policy addressed the challenges of climate change.

The United States – Germany and Europe’s most important partner – has also been severely affected by the worldwide economic and financial crisis. In 2011, projects and programmes focusing on restructuring the financial markets as well as on the wide variety of views on overcoming the financial and currency crisis continued. Contacts with the Obama administration were further expanded, seen as particularly important given the need for foreign and security policy dialogue, the role of Germany and Europe in the world, and the future of NATO.

In the first half of 2011, the Hungarian presidency of the European Council strongly influenced the work by the KAS in Central and Southeastern European countries. While the presidency was overshadowed at the outset by a debate over the new Hungarian draft constitution and new media legislation, by the time the presidency ended Prime Minister Viktor Orbán took quite a positive view of the term at the KAS Europe Forum on 28 June in Hanover. The KAS organised a number of events to coincide with the Hungarian EU presidency and the debates both in Germany and elsewhere.

During the Europe Forum the president of the European Parliament, Jerzy Buzek, also clearly expressed his support for the European project of the future. The KAS paid close attention to the Polish parliamentary elections, which resulted in a solid majority and for the first time the re-election of a prime minister since the fall of the Iron Curtain.

In 2011, the foundation invited a number of high-profile academics, writers, politicians and journalists to the European Capital of Culture Tallinn, for a symposium called “**Building Bridges in Europe – Literature, Values and European Identity**”. There they discussed how literature and the humanities address current and long-term developments of the European integration process. The closing event with the president of the German Bundestag, Professor Norbert Lammert and Estonian President Toomas Hendrik Ilves focused on the question “**What Kind of Europe?**”.

On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the KAS office in Prague, the chairman of the foundation, Hans-Gert Pöttering, expressed his support at an **Adenauer Forum** for the European idea, and spoke in favour of further expansion of ties between Germany and the Czech Republic. Prime Minister Petr Nečas, Foreign Minister Karel Schwarzenberg and several leading figures in politics, society and religion took part in the event.



*Prime Minister Petr Nečas
on the occasion of the 20th
anniversary of the KAS
office in Prague.*

The KAS further expanded its projects in Central and Southeastern Europe, helping people to come to terms with the legacy of communist dictatorships. A highlight in Bulgaria was at a KAS event when the files of the interior ministry were officially handed over to an investigative committee. This makes the files accessible to researchers, paving the way for the public to come to terms with the communist dictatorship.

In the western Balkans, the foundation focussed in 2011 on three main issues: the European process of integration, the stabilisation of the party system and addressing and coming to terms with the past. A particular focus was placed on how to support Croatia’s path towards EU membership. The country is due to join in the summer of 2013.

After decades of isolation, Albania succeeded in moving its European process of integration forward. A milestone had already been achieved in 2009 with NATO membership. The foundation has been working closely with Albania since then, for instance with a NATO conference in Tirana on “**New Security Challenges**”, which the Albanian Defence Ministry co-organised with the president of NATO’s Parliamentary Assembly, Karl Lamers.



*Participants in the I.
EU-Russia dialogue in June
2011 in Cadenabbia.*

In Bosnia and Herzegovina the KAS has continued to work as a mediator and is well trusted by the many parties. A conference covering constitutional issues and the potential formation of a ministerial council was held in November. All party leaders attended the conference which was hailed as a success.

In the Russian Federation, the foundation continued its dialogue with the United Russia party to support the rise of new democratic leaders. In cooperation with politicians, universities and non-governmental organisations, it held a number of conferences in February and September on human rights. The KAS promoted youth exchange programmes by awarding several short-term internships. Russian students visited six German cities to learn about administrative issues. The foundation held a three-day conference of historians in the Russian city of Saratov on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the outbreak of the war between the Soviet Union and Germany, also known as the Great Patriotic War – as well as the deportation of the Germans living in Russia. In 2011, the foundation set up an EU-Russian dialogue process for the first time, which promotes the exchange of communication and ideas for political decision makers, young politicians and representatives of civil society.

