



**50 YEARS**

**FOR DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM**

**WORLDWIDE**

EUROPEAN  
AND INTERNATIONAL  
COOPERATION OF  
THE KONRAD-ADENAUER-  
STIFTUNG



**Konrad  
Adenauer  
Stiftung**

**50 YEARS OF WORLDWIDE COOPERATION**

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— ■ Promoting European unity, strengthening transatlantic relations and fostering development cooperation – these are key issues for the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung. This is why we have emphasised the importance of European and international cooperation for the last 50 years.

In 1962, the “Institute for International Solidarity” was established under the aegis of the Stiftung by Christian Democrats close to Konrad Adenauer who were committed to development policy. Since then, we have expanded our activities beyond Germany’s borders and we work to promote democratic change all over the world. By encouraging developments based on the principles of freedom and the rule of law, we also make an active contribution to Germany’s federal foreign policy. Our foundation’s name provides us with a sense of responsibility and a set of values: We are following in Konrad Adenauer’s footsteps by aligning ourselves with the values set out in our constitution and with the principles of Christian democracy. People and their rights are always at the centre of our work, and over the last 50 years we have built ourselves a reputation that has become the hallmark for civic education in over 100 countries around the globe.

I would like to say a special thanks to the Stiftung’s dedicated staff. It is thanks to the commitment of our 80 resident representatives, along with another 400 local staff and almost 500 colleagues in Berlin, Eichholz and Sankt Augustin who work on both domestic and international issues, that the vision of Konrad Adenauer and his cohorts from the 1960s has become reality. We can feel justly proud as we look back over the last 50 years – and now we aim to continue making our contribution to peace, freedom and justice for many years to come.

*Dr Hans-Gert Pöttering MdEP  
President of the European Parliament ret.  
Chairman of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung*

— ■ From the dispatch of our very first resident representatives to Venezuela and Chile to today’s work to promote peace, freedom and justice in more than 100 countries; from our work with Christian trade unions in Latin America to countless projects around the globe: the staff of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung have come a long way. Many things that were in their infancy in 1962 have been improved and expanded over the last 50 years. But one thing has always remained the same: the way we work. Whether we are in Washington, Ulan Bator or Maputo, we never simply run projects on our own as a German political foundation. We work with local partners who share our basic values of freedom, justice and solidarity. What used to be known as “helping people to help themselves” is now often called “a partnership of equals”, but whatever its name, it remains our overriding principle. We listen to what our partners have to say and work together to find solutions. Over the last 50 years we have been able to build up trusted contacts with decision-makers, political leaders and opinion-formers all over the world and by working together we have made a lasting contribution to peace, freedom and democracy. We are very proud of what we have achieved, and will continue to pursue these goals in the future.

I would like to thank my predecessors, Prof. Peter Molt, Dr Lothar Kraft and Dr (h.c.) Josef Thesing for giving up so much of their time to tell me about the period from the late 1950s to the early 1990s. This brochure would much less interesting without their memories of how the Stiftung’s international involvement was first mooted, of the posting of the first resident representatives abroad, of the work of the Christian trade unions and of how the first scholarship recipients were selected in Chile. I hope you enjoy this journey through 50 years of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung’s work in Europe and around the globe.

*Dr Gerhard Wahlers  
Deputy Secretary General and Head of the  
European and International Cooperation department  
of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung*

# History

**"The political foundations, as they are today, were not designed according to a particular plan, but have taken on their present-day form in the course of their work over the last decades; we can say they have not been made but have grown in line with what has been needed. They have gained respect both at home and abroad. They represent a remarkable achievement for Germany's political culture."**

*Letter from Bruno Heck to Peter Molt, 1989*



## Bruno Heck

*Bruno Heck, born 20 January 1917 in Aalen in Swabia, was one of the founding fathers of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung and its longest-serving Chairman. Initially he became head of the "Society for Christian Democratic Civic Education" in 1956 and stayed in office until 1958. He served as German Minister for Family Affairs and Youth (1962 to 1968) and was Secretary General of the CDU from 1967 to 1971. In 1968 he once again took up the reins of the Stiftung and in his role as Chairman he oversaw a major expansion of its domestic and international activities.*

*Heck worked tirelessly to build up the four KAS institutes that existed at the beginning of the 1970s. These were dedicated to civic education, development work, scholarships and social research. In 1972 he founded the Institute for Local Government Studies, followed in 1976 by the "Archive for Christian Democratic Policy" (ACDP) and in 1981 by the establishment of the new Political Academy. But Heck was always very interested in developing the Stiftung's international activities, and in the early years he always strenuously defended its aim of helping to build democracy in Latin America.*

*In the spring of 1989, after more than 20 years as Chairman, Bruno Heck handed over the reins of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung to Bernhard Vogel, whereupon the Stiftung appointed him Honorary Chairman. On 16 September 1989, Bruno Heck died of a heart attack while on a walking tour near Blaubeuren.*

When what is now known as the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung held its first educational seminar at Eichholz Manor near Wesseling in December 1956, the possibility of working internationally was not even under consideration. Although the Bundestag had agreed on providing initial "assistance for underdeveloped countries" in that same year, issues relating to development policy were not afforded any particular importance by German policymakers. So the forerunner to the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, the "Society for Christian Democratic Civic Education", founded on 20 December 1955, had one main aim: to give young people from Germany a sound civic education. The founding fathers and Bruno Heck, former General Manager of the CDU and first Chairman of the new educational academy, were convinced that the young Bonn-based republic needed committed democrats.

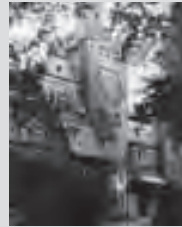
The 47 guests who took part in the first seminar at Eichholz Manor on 3 December 1956 tackled the issues of "Social policy from an employer's viewpoint" and "The situation in the Eastern bloc and its consequences for the German Question". The courses offered over the following months pursued similar themes, ranging from German policies after the end of the Second World War, to the concept of the social market economy, to how to organise and set up a political party. And even at the formal opening of the Eichholz Academy by Chancellor Konrad Adenauer on 12 April 1957, none of the guests had any inkling of how important the KAS's international activities would become within the space of just a few short years. Few would have guessed that by 1962 the first students would already be arriving at Eichholz, not just from Europe but also from Latin America and Africa. And the fact that the first resident representatives were posted to Venezuela and Chile in 1963 is mainly thanks to the commitment of a small group of people to the advancement of development policy.



*Opening of the Eichholz Political Academy on 12 April 1957 (L to R): Bruno Heck, Konrad Adenauer, Kai-Uwe v. Hassel, Eugen Gerstenmaier, Kurt Georg Kiesinger, Franz Meyers, Heinrich Krone, Hans Globke*

1955

Foundation of the "Society for Christian Democratic Civic Education" which later became the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung.



1957

Official opening of the Eichholz Political Academy on 12 April.



THE EARLY DAYS OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

1962 – 1974

5

### From the "Society for Christian Democratic Civic Education" to the "Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung"

- **1955:** Foundation of the "Society for Christian Democratic Civic Education" in Eichholz.
- **1958:** The Society becomes the "Eichholz Political Academy".
- **1964:** Governing association of the Eichholz Political Academy changes its name to the "Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung für politische Bildung und Studienförderung e. V." ("Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung for Civic Education and Scholarships").
- **1976:** The "Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung" receives its final name, which is to become the hallmark for civic education in Germany and for political development cooperation all around the globe.

Today, the Stiftung operates from two conference centres and 16 regional offices across Germany. Its headquarters are situated in Sankt Augustin and Berlin. In Germany, it employs almost 500 staff in seven departments. In around 80 offices in more than 100 countries, resident representatives work on projects with over 400 local staff.

The founding fathers of what is now the KAS's European and International Cooperation department did not want to limit themselves to offering civic education within Germany. The idea was to support the educational work of Christian Democrats all over the world – with the aid of an "Institute for International Solidarity" under the aegis of the Eichholz Academy. In Germany and even in the CDU itself, this idea was not always welcomed with open arms. Quite the opposite in fact: a great many doubts were voiced in the early days. These doubts encompassed the need for this work, its organisation, its direction and even the name of the institute. But in the end it was Konrad Adenauer himself who swept away all these doubts with the words "Right then, that's what we'll do". In early 1962, he communicated his decision to Peter Molt, head of the Eichholz Political Academy and someone who was ahead of his time when it came to development policy. The international work of what was to become the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung could now commence.

### THE LONG ROAD TO FOUNDING AN INSTITUTE

The fathers of the KAS's international activities had worked long and hard to hear Adenauer say "right then". Shortly after the Eichholz Academy was founded, a small group of internationally-minded academics and politicians around Academy Chairman, Prof. Arnold Bergstraesser, state premier and later defence minister Kai-Uwe von Hassel, Bruno Heck and Peter Molt, realised that the Chancellor was worried about the situation in developing countries in light of the communist offensive in Latin America and the young

African nations. In the Bundestag, the issue of development assistance found its way onto the agenda with increasing frequency. And when in 1961 the establishment of a new "Ministry for Economic Cooperation" was approved, it seemed it was an idea whose time had come. On behalf of the CDU, Peter Molt travelled to the "Nouvelle Equipes Internationales congress" (NEI) in Lucerne in September 1961. This was a European federation of Christian Democrat politicians, and the 1961 congress brought together Latin American guests and experts from the CDU's sister parties to explore the potential for working together on projects in the area of development policy. But the idea of international cooperation only really gained momentum when Molt got in touch with August Vanistendael, General Secretary of the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions, after the congress. The Belgian Vanistendael was extremely keen for the Stiftung to get involved in developing countries. He and Molt joined forces to appeal for Chancellor Adenauer's support for Christian trade unions in Latin America and Africa in order to counter the influence of communist unions. To further emphasise the urgent need for this, Vanistendael organised a meeting between Adenauer and Rafael Caldera, the chairman of the COPEI Christian Democratic party in Venezuela and later chairman of the International Christian Democratic Union. Caldera supported Vanistendael's views on the need for political foundations to carry out international activities as set out in the "Vanistendael Memorandum".



1960

*First major debate on development assistance in the German Bundestag. | Peter Molt becomes head of the Eichholz Academy.*



1961

*Expert conference at the Eichholz Academy where representatives of the Church, the Bundestag and academia debated the Academy's planned activities in the area of development policy.*



**Professor Peter Molt, why was 1962 the year when the foundations were laid for the KAS's international work?**

*For the first time, the new German government decided to set up a ministry that was specifically responsible for development cooperation in light of the increasing importance of this issue. This ministry was open to the idea of development having a social and political dimension alongside the more traditional economic aspects. Certain members of parliament and the directors of the Eichholz Political Academy (the predecessor of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung) saw this as an opportunity to support Christian-based, democratic movements in Latin America, Africa and Asia, particularly in light of the danger of communism gaining a hold as it had in Cuba. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung was facing similar challenges with respect to social democratic movements, so all the parties agreed that the new ministry should take over the responsibility for socio-political education.*

**What role did Konrad Adenauer play in founding the IIS?**

*Konrad Adenauer was very concerned about the way the Soviet Union was stirring up agitation in the "Third World" because he rightly feared negative repercussions for the German Question. He believed the IIS and the international activities of the political foundations would be an effective counter to this. His support was a crucial factor.*

**Do you have a particular memory of a personal experience or incident from the early days of the IIS?**

*In January 1963 I began work at IFEDEC, the educational institute for Christian Democracy in Latin America and the Caribbean, based in Caracas. The Venezuelan Christian Democratic Party organised a huge rally to coincide with my appointment. I had been authorised to pass on Konrad Adenauer's greetings to the crowd, which sparked great jubilation. At that time, he was the embodiment of the idea of free, socially-responsible democracy, and his greetings were considered to be the ultimate accolade for the nascent Christian democratic movement in Latin America.*

**If you think back over the last 50 years and then dare to look ahead at the future of international cooperation, what do you think needs to continue and what needs to change?**

*The world is a totally different place to 50 years ago. The objective of creating a political, social and economic structure based on human dignity in all corners of the globe remains the same, but it has to be continually taking on new forms.*

*"The Memorandum makes a convincing argument for receiving rapid assistance from the Christian Democratic movement. Vanistendael uses clear, persuasive language to explain how the communist threat emanating from Cuba can only be combated with the support of trade unions and parties that are based on Christian values."*

— ■ Josef Thesing

The meticulously-prepared meeting of February 1962 resulted in Adenauer's agreement to support the trade unions' educational institute in Latin America. He informed US Attorney-General Robert Kennedy of this plan, which was in line with the USA's desire for Germany to become more involved in Latin America. Kai-Uwe von Hassel and Peter Molt were given the job of setting up an international institute under the aegis of the Eichholz Academy.

