



ESI's Who's Who in the German Debate on EU Enlargement

Information and contacts

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ABOUT THIS MANUAL

Who shapes the debate on the future of EU enlargement in Germany today? This manual is meant to provide an answer to this question through a user-friendly overview of key individuals and institutions.

It begins with some key facts about Germany that are relevant to the enlargement debate. It then describes the German media landscape. It looks at the most important experts and policy institutes taking part in debates on the future of Europe, enlargement and German foreign policy. It concludes by offering an overview of the key political institutions, the current government, administration, parliament and main political parties.

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Berlin, October 2011

A. CORE FACTS – GERMANY AND ENLARGEMENT

German policy-making

The coalition government comprises the Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union (CDU/CSU) and the Liberal-Democratic Party (FDP) under chancellor Angela Merkel (CDU). The government started its work in October 2009, replacing a grand coalition between the CDU/CSU and the Social Democratic Party (SPD). The previous government was also headed by Angela Merkel.

Germany is a federal republic. Its 16 states („Länder“) have an important role in the legislative process at the federal level and independent responsibilities. Each of the 16 states has its own constitution, a democratically elected parliament, a government, administrative agencies and independent courts. The federal constitution is binding on states. States have primary responsibility for two major policy areas, education and law and order. An important feature of Germany's federal structure is the permanent conference of the Interior Ministers of the federal states („Innenministerkonferenz“, IMK) which is also attended by the Federal Minister of the Interior. The IMK has been in place since 1954 and is a means of formulating coherent policies on domestic affairs issues within the federal system.

The lower house, the **Bundestag**, is the only directly elected body at federal level. It has 598 members, elected for a four year term. 299 members are elected in single-seat constituencies according to simple majority of votes (first-past-the-post), while a further 299 members are allocated from statewide party lists to achieve a proportional distribution in the legislature. There is a 5 per cent threshold.

The upper house, the **Bundesrat**, is composed of representatives of state governments. It must approve certain legislation, including a good part of the more important bills. Depending on the size of its population, each state government has between three and six votes in the Bundesrat.

German federal units (Source: Staatistisches Landesamt 2009)

State	Capital	Population ¹	per capita income (€)
North Rhine-Westphalia	Düsseldorf	17.872.763	29,146
Bavaria	Munich	12.510.331	34,721
Baden-Württemberg	Stuttgart	10.744.921	32,811
Lower Saxony	Hanover	7.928.815	25,845
Hesse	Wiesbaden	6.061.951	35,638
Saxony	Dresden	4.168.732	21,873
Rhineland-Palatinate	Mainz	4.012.675	25,827
Berlin	Berlin	3.442.675	24,482
Schleswig-Holstein	Kiel	2.832.027	25,472
Brandenburg	Potsdam	2.511.525	20,665
Saxony-Anhalt	Magdeburg	2.356.219	20,996
Thuringia – ex GDR	Erfurt	2.249.882	20,883
Hamburg	Hamburg	1.774.224	50,504
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern	Schwerin	1.651.216	20,294
Saarland	Saarbrücken	1.022.585	28,777
Bremen	Bremen	661.716	39,758
Germany	Berlin	81.802.257	29,455

¹ As of 31 December 2009. http://www.statistik-portal.de/Statistik-Portal/de_jb01_jahrtab1.asp

The German military and the Balkans

The overall number of German forces has fallen from 550,000 in October 1990 to 245,800 in December 2007. There were 189,900 professional soldiers, 34,500 recruits on regular conscription and 21,400 on voluntarily extended conscription.

The defence budget for 2011 is 31.11 billion Euros. Germany's military spending is about 1.5% of its GDP. The number of foreign troops on German soil has been substantially reduced since reunification. In 2005 there were still 69,800 US armed forces personnel stationed in Germany, plus 22,000 from the UK, 3,200 from France and 2,600 from the Netherlands.

In 1994, the Constitutional Court ruled that the German constitution did not prohibit military missions outside NATO territory, although such missions need Bundestag approval. The SPD-Greens government, in power from 1998 to 2005, increased the country's military engagement outside NATO territory.

Germany sent 14 Tornado fighter jets to participate in NATO's air campaign against Yugoslavia in 1999. This was the first time that Bundeswehr soldiers directly participated in combat. At the end of March 2006, there were more than 7,000 German soldiers on missions outside NATO territory. The biggest German contingent, some 3,100 soldiers, was the one participating in the Kosovo Force (KFOR). The second-biggest contingent (2,600) was the one participating in the UN International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan. In Bosnia, the German contingent was reduced from 3,000 in 1995 to 235 at the end of 2007. In 2010, 3,800 German troops served with KFOR in Kosovo, another 1,300 with SFOR in Bosnia and 159 were deployed as a part of the NATO Operation „Allied Harmony” in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM).

German population and migration

According to initial official estimates, Germany's population was 81.8 million in December 2009. At the end of 2006, there were 6.8 million citizens of other countries resident in Germany (8.2% of the population). In 2006, the total number of births was 190,000 less than the number of deaths. Demographic projections by the Federal Statistical Office from 2006 suggest a decline of the population to 72m by 2050.

The net immigration rate is decreasing in Germany and so dropped from 4.01 in 2000 to 2.19 in 2009. The influx of ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe had risen after the fall of communism, but this flow dried up in the late 1990s. Ethnic Germans living abroad are guaranteed citizenship. Asylum rules were tightened in early 1993. A new Immigration Law took effect at the beginning of 2005.

The majority of Germany's foreign population consists of migrants who arrived as guest-workers in the 1950s and 1960s and their descendants (not all descendants have adopted German citizenship). Many of these are from outside the EU, including 1.7 million Turkish citizens. While immigration had been confined to labourers in the 1960s and 1970s, family unification accelerated after 1974. The end of the 1980s and the collapse of communism as well as the wars in the Balkans brought a massive inflow of refugees.

Many inhabitants with a migration background have below average job qualifications. More than 51% of the group with a migration background are without a training qualification, compared to 27% of the population without a migration background.

In 2004 a revision of official statistics revealed that there were in fact some 600,000 foreigners less in the country than statistics had shown (see table below). Of the 7.19 million foreigners in Germany 3.02 million come from South East European countries. The largest group are Turkish citizens, 780,000 inhabitants are from former Yugoslavia.

	Total population	foreign inhabitants	rise/fall	share of total
1980	61,657,945	4,566,167	+7.4	7.4%
1981	61,712,689	4,721,120	+3.4	7.7%
1982	61,546,101	4,671,838	-1.0	7.6%
1983	61,306,669	4,574,156	-2.1	7.5%
1984	61,049,256	4,405,463	-3.7	7.2%
1985	61,020,474	4,481,618	+1.7	7.3%
1986	61,140,461	4,661,880	+4.0	7.6%
1987	61,238,079	4,286,472	-8.1	7.0%
1988	61,715,103	4,623,528	+7.9	7.5%
1989	62,679,035	5,007,161	+8.3	8.0%
1990	79,753,227	5,582,357	+11.5	7.0%
1991	80,274,564	6,066,730	+8.7	7.6%
1992	80,974,632	6,669,568	+9.9	8.2%
1993	81,338,093	6,977,476	+4.6	8.6%
1994	81,538,603	7,117,740	+2.0	8.7%
1995	81,817,499	7,342,779	+3.2	9.0%
1996	82,012,160	7,491,650	+2.0	9.1%
1997	82,057,379	7,419,001	-1.0	9.0%
1998	82,037,011	7,308,477	-1.5	8.9%
1999	82,163,475	7,336,111	+0.4	8.9%
2000	82,259,540	7,267,568	-0.9	8.9%
2001	82,440,309	7,318,263	+0.7	8.9%
2002	82,536,680	7,347,951	+0.4	8.9%
2003	82,531,671	7,341,820	-0.1	8.9%
2004	82,500,849	7,287,980	-0.7	8.8%
2005	82,437,995	7,289,149	+0.0	8.8%
2006	82,314,906	7,255,949	-0.5	8.8%
2007	82,217,837	7,255,949	-0.5	8.8%
2008	82,002,356	7,185,921	-1.0	8.8
2009	81,842,400	7,146,600	-0.5	8.7

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt, Bevölkerungsfortschreibung

Citizens from South East European countries in Germany (31.12.2009)

Countries	No. of citizens
Turkey	1,489,000
Former Serbia and Montenegro	209,000
Greece	227,000
Croatia	249,000
Bosnia and Herzegovina	176,000
Romania	386,000

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland, Zugriff 23.3. 2011.

Business interests: exports to South East Europe

Germany is the world's third biggest exporter with a total worth of exports of \$ 1.187 trillion in 2009. About 71% of exports go to European countries, 62% out of which to the European Union member states following the latest enlargement. Three top export trading partners of Germany are France, USA and the Netherlands.

Total Exports in 2006 to South East European trading partners.

	million EUR
Turkey	16192.0
Greece	5935.3
Romania	7431.9
Slovenia	3672.0
Croatia	2042.1
Bulgaria	2196.1
Serbia	1273.0
Albania	154.3
Bosnia and Herzegovina	643.3
Macedonia	455.8
Moldavia	262.2
Kosovo	178.3
Montenegro	60.2
Total SEE countries	40496.5

Source: *Federal Statistical Office of Germany 2011*

German exports to Balkan states have been rising since 2006.

