



Democracy:  
The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung  
Looks to the Future

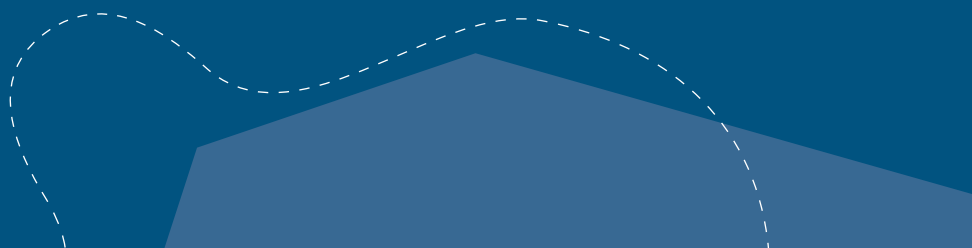


# 2021

## Annual Report

Democracy:  
The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung  
Looks to the Future

# Annual Report 2021



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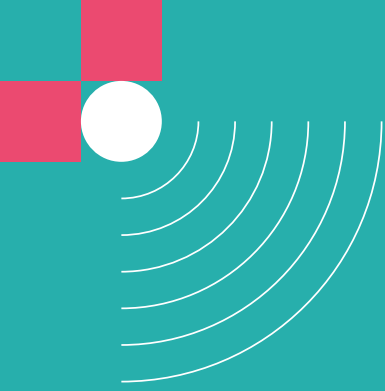


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# Dear Readers,

Since spring 2022, we at the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung have been following the events in Ukraine with dismay and horror, and our thoughts are with the people on the ground in these challenging times. Russia's war is not merely an attack against Ukraine; it is also an attack against our European and international system. Moreover, it poses challenges to our work in Russia and the wider region. War is raging once again in Europe. For far too long, many political and societal leaders have ignored the experiences with autocratic systems during the 20<sup>th</sup> century and have instead relied on wishful thinking.

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung has had an office in Kyiv since 1994 as well as a presence in Kharkiv since 2017. We care deeply about our colleagues in the region. Fortunately, we were able to bring them back to Germany safely, and we took supportive measures for our local staff.

At the same time, our experts have continued to analyse and stay current on the developments in Ukraine via our social media accounts, in the press as well as in our own publications and at our events. Furthermore, we continuously evaluate how the situation in Ukraine may affect our offices and work in other relevant countries.

Because this annual report is a review of 2021, it was completed just before Russia invaded Ukraine and therefore has a different focus. However, liberal democracies have been under increasing pressure well before the Russia's attack on Ukraine in 2022. Russia's aggressive foreign policy and the rise of China have led the Western alliance to face strategic challenges and geopolitical rivalry for some time. The dramatic images of the Taliban's violent seizure of power after the unilateral withdrawal of US forces from Afghanistan clearly demonstrated the importance of, and difficulties associated with, international cooperation and coordination between partners and allies. In this case too, we were extremely happy to be able to evacuate our local staff from Afghanistan – where the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung had an office since 2002 – and to bring them to Germany. We still see it as our responsibility to stand up for our colleagues and to support their integration in this country.

In Germany, 2021 will be remembered for the devastating floods that occurred in summer and as the second year marked by the COVID-19 pandemic. The CDU/CSU also fared very poorly in the federal election after having enjoyed a prolonged period in government. The 2021 election demonstrates that voters are now significantly more willing to vote for different parties than they were in the past. This has now become a crucial factor in German elections, a point that has also been confirmed by our own studies.

# Editorial

In 2021, our main topics – innovation, security, and representation and participation – were highly relevant, particularly due to the pandemic. We believe that they will remain just as topical in 2022.

In line with our self-image as a seismograph of new social and political developments, our work is subject to constant change, and we therefore regularly review our own measures and activities. The Fellowship of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung also serves this purpose. Our first fellow, the renowned sociologist Professor Armin Nassehi, provided the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung with a strong impetus during 2021.

Jewish life in Germany was another significant issue that accompanied our work in 2021. It is shameful that Germany is still affected by virulent anti-Semitism, which has recently come to the fore once again. Hence, we have not only continued but intensified our efforts to educate and convey democratic attitudes. Our annual celebration to mark German Unity Day, the Bonn Forum, was dedicated to Jewish life in Germany; Dr Charlotte Knobloch, a member of our Board of Trustees, also took part.

The COVID-19 pandemic has exposed weak points and structural problems in society. In many cases, things happen too slowly, in other areas, too many people share responsibility for a particular issue. Similarly, many areas of society seem unprepared for crises, and we also lag behind when it comes to digitisation. However, the pandemic has also led people to understand the need for a more modern state; in response, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung called on a panel of experts from politics, administration, business, and research, chaired by Dr Thomas de Maizière, to put forward practical suggestions that would do just that. The panel presented a paper setting out their recommendations at the beginning of the new legislative period.

Finally, we would like to take this opportunity to thank our staff for their continued commitment, the members of our committees for their constructive cooperation, as well as our donors, sponsors, partners, and the Friends of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung for their sustained support. We will continue to do all we can to live up to your trust, and we appreciate your continued support.

Berlin/Sankt Augustin,  
March 2022

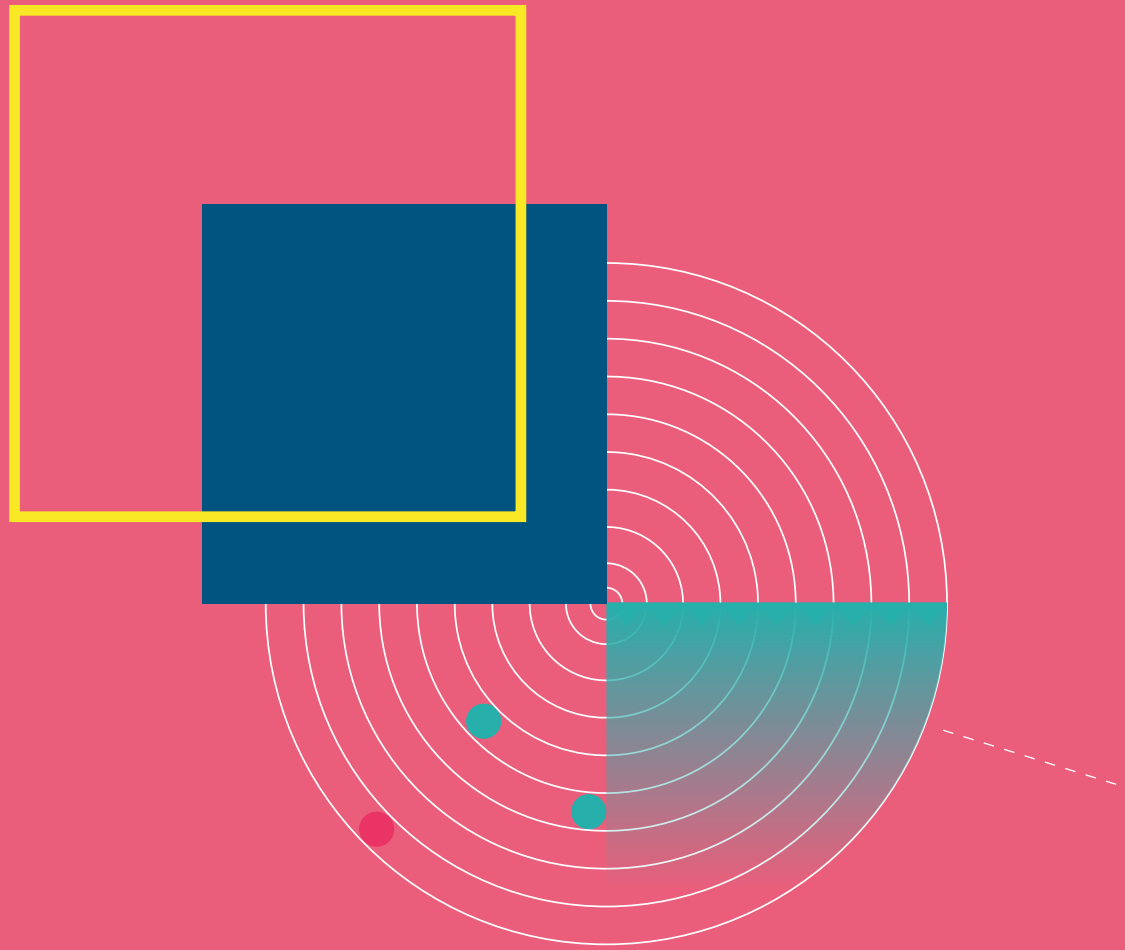


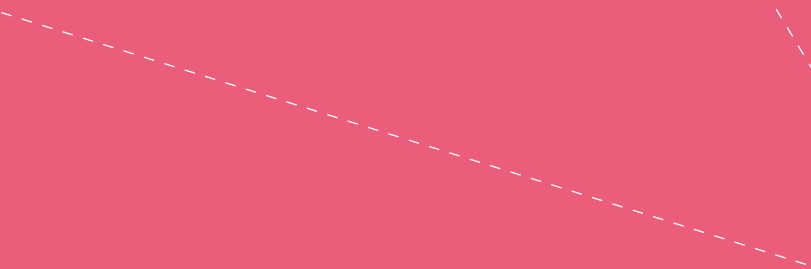
Professor Norbert Lammert



Michael Thielen

# KAS Fellowship





# Fellowship 2021/22



*A Joint Interview with  
Professor Armin Nassehi and  
Professor Christoph Heusgen*



Conducted by  
Jason Chumtong

**The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung fellowship offers a renowned researcher the opportunity to provide the Foundation with an outside perspective. Munich sociologist Professor Armin Nassehi was the first Fellow and took on the role in 2020/21. He is succeeded by Professor Christoph Heusgen, Germany's former Permanent Representative to the UN and a member of the Munich Security Conference's Board of Trustees.**

**Dr Nassehi, you began your fellowship during the COVID-19 pandemic, which is why we initially began working together online. We were eventually able to share experiences at face-to-face events. How did you feel about this change and is there an event that you particularly remember?**

*AN:* The pandemic had a strong impact on my fellowship. Although we probably could have carried out more face-to-face events, those that could take place were all the more interesting. The event on representation and democracy in August 2021, and the kick-off workshop, were particularly thought-provoking. I tend to have more of an influence from the outside; and in some areas, my views differ from those of the Foundation. I was extremely happy to be welcomed so openly and to see just how involved the participants were in the events.

**Dr Heusgen, does your previous role as chief diplomat under Chancellor Angela Merkel and your position at the Munich Security Conference provide a fabric with which to weave the focus of your fellowship? Or would that be cutting things too thin?**

*CH:* I really look forward to working with the Foundation and I will do so independently of my other work. However, I worked for twelve years as a foreign policy advisor for Angela Merkel, and my experiences during this time will of course play a role during my fellowship. I have already come to appreciate the impact of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in Germany and abroad. And at a time when the rule-based international system is under pressure in many places around the world, the Foundation's work is of particular importance. It is essential that we promote respect for international law and human rights, and for open, pluralistic societies – for democracy. I am happy to be able to support the Foundation's work, provide impetus and to participate in projects, especially as I know how committed and motivated the Foundation's staff are.

**Dr Nassehi, over the past year we have discussed various issues and tried out a large number of discussion formats. Based on the impressions that you gained during your fellowship, what advice would you give Dr Heusgen?**

*AN:* I would stress the importance of tabling his own perspectives and issues. The Foundation's staff are astute enough to listen and to ask questions that he may not have thought of. At least, that was my positive experience. But Dr Heusgen is an absolute professional and will certainly make his own mark on the fellowship.

**Dr Heusgen, you have cooperated with the Foundation in the past, so you know how we work and the values on which our civic education is based. Is there a message that you would like to publicise with the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung as part of your fellowship?**

*CH:* When I was at school, I had the privilege of meeting Konrad Adenauer. He had a significant impact on our country. He managed to achieve reconciliation with France, and he laid the foundations of the European Union together with Charles de Gaulle. His message still applies today: conflicts in Europe should not be solved through the concept of "might is right", as they were in the past, but through the strength of the law. This message is as valid today as it was 70 years ago. It applies to Europe, it should apply worldwide, and the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights provide a framework with which to do so. This is the message that I would like to publicise with the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung during my fellowship.

**More on the subject:**

[www.kas.de/nassehi-interview](http://www.kas.de/nassehi-interview)

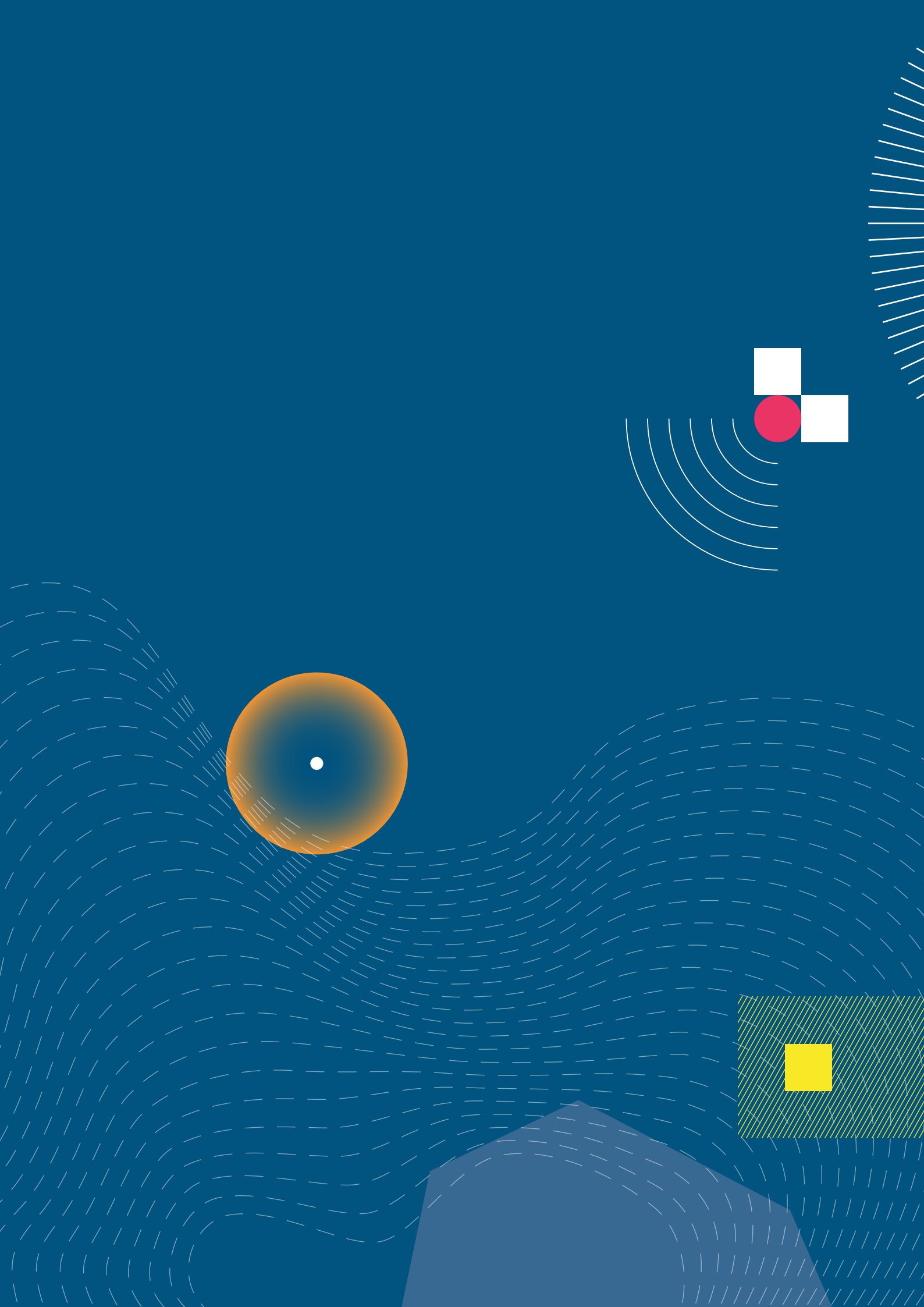
[www.kas.de/fellowship22](http://www.kas.de/fellowship22)



# The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung

# 2



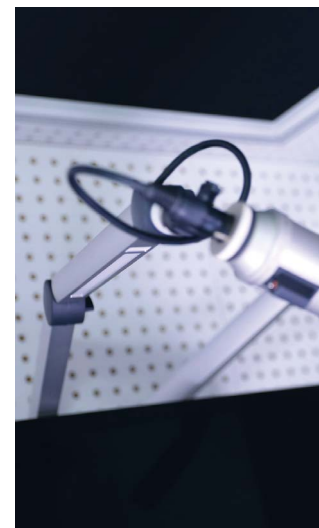
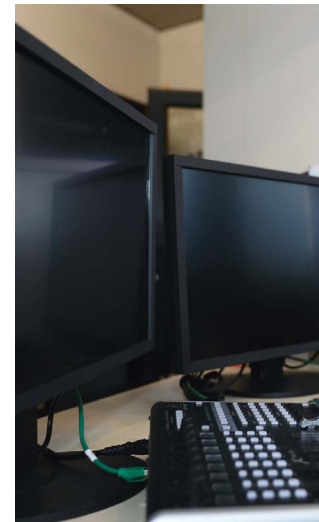




# About



# Us



The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung is a political foundation that is active throughout Germany via its 18 civic education forums and regional offices. Some 100 field offices manage projects in more than 120 countries.



Konrad Adenauer's life, as well as the principles he personified, provide us with our guidelines and define our duty and mission. The Foundation was named after Konrad Adenauer, the German Federal Republic's first chancellor, in 1964, but it grew out of the Society for Christian-Democratic Civic Education, which was founded in 1955. We use civic education to promote freedom, peace, and justice at home and abroad. Our most important goals are strengthening democracy, furthering European integration, improving transatlantic relations, and expanding development cooperation. We conduct current and well-researched analyses that provide the basis for political action. The Academy in Berlin acts as our forum for dialogue on issues that shape the future – from politics and the economy to religion, society, and science.



Our conferences and congresses bring people together who have "something to say". In Germany alone, some 145,000 people attend the approximately 2,500 events that we hold annually. In 2020 and 2021, the COVID-19 pandemic prompted us to strongly expand our digital and hybrid events. We provide material and academic support to gifted young people from Germany, as well as from Central and Eastern Europe and other parts of the world.

We also stay connected with our alumni, whose number has risen to more than 16,000 since 1965. Our programme also includes exhibits, literature readings, and awards.



We support young artists and honour authors with our prestigious annual Literary Award. We have awarded a prize for local journalism since 1980 and we run a resolute programme to promote young journalists. Since 2002, our Social Market Economy Prize has recognised distinguished individuals who support and encourage the development of the social market economy. Since 2001, our *denkt@g* competition celebrates websites by young people that broach issues linked to the Holocaust and Nazi dictatorship, right-wing extremism, xenophobia, intolerance, and violence.

The Archives of Christian-Democratic Politics supports and conducts research and promotes exploration of the history of Christian democracy in Germany and Europe. Users can access a large body of materials currently amounting to more than 18 linear kilometres of documents and publications, in addition to state-of-the-art media, and a specialised library with some 200,000 titles focused on history and politics.

# New Paths in Communication

From Instagram to podcasts, we are breaking new ground in online communications on our various accounts. Our offers range from live expert talks on Instagram and new types of podcasts to augmented reality applications and interactive virtual study trips.

## Live? Live!

Author Louisa Heuss

Our aim to reach a younger audience has led Instagram to become a central part of our communication strategy. 25- to 34-year-olds account for almost 47 per cent of the people following our channel "Auslandsinfo". Instagram's user base is heavily skewed toward younger demographics, and it is also opening new forms of communication, such as Instagram Live.

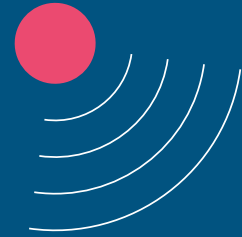
We use Instagram Live to publish expert interviews that help raise awareness about our key issues and empower us to directly involve and actively engage with our target group. Instagram Live enables up to four people to speak to one another with little technical effort or time and is accessible throughout the world. Instagram Live provides an opportunity to interact with the community and, therefore, for the guests to answer questions posed to them in real time. So far, we have had the pleasure of hosting live interviews with Peter Fischer-Bollin, head of the Analysis and Consulting Department; Peter Beyer, MP; Jakob Wöllenstein, head of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in Belarus; and Rabea Brauer, head of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in Japan.

We aim to establish a regular format on our channel "Auslandsinfo" so that we can speak with our colleagues both at home and abroad about foreign policy issues.

**More on the subject:**  
**International Reports**  
[www.bit.ly/3GMxM5e](http://www.bit.ly/3GMxM5e)

**Insta Live with Peter Fischer-Bollin**  
[www.bit.ly/3IjgVqH](http://www.bit.ly/3IjgVqH)

**Insta Live with Jakob Wöllenstein**  
[www.bit.ly/3KjJrL4](http://www.bit.ly/3KjJrL4)



## International Reports: Our Podcasts

Author Anne-Katrin Mellmann

The International Reports podcast series has been focusing on foreign policy issues since the summer of 2021. Discussions with experts from the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in Germany and abroad highlight selected articles and provide background information about current developments and events from the Foundation's perspective. The series offers in-depth analyses that seek to explain and clarify issues that may be overlooked by the fast-moving world of news. The series also gives voice to the wealth of knowledge that we gain from our international work.

