

22

Insights Into 2022

# Annual REPORT

# Freedom Must Win

Annual Report  
2022

# Contents

<b>1. KAS Fellowship</b>	<b>6</b>
“We Need to Focus on a Post-Putin Russia”: An Interview with Ambassador Christoph Heusgen	8
<b>2. The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung</b>	<b>10</b>
About us	12
KAS Open Day 2022: #StandWithUkraine	14
Podcasts, TikTok, LinkedIn: Campaigns, and Social Media Channels and Formats	16
Looking Back and Looking to the Future: The 60th Anniversary of the Beginnings of our Work at the International Level	18
No one Should Have to Experience Suffering	20
Staff, Publications, Events: The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in Figures	22
Literature, Journalism, Social Market Economy: Our Award Winners in 2022	26
<b>3. Our Focus Topics</b>	<b>28</b>
Democracy, Security, Innovation: Focus Topics in 2022	30
<b>Innovation</b>	
Approaches and Ideas for the Sustainable Transformation of Society: The Navigator Sustainability	32
Inspiring Entrepreneurs: Success Stories from our Neighbouring Continent	34
Nature-based Processes and Innovative Technologies: Negative Emissions	36
<b>Security</b>	
#StandWith Ukraine: Civic Education regarding Russia’s War Against Ukraine	38
Political Crises and Socioeconomic Problems: Dwindling Food Security in the Middle East and North Africa	40
Responsibility and Artificial Intelligence: The Bundeswehr of the Future	42
<b>Representation and Participation</b>	
War of Aggression, Cyberattacks, Hate Speech: The Resilience of Democracy	44
Reforming Federalism, Reducing Bureaucracy: The Modernisation of the State	46
Christian, Liberal, Conservative: The Debate about the CDU’s Manifesto	48

## 4. Freedom Must Win 50

---

### Department of Research Services / Archive of Christian-Democratic Policy

---

The Basics, Developments, and Party Policy:  
A Handbook on the History of the CDU 52

---

New Content and a Modern Design:  
Relaunch of the Websites about Konrad Adenauer and Helmut Kohl 54

---

### Civic Education

---

The Foundation of the International Network  
Civic Education 56

---

Summer School, Europe Dialogues, and Conference:  
Young Adults in and for Europe 58

---

### European and International Cooperation

---

“The only choice is between war and destruction.”  
An interview with Tim Peters, Head of the Ukraine Office in Kiev 60

---

Field Offices as Seismographs:  
China’s Soft Power in Southeast Asia 62

---

### Scholarships and Culture

---

“Headscarves are more than just pieces of cloth.”  
An Interview with Former Scholarship Holder Dr Fatemeh Taheri 64

---

Politics, Power, Morality:  
A Seminar for Politicians of the Future 66

---

### Analysis and Consultation

---

The Ukrainian and Russian World:  
The Role of Religion in Russia’s War of Aggression 68

---

Election Campaign  
Time is Discussion Time 70

---

## 5. Special Anniversaries 72

---

The Birth of European Integration:  
The 70th Anniversary of the European Coal and Steel Community 74

---

The Role of the Social Market Economy in a Changing World:  
125 Years of Ludwig Erhard 76

---

## 6. Names, Dates, Facts 78

---

Capital Account 80

---

Joint Statement on State Funding  
of Political Foundations 83

---

The Board, Members, and the Trustees 84

---

KAS scholarship programme 90

---

Friends of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung 91

---

The Villa La Collina in Cadenabbia 92

---

# Dear Readers,

In 2022, we faced numerous crises. After two years of pandemic-related restrictions, our hopes that we might be able to return to our normal lives were dashed by Russia attacking Ukraine on February 24. For the first time in many years, war had returned to Europe. Overnight, many entrenched assumptions and practices suddenly had to be re-examined, if not entirely abandoned. These difficulties were compounded by the challenges caused by the far-reaching impact of the war on our everyday lives: war refugees in need of protection, the rising costs of living, contentious debates about our energy supply, and about German and wider European security. The war and its consequences dominated the agenda in 2022, and, therefore, they also played a major role in our work. Furthermore, the manifold knock-on effects that the war continues to have mean that this is unlikely to change throughout 2023.

The war in Ukraine posed a particular challenge to our work in the region. Thankfully, we were able to bring Dr Brigitta Triebel, Tim Peters and Bruno Hamm-Pütt, our colleagues who were in charge of our offices in Ukraine, back to Germany in good time. We also put measures in place to support our local staff. Although we were eventually able to resume our work for Ukraine online, we closed our office in Russia at the end of April.

In 2022, numerous publications, events, interviews, contributions and statements by our experts highlighted the political, economic and social consequences of the war. The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's Open Day, and the annual "State of Europe" address on 9 November focused on solidarity with Ukraine. In addition, the Bonn Forum on German Unity, which was held on 3 October, focused on Germany's role in the world and the international system in the context of the war.

The conflict in Ukraine also meant that our three focus topics – security, innovation, and representation and participation – once again proved their worth and provided our work in 2022 with important direction during turbulent times. Moreover, they enabled us to refocus our policies and raise public awareness about our topics in a more targeted manner.

Professor Christoph Heusgen, the 2022 KAS Fellow, former foreign policy advisor to Chancellor Angela Merkel

and Germany's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, made a particularly useful contribution to this work. A proven expert on German foreign and security policy, Professor Heusgen provided an important impetus for our work at home and abroad, particularly on the focus topic of security.

In addition to the emphasis placed on the dramatic developments in Europe and the wider world, other issues also played a role in our work in 2022. We presented our new handbook describing the history of the CDU on the fringes of this year's CDU federal party conference in Hanover. The handbook details the historical and programmatic development of the CDU, including information about individual policy areas and the party's branches and organisations. The handbook was published as a supplement to our summer 2020 volume, which covered the debates associated with these issues and included contributions and opinions about the history of the CDU.

As we do every year, we used the anniversaries in 2022 as opportunities to look back, and, above all, to look to the future. In February, we discussed the current state and prospects of the social market economy on close to what would have been Ludwig Erhard's 125th birthday. In autumn 2022, the 70th anniversary of the founding of the European Coal and Steel Community provided a welcome opportunity to analyse the potential for European cooperation and discuss solutions to the particular challenges posed by energy security.

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung had particular cause for celebration on two days in 2022: the 60th anniversary of the Foundation's work abroad, which was used to draw attention to our long-standing, multifaceted work throughout the world; and the 40th anniversary of our office in Israel, which symbolises the importance of German-Israeli relations and Germany's special responsibility to the country, issues that are certainly reflected in the Foundation's work.

We were also very happy to be able to return to normal office work in mid-May; the cautious and considerate actions of our staff enabled us to do so while still fully complying with the health regulations in place at the time. In addition, a works agreement concluded between management and the works council now enables all members of staff to work remotely on certain days of the week.

These changes provided us with a small step towards regularity in a year that, one day, historians may well look back on as fateful – and which otherwise offered little chance of normality for the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung or our work.

We are therefore all the more grateful to our staff for their commitment throughout 2022. We would like to thank the members of our committees for their constructive insights, as well as the Friends, our donors and partners, for their valuable input and financial support.

We will continue to do our utmost to live up to the trust you place in us and in our work in Germany, Europe, and the world. We hope for and look forward to your support in the future.

Berlin and Sankt Augustin, November 2022

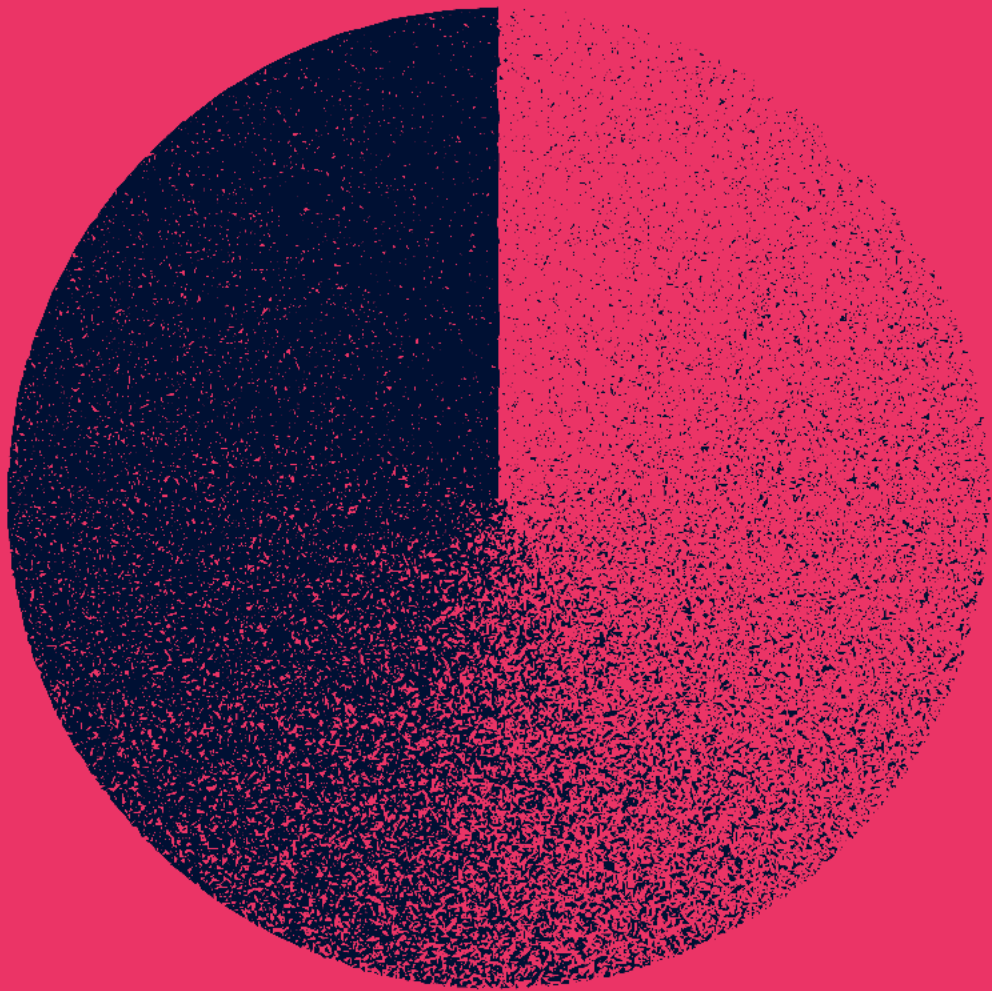


Professor Norbert Lammert



Michael Thielen

# KAS Fellowship



1



# “We Need to Focus on a Post-Putin Russia”

Interview by  
Jason Chumtong

An Interview with Ambassador  
Christoph Heusgen

The fellowship of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung is designed to welcome a distinguished individual into the Foundation’s work – and of course to integrate their views from the outside. The role was first taken on by the Munich-based sociologist, Professor Armin Nassehi in 2020/21. Nassehi was succeeded in 2022 by the former Permanent Representative of the Federal Republic of Germany to the United Nations and current chair of the Munich Security Conference, Professor Christoph Heusgen.



**Mr Heusgen, at the time of your welcoming and introduction as our 2022 KAS Fellow, the possibility of a Russian war of aggression against Ukraine had already been broached by the media and politics. During this period, you emphasised the need to view democracy and human rights not merely as Western values, but as global values. How has the war changed the rules-based international system?**

The Russian war of aggression, the immeasurable suffering inflicted on Ukrainians by the dictator Putin, the thousands of dead and the 14 million internally displaced persons and refugees should act as a warning; but they should also challenge us to strengthen our efforts to uphold the international rule-based system, founded as it is on the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. I hardly use the term “West” or “Western values” anymore,

because anyone who does so is immediately accused of applying double standards. Although we condemn Russia's invasion of Ukraine and have imposed harsh sanctions on Russia, we are viewed as having been comparatively lenient towards US violations of international law, for example during the Second Iraq War. I counter these accusations by reminding people that we did indeed condemn the Iraq War because it also violated international law. And it is precisely the rules-based international system that we are trying to protect. The UN Charter has been signed by nearly 200 member states, not just the Western ones.

**Since 24 February, and in response to Russia's criminal war of aggression against Ukraine, the EU has imposed a series of sanctions against Russia. How effective are the eight packages of sanctions that have been put in place and the unity shown by the EU member states?**

The sanctions imposed by the US and Europe are working, I have no doubt about that. They are cutting off Russia's access to advanced technology, and the country's economy is slowly but surely going downhill. Although revenues from gas and oil sales continue to flow and are slowing economic decline, they will never be enough to prevent it. Moreover, the bond between the EU and the US will remain strong. However, I am concerned about developments in Poland and especially in Hungary: undermining the rule of law is like wielding an axe to the foundations of the European Union.

**At the beginning of your time as a KAS Fellow, you said that a commitment to European sovereignty also represents a clear commitment to the alliance of the Western community of values in the NATO.**

**How has the war in Ukraine changed this relationship?** Putin's war is taking place in the heart of Europe, and it has once again highlighted the importance of the US. The US provides the Ukrainians with most of the weapons they need to defend themselves and to take back their country. Who knows where Russian troops would be stationed by now if the US had not supported Ukraine? But how long can we expect the US to provide for security in Europe? The US is right to demand that we take care of our own backyard. It is shameful that we supported the decisions of the NATO Summit in Wales 2014 while still not meeting the two per cent target; and we are still failing to do so, despite Putin's break with civilisation – on our own doorstep. We urgently need to meet the target to ensure that we have the necessary military capabilities to resolve conflicts in our own neighbourhood without resorting to help from the US. Doing so, is what I understand as European sovereignty and European autonomy.

**As chair of the Munich Security Conference, you called for Germany to replace its foreign policy restraint with visible, tangible leadership. Has Germany already started to do this and, if so, what contribution can the Foundation make?**

Chancellor Scholz coined the phrase "historic turning point". Germany must continue to respond to the new challenges

caused by Russia's abandonment of civilisation and the inroads being made by China. But this also applies to the challenges posed by the US, which, on the one hand, is becoming more protectionist and, on the other, is moving more towards Asia. In this situation, the fourth strongest economic power in the world, Germany, must take leadership and responsibility. But this is still not being done consistently enough: we still lag behind in defence spending; we are dithering on military support for Ukraine; and we have let the relationship with France slide for too long, despite the fact that it remains crucial for strengthening the European Union. Furthermore, we are still failing to look after the countries of the Global South properly. This is important because we need them as partners due to competition from China – at least we do if we intend to strengthen international law, and prevent climate change. What does all of this mean for the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung? The Foundation should reflect Germany's role in the world. At home, this means advocating stronger German involvement on the world stage, while acting as an eye and ear for developments abroad and supporting the international rules-based system.

**One quality of diplomacy is being willing and able to talk to everyone – including, and in particular, all sides during a conflict. Based on your experience as a former ambassador and chief diplomat, when and on what basis should Germany seek to restart talks with Russia?**

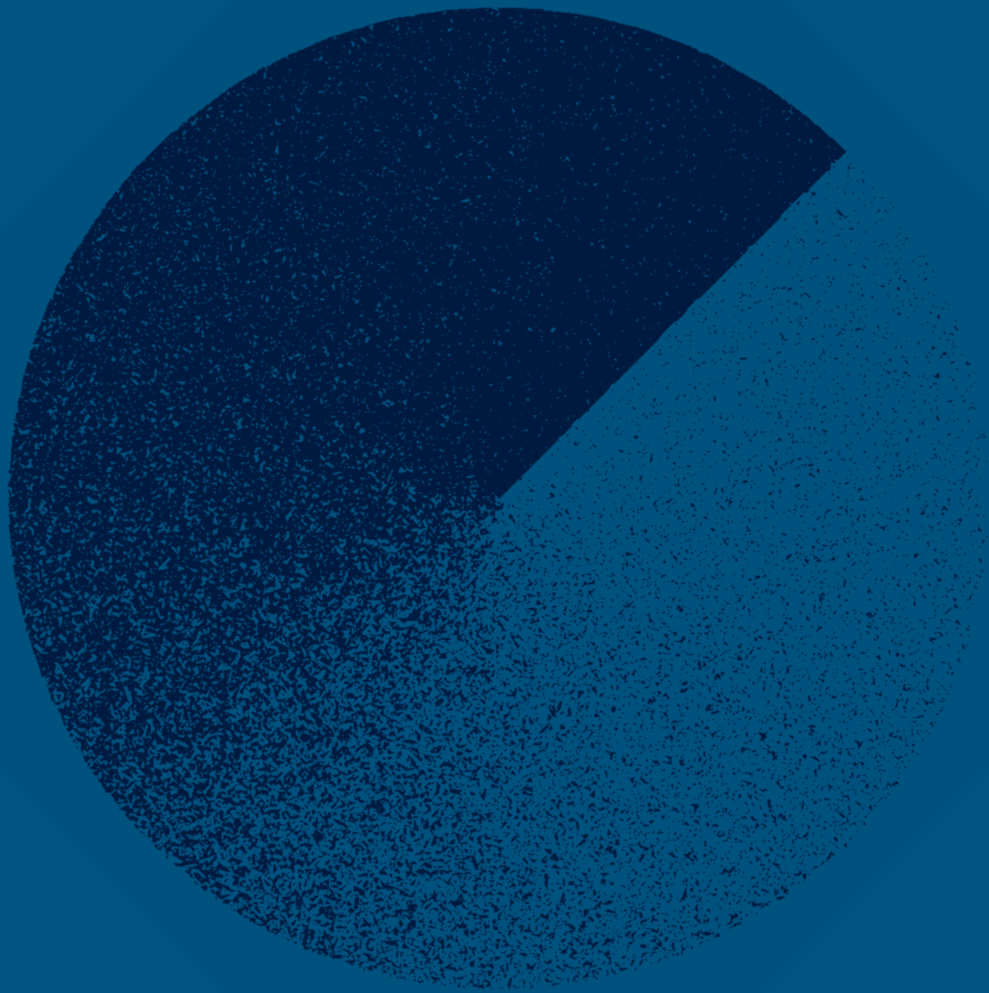
Vladimir Putin has disqualified himself as a partner because of his abandonment of civilisation. In the 1994 Budapest Memorandum, Russia guaranteed Ukraine's territorial integrity. Any agreement with Russia today is not worth the paper on which it is written. We must focus on a post-Putin Russia, and this means strengthening the country's opposition and civil society. These groups will also have a voice at the next Munich Security Conference.

**Although you will no longer be advising us as a Fellow as of January 2023, we will still be working together due to your role as chair of the Munich Security Conference (MSC). On which areas of international security policy should the Foundation and the MSC cooperate particularly closely?**

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung is an established MSC partner and will remain so. I see the work of the Foundation in promoting the need for a more active German foreign policy at home and advocating for a rules-based order abroad as issues that connect us.

**More on this topic:**  
[www.kas.de/fellowship-2022](http://www.kas.de/fellowship-2022)

# The Konrad- Adenauer- Stiftung



2

# About Us

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



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

Our conferences and congresses bring together people who have “something to say”. In Germany alone, some 145,000 people attend the approximately 2,500 events that we hold annually. In 2020 and 2021, the coronavirus pandemic prompted us to strongly expand our digital and hybrid events. We provide material and academic support to gifted young people not just from Germany, but also from Central and Eastern Europe and other parts of the world.

We also stay connected with our alumni, whose number has risen to more than 17,000 since 1965.

Our programme also includes exhibits, literature readings, and awards. We support young artists and continue to award our prestigious Literary Award. We have awarded a prize for local journalism since 1980. Since 2002, our Social Market Economy Prize has recognised distinguished individuals who support and encourage the development of the social market economy. Since 2001, our *denkt@g* competition has celebrated Internet-based presentations created by young people that address issues related to the Holocaust and Nazi dictatorship, right-wing extremism, xenophobia, intolerance, and violence.

The Archive of Christian-Democratic Policy conducts research into and promotes exploration of the history of Christian democracy in Germany and Europe. Users can access a large body of materials, which currently amounts to more than 19 linear kilometres of documents and publications, in addition to modern media, and a specialised library with some 200,000 titles focusing on history and politics.

A second cast of the bronze sculpture of Konrad Adenauer by Hubertus von Pilgrim has stood in front of the Foundation's Academy in Berlin's Tiergarten district since 1 April 2022. The original sculpture has been on display in Bonn at the entrance to Adenauerallee on Bundeskanzlerplatz since 24 May 1982.

# KAS Open Day 2022: #StandWithUkraine

## Together in Europe and the World

Text by Susanne Kophal  
and Bogdan Miftakhov

1. The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's chair, Professor Norbert Lammert, welcomes participants to the Open Day.

2. The chair of the CDU, Friedrich Merz, and the President of the Republic of Moldova, Maia Sandu, discuss the Russian war of aggression against Ukraine.



This year's Open Day took, which was titled “#StandWithUkraine – Zusammen in Europa und der Welt” (#Stand-WithUkraine – Together in Europe and the World), was marked by the democratic world closing ranks with Ukraine. The highlight of the day was a discussion between Maia Sandu, President of the Republic of Moldova, and Friedrich Merz, Chair of the CDU and the CDU/CSU parliamentary group in the Bundestag, who discussed the unity among the democratic world in the face of the Russian war of aggression against Ukraine. Friedrich Merz made the situation clear: “If Russia were to silence its weapons, the war would end. Yet if Ukraine were to lay down its arms, the country would cease to exist.”

The debate also focused on the impact of the sanctions against Russia and the further steps that the EU and its partners could take. In the run-up to the discussion, Dmytro Kuleba, Ukraine's Minister of Foreign Affairs, welcomed the audience via video link, and spoke of the need for decisive action.

Numerous other events were held leading up to the event, including a youth policy day that dealt with the consequences of the digital information war, whether waged by trolls, disinformation, or through propaganda on social media.





3. Ukraine was the focus not only for politics but also in terms of culture. Guests were able to weave traditional hair accessories consisting of dried flowers; and Ukrainian bakers brought traditionally made bread with them as gifts.

4. Participants at the end of the official program in the Academy's garden in Berlin.



impetus via a video message, in which he not only thanked Germany for its support but also emphasised Ukraine's desire to "become part of the European family". The subsequent discussion with Dr Jana Puglierin, European Council on Foreign Relations, Florian Hahn, MdB, defence policy spokesperson of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group, Martín Svarovsky, now Deputy Foreign Minister of the Czech Republic, and Dr Karl-Heinz Kamp, from the Department of Politics at the Federal Ministry of Defence, addressed the need for a new mindset when it came to the European and international peace and security architecture.