In Belarus, the KAS worked to maintain and strengthen opposition forces – from a distance, from its office in Vilnius. Since December 2010 they have been faced a lot of oppression – President Alexander Lukashenko's approach to suppress all resistance against his dictatorship.

Considering increasingly authoritarian tendencies in the Ukraine – and the extreme pressure being brought to bear on the opposition through the instrumentalisation of prosecution – the foundation's Kiev office has stepped up its promotion of democratic institutions and rule-of-law principles. The spectrum of political partners expanded, first and foremost by improving cooperation with the new UDAR party, led by Vitali Klitschko.

The KAS regional programme "Political Dialogue Southern Caucasus" supports democratic and modern party structures in Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia, and also promotes young politicians and independent journalists. The EU funded project "Democracy Starts With You!" tries to get young people from minorities and other marginalised groups involved in the democratic process.

ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

A number of organisational changes occurred with the KAS in Asia in 2011. New heads were appointed in nine offices, and the foundation is now represented in twenty Asian nations after having opened offices in Afghanistan, Kazakhstan and Japan.

Foreign and security policy concerns were the focus of activities in South and Central Asia. Of particular importance in this case was the stabilisation of the region around Afghanistan and resolving the conflict. In Germany, the KAS encouraged dialogue on the issue. At a conference of international experts in Berlin, representatives of the Consortium of South Asian Think Tanks (COSATT) discussed scenarios for the region's foreign and security policy. In India, a conference in New Delhi successfully wrapped up the NATO-India Dialogue after five years. This series of events had enabled the foundation to steadily develop a dialogue on security among high-ranking representatives from India and NATO. To contribute to a resolution of the conflict in Afghanistan, the KAS, along with the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, the Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung and the Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung initiated a process with civil society to explore the future of the country. Afghan civil society organisations



*In India, a conference
successfully wrapped up the
NATO-India Dialogue.*



Elected delegates presented their proposals at the Afghanistan Civil Society Forum in Bonn, which was co-organised by the KAS.

drew up their own policy recommendations for the international conference of foreign ministers in December 2011 in Bonn. Thirty-four elected delegates presented these proposals at the **Afghanistan Civil Society Forum** in Bonn, which was organised by the KAS and opened by its chairman, Hans-Gert Pöttering.

In South Asia, the foundation focussed on strengthening democratic participation and representation at all political levels and the development of conflict resolution mechanisms. In the Philippines the KAS continued to develop a centrist political movement with a strong programme, for example by using capacity building activities. The principal goal remains a reform of the Philippine party system so that the people win more participation rights.

Another main focus for the KAS in 2011 in Asia was consulting projects for parliaments. In Vietnam, it helped the National Assembly really establish itself as the representative of the people by encouraging the development of more effective work processes and improving the know-how of legislators. The Hanoi-based project, which is partially funded by the EU, also included that the foundation supported civil society and the National Assembly in their aim to work with each other in a professional manner.

The regional project Political Dialogue Asia in Singapore graduated its first class of the **Konrad Adenauer School for Young Politicians** in 2011, all of whom attended a training in Germany. That is why the KAS invited 33 young politicians from Asia to Germany, so they could learn about the basics of the German party system, a modern party organisation and how to plan political projects. The Konrad Adenauer School for Young Politicians is one way for the foundation to contribute to training and teaching young political leaders in the region.

Changes in the global power structure and Asia's role around the world in the future attracted the interest of the KAS in Northeast Asia. There the KAS offices substantially benefited from the support by KAS alumni who frequently take important positions in politics, business and society. The deputy secretary-general of the foundation, Gerhard Wahlers, took advantage of a KAS alumni event in Hong Kong to underscore the important role played by alumni in China's civil society.

In addition to political developments in Asia, the foundation work focused a great deal on economic ties between Germany, Europe and Asia. In June, for instance, the parliamentary leader of the CDU/CSU group in the Bundestag, Volker Kauder, joined Jörg Wolff of the KAS to open the foundation's office in Tokyo. Tokyo will be the home of the new **regional programme "Soziale Ordnungspolitik in Asien"** (SOPAS – Social and Economic Policy Asia), which aims to promote economic and political dialogue across the Asian region.