Foreigners and crime in Germany

Crimes committed by foreigners are high on the political agenda. However, a comparison of the number of crime *suspects* from different countries of the Balkans shows that the total has fallen by 23 percent from 1995 until 2006.

Development of number of non-German Crime Suspects 1995 until 2006

Year	2001	2005	2009
Non-German Crime Suspects	568,384	519,573	462,378
Turkey	20.5%	21.3%	22.2%
Serbia (2001 and 2006 with Montenegro and Kosovo, 2009 without)	10.5%	7.8%	4.0%
Croatia	1.7%	1.6%	1.7%
Greece	1.9%	2.0%	2.0%
Romania	1.9%	2.7%	3.7%
Bulgaria	1.0%	1.3%	1.4%
Bosnia and Herzegovina	1.6%	1.7%	1.8%
Macedonia	0.9%	0.9%	1.0%

Source: *Bundeskriminalamt, PKS Berichtsjahr 2009 – Nichtdeutsche Tatverdächtige, page 112.*

The number of crime suspects from Serbia is dropping, from other former Yugoslav countries remains roughly the same and from Turkey, Romania and Bulgaria is on the slight increase.

Criminal offences which constitute violations of the Foreigners Act are overwhelmingly committed by the citizens of Vietnam (52.8%), Afghanistan (45.5%) and Iraq (40.7%). Among Balkan nations, violations of this kind are most frequently committed by citizens of Kosovo (since 2008) (29.8%), Serbia (including Montenegro till 2006 and Kosovo till 2008) (14.2), Macedonia (14.2%), Bosnia and Herzegovina (10.1%), Croatia (9.3%), Turkey (6.9%), Bulgaria (1.8%), Romania (1.0%). (Source: Bundeskriminalamt, PKS Berichtsjahr 2009 – Nichtdeutsche Tatverdächtige, page 113)

German tourism to the Balkans

Germans travel in large and indeed increasing numbers to some regions in South East Europe, particularly Turkey and Croatia. However, there are very few Germans going to the rest of the Western Balkans.

German tourists to the countries of the Western Balkans and Turkeyovde

	1997	2000	2003	2005
Turkey	2,279,269	2,218,550	3,231,115	4,160,430
Greece	1,994,670	2,395,185	2,267,063	2,241,942
Croatia	747,111	1,048,275	1,551,844	1,572,090
Bulgaria	228,662	308,619	631,448	728,878
Romania	95,327	97,483	147,900	183,095
Serbia and Montenegro	13,519	8,327	38,644	47,373
Albania	-	11,978	15,169	23,391
Bosnia-Herzegovina	-	-	8,321	11,509
Macedonia	5,147	10,349	6,317	9,995

Source: Bundesamt für Statistik, Tourismus in Zahlen 2006

B. MEDIA

Germans obtain information from public and private television, listen to private radio stations, and read mainly local or regional newspapers. Besides the network of correspondents of the two state televisions and some national newspapers, news is mainly produced by five news agencies based in Germany.

Germany has one of the largest and most competitive media scenes in the EU. 82.5 million people live in 33 million households which have a 33.5 million registered TV-sets and 38.9 million radios. Together with Austria and the German speaking part of Switzerland about 100 million people make up the German language area. There are major media centres in Berlin, Hamburg, Frankfurt and Munich. There are newspapers at the regional and local level throughout the country, and Germany's leading public television channel has a unique federal structure.

1. Television

Germany's competitive television market is the largest in Europe; around 90% of German households have cable or satellite TV. There is a mix of free-to-view public channels and commercial channels. In 2005 viewers older than 14, looking for information, spent about 65 per cent of their time watching public TV channels.

Germany's channel, ARD, Das Erste, was set up by the Allies to prevent any risk of exploitation of the media by a strong national government. Radio and television are administered in a decentralized fashion as prescribed in the German Constitution which stipulates that the sole responsibility for broadcasting rests with the Länder of the Federal Republic. Because of this, the public service broadcasters are a creation of the Länder. Exceptions based on federal legislation are only Deutsche Welle (DW), a radio service designed to provide information to foreign countries, and the Cologne- and Berlin-based Deutschlandradio, an institution which is a legacy from when Germany was divided.

The organisational and legal structure of all other broadcasting corporations is defined in Länder laws and, if more than one state is involved, in agreements between several or all Länder (notably nation-wide public TV provider ZDF).

Germany has two public broadcasting corporations, ARD and ZDF. In 2009, ARD and ZDF had about equal market share of 13 per cent, with only RTL approaching them with 12%. SAT1 had about 10% and the other channels about 5 to 6 % or less. Together public broadcasters reach about 42-45 percent of all viewers, on average.

The first channel, ARD, was established in 1954. Today – after the unification of Germany – it has nine regional public television and radio stations: NDR based in Hamburg (Schleswig-Holstein, Hamburg, Lower Saxony; Mecklenburg-Vorpommern), WDR based in Cologne (North Rhine-Westphalia), SR based in Saarbrücken (Saarland), RB based in Bremen (Bremen), RBB based in Berlin (Berlin, Brandenburg), HR based in Wiesbaden (Hesse), SWR based in Stuttgart (Rhineland-Palatinate, Baden-Württemberg), and MDR based in Leipzig (Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt, Thuringia). These stations also each broadcast regional programmes known as the „Third programme”.

The Second German Television ZDF was founded in 1961 and is based on an agreement of all Länder (ZDF-Staatsvertrag). It is structured as a single corporation, seated in Mainz.

The two channels have jointly built up four further television stations 3Sat (an informational and cultural channel founded in cooperation with the Austrian and Swiss public broadcasting services), Arte (an informational and cultural channel in cooperation with the French public broadcasting service), KiKa (children's TV) and Phoenix (a political channel).

The prime time news with the highest number of viewers is ARD Tagesschau at 20:00.

Most watched German news programs:

ARD Tagesschau	20:00 Monday - Sunday	9.4 million viewers
ZDF Heute	19:00 Monday - Sunday	4.0 million viewers
ZDF Heute-Journal	23:00 Monday – Sunday	3.9 million viewers
RTL Aktuell	18:45 Monday – Sunday	3.9 million viewers
ARD Tagesthemen	22:15 Monday – Sunday	2.3 million viewers
Sat.1 Nachrichten	20:00 Sunday – Friday	1.9 million viewers

ARD has a network of about 100 correspondents in 30 foreign offices around the world.

No public or private TV channel has a correspondent based in any of the Balkan countries. ARD reports about the Balkan countries from Vienna. The same is true for the second channel ZDF.

Besides its TV programmes, ARD also has a large number of public radio stations.

In 1981, by the decision of the Constitutional court, private television was allowed. In 1985 SAT-1 became Germany's first private satellite television station. A group of publishing firms, including Springer, owns SAT-1; the channel offers a program of popular entertainment and news. Since then, the TV market has developed strongly. There are large private media groups: firstly, there is ProSiebenSat.1 Media AG, which owns the nationwide TV stations, SAT1, PRO7, Kabel 1, 9live and the news channel N24. They have about 20 percent of the market, led by SAT1 with 10 per cent.



The second major player, Radio Television Luxembourg (RTL) Group owns the nationwide TV stations RTL, RTL II, Super RTL, VOX and the news channel n-tv. They have about 25 per cent of the market led by RTL with 12-13 per cent. All other private stations reach only about 6 percent.

ARD correspondents and foreign studios

The different regional broadcasters, which founded ARD, have divided the responsibilities to run and finance foreign studios among themselves.

The correspondents of ARD for the Western Balkans are based in the ARD studio in Vienna, which is run by the Bayerische Rundfunk in Munich (BR). Head of the studio is Thomas Morawski (BR), the correspondent is Susanne Glass. With two external posts in Sarajevo and Belgrade they report from 12 countries: Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Austria, Romania, Serbia, Slovenia, Hungary and Kosovo.

Thomas Morawski (BR); now heads the Vienna studio. Thomas Morawski, born in 1951, studied history, political and communication sciences. He has been working as a journalist since the age of 16. Since 1976 works for BF (Bayerische Fernsehen) as a foreign correspondent and ARD special correspondent, reporting from crisis regions of the Middle East and the Balkans.



Susanne Glass covers South East Europe for ARD television. She has been the TV Correspondent since 2006; for the previous 7 years she was the radio correspondent. Before moving to Vienna, she was a senior radio news editor at BR in Munich.

ARD feature shows



WELTSPIEGEL (World Mirror) is the most prominent and prestigious feature programme covering foreign countries produced by ARD. It attracts three million viewers. Every week, Weltspiegel is produced by one of the four stations within the ARD network: these are BR, also WDR, NDR und SWR. Website: <http://lra.ard.de/korrespondentenwelt>



Sigmund Gottlieb became the editor in chief of the Bayerischer Rundfunk television and the head of the television's news programme in February 2005.

Relevant BR foreign program formats, which relate to the Balkans are „Nachbarn“, „Alpen-Donau-Adria“ and „Euroblick“



Renate Herzberg is Alpe-Donau-Adria moderatorin. Alpe-Donau-Adria covers only Croatia and Slovenia from the Western Balkans.

