



Steffen Saebisch, Chief Executive Officer since 1 October 2014, Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom

DEAR READERS,

As you can see on the following 95 pages, you – as a free, emancipated and confident citizen with the right to determine your own life – are the focus of our continuous engagement both in Germany and around the world.

We as a liberal foundation have been standing by your side for more than 57 years, to protect personal life choices, to ensure a free business environment and to make our society more open and tolerant.

A democracy needs democrats, in the same way that freedom needs freedom fighters, to be safe from those who despise it.

In 2014, we recalled the lessons learnt from German history and reassured ourselves of our responsibilities. Our Foundation is a consequence of the realisation that freedom and democracy have to be defended every day anew, and that teaching the value of freedom and democracy is the most effective way to advocate for a free, democratic and tolerant society.

We encourage you to continue working with us in our efforts to achieve an open-minded, free and tolerant Germany, and to help us to bring these values to other parts of the world. Please participate in one of our many events that take place at 10 locations in Germany and more than 60 countries worldwide, as well as virtually at www.freiheit.org.

The annual report 2014 gives you a broad overview of our projects and the wide spectrum of our activities. Welcome to the Foundation for Freedom!

Steffen Saebisch
Chief Executive Officer, Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom

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FREEDOM IS...

ENSURING CIVIL
RIGHTS





Francis Antonie, director of the Helen Suzman Foundation

THE HELEN SUZMAN FOUNDATION IS COMMITTED TO THE RULE OF LAW IN SOUTH AFRICA – AGAINST CORRUPTION AND A LACK OF TRANSPARENCY. IN THIS INTERVIEW, THE DIRECTOR OF THE FOUNDATION, FRANCIS ANTONIE, REPORTS ON FIRST SUCCESSES.

Mr Antonie, you are the director of the Helen Suzman Foundation, which is a long-standing think tank partner of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom. What does the cooperation with the Foundation look like in practice?

We currently cooperate with FNF on two very exciting projects of paramount importance to South Africa. The first project is concerned with the "Hawks", which is South Africa's anti-corruption unit. Corruption continues to be a big problem in South Africa. An independent unit to fight against is needed to solve it. Since 2008, the Helen Suzman Foundation has been advocating ceaselessly for such an anti-corruption unit. At the time we played the role of a knowledgeable third party, a kind of co-plaintiff, in the proceedings against the dissolution of the former anti-corruption unit. These so-called "Scorpions" operated quite independently and some decision-makers considered them to be perhaps a bit too successful. They were, therefore, replaced by the new "Hawks". The Constitutional Court, however, found the law on

which this decision was based unconstitutional, since it did not guarantee the structural and operational independence of the Hawks.

As a consequence, Parliament was asked to look again at this. The new draft law, however, was not designed to make the Hawks any more independent. We as Foundation, therefore, went back to court – this time as the main plaintiff before the highest court of the Western Cape province. Again, we won the case. To confirm the ruling of the court of the Western Cape, it was necessary to appeal again to the Constitutional Court in Johannesburg. We finally received a verdict on 27 November 2014. The court agreed with the ruling that the new law does not sufficiently guarantee the independence of the Hawks either. This decision by the Constitutional Court is not just a signal, but also a genuine milestone in the fight against corruption in South Africa. The wheels of the state of law may turn slowly, but at the end our perseverance had paid off!

The second issue that we are working on is the lack of an independent judiciary in South Africa. For some time now, there have been concerns about the opaque and at times incomprehensible selection processes for judges by the Judicial Service Commission (JSC). Since the Constitution was not sufficiently clear on that point, the Helen Suzman Foundation went to court to clarify the lawfulness of the current nomination procedures and decision-making processes of the JSC. The citizens of South Africa should be able to have absolute confidence in their judges.

"IN SOUTH AFRICA, TOO, ALL HAVE TO BE EQUAL BEFORE OF THE LAW"

FRANCIS ANTONIE

What does the work of the Foundation mean for South Africa?

In both cases, nothing less is at stake than the rule of law in South Africa. Regarding the Hawks, there is also the additional issue of the protection of constitutional rights, which are in danger of being eroded through corruption both within government and civil society. Basically, it is important to ensure that everybody who commits a crime – whether parliamentarians, ministers, judges or ordinary citizens – will be held accountable. In South Africa, too, all have to be equal before of the law.

In the case of the selection of judges, the separation of powers is the heart of the matter. After all, the independence of a competent judiciary is the cornerstone of any functioning constitutional democracy. In this case as well, the principle of fundamental equality before the law is decisive.

Together with the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom we fight against the erosion of our most important constitutional institutions; without the Foundation's help I would be pessimistic about the future of our country.



Holding out against the erosion of institutions

Arguing for Freedom

THE EVENTS ORGANISED BY THE REGIONAL OFFICES IN BERLIN-BRANDENBURG, STUTTGART AND WIESBADEN FOCUS ON FREEDOM IN MYRIAD WAYS

Greetings! – From the Digital Stalker

Ben Becker reads slowly and with a thoughtful voice. A quotation from George Orwell's novel 1984 marks the end of his lecture in the Babylon Cinema, Berlin Mitte. The pages that he reads from balance on a wobbly music stand and he himself never managed to find a comfortable position on the bar stool. Everything about this event on stalking, organised by the regional office Berlin-Brandenburg in March, seems a bit improvised. Even after two hours of a roundtable discussion the audience listens enthralled to Ben Becker, and the novel, published in 1949 as science fiction, feels uncomfortably up-to-date. It is as if Orwell's fictional character Winston Smith has mutated into a prophet of an oppressive present.



A reading by Ben Becker



Earlier, the topic of digital stalking was discussed in depth by the panellists: journalist Jan Fleischhauer, FDP politician Wolfgang Kubicki, communications advisor Hajo Schumacher and author and entrepreneur Roman Maria Koidl. His book "WebAttack – The State as Stalker" is not a work of fiction, but an examination of reality: more and more, the author finds, the state is spying on its citizens. The infringement is not confined anymore to public institutions, the panel of experts agreed – on the contrary, digital stalking is a favourite way for leading internet companies to discover more about their customers. "Greetings! – From the age of uniformity, from the age of solitude, from the age of big brother, from the age of doublethink – greetings!" reads Ben Becker. With these words the audience of more than 200 listeners is dismissed. Light illuminates the hall. They briefly blink – and quickly reach for their smartphones. Only Hajo Schumacher drowns his mobile phone in his water glass.

HAMBACHER SYMPOSIUM

The developments in the Ukraine gave the impetus for a symposium which could not have been more topical and relevant: "How can freedom and self-determination be protected in Europe"? This question was discussed at the traditional Hambach Symposium in September 2014 by the expert on international law and Eastern European law Professor Dieter Dörr, Professor emeritus Otto Luchterhandt and retired Colonel Wolfgang Richter, as well as the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom Wolfgang Gerhardt. Chaired by the patron of the symposium, Volker Wissing, the panelists and their audience mainly discussed the intrinsic value of the international community of states and to what an extent international law is binding.



Prof Dr Karl-Heinz Paqué, Prof Ines Geipel, Werner Schlienke, Cornelia Holtmann and Prof Dr Andreas Rödder (from left to right)

11TH KARLSRUHE DIALOGUE ON THE CONSTITUTION

The 11th Karlsruhe Dialogue on the Constitution, which was organised by the FNF regional office in Stuttgart, explored the topic of "Europe of Freedoms". The former Federal Minister Irmgard Schwaetzer opened the conference with an analysis of "Human and Civil Rights as a Challenge for Europe" which was followed by an analysis of current aspects of European integration. The speech on "Labour Migration and Poverty Driven Migration" by Professor Jan Bergmann, chairman of the "Europazentrum" explained the legal framework for the free movement of people in the EU, while Professor Dirk Wentzel talked about "Competition and Growth as Pillars of a European Economic Policy". In his presentation on "Proximity to Citizens, Transparency and the Democratic Legitimacy of the EU" the liberal Member of the European Parliament Michael Theurer called the European Union "a chance to overcome national egotisms".

"THE EUROPEAN UNION IS AN OPPORTUNITY TO OVERCOME NATIONAL EGOTISMS"

MICHAEL THEURER MEP



Michael Theurer, since 2009 for the FDP in the European Parliament



World Human Rights Forum in Marakesh



Engagement for Religious Freedom

A UNION BETWEEN STATE AND RELIGION TENDS TO BE THE NORM IN ARAB-ISLAMIC COUNTRIES. AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IN MOROCCO DEBATED "RELIGION AND FREEDOM".

There are several preconditions for democratic development, including individual freedom, equal rights for all – and freedom of conscience and religion. For two days in November 2014, intellectuals and scholars discussed this sensitive topic in the National Library of the Moroccan capital Rabat. At the invitation of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom and its partner organisation "Damir" (conscience) about 200 participants were encouraged to consider how the Islamic world could find its way out of this dead-end street. There was much interest in a presentation about the way in which

the separation of state and religion had developed in Germany and the current relationship between church and state there, since this relationship has a cooperative character, which clearly distinguishes it from the much more confrontational attitude in France. In francophone North Africa the French concept of 'laïcité' (secularism) is known very well – and with its historical echo of a revolutionary anti-clericalism hardly suitable as a model for the Arab world in how to advocate for a separation of state and religion as well as for freedom of conscience. The pastor Thorsten-Marco Kirschner is Commissioner for the Dialogue with Political Youth Organisations for the Representative of the Council of Protestant Churches in Germany (EKD). He gave a historical overview of what is known as the "cultural struggle" in Germany and described the legal bases for the separation of church and state. The audience was impressed by the state's attitude of "supporting neutrality" and the examples that were given for religious education in schools. Some liberal Islamic intellectuals also took a critical look at the relationship between religion and freedom in Northern Africa. The Moroccan writer Ahmed Assid criticised that in Islamic countries the state played the role of religious guardian of public morals. However, the responsibility of the state was rather to protect individuals and their freedoms.

Ambivalence of Tunisian Constitution Plays into the Hands of Radicals

The Tunisian scholar Ali Mezghani pointed out the ambivalence in the acclaimed new Tunisian Constitution: While the people were "the source of all powers", they were not "the sovereign". Although one article of the Constitution guaranteed freedom of conscience – and thereby in theory also the free choice of religion – another article limited this by obliging the state to prevent any attack on "sanctities". Free choice of religion, which according to prevailing interpretations of Islam in any case does not apply to Muslims, was therefore de facto ruled out.



Interpretations of how the Koran Was Passed on Could be Crucial

The Moroccan Islamic scholar Rashid Benzine approached the Koran and the writings of the prophet Mohammed using tools of historical anthropology: The texts of the Koran should not be mixed up with the writings and sayings of Mohammed from 300 years later, since these were made in very different social contexts. The consolidated text compiled later therefore served the specific interests of rulers – and was not suitable as a subject for an interpretation that fuses religious interests with the interest of the state. The original text of the Koran, for example, did not mention any worldly punishment for leaving the Muslim faith...

The recommendations drawn up at the end of the two-day conference show the need for a separation of religion and law. At the end of November 2014, the Foundation and "Damir" presented these recommendations to a larger audience at the International Human Rights Forum in Marrakesh. This event was extensively covered in the media and enabled the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom to put a liberal core issue on the public agenda.

Conference "Religion and Freedom",
17 and 18/11/2014, Rabat

"THE STATE HAS TO PROTECT INDIVIDUALS AND THEIR FREEDOMS"

AHMED ASSID





News from the Virtual Academy

ALARMING: SURVEY ABOUT INTERNET POLICIES: WHAT POSES THE BIGGEST THREAT TO ONLINE FREEDOM – THE STATE OR PRIVATE ENTERPRISE? A SURVEY CARRIED OUT BY THE VIRTUAL ACADEMY IN THE AUTUMN OF 2014 SHOWED SOME INTERESTING RESULTS.

In the area of data protection, for example, only supporters of the FDP and the Pirate Party fear government intervention more than intervention by private companies. All other respondents are more concerned about the way companies use their data. The IT-lecturer Maria-Christina Nimmerfroh from the Bonn-Rhine-Sieg University of Applied Sciences had academically supervised the large online survey on internet policies. In total, around one thousand people participated, making the data statistically significant.

It also became clear that liberal engagement in internet policies and political education is urgently needed, as even politically aware citizens are not paying nearly enough attention to the issue of privacy on the internet. The main results of the survey show that:

- Debates on internet policies are conducted in a jargon which many people are not familiar with. These discussions appear too "technical" and, while they are relevant for the protection of individual freedom, they often don't reach ordinary citizens. While most people know what is meant by the terms "cloud" and "data retention", half of the respondents were not able to explain the meaning of "interference liability" or "crypto-party".
- Around 40% of respondents did not modify their online behaviour, for example by changing their e-mail provider, after learning about the millions of civil rights violations committed by government intelligence agencies such as the NSA.
- 70% are of the opinion that everybody should encrypt their e-mails, but 60% do not know how to do that.
- Most respondents see the need for further regulation of the internet: data protection, anti-virus protection and IT security are seen as the most important issues. They are, however, keen to see deregulation of the copyright law on the internet, since copyright restrictions are in the interest of the producers.
- More than 60% of those surveyed think that schools are not teaching enough IT skills.

The results of the study are summarised in this video: <https://vimeo.com/113511648>

The complete survey data is available here: bit.ly/Umfrage_Netzpolitik

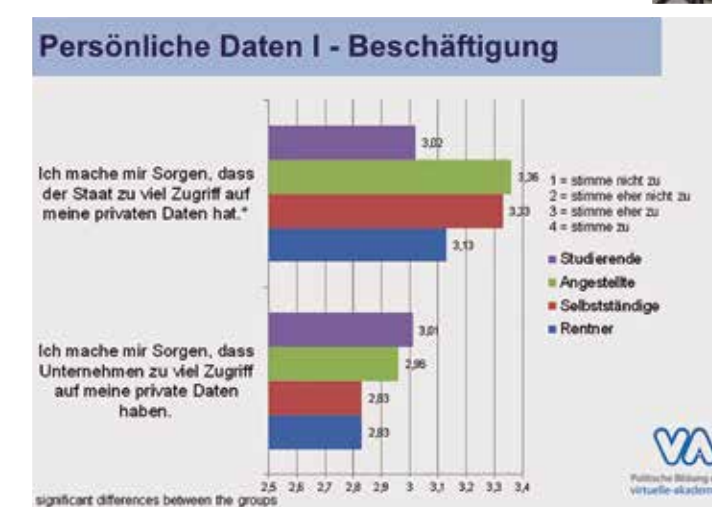
Link to an explanatory video: bit.ly/video_buergerbeteiligung

"DIGITALISATION IS NOT A TECHNICAL ISSUE, BUT A DEVELOPMENT COMPARABLE TO INDUSTRIALISATION"

SABINE LEUTHEUSSER-SCHNARRENBARGER



Sabine Leutheusser-Scharrenberger, federal minister of justice 1992 - 1996 and 2009 - 2013





Taavi Roivas, prime minister of Estonia, and Dr Borek Severa, project director for the Baltic States

E-Estonia: A Success Story

ESTONIA IS THE MOST SUCCESSFUL TRANSITION COUNTRY AMONGST THE EU ACCESSION COUNTRIES. E-GOVERNANCE IS ONE OF THE REASONS FOR ESTONIA'S POSITION AT THE TOP.

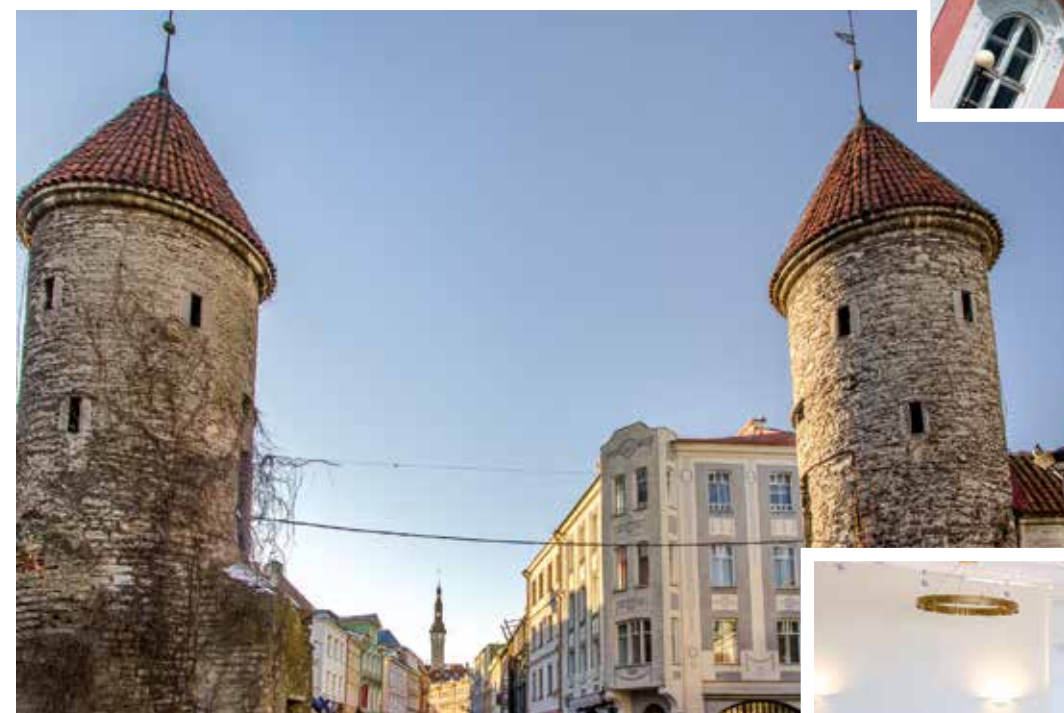
The liberal government of Prime Minister Andrus Ansip had managed early on to use digital information and communication techniques to create an optimal framework – not only for the economy, but also for the entire public sector. Bureaucracy could therefore be reduced to a minimum. Ansip's young successor, Taavi Roivas, continued on this path since his inauguration more than a year ago. The 20-year long successful cooperation between the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom and the Estonian Reform Party is unique in its stability and sustainability. The Estonian liberals play an important role in the wider political dialogue. Within the regional network of liberal parties and think tanks – 4Liberty.eu – the Estonian best practice is an example for all.

The simplified communication between authorities and with businesses as well as citizens frees capacities, which can be used more effectively and efficiently. In Estonia, on average it only takes 15 minutes to set up a business, for example. The number of start-ups has grown by an average of 9% while the rate of bankruptcies has declined by 70% – despite the global economic crisis in 2009. Under these circumstances, it is hardly surprising that Estonia is ranked 13th on the global Economic Freedom Index, published by the Heritage Foundation. In the judiciary system, too, an increased efficiency of administrative processes through e-governance can be noticed. The government's goal of limiting the length of court proceedings to a maximum of 100 days has been achieved – above all because of the complete digitalisation of the transfer of records between the police, the prosecutors and the courts. Electronic forms and digital records contribute to keeping the administrative procedures to a minimum especially in commercial cases and petty offences. Therefore only 36 court employees are needed to deal with up to 40,000 cases annually. These efficient digital procedures benefit particularly the administration of social security, which in most countries is the largest burden on the public purse, and have led to significant savings. Parliamentary elections can also be held digitally. Nearly one third of Estonians made use of that new opportunity for the European elections in 2014. They voted via the internet or text messaging, using a free personalised SIM-card for their mobile phones.

Europe should learn from Estonia and show the courage to follow the Estonian path towards e-government. It is an inspiring story of a successful partnership between forward-looking government policies, a pro-active and highly advanced IT sector and a population keen on technology. The citizens' trust in their political elites seems to be justified.

