

## OSC Media Aid: German Think Tank Guide

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German policy research institutes influence decisionmaking of the federal and state governments, and their work is becoming more visible in the German media. Many receive government funding, and most maintain close ties with universities. German think tanks include major foreign policy institutes, peace research organizations, economic research institutes, party foundations, and non-traditional think tanks.

### Overview

According to the German Think Tank Directory, Germany has 135 think tanks, including university research centers. More than half of the policy research institutes were founded since 1975, but many of the largest think tanks began operations before 1975 (<http://www.thinktankdirectory.org>, 2008).

Many of Germany's major think tanks receive government funding and provide advice to government officials and political parties.

- German think tanks tend to see themselves as independent from corporate interests, and government funding is widely regarded as the only way to achieve this end. As a result, many of these think tanks have a narrow focus on the government elite, the source of their funding, according to Germany's expert on think tanks Josef Braml ([www.dgap.org](http://www.dgap.org), March 2007).

- State governments are key financiers of think tanks, reflecting Germany's federal structure, according to think tank expert Martin Thunert (Manchester University Press, 2004).

Most of Germany's think tanks maintain close ties with universities and seek to avoid being tied to the political right or left or a particular ideology.

- Braml argued that more than 60 percent of the German think tank population are not identifiable with particular political views, and one-third have close organizational relationships and steady exchanges with universities.

- He said that German advocacy think tanks' ideas are generally consensus-oriented in an academic environment.

- German think tanks devote significant resources to research and value academic credentials to maintain their funding and reputations, according to Braml.

The visibility of think tanks in the media is steadily increasing. Competition for funds has led the institutes to raise their profiles and participate in public debates.

- In view of decreasing government funding, think tanks have to engage more with the media to improve their visibility and prospects for private funding, according to a study on think tanks published on the Federal Center for Public Education website. It argues that new, media-oriented directors are looking to raise the profiles of their think tanks ([www.bpb.de](http://www.bpb.de), December 2003).

- Braml argued that think tankers are increasingly trying to influence decisionmakers via public opinion. Consequently, cooperation between think tanks and the media is becoming an increasingly popular option, according to Braml.

## 1. Major Foreign Policy Think Tanks

Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP)

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The author of the Think Tank Directory, Daniel Florian, wrote in his paper "Benchmarking Think Tanks" that the Institute for International and Security Affairs of the Science and Politics Foundation (SWP) is regarded as the "Mercedes Benz" among European think tanks. It is an academic think tank, inspired by the RAND Corporation, according to Florian. Think tank expert Thunert noted that it is the largest international affairs think tank in Europe ([www.thinktankdirectory.org](http://www.thinktankdirectory.org), September 2004; [www.bpb.de](http://www.bpb.de), December 2003).

The SWP may be the most influential foreign policy think tank because its explicit task is to advise the government and parliament. The chief commentator of the business daily Handelsblatt asserted that the formerly "quite cumbersome research apparatus" has turned into an institute that provides very "efficient policy advice." He wrote that what starts out as "discreet advice" quite often ends up being the "official German foreign policy" (22 January 2007).

The SWP published a much-disputed study recently, calling for an expansion of the International Security and Assistance Force [ISAF] in Afghanistan and an end to Operation Enduring Freedom [OEF]. ISAF Aerial Reconnaissance and Surveillance should be integrated into a single ISAF directive, and military participation in OEF should end, argued SWP expert Markus Kaim. The study was published ahead of a vote

in the German parliament on the extension of both missions. Polls suggested that OEF was highly unpopular among the population and the left wing of the junior coalition partner, the Social Democratic Party of Germany. Ultimately, parliament voted to extend both missions ([www.swp-berlin.org](http://www.swp-berlin.org), August 2007).

Since its transfer to Berlin in 2001, the SWP has increased its presence in the media. Director Volker Perthes and other SWP experts regularly publish commentaries and other articles in the German media, particularly in the business daily *Handelsblatt* since the SWP and *Handelsblatt* agreed on closer cooperation in January 2007 (*Handelsblatt*, 22 January 2007).

According to its mission statement, the SWP is an independent scientific establishment that conducts policy research, which it uses to advise the Bundestag, the German parliament, and the government on foreign and security policy issues. The analyses and publications produced by SWP researchers and their participation in national and international debates on key issues help to shape opinion in their respective domains, the SWP writes on its website.

The SWP produces research papers, articles and commentaries for newspapers and television, policy briefs, books, and journals. In addition, it organizes seminars and conferences. Even though providing information and advice to the media does not belong to the SWP's major tasks, experts publish commentaries and give interviews on topical issues frequently. Most publications can be downloaded free of charge as full texts from the SWP website. The full text of longer research papers is usually only available after three months to ensure priority access to parliament members and the government.

According to its website, the SWP cooperates with university and nonuniversity research institutes that provide policy advice, foundations, and associations at a nationally and international level. The SWP holds regular annual meetings with leading US, French, and UK think tanks and maintains dialogue with similar institutions in Israel, Iran, India, Pakistan, and Japan. Other examples are the annual seminars with the Russian and Ukrainian armed forces that have been carried out in cooperation with the Defense Ministry since 1993.

Apart from security policy, the SWP also addresses foreign trade issues. Recently it published studies on the security of energy supplies and German-Russian relations.

There are currently more than 130 staff working at the SWP. It has eight research units employing more than 60 scholars. The research units cover EU Integration, EU External Relations, European and Atlantic security, the Americas, Russian Federation/CIS, Middle East and Africa, Asia, as well as Global Issues. The SWP had a budget of 9.5 million euros in 2006. It is funded by the government, mainly by Chancellor's Office. It was founded in 1962 ([www.swp.org](http://www.swp.org), [www.thinktankdirectory.org](http://www.thinktankdirectory.org)).

Middle East expert Volker Perthes has been SWP director since 2005. The influential centrist weekly *Die Zeit* wrote that his nomination reflects the government's assessment that terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and disintegrating states are the central issues today (24 August 2006).

Perthes' areas of expertise are the Middle East, German and European Foreign and Security Policy, and Transatlantic Relations. He is a respected commentator on developments in the Middle East and the Arab world and has written several books on the region, including "Arab Elites: Negotiating the Politics of Change" (2004) and "Oriental Promenades: The Middle East in Upheaval" (2006).

During the past few years he published a variety of articles, commentaries, and interviews in Germany's leading dailies as well as US and European publications, mainly on developments in Iraq, Syria, and Iran. He also wrote papers on European foreign and security policy, the challenges of Germany's EU presidency in the first half of 2007, as well as transatlantic dialogue on the Middle East.

International media also quote his views on major conflicts. The UK's *Economist*, for example, cited him as rejecting unilateral sanctions against Iran because Iran would dismiss any sanctions by a minority of countries as coming from a "few imperialist powers" (14 November 2007).