No matter where our colleagues are located, all that is needed is an internet connection. Audio enables cost-effective worldwide productions to be made with limited technical requirements.

Time is precious, and podcasts can be easily integrated into everyday life. People usually listen to podcasts on the go, while cycling, or cooking. Thus, podcasts benefit from one of the greatest advantages of audio: unlike reading or watching video, podcasts do not require a person's undivided attention. Political content, therefore, has also found a place in the world of podcasts and is enjoying growing popularity.

**More on the subject:**  
**International Reports**  
[www.spoti.fi/3AGtQQU](http://www.spoti.fi/3AGtQQU)





## “#Safegehichwählen”

Author Sandra Busch-Janser

In the run-up to the 2021 federal election the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung initiated the campaign #safegehichwählen, aimed at first-time and young voters. The campaign was based on an augmented reality application in which Professor Norbert Lammert, together with Lea Nischelwitzer, a scholarship holder of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, answered young people's questions about the election. The application was embedded in a digital and analogue campaign that adopted slang used by young people and focused on key issues such as democracy, elections, the future, politics and community. In order to raise awareness of the augmented reality application, free postcards were placed in restaurants, posters were put up in train stations at all of the Foundation's locations in Germany, and a broad social media campaign was launched as well.

## War and Peace in Europe. Virtual Study Trips on Civic Education with the Bundeswehr

Author Philipp Lerch

The pandemic meant that several study trips by the Rhineland-Palatinate Civic Education Forum, designed for the Bundeswehr Career Centres, could not take place as planned. In cooperation with the French office, the House of Remembrance Holocaust memorial in Mainz and the Alsatian memorial to the former Natzweiler-Struthof concentration camp, four three-day online seminars were devised that included lectures, presentations, interviews, eyewitness talks and short films. Around 40 soldiers followed specially recorded narrated tours as well as drone flights. This enabled them to virtually explore memorials, visit museums and military cemeteries, and examine historical trenches. The participants were able to share experiences, ask in-depth questions and take part in lively discussions. The online seminars underline the fact that virtual study trips can also be vivid, valuable and interactive.



# Culture is Food for the Soul

The Foundation paid homage to theatre and opera director Barrie Kosky at our academy.

**Author**  
**Hans-Jörg Clement**

Barrie Kosky is a cosmopolitan; his workplace is the world – from Berlin to London, from Vienna to Los Angeles, Salzburg, Sydney, Zurich, and Munich. Born in Melbourne in 1967 as the grandson of Jewish immigrants from Russia, Poland, and Hungary, Kosky studied piano and music history. He then studied theatre and opera direction, before soon finding his way onto the stage and quickly developing into a busy director at famous theatre and opera houses around the world. He became an unconventional darling of the public and it is telling that the critics celebrate him as much as his audiences.

Kosky's productions have attained cult status, and he has set new standards, particularly in the field of operetta. He dusted off what was seen as an outdated genre and, in the same breath, confidently turned to Richard Wagner's *Die Meistersinger* in Bayreuth to unmistakably reveal everything that a contemporary, political opera adaptation can be.

Therefore, it should hardly be surprising that Kosky's light-footed *Magic Flute* was permanently sold out at the Komische Oper in Berlin and that the opera house itself was voted Opera House of the Year under his aegis. Kosky combines the joy of performing with desire and experimentation in an appealing and demanding alliance – that is his inimitable signature.

On stage, Kosky is no less inspiring as a performer in his own right. He has an enormous presence, and casts a spell on his audience, without making other actors stand in his shadow. His humorous and charming accompaniment of Dagmar Manzel and Alma Sadé on the grand piano was one of the highlights of the homage. Incidentally, it also demonstrated that Kosky, a universal talent, is also a virtuoso on the piano.

Kosky creates and celebrates moments in which he and his audience experience the fantastic as the most extreme form of reality. Variation and transformation create art.




Hommage  
für  
Barrie Kosky

**Kosky combines the joy of performing with desire and experimentation in an appealing and demanding alliance – that is his inimitable signature.**

and polemically provoke audiences to express views, confront socio-political issues head-on, and to take on the support of young people as a fundamental duty of society.

Therefore, it should not be surprising that the 20<sup>th</sup> Homage, held in 2021 – the same year in which we commemorated 1700 years of Jewish life in Germany – honoured Barrie Kosky. Cilly Kugelmann, publicist, former program director and curator of Jewish Museum Berlin, explained in her speech that Kosky is equally committed to both fun and seriousness, and that he binds them together to form an ambivalent melange: “Kosky repeatedly emphasises that the gloomy and dirty side of life is just as much a part of art as joie de vivre and happiness. This attitude is reflected in the notion of taking operetta as seriously as opera, rejecting the separation between fun and “serious art”, presenting burlesque as the sister of tragedy, and bringing stereotypical figures onto the stage in order to immediately disguise and deconstruct them.” Doing so requires a highly complex method, especially when “content contaminated with anti-Semitism is still being performed today”.

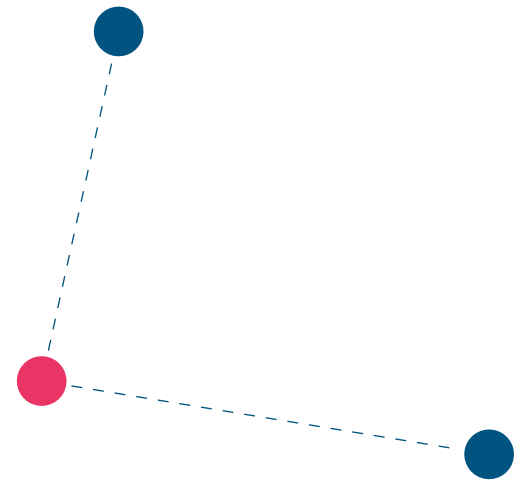
Barrie Kosky has risen to this challenge and demonstrated his ability to develop relevant artistic approaches, particularly in his work on Richard Wagner. Nevertheless, he remains reserved regarding exaggerated or naïve ideas about the socio-political impact of art: “Neither art nor culture can save the world”, he once said during an interview with the Foundation – but he went on to emphasise that “culture is food for the soul”. We could not agree more!



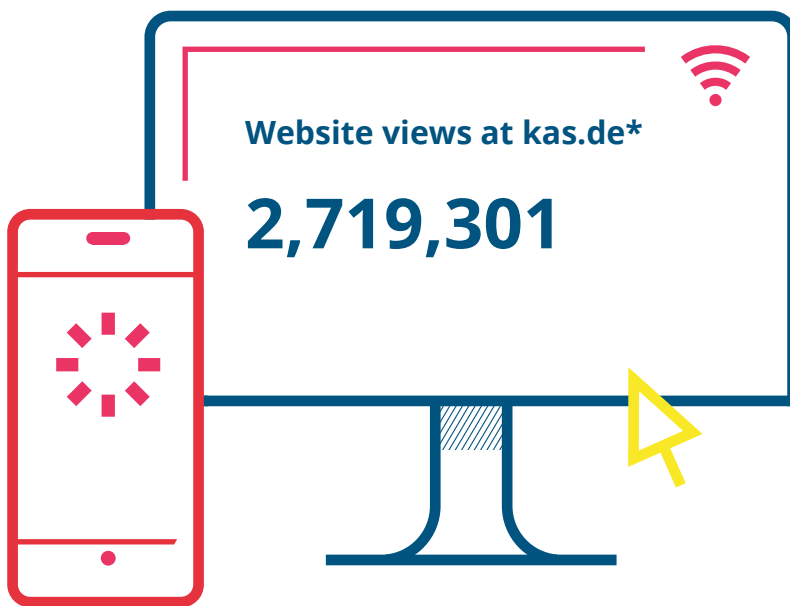
Kosky is the ardent advocate of this exclusive form of experience and unpacks everything (un)imaginable from his toolbox, while swirling what he finds with as much undisguised joy as with seriousness. In a single stroke, he turns opera – a site of intellectual and aesthetic encounter and experience – into a spectacular event. Although he draws the line between the fashionable spectacle both sharply and confidently, tongue-in-cheek, he dialectically misleads with a variation on Andy Warhol’s confession: “I am a deeply superficial person.”

For 20 years now, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung has used the Homage series to honour prominent individuals who have had a lasting impact on German-language art and culture. These have included Kurt Masur, Anne-Sophie Mutter, Christo, Volker Schlöndorff, Arvo Pärt, Candida Höfer, and John Neumeier. Barrie Kosky has certainly earned his place among the ranks of these creative luminaries who, through their work and commitment, inspire reflection

# The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in Figures

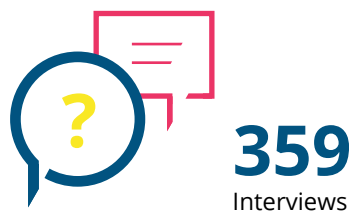


## Online Activities and Media Relations



\* The General Data Protection Regulation now means that it is only possible to track visitors who expressly provide their permission to do so. Actual page views, therefore, are likely to be higher.

### Media Relations



### Followers on the Main Social Media Channels

Facebook

**f 72,211**

Twitter

**🐦 24,680**

Instagram

**📷 19,704**



## Staff in Germany and Abroad



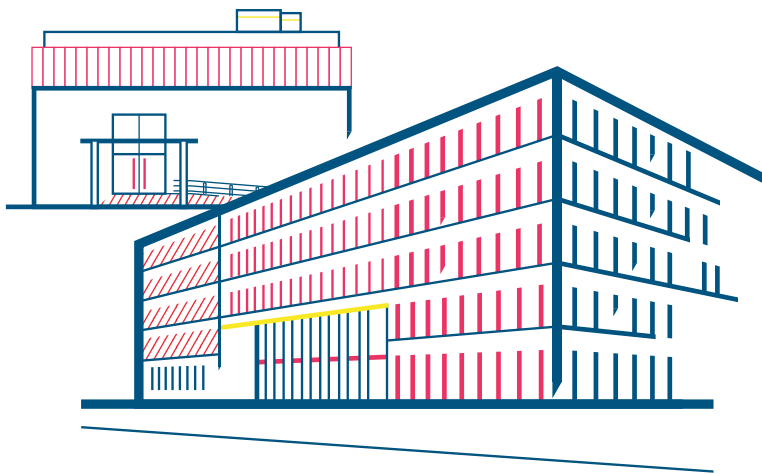
Total number of staff  
in Germany and abroad

**1,686**



Staff in Germany  
not including trainees  
and volunteers

**663**



In Berlin

**516**

In the Civic Educa-  
tional Forums and  
Regional Offices

**65**



In Sankt Augustin

**82**



Average length  
of employment

**10**

years

Average age  
(in Germany)

**44**

years

Staff in our  
international offices

Staff on postings

**114**

including

**13**

trainees



**909**

local staff



Last amended: 31 December 2021





## European and International Cooperation

Offices worldwide

**110**

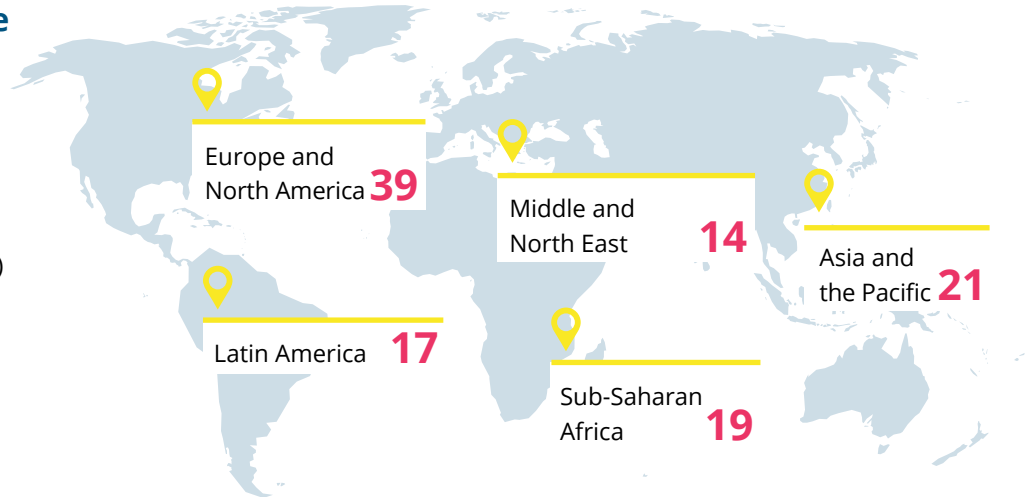
Events

(analogue, hybrid, digital)

**2,611**

Participants

**580,192**



## Civic Education



### Events and participants

(throughout Germany)

Events

(analogue, hybrid, digital)

**1,903**

Venues

in Germany

**234**

Participants

**137,266**

## Analysis and Consulting

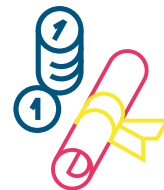


**117** Publications

**18** Expert talks

**27** Events  
(analogue, hybrid, digital)

## Friends of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung



Sponsors of the  
Circle of Friends

**1,580**

## Scholarships and culture

### Scholarship holders

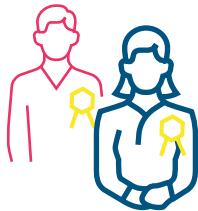
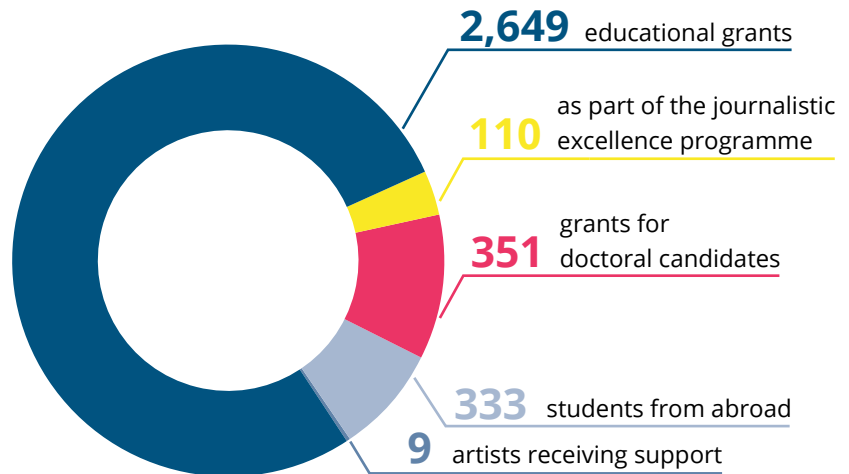


**3,452**

### Alumni (since 1965)



**16,597**



### 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Homage event series

Over the last 20 years, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung has used the Homage series of events to honour prominent individuals who have had a lasting impact on German-language arts and culture. This has included Kurt Masur, Anne-Sophie Mutter, Christo, Volker Schlöndorff, Arvo Pärt, Candida Höfer and John Neumeier.

## Reference and Research Services/Archive for Christian-Democratic Policy

Total number  
of posters in the  
poster archive  
**25,700**

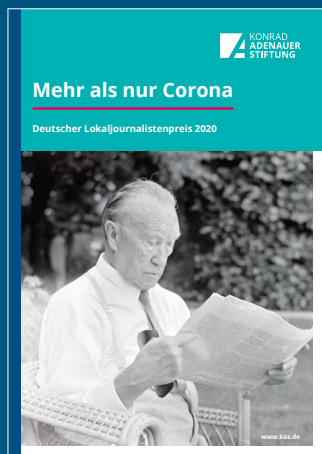


Database accesses  
**165,000**

Linear meters of  
archive material  
**18,800**

Last amended: 31 December 2021

# Our Award Winners



## The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung Prize for Local Journalism

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung prize for local journalism was awarded for the 41<sup>st</sup> time in autumn 2021. At an event in Constance, the *Südkurier* received first prize for its wide-ranging reporting about COVID-19 related border closures. The *Hamburger Morgenpost* received second prize for a series about Jewish life in Hamburg. The *Hanauer Anzeiger* was awarded third prize for its reporting on the racially motivated terrorist attack in Hanau. The trainee prize went to the "Rhein Stories" series published in the *Rheinische Post*. In total, we received 354 submissions, reflecting the continued importance of the prize to the industry.

### More on the subject:

[www.kas.de/deutscher-lokaljournalistenpreis](http://www.kas.de/deutscher-lokaljournalistenpreis)



## Messages of Freedom: The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung Literary Award

On 5 November 2021, Hans Pleschinski thanked the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung for presenting him with the Literary Award by giving a speech with "messages" about positive European and German history. The chair of the Foundation, Professor Norbert Lammert, paid tribute to the award winner at the Foundation's Academy in Berlin, describing Pleschinski as a cheerful, enlightened European who "brought history to life" with his novels and translations. Karin Prien, Schleswig-Holstein's Minister of Education, Science and Culture, used her laudatory speech to describe Pleschinski's culturally optimistic works as a compass with which to negotiate a path through the value-accelerated period in which we live.

### More on the subject:

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

<https://youtu.be/-HQLBdD6nvE?>



### Social Market Economy Award

In October 2021, André E. Barten, Axel E. Barten, and Daniel Wollny of Achenbach Buschhütten, received the Social Market Economy Award. The jury chaired by Hildgard Müller praised Achenbach Buschhütten's management and workforce as "exemplary of how social partnership in the digital era can combine innovation, responsibility and future viability". Karl-Josef Laumann, Federal Chairman of the Christian-Democratic Employees' Association (CDA) and Minister for Labour, Health, and Social Affairs of the State of North Rhine-Westphalia, also paid tribute to the award winners.

**More on the subject:**

[www.kas.de/preis-soziale-marktwirtschaft](http://www.kas.de/preis-soziale-marktwirtschaft)

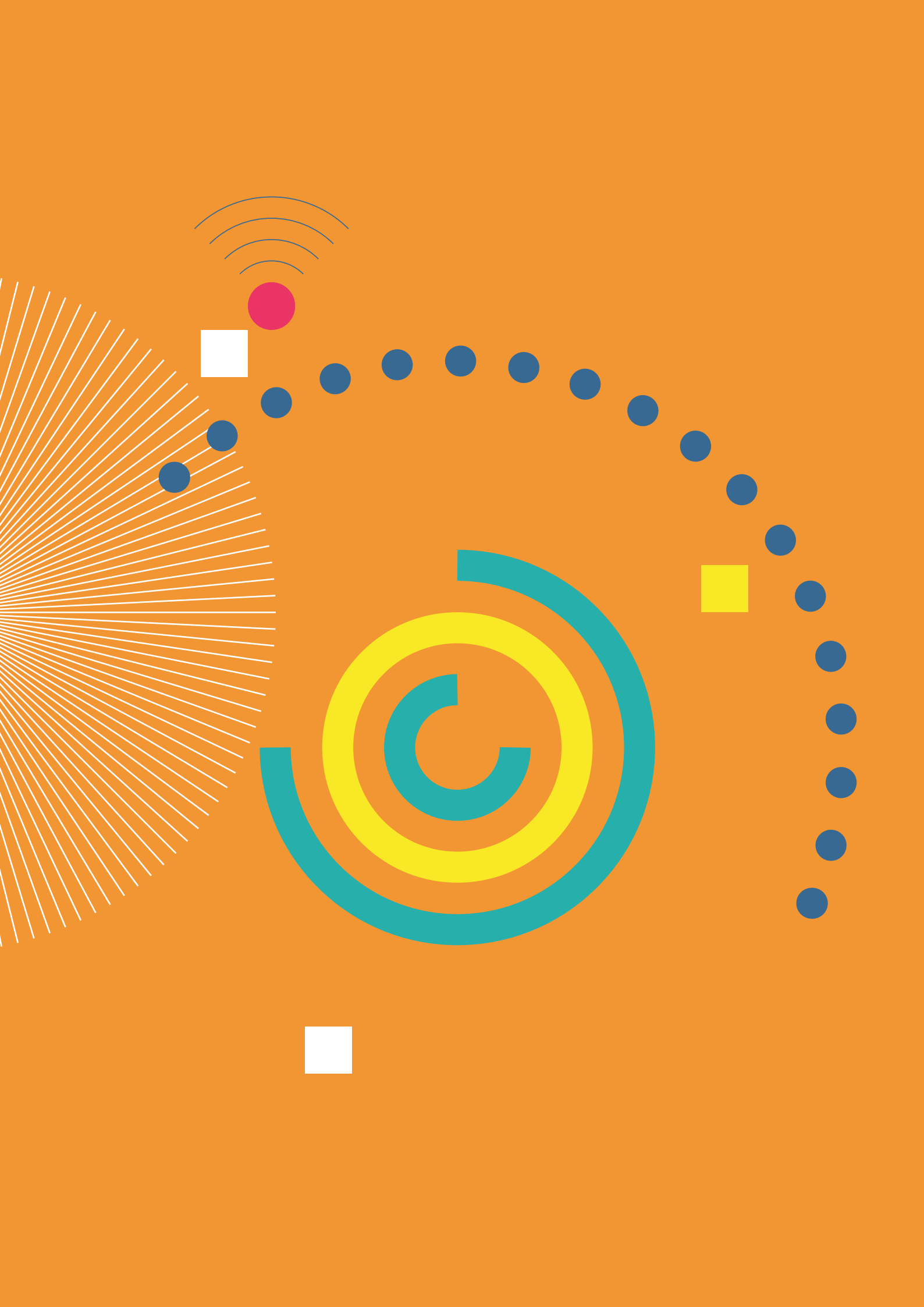


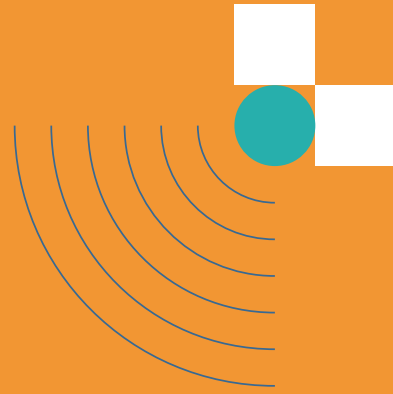
### denkt@g competition

The award ceremony for the denkt@g competition, originally planned for January 2021, was postponed several times due to the COVID-19 pandemic. The ceremony finally took place on 6 September 2021 as a face-to-face event at the James Simon Gallery at Berlin's Museum Island. The jury chose to invite 14 groups and individuals to the event. The various entries and prize winners were honoured at the event, which was attended by patron and former Bundestag President, Professor Norbert Lammert, and the Federal Government Commissioner for anti-Semitism, Dr Felix Klein. The Israeli pianist Itay Dvori framed the event by accompanying relevant graphic novels with memorable compositions. First place, and an award of 3,000 euro, went to Sarah Kohlhase from the Friedrich-Gymnasium in Freiburg/Breisgau for her project "Auf der anderen Seite" (on the other side).