The foundation has now set up a **Facebook** page where one can follow its work in Asia and the Pacific.

MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

Upheavals throughout the region provide the foundation many opportunities to inform and teach people about transformation processes and the establishment of democracy and the rule of law there.

After the Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions, the **chairman of the KAS, Hans-Gert Pöttering, travelled to both countries**, underscoring the importance of both nations for the foundation's mission. Free and fair elections and a new constitution are considered part of a successful transition from an autocratic system to a pluralistic democracy based upon the rule of law. In Cairo, the KAS held

the “Tahrir Dialogues”, an open dialogue forum on constitutional changes, while in Tunis participants debated the role of international election observers in democratic elections. In a new dialogue series, the new political parties held a lively discussion to present themselves and their programmes ahead of the elections.

The new beginning that is taking place at a political, social and economic level in the region also requires coming to terms with the injustices by the many regimes. At the invitation of the KAS, a representative from the offices of the archives of the East German secret police spoke in Cairo about recent events in German history. A conference in Cairo called “The Egyptian Path to Democracy – Lessons from German Reunification” spurred further discussions. The role of the military and the police has to be democratically redefined since the regimes in the region largely maintained their hold on power with the help of the military and security apparatus – one reason high-ranking generals and officers in Tunis discussed what **role the military will play in the country**.

The Gulf region was also affected by sweeping change. With the exception of Yemen, a transfer of power has not occurred – but did highlight the need for the ruling class to open up. After elections in the United Arab Emirates, a roundtable discussion candidly addressing many issues was held for the first time. The KAS and CNN co-organised the “Dubai Debates”, a gathering of experts on the events and consequences of the Arab Spring, which was well-regarded even beyond the region.

The changes in the region are affecting the geostrategic and geopolitical situation because of the varied priorities of Arab actors – a reason for 25 regional experts from Germany, North Africa and the Middle East to meet at the end of October to discuss the implications of the Arab Spring for foreign and security policy.

Israel remains an important pillar in the Middle East because of its stable democracy as well as its advanced economy and technology. **Travelling to Israel and the Palestinian Territories** in July 2011, Hans-Gert Pöttering expressed the hope that changes in the region would positively impact both Israel and Arab nations.

Turkey is also doing its part to help stabilise the region. The KAS organised the “**Fourth Dialogue on Security Policy**”, where German and Turkish security experts debated regional challenges for NATO, especially following its intervention in Libya.

The KAS expanded its efforts on empowering women because many traditional groups in Iraqi society resist such activities. Together with Iraq’s Women Empowerment Organization it has been working to provide more opportunities for women in education as well as in social, political and economic processes. A conference on **gender studies** aimed to bridge the gap between academia and civil society.

AFRICA SOUTH OF THE SAHARA

The challenges facing an African Social Market Economy brought together top politicians as well as representatives from business and society for a series of dialogue programmes with former German president Horst Köhler. In Ghana, Rwanda, **Tanzania** and Uganda they discussed the role the state and the economy can play in sustainable development in Africa.

In December 2011 the KAS took part for the first time in a UN climate summit, in Durban, South Africa. The foundation increased its environmental profile in South Africa with its award-winning **Green Goal programme**.



In a speech in Jerusalem, KAS chairman Hans-Gert Pöttering called on the EU to take a joint position on peace in the Middle East.

The KAS organised a **dialogue** between Chancellor Angela Merkel and members of the Angolan opposition in the authoritarian state on the occasion of her visit to the country. In order to promote freedom of speech, the foundation provides support for the largest independent radio station in the country.

In Mozambique an EU co-financed project on electoral reform got underway. With the help of centrist parties and a number of civic education projects, it aims to promote democratisation in the country. A series of lectures on the Social Market Economy led to a nationwide discussion on the structure of the Mozambican economic system.

