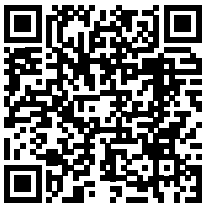


The Berlin Times

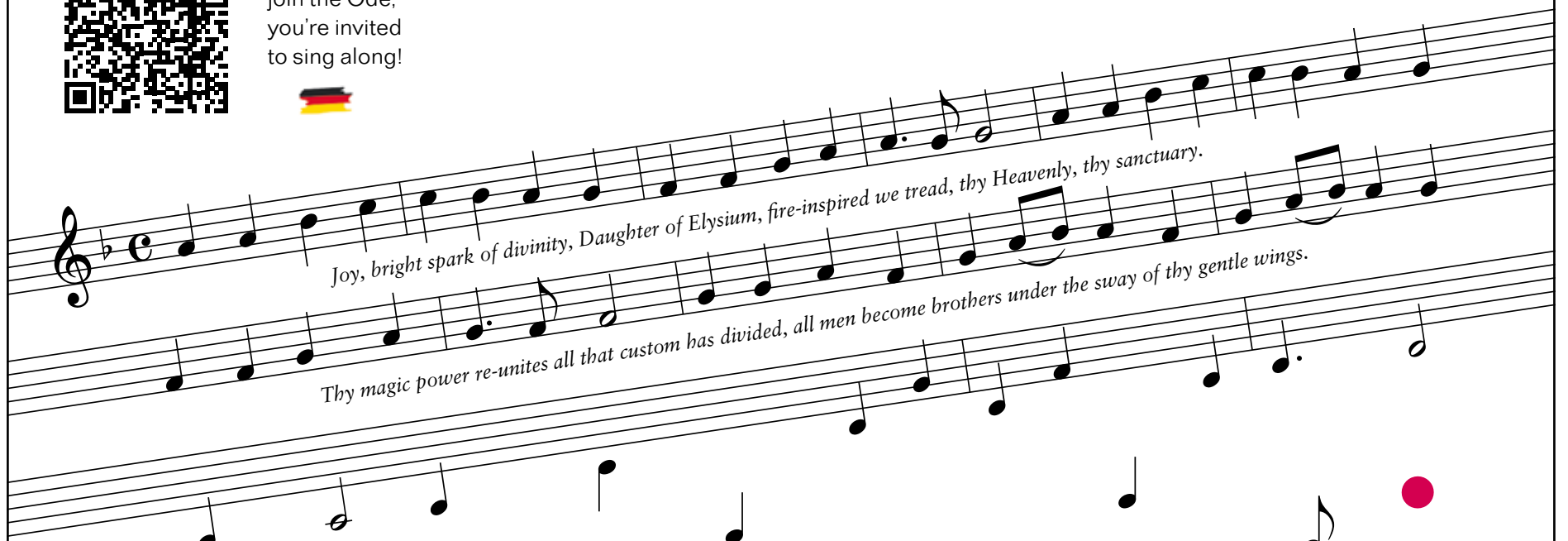
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2015



Share the spirit,
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to sing along!



*25 years ago, world history was
rewritten. Germany was unified again,
after four decades of separation.
October 3 – A day to celebrate!*

*How is Germany doing today
and where does it want to go?*

TO JOY!

 **GERMAN
UNITY**

EDITORIAL



Good neighbors

We aim to be and to become a nation of good neighbors both at home and abroad.

So spoke Willy Brandt in his first declaration as German Chancellor on Oct. 28, 1969.

And 46 years later – in October 2015 – we can establish that Germany has indeed become a nation of good neighbors. In recent weeks especially, we have demonstrated this by welcoming so many people seeking protection from violence and suffering.

Willy Brandt's approach formed the basis of a policy of peace and détente, which by 1989 dissolved the confrontation between East and West and enabled Chancellor Helmut Kohl to bring about the reunification of Germany in 1990.

And now we are celebrating the 25th anniversary of our unity regained.

Berlin is once more a unified city and the capital of our country. It is well on its way to becoming an international metropolis. And above all, Berlin is a cosmopolitan city admired internationally for the way it has carried out the process of unification. Although not everything is a shining success, we can be proud of what we have thus far achieved.

This newspaper, **The Berlin Times**, aims to build journalistic bridges from Berlin to the wider world.

The first English-language newspaper published in Germany will report regularly from Berlin; we hope to establish an interested readership.

This edition offers a bouquet of various articles by renowned writers. We hope you will enjoy it.

Detlef Prinz
Publisher

25 years GERMAN
UNITY

The Berlin Times

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“The restoration of reunified Germany’s full diplomatic sovereignty showed great confidence in our country.”

TOO BIG TO HIDE

Germany has profited from the transformation of recent decades, above all from Europe’s political and economic unity. Our foreign policy must continually evolve, yet retain its European stature | *By Frank-Walter Steinmeier*

If tectonic plates made sound when they shift, the noise in Europe in 1989 and 1990 would have been deafening. In those years, it wasn’t the Earth’s plates that were shifting, but rather the world order that was forcefully unraveling.

The unification of the two German states triggered a global quake that revealed cracks in the masonry of the Cold War. As US Secretary of State James Baker expressed in Berlin at the end of 1989, the question of German Reunification is about nothing less than the development of “a new architecture for a new era”.

Many in Western Europe looked with skepticism upon the reemergence of Germany on the fault line of the Cold War. Nevertheless, 25 years ago on Sept. 12, France, Great Britain, the US and

unknown level of security, freedom and prosperity that very few other states are fortunate enough to enjoy.

Perhaps we temporarily overlooked the fact the world had failed to settle down. The much-ballyhooed “end of history” has not occurred.

To the contrary: the moaning and groaning of the tectonic plates of global politics can still clearly be heard; indeed, they’re moving more than ever before. A whole range of developments, which may have

“The refugee crisis is only one example of the questions our partners expect a Germany to help address.”

the Soviet Union, together with the two German states, signed the Two Plus Four Agreement. This restoration of reunified Germany’s full diplomatic sovereignty showed great confidence in the country’s newly emerging foreign policy. Germany has since secured and expanded its role: despite all concerns, Germany is firmly anchored in the European Union and the transatlantic partnership. More than any other country, Germany has profited from the transformation that has occurred in recent decades, above all from Europe’s newfound political and economic unity. For our country this has led to a previously

hinted at 1990 but failed to foresee it, drive these upheavals in world politics: globalization and the networking, digitalization and economic acceleration that come with it, the rise of ambitious players like China and India, the influence of non-governmental yet globally operating actors like large corporations and terror groups, religious fundamentalism, climate change and just now, an acute migration crisis of historic dimensions – the list is long and complex. And new eruptions are constantly rattling the globe: the civil war in Syria, Islamist terror in Iraq, the collapse of Libya and Yemen, the conflict



PICTURE ALLIANCED/MAURIZIO GAMBARINI



Frank-Walter Steinmeier, born in 1956, on top of the Federal Foreign Office in Berlin. The Social Democrat has been serving his second term in office since December 2013.

PARWEZ



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PICTURE ALLIANCE/PHOTOJOUR KUNAR

Diplomacy: German Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier with his Iranian counterpart Mohammad Zarif in Brussels on March 16; with High Representative of the EU for Foreign Affairs Federica Mogherini on July 7; with Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov and US Secretary of State John Kerry on July 14, the day of the deal to curb Iran's nuclear program after 12 years of conflict (from left to right).

in Ukraine. It is gradually becoming ever more clear that these phenomena should be considered consequences of the collapse of the bipolar world order that prevailed during the Cold War. Calling them aftershocks would somehow fit, but would fail to do justice to the drama and daily suffering caused by these crises.

An especially powerful eruption is now convulsing Europe: the tidal wave of refugees that struck with full force this summer, reaching Germany as well. The readiness of people in Germany to help has been impressive – nevertheless, they're justifiably asking themselves, in all solidarity, what can be done to address this problem in the long term. One thing is clear: Europe must grant asylum to refugees in need of protection. But it is also a fact that no country can manage it alone. Europe will be tested like almost never before.

The refugee crisis and its causes are only one example of the many questions international partners rightfully expect a strong and prosperous Germany to help address. Germany has simply become too big to cower from the responsibility, and too networked with the world to remain on the sidelines. In this vein we are contributing with concrete actions such as chairing this year's UN Human Rights Council and

next year's Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). After all, who has a greater interest in the stable and peaceful evolvement of global politics than Germany? Hardly any other country is as entrenched economically, philanthropically and culturally, or as dependent on well-functioning international ground rules for its economic and political stability.

Both the annexation of the Crimea – in blatant violation of international law –

and the events in East Ukraine have called these ground rules into question. Europe's blueprint for a lasting peace is teetering on the brink. From the beginning, despite all setbacks and a strong headwind we have committed ourselves to a de-escalation of the conflict. We still have a long way to go. The fighting continues on in East Ukraine; people continue to die. The Minsk Protocol is no cure-all, and far from perfect. But at least it offers a framework for direct negotiations between the opposing sides. Germany, together with France, is committing itself to a future that includes a stable, peaceful and sovereign Ukraine.

The fact that the world remains in motion also means that we can attempt to shape it in reflection of our beliefs. The successful nuclear deal with Iran shows that, despite the world's complexity, unwavering commitment can make a tangible difference. The Vienna Agreement not only verifiably prevents Iran's development of an atomic bomb in the long term, it can also spur new talks and efforts aimed at increasing coop-

Minsk – with the agreement on the conflict in Ukraine – would German diplomacy have had the same effect without its footing in the context of Europe. It is thus all the more important that German foreign policy retains its European stature and a "European reflex".

The world is changing rapidly, and it will be some time before peace and calm prevail. German foreign policy must therefore continually evolve. We must constantly reevaluate where and how we take responsibility. It remains the task of German foreign policy – in cooperation with our closest partners – to make a difference in an often turbulent world.

Frank-Walter Steinmeier is foreign minister of Germany.

③

“Europe will be tested like almost never before.”

Daring to say *Heimat* again

Let's stop being embarrassed about finally celebrating a national holiday like everyone else! Author Martin Walser on the significance of October 3.

America celebrates its Independence Day on July 4. France fetes the storming of the Bastille – the beginning of the French Revolution – every July 14. European states usually commemorate the day they gained a constitution, as does Denmark, Poland and Norway. For others the anniversary of independence is a national holiday, as in the United States, Sweden and Greece. In Spain they celebrate a feat: the discovery of America by Columbus. Most national holidays were born in the 19th century. Some dates

have a unique splendor: Ireland's St. Patrick's Day harks back to 461, while Switzerland traces its democracy from the year 1291. German history, with all its pinnacles and chasms, has never yielded a date that could stand up as a national holiday. Until now, that is – until the year 1990.

That makes the Day of German Unity Europe's youngest national holiday. We can now own up to this fact and must never forget how this day came to be. Forty years divided. Forty years of two Germanys and, in East as in West, zealous efforts to justify this miserable condition. As was affirmed and reaffirmed with all the means available to a dictatorship, the socialist part would remain forever socialist. Those means

included a grotesque level of militarization and a constant recital of militant slogans. Meanwhile, trying to find an upside to the division, prominent and reputable West German intellectuals said two Germanys had more in common with the course of German history than did, say, the single state that ceased to exist in 1945. Writers commonly stated that the country's division was just punishment for the nation's crimes committed at Auschwitz. Terms

were invented to make the split look better: Germany, a cultural nation in two states. Seventeen million inhabit-

ants of this cultural nation lived locked up behind the Iron Curtain and then the Berlin Wall, while the creators and heralds of this phrase strolled freely throughout the world. The word "Germany" was only heard during weather reports.

Anyone who would not accept the division was labeled a nationalist. When Rudolf Augstein wrote in the weekly *Der Spiegel* that he would not renounce Germany, global bestselling author Patrick Süskind accused him of early-onset dementia. Of course, the division would not have become so cruel or acrimonious had Germany not been a main theater of the Cold War. East Germany was the most militarized country in Europe. West Germany strove to keep

up in terms of weapons and rhetoric. And everyone else was glad that, by being cut in two, this eternally troubled Germany had finally been disposed of.

The media set the tone. Some words were practically black-listed. One example was *Heimat*, or homeland. Fortunately, one can hardly imagine today that using this halfway sentimental word would expose a person to all kinds of shameful suspicion. During the 1970s I wrote a small book of texts relating to the region I lived in. A publisher in Friedrichshafen wanted to release it, together with watercolors by the painter André Ficus. Then came the meeting with the publisher. I hadn't yet provided a title, but the publisher asked for one. I was so timorous from the political correctness of the time that I could not voice the title. I asked for a piece of paper. On it I wrote "Heimatlob" (in praise of homeland), and slid it back to the publisher. He flushed with anger, shouting "No more jokes!". A true conservative, he apparently thought that I wanted to take him for a ride, embarrass him with that title. Today no one gets upset about that little book anymore. Anyone back then who used the words *Heimat*, *Nation* or *Vaterland* was courting suspicion. The Nazis had costumed their crimes with them. Yet, it was beyond me to consign these words to the dustbin of history.

The fact that we now have a national holiday to celebrate comes thanks to the people who overthrew East Germany. It was a gentle revolution. It was gentle because it wasn't carried out by intellectuals or parties but by people. The people. The German word for people – *Volk* – also took on a new dignity through this revolution that no propaganda could stop.

Together with my wife, I was in Dresden from Oct. 1–11, 1989, to do research for my book *Die Verteidigung der Kindheit* (*The Defense of Childhood*). It was during those October days that the unarmed power of the people brought down the dictatorship. Night and day, people marched through the streets, chanting: We want out! It was supposed to be the occasion for celebrating the 40th anniversary of East Germany's founding. British publisher Robert Maxwell was on hand and, in front of the cameras, presented a two-volume set of books bound in red leather to East German leader Erich Honecker. It was an encyclopedia of East Germany. Maxwell said it contained all Honecker's achievements. He also responded to what was happening on the street, the chorus of all the voices that no longer wished to endure the East German regime. Both German states had to stay, Maxwell said, praising East Germany as an antifascist bulwark. Honecker resigned a few days later.

