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IMPRINT

DEAR READER,



Continuity and sustained engagement are essential preconditions for long-term political success. This applies especially in an institution like the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, which is actively involved in a broad spectrum of issues. The emphasis within each of the key points may shift when new challenges call for new priorities. But the slogan "Mission: Democracy", which the foundation is committed to – with its focus on the Christian idea of humankind and its attendant values – remains at the centre of all its activities, regardless of the current flash-points in world affairs.

This annual report, which takes stock of the events and efforts of 2009, while looking ahead to the challenges of 2010, underscores once again the broad range of projects the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung takes on to fulfil its mission of spreading democracy worldwide. We need to have done our homework in Germany if we want our efforts and solutions to succeed abroad. The Social Market Economy, with its twin approach combining economic sense with social justice, has clearly gained in international stature because of the global financial and economic crisis – in part since Germany has received high marks for dealing with the crisis. Another example is "networked security". That approach can only be a credible part of the foundation's agenda if Germany faces up to its international obligations whenever it can. Escapism is simply not an option in this age of globalisation.

People also play a big part in shaping continuity and long-term engagement. So when the chairmanship of a political foundation changes after many years, as it did at the KAS general assembly in December 2009, it marks a turning point. But the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung can confidently face the challenges ahead, thanks in no small part to Anton Pfeifer. For twenty years, even in difficult times, the deputy chairman helped ensure that the foundation remained on course. We owe him a debt of gratitude for his tireless efforts. Anton Pfeifer decided not to run again as one of the foundation's three deputy chairs, but he will remain a member of the board.

Professor Johanna Wanka has filled his position. In addition, Professor Beate Neuss and the president of the German Bundestag, Professor Norbert Lammert, were confirmed in their positions.

Now in its 56th year of existence, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung is as good as the sum of its parts. Our work in more than 100 countries around the world would simply not be possible without the foundation's 550 staff at home and abroad, along with its many local staff. They have all contributed to the foundation's ongoing success, with project results that speak for themselves. This annual report showcases their political expertise and reflects our confidence in our worldwide commitment to freedom and democracy.

Sankt Augustin/Berlin,
March 2010


Hans-Gert Pöttering


Bernhard Vogel


Michael Thielen

THANK YOU, BERNHARD VOGEL – GOOD LUCK AND MUCH SUCCESS, HANS-GERT PÖTTERING!

SPEECH BY GERMAN CHANCELLOR ANGELA MERKEL, CHAIRWOMAN OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC UNION PARTY, ON 26 JANUARY 2010 WHEN NEW KAS CHAIRMAN HANS-GERT PÖTTERING TOOK OFFICE

I first got to know the work of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung twenty years ago. The wall had fallen and the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin was open once again. The foundation, under its then-chairman Bernhard Vogel, decided to send five of its staff to East Germany to help consolidate the new structures that had developed after the wall fell. Assistance back then was mostly of a practical nature, such as paper or photocopiers, but this infrastructure was needed to make a democratic system effective.

But the foundation also put at the disposal of committed citizens basic services such as small-scale and sometimes mobile libraries. Its support programme soon also included workshops, seminars, podium discussions and a great deal more. Twenty years on, we would like to extend our gratitude to the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, its many staff members and of course its chairman Bernhard Vogel. They accomplished a great deal in supporting the development of democratic structures in the new states in eastern Germany. The foundation then also began to work in Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and the Russian Federation, as well as in other Central and Eastern European

When legislators in the German state of Thuringia elected a man from the western city of Speyer in 1992 as their prime minister, they were acknowledging Vogel's national political reputation, his years of experience as prime minister of Rhineland-Palatinate, and – not least – his involvement as the chairman of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in the new states in eastern Germany. The people of Thuringia knew they were not just getting a "Besser Wessi", a know-it-all from the West, but rather a man who got right down to work and expressed a lot of sympathy, even empathy, for the people in the new states. I'm very pleased that Bernhard Vogel will remain honorary chairman of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, thus continuing to participate in the discussion process within our Christian-democratic family. We are extremely grateful for his many achievements and for his work over the years. Hans-Gert Pöttering takes over the office of chairman of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung at the outset of the second decade of the 21st century. In coming years, both he and the foundation will face new challenges. In this context, I would like to bring up two issues: One is demographic development. Our task is to limit the far-reaching effects these changes will have on our social systems and on social co-existence in our country. We must find comprehensive answers to these changes in the age structure.

The second important issue concerns global climate protection. Following the UN Climate Conference in Copenhagen in December 2009, we have a lot of work to do so we can agree on mandatory worldwide goals to reduce CO₂ emissions. In Germany, we are keenly aware of our responsibility towards a global climate policy. But as Copenhagen has shown, we still have to create a similar sense of responsibility in other regions of the world. I am convinced that this issue will become even more important in the international projects and efforts of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in the coming years.

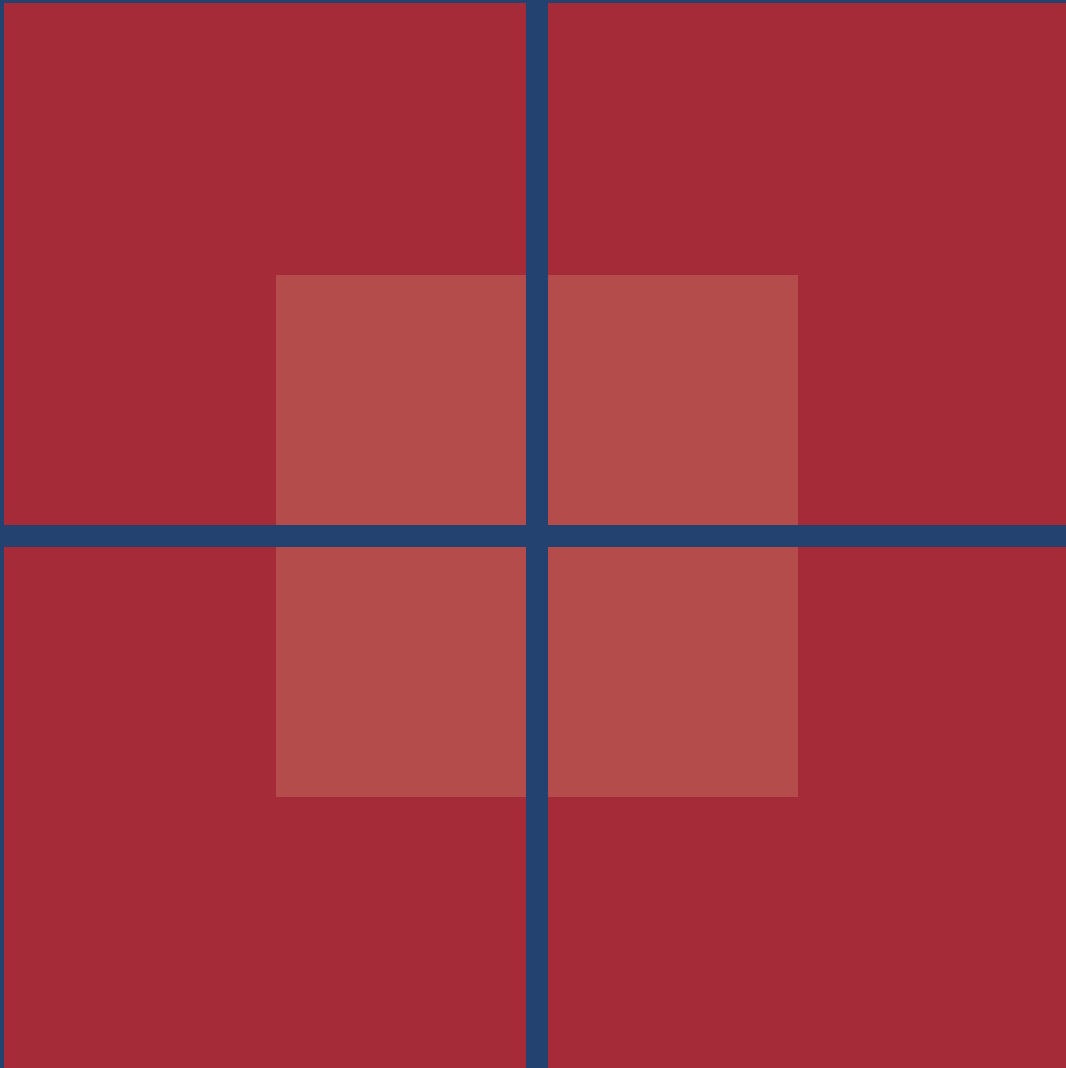
I highlighted these two issues to underscore why I am pleased by the election of Hans-Gert Pöttering as foundation chairman. The man who has been selected combines solid European and international reputation with a great sense of commitment to his home country as well as loyalty to the Christian-Democratic movement. As he takes on his new responsibilities I wish him a lot of success, creativity and luck.



Professor Bernhard Vogel, honorary chairman of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Chancellor Angela Merkel, Hans-Gert Pöttering, chairman of the KAS, and Professor Norbert Lammert, deputy chairman of the foundation.

countries, where it also significantly contributed to the development of parliamentary democracy. This often occurred behind the scenes, where such efforts are frequently the most successful.

Bernhard Vogel decisively shaped the path taken by the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung at that time. Establishing a good relationship with Poland and developing a profound partnership with that country has been – and still is – of particular importance to him.



H I G H L I G H T S

HIGH POINTS, PROJECTS AND EVENTS IN 2009 – FAR TOO MANY TO ACKNOWLEDGE ALL OF THEM HERE. A SELECTION PROVIDES AN OVERVIEW AND INSIGHT INTO THE BROAD SPECTRUM OF KAS ACTIVITIES.



German Chancellor Angela Merkel with recipients of the JONA scholarship.

30 YEARS OF DEDICATED SUPPORT FOR YOUNG JOURNALISTS

AN ENRICHMENT OF DEMOCRACY

For thirty years, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung has been training some of its scholarship recipients to become journalists. Its programme to support young journalists, JONA, is a proven model of success. More than 800 former scholars are now working in the media, as directors-general, editors-in-chief, agency owners and heads of communication of major companies. The KAS celebrated this success on 27 and 28 March 2009. Chancellor Angela Merkel was the keynote speaker at the anniversary celebration in Berlin. "Thanks to the support you offer young journalists, more people have dedicated themselves to the free media, this elixir of life of our society", said Merkel. She added that the JONA programme had crucially contributed to the vitality of democracy, and that it was a clear enrichment of democracy.

The chancellor invited the nearly 400 scholars and alumni who took part in the plenary session to keep a critical eye on the renewal process made necessary by the financial crisis. For her, the goal was to assess whether the world had learned from the crisis or not. She praised how the media had written about the financial crisis, in particular because it made highly complex issues understandable and accessible to the general public. She was however preoccupied by the decline in media expertise she was seeing in Germany. Many people were forgetting to maintain a critical distance to information. In order to help them regain this expertise, she said journalists would remain in demand to select and organise information. Bloggers and citizen journalism could only complement the other media, according to Merkel. KAS Chairman Professor Bernhard Vogel reminded the public of the role and responsibility of journalism in a functioning democracy. "Democratic states need informed citizens", said Vogel. He added that a great responsibility rested with journalists because of their role as infor-

mation providers and watchdogs. Michael Thielen, secretary general of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, highlighted that convictions and independence were not mutually exclusive. "The training offered by the journalism academy is based on a bias for specific ideas", he said, one which included support for democracy and pluralism, for a market governance system with a human face and for the European idea. "This conviction, this firm point of view sustains the independence of journalists", said Thielen.

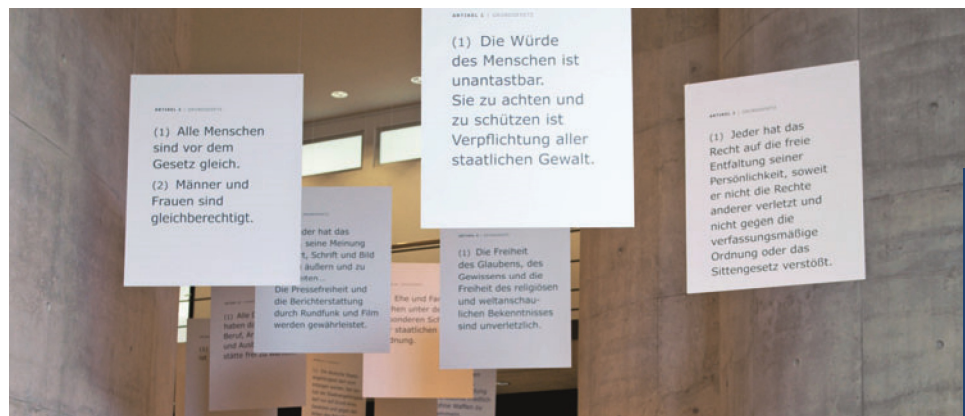
As Thielen thanked the staff and leaders of the journalism academy, he also assured them the training programme would remain in the vanguard. Then he sent the new generation of journalists on their way with the words of Gustav Mahler: "Tradition is the handing on of fire, not the worshipping of ashes."

Just what this way will look like formed the topic of the ensuing panel discussion between five experienced journalists, moderated by alumni Thorsten Alsleben, who works for German television ZDF in Berlin. In the hall of mirrors of the ballroom Clärchens Ballhaus where everyone gathered in the evening, alumni and current scholars still had time to network and exchange ideas.

There were further discussion panels on the second day: Andreas Thewalt of *Bild* newspaper and the CDU politician Friedbert Pflüger debated how politics and the media could work with each other. *Cicero* Editor-in-Chief Wolfram Weimer and the online journalist Katrin Scheib discussed "The Media in a Speed Frenzy". Many current JONA scholars had accepted the invitation to attend the discussions. They listened attentively and actively participated in the debate. At the moment a record number of 164 young men and women are part of the journalism programme, which started in the summer of 1979 with 17 journalism students.

More information at www.journalisten-akademie.com

Panels with quotes from the German constitution greet visitors to the KAS Academy.



DAY OF THE KAS 2009

THANK YOU, GRUNDGESETZ!

A joyous celebration for an extraordinary anniversary: That was the Day of the KAS 2009 that took place in Berlin on 12 May 2009. The celebration centred on Germany's Basic Law (*Grundgesetz*), the constitution, that had come into force sixty years ago on 23 May 1949. The first articles of the constitution, written on large panels, hung in the lobby of the KAS Academy. Historical documents informed the numerous visitors on the work of the Parliamentary Council which drafted the constitution. The guests could use a video message box to express their good wishes on the occasion of this important anniversary of the German constitution.

A large majority of Germans – 73 percent to be precise, equally shared between east and west – are proud of the German Basic Law, as a survey commissioned by the KAS in the run-up to the anniversary showed. Nearly 90 percent of Germany's eligible voters see a success story in the Federal Republic of Germany overall. But it was to discuss much more critical developments and observations that an exciting panel discussion gathered four personalities, Professor Hans-Joachim Meyer, president of the Central Committee of German Catholics; member of the German parliament Philipp Mißfelder, chairman of the youth wing of the Christian Democratic party Junge Union; Klaus Peter Schöppner, head of the Emnid polling institute; and political scientist Professor Werner Patzelt. The general tenor of the panel was that while the approval of democracy has consistently risen in the German population since the 1950s, the values underpinning the implementation of democracy have declined. This is particularly true when looking at the issue of social justice. Professor Patzelt observed with scepticism how the constitution has increasingly turned into a "sacred cult object." Patriotism for the constitution should, in his opinion, rather be linked to a patriotic feeling for the country itself. In her afternoon speech, Chancellor Angela Merkel paid tribute to the Basic Law and its importance in sustaining sixty years of democracy. "We have one of the best

constitutions in the world and the best Germany ever had." However Merkel criticised how many people today take for granted the values laid down in the constitution. To ensure the protection of those values, people need to advocate for them and be aware of their own history and culture, she said. She strongly condemned any relativisation of the situation in the GDR and its communist regime. She reminded the public that "East Germany was founded on injustice", that democratic principles there counted for nothing, and that the country's leadership had accepted the use of lies as the main instrument to consolidate their power. For the chancellor, creating equal opportunity of education is one of the great challenges of the future. On this issue "we cannot deceive ourselves". For her, making it possible for everyone to advance in life is absolutely necessary to ensure the future prosperity of Germany. After her speech, Merkel and Professor Bernhard Vogel kicked off the garden party. In the magnificent evening sun, it offered the numerous guests a few entertaining hours. Besides the many information possibilities and exhibitions, guests could enjoy cabaret performances by Anka Zink, entertaining music as well as a great diversity of culinary delights and drinks, made possible by the diverse sponsors. The Day of the KAS had opened the previous day with a special event focused bringing together high school students and politics. 160 students grappled with the topic of the constitution. In 11 different workshops, they made a film, rehearsed a play, put together radio and photography reports, created advertising and image campaigns and composed a song in homage to the constitution: "Where would we be without you? Who would we be without you? What would we be without you? Thank you, Basic Law!" The young people were unanimous in their opinion: It had been a long and exhausting day. But they also knew that it had been great fun and a worthwhile event to celebrate the constitution. Alexander, 18, summed it up pointedly in the name of all his fellow students: "The constitution brought about a stable and good democracy, for which we can be grateful."



KAS YOUTH CONGRESS: YES, IT WAS A REVOLUTION

More than 550 pupils, police students, trainees and students from Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt, Hesse and Thuringia gathered in Erfurt in June 2009 on the occasion of the Youth Congress entitled "1989: The Peaceful Revolution – What Does the Victory of Freedom Mean for Us?"

"It never was; it was never true", sang Stephan Krawczyk in his opening song. "It is incredible, how quickly the memories of East Germany fade or are even embellished", he remarked critically. In 1985 the East German songwriter was banned from working and was later arrested and expelled. In his opening speech, KAS Chairman, Professor Bernhard Vogel, also exhorted young people to differentiate between myths and reality of the country. One thing was completely clear to him. "A state that shoots at people and builds a wall to keep them inside is a lawless state."

Following the opening, four prominent East Germans took part in a panel discussion to debate "How Revolutionary was the Peaceful Revolution of 1989?" They were Dieter Althaus, prime minister of Thuringia, Katrin Göring-Eckardt, vice president of the German Bundestag, Joachim Gauck, former federal commissioner for the East German secret police (Stasi) Archives, and Olympic gold medalist Jens Weißflog. All spoke movingly of their own experiences under the SED dictatorship. Althaus praised the peaceful protests of people in East Germany in 1989 and insisted: "Yes, that was a revolution."

All panellists agreed that East Germany was a lawless state. Gauck gave strong support to this view: "What is needed is to make the knowledge that exists *ours*." People should not simply believe their parents when they say, "But it was not all bad under socialism." The conclusion of the panel was that it is dangerous to assess East Germany purely from the perspective of people's individual lives. Althaus underlined how important it was not to focus on a "self-selected set of elements seen through rose-tinted glasses but that people acquire real knowledge of the system and take a look at the complete picture".

The young participants had opportunity to put this advice in practice in the numerous workshops where they could discuss questions with politicians, people who had lived through the 1989 events, and historians.

INDIAN YOUTH LOOKS OPTIMISTICALLY INTO THE FUTURE

With its approximately 500 million children and young people, India is one of the countries with the youngest average population in the world, and at the same time, looking at basic demographic facts, the most densely populated country. What do youths in the Indian subcontinent think about politics, religion and family? To underpin the analysis of this question with real data, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung commissioned for the first time in 2007/2008 a representative survey of the values and attitudes, expectations and political engagement of young Indians: "Indian Youth in a Transforming World – Attitudes and Perceptions". The results were presented in New Delhi and Berlin in 2009.

The study revealed that young Indians distinguish themselves in international comparisons with an above-average interest in politics, a high rate of participation in political activities and substantial confidence in their democratic political system. They are at the same time conservative on family issues. 60 percent of the people surveyed believe that parents should have the final say on who the children should marry. Many young people are focused on their country and have little interest for international relations: 35 percent of them have never heard of Germany.

India's leading social study institute, the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, represented by Professor Peter De Souza and Professor Sandeep Shastri, conducted the study. Backing the effort was the Shell Jugendstudie, a youth-focused research programme long-established in Germany and its publishers, Professors Klaus Hurrelmann and Mathias Albert of the University of Bielefeld, who also served as scientific advisors to the project. About 5,000 14- to 34-year old Indians from all regions and socio-economic backgrounds were surveyed. The results of individual interviews and observations complemented the quantitative questions.

The positive outlook of Indian youth on the future is particularly striking, as well as their thirst for knowledge and strong will to work for a better future. This dynamic will transform the Indian society. As a result academics for example expect that the caste system will lose some of its relevance.

In a conversation with ZDF television presenter Steffen Seibert, George H.W. Bush, Helmut Kohl and Mikhail Gorbachev underscored the role the courageous people of Europe played in making the Peaceful Revolution possible.



TWENTY YEARS SINCE THE FALL OF THE WALL AND REUNIFICATION

A VICTORY FOR FREEDOM

The high point of KAS activities on occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Peaceful Revolution and the fall of the wall was a gala celebration in Berlin's Friedrichstadtpalast on 31 October 2009. With the event, titled "A Victory for Freedom", the foundation paid tribute to the former US president George H.W. Bush, the former Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev and the former German chancellor Helmut Kohl. During the dramatic weeks and months of 1989/90, they helped shape the course of history. The far-sighted and decisive actions those statesmen took during those historic days that changed the world was honoured before an audience of 1,800 people. More than 260 journalists and 35 camera teams from around the world also attended.

High-ranking representatives from politics and society came to this special event in the Friedrichstadtpalast on invitation of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung. Among them were German President Horst Köhler, Chancellor Angela Merkel, the president of the German Bundestag Norbert Lammert, the president of the German Constitutional Court, Hans-Jürgen Papier and several politicians who served as government ministers under Kohl. Among the representatives from abroad were former Hungarian prime minister Miklós Németh, the first freely elected Polish prime minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki and the ex-foreign minister of Poland, Wladyslaw Bartoszewski.

In his keynote speech, Köhler paid tribute to the desire for freedom, the courage and the incredible effort by civil rights campaigners in East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and other countries in Eastern Europe, whose peaceful protests and uprising led to the fundamental change of 1989. These three statesmen had recognised the sign of the times and guided the dramatic developments onto the decisive track. "I thank you in the name of the German people and, I am sure, in the name of all the people of Europe", the president

said, adding with obvious pleasure: "The presence of all of you today is a sign of hope and encouragement." In the panel discussion that followed, all three statesmen stressed the close personal ties that facilitated cooperation at the time. "If I was in a bad mood and called up George Bush then I usually felt better afterwards", Kohl recalled. "And with Gorbachev, the mood just got better every time." Both men had been a "stroke of luck" for Germany. For his part, Bush said Kohl was "one of the 20th century's true statesmen. He was a pillar of strength."

On the afternoon of the same day, a debate called "Confronting the Truth – The Courageous Path to Freedom" took place with former civil rights activists Professor Jan Sokol from the Czech Republic, Jan Rulewski from Poland and Wolfgang Templin from Germany. Together they discussed developments at the end of the 1980s, their contacts at the time and who influenced them.

The eventful and impressive day ended with a chamber music concert featuring young KAS fellows, who under the direction of Professor Anne-Kathrin Lindig performed works by Brahms, Debussy, Schubert and Dvořák.

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung also organised several other events in 2009 to highlight and honour different stages, developments and reasons for the Peaceful Revolution against the communist regime of East Germany, as well as the upheavals in other Eastern and Central European states.

In Greifswald, Dresden and Erfurt panel discussions were held to address the role of churches in the Peaceful Revolution, to discuss how literature can be seen as a seismograph for developments in East Germany and analyse the importance for the revolution of refugees and those wanting to leave their country.



4TH BERLIN LEGAL POLICY CONFERENCE: THE STATES AND GLOBALISATION

The legal policy conference of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung that took place on 23 and 24 April 2009 was one of the exceptional events of the year 2009. Held in the form of a symposium, it was dedicated to the lifelong work of the former German president, Professor Roman Herzog, on the occasion of his 75th birthday. The conference focused on the legal consequences of a globalised world for individual states. The specific topics ranged from the economy and security to social justice and state sovereignty in the context of greater globalisation. Addressing these issues, Chancellor Angela Merkel established in her speech that "what one can clearly say is that the political structures in which we live today across the world do not match the degree of interconnectedness that exists in the world." She proposed a critical discussion of the structures and competences of the international political architecture. The contributions of other conference participants such as Martti Ahtisaari, 2008 Nobel Peace laureate and former Finnish president, former German chancellor Helmut Schmidt, Rodrigo de Rato y Figaredo, former director of the IMF, and Oscar Andrés Cardinal Rodríguez Maradiaga, also received great public and media attention. Since the middle of the 1990s the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung has organised legal policy conferences, first in its conference centre in Cadenabbia, on Lake Como. Since 2006 the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in Berlin has continued this tradition of bringing together high-level jurists working in administrations, in the judicial system or in academia to debate the legal dimensions of policy issues. Among the important figures who have accepted the foundation's invitation are ministers, members of parliament, attorneys general, presidents, vice presidents and judges from the highest German courts or from the European Court of Justice. Further participants include exceptional academics and personalities representing the legislative, judicial and executive powers. The photo above shows some of the participants in 2009: Alexandra Baroness von Berlichingen, Professor Roman Herzog, Angela Merkel and Professor Bernhard Vogel.