**More on the subject:**

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





# Our Focus Topics





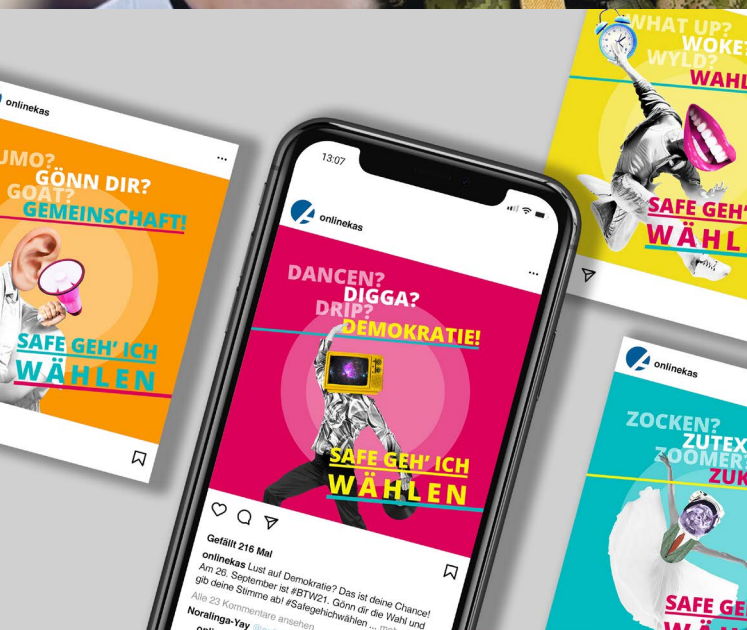
# Our Focus Topics



**KÜNSTLICHE INTELLIGENZ MACHT PATIENTEN GLÜCKLICHER.**



**SICHER IST UNSICHER**



## Authors

Julius Elstermann,  
Bogdan Miftakhov,  
Johannes Sudau and  
Kristin Wesemann



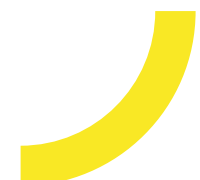
## Innovation

*From novel vaccines to sustainable technology, innovation ensures that Germany will have a bright future.*

The COVID-19 pandemic has put innovation at the centre of public debate. On the one hand, it has revealed weaknesses in our digital infrastructure; on the other, the development of life-saving vaccines in record time is a testament to human ingenuity. Innovation is also a key factor for tackling climate change. The European Green Deal, for example, aims to combine climate protection and smart economics.

These trends offer an opportunity to promote the potential of innovation in Germany, a country where innovation is sometimes viewed with suspicion. To do so, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung launched the Hidden Innovators campaign to highlight the people behind innovations from all over the world that are changing our everyday lives. The campaign demonstrated that innovations could enrich society, business, and politics. However, ethical, and participatory aspects must always be considered as well. The values inscribed within the Christian concept of humanity play a key role here, as they require us to preserve creation and respect human dignity. We need innovation that enables the social market economy to contribute to solving major challenges. Key issues include reducing bureaucracy, establishing a tax system that promotes innovation, and investing in modern infrastructure.

**These trends offer an opportunity to promote the potential of innovation in Germany, a country where innovation is sometimes viewed with suspicion.**





## Security

*Our responsibilities to our allies and to our democracy require that we develop a strategic security policy.*

Germany is an integral part of NATO and the EU, and it benefits from its membership in both. The Russian war of aggression against Ukraine demonstrates once again that Germany must contribute its share to NATO and the EU. This includes improving the operational capability of the Bundeswehr to protect Europe, further developing the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) and strengthening the European pillar within NATO. If Europe is to establish itself as a security policy actor, we – as Europeans – must press ahead with the CSDP. Doing so would also provide important means of supplementing the indispensable transatlantic cooperation both independently and responsibly. Ultimately, of course, military capabilities prevent countries from being treated like pawns by other powers. This is particularly true when the first and most important means of resolving international conflicts fails – namely a cooperative, multilateral approach. Preserving the current multilateral world order is still strongly in Germany's interest.

Germany also faces serious challenges to its security at home: continuing threats from Islamist, right-wing and left-wing terrorism, as well as from cybercrime. Germany must, therefore, work with its European partners to take robust action against terrorist threats and adopt core responsibilities for protecting data and critical digital infrastructure.

**The Russian war of aggression against Ukraine demonstrates once again that Germany must contribute its share to NATO and the EU.**

**Democracy does not mean simply implementing what every individual wants; rather, it involves finding a balance between individual freedom and the well-being of society.**

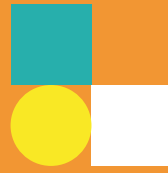
## Representation and Participation

*The success of democracy depends on the strength of political participation.*

Participation and representation are the fundamental principles of freedom and democracy. At the same time, the next generation forms the foundation of tomorrow's society. With these points in mind, the Foundation launched a campaign to address first-time voters using target-group appropriate language to encourage them to vote. Democracy only works if all sections of society participate in the democratic process – this not only means focusing on young people, but also on groups such as first-generation immigrants. In a caring and resilient society, everyone needs to be able to freely express their views, regardless of their background, and to be able to find compromises together through respectful, patient and fact-based debate.

Democracy does not mean simply implementing what every individual wants; rather, it involves finding a balance between individual freedom and the well-being of society. Democratic citizens need to develop a mutual understanding of freedom and to accept the fundamental importance of taking on responsibility for society. A decentralised approach within a federal system is one way of providing fertile ground for democracy. However, democracies also need a "learning government" that ensures that the speed of and opportunities for participation are adapted to the times – not least due to the need to remain viable in the face of competing political systems.





## **Hidden Innovators:** A Campaign Linked to our Focus Topic

In January 2021, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung launched a social media campaign called “Hidden Innovators” to focus on innovations and the people behind them.

**Authors**  
Lukas Lingenthal and  
Tobias Wangermann

Innovation can help move our society forward, improve our liberal democracy, protect the environment, and enhance education and health care. Innovation is also an important pillar of the social market economy, which provides prosperity and offers a framework for further innovation.

However, it is people who develop innovations, and it is people who find a way to solve specific problems. Innovation occurs when these people get an idea, evaluate it, perhaps fail but try again, and finally develop a convincing solution that gains acceptance and influences society or the market.

Our Hidden Innovators campaign highlights the people behind innovation. We talk to innovators to find out what motivates them to produce their ideas, how they implement them, and what visions they are pursuing. Our aim is to shed light on the conditions they encountered and to find out what they believe would encourage further innovation.

In October and November 2020, we began using Instagram and Facebook to find innovators who wanted to present their ideas and who would like to speak to us about them. We received a lot of submissions from a multitude of diverse nations and cultures.

**Our Focus Topics**

HIDDEN  
INNOVATORS

ARGENTINISCHES  
ASTRONAUTEN-MAHL  
GEGEN HUNGER  
UND ARMUT

#KAS4  
INNOVATION

HIDDEN  
INNOVATORS

EINE VIRTUELLE  
REALITÄT, DIE  
PSYCHOTHERAPIEN  
UNTERSTÜTZT?

#KAS4  
INNOVATION

HIDDEN  
INNOVATORS

TRINKWASSER  
AUS DER  
REGENRINNE!?

#KAS4  
INNOVATION

HIDDEN  
INNOVATORS

EINE APP GEGEN  
SPRACHLOSIGKEIT!

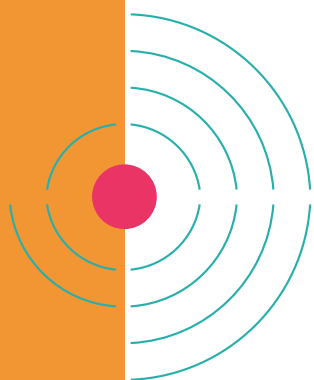
#KAS4  
INNOVATION

HIDDEN  
INNOVATORS

WAS MACHT  
MAN MIT 1 MIO  
GESAMMELTEN  
FLIP FLOPS?

#KAS4  
INNOVATION

**Despite their creators' differences, every innovation has one thing in common: it demonstrates that innovative solutions to pressing problems can be found through creative ideas paired with passion and entrepreneurial spirit.**



In January 2021, we presented eight selected projects in more detail on Instagram and Facebook. We recorded interviews with the innovators and produced short films highlighting the innovations as well as the inventive minds behind them. The films include quotes from the interviews so that the interviewees were able to speak for themselves.

The campaign was not only broadcasted via the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's main accounts on Instagram and Facebook but was also designed in such a way that our field offices and civic education forums could share the campaign on their respective accounts; the video clips were produced in German, English, Spanish, and French.

We were contacted by a variety of innovators, including individuals, groups, and companies, from which we chose a number of students – including some Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung scholarship holders – as well as inventors. The ideas they presented ranged from high-tech solutions in the field of artificial intelligence and autonomous driving to systems that re-use simple materials. The worldwide campaign call attracted applications from innovators from different countries and regions in quite different situations. Despite their creators' differences, every innovation has one thing in common: it demonstrates that innovative solutions to pressing problems can be found through creative ideas paired with passion and entrepreneurial spirit.

The eight selected projects

- › **Machbarschaft:** A neighbourhood app that enables people who do not have internet access, or who do not have sufficient internet skills, to signal their need for help over the phone.
- › **Ocean Sole:** A project from Kenya that collects old flip-flops and uses them to make animal sculptures. It contributes to environmental protection and offers those involved a source of income.
- › **LSApp:** Vanessa Barán from Argentina, deaf since birth, has developed an app that makes it possible to learn sign language.
- › **Latadeagua:** A project from Venezuela that has developed a system for collecting, cleaning, and storing rainwater that can be easily replicated using simple building materials and everyday objects.
- › **PsyCurio:** Daniela Schumacher has developed software that makes virtual reality usable as a psychotherapeutic environment for learning and experiencing.

*More on the subject:*  
*Hidden Innovators*  
[www.kas.de/hidden-innovators](http://www.kas.de/hidden-innovators)

- › **NextOR:** A company that offers AI-based optimisation of surgery planning in hospitals.
- › **Cabibus:** Kenneth Palmestål from Sweden has designed a self-driving e-minibus with individual cabins for passengers as an alternative to cars when connecting suburbs to city centres.
- › **Comida por un dólar:** Matias Sebely from Argentina runs this project, and involves leftover food being used to prepare wholesome, inexpensive meals that are freeze-dried and made available to poor sections of the population.

# Artificial Intelligence: Complex Algorithms and their Interplay with Politics and Society

In our highly technological and heavily digitised world, artificial intelligence (AI) has long been an indispensable tool in many areas of life. The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung studied the impact that this trend has on the socio-political level from various perspectives.

**Author**  
Jason Chumtong

In a highly networked society such as ours, it is not only digital data exchange that determines everyday life. The things that we do during our daily lives produce data, which, in turn, also have an impact on our lives. As such, we need tools that can guide us on the intersection of the analogue and digital worlds. One such tool is artificial intelligence (AI). AI enables different data to be filtered efficiently in a manner that focuses on problem-solving and that highlights valuable information. In combination with precise machines and complex sensors, AI unfolds the potential of universal applications. AI can be used in autonomous driving, the analysis of clinical scans, and speech recognition and synthesis; in other words, it acts like a digital 21<sup>st</sup>-century Swiss Army Knife and it is moving increasingly toward the core of society. The following two examples demonstrate how the Foundation is supporting this trend.

**Understand technology; trust technology**  
Our publication *KI\_eine Technologie verstehen\_einer Technologie vertrauen\_* (AI – understand a technology, trust a technology) is a newly developed format that provides basic information about AI using simple text and minimalistic animations. The aim is to bring together the various aspects of computer science, philosophy, and economics that touch on the topic of AI. The format is designed to be interactive and to provide for custom navigation. It is comparable to a presentation, but readers are always in control and can schedule their reading according to their needs. The format provides readers with an opportunity to view additional and more detailed information about particular areas via its “Did you know?” sections.

The different ways in which AI is perceived and represented in society are described right at the beginning in Chapter 1.1. The section titled “Reality” discusses Deep Blue, IBM’s chess computer, and provides



AI can be used in autonomous driving, the analysis of clinical scans, and speech recognition and synthesis; in other words, it acts like a digital 21<sup>st</sup>-century Swiss Army Knife and is moving increasingly toward the core of society.

“AI from a global perspective” is a seven-part interview series in which experts from all over the world address the main debates within AI. They answer questions about the legal structure and ethics of AI, analyse the value that AI provides to a particular society, and assess the various risks as well as political approaches available for dealing with AI technology. The interview partners provide insights from the EU, China, the US, and many other countries. The interviews were conducted in English by the Rule of Law Programme in Asia, which has published them online. German translations are also available on the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung’s AI page.

readers with an opportunity to gain experience about the role of chess in AI; for example, it explains why AI will never play chess perfectly and describes just how much AI really is in Deep Blue.

The publication was developed as part of a series and is designed to be extendable with themed sections; additional content can be added at any time. It provides authors with a flexible solution for publishing their own content, and it can be adapted to provide information about current events to a broad public. Further sections are planned for AI and human rights, as well as the use of AI in autonomous weapons systems.

**“AI from a global perspective”**

In addition to delivering basic information at educational events and publications for laypeople, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung is also represented in expert groups on AI in Germany as well as at the international level, such as in the project “AI from a global perspective”, which involves cross-departmental cooperation between the European and International Cooperation and Analysis and Consulting departments.





# The Digital Currency “Trust” – How Do Asian Countries Manage to Balance Innovation and Data Protection?

**A common misconception is that data protection is irrelevant in Asia. A study by the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in Singapore is showing a more differentiated picture of the region and identifies approaches with which digital innovation can be promoted in Germany.**

**Author**  
**Christian Echle**

The COVID-19 pandemic has ruthlessly demonstrated some of Germany's shortfalls as a hub of successful innovation. Thanks to BioNtech, science in Germany can still count itself among the best in the world, but the notorious use of fax machines in the public healthcare administration, problems with online schooling, and the limited use of the Corona-Warn-App have revealed major weaknesses in Germany's fight against the pandemic. Although the pandemic has increased the speed of digitisation in Germany in some areas, we still face fundamental challenges. On the one hand, Germany has a complex framework of responsibilities due to the country's federal structure – for example, in the health and education sectors. At the same time, e-government and the associated digital infrastructure in government departments and municipalities have yet to be expanded, and we have data protection regulations that leave insufficient room for manoeuvre so that existing data can be used effectively – even during serious crises. Data

security is a valuable asset, and in many areas, data protection regulations in Germany are rightly viewed as among the best in the world. Nevertheless, it is important to consider whether new priorities should be established in some places if we want not only to keep the pandemic in check, but also to thrive despite global competition over innovation. As a contribution to this debate, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung produced a large-scale study of Asia. Alongside the US, Asia is regarded as the world's leading laboratory of innovation, albeit often at the expense of data protection. The study *Data Security, Privacy, and Innovation Capability in Asia* analyses these issues and suggests how we can find a balance between innovation and data protection.

In cooperation with Dr Natalie Pang, a researcher at the Centre for Community and Trust in the Internet at National University Singapore, the Foundation used legal, political, and economic perspectives to examine the relationship between privacy



“regulatory sandboxes”. After a pilot phase, all available data are used to review the benefits of an innovation and to adapt the rules so that they serve the interests of the public. For example, bike sharing – after a test phase lasting several months – practically vanished from the cityscape because the providers could not guarantee that parked bicycles would not block the streets.

However, the study suggests that it is not only government approaches that play a key role in increasing openness to innovation. Digital education is also an important factor: the better people understand digital tools and processes, the better equipped they feel to face the threats posed by data theft and cybercrime. Asia provides numerous counterproposals to the excessive state control and censorship found in China. Taiwan, for example, deliberately built its personalised digital service platform, MyData, in a way that grants its users full control over how their personal data is shared and which institutions are granted one-time access. All administrative processes can be conducted online using this system. Convenient public digital services that give people control over their personal data could certainly be a useful model for Germany.

and innovation in seven Asian countries and territories. The research was supported by population surveys undertaken in Japan, Taiwan, and Singapore. A complex – and in many respects, surprising – picture emerged: in Singapore and Taiwan, where digitisation is more advanced, more people expressed concerns about data misuse.

Nevertheless, users in all three countries felt dependent on large technology companies. About two-thirds of the population in each country agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that big tech companies are inevitably part of their daily lives. More than half of those surveyed expressed concerns that big tech is not properly managing the data entrusted to them. However, there is an interesting contrast when it comes to trust in government data handling, particularly in Singapore. An impressive 83 per cent of those surveyed in Singapore believe that the authorities responsibly manage citizens’ personal data. The study chapter on Singapore argues that the digital competence of government agencies in Singapore contributes to building trust. This is particularly visible in the Singaporean government agency GovTech and the apps it has developed, which have been used millions of times. At the same time, the population supports the government’s regulatory approach. The government provides special permits for testing new innovations for a limited period in

**The better people understand digital tools and processes, the better equipped they feel to face the threats posed by data theft and cybercrime.**

# National Security as a Challenge to Society



*An interview with Amelie Stelzner-Doğan,  
Policy Advisor German Armed Forces  
and Civil Affairs*

**As security at home and abroad faces new challenges, German security policy is facing a crossroad and undergoing a fundamental paradigm shift.**

### **Ms Stelzner-Doğan, what security policy challenges are we facing today?**

The illegal Russian invasion of Ukraine will fundamentally change international politics. We can compare its impact with previous epochal events such as the fall of the Berlin Wall or the 9/11 terrorist attacks. At the same time, German security policy is facing further challenges due to instabilities in the Sahel region and the Middle East, as well as the rise of China as a hard power on the international level. Hybrid and terrorist threats, risk escalation in cyberspace, and the impact of climate change pose additional challenges.

### **What socio-political impact will this situation have?**

With its broad and wide-ranging effects, the changing landscape of security policy has had a strong impact on society already and therefore was and will remain a key issue for the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung. Security threats vary from multiple forms of hybrid warfare to targeted disinformation by Russia aimed at dividing western societies. There have also been cyberattacks such as the attack against the Bundestag in 2015. But companies are also being attacked by cyber espionage and critical infrastructure is threatened. These scenarios depict serious vulnerabilities for Germany as well as other countries around the globe. To respond to these complex challenges, we must focus on strengthening the population's resilience.

### **How exactly are we facing up to these challenges?**

Responding to crises with impacts at home and abroad requires the cooperation of both military and civilian government agencies – this is at the core of ensuring “national security”. For the military, this development means change: whereas the German armed forces, the Bundeswehr – after the Cold War – used to focus on “out of area”-operations, national and collective defence have become equally important again and their significance are in fact continuing to grow. Furthermore, civil defence and emergency preparedness are covered in the new Civil Defence Concept, a cross-departmental government paper that sets out responsibilities in each area.