Other influential SWP experts:

Guido Steinberg is the SWP's Middle East and terrorism expert. According to the SWP site, his areas of expertise are political developments in the Arab East and the Gulf region, especially Iraq and Saudi Arabia, and Islamic terrorism. His current focus is insurgency and state-building in Iraq and the development of Al-Qa'ida after 2001. Between 2002 and 2005 he served as a terrorism expert in the Chancellor's Office. In this capacity he was involved in the talks on cooperation between the German and the Syrian intelligence services, *Sueddeutsche Zeitung* reported (14 December 2007).

Steinberg has commented on terrorist attacks and foiled plots on German and Austrian television on several occasions in the past few months. In a commentary for the *Spiegel* news magazine last summer, he saw Iraq developing into a Shiite dictatorship as national reconciliation efforts seem to fail. Steinberg recently wrote a paper on Al-Qa'ida's return, stressing that the group poses an increased threat to the West and that Europe has become a major "recruiting pool." He also warned that Europe must expect an increasing number of attacks from Al-Qa'ida ([www.spiegel.de](http://www.spiegel.de), 21 August; [www.swp.org](http://www.swp.org), 27 November 2007).

Oliver Thraenert is the head of the Research Unit for European and Atlantic Security and an expert on the proliferation of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons, international arms control regimes, and missile defense. He has written several papers and commentaries on US plans to install components of its missile defense program in European states. Even though he sees a certain threat by Iranian missiles, he does not

consider a US defense system a "high priority," arguing that it can only be "one of several elements of a broad policy" ([www.swp.org](http://www.swp.org), 1 March 2007).

Commenting on the danger of proliferation, Thraenert was recently cited by *Sueddeutsche Zeitung* as saying that nuclear technology should only be sold to countries that have signed the Additional Protocol to the Non-Proliferation Treaty. In another article, he warned against the possibility that Pakistani nuclear weapons might fall into the hands of Islamic terrorists or Al-Qa'ida (*Sueddeutsche Zeitung*, 7 December 2007; *Die Welt*, 11 January 2008).

Citha D. Maass is the SWP's expert on Afghanistan. According to the SWP site, her areas of expertise are problems in Afghanistan's consolidation process and Germany's engagement in Afghanistan, Pakistan's domestic development and international role, the India-Pakistan conflict, and nuclear politics in India and Pakistan. Her current focus is Afghanistan's consolidation. She lived in Kabul between 2002 and 2005 and helped prepare elections there. She was also a member of the German delegation that monitored elections in Pakistan. In a recent commentary she argued that, for Afghanistan's reconstruction to be successful, soldiers and civilians deployed there must agree on a common policy (*Sueddeutsche Zeitung*, 10 October 2007).

Sascha Lange works at the Research Unit for European and Atlantic Security and specializes in arms development, as well as biological and chemical weapons, the SWP site says. His current focus is unmanned aerial vehicles, submarines, and the Armed Forces of Germany and the United States. He has recently co-authored SWP papers on the US missile defense plans, pointing out that important technical and strategic questions have not been answered. As an example, he stated that it is not clear to what extent Europe is really at risk of a missile attack from Iran ([www.swp.org](http://www.swp.org), April 2007).

German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP)

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According to an agreement with the SWP, the DGAP is more oriented toward the public whereas the SWP caters to the academic community and the political elite, Think Tank Directory author Florian reported in his paper. According to the NIRA [National Institute for Research Advancement] World Directory of think tanks, foreign politicians use the institution as a link to the German public. DGAP is an organization similar to the

Council for Foreign Relations in New York, Boucher noted in his study on European think tanks ([www.thinktankdirectory.org](http://www.thinktankdirectory.org), [www.nira.go.jp](http://www.nira.go.jp)).

As an independent, non-partisan and non-profit organization, it actively takes part in the political decision-making process and promotes the understanding of German foreign policy and international relations, according to its mission statement. The Council's aims are to promote Germany's position in international relations, to advise decision-makers in politics, business and society, and to inform the public about questions on global politics ([www.dgap.org](http://www.dgap.org)).

The DGAP conducts policy-oriented research and analysis, publishes studies, analyses and comments, and organizes foreign policy-focused events, including conferences, lectures, panel discussions, and study groups. In addition, the DGAP offers foreign policy makers and experts a discussion platform in Germany, it states on its website.

In September 2006 the privately funded Alfred von Oppenheim Center for European issues, which employs two scientists, was established within the framework of the DGAP. To mark this private donation to the foreign policy community in Berlin, Chancellor Merkel delivered a keynote speech on the role of the EU on the international stage at the DGAP. Foreign Minister Steinmeier also gave a keynote speech on foreign policy at the DGAP recently ([www.dgap.org](http://www.dgap.org), 8 November 2006, 11 September 2007).

The DGAP publishes the monthly journal *Internationale Politik* (International Affairs) and the quarterly English-language journal *Internationale Politik-Global Edition* and operates the only library specializing on foreign affairs, according to its website. It also maintains the information gateway [weltpolitik.net](http://weltpolitik.net) and the websites [www.dgap.org](http://www.dgap.org) and [www.internationalepolitik.de](http://www.internationalepolitik.de). The journals frequently include articles by Foreign Minister Steinmeier and other leading politicians.

The Berlin-based DGAP is an academic think tank that was founded in 1955. Current budget figures are not available. It had a budget of 3.5 billion euros in 2003 according to NIRA's World Directory of Think Tanks. The council is both government- and privately funded: 25 percent are provided by the Foreign Ministry; individual projects as well as donations and membership fees from private members and institutions account for 75 percent of the funds. The council employs 21 research staff, according to the Think Tank Directory ([www.nira.go.jp](http://www.nira.go.jp), [www.thinktankdirectory.org](http://www.thinktankdirectory.org)).

Eberhard Sandschneider, a China expert, has been DGAP director since 2003. His areas of specialization are German foreign policy, transatlantic relations, international relations in the Asia-Pacific region, and the political systems of China and Taiwan. He recently commented on Merkel's meeting with the Dalai Lama, noting that she should not have received him at the Chancellor's Office. It was a "mistake" in that it did not help German-Chinese relations, he added (*Deutsche Welle*, 25 September 2007).

Sandschneider's most recent publications include a paper on China's rise and China's military modernization.

DGAP's Russia expert Alexander Rahr is particularly visible in the German media. He is director of the Russian/Eurasia Program and the coordinator of the institute's EU-Russia Forum. He has worked as a frequent consultant for the Rand Corporation and the Institute of East-West-Security Studies in New York, as well as for the Council of Europe. Rahr has "very close contacts with the Kremlin," the International Herald Tribune reported recently (14 October 2007).

Rahr has published numerous articles in the German, Russian and international press. He is a frequent guest at political TV shows and regularly writes for the daily Die Welt and other newspapers. According to the DGAP website, he is the author of biographies of Michael Gorbachev and Vladimir Putin. He has just completed a book on Russia's return as a world power because of its energy resources ("Russia Steps on It"), according to the DGAP website.