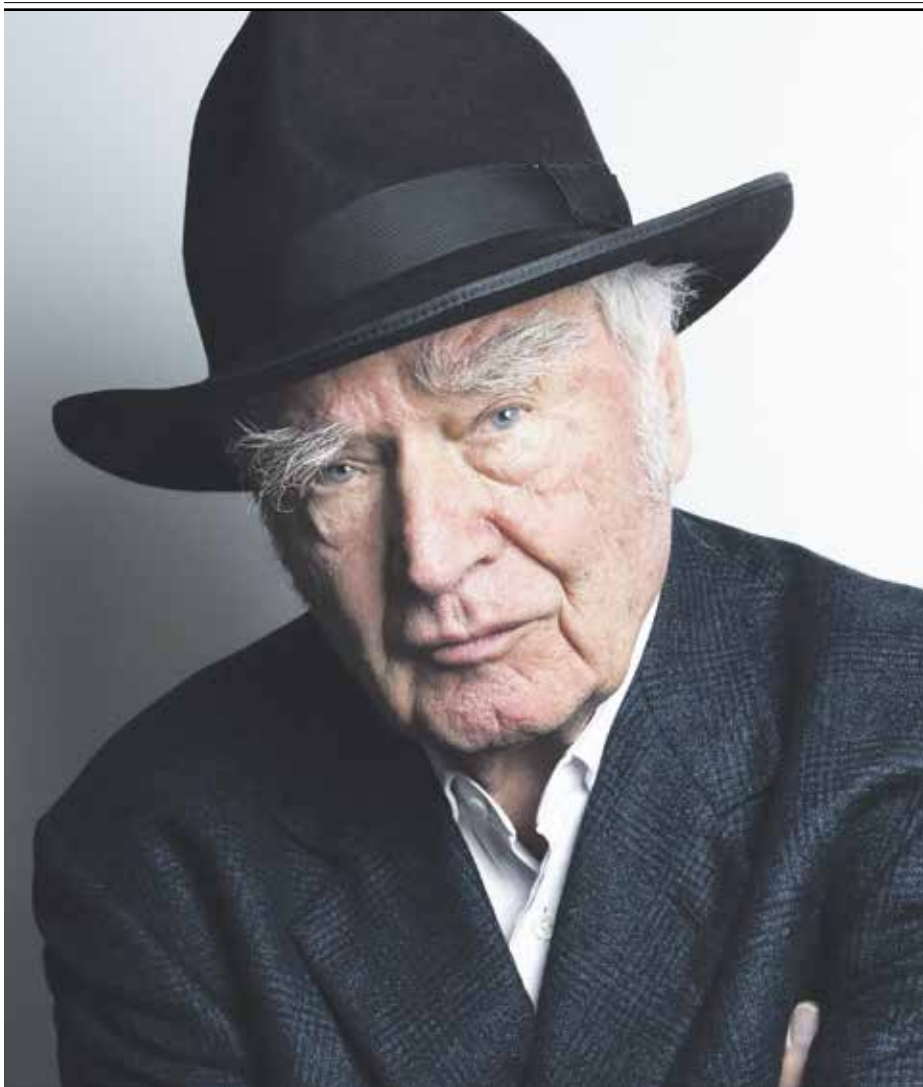
Wherever we looked, we saw rebellion, unrest and outrage. But nowhere did we see violence.

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Passion to Perform



P. MATSASORALE/LEEMAGELAIF

“Things that went wrong for 40 years will need at least 40 years to be fixed.”

Fidelio was on the bill at the opera. We went to the second performance. Beethoven's Fidelio is an opera about freedom. The stage design, which had been determined months in advance, seemed to have been made especially for those October days. The whole stage lay behind

aloud a resolution in which they demanded everything the regime had denied them: freedom of expression, freedom of movement, etc.

In November 1989 Helmut Kohl declared reunification an objective of West German policy, but admitted that he did not know

“We’ve never been this peaceful.”

a high barbed-wire fence, whose top angled out toward the audience. Behind it was a modern prison. The chorus of prisoners was dressed like the people marching the streets outside. The chorus sang: “Quiet, quiet, keep to yourself, you’re guarded by eyes and ears.” Afterwards, the applause was like none I had ever experienced in a theater. It was as if the opera could not go on; and it was the same for the actors, who came out in front of the curtain and read

how this unity could be realized. That task he delegated to Finance Minister Theo Waigel and his team. July 1, 1990 was another day to remember: West Germany's currency, the deutschmark, was introduced in the East. Without the changeover, that singular political adventure, the State Treaty between East and West Germany, would never have succeeded.

Left-leaning pundits immediately exploited every crisis during the 1990s by

pointing out that “inner unification” could never succeed precisely because of the currency reform. They were the same intellectuals who, right after unification had been achieved, promptly began questioning the motives of East Germany's people. Rather than to a desire of freedom, these writers pointed to a “deutschmark nationalism” – as if, once the border was open, anyone still wanted the East German currency.

These clever critics generally disregarded the people who had taken to the streets in Dresden and elsewhere, risking confrontation with Soviet tanks as in 1953 in Berlin and 1968 in Prague. The talking heads always pounced gleefully to brand every difficulty on the path to “inner unity” a “failure of unification”.

This deep-seated attitude of only seeing the negative can be countered only with statistics: In 1989, people in East Germany lived two and a half years fewer, on average, than did their West German counterparts. Today, this gap has pretty much vanished. In a remark both matter-of-fact and brilliant, Theo Waigel said: “Investments that lead to longer life are not the worst.” Another source reports that the suicide rate in East Germany has “fallen decisively” in the past quarter century.

Whenever I encounter such mean-spirited impatience, I always say: things that went wrong for 40 years will need at least 40 years to be fixed. When rents rise faster than incomes, I think of those 40 years. By now we owe recognition to those politicians who saw what had taken place in East Germany and turned it into a narrative of progress. But the ultimate recognition will always

belong to the people, who accomplished world history's uniquely gentle revolution.

We, the beneficiaries of this political joyride, can conclude with satisfaction that in German history there has never been a quarter century in which Germans in the East and West have lived as peacefully as in the 25 years since reunification. I quickly scanned the history books: We've never been this peaceful – nor as bearable to our neighbors.

So let's not be ashamed to finally celebrate a national day! If we recall what the great poet Heinrich Heine wrote in the 19th century:

Thinking of Germany at night,
Puts all thought of sleep to flight.
Today a writer can say:
Thinking of Germany at night,
Then sleep till 7:30? I might.

Martin Walser has left his mark on German post-war literature like no other living author. Born in 1927 at Lake Constance, Walser often found himself at the center of political and literary debates, starting with his 1957 novel Marriage in Philippsburg, a multilayered portrait of the Adenauer era. His short novel Runaway Horse from 1978 has become a modern German classic.

⑤

Germany in
years of reunification.



Chancellor Angela Merkel has been in office for ten years. She studied physics in the GDR.

It was more than 25 years hence, the end of February 1990. The last election of the GDR's People's Chamber, which was to be the country's first free election, lay ahead. Negotiations concerning the GDR's absorption by West Germany – both in terms of its legal and monetary repercussions – had not yet begun. There were still various other ideas out there, such as the prospect that the Federal Republic and the GDR remain independent states. In this atmosphere of pending transition, Volker Rühe, then general secretary of the CDU and later Germany's minister of defense, turned a memorable phrase: "Germany will become more northern, more eastern and more Protestant." And so it did.

Two life journeys of a special sort – marked by the upheaval in Germany and Europe. Nothing would remain as it was. In the big picture, a state was collapsing, while in the smaller picture, lives and careers would be given a fresh start. A doctor of physics, Angela Merkel – born in Hamburg in 1954 and raised in Brandenburg – was the spokesperson in Berlin for Democratic Awakening, an East German political movement. Joachim Gauck – born in Rostock in 1940, trained as a theologian – was involved in New Forum,

another political movement in the East. Over the course of a week, Merkel's organization had merged with the CDU. Gauck's citizens' movement turned towards the Greens. Both were northeast German, and Protestants as well. Merkel hailed from the home of a Protestant pastor. Gauck was a pastor by trade.

They both had roles, if not prominent ones, in the political upheaval and what would follow it. And as it happens in politics, their professional paths diverged, although not without mutual appreciation. Gauck is now head of state of the Federal Republic of Germany. Merkel is chancellor. Long

past are the times when Germany's leadership was Rhenish, south German and Catholic – in terms of both

region and personnel. Soon there were political talk shows where almost all pundits were from Lower Saxony: Siegmund Gabriel, Thomas Oppermann, Christian Wulff, Ursula von der Leyen, Jürgen Trittin, Philipp Rösler.

Gauck and Merkel each lacked something previously taken for granted as a prerequisite for politics: entrenchment in the principles of a political party – that is, a network. Merkel was not active in the Young Union, the CDU's youth organization. When she began working in Bonn, she was already over the 35-year age limit. Meanwhile, Gauck had no involvement in the dispute between the two opposing camps within the Green party. They both must have wondered what had so worried their predecessors in West Germany – with their petty tactical games and personal rivalries disguised as conflicting political principles. In equal measure, each can now poke fun of it.

Both have brought their own pasts along with them, pasts defined by the life circumstances in the GDR, and by the attempt to distance themselves from the SED regime without radically opposing it, which would ultimately have landed them in the Stasi prison as well as the GDR penal camp in Bautzen. They speak a language that is very much their own, the subtleties of which are lost to West German ears. They have no command over the blustering rhetoric of politicians who had begun quarreling in the Young Union or Young Socialists – nor would they want to. Their style is to feel their way along with a certain reserve. If need be, they can always be understood with a wink.

Merkel's rise was a swift one. During the reunification process, the spokeswoman had already attracted the attention of West German politicians and officials. 1990 saw her elected to the Bundestag. She was then recommended to Helmut Kohl, who appointed her to his cabinet as Minister for Women and Youth. Her West German rivals

dubbed her "Kohl's girl" – a derogatory term intended to be just that. Merkel understood how it worked. She managed to set herself apart from the women's policy of Rita Süssmuth, who was no favorite of Kohl. When she became Minister for the Environment in 1994, her first move was to dismiss the Permanent State Secretary of her predecessor. So much for "Kohl's girl". She found loyal supporters in a group of young CDU representatives, in both party and faction. Merkel created her own network: Peter Altmaier, Hermann Gröhe, Ronald Pofalla, Norbert Röttgen, all of whom she would later make

federal ministers. She seized the party chairmanship in one fell swoop. As CDU General Secretary in 1999 she

distanced herself from both Helmut Kohl and Wolfgang Schäuble to avoid fallout from the donations scandal. Schäuble resigned as party chairman. Merkel organized a full slate of regional conferences and threw in her hat, while "networkers" from the CDU's state associations bickered, calculated and delayed. They assured themselves that Merkel's time as CDU chairman would be brief. They were wrong. The story goes that she outsmarted them; in reality, they brought it upon themselves.

Gauck had it bit smoother. For a very short while he was a member of the Bundestag, having been posted there by the People's Chamber of the GDR. While there he affiliated himself with the Greens. In 1990, before the Bundestag elections of that year, he was appointed director of the Stasi Records Agency, a office he managed so impressively that it became known as the Gauck Agency. He remained there for ten years. With the exception of the successor organizations of the SED, he earned the respect of all political parties in Germany. He subsequently wrote books, gave lectures and moderated a talk show on television, which – as a "fisher of men" – he managed with success. His "net-

work" became the milieu of intellectuals. He stayed in contact with Merkel. When Gauck celebrated his 70th birthday in January 2010, Merkel – already chancellor for more than four years – gave the keynote address. That alone was an honor. She then referred to him as politically enlightened, a freedom philosopher, a conciliator and a promoter of unity.

Five months later, Federal President Horst Köhler resigned. But Merkel's generous birthday remarks did not mean she wanted Gauck to replace him. Two East Germans ("Ossis") at the pinnacle of the state didn't sit well, was one of her arguments. Party tactics had her leaning towards the CDU's Christian Wulff, the state premier of Lower Saxony. But Gauck ran against him, with the support of the Greens, the SPD and most of the country's editorial boards. Wulff prevailed, but only after three rounds of voting, a portent of things to come. In 2012, Wulff resigned, and again Merkel wanted to find a candidate other than Gauck. But this time her efforts were in vain. After the leaders of the SPD, Greens and FDP had nominated Gauck, she herself had no choice but to do the same. They have since coexisted in harmony, exceeding most expectations. Gauck's first term comes to an end in March 2017, a few months before the Bundestag elections. Merkel would have nothing against five more years of President Gauck.

Günter Bannas, born in 1952, is the Berlin bureau chief of the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung. Last year he was awarded the Ernst Dieter Lueg Media Prize for excellence in reporting.

②

Federal President Joachim Gauck at the former border checkpoint between East and West on Bornholmer Straße in Berlin.



Democracy is put to rest

Germany's economy is flourishing, its international standing high. Germans are proud of this. That all is fine, and will remain so, is an illusion *Stefan Aust* will not propagate. The journalist has observed his country for 49 years as if he were its personal physician. Here are his findings in year 25 of German unity.

Twenty-five years later, we've grown used to it: the island of West Berlin, the Wall and the GDR are no more. The old Federal Republic still exists, but in name alone; the country is called Germany. The Bundestag convenes in the Reichstag and two East Germans preside over the country: Chancellor Angela Merkel and Federal President Joachim Gauck.

We are governed by a grand coalition of Christian and Social Democrats that in all practicality is here to stay – the politics of today brook no alternative. SPD politicians have cause to consider whether next time around their party should even nominate a candidate for chancellor. "Mama Merkel", as she's now lauded in the Middle East, she'll fix it.

Interest rates are nearly non-existent and the federal budget is – according to the government – in the black. The rich must put their money in overvalued stock or astronomically priced real estate, forcing excess capital to go stale.

We get our electricity from wind and sun, our biogas from fields of corn and we think that it's all for free. We've abolished compulsory military service, made our secret service transparent and think we're all the safer for it.

Our welfare state is growing, blossoming, thriving. We're saving Greece, welcoming refugees from all over the globe and demonstrating our moral superiority to the world.

We ignore European Currency Union laws forbidding the debt assumption of member nations. We unceremoniously leverage our Constitution, although it guarantees the right of asylum but for immigrants from "safe third countries". Deportation makes for bad PR, and the politicians of the grand coalition will gladly trumpet their case in the popularity contest for who's the better German.

Crime? No-go areas? Islamist terror or radical right-wing violence? Our pared-down security apparatus is on it.

Thus does Germany block out reality, push problems aside, postpone solutions till the cows come home. The concept of no alternatives has become a political maxim. With infallible instincts the chancellor has recognized that Germans from both East and West prefer no alternatives. They're happy just to sit back and relax: Everything will be just fine if that's what the people up top tell us. The authoritarian state is a state of calm and comfort; a democratic society that strove for goals and progress would only be stressful.



DPA PICTURE ALLIANCE/REUTERS KALABINE

In short, reunited Germany is paradise on earth, an island of the blessed, and we make sure that everyone knows it. No wonder that inhabitants from countries stricken with war, crises and terror are seeking safe haven with us. Whether they find it is another matter. And whether it turns out that, in the end, the all-party welfare state is nothing more than an illusory oasis, a desert mirage.

Democracy, too, can pass peacefully away if conflict aversion becomes a topmost strategy. But governments are only temporary powers. Laws are there to be obeyed, especially by those governing. The democratic separation of powers between the legislature, executive and judiciary may not yield to

a well-intentioned "democratic centralism". The GDR passed away peacefully 25 years ago because, in its socialist dream, it denied reality – and locked up those who refused to dream along with it. Their states are now incorporated into the Federal Republic.

It was a friendly takeover of the socialist remnants of World War II. It often seems the GDR is reawakening in the form of a well-meaning, reality-blind unity of social and economic policy – a nostalgically rendered phantom of socialist times.