"EUROPE SHOULD LEARN FROM ESTONIA AND SHOW MORE COURAGE"

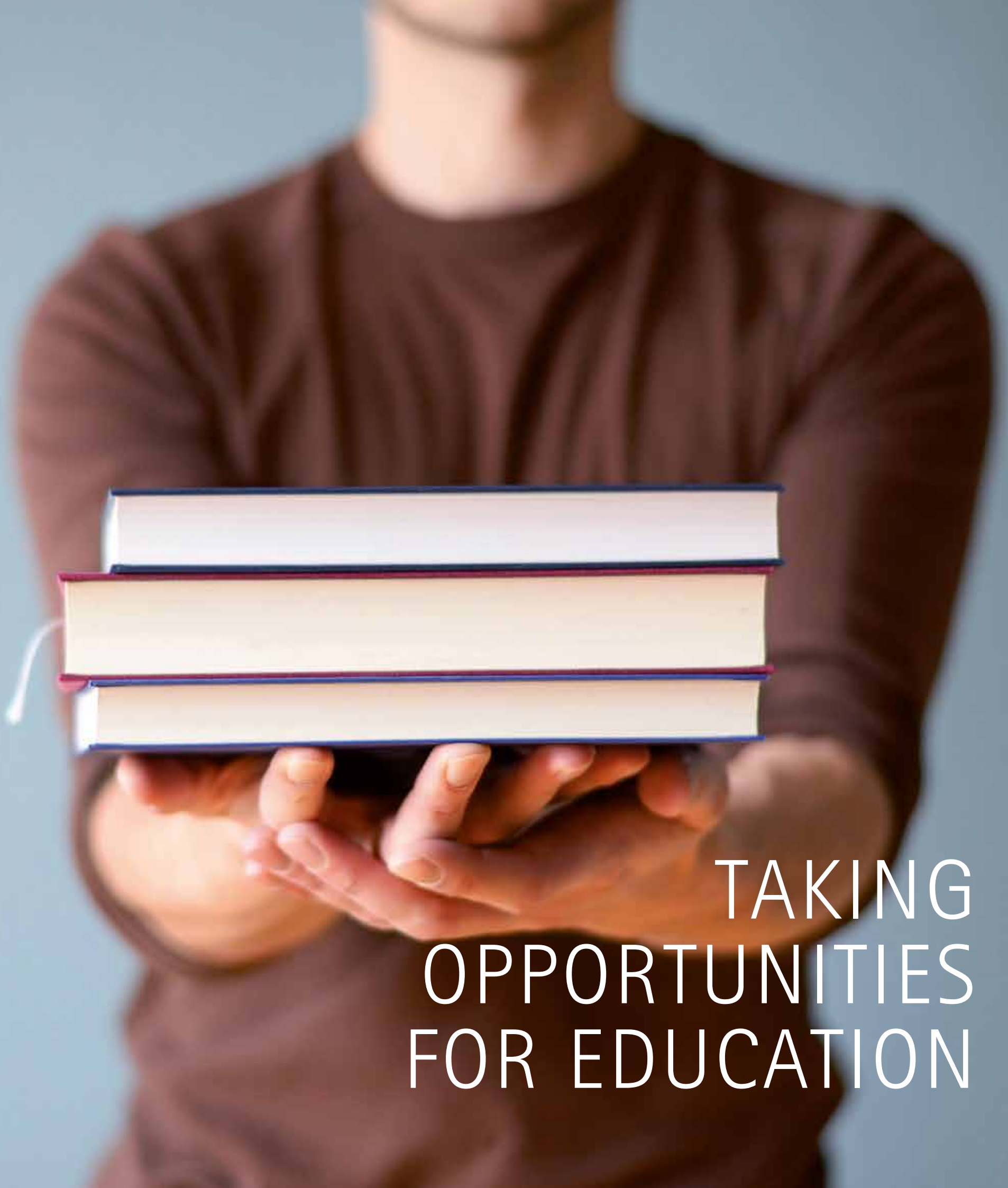
MANFRED RICHTER



It is significant that most Estonians do not share the widespread fear of "big data" or are concerned about excessive data protection. Every Estonian has an electronic ID card that contains all relevant personal data and their social security number. This simplifies identity checks by the police as well as visits to a doctor or a government agency while at the same time lowering costs for the government.



FREEDOM IS...



TAKING
OPPORTUNITIES
FOR EDUCATION



Providing Education as a Service

THE ARCHIVE AND THE VIRTUAL ACADEMY SUPPORT SCHOOLS, SCIENCE AND POLITICS, AS WELL AS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DAY-CARE CENTRES.

Checklist for setting up a day-care centre

These days it should be easy to set up a day-care centre: the liberalisation of childcare services has cleared the way for the opening of independent day-care centres for young children. The need for day-care places continues to be high; since 2013 all children have a legal right to such a place. However, there are many hurdles to overcome. It is much more difficult these days to access start-up funding than it was in the early years between 2010 and 2012. At the same time, the day-care situation remains tight, especially in larger cities: In the West of Germany there is a shortage of places, in the East a lack of staff.

Parents are aware of the situation and have come together in private initiatives to set up independent day-care centres. At the same time, trained pre-school teachers are taking advantage of the situation to realise their own educational ideas by also establishing day-care centres on their own initiative. However, the road to an independent day-care centre can be rocky, and committed parents and educators can easily get caught up in red tape.

"FIRST-CLASS EDUCATION AND TRAINING BEGINS WITH CHILDREN AND THEREFORE ALSO WITH THEIR FAMILIES"

WOLFGANG GERHARDT

Establishing day-care centres is the responsibility of the states, and within the states of the municipalities, i.e. there are 16 different guidelines on state level and a further 402 on the municipal level. There is, therefore, not one single correct way of setting up a day-care centre; however, there are a few points that are relevant across the board. These were compiled in an online seminar organised by the Virtual Academy in October 2014:

Checklist for setting up an independent day-care centre:

- Develop a concrete plan
- Establish the need for day-care places within a region
- Collect information on the setting-up process
- Decide on and formulate an educational concept
- Decide on the legal identity
- Draw up a budget, personnel plan and premises
- Seek official permits
- Arrange for insurance

More information in our guideline for the establishment of day-care centres: bit.ly/Kita_Leitfaden

THE ARCHIVE: WORKING WITH SCHOOLS

Not only is the Liberal Archive the institutional memory of liberalism, it is also a place for education and research. In 2014, the Archive expanded the education partnership with the comprehensive secondary school Marienheide and the elementary school in Gummersbach-Niederseßmar. Education partnerships between archives and schools are supported by the Ministry of Education of the State of North Rhine-Westphalia, and the Liberal Archive is so far the only archive in the district "Oberbergischer Kreis" to pursue such a cooperation.

In November 2014, the principals Wolfgang Krug from Marienheide and Doris Schmitz from Gummersbach-Niederseßmar – both schools are close to the Theodor Heuss Academy – formalised their cooperation with the Archive, which has already been productive and characterised by mutual trust, for the next few years. On 30 January 2014, the 82nd anniversary of the power grab by the National Socialists, around seventy students from the comprehensive school in Marienheide visited the Archive to carry out a critical analysis of the conduct of the liberal party in early 1933, using original documents from the Archive's inventory. There was a lively discussion, especially regarding the consent given by the later Federal President Theodor Heuss, FDP, to the so-called Enabling Act in March 1933. The students acknowledged that Heuss stood out as a critic of National Socialism both before and after the vote in the Reichstag and that he had regretted his decision for the rest of his life.



The fourth-graders from the elementary school in Niederseßmar enjoyed story-telling time and the singing of advent carols during their by now traditional visit to the Theodor Heuss Academy in December. They also performed a role-play for enchanted pre-schoolers from a nearby day-care centre, in which Rudolph the reindeer stopped by at the fireplace in the main hall of the Academy. Another visit by all fourth graders is planned for 2015 as part of the programme for "World Book Day".

Scholarship Holders are Critical Thinkers

"HEATED DEBATES THAT ARE COMMITTED AND LIGHT-HEARTED AT THE SAME TIME"



SCHOLARSHIP AWARDS



Katarzyna Plucinska, post-graduate scholarship holder, Slavic studies, scholarship since 2014, winner of the university award "PUSH" for exceptional performance from the University of Bamberg in 2014.

I decided to apply for a scholarship with the Foundation because for me freedom is fundamental. I am convinced that one needs to encourage a spirit of freedom in this world that influences everyday life. Thanks to the Foundation, I have the opportunity to get involved in issues which are particularly important to me. Not only am I a linguist and a foreigner, I am also interested in integration and migration and this scholarship gives me a unique chance to broaden my horizon and meet people I can look up to.



WORKING GROUP EDUCATION BENEFIT CONCERT

Anna Christina Köbrich, undergraduate scholarship, piano, supported since 2013

In der Stiftung begegne ich überall kreativen, mutigen und selbstkritischen Personen, die mich zum Denken anregen. Als Koordinatorin des „Arbeitskreises Bildung“ sammle ich Interessen und Ideen meiner Mitstipendiaten, um daraus neue Konzepte zu entwickeln, die das Phänomen Bildung in seiner ganzen Bandbreite beleuchten. Dass die Begabtenförderung uns als Koordinatoren die Gestaltung der Arbeitskreise selbst in die Hand gibt, ist für mich ein großer Vertrauensbeweis, der mich zusätzlich motiviert. Im April 2013 entstand die Idee, ein Benefizkonzert für den Solidaritätsfonds, der Stipendiaten in Not hilft, zu veranstalten. Der hohe Stellenwert der Musik hat mich von Beginn meines Stipendiatenlebens an gefreut – in Zukunft möchte ich unbedingt weitere Konzertprogramme, am liebsten im Zeichen eines interkulturellen Austausches, verwirklichen und damit Gutes bewirken.

"INTERDISCIPLINARY EXCHANGE ALLOWS US TO GAIN INSIGHT INTO OTHER FIELDS OF RESEARCH AND DRAWS OUR ATTENTION TO DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVES"



WORKING GROUP DEMOCRACY NATIONAL ACADEMY



Lukas Lassak, undergraduate scholarship holder since 2012, chemistry, Paderborn

"AS COORDINATOR I CAN GAIN EXPERIENCE IN COMMUNICATION AND ORGANISATION"

I have experienced the working group on democracy as a platform for a critical and varied exchange on issues of key relevance to society. Particularly attractive are the many informal discussions that are committed and light-hearted at the same time. As coordinator I gain experience in communication and organisation and engage more thoroughly with topics that are relevant for our society such as digital surveillance and participatory democracy. It is particularly important to me to reach people independent of their political views and to spread information about the activities of the working group beyond the Foundation's borders. I organised the national academy in 2014, which involved leading a group of scholarship holders through five German cities in seven days. We visited research facilities and listened to lectures by well-known academics. Of all the events on offer, I find the national academy the most important. It not only provides me with insights into important issues, but also allows me to gain experience in organising events. I have become much calmer and more patient as a result.

"IT GIVES ME GREAT PLEASURE TO BE PART OF THE ORGANISATIONAL TEAM OF SCHOLARSHIP HOLDERS"



ACADEMY FOR POST-GRADUATE STUDENTS SCHOLARSHIP

Michael Haneke-Reinders, post-graduate scholarship holder since 2013, biology, Bielefeld



The scholarship gives me the chance to gain my doctoral title free from financial worries as part of an excellent team which originally had no vacant position for a PhD student. Thanks to the Foundation, I now work surrounded by highly motivated scholarship holders and have the chance to shape the events-programme: This helps me to expand my skills in organising events and facilitating seminars. Such practical and moral support is very valuable, especially for a future career and eventual management positions. I have taken on the position of i-prom coordinator and it gives me great pleasure to be part of the scholarship organisational team and in that way repay the Foundation for their support. As coordinator, I am the contact point for all post-graduate scholarship holders of FNF, but also for all undergraduate scholarship holders who are considering embarking on a PhD. I have the impression that the networking during the introduction for new scholarship holders is very helpful for everyone. The academy for post-graduate students is at the heart of i-prom. This interdisciplinary exchange allows participants to gain insight into other fields of research and draws their attention to different perspectives that can be of value for their own research projects. The seminar "Post-graduate Studies Today" offers undergraduate scholarship holders the opportunity to openly talk to post-graduate students and PhD holders about the advantages and risks of doing a PhD.

Political Education for Syria's Future

MILLIONS ARE FLEEING THE CIVIL WAR IN SYRIA. THE FOUNDATION FOR FREEDOM OFFERS HELP THROUGH BASIC DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION.

Half the population of Syria left their home to seek safety from the civil war either within the country or outside it. This amounts to more than 11 million refugees. 60,000 of them have found their way to Germany so far – a small number compared to Jordan which has a population of six million people, but has taken in one million Syrian refugees. In Lebanon, where one and a half million of Syrian refugees have arrived, their number equals more than a quarter of the Lebanese population. These refugee numbers exceed by far the capacities of these two countries. Only 10% of Syrians that have fled to Jordan are housed in refugee camps, all the others

here as well as in Lebanon live amongst the native population. This has led to social upheaval and has far-reaching consequences for the labour market and infrastructure, the social climate and security within the countries. Local authorities are unable to meet the increased demand for services; Syrians are prepared to work for lower wages than natives and new social groups need to be integrated. Up to 60% of hospital beds are occupied by Syrian patients. As a consequence, there is fear of foreign infiltration and conflicts. It seems miraculous that the host countries have so far been spared violent eruptions.

Using Political Education as a Tool against Social Upheaval
This situation not only calls for international humanitarian help, but also for the engagement of the Friedrich Nauman Foundation for Freedom (FNF). The Foundation offers political education, dialogue and training in conflict management. Together with its partners, FNF teaches Syrian refugees some basic knowledge on market economy and democracy, fundamental rights and freedoms, as well as the importance of functioning institutions, based on the rule of law. In this way, FNF helps create the basic conditions for a reconstruction initiated by the refugees. In due course an emerging civil society will be able to build on this back in Syria, after the exodus is over.

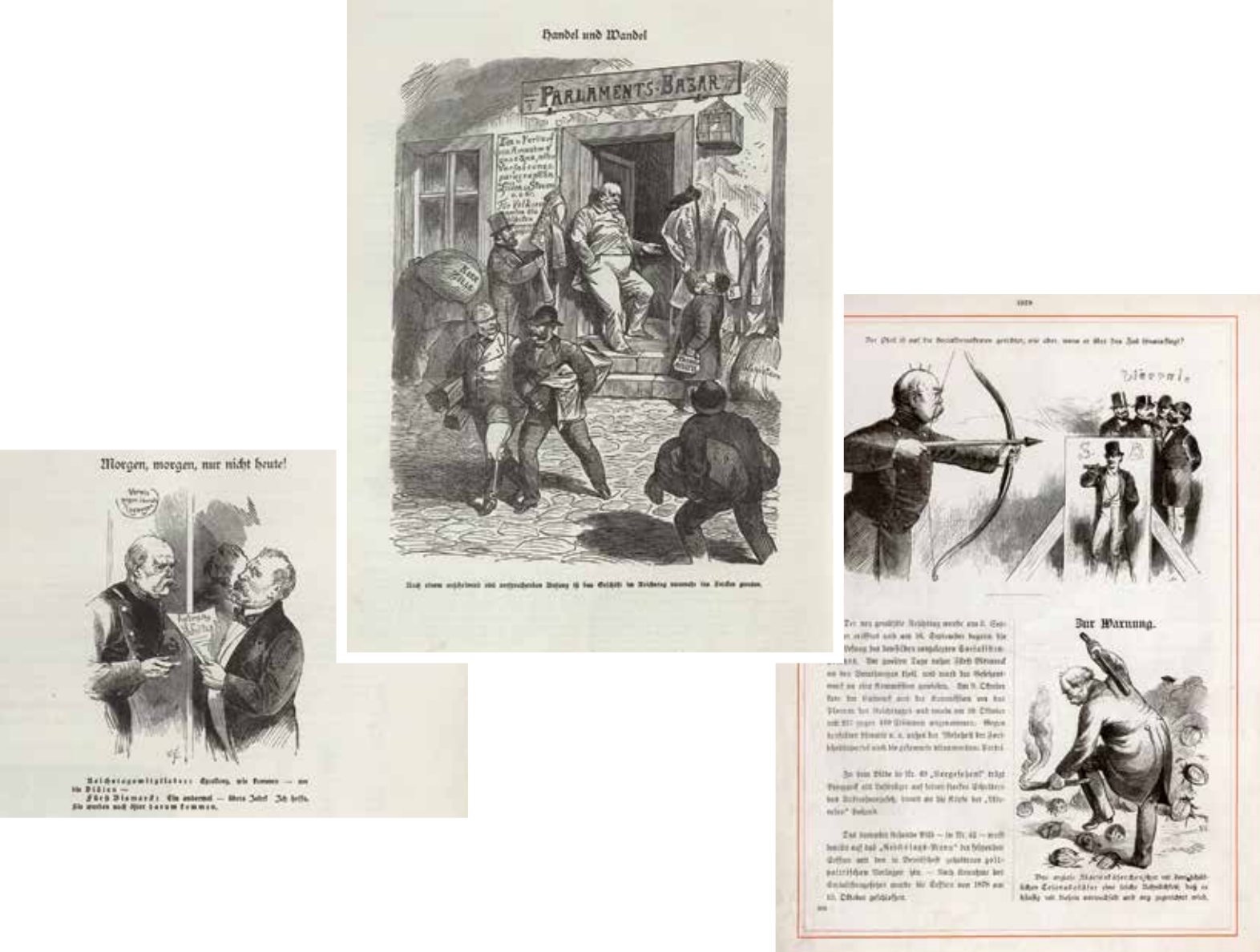
"THROUGH EDUCATION THE FOUNDATION CREATES THE BASIS FOR A RECONSTRUCTION THROUGH OWN INITIATIVE"

WOLF-DIETER ZUMPFORT



One practical example: Mixed groups of Lebanese and Syrian women and young people are trained in their host communities in techniques of conflict resolution. Should conflicts arise between Lebanese and Syrians in these communities at a later point, contacts to trusted people on the 'other side' will already exist, thus hopefully defusing potential conflicts.

Educating Refugees Provides Stability – and Prepares for Reconstruction
Education is also necessary since only about half of the Syrian children of school-age ever find a school place, even though schools are working in shifts. Accordingly, the teachers are stretched and often overwhelmed. In communities with a particularly high rate of refugees, the Foundation for Freedom is therefore organising a dialogue between all stakeholders to enable more Syrian children to receive lessons. The alternative would be to simply watch a desperate and lost generation grow up which would become even more susceptible to the temptations of radical preachers. It is precisely because there is no end in sight to the violence and instability in the neighbourhood of Jordan and Lebanon that the international community has to support a political renewal in Syria. Syrian refugees in exile will be playing an important role in that process. Through its activities, the Foundation not only supports a discourse on the reconstruction of the country, but also contributes to the stabilisation of the region.



A Liberal Perspective on Bismarck

THE LIBERAL ARCHIVE ORGANISED A COLLOQUIUM FOR HISTORIANS ON THE PERCEPTION OF BISMARCK SINCE THE 19TH CENTURY.

Few politicians have been the object of such controversial interest to liberals as Otto von Bismarck (1815–1898) – not just in the 19th century, but also later on. And no other non-liberal has influenced German liberalism as much as the first chancellor. The 200th anniversary of the birth of the “iron chancellor” will be in April 2015 – a good reason to take another look at this relationship. A colloquium that took place in November 2014 in the Bismarck Museum in Friedrichsruhe near Hamburg explored the issue.

The opening speech was made by the editor of the “Yearbook on Liberalism Research” Joachim Scholtyssek. He described the current state of research on Bismarck’s era and suggested that the European context at the time should be taken into account when judging Bismarck. Merits and drawbacks of policies in Germany in the late 19th century could then be assessed more objectively.