The event also hosted the premiere of the film *Der Vierundzwanzigste* (The Twenty-Fourth), which was made with support from the international Ukraine office in Kharkiv. The film presents five Sur-Place scholarship holders who speak about their views of the Russian attack on 24 February 2022 and their escape, their lives, and their hopes.

Traditionally, our Open Day takes place once a year and sums up the work of the entire Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung through several events, activities, and discussion forums. The Open Day is aimed at people interested in politics, decision-makers, as well as partners and friends of the Foundation. The Open Day not only presents the Foundation's national and international work to the public, but also provides an impetus for further discussion about current topics, offering food for thought, and thereby contributing to a culture of discussion and the consolidation of democracy.

In his video message, Mykhailo Fedorov, Deputy Prime Minister of Ukraine and Minister of Digital Transformation, referred to the dangers Ukraine faced from massive Russian cyberattacks and campaigns of disinformation. Lyubov Zybulska, head of the NGO Join Ukraine, Peter Limbourg, Director General of Deutsche Welle, and Yvonne Magwas, MdB, Vice-President of the Bundestag, took up the topic, and discussed the dangers related to the fact that articles are no longer published because they are important for society, but because they generate the greatest possible level of attention.

The workshops, "From Fake News to Deep Fakes: On the Threat of Deep

Fakes to Democracy and Society" and "Werdet Fact-Fluencer! Desinformation erkennen und bekämpfen!" (Become a Fact-Fluencer! Recognise and Combat Disinformation), discussed the projects and steps that could be taken together with young people to counter disinformation.

In his keynote speech before the panel, "Zeitenwende: Was bedeutet das für Deutschland?" (What does the "historic turning point" mean for Germany?), Professor Heusgen, chair of the Munich Security Conference and KAS Fellow 2022, spoke in favour of a national security council and called on Germany to accept more foreign policy responsibility. Vitali Klitschko, Mayor of Kyiv, provided



# Social Media Channels and Campaigns

In 2022, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung continued to expand its online presence. This included the use of new social media channels and platforms in order to encourage online political debate.

## Follow us on LinkedIn

Text by Jette Geiger

The followers of our channels are not simply profile pictures or numbers; they are people who spend time online using the content we publish. Who follows the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung on social media and who interacts when and with which posts? We examine these issues using various platform-dependant characteristics, in order to ensure that our publications are properly targeted. Key characteristics include language, location, time, and demographic breakdown (such as age). These data enable us to understand which topics people find most interesting and to target our materials to

a particular group and platform. The analysis is supported by higher-level evaluations of the topics and types of interaction that people view positively or negatively.

In 2022, these analyses led us to establish a presence on LinkedIn. LinkedIn is particularly well suited for in-depth analyses and publications, and with around 29,000 followers, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung has already developed a strong reach in just eight months. The subject matter expertise that the Foundation provides fits well on the platform and is particularly useful during online debates.

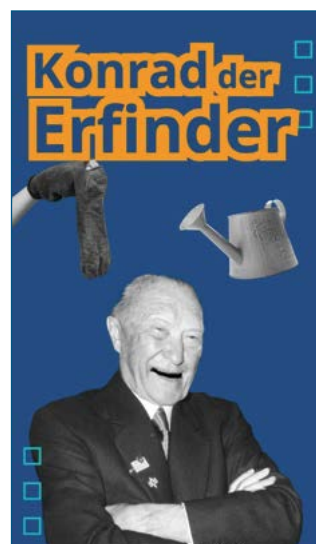


## KAS × TikTok

Text by Julia Fleiner

TikTok is not without its controversy and critique is as necessary as it is right. However, we also set ourselves the goal of reaching new, younger target groups, and one way to do so is to use TikTok. In 2022, therefore, we discussed in detail many arguments for and against the use of the platform. We came to the conclusion that the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung should take up the challenges posed by TikTok and, as such, have been active on the platform since November 2022. We view TikTok as a means of communicating boldly and daring to do something new. If we want to reach the younger

generation, we need to reach out to young people: political opinions are formed online and especially on TikTok. In German-speaking countries, right-wing populist and anti-democratic positions are very strongly represented on the platform. Moreover, if opinions are formed online, we certainly do not want to leave a platform like TikTok to right-wing populists. Rather, we need to stand up for the values that are important to us – Shaping. Democracy. Together. – and do so online. One of our first videos, therefore, was a critique of China as a totalitarian state and of TikTok itself.



# The Information War – Digitally on Ukraine’s Side

Text by Magdalena Falkner and Melanie Fröhlich

The Russian war of aggression against Ukraine is also being conducted in the media. Therefore, our digital communications have been particularly concerned with countering Russian propaganda campaigns and strengthening the Ukrainian perspective on the war of aggression. At [kas.de/krieg-gegen-ukraine](https://kas.de/krieg-gegen-ukraine) readers can find a cross-format, up-to-date overview of all of our materials on the topic: podcasts, videos, events, analyses, and

publications. This also includes materials published by the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung’s field offices.

One outstanding project is the film *Der Vierundzwanzigste* (The Twenty-Fourth), made by two of the Foundation’s scholarship holders, and produced on the initiative of the field office in Kharkiv. The film follows a number of Ukrainians who describe their memories of 24 February 2022, their escape from their home country, and

their hopes for a better future. The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung promoted the film on five social media channels – YouTube, Instagram, Facebook, LinkedIn, and TikTok – and reached almost three million people. Many people responded with comments and likes, and shared links to the film and posts about it.

## Human Rights: In Demand

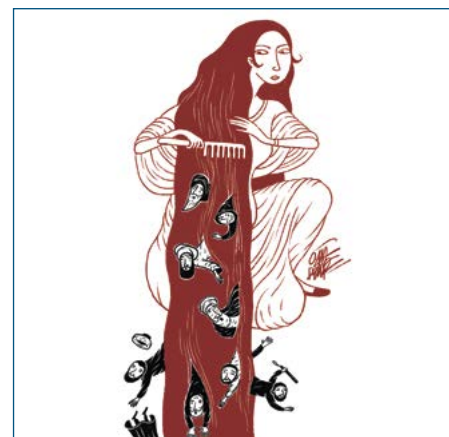
Text by Konstantin Otto

For the past year, we have been publishing a bi-weekly podcast on [blog.politische-meinung.de](https://blog.politische-meinung.de) entitled “Menschenrechte: nachgefragt” (Human Rights: In Demand), together with people from politics and civil society.

In 2022 the main focus of the blog run by *Die Politische Meinung* (Political Opinion) was the war in Ukraine and the protests in Iran. One article dealt with social media and its significance for Ukrainian warfare. We also interviewed Tamina Kutscher from *Dekoder* and spoke to her about

“11 Questions about Freedom of the Media and the Press in Russia”. The interview was subtitled in Russian and Ukrainian.

Another interview with caricaturist Oguz Demir was particularly popular: his drawing of a woman combing mullahs out of her hair was shared worldwide and has become a symbol of Iranian resistance. Before the picture gained fame, the artist had made it available exclusively to *Die Politische Meinung* alongside other drawings we have published on the blog.



## The denkt@g Competition Takes Place on Instagram for the First Time

Text by Felix Bäuml

The online [denkt@g](https://denkt.g) competition against anti-Semitism, right-wing extremism, and xenophobia, which has been running since 2001 under the patronage of Professor Norbert Lammer, broke new ground in communications in 2022. In order to make the competition even more appealing to young people, participants were asked to set up an Instagram account as their project entry instead of a website. The young people, aged between 16 and 22, used innovative and platform-appropriate approaches to counter fading

memories of the Shoah and the Nazi dictatorship, as well as to provide information about anti-Semitism and racism present in their own milieus. The participants used reels, stories, and photo spreads. There were very few limits to their creativity when it came to tracing experiences of Jewish life.



# The 60th Anniversary of the Foundation's Work at the International Level

Text and Interview  
by Louisa Heuss  
and Katharina Naumann

In 2022, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung celebrated the 60th anniversary of our work abroad. For six decades, the Foundation has campaigned internationally for issues such as democracy, the rule of law, multilateralism, climate protection, and the social market economy. Annette Schwarzbauer, head of the Venezuela office, looks back at the beginnings of the Foundation's work on the international level.



**Ms Schwarzbauer, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung began its multi-faceted work at the international level in Latin America in the 1960s. Why there of all places?**

An initial agreement to begin international cooperation in Latin America was reached at a meeting between the German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer and the Venezuelan Christian Democrat – and later President – Rafael Caldera on 2 February 1962, when they met at Adenauer's residence in Rhön-dorf. It was because of the importance

of Christian Democratic movements in Latin America at the time, especially in Venezuela and Chile, that the Institute for International Solidarity (ISI), which was founded in 1962 (and later merged into the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung), was able to find its first partners in the region.

**What was work like at the time?**

During the first few decades of our international work, our staff members acted as integrated advisors to our partner organisations, and were mainly

active in civic education, trade unions, and rural development. As a rule, they worked in the partners' offices and took part in daily project work, both in terms of content and administration. Back then, the decision to go abroad was certainly a more adventurous one than it is today!

**Let's jump to the present. You head the office in Venezuela. What is the focus of the office's work today?**

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in Venezuela continues to be active in educa-

tion. Our most important partner is the Andrés Bello Catholic University, with which we are working to offer seminars, produce studies, and carry out a project designed to help contribute to reactivating the economy. The scholarship programme for committed young professionals has gained in importance due to the difficult economic situation in the country. There is also a need for skilled workers in Venezuela.

**Sixty years is a very long time. What successes have been achieved in that time?**

Many people and organisations in Latin America view the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung as a reliable expert partner that does not shy away from critique. The presence of our offices means that we have a wide-ranging network of institutions and individuals from around the world. Moreover, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung is one of the few international organisations that is still on the ground and available as a partner in Venezuela.

Successes range from scholarships, which have enabled a young female researcher to pursue postgraduate studies on site, to the courses run by the Catholic University. The University is supported by the Foundation and other organisations and offers a high-quality academic programme in spite of the difficult circumstances, encourages young people to participate in society, and, among other things, publishes the most important annual survey of life in Venezuela: ENCOVI.

1. In the 1960s, Latin America gained in importance not only for the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, but for the entire Federal Republic. In the spring of 1964, President Heinrich Lübke became the first head of state of the Federal Republic of Germany to travel to Chile. In this picture, Lübke (centre) and his wife Wilhelmine (right) are seen arriving at Los Cerrillos Airport and being welcomed by Jorge Alessandri (left), the Chilean president at the time.



A network of over 100 bilateral offices and regionally-operating programmes developed out of the first few locations in Latin America. Offices were opened in Tanzania and Cameroon as early as the 1960s. The 1970s and 1980s were marked by a geographical expansion to Europe and North America, with the aim of expanding the transatlantic community of values and thus strengthening relations between the EU and NATO partners. First contacts with the People's Republic of China were established as early as 1979. The fall of the Iron Curtain brought a wealth of new opportunities for the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in Central, Eastern, and South-Eastern Europe. And in 2017, the Canberra office was opened. The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung is therefore the only German political foundation represented on all continents.

As Professor Norbert Lammert states: "No other political foundation has been working with as many partners in as many countries for as long as we have." However, the history of our global work also includes sites that have had to be closed. This situation has arisen because cooperation was no longer desired, our work was banned, or because the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung was no longer able to carry out its work in a way that made sense. In the past two years, offices have closed in Afghanistan, Myanmar, Russia, and Ukraine.

The world has changed fundamentally over the last 60 years and development policy issues can no longer be viewed in isolation from foreign, security, economic, and environmental policy. We look forward to continuing to address the pressing issues of the future together with our partners around the world.

# No one Should Have to Experience Suffering

Paula Doepfners Installations in the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung

Text by  
Hans-Jörg Clement

Paula Doepfner's images and contexts – at least in the figurative sense – can be viewed as nothing less than unreasonable. Her work includes (re) drawing the Istanbul Protocol – a disturbing documentation of worldwide torture – and using tiny chains of text to (re)present brain operations and autopsies that she witnessed at Charité Hospital. It is only possible to endure such imagery because the topics she covers do not have to have been experienced to be understood; and because she provides a welcome sigh of relief in the form of aesthetic enchantments that yearn for the melancholic. In a conversation with the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Paula Doepfner stresses that “No one should have to experience suffering”, far from any sentimentality, in order to face up to the mysteries of life between moments of sorrow and happiness.

The glass panes at the centre of the installation in the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung bear witness to destruction and violence, which the artist counters with the fragrant beauty of filigree blooms; the result is an extremely aesthetic image of a multifaceted world, in the face of war. Despite this, the work still remains beyond context and outside of interpretations imposed through form – while itself still becoming form, the universal.

This is one of the reasons why Doepfner always returns to glass: the bulletproof glass in the installation

may be pitted with holes, cracks, and splits (all of which occurred during demonstrations), but the glass never completely shattered. The lava stone, sourced from Etruscan volcanoes and the Eifel region, provides echoes of fingerprints expressed in the diversity of the brain scans, but above all of an archaic whole, whose preciousness is emphasised in Giotto's colours, culminating in a single golden specimen set at a distance from the other stones.

What distinguishes this work from others is its substance, its aesthetic commitment, and its all-supporting ambivalence to violence and injury in the midst of beauty and transience. The fact that it never wears out and continues to raise new questions predestines the work, which is rich in both content and form, for presentation in the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's foyer and courtyard in Klingelhöferstraße. The work provides continuous inspiration for staff and visitors alike, intertwining outside and inside, in an awareness that civic education cannot be thought of without cultural education. As much as Paula Doepfner distances herself from didactic pettiness, bold political slogans, and superficial provocation, her work is politically charged from the very beginning, albeit subtly. It reflects a form of art that resonates with socio-political impetus, without giving up what it is first and foremost: namely, absolutely free.

The artist, who studied in Berlin and London and was a master student of Rebecca Horn, savours this freedom, and her work references a diverse formal vocabulary of drawing, sculptures/objects, and performance. The issues that the artist addresses with the help of these forms of expression, transforming them into complexly constructed structures with absolute ease, are taken from neuroscience, literature, and politics. The work is held together by a focus on the human and the existential conditions between life and death, in addition to a poetic timbre that is content with delicate hints revealed through the slightest vibrations of transience.

“I drive my own race”, states Paula Doepfner, paraphrasing the racing driver Michael Schumacher. In doing so, she demonstrates a spiritual as well as a formal independence that lends her oeuvre an underlying sovereignty while also marking it as unique. What we see is absolutely new and yet, in its refined encoding, tied in with art historical and literary markers – full of desire and respect, but with so much self-confidence that the profoundly innovative creative act that we are witnessing can only result in surprise.

In particular, the virtuous composition of relevant content and formal strategies fascinates and binds the gaze; intoxicated by colours and structures, one allows oneself to be drawn to these works and enter the cosmos of



an artist who has no need of spectacle or superficial effect.

In her application for a scholarship from the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's artist programme (Trustee Programme EHF 2010), it was no coincidence that Paula Doepfner emphasised Paul Celan's *The Straitening*: "Seams, palpable, here it is split wide open, here it grew back together again – who covered it up?"

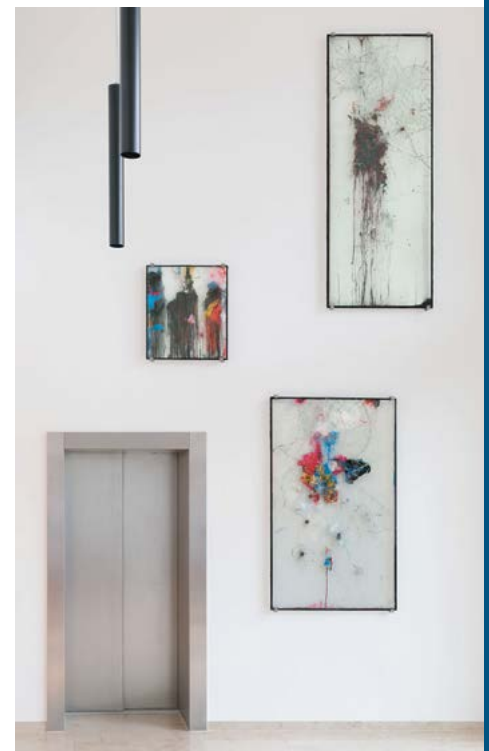


"Seams, palpable, here it is split wide open, here it grew back together again – who covered it up?"

Paula Doepfner's permanent installation at the Foundation unfolds a world that displays affinity and commitment to democracy, while remaining aware of its own vulnerability, through creative fantasy.

**More on this topic:**

In the culture podcast "kunst:stück", Paula Doepfner talks about her work and why art absolutely has to be free: [kunststueck.podigee.io/3-folge3-doepfner](https://kunststueck.podigee.io/3-folge3-doepfner).



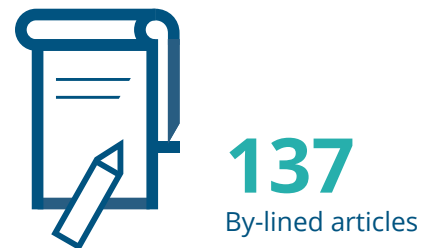
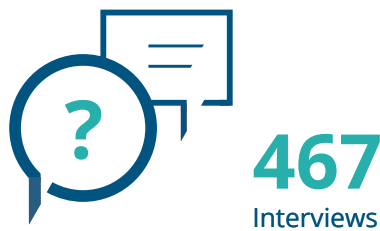
# The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in Figures

## Online Activities and Media Relations



\* Since the introduction of the GDPR, it has only been possible to track visitors who have explicitly provided their consent. Actual page views, therefore, are likely to be higher.

## Media Relations



## Followers on the main social media channels

### Facebook

**f 74,310**

### Twitter

**27,142**

### Instagram

**23,059**

### LinkedIn (since 27 July 2022)

**in 29,115**

## Staff in Germany and abroad



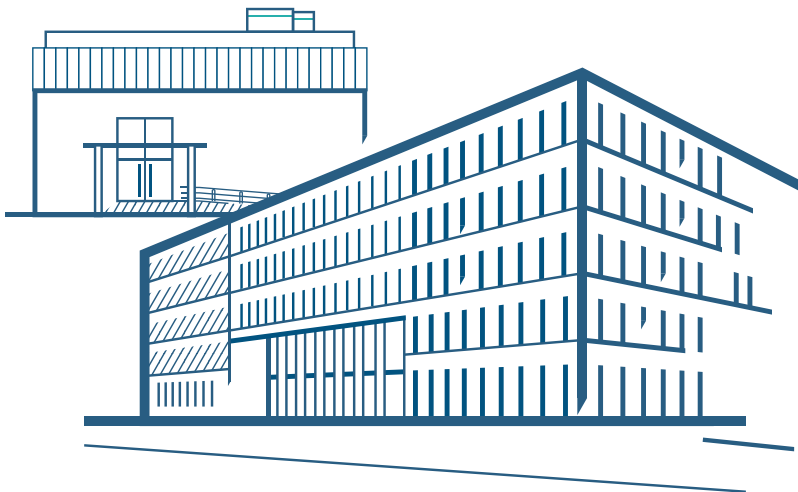
Total number of staff  
in Germany and Abroad

**1,739**



Staff in Germany  
not including trainees  
and volunteers

**662**



In Berlin

**520**

In the Civic Educational  
Forums and  
Regional Offices

**64**



In Sankt Augustin

**78**



Average length  
of employment

**9**

Years

Average age  
(in Germany)

**44**

Years

Staff in our inter-  
national offices

Staff on postings

**115**

including

**14**

trainees



**961**

local staff



Last amended: 31. December 2022



# European and International Cooperation

Offices and projects worldwide

113\*



Anniversaries of our work throughout the world in 2022

60th

anniversary of the foundation of the Chilean and Venezuelan offices

40th

anniversary of the foundation of offices in Israel, Jordan, Morocco, and Tunisia



Country Reports published:

182

\* The offices in Ukraine have been managed from Germany since the start of the war in 2022; they will be temporarily managed from Warsaw in the near future.

## Civic education



Events and participants

(in Germany)

Events  
(analogue, hybrid, digital)

1,772

Venues  
in Germany

338

Participants

122,698

## Analysis and Consulting

Topics covered by research and consulting

The Bundeswehr of the future – **security policy 2.0** – impact of the Ukraine war – disputes within the church – the future of Europe – religious policy – energy and dependencies – **essential raw materials** – the culture of digital innovation – **housing subsidies** hidden innovators – Granular's marketing of green electricity – **the circular economy** – sustainability – representation and participation – non-electoral motives – opportunity time – **the modern state** – data trustees – free trade agreements

## Friends of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung

1,604

Sponsors that are part of the Friends of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung



# Scholarships and Culture

## Fellows

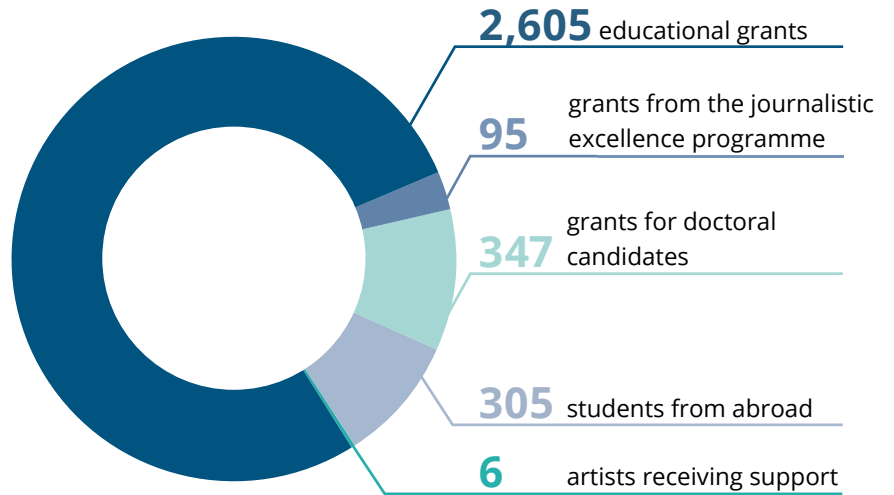


**3,358**

## Former fellows (since 1965)



**17,117**



**197**

artists applied for funding in 2022 from the KAS-Trustee-Programme EHF 2010. Of these, 6 received a scholarship, and were provided with comprehensive non-material and financial support for 12 months.