Reunification is perhaps the greatest success story in German history. The Germans, thrown together and grown together, should not squander it. And let it be with the best intentions.

Stefan Aust is the publisher of Die Welt and Welt am Sonntag; on January 1, 2016, he will become acting editor-in-chief of both. He is a former editor-in-chief of Der Spiegel.

③

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Am I just an exception?

To help us escape the ideological trenches of an unrelenting dispute, documentary filmmaker and author *Güner Balci* explains how Germany can become a happy country of immigration.

In 1982, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl held confidential talks, the notes of which – long stored in UK secret archives – are now available, marked PREM 19/1036. They record the chancellor's remarks as follows: "It would be impossible for Germany to assimilate the current number of Turks." And: "... it would be necessary over the next four years to reduce the number of Turks by 50 percent."

The opposite has taken place. Thirty years later, Germany is a country of immigration, with all the challenges, enrichments and problems that will always occur when people of differing cultures and views of the world encounter one another. Migration has become one of the paramount challenges facing modern society. We are still waiting for cogent political approaches that could structure it to everyone's benefit. More than half a century after the first "guest worker" set foot in Germany, we still have trouble dealing with each other on equal terms.

That's probably why I sometimes feel like my relationship with Germany is like a marriage that took place against the parents' wishes. One that people talk about, saying: "It's just not going to work." Cultural differences are not always an asset that widens horizons. They can also be a wall, behind which people can barricade themselves because they don't feel safe.

I was recently asked by a senior politician whether I, "assimilated" as I am, were not actually an "exception" in my development and attitude toward this country. What exactly is an "exception"? Is a German neo-Nazi an "exception"? Is a Lebanese-born career criminal an "exception"? What about Ali, the Kurdish lawyer with an office on Berlin's famous Kurfürstendamm? Is Leyla, a Syrian prostitute from Duisburg-Marxlohe an "exception", or Sabine, who now goes by the name Nour and wears a headscarf?

To even understand this question, we have to see other people's fears, and their perspective on those with a migration background, which has been shaped by many other experiences as well. Back in 1982, Helmut Kohl supposedly also remarked that Germany has no problem with the Portuguese, the Italians, even the Southeast Asians in the country, because these communities had integrated well. But the Turks, he continued, came from a "very different" background. Even today, he's far from alone in this opinion.

There are indeed statistics demonstrating that Muslim immigrants, even those in the third generation, have bigger difficulties adapting than, for example, East Asian Germans. But who would have thought at

the time that this "very different" civilization would eventually become identified with Germany and that in 2010, uttering the words "Islam now belongs to Germany too", Germany's then-President Christian Wulff would break a taboo? Who would have expected that this country was on its way to becoming the cradle of European Islam – if it can prevail against backward-looking Islamic associations trying by all

alienation" and "the decline of the West" have yet to be seen. Yet, relationships that endure against expectations and despite prejudices and obstacles are often the most productive.

There is certainly no lack of thorny issues. Texts and articles on the lack of advancement opportunities for Muslim migrants, families that are hard to reach educationally, patriarchal role models, fundamentalist

"I sometimes feel like my relationship with Germany is like a marriage that took place against the parents' wishes."

means to prevent Muslim theologians trained at German universities from becoming the imams of tomorrow.

Every day, in small and tolerable doses, each one of us experiences the "clash of cultures" we always hear about. "Over-

interpretations of Islam, marginalization and alienation are plentiful enough to fill a library. And yet, our ability to actually discuss and argue these problems has not improved. Instead, we barricade ourselves in camps that allow for only a "yes" or "no"

to migration. Either we are critics of Islam or supporters of Islam. Seldom do we see signs of positions converging.

Thilo Sarrazin, Berlin's former Senator of Finance, penned a highly controversial bestselling book in 2011 titled *Germany Abolishes Itself* that accuses migrants with Muslim backgrounds of all kinds of economic and cultural integration problems. For a documentary film in the summer of that year, I dared go on a stroll with him through the city's ethnically mixed Kreuzberg district. Besides hearing insults from an organized group of extreme leftists, Sarrazin took a scolding at a mostly Turkish open-air market, where people his book disparages as "fruit peddlers" pull a 13-hour workday. It was a valuable experience for Sarrazin. At one stand, from behind a small mountain of beefsteak tomatoes, a middle-aged ethnic Turk called out to him, saying he shared many of Sarrazin's views, and that he was tired of seeing how some of his Turkish kindred couldn't properly "integrate" or appreciate Germany's democracy and freedoms. But the man then chided Sarrazin for constantly referring to "the Turks", because he, a vegetable dealer, considered himself German, despite all the adversity. Sarrazin, confused by the man's unexpected remarks, uttered a polite thank-you and kept on walking. Sarrazin said later that he could not believe this man really considered himself German.

When I then asked him how this "real Germanness" feels, Sarrazin failed to answer. It seems the man at the veggie stand had found the right track. If most Germans really do identify with our free society, rule of law and democracy, if religion is indeed a private matter and the raising of our children to become good people is the duty of all society, why can't we then derive values that apply to us all? Values that are rational, secular, based in law and humanism. We need ethics that teach real moral values to coming generations. Then we won't need to interbreed till there's only one skin color left. Then all our differences might seem pretty normal.

Güner Balci, born in Berlin in 1975, is a journalist, author and documentary filmmaker. In 2012, she won the CIVIS Media Prize for Integration and Cultural Diversity. Aliyah's Flucht. Die gefährliche Reise in ein neues Leben (Aliyah's Escape. The Dangerous Journey to a New Life) was published in 2014.



For decades, intellectual circles have met at the Literaturhaus Café in Berlin's posh Charlottenburg neighborhood. No exception: Güner Balci.

WE CAN DO THIS

Angela Merkel is not alone in her support for over one million refugees arriving in Europe. Except for a tiny minority, Germans have learned from the racist attacks of the early 1990s | *By Eberhard Seidel*

It's 2015, and a nation is reinventing itself. For weeks, a wave of willingness to help has been washing over Germany. The more refugees that cross the border, flooding the country's cities and villages – the more people are on hand to welcome them. Tens of thousands of volunteers in Berlin, Munich, Dresden, Hamburg, Leipzig and other towns are helping the authorities, who are completely overwhelmed by the unprecedented number

do this!" It was August 31, the 25th anniversary of the signing of the reunification treaty between East and West Germany.

She reminded Germans that offering protection to the politically persecuted and giving shelter to refugees from war zones were part of Europe's basic values. She hardly needed to speak these encouraging words – a majority of the population already agrees. According to a poll this September, some two-thirds of Germans support the

incidents in Rostock in 1992 and Hoyerwerda in 1991 – racist riots in which state forces capitulated in the face of the neo-Nazi mob – when the world looked at Germany in horror, wondering how much aggressive nationalism was still present in this country and its people.

A reminder: In the early 1990s, newly reunited Germany was a deeply insecure country, with no clear identity and in search of a new image of itself. At the same time,

1990s. Since that time, and partly in reaction to it, a diverse and proactive civil society has emerged, with a network of organizations and people that respond decisively to neo-Nazi activities and overt racism. The state and civil society have created alliances to strengthen and develop democratic values.

We have become a better, more mature and kinder republic. In 2015, it has become clear that the old battles surrounding migration are over; citizens have modernized their way of thinking. Few today claim that Germany is "not a country of immigration". That makes sense, since 20 percent of the population – 16 million people – have roots outside of Germany, that is, they themselves, or at least one of their parents, were born abroad. And many of those in the other 80 percent come from families with a refugee history, as descendants from one or more of the 12 million refugees displaced to the territories of either East or West Germany between 1945 and 1950.

More than any other European country, modern Germany has been shaped by immigration. Despite its attendant problems, immigration has profited the country both economically and demographically in recent decades. This is something people feel not only in their hip pockets; few regret the metamorphosis of the old Germany into the cosmopolitan republic it is today. And that makes Germany different from its eastern neighbors, which are seeking to stem the stream of refugees and preserve their national and religious homogeneity.

Despite all the changes in Germany, the threat of neo-Nazi terrorism and extremist right-wing populism are very real. There will be further cases of arson and other attacks. Yet it is clear that Germans today are astoundingly resistant to neo-Nazi parties such as the NPD, alliances like the anti-Islam Pegida movement and to parties like the AfD. Unlike in Switzerland, France, Hungary, Denmark, the Netherlands, Austria and Finland, no party with a racist, anti-Semitic, anti-Islam or anti-refugee platform has been able to gain a foothold in mainstream politics.

Eberhard Seidel is a journalist and managing director of a European program promoting racial tolerance in schools, Schule ohne Rassismus – Schule mit Courage (Schools without Racism – Schools with Courage).

⑤



For the refugees from the world's war zones, arriving in Germany can for the time being feel like a place "Where dreams come true."

of arrivals. German mechanics, housewives, doctors, children and teenagers, soccer clubs and volunteer fire brigades are organizing medical care and the distribution of food. And in many cases, they're offering refugees shelter in their own homes.

The inconceivable atrocities of the Islamic State (IS) and the images of dead or desper-

taking in of many more refugees in the future, should it be necessary. In 2015 alone, up to one million people are expected to arrive.

At the beginning of August 2015, it was the image of the ugly German that briefly made international headlines. A neo-Nazi mob battled police over several days in the

entire continent was on the move. In 1992, 438,000 people applied for asylum in Germany. Most of them came from Eastern Europe and the Balkans. A further 200,000 ethnic Germans arrived from territories of the Soviet Union, Poland and Romania.

The early transformation process of the formerly communist part of Germany as well as the process of unification were accompanied by a nationalist revolt. Some newspapers and some established political parties fulminated against "asylum-seekers". Encouraged by this, thousands of angry and brutalized youths formed nationalist gangs, wooed by tightly organized neo-Nazi cadres. There were daily racist attacks on refugees, on darker-skinned people, on punks. Far more than a hundred people died as a result of extremist right-wing violence.

But even if some of the images are similar, and refugee numbers have reached the same order of magnitude as in 1992, Germany is a different country today. We have learned significant lessons from the events of the early

"Germans today are astoundingly resistant to neo-Nazi parties."

ate people in the Mediterranean Sea have shaken the Germans and awakened feelings of empathy. Germany opened its borders and its people opened their hearts. While Poland, the UK, the Czech Republic and other European countries gave Syrian refugees the cold shoulder, exclaiming "No Muslims, please!", Chancellor Angela Merkel called on Germans for solidarity: "We can

eastern German town of Heidenau. And elsewhere, buildings slated to become refugee shelters were targeted by arsonists, while refugees were verbally abused, spat on and threatened with violence.

The images and commentaries in the media and on social networks at the time gave the impression that Germany was experiencing a nationalist revival. People remember ugly

The joy of conquering the world

The moment everything changes again: the boomer generation of East Germany and the spirit of freedom | *By Ines Geipel*



NATURESTOCK/FOTOLIA

Whenever the taxi arrives at the huge departures board at Berlin's Tegel Airport, a very special feeling overwhelms me. I read the names Sydney, Rome and New York and the same three thoughts come to mind. What is happening now was not the original plan for your life. You were not supposed to see Athens, Istanbul or Paris. But now you will board a plane and can fly to any corner of the planet. This brief moment standing before the departures board is what reminds me most powerfully of the past. East Germany was a small, blockaded country surrounded by walls, a country with countless restrictions, a country where you were unable to fly, drive or even walk where you wished, a country that could not be transposed onto today's world.

For a long time, I was uncertain whether other Wall children had the same feeling whenever they stood in front of that departures board. It's a feeling that is now 25 years old, but it has not aged or grown tired. On the contrary, it becomes stronger and more intense with each passing year. I thought just jetting around the world professionally would quell this sense of gut nervousness. Has not the ability to travel anywhere become so natural as to kill this feeling of delight? Is it inappropriate to continually bombard others with this strange feeling of happiness?

But why? Why not talk about the miracle and good fortune of history? Why not recall that West Germany was able to absorb half a million East Germans without any problems in 1989? Why should 1,000,000 migrants suddenly be an insoluble problem in 2015? Why can't the Wall generation – those of us who grew up in the shadow of the Iron Curtain – remember what it meant to be welcomed into the real world and treated like normal people?

I can still see us in the late 1960s, standing and saluting the flag at the "Schools of Socialism" to receive our political mandate from the generations that had come before us. We were the flag-bearers, the "fighters for happiness" predestined to see communism become a reality. It was a mandate we soon

abandoned. It was not possible to achieve much with heroes like us, who had been implanted into the collective good fortune of East Germany. We simply did not believe in the success of the system, or our parents and grandparents who had swallowed whole the messages of hope and salvation. This marked a break in authority and a disillusionment of a very special kind. After all, the Wall generation includes those who triggered the end of

Czechoslovakia, and gave a much-needed boost to the foot soldiers of the revolution back home. Sixty percent of those who left East Germany from 1984 on were children born in a divided Germany.

These were not 20-year-olds turning their backs on their country, but young people trying to escape the "utopia" into which they had been born. The country was dissolving, and with it our unpopular mandate.

“What has happened to us heroes and the hopes we cherished for our lives?”

East Germany loudly and provocatively in their jarringly bright outfits on those painful days in the 1980s. In 1981, the band Planlos sang: "Wherever you go / Your ID card is checked / And if you say something wrong / You know what'll happen to you." This was a generation that shouted, sang, stuttered and ultimately exposed and erased the barrenness, schizophrenia and ambiguity in the East German system. The children of this divided Germany were intense, flagrant, sober and harsh. "We're the young generation / But what do we know about life? / We're waiting for the downfall / We're waiting for the downfall" bawled Shanghai, the lead singer of the Punk band Vitamin A.

It was impossible to build a state with heroes of fortune like us. We were waiting; we had increasingly set ourselves apart from the system; we were young, but had no future. Nothing worked any more. We no longer wanted to be part of the collective system, or to grow moldy in the GDR, for that was our destiny. As a result, we were the only generation in the East that made it clear in the fall of 1989 that it was impossible to reform East Germany. We no longer wanted talks or extensions; we wanted something more than a life spent waiting. In this sense, it was primarily members of our generation who set off in the summer of 1989 to bid farewell to East Germany via Hungary or

We were 20, 25 or 29. We were young and already part of history in the fall of 1989, which became an advantage in terms of experience. The Wall generation had not only lived through something spectacular, it was also the last generation to have real, considered and emotional ties to the political extremes of the 20th century. This was an asset of sorts, but one whose value was in the eyes of the beholder. It would not always be viewed as a head start or a bonus. Many political and private burdens proved particularly heavy after 1989; Wall children may not have experienced a real war, but we were a generation full of internal conflicts, into which the experiences of our parents and grandparents had been thrust as a bulwark against the unresolved history of two German dictatorships. Is that why children of the Wall often seem so quiet, subordinate, almost invisible? Have some of them sought to over-adapt to life in the West? Does East German thinking still control them? Is it possible simply to discard experiences of dictatorships and truly learn what freedom is without some sort of help?

