

THE LANDMARKS OF HALF A CENTURY OF SOLIDARITY

THE KONRAD-ADENAUER-STIFTUNG IN CHILE (1962-2012)¹

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In June 1962, two distinguished German Christian democrats travelled from Germany to Chile: Heinrich Gewandt, Member of the Federal Parliament (Bundestag) for Hamburg, and Peter Molt, Director of the Institute for International Solidarity (IIS). Among others, these two representatives met with the Chilean senator, Eduardo Frei Montalva, and with Tomás Reyes Vicuña, who was responsible for international affairs in the Chilean Christian Democratic Party (Partido Demócrata Cristiano, PDC) and later became a senator and president of the party. It can be said, as is substantiated by various sources as well as direct testimony from these talks², that the activities of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in Chile began as a result of these meetings.

During the second half of the last century, both countries went through a process of dramatic and significant political change within which German and Chilean Christian Democracy played a pivotal role: The Cold War, the fall of the Berlin Wall, and the reunification of Europe and Germany on the one hand; the governments of Frei Montalva



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- 1 | This article forms part of a more in-depth report that will be published in mid-2012. For help in preparing this report, I would like to thank the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung for inviting me to visit its Archive in Sankt Augustin, as well as the numerous people I was able to interview for this purpose (who will be cited in the publication of the report) at the time of my visit to Germany in November 2011.
- 2 | Confirmation of this was provided to the author by Prof. Dr. Peter Molt during their interview in Sankt Augustin on 20 November 2011.

and Allende, the military coup in 1973, the dictatorship, and the reconstruction of democracy on the other. All of this put our uninterrupted and successful cooperation to the test. The result has been a great credit to its mentors and initiators as well as the people and institutions that have made it happen.

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How and why was this cooperation established between Christian Democrats from Germany and Chile? Nowadays, such a question seems harmless but this was not the case 50 years ago. Ideas and especially political power in the international arena were very different than those that dominate today. The so-called "Third Way", which is now often taken for granted, was not even considered at that time. People such as Konrad Adenauer and Eduardo Frei Montalva, the founding fathers of this brotherhood, were seen as trying to make the desert bloom in times of extreme polarisation. A look at the presence of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in Chile and some of the most significant landmarks of this half-century of cooperation demonstrates its content and scope.

PARALLEL CONTEXTS: GERMANY AND CHILE – ADENAUER AND FREI

Why was Chile important to Germany in 1962? We must remember that at that time, the world found itself between two critical moments of the Cold War – the construction of the Berlin Wall in August 1961 and the Cuban missile crisis in October 1962. Germany was at the heart of one of these events and Chile, although far removed geographically, formed part of the other in Latin America. As a result of the robustness of their democratic institutions both countries had the confidence to resist the influence of the Soviet Union. But in both cases there was an increasing tendency, in proportion to their size, towards forging an individual path, independent from the major powers, in order to address the problems encountered in their respective development. Germany was involved in efforts to construct a European coalition in its position between the USA and the Soviet Union by building a strong alliance with France and Italy. In Chile, a new democratic political force was emerging that was determined to drastically change the

socioeconomic structures and to strengthen Latin American integration and Christian Democracy.

As a result, a common denominator existed between the Christian Democrats in Germany and their counterparts in Chile within the international arena of the Cold War. These positions, adopted by German and Chilean Christian democrats, would cause both parties many problems, especially in the 1960s. Germany, an undisputed ally of the West against the Soviet Union, did not share the intransigence and strict policies for defeating communism held by right-wing parties in Europe and North America. Conversely, Adenauer, motivated by his bitter wartime experiences, was a strong proponent of winning the Cold War through social and economic development, thus reducing the expansion of Soviet influence. Additionally, the creation of the European Economic Community meant the appearance of a new world power that put into perspective the bipolarity of East and West. When political cooperation with Chile and Latin America was in its infancy at the beginning of July 1962, Adenauer made his historical visit to French President de Gaulle which crystallised the reconciliation between Germany and France and ushered in the revival of European power on the new world stage.