## Department of Research Services/ Archive of Christian-Democratic Policy

Total number of digitised posters  
**29,000**



Digital data in the archive  
**90 TB**

Running meters of archive material  
**19,000**

Last amended:  
31 December 2022

# Our Award Winners in 2022



## The KAS Literary Award

In July 2022, Barbara Honigmann was awarded the KAS Literary Award, which comes with a prize of 20,000 Euro. The ceremony took place at Weimar Grammar School for Music in front of numerous guests from the worlds of politics, culture, and science. The chair of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung and former President of the Bundestag, Professor Norbert Lammert, emphasised Honigmann's "courage to tell her own biography". The jury stressed that Honigmann has told a story of Jewish life in Germany and Europe that has changed our views about "issues of identity and foreignness, and of integration and exclusion". This could be seen most recently in her book about her father, *Georg* (2019), and in her collection of earlier essays, *Unverschämt jüdisch* (2021) (Unashamedly Jewish).

In presenting the award, Professor Raphael Gross, President of the Stiftung Deutsches Historisches Museum, stressed that Honigmann was writing from a "marginal historical constellation [...] about false historical narratives. About false silence. About false assumptions. And above all, about completely false shame". In her speech, Honigmann referred to Konrad Adenauer and the Luxembourg Treaties that were signed 70 years ago. At the end of the ceremony, the honorary chair of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung and initiator of the literature prize, Professor Bernhard Vogel, awarded the school pupil Anna Förster a grant from the Bernhard-Vogel-Stiftung.

### More on this topic:

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



## The KAS Prize for Local Journalism

The KAS prize for local journalism was awarded for the 42nd time in autumn 2022. At an event in Winnenden in Baden-Württemberg, Alexander Roth from the publishing house *Zeitungsverlag Waiblingen* was awarded first prize for his extensive, in-depth research into the “Querdenker” movement in the Stuttgart region. The second prize was awarded to Dr Marco Althaus for investigative research published in *Alfelder Zeitung* into the district administrator of Hildesheim, whose doctorate had been obtained under dubious circumstances. The third prize went to the *Bonner Generalanzeiger* for reporting about the flooding in the Ahr Valley in July 2021. Nina Breher of the Berliner *Tagesspiegel* won the special prize for volunteer projects, for a report about a food courier in the capital. A total of 348 entries were received for the 2021 competition, including 38 for the volunteer competition. The keynote speech at the awards ceremony was given by the Anti-Semitism Commissioner for the state of Baden-Württemberg, Dr Michael Blume.

### More on this topic:

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



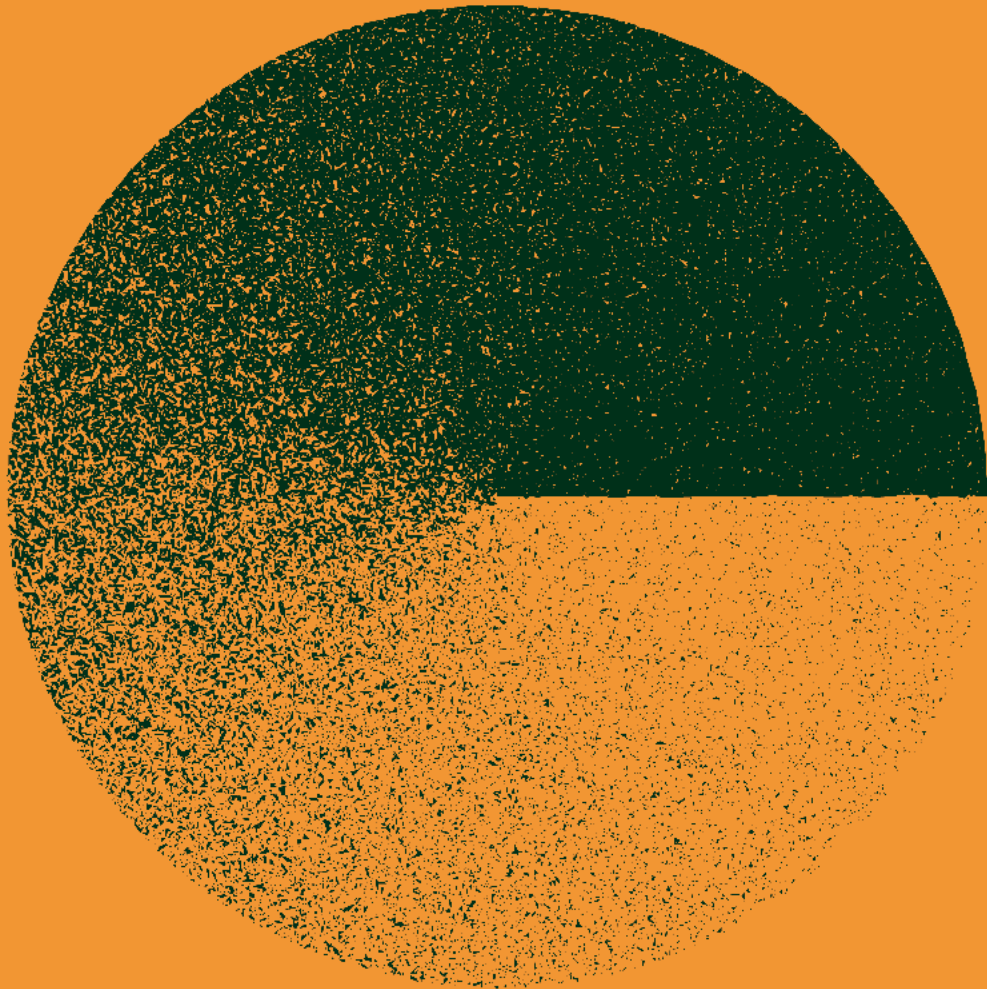
## Social Market Economy Prize

On 11 October 2022, Sarna Röser, entrepreneur, supervisory board member, advisory board member, business angel, and federal chair of DIE JUNGEN UNTERNEHMER, received the Social Market Economy Prize. Professor Christoph M. Schmidt, President of the RWI Leibniz Institute for Economic Research, paid tribute to the award-winner in his laudatory speech: “Sarna Röser gives a strong voice to the social market economy and places it firmly in the 21st century. She not only stands up for the values and principles of our economic and social system, but also embodies them – as an entrepreneur, investor, and business founder.”

### More on this topic:

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

# Our Focus Topics



3

# Innovation, Security, Representation and Participation

Text by Kristin Wesemann and Julius Elstermann

## Focus Topics in 2022

### Security

The Russian war of aggression against Ukraine constitutes a watershed moment for Europe. In Germany, the war abruptly revealed how out of touch some areas of foreign, security, defence, and energy policy actually are. The war in Europe demonstrates that the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung was right to choose security as one of our focus topics. Even before the Russian invasion, our plans for 2022 included events and activities that addressed the strengthening of the Bundeswehr, Europe's, and NATO's military capabilities and cybersecurity – including the topics of resilience and protection against disinformation campaigns. These issues have now become acutely relevant and deserve far more attention than they have been given in the past.

In early 2022, the Foundation was still focused on domestic security and ran a poster campaign in Berlin against all forms of extremism. Its slogan, “Extrem ist OK, Solange es nicht der Demokratie schadet” (Extreme is OK, as long as it doesn't harm democracy), played with the complexity of the word “extreme”, which, depending on context, can refer to individual freedoms that should be protected and/or to destructive and inhumane forms of exclusion. The poster campaign included motifs such as a fully tattooed father lovingly holding his child in his arms, a person wearing an astronaut costume standing at a bus stop, and an athlete participating in extreme sports (parachuting while wearing a bunny costume). The *Think Tank Report* also addressed the issue of extremism, and looked at different extremist movements around the world.

After the brutal Russian invasion of Ukraine, the focus of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's work shifted to international security and defence policy. We also regularly returned to Germany's defensive potential and its role in the Western and European defence architecture. In light of the proclaimed “historic turning point” (Zeitenwende), the “Bundeswehr of the Future” stands out in particular. The Foundation's chairman, Professor Norbert Lammert,



published a comprehensive anthology on responsibility and artificial intelligence, which examines the future of the Bundeswehr from historical, security, philosophical-ethical, and armaments policy perspectives. In addition, numerous other projects and events have taken place, for example at Territorial Command.

## Innovation

The Russian attack on Ukraine has not only turned German security policy upside down, but has also had a lasting impact on other policy areas. For example, the energy crisis that accompanied the conflict has triggered a strong pressure for change. In a situation like this, it is particularly important to emphasise the problem-solving potential of innovation.

Against the backdrop of intensifying system rivalry with China, Germany and Europe must do more to drive innovation in digitalisation, education, administration, and business. If not, Europe risks sinking into political and economic insignificance. We need to recognise that the ability to innovate will be essential to attract the coalitions of tomorrow.

Regarding innovation, an issue of the *Think Tank Report* looked at freedom on the web, the role of artificial intelligence in modern diplomacy, Germans' readiness to digitise, and digital trends throughout the world.

Climate change continues to pose significant global challenges. Here, too, innovation is the best way forward, whether with new, green energy sources or electromobility. Sustainability and climate protection are compatible with a social market economy, but we must urgently create the right conditions for innovation and promote promising ideas.

In another issue, the *Think Tank Report* addressed various aspects of energy policy: from green raw materials of the future to the German electricity sector and European shields to protect energy markets.

#KAS4  
#DEMOCRACY

#KAS4  
#INNOVATION

#KAS4  
#SECURITY



## Representation and Participation

Representation and participation are elementary principles of our democracy and freedom. We must vigorously oppose any trends that threaten to erode these foundations. In the publication *Die Wehrhafte(re) Demokratie* (Resilient Democracy), the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung analysed various threats to democracy and drew up recommendations on how to improve the resilience of democracies. The publication was accompanied by the campaign "Schützt Demokratie. Demokratie schützt" (Protect Democracy. Democracy Protects), which uses various motives to highlight people who are defending democracy, whether a journalist, a Ukrainian soldier or a climate demonstrator.

Resilient democracy also plays a major role when it comes to the issue of competition over economic and political systems. More than ever, liberal democracy is threatened by forces outside as well as inside the democratic system. An issue of the *Think Tank Report* covered the development of democracy throughout the world, showing how much the pressure on democracies has increased in recent years. Ultimately, a functioning democracy requires a functioning state. This makes it all the more important to modernise the state and strengthen trust in state institutions through digitalisation and the reduction of bureaucracy.

**More on this topic:**

[www.thinktankreport.de](http://www.thinktankreport.de)



# The Navigator Sustainability

Change through Innovation

Text by Gisela Elsner and  
Tobias Wangermann



The challenges posed by climate change have provided sustainability with a new dimension: it has become a maxim for political action. If we are to meet the challenges posed by climate change, society needs to be transformed in a way that involves far more than what is expected from climate policy positions in their narrowest sense. We can only achieve more sustainability through more innovation; this means not only developing new technologies, but also changing the way in which society functions. Our new motto, therefore, needs to be: “We don’t necessarily need less, but we do need to do things differently”.

Climate change, digitalisation, and the coronavirus pandemic are the key challenges of our time, and they lead us back to fundamental questions such as, “What are we building our future on?” and “What kind of lifestyle in the present can ensure that Earth will remain habitable for generations to come and not deny people in the future the fundamental right to shape their own lives?”

These issues illustrate why everyone is talking about sustainability – in political debates, in science and research, and as part of the demands made by civil society, whether at the national or international level. The interplay between environmental, economic, and social developments is complex and sustainability involves developing a balance between them. Sustainability is always viewed as something worth striving for, and goes hand in hand with the fundamental need for change – in people’s own behaviour as much as through technological innovation.

“We need innovation if we are to transition to a sustainable society. Social developments do not fall from the sky, nor can they be influenced at will; but they do rely on people’s will to shape them,” says Professor Norbert Lammert, chair of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung. Our project “Navigator Nachhaltigkeit. Wandel durch Innovation” (Navigator Sustainability. Change through Innovation) is intended to demonstrate that innovation can provide the key to sustainable development.

In order to do so, we selected eight focus areas such as energy and resources, agriculture and biodiversity, democracy and participation, and urban life. These are important because sustainability has an economic and social dimension as well as an environmental one. Each area is underpinned by three concepts that provide for innovative approaches to sustainability in each particular context. The examples that illustrate each concept show how these innovative approaches can be implemented in practice, and thereby have a lasting impact. This clear structure enables the full breadth of the scope for action and the variety of conceptual approaches to be presented. In addition, the examples chosen are not only particularly clear, but also indicative of best practices that can be implemented in the field.

A variety of approaches can be used to achieve the ambitious goal of ensuring a climate-neutral industry

by 2045. These include reducing the use of energy and raw materials, while increasing the durability, recyclability, and reparability of products. The entire life cycle, from design and manufacture to usage and disposal of products, must be taken into account.

One particularly promising approach in industrial processing involves replacing crude oil-based energy sources or materials with biologically produced substances. More than 4,000 patents are filed annually in Germany in the field of industrial bioeconomy. A range of interesting projects has emerged in recent years, but the marketability and scalability of these ideas often proves challenging. Politics can provide incentives by establishing appropriate support programmes.

The Fraunhofer Institute for Environmental, Safety and Energy Technology (UMSICHT) is researching a fungus-based alternative to polystyrene and plywood. Mycelia, the filamentous cells of a fungus, are first mixed with a culture of biological waste such as coffee grounds, straw, and beech chips. After about two to three weeks, this mixture forms a solid structure. The fungus-based material is then crushed, and following this can be pressed into any shape, dried, and further processed. The result is a sustainable, cost-effective, fully biodegradable material with similar insulative properties to polystyrene, but that is as hard as plywood. As such, it can be used not only as insulating material in construction, but also for the production of furniture.

By presenting the project as a website and publishing a book, we have succeeded in reaching our target groups both online and offline. Additional publications, further examples and news aimed at social media about this issue are continually added to the website. The distribution of the book at face-to-face events about sustainability run by the Civic Education Department helps raise awareness and broadens the information that is available.

**More on this topic:**

<https://navigator-nachhaltigkeit.kas.de>

**The book can be ordered here:**

[www.kas.de/navigator-nachhaltigkeit](http://www.kas.de/navigator-nachhaltigkeit)

# The African Dream

## Success Stories from our Neighbouring Continent

Text by  
Gunter Rieck Moncayo



1. Jean-Marc Aie and Livane Bodain,  
the founders of Poro Power from Côte d'Ivoire.

2. The award ceremony for the Ludwig Erhard Prize  
for Economic Journalism.

3. Paul Hertzberg and Sophia Bogner.



Crises, conflicts, and catastrophes – these are the typical issues that many people have in mind when they think of Africa. And who can blame them? After all, this is what they read and see when they open the newspapers or turn on the television. But these issues are only half the truth: there are also numerous success stories in Africa, even if both of these realities are always side by side – and perhaps even more so in Africa than anywhere else in the world. As the journalists Sophia Bogner and Paul Hertzberg put it, Africa is the “continent of simultaneities”. For six months, Bogner and Hertzberg travelled through 13 countries in sub-Saharan Africa to illustrate the work of 19 entrepreneurs. They were – in their own words – chasing the African dream; and they certainly found it.

The stories they portray are at least as diverse as the countries through which they travelled. Sarah Diouf, a Senegalese fashion designer, owns a label called Tongoro Studios. When Beyoncé wore one of Diouf’s dresses in one of her music videos, the small company’s website collapsed due to the huge number of requests it received. Since then, Beyoncé has made numerous other appearances wearing creations by Tongoro, and the label has become a force to be reckoned within the African fashion market. Although sub-Saharan Africa currently accounts for just one per cent of the global fashion market, its e-commerce fashion market is growing at an annual rate of 14 per cent.

Another success story begins in Kenya: Lori Systems is an e-logistics platform that brings together supply and demand in the highly fragmented African logistics market. Although manufacturing companies can have difficulty finding service providers to transport their goods, small freight forwarders often find that the small number of vehicles which they own can sit around unused for long periods of time. This results in enormously high logistics costs, which in Africa can account for up to 70 per cent of total product costs, compared with an average of only six to seven per cent in Europe and the US. Moreover, as long as it is cheaper to import goods from China than from neighbouring countries, intra-African trade will remain weak.

Lori Systems now provides services along the entire logistics chain. Using the company’s app, trucks can be tracked, documents need for border clearance can be provided, and drivers can even get an advance to cover fuel costs. The success is measurable: two years after they entered the market, transport costs between Nairobi and Mombasa had fallen by 25 per cent, and after only four months of operations in Uganda, the logistics price for grain had dropped by 17 per cent.

In addition to high transport costs, the electricity supply is another major obstacle to economic development in Africa. Of the around 840 million people worldwide without access to electricity, 600 million live in Africa. The company Poro Power from Côte d’Ivoire has found a climate-friendly way of closing part of this gap: the company intends to build the largest solar power plant in West Africa. The power plant, which will be located in the north of the country, will generate 66 megawatts of electricity. Africa is the sunniest continent in the world, with seven of the top ten sunniest



countries located here. Nevertheless, Africa currently produces only one per cent of the solar energy produced worldwide.

These are just three examples of the many that Sophia Bogner and Paul Hertzberg documented during their six-month research trip. Despite all their differences, the people behind the projects in Africa have two things in common: pride in what they have achieved and unconditional determination to succeed. This is precisely what the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung was aiming for when sponsoring the project: to present positive role models that demonstrate that success is possible despite adverse circumstances. Action should be taken at the political level to remove the numerous obstacles in people’s paths, so that even more can fulfil their dreams. The publication, which is produced in English and French, and is now being used in our project work in the field, is also intended as a contribution toward removing these barriers.

In addition to the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung’s own publication, a German-language book entitled *Jenseits von Europa* (Beyond Europe) has been published by Econ-Verlag, as well as a six-part series in the business magazine *brand eins*. Hopefully, this will help straighten out our skewed picture of Africa, so that we can recognise new opportunities and build new partnerships.

The project was provided with organisational and content-related support by the Foundation’s Sub-Saharan Africa Media Programme, based in Johannesburg. Sophia Bogner and Paul Hertzberg have received numerous awards for their research, including the Ludwig Erhard Prize for Economic Journalism and the Austrian Newspaper Prize.

**More on this topic:**

[www.kas.de/the-african-dream](http://www.kas.de/the-african-dream)

# Negative Emissions

Text by Sabina Wölkner  
and André Algermißen

The removal of CO<sub>2</sub> from the atmosphere, also known as “negative emissions”, is an effective way of achieving the Paris climate goals. In Germany, however, the processes associated with this technology are being slowed down.

While climate policy discussions mostly focus on conventional climate protection measures to reduce emissions, it is clear that greenhouse gas emissions in industry, transport, and agriculture cannot be avoided entirely. As such, the sixth report by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) once again stressed that negative climate emissions (removing CO<sub>2</sub> from the atmosphere) are essential if we are to limit global warming to 1.5 degrees Celsius by the middle of the century. The term “negative emissions” refers to removing CO<sub>2</sub> from the atmosphere. As such, the scientific community highlights the potential of innovative processes that remove CO<sub>2</sub> from the atmosphere and captures and stores it. Over the coming years, the climate agenda will be dominated primarily by finding ways to implement high-level emissions reductions. After 2050, however, CO<sub>2</sub> removal methods will become far more important. What contribution can such processes make to achieving the Paris climate goals? Which of these goals are associated with negative emissions? And what type of framework is needed to ensure that the economic models that are established also enable Germany to remain open for business?

On 21 September 2022, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung and KlimaUnion addressed these questions at an expert conference, “Negative Emissionen: Potenziale für die Klimaneutralität?” (Negative Emissions: Potentials for Climate Neutrality?). We were happy to welcome distinguished politicians to the event – Andreas Jung, MdB, Oliver Grundmann, MdB, and Thomas Heilmann, MdB. The parliamentarians agreed that negative emissions (technologies) were important elements on the road to climate neutrality.

The event also had an international component, with Norway used as an example to demonstrate how related technologies are being handled in other European countries. Norway opened the first commercial plant for capturing and storing CO<sub>2</sub> as early as 1996. Dr Anne-Mette Cheese from Gassnova SF explained the geological conditions



in Norway, and the company's approach to CO<sub>2</sub> storage.

Besides nature-based processes, such as afforestation and reforestation, and the enrichment of carbon in the field, innovative technologies such as air filtration plants are also viewed as having great potential. These plants use chemical processes to convert CO<sub>2</sub> from the ambient air, and then press the CO<sub>2</sub> underground. Dr Jan Minx, head of the Sustainability Research Group at the Mercator Research Institute on Global Commons and Climate Change, described various types of negative emissions technology, and stressed that these differ in terms of cost and potential, as well as in their long-term use and the safety of the CO<sub>2</sub> storage. Minx advocated a portfolio of CO<sub>2</sub> removal technologies, instead of relying on just a single process. Louis Uzor, representative of the Swiss company Clime-works, explained the practical aspects of direct air capture, which can be used to filter CO<sub>2</sub> from the air. However, he argued that the political framework in Germany

must be improved to enable processes such as these to become established in the country.

The legal regulations governing the related technological processes in Germany are still limited to demonstrations and pilot projects. In addition, the high energy demand means that access to sufficient renewable energy must be guaranteed if these processes are to be implemented successfully. At present, Germany tends to focus primarily on nature-based extraction methods, such as reforestation.

There was general agreement that developing the technologies required for negative emissions would involve a lot of effort. However, they were still viewed as indispensable, due to the uncertainties related to the storage of CO<sub>2</sub> in forests and peatlands – CO<sub>2</sub> will be released if these areas are affected by fires. Therefore, the storage of CO<sub>2</sub> in rock deep below the surface, as has been practiced in Norway for decades, seemed the most promising process. In recent months, this debate has flared up anew – particularly due

to discussions related to the German Federal Climate Change Act. However, if research projects in Germany are to develop further, acceptance of these technologies and approaches needs to be strengthened among the population, and it is important to rekindle public debate. The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung intends to take up this challenge and to address the remaining issues by organising and participating in relevant discussion forums and publications.

# Russia's War with Ukraine as a Focus for Civic Education

Text by  
Stephan Raabe

# #StandWith



In 2022, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung engaged in a variety of events in support of Ukraine, including organising the premiere of a Ukrainian documentary about the Russian war of aggression. The panel discussion that followed was attended by the Ukrainian Ambassador to Germany, Oleksii Makeiev, the Ukrainian writer, Oksana Sabuschko, and Roderich Kiesewetter, MdB.