In Zimbabwe, a cooperation project with the Inter-Regional Meeting of Bishops in Southern Africa (IMBISA) helped initiate a call by the bishops who strongly criticised the situation in the country and called on regional powers to intervene against the regime of President Robert Mugabe.

The **KAS E-lection Bridge** project established networks among political communication actors and provided continuing education programmes. The annual **African Media Leaders Forum** – the largest event on the African continent for owners of media companies – was a success.

Training of legal professionals and connecting law schools and other legal education institutions continued apace. An E-learning programme for East African judges saw the establishment of another innovative project.

LATIN AMERICA

Latin America has once again become a major focus because of its strong economic development. But major differences remain in place in several countries when it comes to a stable democratic situation and worrisome developments in regards to democratic freedom and political pluralism. Significant income gaps and the spread of organised crime are major issues and mean that even in stable countries a majority of the people end up calling democracy into question. The **Latin America Democracy Index 2011** paints a varied picture.

The KAS continued to cooperate with political parties in its education and consulting work. With the change in party landscapes, its focus is increasingly on centrist parties, for example in Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Honduras, Mexico and Panama. It stepped up a **political dialogue process with selected parties** on core development issues, and actively promoted networking between policy makers considered close to the foundation. It continued its cooperation with the regional **ODCA** organisation.

Through its support for the rule of law, the KAS contributed to the consolidation and development of a functioning system of constitutional jurisdiction, including strengthening the separation of powers and protection of human rights. Of particular interest were the **XVIII. Latin American Conference of Constitutional Judges** and the **17th edition of the Latin American Anthology of Constitutional Law**.

Cuba's development – especially in regards to human and political rights – was a further focus. Central to the **regional SOPLA programme** (Social Market Economy, Governance, Values) was the exchange and teaching of knowledge and concrete models of the Social Market Economy. In cooperation with think tanks from thirteen Latin American countries, several **studies** were drawn up to show ways of reducing poverty in the region. The programme also expanded cooperation and exchange efforts with Latin American Social Market Economy experts with the goal of teaching politicians, business association members, professors and students the basic concepts of the Social



Market Economy. A number of courses were organised in Mexico, Central America and Chile with the same aim. Another highlight was a partnership that began in 2010 between the Industry Association of Baden-Württemberg and Mexico's Association of Business Owners, COPARMEX, to develop specific policy proposals with a clear governance profile.

In cooperation with the Latin American Episcopal Conference (CELAM), the KAS developed a **basic course on Catholic social teaching**. It plans to provide future leaders with the fundamentals of Christian social teaching so that they can work effectively to reduce poverty, income inequality and improve justice.

The foundation's work in media helped promote the media's watchdog function and information duty, as well as the development of an independent and diverse media landscape and a professional approach to political communication. Central here was defending freedom of the press and freedom of opinion – rights that are increasingly threatened in Latin America. The **Medios Latinos** web portal was redesigned – it now includes comprehensive information on the status of the media and on political communication. The KAS, as well as the consulting group **Organización de Consultos Políticos Latinoamericanos** (OCPLA) provided consulting services to parties and institutions to help them improve institutional communication.

Latin America has substantial natural resources and is considered an important partner in the field of renewable energy and in international negotiations on climate change issues. An energy policy and climate protection study commissioned in 2010 laid out a number of strategies on how the KAS could approach these issues. In 2012 these will become part of a regional programme based in Rio de Janeiro. Legislators and party officials, trade associations and other civil society groups took part in the **debate on protection of the climate and the environment**.

Events organised by the regional programme on **political participation of indigenous people** (Participación Política Indígena) brought together indigenous political concepts, promotion of democracy and development policy. It also served to exchange experiences on **controversial issues**, e.g. legal pluralism or rural migration to the cities.

Foreign and security policy are becoming increasingly important in Latin America. This was reflected in the **VIII. Security Conference Forte de Copacabana** in Rio de Janeiro and a security conference in Mexico attended by top international experts as well as President Felipe Calderón. Another focus were Brazil's neighbourly relations with Bolivia, Chile and Ecuador; the KAS contributed to the process with models for binational cooperation.