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On the other side of the world, Eduardo Frei was faced with similar dilemmas. In a continent already unsettled by the Cuban revolution and its enormous influence at this time, it was very difficult to maintain a posture that advocated equidistance from both left and right wing political ideologies. In 1963, prior to the start of his presidential campaign, he visited the USA, Europe and the Soviet Union, a clear demonstration of his motivation to ease tensions within the international sphere.³ His political platform in 1964, called *Revolución en Libertad* indicated that "The Frei government will practise 'active pacifism', that is, a timely and efficient participation in national issues to cooperate as much as possible in diminishing international tensions,

3 | Cf. Cristián Gazmuri, *Eduardo Frei Montalva*, Santiago de Chile, Editorial Aguilar, 2000, 542 et sqq.

without being bound by the blocks into which the world is currently divided.”⁴

“I believe that our people can only be healed to the degree in which Christian principles begin to prevail again.”
(Konrad Adenauer)

But there was another common denominator: political ideas inspired by Christianity. Konrad Adenauer referred to the role of his party in 1945 with these words: “Only a party of this nature can face the non-Christian parties in order to represent the principles of Christianity. I believe that our people can only be healed to the degree in which Christian principles begin to prevail again in us. Furthermore, I think that this is the only way to present a firm opposition to the state model and the ideological world of the East (Russia) and integrate the country into Western European culture and ways of thinking.”⁵

Eduardo Frei Montalva was also a Christian politician. In the post-war period in 1947, he stated: “We only want to be judged for who we are. Not communists and not capitalists. Men who, inspired by Christian Democratic principles, under their own responsibility, want to bring these principles to life in Chile, ensuring social peace and liberty for the practical conquest of justice.”⁶ Frei Montalva had closely followed the role that the Christian Democratic leaders played in Italy, France, Belgium, and of course, in Germany. The success of societal participation in the economic model and regional integration were both concrete evidence that there was a path equidistant from liberal individualism and from centralised socialism that could adapt itself to the situation in Chile and Latin America. These thoughts permeated Frei’s thinking from the post-war period in Europe. Alongside this, Frei was an active participant in the Christian Democrat International, the third World Christian

4 | See the summary of the Frei Government Programme published titled “El Gobierno Nacional y Popular”, Point II, 1 a), 11.

5 | Cf. Hans-Peter Schwarz, *Adenauer*, Santiago de Chile, Editorial Aguilar, 2003, 490 et seq. Original quote: “Tan solo un partido de esta naturaleza podría representar frente a los partidos no cristianos el principio del cristianismo. Creo que nuestro pueblo únicamente podrá sanarse en la medida en que impere nuevamente el principio cristiano. Creo, asimismo, que esta es la única forma de oponer una firme resistencia a la forma de Estado y al mundo ideológico del Este (Rusia) e integrar el país al pensamiento y a la cultura (y por ende también a la política exterior) europeo-occidentales.”

6 | Cf. Óscar Pinochet de la Barra, *El pensamiento de Eduardo Frei*, Santiago de Chile, Editorial Aconcagua, 1982, 28.

Democratic Party Conference that took place in Santiago de Chile between 27 and 30 July 1961.

The leaders met in the 1950s during Frei Montalva's visits to Germany. The situation in Chile was one of the topics covered in these meetings about which Frei informed the German Federal Chancellor of the time.⁷ The fact that they knew each other personally doubtlessly influenced the standing of Frei and his party with the German government, and, the decisions that would be adopted later as a common policy on Latin America. Adenauer and Frei were united by their common ideals that provided a different way out of the bipolar dilemma of the Cold War. Soviet communism was not going to be effectively combatted with liberal capitalism but rather with a social market economy within a liberal democracy and solidarity. The relationship between both leaders continued until Adenauer's death in 1967. Their last meeting took place in the former Chancellor's home in Rhöndorf when Frei, who was President of Chile at the time, made a State visit to the Federal Republic of Germany.⁸

CONFLUENCE OF INTERESTS: INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AND POLITICAL EDUCATION

The building of democracy in Germany after the Second World War engendered an important role for political education. This effort was not only channelled into formal education but was also extended to society as a whole and to the activities of the political parties. However, to prevent this education being confused with propaganda, the formula of political foundations was devised. These were akin to the

7 | Wilhelm Hofmeister, *La opción por la democracia. Democracia Cristiana y desarrollo político en Chile 1964-1994*, Santiago de Chile, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, 1995.