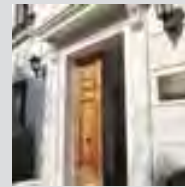
Joint agreement was reached on the objectives, structure and organisation of the Institute. In his notes on the early days of the Stiftung in Latin America, Josef Thesing, who was later to be head of the International Cooperation department, wrote: "We viewed our development policy activities as political activities. The aim was to empower people, change structures, introduce new principles of social and economic organisation and bring about democracy as a way of governing and a way of living. The structures of power had to be changed so that people could live better and more equitable lives." The belief was that representatives of political parties, trade unions, cooperatives, the media, business and educational institutes could all be partners in this. Once the German Chancellery, Foreign Ministry and the Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) agreed to

1962

Auguste Vanistendael makes contact with Christian Democrat politicians in Venezuela and suggests they work together with the Eichholz Political Academy. | Founding of the "Institute for International Solidarity" (IIS) on 1 July, with Peter Molt at the helm. | Start of the series of international seminars for young academics and students at Eichholz Manor, which would continue to be held until 1968.

1963

Start of activities in Venezuela, Chile and Brazil.



# THE FIRST INSTITUTES

7

*"One of the most important factors for political and social stabilisation in Latin America could be the growth of a strong democratic trade union movement. For this reason it is essential to press ahead with developing and educating the leaders of trade unions, including unions for industrial workers, agricultural workers and farmers, along with the leaders of cooperatives."*

> From the first strategic document of the IIS, 1962.

provide a budget for the international work carried out by the Eichholz Political Academy, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung and the Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung, nothing stood in the way of setting up the Institute.

There was now just the question of what it should be called. At first, Adenauer and others felt the "Institute for International Solidarity" had too much of a socialist sound. But even today, Dr Molt is quick to defend the unusual name, saying: "We believed this was the right name to express our aim of working together in solidarity and partnership will all people worldwide who are fighting for freedom, democracy and a just society." Solidarity and subsidiarity in the sense of Catholic social doctrine were to become the guiding principles behind the KAS's international work. Once again, Adenauer's response was: "If that's how it is, then that's what we'll do".

The official creation of the "Institute for International Solidarity" (IIS) that began its work on 1 July 1962 marked the end of the phase of advocacy and basic ground-laying and now the real work could begin. Alongside his work as Director of the Eichholz Academy, Peter Molt also became head of the IIS.



In the early 1960s, Rafael Caldera (right) makes a strong argument to Konrad Adenauer in favour of the KAS's international involvement.

## FOCUS ON LATIN AMERICA

The "Eichholz Political Academy Association" now contained two institutes: the Eichholz Political Academy and the Institute for International Solidarity. Both organisations were headed up by Peter Molt. It was also he who attended the World Congress of Young Christian Democrats in Caracas in May 1962, at the invitation of Rafael Caldera. Together with Auguste Vanistendael, Member of Parliament Heinrich Gewandt and the head of the Rome-based International Centre for Christian Studies and Documentation, Karl Josef Hahn, Molt wanted to establish initial contacts for their subsequent international activities. During this trip, which also took the delegates to Colombia, Chile, Peru and Brazil, it became clear that Latin America would be the initial focus of the international institute's work. The European representatives identified partners among the Latin American Christian Democratic parties and trade unions who were interested in collaboration. "The fact that we had the same underlying spiritual values made it possible to talk to these partners about the basic principles of order and the ethics of political action", says Molt.

In Africa, the Middle East and Asia it was much more difficult to find suitable partners. This was partly due to ties with former colonial powers and partly – in the Middle East and Asia – because there was a dearth of institutions that were based on Christian values and that could be considered as potential partners. In short, two circumstances came together in Latin America to make it the obvious initial focus. These were the spread of communism, which necessitated uncomplicated and rapid support for the Christian Democrat movements; and

1964

*The Eichholz Political Academy changes its name to the "Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung for Civic Education and Scholarships". | Start of the cooperation with educational institutes and trade unions in Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Peru, Costa Rica and the Philippines. | Start of media work in Latin America.*



1966

*Adolf Herkenrath takes over from Peter Molt as Chairman of the Institute.*

1964

# WORLDWIDE

secondly the fact that these movements already existed. This meant that the European delegates could quickly make contacts and identify common areas of interest. In the early years of international cooperation, the main focus was on promoting the development and education of Christian trade union leaders and young politicians in the Latin American Christian Democrat parties.

## THE FIRST RESIDENT REPRESENTATIVES

After the formation of the "Institute for International Solidarity" (IIS), or, as it often became known, the ISI (Instituto de Solidaridad Internacional), everything proceeded very rapidly. Peter Molt and his handful of staff organised seminars for leaders of developing nations, offered courses for foreign students in Germany and worked with their partners to set up the first programmes in Latin America and Africa. "In less than three years, between 1963 and 1966, the IIS helped the CLASC (Confederación Latinoamericana de Sindicalistas Cristianos) to establish trade union educational institutes wherever it was possible based on the political circumstances and capabilities of their partners", writes Peter Molt in his notes on the early years of the Stiftung. "As a result, institutes sprang up in Venezuela, Guatemala, Colombia, Brazil, Chile and the Dominican Republic, and a regional institute was established in Caracas." On 1 April 1963 the first resident representative travelled to Venezuela, followed by the representative to Chile on 1 November 1963.

**"The successful expansion of our international activities is largely thanks to the quality and motivation of our first resident representatives."**

*Peter Molt*

In 1964, the KAS braved the difficult conditions and set foot in Africa. The Stiftung celebrated the opening of its first offices on the African continent within partner organisations in Cameroon and Tanzania.

The international work was often full of surprises for the KAS pioneers. Hans-Ulrich Reh, who was posted to Peru in 1967, tells stories of driving around Lima's pothole-ridden streets. Heinz Bühler remembers how he picked up his little German car at the port in Mombasa and drove across Kenya and Uganda to bring it to where he was posted in Rwanda. And Lothar Kraft describes how, when he was first posted to Rio de Janeiro in 1969, he got stuck in a lift for two hours. Alongside these daily incidents, the resident representatives often had to do some hard bargaining just to get a telephone line to Germany or to get hold of toilet paper or light bulbs. And at the same time, they were trying to open offices, build organisations and work with their partners on the first joint projects. Over the 50 years since then, the structures and networks that were created through so much hard work have become the hallmark of German development cooperation. The tireless work of those first resident representatives paved the way for the success of the KAS's "European and International Cooperation".



1967

Start of the KAS's activities in Bolivia, Mexico, India and Vietnam. | In the following ten years, projects are begun and expanded in the areas of trade union education, management training, savings banks and credit unions and rural development.

1968

Bruno Heck is elected Chairman of the Stiftung.

Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle, president of Chile from 1995 to 2000 and son of the country's first democratically-elected president, Eduardo Frei Montalva, is a regular visitor to the Stiftung.



#### Chairmen of the KAS

■ 1955–1958:

Bruno Heck

■ 1958–1964:

Arnold Bergstraesser

■ 1964–1968:

Alfred Müller-Armack und Franz Thedieck

■ 1968–1989:

Bruno Heck

■ 1989–1995:

Bernhard Vogel

■ 1995–2001:

Günter Rinsche

■ 2001–2009:

Bernhard Vogel

■ From 2010:

Hans-Gert Pöttering

This focus on Latin America continued until the mid-1970s. The collaboration with trade unions began to produce results in many countries, with the IIS initiating projects to encourage community work and cooperatives, along with media projects and programmes to assist small businesses.

In this way, KAS was heavily involved in establishing the "Universidad de los Trabajadores de América Latina" (UTAL) near Caracas, Venezuela. UTAL operated as a training centre for unions belonging to the "Central Latinoamericana de Trabajadores" (CLAT) – the new name for CLASC. Other projects that were launched on the continent included a training programme for journalists based in the Peruvian capital, Lima; academic projects in Chile, Argentina, Paraguay, Brazil and Venezuela; and activities in the area of social work, youth work and public administration. With its own educational programmes, KAS also trained countless leading lights of political parties, trade unions, and companies, along with members of agricultural cooperatives, housing cooperatives, social workers and journalists in Germany. In 1965, the first KAS scholarship students arrived in Germany from Chile: Esteban Tomic, son of the future presidential candidate, and Gaston Salvatore. The scholarship programme developed into a long-term and successful programme that is still very important today. Every year, the scholarship programme alone supports more than 100 qualified foreign graduates in their home countries or in Germany.

In the early days, as now, contacts with Christian Democratic trade unions, parties and their educational institutes, such as IFEDEC Caracas under Aristides Calvani, played a particularly important role in the everyday work of the resident representatives. The goal was to educate and develop young democratic political leaders, and gradually this training also began to include practical issues relating to organising election campaigns. In 1964, the Chilean PDC (Partido Demócrata Cristiano) candidate, Eduardo Frei Montalva, became the first Christian Democrat politician in Latin America to win a presidential election, giving KAS the encouragement to continue with its involvement on the Latin American continent. This decision was confirmed still more when Caldera won the Venezuelan elections in 1969.

*"It is questionable, whether Christian democracy in Latin America would have survived without the KAS. The changes that have taken place in the crisis regions of Latin America and Chile point to the fact that Christian democracy is the mainstay of democratic change in Latin America today. The KAS can certainly take some credit for this."*

— ■ Peter Molt

In 1974, all KAS resident representatives came together for their first – and so far their only – international conference in Columbia. They looked back with some satisfaction on what they had achieved and set the course for the future. The Stiftung had gained a foothold in many countries and set in motion its first joint educational projects. Now it had to continue the good work and take into account all the changes that were happening in the world.

1974

Lothar Kraft becomes Head of the IIS.



1976

The Stiftung moves into its new offices in Sankt Augustin, bringing together all the KAS institutes under one roof. | Opening of the first European office of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in Madrid | The Stiftung changes its name to the "Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung e.V."



**"The political foundations support their partners in developing countries who are striving to meet the aims of the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights by taking effective structural action to promote social justice, encourage wider political participation and increase their countries' economic independence. In working towards these goals, great emphasis is placed on the personal responsibility and initiative of social groups and individuals. The main focus of this development policy is on helping disadvantaged sectors of society to help themselves."**

*From the fundamental principles for the BMZ and the political foundations, as set out in 1971.*

The KAS's principles of solidarity and subsidiarity and the tireless efforts of its resident representatives on the ground started to bear fruits: thanks to the excellent collaboration between KAS resident representatives and their partners in the various countries, numerous projects were founded and quickly became successful models for the future. The "Instituto de Formación Demócrata Cristiana" (IFEDEC), founded by Aristides Calvani in Caracas, the "Instituto Centroamericano de Estudios Políticos" (INCEP) founded in Guatemala in 1968, and the "Instituto de Estudios Políticos" (IDEP) founded in Chile under Claudio Orrego, quickly became important and influential centres of civic education for the Christian democratic parties in Latin America. The work that was carried out in the area of trade union education looked equally promising.

First reports of success were also trickling in from other continents where the start-up work had proved to be much more difficult. The contacts that had been made in 1963 in Tanzania and Cameroon provided grounds for cautious hope that other countries on the continent would also benefit from the KAS's involvement. So in the early 1970s the Stiftung set up projects in Cameroon, Lesotho, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, the former Zaire and Ghana. In Asia, the IIS made its first contacts with Christian trade unions in the Philippines. From 1967 onwards, humanitarian aid was provided in South Vietnam, and a first project was launched in Indonesia in 1968. The first resident representatives also began their work in India, Sri Lanka and South Korea. By 1970, the KAS was represented in 14 countries in the Caribbean and Latin America, six countries in Africa and six countries in Asia, with a total of 60 resident representatives.



*Bruno Heck (left) receives the symbolic key to the Stiftung's new headquarters in St. Augustin in 1976. The building brought the various institutes together under one roof.*

These initial successes led to a period of development and expansion between 1974 and 1989. "Helping others to help themselves" remained the Stiftung's guiding principle. The resident representatives completed successful projects, added new areas of focus and brought other countries into the equation. Europe also increasingly became a focus of the KAS's work. When Lothar Kraft opened the KAS's first European office in Madrid in 1976, this was yet another milestone in the history of its international cooperation.

**■ Project expenditure, 1963-1972**

**by sector**

<i>Civic education</i> .....	31,50%
<i>Trade union education work</i> .....	29,91%
<i>Community/social work</i> .....	19,21%
<i>Mass media</i> .....	6,69%
<i>Youth education</i> .....	4,18%
<i>Entrepreneurs/management</i> .....	5,57%
<i>General education work</i> .....	3,05%
<i>Professional associations</i> .....	1,70%
<i>Scholarship and research</i> .....	0,17%
<i>Other</i> .....	0,02%

1977

The Stiftung acquires Konrad Adenauer's favourite holiday home, the Villa La Collina in Cadenabbia on Lake Como, and turns it into an international conference centre. | Offices opened in Rome and Washington.