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Stephan Bergmann is the foreign editor in chief and moderator of the Euroblick show. Euroblick has the goal of explaining Europe, including all of the Balkans.

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The Balkans are also covered by the *Nachbarn* program. *Nachbarn* (neighbours) recent report from Bosnia and Herzegovina was authored by Arndt Wittenberg and from Croatia by Barbara Mai.

WELTSPIEGEL is positioned in the primetime slot on Sunday at 7.20 p.m. before Tagesschau at 8 p.m. EUROPAMAGAZIN is broadcast on ARD every Saturday at 16:30 hours. Additionally there is the feature WELTREISEN (Worldtour), Fridays at 22.15 to 22.45 hours on Eins Plus.

Weltspiegel Sundays at 19.20 on ARD.
 Europamagazin Saturdays at 16.30 on ARD.
 Weltreisen Fridays at 22.15 on Eins Plus



„Europamagazin“ has been running since 1989. It reports mainly about issues from countries in the EU but considers itself responsible for all issues within the geographical boundaries of Europe, „from the North Cape until Istanbul, from Lissabon to Moscow“. The ARD-Europamagazin runs at 16.30-17.00 every Saturday and its production rotates between SWR and WDR on the weekly basis. It is broadcast from a new studio in Straßburg or a studio in Brussels and has a network of ARD foreign correspondents. It's a unique foreign news programme in Germany in that it is entirely produced abroad. See website at <http://www.daserste.de/europamagazin/>



The Euromagazine is produced on a rotational basis between regional public broadcaster SWR and the WDR studio in Brussels. The editor in chief of the SWR studio, **Johannes Georg Müller**, has been the Baden-Württemberg and Rhineland Palatine public broadcaster and editor of Europamagazin for SWF/SWR since 1986.

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Caroline Imlau is together with Petra Schmitt-Wilting responsible for the production of the Euromagazine in the WDR studio in Brussels. She was a reporter with the „Tagesschau“, „Tagesthemen“ and „ARD-Ratgeber: Recht“, in the editorial team in Europamagazin during the 1990s and the ARD correspondent in New York.



Petra Schmitt-Wilting has been in the editorial team of the „ARD-Ratgeber: Recht“ and is responsible in the WDR Brussels studio for Euromagazine and the „Bericht aus Brüssel“ (WDR).

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Christiane Emmerich (SWR), born in Stuttgart, studied theatre, media and political sciences and has worked for ZDF and SDW as a reporter and a moderator.



Rolf-Dieter Krause started out as a TV correspondent in Brussels and headed the ARD studio for four years. He is now moderating the Europamagazin in rotation with Christiane Emmerich.

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Radio

The regional broadcasters of ARD own about 60 radio stations throughout Germany. The ARD broadcasters own a network of 16 studios across the world and 13 in Europe.

The ARD-Radio Station Southeast Europe is located in Vienna and run by Andrea Mühlberger (BR), Jörg Paas (BR) and Andreas Meyer-Feist (HR).



Andrea Mühlberger (BR) was born in Bavaria in 1972. Since October 2006, Andrea Mühlberger has been the correspondent in the ARD-Studio Südosteuropa/Wien.

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Jörg Paas (BR) was born in Bonn in 1955. Since August 2006 he is head of the Vienna studio.

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Andreas Meyer-Feist (HR) has been correspondent in Vienna since September 2007. He was political editor for a newspaper, later editor and moderator with the Hessischer Rundfunk. In 1995 he was correspondent from the Federal Parliament, from 1999 in the ARD capital-studio in Berlin.

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Arte

ZDF has a 25% share in the Franco-German channel Arte. Arte's program charter stipulates that it should make television broadcasts that have a cultural and international character that will contribute to the creation of a European identity.

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Foreign news and reports on ZDF - ZDF Foreign studios covering the Balkans

ZDF's main feature on foreign news is Auslandsjournal which is watched by more than 3 million viewers regularly.



ZDF studio Brussels: Udo van Kampen is the head of the Brussels studio. He has been correspondent from the ZDF Studio Brussels since 1987. He has been heading the ZDF Studio in Brussels from 1992 to 1995, the Studio in New York from 1995 to 2003 and since 2003 again the Studio in Brussels. The Studio in Brussels reports from Belgium, Luxemburg and the Netherlands, as well as about developments in the EU, including the European Parliament and the ECJ in Straßburg. Correspondents of the Brussels studio are Kai Niklasch and Jutta Sonnewald.

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Klaus Prömpers is the head of ZDF studio Vienna. He was born in Düsseldorf. From 1981 he worked as correspondent and moderator in Deutschlandfunk and in the „Morgenmagazin“. In 1999 he started to work for the feature „Bonn Direkt“. In 2008 he became the head of the Vienna studio. The correspondent of the Vienna studio is Tonja Pölitz.

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Average viewers of information programs on German TV

Rank	Broadcast	Program	Viewers in Millions
1	Brennpunkt, 20:15 Uhr	ARD	4,68
2	Terra X	ZDF	3,79
3	Plusminus	ARD	3,53
4	Panorama	ARD	3,15
5	ZDF-spezial, 19:25 Uhr	ZDF	3,09
6	Berlin direkt	ZDF	3,04
7	Monitor	ARD	2,99
8	Stern TV	RTL	2,93
9	Frontal 21	ZDF	2,89
10	Report München	ARD	2,85
11	Kontraste	ARD	2,80
12	Dokumentationen, Di, 20.15 Uhr	ZDF	2,77
13	Report Mainz	ARD	2,71
14	WISO	ZDF	2,67
15	ZDF-Reporter	ZDF	2,64
16	Fakt	ARD	2,51
17	Weltspiegel	ARD	2,49
18	37 Grad	ZDF	2,42
19	Dokumentationen, Mo, 21.00 Uhr	ARD	2,42
20	ARD-Exklusiv, Mi, 21.45 Uhr	ARD	2,21
21	Abenteuer Forschung	ZDF	2,14
22	Akte 2009	Sat.1	2,10
23	ZDF-Reportage	ZDF	2,07
24	Spiegel TV	RTL	1,97
25	Abenteuer Wissen	ZDF	1,92

Source: Camille Zubayr, Hein Gerhard, Tendenzen im Zuschauerverhalten, in: Media Perspektiven 3/2010, S. 114, Data for 2009, there quoted from AGF/GfK.

2. Print media

Germans prefer to read regional daily newspapers. There are only a few daily newspapers in Germany, which are recognized as „national“. On the other hand there are a lot of regional newspapers that have a strong circulation. The German print media scene is characterised by a large number of publications. The total number of newspapers was estimated at 382 in 2010. But if local editions of all papers are included, there are 1,538 different newspapers.

A good website to find out about all German newspapers is www.abyznewslinks.com/germa.htm (see also the Annex)

There is only a small number of national newspapers; the tabloid Bild, with a mass circulation of 4.4 million, the Süddeutsche Zeitung (SZ), Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ), Die Welt, Frankfurter Rundschau (FR), Tageszeitung (taz), Der Tagesspiegel, the Handelsblatt, a leading business daily, and Financial Times Deutschland (FtD).

The market penetration of daily newspapers is 78.3 percent. The total newspaper circulation is 31.1 million, of which 17.1 million read local or regional newspapers.

The regional or local papers retail for around €1.20 and are published as morning editions. Even the handful of papers that have national distribution often have their main editorial offices in regional cities, rather than in the capital Berlin.

Additionally there are a large number of German magazines with some 780 general interest magazines (circulation ca. 127 million copies) and 3,400 specialised periodicals (ca. 17.7 million).

„Der Spiegel, „Der Stern“, and „Focus“ are news magazines that play an active role in leading discussion in society or have themselves been the subject of important discourse. They are among the most widely-read publications. Of these, „Der Spiegel“ (with a circulation of 1.4 million), a political journal with perhaps the greatest long-term influence of any weekly publication, is outstanding.

79.1 percent of all Germans (65,123,800) are online (June 2010). That makes Germany the country with the 6th highest number of Internet users in the world. „Spiegel Online“, with content in German and English, attracts a large number of users, some 9.61 million in Germany and internationally (2010) (source: AGOF Internet facts 2010-IV).

German print media circulation

		Sold Copies
Bild (daily)	Hamburg	2,900,355
Der Spiegel (weekly)	Hamburg	974,638
Stern (weekly)	Hamburg	877,181
Focus (weekly)	München	550,811
Die Zeit (weekly)	Hamburg	504,256
Süddeutsche Zeitung (daily)	München	428,266
Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (daily)	Frankfurt	363,620
Die Welt and Die Welt kompakt (daily)	Hamburg	250,328
Handelsblatt (daily)	Düsseldorf	136,625
Financial Times Deutschland (daily)	Hamburg	100,572
Berliner Zeitung (daily)	Berlin	143,707
Frankfurter Rundschau (daily)	Frankfurt	129,786
Der Tagesspiegel (daily)	Berlin	120,822
Berliner Morgenpost (daily)	Berlin	127,469
Berliner Zeitung (daily)	Berlin	143,707
Berliner Kurier (daily)	Berlin	116,815
die tageszeitung (daily)	Berlin	55,864
Neues Deutschland (daily)	Berlin	37,814

Source: Wikipedia, die freie Enzyklopädie, verkaufte Auflage (IVW 4/2010)

The press is characterized by economic concentration. According to IVW 2003 data, the largest market share in the newspaper market has Axel Springer Group with 17.9 per cent of the market (Bild, Die Welt, Hamburger Abendblatt, Berliner Morgenpost, etc.)