### **What are the implications for the Bundeswehr?**

The Bundeswehr can contribute to national security at home in several ways: it conducts tasks at home such as administrative and emergency relief as well as cooperate with NATO partners, e.g. “host nation support”, which involves supporting allied armed forces in Germany. However, a functioning civil defence system is of high importance. The work of the Bundeswehr within Germany, for example its assistance during the flooding of the Ahr Valley or the COVID-19 pandemic, is undeniably essential. However, it ties up resources and thereby negatively impacts the operational readiness of the Bundeswehr. Facing the intensified threat by Russia, the Bundeswehr must be equipped appropriately to perform its main task: national and collective defence.

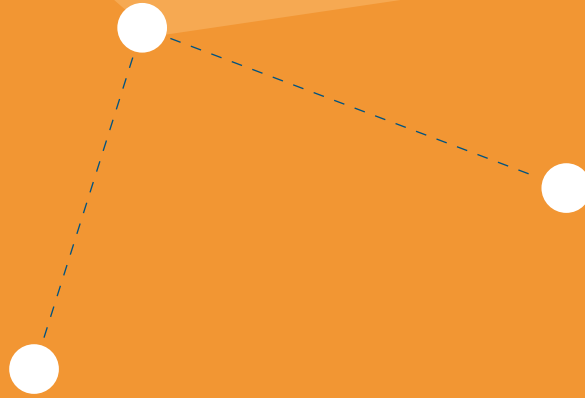
### **What can we do to prepare ourselves better for crises that affect the society as a whole?**

Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine but also the COVID-19 pandemic have shown a necessity for action. We need to ensure that our security policy is focused on the long-term effects and must continue to develop a whole-of-government approach to face these challenges. However, this requires a broad debate about security policy because the Bundeswehr is only one player in the civil defence and protection domain alongside multiple civilian actors. Thus, we need to strengthen the military reserve forces and develop a comprehensive and suitable approach to national security. Analysing these circumstances and expressing these needs is precisely what we do.

### **To what extent is this topic part of the Foundation's work?**

The threats Russia and China pose for the international security order are also key issues of the Foundation's various security policy events. Since the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, our events have also stressed the importance of health security for instance. Recently, my colleague Daniela Braun and I published an article on the impact of the pandemic on German security and defence policy and we also discussed these and further effects with young people at a youth forum. Furthermore, in December 2021, we debated how Germany can improve its preparedness for future developments from a military and civilian perspective and evaluated how political communication can be developed, just to name a few examples of our work.





# Islamist Terrorism: The New Norm

We must not underestimate the threat posed by Islamist terrorism to Europe.

**Author**  
Nauel Semaan

International Islamist terrorism has undergone significant developments over the past seven years, and it has had a major impact on many areas of European politics. The rise of the Islamic State (IS) in 2013/2014, serious terrorist attacks by IS and al-Qaeda in the Middle East, Asia, Africa, and Europe and the military defeat of the 2017–2019 “Caliphate” have been defining events in this ongoing challenge.

### **IS court cases: dealing with Islamist terrorism through the courts**

Reports about the arrival of IS returnees and their children, as well as ongoing court proceedings against IS supporters, are reminders of the heyday of IS. The Frankfurt Higher Regional Court recently sentenced a 29-year-old man to life imprisonment for war crimes and genocide. He had kept a Yazidi slave in Iraqi IS territory and is responsible for the death of her five-year-old daughter. His wife received a ten-year prison sentence for her involvement. The sentencing of the IS propagandist and recruiter “Abu Walaa” to ten and a half years in prison in spring 2021 also attracted attention, and the severe sentence sent an important signal that Islamist crimes will be dealt with.

Because these crimes occurred in the (recent) past, people may assume that international Islamist terrorist groups no longer pose a threat, and that politics can now focus on dealing with the current situation. However, the increasing number of terrorist attacks by IS in Afghanistan after the withdrawal of international troops in 2021, as well as the wave of terror that swept across Europe in autumn 2020, prove the opposite. After around three years of relative calm, during which Europe felt relieved and was able to devote time to combating the emerging threat posed by right-wing terrorism, Germany, France, and Austria were hit by Islamist terrorist attacks at short intervals in 2020.

### **Study series on Islamist terrorism in Europe**

Thus, the Foundation initiated a study series on Islamist terrorism in Europe in 2021 to investigate the conditions that led to this drastic increase in attacks. Part of the series involves well-known authors looking in more detail at affected countries, deciphering the development of Islamist milieus, providing an overview of the attacks that have been conducted or thwarted, and assessing both





Only because these crimes occurred in the past, people may not assume that international Islamist terrorist groups no longer pose a threat, and that politics can now focus on dealing with other topics.

siveness, which both IS and al-Qaeda have lost over the past five years. The countries under consideration were mainly attacked by individual perpetrators who had been inspired to follow the ideology of an international terrorist organisation but who had no help from (core) members to plan their attack.

#### **Combating terrorism and strengthening resilience**

Politicians must be aware that Islamist terrorism continues to pose a long-term threat and that this has always been the case for the past 20 years. As old and new forms of extremism pose a growing threat to democracy, politicians must find a way to stay on top of these threats, and not only protect their citizens but also build resilience.

counterstrategies as well as the way in which politics dealt with the threat. In 2021, two parts of the study were published by Guido Steinberg and by Guy Van Vlierden and Pieter Van Ostaeyen (*Terrorism in Europe – Jihadism in Austria and Islamist Terrorism in Germany and Islamist Terrorism in Europe – Jihadism in Belgium*). Analyses of the situation in France (by Cynthia Salloum) and the UK (by Raffaello Pantucci) are due to be published in 2022.

The authors emphasise that a significant change in the nature of terrorist attacks has taken place over the past few years. They stress that there has been a move away from “traditional” methods of organising and conducting attacks by core sections of a terrorist group, and that this is primarily due to the complexity of planning and communicating international conspiracies. The 2015 Paris attacks are a prominent example of the new kind of attacks that are occurring. Since 2014, terrorist groups have increasingly relied on “guided” attacks in which they help their supporters in various countries to carry out attacks. Another example is this of Nice 2016. However, these types of attacks require the core section of the group to possess a certain level of strength and persua-

## The “Roaring Twenties” – Security policy for a new decade

Security policy is undergoing a fundamental shift in scope – regardless of whether it is due to Russia’s aggression against Ukraine, forced migration and displacement, or global risks arising from climate change. The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung’s Security and Development doctoral programme and Security Policy network seek to help the next generation of leaders navigate the new decade.

**Author**  
Simon Backovsky

Russia’s war of aggression against Ukraine constitutes not only a serious breach of international law; it also represents a historical turning point. The war has shifted the boundaries of Europe and global security policy. Moreover, political upheavals such as these are accelerated by the megatrends of the 21st century and their associated challenges: digitisation and cyber wars, economic globalisation and trade conflicts, climate change and migration. In open and free democratic societies, the old adage – that there can be no freedom without security – is truer than ever. The preservation of peace at home and abroad, as well as the protection of individual civil and human rights, are essential duties of every democratic state.

The current challenges can be met only by a value-based and non-ideological policy for foreign security and defence that has the support of the population. At the same time, the complex crises of the new decade

require a qualitative and quantitative increase in expertise, which is characterised both by specialisation and networked thinking that goes beyond individual policy fields and national borders.

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung’s scholarship programme and our alumni work passionately to raise public awareness about security policy issues; the seminar programme featured some twenty events focusing on security policy. Furthermore, scholarship holders with an interest in security policy helped prepare the focus issue campaign.

The doctoral study group “Security and Development in the 21st Century” was founded in 2018 and is headed by Professor Beate Neuss. In 2020, the study group supervised around twenty doctoral students and organised three colloquia as well as an international online seminar with a regional focus on the Baltic countries. Already before Russia’s



The Security Policy Network also promotes exchange with actors from politics, society, business, science and the Bundeswehr. Together with the Foundation, the network organised a public event to accompany the 2020 Munich Security Conference titled “China’s Engagement in Multilateral Organisations” with Professor Norbert Lammert, former member of the Bundestag, as well as Ambassador Christoph Heusgen and Dr Norbert Röttgen, a member of the Bundestag. The online discussion *The Roaring Twenties: Welche Sicherheitspolitik für die 2020er-Jahre?* (The Roaring Twenties: Which Security Policy for the 2020s?) was a highlight and included top-level guests such as former Bundestag member Thomas de Maizière, Dr Ulrike Franke from the European Council on Foreign Relations, and Dr Stefan Mair from the Institute for International and Security Affairs, among more than 120 other participants. Attendees have included leading authorities such as former Brigadier General Dr Klaus Wittmann and former Admiral Manfred Nielson. A new event series was launched at the end of 2021, titled *Auf einen Wein mit...* (A Glass of Wine with...) to discuss current challenges in foreign, security and defence policy, albeit on a smaller scale.

In October 2020, a virtual series of talks was established, called *Karrierewege in der Sicherheitspolitik* (Career Paths in Security Policy), in which members of the network helped up to 50 participants each with their career planning. Current and former scholarship holders can join the network via KASConnect.

**The current challenges can be met only by a value-based and non-ideological policy for foreign security and defence that has the support of the population.**

invasion in Ukraine, the study group also analysed the escalating threat associated with Russia’s expansionist momentum. Ben Hodges, a former lieutenant general, spoke about the security risks associated with the situation in Ukraine at that time; Lieutenant Colonel Franz Lantzenhammer, Deputy Director of the NATO Cooperative Cyber Defence Centre of Excellence, discussed the new threat of hybrid warfare; and Baiba Braže, NATO’s Assistant Secretary General for Public Diplomacy, described NATO’s response to these challenges in the new decade. Alumni from the doctoral study group were also granted access to the alumni association of the former College for International Politics and Economics, whose members are particularly active in the international field.

#### **Help shape the debate –**

##### **The Security Policy Alumni Network**

The Security Policy Alumni Network was founded in 2018 to pool the Foundation’s security policy expertise. It was established on an initiative started by young alumni and is coordinated by Felicitas Weileder and Katharina Meeh. It involves more than 400 current and former scholarship holders who now occupy positions in ministries, the Bundestag, the Bundeswehr and in think-tanks involved in foreign and domestic policy. The network aims to help shape the debate about German and European foreign and security policy. In 2021, this led to the organisation of background talks over developments in Libya, the situation in Mali and the importance of the Indo-Pacific region.



## The Fight for the Political Centre



The 2021 federal election demonstrated that elections in Germany are decided by the political centre. Moreover, it showed that most of the electorate is no longer committed to a single political party and is willing to consider voting for someone else. The exception are AfD supporters, who differ from all other voters when it comes to willingness to support another party, as well as regarding their views of – and feelings about – other parties.

### Authors

Viola Neu and  
Sabine Pokorny

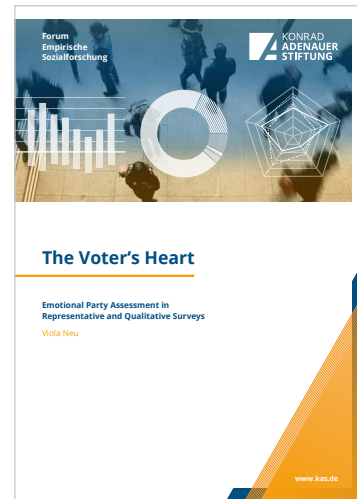
Five state elections and one federal election were held in 2021. The results of this super-election year reveal long-term changes in the basic structure of the electorate. Political parties can no longer rely on a traditional voter base, as most of the electorate are now swing voters. In addition to dwindling party loyalty, increasing pluralisation, individualisation as well as horizontal, and vertical mobility have fragmented the party system; as a result, voting behaviour is now more volatile. These structural changes have had an impact on all political parties.

The increasing willingness among the electorate to change the way that they vote poses challenges to political parties. A survey by the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung found that three quarters of people who intend to vote could name at least two parties that they would

consider voting for. About one fifth of CDU/CSU voters could imagine voting for either the Greens or the SPD, whereas 13 per cent would potentially vote for the FDP. Finally, 2 per cent would consider voting for either the Left or the AfD. The study also identified similar patterns among other sections of voters that do not follow traditional political lines. Most importantly, the swing-vote potential identified by the study did indeed materialise to a certain extent in the German federal election – except for AfD supporters, who tend to be more loyal to their party: only about half of the AfD supporters can imagine voting for another party.

The level of willingness that people express to vote for a different party also correlates with the way they feel about other parties. When people are asked whether they “like





**The increasing level of willingness among the electorate to change the way they vote poses challenges to political parties.**

or dislike” political parties, voters tend to express an affinity with a significantly larger number of political parties. Data from the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung suggest that 23 per cent of people eligible to vote “like” three parties, with 9 per cent liking 4 and 2 per cent liking five. In contrast, many AfD supporters dislike all other parties. However, about one in ten stated that they liked the CDU, SPD, the Left, and the Greens a lot or somewhat. AfD voters liked the CSU and the FDP slightly more than the other parties. Similarly, supporters of all other parties tend to dislike the AfD: just 4 per cent of CDU supporters also expressed support for the AfD; the figures are similar for all other parties. In contrast, 37 per cent of CDU supporters stated that they like the SPD, another 41 per cent of them like the Greens and 27 per cent the FDP. CDU voters even like the Left about twice as much as the AfD. Around 39 per cent of SPD supporters say they like the CDU very much or, as do 35 per cent of Green and 48 per cent of FDP voters. Supporters of the Left view the CDU even more positively (with 15 per cent) than the AfD.

The sentiments expressed about political parties by people entitled to vote divide the party system into two camps: AfD supporters and everyone else. Supporters of all other parties rate their own party positively and the AfD negatively. Except for certain deviations, most of these individuals associate their own party with the terms hope, security, trust, confidence, and contentment while associating the AfD with fear, indignation, anger, and despair. Unsurprisingly, AfD supporters

associate their party with the same positive emotions listed above and view other parties – particularly the CDU and the Greens – as associated with fear, indignation, anger, and despair. This is due to the AfD supporters and their typical rejection of all other parties.

This situation clearly demonstrates that election campaigns will no longer be able to focus on a particular section of the electorate and attempt to persuade them to change their voting behaviour. Instead, future election campaigns will also have to gain the confidence of voters in the centre of politics.

**More on the subject:**  
*The Voter’s Heart. Emotional Party Assessment in Representative and Qualitative Surveys*  
[www.kas.de/the-voter-s-heart](http://www.kas.de/the-voter-s-heart)

*Electorate survey prior to the Federal Elections in 2021*  
[www.kas.de/electore-survey-prior-to-federal-elections-2021](http://www.kas.de/electore-survey-prior-to-federal-elections-2021)

*Bundestag election in Germany on 26 September 2021*  
[www.kas.de/federal-elections-2021-en](http://www.kas.de/federal-elections-2021-en)



# Citizen Participation: An Update for Democracy? A Digital Series of Events as Part of the “Shaping.Democracy.Together.” project

A digital series of events, undertaken as part of the “Shaping.Democracy.Together.” project, discussed the advantages and disadvantages of citizen participation – and it also tested the new Clubhouse audio platform.

**Author**  
**Taylan Engin**

Representation and participation is one of the Foundation’s three pillars. It is important because it combines two opposing aspects: the belief that the heart of democracy beats in parliaments where representatives of the people make political decisions, and the understanding that people want to be more involved in political processes, particularly in recent times. Participation is good for democracy but only if it supplements and enriches representation instead of replacing it.

The two-year project “Shaping.Democracy.Together.”, which is run by the Civic Education Department, focuses on the debate about – and identifying with – democracy. In times when society is drifting apart, debates are becoming rougher and trust in democratic institutions is falling, the project’s substantial number of innovative events and campaigns are exemplary of social cohesion and democratic responsibility.

In January 2021, a nationwide citizens’ council was established under the patronage of Wolfgang Schäuble. The council presented its recommendations to the Bundestag in March of the same year. At the same time,

the Analysis and Consulting Department published *Bürgerräte als Zukunftsmodell* (citizens’ councils as a model for the future). Also in March 2021, the project used this opportunity to hold an eight-part series of online events titled *Bürgerbeteiligung: Update für unsere Demokratie?* (civic participation: an update for our democracy?). The aim was to raise awareness of and debate the topic while also establishing the Foundation’s position.

In accordance with the goals of the project, this series of events was designed to be interactive, innovative and low threshold. It was interactive because – although experts from politics, research, and civil society were invited – the series focused on sharing experiences instead of merely providing lectures. It was innovative because some of the events were held on the Clubhouse audio platform, which was new and immensely popular at the time and was used by young people as well as figures from among the political milieu in Berlin. Finally, it was low threshold because most of the events took place via Zoom, an application that can be freely used without an account.



The series showed that it pays to be an early adopter of a new platform, as this alone demonstrated the Foundation's openness to current trends.



The six Zoom-based events began with a short keynote speech on a particular subject, before the guests and participants discussed relevant issues. These included the extent to which participation in eastern Germany differs from the rest of the Federal Republic, the experiences and challenges that crop up as part of work in municipalities, and experiences from other countries. Further topics included school projects that enable pupils to practice political participation, as well as obstacles and opportunities related to participation by migrants and people without German citizenship. A total of about 350 people took part in the debates.

The two additional Clubhouse events were also among the Foundation's first attempts to use this platform. At the opening event, which was facilitated by Christoph Jansen, head of the Municipal Academy, four guests spent 45 minutes discussing the opportunities, limits, and pitfalls of participation. For the second event, which focused on young people, four young, politically involved guests spoke about their political involvement and the importance of young people participating in politics. A total of 150 people took part in these two events.

The series showed that it pays to be an early adopter of a new platform, as this alone demonstrated the Foundation's openness to current trends. The discussions also established that people have a diverse range of views on participation. Many participants hoped that increased participation would generate greater trust in politics, ensure that people felt that they were being taken seriously, and would lead to the consideration of a wider range of ideas and views. A central concern was that critical issues were likely to be watered down if they were reduced to "yes or no" votes in citizens' councils. Whatever happens, it is important that the expectations of citizens' councils be made clear and that they have a measurable impact.

**More on the subject:**  
*Shaping.Democracy.Together.*  
[www.kas.de/gdg](http://www.kas.de/gdg)



# Elections as an Opportunity for Progress – the Arab “Super Election Year” 2021

In many countries in the Arab world, elections have become an increasingly important aspect of the legitimacy of political systems and political decision-making processes. Our work in Iraq is an example of how broadly and innovatively the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung addresses the issues of representation and participation and accompanies elections in the Middle East and North Africa in 2021.

## Authors

Simon Engelkes and  
Ludwig Schulz

In 2021, a number of important elections took place in the Middle East and North Africa, including Morocco, Algeria, Iraq, and Qatar. Many people are eagerly awaiting the upcoming elections in Libya and Lebanon. Although there is a general trend in the region toward alienation from political institutions, the importance of elections and competition between political parties and candidates has increased because of the legitimacy they provide to political systems and decision-making processes. In recent years, many countries have witnessed an end to national parties of autocratic rulers, and we are now seeing a trend toward more pluralism and competition between interests in the public sphere and parliamentary politics. At the same time, political parties are competing with civic institutions and social movements. Political culture is also changing: the most recent political protests, for example, which call for rigorous

reforms and transformation, have managed to mobilise support across sectarian lines for the first time, and these protests have been neither ideological nor violent.

In 2021, one of the Foundation's focuses in the Middle East and North Africa was preparing for and accompanying local and national elections. An important example is the national parliamentary elections in Iraq, which were held on 10 October 2021. The Syria/Iraq office, together with twelve partner organisations, accompanied the elections with an extensive package of measures consisting of more than 20 elections-related projects undertaken throughout all Iraqi provinces.

## Observing elections and training political candidates

In line with basic democratic principles, the Foundation trained representatives of the



**The election resulted in 97 women gaining a seat in parliament – 29 per cent of the overall share. This is the first time that the number of women in parliament has exceeded the constitutionally prescribed quota.**

Iraqi media and various non-governmental organisations in political communication to ensure independent reporting and observation of elections. We also provided training to more than 4,200 local activists from civil society, politics, and the media in election monitoring. In the run-up to the elections, selected candidates from various parties received training in the basics of democracy, the rule of law and political campaigning. In this context, for example, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung was able to offer training to all 970 female candidates for the parliamentary elections nationwide. A total of 97 women gained parliamentary seats in the election – representing 29 per cent of the overall share. This is the first time that the number of women in parliament has exceeded the constitutionally prescribed quota.

#### **Election campaigns, civic education, and smartphone apps**

With the help of local partners, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung offered a variety of civic education programmes as part of the information made available during election time. The aim was to help people form independent opinions about political platforms and processes. Young people, but also internally displaced persons and religious and ethnic minorities, were provided information about their civic rights and duties. In many instances, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung involved representatives of the ongoing

protest movement in these projects, bringing them together with political leaders to lessen the widespread and deep mistrust between civil society and the political elite. The smartphone application “Ana Al-Barlamaan” (I am the parliament), which was co-developed by the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, was a particularly innovative project. The app provided transparent information about the candidates and their respective election programs. It was downloaded more than 100,000 times and was one of the ten most popular downloads in the Google Play Store in Iraq.