1977

Staff conference in Rio de Janeiro.

ON THE ROAD TO DEMOCRACY



# 1974 - 1989

## Israel

When German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer met Israeli Prime Minister David Ben Gurion for the first time in 1960 in the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York (photo), the two statesmen laid the foundations for reconciliation and a future partnership between Germany and Israel. The KAS feels it has a duty to honour this legacy and has been active in Israel since 1982.

Over the years, the Stiftung's resident representatives have been able to build a solid foundation of trust that has made it possible for the KAS to work in this sensitive region. Working together with Israeli partner organisations, the KAS is active in three main areas: maintaining and deepening relations between Germany and Israel; strengthening democracy and the rule of law; and working to promote peaceful coexistence between Israel and its neighbours. The political dialogue programmes that were started in the 1990s for Palestinian politicians, businessmen, journalists and students have achieved substantial recognition and



have continued uninterrupted, even during the Al-Aqsa Intifada. The overriding aim of the Stiftung's work remains that of making a lasting contribution to Israel's ability to exist in peace and prosperity and to help strengthen its partnership with Europe.

With the appointment of Lothar Kraft, for the first time a former resident representative took over at the helm of the IIS. From 1969 to 1974, Kraft was one of the pioneers of international cooperation in Brazil, where he was heavily involved in setting up educational television. Under the first Chairman, Peter Molt, and his successor, Adolf Herkenrath, who headed up the IIS between 1966 and

1973, the main focus had been on making contacts with suitable partners and setting up initial projects in the area of political, trade union and cooperative education. In the mid-70s, the focus shifted towards the professionalisation of its international cooperation activities. The resident representatives had established structures that they

could rely on, and the KAS had gathered a great deal of expert knowledge in the area of development policy. This experience was then put to good use from 1978 onwards in a new area of the KAS's international activities: European and transatlantic cooperation. The mission of the "Office for International Cooperation" (BIZ) was to deepen foreign relations with EU and NATO partners. More specifically, in 1979 this involved improving contacts with the member parties of the "European People's Party" (EPP) and the conservative parties in the "European Democratic Union" (EDU) in order to be able to build a broad majority within the new European Parliament. On the other side of the Atlantic, KAS was keen to forge contacts with the new leadership in order to exchange ideas



Eduardo Frei is a welcome guest who often visits the Stiftung. This photo from 1978 shows Bruno Heck (right) giving him a copy of the book "Latin America at the Crossroads" authored by Eduardo Frei and edited by Josef Thesing (centre).



1978

Founding of the Office for International Cooperation with responsibility for Europe, the USA and Japan, under the leadership of Josef Thesing. Willi Erl takes over responsibility for the IIS project department that looks after Africa, Asia, the Middle East and Latin America. | Opening of offices in Lisbon and Brussels.

1979

First contacts are made with the People's Republic of China.



and facilitate face-to-face meetings so that the transatlantic cooperation could continue. The 1970s and 1980s were characterised by the geographical expansion of KAS's work to include Europe and North America.

#### THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE HOST COUNTRIES

On the political front, the KAS resident representatives found themselves facing a whole range of different situations. In the 1970s their work was still mainly focused on Latin America, a region that was sending out mixed signals. In Venezuela, democracy seemed to be gaining a foothold under President Rafael Calderas (1969-1973), while in Chile democratic change ground to a halt for a long time after the military coup of 11 September 1973. Countries such as Guatemala and El Salvador were dealing with warring leftist guerrilla groups. On 15 October 1979, a progressive military junta ousted the government in a coup d'état, supported by the "Christian Democratic party" (PDC). The KAS had good relations with José Napoleón Duarte who became leader of the junta in 1980, and four years later the people of El Salvador elected the PDC candidate Duarte to the presidency in the country's first free elections.

In Asia, the Vietnam War continued to dominate the development of the whole region. The KAS could only advance very cautiously in such a difficult political situation. However, after the success of initial projects in South Vietnam, Indonesia, India, South Korea, the Philippines and Sri Lanka in the late 1960s, Lothar Kraft and the foundation's other leaders decided to

*In 1979 Bruno Heck (5th from left) headed up a delegation to Beijing to establish ties with the country's rulers and discuss the possibility of carrying out project work in the People's Republic of China. Deputy Prime Minister and member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, Bo Yibo (centre) welcomes the visitors from Germany in the Great Hall of the People.*

#### Dr h. c. Josef Thesing, what would you say were the ideas and convictions that formed the basis of the KAS's commitment to development policy initiatives 50 years ago?

*I think they can be explained quite simply in Christian terms. The commandment to love thy neighbour was the overriding principle that motivated the small band of people who were initially involved. The challenge was to help people and peoples in other countries and on other continents who faced political, economic and social problems. The values and principles of Catholic social doctrine, including freedom, solidarity and justice, were particularly helpful in this respect. "Helping others to help themselves" was the guiding principle, while solidarity, partnership and dialogue provided our orientation. Another key factor was the awareness amongst the first generation of resident representatives abroad that it was important for them to come together with Konrad Adenauer to present the world with a different picture of Germany after the terrible events of the past.*

#### What is it that is special about the KAS's international work today? What can we be proud of?

*Konrad Adenauer himself was involved in the wise and far-sighted decision to initiate the international activities of the political foundations. No other country has established a comparable system. Over the last 50 years, the success of the KAS's work around the world has made a significant contribution to the spread of democracy, the rule of law, the social market economy, interfaith and inter-cultural dialogue, European integration and transatlantic cooperation, to name but a few areas. It has enjoyed many more successes and is involved in many more issues than these. The KAS has been able to build up a huge amount of trust amongst people and institutions during its many years of activity around the world, predominantly because of the demeanour and work of its resident representatives abroad. The Stiftung's various Chairmen, Bruno Heck, Bernhard Vogel, Günter Rinsche and now Hans-Gert Pöttering, have also made their own individual and valuable contributions. The KAS has an excellent reputation as being a partner that can be relied on, and this is something we can all be very proud of.*



**1980**

*Commencement of activities in Zimbabwe. | Opening of the Paris and London offices.*

**1981**

*Opening of the Athens office.*



**“Often it is no longer the classical instruments of foreign policy that get things moving; instead this is done through political persuasion at grassroots level, such as through the work done by the political foundations in the various countries.”**

*German President, Roman Herzog, in July 1998*

### Villa La Collina

*In 1977, the Stiftung purchased Konrad Adenauer’s favourite holiday home, the Villa La Collina in Cadenabbia on Lake Como, and developed it into an international conference centre. Konrad Adenauer spent numerous private holidays in the villa between 1959 and 1966, as well as meeting with important politicians and personalities of the day. Today, the KAS uses the historic villa and the “Accademia Konrad Adenauer” that was established there in the 1990s as an international conference centre, as a venue for guest conferences and events and as a guest house for holidaymakers. Countless confidential discussions have taken place between KAS employees and their project partners, many new ideas have been developed and numerous important conferences have been held since 1977 in this picturesque location on Lake Como.*



focus once again on Asia in the mid-1970s. In 1979 the IIS even made its first contacts with the People’s Republic of China.

In Africa, the quest for suitable partners continued to be difficult. Most of the continent had only recently emerged from colonial rule and people had high

expectations of their national independence movements – expectations that were in fact to be only rarely fulfilled. Western hopes that the oppression of colonial rule would be followed by Western-style multi-party democracies were soon to be dashed. Instead one-party systems emerged, in some countries led by the former independence movements

as in Tanzania, or by military regimes as in Nigeria. So the Stiftung made every effort to set up initial projects in individual countries in order to address these specific regional problems. In 1980, the KAS opened its first partner office in Zimbabwe, and in 1983 and 1986 South Africa and Mali were established as project locations. In the Middle East, the KAS launched its first projects in Egypt, Israel and Turkey. The first office was opened in Cairo in 1979, followed by Jerusalem and Ankara in 1982 and 1983.

In Europe things were looking more hopeful. Western European democracies were forging closer ties within the European Community and the dictatorships in Spain, Portugal and Greece were collapsing. In 1974 the Greek junta fell, In Portugal the Cloves Revolution led to non-communist parties winning a clear majority the following year and in Spain it seemed that the country was ready for a new democratic beginning after the death of Fran-

*In the early years, the KAS supported rural crafts projects in Sri Lanka.*



*Members of a WAD savings club in southern Namibia proudly show off their savings books.*



1982

Opening of the Jerusalem office | The IIS now supports a total of 145 projects in 45 countries in Africa, Latin America and Asia.

1983

Opening of offices in Turkey and South Africa.

14



co and the assumption of power by King Juan Carlos. Just two years later, in 1976, the KAS opened its first European office: in Madrid, which still looks after projects in Spain and Portugal. In 1977 offices were opened in Rome and Washington. These two continents, Europe and North America, fell under the aegis of the new "Office for International Cooperation" (BIZ). With Josef Thesing at the helm, BIZ worked on projects in Europe, the USA and, from 1985, Japan. By the early 1980s, more offices had been opened in Lisbon, Brussels, Paris, London and Athens. The main objective was to spread the fundamental values of the transatlantic community and deepen relations between EU and NATO members. The new offices helped the KAS to build a large network of policymakers and opinion leaders in the realms of politics, business and civil society. The KAS offers the countries where it works a platform for public debate and brings together representatives of the host countries with German policymakers.

#### NEW FOCUS OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

The main focus of the international cooperation work continued to be on civic education, strengthening independent, democratic trade unions and cooperatives and promoting free and independent media. However, the geographic expansion that had taken place led to the resident representatives gradually taking on more topic-based projects. The issues of rural development and support for small businesses increasingly became a focus of their work on other continents.

Towards the end of the 1970s, an important new area was added to the Stiftung's activities that had until that time received little attention due to lack of funds: research and analysis. Whereas the KAS only spent

**Dr Lothar Kraft, after the pioneering phase, the mid-1970s saw the start of the KAS's international activities becoming much more professional. What was your main focus at this time in your position as IIS chairman?**

*At the end of 1969 I went to work for the KAS in Brazil, where I learned a great deal and gained a huge amount of experience. This stood me in good stead when I was head of the Institute for International Solidarity from 1974 to 1984. Over the years, the budget grew and this made it possible for us to expand our regional activities. Our staff at home and abroad became more professional just through carrying out their daily work. I think there were four key factors involved: the socio-political concept; the quality of the projects and the partners; the motivation, demeanour, aptitude and ability of the staff; and a transparent and reliable financial administration system. As the great Erasmus said at the beginning of the 16th century: "there is no justice without freedom". Freedom and justice are the two principles that underpin our programmes and the aims of our work. If we always stand up for these principles, then we can circumvent other standpoints that threaten to prevent us from achieving these aims.*

**And what would be your fondest memory of your time as head of the IIS?**

*I always found my time at the IIS exciting and interesting, not only because of the actual work I was doing, but also because of the people I came into contact with. My fondest memory would have to be of Rio de Janeiro in 1972. Some German engineers had installed the equipment in the new national production centre for educational television, but there was no electricity for the final rehearsal. With typical Brazilian resourcefulness, the architect did a deal with the owner of the building next door and a thick cable was run through to the TV studio. Suddenly music exploded from the sound system and the ultra-modern lighting rigs blazed into life. And I was beaming too – with relief! It's always wonderful when it looks like everything is going to go wrong, but somehow it all works out in the end.*

1984



*Josef Thesing takes over as Chairman of the International Institute. | The IIS and BIZ merge to form the Institute for International Cooperation (IIK). | Lothar Kraft stands down as chairman of the IIS and becomes chief executive of the IIK.*

**“Up until the first democratic elections in April 1994, the specific instruments of the political foundations proved to be very unique and important in exerting an influence over the socio-political (and so indirectly over the political) developments. In fact this was only possible because of their clear independence from the official structures of the German government.”**

*Extract from a report by independent experts, commissioned by the BIZ in 1995, on the work of the political foundations in South Africa*



## South Africa

*It was a brave decision by the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung to be the first political foundation to open an office in South Africa, but it also attracted its fair share of criticism. At the height of apartheid, the KAS was sending a resident representative to the last bastion of white rule in Africa. The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung had decided against working in the land of apartheid, but the KAS representatives argued otherwise. They believed that it would only be possible to work with democratic movements in South Africa if they had a local presence. And indeed it is hard to imagine that a project like “Local Government beyond Apartheid” that was launched in 1987 could have got off the ground without such a presence. The KAS’s mission was to support democratic change in the land itself. Together with its partner, the Inkatha Freedom Party led by Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the KAS worked towards bringing about peaceful change and a new democratic start for the country. Seminars were run on topics such as creating a free democratic order or building a federal democratic structure in order to help prepare opposition groups and civil society organisations for a post-apartheid era. Following Nelson Mandela’s release, the Stiftung provided German expertise to help with the constitutional process and played an active role in drafting some of the key points of the new liberal constitution from its new office in Johannesburg.*