In October he participated in the German-Russian Petersburg Dialogue in Germany, which was attended by President Putin. He discussed Russian-European relations with Russia's first deputy Prime Minister Sergey Ivanov in Moscow in October 2007. Rahr also gives lectures at the European Academy to explain Russia's foreign and defense policies.

Another prominent expert is Frank Umbach, who heads the DGAP's Security Policies Section in the Asia-Pacific Unit. As part of its program the unit pays special attention to China's policies as a rising major power. His areas of expertise are foreign, security and defense policies in the Asia-Pacific region, the EU's Common Foreign and Security policy, arms control and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, as well as transatlantic security issues and international terrorism, the DGAP website states.

Umbach has recently written studies and given talks on energy security, Asian-European relations, and relations between NATO and China. He has also been invited by the European Union Committee in the British House of Lords to write an analysis on the energy partnership between Russia and the EU ([www.dgap.org](http://www.dgap.org), 3 September 2007).

Commenting on current military and political developments in Russia, he expressed the fear that, in the medium or long term, the Russian leadership may engage in "military adventures" to divert attention from "domestic political crises" because the new wealth in Russia is "flowing into new armaments" (Handelsblatt, 18 December 2007).

Another expert frequently cited by international media is Henning Riecke, head of the European Foreign and Security Policy Unit. The unit focuses on European and transatlantic security issues, security organizations, German foreign and defense policy, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and arms control. Riecke has published a number of articles on European security policy, especially on developments in NATO and the EU, on WMD proliferation and the transformation of armed forces, according to the DGAP website.

Commenting on US missile defense plans recently, Riecke criticized warnings by German politicians of an alleged arms race as "completely unfounded." Riecke stressed that the 10 antimissile rockets that the United States had planned to deploy in Eastern Europe were "clearly directed against Iran, rather than Russia" (ddp, 21 March).

Josef Braml is the editor-in-chief of the Yearbook International Affairs and in charge of the Transatlantic Relations program. His areas of expertise are US foreign and security policy, and transatlantic relations. Braml has also carried out extensive comparative studies on think tanks in Germany and the United States.

Braml was a research fellow at the SWP think tank, project leader at the Aspen Institute Berlin, a visiting scholar at the German-American Center, a guest scholar at the Brookings Institution, a congressional fellow of the American Political Science Association, and a member of the Legislative Staff in the US House of Representatives ([www.dgap.org](http://www.dgap.org)).

Braml's recent publications include a paper on new transatlantic trade initiatives, the implications of US homeland security, and a contribution to a book arguing that the Bush Administration's foreign policy is the reason for "transatlantic estrangement" ([www.dgap.org](http://www.dgap.org)).

Martin Koopmann heads the DGAP's Franco-German Relations Program. His areas of expertise are French and German European Policy, Franco-German relations, as well as European integration. He is frequently cited by German and French media on Franco-German relations.

Center for Applied Policy Research (CAP)

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The Munich-based CAP is an academic think tank focusing on foreign and security policy, European policies, domestic policies and political education. It is affiliated with the Ludwig Maximilian University Munich. As an independent think tank, the CAP uses its unique working methods of applied policy research to close the gap between politics and academia. Today the Center is the largest university policy research institute on European and international questions in Germany, according to its official website. According to Think Tank Directory author Florian, the CAP represents a more innovative think tank with largely private funding and stronger focus on presence in the media ([www.thinktankdirectory.org](http://www.thinktankdirectory.org), September 2004).

Since the CAP publishes frequently studies on developments in the EU, it maintains close contacts with the EU Commission in Brussels and the European heads of government, who usually seek advice from the CAP prior to EU summits. The German government is also a customer of the CAP. There are also personal contacts with the White House, the author of the Think Tank Directory, Daniel Florian wrote in his paper ([www.thinktankdirectory.org](http://www.thinktankdirectory.org), September 2004).

The CAP draws its funds from projects and partnerships with foundations, government institutions and corporations, its website states. The Center brings together academic understanding in order to work out strategies and options for current issues in politics. Its research groups and projects combine international and interdisciplinary analysis with concrete suggestions for political practice. Simultaneously, it communicates the results of its work to the public and to a large number of opinion shapers via publications and the internet, its mission statement reads.

The CAP publishes books, studies, policy briefs and is involved in contract research. In addition, it organizes seminars, conferences, and meetings. The CAP shows a high degree of diversification in the products it offers. According to Florian, media presence is of crucial importance for the success of the CAP. The Center's public visibility makes it easier to find potential sponsors and partners. The conferences organized by the CAP and its partners usually attract considerable media attention, Florian noted.

The CAP is closely linked with the Bertelsmann Foundation. CAP director Weidenfeld also used to be a member of the presidium and the management board of the Bertelsmann Foundation but resigned recently from this post over allegations of financial irregularities, of which he was eventually cleared, according to the CAP website.

The CAP was founded in 1995 and employs 41 researchers. The center receives some government funds but is mostly privately funded. The main private sponsor is the Bertelsmann Foundation, according to the Think Tank Directory. No budget figures are available.

Werner Weidenfeld has been director of the CAP since its founding in 1995. Between 1987 and 1999 he worked for the German government as coordinator for German-American cooperation. He edits the DGAP journal International Affairs and is also a member of the DGAP board. He has published numerous books and articles on European integration, transatlantic relations, and political developments in Germany. He is known as a strong supporter of transatlantic relations.

Weidenfeld has repeatedly praised Merkel's leadership, particularly ahead of and during Germany's presidency of the EU in the first half of 2007. Merkel on her part praised Weidenfeld's "wisdom and experience" in international relations at the opening of a conference on European-Israeli dialogue ([bundesregierung.de](http://bundesregierung.de), 10 March 2007).

Weidenfeld is widely cited in German and international media. As in 1996, the German Association for Political Science has just elected him again the most "influential policy adviser" ([www.cap.uni-muenchen.de](http://www.cap.uni-muenchen.de), 2 November 2007).

## Bertelsmann Foundation

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The Bertelsmann media concern and its Foundation have often been described as extremely powerful institutions because of their vast network of contacts in Germany and abroad. The Foundation has repeatedly been compared with the Rockefeller Foundation. Bertelsmann and Rockefeller organize joint philanthropy workshops, among other things. Social developments in Germany are the main focus of the Bertelsmann Foundation but through its contacts with the country's leadership it also influences foreign policy.