8 | In a speech delivered during a seminar organised as a tribute to the 100-year anniversary of the birth of Eduardo Frei Montalva, Josef Thesing drew the following parallel between Adenauer and Frei: "[...] they both had very similar personalities. Firm principles based in solid humanist and religious foundations, resolve and decisiveness in what they do and how they act, both convinced and convincing democrats with personalities marked by humility, kindness, and honesty [...]." Josef Thesing, "Testimonio y obra sobre la vida y obra de Eduardo Frei Montalva", in: FEF/CDC/KAS (ed.), *Integración, Democracia y Desarrollo. El legado de Eduardo Frei para el humanismo cristiano*, Santiago de Chile, 2011, 53-60, 58.

parties but independent from them and supported by public funds. As stated in an information resource: "The fact that the political foundations receive state funding does not come up against any obstacles of a constitutional nature: this is what the Federal Constitutional Court decided in its judgment of 14 July 1986 (2BvE 5/83). The condition was that the political foundations in turn corresponded with the constitutional image and model i.e. that they were legally and truthfully independent institutions, that they carried out their duties autonomously, under their own responsibility, and with an adequate degree of religious tolerance. This means that the foundations must maintain, also in practice, the correct distance from the respective political parties." In a ruling from a Federal Presidential Commission implemented to this effect, it was concluded that "political foundations constitute an important part of the political culture of the Federal Republic of Germany and they play an important role in the community".⁹ In the case of the Christian Democratic Union, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, which adopted this name in 1964, had its roots in the establishment of the Eichholz Political Academy in 1956, and its international expansion began with the creation of the ISI.

It was a logical decision to transfer the model of democratic political education to the foreign sphere, as part of the official international cooperation policy of the Federal Republic of Germany, given the positive results obtained inside the country. However, within the context of the times, it was a progressive and audacious component of German foreign policy and was viewed with a certain amount of distrust so close to the end of the war. It was initiated by Chancellor Adenauer himself and it was under his mandate that the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation (German abbreviation: BMZ) was created. This initiated major financial contributions to developing countries and now constitutes a model and a tradition after half a century of continuous operation.

Adenauer never travelled to Latin America but he was well-informed about its development and he had an idea of its

Under Konrad Adenauer's last mandate the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation was created, which initiated major financial contributions to developing countries.

9 | KAS (ed.), *Principios básicos del financiamiento de las Fundaciones Políticas*, Sankt Augustin, 3 Feb 2000.

role in international politics, especially since the start of the Cuban revolution.¹⁰ His Christian roots also had something to do with the closeness he felt with the continent. When ISI began working in Chile and in Venezuela, the work that the German Christian foundations Misereor, Adveniat, and Brot für die Welt had done in those years had a direct influence. They shared the same ideas that would go on to dominate the budding development cooperation. "The intellectual line of thought of commitment to development was clear. It was grounded in helping to achieve self-help based on human solidarity. The task was undertaken based on the Christian view of man and the understanding of a cooperation founded on solidarity. The programmes' basic pillars were constructed on the principles of the social doctrine of the church."¹¹

However, this political balancing act of development assistance needed a suitable partner in the recipient countries, especially at the beginning. There are clear indications that this was a determining factor in deciding that the activity of ISI in Latin America would begin in Venezuela and Chile in that year, 1962. With respect to the Chilean Christian Democrats, disregarding Eduardo Frei's personal relationship with Adenauer and Germany, we can see how German Christian Democrat opinions on their political counterparts had been formulated in this June 1962 report from Gewandt and ISI chief Molt after a visit to Chile: "Although the Christian Democrat party was only founded recently in 1957, it already has a long political history, which originates from the social conservative youth movement. Established by way of a fusion of a variety of groups and small parties, it clearly benefits from a very good organisation."¹² This

10 | "Adenauer was interested in political development in Chile and Latin America." Thesing, n. 8, 54.

11 | Cf. Josef Thesing, "La Fundación Konrad Adenauer en América Latina: historia de una larga cooperación", in: *Diálogo Político, Edición Especial*, Nov 2011, 173-203, 184.

12 | A copy of this report was provided to the author by Prof. Dr. Peter Molt during his interview in Sankt Augustin in November 2011. The report is called: "Auszug aus einem Bericht des Institut für Internationale Solidarität", by Heinrich Gewandt MdB and Peter Molt. Transcribed text of the report, 2: "Obwohl die Christlich-Demokratische Partei erst 1957 gegründet wurde, verfügt sie bereits über eine längere politische Tradition, da sie aus der sozial-konservativen Jugendbewegung hervorgegangen ist. Durch Fusionen verschiedener kleiner Gruppen und Parteien entstanden, hat sie offenbar eine außerordentlich gute Organisation."

appreciation for a party that was still small, (in 1962 it only had 15.4 per cent of the vote), was very perceptive, especially the description of the party as a growing political force. A few months after the work of the ISI began in Chile, in April 1963, the Christian Democrats became the principal party in Chile after obtaining 22.7 per cent of the vote in the municipal elections.