Liberal Contemporaries were Torn Between Admiration and Rejection
The speakers Frank Lorenz Müller, Jürgen Fröhlich and Ulf Morgenstern described the position taken on Bismarck by contemporary liberals and those considered to be liberals, from Crown Prince Friedrich, who was emperor for 99 days, to Friedrich Naumann and the Schücking family. While the German-Prussian heir to the throne Friedrich (1830–1888), who was seen as the great hope by many liberals, appeared to be critical of Bismarck, he remained dominated by the Count in his practical politics. Friedrich Naumann (1860–1888) fluctuated between admiration in the 1890s and a critical attitude in the following decade before he favoured Bismarck’s policies again during the First World War. Within the Schücking family, the father Levin (1814–1883) was a national liberal and admired Bismarck, while the three sons who were born in the 1870s had left-liberal views and preferred to distance themselves from the founder of the nation.

The 1960s Lead to Changes in the Perception of Bismarck
The liberal historiography is full of such contradictions. Friedrich Meinecke (1862–1954), who was first a national liberal, joined the left-liberal wing in Weimar and made a distinction between Bismarck’s foreign and domestic policies. The journalist Erich Eyck (1878–1964), later a politician in the GDR, on the other hand, conceived his Bismarck biography, written in British exile, as a “destruction of a legend” – which caused controversies in the later Federal Republic of Germany. The third panel session of the colloquium focused on the reception Bismarck received during the time of the Federal Republic. While Ines Soldwisch drew on the example of Theodor Heuss, the historian Eckart Conze, a former editor of the Yearbook, chose the 150th anniversary of the birth of the Chancellor in 1965 as his point of reference. Heuss was not alive to witness this anymore, but from this point onwards, a critical view of Bismarck’s political work was predominant both with historians and the lay public. A lecture by Lothar Gall, an eminent authority on both liberalism in the Federal Republic and Bismarck, rounded off the colloquium: Lothar Gall examined the question whether liberals were more likely to be for or against Bismarck. His answer was unequivocal: During Bismarck’s reign from 1862 to 1890, liberals were far removed from considering a political cooperation with Bismarck (and vice versa). Nonetheless, the results of the colloquium as a whole show an interesting ambivalence in the attitudes of liberals – his contemporaries as well as the following generations – towards Bismarck. The year of his anniversary in 2015 – he was born on 1 April 1815 – presents an opportunity for further debate. These will be enriched by the presentations outlined here, which will be published in the “Yearbook on Liberalism Research”.

“MOST HISTORIANS AS WELL AS THE LAY PUBLIC ARE TAKING A CRITICAL VIEW OF BISMARCK'S POLITICAL LEGACY”

ECKART CONZE



Inka Le-Huu, awardee of the Wolf-Erich Kellner Prize 2014 Dr Ulf Morgenstern, Otto von Bismarck Foundation



FREEDOM IS...

MAKING FREE
SPEECH POSSIBLE





Dr Wolfgang Gerhardt visits the protest camp



Heated Debates between Hong Kong and China

THE WORK OF THE FOUNDATION FOR FREEDOM IN HONG KONG WAS MARKED BY THE PROTESTS. CITIZENS TOOK TO THE STREETS FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES.

Islands full of skyscrapers clinging to high mountains, surrounded by the waves of the South China Sea – the cosmopolitan city of Hong Kong looks back on a turbulent history, from its time as a British crown colony to its new position as the gateway for investment into the growing economy of China. The Freedom Barometer Asia, which is published by the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom, lists Hong Kong as a bastion of economic freedom and rule of law in the region. In 2014, liberals focused on this international hub for several reasons. Apart from the protests that gained attention worldwide, in November there were also several liberal events in the city – a coincidence?



The conference of the Economic Freedom Network Asia with the title "Supporting Growth, Reducing Inequalities" was attended by delegates from liberal think tanks as well as economists. This year's theme referred to the debate about economic inequality and the demand for more redistribution – inspired by Thomas Piketty's book "Capital in the Twenty-First Century".

Economic Policies Have to Solve Poverty – not Inequality

Unlike the French economist, the conference participants saw poverty, not inequality as the main problem. Economic growth was a decisive factor. In poor countries with a high degree of equality, economic growth can lead to a reduction in poverty but at the same time to growing inequality. Liberal thinkers distance themselves from Piketty in their approach: Fighting inequality through redistribution gives too much power to the state. An economic policy that promotes growth, on the other hand, creates opportunities for people and enables a life of self-determination and dignity. Especially in developing countries a market-based approach is much more popular than, for example, redistribution through taxes. These were also the findings of a recent survey by the Pew Research Institute.

Against the backdrop of demonstrations for democracy and political participation in Hong Kong, both the chairman of Hong Kong's Lion Rock Institute, Bill Stacey, and Siegfried Herzog, the Foundation's regional director for Southeast and East Asia, spoke about the relevance of the topic: "There is a heated debate between Hong Kong and China about political and economic freedom", Herzog said. However, it should not be ignored how closely inter-linked and mutually dependent these two freedoms are: "Political freedom and participation has to be guaranteed through the same values and institutions which are also the basis for prosperity and growth."

Where People Are Fighting for Freedom, Liberals Must Join in

As every year, the highlight of the conference was the presentation of the Economic Freedom of the World index by the director for Trade and Globalisation Studies of the

"THE PROTEST MOVEMENT HAS SENT OUT A STRONG SIGNAL THAT HONG KONG'S CITIZENS WANT TO DECIDE FOR THEMSELVES WHO GOVERNS THE CITY"

WOLFGANG GERHARDT

Fraser Institute Fred McMahon. This index examines the present state of economic freedom in the world. The Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom is cooperating with the Fraser Institute in the publication of the report. Since liberals cannot stay indifferent when people are fighting for freedom, many conference participants visited the protests camps in Hong Kong. The Hong Kong Democratic Party and its combative chairwoman Emily Lau made it possible for the delegates to meet members of the Hong Kong Legislative Council and its chairman Jasper Tsang. The visit to the camps by the president of Liberal International Juli Minoves and the former German commissioner for human rights, Markus Löning attracted local media interest. This was the first public show of solidarity with the protesters since Alexander Graf Lambsdorff visited, in his position as liberal vice president of the European Parliament.

See also www.freedombarometer.org



Breaking Down Barriers

A PHOTOGRAPHY EXHIBITION AND A SYMPOSIUM EXPLORE THE FALL OF THE BERLIN WALL, AN ONLINE CONFERENCE PRESENTED LIBERAL SUCCESS STORY FROM AROUND THE WORLD.

Pictures of the Scars that were Left by the Wall

To mark the 25th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall, the Friedrich Naumann Foundation showed photographs by Klaus Fahlbusch. The previously little known pictures of the section of the Wall between Potsdam-Babelsberg and Berlin-Wannsee were on display from 17 November 2014 until 17 February 2015 at the Foundation's headquarters in Potsdam. The photos portray the border area and were taken close to the Foundation's headquarters just before the dismantling of the border installations in the spring of 1990.

The former border area was accessible only for a few weeks. A unique opportunity to explore the area, since the remains of the border installations were removed by the summer of 1990. At the opening of the exhibition, chaired by Anne Wellingherhof, the director of the Foundation's

office in Berlin-Brandenburg, Lutz Rathenow, a writer from Thuringia and since 2011 Saxony's Commissioner for Stasi Documents, read from texts that expressed the atmosphere of that year of change.

The exhibition was organised in cooperation with the "Brandenburgischer Verband Bildender Künstlerinnen & Künstler e.V.", and the opening night became, according to an article in the "Potsdamer Neueste Nachrichten", "a meeting of neighbours". The guests included several former students of the Babelsberg film school as well as its director, Andreas Dresen.

The exhibition was on show until 17 February 2015.

Opening of the exhibition "25 Years Fall of the Berlin Wall" in Potsdam



Prof Dr Karl-Heinz Paqué

HEPPENHEIM SYMPOSIUM ON THE FALL OF THE BERLIN WALL

"25 Years after the Fall of the Berlin Wall – Memories, Assessments and Perspectives" was the title of this year's Heppenheim symposium which took place on 12 December 2014 at the historic place "Kurmainz Amtshof". Here, in 1948, Theodor Heuss was elected as the first chairman of the newly founded FDP. The presenters spoke about how they had experienced the fall of the Berlin Wall, based on their different professions and life stories: former GDR top athlete and novelist Professor Ines Geipel, historian Professor Andreas Rödder, and economist and vice chairman of the Foundation Professor Karl-Heinz Paqué.

"THE EVENING BECAME A MEETING OF NEIGHBOURS. PEOPLE WHO LIVED OR WORKED HERE – ON EITHER SIDE – WERE LOOKING FOR REMEMBRANCE."

POTSDAMER NEUESTE NACHRICHTEN, 19/9/2014

The symposium discussed the state of German unity, and whether the process of unification is completed, as well as the challenges that Germany faces now. There was agreement that unity has not yet been fully achieved at all levels of German life, and the much-quoted 'wall in people's minds' still partially existed both for many East and West Germans. There was consensus, however, that confidence in the future prevailed.

BEST PRACTICES FOR POLITICAL MANAGEMENT

Participation, mobilisation, human resources, fundraising, communication and branding – these were the areas from which an English language online conference gathered the best projects and ideas of liberals world-wide. This forum for best practices took place in October and November 2014, organised by the Virtual Academy of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom. One participant, for example, showed the techniques used by the European Liberal Youth LYMEC (Liberal and Radical Youth Movement of the European Community) to mobilise supporters and to motivate potential followers to go out and vote.

The conference also demonstrated how the Dutch D66 was successful with door-to-door campaigns and with addressing voters directly : The liberal democratic party managed to increase their votes within eight years from 0.5% to 15.5%, which made them the strongest Dutch party in the European election. The South African Democratic Alliance presented its strategic marketing concept to the online participants, who were also keen to discuss the campaign of the Austrian NEOS. Even though not all of these concepts are directly transferable to the German context, such liberal success stories from other countries provide impetus and ideas for politically active citizens here, too.



A link to the trailer for the conference:
http://bit.ly/video_bpmp14



Dr Irmgard Schwaetzer, minister of state in the Foreign Office 1987 - 1991

History as a Process

A CONVERSATION BETWEEN IRMGARD SCHWAETZER AND KERSTIN BRAUCKHOFF, THE EDITORS OF A NEW ANTHOLOGY ABOUT HANS-DIETRICH GENSCHER

Kerstin Brauckhoff: Ms Schwaetzer, in November 2014 we jointly published an anthology on Hans-Dietrich Genscher's foreign policy. You worked with Genscher for a long time. Which aspects were particularly important to you when compiling the book?

Irmgard Schwaetzer: There were three important aspects. The first one was the political aim that Hans-Dietrich Genscher pursued with his foreign policy, which was German unity. For him this goal was inextricably linked to European integration, since German unity could only be achieved as part of a peaceful and cooperative European framework. He was always aware of that and pursued this strategy consistently and carefully. Genscher's foreign policy was also characterised by his personality and way of working. When he decided for himself that something was right or when he felt that something was moving in the wrong direction, he staunchly defended his view and on occasion even cunningly against vehement opposition. A good example for this character trait is the debate around deployment of short-range missiles. Genscher worked tenaciously for a political solution, which he finally reached and implemented in the face of opposition. "Genscher didn't Want to Persuade, he Wanted to Convince"



"GENSCHER DID NOT WANT TO PERSUADE, HE WANTED TO CONVINCE"



Hans-Dietrich Genscher, federal foreign minister and vice chancellor 1974-1992

Another decisive factor was his communicative way of working. For Hans-Dietrich Genscher it was always very important to respect the opinions of others, and when arguing his case he always relied on the intelligence of his staff, whom he did not want to persuade, but to convince.

Kerstin Brauckhoff: These three aspects are also reflected in the anthology. Already in the introduction there is a reference to the fact that German reunification and European integration were Genscher's goal. In his summing up, Andreas Wirsching took up the topic: The goal of German unity is the common theme echoing through Genscher's time in office. Genscher's personality doesn't just shine through in the academic essays – it becomes even more visible in the contributions from his contemporaries. History comes alive in these short articles, in which contemporaries share their vivid

stories of Genscher the person as well as the politician and his work. "A Good mix of Academic Essays and Testimonies from Contemporaries"

Irmgard Schwaetzer: Yes, the contributions by former Federal President Richard von Weizsäcker and Ambassador Wolfgang Ischinger focus on the personal side of Genscher. And Richard Kiessler shows how Genscher developed a relationship of mutual trust with journalists who benefited from the way Genscher provided them with reliable news and information. This is typical for Genscher's political style. The mixture of easy to read academic papers and contributions from contemporaries characterise this anthology. Thanks to the commitment of the contributors, this volume was produced within a few months and we were able to publish it in time for the 25th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin wall in November 2014.

Kerstin Brauckhoff: This is also true for the presentation of the anthology. Nearly 300 people attended the event and witnessed a lively discussion between Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Klaus Kinkel and Wolfgang Ischinger. The evening was chaired with style and confidence by Gerd Appenzeller of the Berlin "Tagesspiegel", who had contributed an interview with Genscher to the anthology.

Irmgard Schwaetzer: To sum up, the book is a valuable contribution by the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom to the anniversary of the fall of the Berlin wall and to remind ourselves of the importance of liberal German foreign policy.



Alexander Graf Lambsdorff, vice president of the European Parliament, being interviewed



Dr (h.c.) Rolf Berndt, Executive Chairman of Board of Directors 1995-2014

Ten Years EU Enlargement

THE CRISIS IN THE UKRAINE DOMINATED THE AUTUMN BONN SYMPOSIUM, THAT PROVED MORE TOPICAL THAN EXPECTED.

Originally this event titled "Together we Are – 10 Years of Enlargement. Assessing the Achievements and the Prospects for the Future" marking the 10th anniversary of the EU enlargement was scheduled for spring 2014, but political events in the Ukraine changed the priorities: The invited participants became 'emergency fire-fighters' on the diplomatic stage of Eastern Europe. FNF's partners – the EU Commission, the General Consulate of the Republic of Poland and the broadcaster Deutsche Welle – were busy weaving a net of international diplomacy.

In the autumn of 2014, however, the symposium, chaired by Bartosz Dudek, director of the Polish Service of Deutsche Welle, got under way. "EU Enlargement and European Foreign and Security Policy" was the theme of one of the expert-panels – a highly topical issue as the event that was taking place in the EU regional office in Bonn was overshadowed by the fighting in the Ukraine. "In the interest of international peace we would have been very happy to do without the bonus of added attention." (Director of the NRW regional office Jan-Frederik Kremer)

This event on EU enlargement also attracted media interest from beyond the region in the wake of the crisis in Ukraine. "Unfortunately, one can never know where the next crisis will erupt", the director of the regional office for North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW), Jan-Frederik Kremer, said, "but in the interest of international peace, we would have been very happy to do without the bonus of added attention for our event".

The 130 participants on 22 September included Jan Sobczak, consul general of the Republic of Poland, Professor Artur Nowak-Fak, undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland, the vice-president of the European Parliament Alexander Graf Lambsdorff and the Europe minister from North Rhine-Westphalia Angelica Schwall-Düren (SPD). The second expert panel debated with the participants the issue of how close the EU was to the public and the impact of EU policies on the everyday life of European citizens.



Prof Dr Artur Nowak-Fak, undersecretary of state in the Foreign Ministry of Poland

"OUR LINKS WITH THE COUNTRIES IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE ARE BY NOW CLOSER THAN THE ONES TO THE USA. THERE IS AN INCREDIBLE AMOUNT OF TRADE AND MUTUAL EXCHANGE."

ALEXANDER GRAF LAMBSDORFF MEP

Testimonials of the Participants demonstrate the Relevance of the Symposium

"As the European Commission's regional representation in Bonn, we much appreciate the cooperation with the NRW regional office of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom. Its high level of professionalism and reliability makes the regional office a good partner for the implementation of larger events. With its outstanding network and numerous contacts, the Foundation contributes to the high programmatic standards of the events. We would like to thank the NRW regional office for the rewarding and pleasant cooperation so far and we look forward to more joint events."

Stephan Koppelberg, European Commission, Director of the regional office in Bonn

"FNF's regional office NRW does not talk about values such as freedom, democracy and the right to self-determination, but has internalised these values and lives them in their daily work. These values are the basic to the foundation of Solidarność and therefore close to the heart of every Pole."

Andrzej Duda, Vice Consul, General Consulate of the Republic of Poland in Cologne

"Journalism is a training centre for democracy. I find it therefore very important that the regional office NRW of the FNF for Freedom regularly deals with fundamental questions of press freedom and journalism in sound and intelligently designed events!"

Christian Mihr, Executive Director, Reporter without Borders Germany

"The regional office NRW offers varied and well-organised events, the discussion is reliable on a high level. I always enjoy participating – to learn something new even when I am there as a speaker."

Dieter Schnaas, Chief Reporter of the "Wirtschaftswoche"



FREEDOM IS...

FURTHER
DEVELOPING
MARKET ECONOMIES



"Duel of Arguments" in Bochum

Jacob Schrot, Jan-Frederik Kremer and Steffen Stierle discuss TTIP

US Chickens or Economic Freedom?

TTIP PROVES UNSETTLING – AND ENCOURAGES RUMOURS. THE "DUEL OF ARGUMENTS" SETS OUT TO SEPARATE FACT FROM FICTION.

Chlorinated chicken and genetically modified corn or economic freedom? Nearly every political debate proves how fine the line can be between having an opinion and engaging in polemic propaganda. Fair conditions are, therefore, all the more important in such debates – and these exist in the new FNF format "Duel of Arguments". The Foundation's regional office in North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW) had organised a debate on the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP). Two speakers, one facilitator, clear rules and plenty of well-researched information and facts made this "Duel of Arguments" a fair and interesting discussion. = a "Duel of Arguments".

Jacob Schrot, founder of the Young Transatlantic Initiative and president of the Association of German-American Clubs, and Steffen Stierle, member of the coordination committee of the ATTAC Germany, were the duellists trying to separate myth from reality, prejudices from facts. The event was facilitated by Jan-Frederik Kremer, FNF's regional director in North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW). "We want to offer a forum for controversial opinions and explode myths through presenting facts", explained Jan-Frederik Kremer – especially German fears of chlorinated chicken and genetically modified corn which dominated the coverage of the free trade agreement. "We want to look behind the façade", the facilitator emphasized.

FNF's Fact-Checking by FNF Brought the Combatants Back to Earth

"The Transatlantic Free Trade Agreement can be a great opportunity to promote prosperity through trade and strengthen high-level consumer protection standards on both sides of the Atlantic", said Jacob Schrot. His opponent Steffen Stierle had reservations, fearing a "harmonisation of standards, which would undermine investment protection, consumer protection, protection of workers and most of all our democracy".

Since every discussion is coloured by the discussant's subjective views on world and humanity, some fact-checking by the facilitator was helpful for this 'duel' – for example, when it came to the bogey-man for consumers, the chlorinated chicken. "Nobody wants to eat chlorinated chicken", claimed Stierle. "Chickens are not even part of the negotiations", countered Schrot. In front of a capacity crowd, they debunked all kinds of misinformation.

The "Duel of Arguments" Was a Great Success

The lively debate, while not resulting in agreement between the combatants, at least led to a constructive exchange of views. The discussion continued in the social media forums.

The "Duel of Arguments" was a great success. "Topical and interesting themes, outstanding speakers, innovative formats and the highest quality" was, for example, the view of Marie-Christine Ostermann from the headquarters of "Rulko Grosseinkauf GmbH & Co. KG". It was a way of "bringing across liberal policy in a sustainable way that satisfied participants".