The foundation was established in 1977 by entrepreneur Reinhard Mohn, who represented the fifth generation of the Bertelsmann family, to "address both sociopolitical and corporate policy issues," as the official website states. Three members of the Mohn family -- Reinhard, Liz and Brigitte Mohn -- head the Bertelsmann Foundation today. According to *Sueddeutsche Zeitung*, Chancellor Merkel has "good relations" with Liz Mohn (8 July 2006), and in an article for the monthly *Cicero* magazine, Liz Mohn praised Merkel's warmth and openness and described her as a competent leader. According to *Financial Times Deutschland*, Merkel has developed an "intensive relationship" with Liz Mohn over the years (8 July 2006, April 2006, 26 May 2005). Merkel for her part has repeatedly held speeches at Bertelsmann ceremony, paying tribute to the Foundation's work.

According to its mission statement, the Foundation aims to identify social problems and challenges at an early stage and to develop exemplary solutions to address them. In keeping with the longstanding social commitment of its founder, Reinhard Mohn, the Bertelsmann Foundation is dedicated to serving the common good, it states on its website. Its work is based on the conviction that competition and civic engagement are essential for social progress. It organizes workshops, seminars and conferences where it arranges meetings between politicians and its experts.

The Bertelsmann Foundation has frequently been subject to criticism because of its engagement in the political field and its neoliberal views. Several books have recently been published, arguing that the foundation is "highly efficient" in influencing the

government. The previous government's economic reform project Agenda 2010 was reportedly drafted with "substantive help" from the Guetersloh-based think tank, Sueddeutsche Zeitung quoted from one of the new books (10 December 2007).

A study on the "Global Player Bertelsmann" published on the Anti-Bertelsmann website maintained that the Bertelsmann Foundation is also trying to exert influence on European military and security policy. At the International Bertelsmann Forum on Europe's global role, the idea of a European army with far-reaching consequences on transatlantic and continental security structures was presented, according to the study. The concluding session of this forum was officially held at the Defense Ministry, the paper noted ([www.anti-bertelsmann.de](http://www.anti-bertelsmann.de), 2007).

The Bertelsmann Foundation is based in Guetersloh/North Rhine-Westphalia. It had a budget of 56.7 million euros in 2005 and employs some 300 staff, of whom 185 work in project management. The Foundation is exclusively privately funded and is the majority shareholder of the Bertelsmann AG, a global corporation with more than 92,000 employees in more than 63 countries, its website states. It invests its budget solely in projects that it conceives, initiates and implements itself ([www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de](http://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de)).

## 2. Peace Research Institutes

According to think tank expert Thunert, state governments became important sponsors of academic think tanks between the 1970s and 1990s, sometimes with a strong emphasis on advocating certain policy areas or policy directions. In the early 1970s Scandinavian think tanks such as the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute served as models for peace research institutes founded by Social Democratic state governments -- the Peace Research Institute in Frankfurt and the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg, and the Bonn International Center for Conversion. Some of Germany's larger states like North Rhine-Westphalia became particularly active as sponsors of think tanks in the 1990s, Thunert wrote in his 2004 essay.

Hesse Research Institute Frankfurt (PRIF)/Hessische Stiftung Friedens- und Konfliktforschung (HSFK)

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PRIF is to date the largest as well as the oldest peace research institute in Germany. German media frequently quote PRIF studies -- on Iran's and North Korea's nuclear programs and other proliferation issues, for example.

According to its own website, PRIF's work is directed towards identifying the causes of violent international and internal conflicts, carrying out research into the conditions necessary for peace, understood as a process of decreasing violence and increasing justice, and spreading the concepts of peace. Research results are converted into practical policy recommendations and foster public debate on security topics ([www.hsfk.de](http://www.hsfk.de)).

Besides the central peace research topics of arms controls and disarmament, topics such as the environment and natural resources in relation to war and peace are also highlighted at PRIF, the Swiss ISN (International Relations and Security Network) think tank directory states. The PRIF conducts research on the conflicts in the Balkans, the Middle East and in Asia, the dangers of nationalism, the problems of European integration, the spread of weapons of mass destruction, as well as on environmental conflicts, terrorism, and the impoverishment of large areas of the world ([www.isn.ethz.ch](http://www.isn.ethz.ch)).

PRIF is an academic think tank, which was founded in 1970 by the government of the state of Hesse in Frankfurt/Main as an independent foundation. Its budget is approximately 2.5 million euros and it employs more than 60 members of staff ([www.thinktankdirectory.org](http://www.thinktankdirectory.org))

The PRIF's executive director is Harald Mueller, professor for international relations at Frankfurt University. He heads the Research Department, the Arms Control and Disarmament Department and is an expert for international organizations. He has published numerous papers and reports on global rearmament, proliferation, arms control, and democratic peace. He is also cochairman of the Advisory Council on Peace and Conflict at the German Foreign Ministry ([www.hsfk.de](http://www.hsfk.de)).

Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg (IFSH)

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The ISFH was established in 1971 by the Senate of Hamburg, following the recommendation of the German Science Council, an advisory body to the federal government and the state governments, to promote academic research on matters of peace. It is sponsored by the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg. According to its

statutes, the IFSH focuses on global political and security issues within a framework of peace research. Its goal is to promote balanced and innovative academic research, training, and teaching and to publish its research results ([www.ifsh.de](http://www.ifsh.de)).

The German army, the Bundeswehr, has been involved in the IFSH from the very beginning. Since the establishment of the institute in 1971, the institute has always employed a "military fellow." In 1999 the IFSH set up an expert commission, including scientists, officers, and politicians, on "European security and the future of the Bundeswehr." One major result was the development of a model based on the abandonment of compulsory military service ([www.ifsh.de](http://www.ifsh.de)).

Its research program focuses on the EU's Common European Foreign and Security Policy (CEFSF), the Common European Security and Defense Policy (CESDP), Arms Control and Disarmament, and the OSCE, its website says..

The ISFH is funded by Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg and private funds. Budget figures are not available. The IFSH has presently a staff of approximately 50. The institute's scientific director is Michael Brzoska, whose areas of expertise are arms control, international sanctions, international weapons transfer, the international weapons industry, and causes of war ([www.ifsh.de](http://www.ifsh.de), [www.thinktankdirectory.org](http://www.thinktankdirectory.org)).

#### Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC)

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According to its website, BICC is an independent, non-profit organization dedicated to promoting peace and development through the efficient and effective transformation of military-related structures, assets, functions and processes. While disarmament frees up resources that can be employed in the fight against poverty, conversion maximizes outcomes through the careful management of such transformation of resources, its mission statement reads ([www.bicc.de](http://www.bicc.de)).

The BICC is an academic think tank, founded by the state government of North Rhine-Westphalia, and is based in Bonn. Media have cited BICC experts on global military spending as well as on Iran's nuclear program, proposing negotiations instead of sanctions. The BICC is headed by Director Peter Croll, who has wide experience in national and international development cooperation, including project management, development banking, institutional development, policy advising, and development management ([www.bicc.de](http://www.bicc.de)).