The second position is taken by the WAZ Group (Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung etc.), which is more a regional publisher with 5.4 per cent of the market in 2003. The third place is taken by Verlagsgruppe Stuttgarter Zeitung with 4.6 per cent and Georg von Holtzbrinck GmbH & Co KG (GvH) (3.6 per cent). The 10 largest publishers of dailies together control 47 per cent of the market.

2.1. Dailies

Bild

Germany's biggest-selling national paper *Bild*, based in Berlin seit 2008, is owned by the Axel Springer Group. It is THE German tabloid with the customary mix of celebrity news, politics, sport, crime and horoscopes. Axel Springer, now deceased, built an enormous media empire, which also includes the two largest Sunday newspapers, *Bild am Sonntag* and *Welt am Sonntag*, two Berlin daily newspapers, and many popular magazines. Springer publications are generally considered to have a strong conservative bent.

Bild does not have correspondents in South East Europe and relies on news agency coverage compiled by its editors in Hamburg.

Süddeutsche Zeitung

The centre-left *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (SZ) was founded in Munich in 1945. The paper reaches 1.27m readers every day and is the highest-selling serious daily newspaper of Germany with 428,266 copies nationwide. The strong regional media consortium WAZ from North Rhine-Westphalia offered a billion Euros for a takeover in 2007.



Stefan Kornelius has been heading the SZ's foreign desk since 2000. After studying politics, history and law in Bonn and London, he trained as a journalist at the Henri Nannen School in Hamburg. He worked for 'Stern', the BBC and the SZ. He has been correspondent for the SZ in Bonn, Washington and Berlin. He is now based in Munich.

stefan.kornelius@sueddeutsche.de



Enver Robelli is the SZ's South East Europe Correspondent. He recently joined from the Tagesspiegel and has extensive experience in covering the region. He is based in Zagreb.

Recent Articles:

„Kosovaren und Serben reden wieder miteinander“, Tages Anzeiger 10.3. 2011.

enver.robelli@sz-korrespondent.de

robelli@bluewin.ch



Christiane Schlötzer is a prominent German journalist, now serving as deputy foreign editor at the Süddeutsche Zeitung. Having joined one of the largest German-language dailies to cover domestic politics, she went on to become its Istanbul correspondent, covering Turkey, Greece and Cyprus, before taking up her current position.

christiane.schloetzer@sz-korrespondent.de
politik-online@sueddeutsche.de

Bernhard Küppers is a prominent South East Europe correspondent of the Süddeutsche Zeitung.



Gökalp Babayigit is a member of the Politics team of the SZ and has a special interest in Turkey.



Kai Strittmatter is the Turkey correspondent of the SZ.
politik-online@sueddeutsche.de

Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung

The Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ), founded in 1949, is the foremost heavyweight broadsheet paper in Germany. Its layout is sober, with a minimum of pictures. It runs a number of sections, including economics, finance and culture. Its discursive commentaries reflect a conservative, centre-right position. The paper does not have one single editor-in-chief, but is edited by a committee of five. The FAZ is delivered to 148 countries every day and sells 360,000 copies each day. The FAZ is probably Germany's most prestigious daily newspaper and is the one newspaper read by virtually all members of the political and business establishment. Although independent of any political party, its views are similar to those of the right-of-center CDU.

FAZ foreign policy desk: +49 69 75910



Klaus-Dieter Frankenberger is the head of the FAZ Foreign Policy department

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Some of the FAZ foreign policy journalists covering Europe are Horst Bacia (CFSP, NATO), Marcus Bickel, Nikolas Busse, Katja Gelinsky, Georg Paul Hefty, Rainer Hermann (Turkey), Johannes Leithäuser (London correspondent), Wolfgang Günter Lerch (Middle East, Turkey), Michael Ludwig (CEE, Russia correspondent), Reinhard Olt (Austria), Andreas Ross (EU, Netherlands), Friedrich Schmidt, Konrad Schuller (CEE, German foreign policy, Poland and Ukraine), Karl-Peter Schwarz (CEE and SEE), Reinhard Veser (Eastern Europe), Michaela Wiegel (France), Leo Wieland (Russia),

For SEE especially prominent and important is:



Michael Martens is the Balkans and Turkey Correspondent of the FAZ. Born in Hamburg he joined the paper in 2001. Was based in Belgrade from 2002 to 2009 and is now based in Istanbul.

m.martens@faz.de

Recent Articles: „Entdecken wir einen balkanischen Proust“ 16.3. 2011
„Pläne für das Erdbebengebiet“ 15. 3. 2011

Die Welt and Welt Kompakt

The centre-right *Die Welt* is the main quality paper of the publishers Axel Springer. *Die Welt* calls its journalism “liberal and cosmopolitan”. In 2004 the paper launched *Welt Kompakt*, a smaller weekday edition catering to younger readers. It is about half the size of the parent paper with a focus on news rather than opinion. Together the two *Die Welt* formats sell around 260,000 copies.



Jan-Eric Peters, editor in chief of the WELT-Group since February 2010. In 2007 was the founding director of the Alex Springer Academy, Berlin, was editor in chief of *Die Welt* and *Berliner Morgenpost* and the founding editor in chief of the *Welt Kompakt*, in 2005 won the Young Global Leader of the World Economic Forum in Davos.



Thomas Schmid appears in Die Welt as author of South East Europe-related topics. He was editor in chief of the Welt-Gruppe in Axel Springer Verlag, encompassing both Die Welt and Welt am Sonntag, as well as Welt Online and Welt Kompakt. In December 2009 he was declared the publisher of Welt-Gruppe of the Alex-Springer Verlag (publishing house).

Recent Articles: „Warum Kosovo ein Protektorat bleiben wird“ Die Welt 18

Feb 2008

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Thomas Roser is the freelance correspondent travelling in South East Europe. He also writes for Frankfurter Rundschau and for Die Presse (Austria).

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die tageszeitung (taz)

The *tageszeitung* was founded in 1979. The paper sees itself as „irreverent, commercially independent, intelligent and entertaining“. It is very much a campaigning paper and adopts left-wing positions on issues of the day. Since 1992 it has been owned by a collective with more than 6,000 paying members. The paper sells 55,000 copies, but remains more influential than its circulation figures might suggest, given the fact that it is based in Berlin.

Foreign Policy desk: Barbara Oertel, Dominic Johnson

Foreign desk of taz: +49 30 25906236

oertel@taz.de



Erich Rathfelder, 60, has been the Balkan correspondent for 15 years now. He published a number of books about the Balkan wars, the last „Schnittpunkt Sarajevo. Bosnien und Herzegowina zehn Jahre nach dem Krieg“ (Schiler Verlag, 2006).

Recent Articles:

„Auf die Unabhängigkeit!“ TAZ 20/2

„Kosovo erklärt sich für unabhängig“ TAZ 18/2



Andrej Ivanji is the Balkan correspondent of the Austrian daily „Der Standard“ since 1994, and since 1996 he writes freelance for „die taz“ about events in former Yugoslavia. He lives in Belgrade and Vienna. aivanji@taz.de

Jürgen Gottschlich is one of the founders of „die taz,“ since 1998 lives in Istanbul and is Turkey correspondent for „die taz,“ „Die Badische Zeitung“ and „Der Standard.“ In 2004 he published the

book entitled „Die Türkei auf dem Weg nach Europa“ and in 2005 together with Dilek Zaptçýođlu the collection „Das Kreuz mit den Werten.“

Der Tagesspiegel

Der Tagesspiegel is based in Berlin and was founded in 1945. The paper has a circulation of 130,000 copies sold.

The editors for politics are Christiane “Tissy” Bruns and Ingrid Müller (leitende Redakteure) and Lutz Haverkamp and Armin Lehrmann lead politics department (Politikressortleitung).

The journalists who cover topics related to SEE and Turkey include Ulrike Scheffer (SEE), Nadine Lange (SEE) and Susanne Güsten (Turkey).

Especially important are:



Thomas Seibert covers Turkey in „Der Tagesspiegel“.



Caroline Fetscher is editor at large, based in Berlin, focusing on a range of issues, including South Eastern Europe and human rights. She worked for Greenpeace from 1982 to 1989 as editor-in-chief of the Greenpeace magazine. Her books include: „Die Tropen als Text“ (Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1993), „Der Tropenkoffer“ (dtv, 1994), „Srebrenica. Ein Prozess.“ (Suhrkamp, 2002). She frequently travels around the Balkans. caroline.fetscher@tagesspiegel.de

Recent Articles:

„Zukunft des Kosovo. Alte Wiege, junges Kind“ 16/02/08

„Lasst uns hier bleiben“ (Portrait of Oliver Ivanovic) 18/02/08



Norbert Rüttsche is a freelancing Balkans correspondent based in Sarajevo, working for various media including „Der Tagesspiegel.“ norbert@norb.ch

Recent Articles:

„Ein Land als Geisel“ Der Tagesspiegel 12/09

„Das forensische Puzzle von Srebrenica“ Der Tagesspiegel 10/09

Berliner Zeitung

The centre-left Berliner Zeitung is the only former East German title to achieve national prominence since unification. It was relaunched in 1997 with a completely new design. The daily says its journalists come „from east and west“, and it styles itself as a „young, modern and dynamic“ paper for the whole of Germany. In November 2005 the paper was bought by the British businessman, David Montgomery. The paper sells about 170,000 copies per day.