*In the course of its many years in South Africa, the Stiftung has been able to forge strong ties and build a network based on trust. The KAS is now the first port of call when it comes to questions on federalism or the rule of law. Although South Africa is now seen as a beacon of hope for the continent as a whole, this country on the Cape of Good Hope still has to deal with high levels of unemployment, huge inequalities in wealth distribution and a soaring crime rate. There is also clear evidence of centralist tendencies that are designed to ensure that the former freedom movement, the African National Congress (ANC), will continue to rule South Africa for many years to come. The KAS is therefore focused on bringing opposition parties together, implementing and updating the country’s legal and constitutional frameworks, strengthening party democracy, providing support for federal structures, assisting with regional integration processes and on co-ordinating the interests of its partners from civil society.*



0.17% of its project funds on research between 1963 and 1972, this was to change over the years that followed. The reasoning behind this was that whatever is implemented on the ground should be backed up by theory. Examples of new instruments in this area are the “Asociación de Investigación y de Estudios Sociales” (ASIES) that was set up in Guatemala in 1979, and the “Centro Interdisciplinario de Estudios sobre el Desarrollo Latinoamericano” (CIEDLA) that was founded in Buenos Aires in 1981. The research and consultancy institute ASIES grew out of a private initiative by independent academics, politicians and businessmen and it set itself the goal of creating more objective, academically profound and transparent politics. Respected figures from business, academia and politics came together to work on the country’s problems by carrying out research and consultation and organising forums, seminars and colloquiums. CIEDLA also devoted its efforts to research and analysis, along with the discussion of Latin America’s cultural, social, political and economic problems. In Ecuador, former president Osvaldo Hurtado founded the “Corporación de Estudio para el Desarrollo” (CORDES) in 1984. This research and consultancy institute became the most important institute of its type in Ecuador. The work carried out by these three institutes supported the project work of KAS and its partners and also served to create a public dialogue.

1985

Opening of the Nicaragua and Tokyo offices.



1986

Commencement of activities in Mali.

In November 1985 the KAS organised a major symposium in Rome on the subject of "The Responsibility of the Church and Business for the Future of the Global Economy". Attendees included Pope John Paul II, Cardinals Joseph Höffner, Joseph Ratzinger, Agostino Cararoli and high-ranking representatives from 35 countries. The conference report was published in several languages. The photo shows KAS Chairman Bruno Heck shaking hands with Pope John Paul II.



### Main areas of focus for international activities from 1962 – 1989

In the early years:

- Civic education
- Strengthening independent democratic trade unions
- Strengthening co-operatives
- Promoting free and independent media

In the 1970s the following were added:

- Rural development
- Supporting small businesses
- Joint academic projects

In the 1980s the following were added:

- Development policy as democratic policy
- Dialogue on economic policy
- Issues relating to the rule of law
- Inter-cultural and interfaith dialogue
- The advancement of women
- Environmental policy

Even in the early days, the KAS was able to tackle issues that had only just appeared on the political agenda or that at the time had garnered little attention from politicians and public alike. As early as the late 1960s, resident representatives in the southern hemisphere were already working on projects to advance the role of women. With KAS support, savings clubs were formed in Senegal that were especially designed for women.

In the 1970s activities in this area included events on topics relating to women, health advice and practical seminars on community involvement. Other topics that increasingly became a focus of attention at this time were economic policy, cooperation with Christian businessmen, issues relating to the rule of law, environmental policies and intercultural and interfaith dialogues. In 1982 the KAS's international activities had progressed to such an extent that the IIS was involved in a total of 145 projects in 45 countries across Africa, Latin America and Asia. On top of these were the programmes run by the BIZ in Europe and the USA.

The resident representatives built ever-closer ties with local partners on the various continents, leading to more and more opportunities for potential projects. It also became clear that in many countries the champions of democratic ideals were also in need of personal support. It was not unusual for friends and partners of the Stiftung to be threatened, persecuted and intimidated for political reasons. It was not possible for individuals to receive any funding from the public purse, so for this reason the KAS established a "Solidarity Fund" on 8 June 1982, using private donations from Germany. Assistance was given quickly and directly to those in need, such as Chileans who had been expelled by their government or Nicaraguans who were being hounded by the Sandinistas. Josef Thesing recalls: "Mostly they needed money to cover their own and their families' basic needs. It was possible to give them swift and effective aid because it was down to the KAS to decide who should receive help". In 1984, the IIS and BIZ merged to form the KAS "International Institute" (IIK), thus enabling the international work to be coordinated more effectively. Lothar Kraft became KAS Chief Executive and Josef Thesing took over as Chairman of the International Institute.

The International Confucius Symposium that took place in St. Augustin in 1988 attracted a great deal of attention at home and abroad. China's leading experts on Confucius took part in the conference.





1989



*When Bruno Heck decided to stand down, Bernhard Vogel took over as Chairman of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung. Heck had held this position since 1968. | The KAS opened its first office in Central and Eastern Europe when the Warsaw office began its work on 10 November.*



### Washington

*By setting up an overseas office in Washington in 1978, the KAS laid the foundations for a further expansion of its work in terms of both content and geographical location. Strengthening and deepening transatlantic relations became a central plank of the Stiftung's activities. The feeling was that European-American and German-American dialogue needed new stimuli and initiatives. Since 1978, the KAS has helped to stimulate dialogue on both sides of the Atlantic in its role as mediator between politicians, advisors, experts, academics and journalists. Back in 1978, as today, the Stiftung wanted to help ensure that the international community worked together to resolve foreign and security policy conflicts and challenges and find joint solutions. Initiatives such as the "Congressional Staffer Programme" that was set up by the KAS office in Washington brought together key government advisors, representatives of Congress, the Senate and the Republican and Democratic parties, along with their counterparts in Germany and Europe, for an exchange of ideas.*

*Another focus of the Washington office is cooperation with America's Jewish community. The highly successful exchange programme set up between the KAS and the American Jewish Committee has been now been running for 32 years.*

# DAWN OF A NEW ERA

### 1989 – DAWN OF A NEW ERA

**"It is no accident that other leading countries envy us our political foundations."**

*German President, Roman Herzog*

During the late 1980s, changing world politics had a major impact on the KAS's work. When Mikhail Gorbachev announced his reform programme of Perestroika and Glasnost at the 27th party conference of the CPSU on 27 February 1986, the world began to believe that the whole of Europe could undergo peaceful change. The KAS decided to use this "Wind of Change" to help its own work. In light of all the upheavals, KAS representatives had already put out some feelers in Central and Eastern Europe. It was planned to open the Eastern bloc's first office in neighbouring Poland in order to support the ongoing process of social, economic and political change. This decision was an expression of the new friendship between Poland and Germany, but was also a formal recognition of Poland's struggle for freedom that was later to result in the overthrow of the Communist regime. It was planned that Helmut Kohl would carry out the official opening of the Warsaw office on 10 November 1989 – but history intervened to upset the Stiftung's best-laid plans....



*After the reunification of Germany the Stiftung gradually moved its international work to Berlin.*

# Main Areas of Focus

**"The political foundations do not work on behalf of the German government, but simply have their approval and financial support. Therefore, their actions are largely independent of bilateral agreements made as part of official governmental development policy."**

*From the BMZ website*

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The end of the Cold War brought an abundance of new opportunities for the work of the political foundations. In Central and Eastern Europe in particular, where committed democrats were gradually paving the way towards joining the Western alliances, there were countless opportunities to make new contacts. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the resident representatives found themselves in a position where they could openly discuss issues such as the rule of law, the market economy and social justice with their new partners. In the 1990s the KAS opened up numerous new offices in Central and Eastern Europe. The Budapest office was officially opened in 1990, and in the same year the Stiftung began working in Russia – initially in Moscow, then from 1995 from its own office in St. Petersburg. The Prague office was opened in 1991. Suddenly a united Europe was no longer a pipedream but was becoming a reality. Today, the Stiftung is still committed to assisting this process.

The KAS underwent its own change in 1989 when Bruno Heck stood down as Chairman after being at the helm since 1968. This heralded a new era for the KAS, with Bernhard Vogel taking over the reins for the first time. He was to serve two terms as Chairman: from 1989 to 1995 and from 2001 to 2009. The KAS has these two former Chairmen, Heck and Vogel, to thank for their far-sighted decisions that paved the way for the foundation's future direction. Bernhard Vogel is still closely involved in the work of the Stiftung in his role as Honorary Chairman.

## 32 Years of KAS – AJC Exchanges

*The "American Jewish Committee" (AJC) was founded in 1906 by a group of American Jews. The founding fathers of the AJC, many of whom originally came from Germany, had set up the Committee with the aim of combating anti-Semitism and other forms of intolerance and promoting human rights. Throughout its more than 100 years of existence, the AJC has brought together people from all races, ethnic groups and religions in an attempt to promote democratic and pluralistic societies around the world. The KAS has enjoyed a 32-year friendship with the AJC. Representatives of the American organisation made a historic proposal to the KAS in 1980 to help break down the prejudices that might exist between Germans and American Jews and help improve Germany's image in the USA. According to the AJC memorandum, the representatives of American Jews would "get an idea of the development and achievements of the German Federal Republic [...] from their own personal experience [...]. These insights could then be disseminated in their own country – both amongst Jewish organisations and American society as a whole."*

*The KAS, which has actively campaigned for reconciliation with Israel and for improved transatlantic relations ever since its foundation, felt honoured by this proposal. And so, on 23 June 1980, fifteen American Jewish visitors arrived in the German Federal Republic for the first "Adenauer Exchange". To date, almost 400 guests have come to Germany and around 400 Germans have travelled to the USA for a return visit. Over the last 30 years, all those guests and hosts involved in the programme have helped the AJC and the KAS to build a strong bridge. This cooperation with the AJC has been one of the core elements of the work of the KAS office in Washington.*



*Teddy Kollek (left), former mayor of Jerusalem, and Johannes Gerster (right), KAS country representative for Israel, are pictured with KAS Chairman Bernhard Vogel at the official opening of the Konrad Adenauer Conference Center in Jerusalem in 2001.*





1990

*Opening of the Budapest office. | The KAS begins work in Russia, initially in Moscow, then after 1995 from its own office in St. Petersburg. | Launch of a Rule of Law Programme in Latin America.*

1991

*Opening of the Prague office.*

EN ROUTE TO THE NEW MILLENIUM

# 1990 – 2000

19

## Poland

*When the KAS opened its office in Warsaw on 10 November 1989, it was its first office in Central and Eastern Europe. It was planned that Helmut Kohl would perform the official opening, but the fall of the Berlin Wall the previous day meant that the Federal Chancellor had to cut short his visit, as he was now needed back home. Nevertheless, the opening of this symbolic new partner office went ahead as planned.*

*From the very beginning, the main goal of the office's project work was to forge closer ties between Germany and Poland. Along with cultural and economic issues, political dialogue is also a key area. So the KAS office in Warsaw places a great deal of importance on providing forums for discussion between German and Polish politicians and representatives from civil society organisations. The development of a democratic multi-party system, functioning social and economic structures and greater European integration are also important issues.*

*Even though democratic change in Poland is already well advanced, the transformation process will continue for many years to come, and the KAS believes it is important to support and promote this process. Important issues for the Warsaw office include promoting ongoing dialogue on social values and the role of the church from a Christian democrat perspective, the EU's Eastern policy, security policy, the creation of a social market economy, efficient administration and political leadership, along with questions arising from Germany and Poland's past history.*

*KAS Chairman Hans-Gert Pöttering makes an appeal for European solidarity and a strengthening of the process of European integration at a KAS conference in Krakow in September 2011.*



## THE TRANSFORMATION OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

The Stiftung helped the ten countries of Central, Eastern and Southern Europe that have joined the EU in recent years by offering political advice and training to assist them in overcoming the obstacles along the way to EU membership. Along with opening an office in Warsaw, the start of project work in Czechoslovakia was especially important in this respect. The KAS opened its first "Baltic States" office in Tallinn as early as 1992, along with liaison offices in Riga and Vilnius. Between then and the year 2000, further European offices were opened in Bratislava (liaison office), Sofia, Kiev, Tashkent, Sarajevo, Bucharest, Skopje and Zagreb.