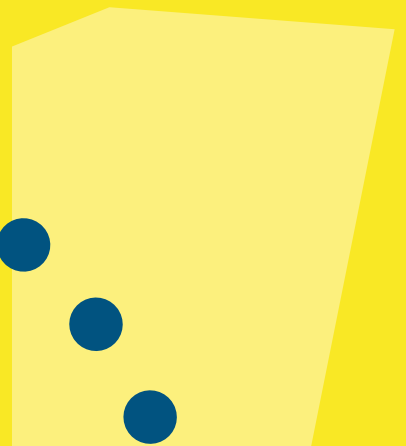
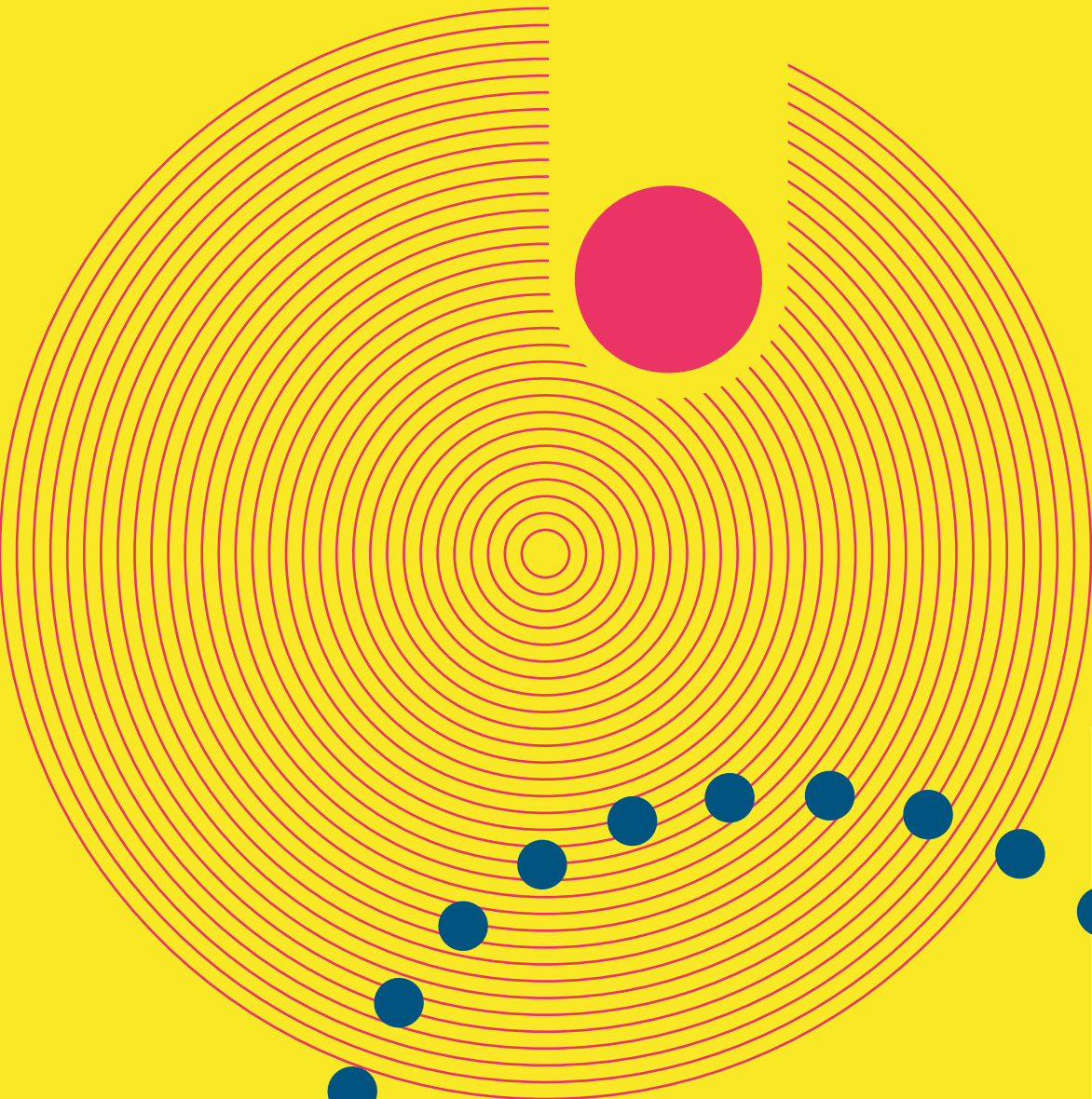
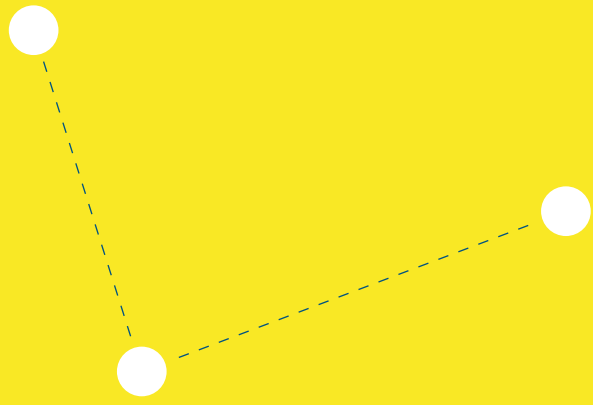
#### **Elections and political representation in the 2020s**

Iraq’s parliamentary elections were widely recognised as free and fair, including by international observers. Nevertheless, voter turnout in Iraq continues to decline – and the same applies to many other countries in the region – as people’s demands no longer focus on the introduction of democratic institutions and formal electoral processes but on broader socio-economic reforms and genuine representation. The main tasks for advocates of democracy and their international supporters, therefore, involves emphasising the potential of free political decision-making and strengthening the efforts of pro-democracy groups in achieving good governance.

#### **More on the subject:**

*Iraq in numbers of social media campaign*  
[www.bit.ly/33oMQaK](http://www.bit.ly/33oMQaK)

*Podcast From Baghdad to Beirut*  
[www.kas.de/beirut-baghdad-en](http://www.kas.de/beirut-baghdad-en)





# 4

# Democracy –

The Konrad-  
Adenauer-Stiftung  
Looks to the Future



# Digitisation – How Has the Archive Been Able to Continue its Work during the Pandemic?

*An Interview about Digitisation Strategy with  
Michael Hansmann, Head of Document Archive*



**D** The pandemic has demonstrated the importance of digital solutions in all areas of life. How is the Foundation's Archive for Christian-Democratic Policy (ACDP) responding to this trend? Michael Hansmann, Head of Document Archive, explains how the archive is digitising archival material to meet existing and future challenges.

Conducted by  
Christiane Stahr

### **What impact has the COVID-19 pandemic had on the Archive for Christian-Democratic Policy?**

Our department has over 18 kilometres of files and objects of cultural value and used to be almost entirely focused on face-to-face operations. When the pandemic hit, we had to organise an alternative way of working in a truly short period. We had extraordinarily little physical presence on site, as the overwhelming majority of staff were working from home. The archive's reading room was closed twice for prolonged periods in 2020 and 2021, and this prevented people from visiting the archive. This jeopardised theses and research projects. To answer inquiries and continue digitising our holdings, we adapted our work ad hoc to improve the workflow between colleagues who were working from home and staff providing emergency coverage on site. However, this work became a beacon during the pandemic.

### **What work is the archive currently focused on?**

The pandemic caused our focus to shift from developing and evaluating inventories on site to answering external and internal inquiries, especially from people who were no longer able to use the archive for research. Thanks to the tools provided by our ICT department, including Citrix software, people working from home were able to conduct a large number of searches of our databases and digital records. If people requested documents that had been indexed using search tools but had yet to be digitised, the staff on site retrieved the documents and digitised them ad hoc – if there were no legal restrictions in doing so. The digital records were then reviewed by colleagues working from home and made available to users worldwide via the cloud.

### **Was it the pandemic that led the archive to digitise its holdings?**

Not at all. Shortly after the ACDP was founded, the archive began using computers to index records. This was initially done using punch cards, followed by mainframe-based indexing software developed in-house. The introduction of the ScopeArchiv OAS system has helped us transition to the next stage of digitisation.

This new archiving system means that we can use servers to permanently archive digital and digitised documents and to make them available to users worldwide, whether through the digital reading room, archive portals, or on our website.

The progressive digitisation of the archive, including the retro digitisation of archival materials, has enabled us to continue our work despite the pandemic and to continue serving the people who use our archive. The reactions have been incredibly positive.



### **Why is it so important to digitise archival material, and what criteria are used to select archival materials for digitisation?**

Documents are digitised to protect our inventory, as digitisation helps to conserve physical space and minimises the cost of maintaining the inventory. In addition, digitisation preserves our heritage and enables cultural assets to be made available in digital form. We prioritise important historical documents relating to Christian democracy, including documents from the period when the CDU was founded, documents that belonged to the founders of the CDU and from other prominent individuals, as well as those from the federal party, the CDU/CSU parliamentary group in the Bundestag, and from other associations and party organisations.

Our digitisation strategy includes not only selecting historically valuable documents but also maintaining the integrated processes that a digital archive requires. As such, we had to plan, finance, and establish the necessary infrastructure with the help of external service providers and our ICT department. Finally, this had to be integrated into the Foundation's system environment and maintained.

Digitisation has become an integral part of everyday archiving. We have already retro digitised more than 1.8 million pages from the archive and we will continue with this important work in the years to come.

**More on the subject:**  
**Digital reading room**  
[www.digitaler-lesesaal.kas.de](http://www.digitaler-lesesaal.kas.de)

# “Together for Europe”



The 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Nice took place on 26 February 2021. Marking the occasion the Foundation published an anthology entitled *Deutsche Christliche Demokraten in Europa* (German Christian Democrats in Europe) and interviewed the former President of the European Parliament, Hans-Gert Pöttering. The publication discusses research results garnered from the extensive holdings of the Archive for Christian-Democratic Policy.

**Authors**  
Rebecca Schröder  
and Rita Anna Tüpper

The CDU campaigned for the second direct election to the European Parliament in 1984 using a poster with the slogan “Mit uns für Europa” (together for Europe). The poster depicted a fully rigged sailing ship traversing the high seas: The sails were painted in the colours of the national flags of the member states at that time. The sea is calm, and the sky is blue – conditions that the European ship has not always enjoyed. Nevertheless, it has continued to defy heavy seas and has even expanded its crew considerably in form of new member states. This picture not only adorns the new anthology but remains a symbol of the spirit of solidarity in Europe.

The anthology, edited by Michael Borchard, was published in early 2021 to commemorate the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Nice and the

The unique breadth and depth of the source material underscores the importance of the ACDP for historical-political research into contemporary European issues and makes it unique in the landscape of political-party archives worldwide. The anthology *Deutsche Christliche Demokraten in Europa* is based on this material and was published in 2021.



approximately 30 years since the Maastricht negotiations began. The work contains 15 scholarly essays that examine the role played by German Christian Democrats in shaping European institutions and filling top positions – two prominent examples of which are the current Commission President Ursula von der Leyen and Walter Hallstein, the first chair of the Commission of the European Economic Community in 1958.

Hans-Gert Pöttering, former Foundation chair and honorary member of the European Parliament, underscores the importance of the change in perspective from member states to European institutions, both in his foreword and in his interview with Michael Borchard marking the anthology's publication. The anthology is also a clear reminder of the importance of archives, that is, collecting materials, safeguarding inventories, and the meticulous work undertaken to preserve the history of political parties. Much of which takes place outside of the public eye. The publication has particular relevance for developing a comprehensive understanding of European political history.

#### **Basis for contemporary historical research into Europe**

The records contained in the Archive for Christian-Democratic Policy (ACDP) document the commitment of Christian democratic politicians to European integration over the last six decades. The unique breadth and depth of the source material underscores the importance of the ACDP for historical-political research into contemporary European issues and makes it unique in the landscape of political-party archives worldwide.

The archive's holdings include the most important historical documents from Christian democratic organisations at the party and parliamentary levels in Europe. They include the files of the European People's Party and its predecessors: Nouvelles Equipes Internationales and the European Union of Christian Democrats. In addition, the files on the CD and EPP in the European Parliament and the CDU/CSU parliamentary group in the EPP parliamentary group itself are of significant importance. Equally significant are documents on the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community, the first direct elections to the European Parliament in 1979, the formation of the European Union and the creation of the European Federation for Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises.

The archive also has a wide range of collections from noteworthy European politicians, including the files of former presidents of the European Parliament and other European institutions. The diverse holdings include a portrait collection of political representatives from the European Parliament and audio recordings from EPP meetings and conferences. Not to be forgotten are the various European election posters and the extensive materials used during European elections. Other documents relevant to European issues can be found in the holdings on the CDU federal party; the federal committees overseeing foreign, German, European, and development policy and the Office of Foreign Relations. Archival materials from these European holdings are extensively used for exhibitions and publications as in this anthology.

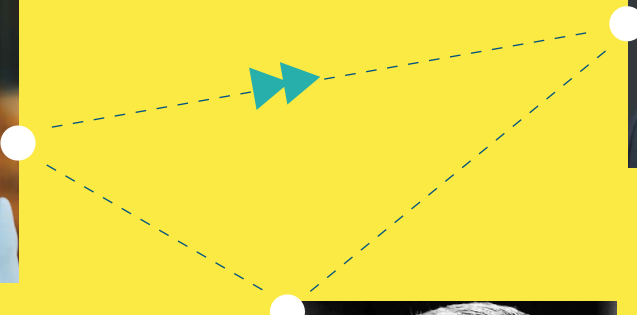
#### ***Interview with Hans-Gert Pöttering***

[www.kas.de/poettering-interview](http://www.kas.de/poettering-interview)



# Games & Politics – Civic Education on Twitch

*An Interview with Sophie Petschenka,  
Marcel Schmidt, and Frank Windeck*



# B

### **How did you produce the idea of a gaming and politics format for Twitch?**

*Petschenka:* Over 34 million people in Germany share a common passion: gaming. Young people post gaming content and their experiences on various channels. Twitch is a rapidly growing livestream platform that acts as a meeting place for gamers. In addition to classic gameplay, Twitch offers a wide array of formats and choices. It is participatory and enables streamers to directly connect with like-minded groups.

We wanted to see if we could use Twitch to engage with young people as part of their daily lives and to speak to them about social and political issues. In 2020, the Political Communication Department started its first channel "Twitch-week@kas: Let's play for a better world". It quickly became clear that we could grab the attention of young people if we spoke to them at their level, shared experiences and enabled them to participate. The idea for Games & Politics came about in cooperation with the Foundation's digital academy.

### **How does the digital academy fit into the picture?**

*Windeck:* The digital academy is especially aimed at young people. In addition to social media, gaming plays a key role in their lives. This spring we produced a series of five videos against hate on the internet, together with the E-Sports Player Foundation (EPF). The EPF promotes young talent in the e-sports sector through scholarships and seminars and is based on a shared set of values, as is our own scholarship programme. The reach of the videos was enormous. This has encouraged us to continue this path. When we heard about what the Political Communication Department was planning, it made sense to work together.

The first episode of Games & Politics was a synthesis of the experiences that our colleagues had acquired on Twitch, our knowledge of classic TV production management, and the EPF's contacts in the gaming scene. The result was a five-hour programme streamed live from studios in Berlin and Cologne. It was a challenge, but it was worth it and has already gained over 180,000 hits.

### **What were the reactions?**

*Schmidt:* People were surprisingly open and overwhelmingly positive. There was a lot of interest in us as a political actor. Well-known players and the industry were also excited about our idea because it encouraged much-needed debates with those in the gaming scene. The feedback from viewers was also extremely encouraging. There were some complainers but most of the time other viewers set them straight with the facts in the chat. In 2021, we reached a total of 480,000 people through our livestreams. The November 2021 edition alone attracted 215,000 viewers.

### **How do you explain your success?**

*Petschenka:* This year we have learned an incredible amount from our project partners in the gaming scene. Many small steps had to be taken before the idea could be implemented as a live show. We started by developing content, then finding guests that fit the topic before selecting a format that enabled the debate to remain authentic. During the preparations, it was important for us to get feedback from gamers, influencers, and industry partners. We discussed and verified that our work was relevant to our target groups. In the end, we created an authentic exchange, where we engaged with the gaming community on their level and in a way that showed that we took them seriously and that their views matter.

### **What else is the Foundation doing to influence the gaming scene?**

*Windeck:* A big problem in the gaming scene is the toxic behaviour of some gamers. Trolls and extremists are also active in gaming, as they are in other areas of the digital world. The digital academy is working with the EPF on several measures to help change this.

In addition to seminars for young e-gamers and information videos for parents, we are currently working on a campaign on values in gaming. I don't want to give away too much just yet but I promise that you'll be hearing from us in the future.

### **What is next for the Twitch channel?**

*Schmidt:* Our three Games & Politics livestreams provide an excellent basis for future programmes. They demonstrate that games and politics fit very well together. The gaming industry is seriously interested in our high-quality productions, and we have been able to establish ourselves as a credible player in this environment. We aim to continue along this path because there are still a lot of topics that can be covered on the interface between politics/society and gaming/e-sports. Therefore, we are planning to continue our work on Twitch.

#### ***More on the subject:***

##### ***1. Games & Politics: Streaming e-sports and politics***

[www.bit.ly/3FCSBP6](http://www.bit.ly/3FCSBP6)

##### ***2. Games & Politics: Change the Game!***

[www.bit.ly/3fBQhxa](http://www.bit.ly/3fBQhxa)

##### ***3. Games & Politics: Beyond Borders***

<https://bit.ly/34D9sV4>

# GAMES & POLITICS & BEYOND BORDERS

Live  
auf:  
Twitch

@konrad  
adenauer  
stiftung

25.11.  
Ab 17 Uhr

Fatih 'gob b'  
Dayik

Angelo  
'aSmooigi' Bülow

Jana  
Möglich

Melek 'm3lly'  
Balgün

Emmeline  
Charenton

Pia 'Shurjoka'  
Scholz

Josef  
Kolisang

## Reaching out to New Groups: Civic Education as a Dia- logue about the Future



How do we reach people who have not yet heard about the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung? The Civic Education Department demonstrates how this can be done using customised civic education and innovative formats.

**Author**  
Elke Erlecke

One of the tasks of the Civic Education Department is to bring people together to explore diverse topics. We are constantly looking for new target groups and creative ways to reach them. In 2021, our work was shaped by thoughtful debate that allowed us to make inroads with these key individuals. We ensured our work remained focused on long-term goals but kept in mind the needs of each target group.

- › We sent our travelling democracy dialogue centre, the bus from the “Shaping.Democracy.Together.” project, on a trip through Germany to connect people and the regions as well as the traditional and digital worlds

- › We engaged first-time and young voters in the 2021 federal election through targeted outreach
- › We designed an interactive online meeting space through Games & Politics
- › We enabled working parents in Thuringia to speak with like-minded people at an online family event in Thuringia
- › We spoke to women in Rhineland about their role in society
- › We established the nationwide campaign “Mission: Mit-Mischen” (mission: get involved) for sustainable project development



**Although gamers and people interested in politics may seem to have extraordinarily little in common, appearances can be deceiving. Games often contain content that addresses political issues, as the environment and tend to oppose online radicalism and hate speech.**



### **“Shaping.Democracy.Together.” – the democracy bus**

In 2021, the bus belonging to the “Shaping.Democracy.Together.” project, which promotes dialogue, commitment, and social cohesion, headed for rural areas and places that tend to be off the beaten track, when it comes to traditional adult civic education. As part of our outreach work, the bus made 160 stops throughout Germany, covering 25,000 kilometres, and visiting 97 cities over the course of the campaign. In many cases, this was the first time that visitors had encounter the Foundation.

### **First-time voters: augmented reality and an election night party**

Only 67 per cent of young and first-time voters exercised their right to vote in the 2017 federal election. This was more than enough reason to draw attention to this important civic responsibility by launching an augmented reality campaign in 2021 (#Safegehwahl). Professor Norbert Lammert and Lea Nischelwitzer answered young people’s questions about the election interactively, as part of a nationwide campaign. The regional office in Düsseldorf organised an online election night party with six hours of debate about the election, reports about young voters and their political priorities.

### **Gaming and Politics: bridging the divide**

Although gamers and people interested in politics may seem to have truly little in common, appearances can be deceiving. Games often contain content that addresses political issues (the environment is one example), and they also tend to oppose online radicalism and hate speech. Moreover, the size of the gaming community means that gamers are highly responsive and can get things moving. Thus, the Foundation is collaborating with representatives from the gaming community to provide civic education on Twitch. This work culminated in a number of events, including Twitch Week@kas.

### **“Let’s Talk about Family” – online evening discussions**

Once a month, the Thuringia Civic Education Forum invites families to meet one another. To ensure that all families can attend, the event takes place online and in the evening. Thirty minutes are often enough time to enable participants to talk

about the issues on their mind and to find practical solutions. “How do I find someone to look after my children in the afternoon?” was a common question. Participants are sometimes able to find solutions together: for example, “adoptive” grandparents volunteered to help look after some of the children.