“Imagine there is a war, and it affects you too!” This modified version of the peace movement’s slogan “Imagine there is a war, and nobody goes” suddenly became reality on 24 February 2022: the Russian war against Ukraine,

which began in 2014 with the conquest of Crimea, turned into a brutal war of subjugation through a large-scale invasion. The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung began a country programme in Ukraine in 1994. In addition to the office in Kiev, a further office was opened in Kharkiv in 2018. Kharkiv is Ukraine’s second largest city and it is located in the east of the country, not far from the Russian border. The work of both offices has obviously been directly affected by the war. Moreover, it is clear in Germany that the war represents a turning point, and that it could have unforeseeable and unprecedented international consequences.

The Civic Education Department immediately adapted to the new

situation. Even before Russia invaded Ukraine, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung had often taken up the issue of the situation in Ukraine. On 13 January, a debate at the Civic Education Forum Brandenburg with Tim Peters, the head of the Foundation’s office in Kiev, discussed the subject, “Threatened Independence – What is the Situation in Ukraine?”. On 2 February, the Foundation’s office in Saarbrücken staged an event to explore the question: “Is the Ukraine conflict escalating?” Moreover, on February 24, the actual day of the Russian invasion, the Forum for Politics and Security in Brandenburg held an online debate about “The Conflict over the Territorial Integrity of Ukraine”. The speakers were Dr Jan Philipp Wölbern, the Foundation’s Eastern European researcher, and Dr Frank Grelka, a specialist in Eastern European history from the University of Frankfurt (Oder). Around 500 people tuned in nationwide to find out more about the situation in Ukraine.

During the course of the year, more than 100 events were organised throughout Germany, focusing on different aspects of the war. The events began in early March with four ad hoc talks organised by the office in Potsdam

(held online due to the coronavirus pandemic): “Russlands Krieg gegen die Ukraine: aus Sicht der Nachbarländer” (Russia’s War Against Ukraine: The Perspective of Neighbouring Countries). The heads of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung’s field offices and other experts discussed reactions from the neighbouring states, and also from the Baltic and Scandinavian countries and the South Caucasus. The aim was to broaden hori-

the geostrategic field of international security policy.

At the same time, the war has led key questions from the past to be posed again. Events took place on energy supply, the impact on the economy, and on the strategic consequences of the current situation. These events included a lecture series at the University of Bonn, the series “Zeitenwende: Putins Krieg” (Historic Turning

# Ukraine

zons beyond the debates in Germany and, above all, to understand the criticism of Germany that is sometimes expressed by neighbouring countries.

The war has also been an issue in schools: on 18 March, a day of action was held at Neues Gymnasium in Glienicke/Nordbahn, north of Berlin. In Hamburg, five one-day “Music for Peace” workshops were held in a school in April and May. Germany’s special relations with Russia, which are observed with suspicion by some of Germany’s neighbours, particularly those in Central Eastern Europe, were the subject of two talks in Brandenburg on “Germany’s Russia Complex”, with the author Gerd Koenen. This issue plays a more significant role in eastern Germany because quite a few people in the region believe the Russian propaganda that the West has contributed to the war and that Russia has a sovereign claim over neighbouring countries such as Ukraine. The Civic Education Forum of North Rhine-Westphalia broadened the perspective: in March, it held two online discussions with the heads of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung’s field offices and other experts, to discuss the views of the EU, NATO, the UN, China, and Turkey. These talks enhanced

Point: Putin’s War) with the TU Chemnitz, a transatlantic dialogue in Erfurt and a symposium on security policy in Bremen. Further topics included the reception of refugees from Ukraine, military and humanitarian aid for the country, with focus on Germany’s contribution and the information war on the Internet. The Ukrainian Ambassador was a guest of Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in Freiburg, and the envoy was invited to Stuttgart. Furthermore, around 200 participants at the Politics & Security Forum in June discussed the need to adapt German foreign and security policy. This event, which was held at the University of Potsdam, was attended by such people as: Dr Hans-Peter Bartels, President of the Society for Security Policy and former Commissioner for the Armed Forces; Professor Christoph Heusgen, chair of the Munich Security Conference and KAS Fellow; and Lieutenant General Alfons Mais, Chief of Staff of the German Army. The event received a lot of publicity, and it was not only Mais’s statement, “Our troops must be able to win”, that found its way into the press. The Civic Education Department will continue to highlight the importance of what is happening in Ukraine.







# Dwindling Food Security in the Middle East and North Africa

Text by  
Michael Bauer

**Political crises and socio-economic problems in the Middle East and North Africa make the region particularly vulnerable to external shocks such as the Russian war of aggression against Ukraine.**

Countries in the Middle East and North Africa – particularly Syria, Yemen, Libya, and their neighbouring countries such as Tunisia, Lebanon, Iraq, and Jordan – are struggling with economic stagnation, dysfunctional political structures, and armed conflicts, which all combine to form a conglomeration of crises that poses some very particular challenges. Poor and low-income populations, internally displaced persons, and refugees, in particular, struggle with the socioeconomic consequences. Disputes and conflicts over access to the labour market, health and education, and state and international support are all leading to growing tensions. As early as 2021, the World Bank identified food security as a growing problem in the region and it is at risk from several perspectives.

For the most part, the region is unable to produce enough food to meet its needs. Lack of investment in infrastructure, outdated production methods, and deficiencies in the management of water and fertile soil mean that the agricultural sector is inefficiently organised in many places. Rising energy prices and transport costs are exacerbating this problem. Moreover, it means that the region is heavily dependent on imports to meet its fundamental needs for

staple foods. The Russian war of aggression against Ukraine and the disruptions to the exports of wheat and other agricultural products that it has caused are hitting the region particularly hard: Libya, Yemen, and Tunisia obtain more than half of their grain imports from Ukraine and Russia; in the case of Sudan, Egypt, and Lebanon, the figure is over 75 per cent; and Syria, too, is largely dependent on Russian grain.

Another dimension of food security concerns access to food: even if a country is able to produce or import enough food, this is no guarantee that all of its households will be able to access to that food. Socioeconomic aspects play a central role here, as rising food prices mean that people are often no longer able to afford food or have to make compromises in terms of quantity and quality. The situation is particularly dramatic in countries such as Lebanon, where the International Monetary Fund (IMF) estimates nominal food prices are increasing by more than 200 per cent annually. Lebanon is undergoing an economic crisis that has shaken the economy and led to a dramatic drop in income among large sections of the population. At the same time, the currency has lost over 90 per cent of its value against the US dollar. Since the country is dependent on food imports, rising import costs worsen already declining incomes, which, in turn, makes it more difficult for people to meet the costs of imported food.

Unfortunately, the problems that the region is facing are very likely to continue for the foreseeable future. On the one hand, this is due to demographic developments in the region: UNICEF predicts that Iran's population will increase by 12 per cent and Iraq's by 48 per cent by 2030. The overall population in the region is expected to increase by around 25 per cent by 2050. Only Lebanon is expected to see a decline in its population. Overall, therefore, the demand for food will continue to grow. On the other hand, North Africa and the Middle East are among the regions of the world most vulnerable to the impacts of climate change. They are at risk from drought, soil erosion and desertification, water scarcity, and degraded coastal ecosystems. This means that they can expect to see a decline in the availability of resources.

Although external factors such as climate change and Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine are undeniably playing an important role in diminishing food security, they should not be allowed to obscure the fact that in many places policy mistakes and failed or non-existent rural and agricultural development strategies also play a major factor in these crises. We need to focus on this issue in order to prevent short-term supply crises, and also to create socio-economic opportunities in the medium to long term that will strengthen the resilience of the region as a whole.

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung is also contributing to improving this situation. In Lebanon, the Foundation has conducted various studies into opportunities to reform the agricultural sector and about the needs of local NGOs working in the field of food security. In Beirut, the Foundation has financed the installation of a solar panel for a community kitchen, which provides food to the needy and raises aware-

ness about various aspects of food security. In addition, the Foundation has worked with the Lebanese League for Women in Business to establish a training centre for urban farmers. In Yemen, the Foundation has conducted workshops with local partners on food security and NGO fundraising, and brought together local stakeholders in agriculture, food, and energy resilience at the regional level.

**More about the topic:**

Lebanon's Non-Governmental Organizations' Needs Assessment  
[www.kas.de/ngos-and-foodsecurity-in-lebanon](http://www.kas.de/ngos-and-foodsecurity-in-lebanon)

GADR and Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung working together in Hadhramaut, Yemen  
[www.kas.de/kooperation-gadr-und-kas](http://www.kas.de/kooperation-gadr-und-kas)

Local voices towards permanent dialogue in the Mediterranean  
[www.kas.de/dialogue-in-the-mediterranean](http://www.kas.de/dialogue-in-the-mediterranean)

# The Security Policy of Today and its Development Tomorrow

Text by Amelie Stelzner-Doğan and Cedric Bierganns

## The Bundeswehr of the Future – Responsibility and Artificial Intelligence



Amelie Stelzner-Doğan, Eva Högl, Professor Natascha Zowislo-Grünwald and Serap Güler, MdB (left to right).

The Russian war of aggression against Ukraine has brought the issue of Germany's military defence capabilities, and thus those of the Bundeswehr, into the forefront of the security policy discourse. The issues surrounding the Bundeswehr, its personnel, its equipment, and its financial resources, are essential to this debate. The Bundeswehr needs proper equipment and weapons systems in order to operate effectively, fulfil Germany's NATO commitments, and deter political adversaries.

Recent military conflicts have highlighted the rapid development, and potential of artificial intelligence (AI) for new weapon systems, as well as the

limitations of those that are currently available. Considering to which extent digital transformation already impacts today's armed forces, which will only increase in the future, the Bundeswehr needs to consider the integration of AI into its capability portfolio to meet the changed and intensified threats that Germany faces. This will require both the procurement of the latest defence technology and a re-envisioning of the role and the responsibilities humans will take within the processes associated with digital transformation.

The Bundeswehr needs to understand the implications that increased networking, digitalisation and automation will have in relation to human



responsibility and the concept of internal leadership. Interactions between man and machine are key in this respect. What do these developments mean for the Bundeswehr in general? What exactly needs to be done? How can we ensure that responsibility remains with soldiers, instead of becoming diffused between man and AI? What knowledge do service personnel require? How many AI-assisted processes do our armed forces and their partners need? Is modern warfare compatible with our standards of ethics and law? What exact steps need to be taken? How will “internal leadership” strengthen the Bundeswehr of the future?

These questions are at the heart of the “Bundeswehr of the Future” project. As part of the core topic of security, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung will be undertaking cross-departmental cooperation in 2022 and 2023 on the future of the Bundeswehr. In addition, the Foundation will be discussing the Bundeswehr of the 21st century with renowned experts from a range of fields – covering issues ranging from strategic interests to defence technology digitalisation, AI-controlled weapon systems to democratic legitimisation and the responsibility of the individual soldier.

Inform, debate, set the record straight: in the polarising debate over the dangers of fully autonomous “killer robots”, it is all too easy to overlook the fact that AI in defence will primarily (continue to) be used, for the foreseeable future, in partially automated applications. Soldiers will remain in control when it comes to decision-making and act as ethical gatekeepers. Prior to their handling of AI-systems they will be trained in the breadth and scope of what is required of them. A blanket rejection of automated defence systems, such as drones, would – on the global scale – be merely symbolic: other countries and companies will continue to drive these developments forward, which, alongside their risks, also come with opportunities in the military domain, such as faster response capabilities, and therefore greater protection of soldiers. Instead of fundamentally rejecting such

developments, it is important to underscore the opportunities they offer for Germany and for those partners who share our values. Nevertheless, it is essential that ethical standards and the primacy of human decision-making are built into the very creation of these systems.

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung’s “Bundeswehr of the Future” project is based on a book with contributions about the Bundeswehr and AI from historical, military-technical, social, ethical, and legal perspectives. The publication discusses the extent to which defence-related digitalisation is compatible with the fundamental principles of the Bundeswehr – such as internal leadership and the idea of the “citizen in uniform” – while also taking into account Germany’s strategic interests, alongside those of its allies and the operational requirements of the 21st century.

The Bundeswehr of the Future is a dynamic project that involves numerous online and analogue formats in addition to the book. These include events, Twitter spaces, podcasts, publications, and more. The book was published on 17 January 2023 and excerpts from some of the contributions have been published in security policy journals. In addition, all of the formats and the contributions published on the topic are summarised on a specialist website.

**More on the topic:**  
[www.kas.de/bundeswehr-der-zukunft](http://www.kas.de/bundeswehr-der-zukunft)

# The Resilience of Democracy

Text by  
Sebastian Enskat

## Russia and Ten Other Threats to our Freedom

**Russia's attack on Ukraine has catapulted the question of democratic resilience into the focus of public interest. However, Russia's tanks and bombs are not the only threat to our free society: our democracy is exposed to many other dangers. Experts at the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung have taken a closer look at these challenges facing democracy and published the findings as a series of essays.**

Our democracy faces threats from the inside and the outside. In some cases, such as with extremism and increasing social division, it is difficult to distinguish between internal and external threats, and indeed, they tend to reinforce one another.

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung has defined and analysed eleven different threats to democracy. In addition to the Russian war of aggression and the situation in Europe, these are radicalisation and extremism, populism and contempt for elites, polarisation and new culture wars, disinformation and hate speech, complacency and exhaustion, self-doubt and the lure of authoritarianism, nationalism and revisionism, cyberattacks and troll armies, authoritarian propaganda and influence, and economic and technological dependence.

### **Russia's Attack and the End of Peace in Europe**

Russia's attack on Ukraine has reminded us that the stability and resilience of a democracy cannot be secured without military strength. By now, it should be clear to everyone that operational and well-equipped armed forces with strong popular support are by no means a relic of a bygone era, but essential if we are to meet the challenges of our time and protect our open society.

The Russian attack on Ukraine brought what seemed unthinkable for a long time back to the collective consciousness: war is (once again) a relevant threat, perhaps even the greatest threat to democracy in Europe. Russia's war is an attack by an authoritarian regime against a democratic state, and it is happening precisely because the Kremlin has always viewed Ukrainian democracy as an existential threat.

The war against Ukraine is carried out with the aim of implementing regime change in order to bring to an end the country's democratic path and prevent it from permanently aligning itself with the political West. The war, therefore, is far more than a mere violation of the rule-based world order: it represents nothing less than an attack on democracy as a state and a model of society.

### **Further Threats to our Freedom**

Russia and a number of other actors are not only using military means, in the narrow sense of the term, to undermine democracy. Attacks are also taking place online. Cyberattacks are increasingly threatening the functioning of democratic systems, and are extremely difficult to contain due to legal grey areas and largely unresolved questions of responsibility. Hate speech and disinformation, in particular, have reached new dimensions in the age of the Internet, and now pose a threat to social cohesion. Meanwhile, the darker sides of globalisation and its critical dependencies are being brought to light. These trends are being intensified by authoritarian states that are attempting to exert greater influence, and increasing their use of aggressive forms of propaganda; countering this requires a completely new form of democratic resilience.

This also applies to combating political and religious extremism and, not least, phenomena as the growing disen-

chantment with politics and contempt for elites. The relationship between the state and its citizens is anything but static, which is why political parties in particular, as the most important link between the state and its citizens, must undergo reforms. Representative democracy is more dependent than ever on a fruitful exchange between politics and the people.

We believe that democracy is resilient enough not only to recognise these dangers (and therefore to “speak of the devil”), but also to face up to the challenges they pose. In this respect, the individuals involved in the project for “resilient democracy” have contributed to making it what it is: a plea for democracy, a plea for freedom.

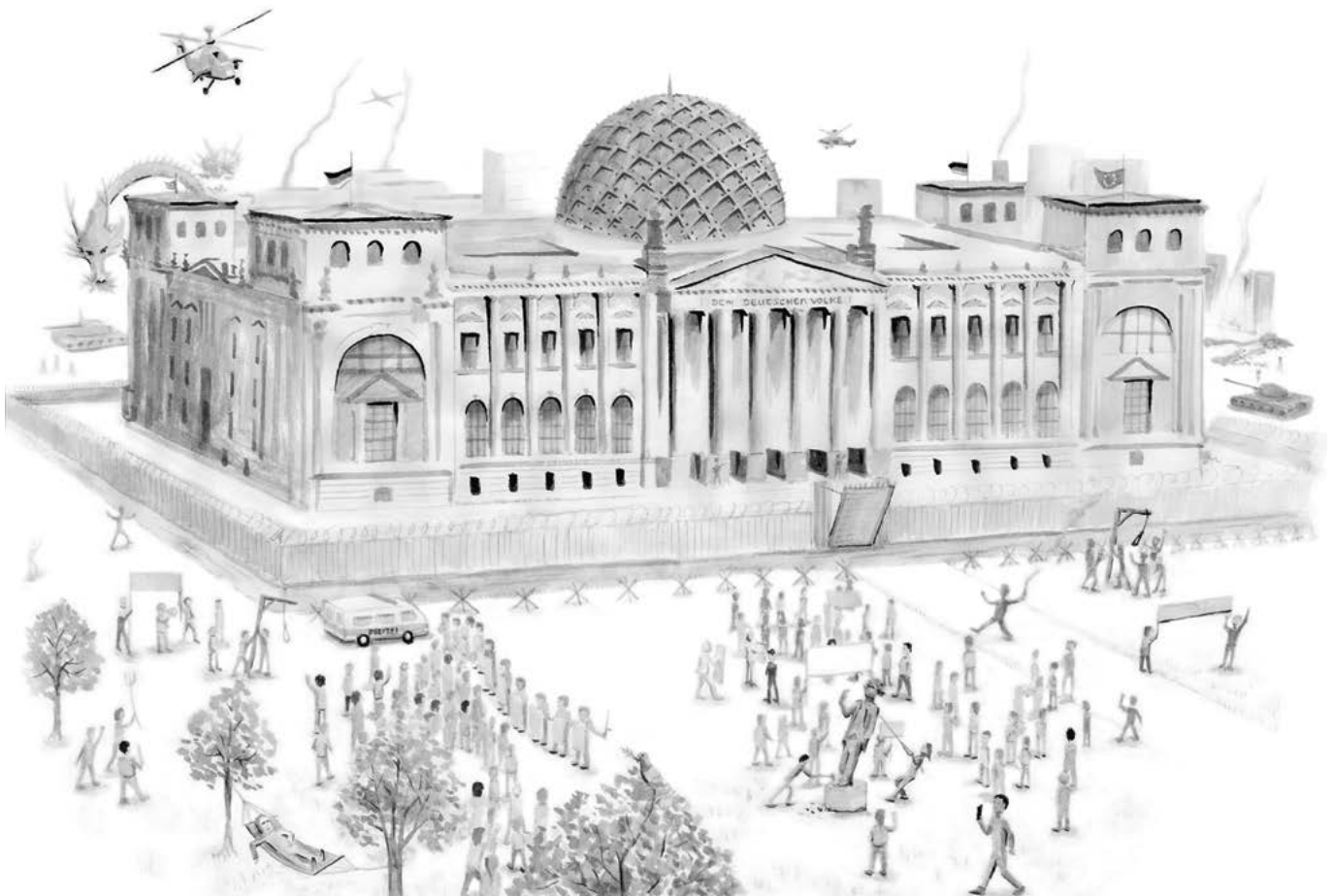
**More on the topic:**

Resilient democracy

[www.kas.de/wehrhafte-demokratie](http://www.kas.de/wehrhafte-demokratie)

“Russia’s attack on Ukraine has reminded us that the stability and resilience of a democracy cannot be secured without military strength.”

Nils Wörmer and Philipp Dienstbier



# The Modernisation of the State

Text by  
Marcel Schepp

Germany needs a state reform. What does this require? What is the aim? What type of state do we want to live in? The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's work on modernising the state focusses on these and other questions.

State reform has been on the political agenda at least since Ralph Brinkhaus' 2021 call for a "revolution". This was followed by the CDU election campaign under the motto "A decade of modernisation"; the highly acclaimed book *NEUSTAAT*; papers by, among others, the National Regulatory Control Council, the CDU/CSU parliamentary group in the Bundestag, and the Federal Association of German Industry; a position paper, on improving the German state's capability to act by an expert commission of Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung published in October 2021; and a study by Daniel Dettling, *State Reform 2030*, published by the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in January 2022.

The current coalition government of Germany had stated its intention of "daring to make more progress" and transforming Germany within a decade. This continued to be the case until 24 February 2022. Since then, the topic has largely disappeared from the agenda, for understandable reasons.

However, in Germany, currently just four per cent of public services even have an online access that accords with the Online Access Act and the Digital Strategy, which has been criticised from within the coalition's own ranks.

This needs to change; and there is a great level of political ambition to ensure that it does. However, the German multi-level political system has many actors and institutions that are veto players. Thus, a centralised government approach would be neither democratic nor effective. Although clichés about the sluggishness of the German civil service, but also the supposedly faster infrastructure of authoritarian states help shape a narrative that is dangerous for our democracy, the underlying concerns remain justified. Decisions appear to lack transparency, procedures seem lengthy, administration is inefficient, and digitalisation is lacking. We need to turn the supposed weaknesses of the German state – above all its federalism and subsidiarity – into strengths.

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung focusses on the topic of state reform since 2021, but had begun looking into this issue already since the early

2000s, among other things, as part of a series on bureaucracy reduction and federalism reforms.

Our current work in this area is based on the results of the expert commission, which was initiated by the Chairman, Professor Norbert Lammert, in May 2021. The commission consisted of twelve members from the realm of politics, administration, business, and academia and was chaired by former Federal Minister, Dr Thomas de Maizière. The commission's aim was to draw up proposals for state reform that would make political control more efficient and effective, while modernising the administration and strengthening resilience. The results, which were developed over four meetings, were presented to the press on 20 October 2021, and received widespread coverage, including in six national and 20 regional daily newspapers. The commission's results were accompanied by a study by futurologist Daniel Dettling, published and promoted on social media in January 2022. This study expanded on the commission's results by setting out specific recommendations and relevant scenarios. One important finding was that federalism was by no means responsible for the supposed failure to manage the pandemic; rather, it was an instrumental factor in the success of its management. Moreover, thinking of state reform purely in executive and centralist terms also falls short of the mark. In addition to a comprehensive literature review, Dettling draws on 14 expert interviews and a wide-ranging collection of international examples of state reform. Commentaries were also published in *WELT* and the trade journal of the German association of cities and municipalities, *kommunal*.

In a seminar in March 2022, experts focused on providing information about the basic principles. Guests included the District President of Arnsberg, Hans-Josef Vogel, and Daniel Dettling. The discussion included participants from all walks of life, and led to the emergence of further issues, such as a desire for values to play a greater part in society. The discus-

sion resulted in valuable feedback, which may be used to ground debates in this field in the future.