However, the growth of the PDC was above all quantitative. In 1961, the Christian Democrat youth wing was the dominant force in all the university federations in Chile as well as in professional and technical trade organisations. This trend could also be noted among the trade unions. Already in 1959, the PDC was the second largest force within organised trade unions.¹³ As a result, the potential was in place for the development of a major political education programme.

After the victory in the presidential elections of 1964, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung increased its activity in Chile. This is how the former president of the KAS, Bernhard Vogel remembers it: "The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung recognised the national and international importance of Eduardo Frei early on, and for this reason decided to support the political reform of his government from the outset of its work in Chile in the 1960s."¹⁴

At the end of the 1960s, the Corporación de Promoción Universitaria, amongst others, established fully operational agreements with the KAS to develop training programmes.

With this basis in place, institutions that would act as partners to the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung programmes would soon be established in Chile. At the end of the 1960s, the Corporación de Promoción Universitaria (CPU), the Instituto de Estudios Políticos (IDEP), the Corporación de Promoción Juvenil (CJP), amongst others, established fully operational agreements with the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung to develop training programmes that included courses, seminars, and publications. Some of these institutions, such as CPU and its predecessor ORMEU, also organised training activities

13 | Cf. George Grayson, *El Partido Demócrata Cristiano Chileno*, Buenos Aires/Santiago de Chile, Editorial Francisco de Aguirre, 1968, 338 et sqq.

14 | Cf. Bernhard Vogel, "Democracia, Desarrollo e Integración: La visión y las ideas del humanismo cristiano y su relevancia para el mundo contemporáneo", in: FEF/CDC/KAS, *Integración, Democracia y Desarrollo*, n. 8, 43-51, 51.

for student leaders from other countries in Latin America. As a result of these continuous efforts, when Chile faced difficult times at the end of the 1960s there was already a high number of political, student, trade, and social leaders with democratic training based on humanist Christian principles. It is possible that to a large extent the capacity for survival demonstrated by Chilean democracy and the PDC itself during these years stemmed from the quality and quantity of this doctrinal training delivered with the support of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung.

THE TRIAL YEARS: ALLENDE AND PINOCHET

In 1970, Chilean Christian Democracy was defeated by the Unidad Popular, and Salvador Allende was elected President of the Republic. With this, a new period in Chile's history began that would culminate in the tragedy of the coup d'état and a long and cruel dictatorship. Chilean Christian Democrats were opposed to both Allende and Pinochet. The opposition to Allende was the people's decision, while the opposition to Pinochet was based on humanist and Christian doctrine. The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, as well as the CDU and the social-liberal government of Willy Brandt, were uncomfortable with the Allende government, since he had chosen to recognize the German Democratic Republic and establish diplomatic relations with the regime.

The government of Allende not only represented political controversy but was also a profound doctrinal struggle. The struggle was political as well as ideological. Already the Frei government had initiated a major transformation of Chilean society and had established a culture of change in the country. As a result, it was a complex matter for the PDC to oppose these changes without associating itself with the opponents of Allende on the right of the political spectrum. As a result, the PDC became trapped in the middle of an increasing polarisation between left and right despite the great efforts it had made to delineate a progressive position that was distinct from the Marxism that dominated the government.

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During these years, an in-depth debate emerged regarding the nature of socialism, freedom and violence, and the relationship between Christianity and Marxism. All of this occurred in the midst of growing social mobilisation, unlike any ever seen in Chile. The institutions that focused on doctrine or ideological principles, including partners of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, were therefore under great pressure. The journal *Política y Espiritu*, for example increased its circulation and established itself at the centre of these institutions' doctrinal dissemination. In the IDEP, there were the *Diálogos de Política y Espiritu*, "a regular meeting of minds from the country's university and political life, to discuss specific aspects of the current Chilean situation". The contributions to these dialogues were published by the IDEP in large-circulation booklets. Furthermore, the IDEP, along with the publishing house Editorial del Pacífico sponsored varying lines of publications. One of these was the *Serie de trabajos de elaboración ideológica*, that reached tens of volumes, and another was a series called *Textos de capacitación política*. In addition, it published some major works by well-known Chilean authors and compiled documents covering national debates. For its part, the CPJ published a number of documents in the following series: *Lecturas, Diálogos, Hoy* and *Capacitación*.

From 1970 onwards, educational programmes were organised throughout the country – especially during the summer holidays – to train thousands of youth leaders. These sessions were led by the CPJ for community, trade, and rural leaders, and by the CPU for academics.