Frank Herold is a Political Editor at Berliner Zeitung and he writes about Central and South East Europe and on other foreign political issues.

Recent articles:

„Terrorist verklagt Polen“ 09/10

Tel.: +49 30 23276286

frank.herold@berlinonline.de

Susanne Landwehr writes about Turkey in Berliner Zeitung.

Politics editor of Berliner Zeitung is Peter Riesbeck (peter.riesbeck@berliner-zeitung.de). Thorsten Knuf (thorsten.knuf@berliner-zeitung.de) is the Brussels correspondent, Christian Esche (christian.esch@berliner-zeitung.de) is the Moscow correspondent, Barbara Klimke (barbara.klimke@berliner-zeitung.de) is the London correspondent, Axel Veiel is the Paris correspondent, Kordula Doerfler is the Rome correspondent and Dietmar Ostermann is the Washington correspondent.

Frankfurter Rundschau

The Frankfurter Rundschau was founded in 1945 in Frankfurt am Main. The Rundschau defines itself as „left-liberal“.



Its regular correspondent from the Western Balkans, **Norbert Mappes Niediek** is a prolific freelance journalist for a range of German and other papers. He is based in Austria. He has been covering South East Europe since 1991. His books include „Balkan-Mafia – States in the Grip of Crime – a Danger for Europe“ (Ch Links-Verlag 2003).

mappes-niediek@magnet.at

Norbert Mappes Niediek's recent articles:

„Widerstand Setzt auf Hooligans“ Frankfurter Rundschau 2/11

„Kosovo Steht vor Neuwahlen“ Frankfurter Rundschau 11/10

„Kein Präsident und keine Regierung“ Frankfurter Rundschau 10/10

The journalists Marten Hahn and Thorsten Knuf also publish in Frankfurter Rundschau on EU enlargement and Balkan-related topics.



Gerd Höhler is the SEE correspondent of Handelsblatt, but also publishes in Frankfurter Rundschau. He lives in Athens since 1979 and reports on Greece, Turkey and Cyprus.
hoehler@handelsblatt.com

Handelsblatt

Handelsblatt is the most prominent economic daily. The paper sells 136,625 copies per day.
Foreign desk +49 211 887-0



Florian Willershausen is Handelsblatt Russia/CIS countries correspondent.
willershausen@handelsblatt.com



Mathias Brüggmann has been the Handelsblatt's Russia correspondent for 11 years based in Moscow, writing articles on the Balkans as well, as is since 2007 in the Handelsblatt international politics department.
brueggmann@handelsblatt.com

Recent Articles:

„Balkan-Ländern Fordern Visafreiheit,, Handelsblatt 07/09



Stefan Menzel is Handelsblatt SEE correspondent in Vienna.
menzel@handelsblatt.com



Eric Bonse writes in Handelsblatt on CEE and EU topics and is based in Brussels.

bonse@handelsblatt.de



Thomas Ludwig is the EU correspondent of the Handelsblatt.
ludwig@handelsblatt.com



Ruth Berschens is the Handelsblatt Brussels office chief.
Berschens@handelsblatt.com

Financial Times Deutschland

Financial Times Deutschland has had a circulation above 100,000 copies since 2000. It does not have constant foreign correspondents.



Fidelius Schmid is a German Brussels based correspondent for FT Deutschland.

Recent article:

„Kippenschmuggler fordern Zöllner heraus“ (04/10)



Claus Hecking is also Brussels-based FTD correspondent reporting on the EU, NATO and the Benelux states.

Marina Zapf is an editor, since 1999 she has been reporting for FTD about EU and its enlargement, Turkey and Cyprus and since 2006 about German and international developmental policies, the World Bank, Africa and crisis regions.

Recent articles: „Was der Türkei fehlt“ 09/10.

Neues Deutschland

Neues Deutschland is the former central organ of the East German communist party SED. The paper still favours a socialist ideology.

Detlef D. Pries is the head of the foreign desk of Neues Deutschland

Recent Articles:

„Schweigen über Kosovo“ 01/11

„Exportziel Kosovo“ 12/10

„Wahlen im Armenhaus Kosovo“ 12/10

2.2. Weeklies

Die Zeit

Die Zeit is a liberal weekly widely read by decision makers. Weekly editions of *Die Zeit* are often more than 100 pages long, with in-depth articles filling an entire page. The former Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt is one of its publishers. The paper's circulation is 504,256.



Andrea Böhm writes on a range of issues including conflict prevention. During the past two years she has been reporting from the Western Balkans, Afghanistan and several (post)-conflict nations in Africa.

boehm@zeit.de

Recent articles: „EU-Außenpolitik. Das sind wir uns schuldig“ 02/11

„Bosnien. Europas Experiment“ 12/10



Michael Thumann, Istanbul correspondent, Middle East editorial team.
Recent articles: „Aufstände in Arabien. Nicht alle siegen“ 03/11

Der Spiegel

Der Spiegel is a highly respected and influential newsmagazine combining news coverage with investigative journalism. In 2011 its circulation stands at about 1 million copies. It has its own correspondent based in Belgrade, Renate Flottau.



Renate Flottau started out as young journalist with several dailies. Later she went to Belgrade as a correspondent of the Allgemeines Deutsches Sonntagsblatt and worked from 1982 for the second German program ZDF. In 1988 she became the Balkan correspondent of DER SPIEGEL. In 1999 she received the renowned Egon-Erwin-Kisch-Preis. She is based in Belgrad.

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Belgrade office: +381 11 3984632



Gerhard Spoerl is the head of the foreign department of Der Spiegel. Gerhard Spörl worked from 1980 until 1990 for Die Zeit and then became head of the Germany department at Der Spiegel. From 2001 until 2004 he was foreign correspondent in Washington.

+49 40 30072344
gerhard_spoerl@spiegel.de

Recent Articles:

Interview with Serbian Foreign Minister Vuk Jeremic „Kosovo ist unser Jerusalem“ 05/10
„Gebilde und ihre Schöpfer. Europas Proktektorate auf dem Westlichen Balkan“ 07/09

Anna Reimann writes on Islam-related topics. anna_reimann@spiegel.de

Daniel von Steinvorth writes about Turkey and the Middle East.

Recent articles „Neuer „Tal der Wölfe“. Hassgrüße aus Ankara“ 11/10
„Terror in Istanbul. Angriff auf das Herz der Türkei“ 10/10
Interview with Prime Minister Erdogan 03/10

Jürgen Gottschlicht is one of the founders of the newspaper taz. Since 1998 he has been living in Istanbul as a correspondent for various newspapers.

Recent articles: „Gülen-Bewegung in der Türkei. Die unheimliche Macht des Imam“ 04/11
„Streit über Militäreinsatz. Erdogan trickst sich aus der Libyen-Falle“ 03/11

FOCUS

In 1993 competition for *Der Spiegel* emerged with the publication of *Focus*, a newsmagazine fashioned after *Time* and *Newsweek*, with shorter articles and a more colorful layout than that offered by *Der Spiegel*. By 2007 *Focus* had a circulation of 550,000 copies. FOCUS' headquarters are in Munich, where it is still led by its founding publisher Helmut Markwort.

Gudrun Dometeit has been reporting on Southeast Europe since FOCUS was founded in 1993. She has been correspondent in Moscow and worked for DPA Hamburg dometeit@focus-r.de



Ulrich Schmidla

The foreign news department is headed by Ulrich Schmidla and Stefan Wagner in Munich.

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schmidla@focus-r.de

STERN

The third serious weekly news magazine is the STERN, situated in Hamburg like DER SPIEGEL and DIE ZEIT. In 2011 the magazine sells about 1 million copies weekly. Stern has a correspondent in Istanbul, **Stefanie Rosenkranz** (+90 212 25113605).

The STERN does not do foreign coverage per se. Instead the magazine regularly includes one single story from one foreign country. The foreign department of the STERN is headed by Hans-Hermann Klare (+49 040 37 03-35 95) and Peter Meroth +49 40 37033593.

3. News Agencies

In Germany two larger domestic news agencies, the Deutsche Presseagentur (dpa) and the Deutscher Depeschendienst (ddp) compete with the presence of five foreign news agencies:

- the French Agence France Press and its German service,
- the Associated Press (AP) and its German service,
- REUTERS representation in German,
- the Austrian news agency Austria Presse AG (APA),
- the Swiss Schweizerische Depeschenagentur AG (SDA)

The market share of news agencies in Germany is distributed between DPA and other news agencies. Nearly all newspapers are subscribers of DPA, so it can be regarded as the primary source, whereas the other news agencies are complementary sources. Its business model was recently questioned in 2009, with biggest regional newspaper WAZ cancelling its DPA subscription. Other press companies are also speculating on following this example. The US-American Associated Press, the German Reuters, which is a complete subsidiary company of the British Reuters and Agence France Press (AFP) are ranking on the second, third and fourth place in the German market.