Finally, the work of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in 2022 in the field of state reform was primarily characterised by research and network building. Events and publications that build upon this work will follow in 2023.

#### **More on the topic:**

State Reform 2030: Effective, Agile, and Resilient  
[www.kas.de/staatsreform-2030](http://www.kas.de/staatsreform-2030)

For a German state capable of taking action  
[www.kas.de/staatsmodernisierung](http://www.kas.de/staatsmodernisierung)



# The CDU Needs a Positive Narrative for the Future

Text by  
Kathrin Zehender

## A Workshop on the Processes Associated with Developing the CDU's Manifesto

**The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung organised a workshop in Berlin in June 2022 entitled “Christlich? Liberal? Konservativ? Die CDU zwischen gestern und morgen” (Christian? Liberal? Conservative? The CDU between Yesterday and Tomorrow); the aim was to contribute to the debate about a new CDU manifesto.**

The CDU's new manifesto will be the fourth in the party's history: the others were published in 1978, 1994 and 2007. The departure from government after the 2021 Bundestag elections and the comprehensive political, economic, and social changes now facing Germany, have made it important to reflect on the party's principles and visions for the future.

### **Past and Future Challenges**

The CDU has faced repeatedly challenges in the past, that have led the party to question and redefine its own policies. What, then, are the CDU's principles, and what do they mean for politics today? These questions were addressed at a conference held in Berlin in June 2022. In his introduction, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's chair, Professor Norbert Lammert, underscored the aims set out in our mission statement: “to provide an impetus for the further development and strengthening of the Christian democratic movement”. Referring to the current

debate about the CDU's manifesto, he added that the party “should not behave as if its manifesto were set in stone”, and argued for the party to change and to ensure that any changes were communicated to the electorate.

### **Christian, Liberal, and Conservative**

The first panel showed that the terms “Christian, liberal, and conservative” cannot be separated from one other within the CDU's manifesto, but have multiple cross-connections. Arnd Küppers, Deputy Director of the Catholic Social Science Centre, stressed the importance of Catholic social teachings. Matthias Oppermann, Deputy Head of the Department of Research Services / Archive of Christian-Democratic Policy and Head of Contemporary History at the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, focused on the development of liberalism and its manifestations. In her presentation on conservatism, Martina Steber, Second Deputy Director of the Institute of Contemporary History, advised the CDU and CSU to take the lead in discussing the meaning of conservatism rather than avoiding debate, because the “discussion about conservatism in the CDU/CSU will not just go away.”

### **From a Party Focused on Power to a Party Focused on Policy**

The second panel was entitled “From a Party Focused on Power to a Party Focused on Policy” and it discussed the



1

development of the party and its manifesto under the long-serving CDU Chancellors Konrad Adenauer, Helmut Kohl, and Angela Merkel. Dominik Geppert from the Historical Institute of the University of Potsdam put forward three main reasons for the success of the CDU under Adenauer: first, it had proven to be a successful interdenominational party; second, Adenauer's decision in 1949 to form a "small coalition" against the SPD had provided the CDU with a clear position within the party system; and third, social market economics had proven to be an exceptional recipe for success for many years. Thomas Biebricher, Heisenberg Professor at the Goethe University in Frankfurt am Main, summarised the Kohl era. The journalist and Merkel biographer, Ursula Weidenfeld, followed on from this by tracing the various debates that took place between 2000 and 2018, when Merkel was chair of the CDU.

### Policy Renewal

The closing discussion focused on the processes associated with the development of the manifesto. The participants included deputy chair of the CDU and leader of the manifesto debate, Carsten Linnemann, together with the deputy chair of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group in the Bundestag, Nadine Schön; Jan Redmann, the CDU parliamentary group chair in Brandenburg's state parliament, and the deputy mayor of Berlin-Reinickendorf, Emine Demirbükten-Wegner. As Linnemann pointed out in his keynote address, the Bundestag elections that took place on 26 September 2021 and the loss of power by the CDU/CSU represented a "turning point" that made the renewed focus on policy all the more important. With a view to the future of the debate, Linnemann summarised the work of the commission by stating that the CDU needed a positive narrative for the future that would provide people with hope.

The results of the workshop will be published in 2023. The publication will be complemented by a sources section that will include contributions and speeches by selected individuals who have had a significant impact



on the party's development. The publication is aimed at encouraging the debate about the manifesto, while also providing background information and direction.

#### More on this topic:

The first time in opposition for a long time, by Kai Wambach  
[www.kas.de/oppositionspremiere-union](http://www.kas.de/oppositionspremiere-union)

#### Zeitgeschichte AKTUELL:

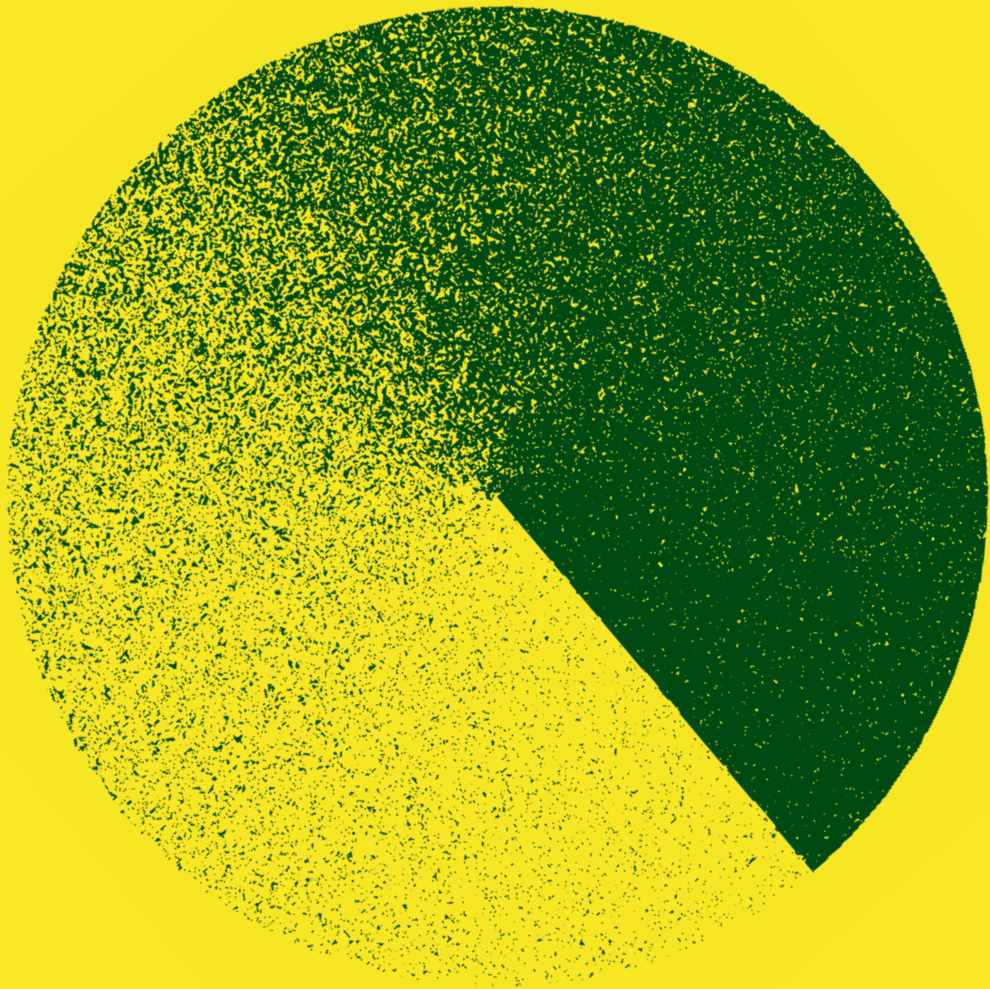
On losing power; on gaining power, by Hans Jörg Hennecke  
[www.kas.de/opposition-1998-2005](http://www.kas.de/opposition-1998-2005)

CDU manifesto on the website "Geschichte der CDU" (History of the CDU)  
[www.kas.de/grundsatzprogramme-cdu](http://www.kas.de/grundsatzprogramme-cdu)

Additional sources on the history of the CDU  
[www.cdu-geschichte.de](http://www.cdu-geschichte.de)

1. Poster from the 1961 Bundestag election.
2. Professor Norbert Lammert welcomes the conference participants.
3. (Left to right) Emine Demirbükten-Wegner, Dr Jan Redmann, MdL, Mariam Lau (Moderator), Nadine Schön, MdB, Dr Carsten Linnemann, MdB.

# Freedom Must Win



4

# The Handbook on the History of the CDU

Text by  
Wolfgang Tischner

## The Basics, Developments, and Party Policy

No other party has influenced the history of the Federal Republic of Germany as fundamentally as the CDU. Chancellors Konrad Adenauer, Ludwig Erhard, Kurt Georg Kiesinger, Helmut Kohl, and, most recently, Angela Merkel, the first woman to hold the office, have set the course of recent German history. These chancellors oversaw and significantly influenced the democratic reconstruction after the Nazi dictatorship, the implementation of the social market economy, the German reunification and its consequences, and, also, the policies of the European Union.

Almost 30 years have passed since the publication of the last complete source-based history of the CDU. Since 2018, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's Department of Research Services / Archive of Christian-Democratic Policy has been developing an overall approach to a new history of the CDU. The decision to draw up a history of the party was largely made by the Foundation's chair, Professor Norbert Lammert. The idea was to draw up a volume that included views about the role of the CDU in Germany's history; it was primarily intended to encourage debate, while still acting as a handbook aimed particularly at researchers and party members.

The first volume, also known internally as the "debate volume", was published in 2020 by SiedlerVerlag and received a very warm reception from the public and critics alike. The *Handbuch zur Geschichte der CDU* (Handbook on the History of the CDU), which was also edited by Professor Lammert, followed in September 2022. The volume offers a 700-page systematic overview of the party's history. The first and second sections set out chronologically the history of the CDU since 1945, and provide insights into the development of party policy. The third section focuses on the regional history of the CDU, with separate articles dedicated to each state association, and to the various other associations and special organisations that make up the party such as the Junge Union or the Mittelstandsvereinigung. The fourth and fifth parts are devoted to selected domestic and foreign policy areas, such as the environment or security. Extensive references, a selective bibliography and references to sources offer starting points for more in-depth debate

**More on the topic:**

The handbook's website, including information about how to order a copy  
[www.kas.de/handbuch-geschichte-der-cdu](http://www.kas.de/handbuch-geschichte-der-cdu)

Interview with Professor Norbert Lammert on the presentation of the handbook on the history of the CDU.  
[www.kas.de/interview-handbuch-geschichte-der-cdu](http://www.kas.de/interview-handbuch-geschichte-der-cdu)

and research. Whereas the contributions to the debate volume were written by external authors with a view primarily to their impact on public debate, the handbook was mainly written by colleagues from across the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, with a particular focus on staff from the Archive, whose knowledge of the sources proved particularly useful.

The handbook sold out within two months of publication. This was mainly due to the book's positive reception within the party. In September 2022, the Foundation made the volume available to delegates at the CDU party conference in Hanover. We were optimistic, and took 500 copies to Hannover to distribute among the 1,000 delegates. All of the copies were distributed, and 300 more were pre-ordered by party conference attendees.

The fact that the volume was published by Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft in Darmstadt demonstrates that the Foundation's scientific work no longer needs to fear comparison with research undertaken by universities. Although we can assume that corrections and improvements will need to be made – these are unavoidable with such a comprehensive handbook – the book still represents a milestone for research into the history of the CDU.

The marketing of the volume was such a success because of the extraordinarily constructive and innovative cooperation between the various departments of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung. This had already proved its worth in the marketing of the debate volume. However, as the handbook sold out so quickly, we have already begun to work on a second edition.

The publication of this handbook does not mark the end of our work on the history of Christian Democracy in Germany. A more readable excerpt of the extensive handbook is already under consideration, and the need for a source-based history of the Foundation itself has also been raised, in view of the Foundation's anniversary in 2030.

The handbook on the history of the CDU, edited by Professor Norbert Lammert, was published by Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft in September 2022 and has sold out. A second edition is in preparation.



# Relaunch of the Websites about Konrad Adenauer and Helmut Kohl

Text by Christiane Stahr  
and Kathrin Zehender

**The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung runs two websites about Konrad Adenauer and Helmut Kohl, which present detailed information about the life and political influence of the two long-time German chancellors and former chairs of the CDU. The websites were updated in 2022 with a modern design and additional information.**

Together with the Stiftung Bundeskanzler-Adenauer-Haus, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung has provided information and sources about Konrad

Adenauer's life and work on the website [www.konrad-adenauer.de](http://www.konrad-adenauer.de) for more than ten years. The website demonstrates the continued relevance of Adenauer's political thought and work.

## **Experiencing Adenauer**

More than 50 years after his death, we continue to provide information about Konrad Adenauer and his politics to a broad audience. Biographical articles describe the life of the first German Chancellor, which spanned four eras of German history.

The category "Personal details" provides insight into the private life of the federal republic's founding chancellor, while users can find short biographies about Adenauer's companions and colleagues under "People". In addition, well-researched yet easy-to-understand articles on various policy areas enable a differentiated view of his policies to emerge. Information about the various foundations that help people experience and discover more about Konrad Adenauer – from his former residence in Rhöndorf to his former holiday home in Cadenabbia –

along with various exhibitions and other online sources, is available under “Adenauer erleben” (Experience Adenauer).

### Target Group-oriented Approach

In order to further improve user-friendliness, targeted materials have been developed for different groups. The compilation “Für den Schulunterricht” (For the classroom) includes helpful links for teachers and pupils on topics and sources that can be used in classroom presentations and for homework. In addition, we provide free services that are particularly tailored to the needs of pupils.

The “Für die Forschung” (For research) section offers researchers a comprehensive bibliography, a large collection of sources, a calendar, references to archival holdings on Konrad Adenauer’s work, and other online sources from the two foundations that conduct Adenauer research.

### A Rich Trove of Sources

Under “Quellen” (Sources), users can find a large amount of material that is not merely aimed at researchers: we have significantly expanded the photo and video selection, and published a series of videos made available to us by the Bundesarchiv. In addition, a large selection of election posters and brochures, as well as written sources such as letters and speeches, are also available. A comprehensive collection of quotations, arranged by category, rounds off the collection.

### New Helmut Kohl Website

The website [www.bundestkanzler-helmut-kohl.de](http://www.bundestkanzler-helmut-kohl.de) has also been given a makeover. It is not just the technical side of the website that has been updated, but also, and above all, the information that it provides. The aim has been to fill an important gap in the information available online.

The two stand-alone websites on Helmut Kohl and Konrad Adenauer are similar in structure and function, but they remain independent. In the future, the new Helmut Kohl website will be run in conjunction with the Bundeskanzler-Helmut-Kohl-Stiftung.

### Chancellor of German Unity and an Honorary Citizen of Europe

The website focuses on Kohl’s work as chancellor. Scientific articles deal with the central policy fields in which Helmut Kohl was involved. The contributions are provided by renowned researchers, who draw a comprehensive picture of Helmut Kohl’s politics. The website also enables users to follow his life and biography and an illustrated timeline demonstrates central milestones in his life. These, together with a selection of short biographies about his colleagues and companions, provide deep insights into the Kohl Era.

### Support for Kohl Research

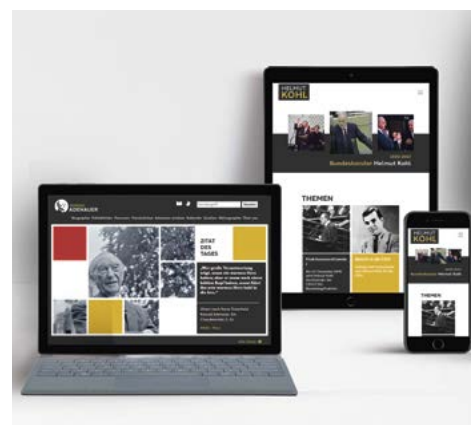
As is the case with the Adenauer website, the Kohl website publishes a wide range of resources for researchers. These include numerous interviews, articles and speeches. References to archival material about the Kohl Era that can be found in the Archives of Christian-Democratic Politics, as well as a comprehensive bibliography, are also available to assist with further research. A collection of quotations,

election posters, images and audio materials, as well as videos provided by the Bundesarchiv, brings the Kohl Era to life and makes it more accessible to a broad audience.

### More on the topic:

[www.konrad-adenauer.de](http://www.konrad-adenauer.de)

[www.bundestkanzler-helmut-kohl.de](http://www.bundestkanzler-helmut-kohl.de)





# Civic Education

Text by  
Christian Schmitz

## The Foundation of the International Network Civic Education





A first for the Civic Education Department: between 22 and 24 June 2022, the first ever International Conference on Civic Education took place in Berlin. It brought together people from Germany and other European countries, who are committed to civic education at both the professional and the voluntary level. The conference enabled people to share their experiences about important topics and challenges. The threat to security posed by the Russian war of aggression against Ukraine provided the conference with a common thread, but the consequences of globalisation and digitalisation, the division and fragmentation of societies, the changing cultures of debate, and the loss of trust that many people have in politicians and democratic institutions were also topics of discussion.

The conference aimed to improve networking between the domestic and international scenes, and in the process enable people to get to know and learn from other people in the field.

The first day was devoted to highlights of civic education from eight European countries. These examples demonstrated that civic education and culture in Europe are extremely heterogeneous, bound up in a range of different historical settings that provide their own specific challenges.

The second day started with some reflections about the kind of education that (political) people need. In his opening statement, Thomas Kerstan, education policy correspondent for DIE ZEIT and editor of ZEIT CAMPUS magazine, criticised the lack of debate about education in Germany, arguing that discussion of the subject was urgently needed because the world (including Germany) was undergoing substantial change. Given the current challenges and threats that are fragmenting societies, moreover, it was enormously

important to agree on a unifying educational curriculum. Knowledge itself should play a central role.

Next on the agenda was a discussion of “project Europe” as a continued task of civic education. The debate was introduced by a video message from Dr Hans-Gert Pöttering. The former President of the European Parliament and former chair of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung “got to the heart of what we have in Europe” and, in view of the current threats that Europe faces, emphasised the need to revitalise the “community of peace and values”. In addition, Pöttering called for a community of action to fight against climate change. He also supported strengthening the Common European Security and Defence Policy, and, with a view to young people, advocated better education about European policy. A panel discussion and working groups then addressed practical questions about civic education in Europe.

The second day of the conference ended with a discussion between Professor Norbert Lammert, former President of the Bundestag and chair of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, and Ralf Fücks, managing partner of the Centre for Liberal Modernity and former chair of the Heinrich Böll-Stiftung. Here, too, the Russian war of aggression against Ukraine was the dominant topic, and was introduced by Fücks, who gave an impressive account of his recent visits to Ukraine. In the course of the discussion, the term “historic turning point”, which is commonly used in the media to characterise the current situation, was also questioned. The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung’s chair argued that people change more due to events than through long-term developments, and he regarded the idea of a “historic turning point” as more a question of perception. For a long time, Lammert stressed, people had been ignoring reality – ignoring the brutality of Russian policy that was obvious in Georgia in 2008 and in the annexation of Crimea in 2014. Russia, Ralf Fücks argued, was fighting a genocidal war against Ukraine, and the resulting issues had yet to be discussed properly in Germany. The participants agreed that the situation demonstrated the need for more education and that world events should be described using historical facts and “as they are; not as one would like them to be”. Civic education was viewed as a necessary means of helping people to understand the seriousness of the situation, providing them with direction in the confusion caused by the blend of information and disinformation, and ensuring that they remain open to critique.

At the end of the conference, everyone agreed that it had provided a unique opportunity to share experiences, and that it needed to be repeated. The difference between civic education and civic culture, in particular, was said to have made the dialogue valuable and helpful. Everyone expressed a need to maintain the networks they had established and to share practical experiences. In the future, the project will operate under the title “Internationales Netzwerk zur Politischen Bildung/Network Civic Education” and, in addition to annual conferences, will be supported by a LinkedIn group that will facilitate communication and help document civic education.

# Young Adults in and for Europe

Text by  
Christian Schmitz



A particularly important civic educational task is to encourage young people to support the goals and ideals of European unification, and thus ensure that the next generation continues the progress made on Europe.

In this context, the Future of Europe Conference provided the backdrop for a series of Europe Dialogues hosted by the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's education forums and regional offices between March and June 2022. The Civic Education Department invited young people to discuss how the conference could contribute to a "New Start for Europe" and talk about the visions and ideas they had for Europe. The campaign aimed to encourage young adults to think about and participate in the future of Europe. The results were recorded as video interviews: young volunteers from the Foundation interviewed other young participants at various locations in Germany. The interviews were then published on the Foundation's Instagram account on Europe Day, 9 May. This provided a platform for young people to express their ideas and opinions, and to encourage other young people to think about Europe and its future. What does Europe mean to me? What impact does the EU have on my daily life? What works well in the EU? What issues does the EU need to address in the future and what can the Future of Europe Conference do?

As a result, 30 Europe Dialogues were conducted by the Civic Education Department, which were then evaluated, documented, and presented to a wide professional audience at a joint event with the European Office in Brussels, on 29 June 2022. The event also considered the issues of how to proceed after the conference had finished, and which



reform proposals would have the most chance of finding their way onto the European agenda.

The New Horizons – Central European Summer School on Values also focused on young adults in and for Europe. The summer school took place in Dresden in early September 2022. The event was organised by the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung’s Civic Education Forum Saxony in cooperation with the Dresden Chamber of Trade, and was addressed to young adults from Germany and East-Central European partner countries. The summer school provided participants with the opportunity to meet committed peers and gain perspectives on current political challenges in Europe. To begin with, the young people from different countries addressed issues relating to European identity and the myths, narratives, and symbols that encourage the establishment of a European society. This was followed by working groups devoted to the

political and cultural aspects of European identity and their connections to national identities. The relations between Saxony and its East-Central European neighbours were then discussed with parliamentarians, and the debate also addressed Saxony’s approach to Russia. Other themes of the summer school included the current state of Western liberalism, workshops on freedom, equality, and human rights, as well as questions of truth and lies and their implications for society. Discussions about the security chal-



Participants at the conference during a discussion with former General Egon Ramms about European security infrastructure and the war in Ukraine.

lenges facing Europe in the 21st century, the factors threatening European identity, and Russia’s war against Ukraine concluded the summer school.