"THE PURPOSE OF TRADE AGREEMENTS IS TO CREATE LESS RATHER THAN MORE REGULATION"

ALEXANDER GRAF LAMBSDORFF MEP

"A vibrant democracy needs active citizens", recalled Alexander Trennheuser, regional manager of "Mehr Demokratie NRW e.V.", "and active citizens need background knowledge". The seminars of the regional office NRW are a good starting point to acquire such knowledge. Given such encouraging feedback, the regional office NRW of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom plans to offer this type of event in other parts of the state as well. There will be a repeat of the "Duel of Arguments" – on other controversial topics.

So, what's happening with the US chicken?

The Foundation recommends some fact-checking – for example in a US-American restaurant.



EU-Commissioner Cecilia Malmström



Dr. habil. Peter Röhlinger



US-Fracking Revolutionises the Global Economy

THE IMPLICATIONS OF FRACKING FOR GLOBAL POLITICS WAS THE THEME OF A STUDY TRIP BY THE TRANSATLANTIC DIALOGUE PROGRAMME TO THE USA.

New methods of generating energy are beginning to change global economic relations. In the United States of America the talk is of a shale gas revolution. The "New Economist" calls the contest of the energy companies "sheiks versus shale" – (oil)sheiks against shale(gas/oil). While Europe and especially Germany looks with scepticism on the extraction of gas by "fracking", companies in the US are enthusiastically drilling into the earth – and putting pressure on Arab oil multinationals. The Transatlantic Dialogue Programme wanted to find out more during a study trip to Washington, DC. Energy experts and multipliers from Germany and the Baltic States had the opportunity to visit a conveyor system near Pittsburgh in

Pennsylvania (PA) and to talk to American scientists, politicians, journalists and businessmen. The European guests were able to witness first hand the shale gas revolution in the USA and gain valuable insights.

Natural Gas Production in the US affects international security policies

As a result of shale gas extraction, the United States have become the largest natural gas producer in the world. Probably already by 2016, the country will be able to forego the import of natural gas and even export some. The decline in demand from the USA on world markets and the fact that the USA can offer gas to energy companies led to a dramatic fall of prices on the energy markets. The impact on other energy producers, such as the Arab States but also Russia is noticeable. This development has accompanied the economic recovery if not re-industrialisation of the United States. In particular, regions where shale gas is extracted profit from the creation of jobs. In the States, therefore, the debate focuses on continuously improving fracking technology and its regulation. Efforts are being made to optimise this type of extraction and energy production and to solve the problems associated with fracking, such as high levels of noise and traffic at production facilities. The possible leakage of methane into the atmosphere and recycling of contaminated drilling water are being discussed – it is the how of fracking, not the whether that is the focus in the USA. While Europe Considers the Environment, the USA Concentrates on Finding Technical Solutions

"TO REDUCE DEPENDENCY ON RUSSIAN GAS, ADDITIONAL ENERGY SOURCES SUCH AS ENVIRONMENTALLY FRIENDLY FRACKING ARE NEEDED"

HERMANN OTTO SOLMS

In Germany, the discussion about this new method of energy production follows a different script. The worst is feared and warnings abound of the poisoning of groundwater or an increased risk of earthquakes due to fracking technology. In the USA, there is much less concern: The European participants of the study tour met neither frightened citizens nor burning faucets. Instead they experienced the way in which industry, citizens and environmental organisations cooperate constructively to develop environmentally friendly methods of shale gas extraction. For all reservations that exist in Germany, it is necessary to have a public debate about the implications for foreign and security policy of this development on the energy market. On the political level in the USA, it is discussed, for example, whether an independence from Arab energy imports should result in a reduced engagement for peace in the Middle East, since US energy supplies would not be affected by developments in that region anymore. Also, it is not a taboo to consider energy exports as a foreign policy tool. Both such changes in policy would have an immediate effect on Europe and would require a more intense transatlantic dialogue. Given the rapid development, the German debate should focus not only on environmental aspects.



Study tour of energy experts to Pittsburgh

Passionately Defending Liberal Ideas

"THE FOUNDATION OFFERS SUCH A WONDERFULLY CREATIVE PLATFORM FOR SELF-REALISATION – AND THUS FOR FREEDOM."



STUDENT AT A UNIVERSITY OF APPLIED SCIENCES
UNIVERSITY POINT OF CONTACT HEALTH INITIATIVE
ORGANISED LIBERALISM

Martin Thoma,
undergraduate scholarship since 2012, health management, University of Applied Sciences Krefeld

As the point of contact at the university, I assist students and scholarship holders in forming a network and I also represent the scholarship department at my university, giving a face and a voice to the Foundation in Krefeld. As part of my position, I am trying to engage students in conversations and give them information about the Foundation. Lecturers and university staff have also been interested. I represented the scholarship department at the regular meetings with the liaison lecturers and at open house events at the university. In the summer of 2014, I also participated in the regional meeting for Central Germany which took place in Halle an der Saale. Scholarship holders from Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt and Thuringia were discussing important issues of the day such as migration, freedom of movement and labour market policy, all with a focus on how they affect Central Germany. I can only recommend taking on the position of point of contact. One has the opportunity to implement one's own ideas and to grow with each project.

The initiative "health policies" is not only important for the topic of health politics within the Foundation, but it is also close to my own heart. I worked in the health service and am studying for a master in health care management. I realised already during my undergraduate studies that issues of health care policies rarely received as much attention as I would have liked. The health care system affects us all, however – ethics in medicine and research, health care economics, the care system and the pharmaceutical industry are part of all our lives. Having some knowledge of these issues is vital for taking existential decisions.

"THERE IS THE OPPORTUNITY TO IMPLEMENT ONE'S OWN IDEAS AND TO GROW WITH EACH PROJECT."



SELECTION MEETING
SCHOLARSHIP



Vanessa Findling,
undergraduate scholarship since 2014, mechanical engineering, Berlin

"I AM A CRITICAL THINKER AND FEEL AT HOME IN THE FOUNDATION."

I was very nervous before the selection interview. However, after a friendly reception, I calmed down quickly and found it easy to engage in a conversation with the examiners. I liked that. After a year with the Foundation, my expectations have been exceeded by far: I have become involved; I am now the coordinator of one of the working groups and have a lot of fun! Currently my working group is organising a seminar on "culture of innovation". We would like to find out in what way innovations from research can be translated into the business sector.

I am a critical thinker and feel at home in the Foundation. It is great that the Foundation offers such a creative platform for self-realisation – and thus for freedom. The Foundation also gives me the support and security that allows me to fully concentrate on my studies despite being a single mother. In the summer, I was invited to a theatre performance followed by a reception with the German president – that was a wonderful highlight of my time as a scholarship holder so far.

"TO CONTRIBUTE TO TRUE SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION"



CONFERENCE
PUBLICATION
INTERNSHIP

Florian Hartjen,
undergraduate scholarship since 2010, social sciences, law and economics in Erfurt



For me, the highlight of this year in my engagement with the Foundation was the conference on trade that I was able to organise together with fellow scholarship holders. The scholarship department showed great trust in us organisers, which meant that we could follow the principle of self-organisation of scholarship holders. I had the opportunity to organise unsupervised a forum for scholarship holders and was then able to participate as well. At the conference, the participants mainly discussed free trade and international trade agreements. They can now use the knowledge and information gained for their respective working groups and initiatives. After all, my commitment serves one goal: I want to spread liberal ideas, defend them passionately and thus contribute to true social transformation.

Based on results of the conference on education that took place as part of the celebrations for the 40th anniversary of the scholarship department in 2014, I published a handbook on liberal education policy. The publication presents texts from scholarship holders on the nature and the financing of the German education system. This allowed me to include an article of my own, in which I discussed the concept of "education for all" and how to reach that goal. When coordinating this project my main motivation was to gather the diverse and impressive ideas of scholarship holders, but the opportunity to publish a text independently at such an early stage of my academic career was important as well.

In this project, too, I was supported by the trust that the scholarship department and the Liberal Institute had in me. During my seven-month long study visit to Johannesburg, I first worked as an intern and later as a programme assistant for the regional office of the Foundation in the city. During that time, I was responsible for the publication of background reports and political analyses on the situation in South Africa. I learned much about this developing region and gained first work experience in think tanks and in political work. The opportunity that the Foundation gave me is invaluable for my future career.



Liane Knüppel, VSA-president, deputy chairwoman of the Board of Trustees, and Prof Dr Ludwig Theodor Heuss, deputy chairman of the Board of Trustees



Prof. Dr. Randolph Rodenstock

Markets, SMEs and Morality

ETHICS IN BUSINESS WAS THE THEME OF THE ALUMNI CONVENTION, THE "FRANKENTREFFEN" AND THE NEW PUBLICATION OF "POSITION LIBERAL"

Profit with a Clear Conscience

Business and ethics do not present insurmountable opposites – they are mutually dependent instead. This was the conclusion reached by Professor Randolph Rodenstock, honorary president of the Bavarian Business Association, at the liberal "Frankentreffen" in castle Gaibach in Lower Franconia. He stressed that there was no doubt about the relevance of ethical conduct in the private sector and he was pleased to see that, conversely, church representatives have begun to acknowledge economic relationships and have dropped their fundamental objections to a mar-

"A MORALITY THAT BELIEVES ITSELF ABLE TO DISPENSE WITH THE TECHNICAL KNOWLEDGE OF ECONOMIC LAWS IS NOT MORALITY BUT MORALISM"

CARDINAL JOSEF RATZINGER, FORMER POPE

ket economy. "A morality that believes itself able to dispense with the technical knowledge of economic laws is not morality but moralism. As such it is the antithesis of morality." This quotation is not from an entrepreneur but by Cardinal Joseph Aloisius Ratzinger who served as Pope Benedikt XVI from 2005 to 2013. Rodenstock argued in favour of a strong state that acts as a referee, establishing the rules and ensuring that they are adhered to. The rules should be designed in such a way that there is no need for self-exploitation: "Yes to a central framework, but no to a central economy. Staying with the football analogy, we need the state as referee, but not as a player."



Florian Rentsch, Minister for Economics in Hessen 2012 - 2014

ALUMNI DISCUSS FINANCIAL ETHICS

In October 2014, as in every year, the alumni convention of the Association of Present and Former Scholarship Holders (VSA) in Stuttgart brought together members and friends of the VSA. This time, the event focused on the theme of "Stock Exchange. Banks, Politics". The patron was Professor Ludwig Theodor Heuss. After a visit to the stock exchange in Stuttgart on Friday afternoon, the programme started on Saturday with short presentations. This was followed by a debate on the political and economic challenges of the interplay between financial markets and ethical principles, chaired by Harmut Knüppel from the German Derivatives Association (DDV). Renowned experts took part: the head of the EU Representation of Deutsche Bank, Hans-Dieter Holtzmann, the executive director of the stock exchange in Baden-Württemberg, Oliver Hans, the regional chairman of the FDP, Michael Theurer MEP, Bernd Villhauer of the Global Ethic Institute in Tübingen and Heinz Heineke, board of directors of the Schleupen AG. A cultural programme and a festive dinner provided an opportunity to renew old friendships and establish new contacts.

A LIBERAL PROGRAMME FOR SMALL AND MEDIUM-SIZED ENTERPRISES

The edition "Liberal Policies for SMEs" of the series "Position Liberal", published by FNF, looked at the outline of a liberal economic policy. The former minister of economics for Hessen Florian Rentsch argues that a liberal economic policy was particularly profitable for small and medium-sized enterprises. Such businesses employ, after all, 65% of all employees that are liable for social insurance contributions. Rentsch examines what this fact means for important policy areas: double taxation such as the capital gains tax is harmful; businesses could be put in jeopardy by taxation of their capital. Within the area of labour market policies, he takes a critical view on the issue of minimum wages as these would negate the effects of a market economy. Rentsch was in favour of continuing with the tried and tested partnership between employers and employees when negotiating rates of pay. The Renewable Energy Act (EEG) was also damaging for medium-sized enterprises: Rising energy prices were threatening the attraction of Germany as a location for businesses. In addition, since credit financing is essential for small and medium-sized enterprises, any discrimination would have to be abolished. The author considers it a serious case of mismanagement that successful medium-sized enterprises were assessed as unsafe as part of the banking regulations. However, a liberal economic policy for medium-sized enterprises would also need to reduce unnecessary bureaucracy and simplify approval procedures. The Transatlantic Free Trade Agreement (TTIP) could allow particularly SMEs easy access to foreign markets, which currently often fails because they face two sets of regulations in the EU and the US.



FREEDOM IS...

PROTECTING HUMAN
RIGHTS



The aim is to inspect all 223 prisons, police stations and other places of detention such as military prisons and psychiatric institutions. During these visits, the inspectors regularly find human rights violations – and immediately draw attention to incidences of torture or the unlawful admission of people into psychiatric hospitals. The ONLPL advises authorities to penalise prison officers who violate human rights and to liberate persons who are wrongfully admitted. Often, the authorities responsible heed these recommendations, for example in March 2014 when the Observateur was able to free a prisoner who had been held wrongfully in a prison in Dakar for seven years. The Friedrich Naumann Foundation also supports the work of the ONLPL by accompanying the team on inspections and through public relation activities. Information events help to make this important institution more widely known within the general population as well as the military, police, lawyers and prison staff.

However, the population as a whole has to take the threat seriously to be able to confront it on time.

The song "Heaven and Earth" can be downloaded here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AJ7f-gamf-vU>



To Respect Each Other

IN SENEGAL, THE FOUNDATION CONCENTRATES ON CONTRIBUTING TO AN UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN HUMAN RIGHTS AND RELIGION

Human Rights Behind Bars

The Observateur National des Lieux de Privation de Liberté (ONLPL), one of the Foundation's cooperation partners in Senegal, established a team of judges, lawyers, former policemen, psychologists, doctors and representatives of human rights organisations which carries out inspections in prisons, psychiatric institutions and police stations. Both natural and legal persons can call on the ONLPL and parliamentarians and even the president can ask for inspections. To ensure protection of human rights in all these institutions, the organisation also works closely with Amnesty International and the Senegalese delegation of the High Commissioner for Human Rights.

A SONG AGAINST RADICALISATION

The Senegalese musician, producer and presenter Nicolas Job advocates a dialogue between religions with this latest song "Between Heaven and Earth". "Whether you are called Mustafa or Nicolas, we are all equals on earth", he sings. "Believe what you want and leave others their faith. Turn your life into paradise. Mustafa, Nicolas, Inch Allah, Hallelujah!" A video of the song has been uploaded on Youtube. FNF West Africa supported the production of this video and of a CD by Nicolas Job. The Senegalese television and radio stations also broadcast the song, which was recorded in the former Palace of Justice in the capital Dakar as an important contribution to a peaceful co-existence.

Senegal is home to around 90% Moslems and 5% Christians. The West African country is seen as a good example for the peaceful co-existence of people from different religions. However, the growing influence of radical Islamic groups is noticeable here, too, and is a cause for concern. So far, the strong and moderate Islamic brotherhoods were able to prevent radicalisation in Senegal.

"FOR MORE THAN 50 YEARS, PROMOTING AND ENFORCING HUMAN RIGHTS HAS BEEN A FUNDAMENTAL PART OF THE FOUNDATION'S INTERNATIONAL WORK"

WOLF-DIETER ZUMPFORT



Bundespräsident a. D. Ho Former German president, Horst Köhler and Helen Zille rst Köhler und Helen Zille

Freedom Prize for Helen Zille

BY HONOURING THE PREMIER OF THE WESTERN CAPE, THE FOUNDATION CELEBRATED A PIONEER OF A FREE AND MODERN SOUTH AFRICA.

Helen Zille, since 2007 leader of the Democratic Alliance (DA), was born in 1951 in Johannesburg. She is a great-niece of the Berlin painter Heinrich Zille – her parents had to leave Germany during the Nazi era. Prior to her political engagement she worked as a journalist for the Rand Daily Mail and uncovered the background to the violent death of Steve Biko, the founder and leader of the black consciousness movement who died in 1977 in police custody. In 1999, this critic of apartheid was education minister in the Western Cape (until 2001), and after that leader of the opposition in the provincial parliament until her election to the national parliament in 2004. From 2006 until 2009, Helen Zille was mayor of Cape Town. She is married with two grown-up sons.

"Helen Zille is a shining example of the fight against apartheid and for democracy", the chairman of the Foundation's Board of Directors, Wolfgang Gerhardt, said at the ceremony on 8 November 2014 in the St. Paul's Church in Frankfurt am Main. "With her unwavering commitment to an open society, to individual freedom and to equal opportunities for all South African people she has performed extraordinary things for her country and for freedom", Gerhardt stressed.

Former German President Köhler: "Helen Zille Is a Pioneer of Modern Africa"

The chairwoman of the jury, Karen Horn, referred to current political developments in Russia, the brutality of terrorist militia in Iraq and Syria, and the growing threat to freedom in the name of security. The world needs examples such as Helen Zille, who personifies the fragile good of freedom in her daily life. Former German President Professor Horst Köhler also paid tribute to the perseverance of the awardee: "Her success shows that politics that do not focus on ethnicity are possible. She is a pioneer of a modern Africa with an authentic African understanding of freedom." Germany and Europe also needed to engage more deeply and across borders with different understandings of freedom and to take serious at last the huge, rich continent of Africa. The awarding of the freedom prize to an African politician was the right signal.

"Do not Lose Heart – Never Give up!"

Helen Zille was intensely moved by her award. It also honoured all other freedom fighters, she felt – a fight that requires staying power, since: "The fight for freedom is a marathon, not a sprint." The awardee spoke in German – even though her mother Mila had advised against it. But that was precisely why she did it: The secret of her success was to not give up, to never believe that something is impossible. In German, therefore, she argued in her acceptance speech for an "open society of equal opportunities" – and warned against using ethnic conflicts as a way to cling to political power. There was no fool-proof road to freedom, but patronising people was definitely a wrong turn.

"THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM IS A MARATHON, NOT A SPRINT"

HELEN ZILLE



Christian Lindner MdL honours the awardee / Prof Dr Jürgen Morlok (centre) and Dr Wolfgang Gerhardt (right) present the freedom prize to Helen Zille

The Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom has worked with the South African party Democratic Alliance (DA) since 1994 and persevered in supporting the party also after the first not every encouraging election results. By now, FNF's activities with the DA concentrate on cultivating contacts to other liberal forces on the continent as well as trainings, political education, especially for facilitators, and the development of curricula for training courses. In this way, FNF wants to enable as many people as possible to create a liberal political reality – remaining true to Helen Zille's motto: "Do not lose heart tomorrow, never give up."



Ibn Abdur Rehman, Director Human Rights Commission of Pakistan



The Work of the Human Rights Commission in Pakistan

THE NEW REGIONAL DIRECTOR FOR SOUTH ASIA, RONALD MEINARDUS, REPORTS FROM PAKISTAN ABOUT THE WORK OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION.

"We are experiencing a new wave of religious extremism, that is more intolerant than ever before", reports Ibn Abdur Rehman, the director of the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP) in Lahore, founded in 1987 and a partner of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom. Since 1988, the Human Rights Commission cooperates with the Foundation for Freedom. For decades, Ibn Abdur Rehman has been a renowned peace activist – he was born in 1930 in the Indian city Harayana, even before the partition of the subcontinent. He worked as a journalist and has been committed to the fight for human rights and religious freedom as well as the protection of minorities and of women all his life – a risky undertaking in a country threatened by radical Islamic terrorists.

"Human Rights Work in Pakistan", He Says, "is a Never-Ending Commitment"

The office of the human rights activist in an old brown villa, however, does not appear to be particularly secure with neither guards nor fences. Rehman plays down the danger: "We are seen as too small", he explains. "They don't see us as a threat." However, one of his colleagues, a lawyer, already died in an attack. The colleague had been working as a defence lawyer in a blasphemy trial and had survived several assassination attempts before the deadly attack.