Deutsche Presse Agentur (dpa) is thus the largest news agency in Germany founded by over 190 producing media companies. The foreign service of dpa is coordinated through the central office in Hamburg.



Heinz Rudolf Othmerding, foreign desk of dpa

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Thomas Brey is the head of the Balkan Office of dpa in Belgrade. In 1981 he joined dpa in Essen and Hamburg, and started to work as correspondent in 1983. In 1993 Brey became head of the Vienna office and then switched to Belgrade in 2004. His articles are read in all big national newspapers as well as in the regional and smallest ones. Aside many other publications, Brey wrote the book „The logic of madness – how Yugoslavia was destroyed” (Freiburg: Herder, 1993).

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C. CIVIL SOCIETY and ACADEMIA

1. German Party Foundations

In Germany all of the major parties are loosely associated with research foundations that play some role in shaping public policy. They provide their research to support policymakers in their decisions rather than explicitly advocate policy themselves.

The SPD is associated with the **Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation** (*Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, FES*)

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Head of Middle East and North Africa
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Recent Publications:

„Focus point Croatia: current developments in politics, economy and society,” FES, 2011
„Serbia: will 2011 be an election year?,” Michael Ehrke, 2011
„Albania on the Crossroads: from political crisis to a crisis of a political system,” Michael Weichert, 2011
Focus Turkey: The Constitutional Reform 2010

The **Konrad Adenauer Foundation** is associated with the CDU (the *Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, KAS*)

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Recent Publications:

„Coming to Terms with the Past in the Balkans – Lustration Process in Macedonia” Henri Bohnet, Daniela Bojadyieva, 5 January 2011
„Round Table Talk: ‘Regional Cooperation in the Western Balkans on the Way to the EU and NATO,’” Henri Bohnet, 27 October 2010
„The Western Balkans Conference,” Henri Bohnet, Johannes Gold, 27 October 2010
„German-Turkish Dialogue: Politicians and Experts Consult about Climate Change, Lybia and Cyber Security,” Jan Senkyr, Phillipp Decker, April 2011
„Foreign Policy Analysis Series-8: Turkey-Armenia Relations: A Vicious Circle,” Aybars Görgülü, Tesev Publications, 2008.

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Recent Publications:

„Ethnonationalism and State-Building,“ an edited volume, April 2008

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Recent publications:

„Serbia: Serbia after the Advisory Opinion of the Interantional Criminal Tribunal in The Hague on the Independence of Kosovo,“ Report on current topics, No. 43/2010, Dusan Dinic and Dr. Christian Christ-Thilo, August 2010

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Recent publications: „Kosovo: Options and Dangers,” Boris Kanzleiter, *International Standpoint* 14/2010

Upcoming seminars: „Praxis’ – a European Place of Memory,” Conference on Yugoslav Praxis Philosophy and Summer School in Korcula 1963-1974, October 13-16, 2011, Korcula, Croatia

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Basic information on German think tanks can be found at www.thinktankdirectory.org.

Bosch Foundation

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Recent publications: „EUFOR Althea and EUPM: Implementation of an all-embracing approach,” SWP Studies 2009/S 32, December 2009



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Recent Publications:

„Die Türkei weckt alte Lieben und Feindschaften im Westbalkan,” SWP Aktuell 2010/A 69, September 2010

„Die Zuckerbrotkrise der EU auf dem Westbalkan,” SWP-Aktuell 2010/A 20, Februar 2010

„Russlands Rückkehr auf den Westbalkan,” SWP-Studien 2009/S 17, Juli 2009



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„Zielkonflikte der EU-Erweiterungspolitik? Kroatien und Makedonien zwischen Stabilität und Demokratie,“ SWP Studien 2009/S 19, July 2009
 „Ende einer Odyssee in Bosnien-Herzegowina: Die Polizeireform ebnet den Weg zum Stabilisierungs- und Assoziierungsabkommen mit der EU, ist aber kein Ausweg aus der Stagnation,“ SWP-Aktuell 2008/A 41, May 2008



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Recent publications:

„Mehr Demokratie oder eine Stärkung religiös-konservativer Kräfte? Das Referendum zur Verfassungsänderung in der Türkei,“ SWP-Aktuell 2010/A 75, November 2010
 „Geringer Wille zur Einigung auf Zypern. Umschwung durch Direkthandel zwischen Nordzypem und der EU?,“ SWP-Aktuell 2010/A 42, May 2010



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 Project Manager 2008 „Transatlantic Approaches to Post-Conflict Management”

Recent Publications:

„Das internationale Engagement in Afghanistan: Strategien, Perspektiven, Konsequenzen,“ SWP-Studien 2008/S 23, August 2008

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Recent Publications:

„Another Round of Horse-Trading? The EU’s New Diplomatic Service Needs a Strategic Vision,” 26 January 2010

„Prüfstein Kosovo,“ DGAP - Standpunkt, 2007

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Recent publications:

„EU-Integration des Westbalkans: Jetzt erst recht!“, Diplomatisches Magazin 10, Oktober 2010

With Julian Rappold, „Westbalkan: EU-Erweiterung in der Krise,“ DGAP Analyse kompakt 6, September 2010

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„Seeking the Reset Button – Russia’s role in NATO new Strategic Concept,“ CA Perspectives, 5, 2009

„The Black Sea Region: Clashing Identities and Risks to European Stability,“ CAP Policy Analysis, 4, 2008

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Recent Publications:

„Supporting the Stabilization and Democratization Processes in the South Caucasus. What Lessons Can Be Learnt from the Western Balkans?“ in: Kathrin Brockmann and David Bosold (eds): Democratization and Security in Central and Eastern Europe and the Post-Soviet States, DGAP Report no. 17, October 2009.

„The Rolle der EU in westlichen Balkan und im südlichen Kaukasus. Potentielle Hindernisse bei der Unterstützung von Reformprozessen,“ in: *Südosteuropa Mitteilungen* Nr. 3/4, 2009.

„EU Crisis Management in the Western Balkans,“ Paper for the Institute for Peace and Conflict Research, Eötvös Loránd Universität Budapest, March 2006

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January 2011 „Presentation at IFSH ‘Staatsaufbau nach dem Systembaukastenprinzip – Grenzen und Möglichkeiten des Externen State-Building’”

Projects:

Enhance and Integrate Community Concerns within the Work of the Government – European Center for Minority Issues Kosovo

Institute for European Politics (IEP)

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Recent Publications:

„Integration” Quarterly Journal Current Issue No 1/11, February 2011

Study Groups:

Enlargement and Neighbourhood

Ongoing Projects:

Capacity building programs: Train the Trainer, Stabilization and Association Agreement Programme for transfer of know-how to state administration officials, EU Structural and Cohesion Funds Management, EU negotiations training, Civil Society in Transformation Process.

Südost-Institut (Munich)

The Südost institute conducts comparative research in South East Europe. Their publications include reference materials, manuals, and reports. The institute’s special focus is on conflict prevention and minority studies. It is financed by the state of Bavaria.

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Associate Professor, Senior Research Fellow, led research unit „Western Balkans” at the SWP, led many research programs at the CAP, editor in chief of „Osteuropa Wirtschaft.” He has been one of the leading experts on Balkans for many years. A member of the Board of South-East European Association.

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Professor of European Integration and European Politics at the University of Duisburg. He is the head of the Jean Monnet-Studygroup, Vice-president of the Southeast Europe Association and Board member of the Center for Turkish Studies.

Recent Publications:

Conflict Resolution through Europeanization? Cyprus Question, Aegean Conflict and Greek-Macedonian Name Dispute, Baden-Baden, 2008.

„Turkey and the European Union: Accession Negotiations as Routine and potential Alienation in Foreign Policy,” in: *Turkey – a future EU member? Turkey’s Difficult Journey to Europe* (an edited volume), Düsseldorf, 2010.

„Enlargement: the EU as Victim of its Own Success?,” In: *Enlargement till the Black Sea? Europe and EU in the Process of Self-Searching* (an edited volume), Düsseldorf, 2010.

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Recent Publications:

History of Yugoslavia in 20th Century, Beck: Munich, 2010.

Socijalna istorija Srbije 1815-1941 /Gesellschaftsgeschichte Serbiens/, Beograd: Clio 2004.

„Ethnic Cleansing and War Crimes 1991-1995” in: Charles Ingrao/Thomas A. Emmert (eds.): *Confronting the Yugoslav Controversies. A Scholars Initiative*, West Lafayette 2009.

„The Failure of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Patriotism,” in: Egbert Jahn (ed.): *Nationalism in Late and Post-Communist Europe*, Baden-Baden 2008.

„Eternal Laboratory. EU Politics in the Balkans: an Evaluation,” in: *Internationale Politik* 63, 2008.