The summer school highlighted the common perspectives and attitudes that unite the younger generation in Europe. There was agreement among the participants that a shared European identity was of enormous importance, but that it should complement and not replace respective national identities.

This could be achieved, for example, through a newly established European pillar in NATO. In addition, the participants emphasised the important role of cross-border exchange and expressed their hopes that the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung would continue to organise suitable events in this regard.

# “The only choice is between war and destruction.”

An interview with Tim Peters,  
Head of the Ukraine Office in Kiev.

Interview conducted by  
Jan Philipp Wölbern



The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung has had an office in the Ukrainian capital Kiev since 1994, and a second office in Kharkiv in eastern Ukraine since 2017. Shortly before the start of the war, the office managers Tim Peters (Kiev) and Dr Brigitta Triebel (Kharkiv) returned to Germany. In the weeks that followed, 11 of the 18 Ukrainian local members of staff were able to travel to Germany and Poland. The work of the offices continues to be shaped by the war.

**Dear Tim, you lived in Ukraine between 2017 and mid-February 2022. You began by managing the office in Kharkiv, before moving to Kiev. Were you surprised by what happened on 24 February, or did you expect the Russians to attack?**

Given the Russian troop surge, it was clear to most Eastern Europe experts that something was about to happen in Ukraine. It seemed most likely to me that Russia would attempt to annex the two Russian-controlled “people’s republics”, or use its military might to enable these pseudo-states to expand into the additional territory they claim. I thought a large-scale invasion was unlikely, since Ukraine would fight back with everything it has, and this would be associated with incalculable risks for Russia – as we have seen.

It seems as though the Kremlin was unaware of the enormous transformation that Ukraine has undergone in recent years and the way this has strengthened its societal and military resilience.

**The days and weeks after 24 February placed an enormous mental strain on our Ukrainian staff, not least for those who had to flee their country. How did they manage to reach Germany? And how are our staff members who have remained in Ukraine?**

After Russia began its full-scale attack, many colleagues had to leave Kharkiv and Kiev for safer areas. The town where one colleague lives was even temporarily occupied by Russian troops, so we had no contact with her for weeks. In the days and weeks that followed, most of our female colleagues were able to leave the country, although this involved very long waiting times at the border and of course a lot of worry. We tried to make the journey a bit more bearable for our staff by securing the support of other offices in the region. Once they had reached Germany, we had to find temporary accommodation for our colleagues and their families. Most of the local staff who remained in Ukraine are men, but many of them still had to make similar journeys to help bring their families to safety. Seven members of our staff

(men and women) are still in Ukraine, enduring the Russian attacks and the fatal consequences these attacks are having on civil society.

**What is day-to-day life like in the offices?**

Both offices continue to operate, but most of our work takes place online. This is where our experience from the pandemic comes in helpful. Most Ukrainian partners are also continuing their work regardless of the difficult conditions and are preparing studies, newsletters, and so on. In addition to online conferences, individual face-to-face events have also taken place in Ukraine, but they are sometimes interrupted by air raids. We also organise many trips to Germany and the EU for members of parliament and experts, and offer information within Germany about the situation in Ukraine. Our local staff in Germany are in close contact with their families, friends, and colleagues in Ukraine.

**What is the mood like in Ukraine?**

People are extremely concerned about their relatives. It is always terrible when the Russian attacks temporarily bring down communication links. People are also exhausted. I’m not talking about the Ukrainians’ will to defend themselves. This seems unbroken to me. From Ukraine’s point of view, the choice is not between war and peace, but between war and annihilation in the face of Russian atrocities, as has been brutally exposed through the cities that have been liberated. This is why everyone in Ukraine is still ready to defend their country despite the numerous victims and the attacks on civilian infrastructure.

**Since the beginning of the war, the Ukraine office has organised several events in Germany with Ukrainian participants. Which ones stand out the most?**

In mid-June, a high-ranking delegation of representatives of the Christian, Jewish, and Muslim communities in Ukraine visited Berlin and Brussels. All the religious representatives called for weapons to be provided to Ukraine. I found it very moving to see these

dignitaries, who are actually heralds of peace and reconciliation, making it clear together that weapons were needed to bring about a just peace in this situation. My colleague, Brigitta Triebel, also described an event with Ukrainian experts in Berlin, where the unconditional determination of the women participants was no less impressive.

**Even if “predictions are difficult, especially when they are about the future”, what will the situation for our offices in Ukraine be like in December 2023 and what will they be doing?**

We will continue to work with our Ukrainian partners, regardless of their location, just as we did in 2022. With continued international support, I am convinced that Ukraine will – and must – win this war. In this respect, I hope to be able to work from Ukraine again in the course of the next year.



# Field Offices as Seismographs

## China's Soft Power in Southeast Asia

Text by  
Céline-Agathe Caro

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's field offices act as seismographs recording important developments and trends. As a think tank, this research is used to develop scientific analyses and policy recommendations. In 2022, the Asia and Pacific division focused, among other things, on China's deployment of soft power in Southeast Asia. What is happening in the region? Why is it important? And what are our policy recommendations for Germany and the EU?

## Observations

Very early on, President Xi Jinping recognised the value of soft power in boosting China's appeal abroad and increasing its foreign policy influence. Because of the origin of the coronavirus pandemic in the Chinese metropolis of Wuhan and negative international reportings on human rights and security issues, Beijing has been relying even more heavily than before on soft power to mitigate the damage to its image and protect the appeal of the People's Republic.

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's offices in five Southeast Asian countries – Cambodia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam – have been working with local researchers to collect accurate data on China's soft power in the region. The goal is to quantify Chinese initiatives, analyse its strategies, and evaluate their success. The focus has been on various forms of diplomatic, academic, and cultural exchanges between the People's Republic and Southeast Asia, as well as China's media relations, direct investment, and medical aid in the region.

## Analysis and Evaluation

The resulting study has shown that in the years leading up to the pandemic (2014–2019), China developed and implemented a multifaceted strategy of outreach and engagement in the four areas under study – diplomacy, education and culture, media, and business. This included high-level visits, educational exchanges, language courses, and direct investment. This strategy has enabled China to expand its presence in the five neighbouring countries and strengthen its influence.

However, we also noticed that the Chinese strategy often reaches its limit when it comes to generating gains from its soft power. For example, the communist leadership's ideologically charged external communication is not always well received abroad, especially on social media and in particular among younger audiences. China's "vaccin diplomacy" – combined with the coercive "wolf-warrior" approach of some of its diplomats in the face of criticism – has not produced the positive impact the Chinese were expecting in the five countries under study. The propaganda and disinformation attempts published in local media with ties to China is concerning, particularly as the connection to Chinese media agencies is not made clear. Moreover, China's economic investments do not always improve the country's image in the long term, not least because of sovereignty issues and debt-traps. And the Chinese military manoeuvres close to Taiwan in August 2022 caused upset in the ASEAN region regarding Beijing's increasingly aggressive foreign and security policies.

## Recommendations

These observations are important for Germany and the EU, because Southeast Asia is not only a dynamic region with over 650 million inhabitants and a gross domestic product of three trillion US dollars, but also economically and geostrategically relevant in the current competition between

political and economic systems. Our analyses demonstrate that China's involvement is being received with mixed feelings in Southeast Asia and that the region needs trustworthy partners to counterbalance Beijing's rising influence. Increased cooperation with the US often risks generating tension with China. Europe, on the other hand, is perceived positively as a potential partner in many areas.

The regional study hence concluded with recommendations for Germany and the EU aimed at promoting Europe's presence and appeal in Southeast Asia. One recommendation is that Germany and the EU need to become more active in the region. Current surveys demonstrate that the EU is the number one partner of choice for local government representatives and experts, as a safeguard against the uncertainties associated with the rivalry between the US and China.

The visits by German Chancellor Olaf Scholz to Vietnam, Singapore, and Indonesia and by French President Emmanuel Macron to Thailand in November 2022 are steps in the right direction. Macron's media-savvy charm offensive in Bangkok also underscored the relevance of public relations at every level. In addition, our study recommends closer cooperation with ASEAN countries on topics such as climate protection, digitalisation, and diversification. Both sides could also strengthen their academic and journalistic exchanges, or closely monitor China's attempts to exert influence.

In summary, China's current foreign policy actions provide Germany and the EU opportunities to become more involved in the ASEAN region, and our common interests could lead to a win-win situation for everyone involved.

### More on the topic:

The Smiling Dragon – China's Soft Power in Southeast Asia  
[www.kas.de/smiling-dragon](http://www.kas.de/smiling-dragon)

Der lächelnde Drache – Chinas Soft Power Einfluss in Südostasien  
[www.kas.de/chinas-soft-power-in-südostasien](http://www.kas.de/chinas-soft-power-in-südostasien)



# The protests in Iran, or Women, Freedom, and the Political Meaning of Fried Eggs

“Headscarves are more than just pieces of cloth.” An interview with Dr Fatemeh Taheri, former scholarship holder and member of the Institute for Islamic Theology at Humboldt University, Berlin.

Interview conducted by  
Vandad Sohrabi

**Dear Ms Taheri, you were born and raised in Iran. You wrote your doctoral thesis in Germany – supported by a scholarship from the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung. You are currently experiencing the protests from the perspective of an observer, but your family and friends still live in Iran. What do you think about when you see the pictures of the protests?**

The scenes of violence make me very sad. The protests are not just an uprising against patriarchal structures at the political level, but also a form of resistance against cultural paternalism – for example, with regard to the compulsory headscarf.

**22-year-old Mahsa Amini was arrested by the notorious morality police for violating the Islamic dress code. When she died in police custody on 16 September, her death sparked nationwide protests. What role does the headscarf play in the Iranian protests?**

Headscarves are more than just pieces of cloth. It is important to understand that women's hair plays a central role in classical Persian culture and literature. In poetry, women's hair represents the beauty, grace, and uniqueness of the beloved. The issue of whether a woman shows her hair or (partially) covers it needs to be understood against this background. This is precisely why the issue of whether to wear a headscarf is such an important and personal decision that must be respected. The law that makes it compulsory for women to wear a headscarf turns a peaceful decision into a criminal offense. Family and divorce law in Iran are further examples of systemic discrimination against women.

**“Zan, Zendegi, Azadi” (“Woman, Life, Freedom”): these three words have become the slogan of the protests. What do you understand by them?**

The slogan is alliterative, and testifies artistically to the longing for a self-determined life. At the beginning of the protests, two sisters sat down in a small restaurant and ate fried eggs; they were wearing normal, everyday clothes, but they were not wearing headscarves. They posted a photo of

themselves with the text, “Took a short break during work for breakfast”. This breakfast scene quickly became emblematic of the desire of many Iranian women for a normal life.

The photo went viral on social media. Shortly afterwards, one of the sisters was arrested. I think that the government was unhappy to see so much female self-confidence. “Zan, Zendegi, Azadi” for me, therefore, also means that women can eat fried eggs in public without having to fear arrest, no matter how they are dressed.

**In Iran, many of the protestors in the front row of the demonstrations are women. What do you think is their most important demand?**

Above all, I think they want more representation. Many women in Iran are highly educated, having studied, and could contribute to the country. But look at the leadership positions in the universities, the clerical elite, and the ministries – they are all dominated by men. Women want a seat at the table and help to shape society. It is such a shame that so much potential is suppressed and going to waste.

**The protest song “Baraye” (“For”) by Sherwin Hajipur has become an unofficial anthem of the protesters. What role does social media play in the demonstrations?**

Social media can promote civil courage and solidarity. In addition to the streets and people's homes, the virtual world provides a third platform for protests. However, social media algorithms lead to a strong level of polarisation. And the way that people express anger and discontent on the web can be quite raw and direct. Hateful comments make factual debate impossible. I would like to see more reflection and non-violent communication.

**Some 80,000 people gathered in Berlin in October 2022 to express their solidarity with the Iranian protests. How important are actions such as these for the people of Iran?**

International solidarity sends an important signal and is always helpful. In my view, however, and this is sometimes overlooked, the Iranian opposi-

tion abroad is heterogeneous, and there are subgroups that adhere to nationalist or otherwise exclusivist ideologies that are hardly compatible with a liberal understanding of democracy. This is one of the reasons why I am convinced that Iran's future must be decided upon within Iran.

**How do young people in Iran see the future? And what hopes do you personally have for the protests?**

The younger generation has grown up with the Internet. Young people are connected, pragmatic and open. Women are becoming more and more visible in many areas of life – in all their diversity. I am cautiously optimistic that women will have more say in the future, and hopefully this will contribute to a more empathetic and harmonious society.

# Politics, Power, Morality

Text by Anna Lüdcke and Florentin Siegert

## How a Seminar Can Help Scholarship Holders to Become Better Politicians

**Paula\* is young, motivated, and politically active. But like most up-and-coming politicians, she is confronted by opposing points of view and often has to deal with different attitudes and conflicts. This is precisely where the KAS scholarship programme comes in, with a new seminar that sensitises participants to issues of politics, power, and morality and promotes personal reflection.**

It is a sunny autumn day. Paula is working in a light-filled seminar room with a view of a lake. She is one of 20 scholarship holders participating in the “Politics, Power, Morality” seminar being run by Dr Christoph von Hehl, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung’s Head of the Career Support Department. Most of the participants do not yet know each other, but they have a number of things in common: they are all strongly involved in politics and either already hold a position in a political party, through being elected at the local level, or have the potential to do so. “It quickly became clear to us that we had a lot in common and this provided us with a lot of confidence,” says Florentin Siegert, local and parliamentary group chair of the CSU in Hirschau. This is very important if people are going to be able to talk about their weaknesses. Paula, who does not want to be known by her real name, uses the protected space to open up: “In my everyday life, I often feel burdened by conflicts. No matter how hard I try, I just can’t live up to everyone’s expectations.”

Rolf Kauke is an experienced management coach. He explains that conflict is inevitable in everyday politics, and occurs on at least four different levels. 1) Intergroup conflicts: in the morning, when Paula supports her boss by mak-

ing a proposal in a Bundestag debate, other political groups in parliament will oppose it. 2) Interpersonal conflicts: at lunchtime, Paula discusses the next membership campaign with her colleague on the board of the local CDU; the board member has a different opinion about the campaign. 3) Intragroup conflicts: in the afternoon, Paula, as head of the parliamentary group at city hall, discovers that there are points of contention within her own parliamentary group. 4) Intrapersonal conflicts: when she sits down on the sofa with her boyfriend in the evening, Paula is exhausted, but still feels guilty about having so little time for him.

“Conflicts not only exist on four levels, they also feed on a variety of paradoxes”, Kauke explains. “One good example is the tension between putting oneself forward and withdrawing.” Paula knows this from her own experience. As part of Generation Z, she would like to see a more consistent digital policy. Should she be more open about this, even if some of her party colleagues disagree? Or should she take a step back for the time being? There are also other important paradoxes: individuality versus community, autonomy versus subordination, and task-oriented versus relationship-oriented communication. “There is no magic formula to solve these paradoxes, but knowing this is already helping me”, says Paula.

People always criticise what you do in politics – even if you do a good job. This is why one strategy from the seminar is particularly important for Paula: “I learned how to distinguish between my personal and professional lives. If someone criticises my work as a city council member, they are criticising me in my professional role and not me as a person. I don’t need to take it personally. I see now which values

will be important for me in the future and how I want to deal with challenges and responsibilities.”

In the evening, relaxed laughter, the clinking of wine glasses and lively conversations can be heard from the conference rooms. Participants encourage each other to take on responsibility – whether that means taking up a position on a district executive committee within the party or running for political or public office.

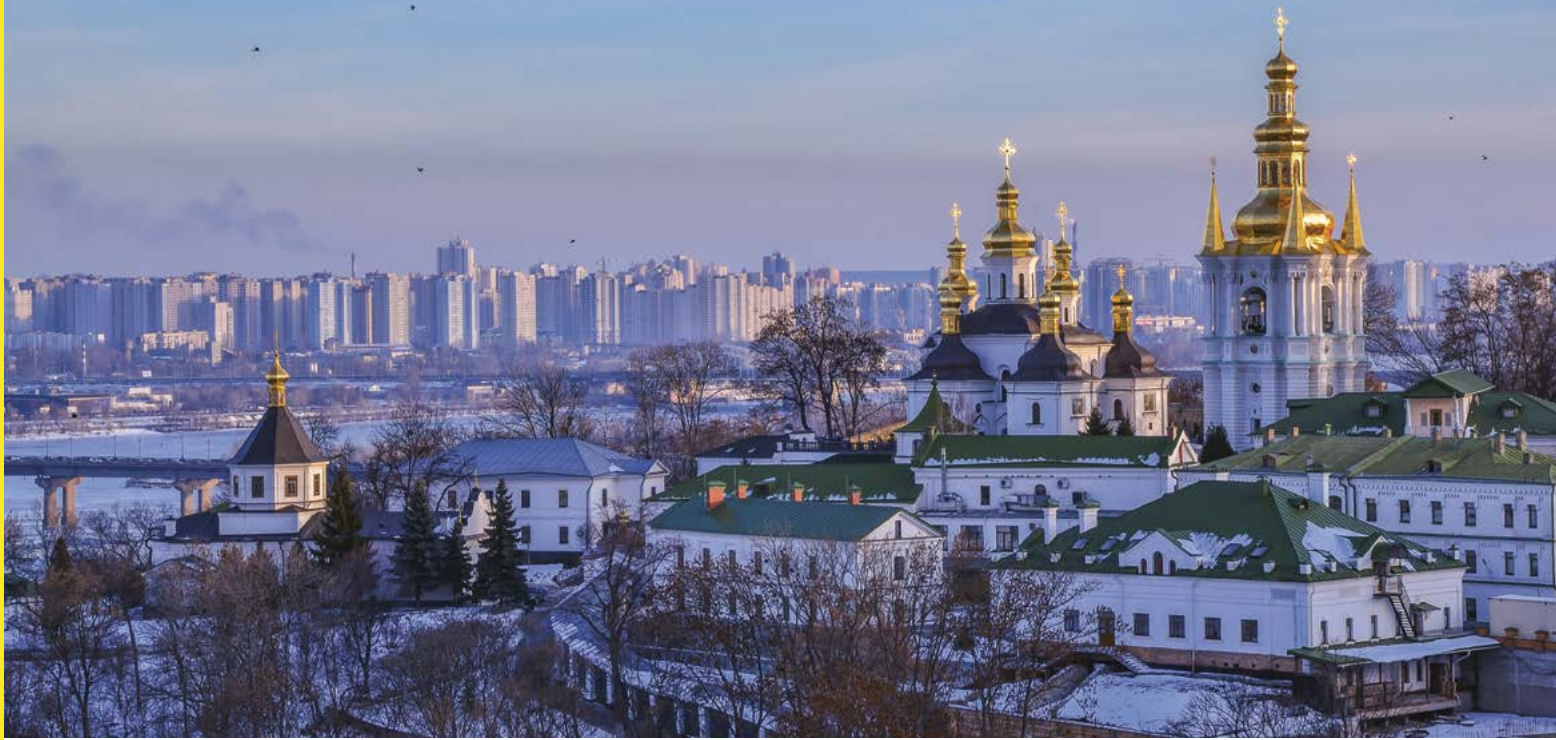
The last day of the seminar deliberately sets a contrast. The participants visit Berlin’s Plötzensee Prison. It is a grey, rainy day. Paula is shivering in the icy cold. More than 2,800 people were executed on this site during the twelve years of the National Socialist dictatorship. Some convicts were only as old as Paula when their lives were arbitrarily ended. The visit is intended to demonstrate the extremes to which inhumane policies without a modicum of moral integrity can lead. What is more, the visit also shows how important it is to get involved in politics, so that such injustices can never be repeated.

A few weeks after the seminar, Paula is sitting in her warm study looking at her computer: she can see 19 familiar faces on the screen. Together, they reflect on how their everyday lives have changed as a result of the seminar. Suddenly Paula’s telephone rings. A colleague is phoning to discuss a contentious issue due to be voted on tomorrow – but Paula was not planning on speaking about it today. In the past, Paula would have taken the call immediately – her colleague knows that. But today she decides not to take

on the conflict at this point. Her decision involves a deliberate break with a previous pattern of behaviour – one of the many strategies that Paula has learned at the seminar.

People always  
criticise what you  
do in politics –  
even if you  
do a good job.

\* Paula’s name has been changed.



# Religion in Russia's War of Aggression

Text by  
Richard Ottinger

Although Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine is not a religious war, we should not underestimate the role played by religious elements on both sides. In particular, these include the relationship between the churches in Ukraine and Russia, the imperialist concept of the "Russian World" (*Ruski Mir*), and the consequences for Germany in terms of religion and security policy. Even before the war began, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung was already involved in this context.

Russia's aggression toward Ukraine is accompanied by the verbal support of the Russian Orthodox Church (ROC). The ROC regards Ukraine and Belarus as its ecclesiastical territory. The Patriarch of Moscow, Cyril I, speaks of "forces of evil" in Ukraine, claims that Christians are being persecuted in the country, and helps legitimise Russia's war by giving it his blessing. What is notable this time is that Russia's aggression is also directed against the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (UOC), which belongs to the Moscow Patriarchate. The following examples demonstrate the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's work at countering religious war propaganda and the consequences it has for Germany.

### A Complex Religious-Political History

The Foundation's study *Schisma mit Folgen. Der ukrainische Kirchenkonflikt und seine globalen Auswirkungen* (A Schism with Consequences. The Ukrainian Church Conflict and its Global Impact), which was written by Professor Thomas Bremer, details the complex religious-political run-up to the Russian war of aggression. The ROC protested when the independent (autocephalous) Orthodox Church of Ukraine (OCU) was established against its wishes in 2019. Since then, international Orthodoxy has been divided, as the ROC unilaterally ended communion with all churches that recognised the newly formed National Church of Ukraine. This had consequences in Germany, since supporters of the ROC left the Orthodox Bishops' Conference in Germany, thus making it no longer possible, for example, to deal with educational policy issues concerning Christian Orthodox religious education.

### Putin's Holy War

The publication *Putins heiliger Krieg* (Putin's Holy War) sheds light on the religious imagery in Putin's ideologically entrenched worldview. The idea of a spiritually unified (Greater) Russia, the 'Kievan Rus', is key to his belief system. Historically, the Kievan Rus has also been known as 'Holy Rus', and its roots can be traced back to the medieval alliance between the Slavic principalities. The Kievan Rus is viewed in Russian historiography not only as a direct precursor of today's Russia, but also as the place where the Russian Orthodox Church originated. The territorial claims of the ROC include present-day Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine; the same territory claimed by the current Russian government. Putin repeatedly picks up on this worldview and denies Ukraine's national autonomy, calling it part of Russia's historical, cultural, and spiritual territory. The publication describes the basic elements that the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung dealt with in terms of religious war propaganda throughout 2022.