### **“Being a Woman” series: my thoughts, experiences, and views**

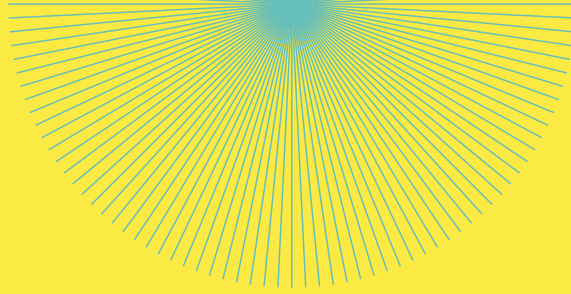
Whereas the Foundation’s Women’s College helps women access volunteer work and engage in politics, the “FrauSein” (being a woman) series runs an online platform seven to eight times a year. The events enable participants to connect by sharing thoughts, experiences, and views related to their experiences of being a woman. The regional office in Rhineland conducts an hour-long event with a prominent individual whose talk forms the basis of the event. Promoted in advance via social media and available afterwards on YouTube, “FrauSein” respects the need to address women as individuals.

### **Mission: get involved – space for young people to demonstrate pragmatism and for sustainability**

The mission: spend 48 hours together and focus on pragmatic solutions to improving sustainability. The goal: offer participants between ages of 18 and 24 a space where they can meet, develop projects, discuss with experts, and implement their ideas. The plan: twelve workshops, a clean-up of the river Spree, and an expert discussion. The event is aimed at establishing a network and expanding it on Instagram (@missionjetzt).

An online invitation was sent out to students, professionals, police, fire brigade, migrant organisations, and volunteers as well as people from rural areas. Some of them were already active in the Educational Forum’s regional workshops. The result: “Mission: MitMischen” (mission: get involved). The series will continue its multiyear mission in 2022.





# “The 15<sup>th</sup> of August Was Surreal for All of Us”

*An Interview with Ellinor Zeino  
about the Situation in Afghanistan*



In August 2021, the Taliban took over the power in Afghanistan. Lewe Paul, Desk Officer for South Asia, talks to Ellinor Zeino, Head of the Regional Program in Southwest Asia, about this dramatic time, the Foundation’s commitment to Afghanistan, and the hope for the future of the country.

Conducted by  
Lewe Paul



**The fall of Kabul to the Taliban on 15 August 2021 shocked us all. What happened to you on that day and in the time that immediately followed?**

The 15<sup>th</sup> of August was surreal for all of us. Our staff members were in the office for a team meeting. I was linked up via Zoom, as I had left Kabul for Tashkent the week before. Shortly after our meeting, the Taliban were suddenly in the middle of Kabul, and the police had disappeared from the streets. Panic broke out and there was complete chaos on the roads. Our staff were safe and stayed in the office for the time being. We were at least fortunate that there was no civil war-like fighting in Kabul, something that we had expected. The next five weeks were marked by uncertainty, fear, constant vigilance, and sleepless nights. During the overland evacuation to Pakistan and then to Germany, our staff remained remarkably calm despite the chaos, trusted us, and worked together in solidarity.

**Which partners had you been working with and on which projects did you focus?**

Until recently, we had partners in many areas and a broad network from all areas of the political spectrum. Our longest-standing partner was the National Centre for Policy Research at the University of Kabul, a think tank that the Foundation established 20 years ago. We offered training and workshops for journalists with media such as the Pajhwok News Agency and produced our own television series with the state broadcaster RTA. We conducted courses for diplomats with the Afghan Foreign Ministry and even organised a major international conference in Kabul with the Afghanistan Centre at Kabul University. However, over the last three years we were particularly focused on building trust through confidential dialogues with disputing parties. These dialogues were conducted with the Afghan Women Mediators, a women's group in Kabul that was co-founded by the Foundation. The last thing that we heard from the remaining women mediators in Kabul was that they wanted to continue the dialogues despite risks and that they intended to continue informing the outside world about the situation in Kabul.

**What has been the Foundation's most significant achievement in Afghanistan? And what is its lasting impact now that the Taliban have taken power?**

It is difficult to judge what our most significant achievement of the last 20 years has been. We have undertaken many important projects, all of which reflected the political and security situation at the time. These include the Afghan-Pakistani dialogue, which continued until 2015; and our office in Kabul acting as a safe harbour and meeting point right up to the end. Our most significant achievement was the special moments that often occurred in the midst of the dialogues, when we would witness a unique exchange taking place; a meeting that would have not been possible without our efforts as mediators. These moments will continue to have an impact for a long time to come. But they were also very time-consuming. I would spend hours in preliminary talks with disputing parties to get to know them better, and to gain their trust.

**Afghanistan is facing a serious humanitarian crisis. Looking back over the last year, what gives you hope for the future?**

An Afghan friend once told me that people in Afghanistan are "compulsively optimistic". I am a pragmatic optimist. We need to face the new realities on the ground and look ahead. We need to urgently tackle the humanitarian crisis. And, therefore, we must talk to the Taliban government. Afghanistan is at a turning point. The country will have an opportunity to slowly embark on its own path of development; hopefully, this time it will include the broad spectrum of its conservative-religious society while at the same time respect the different ways of living in the country as well as the rights and dignity of women and minorities. Right now, we should be aiming for basic rights, not ambitious standards. The Taliban are driven by ideology. I think that putting them under pressure will only have a limited impact; they need to be persuaded.

**How can the Foundation ensure that Afghanistan remains part of its international work beyond 2021?**

There are many ways in which we can ensure that Afghanistan continues to be part of our international work. We will need to wait to see which bilateral relationships our countries will have. But whatever happens, it makes sense to continue the regional dialogues between Afghans and their counterparts from neighbouring countries. The many young Afghans stranded in exile could also be provided with targeted support such as scholarships, fellowships, and educational programmes so that their potential is not lost. Of course, I hope that well-educated Afghans return to their country or will be involved in its reconstruction from abroad.



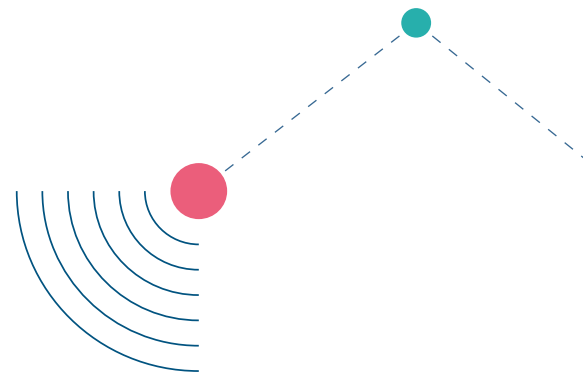
# EUrope's Promotion of Democracy

In 2021, the Foundation's EU projects promoted democracy throughout the world and contributed toward improving citizen participation in an often-challenging environment.

**Author**  
Thomas Tödting

The debate about the rivalry between democratic-liberal and authoritarian and totalitarian societies gained prominence in 2021. The promotion of democracy and related fields is one of the priorities that the EU sets in its efforts at fostering international cooperation. One example of this is the EU's new instrument NDICI Global Europe, which is used to fund projects in third countries. The Founda-

tion has been implementing projects that are financed or co-financed by the EU since 2005 and is the most active German political foundation in this area by far. These projects were also an important aspect of the Foundation's work in 2021. The promotion of democracy is part of the Foundation's DNA, as is clearly reflected in the title of our mission statement "Shaping.Democracy.Together."





The issues covered by these projects are as varied as the countries in which they take place.

### **Thematic and regional priorities**

The Foundation has successfully implemented EU projects to the tune of more than 80 million euro so far. During 2021, the Foundation implemented more than 20 multi-year projects, with a regional focus on sub-Saharan Africa (seven projects in 2021) and the EU's Eastern Partnership (seven projects in 2021). A total of four new projects were started last year in Georgia, the Great Lakes regions of Africa (Uganda, Rwanda, Tanzania, Democratic Republic of the Congo), and in Southeast Asia (ASEAN region). The issues covered by these projects are as varied as the countries in which they are taking place since the interaction of those different issues contributes to a better development of democratic societies. In 2021, the projects included strengthening civil society, promoting the participation of young people and women in society and political parties, preventing internal and international conflicts through dialogue, and helping authorities and administrations support citizen participation in issues connected to our main topics.

### **Local partners as a factor in success**

It has become clear in recent years that long-term project goals are more likely to be achieved when projects are developed in cooperation with partner countries instead of from the ivory towers of Europe. The Foundation continued this collaborative approach in 2021. Our extensive, worldwide network of field offices and partner organisations makes it possible to design and implement EU projects in keeping with local needs. In the last year, the Foundation worked with 45 partner organisations to implement EU-funded projects. In addition, further organisations were funded through sub-grants. In these cases, the Foundation awards funds directly to organisations based on their application to strengthen their structure and work. This is an effective way of reaching smaller partners and developing their potential. The still-rampant COVID-19 pandemic remained a major challenge in the implementation of EU-funded projects in 2021. We had to find new ways of working and adapted our plans, particularly for those projects that involved promoting national and international dialogue. While some activities in Africa could be conducted as planned over the course of the year, implementation in Latin America and Asia was far more difficult. Nevertheless, the

teams on the ground established innovative online formats to ensure that project goals could still be achieved.

### **“A new framework, new opportunities!”**

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung followed the implementation of the new instrument NDICI Global Europe with particular interest. We were heavily involved in the debate about this instrument via the European Network of Political Foundations, as we wished to underscore the importance of promoting democracy and ensuring that the EU's new multi-annual financial framework (MFF 2021–2027) would provide appropriate funding. Since the EU was only able to draw up multi-year implementation strategies for partner countries once the instrument had been established, there were very few calls that the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung could apply for. However, we expect to see a large number of new calls during the first half of 2022, and we will certainly participate in the application process. Doing so means that we will remain true to the motto: “A new framework, new opportunities!”

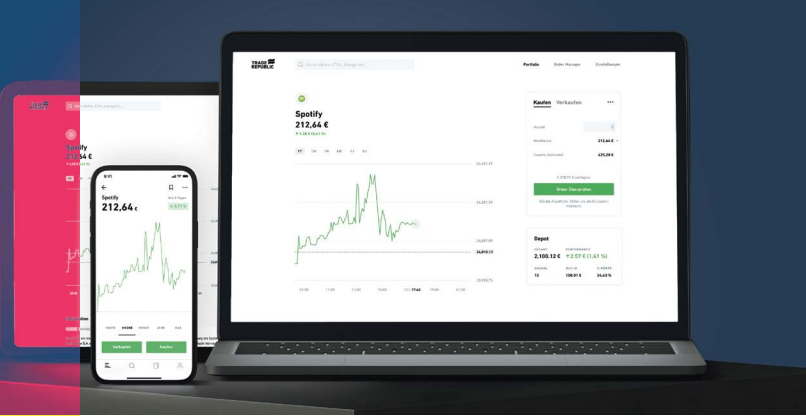




# Studying, Entrepreneurship, and the Future of Investment

*An Interview with Christian Hecker,  
a Former Scholarship Recipient and  
Co-Founder of Trade Republic*

Conducted by  
Vandad Sohrabi



**What is your favourite memory of your time as a Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung scholarship holder?**

My favourite memory, and the most important thing that happened to me during this time, is that I met my co-founder Thomas Pischke at one of our first seminars. We met during breakfast. He came from Munich; I came from Munich. After the seminar, we became good friends. This is how Trade Republic came into being. For this reason, that seminar is one of the best memories of my life.

**Why did you apply for a Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung scholarship?**

I come from Münsterland, a village with about 800 inhabitants. I grew up close to the church and so Christian social teaching is important to me. The Foundation reflected my view of humanity and my values. That is why I applied. And I was incredibly happy to be able to play an active role and to learn a lot during the programme.

**What experiences that you made during the scholarship have had a lifelong impact?**

I met many of my best friends during this time. There are so many exciting people who are not only strong academically, but also undertake volunteer work and are so insightful. This inspired me to think about how I wanted to define myself as a member of society and how I wanted to participate. The seminars and the experts were also important. They made us aware of where our paths could lead after graduation.

**Valued at over five billion US dollar, Trade Republic is one of the most successful start-ups in Germany.**

**How did you produce the idea behind the company?**

After the mentioned seminar with other scholars, Thomas Pischke and I spoke frequently. I worked at an investment bank, he worked in fintech. In the summer of 2015, we met once at his place in Munich and we ended up discussing the biggest economic challenges facing society. Insufficient retirement savings emerged as a key issue, driven as it is by demographic change, negative interest rates, and inflation. It was clear to us that people needed safer, cheaper, and easier access to the capital market so that they could build up wealth over the long term. This is the idea behind Trade Republic.

**Why should people be thinking about capital market investments? And how can they invest their money?**

In addition to climate change, inadequate retirement savings is one of the biggest problems facing society. Today's 18-year-olds must work 45 years before retirement. But their state pension will not even be enough to cover the rent in a city like Berlin. This means that people must manage their savings through private investments. A tool that allows easy and affordable participation in the capital market, therefore, is the best way for most people to build wealth and avoid poverty in old age. Like many of our clients, I also invest. I have a diversified, long-term portfolio.

**For a few months now, Trade Republic has enabled people to buy cryptocurrencies such as Bitcoin and Ethereum.**

**What potential do you see in cryptocurrency?**

Many people are worried about negative interest rates and inflation. Large cryptocurrencies like Bitcoin and Ethereum are ways to protect against inflation. There is a reason that sovereign wealth funds in Canada and Singapore are among the largest investors in Bitcoin. Therefore, I see cryptocurrencies as a component of a balanced portfolio. Trade Republic now combines the security of a bank with the future viability of cryptocurrencies.

**New brokers like Trade Republic have made investing easier than ever before, and this has democratised investing. But is there also a risk that investing will be seen as a form of gambling? What are your responsibilities toward your customers and wider society?**

We have an enormous responsibility. With well over a million customers, we are one of the largest brokers in Germany. However, as Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung scholarship alumni we share a positive view of humanity: people can make good decisions. They need sensible guidelines and good, safe opportunities to do so. And this trust pays off: each of our customers has more than one ETF savings plan. This means that people are not gambling; they are saving for the future through widely diversified portfolios. And it is our responsibility to provide a transparent, cheap, and secure platform to enable them to do so.

**Does European politics offer a good framework for start-ups in the financial sector?**

In Europe, regulation tends to be like a patchwork quilt. I would like to see more speed, uniformity, and simplification. We are facing major technical upheavals that are raising important questions: what should the future of work look like? What role should the metaverse play? What will democracy look like in the future? And this is where politics come in. But it is also what makes the work of foundations such as the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung so important because answers to questions such as these can be found during discussions at seminars.



## “Doing Something for Society, Something that Brings Us Together”

It can be difficult for international scholarship holders to get a foothold in Germany due to the challenges posed by the need to speak a different language and understand new rules, and the many questions that they may have. This is where KASstart comes in: it connects German Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung scholarship alumni and other scholarship holders with our international scholars. For example, an educationalist from Benin and a mathematician from Germany.

### Authors

Christina Krause and  
Burkard Steppacher

On 25 September 2021, Rachidi Houndonougbo travelled from Cotonou to the University of Bielefeld with the aim of continuing his studies in educational science. He had already gained a scholarship from the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung. The 24-year-old teacher for German language from West Africa made a good impression during the joint selection process run by the Scholarship Department and the Foundation's office in Abidjan. We were impressed by his academic achievements, his strong socio-political commitment, and his plans for the future of democratic education.

Many challenges awaited Rachidi on his arrival in Germany: he had to enrol in university, find accommodation and health insurance, and open a bank account. “The first few weeks were difficult [...] I had a bit of an emergency because I could not enrol in university straight away and I didn't even have any furniture in my flat. I had read everything that I had to carefully, but I still missed meeting other people and talking to people face-to-face.” So how do you get to know people when you must wear a mask and maintain your distance because of a pandemic?

Since 2020, the Foundation's international scholarship holders have benefited from a helpful programme called KASstart. The alumni association, ASeV Altstipendiaten der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung e. V. (former scholarship holders of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung), supports the project, together with Burkard Steppacher, who acts as the institutional link between the International Scholarship Department, headed by Christina Krause, and ASeV. “We as Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung scholarship alumni want to contribute to ensuring that new international scholars get a good foothold in Germany and continue to receive support. KASstart aims to provide young people with the same help that we had when we were students”, emphasises the former district administrator Matthias Wilkes, chair of the Foundation's alumni association.

KASstart put Rachidi in contact with Michael Schwab, a Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung scholarship alumnus who studied mathematics and economics in Münster between 2003 and 2011. He is currently completing a part-time course in diaconal management in Bethel. “I worked in the ‘internationale Landjugend’ (international rural youth) for a long time



**A friendship quickly developed out of a shared interest in youth work and politics.**

and was immediately interested in getting involved with KASstart.”

Michael and Rachidi met for the first time in a café in Bielefeld. A friendship quickly developed out of a shared interest in youth work and politics. Rachidi was happy because he was no longer merely focused on his studies and on getting through daily life; he was also receiving practical support. “We drove to the furniture shop together and bought furniture for my flat. I even went to Michael’s birthday party and met his parents and friends. He is really looking after me.”

“We bring people together and help them through their studies in Germany. But we also promote international networks and relations. In the long term, we want to contribute to strengthening democratic values throughout the world and to protecting human rights”, comments Susanna Schmidt, head of the Foundation’s Scholarship Department. “But KASstart is only this successful because of the support it receives from ASEV and our many committed current and former scholarship holders. They are the ones who bring international exchanges to life through personal contact and joint ventures.”

The educational scientist Rachidi and the mathematician Michael continue to have big plans. Rachidi used to drive a moped in Benin, so Michael is teaching him traffic reg-

ulations and everything he knows about cars. Michael would also like to take Rachidi to Saarlouis, and to visit Berlin together. Rachidi, on the other hand, would very much like to show Michael his home village of Ganvié in southern Benin, with its houses built on stilts, as well as the capital Porto-Novo, and the country’s traditional castle-like Tata Somba houses.

KASstart currently provides support to around two dozen international scholarship holders (from non-European countries), with the International Scholarship Department supporting a total of 333 scholars from 69 countries. Apart from above-average academic achievements, important admission criteria include a good knowledge of German, an interest in politics, and a commitment to participating in society. As Rachidi and Michael demonstrate, these values help connect people throughout the world.

“I found KASstart really helpful!”, says Rachidi. “I learned a lot about Germany and the language but also other things like the importance of a firm handshake here. I highly recommend the programme.” Michael was also encouraging: “I learned much about myself and about the challenges of online studies. But I have also learned about Benin: 60 per cent of the students at secondary schools in Benin learn German! And it is great to see that we both share the same desire to do something for society.”

# Germany, a Country Based on Immigration: How Integration Can Succeed

*Serap Güler, MdB, discusses how she was shaped by her parents' experience of migration and discusses how to ensure integration policy is successful*



Conducted by  
Elisabeth Hoffmann  
and Annette Ranko

**In the joint publication *60 Jahre Anwerberabkommen mit der Türkei (60 years of the recruitment agreement with Turkey)* with the Federal Immigration and Integration Council, a group of second-generation migrants talk about how their parents' experiences of migration have shaped their own lives. How were you affected by your parent's experiences?**

My parents' experiences of migration certainly had an impact on me. The profession that I have turned to as an adult is exactly what I used to do as a child – build bridges. I had to translate for my parents, both linguistically and culturally. It was enriching because it taught me how to move through two distinct cultures. But it was also challenging because each side tries to co-opt you.

**Was there a downside?**

Yes. The racist attacks in the early 1990s in Germany resulted in a palpable fear in the Turkish community. However, an event in 1994 had a strong positive impact: Cem Özdemir became the first member of the Bundestag to have a Turkish background. This gave everyone a glimmer of hope and showed us all what was possible.

**To what extent did your parents' experience of migration politicise you?**

I only became politicised in the early 2000s, during my studies. I was regularly confronted with prejudice. I remember one time, just before I was going on holiday to Turkey, when some students asked me whether I was going to be forced into marriage. And they even knew me and my family! The public debate about migration was quite negative at the time. And although I was interested in the topic back then, it was a coincidence that I actually ended up in politics. I had intended to work in corporate communications. But when the opportunity arose to work in the Ministry of Integration in North Rhine-Westphalia, I jumped at it. Later, I even joined a political party.

**As a former state secretary for integration in North Rhine-Westphalia, what do you think are the greatest challenges to integration, and which key issues should integration policy be focused on in the future?**

For many years, politicians involved in integration policy believed there were three pillars of integration: language, education, and employment. But the last few years have shown me that this is not enough. We need to have shared values. If someone is unable to relate to the values of the society in which they live in, how will they be able to integrate into society? This is also where I see the greatest challenge to integration: creating this foundation of values.

**Our publication, *Eltern mit Zuwanderungsgeschichte gewinnen (winning over migrant parents)*, shows how important it is for parents to be role models for their children. What do you think about this?**

Yes, parents certainly need to be role models but many are already struggling with the educational system in

Germany and with the complex task of bringing up their children. Parents want to ensure, their children really have everything they want, and this often means that they buy them far more stuff than is actually necessary. What children really need is support from their families. My parents, who had only little schooling, are a good example of why educational support is so important. My mother was friends with a German neighbour who advised her to send me to a day-care center from the age of three. My mother wanted me to speak German perfectly by the time I started primary school. She spoke well due to the time she spent with the neighbour, and she found out about the two primary schools in the area. The schools were right next to each other. My mother opted for the Catholic primary school because she thought that not enough children spoke German at the state school. My mother also made sure that I did not go to the comprehensive school, which was 300 meters away from my parents' house. She sent me to the grammar school. Her openness to people and information, as well as her ambition, shaped my educational path.