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Recent Publications:

Labrynth of Memory. Cultural Remembrance in the Balkans, Münster: Lit-Verlag, 2007

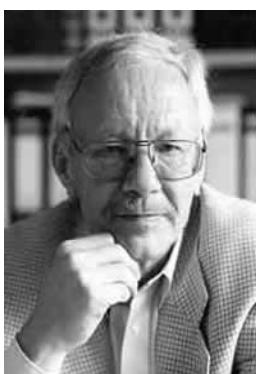
„Thoughts of a Deed: Intellectuals and Violence in former Yugoslavia,” in Susanna Hartwig, Isabella von Treskow (eds.): *Brother's Guardian – Brother's Killer. Intellectuals and Intrasocial Violence*, De Gruyter: Berlin, New York, 2010

„Fissured Memories, Memory Culture in Southeastern Europe,” in: W. Eberhard, Chr. Lübke (eds.): *The Plurality of Europe: Identities and Spaces*, Leipzig 2010.

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Geschichte Serbiens 1804-2004, Böhlau: Wien, 2007

Experiment Jugoslawien. Von der Staatsgründung bis zum Staatszerfall 1918-1991, Mannheim, 1993.

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Stefan Troebst is a professor for East European Cultural Studies at the Leipzig University. He is also assistant director and leading cultural researcher at the Humanities Center for East European History and Culture. He was Director of the ECMI (European Centre for Minority Issues) from 1996 to 1998.

Recent Publications:

Memory Culture – Cultural History – History Region. East-(central) Europe in Europe, F. Steiner: Stuttgart, 2011

„Uses and Abuses of the Past 1800–1945,” in: *The Routledge History of Eastern Europe since 1700*, ed by Irina Livezeanu, Arpad von Klimo, London 2011.

Together with Heinz Willemsen, „Thin Continuities, multiple Breaks: Republic of Macedonia 1987 – 1995,” in: Jahn, Egbert (ed.): *Nationalism in Late- and Post-Communist Europe*, Vol. 2: Nationalism in Nation-States. Baden-Baden 2009.

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D. POLITICS

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Christian Wulff was born on 19 June 1959 in Osnabrück, is the first Roman Catholic to be president of Germany in more than 40 years and is Germany's youngest President at the age of 51. Wulff was inaugurated on July 2, 2010. He joined CDU in 1975 and since 1998 has been one of the four deputy chairmen of the CDU at the federal level and since 2003 a board member of the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung. A lawyer by profession, he served as Prime Minister of the state of Lower Saxony from 2003 to 2010.

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Weizsäcker has served on many international commissions. Notably, he served as chairman of the Independent Working Group on the future of the United Nations and as one of three 'Wise Men' appointed by European Commission President Romano Prodi to consider the future of the European Union.

2. Ministries

The German government was formed in October 2009 as a coalition of the CDU, CSU and the FDP. The CDU puts up the chancellor (Angela Merkel for the second time), 7 ministers, and 18 state secretaries. The CSU has 3 ministers, 4 state secretaries. The FDP has 5 ministers (including the vice chancellor) and 8 state secretaries.



Angela Merkel (CDU)
 Federal Chancellor



Guido Westerwelle (FDP)
 Vice Chancellor and Federal
 Foreign Minister



Hans-Peter Friedrich (CSU)
 Federal Minister of the Interior



Ronald Pofalla (CDU)
Federal Minister for Special
Purposes and Head of the
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Thomas de Maizière (CDU)
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3. Bundestag

Two Bundestag committees are of special interest for the enlargement and Balkans debate: the Committee on Foreign Affairs (Auswärtiger Ausschuss) and the Committee on the Affairs of the European Union.

3.1. Committee on Foreign Affairs

has 37 members. The chairman of the committee is Ruprecht Polenz, CDU/CSU.
<http://www.ruprecht-polenz.de/>



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11011 Berlin
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48143 Münster
Telefon: + 49 251 41 84 214
Fax: +49 251 41 84 235

The Deputy Chairman of the committee is Hans-Ulrich Klose, SPD.



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Telefax: 030 - 227 - 701 10
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Members of the CDU/CSU:

Ruprecht Polenz, Peter Beyer, Hartwig Fischer, Erich G. Fritz, Dr. Peter Gauweiler, Michael Glos, Dr. Wolfgang Götzer, Manfred Grund, Joachim Hörster, Dr. Egon Jüttner, Roderich Kiesewetter, Jürgen Klimke, Philipp Mißfelder, Karl-Georg Wellmann.

Members of the SPD:

Hans-Ulrich Klose, Edelgard Bulmahn, Dagmar Freitag, Günter Gloser, Dr. Rolf Mützenich, Johannes Pflug, Franz Thönnies, Heidemarie Wieczorek-Zeul, Uta Zapf.

Members of the FDP:

Dr. Bijan Djir Sarai, Dr. Wolfgang Gerhardt, Patrick Kurth, Michael Georg Link, Marina Schuster, Dr. Rainer Stinner.

Members of DIE LINKE:

Jan van Aken, Sevim Dağdelem, Wolfgang Gehrcke, Stefan Liebich.

Members of BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNEN:

Marieluise Beck (Bremen), Kerstin Müller, Dr. Frithjof Schmidt, Hans-Christian Ströbele.

3.2. Committee on the Affairs of the European Union

35 members. The chairman of the committee is Gunther Krichbaum, CDU/CSU



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E-Mail: gunther.krichbaum@bundestag.de

<http://www.gunther-krichbaum.de/>

The Deputy Chairman of the committee is Michael Georg Link (Heilbronn), FDP



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11011 Berlin

Phone: +49 30 227 73963

Fax: +49 30 227 76127

Email: michael.link@bundestag.de

<http://www.michaelgeorglink.de/>

Members of the CDU/CSU (14 members):

Thomas Bareiß, Veronika Bellmann, Thomas Dörflinger, Jürgen Hardt, Karl Holmeier, Alois Karl, Roderich Kiesewetter, Bettina Kudla, Mattias Lietz, Detlef Seif, Thomas Silberhorn, Michael Stübgen, Dr. Johann Wadephul.

Members of the SPD:

Heinz-Joachim Barchmann, Kerstin Griese, Dr. Eva Högl, Dietmar Nietan, Michael Roth, Werner Schieder, Dr. Martin Schwanholz, Peer Steinbrück.

Members of the FDP:

Heinz Golombeck, Michael Georg Link, Oliver Luksic, Gabriele Molitor, Joachim Spatz.

Members of DIE LINKE:

Dr. Diether Dehm, Andrej Hunko, Thomas Nord, Alexander Ulrich.

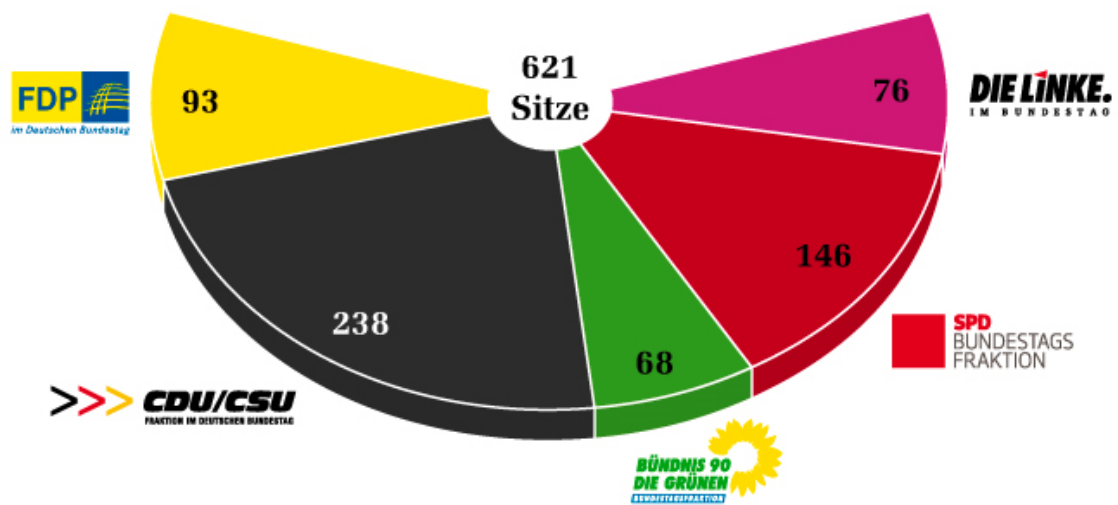
Members of BÜNDNIS 90/DIE GRÜNEN:

Viola von Cramon-Taubadel, Ulricke Höfken, Jerzy Montag, Manuel Sarazzin.