"THE 12 POINTS OF BERLIN" FOR THE JUDEO-CHRISTIAN DIALOGUE

"We have searched for and found light together" is how the International Council of Christians and Jews (ICCJ) describes the eventful history of the Judeo-Christian dialogue. On 9 July 2009, the festive signing of the call "A Time for Recommitment" by representatives of 22 national organisations from Australia to Uruguay, during a conference at the Academy of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, paved the way for a new era in the relationship between Christians and Jews. The "12 Points of Berlin" – named after the city where the persecution and murder of European Jews originated – call for mutual respect and the acceptance of differences.

They update the 10 Points of Seelisberg that were published in 1947 in immediate reaction to the horrors of the Holocaust. They condemned anti-Semitism as a sin against God and humanity and exposed it in all its absurdity. The Berlin points are not only directed at Christians but also at Jews and they enlarge the horizon beyond the Judeo-Christian dialogue to include dialogue with Muslims.

Beyond the theological questions, the Berlin points call for all believers of all faiths to work together to respond to the challenges facing humanity. They want social justice throughout the world and support inter-cultural and interreligious education. They call for people to take responsibility for the environment and for a more intensive dialogue with political and economic institutions.

Rabbi Henry Brandt spoke of a "revolution" in the relationship between Jews and Christians in the last decades. Achievements must be protected against the recent problems, he said. Elaborating on the appeal, Bishop Heinrich Mussinghoff said common social projects must clearly express the stance of the communities.

The four-day conference showed that the memory of the Shoah has created a sensitivity that helps people understand how easily freedom and democracy are endangered, and provided ideas on how mutual understanding can help improve the situation.



A "MAN WHO DOES GOOD THINGS" – THE KAS HONOURS PETER MOLT

International development cooperation is increasingly under scrutiny at the beginning of the 21st century. The fast pace of change, the growing regional and sectoral integration as well as fairly deficient results of development policy call for new ideas and innovative concepts. With Professor Peter Molt, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung has had a man at its side who was given the responsibility to develop international projects by Konrad Adenauer himself at the beginning of the 1960s, and who has remained part of the team ever since. In November 2009 the foundation dedicated a symposium to him on the occasion of his 80th birthday titled "Rethinking Development Policy".

"All his life he has always wanted to do his part to make the world a better one", said Professor Bernhard Vogel, the chairman of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung and a long-time colleague and friend of Peter Molt, summing up Molt's work in his laudatory speech. Vogel specifically thanked Molt for his many years of work in Rwanda. Rightly people there call him "The man who does good things". Professor Theodor Hanf of the University of Freiburg, Arnold Vaatz and Christian Ruck, both deputy chairmen of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group in the German Bundestag, and the former deputy head of division at the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, Klemens van de Sand, discussed then what it would take to put such 'good things' into action. The experts spoke in favour of supporting democracy and human rights while at the same time warning against losing sight of fighting poverty.

Molt took advantage of the opportunity to disabuse people of the misconception that states can be treated like machines. "One cannot simply adjust a few screws when things aren't working, believing that will get the engine running again", he said. In fact, the opposite was true. "Democracy can only come from within a country." Alluding to Afghanistan, he said it was essential to provide stability on site. Molt said he backed a values-oriented development policy and called on actors in development policy to not be "discouraged despite all the difficulties".



IN SUPPORT OF PEACE: THE KAS OPENS AN OFFICE IN ABU DHABI

In June 2009, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung became the first German political foundation to open an office in the Gulf Region. The KAS aims to make "a concrete contribution to peace, tolerance and international understanding" in a region of steadily growing geo-strategic importance, said the deputy chairman of the KAS and president of the German Bundestag, Professor Norbert Lammert, at the ceremony marking the opening of the Abu Dhabi office.

Lammert presented the new regional programme Gulf-States of the KAS at the event "Values and Interests: Challenges for International Relations", which also took place in June in Abu Dhabi at the Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research (ECSSR). In his address, he underscored that tangible interests have proved insufficient in shaping the relations within the international community and called for an ever-greater awareness of one's own values and orientations. Only by jointly assessing values and interests as two sides of the same coin could one achieve a balanced relationship between the different countries and cultures, the president of the German Bundestag said.

The ECSSR and the KAS signed an agreement that promotes cooperation on foreign and security policy, as well as regional integration and fundamental governance issues. The agreement aims to deepen the political dialogue between Europe and the states in the region that are members of the Gulf Cooperation Council. During the ceremonial signing of the agreement, the deputy chairman of the KAS, Gerhard Wahlers, stressed that the Gulf Region could no longer be reduced to its oil and gas resources, but that it plays a prominent role in fundamental political issues, in particular in the face of current foreign and security policy challenges. As those states increasingly open themselves to issues such as good governance, the proper institutional framework, regional integration and closer relationship with Europe, they "offer pioneering starting points for the foundation's work in the region".



CONNECTING PEOPLE! ONLINE PORTAL FOR KAS ALUMNI

On 21 May 2009 KASconnect, the new social media network for KAS alumni, went online after just six months of intense planning and preparations. The government of the state of Baden-Württemberg held a reception for the more than 400 participants of the annual conference of KAS alumni in Stuttgart, where the chairman of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Professor Bernhard Vogel, along with the prime minister of Baden-Württemberg Günther Oettinger and alumni spokesman Markus Zeitzen, officially inaugurated the site and hoped for its success. As social media networks continue to grow in popularity, the alumni now have KASconnect, a state of the art medium which will both facilitate cooperation and give a boost to the foundation itself.



HOMAGE TO VOLKER SCHLÖNDORFF – THE KAS HONOURS THE GREAT FILMMAKER

He raised one arm triumphantly in the air as if he was clutching an Oscar trophy. But Volker Schlöndorff already has one of those. On 15 January 2009 he held up the bust of Adenauer, which he had received at the festive event. German Minister of State Bernd Neumann paid tribute to him as “one of the leading lights in German cinema”. The president of the German Bundestag, Professor Norbert Lammert, greeted some 500 attendees, who celebrated Schlöndorff and his work – which set new standards particularly in transforming works of literature into films. At the ceremony, actor Ulrich Matthes read from Robert Musil’s novel “The Confusions of Young Törless”, which the director made into the film “Young Törless” in 1966. Bibiana Beglau read from Schlöndorff’s recent biography “Light, Shadows and Movement”.



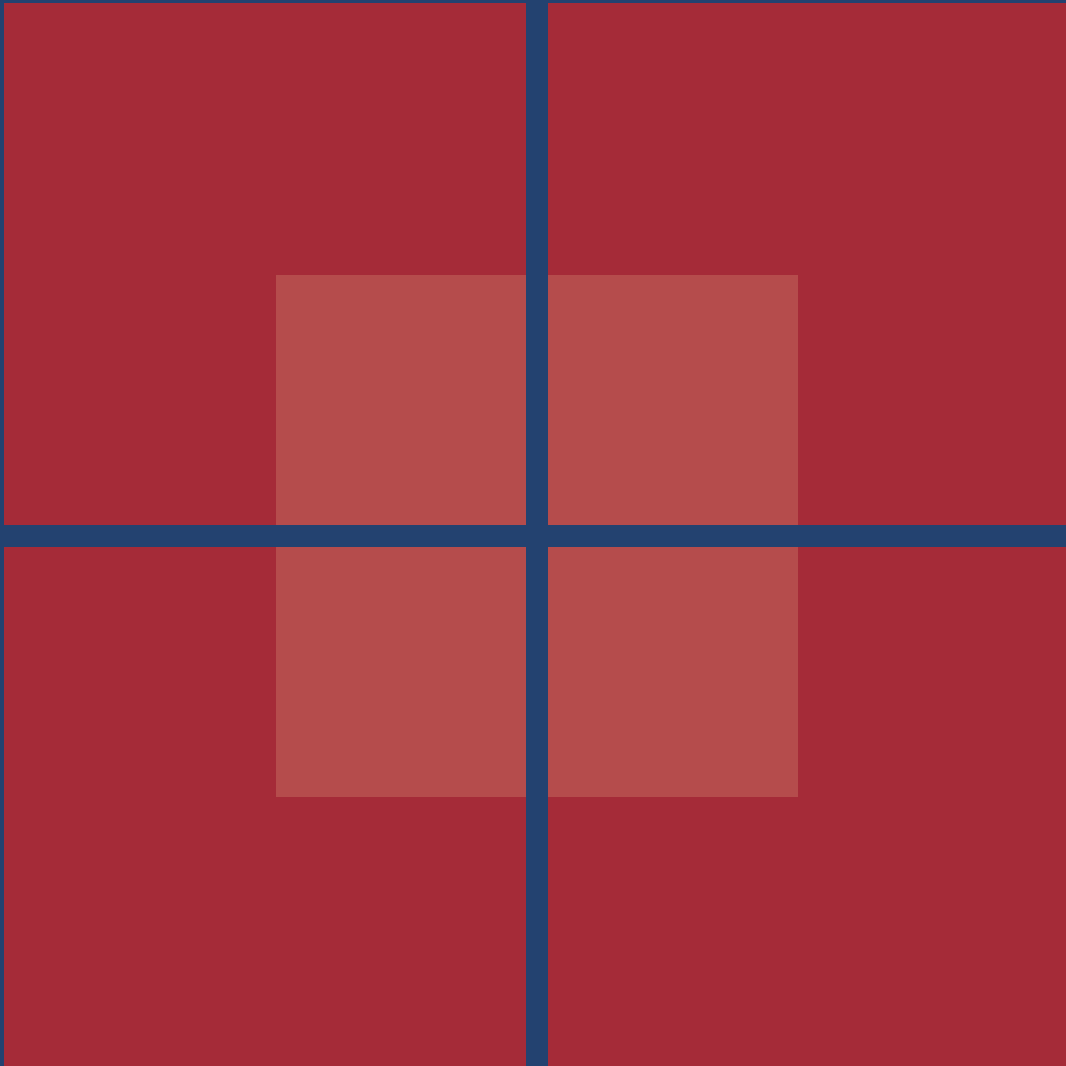
HUMAN TRAFFICKING: AN ASSAULT ON HUMAN DIGNITY

“Modern-day slavery – A Global Problem and an Assault on Human Dignity” was the pressing issue at a panel discussion organised by the KAS addressed on 22 April 2009. Human trafficking is the fastest growing kind of crime, one that endangers freedom, democracy and the rule of law, even in Europe. Combating it is one of the biggest challenges of our time in the field of human rights. Member of German Bundestag and CDU human rights expert Erika Steinbach discussed the topic with Cambodian national Somaly Mam. The activist was herself sold into sexual slavery as a child, and is one of the best-known people in the world fighting against the trafficking of women. In an urgent appeal, she called for the public in the West not to deny the problem and to address the issue in a robust manner.



HOMER’S DESCENDANTS – A GREEK CULTURAL SOIREE DELIGHTS VISITORS

It was standing room only when nearly 600 guests crowded into the Forum of the KAS Academy in Berlin on 25 February 2009. The former minister of state Hildegard Müller greeted the guests, who were diplomats or representatives from cultural institutions and the media with a tribute to Greek cultural history. The Greek Ambassador Tassos Kriekoukis thanked everyone for the successful cooperation, and said that he hoped to build on this exceptional success. The cultural programme included a reading by bestselling author Petros Markaris, who read selections from his biography “Repeat Offender” (*Wiederholungstäter*), a concert by the singer Nena Venetsanou, whose performance charmed the audience, and an exhibit of contemporary art from Greece. Guests then celebrated late into the night, feasting on a buffet with Greek specialities.



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



TWENTY YEARS LATER – WHAT GERMANS THINK OF REUNIFICATION

DR. VIOLA NEU

*Coordinator, Election Research
and Party Research, Politics
and Consulting Department,
Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung*

Twenty years after the fall of the wall, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung researched the question of how Germans view reunification today. Many contributed to bring down the wall and bring about German reunification, from civil rights activists in East Germany to the popular movement to politicians. They often got involved independently of each other – often they also had different political expectations and goals. A lot has changed since then. How are the last twenty years assessed today? How is reunification seen from the perspective of the East and the West? To this end, the KAS – in cooperation with the dimap political research institute – carried out 1,307 interviews by telephone from 21 to 25 September 2009. 603 of these took place with people living in the new German states, 704 in the states in the former West Germany.

Regardless of the question, the answers always follow a similar pattern. Supporters of left-wing parties in eastern and western Germany often see things less positively; frequently they express critical to negative views. Backers of the Christian Democratic and Social Democratic parties are the strongest supporters. Young respondents, especially those not yet old enough to have personally experienced the fall of the wall, are often more critical. Just twenty years later, one can apparently no longer expect people to automatically have far-reaching and detailed knowledge of that historic event. Polls reveal that especially younger age groups are less informed about the reasons that caused the fall of the wall and what role the various actors played in it. Older people generally take a far more positive stance. This group experienced both the division of the two Germanys and their reunification, which means their emotional connections are that much stronger.

All in all, the answers show only slight differences between the states in the west and the new federal states. Even the differences among social groups are relatively minor.

Younger people polled generally view events since reunification more positively, whether the questions focus on freedom and democracy, or on whether people think they are better off materially in the new federal states. Young people clearly think that living conditions have improved, in contrast to the older generation. So while they do not always really know the causes behind the fall of the wall – and thus have less emotional connections to the events of 1989 – younger people view developments since reunifi-



The remnants of the Berlin wall have become one big colourful monument, like here at the East Side Gallery. The wall in people's heads has now shrunk substantially, as a KAS poll revealed.

THE FALL OF THE WALL

A good decision/a positive event

| Region | | Party affiliation | | | | | Total |
|-----------|-----------|-------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------------------|----------------------|-----------|
| West | East | CDU/ CSU | SPD | FDP | The Green Party | The Left Party | |
| 91 | 92 | 92 | 92 | 94 | 99 | 90 | 91 |

cation more positively than middle-aged and older people. It can be deduced that German unity has – by now – become self-evident, and that it is largely the older generation that emphasises differences between the states of east Germany and of west Germany.

Virtually no one questions whether it was right that the wall fell. Ninety-one percent say it was a positive event, and there are no differences between people living in the east versus those in the west. There is consensus on this issue among all groups, even among those with different party affiliations.

The historic decision to reunite the two countries on the basis of the Basic Law, or West German constitution, continues to receive a high degree of approval. Eighty-seven percent of Germans support it. Some 85 percent of Germans believe it was good to believe in the idea of reunification, even during the time of German division. An overwhelming majority of Germans are proud that the SED, or East German communist regime, fell peacefully. Seventy-nine percent agree with the following statement: *"Germans can be proud of having peacefully overcome the East German regime."*

| REUNIFICATION BASED UPON THE BASIC LAW | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------|-------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------------|----------------|-----------|
| <i>A good decision/a positive event</i> | | | | | | | |
| Region | | Party affiliation | | | | | Total |
| West | East | CDU/CSU | SPD | FDP | The Green Party | The Left Party | |
| 89 | 80 | 93 | 88 | 89 | 89 | 75 | 87 |

| MAINTAINING THE GOAL OF REUNIFICATION AT THE TIME OF A DIVIDED GERMANY | | | | | | | |
|--|-----------|-------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------------|----------------|-----------|
| <i>A good decision/a positive event</i> | | | | | | | |
| Region | | Party affiliation | | | | | Total |
| West | East | CDU/CSU | SPD | FDP | The Green Party | The Left Party | |
| 86 | 82 | 90 | 90 | 85 | 96 | 78 | 85 |

| GERMANS CAN BE PROUD OF HAVING PEACEFULLY OVERCOME THE EAST GERMAN REGIME | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--|
| <i>Completely agree/largely agree</i> | | | | | | | |
| Age | | | | | Region | | |
| 18–24 | 25–34 | 35–54 | 55–64 | 65+ | West | East | |
| 77 | 77 | 78 | 83 | 79 | 79 | 78 | |

| Party affiliation | | | | | | |
|-------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------------|----------------|---------------|-----------|
| CDU/CSU | SPD | FDP | The Green Party | The Left Party | No indication | Total |
| 84 | 83 | 81 | 84 | 73 | 75 | 79 |



A man and a child look at one of the signs that have been put up to commemorate the former border that divided Germany und Europe until November 1989.

Most Germans think that the main reason that brought down the wall was a desire for freedom. Eighty percent agree with the statement: *"The people's urge for freedom was so great that it could no longer be suppressed by the SED."* There is widespread agreement among those surveyed on this question.

People still view the involvement of civil rights activists in ousting the communist regime favourably. Seventy-four percent say, *"The civil rights movement played a crucial role in overcoming the East German dictatorship."*

But the regime was not just brought down because the people and the civil rights movement were committed to change. Reasons lay within East Germany itself. Seventy-four percent of respondents said: *"East Germany's economic decline substantially contributed to the end of the SED dictatorship."*

But Germans also recognise the role statesmen played in reunification. Seventy-three percent say: *"That politicians like Helmut Kohl, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, George H.W. Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev acted in a determined and courageous fashion was critical to the success of reunification."*

Many factors and actors contributed to the fall of the wall and German reunification. Twenty years later nearly all Germans view reunification as an extremely positive event.

Twenty years later, reunification remains an emotional high point for many Germans and they have no doubt that it was the right thing to do. But Germans are aware that a whole host of factors were responsible for causing the fall of the wall: from the efforts of the civil rights movement and the people's desire for freedom to the fact that statesmen acted decisively or for reasons specifically tied to the situation in East Germany, such as the country's economic decline. The long-term fundamental decisions that the Federal Republic of Germany took are also viewed positively today.

Twenty years on, the wall in people's heads is small. Differences between east and west Germans only exist in a few categories – namely in regards to evaluating the situation in the states of eastern Germany since unification. Only supporters of the Left Party are more reserved in their assessment in nearly every category polled. But even they largely see things positively. People who have few – if any – memories of the fall of the wall because they were too young at the time generally see the developments since then far more positively than the older people polled. But older people are more emotionally attached to their memories than younger people.

"MY GERMANY"

Since 2008, ambassadors to Germany have presented their reflections on Germany in an event series called My Germany held at the Berlin Academy. It provides a multi-faceted view of history and the present, of Germany's art, culture and politics. Here a few memorable statements:

"The reunification of Germany was the crowning moment of one of modern diplomacy's greatest success stories."
William R. Timken Jr., (United States)

With its 20,000 jobs, BMW (which Sir Michael Arthur refers to as the British motor works) is one of the biggest employers in Great Britain. "Long may that last" is how he sums up the close cooperation between Germany and Great Britain.
Sir Michael Arthur (Great Britain)

"Today, everyone takes Franco-German friendship for granted. That is largely thanks to two important men and their political willpower: Charles de Gaulle and Konrad Adenauer. These two statesmen represent Franco-German reconciliation."
Bernard de Montferrand (France)

"In no other country could so many foreigners gain a foothold in public life."
Peter P. van Wulfften Palthe
(The Netherlands)

"Germany and Spain share common values of freedom and democracy. Their fundamental social and ethical vision is also very similar."

"Spain has a positive attitude toward Germany."
Rafael Dezcallar de Mazarredo (Spain)

"There is no other country with which we have such close ties as with Germany. Our ties are not just political and economic but they also extend to the interpersonal level."
Christian Blickenstorfer (Switzerland)

"Poland is an important partner for Germany because it's also a difficult partner."

"Misunderstandings in our relationship were often caused by the fact that political debates in both countries took place in a non-synchronous fashion."
Marek Prawda (Poland)

VIEWS OF GERMANY

FROM THE FALL OF THE WALL TO REUNIFICATION – THE YEAR OF DECISIONS

BY PROFESSOR DR.
HANNS JÜRGEN KÜSTERS

*Department Head, Archives
of Christian-Democratic
Policy (ACDP),
Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung*

Because of the way events unfolded, the fall of the wall on 9 November 1989 was a happy coincidence that no one had expected at that point. No government had been prepared. Therefore, the central concern was simply to do everything possible to keep things under control. The collapse of East Germany could only happen peacefully and without bloodshed if Soviet leaders abandoned any ideas of using military force. But that meant the West had to renounce exploiting the Soviet Union's weakness.

The personal diplomacy of heads of states and governments, as well as their leadership in the decision-making process, played the decisive role in managing this crisis situation and in making German reunification a reality. Heads of government Helmut Kohl, George H.W. Bush, Mikhail Gorbachev and François Mitterrand, but also the foreign ministers Hans-Dietrich Genscher, James Baker, Eduard Shevardnadze, Douglas Hurd and Roland Dumas, carried out intensive crisis management by staying in close personal and phone contact. They prevented the situation from turning explosive, de-escalated conflicts, kept differences of opinions to a minimum and negotiated compromises.

The reunification process took place much more rapidly than any of the participants had anticipated. In the second half of January 1990, governments in Bonn, Washington and Moscow agreed to move toward reunification. Several reasons were pivotal in that development.

The incompetence of Hans Modrow's government and its obvious decline in power were shaping political developments in East Germany. Citizens less and less recognised the government as the manifestation of state power. The East German intelligence service, the Stasi, had been repudiated since the people stormed its headquarters at Normannenstraße in Berlin. The disastrous economic situation of East Germany was pushing an extraordinary number of its citizens to leave for West Germany. East Germany was all but bankrupt and needed urgent financial assistance from West Germany. Because East German citizens expressed their strong will to share – sooner rather than later – the freedom and quality of life of West Germans, the Bonn government was forced to propose a new plan.

Chancellor Kohl decided to pursue a new strategy based upon three fundamental decisions. He aspired to achieve reunification within a federal framework as quickly as possible. He also proposed an economic, monetary and social union with East Germany in order to accelerate reunification. In connection with the election of a coalition in East Germany – where three centrist parties came together to form the "Alliance For Germany" – Kohl also managed to draw up a favourable election platform for East Germany's Volkskammer, or parliament, and to use party committees to gain influence on political developments in East Germany. At the same time, the federal government refused to help the Modrow government with comprehensive economic and financial support – until free parliamentary elections were held on 18 May 1990, leading to the constitution of a democratic government under the leadership of Lothar de Maizière.



The signing of the treaty between the two German states, the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, establishing a monetary, economic and social union on 18 May 1990 was an important step toward the German reunification.

At this point the federal government decided to pursue the integration of East Germany into the Federal Republic of Germany, as mandated by the West German constitution in Article 23.

Likewise, the Bush administration gave up in January 1990 its strategy of a step-by-step policy and pushed for a quick reunification. In Washington, this change in strategy was motivated by the desire not to force Germany to choose between unification and alliance. The main concern was that this question might at least as such be raised or that of 'unification or a German alliance with the Soviet Union'.

Gorbachev however held the key to reunification. His decision at the end of January 1990 to grant Germans the right of self-determination was motivated by the disastrous financial situation and supply problems in the Soviet Union, as well as by the recognition that the situation in Germany could no longer be contained. The massive demonstrations of East Germans had also placed Moscow under pressure.

As of the beginning of February, the West German government had a clear conception for reunification. It strived to restore the unity and sovereignty of Germany by abandoning the rights the four powers still held over Germany. The West German government agreed with the US government on separating the domestic and external aspects of reunification, as well as on the need for a quick implementation. The decision to negotiate only on the abrogation of the Four Power Agreement as part of the Two-Plus-Four Agreement, and to let the Germans negotiate the internal aspect of reunification on their own, led to the isolation of the Soviet Union among the four powers. A precondition was, however, a quick conclusion of the negotiations on economic and monetary unification.

The victory of the Alliance for Germany during the election for the East German parliament in the middle of March 1990 was considered a personal success for Kohl. This success swept away the last doubt as to the desire of the East Germans to turn toward reunification. The federal government's plan could take off. The conclusion of the treaty on monetary, economic and social union mid-May 1990 guaranteed East Germany significant assistance. The introduction of the Deutsch Mark, the West German currency, in East Germany on 1 July 1990 was the first step toward the reunification of Germany. The governing coalition used this success to then push for common elections for the upcoming elections for the West German Bundestag planned at the end of 1990. The government supposed that reunification would ensure its electoral triumph.