BICC wants to establish itself as an internationally recognized, independent research institute for applied peace and conflict research. The center considers its special mission to contribute to peace and development through conflict prevention measures and the constructive transformation of violent conflicts, according to its website.

According to its website, BICC offers research, consultancy and training, publishes annual conversion surveys, annual reports providing information on the correlation between military and development expenditure as well as an overview of global conflicts. Individual project reports offer an insight into BICC's application-oriented research, consultancy and training work.

### 3. Major Economic Research Institutes

Since 1952 the six major German economic research institutes submitted a Joint Report on the state of the German economy twice a year, in the spring and the fall. In spring this year the government broke with the tradition and invited foreign research institutes, as well as German think tanks, to contribute to the report. The report receives the attention of the media, the government, the central bank, interest groups, and other actors in the economic policy community.

Institute for Economic Research (ifo) at the University of Munich

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Poschingerstr. 5  
81679 Munich  
Phone.: +49(0)89/9224-0  
Fax: +49(0)89/985369  
E-mail: ifo@ifo.de  
Website: <http://www.ifo.de>

The Ifo Institute is one of the most established economic research institutions in Germany and, according to its website, also the one most often quoted on economic developments in the media. It provides advice to various political and economic leaders, particularly the federal and state ministers.

The Ifo's mission statement says that the institute applies academic knowledge to practical policy issues and constantly seeks ways to enhance this knowledge. By providing data, information, and research results, it gives intermediate input to scientific research and contributes to a foundation for German and European economic policy. Under the name CESifo, Ifo works in cooperation with the Center for Economic Studies (CES).

The Munich-based Ifo institute was founded in 1949. It is mainly government-funded and has an annual budget of 13.1 million euros. The Ifo Institute has received institutional funding since 2000 as a "research-based service institution." It employs 80 research staff as well as 76 administrative/support staff. It is a member of the Leibniz Association, which ensures a certain academic standard. It publishes annual reports and releases a monthly Business Climate Index. Cooperation with universities, especially with Munich University, ensures a high standard of research ([www.ifo.de](http://www.ifo.de), [www.thinktankdirectory.org](http://www.thinktankdirectory.org)).

Hans-Werner Sinn is the president of Ifo. He is one of Germany's most well-known economists. He is an advocate of the market economy because it is "efficient," even though it may not be "fair," as he once said in an interview for *Sueddeutsche Zeitung* (24 October 2007). He is the author of the book "Can Germany Be Saved," which triggered a major debate about the German welfare state when it was published in 2003. *Financial Times Deutschland* awarded him the Economic Book Prize for this book.

Sinn believes that the welfare state is one of the reasons for Germany's high unemployment. Commenting on the current debate about minimum wages, Sinn warned against their nationwide introduction because this would lead to the loss of a nearly 2 million jobs (*Spiegel Online*, 13 December 2007). He also writes in *Project Syndicate's* monthly Op-Ed series "A Transatlantic Perspective," which explores the economic consequences of political decisions.

According to the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, Sinn is a member of the Council of Economic Advisors that advises the government on economic matters. Moreover, he is one of the few German-speaking fellows of the National Bureau of Economic Research in Cambridge, United States ([www.lrz-muenchen.de](http://www.lrz-muenchen.de)).

#### German Institute for Economic Research (DIW)

Deutsches Institut fuer Wirtschaftsforschung  
Mohrenstraßen 58  
10117 Berlin  
Phone: +49-30-897 89-0  
Fax: +49-30-897 89-200  
Website: <http://www.diw.de>

The German Institute for Economic Research is one of the leading research institutes in Germany. It suffered a major setback last year when it was excluded from the Joint Report for the government, which is published twice a year. The "expected quality and expediency" were cited as the reason. The DIW criticized the decision, saying that a "campaign by leftist Keynesian circles" against the institute's reform process influenced the decision of the Economics Ministry ([www.thinktankdirectory.org](http://www.thinktankdirectory.org), 11 July 2007, *Spiegel Online*, 2 July 2007).

The DIW Berlin was originally founded in 1925 as the Institute for Business Cycle Research and was later renamed German Institute for Economic Research. According to its own website, it is an independent, non-profit academic institution which is involved in basic research and policy advice. It conducts applied economic research recognized by the international scientific community and provides research-based policy advice to national, European and international policy makers, the business community and the general public.

The DIW Berlin focuses on business cycle analysis and forecasts, ranging from short-term analysis of economic trends and analysis of current economic and fiscal affairs to the long-term projection and assessment of developments in the global economy and in individual sectors, its mission statement says. It presents its research results in science journals, at national and international scientific events as well as at workshops, symposiums and colloquiums. The research results provide a basis for the exchange of ideas among experts and other relevant groups ([www.diw.de](http://www.diw.de))

The Berlin-based institute is partly funded by the federal government and the Berlin city government. Contract research, membership fees, and donations account for 50 percent of the funding. It employs 100 research and 90 nonresearch staff, according to the Think Tank Directory. No budget figures are available. The DIW Berlin is a member of the Leibniz Association. It opened a branch in Washington DC in October, which is headed by Amelie Constant, who teaches at Georgetown University ([www.thinktankdirectory.org](http://www.thinktankdirectory.org)).

Since 2000, DIW Berlin has been chaired by President Klaus F. Zimmermann, whose special research interests are labor economics, population economics, migration, industrial organization, econometrics. He has published numerous books on economic issues.

#### Kiel Institute for the World Economy (IfW)

Institut fuer Weltwirtschaft an der Universitaet Kiel  
Duesternbrooker Weg 120  
24105 Kiel  
Phone: (0431) 8814-1  
Fax: (0431) 85853  
E-mail: [info@ifw-kiel.de](mailto:info@ifw-kiel.de)  
Website: <http://www.uni-kiel.de/ifw>

The IfW belongs to the five leading German economic research institutes and is an internationally renowned center of economic research. It participates in the Joint Report on economic developments to the government.

According to its own website, the IfW is a center for international economic policy research and documentation affiliated with the University of Kiel. The Institute engages especially in creating solutions to urgent problems in global economic affairs. On the basis of its research, the Institute advises decision-makers in politics, business, and society and informs the broader public about important developments in international economic policy. The institute publishes the quarterly journal *Review of World Economics*, which was founded in 1913 as the world's first journal with a focus on international economics ([www.uni-kiel.de](http://www.uni-kiel.de)).

The Kiel Institute released a study this year suggesting that the number of jobless in Germany could fall by 50 percent if a "fundamental institutional reform" at the Federal Employment Agency were carried out. Instead of receiving normal unemployment benefits, workers would pay into an "employment account." If laid off, the workers would withdraw from that account. Any money left in the account when a person retires from the working world would augment their pension payments, the study proposed (*Spiegel Online*, 29 June 2007).