3.3. Seats in the Bundestag by party

17th Bundestag, since general election in 27 September 2009

■	CDU and CSU:	238
■	SPD:	146
■	FDP:	93
■	The Left:	76
■	Alliance '90/Greens:	68



Stand: 03.03.2011

ANNEX ON MEDIA IN GERMANY

Audio/Visual Media

Television

- ARD
<http://www.ard.de/>
- Das Erste
<http://www.daserste.de/>
- ZDF
<http://www.zdf.de/>
- 3sat
<http://www.3sat.de/>
- RTL Television
<http://kommunikation.rtl.de/de/pub/portal.cfm>
- RTL II
<http://kommunikation.rtl.de/de/pub/aktuell/uebersicht.cfm>
- SAT 1
<http://www.sat1.de/>
- Kabel 1
<http://www.kabeleins.de/>
- N24
<http://www.n24.de/>
- Pro 7
<http://www.prosieben.de/>

Radio

- ARD-Radio
<http://www.ard.de/radio/>
- DW-Radio
<http://www.dw-world.de/>
- Radio Bremen
<http://www.radiobremen.de/index.html>
- WDR Radio
<http://www.wdr.de/radio/home/>
- Deutschlandfunk
<http://www.dradio.de/dlf/>
- Deutschlandradio Kultur
<http://www.dradio.de/dkultur/>
- Rundfunk Berlin-Brandenburg
<http://www.rbb-online.de/>
- RTL Radio
<http://www.rtlradio.de/>

The press

- Bild - mass-circulation tabloid – <http://www.bild.de/>
- Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung - prestigious daily – <http://www.faz.net/s/homepage.html>
- Sueddeutsche Zeitung - Munich-based daily - <http://www.sueddeutsche.de/>

- Die Welt - Berlin-based daily - <http://www.welt.de/>
- Frankfurter Rundschau - Frankfurt am Main-based daily - <http://www.fr-online.de/home/-/1472778/1472778/-/index.html>
- Handelsblatt - Duesseldorf-based financial daily <http://www.handelsblatt.de/>
- Financial Times Deutschland - Hamburg-based financial daily - <http://www.ftd.de/>
- Die Zeit - weekly - <http://www.zeit.de/index>
- Der Spiegel - news weekly, English-language site - <http://www.spiegel.de/international/>
- Focus - weekly news magazine - <http://www.focus.de/>
- Der Spiegel - <http://www.spiegel.de/>
- Der Stern - <http://stern.de/>

Newspapers

- Der Tagesspiegel - <http://www.tagesspiegel.de/>
- Die Tageszeitung - <http://www.taz.de/>
- Berliner Zeitung - <http://www.berlinonline.de/berliner-zeitung/>
- Neues Deutschland <http://www.neues-deutschland.de/>

Regional or local newspapers – a selection

- Pforzheimer Zeitung - http://www.pz-news.de/Home/Nachrichten/puid,1_pageid,7.html
- Rheinische Post - <http://www.rp-online.de/>
- Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung - <http://www.derwesten.de/>
- Badische Zeitung - <http://www.badische-zeitung.de>
- Stuttgarter Zeitung - <http://www.stuttgarter-zeitung.de/>
- Berliner Morgenpost - <http://www.morgenpost.de>
- Kölner Express - <http://www.express.de/home/-/2126/2126/-/index.html>
- Frankfurter Neue Presse - <http://www.fnp.de/fnp/index.htm>
- Hannoversche Allgemeine Zeitung - <http://www.haz.de/>
- Hamburger Abendblatt - <http://www.abendblatt.de>

- Hamburger Morgenpost - <http://www.mopo.de/home/-/5066546/5066546/-/index.html>
- Neue Osnabrücker Zeitung - <http://www.neue-oz.de>
- Neue Westfälische - <http://www.nw-news.de>
- Trierischer Volksfreund - <http://www.volksfreund.de>
- Westfalenblatt - [http://www.westfalenblatt.de/index.php?id=613&L=0&tx_jkpoll_pi1\[uid\]=19](http://www.westfalenblatt.de/index.php?id=613&L=0&tx_jkpoll_pi1[uid]=19)

News agencies

- DPA
<http://www.dpa.de/>
- DDP
<http://www.dapd.de/de/dapd/index.html>
- AP
<http://www.ap-online.de/>
- REUTERS
<http://de.reuters.com/>
- Agence France Press
<http://www.afp.com/afpcom/de>
- Schweizerische Depeschagentur (SDA)
<http://www.sda.ch/d/>

*Media in the German Länder. The example of Nordrhein Westfalen
Newspapers and News Media - Local*

Nordrhein Westfalen Newspapers and News Media - Local

Aachen	<u>Aachener Nachrichten</u>
Aachen	<u>Aachener Zeitung</u>
Aachen	<u>Regio Blick</u>
Aegidienberg	<u>Aegidienberger Bote</u>
Ahlen	<u>Ahlener Zeitung</u>
Ahlen	<u>Sonntags Rundblick</u>
Alsdorf	<u>Alsdorf Aktuell</u>
Altena	<u>Altenaer Kreisblatt</u>
Bad Neuenahr	<u>Rhein Ahr Rundschau</u>
Ahrweiler	
Beckum	<u>Sonntags Rundblick</u>
Bergheim	<u>Werbepost</u>
Bergisch Gladbach	<u>Bergisches Handelsblatt</u>
Bergisch Gladbach	<u>Bergisches Sonntagsblatt</u>
Bielefeld	<u>Neue Westfälische Zeitung</u>
Bocholt	<u>Bocholt Borkener Volksblatt</u>
Bochum	<u>Die Tageszeitung</u>
Bonn	<u>Bonner Rundschau</u>
Bonn	<u>General Anzeiger</u>
Bonn	<u>Rheinischer Merkur</u>
Bonn (Bad Godesberg)	<u>Blickpunkt Schaufenster</u>
Borken	<u>Borkener Zeitung</u>
Brilon	<u>Briloner Anzeiger</u>
Bruhl	<u>Bruhler Schlossbote</u>
Burbach	<u>Hellerthaler Zeitung</u>
Coesfeld	<u>Allgemeine Zeitung</u>
Datteln	<u>Dattelner Morgenpost</u>
Detmold	<u>Lippische Landes Zeitung</u>
Dortmund	<u>Ruhr Nachrichten</u>
Dortmund	<u>Westfälische Rundschau</u>
Dulmen	<u>Dulmener Zeitung</u>
Dusseldorf	<u>Düsseldorfer Nachrichten</u>
Dusseldorf	<u>Handelsblatt</u>
Dusseldorf	<u>Rheinische Post</u>
Dusseldorf	<u>Terz</u>
Dusseldorf	<u>Westdeutsche Zeitung</u>
Emsdetten	<u>Emsdettener Volkszeitung</u>
Essen	<u>Der Westen</u>
Essen	<u>Neue Ruhr Zeitung</u>
Essen	<u>Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung</u>
Essen (Kettwig)	<u>Kettwig Today</u>
Euskirchen	<u>Blickpunkt am Sonntag</u>
Frechen	<u>Wochenende</u>
Geseke	<u>Neue Regionale</u>
Gummersbach	<u>Anzeigen Echo</u>
Gummersbach	<u>Oberbergische Volkszeitung</u>
Hagen	<u>Westfalen Post</u>
Halle	<u>Haller Kreisblatt</u>
Halver	<u>Allgemeiner Anzeiger</u>
Hamm	<u>Sonntags Rundblick</u>
Hamm	<u>Westfälischer Anzeiger</u>
Herten	<u>Hertener Allgemeine</u>
Ibbenburen	<u>Ibbenburener Volkszeitung</u>
Iserlohn	<u>Echo Nord</u>
Iserlohn	<u>Iserlohner Kreisanzeiger</u>
Kevelaer	<u>Kevelaerer Blatt</u>
Koln	<u>Aktiv</u>
Koln	<u>Express</u>

Koln	Kolner Stadt Anzeiger
Koln	Kolnische Rundschau
Koln	WDR
Krefeld	Krefelder Zeitung
Lage	Der Neue Postillon
Lemgo	Lippische Wochenschau
Lennestadt	Siegerland Kurier
Leverkusen	Lokale Informationen
Lippstadt	Der Patriot
Ludenscheid	Come On
Ludenscheid	Ludenscheider Nachrichten
Mainerzhagen	Meinerzhagener Zeitung
Marl	Marler Zeitung
Meckenheim	Blickpunkt Schaufenster
Menden	Mendener Zeitung
Minden	Mindener Tageblatt
Munster	Munster am Sonntag
Munster	Munstersche Zeitung
Munster	Westfälische Nachrichten
Munster	Westline
Neunkircher	Hellerthaler Zeitung
Neuss	Neuss Grevenbroicher Zeitung
Oelde	Die Glocke
Oer Erkerschwick	Stimberg Zeitung
Olpe	Sauerland Kurier
Pulheim	Sonntags Post
Recklinghausen	Recklinghauser Zeitung
Remscheid	Remscheider General Anzeiger
Rheine	Munsterlandische Volkszeitung
Siegburg	Extra Blatt
Siegburg	Rhein Sieg Rundschau
Siegen	Siegener Zeitung
Siegen	Siegerlander Wochen und Sontagsanzeiger
Soest	Soester Anzeiger
Solingen	Solinger Tageblatt
Steinheim	Steinheimer Blickpunkt
Unna	Hellweger Anzeiger
Waldbrol	Lokalanzeiger
Waltrop	Waltroper Zeitung
Werdohl	Suderlander Volksfreund
Wesseling	Werbekurier
Willich	Meerbuscher Nachrichten
Wipperfurth	Bergische Landeszeitung
Wuppertal	General Anzeiger

Source: abyznewslinks.com. Information on media in all German states can be found at www.abyznewslinks.com/germa.htm.

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- Homepages with English information: www.ard.de (ARD), www.zdf.de (ZDF), www.bdzv.de (newspaper editors association), www.vdz.de (magazine editors association), www.kek.de (commission on concentration in the media).