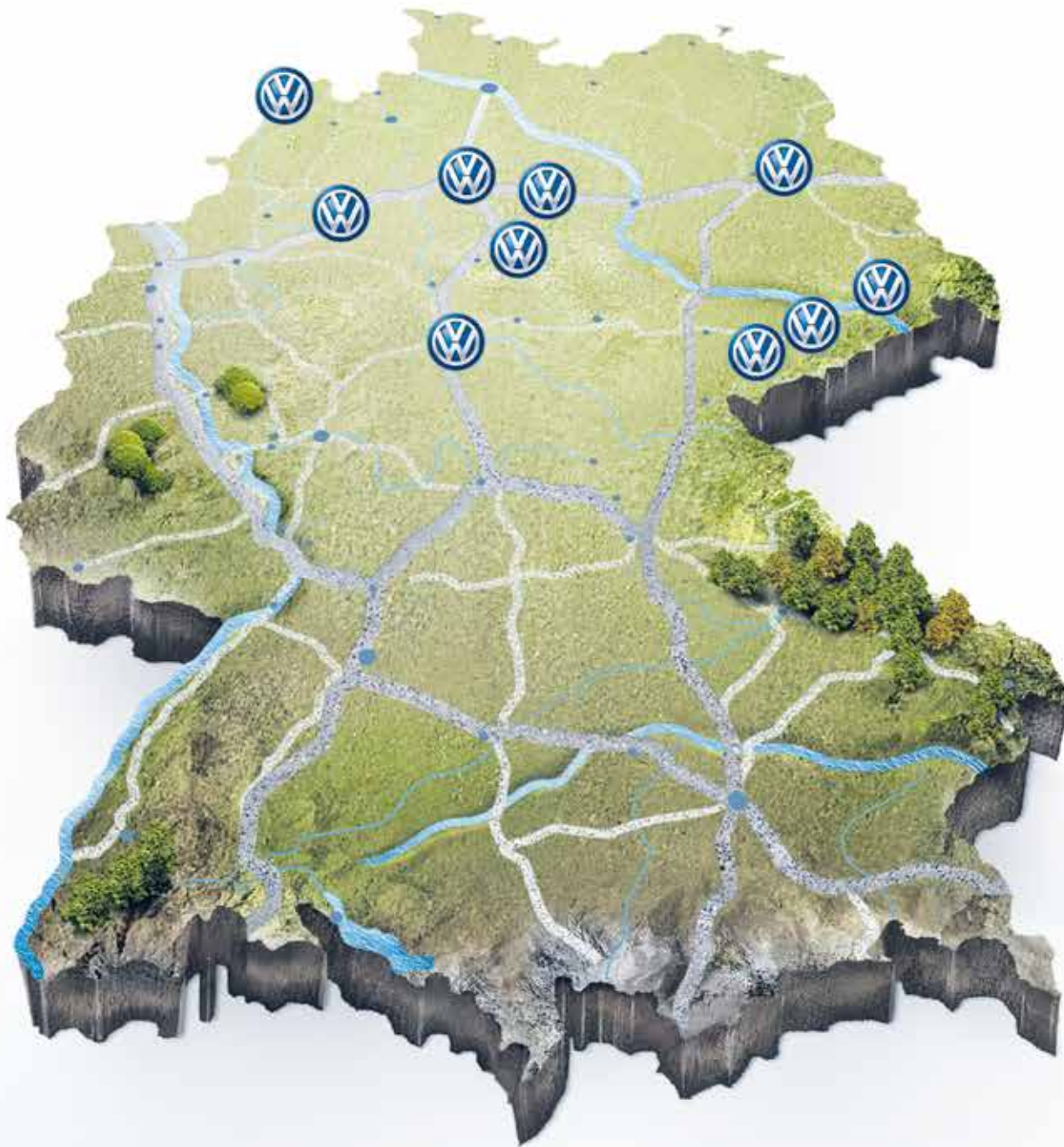
Our new mandate was not long in coming in 1989; it just emerged, inevitably. The Wall generation was needed to resolve the past, guarantee reality, rebuild, research and break the silence by recounting their experiences, giving them life and finding a language for the injustices they had lived

through. We were unpretentious and realistic, acting as a corrective factor to the generations that came before and after. It's possible we lack the historic aura of the 1968 generation, but we're now a force for political stabilization: our numbers are high enough to rival the baby boomers in the West. This comes with the knowledge that the fortune of history has resolved for us a dispute that our contemporaries are now having to experience, endure and battle through in Ukraine, Syria, Iraq and Russia, and often must pay for with their own lives. At the time of German Reunification in the fall of 1990, who would have thought that conflicts and wars under dictatorships, which we believed had been relegated to the dustbin of history, would repeat themselves so brutally 25 years later.

What has happened to us heroes, and to the hopes we cherished for our lives? The Wall children, who are now between ages 50 and 60 and stand at airport gates all across the globe, claim they are the escapees, history's privileged ones, who had once been predestined for a very different sort of life. There they stand, passports in hand, ready for boarding and full of expectation – a sense of expectation that doesn't wear off. Standing at the gate could be the moment when everything changes again, and everything starts anew; a third life may await in the wings.

Ines Geipel is an author and lives in Berlin. Her book Generation Mauer. Ein Porträt (Wall Generation. A Portrait) was recently published by Klett-Cotta. Born in 1960, Geipel was a world-class sprinter and world-record holder on the 4x100 relay team of the GDR before being booted off the squad for political reasons. She fled the country in the summer of 1989.

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PETITES MAINS

Paris, London, Milan, New York – Berlin!
Germany is experiencing the rebirth of a fashion capital – at last | *By Christiane Arp*

Reunification was an important event for all German industries, especially fashion. The 1991 decision to make Berlin the political capital of the united Germany laid the foundations for a new fashion capital as well.

Bonn had been the seat of government but never a focus for German culture; a nascent fashion identity requires the fertile ground of a cosmopolitan city. That had existed in Berlin up until WWII – not least because of Jewish expertise in the field. In 1929, half of all Germany's fashion companies had Jewish owners; and in 1933, Germany had 50,000 fashion houses, many of them showcasing haute couture.

Even after the war, Berlin was able to compete with Paris for a time. But the construction of the Berlin Wall put an end to the industry, whose tailors and seamstresses, known as *petites mains* (little hands), were mostly located in East Berlin, while the well-known fashion houses were in the West.

However, even those great days of Berlin fashion were an exception in Germany's couture history. Until the Fall of the Wall in 1989, the country tended to be skeptical of fashion. With the exception of a few brands and the keen promotion of fashion by a handful of stores, style-conscious Germans had to look abroad.

I am frequently asked why Germans make such heavy weather of fashion. The country's Protestant ethics are surely one reason for Germans' consistently modest taste in clothing. And the decentralized nature of West Germany supported a provincial mentality that managed just fine without glamour. But today's burghers have learned to take pleasure in the finer things in life; they

pay top dollar for stylish interior design and state-of-the-art bathroom and kitchen technology; they cultivate German wines and frequent the many Michelin-starred restaurants that have sprung up across the country since the 1990s.

Globalization and social media have worn down some of the sharper edges of national idiosyncrasies. Germany's newfound optimism is having a significant effect on its avant-garde mood. And Berlin in particular has become the place to be; an experimental lifestyle is easier here than in Paris, London or New York.

Yet it takes more than a few years to establish a universally recognized fashion culture. Simply becoming the German capital did not automatically trigger a fashion

for creativity. Furthermore, the city forms a link between Scandinavia, with its lively designer scene, and Eastern Europe's insatiable appetite for fashion.

Many young designers have moved to Berlin because they love the atmosphere – but also because it offers optimal conditions in which to ply their trade. Berlin retained an infrastructure of small workshops – pattern-cutters, tailors, sewing shops – that are now under siege by start-ups and the students of Berlin's nine fashion academies. And another thing is helping idealistic Berlin designers: retail sales are increasingly shifting to online sales, which are far more able to respond to the global demand for new articles and collections. It represents an opportunity for small labels; today's buyers

“Today's Germans have learned to take pleasure in the finer things in life.”

renaissance in Berlin. It didn't really get going until 2002 when the Premium trade fair opened, followed the next year by Bread & Butter, for streetwear, and in 2007 by the Mercedes Benz Fashion Week. International fashion reporters appeared at the catwalks, and at glamorous photo exhibitions like Karl Lagerfeld's “100 Years of Fashion Photography” at C/O Berlin and Fashion Week's “In your face” by Mario Testino. Not least, Berlin's clubs, bars and restaurants – comparable with New York nightlife – provided an unexpected – and relaxing – mecca for fashion buyers.

Berlin is a rough diamond: unpolished, radical and yet so fragile. It's still finding its way, which fosters a good atmosphere

and individual customers are metaphorical frequent fliers, flitting from one unmistakable must-have item to the next.

And it works. The number of exhibitors at the Premium fashion fair has increased tenfold over the past decade. Solutions have even been found to the problems that had typically plagued its early years. It used to be that the most important buyers, retailers and fashion reporters could not inspect the quality of German products because Berlin Fashion Week was not coordinated with key international shows. Our fashion industry stage now features in the calendars of important buyers and commentators.

In 2011, we founded Vogue Salon, which runs in parallel with Mercedes Benz Fashion

Week. We aimed to create a platform that would showcase the wide variety of excellent design in Germany, and to develop a sense of togetherness among German designers that would reinforce morale. Above all, the Salon is a place for young designers to meet retailers and industry experts. We support and mentor our young talent for four seasons. The current Berlin Mode Salon at the Kronprinzenpalais is the logical extension of the Vogue Salon – a forum for established designers to meet with new, up-and-coming colleagues.

There are also many parallel initiatives, such as the Designer for Tomorrow Award sponsored by Peek & Cloppenburg. It brings fashion students to Berlin from all over the world under the patronage of top international designers. Galleries Lafayette on Friedrichstraße gives display space to talented young designers – a gracious move by our experienced and fashion-conscious French neighbors. The Berlin city government, with the help of a fashion consulting company, offers “Start Your Fashion Business” advice, which is often helpful in a pinch.

But the biggest boost for the future of the industry was the establishment of Fashion Council Germany at the start of this year. Something taken for granted in other countries arrived late to Germany, but not too late: permanent representation for the fashion industry.

That gives German fashion a place it has long since earned in the national economy, considering that after France, Germany is Europe's biggest market for clothing and fashion. Germans spend €60 billion annually on clothes and shoes. That's an average of €800 per person, €100 above the European average. And that cash is also being spent on homegrown products.

(1) VINCENT PETERS, (2) KARL LAGERFELD, (3) FRANCESCO SCAVULLO, (4) MARK ABRAHAMS, (5) KOTO BOLOFO, (6) MARIOTESTINO, (7) CLAUDIA KNOEPFEL + STEFAN INDEKOFER, (8) CAMILLA AKRANS, (9) FRANCESCO CARROZZINI, (10) ALEXI LUBOMIRSKI



Vogue has been dressing women since 1892, setting fashion trends worldwide. Today the magazine is published in 21 editions around the globe. The cover solely features internationally successful top models like Christy Turlington, Claudia Schiffer and Julia Stegner.



Many of German fashion’s heavyweights with annual sales in the hundreds of millions of euros – such as Hugo Boss – are based in provinces far from the capital. But they export around the world. There is much global interest in German clothing creations – due to trust in quality fashion, an affection for sporting apparel and other high-tech sporting products, as well as a curiosity about innovative niche producers and youthful newcomers.

Fashion Council Germany is a lobby for this mass of quiet strength, providing a

contact point for the media and the wider society while creating a presence that it is hoped to draw political and financial support into its orbit.

Because creativity takes time, rising fashion producers need investors with staying power, with vision, passion, empathy and an appreciation of quality. The aim is no less than to establish fashion as a part of German culture. The first step is for German fashion design to gain respect at home; that is Fashion Council Germany’s biggest task.

And if Germans themselves begin to value and support fashion made in Germany, international appreciation is sure to follow.

Christiane Arp, born in 1961, holds a degree in fashion design. She has been editor-in-chief of Vogue Germany since 2003.

③



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PORSCHE

THEY HAVE A DREAM

Making money and changing the world – a Berlin start-up is making it happen | *By Johanna Trapp*

The company logo is an elephant, and not just because the idea is so big. Tim Wellmanns founded elefunds in Berlin – Germany’s capital of start-ups – in 2012. The name is short for “electronic fundraising”. The plan is to get people to donate money with a single mouse-click by rounding up the sum when they make an online purchase – as if they were giving a tip. 150 online stores have already joined up. Tim Wellmanns explains the elefunds philosophy.

What exactly is the idea behind elefunds?

We aim to integrate social involvement as simply as possible into everyday life. Since 2012, elefunds has been revolutionizing the way we all make donations. We introduced our first product in 2012. We offer our customers a cashless transaction, a choice of how much they want to round up their payment, and a chance to help respected non-profit organizations. We also assist charities with the overall expansion of their fundraising activities, both on- and offline.

Who are your partners?

We work mainly with well-known charities in Germany like WWF Deutschland, SOS Kinderdörfer, Care International and Welthungerhilfe.

Who can use elefunds?

Elefunds can be integrated simply into all cashless transactions. One day it will

hopefully be available via online banking and Deutsche Bahn ticket machines.

Is elefunds currently profitable?

Elefunds is already making money, even though all its founders take on other jobs now and then, so they don’t lose touch with their other clients. Elefunds provides fundraising and marketing services for charities and charges them accordingly.

How much start-up capital did you have?

Elefunds obtained seed investment very quickly, which was very helpful in giving us early experience in real business. It was a six-figure sum.

Is Berlin a good location for start-ups?

Berlin is truly a dream for young entrepreneurs. You only need five minutes on a bike to get to relevant conferences and meetings, or to see colleagues and customers – that’s why Berlin is a mecca for start-ups. Contact with other start-ups and developing a network are very important, particularly when a business is just getting off the ground. Elefunds wouldn’t be what it is today if it had been founded in Bochum. And Bochum is a really nice place.

What are the advantages to making donations via elefunds?

Elefunds is the easiest way in the world to make a donation – one click and you’re done. You can donate to several charities

at once. There is no obligation, no personal data, no waiting. Elefunds carries out the entire donation process in the background, issues a donation receipt and, if you want, will give you more information about the charities. In turn, the charities can address whole new segments of the market, receive regular donations they wouldn’t otherwise get, and the whole process requires no effort on their part. We convert a large volume of non-donors into donors with the one-click simplicity of round-up-and-donate.

Were you afraid of failing as the founder of a new business?

An entrepreneur fails every day. A good entrepreneur chooses his settings, and remains confident, relaxed and happy with

“Berlin is truly a dream for young start-ups.”

what he’s doing. We’re growing faster each year; this year we’ll double our volume. You don’t have to be Apple to call it a breakthrough. And we’re just warming up. I think you’ll be hearing more about elefunds in the future.

What are the most difficult questions for start-ups, and which new enterprises are most likely to succeed?