Poster for the parliamentary election in East Germany that took place on 18 March 1990.

The federal government had long managed to keep the many German states mostly out of the negotiations with East Germany, but it could not continue doing so when it came to negotiating the internal aspects of reunification. The victory of Gerhard Schröder in the state elections in Lower Saxony in May 1990 meant that the CDU/CSU coalition no longer had a majority in the *Bundesrat*, the second parliamentary chamber representing the German states. Besides, the federal government also needed the votes of the SPD members of parliament for the second treaty that would seal reunification. Indeed that treaty required constitutional amendments, so the government needed a two-thirds majority in parliament. To achieve this goal, the Kohl government was forced to work with the Social Democrats. Interior minister Wolfgang Schäuble's masterstroke of laying the groundwork for reunification negotiations – including reviewing every aspect of the integration process – even before the real negotiations started, was key to success. What remained to be discussed were the points that the East German government still wanted to negotiate over, despite its eagerness to conclude the reunification process. There was no need for significant changes to the West German political or social systems. Achieving German reunification according to the Article 23 of the West German constitution – which saw the possibility for East Germany to join the federal state – confirmed the theory of a core state (*Kernstaatstheorie*) that the West German government had held on for forty years.

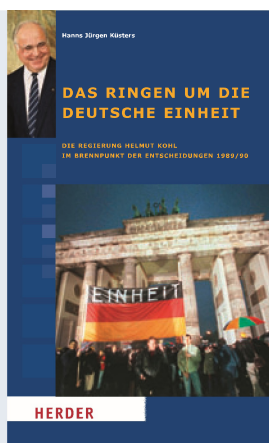
In June 1990, East German citizens demanded immediate unification. The crisis of the de Maizière government at the beginning of August, as well as the agreements reached between the federal and state governments, shaped the negotiations on the unification treaty. While the federal government only wanted to amend the existing West German constitutional and legal framework minimally and where absolutely necessary, the opposition saw in those negotiations an opportunity for a radical revision of the constitution. The main point of discord was the cost of reunification. From the beginning there were hefty disputes between federal and state levels on who would have to cover it. The federal government was unhappy with the state contributions that had been agreed to in mid May 1990 as part of the creation of a special German Unity Fund. But the East German government did not recognise at first the advantage to be part of the longstanding system of financial equalisation between the German Länder. West German states agreed to incorporate the East German states in this scheme only after a transitional period. At the same time, they implemented a new system for weighing votes that secured the political primacy of states with large populations and stronger finances.

On 23 August 1990, the Volkskammer surprisingly agreed to reunification under the jurisdiction of the West German constitution and set 3 October 1990 as the official date for reunification. But the efforts by de Maizière to hold anticipated Germany-wide parliamentary elections on 14 October were defeated. The reunification treaty was finally signed on August 31. Two weeks later, on 12 September, the Two-Plus-Four Treaty was signed in Moscow. Kohl and Gorbachev had reached an agreement on the modalities of the treaty when they had met in the Caucasus in mid-July.

On 12 September 1990, foreign ministers of both Germanys and of the four victorious World War II powers signed the Two-Plus-Four Treaty in Moscow. After 45 years Germany could again regain its full sovereignty.

But why was 3 October chosen as the date for reunification? The results of the Two-Plus-Four Treaty had to be formally communicated to the foreign ministers of the OSCE members. But they would only meet on 2 October in New York, after the UN General Assembly opened on 1 October. As a consequence, 3 October was the logical first possible date for a reunited Germany. It would also be the beginning of a fully sovereign Germany as the Four Powers would have renounced all rights they had held over Germany since 5 June 1945. Under international law however, Germany only regained its sovereignty on 15 March 1991, with the ratification and entry into force of the Two-Plus-Four Treaty (actually called the "Treaty on the Final Settlement With Respect to Germany").

German reunification was not an historical inevitability, as British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher had repeatedly said. There were other possible paths and options. After initial hesitation, Kohl's political instinct, negotiating talent and self-assertion – as well as some lucky circumstances – proved decisive in making it possible to reunite Germany much more rapidly than many could have imagined – after forty years of separation. The reunification of Germany is an incredible tour de force that Germans can be proud of.



Das Ringen um die deutsche Einheit (The Struggle for German Unification)

The author uses documents from the German chancellery to describe the events that led to the internal and external reunification of Germany on 3 October 1990. He provides detailed insights in a phase of German politics in which "many problems had to be suddenly solved, for which no ready-made answers existed", according to Wolfgang Schäuble in the introduction to this book.

Das Ringen um die deutsche Einheit.

Die Regierung Helmut Kohl im Brennpunkt der Entscheidungen 1988/90

Hanns Jürgen Küsters, Herder Verlag, Freiburg 2009, 512 pages, €18

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DEMOCRACY FULL STEAM AHEAD – WHEN THE IRON CURTAIN FELL IN EUROPE

DR. THOMAS KUNZE

*Coordinator of the Europe/
North America department,
Department of International
Cooperation, Konrad-
Adenauer-Stiftung*

9 November 1989, East Berlin: At 9 p.m., Egon Krenz, the successor to East German leader Erich Honecker, received a phone call from the minister for state security, Erich Mielke. Günter Schabowski had said something at a news conference. Scores of people were headed for the border. “We’ll lose control if we don’t decide to do something immediately”, he implored the still new secretary general of the Socialist Unity party SED. But the SED leadership had already lost control. In view of the increasing numbers of people massing at the border crossings, border guards had decided – sometimes of their own accord – to open the gates. A short time later, thousands of East Berliners were celebrating with their West Berlin brethren along the Kurfürstendamm and at the Brandenburg Gate. “A dream come true” read the headline in a special edition of the Berliner Morgenpost newspaper the next day, a perfect way to sum up the thoughts of millions of Germans.

*A dream comes true:
On 9 November 1989,
East Germany opened its
borders. That day built
on events that had
taken place throughout
eastern Europe.*

This dream however did not rise out of nowhere. Without the courage of the Poles and Hungarians, without such historic personalities as Mikhail Gorbachev, George H.W. Bush, Helmut Kohl and Pope John Paul II, history would have taken an entirely different course.

In June 1987, the pope paid a visit to his native Poland. In Gdansk, 750,000 faithful gathered to celebrate the most important mass of his pontificate. As he looked out at the sea of red and white flags – the colours of the still-banned Solidarity trade union – he set aside his prepared sermon and called out to his countrymen and women: “I pray every day for you, I pray for my native country and for the working people. No fight is more effective than that carried out by Solidarity.” The pictures of thousands of people crying and applauding went around the world.

In August 1989, Poland became the first country in the Eastern Bloc to lose its communist head of government. With its withdrawal from Afghanistan a few months earlier, the Soviet Union had sent a clear signal that it would not longer try to prop up the communist regime. By giving up the Soviet role of protector, Gorbachev had sounded the death knell for a Socialist global order.

Following the events in Poland, developments came fast and furious. On 16 June 1989, the remains of Imre Nagy, who had been Hungary’s prime minister before being executed in 1958, were exhumed and given a ceremonial reburial. The funeral also meant the rehabilitation of the victims of the 1956 revolution. Hungarian television carried the funeral live. At noon, church bells were rung across the country; a moment of silence was held. On Budapest’s Heroes Square, a quarter of a million people sang the national anthem. The speeches turned into a day of reckoning for communism. When US President George Bush visited Hungary just a few weeks later, the welcome he received gave him an inkling of the end of communism. Tens of thousands of people waited in pouring rain outside the Hungarian parliament for the president’s arrival. Loud cheers erupted when the motorcade of George Bush and his wife Barbara drove up.

Just two months earlier, on 30 May 1989, the US president had given probably the most important speech of his presidency, when he made an offer to end the Cold War and the division of Europe to his Soviet counterpart. In exchange, he committed himself to respecting Soviet security concerns, and to cooperate with the Soviet Union on economic development. The speech sent a signal to the countries of Eastern Europe. One could almost sense that history was being written. On 10 September 1989, Hungary finally opened its borders to the West, the first Eastern Bloc country to do so.

Events in the autumn of 1989 caused a domino effect, from the mass exodus of East Germans to the West, Honecker's resignation, the fall of the wall and – just a day after the wall fell – the resignation of Bulgarian communist party chief Todor Zhivkov and the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia.

The death of Romanian president and party chief Nicolae Ceauşescu – broadcast on television worldwide – symbolised the final collapse of communism in Europe. On 22 December 1989, Ceauşescu spoke from the balcony of the Communist Party's Central Committee building in Bucharest. His aim was to address the people who had been called to gather there, and denounce the uprisings in Romanian cities – uprisings the military and intelligence services had already tried to bloodily suppress. But then amid the organised applause he was accustomed to hearing at such speeches, scattered boos and whistles began to sound; gradually they grew louder. Perturbed and uncertain, Ceauşescu stopped speaking. The cameras swivelled aside, focusing for several minutes on the neighbouring buildings. Ceauşescu said: "This is a provocation."

Again and again, he tapped the microphone, stammering "Comrades, comrades! Calm down!" From behind him, his wife called "Quiet, quiet, quiet!" Groups of people began well-rehearsed chants of "Ceauşescu – Romania", and after a few more moments he again had the opportunity to speak. The cameras focused again on Ceauşescu. He spontaneously offered to raise the minimum wage, child benefits and retirement pay. But the crowd grew ever more restless. The live broadcast was interrupted. The last image viewers had of their president was his face with an expression of utter amazement. Three days later, he and his wife Elena were executed. Europe had been liberated from communism.

The former communist rulers knew every single trick in the book of totalitarian power, and had been able to maintain an iron grip on an ideological fiction that superseded reality. They exploited Marxism, interpreting its tenets arbitrarily, in order to cement their absolute power with a fake scientific approach. They used slogans such as "socialist democracy" and "dictatorship of the proletariat", supporting their power with the demagoguery of mass propaganda, psychological and physical terror, the *Gleichschaltung*, or ideological alignment, of all parts of society, and through their secret police. But with the ouster of the communist leaders, it became clear just how fragile the system was. The weakness of totalitarian propaganda only becomes apparent at the moment of defeat. The central and dominant organs of power had only just collapsed, and a large part of the erstwhile followers simply – and surprisingly quickly – switched sides. They hardly spent any time reflecting on their past. New opportunities lay ahead, which was why the former elites from most countries of the former Eastern Bloc did as much to block the transformation process as they profited from it.

The path to freedom, a market economy and democracy was a rocky one. The Konrad Adenauer-Stiftung was there every step of the way. The KAS opened its first office in the former Soviet sphere of influence exactly one day after the fall of the wall, on 10 November 1989, in Warsaw. Offices in Budapest, Prague and Riga followed soon. In 2009, the KAS opened offices in Albania and Moldova – it now has offices in every capital city in central, eastern and south-east Europe. Since the beginning, the goal of the KAS has been to constructively support the political and economic process of transformation, to aid the development of civil society and a political party system, to



In March 1990, people in Bucharest gather around a Lenin statue that has been torn to the ground – symbolising the fall of communism. Romania had been in a state of virtual civil war since the fall of dictator Nicolae Ceauşescu.

foster European integration and relationships based on partnership between Germany and other countries in the region. Today, twenty years after the fall of the Iron Curtain, we have reached the end of the most important part of our journey.

A day after the wall fell the KAS opened its first office in Warsaw. It is now present in all capitals of eastern, central and south-eastern Europe.

In 2009, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung commemorated the dramatic events of the historic year of 1989 with scores of events at home and abroad. A special section of the KAS website, The Anniversaries of Unification and Freedom, describes how these events helped set the course for the future. In Prague, a conference looked back at twenty years since the end of totalitarianism. In Sopron in Hungary, people who had attended the Pan-European Picnic met with Chancellor Angela Merkel. In Warsaw, an international conference of scholars discussed what was dubbed the "Polish Year of 1989". The KAS backed a theatre and film project in Bucharest that appealed to a general audience, impressively highlighting the importance of democracy, freedom and the 1989 revolution. In Moscow, the first freely elected prime minister of East Germany, Lothar de Maizière, recalled how the path to German unification began, a path Germany never could have completed without the many friends it maintains to this day. Finally, on 31 October 2009 three statesmen who made world history twenty years ago met again at the invitation of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung – Helmut Kohl, Mikhail Gorbachev and George H.W. Bush. In the full to overflowing Friedrichstadt-palast in Berlin they recalled the weeks in late 1989 when the Iron Curtain fell.

Twenty years after the fall of the wall, a vision has become reality for many citizens of our continent. They are united in a Europe that guarantees freedom and peace. The rapidly changing world brings with it new challenges. One can hope that the anniversary of the revolutions that brought freedom to so many will also see more discussions on how important it is to defend freedom and our European and Christian values against intolerance and the intolerants.

At a festive gathering in Berlin's Friedrichstadtpalast on 31 October 2009 the KAS paid tribute to key figures of the German unification. The picture shows former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, ex-US president George H.W. Bush and former chancellor Helmut Kohl (in front); Chancellor Angela Merkel, Eva-Luise Köhler and German President Horst Köhler, and the chairman of the KAS, Professor Bernhard Vogel.





THE WORLD WELCOMED IN SOUTH AFRICA

FIFTEEN YEARS AFTER THE END OF APARTHEID

JULIA WEBER

*Trainee
South Africa office
Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung,
Johannesburg*

South Africa is not having an easy time. The one side decries it as a bully. As the hegemonic power in southern Africa, it is accused of dominating its neighbours both politically and economically, of destroying local markets by flooding them with its products, of telling governments what they should do, and of presenting itself on the international scene as the spokesperson for the entire African continent. The other side criticises it for its restraint, complaining the country does not support democracy or fight against despots on its own continent enough, allowing regimes such as that of Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe to exist in the first place. The so often referenced "Madiba Magic" that marked the beginning of democracy in South Africa and fascinated the international community seems to be losing steam.

Everything looked so promising 15 years ago. Nelson Mandela came out of the first democratic elections of 1994 as the clear winner; the country stood on the threshold of radical change. Between that successful transformation and the end of political and economic isolation, expectations for the rainbow country were running high. Fifteen years after the end of apartheid both the domestic and external political situation are looking everything but rosy.

Unemployment and poverty remain South Africa's greatest economic and social challenges. The extreme inequality in the distribution of wealth has actually grown worse since apartheid ended. Nowhere is this inequality more visible than on the streets of Johannesburg: homelessness and despair on one side, luxury limousines and glitzy shopping malls on the other. Only a few other countries (Namibia or Brazil come to mind) experience such a large discrepancy between the mass of poor people and a small wealthy elite. Running water, electricity and a roof over one's head are still only a dream for a large part of the population. Officially the unemployment rate in South Africa is 23.6 percent. But the real number is sometimes estimated at more than 40 percent. There is still a lot to be done in the field of economic and social policies to avoid a further rise in joblessness and poverty. A key concern for the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in South Africa is to disseminate the fundamental principles of the Social Market Economy in order to support the constitution of a socially responsible middle class in South Africa.

Jacob Zuma took office in May 2009 as the new president of South Africa. He was elected with a strong mandate since 17.7 million people voted for him on 22 April 2009. A renewed clear victory of the African National Congress (ANC) and the electoral results of the opposition may herald a trend for the South African party landscape. Small parties are in trouble. Only two opposition parties got significant numbers of votes: the middle-class Democratic Alliance (DA) got 16.6 percent and the Congress of the People (COPE) 7.4 percent. The establishment of a dominant party system with only one or two opposition parties is a realistic perspective in the near future.



The gap between rich and poor in the rainbow nation is still as glaring as before. Here an abandoned homeless camp near the Green Point Stadium in Cape Town (October 2009).

The KAS works with the Inkatha Freedom Party and other opposition parties to strengthen pluralism in South Africa.

The KAS office works to strengthen pluralism, which traditionally means supporting the Inkatha Freedom Party. But the KAS also works with other opposition parties. In addition the KAS cooperates with regional think tanks and universities on publications that encourage public debate, for example on the issue of party financing. Party financing is mostly unregulated in South Africa and the current system leads to cementing the power of the ANC.

Already before the fourth democratic elections of 2009, many observers had expressed their fears that a massive part of the population would no longer be content with a wait and see attitude. And they were right. In July 2009, a strike in the construction industry led to temporarily stopping the construction work on the football stadiums that were being built for the 2010 World Cup. Doctors, garbage collectors, miners as well as local government employees went on strike for weeks and protests exploded in the townships. Three months later, in October 2009, the tensions reached a new violent high point. The number of violent attacks on shopping centres outside poor neighbourhoods rose dramatically. The crime statistics released by the police in September 2009 show a frightening picture: The number of murders had gone down by 3.4 percent. But with 18,148 murders in the country between March 2008 and March 2009, one could not talk of a success. Break-ins in private houses had increased by 27 percent while those affecting business had risen by 41.1 percent. Robberies as well as carjacking were also on the rise. The police and the justice system were overwhelmed – sometimes they were even involved in the crimes themselves.

Weirdly enough, lawsuits over corruption, money laundering, bribery and fraud against Zuma himself were abandoned shortly before the elections. The legal procedures against Zuma had already dragged on for more than seven years. As the new president installed friends and long-time supporters in strategic positions in the state political apparatus, it was becoming ever more unlikely the trials would ever restart. The appointment of hand-picked judges and the regular verbal attacks on the justice



During the 2009 elections, the Congress of the People (COPE) established itself right away as the third most important political force. Long queues formed in front of voting booths.



system has heightened fears for the otherwise very strong constitution of the country – a constitution that was drafted with the help of the KAS. This consequently means that the work of the KAS in South Africa in the future will focus on constitutional developments, the rule of law and the independence of the judiciary.

Despite all the reservations and criticisms, South Africa already demonstrated one thing in 2009: It is well prepared for the World Cup. Transportation and accommodation issues are still worrying FIFA, but during the Confederation Cup that South Africa hosted in July 2009 both African joie de vivre and enthusiasm for football were on display and took over the whole country. Between 11 June and 11 July 2010, South Africa can prove to the world that it is a perfect host, both of its African neighbours and of the rest of the world.

WHY GERMANY MUST COMMIT

THE GOALS AND MEANS OF "NETWORKED SECURITY"

DR. MICHAEL A. LANGE

*Head of the Foreign Policy,
Security Policy and European
Policy team, Politics and
Consulting Department,
Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung*

Since the end of the Cold War and the September 11 attacks, international politics has experienced dramatic changes resulting in a paradigm shift on national and international security questions.

Until the end of the East-West confrontation, only conflicts between states were seen as real threats. Internal crises, such as civil wars, were reduced to local conflicts in places far away. As a result, the sense of threat at the end of the Cold War was relatively limited. But this feeling has since intensified in Europe and in Germany, in particular because of seeing pictures of terrorist attacks in neighbouring countries. We are facing a multitude of new security challenges arising from global, regional and local actors – including non-governmental actors – we were not even aware of before.

There is no denying that the very concept of security has changed. It now encompasses much more. Aside from the traditional threat of violent crime that individuals can pose to society, the focus is now also on the 'new' threat of terrorist attacks. In addition fragile states constitute a growing threat for individuals because of human rights abuses, since we no longer want to stand by and simply watch them happening. We are sensing a growing responsibility to protect when faced with serious violations of human rights, regardless of considerations for national sovereignty. Germany cannot escape from these new foreign and security policy challenges. Because we feel such a strong duty to protect people who live beyond our borders, in fragile or already failed states plagued by human rights abuses and dictatorships, we are forced to take on greater international responsibility, in cooperation with partners who share our values.

*The responsibility of
Germany in the world also
consists in protecting
the rights of those who
live under dictatorships or
in countries where human
rights are disregarded.*

This responsibility will increase in the years to come. Therefore we need to ensure that our fundamental values, aside from our interests, become the yardstick of German foreign and security policy. The challenges described above range from largely unknown developments (uncertainties), to potential risks and all the way to actual threats. For an export champion like Germany, globalisation is mostly synonymous with advantages. However it also holds new dangers, and therefore new threats, because of the close interconnectedness it creates.

Local conflicts beyond our borders have a global impact. International terrorism changes the context of international politics. It therefore also changes the requirements for the deployment of armed forces. As part of the necessary crisis and conflict management, military deployments, in coordination with civilian efforts, will play an increasingly important role.

In that context, the classic symmetric threat scenario of war between two states is becoming less relevant. But it still remains the reference for the German *Bundeswehr*, not least in terms of equipment and weaponry.

On the contrary, what we see is a growing denationalisation of war and a rise in asymmetric conflicts shaped by new kinds of non-governmental violent actors such as mercenaries and armed militias, but also private security companies. Such asymmetric conflicts increasingly endanger the security of our country, even when they play themselves out 'away from home' – as they often do. Whether those threats come in the shape of training camps for terrorists, the kidnapping of tourists, pirate attacks on trading vessels or cruise ships in international waters, attacks by hackers on German communication or transportation networks or any other type of unfriendly activities, they usually have their root causes outside of Germany. The spatial distance to such an asymmetric conflict is absolutely not relevant to assess the importance of the conflict for the national security of a country.

Preventative security as well as defence against terrorism can therefore no longer simply take the shape of "passive" deterrence based on national military defence or even defence alliances, but must become ever more "active", including by resorting to potentially dangerous military deployments abroad or as part of the fight against terrorism. In the future, the international community will be forced to more often address violent (local) conflicts where they arise in order to avoid them spilling out and taking over other regions or their perpetuation locally. The asymmetry of new conflicts mostly comes from strategic divergences: Our organisation and technology are far superior to that of terrorists but this dominance is cancelled out by their much greater willingness to suffer casualties, or even to sacrifice themselves.

During the era of the Cold War, a German military slogan was still "Being able to fight so that we do not have to fight". The situation is completely different in a globalised and tightly interconnected world. The German army must transform its presence strategy into a deployment strategy. Many German soldiers are already fulfilling their missions in cooperation with partners and allies way beyond the German soil. But the point is not – contrary to what some critics say – to resolve political problems militarily. The goal is to create the context in which the political reconstruction or nation building can become possible in crisis regions, as in the Hindukush for example.

We must counter the risk of weak states (such as Afghanistan) or failed states (such as Somalia) spreading instability and terror in other parts of the world. Therefore we also need to help those states be able to in the future once again take care of their own domestic security. Reaching this goal requires first and foremost long-term training and support of the various national security organs (the military, the police and the justice system) and of civil society, since security and development go hand in hand in crisis regions. Without security, long-lasting political or economic development cannot exist; without a real economic development linked to democratic participation, no country can achieve domestic stability over the long term. If one aspires to more than a short-term (military) stabilisation of crisis regions, then it is necessary to answer the question of how to ensure the long-term reconstruction of the state structures that are necessary for development.

It is highly unlikely that a military response can suffice on its own – since the armed forces do not have all the knowledge, strategies and instruments at their disposal necessary for a long-lasting resolution of conflicts in crisis regions, especially those they do not know well (such as developing countries). So military deployments must be complemented with involvement by governmental and non-governmental organisations to boost the politico-economic development of the region. Military interventions can really only buy time to find political solutions.



With the concept of "networked security", Germany decisively contributes to the stabilisation of Afghanistan. The pictures show German soldiers speaking with representatives of a local council in May 2009 as part of the Civil-Military Cooperation (CIMIC).

This means that without a temporary external security presence – say in the guise of the ISAF contingent in Afghanistan – nation building is impossible. However, it also means that without some success in national reconstruction, there can be no significant reduction of this contingent, at least as long as it is impossible to transfer responsibility for security to the national security forces.

If this transfer of responsibility were to drag on for an unreasonably long time, because of a lack of cooperation from the local national government for example, then one should ask how to proceed with current commitments, not least for financial considerations, given the costs at stake. Indeed, if the local executive power fails to gain the upper hand and re-establish the monopoly of violence to the benefit of the state reasonably quickly, such failure can lead to a long-lasting appropriation of crucial natural resources of the affected country (such as oil, diamonds or drugs) by competing clans or ethnic groups (minorities in particular). They would then decide on laws and state structures, as well as, arbitrarily, on life and death.

Over the short and long term, such a situation leads to the usual problems, in particular for young people (for example by spreading the phenomenon of child-soldiers). They adapt themselves to such structures to the point that they cannot imagine any other life than one guided by crime or terrorism. A different situation offers such young people barely any chance, so they use their energy to combat it. At the same time the (foreign) militaries can become tired of their long-term deployment, while citizens of their home countries also often become hostile to the deployment of its soldiers. This leads to further political problems, for example when it comes to renewing the mandates of elected officials. Since the resisting enemy forces in the countries where troops are deployed are well aware of such tensions thanks to global media, they can realistically predict how the situation will evolve. In a crisis scenario, that is when such expression comes into play: “You have the clock, but we have the time.”