The CPU was very active in the universities, the scene of constant ideological and political confrontations between professors and staff and between students.

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In addition, it conducted an ambitious programme of seminars covering subjects such as scientific and technological development and university reform, both on a national and international level. With the support of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, the CPU also founded the journal *Estudios Sociales* publication in 1973, which continues to be published today, with the aim of constituting "a scientific contribution to the practitioners of the social sciences, but also with some level of angst for moderation, balance and

academic dialogue between sectors carrying different epistemological assumptions, in a situation marked by black-and-white thinking".¹⁵

Despite the efforts deployed to sustain its operation, Chilean democracy succumbed to polarisation and violence. The *coup d'état* in 1973, the death of Allende, and the establishment of the Pinochet dictatorship brutally changed the political landscape, and Christian Democracy was subjected to the most challenging trial in its history. The party became engulfed by the Chilean tragedy. A former scholar of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, active at this time, explained it very well, "The PDC presented itself to the Allende government as a popular and democratic opposition power. As we would later see, it not only contributed to the election of Allende to congress, but it showed its will to collaborate in the manifestation of revolutionary changes that had been made necessary; furthermore, it isolated the right, rejecting the actions of groups that tried to confront the government in the wrong way. However, the political decisions adopted by the Unidad Popular, as well as the grave errors in the understanding of democracy by the majority of its proponents, added to the disastrous economic effects of its implemented policies, began to create great distance between the political parties of the government and the PDC".¹⁶

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The coup led to a restructuring of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung programmes in Chile. Some of its partner institutions could not continue to operate, as was the case with the CPJ and the IDEP. The journal *Política y Espíritu* was obviously subjected to censorship, as several issues were published with blank spaces. With great caution and at risk to themselves, institutions were created, reactivated, or adapted to continue conducting their activities within the

15 | See the editorial by the Director of the magazine, Patricio Dooner, to commemorate the publication's 10-year anniversary in issue no. 37, 3rd term of 1983.

16 | Cf. Ricardo Hormazábal, *La Democracia Cristiana y el Gobierno de Allende: Un testimonio personal*, Santiago de Chile, Ventrosa Editores, 2003, 32.

new political landscape.¹⁷ The Instituto Chileno de Estudios Humanísticos (ICHEH) was founded in 1974 and was very active during the entire period of the dictatorship; the Instituto de Humanismo Cristiano was revived to provide training for university leaders with the active collaboration of the CPU, whose activity had never ceased, and other educational programmes covered by institutions associated with the Catholic Church. Later, the CELAH was added as a partner (Centro de Estudios Albert Hurtado), an institution that was associated with the Catholic Church and aimed at trade unions.

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung never interrupted its programmes in Chile. On the contrary, its representatives in both Chile and Bonn not only showed their resolve to continue their support but also to follow the methods suggested by the Chilean partners. Indeed, it was careful to keep its activities within the limits of legality in regards to institutions financed by the German federal budget.

Firstly, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's ability to understand the new landscape and the persistent solidarity with which cooperation took place in those years was quite remarkable. Thesing's interpretation of the concept of solidarity, and the ideas of Molt when this work began in Latin America and Chile were put into practice: "Solidarity can mean moral, intellectual, material, and political aid".¹⁸ The Chairman of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung at the time, Bruno Heck, who had represented the German government at the inauguration of Frei's government in 1964, travelled to Chile a few weeks after the coup. He made another visit upon the death of Eduardo Frei Montalva in January 1982.¹⁹

17 | The coordination of the educational work in the Christian Democratic youth wing after the coup d'état has not been documented due to its protagonists' anxiety not to feature as beneficiaries of such actions. However, four decades on, it is important to remember the leaders who put their personal safety and that of their families at risk. The sacrificial role of the priests, ecclesiastical workers, and the representatives of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in such risky activities must also be stressed.

18 | Cf. Thesing, n. 11, 189.