The institute, based in Kiel/Schleswig Holstein, was founded in 1914. It is an independent institution affiliated with the University of Kiel and a member of the Leibniz Society. It is funded by the federal government and the state of Schleswig-Holstein and had a budget of 22 million euros in 2003. The institute's president is a US citizen, and the IfW employs 270 research and nonresearch staff ([www.thinktankdirectory.org](http://www.thinktankdirectory.org)).

Rhenish-Westphalian Institute for Economic Research (RWI Essen)

Rheinisch-Westfaelisches Institut fuer Wirtschaftsforschung  
Hohenzollernstrasse 1-3  
45128 Essen  
Phone: +49 (0) 201 / 81 49-0  
Fax: + 49 (0) 201 / 81 49-200  
E-mail: [rwi@rwi-essen.de](mailto:rwi@rwi-essen.de)  
Website: <http://www.rwi-essen.de>

Of the major institutes that participate in the Joint Report, the RWI and DIW have been noted for their "adherence to pro-Keynesian paradigms," while the other institutes represented the majority opinion based on the assumption of "neo-classical economics," Thunert noted in his 2004 study.

RWI Essen considers itself a modern center for scientific research and evidence-based policy advice, retaining its strong roots in the federal state of North Rhine-Westphalia. Focal points of the research include analysis of the labor market, educational research, migration and environmental economics. Particular attention is paid to the diagnosis and forecasting of the German economy and those of leading developed countries, as well as to structural changes within the economy. Research is based on the latest theoretical

concepts, as well as scientific methods, its mission statement reads. The results are published as a rule and are available to the public ([www.rwi-essen.de](http://www.rwi-essen.de)).

The institute was founded in 1926. It is funded by the federal government and the government of North Rhine-Westphalia through membership fees, contract research, and the sale of publications. It had a budget of 6.5 million euros in 2003 and employs 82 staff, including 53 research staff. Current budget figures are not available. RWI is member of the Leibniz Association. ([www.thinktankdirectory.org](http://www.thinktankdirectory.org))

The RWI's president is Christoph M. Schmidt, whose research interests are applied econometrics, in particular in labor and population economics.

#### Halle Institute for Economic Research (IWH)

Institut fuer Wirtschaftsforschung Halle  
Kleine Maerkerstraße 8  
D-06017 Halle (Saale)  
Phone: (0345) 77 53-60  
Fax.: (0345) 77 53-820  
Website: <http://www.iwh-halle.de>

The IWH is the only east German-based think tank among Germany's major economic research institutes. With its periodical publications, it aims to support German public administration, the scientific community, and decision-makers in the economic sphere, its mission statement says. Its research focuses particularly on economic transformation processes. Initially, this related to the transformation from a centrally planned to a market economy. Today the institute's mission is to observe and assess national and international economic processes. Many of the research projects carried out at the IWH thus relate to institutional change, especially the regulation of competition, the importance of knowledge. and the process of innovation (<http://www.iwh-halle.de>).

Founded in 1992, the IWH is the youngest economic research institute. Its budget comes in equal parts from the federal government and the government of the state of Saxony-Anhalt, where the institute is located. Research projects also account for some of the funding. The institute had a budget of 5.03 million euros in 2006. The IWH is a member of the Leibniz Community ([www.thinktankdirectory.org](http://www.thinktankdirectory.org)).

The IWH's president is Ulrich Blum, who studied economic engineering in Karlsruhe.

#### Center for European Economic Research (ZEW)

Zentrum fuer Europaeische Wirtschaftsforschung GmbH

L 7,1 D-68161 Mannheim  
P.O.Box 103443 D-68034 Mannheim  
Phone: +49/ (0)621-1235-01  
Fax: +49/ (0)621-1235-224  
E-mail: [info@zew.de](mailto:info@zew.de)  
Website: <http://www.zew.de>:

The ZEW is another economic think tank frequently cited by the media. The institute publishes monthly surveys for which it queries financial experts throughout Europe in order to make a medium-term forecast on Germany's economic situation.

According to its mission statement, the ZEW works in the field of user-related empirical economic research. It is involved in economic research, economic counseling and the transfer of knowledge. The institute offers its services to decision-makers in politics, industry, and administration, scientists in Germany and abroad, as well as the interested public. It provides regular surveys on the situation in the financial markets as well as annual studies on technological competitiveness and innovation ([www.zew.de](http://www.zew.de)).

The ZEW was founded in 1990 at the initiative of the state of Baden-Württemberg, trade and industry, and Mannheim University. It has a staff of 160, two-thirds of whom are researchers. It is both government- and privately funded and had a budget of 12.5 million euros in 2005. Wolfgang Franz and Thomas Kohl head the institute ([www.thinktankdirectory.org](http://www.thinktankdirectory.org)).

German Business Institute (Institut der Deutschen Wirtschaft Koeln, IW)

Institut der Deutschen Wirtschaft Köln  
Gustav-Heinemann-Ufer 84-88  
50968 Koeln  
Phone: 0221 4981-1  
Fax: 0221 4981-533  
E-mail: [welcome@iwkoeln.de](mailto:welcome@iwkoeln.de)  
Website: <http://www.iwkoeln.de>

According to Rudolf Speth, a political scientist and expert on Germany's lobby system, the IW can be compared with the Heritage Foundation. As an advocacy think tank it has a similar political orientation and supports similar projects, he stated in his paper on advocacy think tanks. Through its strong presence in the media, it contributes to the debate on controversial economic issues on a regular basis ([www.thinktankdirectory.org](http://www.thinktankdirectory.org), 22 July 2006).

According to its mission statement, the IW is currently the "leading private economic research institute" in Germany. "We represent a clear market-oriented position, present facts, show trends and provide analyses and inform the public in manifold ways," its

website reads. It stresses that the IW's findings are designed to "initiate discussions" and "help make the right decisions." As an "advocate of market-oriented principles," the IW drafts the best possible strategies and promotes their implementation, according to its mission statement ([www.iwkoeln.de](http://www.iwkoeln.de)).

The institute focuses less on research but strongly emphasizes its services, including policy advice, lectures, conferences, and articles in the media. Public relations activities assume a more prominent role here than in the academic research institutes. The IW is funded by employers and industrial organizations as well as regional organizations, Speth writes.

The institute publishes a weekly newsletter, addressed to decision-makers in politics, industry, and the media, as well as a biweekly newspaper focusing on economic developments. Regular news conferences are also an important element in the IW's media strategy. The IW is a member of the "Network of Private Business Organizations" comprising institutes from Europe, North America, Australia, and Asia ([www.iwkoeln.de](http://www.iwkoeln.de)).

The Cologne-based IW was founded in 1951 as the German Industry Institute (DI) and played a key role in the rehabilitation of German industry after World War II. It has 300 employees and in 2004 had a budget of 9.5 million euros. The IW is based in Cologne and has an office in Berlin. The institute's president is Michael Huether ([www.thinktankdirectory.org](http://www.thinktankdirectory.org)).