The goal of the German concept of “networked security” therefore needs to always be to achieve the largest possible, effective coordination of all the forces taking part in a given foreign deployment, so as to make success not only possible but also likely. This is particularly relevant against the background of financial constraints and political unpredictability. To reach this goal, it is important to successfully align all institutional players. In the country of deployment, it is most often difficult to achieve, because of the large number of governmental and non-governmental actors as well as the need for cooperation with the local government. All the more important would be a well-organised cooperation across all departments of the ministries in one’s own country that are involved in military deployments. It is only if alignment on goals and measures has already been reached at the planning stage that a deployment can be effective, and be received positively in the home country.

Asymmetric threats, with their extreme complexity as described above, cannot be successfully dealt with by any state alone, not even by the United States. This new dangerous situation is forcing many countries, including Germany, to rethink and adapt their concepts, strategies and instruments in the field of foreign, security and development policies. The international community as a whole must face these challenges with a united front.



The international community must work together to overcome asymmetric threats such as piracy in the Horn of Africa.



A BIRD WITH TWO WINGS

AFGHANISTAN AS AN EXAMPLE OF "NETWORKED SECURITY"

Germany's engagement in the Hindukush makes clear that geopolitical ambitions and the ways to deal with the new security risks of the 21st century require a transformation of our security sector. In this process of transformation, achieving a "networked security policy" means defining new ways of thinking and behaving. Germany's then defence minister Franz-Josef Jung had already expressed it that way in 2006, when he said that "close coordination between the European Union and the United Nations in particular" would be decisive in making "networked security" a reality.

Shortly thereafter, the 2006 White Paper on German Security Policy and the Future of the Bundeswehr described in detail the new security challenges and

how they consequently shaped the focus of "networked security": "The chief determinants of future security policy development are not military, but social, economic, ecological and cultural conditions, which can be influenced only through multinational cooperation. It is therefore not possible to guarantee security by going alone, or with

armed forces only. What is called for, rather, is an all-embracing approach that can only be developed in "networked security" structures based on a comprehensive national and global security rationale."

This approach has turned into a matter for the highest level, as Chancellor Angela Merkel's trip to the United States in November 2009 showed. In her speech to a joint session of the Senate and the House of Representatives in Washington, she expressed her support for the "concept of networked security" in Afghanistan, under which military and civil engagements go hand in hand. In practice, it means that

economic development and military security are integrated into one policy. The one cannot function without the other.

An Afghan proverb illustrates this approach when it says that a bird cannot fly with just one wing. Following on this image, security and development are the two wings that must help Afghanistan in its democratic new beginning. This is why the German government's involvement in Afghanistan dedicates considerable funds to reconstruction and development projects, ranging from the development of the infrastructure and of education programmes to police training.

The unwavering commitment of the German government and parliament has also helped gradually convince Germany's partners of this approach. Today the policy of "networked security" enjoys consensus among the NATO allies. This should be considered a long-term success of Germany's Afghanistan policy.

In this context, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung carries out valuable work in Afghanistan and Pakistan. By regularly informing local decision-makers and representatives of civil society, it raises their awareness of "networked security" and how it combines the interests and instruments of the German foreign and defence policies. In Afghanistan, the National Centre for Policy Research (NCPR), a research and training facility created in cooperation with the KAS, has already established itself. Regarding Pakistan, thanks to its cooperation with the office of the military attaché and the Bundeswehr's Leadership Academy, members of the Pakistani general staff will be invited for the first time to participate to a security policy seminar in 2010.

*Dr. Babak Khalatbari,
Country Director of the
KAS Afghanistan/Pakistan office,
Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung*





THE SOCIAL MARKET ECONOMY TO THE RESCUE

LESSONS FROM THE ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL CRISIS

DAVID GREGOSZ

Coordinator, Social Market Economy, Politics and Consulting Department, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung

Germany's federal government faces substantial challenges that will shape its entire legislative term. The consequences of the economic and financial crisis, as well as the deep recession – which both shaped the world economy in 2009 – along with an ongoing need for policy reform in some areas must take priority on the political agenda.

SUSANNA VOGT

Desk Officer, Global Economic and Social Governance, International Cooperation Department, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung

Whether the Social Market Economy will again rise to be considered an exemplary societal and economic model in Europe and the rest of the world is contingent upon tackling the many interwoven problems. The economic governance model established by Ludwig Erhard did not fail, nor did it cause the international financial crisis. Instead the international turbulence occurred because of the disregard of that model's basic principles.

CAUSES AND FISCAL CONSEQUENCES

The starting point of the banking and financial crisis lay with a failed social and financial policy in the United States, along with substantial macro-economic inequalities, inefficient regulatory structures and misleading incentives in the banking sector. Those policies facilitated the development of a speculative bubble in real estate markets. When that burst, it triggered a further worsening of the situation in the financial sector and the real economy. The results were rising financing costs, a reluctance to issue credit, isolationist tendencies and a massive loss in confidence – attested by the collapse of the stock market. Both people and corporations were made painfully aware of how global economic interdependence – that had undeniably long served as a wealth multiplier – could also pass on enormous shock waves throughout the economic system.

FIGHT THE POPULISTS

We are currently experiencing the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression of the 1930s. But the situation today is far more complex than it was eighty years ago because of the scope and global synchronicity of events. People's insecurity is rising steadily making market principles easy prey for populist attacks. But that kind of criticisms ignores the fact that market results stem from human activities. The market is not an autonomous entity. Instead, it is an efficient way to guide the activities of a number of actors within a particular institutional framework. The state, however, is responsible for setting up the system and establishing market rules – rules that have to place people at the centre.

The Social Market Economy, whose governance model was crucial in shaping the reconstruction and economic rise of Germany, is not just a successful economic model. It rests also on remarkable theoretical and socio-ethical fundamentals.

Supporters of a governance system adhering to the tenets of a Social Market Economy strongly back such a role for the state. In their view, the state must be actively involved in market oversight – but it must still fulfill that role with caution. The ordoliberal fathers of the Social Market Economy, including economist Walter Eucken, had already adopted this fundamental principle.

PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL MARKET ECONOMY AND HOW THEY ARE BEING DISREGARDED

In the 1930s, economists from the Freiburg School introduced a new theory of liberalism. One can say they were the real neoliberals, a term that has today become wrongly associated with the classical variety of liberalism. They were convinced that the market was unable to fully govern itself, in contrast to the views of classical liberal economic theory. Ordoliberals saw the state as the ultimate enabler of a market-based economic system. The governance framework created by the state and its capacity of intervention were supposed to express themselves through the establishment of fundamental principles as well as essential regulatory elements – such as price mechanisms, price stability, open markets, private property, freedom of contract, liability, as well as control over monopolies and progressive taxation.

The recent crisis highlights how such principles remain important. The market excesses directly resulted from past policy mistakes that violated the governance principles of the Social Market Economy. The United States tried to stimulate the economy through low interest rates and created government incentives causing individuals to go into debt. As available capital ballooned, it led to an imbalance between the amount of money and the goods in circulation. In addition, many banks rid themselves of their default risks – and hence of their liability for certain transactions – by securitising mortgages and selling them to other banks, financial services providers or private investors, without being forced to make any provisions for loss by regulatory institutions. The creditor-debtor relationship was replaced by a murky liability structure. False incentives for ratings agencies and weaknesses in international accounting structures only made the problems worse.

FINDING THE RIGHT ANSWER

The state has to again assume a role in these areas, despite the clear difficulties with establishing effective rules. That is where the Social Market Economy provides the kind of governance superstructure that can address the aforementioned challenges. It remains an appropriate response to the financial and economic crisis. And for many reasons, it remains a modern approach to governance.

- In contrast to other economic models, the Social Market Economy is based on anthropological reflections, making it more than just an economic concept. This model starts with an individual and his personality, and the fact that one can trust his judgment and decision-making capabilities.
- The Social Market Economy is the right approach because it places the market as mechanism at the centre. The ability of the market economy to generate broad-based prosperity remains unrivalled. The market is complemented by a governance model established by the state and by the ability of the state to intervene in economic life. One cannot forget that the current crisis occurred because of the violation of these fundamental rules.



The Social Market Economy can provide pertinent answers to questions about the economic and financial crisis. The KAS promotes this governance model worldwide.

- Only the Social Market Economy assigns the state a constructive and reasonable role. It neither dismisses that role nor does it exaggerate it.
- The principle of subsidiarity determines how the state should act, in particular in the field of social policies. Disregarding this principle has negative repercussions on national prosperity and discredits citizens by infantilising them.
- The Social Market Economy is not a doctrine, but according to Alfred Müller-Armack a “progressive style that awaits definition” (*progressiver Stilgedanke*). Because it is so easily adaptable as a concept, it is internationally relevant.

PROMOTING THE SOCIAL MARKET ECONOMY INTERNATIONALLY

The KAS has published its “Guidelines for Prosperity, Social Justice and Sustainable Economic Activity” in 11 languages so far, among them Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish. Each edition can be downloaded from www.kas.de/leitlinien.

Overcoming the global financial and economic crisis also requires better international regulations. The crisis fuelled a new debate on how to increase the quality of prosperity. Such prosperity must be founded on a solid set of values such as the ones offered by the Social Market Economy. This core idea also influences the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung’s work abroad. With its involvement worldwide, the foundation hopes to raise awareness internationally of the fundamental principles of the Social Market Economy. The “Guidelines for Prosperity, Social Justice and Sustainable Economic Activity”, a paper on the Social Market Economy, contributes to a healthy debate over global governance. The publication has received the support of leading European personalities from politics and academia and was conceived to serve as the basis for an international debate in the countries where the KAS is active.

By furthering the dialogue with decision-makers from politics and civil society, parties, non-governmental organisations, academics, as well as representatives of the church, the unions and of employer associations, the KAS aims at identifying supporters for a long-term economic system based on the afore-mentioned principles and convincing them to implement those principles in practice.

A dialogue with the churches will be of particular importance in this context. Both Christian universal churches strive for a comprehensive understanding of the crisis as a cultural issue that transcends national borders. They have underscored their positions on the financial crisis, its root causes as well as a possible way out in two fundamental texts – Pope Benedict XVI’s first social encyclical as well as a statement by the Council of the Protestant Church in Germany (EKD).

PERSPECTIVES FOR THE FUTURE

The crisis further opened a window for a discussion about economic and social governance structures. A new debate on socio-economic models is even taking place in the United States and Britain – that makes achieving an international agreement easier. In parallel, interest in the Social Market Economy is growing around the world. Young democracies and governments in difficult situations in particular are beginning to be willing to discuss governance issues. Because of the financial crisis, it has also become obvious both at home and abroad, how important it is for the state to impose limits on the market – and to have the ability to intervene – to ensure that economic governance works properly. What is true at the state level is also important for the international economy. It can be summed up by the core motto of the ordoliberalists: Freedom requires a governance framework and clearly assigned responsibilities. The Social Market Economy has proved itself up for the challenges to which the financial crisis gave rise.



SOCIAL MARKET ECONOMY: A DIGITAL PLATFORM FOR COMPREHENSIVE INFORMATION

"It is depressing to see how many people casually bandy about the expression 'Social Market Economy' – even those who feel a kinship with the concept – but who can barely explain what it means. And what is even more important these days, who can no longer defend the concept." Those were the opening words of Karl-Theodor zu Guttenberg (CSU) after he was sworn into the office of economics minister in the German Bundestag in February 2009.

This sobering assessment is still just as applicable today. Numerous polls in recent years have shown that citizens are partially losing confidence in the Social Market Economy. That can in part be linked to the fact that few credible leaders and institutions exist that remain committed to their original ideas – and are also prepared to bring those ideas across even in the face of resistance.

So it should come as no surprise that knowledge of the guiding principles of the Social Market Economy have gone "missing". In the worst-case scenario, today's economic problems – from falling growth rates and structural unemployment to social systems in need of reform or the huge levels of public debt – are all blamed on the Social Market Economy system. Could it be that this loss of confidence in our economic system comes down to confusing the overall governance system with economic reality?

In any case it is extremely important to continue to inform people on the basic ideas and principles of the Social Market Economy, and to keep working toward their further development. The Social Market Economy is after all central to the Christian democratic idea. In that context – and given that we live in a digital age – the Internet is gaining in importance as an information tool, especially for young people who use it as their primary source of information.

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's Internet portal on the Social Market Economy collects the foundation's offerings on this subject matter – this is how it aims to revive some of this lost knowledge. Basic tenets of the Social Market Economy are explained, as are the reasons for the economic and financial crisis. The site also takes up specific issues and provides further information. The portal lists current events and newly published documents, and provides links to external sources. Program specific documents, the biographies of the founding fathers of the Social Market Economy, video clips and contact information for experts at the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung round out the online offer.

www.kas.de/soziale-marktwirtschaft





ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION SECURES A FUTURE

FROM PROTECTING THE AMAZON ENVIRONMENT TO ADVISING PARTIES ON THE ENVIRONMENT

ANJA CZYMMECK

*Head of the office
in Fortaleza, Konrad-
Adenauer-Stiftung, Brazil*

A review of the country programme in Brazil shows just how varied the work of the KAS is alone in the area of environmental policy. KAS activities in the South American emerging nation include: promoting sustainable cultivation methods for small farmers in the Amazon; providing information on the environment to local and regional decision makers; and advising the KAS partner-party Democratas.

DR. NINO GALETTI

*Desk Officer, Energy and
Environment, International
Cooperation Department,
Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung*

The UN conference on the environment and development in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 helped boost public awareness of nature conservation and environmental protection. Afterwards, many Brazilians began to address environmental issues, focussing in particular on the protection of tropical rainforests in the Amazon. Brazilian policy makers have made maintaining the country's natural treasures a priority.

To this day, the spirit of Rio has remained the guiding principle for the KAS's work in Brazil, especially in the north and northeast of the country. Because of extreme poverty, politicians, state institutions, non-governmental organisations and the population at large are being challenged to find ways for economic and ecological interests to work symbiotically.

*The KAS supports projects
that protect the environment,
use resources responsibly and
promote social development.*

Efforts by the NGO Centro de Estudos Avançados de Promoção Social e Ambiental (CEAPS) show how the responsible use of natural resources and social development can go hand in hand. CEAPS, a KAS partner organisation for more than 25 years, has expanded its *Saúde e Alegria* (Health and Happiness) programme to more than 140 communities along the Tapajós river in the Amazon. The programme helps people adapt their lives to the specific challenges of the region. The KAS has taken part in this project since 1994, from which some 30,000 local residents profit. It organises seminars to inform local residents about environmental issues affecting their community and to discover different ways to take action. Villagers living along a river can for instance learn to profit from the riches of the rainforest without having to destroy it. That means that the KAS helps villagers learn a trade or become craftspeople so that they can earn a basic income from natural products such as shoes made from rubber or baskets made out of palm leaves. In addition, farmers are taught about organic farming, the consequences of illegal deforestation or the spread of monocultures.

The KAS has also called upon the Mocarongo circus to teach children and teenagers important lessons through artistic activities and other events. The circus regularly pays visits by ship to the communities along the river, and has become the most popular hangout for villagers. Here is where they have the opportunity to meet and discuss problems. The most important goal is to give every community the ability

to govern itself and solve its problems on its own. That is why *Saúde e Alegria* and the KAS spend a lot of energy on teaching democratic values and encouraging community members to become politically active – and to take part in the decision making process in their own villages. These efforts are now bearing fruit: Villagers along the river stay in touch with a radio programme and a newspaper they edit. They have also founded a joint advisory council of community members that represents their interests toward government offices and companies located in the Amazon region.

The KAS also contributes to protecting the environment in Brazil through a joint project with the EU that promotes sustainable family-run agriculture projects in the northeast. Small-scale farmers here face a difficult situation – and it has only worsened in recent years. On the one hand small-scale farms are under pressure from huge agriculture companies – on the other hand they face environmental problems such as desertification, water shortages and long periods of drought. The project's goal is to teach farmers about organic farming and about marketing organic products. The farmers learn cultivation methods that are not only more efficient and sustainable but also protect the land and nature in general. With this project, the KAS is trying to permanently raise the standard of living and thus work against poverty. The foundation also supports the establishment of a network between small farmers to enable them to exchange information, questions and experiences, to support each other and to pass on new knowledge. There is little doubt that increasing income and quality of life in turn affects political participation and expression. The state government in Ceará has asked the KAS to provide advice on these issues on a regional level as well.

But the KAS country programme in Brazil is also active at the national level. On the occasion of the 2010 presidential elections, the Democratas (the CDU's partner party in Brazil) has drawn up a party platform that gives priority to the environment, energy and climate protection. In 2009, the KAS invited leading politicians from Brazil to travel to Germany, where it organised meetings with German environmental experts, among them scientists from the Potsdam Institute for Climate Impact Research. The Brazilian visitors also met with the environment minister of the state of Baden-Württemberg, Tanja Gönner, where they learned about current environmental policy issues in Germany. The core issues discussed were the German government's and the CDU's position on biofuels and renewable energy, as well as on nuclear power. Specific subjects ranging from electronic waste, the introduction of a carbon tax or the possibilities for environmentally sustainable construction were also under debate.

These examples show how civic education and environmental activism are two sides of the same coin. This is why the KAS focuses both on supporting democracy as well as promoting sustainable development and securing the future.



The KAS office in Fortaleza held a hands-on seminar in September 2009 for young journalists on environmental issues. At the centre stood the problems faced by the Araripe National Forest in the state of Ceará in northeastern Brazil.

RESISTING FEAR WITH ONE'S VERY SOUL

HERTA MÜLLER RECEIVES THE NOBEL LITERATURE PRIZE

PROFESSOR DR.
GÜNTHER RÜTHER

*Head of the Scholarships
and Culture Department,
Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung*

Herta Müller was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in Stockholm in December 2009. It was an extraordinary moment for the German writer, a delicate-looking but iron-willed woman. Müller comes from a German-speaking family from the region of Banat in Romania. She grew up, studied and then started working in Nițchidorf and Timisoara. Eighty years before, Thomas Mann had received the same honour. It was in the fateful year of 1929, when the economic crisis engulfed the whole world and began undermining the Weimar Republic, eating away at its democratic support.

Thomas Mann only saw what he termed the "dark soul" of dictatorship approach when he received his Nobel Prize. But it is with her soul that Müller writes about her bitter experience of totalitarianism. Indeed, she had to endure the dictatorship of Nicolae Ceaușescu in Romania until 1987 when she left for Germany. Contrary to writers such as Christa Wolf or Volker Braun, she has used her new life in freedom to portray in her novels, poems, and essays – in an intense and virtuosic style – how violent communist regimes ruined people's lives. She has published over twenty books in 27 years. All bear witness to the profound damage people suffered during the times of oppression, to their fear and to the disregard for human dignity.

Already in her first collection of short stories *Nadirs* – which she published in 1982 in Bucharest even though censors mutilated the book – she described her experience of dictatorship in sentences full of pain that showed the extent of her extraordinary poetic virtuosity. "I was afraid", she writes in the eponymous short story, "that I couldn't be alive any more with so much pain and at the same time I knew that I was still alive because it hurt." In her prose, as well as in her poems – strung together collages, less well-known but as moving as her other works – Müller has found a language to speak of the space between the fear of death and the will to live. Such language can help us learn from dictatorship to the benefit of democracy. When Müller received the Literature Prize of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in 2004 in Weimar,



Die Nacht ist aus Tinte gemacht. (The Night is as Black as Ink)

Herta Müller recounts her childhood in Banat, 2 CDs, supposé, Berlin 2009, ISBN 978-3-932513-88-6

Herta Müller compellingly recounts her childhood in Banat and her Romanian-German heritage. Critics were enchanted by the audio book, which provides a great introduction to the author's work.

Joachim Gauck said in his laudatory speech that she had picked up melodies from within the darkness of dictatorship that “sounded like chains”. But despite their diversity, those melodies still formed a whole “with a clear message, like a hymn. The death lament over the victims calls upon the right to live and the dignity of all those under threat”.

It is certainly no coincidence that Müller has been honoured for her work exactly twenty years after the collapse of communism in Europe. The death lament over the victims has not been silenced, nor has the dignity of those under threat been secured. The places just have different names. The world has become more globalised but it has not made freedom more secure. In such a context, Müller can be seen as a politically active writer. Those who know her feel that everything she writes, all her words and images, are authentic. But simply by reading her work, or that of her fellow writer Imre Kertesz, one can feel that she has resisted fear all the way, deep in her soul. She received the Nobel Prize because she could express this fear through her fascinating language, rich in imagery and so deeply autobiographic, and met, as KAS Deputy Chairman Norbert Lammert put it, the “highest literary standards”.

Among the important books by Herta Müller are:

- Everything I Possess I Carry With Me*, Granta/Metropolitan Books, 2009
- Der König verneigt sich und tötet* (title translates as “The King Bows and Kills”), essays, Munich, 2003
- The Land of Green Plums*, Metropolitan Books/Henry Holt & Company, New York, 1996
- Der Fuchs war damals schon der Jäger* (title translates as “Even Back Then, the Fox Was the Hunter”), Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1992
- The Appointment*, Metropolitan Books/Picador, New York/London, 2001

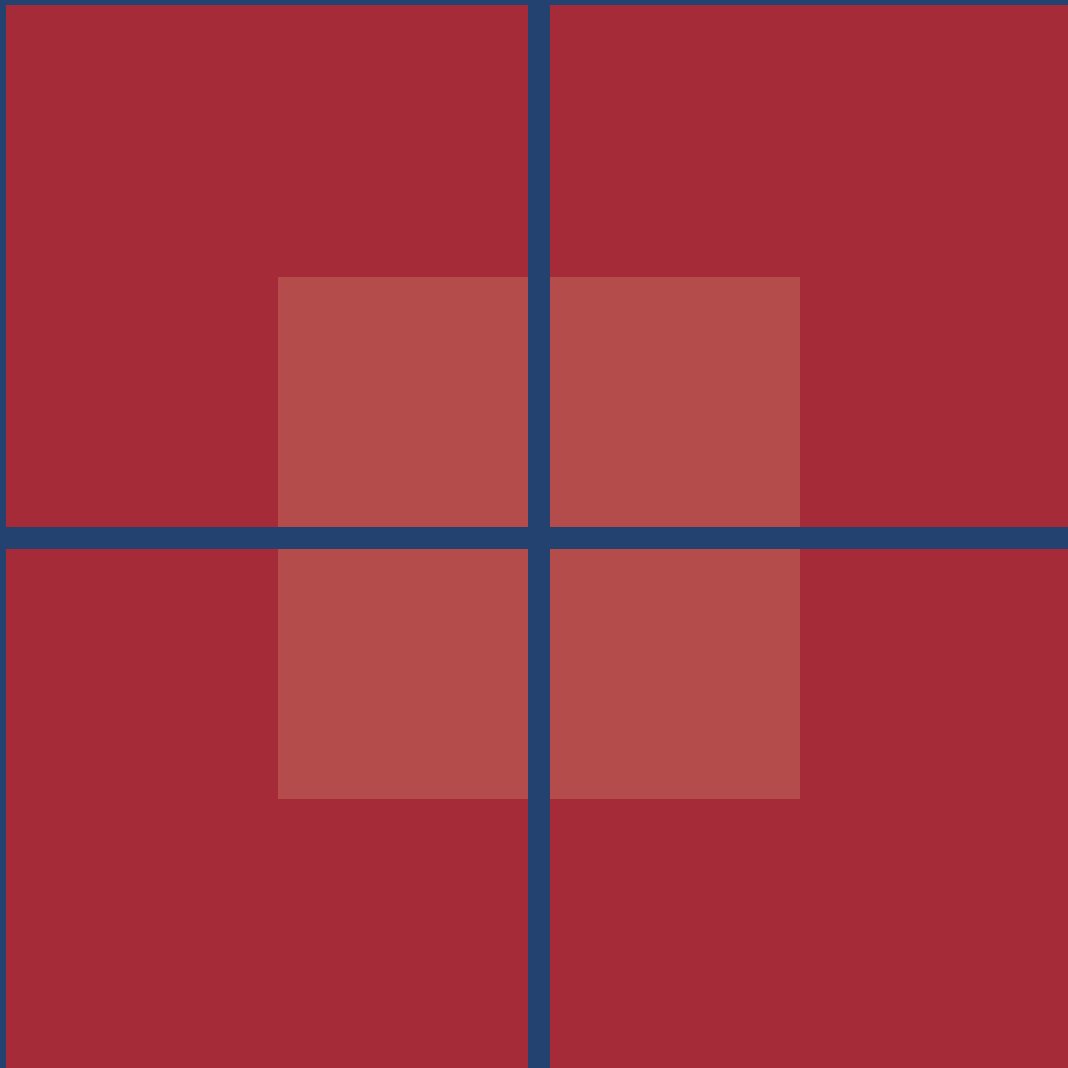


What I Have Recently Read

Everything I Possess I Carry With Me, the most recent novel by Herta Müller, is justly celebrated, writes Professor Norbert Lammert, president of the German Bundestag and deputy KAS chairman, on his webpage. In this “impressive literary work”, the author portrays the fate of Germans who were deported from Romania to the Soviet Union at the end of World War II. She describes the “gruelling and wracked by hunger everyday life in the camps, how it wore people down, how it changed them physically as well as psychologically”. For Lammert, the book is “a lecture on happiness and on humility, as well as on how they both relate to each other”.