19 | Bruno Heck's visit to Chile in October 1973, however, was kept somewhat low-key in Germany because of the undesired effect that some of his declarations had in the media. But this misunderstanding, which was later cleared up by Heck, did ▶

Secondly, there was full agreement between the interests and areas of the programmes of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung with the priorities established by the Chilean partners, and the feasibility of their implementation. In a memo prepared by Lothar Kraft on the work of political foundations in 1977, he stated that the general objectives of the international work by the foundations should be “international cooperation with friendly parties, for example in Spain, Portugal, Chile and Venezuela, and the support of political development processes and strategies for democratic alternatives against the opposing currents of the left and right”, adding that the German political foundations present in the international arena should commit to “freedom, justice, democracy and human rights”.²⁰ Their Chilean counterparts had proposed similar ideas, although their programmes and methods varied to the extent in which authoritarian rule evolved. In the early years, it was important to survive as an organisation and fight to defend human rights. The second phase was the modernisation of political and social structures and opposition to the policies pursued by the regime. The third phase was the start of the preparation for the transition to democracy, the establishment of an alternative programme and designing the future democratic government. The programmes of cooperation with the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung contributed to all of these phases and enhanced the primary objective with the educational, investigative, and political advice elements.

The educational programmes created a significant increase in postgraduate scholarships in Germany for Chilean graduates with academic qualifications and Christian humanist political or social commitment beginning at the end of the 1960s. At the end of the 1970s, there were about 30 scholars studying at German universities, with

At the end of the 1970s, there were about 30 scholars studying at German universities, with many of them accessing high-level political or academic positions after 1990.

not get in the way of the efforts he made throughout his long career as the head of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung to show solidarity with those persecuted by the dictatorship.

20 | Lothar Kraft, *Die gesellschaftspolitische Entwicklungsförderung durch die Stiftungen (Einführung in die Arbeit der Stiftungen beim Gespräch mit Frau Minister Schlei am 2.6.1977)*. Kraft met with the author of this article in Berlin in November 2011 and provided valuable insight into the activity of the KAS in Chile.

many of them accessing high-level political or academic positions upon the return of democracy in 1990.²¹

Research programmes sponsored by the KAS were prolific in this period, as the only form of political interaction that was possible or permissible was that of workshops, talks, and seminars conducted around the presentation of papers on topics of national or regional interest. In the first stage, the topics were theoretical or general in nature. This evolved towards covering concrete problems and a structuring of ideas that would later become government programmes. One of the most important landmarks for the return to democracy in Chile was, precisely, a seminar organized by the ICHEH in July 1984 called “Una salida político institucional para Chile” in which important legal and political experts from the entire political spectrum participated. And, in which Patricio Aylwin formulated the strategy of using the authoritarian regime’s institutionalism to precipitate transition, which occurred in the plebiscite of 5 October 1988. At the end of his participation in the seminar sponsored by the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Aylwin said presciently: “We are motivated, above all, by the desire to ensure a peaceful country, to avoid the precipice of violence and its irreparable evils before it’s too late.”

Thirdly, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung served as the link for the leaders of the PDC to be able to take part in meetings and seminars, as well as make contact with party leaders and German and European governments. These activities not only allowed the Chilean leaders to keep abreast of political processes in the Old Continent, but also to strengthen ties for the future democratic government. The PDC-President Patricio Aylwin went to Germany in October 1975. Former President Frei went to

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21 | The scholarships were granted by the Institut für Begabtenförderung (IBK), established in 1965, and by the ISI itself, which established an ad hoc programme to augment the number of scholarships available. The author of this article received a scholarship from the IBK during the selection process that took place in Santiago de Chile in the CPU head office on 5 September 1973, only days away from the coup. As evidence of the importance of the Chilean former KAS scholarship holders, of the 9 Ambassadors to Chile in Germany since 1990, 6 are former scholarship holders and one a former worker of the KAS.

Germany in 1976, as did the President of the PDC at the time, Andrés Zaldívar, in September 1977. He was also accompanied by a delegation which included Juan Hamilton, the former minister and senator. During the 1980s there were still periodic visits from Chilean leaders, culminating in September 1989 with the visit by the presidential candidate of the Concert of Parties for Democracy, Patricio Aylwin, who was even received by the Federal President Richard von Weizsäcker. The large majority of these visits took place in the form of invitations by the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung to participate in international seminars.

PARALLEL CONTEXTS: REUNIFICATION AND RE-DEMOCRATISATION – KOHL AND AYLWIN

The fall of the Berlin Wall occurred on 9 November 1989. One month later, on 11 December, Patricio Aylwin was elected President of Chile. So the reunification of Germany and the return to democracy in Chile occurred simultaneously. These were two colossal challenges for both these countries, so far away and yet so close, that would be led by two premier Christian Democrats who had never lost faith that this day would come.