The IW has a subsidiary, the Initiative New Social Market Economy (Initiative Neue Soziale Marktwirtschaft, INSM), a "highly effective" think tank, according to Speth, because it influences the political debate and political decision-making. It uses media partnerships and well-known public figures to spread its ideas. The former president of the Bundesbank, Germany's central bank, Hans Tietmeyer, heads the INSM.

#### 4. Party Think Tanks

Another group of think tanks, the political foundations, are characteristic of Germany's political structure, Boucher stated in his study on European think tanks, adding that they have no real equivalent in any other country. They are essentially "idea laboratories" that defend particular interests and ideologies. These foundations are very active abroad because one of their main goals is to promote democracy in Africa, Latin America, and Asia. They are financed by the government and linked to the political parties represented in the Bundestag. But they are not instruments of the party leaderships or extensions of the parties' internal research departments, Boucher wrote in his paper ([www.notre-europe.eu](http://www.notre-europe.eu), October 2004).

Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAS)

Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung  
Rathausallee 12  
53757 Sankt Augustin  
Phone: +49 22 41/24 6-0  
Fax: +49 22 41/24 6-25 91  
E-mail: zentrale@kas.de  
Website: www.kas.de

The KAS research foundation is associated with the Christian Democratic Union [CDU]. It was named after former Chancellor Konrad Adenauer. The KAS and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, which is close to the Social Democratic Party of Germany, are the two largest of the politically affiliated research foundations in Germany.

According to its mission statement, the KAS uses political education to promote peace, freedom, and justice in Europe and the world. Its key concerns include consolidating democracy, promoting the unification of Europe, intensifying transatlantic relations, and development-policy cooperation. The foundation also uses political dialogue as a tool to promote understanding across national and cultural boundaries, it states on its website.

As a think-tank and consulting agency, the foundation provides scientific background information and analyses and offers policy advice. The foundation's Academy provides a forum for discourse about issues of future relevance in politics, the economy, the church, society, and science. It organizes conferences and meetings and supports talented young people in Germany as well as in Central and Eastern Europe and the developing countries, its mission statement reads.

The KAS was founded in 1956. It had a budget of around 110 million euros in 2005 and has a staff of 527, according to the Think Tank Directory. It is based in St. Augustin/North Rhine-Westphalia and maintains an office in Berlin. The Foundation is mainly funded by the federal and state governments. There is some private funding in the form of donations and registration fees. The foundation operates two education centers and 16 education institutes nationwide. Its offices abroad are involved in more than 200 projects in more than 120 countries. It is headed by Director Wilhelm Karl Staudacher ([/www.thinktankdirectory.org](http://www.thinktankdirectory.org)).

#### Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FES)

Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung  
Godesberger Allee 149  
D-53175 Bonn  
Phone: ++49 (0)228/ 883- 0  
Fax ++49 (0)228/ 883- 432  
E-mail: Presse[at]fes.de  
Website: <http://www.fes.de>

The FES is associated with the Social Democratic Party of Germany. The foundation was named after Germany's first democratically elected Social Democratic President Friedrich Ebert. When it was founded in 1925, the main concern of the foundation was to work against discrimination of workers in the area of education. It was banned by the National Socialists in 1933 and reinstated in 1946, its website states.

According to the website of the Spiegel news magazine, the visit by a FES delegation was recently misused by the Burmese junta for propaganda purposes. During a week-long tour of the country at a time when prodemocracy demonstrators were killed and arrested, the FES scholars agreed to hold talks with representatives of the Junta on condition that the meeting remain secret. The FES has a tradition of supporting opponents of the regime and helped establish the radio station of exiled Burmese in Oslo (9 October 2007).

According to its website, the foundation's main goals today are to promote political and societal education of people from all walks of life in the spirit of democracy and pluralism, to make it possible for young people to study and do research through grants, and to work toward international understanding and cooperation.

The foundation employs 571 staff in Bonn and Berlin, as well as in 14 regional offices, at an academy in Germany, and in over 100 foreign agencies. It is mainly funded by the federal and state governments. It had a budget of 111 million euros in 2005. Its president is Anke Fuchs ([www.fes.de](http://www.fes.de)).

Friedrich Naumann Foundation [www.fnst-freiheit.org](http://www.fnst-freiheit.org)

Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung  
Karl-Marx-Straße 2  
14482 Potsdam  
Tel. +49 331 / 7019-0  
Fax +49 331 / 7019-188  
E-mail: [fnst@fnst-freiheit.org](mailto:fnst@fnst-freiheit.org)  
Website: <http://www.stiftung-freiheit.de>

The Friedrich Naumann Foundation is associated with the Free Democratic Party (FDP). It was named after the protestant theologian Friedrich Naumann, a leading German liberal thinker and politician at the beginning of the last century.

The foundation has repeatedly supported human rights groups and pro-democracy movements in Asian countries, sparking controversies with the political leaderships there. Thus, the Friedrich Naumann Foundation was expelled from the People's Republic of China in the mid-1990s because of a Tibet conference with the Dalai Lama organized by the FDP in Bonn (Handelsblatt, 23 August 2007).

In a similar case, the head of the Foundation's Russian office had to leave the country with his family in October 2006 when Russian authorities adopted measures to control the activities of the NGOs to a greater extent on the basis of a new registration law. The foundation also played a major role in engaging the DPRK in discussions on economic reform and development (Die Welt 21 October 2006, OSC Report 18 May 2007).

According to its mission statement, the Friedrich Naumann Foundation is an independent, nonprofit, nongovernmental organization that is committed to promoting liberal politics. The foundation's ideal is a society where people can live freely and in peace. To create such an open society it is guided by the principles of Liberalism and its message of tolerance and acceptance of diversity. It promotes its goals through civic education, international political dialogue, and political counseling, it states on its website. The foundation has numerous offices in Europe, Africa, America, and Asia. The main goal of the Foundation's work abroad and at home is to achieve worldwide recognition of the principles of freedom and responsibility.

The Friedrich Naumann Foundation was founded in 1958 and is based in Potsdam near Berlin. It is funded by the FDP, federal and state governments, and had a budget of 20 million euros in 2005. It employs a staff of 345. The foundation is headed by Detmar Doering ([www.thinktankdirectory.org](http://www.thinktankdirectory.org)).

#### Heinrich Boell Foundation

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10178 Berlin  
Phone: +30 - 285 34-0  
Fax: +30 - 285 34-109  
E-mail: [info@boell.de](mailto:info@boell.de)  
Website: [www.boell.de](http://www.boell.de)

The Heinrich Boell Foundation is affiliated with the Green Party and was named after the writer Heinrich Boell.

According to its mission statement, the Foundation's primary objective is to support political education in Germany and abroad, promoting socio-political activism, democratic involvement, and cross-cultural understanding. The Foundation also provides support for art and culture, science and research, and developmental cooperation. Its activities are guided by the fundamental political values of democracy, ecology, solidarity, and nonviolence ([ww.boell.de](http://ww.boell.de)).