Nonetheless, Rehman and his colleague Zaman Khan continue with their work, even on a Saturday, which for others is a non-working day. Zaman Khan is responsible for dealing with complaints from the general public – and nearly disappears beneath piles of papers on and around his desk. He has his hands full. „Human rights work in Pakistan", he says, „is a never-ending commitment".

Why it is so difficult to curb the violence, even these two experts can only guess at. "There is no easy explanation for the growing extremism", Rehman states. Partly, the government is responsible, because "the mistakes made by the state form the basis for the power of the militants." Not only the madrasas (Islamic schools) were responsible for the radicalisation of young people, state schools also contributed: "Our textbooks are full of hatred and intolerance". The state and the army only take half-hearted actions against armed Jihadists, says Rehman: "Our army is very nice. They don't kill the Taliban-leaders, they prefer to leave that to the Americans". Rehman thinks that this official reticence in the fight against terror is calculated: "Our army still cherishes the dream of occupying Afghanistan, in alliance with the Taliban". One does not want to get on the wrong side of the radical Islamists.

Engagement for a More Tolerant Society Begins at School

Rehman also criticises the drone attacks by the US as counterproductive, since these lead to solidarity with the Taliban and thus play into the hands of terrorists: "When you kill ten Taliban with one drone, you produce 100 new jihadists". He outlines three steps in the war against extremism: "First, the military power of the militants has to be broken, second, the Pakistani state has to stop its Islamic rhetoric and finally – the greatest challenge – we

"WE HAVE TO BECOME A MORE TOLERANT SOCIETY"

IBN ABDUR REHMAN

have to become a more tolerant society". This process has to start in schools. His organisation is, therefore, preparing an education project for Pakistani school children. Rehman would very much welcome cooperating with the Foundation for Freedom on this project as well. The regional director for South Asia Ronald Meinardus is posting on Twitter under @Meinardus. More information about the Foundation's work in Pakistan is also available on Twitter under @FNF_Pakistan.

A report in German by Olaf Kellerhoff on the human rights situation in Pakistan is available online at: <https://de.scribd.com/doc/237309855/2014-08-06-FHR-02-Religiose-Minderheit-en-in-Pakistan>





Adoption of policy paper on human and civil rights

Latin America: Creative Ideas for Combating Crime

IN NOVEMBER, THE LIBERAL NETWORK RELIAL MET IN PANAMA TO DISCUSS HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS IN LATIN AMERICA

The 37 member organisations used the meeting not only to discuss economic developments in Latin America, but above all to debate human and civil rights issues. Weak institutions, problems with national security and organised crime are obstacles to democratic developments in the region. In November, the members of the liberal network in Latin America, RELIAL, met for their anniversary congress in Panama to look back on the 10th anniversary of RELIAL and to discuss issues of current importance in the region. Juli Minoves, the president of Liberal International, was

the main speaker on the first day. Minoves reported from Liberal International's (LI) Executive Committee meeting in Hong Kong. He spoke of his support for the so-called Umbrella Movement. The term was coined after protesters in Hong Kong, who when demonstrating for free and fair elections, were attacked with teargas by the police. The demonstrators used their umbrellas to protect themselves. Minoves expressed his support on behalf of the many citizens worldwide that assert their political rights against totalitarian regimes.



Luis Moreno Ocampo, chief prosecutor at the International Court of Justice in The Hague 2003 - 2012 / Gesine Meißner, FDP-Member of the European Parliament since 2009

Luis Moreno Ocampo: National Efforts to Combat Crime do not Go Far Enough

Gesine Meissner, a member of the ALDE group in the European Parliament, emphasised the importance of human rights for a functioning democracy and expressed her horror at the massacre of students in the Mexican town Iguala. The students had been found dead after a mass kidnapping. Apparently, their killing was ordered by police.

Reports from Brazil, Venezuela and Chile also point to high levels of crime, corruption and impunity. The subcontinent not only suffers under interventionist governments, but also under global organised crime. Luis Moreno Ocampo, former chief prosecutor at the International Court of Justice in The Hague, stressed that national efforts to combat crime were not far reaching enough to deal with structural international crime.

The Imaginative Use of Smartphones Can Help Poorer People to Protect Themselves

But even regional or sub-regional police cooperation would be unable to react adequately to imaginative, well-networked and professionally organised criminals. Liberalism in the 21st century had to offer and actively promote new, creative and decentralised solutions, Moreno demanded. Increasingly, even petty crime could not be fought anymore with rigid government regulations, even less so in those countries in Latin America where the police force was inefficient. According to Moreno, poorer sections of the population were particularly affected since they were not able to afford expensive private security services. But even these financially more vulnerable groups were able to protect themselves better

"WE NEED CREATIVE SOLUTIONS AGAINST INTERNATIONAL ORGANISED CRIME"

LUIS MORENO OCAMPO



through ingenious use of modern day technology, for example with smartphone apps that link public transport users and enable them to wait for a bus together in unsafe areas or to share a more secure taxi. Smartphone-based taxi services such as Taxi Beat or Uber were already offering a higher level of security than the old system of formal registration of taxis where registration documents were easy to buy or to fake. After the speech of Moreno, the members of RELIAL discussed and adopted a policy paper on human and civil rights, which forms the basis of a stronger engagement of the network in the area of human and civil rights.



FREEDOM IS...

BLAZING
NEW TRAILS



Success Story: "Praja" = Citizen!

THE CITIZEN'S INITIATIVE "PRAJA", BASED IN MUMBAI, COOPERATES SUCCESSFULLY WITH THE MEDIA AND THE FOUNDATION.

"Praja" means "citizen" in Sanskrit – an appropriate name for a citizen's initiative that is by now one of the most respected and influential non-government organisations (NGO) in this Indian city of 20 million people. The media are interested in the investigative reports by the NGO and politicians are no longer able to ignore the investigations and recommendations from "Praja". Nitai Mehta, the founder and director of the organisation, explains the aims of his movement with the help of a newly produced guide to the housing shortage: "We empower citizens to participate in the political process by

providing information and different perspectives". Praja wants to achieve, "that citizens become politically active – not only on election day". Transparency and responsible actions are essential for reaching that goal; this is the focus of his citizen's initiative.

Praja's Reports Can Be Decisive for the Outcome of an Election

In Praja's office in central Mumbai, 20 staff sit in cramped surroundings at their computers. Information about municipal services, public safety, the health system and the housing shortage is being painstakingly collected and evaluated through innumerable research investigations. The empirical effort is great, but the result is worth it: Praja's reports are publicised by the media and reach the local elected representatives as well as the government, in this case the municipal administration with its huge bureaucracy.

In this way, "Praja" intends to also influence the state government of the state of Maharashtra, since India has a federal structure and many important decisions are taken in Mumbai that will also affect the state. In addition, "Praja" produces a separate publication, containing so-called report cards with which the performance and quality of the elected representatives are evaluated. These report cards list not only the number of times representatives were absent from meetings, but also give an account of their voting behaviour. "A bad grade from "Praja" can be decisive for the outcome of an election", claims Nitai Mehta. Some, therefore, have tried to influence the reports. But they have come to the wrong place – "Praja" is independent and incorruptible.

come very unsafe, Nitai Mehta stressed in front of many interested journalists who reported from the press conference on television and in newspapers. According to this report, 37% of people feel unsafe on the streets; the figure is even higher for public transport. "Praja" activists are particularly alarmed about the high number of unsolved violent crimes. In only 8% of serious crimes such as murder and rape the criminals are brought to justice. "We need more police on the streets", demands the citizen advocate Nitai Mehta, "the rule of law has to prevail." He plans to present the report to the newly elected prime minister of the state of Maharashtra, as well and to call for political action. But there is another important project: "Praja" wants to open a branch in the capital of Delhi – actively supported by the Foundation.



Great media interest in Praja / Praja office in Mumbai



"Praja" Makes Genuine Political Participation Possible – even between Elections

"Our reports lay the foundations for a genuine political dialogue", explains project director Milind Mhaske. Apart from publishing political analyses "Praja" is also active in political consultancy and education: "At our seminars, politicians are sitting at their school desks just like students", Milind Mhaske says. In November, "Praja" presented its latest report about crime and the rule of law in Mumbai. The city had be-

"WE EMPOWER
CITIZENS TO
PARTICIPATE IN THE
POLITICAL PROCESS"

NITAI MEHTA



Electronic musician DJ Mary Jane



Making Freedom Heard

LIBERATE IMAGINATION: A CONGRESS ON "LIBERAL LANGUAGE" – THE REGIONAL OFFICE POTSDAM REMEMBERS 25 YEARS OF TECHNO

Dr. Motte and 25 Years of Techno

In the years of reunification, techno was not just a way of life, but also the sound of freedom. For the regional office Berlin-Brandenburg that was reason enough to feature the music in the opening event of the series "Music and Freedom". Guests were drawn to the garden of the Truman Villa in Potsdam not just by electronic beats, but also by a video show, a panel discussion – and by memories: 25 years ago, under the provocative motto "peace, joy and harmony", a small group of musicians started an annual event to transform the "Kudamm" in Berlin into an open air dance-floor, playing new electronic dance music. This first "love parade" made Berlin's techno music known all over Europe. At the same time, a state disintegrated

whose politics had divided the city. The resulting free spaces – mainly empty factories – provided a home for this new music which still characterises Berlin's clubbing scene today. At first, it was Dr. Motte who took the lead. In the Truman Villa, the DJ gave a multi-media presentation, showing how liberating techno felt at the time. The event was chaired by Radio One presenter Volker Wieprecht. The DJ Mary Jane, who specialises on electronic music and who moved to the reunified German capital Berlin from Saarland in the mid-1990s, spoke about her own musical freedom. The evening finished with a reception on the shore of the Griebnitzsee – accompanied by the spherical-electronic sounds of DJ Mary Jane.

Impressions can be seen at:
<https://www.flickr.com/photos/friedrichnau-mannstiftung/sets/72157647389787821/>

"bureaucracy" was generally not perceived to be an enemy of freedom. The FDP had therefore lost "sovereignty" over the term "liberal". Only 19% of Germans currently agree that a liberal party is needed – this is the lowest figure in the Allensbach polls since 1982. Many see social security as a prerequisite for freedom, Dieter Schnaas added. Against this background, he called the egotistic liberalism a misunderstanding; the "turbo"- varieties of capitalism, however, had developed anti-middle class traits. Economic and political freedoms were no longer twins; liberalism needed a new concept. The conference showed how liberal terminology is shifting to avoid stereotypes and old mistakes – and to "liberate the imagination" (Schnaas) for a vibrant liberalism in the here and now. This includes waving goodbye to the term "neo-liberalism", originally so powerful: Because of negative connotations, the term cannot be rescued by any communication strategy.



Dr Erik Meyer, Marcel Hafke MdL, Prof Dr Wichard Woyke and Sebastian Hahn (from left)



LIBERAL LANGUAGE

The 4th conference on liberalism, that took place in July in the Theodor Heuss Academy, concentrated on the theme of "Liberal Language" with the aim of sharpening liberal communication tools. Around 50 participants listened to presentations by Thomas Petersen from the Allensbach Institute for Public Opinion Research, Dieter Schnaas, chief reporter of "Wirtschaftswoche", political advisor Dushan Wegner, Christiane Geuting, communication consultant from Munster, and the spokesperson for family affairs of the FPD parliamentary group NRW Marcel Hafke. As an introduction, Dushan Wegner put forward a streamlined definition of "freedom": People considered themselves to be free "when they are satisfied with the options for actions available to them." Such a "workman-like" approach was "useful when managing the process of opinion-forming in Germany", in order to help the Liberals to return to parliament quickly. Freedom is being taken for granted in the Federal Republic. Petersen contributed some statistics: Most Germans felt free these days – even

"MANY SEE SOCIAL SECURITY AS A PREREQUISITE FOR FREEDOM"

DIETER SCHNAAS



"COMICS MAKE THE TOPIC OF EUROPE ACCESSIBLE TO THOSE WHO ARE NOT INTERESTED IN RED TAPE AND ABSTRACT POLITICS"

THORSTEN ERNST

The Comic Strip Becomes an Innovative Instrument for European Political Education

The new comic competition is designed to help European citizens to look beyond their national borders, offering occasions and forums to take a (fresh) look at Europe. It has been a successful experiment: Comic strips as tools of European political education can reach younger Europeans – which is precisely the age group that, according to research, throughout Europe is less and less interested in politics or committed to the idea of a united Europe. Animate Europe translates the idea and vision of Europe into the popular language of comic strips – one example is a strip about a "terribly nice family" that overcomes its differences. Such a comic strip that leaves room for some irony, removes the European idea from the sterile environment of the news section and puts it right into the living room. "Comics make the topic of Europe accessible to those who are not interested in red tape and abstract politics", the German television author Thorsten Ernst believes. This was precisely what a liberal Europe needed in times of crisis: a new medium that offers food for thought and promotes Europe as a project of peace and liberty.

Comics Illustrate Clearly that Europe Is Relevant for Every European

The winner of the comic competition, Marco Tabilio, embodies the essence of Europe: He was born in Italy, lives in Germany, drew the story of a Dutch philosopher and filled the speech bubbles with English. The comic strip "Erasmus and the Seal", created by the 26-year old

cartoonist, illustrator and video artist, shows the great philosopher of the enlightenment, Erasmus of Rotterdam, discussing Europe with a seal in the belly of a whale. Their discussion focuses on important issues for Europe: Borders, migration, monetary union, mobility and the differences between Southern and Northern Europe. The comics offer a different perspective on these issues. "Good ideas need doubt!", the clever seal in the comic strip asserts.

"Comics can bring across serious issues", was the verdict of the Polish cartoonist Marzena Sowa, who was a member of the international expert jury. The British writer Paul Gavrett found "the story-telling skills of the artists confirmed in word and image". Comics had the power "to bring to life different personal and political views on Europe".

However, Animate Europe not only appealed to fellow artists and a specialist audience. The comic strip book that was published with the shortlisted entries is nearly sold out and thousands click on Animate Europe on the internet. The mobile exhibition of the freshly drawn comic strip heroes has toured more than 30 places so far and has attracted more than 34,000 visitors, for example at the comics fair in Erlangen, in schools or in the Youth Forum of the European Parliament in Strasbourg. The journey will continue in 2015, first to Vienna, before crossing the ocean for a tour through the USA. Even there, in the land of Walt Disney, the comics can help to explain Europe and contribute to improving transatlantic relations.

Erasmus as Comic Strip Hero

WITH "ANIMATE EUROPE" THE FOUNDATION WANTS TO RAISE THE EUROPE-WEARY FROM THEIR SLEEP. THE COMIC COMPETITION HELD BY THE DIALOGUE PROGRAMME IN BRUSSELS HAS BEEN A GREAT SUCCESS.

On 25th May, the European Parliament was elected, in free, secret and direct elections by more than 500 million EU-citizens in 28 member states. There has never been so much democracy in Europe. And yet, the turnout was modest, the enthusiasm for Europe low, the mood often marked by indifference or even hostility – for liberals this was hard to bear. To fight the growing disenchantment with Europe and to actively promote the EU, the Dialogue Programme in Brussels announced a special competition: Animate Europe.



A Scholarship from the Foundation Means Autonomy



INITIATIVE INTEGRATION
IMPORTANCE OF
SCHOLARSHIP

Büsra Okcu,
undergraduate scholarship,
social work,
Berlin

"THANK FOR BELIEVING
IN ME AND FOR SUP-
PORTING ME IN GAIN-
ING SELF-CONFIDENCE"

For me the scholarship first of all means autonomy. In addition, it is important for me to have the confidence and trust of the staff of the scholarship department who always guided and supported me. The interest shown in me, the core competencies that I have acquired and the support for networking have contributed to a strong foundation for my future career as a researcher, which I can use as a basis for assuming my liberal and social responsibilities. For example, I am now an active member of the Forum for Islamic Scholarship Holders. As a scholarship holder I also had the opportunity to meet the German President Joachim Gauck! Thank you so much for believing in me and supporting me in developing confidence in myself!

The exchange with other scholarship holders is valuable since one shares common but also different experiences and can grow as a person by developing new perspectives. As coordinator of the Initiative Integration I have great pleasure in making our motto "Integration as a two-way process" accessible to the general public through debates, seminars and essays. The scholarship department gives us the opportunity to voice and realise our ideas. A trusting and harmonious way to interact brings about a productive working atmosphere, which in turn strengthens the desire to actively contribute to society.

The support of the scholarship department meant for me that I was able to concentrate on my master thesis and my related involvement with the organisation Jangu in Uganda without having to worry. The highlight of 2014 was the 10-day long international academy in Kenya and Uganda where 22 scholarship holders experienced an exciting political safari. My personal goal was to gain the kind of insights into life in East-Africa that media cannot convey. I have made contacts on that trip that are helpful for my charitable commitments even once the scholarship period is over. Our group also became infected by the positive energy of the people there who are faced with enormous social, economic and political challenges. For many of us, Europe and East Africa came a bit closer to each other.



INTERNATIONAL ACADEMY
IMPORTANCE OF SCHOL-
ARSHIP

Etienne Salborn,
undergraduate scholarship
since 2012,
political sciences,
Innsbruck

"THIS IS LIBERALISM IN
ACTION: BASED ON
MUTUAL RESPECT, TRUST
AND ENTHUSIASM FOR
INNOVATIVE IDEAS"

At strategy forums and in structural meetings, I gained an insight into the varied engagement of scholarship holders: all young people, who take their opportunities to be creative! I am now member of the Representative Council to ensure that the circumstances for their commitment remain favourable.

While the strategy forum is responsible for conceptual planning, the Representative Council is elected at the convention, where also large projects such as national and international academies are agreed. This is liberalism in action: Based on mutual respect, trust and enthusiasm for innovative ideas, time and again we launch great projects together.



REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL
STRATEGY FORUM
CONVENTION



Mareike König, undergraduate
scholarship holder since 2012,
psychology, Mannheim



REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL
ACADEMY FOR PHD STUDENTS
(PARTICIPANT)
SEMINAR FOR INTERNATIONAL
SCHOLARSHIP HOLDERS
INTRODUCTIONARY EVENT



Clement Compaore, post-graduate
scholarship holder since 2013,
German as a Foreign Language

In 2013 my fellow scholarship holders elected me to the Representative Council, our governing body. I learned how to plan, organise and evaluate events and how to be creative outside my own area of research. I saw this above all as an opportunity to gain international leadership experience outside my home country. In the Representative Council, I was the contact person for my fellow PhD students and responsible for the magazine "Freiraum" and the international scholarship holders. I particularly enjoyed being part of the organising team of the introductory events in Potsdam.

In this way, the Foundation also supports me in my personal development – a special privilege for me as a foreign post-graduate scholarship holder. I work with talented people from Germany and all over the world and share my thoughts beyond disciplinary boundaries. During the 5-day "iProm" post-graduate academies I received valuable feedback for my doctoral thesis.

In December 2014, I organised a 3-day seminar for international scholarship holders with the aim of bringing together different liberal representatives from the cultural sector to discuss democracy and human rights. It was a wonderful experience.



Participation as a Party Programme

THE "FIRST LIBERAL YOUTH CONFERENCE" IN THESSALONIKI SHOWED HOW SUCCESSFUL INTERNAL PARTY DEMOCRACY CAN BE.

Modern, democratic societies are characterised by openness and transparency of the political process, and by a wide range of opportunities for citizens to participate. The political system in Greece, though, works differently. Even after more than 30 years of EU membership, in Greece it is the respective party leaders who determine the direction of their parties, from the political programme to the selection of candidates for elections. The rights of party members to participate in the decisionmaking process often exist on paper only. This was the background to the "1st Liberal Youth Conference" in September, organised by the Greece-project of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom. Over sixty delegates from liberal student groups, parties and civil society organisations met in Thessaloniki which, as the "European Youth Capital" (EYC) of 2014, attracted young people from across Europe. Together with representatives of the European liberal youth organisation

LYMEC, they discussed a list of demands to members of the Greek parliament and the Greek government. Mayor Yannis Boutaris made the council chamber of this city in Northern Greece available for the occasion.