Helmut Kohl would become the German Unification Chancellor, because he had never stopped believing in it. Patricio Aylwin would become President of the transition to democracy because he had never stopped believ-

ing in it. Both leaders not only had to lead their countries to political and socio-economic standardisation, but they also had to achieve reconciliation amongst their people. Germany and Chile were countries divided by years of violence and despotism, prejudice and dogma, that had to restore the human fabric of a people in search of their shared future.

Germany and Chile were countries divided by years of violence and arbitrariness, prejudice and dogma that had to restore the human fabric of a people in search of their shared future.

This historical coincidence reinforced the tradition of solidarity that the cooperation between the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung and its Chilean counterparts had forged over three decades. Once again, practical criteria to redirect the programmes towards the new challenges prevailed, without prejudice to the preparations of content that had been carried out in the final years of the dictatorship. The new

situation also affected the functioning of the national counterpart institutions, since the bulk of personal effort would be channelled to the government. The programmes, therefore, had to focus more on policy advice than on education and research. As a result, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung became a transmitter for the design and implementation of policies and their possible adaptation to the Chilean situation.

In this new period of history, once again, the maxim of KAS cooperation with its partners was successfully applied, as was defined at the origin of its operation: "Solidarity is possible only if genuine cooperation is practiced with partners on equal terms. It is not the role of the KAS to resolve the social problems of the countries in which it works [...]"

The German and Chilean Christian Democrats found ways to further develop their cooperation under new circumstances.

Both partners, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung and its partners are independent and pursue their own interests. They maintain continuous dialogue and speak as equals. This is how an effective cooperation is developed, which can at times be complex.²² In this way, the German and Chilean Christian Democrats, both dedicated to the enormous tasks of government in their respective countries, found ways to further develop their cooperation under new circumstances.

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung was quite literally present from the first day of the new Chilean democratic government. Alongside the Federal Minister Norbert Blüm, who was president of the German delegation at the inauguration of the new Chilean government, the President of the KAS, Bernhard Vogel, and Josef Thesing, travelled to Chile. In addition, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung served as an intermediary between both countries for the implementation of development cooperation with Chile while the new government was being installed.²³

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's cooperation programmes supported several of the major reforms initiated by the Aylwin government and that of his successor Eduardo Frei

22 | Thesing, n. 11.

23 | Cf. Wilhelm Hofmeister, "Die deutschen Christdemokraten und Chile", *KAS-Auslandsinformationen*, 7/2004, 22-49, 47, <http://kas.de/wf/de/33.5154> (accessed 31 May 2012).

Ruiz-Tagle, in the six years between 1994 and 2000. Two examples of this are the democratisation of the regional and municipal governments, which led to the democratic election of mayors and councillors in mid-1992; and criminal procedure reform, which substantially changed the procedures to follow a more protective and oral model that incorporated some of the methods of German criminal procedure, as initiated by President Frei Ruiz-Tagle. The ICHEH and CPU were significant supporters of these initiatives. Environmental policy was another programmatic innovation by democratic governments and it had the support of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung through a new partner institution, the Corporación Ambiental del Sur, founded in 1993. Another issue that until now had received very little attention in Chile, but that was essential from a Christian perspective, was equality between the churches, which, after a long legislative process, became enshrined in law. The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung and its partners actively promoted this fundamental discussion and legislation.

The Foundation also made a significant contribution to the new government's foreign policy, aimed at reinserting Chile into the international arena after years of isolation. The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung promoted visits and seminars and did everything it could to strengthen relations between Germany and Chile. Chancellor Kohl visited Chile in October 1991, making Chile the first country outside Europe to be visited by the chancellor after the reunification. Through the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung it was possible to exert a positive influence on public opinion and German political sectors with respect to the circumstances of the Chilean transition. Another contributing factor was the smooth handling of the crisis that occurred between the two countries when Erich Honecker entered the Chilean Embassy in Moscow and applied for asylum, which was only resolved after several months when he faced a German court and was able to travel to Chile, where he died shortly afterwards.²⁴

Through the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung it was possible to exert a positive influence on public opinion and German political sectors with respect to the circumstances of the Chilean transition.

24 | An ad hoc committee formed of experts on Germany who worked in the government participated during this crisis, which became known as the "Honecker case". Former KAS scholarship holders were amongst these.

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung also contributed to the modernisation of the PDC and its positioning within the international arena. The ICHEH restructured its program, identifying four areas of interest which say a great deal about the changes that Chilean society was experiencing:

- Individual, family and society
- modernisation of the state
- political parties and religion, and
- public ethics and private morality.