**Young migrant families are not a homogeneous group. Families that are afraid of losing their identity and want to shield their children from German society are particularly difficult to reach. What do day-care centres and primary schools need to be like to reach such families?**

We have had good experiences in North Rhine-Westphalia with the "Griffbereit" and "Rucksack KiTa/Rucksack Schule" programmes, which support children in day-care centres and primary schools, as well as their parents. If we want to help parents accompany their children along their educational paths, we must start early. This means that we need more teachers for early education in kindergartens. We should be thinking about how to help families and how to make education a more attractive profession.

**The cover of our publication depicts a couple reading a book to their child. We chose a picture book instead of either a German or a foreign language title on the cover. Do you think that was culturally sensitive or unnecessary?**

I am the last person who would criticise cultural sensitivity but of course you can overdo anything. I think a German-language book on the cover would have been fine. It is good to have expectations of parents because rights come with responsibilities.



# The Long Process of Political Polarisation

**The irreconcilable disputes over lockdowns and vaccinations that arose during the COVID-19 pandemic are expressions of a polarised society. This polarisation has developed over a long period. A representative study by the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung examines the situation and the development of polarisation in Germany.**

**Author**  
Jochen Roose

Things started getting worse as his optimism began to falter. And he was surprised what happened when he wondered aloud whether it would really be so easy for refugees to integrate into society. His friends did not like his views and they did not like the fact that he supported the AfD either. He felt pushed into a corner in which he meant he did not really belong; a corner in which he did not want to belong. But the discussions with his friends soon ended: "I don't have any real friends anymore; not since I started speaking about all of this."

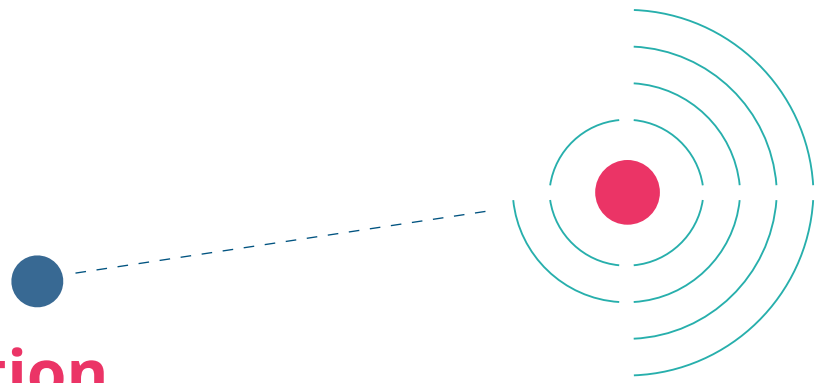
Another person from the other side of the spectrum tells a similar story. He cut contact with one section of his family because he could no longer stand their xenophobia or their support for the AfD. "When I go to family events, 30 per cent of my family do not show up. And if I know they are going, I stay at home." His partner is German-African and racism is a very personal issue for him. This led him to draw a dividing line in relation to the people he knew: "When this wave of support for the AfD began, I started re-examining people who I met up with. [...] I cannot and will not have anything to do with those people. To me they are just scum."

These two stories exemplify the political polarisation currently found in Germany.

They show not only how explosive political discussions can be but also how painful. They can cause friendships to break up and families to fall apart.

In 2021, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung conducted a large study of political polarisation with the aim of finding answers to people's concerns about social cohesion. The aim was to discover how popular the fringes of politics are, which political forces are facing up to one another on which issues, and the way in which polarisation has developed in Germany.

The study found that society is indeed polarised in part but that it was already polarised before the COVID-19 pandemic. In recent years, the political fringes have drifted further apart. This is particularly the case over the last ten years with supporters of the AfD, on the one hand, and the Greens and the party The Left on the other regarding the migration and climate protection policy. When asked to place themselves somewhere on the scale between left and right, supporters of the most extreme parties place themselves further apart today than they used to. These differences between the fringes have been studied since 1976. A comparable situation existed in West Germany in the early 1980s when disputes over issues such as





## How concerned are you about social cohesion? How popular are the fringes when it comes to political issues? Which political forces are facing up to each other on which questions? And how did polarisation develop in Germany?

nuclear energy, gender equality, and environmentalism also polarised society.

The fringes flank a large majority that sees itself as in the centre of the political spectrum. These voters tend to adopt more reflective positions and favour balance in society. They worry about social cohesion and think that politicians should work together, despite any differences they may have.

This could appear to suggest that democracy is flourishing and that we have nothing to worry about. After all, different political views are an essential aspect of democracy. Debate about the best path to take, about political issues, and vigorously representing opinions are all part of a lively democracy.

However, people are no longer content to approach differences of opinion merely in

terms of political debate. Rather, they are rejecting outright the parties and voters that represent opposing positions. A majority in Germany not only rejects the AfD, they also reject contact with AfD voters. Similarly, supporters of the AfD often refuse to deal with other groups of people, such as refugees, Green party voters, and Catholics. In this respect, we are not merely seeing differences in opinions but a societal polarisation that is resulting in one section of the population refusing to have anything to do with another.

Polarisation is a self-reinforcing process. When people fundamentally reject one section of society, this merely escalates the situation. This escalation, in turn, further increases polarisation which is why it is so dangerous for democracies.

The Foundation's study reveals the contours of the problem. Raising awareness about the topic can also promote understanding about polarisation and understanding can in turn help encourage people to consciously deescalate the situation. To prevent polarisation from spiralling out of control we need to confront the dangers associated with it. The Foundation is helping to do this with our report, by using public relations and events to raise awareness about the issue, and by encouraging a respectful culture of debate that does not shy away from tackling differences in opinion.

**More on the subject:**  
[Political polarisation in Germany  
 www.kas.de/politische-polarisierung](http://www.kas.de/politische-polarisierung)

Figure: Classification of political parties from right to left – West Germany

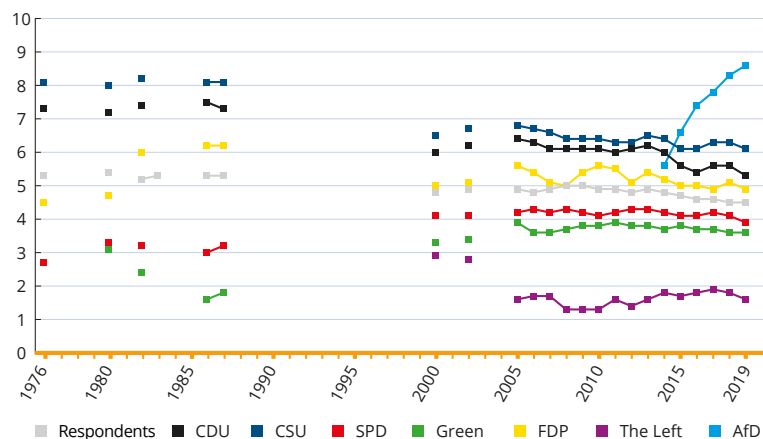
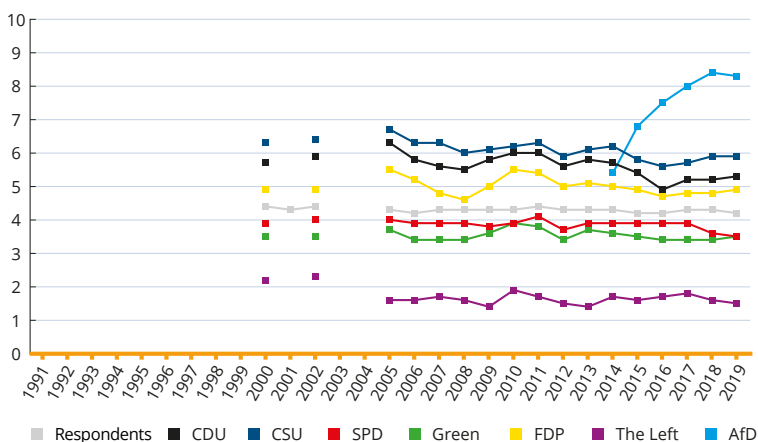


Figure: Classification of political parties from right to left – East Germany



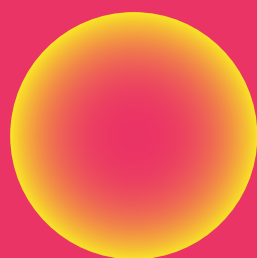
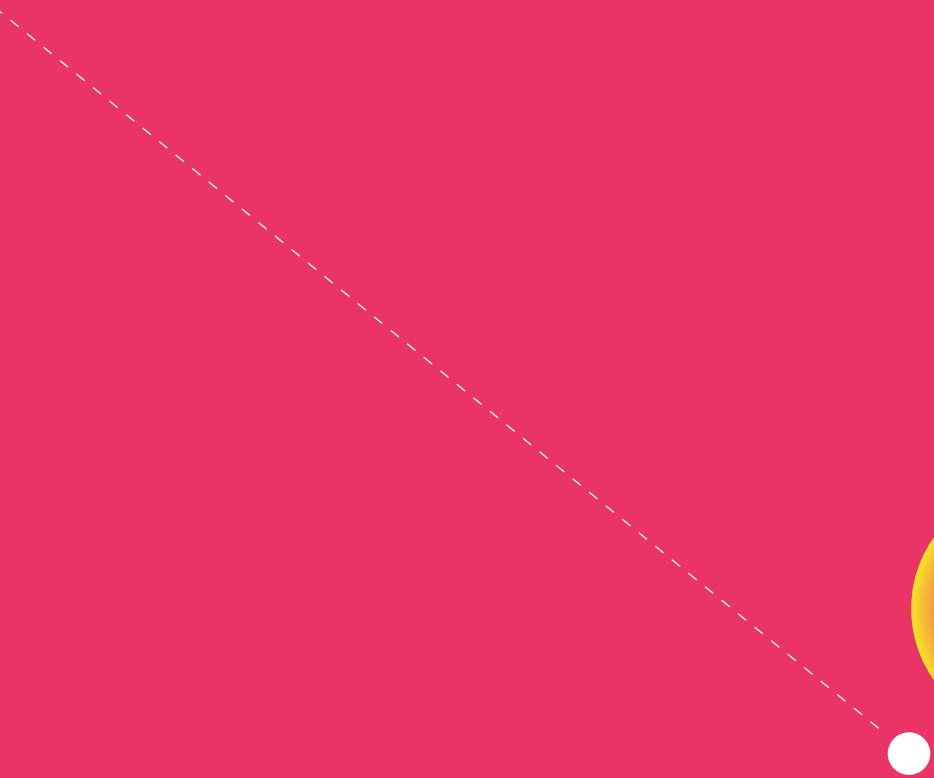
Source: Politbarometer, cumulative annual data.

Question: "I will now name a few parties and would like to know whether you classify these parties as more left-wing or more right-wing. Please tell me again using a scale from 0 to 10. 0 means very left-wing, 10 means very right-wing."



# Special Anniversaries





# 1700 Years of Jewish Life in Germany

The Foundation marked this anniversary year with numerous events, a series of videos, and a virtual city tour.

## Authors

Andreas Kleine-Kraneburg  
and Loretta von  
Plettenberg

An edict by Emperor Constantine from the year 321 provides the first historical evidence of Jewish life in what is now Germany. This is why 2021 has been the festival year honouring “1700 years of Jewish life in Germany”. The year was accompanied by events throughout the country to ensure that Jewish life and its 1700-year history in the region was made visible and tangible in present-day Germany. Importantly, this included not only its diversity and richness, but also its deep fissures and divisions. The Foundation participated in the anniversary year by organising numerous projects, events and campaigns.

One focus of the Foundation’s work during the year was raising awareness about Jewish art, culture and tradition. The various digital creative workshops undertaken as part of the *Bay Mir Bistu Sheyn* series with Jewish artists encouraged young people to engage with diverse forms of Jewish culture through music and painting, and sought to break down any anti-Jewish prejudices. Many events about Judaic customs, culture, and traditions were accompanied by enriching poetry, poetry slams, music, and culinary delights. The Foundation’s series was entitled *Le’ chaim! Jüdisches Leben hier und heute* (To life! Jewish life here and now), with one particular event entitled *Wenn Musik das Leben feiert. Zur Bedeutung der Musik in der jüdischen Kultur* (When music celebrates life. On the importance of music in Jewish culture).

Various events, such as *Der Schabbat und das jüdische Leben* (The Shabbat and Jewish Life) and *Acht Tage. Acht Kerzen. Das jüdische Lichterfest Chanukka* (Eight Days. Eight candles. Hanukkah, the Jewish Festival of Lights), provided insights into Judaism’s main holidays and their importance.

More than 200,000 people of Jewish origin live in Germany today. But what is life like for them in Germany in 2021? The Foundation pursued this question





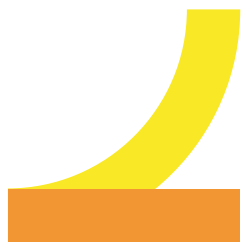
through a large number of events and projects. Various dialogue formats with rabbis and with practicing and non-practicing Jews enabled interested parties to expand their knowledge of everyday and community Jewish life in Germany, and also provided time to share experiences. Interesting encounters and discussions also arose through cooperation with the 'Meet a Jew' project, which is run by the Central Council of Jews in Germany.

The Foundation produced the video series *Nachgeschmeckt – Jüdischer Alltag in Deutschland* (To Be Savoured – Everyday Jewish Life in Germany), designed especially for YouTube, Facebook, and Instagram. The aim was to arouse curiosity and understanding about everyday Jewish life in Germany, especially among young people. The video shows Britta Herres, who is completing a Voluntary Year of Social Service at the Foundation, meeting seven people of Jewish origin in different places in Germany and talking to them about their views, their everyday life, and what it means to be Jewish in Germany today.

In 2021, Zsolt Balla became the Federal military rabbi, making him the first Jewish military chaplain in the German armed forces for 100 years. In a special edition of our #KASKonkret YouTube series, he talked about his career, his areas of responsibility, and the greatest challenges he faces in his new position.

In many cases, Jewish people had only moved to Germany after the fall of the Berlin Wall, with many coming from the former Soviet Union. The Foundation's main event to mark German Unity Day in Bonn, therefore, was dedicated to Jewish life in reunified Germany, and related issues were discussed by the Foundation's chair, Professor Norbert Lammert, Dr. Charlotte Knobloch, president of the Jewish Community in Munich and Upper Bavaria, and the sociologist, Professor Armin Nassehi.

Although the Foundation would have preferred better circumstances to have accompanied the festive year on Jewish life in Germany today, the anti-Semitic incidents in May 2021 certainly raised awareness among the population about the current tense and worrying situation. These incidents were triggered by an escalation of violence in the Middle East. Professor Lammert used a video statement not only to immediately condemn all forms of anti-Semitism, but also to stress that Jewish people are a permanent and integral part of our society. Since it was founded in 1955, the Foundation has viewed dialogue and reconciliation with the Jewish community throughout the world, and preventing and combating all forms of anti-Semitism, as a focus of its work. Apart from Holocaust Remembrance Day on 27 January, the anniversary year offered opportunities to organise events about the fate of Jewish people during the Nazi dictatorship, book readings by authors, exhibitions and talks with eyewitnesses, and also to undertake visits to memorial sites and city tours following Jewish life over the last 1700 years. Against the background of the ongoing COVID pandemic, a digital city tour entitled *Jüdisches Leben in Berlin – Eine virtuelle Stadtführung* (Jewish Life in Berlin – A Virtual City Tour) was established in Berlin, which is not only displayed during digital events, but has also been permanently integrated into the Adenauer Campus, the Foundation's learning platform.



**More than 200,000 people of Jewish origin live in Germany today. But what is life like for them in Germany in 2021?**

***More on the subject:***

***To Be Savoured – Everyday Jewish Life in Germany***  
[www.kas.de/nachgeschmeckt](http://www.kas.de/nachgeschmeckt)

***Virtual city tour***

[www.bit.ly/3FGdAAi](http://www.bit.ly/3FGdAAi)



# 30 Years since the First Free Elections in East Germany – The CDU/DA Parliamentary Group and its Importance for German Unification

**The only democratically elected People's Chamber in the history of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) met on 18 March 1990. It made an extraordinary contribution to the German unification and the history of German parliamentarism. During the democratisation process, the CDU/DA parliamentary group played a special role, as it was the strongest group in the People's Chamber at the time. The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung commemorated this event in 2021, in cooperation with the Association of Members of the CDU/DA Parliamentary Group in the People's Chamber.**

## Authors

Judith Michel and  
Kathrin Zehender

During his introductory speech, Professor Lammert described the first free elections to the People's Chamber as a new democratic beginning with the highest turnout in the history of free elections in Germany.

In her speech, Chancellor Angela Merkel thanked the Foundation for insisting that the event, which was due to take place in March 2020 and had to be cancelled due to the COVID-19 pandemic, should indeed take place. The chancellor described the event as "absolutely necessary". She continued by referring to the 1990 elections as a clear plebiscite for unity and freedom. She argued that the laws and resolutions passed by the 1990 Chamber showed that it had done an incredible job, both quantitatively and qualitatively. Nevertheless, she stressed that the process of democratisation was by no means completed by German unity, as democ-



Sabine Bergmann-Pohl was elected president of the first free East German People's Chamber.

## Democracy can only remain vibrant as long as the population is willing to take on responsibility and to compromise.



Professor Norbert Lammert recognised the first free elections to the People's Chamber as a new democratic beginning.

racy is “never a completed process”. Finally, she also pointed out that democracy can only remain vibrant if the population is willing to take on responsibility and to compromise.

Dr Bettina Tüffers from the Commission for the History of Parliamentarianism and Political Parties followed, giving insights into the composition, and working methods of the CDU/DA parliamentary group in the 10<sup>th</sup> People's Chamber. She mentioned that even though the parliamentarians were mostly newcomers to politics, professionalisation quickly set in, not least because of the help they received from the CDU/CSU parliamentary group in the Bundestag.

The historian, Professor Horst Möller, discussed the importance of the 10<sup>th</sup> People's Chamber in the context of German parliamentary history. The 10<sup>th</sup> People's Chamber, along with the Paulskirche Assembly of 1848, are the only examples in German history where the people have fought for their right to vote. The task assigned to the last parliament of the GDR was unprecedented. Its aim was not to draft a new constitution but to shape the unification process. The People's Chamber made an indispensable contribution to unification, not least because it schooled inexperienced members of parliament in democracy.

Dr Helge Heidemeyer, director of the Hohenschönhausen Memorial, then conducted a discussion with Dr Sabine Bergmann-Pohl, the former President of the 10<sup>th</sup> People's Chamber, Brigitta Kögler, co-founder of Demokratischer Aufbruch (DA) and deputy chair of the CDU/DA parliamentary group, and Hildigund Neubert, who was also one of the co-founders of the DA. The chair of the Association of Former Members of the CDU/DA Parliamentary Group, Katharina Landgraf, also spoke about the work conducted by the People's Chamber.

Bergmann-Pohl pointed out that most members of the Chamber had been surprised by the enormous demands involved in the work. Nevertheless, she was impressed by the speed and drive with which the People's Chamber had worked. Neubert remembered the special feeling of being able to vote freely for the first time and knowing that she could finally influence the country's development. The deputies also impressed her. She argued that the fact that the People's Chamber intended to abolish itself as quickly as possible testifies to a democratic selflessness that no longer exists today.

Kögler called the claims that are often expressed about the People's Chamber – the West steered it – “nonsense”. She never allowed herself to be used as a mouthpiece, and the same applied to her fellow representatives. However, the Chamber had needed support on questions of constitutional law. She stated that it was an immense help that Chancellor Helmut Kohl, against a lot of resistance from abroad, had also campaigned for unity.