The foundation again published its Spanish-language quarterly *Diálogo Político* in 2011, covering issues from politics and the internet to regional security issues and **environmental and energy policy**.

EVALUATION

Evaluations are central to the international department's mission. They establish the conditions necessary for substantial and measurable improvements to the quality of a project. Three issues were in focus in 2011: promotion of institutional learning and optimisation of project management; teaching of new methods of monitoring and reporting to staff in Germany and abroad, and further development of programme oversight.

The international department carried out a total of ten evaluations in 2011. Six of them were of country programmes (Ukraine, Hungary, Croatia, Ghana, Cambodia, Ecuador), two were regional programmes (Political Dialogue with the Maghreb, Political Participation of Indigenous People),



one publication (*KAS International Reports*) and one across-the board evaluation. The latter looked into the sustainability of party cooperation, thereby following the recommendation by the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development to make sustainability a central issue. The results of a similar evaluation from the previous year on the sustainability of local and regional development were provided to all KAS offices abroad in 2011.

At the outset of the year, the results of a 2009 and 2010 internal study on project support monitoring was published in a brochure titled *Monitoring – Staying in Touch with Reality*. It shows how project support monitoring can improve the work carried out by KAS offices abroad in the long term. Staff training courses on the requirements for effective development cooperation continued systematically.

KAS staff abroad received the necessary advice and training to meet those conditions since all report formats must now conform to ministry guidelines.

FINANCIAL AND PROJECT ADMINISTRATION

The new PASTIS administrative system was introduced in 2011 in the KAS offices in Asia as well as in Germany within the European and International Cooperation department. Staff in Europe, North America, Africa and the Middle East were trained both on site and online to prepare them for the introduction of PASTIS there in 2012.

PASTIS makes the foundation's international work substantially easier. Thanks to the new system, transactions can now be posted in real time in the foundation's accounting system in every KAS office worldwide, while financial reports can be called up both at headquarters and on location to assist with project management. Staff can also use PASTIS so they can access the electronic archives of the international department at any time. This substantially improves knowledge management and simplifies cooperation among projects, and between the foundation headquarters and the offices abroad. Files no longer have to be sent at great expense by post.

Administrative processes have also been optimised. A five-person team has been assigned to the regional teams to eliminate the accounting backlog.

DOMESTIC PROGRAMMES

In 2011, the foundation organised some fifty *study and dialogue programmes* in Germany for influential politicians, academics and other members of society. The topics included party and parliamentary dialogue on domestic, foreign and security policy issues, constitutional and administrative jurisdiction, support of independent media, the concept of Social Market Economy as well as climate protection and energy. Ten *Germany seminars* were also held in which as many as twenty multipliers from the KAS' international projects took part. Participants learned about fundamental social questions while exploring certain issues in greater detail.

The KAS also made its mark both internationally and in Germany in the area of rule of law and media. The heads of the KAS Rule of Law programmes met to debate the strategic orientation of their work at the fifth strategy workshop. At a meeting of experts they discussed whether constitutional reforms in Egypt and Tunisia could guarantee democratic transformation. The KAS media programme organised a podium discussion during the *Deutsche Welle Global Media Forum* in Bonn on the issue of "Islamic Media in a Secular Environment", and also published a *brochure on media development cooperation*.



*The highlight of the seminar
was a group picture with
Chancellor Angela Merkel.*

In 2011 the international department awarded some 150 **post-graduate fellowships and internships** which enabled fellows to study both in their home country and in some cases in Germany. The main beneficiaries were journalists, legal scholars, political scientists and economists. Fellows come from projects affiliated with the KAS, and they are expected to do their part to contribute to society and politics.

A number of **international conferences** in Berlin took up current issues in the areas of European policy, democracy, rule of law and development policy. Current political developments in the Arab region and across Europe were two major areas of focus. The conferences help promote value-based dialogue and the exchange of political opinions and experiences. They help contribute to mutual understanding and the development of political strategies. By involving the media they also provide a forum for opinion makers.

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