Source: www.norbert-lammert.de/gelesen





F O U N D A T I O N

THE KONRAD-ADENAUER-STIFTUNG IS A POLITICAL FOUNDATION WITH ACTIVITIES THROUGHOUT GERMANY THANKS TO ITS TWO CENTRES AND 16 REGIONAL OFFICES PROVIDING CIVIC EDUCATION. SOME 70 OFFICES ABROAD MANAGE PROJECTS IN MORE THAN 100 COUNTRIES. OUR HEADQUARTERS ARE SPLIT BETWEEN SANKT AUGUSTIN NEAR BONN AND BERLIN.

ABOUT US

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



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

■ At **CONFERENCES AND CONGRESSES** we bring together people who have something to say. In Germany alone, about 145,000 people attend the 2,500 events that are held every year. We provide material and non-material support to gifted young people, not only from Germany but also from central and eastern Europe as well as developing countries. We also keep in close touch with our alumni, whose number by now has risen to more than 10,000.

■ **EXHIBITS, READINGS AND AWARDS** complete our programme. We support young artists and award the prestigious KAS literature prize every year. We have awarded a prize for local journalism since 1980. The Social Market Economy prize has recognised since 2002 distinguished personalities who have supported and encouraged the development of the Social Market Economy. Since 2001, our DenkT@g competition – roughly Thinkd@y – has awarded an annual prize to websites in which young people confront issues surrounding the Holocaust and Nazi dictatorship, right-wing extremism, xenophobia, intolerance and violence.

■ **THE ARCHIVES OF CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC POLITICS** research and explore the history of Christian Democracy in Germany and Europe. Users have access to a comprehensive body of documents, state-of-the-art media and a specialised library with 177,000 titles focused on history and politics.

WE WOULD LIKE TO THANK OUR DONORS, SUPPORTERS AND SPONSORS

We are particularly grateful to our donors and sponsors. In 2009, they again supported the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's work with their donations and sponsorships, with specific pledges or as cooperation partners.

We would like to thank our supporters for their trust in and commitment to the foundation, for their recommendations that have opened us many doors, as well as for the many good ideas and suggestions that have enabled us to expand the foundation's private funding.

We can do a lot more if we know that we are surrounded by people who back us with their ideals and financial support. If you would like to help shape the future and have a particular interest in specific areas of our work – for example the support of young gifted people or the promotion of civic education, international cooperation or art and culture – then a foundation or fund is the ideal approach to contributing to the common good.

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

We will be happy to provide you with more information.

Please contact:

Petra Kulcsar
Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung e.V.
Rathausallee 12
53757 Sankt Augustin
Germany
Phone: +49 2241/246-2616
Fax: +49 2241/246-2539
E-mail: petra.kulcsar@kas.de



IN MORE THAN 100 COUNTRIES, THE KONRAD-ADENAUER-STIFTUNG APPROACHES INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION BY SUPPORTING THE DEVELOPMENT OF FREE AND DEMOCRATIC STRUCTURES ROOTED IN THE RULE OF LAW AND THE SOCIAL MARKET ECONOMY. AT THE CENTRE OF OUR WORK IN 2009 STOOD THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL CRISIS AND POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS TO OVERCOMING IT. FURTHER AREAS OF FOCUS WERE CLIMATE POLITICS AND THE CHALLENGES IN AFGHANISTAN AND THE MIDDLE EAST.

NEW GLOBAL CHALLENGES

Overcoming the economic crisis, European integration, forward-looking climate politics, Afghanistan and the Middle East – these were the pressing issues that Germany, the EU and the Atlantic community had to confront in 2009. In addition, the acute threats of transnational terrorism and the spread of weapons of mass destruction that result from failed states and fanatic regimes did not abate.

Twenty years after the fall of the Iron Curtain, politics faces new and serious challenges. The risks of our present time make clear that the international work of political foundations has never been more important. Their mission is to complement Germany's involvement with what former German president Roman Herzog called persuasive power. By their activities they work toward an enduring future of peace and freedom in the respect of human dignity.

The worldwide economic crisis gave rise to a far-reaching governance debate. This is a great opportunity for the KAS: Germany, with its Social Market Economy, has a real model to offer, one that puts economic freedom and social justice on an equal footing, and that has led to a lasting prosperity for a large portion of society in Germany. In the last few years, the KAS has expanded its effort to promote the Social Market Economy as part of its international cooperation, including through the development of new complementary instruments. The focus of its efforts has been the emerging countries and the members of the G20.

The KAS is well prepared for such discussions thanks to its sectoral focus. A few years ago as part of the Global Governance project, Berlin-based KAS staff started managing multi-faceted transversal projects, such as Global Economic and Social Governance but also the KAS Dialogue on Values and Religion, or the Development Policy and Democracy, the Support for Parliaments and Parties as well as the KAS Energy and the Environment projects. Beyond those areas, the international work of the KAS continued to focus on establishing and expanding the rule of law, on promoting free and independent media as well as on strengthening local self-administration.



Former Estonian finance minister Taavi Veskimägi (left), member of the German Bundestag Norbert Röttgen and Bishop Wolfgang Huber (right), at a panel discussion in Berlin on 19 March 2009, moderated by Karen Horn of the Institute for Economic Policy in Cologne.

More than half of the foundation's financial resources are used to support its international cooperation initiatives. In the 77 offices abroad, KAS overseas staff manage projects in over 100 countries, in collaboration with more than 300 local employees. In Germany, the KAS supports its worldwide activities with seminars, expert conferences, studies and information programmes. In these events, the KAS brings foreign guests together with multipliers from the fields of politics, business, academia and civil society. In 2009, 1,000 participants attended over 100 public events while the foundation's 72 expert conferences and discussions attracted 4,000 participants. In addition, 150 scholarship recipients took part in the KAS project-oriented study programme. Eighty young executives from developing countries joined our support programme.



The conference "Europe Means Freedom. On the Responsibility of Democrats" took place in May 2009, in the run-up to the June 2009 European elections. Among the panellists were Laurent Schouteten, president of the Youth of the European People's Party (YEPP), Rocco Buttiglione, vice president of the Italian lower house of parliament, Professor Beate Neuss, deputy chair of the KAS and the former president of the European Parliament, Hans-Gert Pöttering.

EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA

The elections for the European Parliament and the ratification process of the Lisbon Treaty stood at the top of the European agenda in 2009. The KAS put its focus on the preparations needed for the implementation of the treaty. The European office in Brussels discussed the impact of the treaty on various policy areas with the respective European commissioners. In Paris the foundation organised a debate that focused on the consequences of the decision by the German Constitutional Court on the Lisbon Treaty.

In addition the KAS built on the 60th anniversary of the German constitution and 20th anniversary of the fall of the wall with several events. The Paris office organised a colloquium titled "Twenty Years After the Fall of the Wall: Where is the European Union Taking Us to?" In Rome, the KAS seized the opportunity of the 60th anniversary of both the Italian and German constitutions to discuss bio-ethical issues with constitutional scholars and other legal experts.

The Washington office decided in 2009 to continue to focus its work on strengthening transatlantic relations. After the US presidential and congressional elections, it established relationships with the Obama administration and its new decision makers. Devising solutions to the international economic crisis was one of the key focus areas. This topic was also at the centre of the foundation's work in London. The expert forum "The Economy, Ethics and Growth in Europe after the Economic Crisis" was a good setting to promote the Social Market Economy. In the run-up to the Spanish presidency of the European Council during the first half of 2010, the KAS intensified its activities on the Iberian Peninsula. In particular the foundation sent one of its team members to Madrid.

In Moscow and St. Petersburg, the foundation developed successful collaborations with the United Russia party as well as with non-governmental organisations and research institutions. The exchange programme for young Russian and German politicians significantly contributed to developing better mutual understanding. The Baden-Baden Dialogue that also took place in 2009 brought together Russian and German judges of the highest calibre to debate various issues. An important media conference in Moscow attracted a lot of public attention, in particular thanks to the presence of high-level personalities and the open debate culture that characterised the event. The 2nd Forum of the Future at Schloss Wackerbarth, which again took place under the auspices of the prime minister of the state of Saxony, addressed energy policy.

In Belarus and in the Ukraine, the KAS focused on the EU good neighbour policy towards countries in the east and the impact of the international crisis. In Belarus it also expanded its work with representatives of the local free and independent media. In Ukraine, the fragile party landscape led to an enhanced collaboration with political think tanks and research institutes. The goal remains to promote a stable and democratic party system.

Evaluation

The Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development lauded the quality of the systems used by the KAS to measure success and evaluate its international cooperation activities. The ministry's 2009 study of the evaluation departments of many development organisations in Germany reads: "With respect to the creation of staff positions focused on programme evaluation among political foundations, the KAS deserves particular mention." The KAS also received positive comments for its decision to publicise the most important results and recommendations coming out of the evaluation of its international work on the Internet. The ministry also praised the consistent questioning by the KAS as to what constitutes impact in international cooperation and how to assess it.

In Bulgaria, the success of the GERB, the local partner party, strongly influenced the work of the KAS there. In Romania and Moldova, the KAS could further and deepen its close ties to the local partner parties. Moreover the KAS made a significant contribution to deepening European understanding by organising an important conference on cultural policy in Sibiu (Hermannstadt). Participants in this conference included Nobel Literature laureate Herta Müller. The KAS opened a new local office in Moldova that will observe developments in the country after a change of government saw a democratic coalition succeed the post-communists.

Discussions of the freedom movements in Eastern Europe in the last twenty years and of the 20th anniversary of the East German Peaceful Revolution were the focus of work in Hungary, Poland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, as well as in the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Chancellor Angela Merkel participated alongside with historical witnesses in an event on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Pan-European Picnic of Sopron. In Berlin the KAS commemorated this event that proved so important for Europe and Germany with a lecture by the Hungarian leader of the opposition Viktor Orbán. In Poland, 2009 marked the 20th anniversary of the opening of the local KAS office, a good opportunity for a conference in Warsaw titled "Break with the Past and New Departure 1989–2009: Christian-Democratic Answers to the Challenges of Our Time." Prime Minister Donald Tusk and his predecessor Tadeusz Mazowiecki were among the participants.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia and Serbia, the foundation helped its partner parties develop into modern broad-based parties with meaningful political programmes and democratic structures. Promoting young politicians is of high importance in this context. The foundation actively contributed to ensuring that centrist parties could rely on qualified collaborators in the future by organising many political academies and summer schools and by awarding fellowships.

The new office in Albania established excellent contacts with the local Democratic Party led by Prime Minister Sali Berisha. As part of the preparation for the office opening, Berisha gave a lecture in Berlin on the end of communism in Albania. In his speech he insisted on how much the KAS office in Albania could contribute to supporting the further democratisation of his country.

In all countries of the western Balkans, the local KAS office collaborated closely with the regional rule of law programme as well as with the media programme. Celebrating the 60th anniversary of the German constitution, the KAS published a Macedonian translation of key decisions by the German constitutional court and put it at the disposal of the judiciary.

ASIA

Political parties play an important role in how a society develops and functions. For historical reasons the situation of Asian political parties can be described in a variety of ways. Parties have also clearly not followed Western European models. In Asia, party systems run the gamut from fully developed systems characterised by political competition – such as in India – to the Marxist-Leninist system of a single party, like in Vietnam. Parties are usually strongly centred on individuals while political programmes still frequently exist only in rudimentary form. For that reason the foundation in 2009 again provided a broad spectrum of methods to strengthen programme-driven parties, for example by training young politicians and developing programmes. So as to increase the sharing of experiences between country and regional programmes of the KAS, and to intensify the exchange with existing parties and party alliances in the region, conferences were held in Kuala Lumpur (Promoting Parties in South-East Asia) and in the former capital of Kazakhstan, Almaty (KAS Party Partnerships in the Southern Caucasus, in Central, South and East Asia).



Scholarships in Senegal

19 students in the West African country received KAS scholarships in 2009 to help them continue their education. The KAS office in Dakar is looking after them during their studies. A number of the fellows are from remote and extremely impoverished areas of the country. As role models they can help contribute to higher enrolment in schools and better results where they come from. After concluding their studies they will work either as teachers or initiate development programmes, thus contributing to the continuing development of Senegal.

The KAS held a symposium in Berlin in cooperation with the Japanese-German Center in Berlin and the Japanese International Cooperation Agency. It explored commonalities and differences in how development policy measures in Africa are conceived and implemented by Germany and Europe versus Japan.

A number of young politicians in India and Indonesia were elected to parliament for the first time in the spring 2009 parliamentary elections. Many women and men from this new generation had already participated in KAS programmes to promote a new group of politicians, which is how for example contacts with the youth wing of the Indian Congress party or Indonesia's Golkar party already exist.

In Thailand the Bangkok-based Asia News Network (ANN), founded by the KAS in 1999, celebrated its 10th birthday. Twenty-one papers from 18 Asian nations have so far joined the news organisation, giving ANN access to nearly 30 million readers a day. The political revolution in Nepal gave the foundation the opportunity to share its expertise during the drafting of the constitution. Besides consulting projects on constitutional law in Kathmandu, the KAS organised a study trip for members of the Constitutional Assembly to Germany. A programme was initiated to support the Nepalese government in drawing up foreign policy guidelines.

Contradictory developments shaped the year 2009 in Pakistan. While reinstating the chief justice of the Supreme Court meant progress for judiciary independence, the general security situation in the country deteriorated significantly, leading to a situation akin to civil war. Nonetheless the foundation and its Islamabad office continued to expand its activities in Pakistan. In Afghanistan, the process of nation building – supported by the KAS since 2002 – continues to be difficult. The foundation holds seminars on the Social Market Economy along with its main partner, the National Centre for Policy Research (NCPRI).

MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

The foundation's programmatic efforts in the Middle East were deepened and strategically expanded. Professor Norbert Lammert, KAS deputy chairman and president of the German Bundestag, kicked off the new regional Gulf-States programme on 9 June 2009 in Abu Dhabi. It is tasked with developing and expanding the dialogue on governance as well as addressing security and foreign policy issues in a region whose importance is growing by the day.

In Turkey the KAS continued its training programme for imams who the Office of Religious Affairs are planning to send to Germany. In Alanya, German and Turkish experts debated how integration and inter-religious dialogue work together in both countries. On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Islamic Republic of Iran, German and Iranian experts came together in Mülheim an der Ruhr to discuss changes in the Iranian legal context, the situation faced by religious minorities and the outlook for the "Green Movement" of reformist politician Mir Hossein Mousavi.

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung field office in Israel invited renowned German civil rights activists and witnesses to history such as Bärbel Bohley, Rainer Eppelmann, Vera Lengsfeld and Konrad Weiss to an international conference in Haifa. The KAS office in Jerusalem held the international event "Fifty Years of Europe – Israel Relations", which looked at how this relationship would evolve in the future. The office in Ramallah addressed the issue of religious narratives on Jerusalem from the perspective of the three monotheistic religions. International experts discussed the meaning and peace building potential of the narratives for the Israeli-Palestinian peace process.

In Egypt, the focus was on continuing a civic education programme for imams, a series with which the KAS successfully addresses important multipliers of Egyptian society on issues regarding the rule of law and democracy. Because women remain marginalised, particular attention was paid to family law and women's rights.

One year after the founding at a Paris summit of the "Barcelona Process: Union for the Mediterranean", the regional programme focused on political dialogue in the Maghreb took stock. Along with the Club of Rome, the KAS presented the DESERTEC solar energy project for the Sahara desert and addressed its political implications.

AFRICA SOUTH OF THE SAHARA

In South Africa, where Jacob Zuma, the presidential candidate for the African National Congress (ANC) narrowly missed winning a two-thirds majority in the elections on 22 April 2009, the KAS has continued its support for the development of an opposition movement in that still young democracy. The Green Goal Action Plan was an issue that has garnered a lot of attention in the run-up to the 2010 football World Cup. The comprehensive programme aims to ensure that the championship is carried out in an environmentally sustainable manner in the tournament city of Cape Town.

An intensive cooperative effort continued in Namibia with the country's parliament. Aside from programmatic support for the newly founded Rally for Democracy and Progress (RDP), a handbook for election observers was published in connection with parliamentary elections. In Angola, the KAS continues to support the opposition UNITA party, while in Mozambique the foundation will expand its support beyond the opposition RENAMO party to assist the newly founded Movimento Democrático de Moçambique (MDM) in developing its party structures.

In Zimbabwe the KAS is strengthening reform efforts that protect human rights, promote political participation and work for the peaceful transition to a democratically legitimate government. Together with the Mass Public Opinion Institute the KAS published an account of the events that took place during the election year of 2008.

The KAS regularly held discussion forums in Nigerian states to encourage politicians, researchers, economists and church representatives to initiate a dialogue with civil society. The chairman of the German Bishops' Conference, Archbishop Robert Zollitsch, attended one of these meetings. High-ranking representatives of the military and top politicians from Benin, Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast, Mali and Togo came together for the fourth regional security policy conference in Lomé in Togo, to discuss how a democratic state can organise the political oversight of the army.

At the invitation of the media programme for Sub-Saharan Africa, young politicians from West Africa travelled to Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso, to learn about new and promising techniques for marketing and conducting political campaigns.



Consul General Hans-Werner Busmann, Cape Town Mayor Dan Plato, Werner Böhler, head of the KAS office in South Africa, and the prime minister of the Western Cape province, Helen Zille, all showing their support for the Green Goal Action Plan in South Africa.

LATIN AMERICA

In Latin America, very different governance models compete with each other. Because of the economic and financial crisis, the fundamental issue that has taken centre stage is which successful long-term strategies can help overcome poverty. The regional programme Social Governance Latin America (SOPLA) tackled this issue through studies and seminars. Another area of focus is improving the participation of marginalised population groups, in particular indigenous people. As part of its activities, the regional programme Indigenous Political Participation pursued its training programme for political officials in Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia and launched it in Guatemala.

In addition the question of coexistence of classical western justice systems and indigenous legal tradition gained importance for the rule of law programme.

In Mexico, the collaboration of the KAS with its partner party PAN (Partido Acción Nacional) focused on the electoral process and on how to best communicate the current reform agenda. This topic was also at the heart of a Berlin-based conference on Mexico organised jointly with the Latin America Initiative of the German Economy (LAI). The Social Market Economy remained a key area of focus, especially for trade associations who remained an important partner, along with various universities and research institutes.

In Central America, the KAS addressed both country-specific issues as well as regional topics. Crucial aspects of its work were in the fields of civic education and the promotion of young people, as well as the strengthening of the local political systems, with a particular emphasis on electoral tribunals. In Colombia the focus lay on education as well as political consulting. Consulting activities at the party and parliament level were provided to the partner party, Partido Conservador. The KAS also organised a complementary media awareness training to help them better understand political reporting. KAS work in Venezuela continues to be characterised by the targeted and ever increasing constraints imposed by Hugo Chávez's government. The central challenge is therefore to strengthen the opposition's limited capacity to act.

In the Andes the situation remained extremely preoccupying. Bolivia is riven by conflicts that have broken into the open because of the efforts of a few gas-rich provinces to gain autonomy. In this context, the KAS promoted social dialogue, provided political consulting services and helped strengthen the opposition. In Peru, the KAS worked primarily at developing its cooperation with the coalition Unidad Nacional and the Partido Popular Cristiano (PPC).

In Chile, the KAS actively accompanied the political process leading up to the presidential elections by providing strategic consulting to the partner party PDC (Partido Demócrata Cristiana). In Brazil, it focused on the one hand on long-term local and regional development and the strengthening of the civil society, and on the other hand on supporting regional cooperation and integration in South America, as well as on intensifying the dialogue between Brazil and Germany as well as the European Union.



Planning Committee

After serving for two decades as chair of the planning committee, Volkmar Köhler (second from the right), former parliamentary state secretary at the Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, stepped down on 5 July 2009 for age reasons. The deputy chairman of the KAS, former minister of state Anton Pfeifer (on the right), thanked Köhler for his work for the foundation over several decades. He paid tribute to his excellent leadership and the cordial atmosphere he contributed to. Deputy Chairman Gerhard Wahlers (on the left) was named as his successor.



Guidelines for Prosperity, Social Justice and Sustainable Economies

Overcoming the worldwide economic crisis requires international rules. The governance model of the Social Market Economy offers an appropriate general framework. In 2009 the KAS published its "Guidelines for Prosperity, Social Justice and Sustainable Economies". With it, the KAS created the basis for an international governance dialogue that has received the support of Hans-Gert Pöttering, president of the European Parliament, Professor Bernhard Vogel, chairman of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung as well as Joseph Daul, chairman of the EPP group in the European Parliament, and Wilfried Martens, president of the EPP. The goal is to increase acceptance for the Social Market Economy model and to find ways to make its principles relevant to the diverse cultural contexts. The guidelines have so far been translated into 11 languages, including English, French, Chinese, Russian and Spanish.

www.kas.de/guidelines

IMPROVING OUR INSTITUTIONAL INTEGRATION WORLDWIDE – PASTIS HELPS US MANAGE PROJECTS EFFICIENTLY

The KAS manages about 200 international cooperation projects representing a financial volume of about 60 million euros. At all project stages – from development, application process and implementation as well as in the ensuing detailed accounting of incurred costs – the time, financial and most of all administrative effort is high. So as to further strengthen its delivery capability, the KAS set itself the goal to focus on optimising its processes everywhere it finds improvement potential.

The rapid development of information and communication technologies has opened up enormous possibilities. The Internet can provide significant support in improving work-related processes. For example, document management can be simplified; data does not need to be entered in several parallel systems and information is available to all people involved in a process where and when it is needed. These are the guiding principles of PASTIS.

PASTIS. This acronym means **P**roject **A**ccounting, **S**teering and **I**nformation **S**ystem and already suggests the complexity of the endeavour. Originally, the goal was to integrate all the large financial transactions of

the International Cooperation Department into the overall accounting cycle of the KAS, in order to eliminate unnecessary interfaces and redundant data entry. The project managers however realised that it was possible not only to make financial processes more effective but also to significantly improve the efficiency of project management and information search processes. That's when the project was enlarged into what the name now covers. The complete life cycle of a project will be supported electronically. What was considered before as an anti-thesis is now possible: combining a great shift of responsibility to overseas offices while at the same time ensuring better management at the level of the head office.

One of the significant impulses behind the initiative is also the growing pressure that donors are exerting to see greater integration in the accounting, management and evaluation of projects. Such integration would indeed provide them and auditors more easily with a holistic and comprehensive overview of overseas projects.

PASTIS will be first launched in January 2010 in Latin America as pilot region. It will mark the beginning of a new project management system based on an electronic workflow system for the affected staff in overseas offices and the headquarters. In the autumn of 2009, the future users gathered for a regional conference and were prepared for the deployment of the new project management tools. Starting in 2011 the other continents will be successively integrated into the new system.

PASTIS is a challenging and motivating project. It involved and brought together many people with the most diverse functions, coming from different departments, sectors and transversal functions. It was an example of successful integration across the whole foundation.

*Felix Dinnessen,
PASTIS Project Manager in the
Department of International Cooperation
of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung*



In the autumn 2009, six accountants from Latin America and their colleagues from the head office in Berlin participated in a two-week training to familiarise themselves with PASTIS.

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



SUPPORTING DECISION MAKING WITH EXPERTISE

Highlights of our political consulting projects in 2009 included the challenges posed by the financial and economic crisis, security issues and examples of family policy on a local level.

DOMESTIC POLICY TEAM

One of the high points of the year was the 4th Berlin Legal Policy Conference. High-ranking participants from the legislative, executive and judiciary branches – among them Chancellor Angela Merkel, former president Professor Roman Herzog and ex-chancellor Helmut Schmidt – debated the legal consequences of a globalised world for individual states. Among the main topics were the economy, security, social justice and state sovereignty in the context of globalisation. During the new series of events titled “Legal Discussions on Social and Labour Law”, policy experts, judges and researchers met for the first time for an exchange of ideas.