The Political Debate of the Young Was Exemplary Democratic – and Passionate

Before the plenary discussion, the participants discussed the themes of economic development and the fight against unemployment, education and innovation, administrative reforms, and Greece's role in the European Union, initially in working groups. The debate in the plenary was passionate. The committed young politicians thus showed the inflexible old guard how internal party democracy and grassroots decision-making can be done – and how it is practised as a matter of course in many European parties. "This was an important lesson on democratic participation in the political process", the vicemayor of Thessaloniki Spyros Pengas summed up after he had enthusiastically joined the discussions in the working groups. "However, since this was not a simulation, but concrete work on political reforms, the results are even more important." The final declaration that was sent by the Greek young liberals to all members of the Greek parliament demanded not only many economic reforms, but also a move away from the everpresent system of state intervention. The delegates also put job creation, through providing an investmentfriendly climate and reforms of the Greek education and administration system, on the agenda of their established colleagues. Finally, they argued forcefully for a pro-European orientation of their homeland.

"THIS WAS AN IMPORTANT LESSON ON DEMOCRATIC PARTICIPATION IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS"

SPIROS PENGAS

Young Greeks Demand a Pro-European Policy and Economic Reforms

The 1st Liberal Youth Conference was preceded by "Liberal Youth Seminars". These are a series of seminars which are held over four weekends and take place two or three times annually. Here young people are introduced to liberal ideas and encouraged to engage in political or civil society activities. Every seminar weekend is divided into a theoretical and a practical part. On Saturdays, liberal oriented speakers give lectures, hold panel discussions and lead workshops, whereas Sun-days are all about the practical experience. A campaign and strategy consultant supported, for example, by an expert in public speaking, uses roleplay to prepare participants for political debates and campaigns. The FNF youth seminars have already motivated several participants to become active on the communal or regional level and to successfully seek election.



Spiros Pengas, vice mayor of Thessaloniki

OPEN DEBATES

FREEDOM IS...





Tsippi Livni, Israeli Minister of Justice 2013 – 2014 / the winning pictures of the competition



30 Years of Foundation Activities in the Middle East

ISRAELIS AND PALESTINIANS WORKING UNDER ONE ROOF IN THE JERUSALEM OFFICE

The staff of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom in Israel and the Autonomous Palestine Territories look back on a difficult year. The violence related to the Gaza conflict that flared up repeatedly forced the project managers to postpone or even cancel events. But anniversaries cannot be moved, and the tenacious efforts of the Foundation in this difficult region were once again successful in 2014.

Despite the heated political climate, the office in Jerusalem, which is responsible for Israel and Palestine, managed to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the Foundation's activities in Israel as well as the 20th anniversary of cooperation with partners in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, during the ceasefire.

On 16th September, the Foundation invited partners and friends from the world of politics and civil society for a celebration in Ramallah. One year after the Oslo Accords from 1994, the liberal foundation began cooperating with Palestinian partners. One year later, inspired by the – at that time promising – peace process, the Foundation united the Palestine and Israel project under one roof in



the winning pictures of the competition

East Jerusalem near the Green Line. To this day, this arrangement is unique; the other German foundations in the region are having separate offices to manage activities in the conflict regions. In West Jerusalem, more than 70 friends and partners accepted the invitation from the Foundation and its partner "Be Free Israel" to celebrate the 30th anniversary on 17th September.

Without Real Dialogue There Will not be Real Peace

At both events politicians and diplomats discussed the lack of success in search for peace. Yet again, it became obvious to what extent both sides were caught in their own perspectives, seemingly unable to perceive their own contribution to the failure. The Israeli politician Tsippi Livni, until December 2014 minister of justice, was the chief negotiator at the peace talks until they were suspended in the early summer of 2014. In a passionate speech she appealed urgently for a continuation of the dialogue, so that there could be a permanent end to the conflict.



Photo Competition on the Delicate Subject of Religion and State Touched a Nerve

The achievements of the Foundation's work in Israel include the photo exhibition "Religion*Freedom*City*", organised by the Jerusalem office in November, showing the results of a competition organised by the Foundation. Taking place to the backdrop of bombings and attacks, the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom intended the exhibition to be a symbol of reconciliation. At the opening, the Foundation's country director, Walter Klitz, warned against changing the status quo on the Temple Mount: "Those who seek upheaval are playing with fire". The 22 photos taken by Israeli photographers – professionals as well as amateurs – illustrate the multifaceted life in Jerusalem caught in the tense and complex relationship between state and religion. A jury selected the best ones from more than 600 entries. Even before the opening, posters advertising the event were torn down – apparently, the somewhat unfamiliar approach to the delicate topic of religion touched a nerve. The photograph by Hanan Bar Assulin became the favourite of the online audience.

The exhibition travels through the country before reaching Tel Aviv in March 2015 and the Foundation's headquarters in Potsdam in May 2015.

„DIALOGUE HAS TO CONTINUE, SO THAT THERE CAN BE A PERMANENT END TO THE CONFLICT“

TSIPPI LIVNI



the winning pictures of the competition



Cécile Bonnet (right) and Dr. Petra Beckmann-Schulz at the event about Tunisia in Schwerin



Questions About Freedom

PROMPTED BY CONFLICT ZONES WORLDWIDE, THE REGIONAL OFFICE LÜBECK PUT EUROPEAN SECURITY ON THE AGENDA – IN BERLIN, THE FOCUS WAS ON TODAY'S RELEVANCE OF LIBERALISM.

Discussing trouble spots

In February, a panel discussion on European security policy in the context of global crises and conflicts was held in Hamburg. This was the first in a series of events taking place in Kiel, Greifswalke, Fredeburg and Neustadt, focusing on the future of European integration and the crisis in the Ukraine.

The regional office in Lübeck, however, had much more to offer: In January, Cécile Bonnet, local councillor for the FDP in Schwerin and regional sponsor for the project "Democracy Needs Women", took part in a debate about the development of women's rights in Tunis after the revolution. The project supports women in Tunisia through seminars and individual counselling and helps with political organisation and participation in the country.

In March, two politicians from North Africa met for a debate as part of the "Hamburg Cultural Conversations". Ahmed Mohamed Ezzat Abdelhakim, consul general of the Arab Republic of Egypt, and Mohamed Imed Torjemane, consul of the Republic of Tunisia, took part in a panel discussion about the situation in their respective countries and the upheavals in the Arab world. The event was organised in cooperation with the Euro-Mediterranean-Arab Association.

How to deal with crises, conflicts and international upheavals was also the theme of an event in December in Kiel, focusing on "Ukraine and Russia". This was part of a series of events organised in cooperation with the Institute for Security Policy, "Transformations and Conflicts in the World", which will be continued in 2015 in Kiel.

IS FREEDOM RELEVANT FOR OUR TIMES?

"Freedom was yesterday?", the Berlin "Tagesspiegel" called the debate in September between the chairman of the FDP Christian Lindner and educationalist and managing director of the „Deutscher Paritätischer Wohlfahrtsverband“ Ulrich Schneider.

After the introduction by Wolf-Dieter Zumpfort, member of the Foundation's Board of Directors, the evening continued provocatively: "What is social about liberalism", asked Stephan-Andreas Casdorff, editor-in-chief of the "Tagesspiegel", who was chairing the debate.

Lindner did not have to think twice: The most social policies were the ones that supported people in making the most of their opportunities in every phase of their lives. But Schneider was not satisfied and brought up the issue of redistribution. "There is a rich man in the village and the public pool needs renovating", Schneider developed as a scenario, "how are we going to deal with that?" Schneider called it unfair for government transfer payments to be pegged to the price index. Union officials and politicians really had to use other criteria as well. As one of the richest countries in the world, Germany should be willing and able to better support vulnerable groups in society financially.

Freedom also always implies chaos, Casdorff interjected – and put the question to the Liberal Lindner whether this could be good for society. Even and especially free people, Lindner replied, were doing their duty every day and were voluntarily contributing to a cohesive, inclusive and humane community. Unlike other parties, he did not assume that people were fundamentally irresponsible and egoistical and therefore had to be made obedient through laws and coercion.

Schneider, who accused the FDP of using technical and cold language, conceded somewhat surprisingly "we need institutionalised liberalism in Germany", i.e. a political force which is against state control and collectivism and which concentrates on people's freedom.

"AS A LIBERAL I HAVE A POSITIVE VIEW OF PEOPLE AND DO NOT DISTRUST THEM"

CHRISTIAN LINDNER MEMBER OF REGIONAL PARLIAMENT



Christian Lindner and Ulrich Schneider, Deutscher Paritätischer Wohlfahrtsverband





Political theatre: a EU family constellation



Liberal Perspectives

WHILE THE TRANSATLANTIC FORUM PROVIDED SPACE FOR ENCOUNTERS, LIBERAL THEATRE PROVIDED A PSYCHOANALYTICAL PERSPECTIVE ON EUROPEAN POLITICS IN HANOVER.

A EU Family Constellation Political Theatre: "How Europe Succeeds."

For the second time already the Rudolf von Bennigsen Foundation, a provider of liberal policy training, brought the play "How Europe Succeeds" to Hanover. Under the direction of family therapist Katja Hensel, seven EU countries are meeting for a session of family therapy in the WGC theatre. The aim of the psychotherapeutic family constellation is clear: Europe has to succeed! In this amusing performance, the actors demonstrate in an entertaining way which national characteristics are typical for the member states Great Britain, Finland, Poland, Estonia, Slovenia, Spain and Cyprus – and how

these can lead to conflicts. The audience also saw, however, how important precisely these differences are for the European community of values. Given the lively and often heated arguments of her 'clients' – even the eternal EU candidate Turkey makes a guest appearance – it is a tough job for the therapist Hensel to arbitrate, comfort and encourage. Until, at last, the Lisbon Treaty is there and has been signed by the (then) 27 members: the EU reform treaty. And it feels somewhat neglected in its substance. The director, Katja Hensel, herself plays the Treaty, and the work that was done on the family relationships bears fruit: She, i.e. it, the EU Treaty, receives plenty of encouragement from its members – and, at last, the consensus is that Europe succeeds.

The show was a sell-out. The chairman of the board of directors of the Rudolf von Bennigsen Foundation Peter-Jürgen Rau and MEP Gesine Meißner gave welcoming addresses at the opening night. They were also available for a discussion with the actors after the performance – to ensure that Europe continues to be a success.

SPACE FOR TRANS-ATLANTIC ENCOUNTERS

In 2014, the Theodor Heuss Academy in Gummersbach proved yet again to be the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom's preferred meeting place to reflect on liberalism and offer perspectives on freedom. The highlights included an international meeting on transatlantic trade and a conference on "Liberal Language".

About 4,500 people took part in more than 140 political education events in the Academy. This number included the US consul general in Dusseldorf: Stephen A. Hubler gave an introduction to the first Transatlantic Forum in May and spoke about "the USA before the mid-term elections." He explained the importance of American structural phenomena such as the 'incumbent bonus' in the House of Representatives and the Senate, and provided information about losses of the Democratic Party, which complicated the work of the incumbent US president. In his pithy and opinionated keynote speech Richard Herzinger, US correspondent for the newspaper "Die Welt", presented the image Germans usually have of the USA – and how this image vacillates between pro and anti-



Axel Hoffmann, Vice Chairman of the Board of Directors 2003 – 2014

"NATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS AND THEIR DIFFERENCES ARE IMPORTANT FOR THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY OF VALUES"

KATJA HENSEL

Americanism. He recalled the time of euphoria during the Cold War era when the Federal Republic leaned on its "big brother". The highlight of this phase, the journalist felt, was the wildly popular Berlin visit by President John F. Kennedy in 1963. Then came the Vietnam War – and the anti-war protests. By the end of the 1960s, Germans took to the streets not to see a US president, but to protest against US policies and, in the 1980s, against rearmament. In Herzinger's view, these protests laid the foundations for anti-Americanism in Germany which is still noticeable today, for example in pro-Russian sympathies during the crisis in the Ukraine. In their "new German complacency", Herzinger thinks, many German citizens had forgotten the extent to which they profited from the American "way of life" – and also the extent to which they depended on the US military protection as the leading power in NATO. Without the USA, the journalist reminded the audience, (West) Germany would not have been able to take "the road to modern life" so easily.



FREEDOM IS...

SHOWING
RESPONSIBILITY



Barun Mitra, president Liberty Institute India

With Property Rights Against Poverty

HOW POOR PEASANTS BECOME INDEPENDENT FARMERS: IN INDIA, THE FOUNDATION IS SUPPORTING A TRULY LIBERAL PROJECT

Since 2001, the Liberty Institute, a partner of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom, has been supporting Indian farmers in their endeavours to register their land officially. The director of FNF's regional office, Ronald Meinardus, spoke with Barun Mitra, president of the Liberty Institute about the project.

Mr Mitra, You are helping marginalised farmers in India, in claiming property rights to the land that they farm. How does that work?

Many of the farmers do not possess property rights and are therefore not investing in the land. They live in constant fear of eviction by government agencies and are considered second-class citizens. Since some farmers acquired land titles, their situation has changed. Suddenly, they are treated with respect when they present themselves to the authorities. They also start to invest, to put up fences and dig wells. Some make plans to buy solar-powered water pumps. Their incomes start increasing which encourages other poor farmers. Entire communities gain confidence and claim their rights. Farmers with Titles to their Land Invest – and Have New Self-Confidence

There are many programmes fighting rural poverty. What is the difference with this one?

Most conventional poverty reduction programmes are subsidised by the state. Corruption and inefficiency prevent the money from even reaching the people in need. Our initiative hardly uses taxpayer's money – we rely on our own initiative. Officials are often not too keen on this project, where individuals have to show initiative and make their own claims.

Liberals consider the right to property a human right and private property a key factor for economic development. Would you agree?

Yes, I would. Property rights are a precondition for economic development. However, I think that many liberals have failed to make clear the political dimension. After decades of suffering marginalisation due to the continuing disregard for and erosion of property rights many people in India are taking initiative for the first time! They fight for their rights as citizens. That instils a completely new confidence – also on the political level: They perceive themselves as citizens of a free and democratic republic. Subsidies and social programmes, on the other hand, encourage dependency on the state. Many poor people are beginning to realise that they are equal citizens – and demand protection of their land.

"MANY POOR INDIANS ARE TAKING INITIATIVE FOR THE FIRST TIME AND FIGHT FOR THEIR CIVIL RIGHTS"

BARUN MITRA



Especially the Peruvian economist Hernando de Soto pointed out the relationship between property rights and economic development. Are you following his ideas?

Yes, we try to take his theory on the importance of title deeds into account. There is one important difference, however: The Indian law from 2006 that forms the basis of our campaign was not designed by an enlightened political leadership, but was adopted under pressure from the ground. This is the reason why our approach is also politically so successful.

You have been a partner of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom for many years. How important is the cooperation with the Foundation for you?

The Foundation has played an important role in this project. It helped us to educate people on the importance of property rights, through seminars and workshops and also, since 2009, to publish the "International Property Rights Index" in Hindi. Recently, we received an inquiry from the Foundation's regional office in Africa. Perhaps our approach will inspire Africa too...



Climate Is a Topic!

A NEW DIALOGUE PROJECT IN CAIRO PUTS ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY ON THE EGYPTIAN AGENDA

Egypt is looking back on a few turbulent, chaotic and – unfortunately – also violent years of political new beginnings. The country has embarked on the road to a new order. There is a price to pay for this development. Currently, the country is deeply divided. Public debate suffers in this situation. Only a few issues are being discussed at all and there is hardly any interest in more complex topics such as global warming. While this is understandable given the unstable situation, it is also dangerous since this, the most densely populated Arab country, is heavily affected by the consequences of climate change. Particularly in Egypt with its still growing population, environmental pollution is a big problem. The air quality is getting worse and the purity of the water – already scarce – is endangered. However, these issues are rarely discussed in public – there is virtually no discourse on environmental policies.

A Group Experiment Bridges Ideological Divides

This is where the climate project „National Dialogue on Climate Change in Egypt“ (NDCCE) comes in: The Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom follows an unusual „all-party approach“ here. In this project, representatives of the eleven important political parties of civil society come together in a joint dialogue. These dialogue partners, meeting under the Foundation's umbrella, may have different ideological backgrounds, but they are equally affected by climate change and its consequences.

With this project, the regional office in Cairo enters uncharted territory: for the first time, the Foundation cooperates with representatives with various political goals,

quences of climate change works in two ways: On the one hand, when the participants find a consensus and experience something as constructive instead of divisive, it is effective on the level of society – on the other hand, an impact can be felt on the level of parliamentary cooperation. Through years of working together, participants develop an expertise, which will qualify them as environmental experts within their respective parties. In this way, they continue the environmental debate as multipliers within their parties and beyond – and help bring the important issues of climate change and environmental protection back into the public discourse.

which makes it possible to cover a broad political spectrum. It is now a question of committing the group to the project and to each other with the aim of encouraging a sense of unity and eventually creating a team that does not just discuss problems, but solves them. If representatives of different party-political ideologies experience that cooperation and dialogue actually works, it could not only have a sustainable effect on political discourse, but also counteract an even deeper division in Egypt.

In for the Long Haul: Genuine Dialogue Needs Time

Teambuilding and group work needs time, which is why the timeframe for the climate change project in Cairo is five years. Every year, the focus is on a different climate change problem. At the end of each year, participants publish their own approaches and draft proposals for legislation related to the issue of that year. These building blocks are designed to lead to a „National Agenda on Climate Change in Egypt“ which will form the conclusion to the entire project. This engagement with the conse-

“ENVIRONMENTAL POLLUTION IS A GLOBAL PROBLEM THAT DOES NOT STOP AT NATIONAL BORDERS”

MANFRED RICHTER



Sabine Leutheusser-Schnarrenberger with the awardees



Professor Dr Lord Ralf Dahrendorf, Chairman of the Board of Directors 1982 - 1987

Progress and „Life Chances“

WHAT DID PROGRESS LOOK LIKE YESTERDAY? WHAT IS THE MEANING OF LIBERALISM TODAY? YOUNG PHOTOGRAPHERS AND OLD PHILOSOPHERS LOOK FOR ANSWERS.

Social Issues as Opportunities for Liberals

On the occasion of Ralf Dahrendorf's 85th birthday and the fifth anniversary of his death, the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom, together with the "Badische Zeitung", organised the 3rd Lord Ralf Dahrendorf Lecture. The regional office Stuttgart was in charge of the event. This time, the keynote speaker was the philosopher Ot-fried Höffe from Tübingen whose musings ranged from Aristotle and Kant to Dahrendorf's theory of "life chances". Höffe is mainly interested in the basic values of a demo-

"AN ENLIGHTENED LIBERALISM HAS TO CONSIDER INTERGENERATIONAL FAIRNESS AS THE NEW ISSUE OF THE 21ST CENTURY"

OTFRIED HÖFFE

cratic society and asks which conditions need to be in place for life chances or opportunities to be realised. Lord Dahrendorf's "life chances" are amongst the liberal core concepts, and the issue was also taken up by the panel discussion that followed, which was chaired by the editor-in-chief of the "Badische Zeitung" Thomas Hauser. The "economic guru" Lars Feld, director of the Walter Eucken Institute, and the leader of the parliamentary group of the FDP/DVP Hans-Ulrich Rülke, discussed with Höffe the issue of "Education as an Opportunity and as a Condition for Further Opportunities". The philosopher called for an "enlightened liberalism" that recognizes "intergenerational fairness as the new social question of the 21st century". Such a contemporary liberalism had to consider ecological and financial sustainability. This evening brought substantial food for thought for the debate about the future of liberalism. Sabine Leutheusser-Schnarrenberger nahm das Lebensgefühl der jungen Preisträger auf und ließ sich zum Nachdenken anregen: „Sie sehen viele Aspekte, die im Streben nach immer neuen Innovationen in der Hektik des Alltags oft untergehen. Sie lassen uns darüber nachdenken, ein wenig langsamer zu hasten, um den Blick und die Lehren aus vergangenen Zeiten mitzunehmen.“

Former Scholarship Holders (VSA) and the Virtual Academy was mainly due to the head of the Academy, Joachim Schulte: Together with his colleague Anika Bonitz he perfectly organised the festive evening. The photo competition was open to young people from all over Germany. They were invited to demonstrate what progress meant for them. In addition to an expressive photo, a short and incisive text was also required. The jury was particularly convinced by the quality of the entries by Stella Danek, Lisa Wittmann, Arian Henning, Robert Hamman and Elisabeth Fleck.