### The *Russki Mir* Ideology

As early as 2021, intensive networking enabled the Foundation to gain access to an expert group in the fields of Orthodoxy, the Eastern Churches, and the post-Soviet states; and also led to the establishment of the expert discussion series "Ostkirchen und Orthodoxie" (Eastern Churches and Orthodoxy). The aim has been to discuss the religious aspects of the Russian war of aggression with a limited number of people in a confidential setting. The lecture on *Russki Mir* by Reinhard Flogaus, a specialist in the study of the Eastern Church, stood out in particular. In the interdisciplinary discussion that followed, it became clear that the *Russki Mir* ideology is a diffuse concept, which is precisely why it can be exploited so successfully by the Russian regime. It brings together the perceived threat posed by the US, the unity of Russian culture and the sacralisation of the territory claimed as Kievan Rus against the supposed decline in Western values. It therefore employs many elements of the identity of the Russian Federation.

### International Networking and Focusing the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's Resources

Dealing with a topic that spans several countries led quite naturally to close cooperation between the Foundation's various field offices. The webinar series launched by the Belarus office "Inside 'Russki Mir' – The ideology that drives Putin" and the Ukrainian office's delegation to Berlin and Brussels of representatives from the religious communities of Ukraine, which provided moving reports from the war zone and calls for international help, were particularly impressive. The discussion that took place in Cadenabbia with experts on religious policy, "Politisierung von Religion im russischen Angriffskrieg auf die Ukraine und die Folgen für Deutschland" (The Politicisation of Religion in the Russian War of Aggression on Ukraine and the Consequences for Germany), constituted a further highlight. The debate also addressed the role of "Russian Germans", who are often portrayed in the media as a monolithic group and, quite wrongly, as always receptive to Russian propaganda. The discussions once again demonstrated how well the work as a think tank and the Foundation's international expertise can complement one another.

#### More on the topic:

Putin's holy war  
[www.kas.de/putins-heiliger-krieg](http://www.kas.de/putins-heiliger-krieg)

A Schism with Consequences. The Ukrainian Church Conflict and its Global Implications  
[www.kas.de/unabhängigkeit-ukrainisch-orthodoxen-kirche](http://www.kas.de/unabhängigkeit-ukrainisch-orthodoxen-kirche)

# Election Campaign Time is Discussion Time

Text by Dominik Hirndorf  
and Jochen Roose

## A Representative Survey of Election Campaign Materials and Discussions among People Eligible to Vote in the 2021 Election

**What do people think about the 2021 election campaign? Which campaign materials reached the electorate and what role did social media play? Two studies by the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, based on a representative survey, provide useful information about these issues.**

Putting up posters, setting up campaign stands, door-to-door campaigning, and quickly posting information about the election on social networks during the lunch break: election campaigning primarily involves hard work by political parties and their membership. Is the hard work really worth it? And what do voters think about election campaigns?

In a representative survey conducted immediately after the 2021 federal election, the Foundation sought to find out which political parties and which kinds of campaign materials people remembered. The study found that they actually remember quite a lot. Almost no one escapes an election campaign: around 92 per cent of eligible voters said they had seen at least one poster, two-thirds had

received a letter that included campaign materials, and 57 per cent had seen a campaign stall in the street. At least one third remembered seeing campaign materials on social media, and around one in seven had been visited and offered election materials at their front door or over their garden fence.

Unsurprisingly, people tend to remember campaigns by the major parties more than those from the smaller ones. The campaigns by the CDU/CSU and SPD were remembered most strongly, followed by that of the Greens. Importantly, the Greens made advances not only in the election itself, but also in terms of the electorate remembering their campaign: they moved up from sixth to third place.

The politicisation of the streets, television, and the daily newspapers is also reflected at home: the number of couples who discussed politics “very often” more than doubled compared to the non-election autumn of 2019. Political topics were also discussed more often among friends and acquaintances during the run-up to the election.

Importantly, the majority of people also discussed political issues with someone that they assumed had a different party preference from themselves. This shows Germany to be a lively democracy, in which people debate across party lines in order to help them decide on the right choice for the next government.

The internet is a further important forum for election campaigns. More than three quarters of eligible voters reported reading political content online, and around one fifth said that they had actively engaged with political issues on social networks. This could involve publishing their own content, or reading, liking, and sharing political contributions. This was particularly the case with supporters of the AfD and the Left. Depending on age, voters with an affinity for social media primarily use Facebook and Instagram, although other platforms come in to play when some of the other parties are considered (the Greens: Twitter; AfD: Telegram).

Despite of – or perhaps because of – the election campaign, it was not

always easy for voters to make up their minds. Although half of the electorate had already decided which party to vote for several months before the election, a third of the electorate only made their decision in the final weeks and days of the election.

Moreover, many voters were unsure who to vote for: 68 per cent said they could imagine having voted for a different party, and 44 per cent wavered in their decision in the last six weeks before the election. This was more common among people who took longer to decide who to vote for. But it also applied to some people with a long-term commitment to a particular party.

Voters did not particularly enjoy the election campaign: only one-third agreed that the campaign was interesting; and a majority found none of the parties to be particularly convincing.

However, the findings demonstrate that the diverse forms of campaign materials, alongside the faces, policies, and arguments, encourage debate and help people to decide who they should vote for. Many voters may not be able to find a party that perfectly reflects their views, but that is always going to be the case if we are to have a manageable number of parties and candidates. Clearly, election campaigns work.

#### More about the topic:

“We need to talk!” Political discussions during the election campaign.

[www.kas.de/politische-diskussionen-im-wahlkampf](http://www.kas.de/politische-diskussionen-im-wahlkampf)

I spy with my little eye: Election Campaign Advertising.

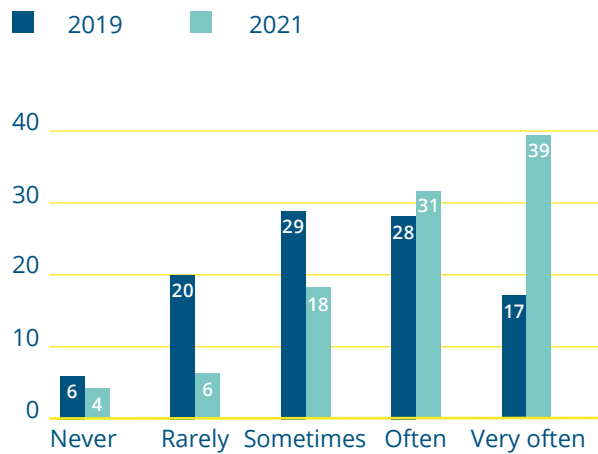
[www.kas.de/umfrage-wahlwerbung-2021](http://www.kas.de/umfrage-wahlwerbung-2021)

#### Sources

1. Surveys 1009 and 1030 by the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung e.V. 2019 and 2021. All figures are percentages. Values may not add up to 100 per cent due to “don’t know/no answer”.
2. Survey 1030 by the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung e.V. 2021. All figures are percentages. Since multiple responses were possible, the total within each party may be more than 100 per cent.
3. Survey 1030 by the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung e.V. 2021. All figures are percentages.

①

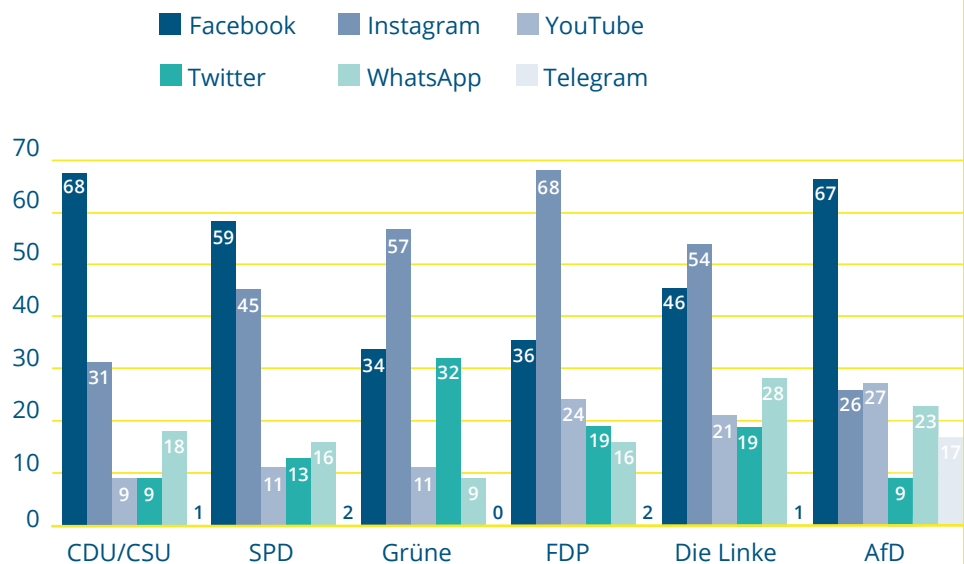
### Frequency of discussions about political issues among couples.



②

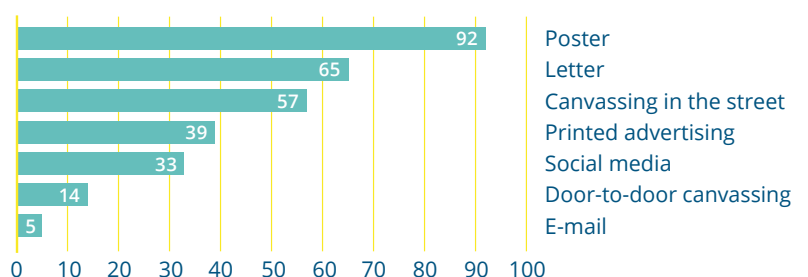
### Proportion of the electorate that uses social media, by political party.

Voters are only included if they stated that they used at least one social media platform. It was possible to indicate the use of more than one platform.



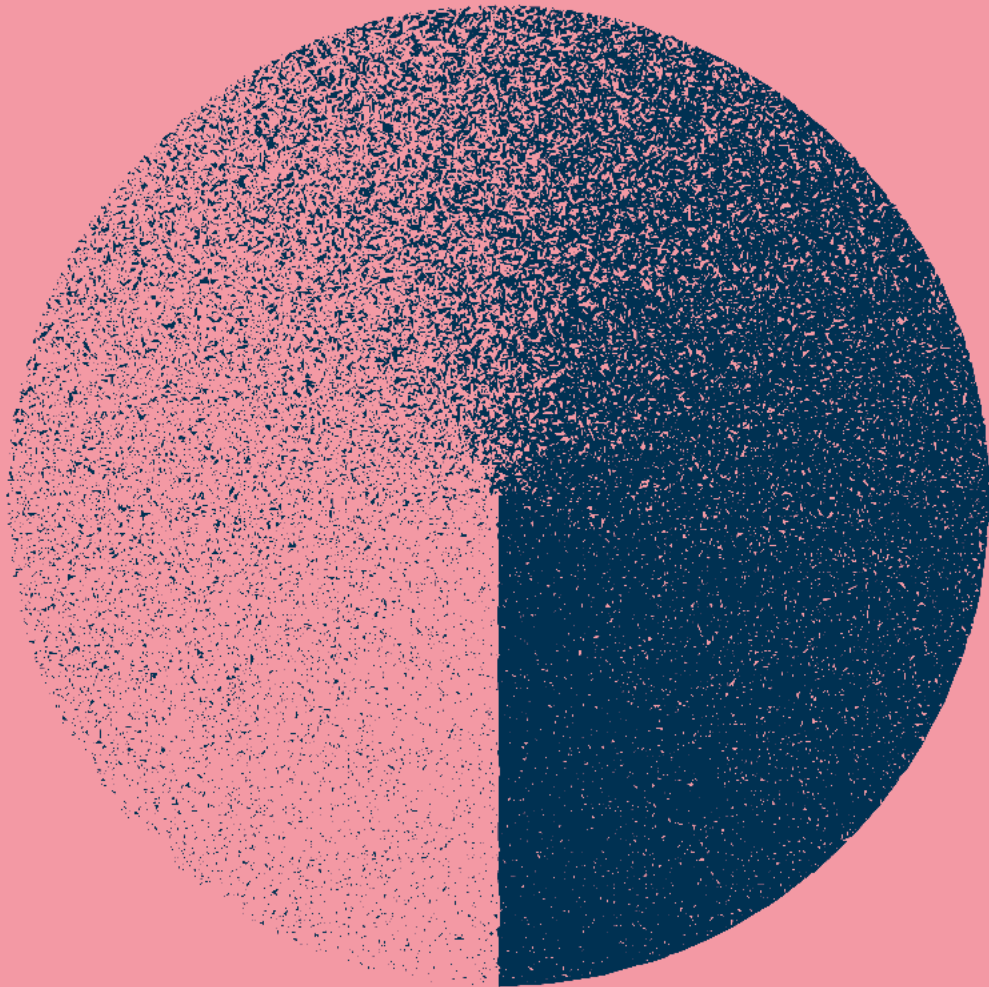
③

### Recollection of campaign materials by type.





# Special Anniversaries



5



# The Birth of European Integration

Text by  
Philip Rosin

**The European Coal and Steel Community was founded 70 years ago. The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's Contemporary History Department took this as an opportunity to organise a specialist conference on 21 November 2022. The conference took place on the grounds of Zeche Zollverein in Essen and was sponsored by the RAG-Stiftung.**

European integration began with the energy sector. The European Community for Coal and Steel (ECSC), more commonly known as the "Coal and Steel Union", began its work in 1952. The idea was presented two years earlier

at an exceptionally important press conference held on 9 May 1950. French Foreign Minister Robert Schuman presented the plan, which was subsequently named after him, based on ideas from the European mastermind Jean Monnet. In essence, it provided for the establishment of an authority to create a common Franco-German market for coal and steel, and invited other European countries to participate. Only five years after the end of World War II, the idea of Franco-German cooperation was revolutionary. The statement announced that "The coming together of the nations of Europe requires the elimination of the age-old

opposition of France and Germany. Any action taken must in the first place concern these two countries [...]. The French government proposes that Franco-German production of coal and steel as a whole be placed under a common High Authority, within the framework of an organisation open to the participation of the other countries of Europe.”

Konrad Adenauer, who had been informed by Schuman in advance, immediately signalled his approval, since he had long cherished closer economic ties between Germany and France. Both sides pursued their own interests in implementing the Schuman Plan. With the Cold War intensifying, France was concerned with consolidating its position of power within the West and, as an occupying power, retaining influence over West Germany for as long as possible. Adenauer, in turn, wanted to keep the unresolved “Saar question” open and counter the numerous critics of his course of Western integration. In essence, this was the beginning of Adenauer’s successful strategy of gaining sovereignty by renouncing sovereignty, which was designed to overcome the provisions of the Occupation Statute and to give the young Federal Republic greater freedom to act on its own accord.

In this respect, Adenauer gained a significant political success when, after several months of negotiations, he was able to travel to Paris in April 1951 to sign the ECSC Treaty – his first trip abroad as Chancellor and Foreign Minister. The symbolic power, both at home and abroad, of the images of the German chancellor standing on the diplomatic stage side-by-side with representatives of other European states at the signing of a joint treaty, was undeniable. This was just six years after the end of the war, and therefore anything but routine diplomacy.

The ECSC Treaty itself was also revolutionary, because it foresaw for the first time, in the establishment of a common High Authority as the ECSC’s most important body, the kind of supranational structure that we are familiar with today in the EU. A Council of Ministers, a Court of Justice, and a Parliamentary Assembly were also established. The institutional outlines of the later European Community and the European Union are already clearly visible here. The founding of the European Coal and Steel Community signified, therefore, the birth of European integration.

At a meeting of the CDU Federal Executive Committee on 10 May 1951, Adenauer underscored the significance of the ECSC Treaty: “The Schuman Plan will be of the greatest importance for us, and for Europe. We will be creating a market for 150 million people. We will be free of the Ruhr Statute, and the steel quota will no longer be restricted. In the field of coal and iron, we will be on an equal footing in Europe. It is ridiculous for the SPD to claim that this plan merely extends the occupation for another 50 years. The Schuman Plan also provides a better solution to the Saar issue. The ultimate goal must be to let the people of the Saar decide for themselves. The Schuman Plan will turn coal and iron from the Saar into European coal and European iron.”

Adenauer was to be proven right: in 1955, a large majority of the Saar population voted to join the Federal

Republic. This enabled Adenauer to resolve the “Saar question” without damaging the young European project, and, in 1957, the Treaty of Rome was signed, establishing the European Economic Community.

**More on the topic:**

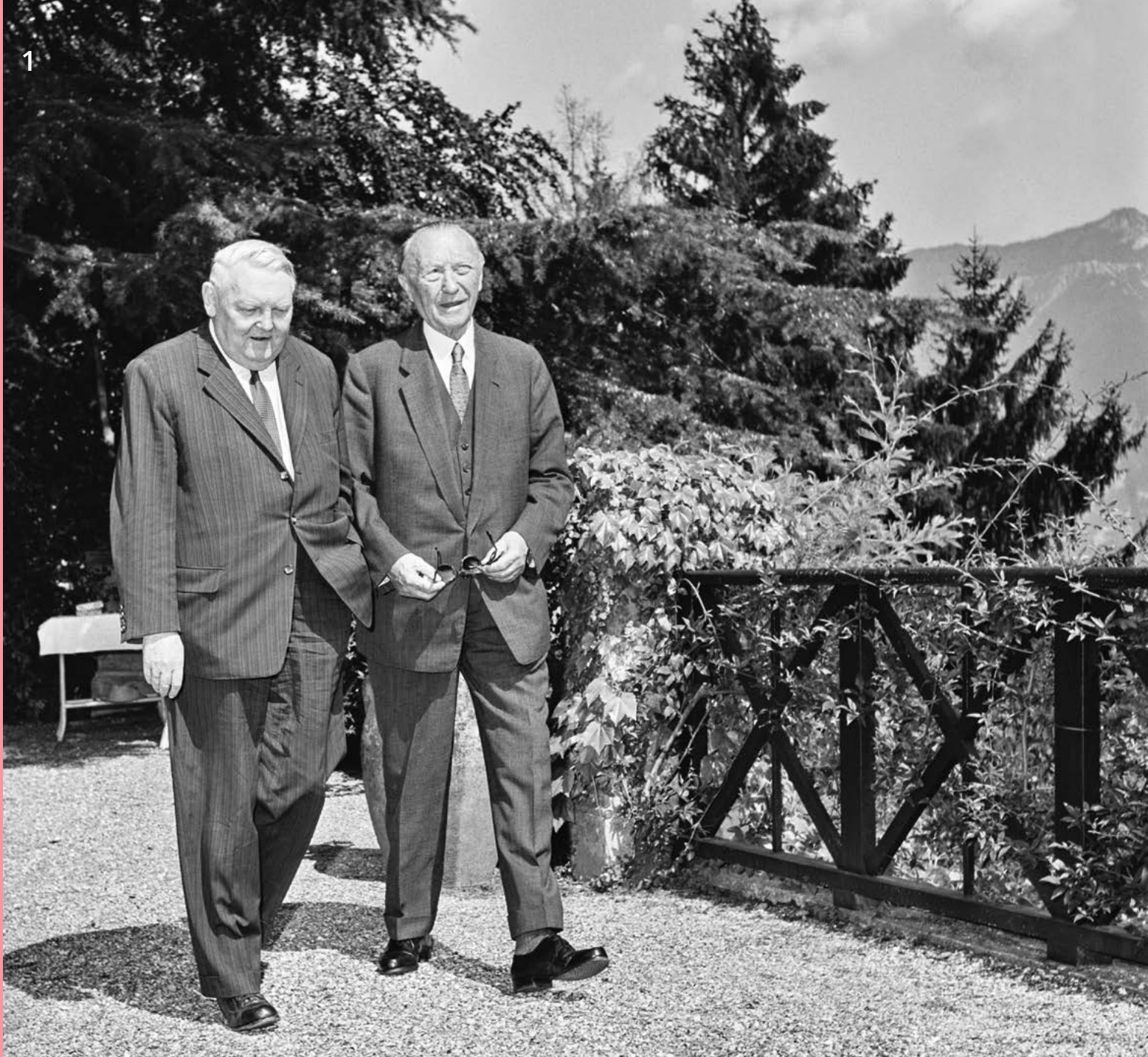
Energy policy in the Adenauer Era  
[www.konrad-adenauer.de/seite/energiepolitik/](http://www.konrad-adenauer.de/seite/energiepolitik/)

Calendar entry: Signing of the ECSC Treaty  
[www.kas.de/gruendung-der-egks](http://www.kas.de/gruendung-der-egks)



1. Signing of the ECSC Treaty on 18 April 1951 in Paris by the French, German, Italian, and Benelux Foreign Ministers. Robert Schuman and Konrad Adenauer are in the centre of the picture.

2. Specialist Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung conference that took place on 21 November 2022 in Zeche Zollverein on “The coal and steel industry and German-Franco relations since the foundation of the European Coal and Steel Community”.



1. Ludwig Erhard and Konrad Adenauer walking together.

2. Dr Jens Weidmann (left), former president of the Bundesbank, and Professor Roland Koch (right) in the main auditorium of the University of Cologne.



# 125 Years since the Birth of Ludwig Erhard

Text by Georg Schneider and Wolfgang Tischner

## The Social Market Economy Today

On 4 February 2022, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung celebrated the 125th anniversary of the birth of Ludwig Erhard. Erhard was Konrad Adenauer's long-time Minister of Economics, and later became German Chancellor. Erhard provided the decisive impetus for economic and currency reform even before the foundation of the Federal Republic. He was thus instrumental in initiating and overseeing the development of the social market economy as an economic and social system. This system has enabled Germany to achieve an unprecedented level of prosperity and stability – which continues to this day.

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung celebrated the anniversary by organising a great many events, from Bremen and Hanover to Thuringia and southern Germany, but with a focus on Bonn – Erhard's old workplace. Professor Lars P. Feld, himself a symbol of regulatory stability on the Council of Experts for many years, kicked off the event on the anniversary of Adenauer's birth (5 January). The social market economy clearly needs to be adapted to reflect current economic challenges and the processes of social change. However, "the principles of the social market economy provide for this adaptability and therefore do not need to be changed. They include a commitment to the market economy and to market economic principles, and to the idea that the state should set the framework under which, and through which, economic actors are free to make their own decisions."