The biggest problem for start-ups is finding a market in which they can gain a foothold. The most important issues are leadership, team, financing, networking, marketing, sales and whether you can handle a setback. Extremely important to making it work is a good network, one that believes in you. You also need a broad spectrum of expertise to answer internally all the questions that will arise.

Persistence is essential. There will always be ups and downs that a new business must go through. You have to keep your eyes on the next “up”, and learn to enjoy your failures.

How important is team spirit in a start-up?

We’re not just colleagues, but friends as well. So we’re happy to talk business over dinner on a Sunday, or late at night in someone’s living room. We have connections not just through work, but also from evenings spent playing ping pong or strolling Prenzlauer Berg with a beer.

Johanna Trapp is a journalist based in Berlin. With elefunds donations, she has found a way to ease her guilty conscience while indulging her online-shopping addiction.

②



Bustling metropolis and creative spirit, a mecca for new start-ups: elefunds’ David Hirsch, Tim Wellmanns and Leonie Beinhardt (left to right) at their office in Prenzlauer Berg.

PARWEZ

Asaf Moses is working on his personal “new Jewish dream”. In Berlin. The now 33-year-old Israeli moved here after three years of military service, studied economics tuition-free and in 2010, along with Sebastian Schulze, founded a company. The goal: to go from their back courtyard in Neukölln to Exit. Exit is the currency of startups; an Exit is successful when a company becomes so profitable and so promising that it gets bought up by a bigger player.

Moses’ company is called Fit Analytics, and it wants to make shopping on the Internet easier. “Online clothes-shopping still suffers from one drawback; finding the right size.” He wants his company to change this: with Size Advisor, software he developed in-house, his employees collect data from people who would like to order clothing online. The better the analysis of body sizes and individual tastes of customers, the fewer returned goods. “Size matters” is the company motto.

“Our value can be measured”, says Moses. “We now have 22 employees. That’s good for Berlin. And we help companies make more money.” All over the world. German companies like Karstadt and Sport Scheck, the American outfitter The North Face and numerous firms from Russia to South America employ the services of the Berlin start-up, whose fees are calculated “per unreturned purchase”.

Fit Analytics currently collects 52,000 data sets – daily. The more data, the more precise the recommendation, believes Moses. “Our goal is that people are only offered

clothes that make them look good, that they will probably buy and that will make them happy.”

More and more Israelis are trying their luck in Berlin. Emerald Medical Applications, with startup assistance from the media

company, Springer Plug & Play, is marketing its revolutionary skin cancer screening platform, a method for the early detection of skin cancer. GetJob is an app to connect employers in the Berlin service industry with those seeking jobs. Springer Plug & Play is helping this Tel Aviv-based startup as well, “to get our product in another place”, as CEO Liyam Flexer puts it. InFarm is cultivating vegetables indoors.

The German start-up capital is attracting lots of entrepreneurs. And the success stories are piling up. Microsoft has bought an Exit for 6Wunderkinder and its to-do-app, Wunderlist. Word has it that the purchase price is €200 million. Soundcloud has found a partner in Warner Brothers.

And others are still aspiring to get there: in 2008, Syrian-born Ijad Madisch (35) founded a platform, ResearchGate, where scientists from all over the world share their results. Six big investors, including Bill Gates, have been said to have allocated €27 million of capital

for further development. Rocket Internet is birthing one company after the next, even after going public (sorry, investors).

“Since 2008, every eighth job opening in Berlin has been in the digital economy”, reckons Stefan Franzke, management spokesperson for the business development agency, Berlin Partner. That’s almost 18,000 new jobs. A total of around 60,000 people work in this sector. “Berlin’s universities also give rise to many new technology- and hardware-based companies.” In the past 20 years, 1,000 companies were founded from within universities, 40 percent of them in the past five years alone.

Asaf Moses is content with this development: “The more startups that show they

can carry out an idea, the easier it becomes for new startups to get money from investors.” And now the city is attracting more and more private venture capital. According to Dow Jones VentureSource, €2 billion of venture capital flowed to Berlin firms over the last year. In the first quarter of 2015, the total was €876 million Euros. But there are other, much more banal reasons why young pioneers are drawn to Berlin from abroad. For Asaf Moses, it was the tuition-free education. For other fortune seekers it’s the low cost of living. Especially from pricey London, young people flock to Berlin, where rent is still cheap. “Berlin is now growing faster than London”, notes Moses. “The number of startups is increasing, human capital is now as good here as it is there, and wages are high enough to live on.”

Two years ago, the management consultancy McKinsey predicted that by 2020, 100,000 jobs are set to be generated by Berlin start-ups. And for ten years the city has been growing – by about 45,000 residents in the last year alone. The London newspaper *The Guardian* has taken notice: “Creative young Brits are quitting London for affordable Berlin”, read an Aug. 1 headline. “More and more burnt-out Londoners are embracing the laid-back cool – and much lower cost of living – of the German capital.”

Peter H. Koepf is
editor-in-chief of
The German Times.



Size matters

Berlin is luring young entrepreneurs, especially those from the start-up meccas of London and Tel Aviv | By Peter H. Koepf

“Berlin is now growing faster than London.”

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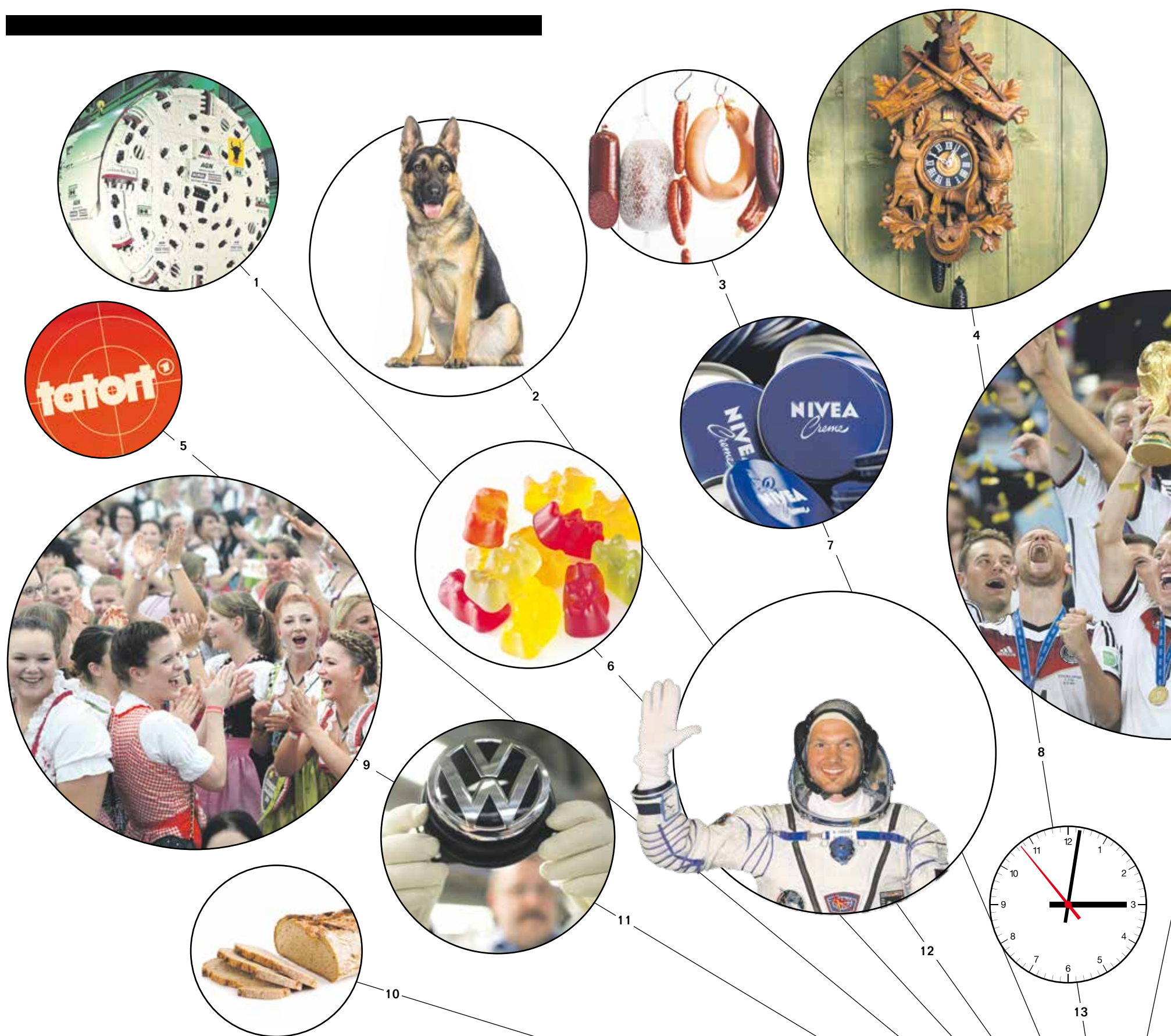
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MADE IN GERMANY



1 The **HERRENKNECHT GRIPPER**, the boring-machine that dug the world's longest rail tunnel: Switzerland's Gotthard Base Tunnel. Herrenknecht is a poster child for Germany's world-renowned engineering, which accounts for €250 billion of the country's GDP.

2 Germans love dogs. The country has over one million **GERMAN SHEPHERDS** alone. Oftentimes they're deployed by police to help solve crimes.

3 The Germans are a nation of sausage-eaters. The **SAUSAGE** paradise of Germany has over 1,500 varieties and each German citizen polishes off 30 kilos of the stuff every year.

4 Tick, tock, tick, tock... and every 60 minutes comes the "cuckoo". The first **CUCKOO CLOCK** dates back to 1619. Today, it can be heard ticking all over the world – a cult object from Germany.

5 The first-ever **TATORT** was broadcast in 1970. It's the most popular crime series in the Germany. In its early years Tatort had almost

25 million viewers. The detective show can be watched in 50 countries across the globe under the name: Scene of the Crime.

6 For decades they've enjoyed cult status: **GUMMI BEARS** from Haribo. The colorful little guys have been around since 1922 and millions of bags are sold every day.

7 **NIVEA** sold its first cream in 1911. The first tin was yellow with green Art Nouveau tendrils for trim. 13 years later it adopted its trademark blue.

8 Four-time **WORLD CHAMPIONS**. Germany went wild when we won the trophy in 1954, 1974, 1990 and 2014. With three European Championship to boot, the squad is one of the most successful national teams in the world.

9 The entire world frolics here, drinking lustily in Lederhosen. The largest folk festival anywhere: Munich's **OKTOBERFEST**. First held to fete the wedding of Crown Prince Ludwig to Princess Therese, the festival now draws

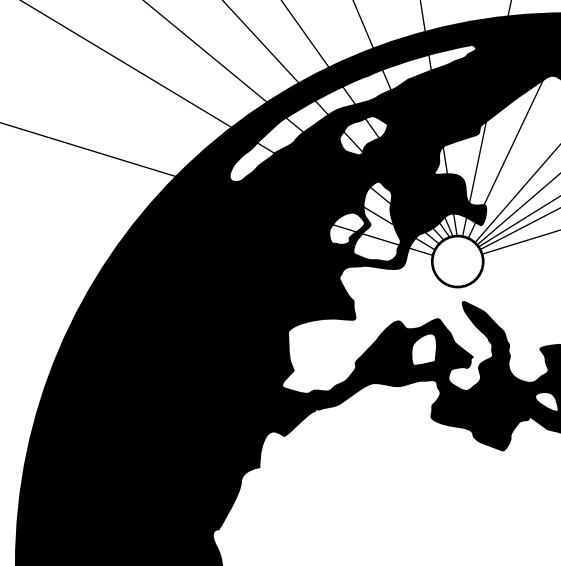
nearly six million people each year from all over the globe.

10 When it comes to **BREAD**, Germany is the world champ. Nowhere else has so many varieties of bread: over 300 different kinds. The German Bakers' Guild is seeking to make German bread a world cultural heritage.

11 **VOLKSWAGEN** is Europe's largest car manufacturer and one of the largest in the world. The first Beetle was produced in 1945, and has since become a cult object. Each day Volkswagen builds a total of 41,000 cars in 11 different countries.

12 His mission to the International Space Station made him an outer-space star. Soon, astronaut **ALEXANDER GERST** (39) will become the first German to walk on the Moon.

13 One German virtue is **PUNCTUALITY**. A lack thereof is considered impolite and delays are taken as an insult or a lack of respect. To be punctual is to be royal.



25 years of reunified Germany – 25 things Germany is proud of. “Made in Germany” is a global brand name. It stands for innovation, creativity and quality. We are world champions, will have an astronaut land on the Moon, enjoy an endless amount of beautiful lakes and are maybe the most punctual people in the world. And when we get hungry, we have a delicious Wurstbrot and a cold beer.



14 Exactly how many can't really be said, but Germany has around 30,000 **LAKES** larger than one hectare in size. Lake Constance, Germany's largest at 563 square kilometers, is shared with Austria and Switzerland.

15 **MICHAEL SCHUMACHER** – the most successful Formula One driver in history. 7 World Championships, 91 victories, 68 pole-positions. In December 2013, he suffered a skiing accident and is still recovering.

16 She's German and lives in the US. **HEIDI KLUM**. Beyond successful: as a model, pitch woman and TV host. The mother of four children combines German industriousness with the ever-happy spirit typical of her native Rhineland.

17 Hamburg's Speicherstadt was recently declared Germany's 40th **UNESCO WORLD HERITAGE SITE**. The ensemble of buildings is the largest contiguous "warehouse city" in the world. Built between 1885 and 1927, it occupies a group of islands in the River Elbe.

18 The first **GARDEN GNOMES** appeared as early as 1690. Today they rank among Germany's cultural assets. With an undertone of irony or disdain, they are considered the epitome of poor taste and a classic example of kitsch.

19 The **X-RAY** was a major medical breakthrough. Wilhelm Conrad Röntgen discovered the invisible rays in Würzburg in 1895; they can be used to visualize bodily ailments in a matter of seconds.

20 On Jan. 1, 2002, the **EURO** was introduced in 20 countries. The euro is the fifth currency in Germany's economic history since the foundation of the German Empire in 1871.