The Foundation was established in 1997 and is based in Berlin. It has 25 offices worldwide and cooperates with more than 200 partners in more than 60 countries. It employs 211 staff and had a budget of approximately 38.5 million euros in 2003. The

foundation is funded by the government, but also receives EU subsidies. Its director is Birgit Laubach, the co-author of the new immigration law ([www.thinktankdirectory.org](http://www.thinktankdirectory.org)).

#### Rosa Luxemburg Foundation (RLS)

Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung  
Franz-Mehring Platz 1  
10243 Berlin  
Phone: +49-(0)30-44310-0  
Fax: +49-(0)30-44310222  
E-mail: [info@rosalux.de](mailto:info@rosalux.de)  
Website: <http://www.rosalux.de>

The RLS is affiliated with the Left Party. It was named after the Marxist theorist and revolutionary Rosa Luxembourg, who was active in the Communist Party of Germany.

According to its mission statement, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation is actively involved in political education throughout Germany. It considers itself part of the political movement for democratic socialism. The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation has its origins in the association "Social Analysis and Political Education", founded in Berlin in 1990. It became a provider of political education, a discussion forum for "critical thinking" and political alternatives, and a centre for "progressive social thinking" and research both in Germany and throughout the world, it states on its website (<http://www.rosalux.de>).

The RLS was founded in 1992 and is headquartered in Berlin. It has 50 employees, is government-funded and had a budget of approximately 10 million euros in 2003. Its director is Reinhard Mocek ([www.thinktankdirectory.org](http://www.thinktankdirectory.org)).

#### Hanns Seidel Foundation (HSS)

Hanns Seidel Foundation  
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Phone.: +49 89 12 58-0  
E-mail: [info@hss.de](mailto:info@hss.de)  
Website: <http://www.hss.de>

The HSS is associated with the Christian Social Union and was named after former Bavarian governor Hanns Seidel.

According to its mission statement, the activities of the HSS are based on the Christian idea of man and humanistic values. The Foundation promotes citizens' engagement in

democracy, the rule of law, and the social market economy. With numerous development projects and the fostering of international exchange of opinion, the foundation supports international understanding, it writes on its website. ([www.hss.de](http://www.hss.de)).

The HSS was founded in 1967. It is based in Munich and has a staff of 660. It is funded by the federal and Bavarian governments and had a budget of approximately 46 million euros in 2004, according to the Think Tank Directory. Hans Zehetmair is the president of the HSS.

## 5. Non-Traditional Think Tanks

As Thunert noted in his 2004 essay, a small group of young academics with international training have founded smaller non-traditional think tanks in the past few years. They understand consulting as a "networking business" and are not so much interested in scientific analyses but more in "campaign-style professional presentations." Examples are

Berlinpolis and the Global Public Policy Initiative.

Berlinpolis

Monbijouplatz 10

10178 Berlin

Phone: 030/27 87 41 71

Fax: 030/27 87 41 73

E-mail: [info@berlinpolis.de](mailto:info@berlinpolis.de)

Website: <http://www.berlinpolis.de>

Founder Daniel Dettling regularly publishes articles and commentaries in the influential dailies Sueddeutsche Zeitung and Financial Times Deutschland. At the beginning of 2006 he sparked a public debate when he suggested in a commentary for Sueddeutsche Zeitung that all user activities in the Internet should be monitored as part of the fight against terror. In articles for Financial Times Deutschland he has stressed the need for neocons in German politics (29 March 2006, 22 February 2007).

Berlinpolis focuses on education, civil society, energy policy, globalization, migration, and economic policies. According to its mission statement, Berlinpolis defines and fosters a "new progressive policy" for the 21st century's knowledge-based society. This policy consists of two approaches: promotion of a civil society with the help of new media and technologies and a renewal of democracy enforced by its increasingly changing institutions and organizations. The think tank aims to enable young political, economic and cultural leaders beyond classical structures to enrich policy and society with their ideas. Experts less than 40 years old debate new responses and solutions for tomorrow's policy in the think tank, it states on its website ([www.berlinpolis.de](http://www.berlinpolis.de)).

The website offers news as well as video podcasts, designed and produced by Berlinpolis. Currently the think tank is producing a podcast on a carbon dioxide-free future, its website states.

Berlinpolis was founded in 2000 by Daniel Dettling, the son of a former CDU manager. It is based in Berlin and has 9 employees. It is privately funded but no budget figures are available. Its members are mostly political scientists, lawyers, journalists, and self-employed people. Berlinpolis' advisory council includes former CDU officials Rita Suessmuth and Horst Teltschik, who also served as national security advisor to former German Chancellor Helmut Kohl ([www.thinktankdirectory.org](http://www.thinktankdirectory.org)).

### Global Public Policy Institute (GPPi)

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Global Public Policy Institute (GPPi)  
Reinhardtstr. 15  
10117 Berlin  
Phone: +49-30-2759 59 75-0  
Fax: +49-30-690 88 200  
E-mail: [GPPi@gppi.net](mailto:GPPi@gppi.net)  
Website: <http://www.gppi.net>

The GPPi is an independent think tank based in Berlin and Geneva. According to its website, GPPi was founded to develop "innovative approaches" to effective and accountable governance, promote political and social entrepreneurship and foster a strategic community that brings together the public sector, civil society as well as business ([www.gppi.net](http://www.gppi.net)).

The GPPi seeks to contribute to a more "vibrant" think tank culture and "improved strategic capacity" in Germany and Europe, its website reads. It seeks to support a transatlantic alliance with a global outlook and a focus on contributing to global governance. The GPPi's founders are all familiar with the think tank culture in the United States as they received parts of their graduate education and gained part of their professional experience working for different UN agencies, the World Bank and the Brookings Institution.

GPPi experts comment on global problems facing the United Nations and the challenges of the World Bank in German and international media. The institute has published books and articles on China's return to Africa, UN peacekeeping missions, and energy security. Its main areas of research are international organizations, Europe's global role, global atlanticism, and development cooperation, the institute's website states.

Wolfgang H. Reinicke is director of the GPPI. He was a senior scholar with the Brookings Institution in the 1990s and directed the Global Public Policy Project in Washington DC. He is a nonresident senior fellow in the Foreign Policy Studies Program at the Brookings Institution in Washington DC. His areas of expertise include global governance, global finance, international economic institutions, public-private partnerships, and global public policy networks as well as EU-US relations.

The GPPI was founded in 2003 and is based in Berlin. It employs 18 scientific staff. According to its website, the GPPI receives project funding from foundations as well as its project partners and clients from the public and private sectors. It is a partner of the Swiss International Relations and Security Network think tank ([www.thinktankdirectory.org](http://www.thinktankdirectory.org)).