The Stiftung's main concern was always to promote and support discussions on the consolidation and enlargement of the European Union, and to involve new and aspiring member states in the discussion process. The main focus of the KAS European office from the very beginning was on the formation of the economic and monetary union, the promotion of a common foreign and security policy and on working together with its partners on questions of domestic and regulatory policy. While people in some countries quickly made the necessary preparations for membership of the Union, others were very sceptical about joining – and some had to be won over to alternative forms of cooperation. In order to become more closely involved in these issues and to intensify the Stiftung's work in relation to European policy, in 1992 the headquarters in Sankt Augustin made the decision to turn the KAS office in Brussels into a full European office. Here, the KAS staff have regular direct contact with European Union representatives and since then

1992

*Dorothee Wilms takes over the running of the Stiftung on a temporary basis when Bernhard Vogel is elected prime minister of Thuringia. | The KAS office in Brussels is turned into its European office in order to focus on European issues and intensify its work relating to European policy. | The London office expands its areas of responsibility to include the Scandinavian countries. | A conference is held on the social market economy in Hanoi – even before a resident representative has been sent out to Vietnam.*

20

# FREEDOM

have organised conferences, academic congresses and meetings with representatives from politics, finance, civil society organisations and the media. The European Office effectively acts as an interface for all current issues on European cooperation.

The European Office and the resident representatives in the various individual countries will continue to work to help facilitate the transformation process in order to promote further political and economic integration within the EU. Supporting democratic movements in Belarus is a key aspect of this work. In 2004, the Stiftung applied for registration in this last European dictatorship, but the authorities have so far rejected this application. In 2007 the KAS therefore decided to opt for Vilnius as the temporary location for its new office. However, the Stiftung still hopes that one day it will be able to open an office in Minsk.

*KAS Chairman Hans-Gert Pöttering meets regularly with Sakharov prize winner Alexander Milinkievich to show his support for democracy in Belarus.*



## THE GERMANY PROGRAMME

**Every year, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung invites over seventy political and civil society groups from all over the world to Germany. The aim is to provide political decision-makers and key civil society actors with networking opportunities during their visits to the country or to specialist conferences by offering a discussion platform with high-ranking representatives from politics, finance and the academic world.**

**Freedom, justice and solidarity – the guiding principles of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung**

**These visits offer an opportunity for the transfer of specific knowledge and to hold in-depth discussions on values. Participants have a chance to learn about the way German institutions function and work, to exchange ideas and information with carefully selected partners on key issues from their own areas of expertise, as well as to gain an insight into German debates on cultural and social values and current political issues. Although the content of the study and dialogue programmes tends to be focused on the political parties and parliamentary debate, the Stiftung also regularly offers programmes for representatives from civil society organisations, the media and the judiciary.**



## 1993

Opening of the Vietnam and Cambodia offices. | Start of activities in Mongolia. | Opening of the "Baltic States" office based in Tallinn and liaison offices in Riga and Vilnius. | Opening of liaison office in Bratislava. | Structural reform within KAS: the IIK becomes the International Cooperation department, still headed up by Josef Thesing. | Gerd Langguth takes over as Acting Chairman until 1997.



### European Office Brussels

The European Office in Brussels has been actively involved in supporting the vision of a unified Europe since 1978. The staff in Brussels are also responsible for projects in Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg. In the tradition of Konrad Adenauer, the main goal is to help strengthen the European integration process and to influence EU policymaking. The European Office can therefore be seen as a forum for Christian democratic interests.

Its primary objective is to help improve people's understanding of the principles behind the European integration process. More than 60 years after the end of the Second World War, for most Europeans the EU has become synonymous with a peace union. New rationales are needed in order to effectively counter the arguments put forward by an increasingly professional anti-Europe movement. The KAS view is quite clear: the EU is more than just a peace union. It represents a future of freedom and prosperity. The European Office therefore actively promotes a model based on the social market economy. It is precisely at times of crisis such as these that the principles underlying this kind of model need to be integrated into the EU's economic and financial policies, along with its social, energy and climate policies. Other key issues include taking further steps towards integration in the areas of justice and home affairs, promotion of a common foreign and security policy and cultural dialogue.

Since 2005, the European Office in Brussels has also been running the "Multinational Dialogue on Development Policy" programme. This programme aims at creating a dialogue on development policy issues between the European Union and KAS partners from developing nations and neighbouring European countries.

During the 1990s, the Stiftung turned Wendgräben Manor in Saxony-Anhalt into one of its main education centres.



### INTERNAL CHANGES WITHIN THE KAS

The KAS also supported the unification process in its own country. As early as February 1990 its Chairman, Bernhard Vogel, set up a working group to look at ways of promoting civic education in GDR regions in conjunction with the Stiftung's existing education centres. In May of the same year, the Stiftung's board agreed an overall concept for civic education in the GDR that envisaged training and advice in the areas of local government, school and university education and the promotion of young talent. The KAS also set up new education centres in Leipzig, Rostock, Erfurt und Berlin. One year later, in 1991, the Stiftung purchased Wendgräben Manor in Saxony-Anhalt, which was then converted into one of its main education centres.

Even though German and European policy issues are the main focus of the Stiftung's education centres and institutes, the staff of the European and International Cooperation department continue to work closely with their colleagues in Civic Education on cross-departmental initiatives. The annual programme at each of the 18 locations normally includes a number of international workshops and seminars.



1994

*Opening of the Sofia, Kiev and Tashkent offices.*

1995

*Günter Rinsche becomes the Stiftung's new Chairman.*



#### FROM SANKT AUGUSTIN TO BERLIN

During the 1990s and 2000s, the Stiftung underwent a number of restructurings. The first major restructuring happened in 1992 with the reorganisation of the various institutes into different branches and departments. The IIK became the Department for International Cooperation, which continued to be headed up by Josef Thesing. In the same year, the Political Academy moved its headquarters from Eichholz Manor to Sankt Augustin – only to move six years later to Berlin. As Europe became ever more unified, the Stiftung was keen to gradually increase its presence in the German capital.

With Berlin becoming the main hub for German and international policy issues, the capital has increasingly become the focal point of the Stiftung's work. On 25 July 1998, Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, together with Günter Rinsche, who was elected Chairman in 1995, and Ottfried Hennig, who was appointed to the newly-created post of Secretary General in 1997, opened the new KAS forum building in the Tiergarten district of Berlin. This is now the home of the Political Academy, which promotes dialogue between representatives of politics, finance and civil society. The building, designed by architect Thomas van den Valentyn, boasts a lecture theatre, several conference and meeting rooms, offices for Stiftung staff, a cafeteria and a roof terrace with spectacular views over the city. It regularly hosts symposia, conferences, and specialist conventions and exhibitions. The Academy sees itself as a barometer for broader social changes in Germany and Europe, as well as the initiator of numerous open and forward-looking debates and discussions. The Academy provides a forum where Berlin citizens and guests from all over Europe can discuss topics such as models of social integration, the idea of an active civil society, young people's enthusiasm to become involved in politics and society, as well as current issues relating to local politics.

#### Promoting Young Talent

*The KAS department for European and International Cooperation awards up to 100 scholarships every year as a means of supporting its international activities. These scholarships help foreign students to attend universities in their own countries, neighbouring countries or – in some cases – in Germany itself. The scholarships are usually offered to individuals from areas where the KAS is working on projects. They are expected to have an effect on the society and policies of their home country by acting as opinion leaders. An essential element of the scholarship programme is providing support for journalists, political scientists and economists. Around 3,000 young people around the world have benefited from a KAS scholarship since the Stiftung granted its very first award in 1965.*

*Along with these international scholarships, the KAS Scholarships and Cultural Activities department also supports foreign students and graduates in Germany. Those who receive scholarships are assessed for eligibility in their home countries abroad and, in addition to receiving education at a German university, they are also given KAS support in the form of internships and extra-curricular training programmes. By providing these scholarships, the Stiftung is helping to develop long-lasting networks of young German and international talent. Once they return home after their stay in Germany, the alumni of the programme act as opinion leaders in their own countries in the areas of science and culture, administration and politics, as well as in the media. Since 1970, the KAS has supported a total of over 2,900 young foreign students in Germany through its scholarship programme, which is funded by the Federal Foreign Office.*

1996

Opening of the Peking and Ramallah offices. | The "Media" and "Political Dialogue" Regional Programmes are launched in Manila.

1997

Ottfried Hennig is appointed to the newly-created post of Secretary General. | First resident representative is sent to Sarajevo



Legal experts from all over the world came together at the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's 8th International Law Conference in November 2010 to discuss the legal aspects of implementing a social market economy. The International Law Conference has become a highly-respected event in the legal world.

### KAS Main Departments

- European and International Cooperation
- Politics and Consulting
- Civic Education
- Archive for Christian-Democratic
- Policy/Reference and Research Services
- Scholarships and Cultural Activities
- Academy
- Service Centre
- Central Communication

### Main Areas of Focus for European and International Cooperation

- Good governance
- Supporting parliaments and political parties
- Social market economy
- Regulatory dialogue
- Rule of law
- Strengthening civil society
- Free and independent media
- Decentralisation and local government
- Advancement of women
- Value orientation, cultural dialogue and interfaith dialogue
- Integrity of Creation

In November 2010, on the occasion of Lothar Kraft's 75th birthday, previous heads of the Stiftung came together to celebrate with the present head of the European and International Cooperation department and the current KAS Chairman: (left to right, Gerhard Wahlers, Josef Thesing, Lothar Kraft, Peter Molt and Hans-Gert Pöttering).

At the beginning of the new millennium, the first staff from other departments also started to move into their new offices next to the Academy. In February 2004, the Politics and Consulting and International Cooperation departments completed their moves from Sankt Augustin to the capital.

There were also changes to the KAS leadership and within the International Cooperation department. Following Ottfried Hennig's resignation from the position of Secretary General for health reasons, Wilhelm Staudacher took over the position in 1999 and remained in office until 2008, when the current Secretary General, Michael Thielen, was appointed. The Stiftung's staff were able to welcome back a familiar face in 2001, when Bernhard Vogel was once again appointed as Chairman as Günter Rinsche's successor, a position he held until 2010. The job of Chairman was then taken on by the former President of the European Parliament, Hans-Gert Pöttering. An era came to an end for International Cooperation in 2000, when Josef Thesing handed over the leadership of the department to Peter Weilemann and Winfried Jung after 21 years of heading up the Stiftung's international work. Thesing himself stayed with the Stiftung as Deputy Secretary General. In 2003, the joint heads were replaced by Gerhard Wahlers, who became



head of the International Cooperation department. Since 2007, Wahlers has also filled the role of Deputy Secretary General. Together with his deputy Frank Spengler, Wahlers has been the driving force behind a whole range of new initiatives in the Stiftung's international work. Of particular importance was the introduction of the sector programmes at the beginning of the new millennium, and the resultant shift away from focusing solely on development policy measures to concentrating much more on political dialogue. During his time as head of department, foreign, security and environmental policy issues have also become much more central to its work. Traditional topics such as intercultural or interfaith dialogue are now increasingly addressed at regional level rather than only in the context of individual countries.

### REGIONAL PROBLEMS – REGIONAL SOLUTIONS

While the KAS offices abroad were becoming more professional in the way they were promoting the principles of democracy, the rule of law and the social market economy in their host countries during the 1980s and 1990s, there were growing calls in Germany for political frameworks that would promote sustainable development and for development cooperation work to become more values-oriented. Jürgen Warnke, Germany's Minister for Economic Cooperation from 1982 to 1987 and from 1989 to 1991, called for a greater contribution and more effort on the part of the developing countries themselves. According to Warnke, an efficient and effective infrastructure and a liberal economic and social system



1998



Opening of the KAS's main forum in the Tiergarten district of Berlin, in the presence of Helmut Kohl. The Political Academy is relocated from Sankt Augustin to Berlin. | Opening of the Bucharest office. | First joint Israeli-Palestinian project run by the KAS in Jerusalem.



The KAS has been running training courses for Imams in Turkey for many years. The aim is to provide this influential group with basic civic education. The photo shows trainer Hülya Ceylan and Diyanet officials during a training course held in Bursa in 2010.

should be prerequisites for eligibility for development projects. This emphasis on political and economic framework conditions, which the KAS had always advocated, was eventually reflected in the five political criteria that the Federal Ministry laid down for eligibility for economic cooperation and development:

1. Sustainable and poverty-oriented policy making
2. Respect, protection and guarantee of all human rights
3. Democracy and rule of law
4. Good governance and transparency
5. Cooperation with the international community

These criteria were to determine the type and scope of development cooperation work that should be carried out. The World Bank, the "Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development" (OECD) and the European Union all developed similar criteria for their own work.