As patron of the VSA ball, the former Federal Minister for Justice Sabine Leutheusser-Schnarrenberger (FDP) called on the scholarship holders to show political commitment to the liberal cause – especially in difficult times. It was also Leutheusser-Schnarrenberger who presented the prizes to the five award-winning young photographers. She showed herself impressed by the quality and depth of the contributions to the theme of progress: "Many of the photographs are images of the past, or rather of past progress", the FDP politician said. "They do not focus on spectacular technological innovations. No computer is to be seen, no smartphone, no Google glasses." The former Federal Minister was inspired by the spirit of the young



"WHAT IS PROGRESS?"

For the first time ever, the awards ceremony for the photo competition that the Virtual Academy of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom holds every two years took place at the start of the ball for the scholarship holders. "What Is Progress?" was this year's topic. The success of this new joint event between the Association of Present and

awardees and reflected: "They notice many aspects of life which we often don't pay attention to in our pursuit of ever new innovations and our hectic everyday life. They inspire us to reflect, to hurry a bit slower and to take with us the views and the lessons learnt from times past."

FREEDOM IS...

TRANSPARENT
STRUCTURES



For a Renaissance of Political Liberalism

INTERVIEW WITH THE CHAIRMAN OF THE FOUNDATION, WOLFGANG GERHARDT, ABOUT THE FUTURE PLANS OF THE FOUNDATION



Dr Wolf-Dieter Zumpfort, Professor Dr Karl-Heinz Paqué, Sabine Leutheusser-Schnarrenberger, Steffen Saebisch, Dr Wolfgang Gerhardt and Manfred Richter (from left to right)

Wolfgang Gerhardt, What are the aims of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom in these difficult times for liberalism?

The Friedrich Nauman Foundation for Freedom wants to make a noticeable contribution to the renaissance of political liberalism in Germany. The aim is to reach more and more people, who consider liberal ideas as solutions to the everyday challenges of our time.

How can these aims be reached?

The Board of Directors, that was newly elected in September, has begun together with the newly appointed chief executive to quickly improve internal work processes in discussions with staff and our liberal environment. We have also developed a new thematic agenda for the Foundation, which aims to clearly express the core competences of the liberals.

What are the details of the new thematic agenda?

In the coming years, the Foundation will focus on four core themes: Education, social market economy, open society and European & international issues. More than

70% of the more or less 1,000 events taking place as part of the educational programme in Germany, will deal with these themes, some in new event formats. In addition, training programmes for practical political action will continue to be on offer. Public relation activities and the regional offices will receive more support and the circulation of the magazine "liberal – Debates on Freedom" will be increased.

Does the Foundation take a new approach to communication as well?

Yes, that too. For 2015, a comprehensive expansion of digital communication methods is planned. This includes a new concept for the Foundation's website, as well as a substantially expanded multimedia presence, to enable a user-friendly marketing of Foundation events and positions. We should present a comprehensive picture of liberal politics and attitudes and we are making use of a wide range of communication possibilities

Does the Foundation have the necessary financial resources for this programme?

In negotiations about the distribution of funds between the political foundations from 2015 to 2018, our previous executive chairman Rolf Berndt achieved that our share has fallen only marginally, despite the FPD's exit from the German Parliament. In addition, the budget negotiations for 2015 brought a positive result for the political foundations, so that we have increased flexibility and scope to strengthen political liberalism in Germany.

At this point, I would like to thank Rolf Berndt not only for his successful negotiations for the distribution of funds, but also for his tireless work during his 19-year tenure as executive chairman of the Board of Directors and to wish him all the best in his well-deserved retirement. Likewise, I warmly thank Irmgard Schwaetzer and Axel Hoffmann, who were active members of the Board of Directors, and showed such passionate commitment. I am looking forward to working with our new chief executive Steffen Saebisch. It has started well and the Board of Directors are working together as a closely-knit team.

Report of the Board of Trustees

FOR THE FRIEDRICH NAUMANN FOUNDATION FOR FREEDOM, 2014 WAS CHARACTERISED BY NECESSARY CHANGES

The aim was and is above all to position the Foundation strongly enough to enable it to make a maximum contribution to the renaissance of political liberalism in Germany in the coming years.

In their three regular meetings, the Board of Trustees, as the Foundation's highest decision-making body chaired by Professor Jürgen Morlok, concentrated on discussing the strategy for the coming years. Based on preparatory work done by the programme and finance committees, the focus was on the thematic agenda, the format of events, the communication of the Foundation's positions and events as well as the finances necessary to carry out all these activities. In this way, the Board of Trustees intensively supports the Board of Directors in initiating and implementing the transformation processes.

In several extraordinary meetings, the Boards decided on institutional changes: The Board of Trustees gradually becomes smaller and will have 21 members at the end of 2016, down from the current 29 members; at the end of 2014, there were 26 members mainly from the sectors of politics, media, academia, marketing, small and medium sized enterprise and culture. The reduction in the number of members of the Board of Directors happened already at the end of September 2014, when early elections took place; the Board of Trustees reconfirmed Wolfgang Gerhardt as the chairman. The position of executive chairman has been replaced by the role of chief executive officer: The Board of Directors in close cooperation with the Board of Trustees has asked former Secretary of State Steffen Saebisch to take on that position.



Professor Dr Jürgen Morlok, Chairman of the Board of Trustees

Overview of the Board of Trustees (as of 19/12/2014):

Chairman:
Prof. Dr. Jürgen Morlok

Honorary Chairman:
Dr. h. c. Walter Scheel

Vice Chairman/Chairwoman:
Prof. Dr. Ludwig Theodor Heuss und Liane Knüppel

Other Members:
Christel Augenstein, Dr. Gisela Babel, Dr. h.c. Hinrich Enderlein, Richard Fudickar, Prof. Dr. Helmut Haussmann, Dr. Peter Jeutter, Detlef Kleinert, Karl-Ulrich Kuhlo, Alexander Graf Lambsdorff MEP, Heinz Lanfermann, Christian Lindner MdL, Michael Georg Link, Dr. Anita Maaß, Gisela Piltz, Walter Rasch, Dr. Horst Rehberger, Hermann Rind, Dr. Fritz Schaumann, Renate Schneider, Dr. Hermann Otto Solms, Prof. Dr. Thomas Straubhaar, Ruth Wagner, Joachim Werren

The Self-conception of the Political Foundations

THE POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS IN GERMANY HAVE DRAFTED THEIR SELF-CONCEPTION AND HAVE FORMULATED THEIR POSITION.

Their joint declaration is a selfcommitment and serves as information for the general public. The following is a summary of their statement:

The Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom, Hanns Seidel Foundation, Heinrich Böll Foundation and the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation are political foundations closely affiliated to the Christian Democratic Union of Germany, The Social Democratic Party of Germany, the Free Democratic Party, the Christian Social Union of Bavaria, the Alliance 90/The Green Party and the party The Left. In fulfilling the tasks defined by their statutes they intend to contribute to the future of our social system. Their social and democratic education programmes and their information and political consultancy work at home and abroad are based on the principles of a free and democratic constitution and on the principles of solidarity, subsidiarity and mutual tolerance. Their aims are, above all:

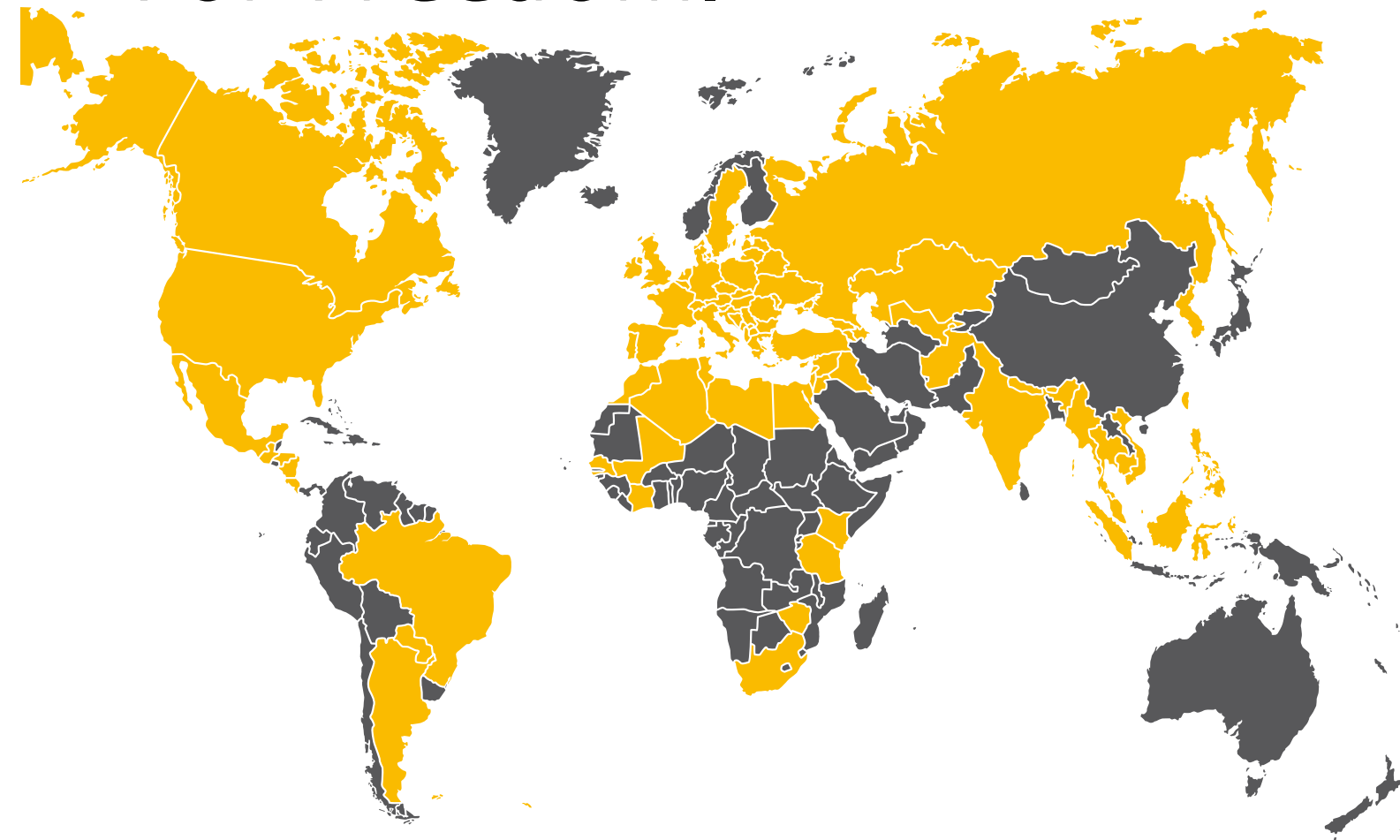
- To achieve interest among citizens for political questions as well as to support and promote their political involvement through civic education.
- To develop essentials of political activity as well as to promote dialogue and the transfer of knowledge between science, politics, the state and the economy through the support of the sciences and of political research and consultancy.
- To research the history of the political parties and the political and social movements.
- To promote the academic education and qualification of talented young people through granting scholarships and organising tutoring programmes.
- To promote the arts and culture through events, scholarships and the maintenance of works of art.
- To support European integration and contribute to the understanding between nations through organising

information and international meetings.

- To offer help in development and contribute to the creation of democratic, free and rule-of-law structures that serve human and civil rights through programmes and projects.

The deployment of their resources to the greatest possible use and to give public account is part of the self-conception of the political foundations. It is also for this reason that the political foundations jointly agreed to follow the recommendations suggested by a committee of independent experts that was installed by the German President and not to wait for the German Parliament to pass a law. In this joint declaration, they define their self-identity above all in the areas of the public funding of their activities and their accountability to the public.

Active Worldwide. For Freedom.



Project Countries

Albania	Germany	Maldives	Sweden
Argentina	Greece	Mali	Switzerland
Algeria	Guatemala	Malta	Syria
Armenia	Honduras	Mexico	Tadzhikistan
Austria	Hungary	Moldova	Tanzania
Azerbaidshon	India	Montenegro	Thailand
Bangladesh	Indonesia	Morocco	Tunisia
Belarus	Iraq	Myanmar	Turkey
Belgium	Ireland	Nepal	Ukraine
Bhutan	Israel und the Autonomous	Netherlands	United Kingdom
Bosnia-Herzegovina	Palestinian Territories	Nicaragua	USA
Brazil	Italy	North Korea	Uzbekistan
Bulgaria	Ivory Coast	Pakistan	Vietnam
Cambodia	Jordan	Paraguay	Zimbabwe
Canada	Kazakhstan	Philippines	
Czech Republic	Kenia	Poland	
Costa Rica	Kosovo	Romania	
Croatia	Kyrgyzstan	Russia	
Cyprus	Latvia	Senegal	
Denmark	Lebanon	Serbia	
Egypt	Libya	Slovak Republic	
Estonia	Lithuania	Slovenia	
Finland	Luxemburg	South Africa	
France	Macedonia	South Korea	
Georgia	Malaysia	Spain	



Regional Offices

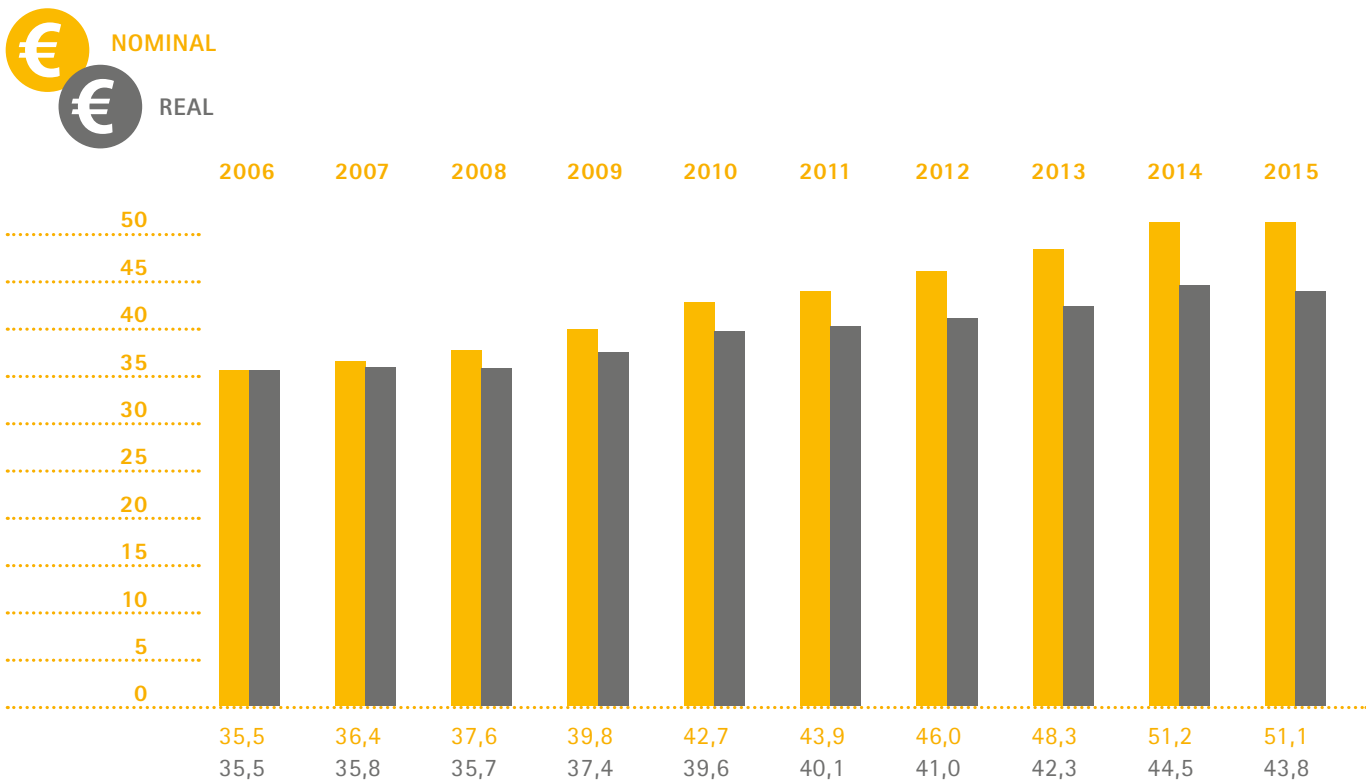
Berlin
Gummersbach
Halle
Hanover
Lübeck
Munich
Potsdam
Stuttgart
Wiesbaden

The Liberal Balance

THE MEANS TO AN END

The funds received by the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom from the Federal and State Governments have nominally risen by 44.2 % over the last nine years, though in real terms by only 25,4 %. Taking the rate of inflation into consideration, the volume of financial funds in 2014 was 9 million higher than in 2006.