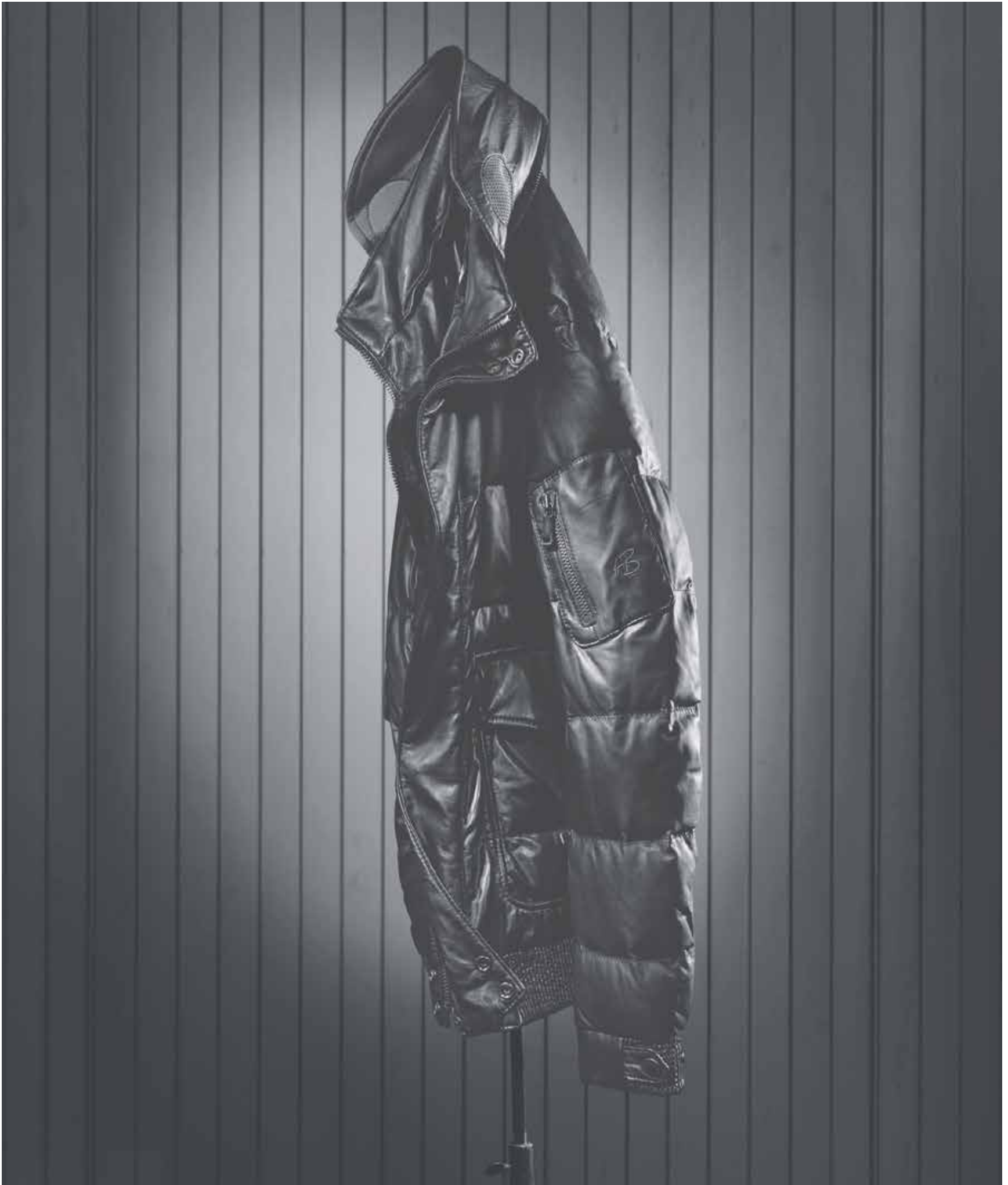
21 **GERHARD RICHTER** is one of the most famous artists in the world. A collector paid 41 million euros for his painting Abstraktes Bild. His work has been influenced by pop art and abstract expressionism.

22 Who doesn't know the shoe with the three stripes? **ADIDAS** have been made since 1920. Last year the company logged sales of over 15 billion euros. Each year Adidas sells over 100 million shoes.

23 Let there be light. And there was light. The **OSRAM** corporation produces energy-saving light bulbs in 33 factories across 14 countries. The company took in five billion euros in the last year alone.

24 Germans love their **BEER**. The country produces 6,000 types of beer, the average German consumes 500 bottles of it each year. The first German beer was brewed in 736 in the Bavarian town of Geisenfeld.

25 There is perhaps no household in the world without **ASPIRIN**, the wonder pill for pain. The compound comes in 500 different forms, such as powder, capsule, soluble tablet and granules.



...the ultimate cabrio jacket.



HEINZBAUER
MANUFAKT



Who's a spy? Who's a pawn? Jonas Nay (left) as Martin Rauch in *Deutschland 83* is determined to stake out his very own territory.

RTL

BACK IN THE GDR

Socialism's catching on in America – as great TV. The US watches *Deutschland 83*.
The show is hitting a nerve | By Nina Rehfeld

In a scene from *Deutschland 83*, several high-ranking Stasi officers stand looking at a floppy disk containing secret NATO files, which has been obtained for them by the young spy Martin Rauch (Jonas Nay). “And what am I supposed to do with it?” one of them asks. The East German secret police don’t have the technology to read the disk – a medium from the West. “Stick it up my ass?”

Deutschland 83 is an early-1980s spy thriller, soap opera and period piece of East and West Germany. The series captivates with good acting, a fast pace and a catchy soundtrack, including Nena’s “99 Luftballons” as well as songs by David Bowie and the Eurythmics. But above all, it is the series’ lighthearted humor that gives a new take on the Cold War. In another scene, Martin has to learn “West German” – over there a bread roll is a *Brötchen*, not a *Schrippe*, and there are different words for basic things such as “plastic” and “supermarket”. His language lesson is accompanied by a brightly colored montage, like one from a 1980s schoolbook.

The series is already an international hit. The first-ever German series on US cable TV, it ran in June and July on the Sundance Channel, in German with English subtitles. American critics gave it rave reviews: *Entertainment Weekly* put *Deutschland 83* on its “Must List”; and *Rotten Tomatoes* – a review aggregator – showed a rare 100 per cent approval rating.

“I’m surprised by this unanimous enthusiasm”, says Nico Hofmann, who has been making ambitious historical dramas for cinema and television for many years and is the producer of *Deutschland 83*. “It seems the time was right and we hit a nerve.”

Anna and Jörg Winger wrote the story about the young border patrol soldier Martin

Rauch (Jonas Nay). Rauch is pressured by his Aunt Lenora (Maria Schrader) – who has connections within the highest level of the Stasi – to get close to West German General Edel (Ulrich Noethen) and, at the height of the Cold War, to smuggle NATO secrets back to the East. Anna Winger, who came up with the story, is an American journalist who used her excellent contacts within the American community in Berlin, including

“Perhaps the bold concept behind this series and its international success mark a new turn for German television.”

former US Ambassador John Kornblum, for her detailed research. Her husband Jörg Winger is a television producer whose credits include *SOKO Leipzig* (a German *Law and Order*); he translated the screenplay, which his wife wrote in English.

Nico Hofmann particularly liked the idea of an East German protagonist. “The great strength of Anna Winger’s screenplay is that she doesn’t judge; she takes both sides seriously”, says Hofmann. “She managed to take a highly ironic view of the era – in Germany, we would probably never tell it this way.” But Americans, Hofmann says, are hardly troubled by the idea of contemporary history told as entertainment. And he adds that the directors, Edward Berger and Samira Radsai, represent “a generation between 35 and 38... that tackles these topics in a more relaxed, less didactic fashion.”

Hofmann recently won an International Emmy for *Generation War*, a global success despite some controversy surrounding

the story of five friends in Germany during World War II. “That series opened doors for us”, says Nico Hofmann. “Many of the broadcasters that bought *Generation War* were keen to get *Deutschland 83*, and now doors are opening for talks about further serial content from Germany. We have spoken with AMC, Netflix, Sky and BBC America. It’s clear there is an awakened interest in international product.”

For the German market, *Deutschland 83* makes a call to nostalgia – the books of Petra Kelly, Ronald Reagan’s “evil empire” speech, the German peace movement and Pershing missiles, along with clips from West Germany’s *Tagesschau* and East Germany’s *Aktuelle Kamera* news programs, conjure up the atmosphere of the early 1980s. “It’s a trip back to my own youth”, says Hofmann. “Our protagonist is the age I was then, and the nuclear threat and Giovanni di Lorenzo’s candlelight vigils for peace still stand out in my mind’s eye.” The fact that *Deutschland 83* works in America as well Hofmann accredits to the grand conflict of two systems, which is played out here and has just recently taken on a new political relevance.

US media have compared *Deutschland 83* to *The Americans*, a much-praised US series about two Soviet spies who – also at the height of the Cold War – live undercover as a married couple in a US suburb, with two children oblivious to their parents’

mission. But Hofmann rejects the comparison. “When we started developing *Deutschland 83*, *The Americans* was not even on German television. And we took a completely different approach. *The Americans* is very American, quite patriotic – in many ways the opposite of what we did here with a strong sense of irony.”

Perhaps the bold concept behind this series – and its international success – marks a new turn for German television, where, according to Hofmann, there is “still a lack of courage to tell stories as a series over eight or ten weeks”. German TV executives, he says, are far more likely to green-light a three- or four-part series, because audiences are used to the 90-minute format. But viewers here have been strongly influenced by high-quality US series, which are riding a wave of success, even in Germany.

Hofmann strongly believes that the trend in German television is veering toward high-quality series. “There is a lot more to come in the next five years.”

Nina Rehfeld is a German TV critic based in Phoenix, Arizona.

③

GERMAN

What does pop music say about the state of a nation? In the 1970s, the sound of Kraftwerk rocked the world. Today, Helene Fischer and Paul Kalkbrenner rule the unified country | *By Sebastian Zabel*

Helene Fischer is Germany's biggest pop star. She has sold over nine million CDs. Her biggest hit is "Atemlos" (Breathless).

She came out of nowhere and had a master plan. She gave German Schlager – a pop genre no one outside Germany will ever understand – an immaculate smile, two perfect rows of teeth, a swinging disco beat and a catchy verse on the pleasures of the night.

Plenty of pop stars had done it before Helene Fischer came along. Yet this artistic singer with Russian roots has set off a tsunami of enthusiasm in Germany not seen since, say, Robbie Williams at the zenith of his career. Fischer is accompanied and guided at every turn by her goal-obsessed management. She's a German superstar, an entertainer so perfect it's almost boring; and she's single-handedly put the German music industry back into the black, selling more than nine million records – a rare feat these days.

It's not easy to explain the Helene Fischer phenomenon to British or American friends. Some of her music verges on tear-jerking, some is good to dance to; her performances are as flawless as they are soulless. Her fans are of all ages and from every social class. The biggest star in Germany today, Fischer is an exclusively German phenomenon.

The scene is quite a different one on the

current world tour by four middle-aged men in latex suits. They perform at museum venues like the MoMA and Berlin's Neue Nationalgalerie. Kraftwerk, Germany's top pop act for decades, is more popular abroad than at home. Their minimalist, repetitive, technoid vision of pop long ago became part of the world's cultural heritage. They helped techno get started and feature in hip-hop artists' work more than any other band. What makes Kraftwerk different from

Lead singer Til Lindemann grumbles and grunts provocative lines like "Bück dich, das Gesicht interessiert mich nicht" (bend over, I'm not interested in your face) and "Du bist hier in meinem Land, mein Land, mein Land" (You're here in my country, my country, my country), which place both him and his band under suspicion of sexism and fascism. But it's not as simple as all that. Gestures of dominance and submission, fetish gear and uniforms, their use of con-

"German pop was often either too heavy or much too light to compete."

Helene Fischer – apart from the obvious – is their originality.

The band from Düsseldorf, which retains only one of its original members, Ralf Hütter, was always very different from all other pop acts; it is as German as it is international. Four nearly indistinguishable band members stand on the stage like robots behind keyboards. In their videos, 1950s Volkswagens drive through the picture. Their mechanically sung lyrics contain words like *Urakristall* (uranium crystal), *Klingklang* and *Neonlicht* (neon light). Songs like "Autobahn", "Das Model" and "Die Roboter" – all sung only in German – were worldwide hits. German pop music has never been more successful, or credible, abroad.

The key to Kraftwerk's success is its truly original sound, which has its roots in what English music critics in the late 1960s dubbed Krautrock. It not only departed from what had gone before, but was perceived as representing something entirely new.

Germany no longer appeared dull and folksy; it had moved on from its image as a Nazi cliché – it was now an elegant, modern country.

The bands and artists on today's German charts are a far cry from elegant. Along with Helene Fischer and the like, there's the awful right-wing-extremist rock band Böhse Onkelz; the three grand seigneurs of German pop, Udo Lindenberg (70), Peter Maffay (63) and Herbert Grönemeyer (58); and a horde of young rappers acting as if Compton and the Bronx were boroughs of Germany's depressed Ruhr Valley town, Wanne-Eickel.

The only band with much of a following outside of Germany is named after the site of a plane crash that claimed 70 lives. Rammstein, lovers of obscenely controversial lyrics and militaristic garb, hails from eastern Germany. The band is both surprising and original, and in this way comparable to Kraftwerk.

troversial language and political incorrectness – it's all somehow ambivalent. There's too much lipstick and irony for Rammstein to be considered unequivocally evil. Their shows, bursting with pyrotechnics, attract just as many screaming fans at New York's Madison Square Garden as at the Olympic Stadium in Munich. While not all their fans are right-wing extremists, Rammstein lends itself easily to causes of the extreme right. And their music? It's a kind of Teutonic industrial-metal, blood-curdling, like the sound of a gorilla in heat.

For decades, pop meant pop from the UK and the US. German pop was often either too heavy or much too light to compete. There were folksy hits and bands that copied their favorite Anglo-American idols, but there was no native German language for pop culture – that had been wiped out by the barbarity of the Nazis. The corrupting economic miracle of the postwar years did not lead to any kind of cultural miracle; the silence on German crimes lay like a fog over the young republic.

Not until the early 1970s, when Udo Lindenberg came along, did Germany find its own voice in the world of rock and roll. Lindenberg, a former jazz percussionist, had a brash voice and a style that was at once casual, lyrical and linguistically playful. Krautrock bands like Neu! and Can – who at first found hardly any audiences at all – invented their own sound, which was not a mere adaptation of British pop, but rather embraced the art of German engineering and the German Romantics.

And then the early 1980s gave rise to the *Neue Deutsche Welle* (New German Wave), with its sometimes rebellious, sometimes offbeat, often silly acts. Finally there was something we might call German pop. Although its early years were wild and exciting, it wasn't until Nena – a tame band if ever there were one – came along with the bouncy dance tune "99 Luftballons" that a German track made the international charts, even reaching no. 1 in the US. Music critics – even in Britain – celebrated the new German Underground, with bands like Fehlfarben, DAF and Palais Schaumburg.

PHENOMENA

This narrow, exciting thread of tradition continued into the 1990s, when bands with powerful lyrics appeared – Blumfeld, Tocotronic – that expressed the feelings and political expectations of an urban post-Berlin Wall generation. However, those who don't understand the German lyrics of Blumfeld singer Jochen Distelmeyer must feel a bit left out, which is why the band made only a short tour of small British clubs.

But of course, there is one German pop phenomenon that outshines all others – techno. Imported from Detroit, the loud heavy beat was adapted and developed in Frankfurt and, above all, in Berlin after the Fall of the Wall, becoming the world-embracing sound for a generation of ravers. The music is the lyrics, erasing any potential question of comprehending it.