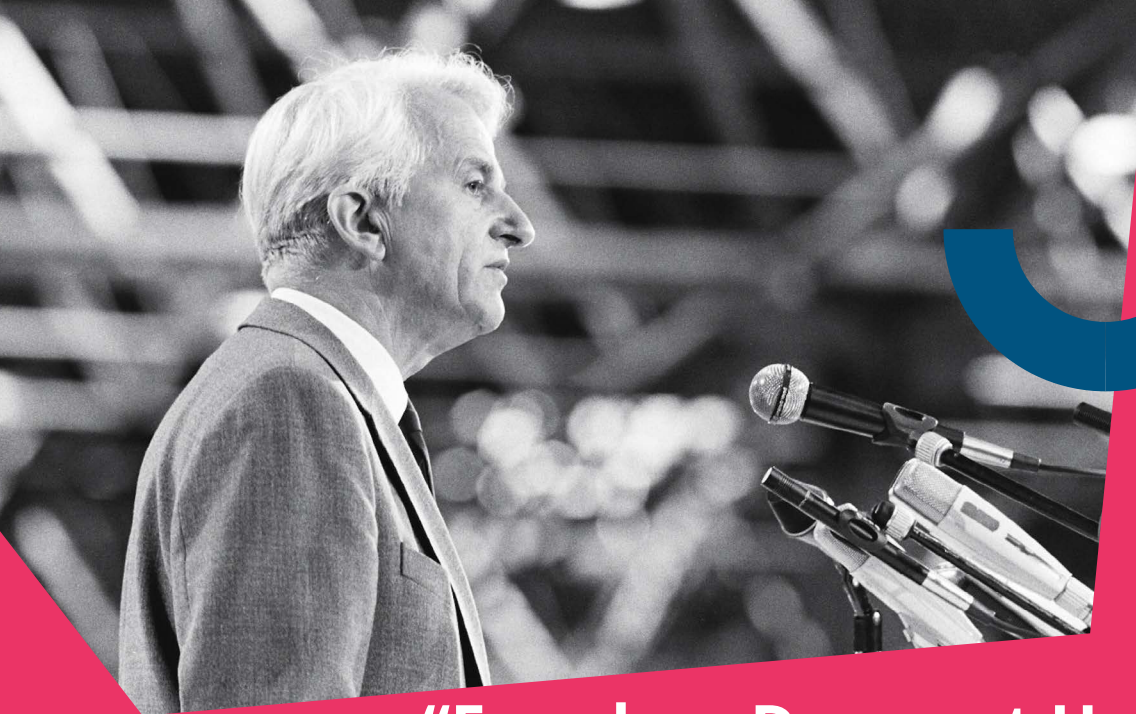
Landgraf stressed that there were no sharp confrontations between different wings in the CDU/DA parliamentary group. Bergmann-Pohl explained that one of the most contested issues was how to deal with the Stasi files. The former parliamentary speaker viewed the fact that the files were made accessible by the Stasi Records Act as one of the greatest achievements of the People's Chamber.

In her closing remarks, Landgraf thanked the participants and pointed out that a lot of good things had come out of the Peaceful Revolution, which needed to be preserved and passed on to the current generation.

### **More on the subject:**

***30 Years since the first free elections to the People's Chamber***

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



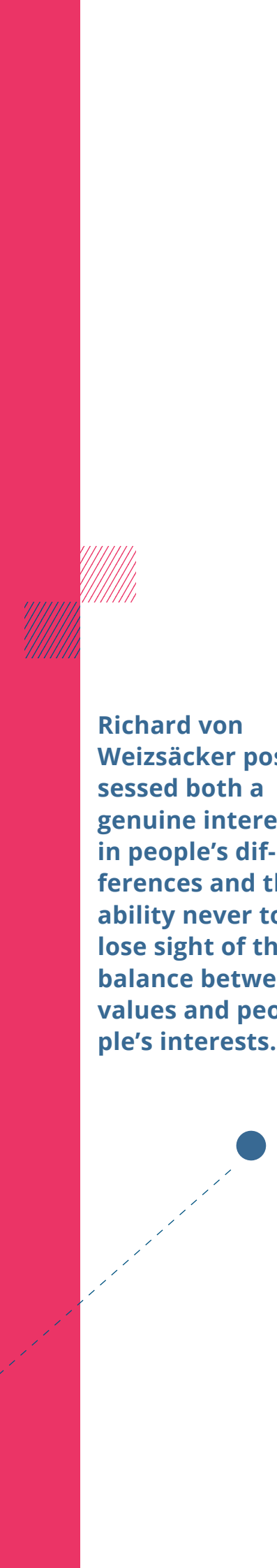
## “Freedom Does not Happen to Us; it Happens through Us” – Commemorating the 100<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Richard von Weizsäcker’s Birthday

**On 15 April 2020, Richard von Weizsäcker would have been 100 years old. The Foundation and the Stiftung Ernst-Reuter-Archiv had planned a ceremony to mark the occasion but it had to be cancelled, like so many other events, due to the COVID-19 pandemic. In March 2021, we celebrated the anniversary with an online event.**

**Author**  
**Kathrin Zehender**

In his introductory speech, Professor Lammert described Richard von Weizsäcker as a “role model whose life reflects an entire century of German and European history”. Lammert emphasised Weizsäcker’s role as a driving force behind the CDU’s manifesto, and referred to his speech of 8 May 1985, 40 years after the end of the Second World War, as a “milestone in our country’s culture of remembrance”.

In his keynote speech, former Federal Minister, Dr Thomas de Maizière, honoured Weizsäcker, for whom he had served as a speechwriter in Berlin, by highlighting various facets of Weizsäcker’s work. Weizsäcker was one of the few people who have made the successful change from business to politics. Similarly, hardly anyone else has ever succeeded like him in reconciling politics and his political party with the Protestant Church. And even though his forward-looking East and Germany policy placed him at odds with the majority of his party, in the long term he had greater influence over the party than any of his rivals.



**Richard von Weizsäcker possessed both a genuine interest in people's differences and the ability never to lose sight of the balance between values and people's interests.**

As Governing Mayor of Berlin, Weizsäcker aimed to modernise the CDU in West Berlin and turn it into a major city-based political party, even if this meant facing up to the demands for a more diverse society of Berlin. During this time, and later as federal president, he succeeded in combining the issues of freedom and security. Finally, de Maizière stressed that Weizsäcker was a successful political intellectual who had the gift of “being able to build something big out of something small, while also being able to master and effortlessly derive consequences and meaning for individuals from world events.”

The subsequent discussion was chaired by the journalist and historian, Dr Jacqueline Boysen. Eberhard Diepgen, who succeeded Weizsäcker as Governing Mayor of Berlin, explained how his predecessor had endowed the city with self-confidence. Weizsäcker was described as having always associated Berlin with East-West politics. And by breaking a number of rules, as in his 1983 visit to Erich Honecker, Chair of the State Council of the GDR, he expanded the opportunities for German policy that were available to his successor.

The former Vice-President of the German Bundestag, Dr Antje Vollmer, recalled how Weizsäcker was interested in her as a representative of the 1968 generation, which he tried sincerely to understand. Vollmer described Weizsäcker's efforts to achieve rapprochement with Germany's Eastern European neighbours and Russia as “his legacy”.

Without belittling his role as a fair-minded intellectual, Thomas de Maizière emphasised that as Governing Mayor, Weizsäcker had also been able to demonstrate a toughness that was indispensable in the executive branch of government. The historian, Professor Dominik Geppert, explained that Weizsäcker and Helmut Kohl had initially worked together on reforming the CDU in the 1970s but that problems later arose. Weizsäcker broke away from Kohl in Berlin but found a role as federal president alongside Kohl as federal chancellor.

Richard von Weizsäcker possessed both a genuine interest in people's differences and the ability to never lose sight of the need to maintain a balance between values and people's interests. He always faced up to the challenges involved in freedom and explained that “freedom doesn't happen to us, it happens through us”. Weizsäcker remains an impressive role model even more than 100 years after his birth.

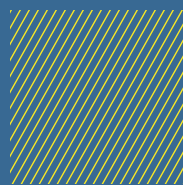
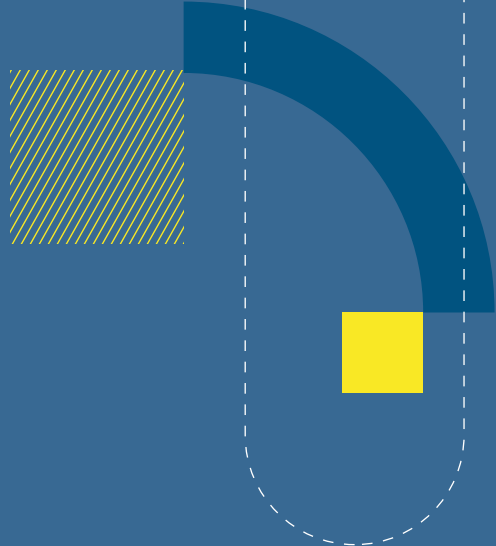
In addition to the online ceremony, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung and the Stiftung Ernst-Reuter-Archiv are currently preparing an anthology that will illuminate Weizsäcker's life and work from an academic perspective. The anthology includes contributions from Professor Dominik Geppert, Professor Karl-Rudolf Korte, Professor Ulrich Schlie, and Professor Gangolf Hübinger. It is due to be published in summer 2022 as part of a series by the Stiftung Ernst-Reuter-Archiv.

***More on the subject:***  
***Richard von Weizsäcker***  
[www.kas.de/weizsaecker](http://www.kas.de/weizsaecker)

# Names, Facts, Accounts







6

# Capital Account

Annual Accounts as of 31 December 2020

<b>Assets</b>	<b>31 December 2020</b>	<b>31 December 2019</b>
	€	Thousand €
<b>A. Fixed assets</b>		
Intangible assets, advance payments made	349,754.00	313
Property, plant and equipment	49,782,439.39	48,726
Financial assets	17,342.08	17
<b>B. Special assets</b>	<b>6,604,459.65</b>	<b>6,493</b>
<b>C. Current assets</b>		
Inventories	57,959.09	44
Receivables and other current assets	4,824,778.22	4,152
Cash on hand, Bundesbank credit balances, bank balances and cheques	43,036,843.77	27,767
<b>D. Prepaid expenses</b>	<b>37,857.06</b>	<b>29</b>
<b>Balance sum</b>	<b>104,711,433.26</b>	<b>87,541</b>

<b>Liabilities</b>	<b>31 December 2020</b>	<b>31 December 2019</b>
	€	Thousand €
<b>A. Own funds</b>	<b>5,359,303.44</b>	<b>5,335</b>
<b>B. Reserves</b>	<b>2,594,303.62</b>	<b>2,229</b>
<b>C. Earmarked funds</b>	<b>1,944,993.12</b>	<b>1,818</b>
<b>D. Subsidies for asset financing</b>	<b>49,931,142.05</b>	<b>48,832</b>
<b>E. Other liabilities</b>	<b>19,745,851.79</b>	<b>18,950</b>
<b>F. Deferred income</b>	<b>25,135,839.24</b>	<b>10,377</b>
<b>Balance sum</b>	<b>104,711,433.26</b>	<b>87,541</b>

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung e. V. publishes its balance sheet, statement of income and expenses, as well as the complete certificate provided by the auditor in both our annual financial statement and in the Federal Gazette, which is available on the Internet ([www.ebundesanzeiger.de](http://www.ebundesanzeiger.de)).



# Income Statement/Expenditure Account

Annual Accounts as of 31 December 2020

Grants and subsidies	2020 €	2019 Thousand €
Federal government grants	186,398,556.11	199,825
State and municipal grants	3,300,229.16	3,215
Other grants	4,908,846.78	6,074
	<b>194,607,632.05</b>	<b>209,114</b>
<b>Income from funds</b>	<b>329,262.93</b>	<b>211</b>
<b>Donations</b>	<b>784,616.05</b>	<b>761</b>
<b>Membership fees</b>	<b>354,396.32</b>	<b>1,738</b>
<b>Other income</b>	<b>874,682.31</b>	<b>1,245</b>
<b>Project expenses</b>		
International cooperation	103,949,670.46	114,788
Domestic projects	30,279,950.07	36,356
	<b>134,229,620.53</b>	<b>151,144</b>
<b>Fund expenses</b>	<b>205,408.20</b>	<b>225</b>
<b>Personnel expenses</b>	<b>44,594,429.83</b>	<b>39,960</b>
<b>Administrative expenses</b>	<b>14,063,893.43</b>	<b>17,023</b>
<b>Expenses for investment and other financing</b>	<b>2,281,883.12</b>	<b>2,799</b>
<b>Grants to other foundations</b>	<b>967,000.00</b>	<b>963</b>
<b>Other expenses</b>	<b>125,349.47</b>	<b>319</b>
<b>Depreciation on property, plant and equipment</b>	<b>5,843.00</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>Expense/revenue surplus</b>	<b>477,162.08</b>	<b>628</b>
<b>Withdrawals from reserves</b>	<b>631,829.53</b>	<b>533</b>
<b>Allocations to reserves</b>	<b>1,093,216.41</b>	<b>1,143</b>
<b>Net income</b>	<b>15,775.20</b>	<b>18</b>

On 17 February 1993, the commission of independent experts appointed by the German Federal President published its recommendations. In accordance with the commissions' findings, we hereby publish the following details for the 2020 fiscal year as a supplement to the preceding annual financial statement.

## Size of personnel compared to previous year

Status	31.12.2020	31.12.2019
Personnel in Germany	659	615
Personnel abroad	106	112
<b>Total</b>	<b>765</b>	<b>727</b>
Trainees	6	9

The following illustrates the size and nature of the foundation's management, which consists of members of the German Bundestag, state parliaments, as well as federal or state government, party executives at the federal or state level, and the European Parliament.

## The Board of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung e. V. with a total of 23 members\* (22 members, 1 Honorary Chair)

- 1 Federal Chancellor
- 5 Members of the German Bundestag
- 5 Members of the federal party executive
- 17 without any of the above-mentioned executive functions

\* Some members perform more than one executive function.

# Overview

## Expected Income and Expenses

<b>Income</b>	<b>2022 (target)*</b>	<b>2021 (target)</b>
	Thousand €	Thousand €
<b>Grants and subsidies</b>		
Federal government	207,304	215,417
State governments	3,354	3,385
Other	6,467	5,163
	<b>217,125</b>	<b>223,965</b>
<b>Funds/Donations</b>	<b>414</b>	<b>414</b>
<b>Registration fees</b>	<b>1,013</b>	<b>1,514</b>
<b>Other revenues</b>	<b>841</b>	<b>841</b>
<b>Total income</b>	<b>219,393</b>	<b>226,734</b>

<b>Expenses</b>	<b>2022 (target)*</b>	<b>2021 (target)</b>
	Thousand €	Thousand €
<b>Project expenditures</b>		
Student and graduate scholarships	27,256	27,689
Congresses and seminars	7,129	7,701
International cooperation	114,261	116,395
Research expenses	766	900
Support of art and culture	503	503
Other project expenses	3,245	4,265
	<b>153,160</b>	<b>157,453</b>
<b>Personnel expenditures (within Germany)</b>	<b>47,758</b>	<b>46,397</b>
<b>Administrative expenditures</b>		
Business needs	5,738	5,566
Building expenditures	4,746	4,924
Other administrative expenditures	2,531	2,419
	<b>13,015</b>	<b>12,909</b>
<b>Other expenditures</b>	<b>1,601</b>	<b>3,836</b>
<b>Expenditures on investments</b>	<b>3,859</b>	<b>6,139</b>
<b>Total expenses</b>	<b>219,393</b>	<b>226,734</b>

\* Budget for 2022. Last amended: 3 December 2021.

# Joint Declaration on the State Funding of Political Foundations

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung, Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung and the Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung are the political foundations associated with the major German parties: the Christian Democratic Union, the Social Democratic Party, the Free Democratic Party, the Christian Social Union in Bavaria and Alliance 90/The Greens, respectively. Their goal, as set out in their statutes, is to contribute to the future of our society.

They work on projects in civic education that are focused on social policy and democracy and providing information and political consulting at home and abroad. These activities are based on the principles of a liberal and democratic society and adhere to the principles of solidarity, subsidiarity and mutual respect. The foundations particularly focus on:

- › inspiring people to get involved in political issues, and using civic education to promote and expand people's interest in participating in society
- › providing guidelines to take action in politics through the promotion of academic and political research and consulting, as well as enriching dialogue and knowledge transfer between academics, politicians, government representatives and business
- › researching the history and evolution of political parties and political and social movements
- › promoting academic training and continuing education for gifted young people through fellowships and extra-curricular programmes
- › promoting culture and the arts through events, scholarships and restoring cultural artifacts

- › supporting the goal of European unity and contributing to greater understanding among peoples by providing information and encouraging people from different countries to share their experiences
- › providing development aid through programmes and projects and contributing to the establishment of democratic and free structures that adhere to the rule of law and that respect human and civil rights

The political foundations are determined to use their resources as effectively and transparently as possible. Moreover, they are committed to informing the public about their activities and how they spend their finances, thus strengthening public confidence in their work.

This is also one of the reasons that the political foundations agreed to follow the recommendations drawn up by the commission of independent experts that was appointed by the German Federal President. Moreover, the foundations implement these recommendations even though there is no legislative requirement to do so. This joint declaration lays out their mission in regards to the public financing of their work and their public accountability.

[www.kas.de/gemeinsame\\_erklaerung](http://www.kas.de/gemeinsame_erklaerung)

November 1998



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President of the German Bundestag (retired)



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**Michael Thielen**



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## Deputy Chairwoman

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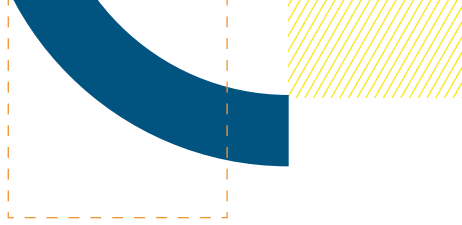
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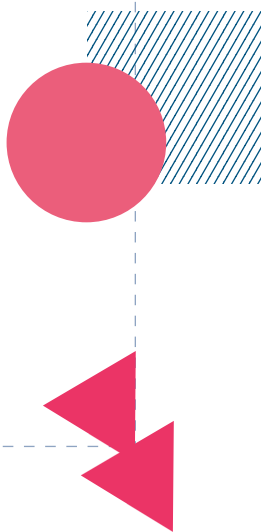
In times of great upheaval, constant transformation, and ongoing processes of globalisation, orientation is more important than ever. Revolutionary developments in science, technology, media, and culture require us to respond in a timely far-sighted and trend-setting manner to the new political challenges the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung sets out to address.

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# The Friends of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung – “The train is picking up speed again”

In 2021, the Friends of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung once again faced the challenge of maintaining ties with our sponsors despite the COVID-19 pandemic.

The Friends was founded in 1999 to ensure the long-term success of the Foundation and the high quality of its service. It welcomes members who regard themselves as ambassadors of the basic Christian Democratic values espoused by Konrad Adenauer, and who champion these values while taking on part for the future of society.

The Friends appreciate the opportunity to meet, share ideas, make friends, and engage with high-ranking celebrities at exclusive events.

In 2021, it was possible to hold seminars at Banz Monastery and in Cadenabbia, as well as to make a civic educational trip to Venice. Furthermore, cooperation with the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in Germany began in October with the joint evening event “Wichtiger denn je: Wissenschaft fördern – Der Freundeskreis als Brücke zur Universität” (more important than ever: promoting science – the Friends as a Bridge to University). The event took place in the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung’s academy in Berlin.

The Friends also continued their series of online political get-togethers via Zoom. Eleven members of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung’s international staff reported on the situation in the country where they work. The second digital presentation, entitled “Einblicke – Informationen aus der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung” (insights – information from the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung), in which the Foundation’s staff describe its work and current projects, was also well perceived. They focused on the “innovation” social media campaign, security policy challenges facing Germany and Europe, and *Die schwankenden Wählerinnen und Wähler –*

*Einordnungen zu aktuellen Umfragen und zum Wahlverhalten* (swing voters – current surveys and voting behaviour in context).

In the future, the Friends intend to appeal the younger generation. In this regard, Nikolaus Adenauer, Philipp Amthor, and Diana Kinnert will be supporting the association by providing testimonials. Events are also planned with them in Berlin and at the regional level.

*The Friends of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung e. V.*

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The Grand Canal in Venice

# Villa La Collina in Cadenabbia – Conference and Holiday Location with a History

Villa La Collina was Konrad Adenauer's summer residence on Lake Como. It was finally allowed to reopen its doors in July 2021. In 2021, 40 events took place at Villa La Collina, attracting almost 800 participants from all over the world.

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung organised numerous seminars on civic education in Cadenabbia. In addition to the ever-present issues of the COVID-19 pandemic, these seminars dealt with globalisation, forced displacement and migration, the development of anti-Semitism and right-wing extremism, and the future of Europe – with a special focus on the work of Konrad Adenauer.

Common strategies for all European parties from the Christian Democratic milieu were developed in Cadenabbia, in conjunction with the think tank European Ideas Network (EIN). Guidelines were drawn up on issues such as demographic change, security, and the EU's external borders, with the aim of helping parties develop their own policies.

Smaller and larger international conferences also took place in Villa La Collina. Priorities in 2021 included the European Union, the Balkans and Africa. Topics included development policy, good governance, and government reforms.

In autumn, numerous writers came to Villa La Collina for an authors' workshop, to read from unpublished texts and discuss their works with critics, Germanists, and politicians.

At the same time, Villa La Collina also functioned as a meeting place for visual artists who are supported by the Foundation's Else-Heiliger-Fund. The artists discussed socio-political issues with groups of authors, composers, gallery owners, and museum directors, thus ensuring that their discussions went beyond the usual boundaries of individual cultural disciplines.

As a European meeting place, a creative workshop for writers and artists, and finally a conference venue, Villa La Collina has long been an integral part of the Foundation.



*Further information can be found in  
German, English, and Italian at:  
[www.villalacollina.com](http://www.villalacollina.com)*

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