Development of Federal and State Funding 2006–2014 (2015 = planning)

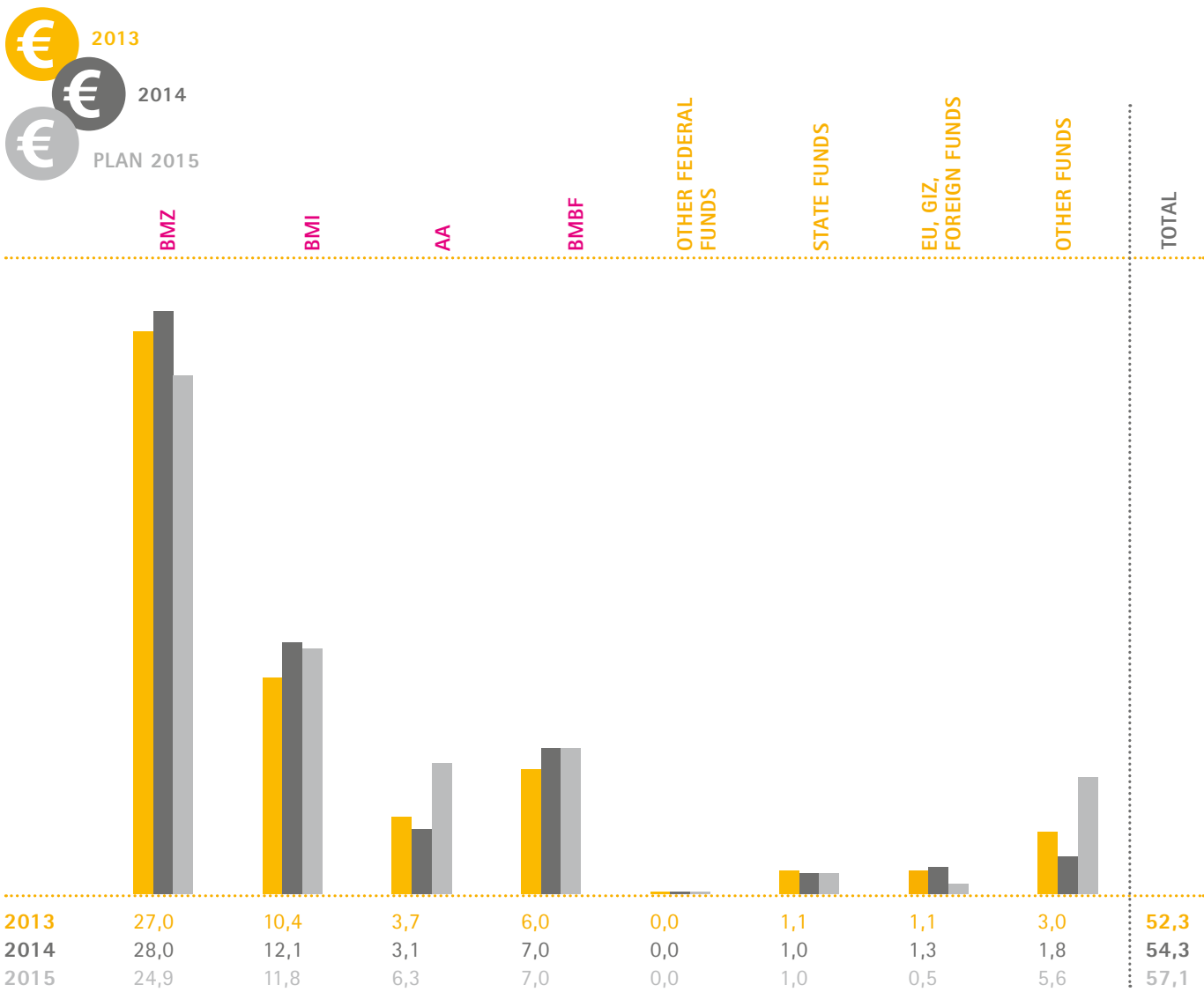


in million Euro

SOURCES OF FUNDING

In 2014, the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom received funds totalling € 54.3 million. 51.6 % of the funds came from the Federal Ministry for Economic Co-Operation & Development to fund the Foundation's core tasks. This was € 1.0 million more than in 2013. 22.3 % of funds, € 12.1 million, came from the Federal Ministry of the Interior. The funds received from the German Foreign Office decreased by € 0.6 million compared to 2013. That is 5.7 % of total funds. Funds from the Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF) covered 12.9 % of total funds, which was an increase of € 1.0 million compared to the previous year. The share of Federal State funds of 1.8 % of total funds decreased by 0.1 million and totalled € 1.0 million. Funds from the EU and others totalled € 1.3 million and were hence € 0.2 million above the previous year's figure, accounting for 2.4 % of the total income. Other revenues contributed 3.3 %, falling from € 3.0 million to € 1.8 million

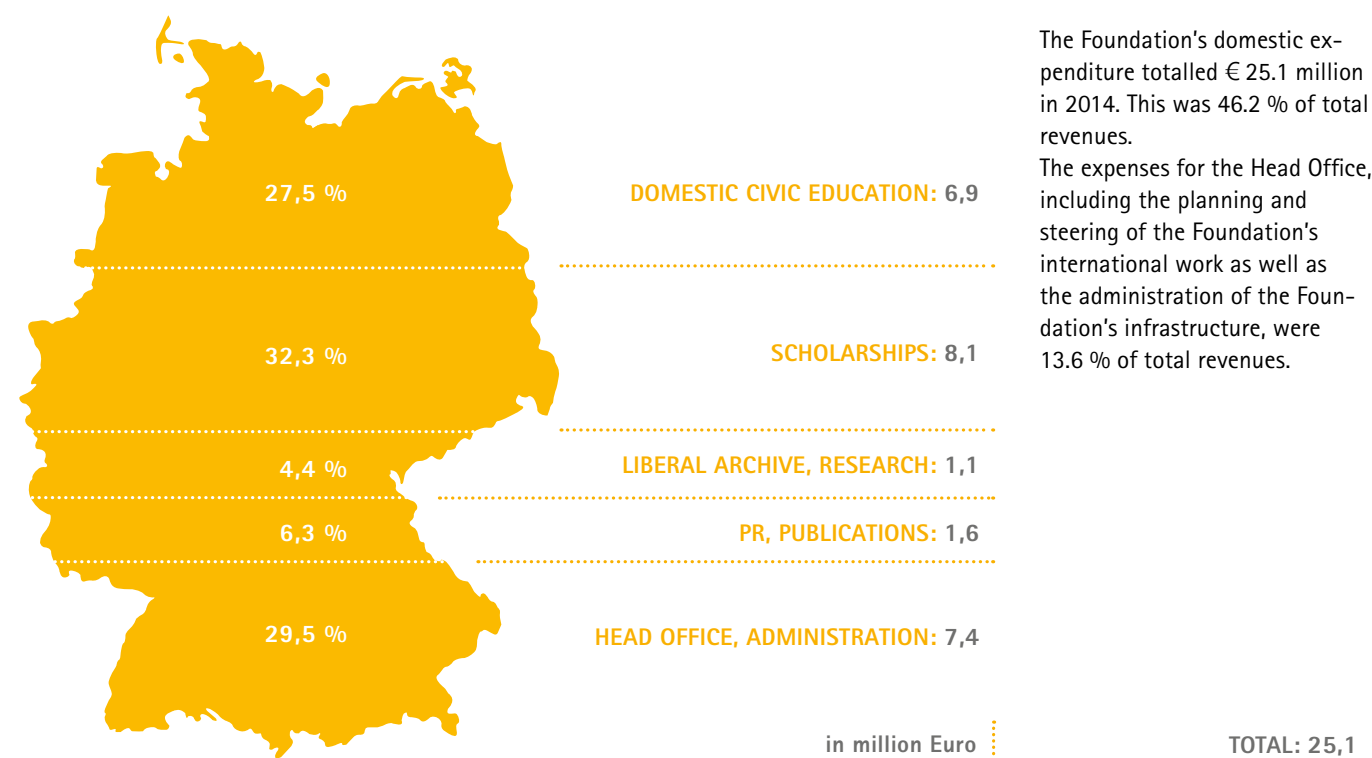
Structure of Funds 2013/2014 (2015 = planning)



in million Euro

ACTIVITIES IN GERMANY

Expenditure by Domestic Expenditure



The Foundation's domestic expenditure totalled € 25.1 million in 2014. This was 46.2 % of total revenues.

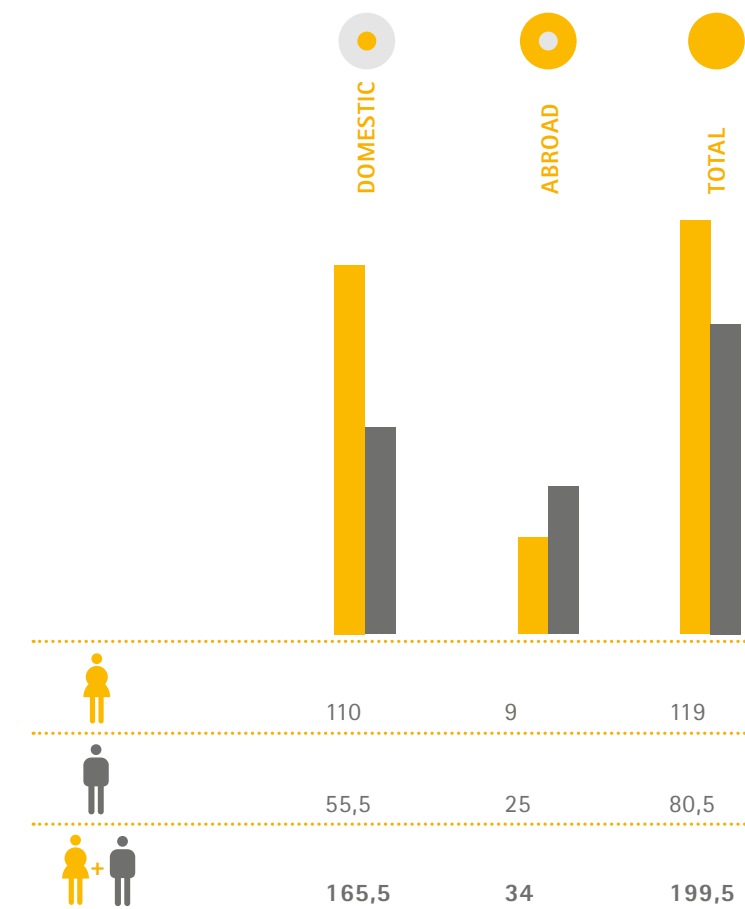
The expenses for the Head Office, including the planning and steering of the Foundation's international work as well as the administration of the Foundation's infrastructure, were 13.6 % of total revenues.

THE BASIS FOR SUCCESS

Staff Structure

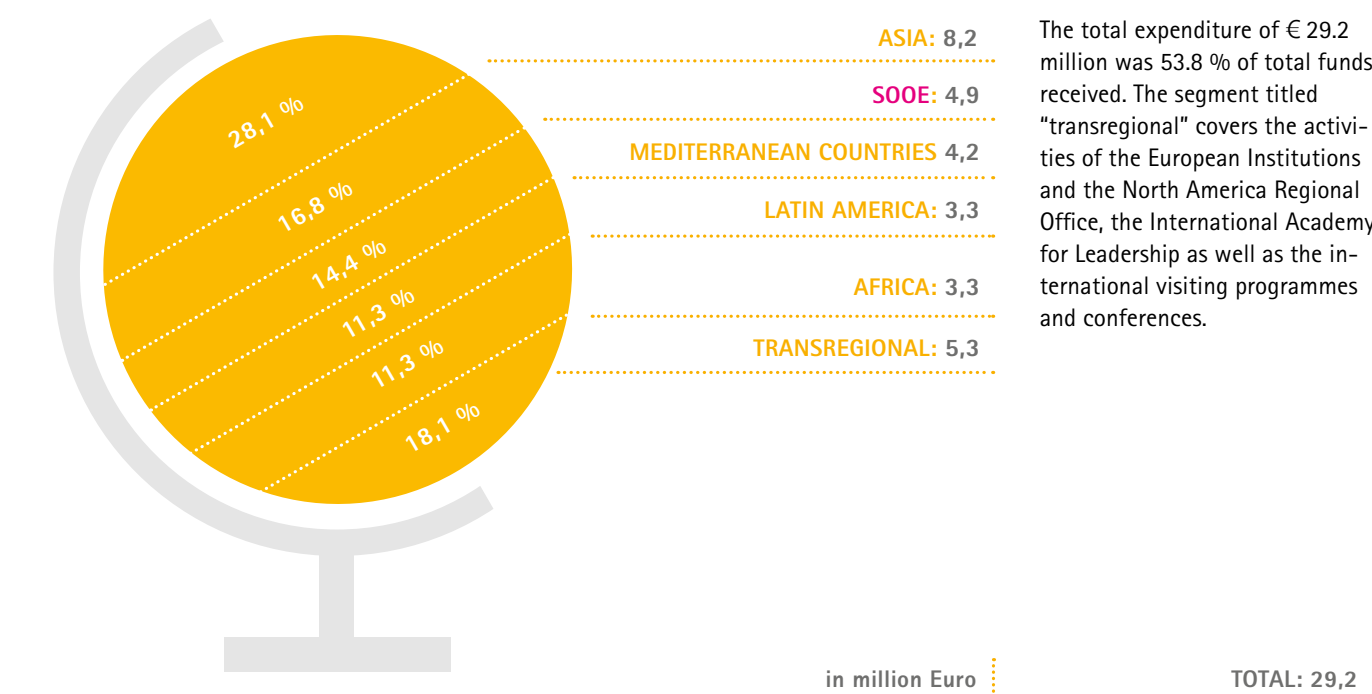
Die Personalarbeit des Jahres 2014 war in den ersten neun Monaten geprägt durch die Diskussionen zu einem notwendigen Personalabbau. Dieser wurde in Teilen auch umgesetzt. Im Inland wurden insgesamt vier Stellen eingespart.

fehlt



INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Division of International Expenditure



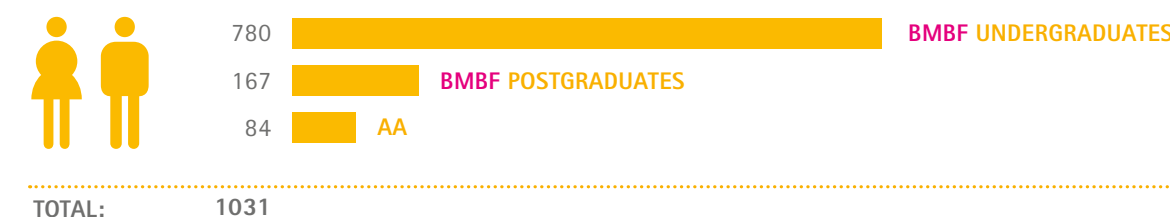
The total expenditure of € 29.2 million was 53.8 % of total funds received. The segment titled "transregional" covers the activities of the European Institutions and the North America Regional Office, the International Academy for Leadership as well as the international visiting programmes and conferences.

PROMOTING THE FUTURE

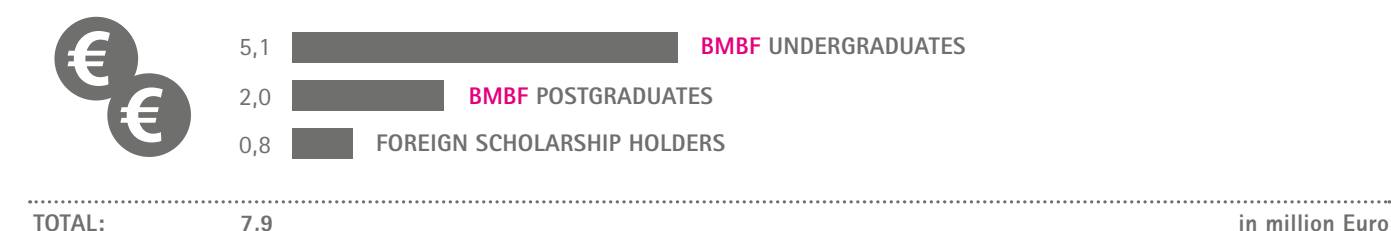
Scholarship Funds in 2014

„Die Begabtenförderung erhielt 2014 etwas über 7,9 Mio. € für die Förderung von deutschen und ausländischen Studierenden und Promovierenden. Insgesamt wurden 1031 Stipendiaten mit Mitteln des Bundesministeriums für Bildung und Forschung (7.125.675 €) und des Auswärtigen Amtes (827.000 €) gefördert.“

NUMBER GERMAN SCHOLARSHIP HOLDERS



FUNDS



TOTAL GERMANY / INTERNATIONAL

in million Euro

TOTAL: 54,3

The Foundation in Figures

IN 2013

ASSETS	€	€
	As of	As of
	31.12.2013	31.12.2012
Fixed Assets		
· Intangible Assets	416.322,00	302.798,00
· Tangible Assets	14.919.496,90	15.539.679,90
· Financial Assets	1.076.714,54	1.034.166,05
Total	16.412.533,44	16.876.643,95

Circulating Assets

· Inventories	24.200,00	20.100,00
· Accounts Receivable and Other Assets	827.144,72	715.146,87
· Cash in Hand and Bank Deposits	3.194.851,97	2.831.423,03
Total	4.046.196,69	3.566.669,90
Accruals and Deferred Items	30.012,80	35.953,90
TOTAL	20.488.742,93	20.479.267,75

EXPENDITURE	€	€
	2013	2012
Statutory Activities, Projects	35.089.445,04	34.377.160,05
Domestic Personnel Expenses	9.263.532,63	8.786.060,69
Non-Personnel Expenses	5.366.525,72	4.957.716,34
Other Expenses	891.563,91	438.678,29
Extraordinary Expenditure and Outlays	1.040,00	31.173,09
TOTAL EXPENDITURE	50.612.107,30	48.590.788,46

Jahresfehlbetrag	-208.329,27	-198.244,70
Profit carried forward from the previous year	9.228.119,95	9.428.276,67
Item in the budgetline restructuring results	6.169,95	0,00
Addition to accrued reserves	-1.552,73	-1.912,02
ERGEBNISVORTRAG	9.024.407,90	9.228.119,95

LIABILITIES	€	€
	As of	As of
	31.12.2013	31.12.2012
Total Assets		
· Foundation's Assets	162.000,00	153.590,55
· Reserve Funds	5.159,61	10.016,33
· Restructuring results	-6.169,95	0,00
· Profit carried forward	9.024.407,90	9.228.119,95
Total	9.185.397,56	9.391.726,83

The "other assets" listed under total assets may partly correspond with value-adjustment liabilities (as laid down by the regulations governing funding that are not as yet final and hence cannot be assessed).

Special Investment Allowance

for Fixed Assets	3.549.653,00	3.724.241,00
Accrued Liabilities	2.939.400,00	2.447.300,00
Obligations	4.398.805,25	4.616.916,00
Accruals and Deferred Items	415.487,12	299.083,92
TOTAL	20.488.742,93	20.479.267,75

INCOME	€	€
	2013	2012
Total Subsidies	48.956.275,06	47.105.870,33
Income from Donations	63.015,84	32.414,90
Participants Fees	481.054,70	484.366,79
Other Revenues and Returns	1.088.360,14	1.074.008,80
Extraordinary Revenues and Returns	243.264,10	632.704,61
Special Allocation for Investment		
Allowances for Fixed Assets	-428.191,81	-936.821,67
TOTAL INCOME	50.403.778,03	48.392.543,76

According to the 17 February 1993 recommendation by the independent experts commission - appointed by the German president - the Foundation's annual accounts for 2013 including supplementary information were published in the Federal Gazette on 07.01.2014.

SUMMARY OF ALL EXPECTED REVENUES AND EXPENSES IN THE BUDGETARY YEAR 2015

I. REVENUES	€
1. Transfers and Allowances	
Transfers from Federal Ministries	50.085.075,00
Transfers from State Authorities and Other Institutions	966.801,00
Further Financing Institutions	464.157,00
2. Donations	19.000,00
3. Participants Fees	347.869,00
4. Other Revenues	5.245.532,00
TOTAL	57.128.434,00

II. EXPENSES

1. Expenses According to the Foundation's Statutory Work/Project Expenses	
Civic and Social Education	-4.273.068,00
Scholarships for Undergraduates and Postgraduates	-7.267.675,00
International Co-operation ¹	-29.165.392,00
Public Relations	-1.770.051,00
2. Domestic Personnel Expenses	-9.471.000,00
3. Functional Administrative Expenses	
Running Costs	-44.495,00
Management and Maintenance of Properties and Buildings	-1.109.660,00
Other Functional Administrative Costs	-3.845.933,00
4. Expenditure on Investment	-181.160,00
TOTAL	-57.128.434,00

III. EXPECTED BALANCE FOR THE YEAR	0,00
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¹ Including all directly related personnel costs for international staff

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT TO OUR DONORS, DONATORS & SPONSORS

We would like to thank you for your support and trust in the FNF; for your recommendations that supported the foundation's tasks and for your many good ideas.

Only by increasing private financing we can become more independent of public funding. There are, among others, two ways worth mentioning: By making an endowment to the Foundation's capital stock you are doing something lastingly good. The return in interest that we receive from our capital stock plus endowments permanently and entirely contributes to financing our statutory tasks.

A donation, on the other hand, has a singular and direct effect in financing our activities. Decide for yourself whether you would like to support the Foundation for Freedom by making an endowment or a donation: thus sharing responsibility for common welfare. In both cases you will receive a tax-deductible receipt from us. We will gladly provide you with further details.

 www.spenden.freiheit.org

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