German techno DJs and producers are a trademark to rival Mercedes-Benz. The most successful of them all, Paul Kalkbrenner, flies from gig to gig in a Learjet, commanding six-figure fees. What does he sound like? A German military parade exploring its softer side – precise, dependable, a dash of Wagner, a pinch of Ibiza; a party machine out of East Berlin. Kalkbrenner is the international standard, “Made in Germany”.

Sebastian Zabel, born in 1965, has been editor-in-chief of the German edition of Rolling Stone. One of his favorite albums is On the Beach by Neil Young



The band Kraftwerk was formed in 1970. It is known for its very own brand of electronic pop.



New dimensions.

With German reunification, the country was finally made whole again. Its farmlands also expanded greatly. CLAAS rose to the challenge with a generation of machines with tremendous performance capacity. Like their field of use, they were a new dimension.



Long live the short year of anarchy

As long as there is *Freiraum* and people with *Freizeit*,
Berlin can support a unique subculture | By Paul Hockenos

October 3, 1990, was a distinctly glum day in the bastions of Berlin's subculture: the squatted tenements of Friedrichshain, the subterranean dance clubs in Mitte and the late-night haunts of Kreuzberg. Many of the underground scene's habitués – East and West Germans, as well as many internationals like me – understood unification to mean the crushing of the breathtaking “short year of anarchy” that had reigned in the city's inner districts since the Wall's breach on Nov. 9, 1989.

No doubt, it spelled the end of those exhilarating months when absolutely everything seemed possible. For a moment there even flashed the fantasy of a new Germany based on the ideas of direct democracy, solidarity, and DIY ingenuity – the culture that prevailed in many of the over 130 squats of East Berlin, as well as the untold number of occupied apartments, industrial spaces, shop fronts and even abandoned breweries and bank vaults. With unification, gone were the days when anybody with a kooky idea and a crowbar could set up a little gallery or café or studio in the abandoned properties of East Berlin.

Yet, 25 years later it's fair to say that our dark moods weren't entirely justified. While the craziest year of innovation and experimentation could not be replicated, the years that followed generated an untold number of quirky, off-beat, ingenious projects and cultural products that bore the imprint of the 1989-90 zeitgeist, when East and West Germans met for the first time in the postwar ruins of Prenzlauer Berg, Mitte and Friedrichshain. Berlin's cool, late-night scene and all of its arts still live from this energy, enabling Berlin to reinvent itself over and over again.

Some of the most colorful 1990s phenomena, like the techno and acid scenes, had only just begun by Oct. 1990. There was still a surfeit of vacant space – *Freiraum* in German – that distinguished Berlin from any of its international counterparts. You could still make ends meet on very little, which left plenty of *Freizeit*, or free time – the other prerequisite for an original counterculture – for self-made ventures that didn't necessarily turn a deutschmark.

Today the kids in the world-famous club Berghain may not know – or care – that the source of the club's cool goes back even further than 1989-90, to the vibrant subcultures in postwar East and West Berlin. Long before the Wall fell, both Berlins were on the map as havens for artists and radicals, draft dodgers and individualists, gays and lesbians, eccentrics and punk rockers. Today's Berlin is unimaginable without the legacies of Iggy & Bowie, Christiane F., the Ingenious Dilettantes, Wolf Biermann and the East German punks who rocked the red-brick churches in 1980s Prenzlauer Berg.

In West Berlin, the advent of subculture happened in the form of Kommune I, a full-fledged free-love commune that emerged

from the student revolts of the late 1960s, which challenged the mores and structures of West Germany's *Kleinfamilie*, its authoritarian schooling, Christian morality and all the other cultural underpinnings the student radicals claimed made fascism possible in the

least, exclusion from the perks bestowed upon the compliant majority.

The grit of the East German underground protest movement – of which the punks were just one thread – played a bigger role in the Wall's fall than historians today tend to give

“Berghain doesn't make Berlin hip.
Berlin makes Berghain hip.”

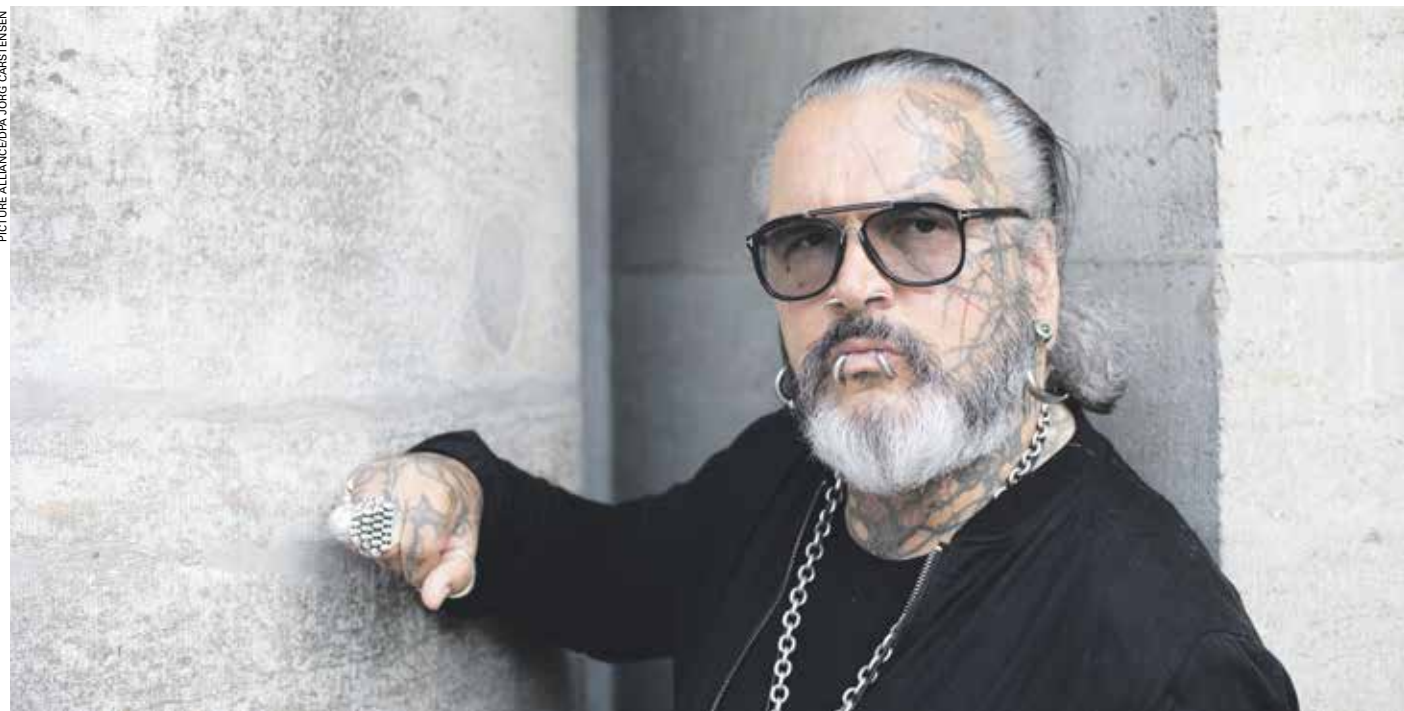
first place. The communards underscored one guiding tenet of Berlin's counterculture that remains valid today: Stop all the talk and do it yourself! From 1967-69, Kommune I made a host of mistakes, but the spirit of challenging the establishment and acting on it inspired decades of young Germans.

it credit for. But when the Iron Curtain was finally raised, the punks and the literati, the bohemians and the freaks wasted no time seizing the moment. In the power vacuum of those days, people's first impulse wasn't to burn and plunder, but rather to use the extraordinary unclaimed space available to create, interact freely and live according

new Germany would look much like the old West Germany, only bigger: from the Rhine to the Oder-Neiße.

But Berlin still riffs off the short year of anarchy. 1990s Berlin generated something entirely original, intensely political and enduring. The ethos and aesthetic of the Berlin underground makes Berlin cool, inspiring and attractive. Berghain, written up in the New York Times, doesn't make Berlin hip. Berlin makes Berghain hip, like the dance clubs that preceded it in the wild 1990s. It's no wonder Detroit asked a handful of 1990s Berlin impresarios to come to their failing city and advise them on repurposing Detroit's decrepit inner-city neighborhoods.

The squats and other projects of the early 1990s offered a glimpse of what another



One of a kind: Sven Marquardt, doorman at Berghain.

By the time the Wall fell, a hedonistic and avant-garde late-night scene had been thriving in West Berlin since the late 1970s thanks to the students, the punk rock revolution, the squats in Kreuzberg and Schöneberg, and a self-confident queer crowd like nowhere else in Europe. If ever “no future” fit as a label, it was in the stranded island city of West Berlin – occupied by three armies, surrounded by another and smack in the middle of a nuclear standoff. The UK's punks had nothing over the West Berliners, with the exception of the fact that the Berliners chose their poison – and quite liked it. The Wall made their little anarchic sociotope possible.

East Berlin's post-punks envied their western peers' option to drop out. Under the GDR's socialist dictatorship, their illegal bands screeched and tortured their instruments to protest “too much future”. Their fates were determined by the state from cradle to grave. Dropping out and pursuing music or painting or fashion design beyond the state's parameters meant challenging the system, which could bring with it a prison sentence or, at the very

to their own rules. They squatted whole buildings at a time, where they created in miniature the society they desired. The spirit of the day was to break new ground in the name of a Germany that had never before existed. The partisans tested new forms of participatory democracy, community and shared economy – and had loads of fun doing it.

Before long the West Berliners and other free spirits from afar caught wind of the Shangri-La of *Freiraum* in the East, which looked much like derelict Kreuzberg had in the 1970s. In the squats and on the floors of the techno clubs, East met West for the first time. The early encounters weren't always smooth, but the artists, anarchists and scene denizens of the “temporary autonomous zone” of East Berlin had a common foe. Before their experiments got far off the ground, the processes of German Reunification were already in motion. For a moment they forgot that the counterculture had been only a tiny minority on either side of Cold War Germany. The

kind of democracy and another Germany might look like. Though this never came to fruition for all of Germany, it lives on in Berlin's multitude of collectively organized houses and projects of all kinds.

As long as there's *Freiraum* and people with *Freizeit*, Berlin can be a location for unique subculture. Its enemy is gentrification. If its advocates prevail, Berlin will become just like every other bland city in Europe.

Paul Hockenos is the
Europe correspondent for
The Chronicle of Higher Education.
He is the author of three books,
including *Joschka Fischer and the
Making of the Berlin Republic:
An Alternative History of Postwar
Germany*, published by Oxford
University Press in 2007.



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MONEYBALL

Red Bull Leipzig is rising up through the German soccer ranks with the help of a soft drink producer. Fans of opposing teams want no part of it | *By Alfred Draxler*

Twenty-five years after German Reunification, the country's soccer map is as divided as before. The Bundesliga has no club from any eastern state. Of the 14 teams that played in the last season (1990/91) of the GDR's top league, not even one is still competing in Germany's second division. Here we have only two clubs from eastern Germany: good old Union Berlin, which before the Fall of the Wall lived in the shadow of BFC Dynamo – a team controlled and protected by the Stasi and the perennial champion of East Germany's Oberliga – and RB Leipzig, the most controversial and probably most disliked team in Germany. Although "RB" is officially short for RasenBallSport, the association with Red Bull – the energy drink producer – is fully intended.

For example, RB Leipzig has ignited a conflict between commerce and tradition in soccer, which Germany administers more passionately and implacably than any other country in Europe. Fans of visiting clubs refuse to make the trip to Leipzig. Teams strongly influenced by their hardcore fans – so-called "ultras" – have cancelled test matches there at the last moment. Placards advertise Leipzig matches without the "RB" designation. The car of the team's general manager, Ralf Rangnick, was pelted with paint bombs. At road games, stands are decorated with hate posters. And from eastern Germany's Aue, in reference to the Austrian

founder of Red Bull, Dieter Mateschitz (71), comes this bit of invective: "An Austrian shouts and you blindly follow – where it ends every child knows. You would have made great Nazis."

RB Leipzig and the anatomy of a controversial ascent: at the initiative of Red Bull GmbH, the club was founded only six years ago as a rather blatant PR tool. Its match permit was purchased from the completely unknown club SSV Markranstädt, which had played in the fifth-league Nordost division. Mateschitz announced that he would invest 100 million euros with the goal of reaching the Champions League.

"RB Leipzig has ignited a conflict between commerce and tradition in soccer."

After immediately advancing to the fourth league, the club only made its leap into the third league on its third attempt, where it then marched into the second league after one season. In its first year in the second league, Leipzig finished in fifth place; this season the stated – and indeed realistic – goal is to advance to the Bundesliga.

Why Leipzig was even able to obtain a professional soccer license was and remains controversial. German soccer regulations contain a clause, the so-called "50+1 rule", which states that a club must own at least 50

percent of its company plus one additional share. But RB Leipzig exists only on paper. In contrast to all other German soccer clubs, RB Leipzig grants its followers no official possibility to become voting members of the organization. In the first five years of the club, there were fewer than ten full members; however, German law requires only seven to found a registered association. Under pressure from the German Soccer League (DFL), RB Leipzig has since welcomed so-called "supporting members", who pay between 70 and 1,000 euros each year but have no voting rights.

In German soccer, however, "50+1" has long been undermined by several clubs, such

as this year's Champions League competitors, Wolfsburg (100 percent Volkswagen) and Leverkusen (100 percent Bayer). With this fact in mind, RB Leipzig's right to exist actually changes nothing – a blunder, or just a stroke of luck?

Unlike the rest of Germany, the region surrounding Leipzig has consistently positive feelings about the club. RB Leipzig is strongly committed to various social themes. Its youth teams are well kept and successful. The professional team plays in the 45,000-capacity Red Bull Arena, which

was built for the 2006 World Cup on the grounds of the former Central Stadium – formerly the largest arena in Germany with a capacity of 110,000. An average of 30,000 people attend RB Leipzig matches, which is terrific for the second league. Otherwise the stadium would sit unused.

But most importantly, a successful RB Leipzig could retrieve a sense of identity and pride for East German soccer fans. After reunification 25 years ago, greedy players' agents and dubious investors from the West raided the old clubs of the GDR. Talented players flocked to the Bundesliga, while in the East, organizations faltered and stadiums fell into decline. The big traditional clubs like Dynamo Dresden, 1. FC Magdeburg and Hansa Rostock, which formerly had enjoyed repeated success in the European Cup, vanished from scene of top-notch soccer.

If any sort of renaissance proceeds in Leipzig, it will have a somewhat symbolic significance. The German Soccer Federation was founded here in 1900. Three years later, VfB Leipzig became the first official German soccer champion. And it was here on November 21, 1990, that the merger of Germany's two soccer associations – DFB (West) and DFV (East) – was agreed.

It would be great if now the resurgence of East German soccer would spring from Leipzig!

P.S. Whether or not Red Bull has managed to increase sales in Germany in recent years is unfortunately unknown.