With respect to education, efforts were also undertaken to prepare leaders and activists for these new tasks. With the explicit support of the KAS, a new educational manual on politics was prepared, which began with the publishing of a new ABC of Christian Democracy 20 years after the original was published.²⁵

Relations between the leaders Helmut Kohl and Patricio Aylwin were particularly relevant in this post-1990 stage. They already knew each other from the 1970s when the former President of the PDC travelled to Germany at the

At the end of the 1980s the relationship between Chile and Germany was cemented by two visits by Aylwin to Germany, both as a result of an invitation from the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung.

start of the dictatorship while Kohl was serving as President of the CDU and leader of the opposition to Chancellor Schmidt's social-liberal coalition. At the end of the 1980s this relationship was cemented through two visits by Aylwin to Germany, both as a result of an invitation from the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung. Aylwin visited again in March 1988, as President of the PDC, along with other members of the board, and again in September 1989, as a Chilean presidential candidate. This second visit was especially important since Aylwin's victory was almost certain and they could converse about future relationships. Kohl provided essential support for the new government's foreign policy. Aylwin embodied the triumph of a course of action of unwavering support for the Chilean cause by

25 | See the edition of this ABC published in 1994 with the following legend: "This publication has been made possible by virtue of an agreement entered into between the Chilean Institute for Humanistic Studies (ICHEH) and the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung from the Federal Republic of Germany". In the introduction to the text, the President of the PDC at the time said, "Education is fundamental to distinguish between an intuitive activist and an activist of convictions".

the CDU throughout the dictatorship. The relationship between both leaders is analogous to what had been cemented three decades previously between Adenauer and Frei. They were Christian politicians, strong in their convictions and able to embody the collective wishes of their people at their most critical hour. The only crisis that occurred in this relationship was the aforementioned “Honecker case”, but the way this was handled illustrated the value of genuine trust between two people in order to satisfactorily solve a problem.²⁶

Kohl and Aylwin met their colossal responsibilities head on. Germany was reunited and Chile was democratised, neither of which were simple tasks. It was a process fraught with misunderstandings, disappointments, and hard work. This is what happens when history is made. But the results are clear: Germany and Chile are shining examples of democracy and socio-economic development on their respective continents. Behind these achievements are the people and the parties, the Christian Democratic parties, and the cooperation between the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung and its Chilean counterparts.

EPILOGUE: THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE AS CHALLENGES FOR A MATURE COOPERATION

In mid-2009, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung decided to restructure its activities in Chile. After a series of assessments and analyses, it was found that the profound changes Chilean society experienced had substantially changed the needs of its political, economic and cultural development and that these changes directly affected the purpose, goals and instruments of its activity in Chile. On the other hand, the level of development that Chile had made in recent decades meant that it had shifted position on the list of countries receiving development assistance. The latter had, in any case, been substantially reduced due to budgetary constraints in Germany.

26 | Sources close to the case indicate that Chancellor Kohl had assured President Aylwin that relations between them and their governments were above these situations and that this matter would have a satisfactory outcome. This show of trust served President Aylwin to deal with the multi-faceted internal and external challenges that the case presented, and to calmly assess the official views of German diplomacy.

Bearing in mind the great and successful contribution made by the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's partners over nearly half a century, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung suggested concentrating the foundation's activity on a single partner, with conditions linked to certain activities deemed necessary as part of its cooperation objectives. In this way, the Centro Democracia y Comunidad (CDC) emerged in 2010 and has been the focus of the foundation's cooperation activities in Chile. In the months that followed, senior representatives of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, notably the current President Hans-Gert Pöttering and the Honorary Chairman Bernhard Vogel, visited Chile and were very impressed with the performance of the new KAS partner in the country, saying that it had very quickly established itself as a recognised centre for education, training and policy advice in the Chilean public sphere.

The CDC, as it states in one of its publications, is "a private and independent non-profit corporation, which promotes and disseminates the values of humanism and Christianity – principally justice, freedom, and solidarity – in a time marked by individualism, uncertainty in a globalised world, and a society of knowledge that is not always within the reach of everybody".

As can be observed in this definition, the same principles and objectives remain that inspired the establishment of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in Chile in June 1963, at the time under the name of Institute for International Solidarity. Peter Molt, the principal protagonist of this historical event, stressed that solidarity is a central element in cooperation as it is an essential component of personal dignity, as per Christian doctrine. Molt still stresses this motivation today and it has become ever more relevant in our globalised yet individualistic times.