On the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Federal Republic of Germany, the KAS carried out a representative survey on the understanding of democracy among Germans. The fact that 90 percent of all eligible voters in Germany consider the Federal Republic a success is gratifying. To mark twenty years since the Peaceful Revolution, several publications were issued in the series called “Setting the Agenda for the Future”. One of the more popular publications was the series titled “What Was the Story of East Germany?” The “New Länder” annual conference addressed the opportunities for states in eastern Germany in the age of globalisation and the future of the EU’s structural funds.

One study took up the issue of the Left Party and another addressed rightwing and leftwing extremism as part of the debate over political extremism.

Role models are essential for the success of civil society, but what examples exist that motivates others to follow their lead? In the series “Topics on Civic Engagement”, two new publications were brought out that aim to influence both policymakers and leaders of civil society.

The working group on local politics published a best practice paper, “Family Policy at a Local Level – Arguments, Methods and Practical Examples.” Meanwhile, the topics “More Responsibility for the Public Education System” and “Strengthening Local Participation by Children, Young People and Parents” were central to the discussion.

ECONOMIC POLICY TEAM

In view of the financial and economic crisis, the Economic Policy team put at the centre of its work a return to the fundamentals and principles of the Social Market Economy. The goal is to ensure greater recognition for this economic governance model that has always balanced out market freedom and social justice.



Professor Günther Hasinger, managing director of the Max Planck Institute for Astrophysics in Garching, Michael Borchard, head of the Politics and Consulting Department at the KAS, and Antonio Hurtado, professor of hydrogen and nuclear energy technology at Dresden’s Technical University, at the conference Future Energies – Future Technologies – Future Perspectives (from left to right).



The States and Globalisation: the 4th Berlin Legal Policy Conference. Documentation of the Conference Proceedings with Contributions from Angela Merkel, Roman Herzog, Bernhard Vogel and others.

A variety of publications highlighted the relevance of the model of Social Market Economy as well as its historic, ideological and conceptual roots. One of the outstanding publications was "Questions and Answers on the Financial Crisis", which compiled the causes, consequences and perspectives of the crisis in a compact and easily understandable form. This concentration on one subject is reflected in a new KAS web portal on the Social Market Economy, which aims to pull in a new audience interested in the issue.

Further highlights of the team's work included the event Business Meets Politics, held in Cadenabbia on Lake Como with the motto "The Social Market Economy as a Guidepost in the Crisis", as well as an international conference which underscored the fundamentals of the Social Market Economy specifically with Anglo-Saxon countries in mind.

SOCIAL POLICY TEAM

The importance of education, science and research in our knowledge-based industrialised society is undisputed. The challenges and perspectives in the scientific sector was the subject of a conference with the minister for education and research, Professor Annette Schavan, a former minister in the state of Brandenburg Professor Johanna Wanka and other prominent science managers. The initiative "Shaping Personality" was continued at the 19th Wartburg Conversation, which addressed developments in German schools.

Education is also a key to integration. The conference "Teaching Islam in Schools" marked the beginning of the series called "Religious Education and Integration of Muslims in Germany", held together with the University of Osnabrück. A brief analysis reviewed language promotion programmes for pupils from immigrant families. The Almanyia programme provided information on integration services for Turkish and German decision makers.

The issue of parenting remained a focal point in the area of family policy. The publication "Children, Children ... What's Going on Locally?" introduced successful models for teaching aids; the KAS explicitly honoured three of them. Experts analysed the day-to-day situation of families of different backgrounds in discussions and publications, and participants expressed the need for action at a policy level.

The Individuality and Religious Values Conference addressed the importance of churches in our society. Bishop Margot Käßmann drew attention to the fact that religiousness today was becoming a more individual and private affair. The referendum in Berlin over the freedom to choose a religion or ethics course in school had to do with the role these courses play in imparting values. The brochure "Tell Me, How Do You Deal With Religion?" provided additional arguments on the issue. Another publication that accompanied the Social Encyclical of Pope Benedict XVI was called "Moral Signposts."

The white paper "The Economics of Social Health" addressed the crucial question of a sustainable governance model in the field of health care. Innovation in medicine and health care were addressed at the annual Cadenabbia debate, which covered the issue of medicine, ethics and law. A paperback book was published on the challenges posed by common diseases.

FOREIGN, EUROPEAN AND SECURITY POLICY TEAM

At the centre of this team's work in 2009 stood the issue of "networked Security". The issue also dominated the Cecilienhof discussion group, which addressed future security policy challenges for Germany. The smaller "Networked Security Group" also met for two further weekend seminars to explore civil-military cooperation and questions of trans-Atlantic security.

Evaluation Ensures Quality

Donors to the foundation gave positive marks in 2009 to evaluation efforts by the KAS at home and abroad. It is becoming increasingly important for the KAS to assess whether project objectives have been met and how performance can be improved – an issue that is also gaining importance for its funders.

A working group was founded in early 2009 in order to develop a binding system of evaluation that would apply to the entire foundation. The group is bundling existing experiences with the know-how of different departments so as to have it be available to the entire foundation at the end. A mandatory evaluation system is to be implemented starting in 2010 and will be continuously expanded in the coming years.

The Afghanistan conference, which took place in the presence of Defence Minister Franz Josef Jung in May 2009 at the KAS Academy in Berlin in front of a large audience, was a great success. The gathering drew up guidelines on the Afghanistan debate for the conference participants. The new “networked security” discussion group was set up to accompany the process of adapting the new foreign, security and development policies. The first events examined the tensions between security and development, the German involvement in Kosovo and threats posed by pandemics and bio-terrorism. The knowledge gained here is then to become policy recommendations.

The working group of Young Foreign Policy Experts published a study in May 2009 titled “Impulses 2020: Focal Points for the German Foreign Policy of the Future”. It will serve as the basis of discussion for a new working group made up of members of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group.

CONSULTING TEAM

This team sees itself as a service provider to the Politics and Consulting Department. It provides everything from controlling and marketing to evaluation as a way to accompany and support the consulting services on offer. In addition, the team serves as a point of contact for questions on management and marketing as well as on methods and tools used in political consulting. It is an important function since the only way for people to actively take part in the market of ideas is by adapting their methods to the tasks at hand, and also breaks new ground.

For the first time, evaluating the projects of the previous year – as well as systematically monitoring topics addressed – was a main focus. Both are necessary preconditions for the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung’s political consulting work to become more goal-oriented and adopt a more long-term perspective.



Michael Rühle, deputy head of the Policy Planning Section for the NATO secretary general, on the left, and Patrick Keller, coordinator of the Foreign and Security Policy section in the Politics and Consulting Department of the KAS at the luncheon discussion “Cooperation on Transatlantic Security: Looking Back at the NATO Summit and Analysing the West’s Nuclear Strategy”.

THE **CIVIC EDUCATION** PROGRAMME AIMS TO INFORM CITIZENS AND MOTIVATE THEM TO PARTICIPATE IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS. THE GOAL IS TO DEMONSTRATE THAT POLITICS AND CHANGE ARE NOT AN IRREVERSIBLE PROCESS, BUT THAT THEY CAN BE SHAPED IN THE CONTEXT OF OUR PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY. POLITICALLY EDUCATED CITIZENS ARE MORE RESISTANT AGAINST EXTREMISTS, AND THEY CAN BETTER CONTEXTUALISE AND ASSESS POLITICAL DECISIONS. IN 2009, SOME 100,000 PEOPLE PARTICIPATED IN AROUND 2,000 EVENTS.

SUCCESSFUL CIVIC EDUCATION

This motto mirrors the mission and fundamental tenet of the Civic Education programme of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung. It is at the same time a guideline for the work of this department and was also, in December 2009, the slogan of the Democracy Congress. That guiding principle represents also the challenge the Civic Education programme must face, given the fault lines that have occasionally accompanied the development of democracy in Germany. The events of 2009 have highlighted in their particularly contradictory way the meaning and importance of this task.

On the one hand it was important to celebrate the anniversaries of pivotal and joyous events of German democracy: 2009 was the 60th anniversary of the German constitution and the establishment of the Federal Republic of Germany, as well as the 20th anniversary of the fall of the wall and the Peaceful Revolution (60/20). On the other hand, 2009 was marked by an economic and financial crisis that caused a serious loss of confidence and a general feeling of uncertainty. This in turn had negative impact on the acceptance of our parliamentary democracy and the Social Market Economy. The 2009 parliamentary elections in Germany strengthened the forces that advocate personal responsibility within the context of the Social Market Economy and call for responsible citizens. The low turnout and the visible abandonment by voters of the classical popular parties did however raise new questions on the development of our democratic system. The Civic Education programme is taking on these challenges but also continues to work on its ongoing projects and long-term issues.

60/20 AND THE EAST GERMANY MYTH

The Civic Education programme commemorated the anniversaries of the German constitution and that of the establishment of the Federal Republic of Germany with 77 events – including 14 multi-day events – organised all over Germany. The central message, expressed through a speakers' tour with important guests, was that the values embedded in the constitution mirror those advocated by the Christian Democratic Union (CDU). The message was also that it was the CDU that took all the most important political decisions in the German post-war era. This topic was further addressed in May 2009 in Bonn with a well-attended roundtable discussion, which gathered among others Professor Bernhard Vogel and the professor of history Andreas Rödter, to discuss the mission and future of the German constitution.

In cooperation with the *Rheinischer Merkur* newspaper, the KAS participated in the Long Night of Democracy, which the city of Bonn organised on 23 May to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the promulgation of the constitution. On the programme was a political panel discussion titled "The People and its Representatives – Solutions for a Difficult Relationship" as well as a performance by the Bonn comedian Anka Zink "Constitution Made in Germany – Long after its sell-by-date an export champion".



The political satirist and KAS alumna Anka Zink at the "Long Night for Democracy" event in Bonn.

The Civic Education programme commemorated the 20th anniversary of the Peaceful Revolution and the fall of the wall with 136 events. Those events also tried to answer the question of how the image of East Germany has evolved since then. This problem was addressed in many debates by historical witnesses who could speak frankly of the big and small injustices suffered under the East German regime. The Internet portal "East Germany: Myths and Reality", online since January 2009, is directed mainly to an audience of pupils and teachers, as well as civic educators.

THE FINANCIAL CRISIS AND THE SOCIAL MARKET ECONOMY

The Civic Education programme of the KAS used the occasion of the global economic and financial crisis to organise debates in Germany and worldwide on the most important elements of the Social Market Economy. This series of events confirmed a trend that the Civic Education team had long observed: In the face of such an urgent situation and a general fatigue of theories, people are less interested in "principles" than in their concrete application in practice.

In addition, 102 events were organised in Germany in the KAS civic education centres, including 42 that spanned several days. 60 luncheon or evening events were put together to form a tour of speakers that featured prominent personalities from politics or academia. Among the speakers were Karl-Josef Laumann, Helmut Linssen, Ingrid Sehrbrock, Stanislaw Tillich, Hanns-Eberhard Schleyer, Arend Oetker, Friedhelm Ost, Marie-Luise Dött and Michael Jungblut.

EUROPE AND THE EU – LISBON AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

The European elections in June and the Lisbon Treaty provided the focal point of events on European politics in 2009. Seminars with short trips to Brussels helped convey a very immediate idea of what the political work on the ground looked like.

Political leaders such as Hans-Gert Pöttering and the prime minister of the state of North Rhine-Westphalia Jürgen Rüttgers as well as renowned academics participated in a series of public lectures on European affairs in Bonn. To help politically interested citizens better understand the Lisbon reform treaty, the KAS made those speeches available to a larger public by publishing them. *What Europe represents – Names, Dates and Facts of the European Union* came out in 2009 in an updated edition.

TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONS

The election of President Barack Obama and his inauguration triggered a very high level of interest in and support for American politics as became clear at an event in Bonn. At a lecture at the Bonn waterworks, the journalist Christoph von Marschall, who had accompanied Obama on the campaign trail and published a well-received biography on him, enthralled more than 600 attendees with his analysis of the personality and politics of the 44th American president. In addition, the KAS expanded its seminar programme on transatlantic relations.

The Konrad Adenauer Summer School enjoyed a growing popularity. The programme is comprised of a series of German-American seminars, attended by 500 highly talented German and American young people who come to both Schloss Eichholz and Wendgräben to discuss with American speakers – academics, experts and diplomats – the politics of the United States and joint transatlantic responsibilities.



On the occasion of the important anniversaries commemorated in 2009, the KAS published „Orte der Freiheit und der Demokratie in Deutschland“ (Places of Freedom and Democracy in Germany). Renowned authors from academia and politics – such as Chancellor Angela Merkel, President of the German Bundestag Professor Norbert Lammert, the chancellor responsible for German reunification, Helmut Kohl, as well as many state prime ministers and civil rights activists from East Germany – introduce places that personally symbolise for them the development of democracy in Germany.

CIVIC INVOLVEMENT

Successfully leading civic associations requires professionalism. For this reason and with the slogan "Less State – More Self-Initiative", the KAS established a Germany-wide programme titled "How to Manage an Association". Seminars for individual target groups, focusing for example on "Engaging Parents and Pupils" or "Parental Initiatives in Kindergarten", complement the programme.

The expert conference "Incentive and Recognition Systems for Voluntary Activities" had a broader scope. In connection to the efforts of the governmental coalition to promote greater involvement in society, help connect the initiatives and make them more accessible to all, the conference presented the work of the National Forum for Involvement and Participation that aims at improving the framework in which societal involvement takes place.

SOCIETY, SOCIAL AND LOCAL POLITICS

In the public view, local politics is often overshadowed by national and state-level politics. Local politics is however no 'small' politics. It is the political level at which citizens most often come in direct contact with the 'state.' Local politics is also becoming ever more complex. Local elected officials hold their office in most cases on a voluntary basis. Newly elected council members in particular usually barely know the legal framework in which they work, or how it affects their scope of action. Good quality training is absolutely necessary so that they can fulfil their duty in a professional and responsible manner. The Civic Education programme offers such training by organising various seminars aimed at local political leaders as well as newcomers to local politics.

The demographic change under way in Germany makes the question of 'Life in Old Age' ever more acute. The KAS has therefore developed a new seminar series titled "Society 60+." Along with its important symposium "Life in Old Age" that addresses specific aspects in more detailed fashion, the new seminars focus mostly on exploring the opportunities offered by an aging society.

A new topic on the agenda of the Civic Education programme is how to implement the UN Convention on Promoting the Rights of Persons with Disabilities with respect to demanding easily accessible public spaces. On this topic, the foundation is following its tried and true approach of not talking *about* people but of talking *with* them and to address the topic first at the lowest institutional and societal level, which means at the local level, by involving organisations of handicapped people. The new programme was launched with a memorable conference in the community of Eichhof in Much.



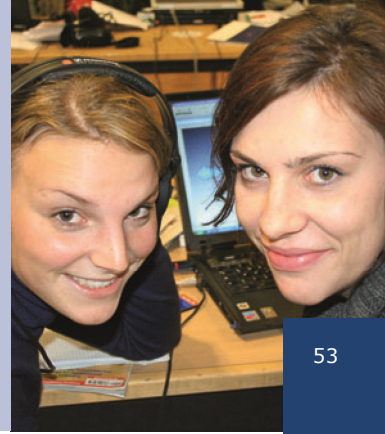
Getting easily on the train: Since 2009 the Civic Education programme of the KAS has had an focus on accessibility of public spaces.

POLITICAL COMMUNICATION: BETWEEN CRISIS AND AN IMPORTANT ELECTION YEAR

2009 was in many respects a special year in terms of political communication. Political, economic and social players had – and still have – to react to major challenges, also in their communication. In background seminars, on topics such as communication on the Internet, political marketing or the functioning and impact of TV debates, participants analysed and debated current developments. From a content perspective, the programme added Web 2.0 and its consequences for politics to its focus areas.

In addition the KAS offered numerous workshop and training sessions that helped citizens and politicians improve their communication skills, from rhetoric and public speaking to using Twitter and other social media. In a context marked by many local elections the emphasis was placed on the activities of volunteers on the ground for very diverse missions.

THE KONRAD-ADENAUER-STIFTUNG'S ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE PROGRAMME IS AMONG THE ESSENTIAL INSTITUTIONS HELPING TO DEVELOP FUTURE POLITICAL AND ACADEMIC ELITES. IT PROMOTES ACADEMIC TALENTS WHO TAKE RESPONSIBILITY BOTH FOR THEMSELVES AND OTHERS IN THE FIELDS OF POLITICS AND BUSINESS, SCIENCE, CULTURE AND THE MEDIA. MANIFOLD CULTURAL ACTIVITIES ALSO FALL UNDER THE PURVIEW OF THE SCHOLARSHIPS AND CULTURE DEPARTMENT.



PROMOTING TOP-NOTCH TALENT

Thanks to an initiative by the Ministry of Education, a record number of fellows participated 2009 in the programme. True to its motto "Discovering Talents, Supporting Talents", the foundation redoubled its efforts to reach out to and inform dedicated and gifted students about the fellowship programme. This particularly applied to schools with a high percentage of immigrants, focussing mostly on Baden-Württemberg and North Rhine-Westphalia in 2009.

KAS staff visited schools to inform principals on-site on how fellowships could assist students, especially those from an immigrant background and from disadvantaged groups. By significantly raising the number of applicants, the foundation ensured it would attract highly qualified applicants to its scholarship programme.

DIGITAL DRIVE TOWARD EXCELLENCE

For the first time in 2009, the fellowship programme in Germany used the Internet and e-mail to poll how popular the seminars were among recipients. Participants graded the quality of the lecturers, the design of the programme and the variety of teaching methods – that was their way to contribute to the steady improvement of the seminar programme.

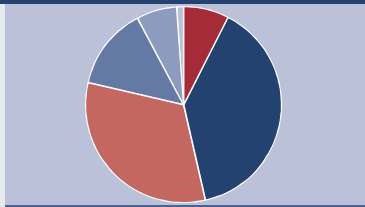
The KAS scholarship programme also began to improve its administrative and organisational processes by introducing an electronic processing system that includes every step of the fellowship process from the application through alumni support. The necessary technical arrangements for the system were completed over the summer.

SUPPORT FOR STUDENTS IN GERMANY

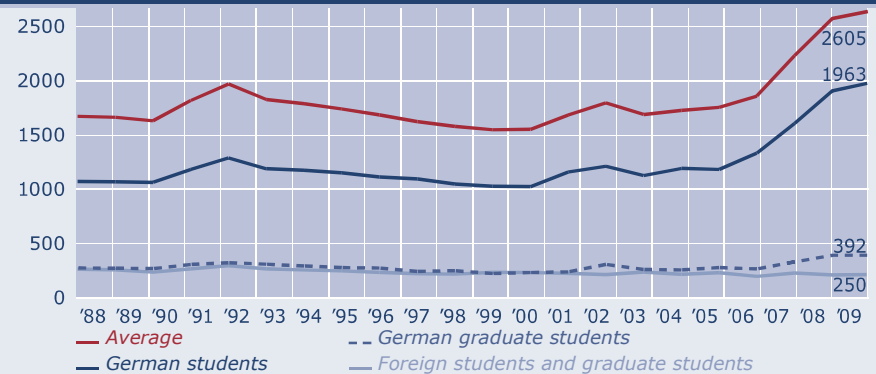
The number of applicants and fellows has risen in the last three years. So the German fellowship programme in 2009 faced the challenge of adapting both the content and methods of its offerings to the new demands. Due to an increase in the number of fellows, the fellowship programme again stepped up the individualised support it offers fellows. The extensive offering now counts 130 seminars; fellows also organised several events of their own initiative.

Expanding and strengthening students' social and political skills, as well as helping students develop their networks are key elements of practical support. The programme was able to guarantee quality by integrating the expertise of professors affiliated with the KAS as academic advisors. The seminar programme "By Fellows For Fellows" was expanded further in 2009. In order to ensure that all newly admitted scholars could benefit from non-material support, the fellowship programme now offers a total of 21 basic seminars with usually stand at the beginning of the scholarship programme.





| | |
|--------------------|-----|
| with distinction | 8% |
| excellent | 40% |
| good | 33% |
| fully satisfactory | 14% |
| satisfactory | 7% |
| fair | 1% |



* Promotion of KAS Scholarship Recipients in Germany

University groups of fellows are focusing on improving dialogue skills and supporting personal development by organising their own events within the groups. The foundation expanded the number of university groups and academic advisors to 130 groups and more than 150 advisors. That meant that each group comprised about 25 fellows, nearly the same as in 2008.

GRADUATE STUDENT SUPPORT IN GERMANY

As a result of the successful implementation of the Ministry of Education initiative for excellence, the graduate student fellowship programme can draw on a wide variety of students from a broad academic background. In 2009, 566 people applied to the programme – of that, 90 young researchers were awarded fellowships. The year before, 117 students had been accepted. Of the graduates, 28 percent finished with summa cum laude distinction, 51 percent with magna cum laude and 21 percent with cum laude. Following their fellowship with the KAS, two Ph.D. candidates were awarded short-term fellowships as part of a cooperation programme initiated in 2008 with the Dorothee-Wilms-Stiftung. Four fellows travelled to Lindau in southern Germany with academic advisor Professor Hubertus Brunn for a meeting of Nobel chemistry laureates. As part of a series of publications on socio-political issues written by gifted students, LIT published the dissertation of Niklas Potrafke, an alumnus of the graduate student fellowship programme, on convergence in German financial and social policy.

The annual conference of academic advisors in Leipzig focused on the role of the city as a cradle of the Peaceful Revolution. In the keynote address to the conference, Professor Bernhard Vogel, the chairman of the KAS, spoke about the development of democratic structures in what were then the new German states, while Leipzig's district president, Walter Steinbach, told of his experiences as a pastor and coordinator of an environmental group at the time of the socialist dictatorship. A chamber music concert performed by KAS fellows was a rousing success, and many people turned out for an ecumenical religious service on the 20th anniversary of the first protest that became known as the Monday Demonstrations. At a festive ceremony, five professors retired from their volunteer activities while 12 new advisers were appointed.

SUPPORT FOR YOUNG JOURNALISTS

In March 2009 more than 400 former and current fellows celebrated the 30th anniversary of JONA, the foundation's programme for young journalists. Chancellor Angela Merkel commended the programme at a ceremony in Berlin. In 2009, 27 students were awarded fellowships; 110 young journalists had applied.

Focal points of the educational programme were again seminars that taught cross-media reporting from major events such as the World Athletics Championships in Berlin. Students travelled to the Wadden Sea to produce stories for magazines, TV and radio. A cooperation seminar took fellows to the KFOR protection force in Prizren in Kosovo. The magazine *Einsatz* (Deployment) was well received both within and outside of the Bundeswehr.

Promotion of students in Germany

According to field of study
2009

| | |
|---|-----|
| Philology and cultural studies | 44% |
| Economic and social sciences | 21% |
| Law | 14% |
| Mathematics and natural sciences | 13% |
| Engineering | 2% |
| Human, dental and veterinary medicine | 2% |
| Fine arts | 2% |
| Agricultural sciences, forestry, nutritional sciences | 1% |
| Other | 1% |

A TV workshop in Ludwigshafen investigated the state of the integration process of immigrants in Germany. In connection with the 20th anniversary of the fall of the wall, a print, radio and television seminar was held in Leipzig that covered events during the Peaceful Revolution and how they still affect people today.

Pupils interested in pursuing a career in journalism took part in a media workshop in Berlin in 2009. They reported from the KAS *Denkt@g* competition awards ceremony; from a youth congress on the Peaceful Revolution in Erfurt; from the Anne Frank Peace Days in Bergen; and from the North-Rhine Westphalia youth parliament in Düsseldorf.

PROMOTION OF STUDENTS FROM ABROAD

Promotion, support and follow-up support of young academic talent from abroad is of utmost importance for foreign cultural and education policy. The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung receives financial support for this activity from the Foreign Ministry. By giving both financial and non-material support to graduate students from abroad, the KAS contributes to training and educating future leaders around the world while also simultaneously gaining qualified partners for Germany. For their part, the fellows contribute to the internationalisation of German universities, and to the development of networks of German and foreign elites.

In 2009, 251 foreign nationals received support. 61.4 percent of them were women. 46 fellows came from Asia, 12 from the Middle East, six from Africa, 49 from Latin America, 137 from central and eastern European countries and one fellow was from the United States. Meetings to pre-select fellows took place in Benin, Chile, China and Serbia. One conference was held in Germany. Sixty-six fellows were awarded financial support. Fellows from abroad once again excelled academically. Of the 31 doctorates and examination certificates, 29 were cited for academic excellence.