The Stiftung believed that these new discussions on the conditions and effects of its international work served to validate its own approach, as the promotion of democratic structures and conditions had always been a key element of its work. From the very beginning, a commitment to free and independent media and promoting the rule of law had been two of the main aspects of its activities. For example, in the early 1970s the KAS was involved in setting up an educational TV station in Brazil, while in other countries such as Poland, Spain, Columbia and later South Africa, the Stiftung brought in German expertise to help with constitutional processes. Even today, media freedom and the rule of law are core aspects of the work carried out by each and every one of the international offices. In order to further consolidate its work in both of these fields, the KAS decided to set up a Rule of Law Regional Programme and a Media Regional Pro-



The main focus of the global Media Programme is to promote independent and free media and values-oriented political communication. Here, African journalists practise giving professional reports on the elections in Johannesburg.

### Further Regional Programmes

Our sector programmes incorporate the issues covered by the country programmes, but at a regional and continental level. In addition to the global Rule of Law and Media programmes, examples of these cross-border programmes include:

- Regional Programme Social Order Policy in Latin America (SOPLA)
- Political Participation of Indigenous People (PPI) in Latin America
- Political Dialogue Asia
- Regional Programme Central Asia
- Regional Project South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC)
- Political Dialogue South Caucasus
- Political Dialogue Maghreb
- Regional Programme Gulf States
- Political Dialogue West Africa

1999

Ottfried Hennig stands down as Secretary General for health reasons and Wilhelm Staudacher takes over the reins. | The KAS takes its first steps in Croatia, and opens its first official office on 1 July 2000.

2000

Peter Weilemann and Winfried Jung take over from Josef Thesing as joint heads of the International Cooperation department. Josef Thesing is appointed Deputy Secretary General. | Opening of the Skopje, Zagreb and Maputo offices.



# GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

25

## **"Social Order Policy in Latin America" Regional Programme (SOPLA)**

*In addition to its 13 country offices in Latin America, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung also runs a number of regional programmes. One of these is the "Social Order Policy in Latin America" (SOPLA) Regional Programme based in Rio de Janeiro. The aim of this programme is to facilitate cross-border discussion and comparison of various political and economic reform models between countries that have similar circumstances. The SOPLA staff regularly arrange for comparative studies to be carried out by 13 research institutes in the various Latin American countries. The publication of these studies and subsequent discussions on their findings have already had a significant effect on political debate and decision-making in the region.*

*SOPLA focuses on three key areas: regulatory dialogue, international social governance and Catholic social doctrine. One of the most important issues within the first area of focus is that of income distribution, one of the main sources of problems in the region. The social market economy is consistently used as a model in supporting reform processes within the public sector. In terms of social governance, the SOPLA office focuses on the question of how to ensure that all sectors of society can participate in the economic growth of a region that is so rich in natural resources, labour and consumers. In its third area of interest, the regional programme works together with the "Episcopal Council of Latin America" (CELAM), the "Organisation of Catholic Latin American Universities" (ODUCAL), and with the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace. By developing and implementing basic courses on Catholic social doctrine in cooperation with these institutions, SOPLA is making a significant contribution to building awareness amongst the younger generation about the huge challenges facing Latin America.*

programme. The main reason for this decision was the fact that resident representatives around the world had noticed that the problems of their specific host countries were structurally similar to those of neighbouring countries. So questions on the importance of an independent judiciary, or whether an administration was acting within the law, were likely to be just as important a part of the Stiftung's work in Guatemala and Ecuador as they were in Columbia, Peru and Mexico. Likewise, it was clear that many democrats in Africa, from the Cape of Good Hope to the farthest reaches of the Sahara desert, all had to deal with the same kinds of restrictive policies towards the media. The answer was for such common structural problems to be dealt with on a regional basis rather than within each individual country. Because the media and the rule of law are such essential elements of a democracy, it was these two areas that were the focus of the regional programmes set up by the KAS at that time.

The global Rule of Law Programme is run by Stiftung staff from offices in Bucharest, Nairobi, Bogotá, Montevideo and Singapore. They organise numerous projects abroad, as well as events in Germany that address international issues, which serve to promote institutions and structures based on the rule of law and institutional elements of the rule of law. Examples include properly functioning constitutional courts, political checks and balances, the guaranteeing of basic human rights and the strengthening of regional groupings and organisations that help to safeguard the rule of law and democracy. The positive experiences drawn from the Rule of Law Programme that was set up in 1990 made it easier for the Stiftung to take the decision to also establish a regional media programme with four offices in Buenos Aires, Singapore, Johannesburg and Sofia. The main focus of the Media Programme's work involves the promotion of free and independent media as a core element of any democratic system, and the professionalisation of political communication.



## 2001

*A staff conference is held in Africa to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the KAS in Senegal. | Bernhard Vogel is once again elected as Chairman, succeeding Günter Rinsche. | Opening of the Belgrade office. From 2006, this office also coordinates activities in Montenegro. | Opening of the Shanghai office. | The South America Rule of Law programme begins its work in Uruguay*

## 2002

*Start of project activities in Afghanistan. | Creation of the Sub-Saharan Africa Media Programme based in Johannesburg. | Reopening of the Nicaragua office.*



### **Dr Gerhard Wahlers, the world has changed fundamentally over the last 50 years. How is the KAS shifting the focus of its international work to reflect this ongoing change?**

*The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung began its international work at the time of the Cold War. In those days it was all about the conflict between communist, authoritarian regimes on one side, and the democratic free world on the other. The main aim was to support those who advocated democratic, pluralistic societies. When the Berlin Wall and the Iron Curtain came down, a whole range of new opportunities opened up for the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, both in Europe and around the world. Naturally, we became much more involved in Central, Eastern and Southern Europe. We also expanded our activities in Asia. Today it is important for us to react to the changes going on in North Africa and the Middle East. Our work has also become more political, in that foreign, security and defence policy issues have become more central to our work. This is a direct consequence of globalisation. It is no longer possible for individual policy areas to be looked at separately; they now have to be dealt with together as an integral part of our development cooperation work.*

### **One big change in recent years has been the development of a whole range of sector programmes within the KAS.**

#### **Why are these programmes so important?**

*We have systematically expanded our sector programmes in a targeted way. It was clear to us that we needed to become involved in areas such as the rule of law. For us, value-based issues are especially important, and this is why we work very closely with constitutional courts and supreme courts. The same applies to other important areas such as media dialogue and environmental protection. Many issues can no longer be dealt with solely on a country basis but need a broader approach that goes beyond an individual country's borders. This is also in the interests of our partners around the world*

### **If you had one wish in terms of your day-to-day work, what would it be?**

*A little more space in my diary.*

## FOCUS ON "GLOBAL GOVERNANCE"

The latest developments in the global financial crisis and the failure of international regulatory mechanisms have rekindled the debate on a new global order. But this is nothing new. For some years now there have been a number of new players on the world stage who have started to shake up the international power structure that has been in place since the Second World War. While the traditionally dominant players, especially the USA, have started to lose their influence, China, Brazil, India and South Africa are striving to increase theirs. The KAS decided early on that it wanted to include the issue of global governance in its work. The establishment of new regional programmes also opened up a whole range of new topics and ways of working within the KAS itself. The consequences of globalisation meant that it was no longer possible to focus solely on individual countries in its international work. The head of what is now known as the European and International Cooperation department, Gerhard Wahlers, was of the belief that development policy could no longer be separated from foreign, security, economic and environmental policy issues. In 2005, the KAS set up the "Global Economic and Social Order" project, in order to address these issues, with the aim of contributing to the creation of democratic frameworks, political values and concepts of political order around the world. While the promotion of democracy,

*Gerhard Wahlers, head of the European and International Cooperation department, takes part in the "Kabake" radio debate organised by the KAS in Karuma, northern Uganda in June 2011. The main topic of this open-air debate was the "The spread and regulation of new faith-based organisations".*





2003

Gerhard Wahlers takes over as head of the International Cooperation department.

2004

A resident representative is sent out to Rio de Janeiro to run the new SOPLA (Social Order Policy in Latin America) Regional Programme. | The Politics and Consulting department and the International Cooperation department conclude their move from Sankt Augustin to Berlin.

The KAS discussed issues relating to the ability and capacity of the G20 to contribute to policies for global governance at its international symposium in Seoul in May 2011.



# DEMOCRACY

## Evaluating our Success

Although it is very difficult to measure the success of political work abroad – it is almost impossible to definitively attribute particular social and political changes to specific project work – the process of evaluation has still had a long tradition at the KAS. Since the beginning of the 1970s, individual KAS projects have been evaluated in order to measure their success. In the early years, the focus was almost exclusively on development projects, but since 1995 domestic activities and projects have also come under the spotlight. In 2003 the KAS set up its own unit for evaluating international projects. The unit's staff carry out regular evaluations of European and international programmes and development policy studies, and also create their own instruments and procedures for evaluating results that are adapted to suit the very specific nature of the political foundations' spheres of activity. These tools and procedures make it possible to clearly record the results of a project, which helps to further justify the work carried out by the KAS. Staff at home and abroad are regularly informed about the results and recommendations of these assessments, so that project best practices can be adopted and mistakes avoided. In this way the effectiveness, efficiency and sustainability of development policy projects can be continually enhanced.



expansion of the rule of law and media freedom remain central to the Stiftung's work, along with fighting poverty, KAS staff are also now increasingly focused on working with their partners to meet new global challenges such as ongoing climate change and the spread of international terrorism.

Key to this is the recognition that these issues cannot be looked at on a country-by-country basis, but must be addressed as a sectoral level. The core principles of Christian-democratic policy remain central to this work: European and international cooperation with multilateral groupings such as the G8 and the G20; building democracy, the rule of law, freedom and prosperity within the context of globalisation; promoting the social market economy at an international level; protecting German interests in a globalised world; maintaining the integrity of creation; promoting the environmentally sound and sustainable use of resources; the further expansion of development policies; and promoting human rights and an independent media.

## The KAS works all over the world to promote democracy and the rule of law.

### EXPANDING THE HORIZONS: DIALOGUE WITH EMERGING NATIONS

The expansion of sectoral projects was inextricably bound up with an increase in the number of regional partners at the dawn of the new millennium. Asia became a new focus of activity and there was a significant increase in the amount of cooperation with the "emerging nations". The opening of the Shanghai office and the start of project work in Afghanistan both happened before Gerhard Wahlers took over the department, but he was responsible for setting up new project offices in Pakistan, Japan, Bangladesh

## 2005

A second resident representative is posted at the European Office in Brussels to work on expanding the "Multinational Development Dialogue" programme that was initiated in 2001.

## 2006

Launch of the Rule of Law Programme South East Europe, based in Bucharest. | A resident representative is posted to Singapore to run the Rule of Law Programme Asia. | Launch of the "Participación Política Indígena" Regional Programme in Peru. | Creation of the Sub-Saharan Africa Rule of Law Programme, based in Nairobi.

Three former heads of state attended the official opening of the KAS-supported John A. Kufuor Foundation in Accra: Horst Köhler (left), John A. Kufuor and Thabo Mbeki. The Foundation's mission is to work for democracy, a sustainable form of market economy and good governance through election monitoring, conflict mediation and increased transparency.



and Kazakhstan. In order to play a role in the rapid economic, political and social changes taking place in these emerging countries, the KAS also decided to set up new regional programmes in Asia. In 2006, the first resident representative began working on the new Rule of Law Programme Asia, based in Singapore. This was followed by the launch of the SAARC Regional Programme (South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation) in New Delhi in 2010, and the Social Order Policy Asia Regional Programme (SOPAS), based in Tokyo, in 2011.

However, Asia is not the only region in recent years to grow in economic strength and hence in self-confidence and real power. New economic powerhouses have also emerged in Latin America and Africa. Brazil, South Africa and Mexico are just three examples of the countries of the "Global South" that are looking to have a greater say on the international stage. The KAS accompanied this shift in the balance of power long before the establishment of groups such as the G5 (Brazil, China, India, Mexico and South Africa), BRIC (Brazil, Russia, India, China) or IBSA (India, Brazil, South Africa). Working with its partners in these geo-strategically important countries, and addressing their political goals in formal and informal forums, has become a central pillar of the Stiftung's international cooperation work.



In 2006, the KAS provided a platform for a security dialogue between high-ranking representatives of India and NATO at its "NATO-India Dialogue". In 2011 this was successfully followed up with a conference in Delhi.

## Helping Others to Help Themselves

**Solidarity and subsidiarity have been the guiding principles behind the Stiftung's work from the outset. At the end of the day, the Stiftung is not in a position to solve the economic, political and social problems of its partner countries. Instead, its mission is to give people the tools to put their own house in order. A central focus is therefore on helping its partners to take on personal responsibility. This is linked to the belief that helping to create conditions that promote development in individual partner countries is of much greater value than simply encouraging public transfer payments. So the international work carried out by the Stiftung is less concerned with how much money flows into emerging and developing nations than with how these resources are targeted efficiently and effectively to those areas where partners can take active personal responsibility for improving their own living conditions. What this means in terms of cooperation with the African continent can be seen in the KAS paper "Emerging Africa": "A partnership with Africa that is not based on the traditional logic of donor and recipient but on a symmetrical and equitable relationship of equals requires African countries and actors to take specific responsibility for their own political actions."**



2007

Gerhard Wahlers becomes Deputy Secretary General of the KAS, taking on this responsibility in addition to his role as head of the International Cooperation department. Frank Spengler is appointed his permanent deputy. | Launch of the Media Programme South East Europe, based in Sofia. | Establishment of the Belarus office, based in Lithuania. | First resident representative is posted to the South Caucasus. | Re-launch of the Pakistan country project that was closed down in 1997.