One of the main features of the anniversary year was a joint series of events organised with the Ludwig Erhard-Stiftung. In early 2022, three web-based evening events were organised on the functioning of the world market, the future of small and medium-sized enterprises, and inflation and sustainability in monetary policy and the financial sector. The economic volatility of these issues was further intensified by Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine.

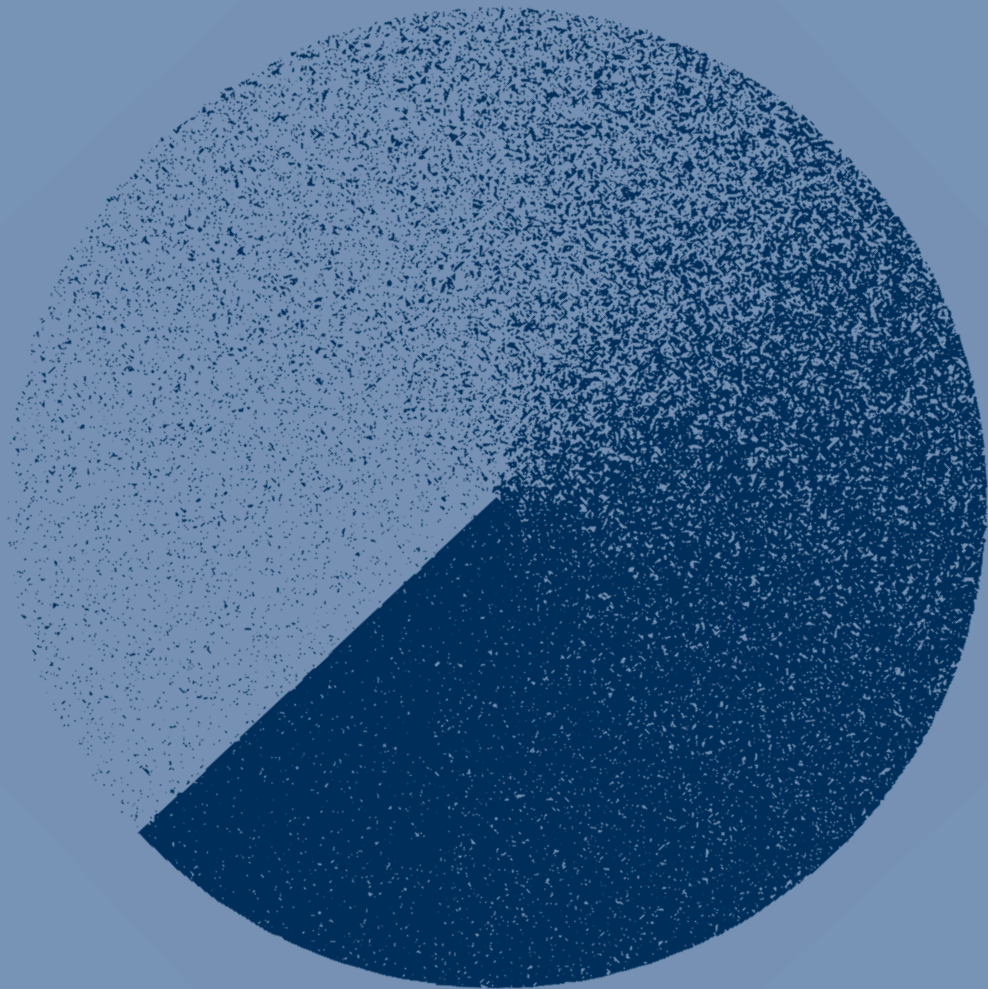
Under the motto, "Boundless does not mean without rules", the Foundation, BASF, the ifo Centre for International Economics, and the Kiel Institute for the World Economy explained why foreign trade fundamentally promotes freedom and prosperity, and why we urgently need to give more thought to the diversification of supply chains. A practical discussion also took place with the entrepreneur, Larissa Zeichhardt (Berlin), MIT Chair Gitta Connemann, MdB,

Regional Development Ostwestfalen-Lippe, and the Institute for SME Research, which Erhard himself co-founded in Bonn. The debate discussed solutions aimed at dealing with the upcoming transformations in the SME sector: from corporate succession to digitalisation, and reducing bureaucracy to the considerable tax burden in Germany. In addition, inflation and sustainability issues in the financial markets were the focus of a German–Swiss exchange between guests from DeKa-Bank (Frankfurt), Baloise Asset Management (Zurich), and the German Economic Institute (Cologne).

Finally, the 2022 Ludwig Erhard Lecture focused on monetary policy in relation to the conflict between short-term political desires and long-term price stability. The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung organised the event together with the Ludwig Erhard-Stiftung, and the Institute for Economic Policy (Cologne), which was co-founded by Ludwig Erhard's Secretary of State, Alfred Müller-Armack. The event took place in the auditorium of the University of Cologne. Around 350 people registered for the lecture by former Bundesbank President Dr Jens Weidmann, which also involved contributions from Professor Roland Koch and Professor Michael Krause. The debate also clearly demonstrated why the social market economy is needed as an economic and social model: as long as monetary policy continues to be guided by and maintain a clear and convincing commitment to social market economics and its focus on stability, our economic system will be able to face the challenges of the future with confidence.

The annual Ludwig Erhard Colloquium was held in Berlin in July, also in conjunction with the Ludwig-Erhard-Stiftung. The colloquium brings together economists, financial experts, and political representatives. The 2022 event, which also marked Erhard's 125th birthday, focused on the future viability of the social market economy. The introduction to the event was provided by Professor Norbert Lammert and Professor Roland Koch, the chairs of the two foundations. This was followed by a debate about the role of the social market economy in a rapidly changing global economy. The debate involved the distinguished Erhard expert, Professor Nils Goldschmidt, professor ordinarius at the University of Siegen; the EU Trade Representative, Sabine Weyand, and the Treasurer of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Christoph Brand (in his capacity as a long-time manager).

# Names, Dates, Facts



6



# Capital Account

Annual Accounts as of 31 December 2021

Assets	31 December 2021 €	31 December 2020 Thousand €
<b>A. Fixed assets</b>		
Intangible assets, advance payments made	852,300.00	350
Property, plant, and equipment	50,014,891.39	49,783
Financial assets	17,342.08	17
<b>B. Special assets</b>	<b>6,638,613.48</b>	<b>6,604</b>
<b>C. Current assets</b>		
Inventories	58,551.08	58
Receivables and other current assets	3,145,396.95	4,825
Cash on hand, Bundesbank credit balances, bank balances and cheques	43,879,285.58	43,037
<b>D. Prepaid expenses</b>	<b>315,793.22</b>	<b>37</b>
<b>Balance sum</b>	<b>104,922,173.78</b>	<b>104,711</b>
<b>Liabilities</b>		
<b>A. Own funds</b>	<b>5,408,539.03</b>	<b>5,359</b>
<b>B. Reserves</b>	<b>2,379,561.22</b>	<b>2,594</b>
<b>C. Earmarked funds</b>	<b>1,910,783.63</b>	<b>1,945</b>
<b>D. Subsidies for asset financing</b>	<b>50,669,341.05</b>	<b>49,931</b>
<b>E. Other liabilities</b>	<b>19,287,978.51</b>	<b>19,746</b>
<b>F. Deferred income</b>	<b>25,265,970.34</b>	<b>25,136</b>
<b>Balance sum</b>	<b>104,922,173.78</b>	<b>104,711</b>

Our annual accounts were audited and certified by BDO AG Wirtschaftsprüfungsgesellschaft.

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

# Income Statement/Expenditure Account

Annual Accounts as of 31 December 2021

Grants and subsidies	2021	2020
	€	Thousand €
Federal government grants	214,035,932.68	186,399
State and municipal grants	3,417,465.08	3,300
Other grants	5,292,229.11	4,909
	<b>222,745,626.87</b>	<b>194,608</b>
<b>Income from funds</b>	<b>234,269.83</b>	<b>329</b>
<b>Donations</b>	<b>154,684.70</b>	<b>785</b>
<b>Membership fees</b>	<b>413,709.55</b>	<b>354</b>
<b>Other income</b>	<b>978,764.53</b>	<b>875</b>
<b>Project expenses</b>		
International cooperation	127,227,985.94	103,950
Domestic projects	32,583,633.47	30,280
	<b>159,811,619.41</b>	<b>134,230</b>
<b>Fund expenses</b>	<b>185,899.90</b>	<b>205</b>
<b>Personnel expenses</b>	<b>47,042,138.43</b>	<b>44,594</b>
<b>Administrative expenses</b>	<b>12,554,183.48</b>	<b>14,065</b>
<b>Expenses for investment and other financing</b>	<b>4,115,520.66</b>	<b>2,282</b>
<b>Grants to other foundations</b>	<b>967,000.00</b>	<b>967</b>
<b>Other expenses</b>	<b>60,615.80</b>	<b>125</b>
<b>Depreciation on property, plant, and equipment</b>	<b>3,201.00</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Expense/revenue surplus</b>	<b>-213,123.20</b>	<b>477</b>
<b>Withdrawals from reserves</b>	<b>864,085.05</b>	<b>632</b>
<b>Allocations to reserves</b>	<b>633,513.69</b>	<b>1,093</b>
<b>Net income</b>	<b>17,448.16</b>	<b>16</b>

On 17 February 1993, the commission of independent experts appointed by the German Federal President published its recommendations. In accordance with the commissions' findings, we hereby publish the following details for the 2021 fiscal year as a supplement to the preceding annual financial statement.

The following illustrates the number and type of positions within the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's management that are held by members of the Bundestag, state parliaments, as well as federal or state government, party executives at the European, federal or state level.

## Staff numbers compared to the previous year

	31 Dec. 2021	31 Dec. 2020
Personnel in Germany	663	659
Personnel abroad	115	106
<b>Total</b>	<b>778</b>	<b>765</b>
Trainees	14	6

## Executive Board of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung: of a total of 23 members\* (22 members, 1 honorary chair):

- 4** Members of the German Bundestag
- 4** Members of the federal party executive board
- 18** Without an above-mentioned management function

\* Some members perform more than one executive function

# Overview

## Expected income and expenditure

Income	2023 (target)* Thousand €	2022 (target) Thousand €
<b>Grants and subsidies</b>		
Federal government	218,646	207,304
State governments	3,385	3,354
Other	7,125	6,467
	<b>229,156</b>	<b>217,125</b>
<b>Funds/Donations</b>	<b>402</b>	<b>414</b>
<b>Registration fees</b>	<b>967</b>	<b>1,013</b>
<b>Other revenues</b>	<b>841</b>	<b>841</b>
<b>Total income</b>	<b>231,366</b>	<b>219,393</b>
<b>Expenses</b>		
<b>Project expenditure</b>		
Student and graduate scholarships	27,839	27,256
Congresses and seminars	7,395	7,129
International cooperation	119,092	114,261
Research expenses	784	766
Support of art and culture	503	503
Other project expenses	3,111	3,245
	<b>158,724</b>	<b>153,160</b>
<b>Personnel expenditure (within Germany)</b>	<b>47,814</b>	<b>47,758</b>
<b>Administrative expenditure</b>		
Business needs	5,640	5,738
Building expenditures	4,739	4,746
Other administrative expenditures	2,806	2,531
	<b>13,185</b>	<b>13,015</b>
<b>Other expenses</b>	<b>8,976</b>	<b>1,601</b>
<b>Investments</b>	<b>2,667</b>	<b>3,859</b>
<b>Total expenses</b>	<b>231,366</b>	<b>219,393</b>

\* Budget 2023: last amended 25 November 2022.

# Joint Statement on State Funding of Political Foundations

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

# Board of Directors of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung



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**Secretary General**  
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On 11 June 1999, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung e. V. Board appointed a Board of Trustees. This body supports and accompanies the work of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in a consultative capacity. One of its most important tasks is to analyse developments of relevance to society as a whole.

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

The Board of Trustees comprises representatives from politics, society, science, and culture. Dr Wolfgang Schüssel is the chair of this body.

In the composition of the Trustees Board, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung has given importance to involving various parts of society. Our goal is to assure even stronger ties with ideas and proposals from science and society.



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# Continuity in times of crisis

In 2022, the Friends of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung once again faced up to the challenges of keeping in touch with its members despite the pandemic and worldwide crises.



Boat tour on Lake Como.

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

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

In 2022, seminars took place in Banz Monastery and in Cadenabbia and civic educational trips were organised to Prague, Istria, Ireland, Norway, Switzerland, eastern Canada, and Israel. In cooperation with the Friends of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in Germany, a joint evening event took place "Ein Abend für das Jungbleiben" (An Evening for Staying Young), which was held at Bertelsmann Stiftung in Berlin.

The Friends also continued their series of online political get-togethers via Zoom. Two members of the Foundation's field office staff reported on the situation in the country where they work. In addition, on 23 March, a virtual discussion group entitled "StandWithUkraine" took place with Professor Norbert Lammert, Philipp Dienstbier, Dr Brigitta Triebel, Dr Christoph M. Brand and Anne-Katrin Mellmann.

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

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# The Villa La Collina in Cadenabbia

## A Historic Conference and Holiday Resort

In 2022, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung organised 76 events that attracted more than 1,500 participants from around the world to Konrad Adenauer's former summer residence on Lake Como. During the year, numerous civic educational seminars took place in Cadenabbia. In addition to the classic seminar topic "Auf den Spuren Konrad Adenauers" (In the footsteps of Konrad Adenauer), they focused on topics such as extremism, terrorism, domestic security, state reform, Agenda 2030 thinking sustainability holistically globally and locally, the Bundeswehr of the future, and democracy in the digital age.

Villa La Collina once again hosted numerous international conferences. In 2022, the focus was on the Russian war of aggression against Ukraine, the politicisation of religion, the further development of the European Union, the construction of a European security architecture, and European-African relations.

In autumn, the traditional Authors' Workshop took place together with numerous writers who read from unpublished texts and discussed works with critics, Germanists and politicians.

Villa La Collina was also once again a meeting place for visual artists supported by the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's Else Heiliger Fund. Together with authors, composers, gallery owners, and museum directors, the Foundation discussed socio-politically relevant issues across the boundaries of cultural disciplines.

As a European meeting place, as a creative workshop for writers and artists, and not least as a conference venue, Villa La Collina has long formed an indispensable part of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung.



**More information is available in German, English and Italian at: [www.villalacollina.com](http://www.villalacollina.com).**

### **Your contacts at Villa La Collina are:**

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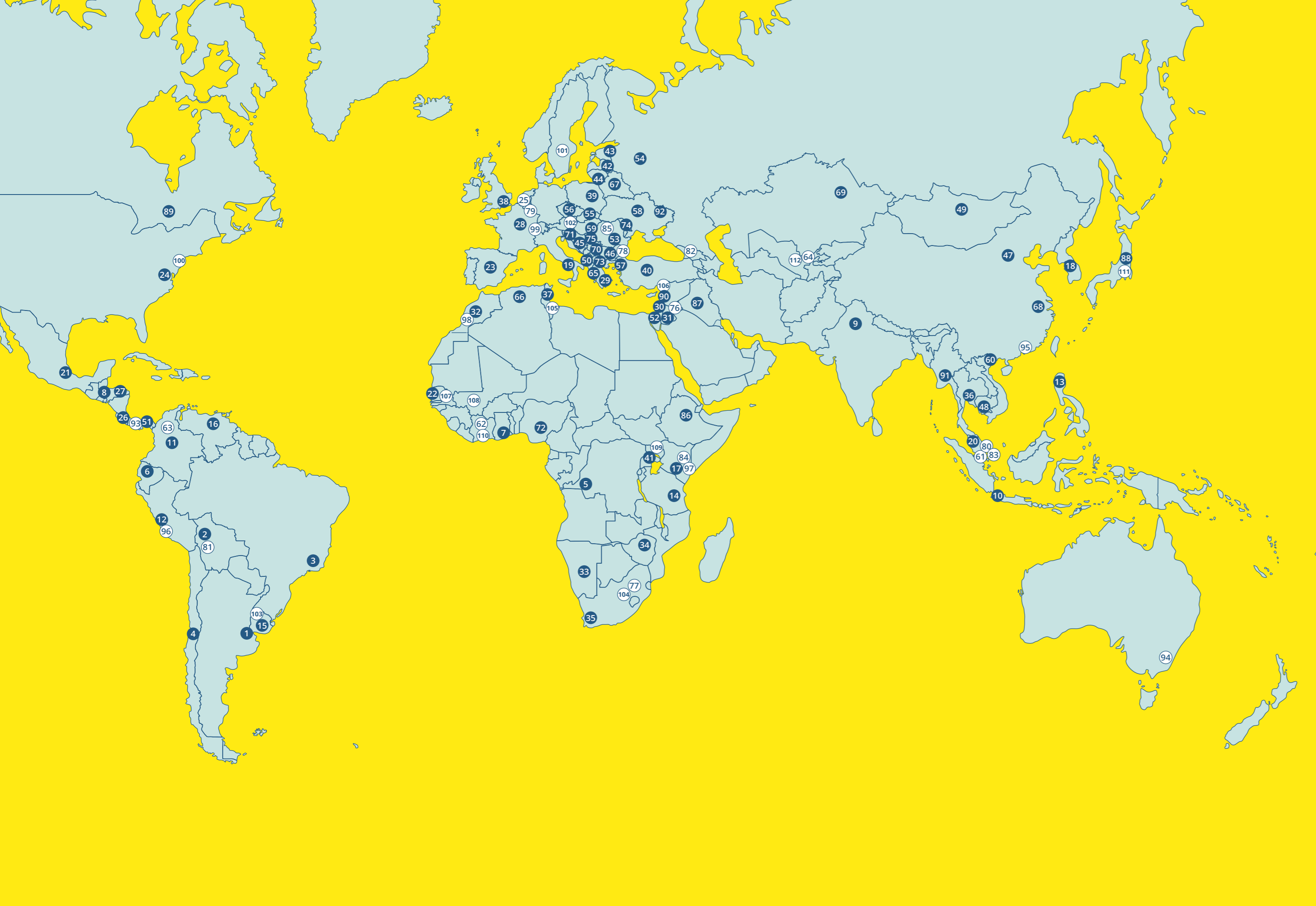


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# The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung's Worldwide Offices

## Country offices and regional programmes

### OPENED BETWEEN 1960 AND 1969

#### COUNTRY OFFICES

1. Argentina
2. Bolivia
3. Brazil
4. Chile
5. Democratic Republic of Congo
6. Ecuador
7. Ghana
8. Guatemala
9. India
10. Indonesia and East Timor
11. Columbia
12. Peru
13. The Philippines
14. Tanzania
15. Uruguay
16. Venezuela

#### REGIONAL PROGRAMMES

61. Media Programme Asia
62. Political dialogue West Africa
63. Rule of Law Programme Latin America
64. Central Asia

### OPENED BETWEEN 1970 AND 1979

#### COUNTRY OFFICES

17. Kenia
18. Korea
19. Italy, Malta, Holy See
20. Malaysia
21. Mexico
22. Senegal and Gambia
23. Spain and Portugal
24. US

#### REGIONAL PROGRAMMES

25. European office in Brussels

### OPENED BETWEEN 2000 AND 2009

#### COUNTRY OFFICES

65. Albania
66. Algeria
67. Belarus
68. China (Shanghai)
69. Kazakhstan
70. Kosovo
71. Croatia and Slovenia
72. Nigeria
73. The North Macedonia
74. The Republic of Moldova
75. Serbia

#### REGIONAL PROGRAMMES

76. Golf states
77. Media Programme Sub-Saharan Africa
78. Media Programme South East Europe
79. Multinational development policy dialogue Brussels
80. Political Dialogue Asia
81. Political participation of indigenous peoples in Latin America
82. Political dialogue South Caucuses
83. Rule of law Programme Asia
84. Rule of law Programme Sub-Saharan Africa (since 2020: English-speaking countries)
85. Rule of law Programme South East Europe

### OPENED BETWEEN 1980 AND 1989

#### COUNTRY OFFICES

26. Costa Rica
27. Honduras
28. France
29. Greece and Cyprus
30. Israel
31. Jordan
32. Morocco
33. Namibia and Angola
34. Zimbabwe
35. South Africa (Johannesburg, from 2021 Cape Town)
36. Thailand
37. Tunisia
38. UK and Ireland
39. Poland
40. Turkey (Ankara)
41. Uganda
42. Baltic states/Latvia

### OPENED BETWEEN 2010 AND 2022

#### COUNTRY PROJECTS

86. Ethiopia and African Union
87. Iraq
88. Japan
89. Canada
90. Lebanon
91. Myanmar\*\*\*
92. Ukraine (Kharkiv)\*\*

#### REGIONAL PROGRAMMES

93. Alliances for democracy and development with Latin America
94. Australia and the Pacific
95. Energy security and climate change in Asia and the Pacific
96. Energy security and climate change in Latin America
97. Energy security and climate change Sub-Saharan Africa
98. Energy security and climate change and Middle East and North Africa
99. Multilateral dialogue Geneva
100. Office at the United Nations in New York
101. Nordic countries
102. Austria and multilateral dialogue Vienna
103. Party dialogue and democracy in Latin America
104. Political dialogue Sub-Saharan Africa
105. Political dialogue and regional integration in Southern Mediterranean
106. Rule of law Programme Middle East and North Africa
107. Rule of law Programme in Sub-Saharan Africa (French-speaking countries)
108. Sahel
109. Security policy Sub-Sahara East
110. Security policy Sub-Sahara West (from 2022: West Africa)
111. Regional economic programme Asia
112. South West Asia

### OPENED BETWEEN 1990 AND 1999

#### COUNTRY OFFICE

43. Baltic states/liaison office Estonia
44. Baltic states/liaison office Lithuania
45. Bosnia and Herzegovina
46. Bulgaria
47. China (Beijing)
48. Cambodia
49. Mongolia
50. Montenegro
51. Panama
52. Palestinian territories
53. Rumania
54. Russian Federation (Moscow and St Petersburg)\*
55. Slovak Republic
56. Czech Republic
57. Turkey (Istanbul)
58. Ukraine (Kiev)\*\*
59. Hungary
60. Vietnam

\* We are currently considering how we can continue to conduct our work in Russia. | \*\* Since the beginning of the war in 2022, the Ukraine office has been run from Germany. The offices are soon to be run temporarily from Warsaw. | \*\*\* The office in Myanmar has been run from Singapore since 2022.



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**#STAND  
WITH  
UKRAINE**