CAREER COUNSELLING AND SUPPORT

This department accompanies KAS fellows on the path that takes them from their academic education to a professional career. The career support department provides interview, presentation and communication trainings, special support for women and cooperation projects with companies, associations, foundation and political institutions. Such programmes give fellows crucial skills to help them achieve professional success. Alumni of the programme now in high positions, speakers with a proven track record and executives from companies, professional association as well as law firms are at the disposal of programme participants as interlocutors and advisors. Such a network facilitated the entry of KAS fellows in the professional world despite recession and high unemployment while also supporting alumni in their further career developments.

The KAS focused its attention in 2009 particularly on supporting young people interested in a career in politics. Political communication trainings explained the art of speech writing and gave participants the basic tools of successful public speaking. Students were prepared for the selection process of the Foreign Ministry and the European institutions. Twenty-four fellows were selected to participate to the Professional College for International Politics, now in its 3rd year. The programme gives participants tools for successful international careers.

The new project Paths to Self-Employment – Entrepreneurship in Germany encourages young entrepreneurs who are former fellows to create their own company.



The artist and her work: Sculptor Ilona Herreiner (left) took part in the 2009 group exhibit of Else Heiliger Fund fellows.

CULTURE AND LITERATURE

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung has been for a long time an established meeting point for the cultural world. The commitment to support the arts and culture, embedded in the status of the foundation, manifests itself in the many exhibitions, lectures, workshops, symposia, soirees and international events as well as in the successful fellowship programmes for artists.

Among the guests in 2009 were celebrated stars of the Greek cultural scene as well as Jörg Bürkle, who invited connoisseurs of the modern visual arts to his first significant solo exhibition in Berlin. It was in front of a full house that the KAS celebrated Academy Award winner Volker Schlöndorff with a festive homage.

An essential component of the KAS cultural activity is its commitment to foster the arts within society, a goal that the Trustee programme EHF 2010 will pursue as the successor of the Else Heiliger Fund, which ended in 2009. Thanks to this programme, exceptional representatives of the German economy for example help support young artists and authors in their education. The charity sale of works of arts organised to benefit the Trustee programme was already sold out on the opening night this year again.

The highlight of the KAS literary year was the awarding of the KAS literature prize to Uwe Tellkamp in Weimar. A symposium in Berlin on literature and contemporary history as well as the cultural evening in Bonn "Idealism – A German affliction?" paid tribute to the anniversary of the fall of wall and the German reunification. The new KAS event series Elective Affinities was launched with a German-Polish event on literature and politics, with author Artur Becker, Chamisso Prize winner, and State Secretary for State and European Affairs Michael Mertes as speakers.



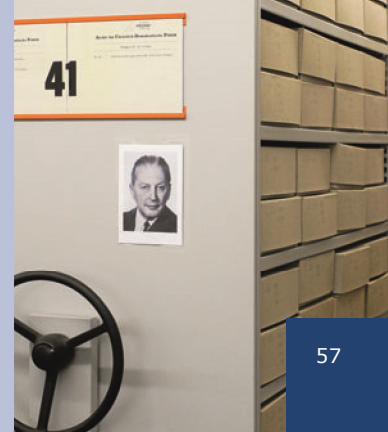
Thank you to all the partners who have contributed to the KAS Programme Promoting Gifted Students

The fellowship programme starts preparing all fellows to the demands placed on young professionals, experts as well as managers, while they are still studying for their diploma or PhD. The programme then accompanies them during their transition from academic education into professional life. Companies, consulting firms, law firms and associations work with the KAS to fulfill this task.

Our cooperation partners offered in 2009 workshops and regional information sessions that helped our fellows and recent alumni gain insight in the professional world. Other initiatives complemented the work-oriented components of our fellowship cooperation, such as offering of internships or possibilities to combine work and study. Partners also made their expertise available to students to support them in important academic projects.

Among our most important partners in 2009 were McKinsey & Company, The Boston Consulting Group, Roland Berger Strategy Consultants, Oliver Wyman, Booz & Company as well as KPMG and PricewaterhouseCoopers. Other important cooperation partners were the law firm Hengeler Mueller, the companies BASF, RWE, GEA Air Treatment and the human resources firms zfm – Edmund Mastiaux & Partner and MSW & Partner. Several projects in cooperation with the Ludwig-Erhard-Stiftung and the Training Centre for the Economy of Baden Württemberg, informed students on governance issues and prepared them for leadership roles in business and politics. The Ministry of Defence helped organise a seminar for young journalists in Kosovo.

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



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RESEARCHING AND REMEMBERING

The Reference and Research Services/Archives of Christian-Democratic Policy (ACDP) Department effectively serves as the memory of the Christian-Democratic movement. It collects documents of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), of Europe's Christian-Democratic party alliance and of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung itself. In addition, it provides services for all the departments of the foundation with respect to scientific and fact-based research. It also responds to queries from the party and the public, whether for archival materials, secondary literature or newspaper and magazine articles. The main focus of its research is the Christian-Democratic movement. It also brings forth specific issues by conducting its own research projects and publishing source material. In addition, it organises scientific conferences and exhibitions, and enjoys a growing visibility on the web.

HISTORICAL ARCHIVE

A central focus of the ACDP lies in securing documents belonging to CDU committees as well as public office holders at the federal, state and EU levels. In 2009, the archive acquired and evaluated a total of 350 linear metres of written material, including letters, pictures, films and posters. In connection with the federal and several state elections, the ACDP obtained written material by different parliamentary groups as well as documents belonging to legislators. Of particular importance were documents of the Labour and Social Affairs Minister Ursula von der Leyen, of former minister Jochen Borchert as well as those of the last president of the East German People's Chamber, Sabine Bergmann-Pohl. Following the elections for the European Parliament, the Member of the European Parliament Elmar Brok turned over his old files.

In addition, the literary bequests of former state prime minister Hans Filbinger, the diaries of Gerhard Stoltenberg and of Paul Pagel, former interior minister of the state of Schleswig-Holstein – which had been believed lost – were acquired by the archive. Part of the archival work was financed with funds provided by the Federal Ministry of the Interior; the European Parliament funded the processing of the documents from MEP Horst Langes. Saving the CDU's election campaign platform on the Internet – as well as archiving CDU campaign material designed for the federal elections – meant establishing a comprehensive multimedia documentation of the CDU's election strategy. An overview of archive materials can be seen online; the archive also responds to written or telephone inquiries or research requests, and many individuals also visit the archive. The number of visitors to the reading room more than doubled in comparison to last year.

CONFERENCES AND EXHIBITS

A number of conferences focused on different issues. The traditional meeting by the Krone-Ellwanger Circle took up current political issues in the election year of 2009, while a conference addressed the relationship between "Archives and Christian Democracy in Politics and Contemporary History". A series called "A Colloquy on the



Young people inform themselves about the treasures available in the KAS archives during a guided tour.



In January 2009, KAS Secretary General Michael Thielen introduced the new Konrad-Adenauer web portal at an event on the Petersberg in Königswinter.

Kohl Era" recalled at the refugees who, after holing up in the German embassy in Prague, were allowed to travel to West Germany; it also analysed impulses for reform during the 1990s. An academic conference titled "From Dictatorship to Democracy – Free Elections as a Sign of Success of the Peaceful Revolution in East Germany" addressed electoral fraud in East Germany and the first free elections there in 1990.

The department planned and presented a number of exhibitions in 2009. One, called the "History of the Constitution and CDU/CSU Members of the Parliamentary Council", took place during the Day of the KAS at the Academy in Berlin in May 2009; another was held on the occasion of Hans Katzer's 90th birthday, for which his family provided documents and other items for the exhibition; and one, titled "First Day Covers for the German Presidential Elections", another commemorated the 20th anniversary of the death of longtime KAS chairman Bruno Heck. Exhibitions also looked back at the lives of CDU politicians Felix von Eckardt, Kurt Schmücker and Manfred Wörner. The travelling exhibition "People with Christian Social Values in the German Confederation of Trade Unions (DGB)" will be shown in various locations in 2010, as will the exhibit "Konrad Adenauer and European Integration", which was booked up during all of 2009.

CENTRAL DOCUMENTATION

The press and media documentation unit provides KAS departments with important reports produced by the print media and television. By documenting published points of view, staff members of the foundation are given the opportunity to review the positions of parties, churches, unions and other social groups –in this way they can obtain a fairly comprehensive picture of the situation. The focus lies on German media, but the most important press organs from abroad are also taken into account.

More than 3,000 inquiries were recorded in 2009. They ranged from queries on cartoons for an exhibition and researching documents on specific people to requesting entire dossiers. The department also continued the digitisation process that had begun in 2008, with the goal of making available clippings – previously only in paper form – that ranged from 1959 to 1993.

LIBRARY

The number of volumes in the library has now reached 176,700. The unique special collection on the history of Christian Democracy is of particular importance for people's political and academic activities. It is a collection that is constantly being expanded. Currently 17,680 individual documents and 173 periodicals chart the development of the party at federal, state or local level, from 1945 through today.

Among the library's ongoing tasks are in particular providing books and sources for staff working at home and abroad. These documents are increasingly available in digital form. In 2009, the library documented 20,733 borrowed books and 1,325 orders via inter-library loan.

Because of the many election contests in 2009, along with the celebrations marking sixty years since the founding of the Federal Republic of Germany and twenty years since the fall of the wall and the Peaceful Revolution, library staff processed some 1,400 requests and orders. The library supports the foundation's work by providing literature and documents, researching biographical data and information on special collections, and drawing up selected bibliographies on particular topics and prominent individuals from contemporary history. When carrying out research and assembling documents, the library focused on the history of the CDU and CSU and the party organisational structures, and also looked into the financial crisis; research of individuals looked at the history of former chancellors Konrad Adenauer and Helmut Kohl. Among the private collections the library took over were libraries belonging to Heiner Geißler and Dorothee Wilms.

In the autumn of 2009, the library was renovated in order to expand the reading room surfaces. The aim was to re-assemble collections that had been scattered around the library. This reorganisation enabled the special collections to be organised in a manner that is user-friendlier.

PUBLICATIONS AND THE INTERNET

New research was released again this year in volume 16 of the *Historisch-Politische Mitteilungen* (Historical-Political Announcements) series. In the series *Forschungen und Quellen* (Researches and Sources on Contemporary History) the following works were brought out: a book by Niels Hansen about Franz Böhm and Ricarda Huch, a volume with the minutes of the CDU's national leadership council (*Bundesvorstand*) from 1969 to 1973, as well as a three-volume history by Guido Hitze on the CDU's time in opposition in North-Rhine Westphalia from 1975 to 1995. In the KAS paperback series published by Herder, Hanns Jürgen Küsters' book *Das Ringen um die deutsche Einheit* (The Battle for German Unification) was issued, as was an anthology edited by Günter Buchstab and Rudolf Uertz, *Geschichtsbilder in Europa* (Views of History across Europe). The volume *Die kulturelle Eigenart Europas* (The Cultural Particularities of Europe) was published in March of 2010.

In January 2009, the most comprehensive website so far developed on the first federal chancellor went online at www.konrad-adenauer.de; it continues to be expanded to this day. Judging by the number of users the web portal received a tremendous response, especially among high school and university students as well as when the portal was presented at the German Archives Day in Regensburg. Currently the webpage www.helmut-kohl.de is being modernised.



Geschichtsbilder in Europa

(Views of History across Europe)

Edited by Günter Buchstab and Rudolf Uertz

Herder, Freiburg 2009

320 pages | 15 Euro

ISBN 978-3-451-30198-8

■ in German only



Die kulturelle Eigenart Europas

(The Cultural Particularities of Europe)

Edited by Günter Buchstab

Herder, Freiburg 2010

240 pages | 13 Euro

ISBN 978-3-451-30287-9

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THE VILLA LA COLLINA ON LAKE COMO – HOLIDAYS CHARGED WITH HISTORY

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From 1959 onwards, Konrad Adenauer spent his holidays regularly at Villa La Collina, which is situated on the azalea covered bank of Lake Como, offering a fantastic panorama view of the lake and of Bellagio across the water. The Villa La Collina, along with a second building called Accademia Konrad Adenauer, constitutes the first class international conference centre of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, and hosts events on politics, the economy and culture. The spectacular site and the relaxed atmosphere are unique. The region offers many opportunities for excursions while the restaurant serves excellent Italian cuisine, that contributes to the physical and mental well-being of guests.

The historical villa, built in 1895, offers 12 guest rooms as well as conference rooms and lounges for small private gatherings. The Accademia Konrad Adenauer, built in 1992, offers 22 guest rooms, a restaurant and a large conference room that can accommodate up to 70 people. Together both buildings can provide overnight accommodation for up to 60 guests.

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Your points of contact at the Villa La Collina are Heiner Enterich, Managing Director, or at the secretariat, Martina Süßmann, Marinella Galli and Nicoletta Canzani

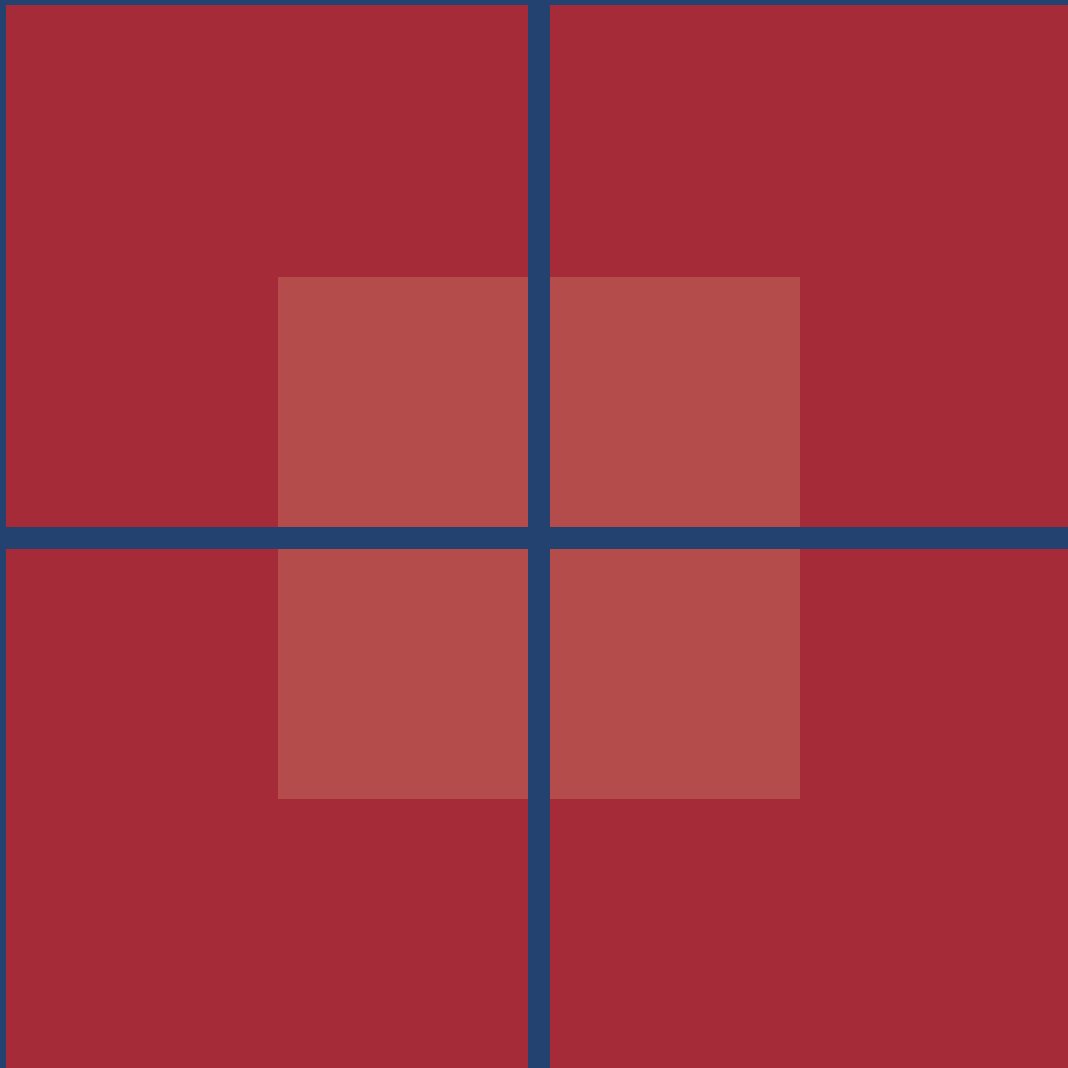
Phone: +39 034 444 111
Fax: +39 034 441 058
E-mail: cadenabbia@villalacollina.it
Internet: www.villalacollina.com



A TALENTED NETWORK – THE ALUMNI OF THE KAS FELLOWSHIP PROGRAMME

The 8.600 German and about 2.200 foreign alumni of the KAS fellowship programme constitute an network of talent that is extraordinarily rich in knowledge, expertise, experiences and contacts, as well as in national and international activities. KAS alumni hold positions of responsibility in politics, business or in society, as well as in education and the media or the arts and culture. Be it because of their functions or the responsibilities they have accepted, they belong to an elite influenced by Christian Democratic values. As part of the foundation's network, they occupy a particular place in the 'KAS family.' They are points of contact for the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung to discuss events, projects and publications; they serve as mentors for the current fellows on academic and professional issues; and play a decisive role in the selection process of the new generation of fellow. In addition alumni use their social fund to provide financial support for the organisation of seminars abroad for fellows. They also contribute to financing the chamber orchestra that gathers KAS young talents. The alumni's social fund is also used to grant current fellows interest-free loans to help finance trips abroad.

In addition to the multi-faceted activities of the fifty regional groups both in Germany and abroad, the annual alumni meeting, that gathered more than 400 participants in May 2009 in Stuttgart, launched the new social networking platform of the KAS, KAS-connect. It was a high point of the event, along with a concert of the highest quality by the KAS chamber orchestra that attracted 600 people in the local *Stiftskirche*. The glamorous award ceremony of the 11th Bruno-Heck Science Award took place at the end of October in Hamburg and honoured the psychologist and stress specialist Silja Bellingrath (second from left in the picture above). The Entrepreneurs Network of KAS alumni was launched successfully with two events. Alumni published in the KAS publication series "Im Plenum" the documentation of the highly regarded congress "Public Private Partnership" that took place in Berlin in 2008. The volume could be given free of charge to 500 decision makers working at the local level for public institutions.



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AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST

Egypt

Dr. Andreas Jacobs
8, Salah El-Din Street
7th floor, Flat No. 73
112111 Zamalek-Kairo
Phone: +20/2-7377450
Fax: +20/2-7377454
kaf@internetegypt.com

Benin

David Robert
Lot 07 Les Cocotiers
(en Face Ecole Primaire)
Cotonou
Phone: +229/21301022
Fax: +229/21300142
secretariat.benin@kas.de

Democratic Republic of the Congo

Tinko Weibezahl
Avenue de la Caisse d'Epargne
(Av. CADECO), 3
Commune de la Gombe
Kinshasa
Phone: +243/81-8801787
Sat-Phone:
+8821/654250668
Fax: +243/81-3010944
info@kas-rdc.cd

Ghana

Klaus Lötzer
House No. 103
Osu Badu Street
Accra
Phone: +233/21-768629
Fax: +233/21-768630
Mobile: +233/21785188
k.loetzer@kas.de

Israel

Dr. Lars Hänsel
Lloyd George St. 6
Jerusalem 91082
Phone: +972/2-5671830
Fax: +972/2-5671831
Mobile: +972/5671831
office@kasisrael.org

Jordan

Dr. Martin Beck
23, Ismael Haqqi Abdou Str.
Sweifiye
(next Airport Rd/7th Circle)
Amman
Phone: +962/6-5929777
Fax: +962/6-5933087
Mobile: +962/77839938
info@kas.org.jo

Kenya

Anke Lerch
(Country programme)
Prof. Dr. Christian Roschmann
(Rule of law programme)
Mbaruk Road 27
Kilimani – Golf Course
Nairobi
Phone: +254/2-02725957
Fax: +254/2-02724902
info.nairobi@kas.de

Malawi

Dr. Ingo Scholz
(responsible)
Gelu House, 1st. Floor
Kamuzu Procession Road
Lilongwe
Phone and Fax:
+265/1-759274
kasmal@malawi.net

Morocco

Thomas Schiller
11 rue d'Agadir
Quartier Hassan
10000 Rabat
Phone: +212/37-761232
Fax: +212/37-761235
kasma@kas.org.ma

Mozambique

Annette Schwarzbauer
Rua D, No. 21, Bairro Coop
Maputo
Phone: +258/21-416804
Fax: +258/21-416810
annette.schwarzbauer@kas.de

Namibia

Dr. Dr. Anton Bösl
Windhoek Sanlam Center
11th Floor
154 Independence Avenue
Windhoek
Phone: +264/61-225568
Fax: +264/61-225678
info@kas-namibia.de

Nigeria

Dr. Klaus Pähler
3, Rudolf Close
off Katsina Alla Crescent
Maitama
Abuja
Phone: +234/9-4132234
Fax: +234/9-4132233
Mobile: 00234/8033208999
klauspaehler@gmx.com

Palestinian Territories

Felix Dane
3 Tawfiq Zayyad St.
Al-Bireh/Ramallah
Phone: +972/2-2404305
Fax: +972/2-2404307
felix.dane@kas.de

South Africa

Werner Böhler
(Country programme)
Frank Windeck
(Media programme)
60 Hume Road
Dunkeld 2196
Johannesburg
Phone: +27/11-2142900
Fax: +27/11-2142913
(Country programme)
Fax: +27/11-2142914
(Media programme)
info@kas.org.za

Senegal

Dr. Stefan Gehrold
Stèle Mermoz 32
Route de la Pyrotechnie
Dakar
Phone: +221/33-8697778
Fax: +221/33-8602430
buero@kas-dakar.de

Tanzania

Anke Lerch (responsible)
Isimani Rd. Plot No. 367
Upanga
Dar Es Salaam
Phone: +255/22-2153174
Fax: +255/22-2151990
kasdar@kicheko.com

Tunesia

Thomas Schiller (responsible)
3, Rue Mahmoud El Ghaznaoui
1082 Cité El Mahrajène
El Menzah IV – Tunis
Phone: +216/71-751420
Fax: +216/71-750090
info@kas.com.tn

Turkey

Jan Senkyr
Ahmet Rasim Sokak 27
06550 Cankaya-Ankara
Phone: +90/312-4404080
Fax: +90/312-4403248
kas@konrad.org.tr

Uganda

Peter Girke
51A, Prince Charles Drive
Kampala
Phone: +256/414-259611
Fax: +256/414-255495
Mobile: +256 77/405028
kas.girke@gmail.com

United Arab Emirates

Thomas Birringer
Villa No. B11
100 Wesr 12
Khalidiya, Abu Dhabi
Phone: +971/241-71200
Fax: +971/241-71299
thomas.birringer@kas.de

Zimbabwe

Helga Rothfritz
26, Sandringham Drive
Alexandra Park
Harare
Phone and Fax:
+263/4-745395
Phone and Fax:
+263/4-745397
Econet: +263/91 292211
info@kaf.co.zw

ASIA

Afghanistan

Dr. Babak Khalatbari
No. 291, 10th Street
Wazir Akbar Khan
Kabul
Sat-Telephone:
+870/761650774
Mobile: +93/799327241
kas.kabul@ceretechs.com

Cambodia

Rabea Brauer
House No. 4, Street 462
Khan Chamkar Mon
Phnom Penh
Phone: +855/023-213363
Fax: +855/023-213364
Mobile: +855/012222540
rabea.brauer@kas.de

China

Wolfgang Meyer
Lufthansa Center C813
No. 50 Liangmaqiao Road
Beijing 100016
Phone: +86/10-64622207
Fax: +86/10-64622209
Mobile: +86/13801306854
beijing@kas.de

Thomas Awe

Shanghai Project Office
Overseas Chinese Mansion
1903/04
129 Yan'an Xi Lu
200040 Shanghai
Phone: +86/21-62491722
Fax: +86/21-62494549
Mobile: +86/13601662005
shanghai@kas.de

Georgia

Katja Plate
2, Peritswalebis
0103 Tiflis
Phone: +995/32-459111
Fax: +995/32-747887
info.georgien@kas.de

India

Dr. Beatrice Gorawantschy
German House,
1st Floor 2, Nyaya Marg
Chanakyapuri
New Delhi 110 021
Phone: +91/11-26113520
Fax: +91/11-26113536
info.india@kas.de