2008

Michael Thielen becomes secretary General of the KAS. | Opening of the office in Rome.



# The State of Europe Die Europa Rede



At the "Afghan Civil Society Forum" organised by KAS, 34 delegates from a range of Afghan civil society organisations present their policy recommendations for the Conference of Foreign Ministers held in Bonn in December 2011.



## The State of Europe Speech

In order to be able hold regular discussions on the state of Europe with the highest representatives of the European Union, in 2010 the KAS introduced a new programme format: the State of Europe speech. On 9 November 2010, the President of the European Council, Herman van Rompuy, gave the first speech to around 800 guests in the Pergamon Museum in Berlin. "What hurts Athens, damages Amsterdam."



Herman van Rompuy, President of the European Council, gives the first KAS State of Europe speech on 9 November 2010 in Berlin.

"If Barcelona flourishes, Berlin prospers", said van Rompuy, calling on European nations to develop a new sense of responsibility towards each other in light of their growing mutual dependence. The first State of Europe speech was very well received in the media. One year later, on 9 November 2011, the President of the European Commission, José Manuel Durão Barroso, spoke to 900 invited guests at the Haus der Berliner Festspiele. In his speech, Barroso called for comprehensive reforms in Europe, saying that if Europe were to fail, the political and economic consequences would be severe. The State of Europe speech now gives one EU representative each year the opportunity to express their thoughts and ideas on the community of states in front of a large audience.

The KAS is of the view that the emerging nations can build a bridge between the industrial and developing nations. But intensive dialogue with these emerging nations is essential if this potential is to be realised because – despite the generally positive progress that these countries have made – most of them still have to resolve many political challenges at home, some of which are at odds with the central tenets of the international community. In South Africa and Brazil, for example, economic development, education and the creation of jobs are seen as the overriding political objectives, as these are the two countries with the most uneven distribution of wealth. As a result, other issues such as creating a sustainable climate policy are afforded less, or no, importance. Improving people's living conditions is the number one priority.

The KAS has therefore made a concerted effort in recent years to further develop its dialogue with these representatives of the "Global South." The Stiftung's staff have worked hard to facilitate the exchange of ideas between representatives of industrialised countries and those of emerging and developing nations in order to find common ground. For example, KAS resident representatives and staff in the International Cooperation department at head office have been consistently involved in finding ways to move forward the "Heiligendamm Process". For some years now, in Germany and around the world, the KAS has been organising workshops, conferences and seminars on creating a new global order, and in particular with the goal of bringing the G20 countries together around the table.

## 2009

*KAS members elect former President of the European Parliament, Hans-Gert Pöttering as the Stiftung's new Chairman with effect from 1 January 2010. | Opening of a new office in the Republic of Moldova. | Reopening of the Madrid office. | Launch of the Regional Programme Gulf States, based in Abu Dhabi.*

## 2010

*Opening of the Albania office. | A resident representative is posted to New Delhi to run the SAARC Regional Programme (South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation). | Launch of the Rule of Law Programme Middle East/North Africa.*

# Global Voices



### **John Kufour, President of the Republic of Ghana (2001 – 2009)**

I have had the privilege of working with some of the leaders of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, such as German President Horst Köhler and Chancellor Angela Merkel. I am very proud to have stood alongside them, and I fully support the philosophy of the party and the Stiftung. I am particularly convinced that the concept of the social market economy, a model that combines economic growth with a social "conscience", is the right way forward. I firmly believe that this model should be used all over the world.

### **Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi, President of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), South Africa**



In the 1980s, the KAS made a huge contribution to democratic change in South Africa by pushing through practical policies that later formed the basis of the constructive dialogue between the apartheid government and the African political parties and movements. In this way, the KAS helped the Inkatha Freedom Party to pave the way to a negotiated settlement for the South African dilemma. The Stiftung was also heavily involved in setting up the Inkatha Institute, the predecessor to today's cross-party Democracy Development Program (DDP), which has now been working for 25 years on expanding and strengthening democratic structures in South Africa.

### **Akhtar Riazuddin, President of Behbud, a non-governmental organisation in Pakistan**

What is your motivation for devoting more than 45 years of your life to the work of the Behbud NGO? I have always been committed to helping people less fortunate than myself. My work with Behbud allows me to make a worthwhile contribution towards improving the lives of disadvantaged women.

What are the goals of the joint projects run by Behbud and KAS?

Behbud and KAS work together to alleviate the social and economic problems that face women in underprivileged communities. As representatives of Behbud, we are keen to carry on this cooperation so that we can continue empowering women to overcome their hardships through greater economic participation and education.



## 2011

Launch of the new Social Order Policy Asia Regional Programme (SOPAS) based in Tokyo and relaunch of the Japan country programme. | Opening of the new locally-staffed office in Bangladesh. | A resident representative is sent to Kazakhstan. | KAS intensifies its work in the Middle East/North Africa region in the wake of the "Arab Spring".

## 2012

Reopening of the Athens office. | Start of two regional projects focused on the environment, climate and energy (Rio de Janeiro) and on party dialogue (Montevideo).



### **Patricio Aylwin, first democratically-elected President of Chile (1990 – 1994) after the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet**

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung has supported democratic values in Chile for years, particularly those values that recognise the ideals of Christian humanism. During the time when democracy was suppressed in our country, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung helped to bring our peoples together and to promote cultural, professional and values-based education for many young Chileans. This was achieved through the KAS's training programmes, cultural and social projects and its scholarship programme, which gave many young Chileans an opportunity to pursue their postgraduate studies in Germany.

### **Punsalmaagiin Ochirbat, first democratically-elected President of Mongolia (1990 – 1997)**

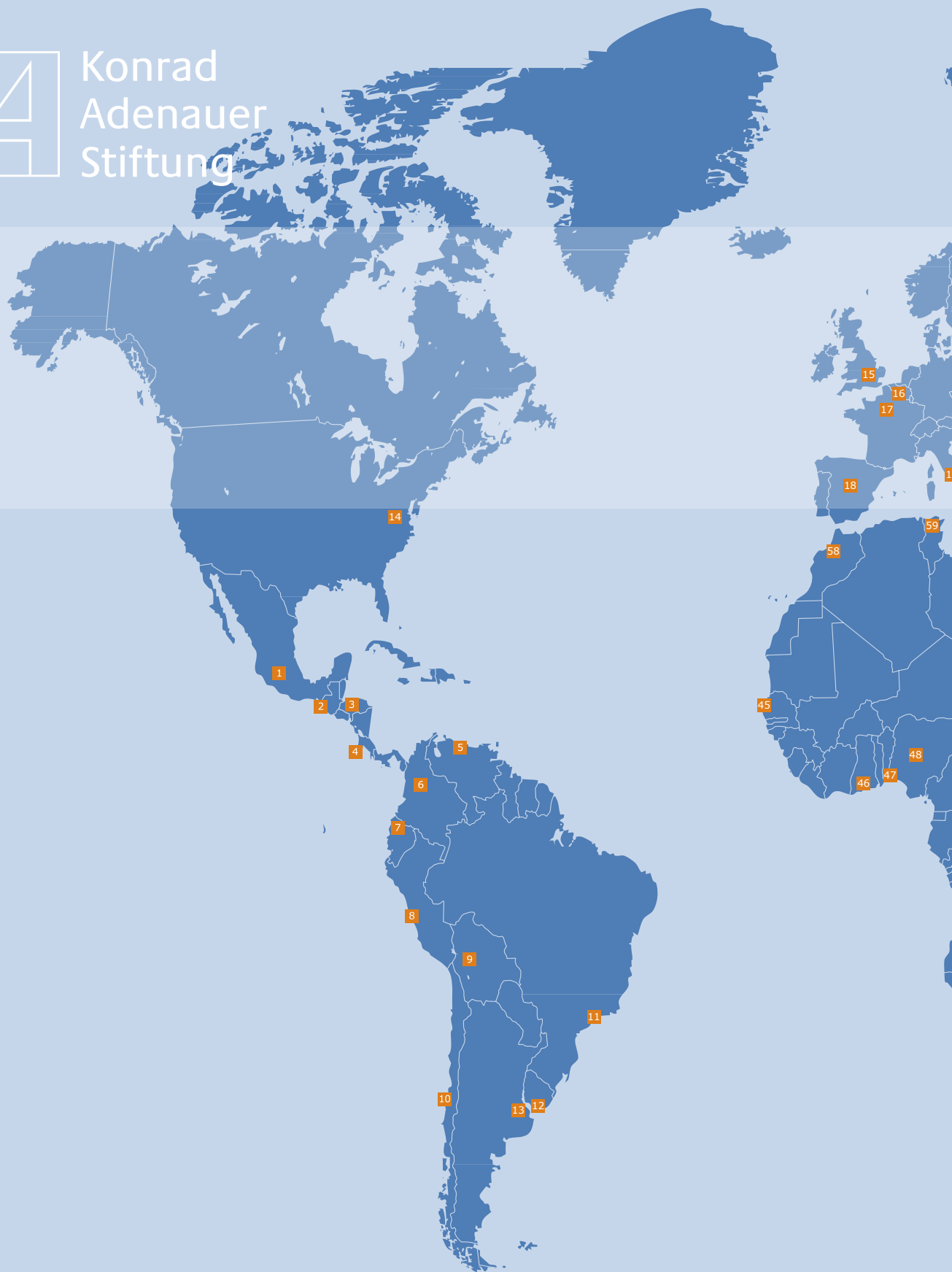


Since the collapse of the Communist regime in 1990, the KAS has always been there to help us with our country's democratic transformation. For example, it helped us to set up a multi-party system in Mongolia. We have also seen concrete results thanks to the KAS programmes for training young Mongolian politicians. Mongolia has undergone radical economic and social change over the last 20 years. We have achieved a great deal, and our cooperation with the KAS has played a significant role in these achievements. I would like to send the KAS my very best wishes on the 50th anniversary of its European and International Cooperation. I look forward to the continuing success of Mongolia's cooperation with the KAS, and hope existing activities will be expanded and new initiatives will be launched.

### **Álvaro Uribe, President of the Republic of Colombia (2002 – 2010)**

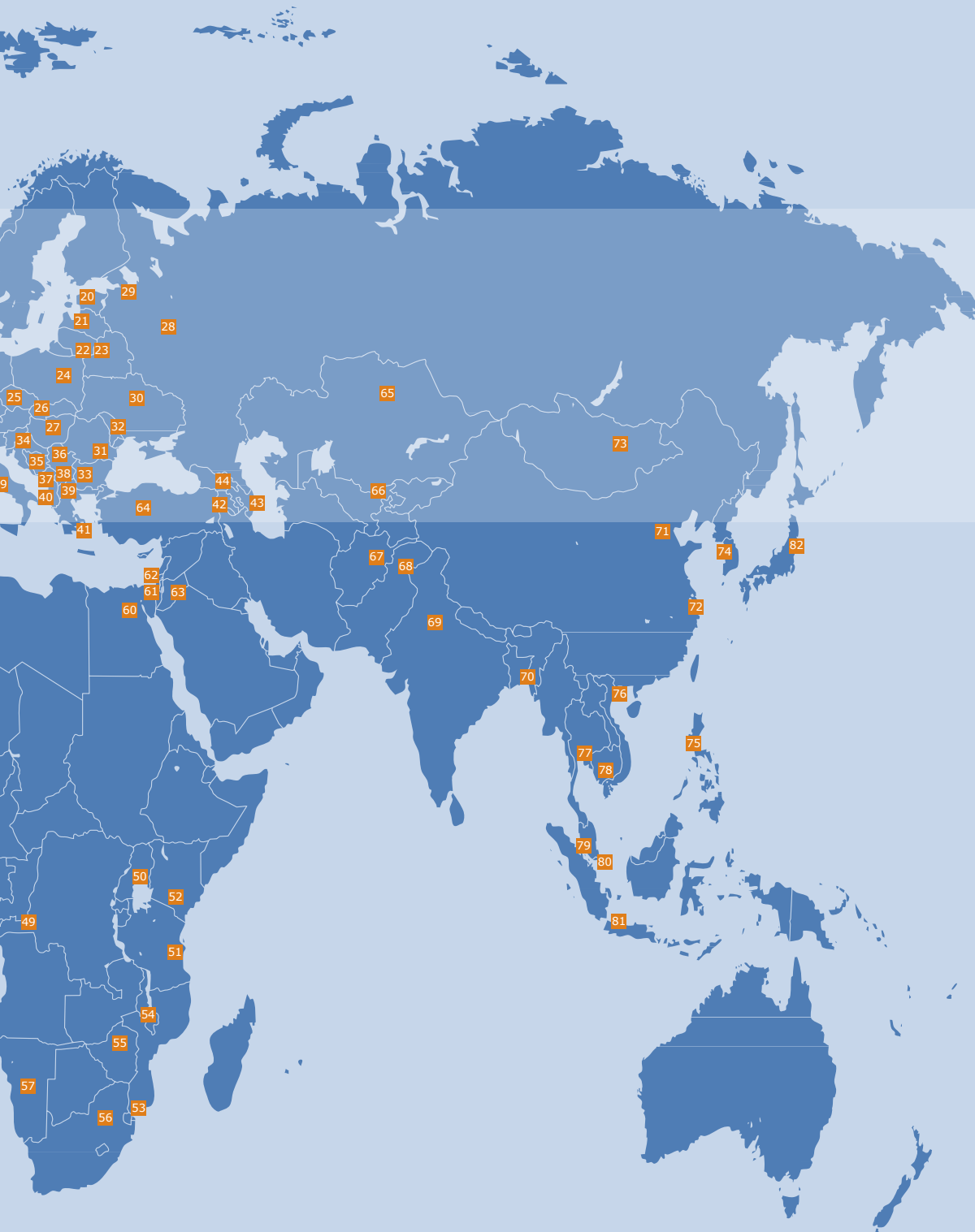
The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung is a good example of how private institutions can contribute to the common good if they display transparency and generosity. As a foundation, thanks to the legacy of your founder, you have demonstrated the qualities of democratic leadership in more than 120 countries with your appreciation of social problems, your vision for the future and your pragmatism. Colombia can attest to the value of our fruitful alliance that has always followed the principles of freedom, justice and solidarity. In these few words, I would like to stress the importance of the KAS on the South American continent today. Its work to promote democracy, the rule of law and a social market economy is critical, as only in this way will we be able to guarantee freedom and prosperity for our peoples.





FIELD AND LIAISON OFFICES OF THE KONRAD-ADENAUER-STIFTUNG | **LATIN AMERICA** 1 Mexico, Mexico City 2 Guatemala, Guatemala City 3 Honduras, Tegucigalpa 4 Costa Rica, San José 5 Venezuela, Caracas 6 Colombia, Bogotá (office and regional rule-of-law programme Latin America) 7 Ecuador, Quito 8 Peru, Lima 9 Bolivia, La Paz (office and regional programme social order policy, Latin America) 10 Chile, Santiago de Chile 11 Brazil, Rio de Janeiro (office and regional programme political parties and democracy in Latin America) 12 Uruguay, Montevideo (office and regional media programme) 13 Argentina, Buenos Aires (office and regional media programme) | **EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA** 14 USA, Washington 15 Great Britain, London 16 Belgium, Brussels (European office) 17 France, Paris 18 Spain, Madrid 19 Italy, Rome 20 Estonia, Tallinn 21 Latvia, Riga 22 Lithuania, Vilnius 23 Belarus, office: Vilnius 24 Poland, Warsaw 25 Czech Republic, Prague 26 Slovak Republic, Bratislava 27 Hungary, Budapest 28 29 Russian Federation, Moscow and St Petersburg 30 Ukraine, Kiev 31 Romania, Bucharest (office and regional rule-of-law programme Southeast Europe) 32 Moldova Republic, Chişinău 33 Bulgaria, Sofia (office and regional media programme) 34 Croatia, Zagreb 35 Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo 36 Serbia, Belgrade 37 Montenegro, Podgorica 38 Kosovo, Pristina 39 Republic of Macedonia, Skopje





As at: June 2012

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*Looking to the*

# Future

Looking back, there is no doubt about the value of these 50 years of commitment to democracy, freedom and justice worldwide. With its European and International Cooperation Department, the KAS is now very well-positioned. The Stiftung's staff have built contacts with key members of politics and society and with partner organisations in over 100 countries where they operate, enabling them to have a significant influence on policy-making around the world. The KAS complements the German federal government's work in the areas of foreign policy and development cooperation and for the last 50 years has made a significant contribution to maintaining peace and security around the world.

However, in the midst of all these successes the Stiftung has also had its share of setbacks. Recent developments in the Middle East and in the Maghreb are just one example of this. Over the coming years, it is essential that the Stiftung continues its work around the world to promote lasting democratic change. The role of the political foundations is not going to decline – indeed, quite the opposite. At the time of the Arab uprisings in March 2011, German Foreign Minister Guido Westerwelle said that “the political foundations play a special role in constituting and expanding civil society.” The foundations are therefore a key element in Germany's support for the transition to democracy. The KAS is determined to continue rising to this challenge in the future and is committed to increasing its involvement in all corners of the globe. Key areas of focus over the coming years will continue to be working with democratic, reform-oriented parties that share the KAS's core values, and intensifying its work in North Africa.

*In early March 2011, KAS Chairman Hans-Gert Pöttering stops to speak to representatives of Egypt's pro-democracy movement.*



## INCREASED COOPERATION WITH POLITICAL PARTIES

Initially, the focus of the Stiftung's international work was on supporting Christian democratic trade unions, but over the next 50 years, it was to shift the emphasis more towards working with political parties. Cooperating with and supporting democratic parties is now one of the central pillars of its international work. The reason for this is that the KAS is convinced that true democracy is basically a question of party democracy. The active participation of all citizens in the creation of a country's society is only possible if there are well-organised, democratic parties with properly structured programmes, a range of parties to vote for and fair competition amongst all these parties.

So the main aim of many of the projects run from the Stiftung's international offices is to strengthen democratic party structures and processes and to develop democratic party systems. The KAS will continue to expand its cooperation with political parties in the future, whether through offering training to party members on issues relating to internal party democracy, or through organising specialist conferences on the principles of parliamentary democracy. It is especially important to the Stiftung to be able to pass on key political values as part of its contribution to the development of democracies based on the rule of law. The KAS therefore only offers support in the form of training and advice to parties that share its fundamental political values. In future, the Stiftung will work much more closely with international party alliances, such as the "European People's Party" (EPP), the "Union des Partis Africains pour la Démocratie et le Développement" (UPADD) and the "Organización Demócrata Cristiana de América" (ODCA). Political dialogue and the ability to forge formal and informal contacts with

democrats and their parties, both in government and in opposition, remain its main strengths.

## THE "ARAB SPRING" – EXPANSION OF ACTIVITIES IN NORTH AFRICA

When Mohamed Bouazizi set fire to himself on 17 December 2010 in protest at the way he had been treated by the authorities in Sid Bouzid, about 250 kilometres south of Tunis, this marked the start of what will go down in history as the "Arab Spring". A whole generation of young Tunisians realised that the time had come to take up the fight to improve their lives. Thanks to a sustained wave of protest, the Tunisian people succeeding in forcing the country's president, Ben Ali, to resign on 14 January 2011, in spite of the state's massive use of force. Ten days later, the people of Egypt rose up against President Hosni Mubarak. The protests against authoritarian regimes and the calls for democratic reforms spread quickly throughout North Africa and the Arabian Peninsula. The wave of rebellion and reprisals continues unabated in numerous countries to this day.

The KAS was already active in the region with eight offices operating at the time that the "Arab Spring" began. The staff in these countries had been able to forge numerous contacts with democratic players and groups in the region to discuss issues surrounding the rule of law and the social market economy. As a result, KAS representatives were involved right from the start in the Arab world's process of transition. German and European media view the Stiftung as a reliable source of information when it comes to assessing events in the various countries. It was and remains a key focus of the Stiftung's work to support democratic groups in the Middle East and the Maghreb during their transitions. However, as shown by events





*"Christian values provide the yardstick for everything we do". German Chancellor Dr Angela Merkel at a joint reception organised by the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung and the Hanns-Seidel-Stiftung to mark the Ecumenical Church Day in Munich in 2010.*

in Egypt, this kind of support is not always welcome. As was widely reported in the media at the time, the KAS office, together with the offices of 16 other non-governmental organisations, was raided on 29 December 2011 by armed police and representatives from the Egyptian public prosecutor's office. The Egyptian authorities accused the KAS staff of illegally financing Egyptian organisations. The Egyptian public prosecutor's office instigated proceedings against the head of the KAS office and one of the female staff. In March 2012 both were allowed to leave the country on bail. There is still a lot of indignation over the actions of the Egyptian authorities. In May 2012, the German Bundestag unanimously called on the German government to demand that proceedings against the KAS in Cairo be dropped. The motion stated that the government should "do everything within its power to ensure that German political foundations can carry on their work without hindrance or restriction." The accusations made by the Egyptian public prosecutor's office against the Stiftung were totally unfounded.

The next setback came in March 2012, when the German Ambassador to the United Arab Emirates was informed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs there the KAS would have to stop its activities in the country and close down its Gulf States Regional Programme. When it opened its field office in June 2009, the KAS was the first German political foundation to have a presence in the Gulf region. The Stiftung's Chairman Hans-Gert Pöttering was at a loss to understand the developments in Abu Dhabi: "No real reasons were given. After our experiences in Egypt, we are naturally very disappointed at this decision, and we consider it to be a real cause for concern when non-governmental organisations and political foundations are seen as increasingly unwelcome in the Arab world." The KAS will continue to run its project work in the Gulf from

another office in the region until such time as another headquarters for the Gulf States Regional Programme can be established.

Despite these events in Egypt and Abu Dhabi, the KAS will continue to strengthen its commitment to working in the region in order to take advantage of the opportunities that now present themselves there. The Stiftung is keen to continue working with its various local partners to help support and influence the establishment of political parties, the impending consultations on constitutional matters, the establishment of parliamentary systems, the creation of a free and independent media landscape and the introduction of structures oriented towards a social market economy. These goals will also involve an increase in interfaith and intercultural dialogue.

#### NEW OFFICES - SAME GUIDING PRINCIPLES

The latest field office to be opened in 2012 shows how important it still is for the KAS to continue its activities in the European Union. In May, the Stiftung began its work in Athens. The KAS had begun working in Greece in 1974 at the time of the collapse of the military dictatorship. At that time, it was a question of helping to consolidate democracy. The new office opened in May 2012 is now concentrating on local projects and projects linked to the economy and European policy. Its main focus is on local political dialogue and providing opportunities for Greek politicians to interact with the KAS local policy academy. Other important areas include youth unemployment, civil society and dialogue on governance issues. The Stiftung will also try to assist crisis-ridden Greece by organising training on issues relating to Europe policy, and by bringing together policymakers and opinion leaders at European level via the KAS network.



*Participants at a KAS-organised conference in Rio in April 2010 discuss issues relating to climate protection and energy security.*

Alongside the work in the EU states, non-EU countries also remain in the spotlight. KAS Chairman Hans-Gert Pöttering is particularly keen to open an office in Belarus, something which has been planned for many years and for which an application was made back in 2004. "Here in Europe, we must do everything we can to help the increasing number of democrats on our doorstep in Europe's last dictatorship", said Pöttering in February 2010 when he visited the Belarusian capital Minsk as part of his first foreign trip after being appointed Chairman. During this visit, Pöttering met with the leader of the "For Freedom" movement, Sakharov prizewinner Alexander Milinkievich, and assured the country's pro-democracy groups of the Stiftung's support. The KAS will therefore continue to apply pressure with a view to sending a resident representative to Minsk. At present, activities in Belarus are coordinated from the Vilnius liaison office. The KAS is mainly focusing on assisting Belarus to become a free, democratic state within the European community by providing consulting services and organising civic education events, along with programmes for dialogue and informational exchange, in Germany and Brussels.

In terms of the expansion of activities in North Africa, for the first time a field office is to be opened in Beirut. In October 2012 it is planned to locate the new Rule of Law Regional Programme for the Middle East and North Africa in Lebanon. And for the first time a regional programme will be launched this year that will be dedicated to the environment, in view of the growing importance of this subject. The "Environment Regional Programme" will be based in Rio de Janeiro and will carry out projects across Latin America from its Brazilian headquarters.

Despite all the changes to the programmes, the opening of new offices and the re-opening of old offices, one thing has remained the same for 50 years: the projects are still guided by the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's fundamental principles of freedom, justice and solidarity. In half a century of European and international cooperation, the Stiftung has worked to empower people to live in freedom and dignity. All the staff are proud to uphold the Stiftung's values and contribute to Germany fulfilling its responsibilities in the world.

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