Indonesia

Winfried Weck
Plaza Aminta, 4th Floor
Jl. Let. Jend. TB Simatupang
Kav. 10
Jakarta 12310
Phone: +62/21-75909411
Fax: +62/21-75909415
weck@kasindo.org

Kazakhstan

Dr. Gregor Ryssel
Baraeva Str. 18/2-15
010002 Astana
Phone: +77172/224043
ryssel@kas.kz

Malaysia

Dr. Thomas Knirsch
M-3-16, Block M
60, Jalan Sri Hartamas 1
Plaza Damas
Sri Hartamas
50480 Kuala Lumpur
Phone: +60/3-62031957
Fax: +60/3-62031739
info.malaysia@kas.de

Mongolia

Johannes D. Rey
Jamyan Gun Street – 5/305
"Ar Mongol Travel" Building
Ulan Bator 48
Phone: +976/11-319135
Fax: +976/11-319137
johannes.rey@kas.de

Pakistan

Dr. Babak Khalatbari
House 4, 61st Street, F-3/6
Islamabad
Phone: +92/518358972
Fax: +92/512822076
info.pakistan@kas.de

Philippines

Dr. Peter Köppinger
ALPAP I Building, 3rd Floor
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Salcedo Village
Makati City, Metro Manila
Manila
Phone: +63/2-8943427
Fax: +63/2-8936199
info@kas.ph

South Korea

Dr. Colin Dürkop
Dookyoung Bld. 301
Hannamdong 66-1
Yongsamku 140-210
Seoul
Phone: +82/2-7933979
Fax: +82/2-7933979
colin.duerkop@kas.de

Singapore

Dr. Wilhelm Hofmeister
(Country programme)
Paul Linnarz
(Media programme)
Clauspeter Hill
(Rule of law programme)
34, Bukit Pasoh Rd.
Singapur 089848
Phone: +65/66036160
Fax: +65/62278343
politics@kas-asia.org
media.singapore@kas.de
law@kas-asia.org

Thailand

Dr. Canan Atilgan
75/2 Sukhumvit Soi 61
Klongtan, Wattana
Bangkok 10 110
Phone: +66/02-7141207
Fax: +66/02-7141307
Mobile: +66/8817210675
canan.atilgan@kas.de

Uzbekistan

Dr. Gregor Ryssel
38, Sarbog ul.
100031 Taschkent
Phone: +998/71-2155201
Fax: +998/71-2813024
kas-uzb@bcc.com.uz

Vietnam

Amos Helms
7, Trieu Viet Vuong
Hai Ba Trung Hanoi
Phone: +84/4-39432791
Fax: +84/4-39432790
info.hanoi@kas.de

LATIN AMERICA**Argentina**

Dr. Bernd Löhmann
(Country programme)
Suipacha 1175, Piso 3
C 1008 AA W Buenos Aires
Phone: +54/11-43262552
Fax: +54/11-43269944
info.buenosaires@kas.de

Peter-Alberto Behrens
(Media programme)
Suipacha 1175, Piso 2
C 1008 AA W Buenos Aires
Phone: +54/11-43932860
Fax: +54/11-43933427
medios.buenosaires@kas.de

Bolivia

Susanne Käss
Av. Walter Guevara No 8037
Calocoto
La Paz
Phone: +591/2-2786910
Fax: +591/2-2786831
info@kasbolivia.org

Brazil

Dr. Peter Fischer-Bollin
Olaf Jakob (SOPLA)
Praca Floriano 19, 30º andar,
20031-050 Centro
Rio de Janeiro RJ
Phone: +55/21-22205441
Fax: +55/21-22205448
adenauer-brasil@kas.de

Anja Czymmeck
Av. Dom Luís, 176
Edifício Mercury – Mezanino,
Aldeota
60.160-230 – Fortaleza – Ceará
Phone: +55/85-32619293
Fax: +55/85-32612164
kas-fortaleza@kas.de

Chile

Winfried Jung
Enrique Nercaseaux 2381
Providencia
Santiago de Chile
Phone: +56/2-2342089
Fax: +56/2-2342210
fkachile@fka.cl

Colombia

Prof. Dr. Stefan Jost
Calle 79, No. 8-70
Bogota D.C.
Phone: +57/1-3214615
Fax: +57/1-3214620
Mobile: +57/3102593581
info.colombia@kas.de

Costa Rica

Kerstin von Bremen
Calle 32, Av. 0 y 1
Edificio La Carmelita
2^{do} Piso
640-1000 San José
Phone: +506/2233-5874
Fax: +506/2233-3279
info@kascostarica.org

Ecuador

Dr. Berthold Weig
Edificio Aseguradora del Sur,
Piso 7
Avenida República de
El Salvador 361 y Moscú
Casilla 17-17-1079
Quito
Phone: +593/2-2269763
Fax: +593/2-2242438
Mobile: +593/29448106
kasecu@kas.org.ec

Guatemala

Tjark M. Egenhoff
3ª Ave. "A" 7-74, Zona 14
Col. El Campo
Ciudad de Guatemala
CP 01014
Phone: +502/23805100
Fax: +502/23805115
Mobile: +502/55266309
info.guatemala@kas.de

Mexico

Frank Priess
(Country programme)
Christian Steiner
(Rule of law programme)
Río Guadiana No. 3
Col. Cuauhtémoc
06500 México, D.F.
Phone: +52/55-55664599
Fax: +52/55-55664455
kasmex@kas.de

Nicaragua

Kerstin von Bremen
(responsible)
Kohar Penalba
Apartado 3128
Km 14 Carretera Sur,
a mano izquierda,
300 metros
Managua
Phone: +505/2-657880
Fax: +505/2-657896
kas@ibw.com.ni

Peru

Michael Lingenthal
Calle Arica 794
Lima 18 – Miraflores
Phone: +51/1-4458087
Fax: +51/1-4459374
kasperu@kas.de

Uruguay

Gisela Elsner
Plaza de Cagancha 1356,
Of. 804
11.100 Montevideo
Phone: +598/2-9020943
Fax: +598/2-9086781
uruguay.montevideo@kas.de

Venezuela

Dr. Georg Eickhoff
Av. Luis Roche
entre 6ª y 7ª Transversal
Quinta Las Lomas
1060 Altamira YV Caracas
Phone: +58/2-122634533
Fax: +58/2-122652054
info.venezuela@kas.de

EUROPE AND
THE UNITED STATES

Albania

Dr. Willibold Frehner
Business Center
Rr. E Dibres
11th Floor
Tirana
Phone: +355/44-500479
willibold.frehner@kas.de

Belgium (European Office)

Dr. Peter R. Weilemann
Dr. Andrea Ostheimer
(Development Policy Unit)
Avenue de l'Yser 11
1040 Brussels
Phone: +32/2-7430743
Fax: +32/2-7430749
sekretariat@eukas.be

Bosnia and Herzegovina

Sabina Wölkner
(responsible)
Prušćakova 23
71000 Sarajevo
Phone: +387/33-215240
Fax: +387/33-215239
Mobile: +387/61480309
sabina.woelkner@kasbih.com

Bulgaria

Andreas von Below
(Country programme)
Matthias Barner
(Media Programme)
Boulevard "Janko Sakasov" 19
4. Etage, App. 11
1504 Sofia
Phone: +359/2-9434388
Fax: +359/2-9433459
kas.sofia@mb.bia-bg.com
media-program@kas.bg

Belarus

Stephan Malerius
Pilies g. 42-9
01123 Vilnius/Lithuania
Phone: +370/52-629475
Fax: +370/52-122294
info@kas-belarus.lt

Croatia

Reinhard Wessel
Frana Petrica 7
10000 Zagreb
Phone: +385/1-4882650
Fax: +385/1-4882656
Mobile: +385/98 453968
elma.kas@inet.hr

Czech Republic

Dr. Hubert Gehring
Uruguayská 17
12000 Prague
Phone: +420/2-22320190
Fax: +420/2-22320198
kasprag@kasprag.cz

Estonia

(Tallinn office)
Sveta Pääru
Wismari 8-8
10136 Tallinn
Phone: +372/6-276700
Fax: +372/6-276703
tallinn@adenauer.ee

France

Jörg Wolff
15 bis, rue de Marignan
75008 Paris
Phone: +33/1-56691500
Fax: +33/1-56691501
joerg.wolff@kas.de

Hungary

Hans-J. Kaiser
Batthyány u. 49
1015 Budapest
Phone: +36/1-4875010
Fax: +36/1-4875011
hans.kaiser@adenauer.hu

Italy

Wilhelm Staudacher
Corso di Rinascimento 52
00186 Rome
Phone: +39/06-68809281
Fax: +39/06-68806359
info.italien@kas.de

Conference Centre
Cadenabbia
Heiner Enterich
Centro Internazionale
d'incontri Cadenabbia
Villa La Collina
Via Roma 11
22011 Cadenabbia (Co)
Phone: +39/0344-44111
Fax: +39/0344-41058
cadenabbia@villalacollina.it

Latvia

(Riga regional office)
Andreas Michael Klein
Elizabetes iela 85a 1-1
1050 Riga
Phone: +371/67039325
Fax: +371/67039327
riga@adenauer.lv

Lithuania

(Vilna office)
Kristina Kvilianaitė
Saviciaus g. 11-6/
Augustijonu g.1-6
01127 Vilna
Phone: +370/52-691178
Fax: +370/52-691179
vilnius@adenauer.lt

Macedonia

Henri Giscard Bohnet
Ul. "Maksim Gorki" 16, Kat 3
1000 Skopje
Phone: +389/2-3231122
Fax: +389/2-3135290
Mobile: +389/70279594
kas@kas.com.mk

Poland

Stephan Raabe
ul. J. Dąbrowskiego 56
02-561 Warsaw
Phone: +48/2-28453894
Fax: +48/2-28485437
kas@kas.pl

Romania

Dr. Holger Dix
(Country programme)
Dr. Stefanie Ricarda Roos
(Rule of law programme)
Str. Plantelor nr. 50, Sektor 2
023971 Bucharest
Phone: +40/21-3232127
Fax: +40/21-3260407
office@kas.ro

Russia

Dr. Lars Peter Schmidt
1. Borodinskaja ul. 2a
Office Nr. 450
121059 Moscow
Phone: +7/495-7486872
Fax: +7/495-7486873
Mobile: +7/9032626560
info@adenauer.ru

Elisabeth Bauer
Newskij Prospekt 1
191186 St. Petersburg
Phone: +7/812-3157236
Fax: +7/812-3157811
info@kas-spb.ru

Serbia

Claudia Crawford
Kralja Petra Str. 3
11000 Belgrade
Phone: +381/11-3285210
Fax: +381/11-3285329
office@kas-bg.com

Slovakia

Dr. Hubert Gehring
(responsible)
Agáta Pešková
Zelená 8
81101 Bratislava
Phone: +421/2-54419438
Fax: +421/2-54419441
kasslovak@nextra.sk

Spain

Thomas Stehling
(responsible)
Juana Duran Mennong
Plaza de Castilla 3, Piso 16/D2
28046 Madrid
Phone: +34/91-5796186
Fax: +34/91-5718612
info@fka-madrid.org

Ukraine

Nico Lange
wul. Schowkowschtschna 10/4
01021 Kiev
Phone: +380/44-4927443
Fax: +380/44-4927443
office@adenauer.kiev.ua

United Kingdom

Andreas Michael Klein (acting)
London Office
63 D Eccleston Square
London SW1V 1PH
Phone: +44/20-78344119
Fax: +44/20-78344134
andreas.klein@kas.de

United States

Dr. Norbert Wagner
Washington Research Office
2005 Massachusetts Avenue,
NW
Washington, DC 20036
Phone: +1/202-4645840
Fax: +1/202-4645848
norbert.wagner@kasusa.org

THE KONRAD-ADENAUER-STIFTUNG IN GERMANY

Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung

- Scholarship and Culture, Service Centre (EDP, Finance, Human Resources and General Administration, Event Organisation)
 - Reference and Research Services/ Archives of Christian-Democratic Policy (ACDP)
 - Communication and Media
- Rathausallee 12
53757 Sankt Augustin
Phone: +49 2241/246-0
Fax: +49 2241/246-2591

Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung

- Academy
- Tiergartenstraße 35
 - International Cooperation
 - Online Editorial office
 - Politics and Consulting
 - Press office

Klingelhöferstraße 23
10785 Berlin
Phone: +49 30/26996-0
Fax: +49 30/26996-3261

CIVIC EDUCATION AND CONFERENCE CENTRES

Civic Education and Conference Centre Eichholz

Director: Dr. Melanie Piepenschneider
Urfelder Straße 221
50389 Wesseling
Phone: +49 2236/707-0
Fax: +49 2236/707-4355
www.kas-eichholz.de

Conference Centre Wendgräben

Director: Ronny Heine
Wendgräbener Chaussee 1
39279 Wendgräben
Phone: +49 39245/952351
Fax: +49 39245/952366
www.kas-wendgraeben.de

Civic Education Centre Berlin

Director: Renate Abt
Tiergartenstraße 35
10785 Berlin
Phone: +49 30/26996-0
Fax: +49 30/26996-3243
www.kas-berlin.de

Civic Education Centre Bremen

Director: Dr. Ralf Altenhof
Martinstraße 25
28195 Bremen
Phone: +49 421/1630090
Fax: +49 421/1630099
www.kas-bremen.de

Civic Education Centre Dortmund

Director: Dr. Marco Arndt
Kronenburgallee 1
44141 Dortmund
Phone: +49 231/10877770
Fax: +49 231/10877777
www.kas-dortmund.de

Civic Education Centre Dresden

Director: Dr. Joachim Klose
Königstraße 23
01097 Dresden
Phone: +49 351/5634460
Fax: +49 351/56344610
www.kas-dresden.de

Civic Education Centre Düsseldorf

Director: Daniel Schranz
Benrather Straße 11
40213 Düsseldorf
Phone: +49 211/83680560
Fax: +49 211/83680569
www.kas-duesseldorf.de

Civic Education Centre Erfurt

Director: Alexandra Mehnert
Thomas-Müntzer-Straße 21 a
99084 Erfurt
Phone: +49 361/654910
Fax: +49 361/6549111
www.kas-erfurt.de

Civic Education Centre Freiburg

Director: Thomas Wolf
Schusterstraße 34-36
79098 Freiburg
Phone: +49 761/15648070
Fax: +49 761/15648079
www.kas-freiburg.de

Civic Education Centre Hamburg

Director: Dr. Carsten Dümmel
Warburgstraße 12
20354 Hamburg
Phone: +49 40/21985080
Fax: +49 40/21985089
www.kas-hamburg.de

Civic Education Centre Hannover

Director: Jörg Jäger
Leinstraße 8
30159 Hannover
Phone: +49 511/40080980
Fax: +49 511/40080989
www.kas-hannover.de

Civic Education Centre Mainz

Director: Karl-Heinz van Lier
Weißliliegasse 5
55116 Mainz
Phone: +49 6131/2016930
Fax: +49 6131/2016939
www.kas-mainz.de

Civic Education Centre Oldenburg

Director: Dr. Stefan Hofmann
Kurwickstraße 8-9
26122 Oldenburg
Phone: +49 441/20517990
Fax: +49 441/20517999
www.kas-oldenburg.de

Civic Education Centre Potsdam

Director: Dr. Christian Schmitz
Rudolf-Breitscheid-Straße 64
14482 Potsdam
Phone: +49 331/7488760
Fax: +49 331/74887615
www.kas-potsdam.de

Civic Education Centre Saarbrücken

Director: Helga Bossung-Wagner
Neumarkt 11
66117 Saarbrücken
Phone: +49 681/9279880
Fax: +49 681/9279889
www.kas-saarbruecken.de

Civic Education Centre Schwerin

Director: Dr. Silke Bremer
Arsenalstraße 10
19053 Schwerin
Phone: +49 385/5557050
Fax: +49 381/5557059
www.kas-schwerin.de

Civic Education Centre Stuttgart

Director: Elke Erlecke
Lange Straße 18 a
70174 Stuttgart
Phone: +49 711/8703093
Fax: +49 711/87030955
www.kas-stuttgart.de

Civic Education Centre Wiesbaden

Director: Dr. Thomas Ehlen
Bahnhofstraße 38
65185 Wiesbaden
Phone: +49 611/1575980
Fax: +49 611/15759819
www.kas-wiesbaden.de



AUSLANDSINFORMATIONEN – INFORMATION FROM ABROAD

This monthly magazine on international relations focuses on foreign and development cooperation. Among the contributors are staff members of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung working abroad, along with scholars, politicians and other experts from the countries where the KAS is active. The articles are written for politicians, journalists, scholars, representatives of companies, libraries at think tanks and universities as well as for interested experts in Germany and abroad. *KAS Auslandsinformationen* has a circulation of 4,000 copies. Contributions are also summarised in English and can be read and downloaded from our website. Among the central topics in 2009 were the policies of US President Barack Obama, the situation in Afghanistan and the peace process in the Middle East. In 2010 *KAS Auslandsinformationen* will report on the consequences of the global climate summit in Copenhagen as well as on issues concerning digital political communication.

www.kas.de/auslandsinformationen-english



DIE POLITISCHE MEINUNG

Since 1956, this monthly magazine with a circulation of 5,700 has been one of the leading organs of political opinion shaped by Christian democratic values and a Christian view of humankind. *Die Politische Meinung* (Political Opinion, published only in German) covers a broad spectrum of topics that range from foreign and security policy to domestic policy, societal issues and analyses of political parties and elections. Further contributions come from the fields of literary criticism, natural sciences, history, philosophy, theology, and art history. Each article has the common goal to provide substantive analysis and direction, along with pointed and frequently controversial opinions that extend beyond the issues of the day. Since 2000, each issue has focused on one single topic. The first issues in 2010 cover an analysis of foreign policy in a multipolar world (January), Europe following the Lisbon Treaty (February), as well as Internet and political communication (March).

www.politische-meinung.de

PUBLICATIONS (SELECTION)



KAS Democracy Report 2009 – Parties and Democracy Vol. II

Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (Ed.)
Sankt Augustin/Berlin 2009 | In English

This year's Democracy Report concentrates on political parties, their patterns of organisation, and their contribution towards the consolidation of democracy as well as on party system structures and current development tendencies in 16 selected KAS project countries.



V Conference of Forte de Copacabana: a European-South American Dialogue

Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (Ed.)
Rio de Janeiro 2009 | In English

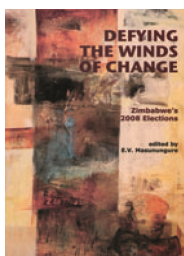
This publication provides fundamental studies for the comprehension of the nature of the relations between South America and Europe in the sphere of defense. The articles are based on the contributions of the Conference.



Hope Ltd. – A Joint Project of German, Palestinian and Israeli Young Journalists

Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (Ed.)
Ramallah 2009 | In English

The magazine documents the experiences of the ambitious young journalists while participating in the nine-day-long workshop. This magazine presents a wide variety of topics regarding Israelis and Palestinians. It is the result of a workshop that took place in 2008 and was produced by a number of young journalists with German, Israeli and Palestinian backgrounds.



Defying the Winds of Change. Zimbabwe's 2008 Elections

Eldred Masunungure (Ed.)
Harare 2009 | In English

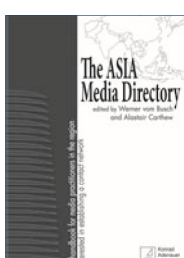
This publication reviews the social and economic context of the election, its coverage in the media, its legitimacy, and the consequences of the decision to hold a presidential run-off three months later.



A Long Walk to Democracy. 20 years after the Fall of the Berlin Wall

Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (Ed.)
Johannesburg 2009 | In English

The publication is dedicated to the 20th Anniversary of the opening and the fall of the Berlin Wall. The authors analyse the consequences of this historic event for Germany, Europe and the international system. In a second part, authors from different countries and regions, describe and evaluate the topic from an "outsider's" perspective.



The ASIA Media Directory

Werner vom Busch; Alastair Carthew
Singapur 2009 | In English

This handbook addresses media practitioners interested in establishing a contact network in Asia. It lists all major media outlets operating in the region and gives an account of the status of print and broadcast media in each Asian country.

KAS – ONLINE

Everything worth knowing about the international cooperation of the KAS and its publications at www.kas.de/wf/en

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Publisher

Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung
Communication and Media Department
Rathausallee 12
53757 Sankt Augustin
Germany
Phone: +49 22 41/2 46-0
Fax: +49 22 41/2 46-25 91

Tiergartenstraße 35
10785 Berlin
Germany
Phone: +49 30/2 69 96-0
Fax: +49 30/2 69 96-32 61
E-mail: redaktion@kas.de

Editors

Walter Bajohr, Elisabeth Enders

Assistant Editors

Cornelia Wurm, Harald Wendlberger

Translation

Thomas Marzahl, Berlin

Design and realisation

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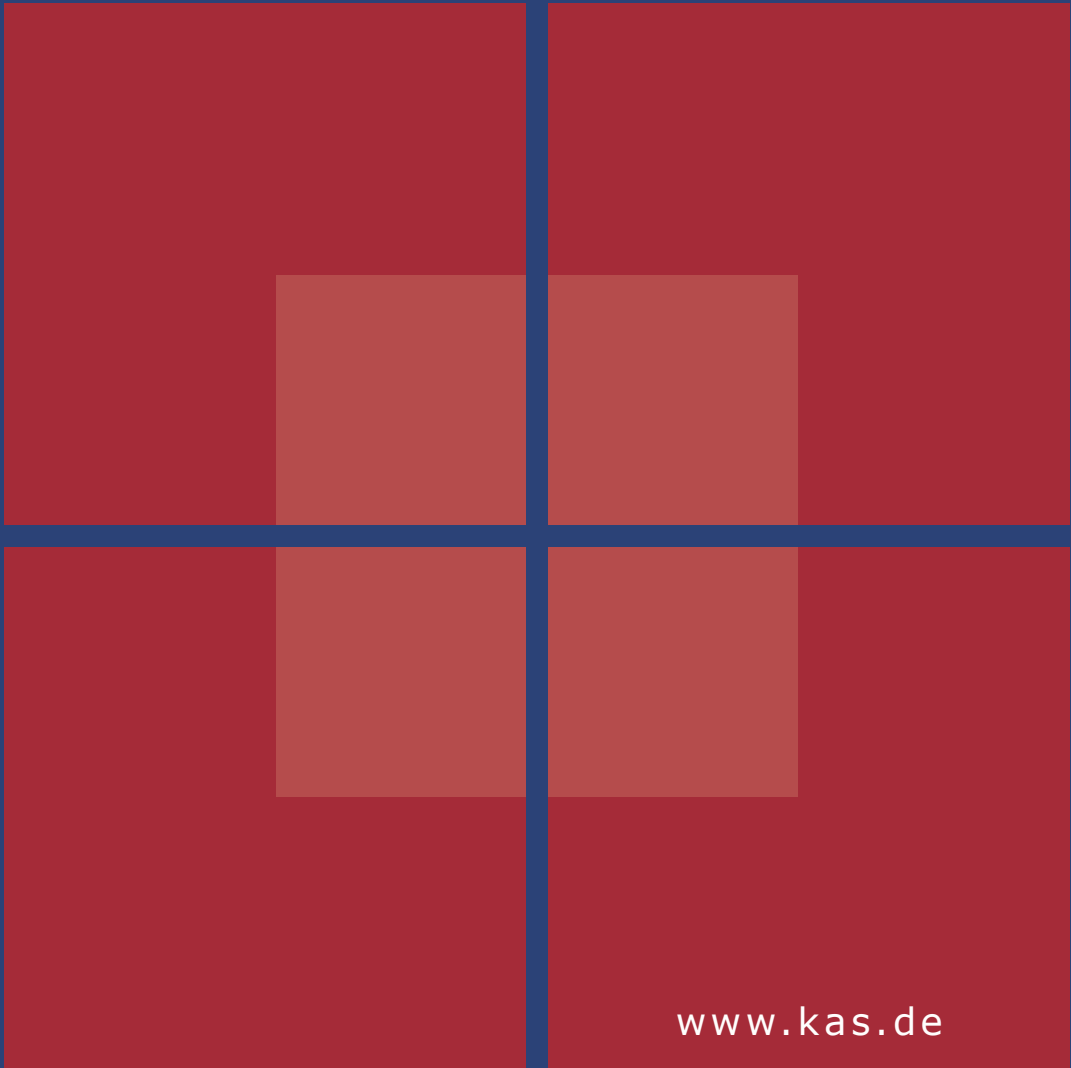
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In this report, titles of books and conferences
have occasionally been translated into English
although there is actually no English version.
We chose to do so in order to facilitate reading.

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Stiftung