Alfred Draxler, born in 1953, is editor-in-chief of Europe's biggest sports magazine Sport Bild. His favorite soccer team is Schalke 04.



Opposing teams' fans consider Red Bull Leipzig to be an artificial soccer club. To Leipzig supporters, the team Dietrich Mateschitz (above) has put together feels visibly real.

Adnan

Restaurant Bar

DPA PICTURE ALLIANCE/FRANK KLEEFELD



Thomas Berthold combined technical savvy with a hard-nosed playing style.

“We were better.”

Thomas Berthold, German soccer world champion from 1990, says: We actually knew how to play the game, today's players are merely athletes.

THE BERLIN TIMES: You won the 1990 World Cup in Italy playing for West Germany. The Germans won the title again in 2014. Which team was the stronger one?

THOMAS BERTHOLD: The standard we saw last year in Brazil was pretty low. In terms of play there weren't many bright spots. People in the soccer world said it was a weak world cup on the pitch. 1990 was in a different league.

What's the reason for that? Does it have to do with the lower quality of players, the up-and-down of available talent?

Of course it has to do with the player material, the talent on the market. It's simply a question of how good the generation of players is that's out there on the pitch.

The best always have someone trying to topple them. Today there's less space, play is faster and more direct. Is that a reason the days of soloists are over?

Play is definitely faster, partly at the expense of technique. Today you see hardly any players anymore who can work with the ball; hardly anyone who can make a 50-meter pass that reaches its man. Footballers were better in the past. Today we have better athletes. The systems have changed too, the tempo's higher, faster switching from defense into attack, and more pressing. I guess that didn't exist earlier in the extreme form we see today.

Has that made soccer better? Who would win if a Bundesliga side from 1990 were to play against a German club today?

If the technical skills that players used to have were adjusted to today's tempo, all teams right now would be in trouble. Earlier teams simply had more technical quality. They were real soccer teams. Today you have track and field athletes out there who run and have strength.

That means play back then was more beautiful, more esthetic? Yes, definitely.

And why is that?

Young people today have more distractions, especially with their electronic gadgets and hundreds of other possible ways of spending their free time. Sticking to high-level sports

under such conditions might seem a bit boring.

And that's although soccer is so important in Germany?

Earlier there was school and soccer. That was it. Plus you had to be the kind who wanted it.

In eastern Germany these distractions were less present for more than 20 years. On the other hand, there was the big opportunity of gaining recognition in soccer. Why aren't clubs there moving forward? Why are the big ones practically all in the third league?

East Germany produced many top athletes in many different sports, it had the right programs and was successful at Olympic games. But in

soccer it was partly an infrastructure problem. And that hasn't changed, apparently. To stay successful in soccer, you need good people. I could imagine that East Germans weren't ready to open up in Germany – both towards the west and people from abroad. So they wound up stewing in their own broth. And there's nothing inspiring about that. You keep playing in your own back yard and never move on.

Now there's a new effort in Leipzig, but by a rootless club with outside money, from soft drink maker Red Bull.

That's the way it is today. In soccer you need start-up financing. That's the problem. You have to make sure you make it into the second league at least; then you'll get real money from TV rights. But most of all you need a philosophy: Where do I really want to go? How do I want to play? If you don't have that and are driven only by results, it's not going to work. You also need a long-term goal. Sticking to it is sometimes hard. Soccer is emotional, and when the fans start questioning the coach after two or three lost matches, you can't give in to them. Soccer clubs need continuity to develop. Otherwise there's little progress and many things get worse.

Despite all the bad players – Why are the national teams still so successful?

Because Germany has always been a tournament team, because our mentality helps us to seal the deal. Not everyone can do that.

How does one seal the deal on the pitch?

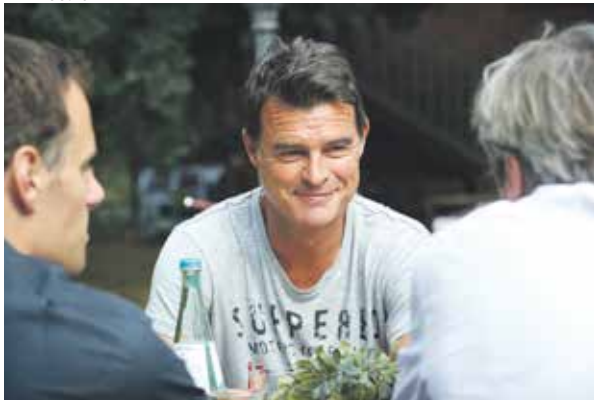
With resolve. With the awareness that until the whistle blows, anything is possible. That really is a German virtue.

In 1989 (the year the Wall fell) you were playing in Italy. What's your memory of November 9th?

That's over 25 years ago. The thing in my life I remember best is the World Cup qualifier we played in Prague in 1985. The day before the match we entered the stadium for training. Twenty-five thousand East German fans were waiting for us there, and they cheered us on. I thought, what's going on here? We're not playing until tomorrow. Unbelievable. I remember that more clearly than the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989.

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ANDREAS SCHOELZEL



Thomas Berthold talking with Peter H. Koepf (right) and Lutz Lichtenberger of The Berlin Times.

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A MIRACLE CURE

The university teaching hospital in old East Berlin not only survived reunification. It has grown and become a key center of medical research | *By Peter H. Koepf*

When Karl Max Einhäupl moved from Munich to take charge of the Charité's Department of Neurology in 1992, the Charité itself was his sickest patient. Two world wars and two dictatorships had all but destroyed what had once been a center of pioneering medicine. The legacy of great scientists such as Rudolf Virchow, Robert Koch and Ferdinand Sauerbruch had barely held on. The Nazis had excluded Jewish doctors, and the communists had replaced competent researchers with more or less loyal apparatchiks. The Charité's research was in palliative care; and by 1992, West Berlin's medical community was hoping to bury the fast-fading patient once and for all.

And then something extraordinary happened, which hardly any East German enterprise managed after reunification. An eastern brand got its act together, shook off its communist legacy, and not only survived – absorbing West Berlin's Virchow Clinics and the Benjamin Franklin teaching hospital and the East's Berlin-Buch – it became a state-run concern with annual revenue of €1.5 billion. It is Europe's biggest group of university hospitals.



“We try to get medical products to the patients quicker.”

The operation required a number of transplants. The organs of the communist party and the Stasi were removed and replaced by 70 professors from the West, including Einhäupl, who brought eight doctors with him from Munich. “I found a number of outstanding clinical senior physicians”, says

Einhäupl, “but for research and development of the hospitals I had to bring new people with me.”

Today, the Charité is part of an internationally recognized biomedical research network. It includes state-sponsored research groups like the Max Planck Society, the Leibniz and

Helmholtz Associations, and the Fraunhofer Society. “This is an environment in which we can do excellent research”, says Einhäupl. “And that is the reason why these people come to Berlin. Researchers don't go where they can make the most money – they go where they get the best opportunities to develop.”

Where the researchers went, success followed. And success brought with it more options to collaborate with business. “Good ideas are born often in Germany. But there is no good way to market them”, says Einhäupl. “We have to change that in Berlin. We are making that our task.” More specifically: “We aim to become a center for translational medicine and to try to get medical products to the patients quicker.”

To this end, the Charité founded the Berlin Institute of Health (BIH). Einhäupl is one of its directors. In one of its projects, for instance, seven research units from the Charité and the Max Delbrück Center for Molecular Medicine (MDC) are seeking to develop a t-cell treatment for cancer. Charité researchers are also active within the Berlin-Brandenburg Center for Regenerative Therapies (BCRT), where they are working with Helmholtz scientists

CHARITÉ – UNIVERSITÄTSMEDIZIN BERLIN

Facts

- › 13,100 employees
- › 3,700 doctors and research staff
- › 4,135 nursing and other medical staff
- › 710 administration staff
- › 220 professors
- › 3,001 beds
- › 5.95 days, average duration of stay

- Annual treatment of
- › 139,000 inpatients
 - › 656,000 outpatients including:
 - › 75,000 operations
 - › 5,000 births
 - › 770 transplants

Research and Teaching

- › Involved in 5 Excellence Initiative projects, heading 3 of them
- › Involved in 12 collaborative research centers, heading 7 of them
- › 2 clinical research units
- › 5 research units sponsored by the German Research Foundation (DFG)
- › 2 research training groups sponsored by the German Research Foundation (DFG)
- › 6,900 students

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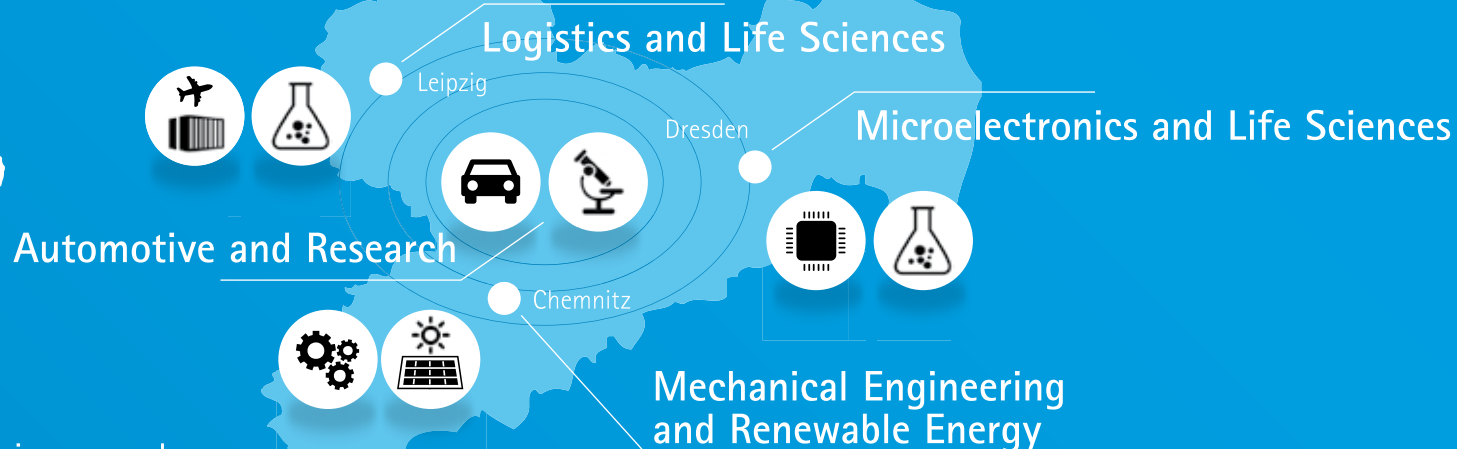
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to find out why bone fractures sometimes fail to heal. It may be because the patient’s own defense cells have got it wrong. To explain a complex process in simple words: The defense cells interpret the fracture as some kind of infection and hinder the regenerative process. Knowing this, the research center now aims to develop new treatments, diagnostic tools and biomarkers.

Products like these also need to be marketed. Einhäupl has been head of the Charité board of directors since 2006 – and under his direction, management started doing what researchers are reluctant to do – boast about their achievements. “You need quality to create a brand”, Einhäupl explains. “But that alone is not enough”. PR is what lacks.

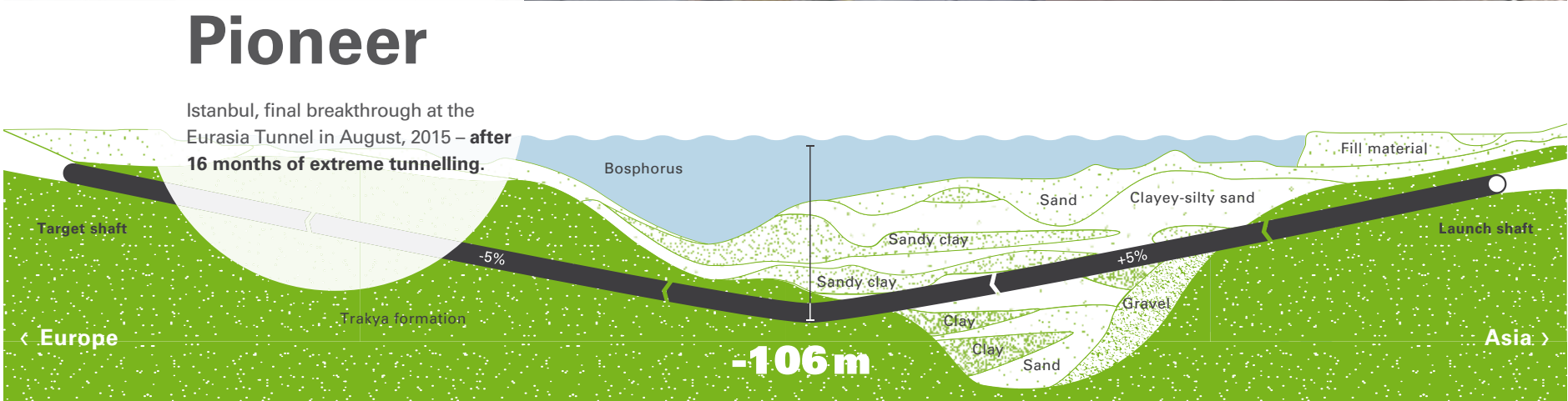
A central element of major international significance is the G8 medicine summit, the annual World Health Summit taking place in Berlin this year between Oct. 11 and 13. What began as a meeting of eight universities has become a globe-spanning alliance of academic health centers, universities and National Academies, a collaboration between academic institutions committed to improving global health. Einhäupl is pleased to welcome key research colleagues to Berlin: “I have the feeling that by now, we should be a part of it”, he says.

A number of young East Germans stayed with the hospitals and have risen through the ranks. “The Charité succeeded in keeping East German colleagues who would otherwise have gone elsewhere”, Einhäupl says. “If I had to cite an example of the success of reunification, it would be the Charité.”



“Researchers don’t go where they can make the most money – they go where they get the best opportunities to develop.”
Karl Max Einhäupl (above) at the new Charité research center cco. The Charité (on the left) in the heart of Berlin is one of the most famous hospitals in the world. It was established in 1710 in anticipation of an outbreak of the plague.

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East German tiger

Thuringia – Dynamic economic development in the middle of Germany | *Wolfgang Tiefensee*

After the reestablishment of the small federal state in 1990, economically there was no heads-up in Thuringia. As in all of the East German states, with the Fall of the Wall and long sought-after reunification of the country stood the collapse of an underachieving, economic system. From the first minute after that collapse, courageous entrepreneurs together with newly founded government entities were trying their best to reestablish a market economy. However, the reality of the early post-1990 years in Thuringia was marked by rampant job losses combined with mass emigration to West Germany, making the task of reinventing a whole economy much more difficult for the ones who stayed.

Who would have thought that the small heartland of Germany would soon rise to become a little tiger state, instilling the future with a rich and venerable history of innovation. Historically, Thuringia was always right there among the great industrial regions of Europe. Carl Zeiss was turning out precision lenses 150 years

ago in the city of Jena. And only very few people are aware of the production site for the world's first BMW: it was not produced in Bavaria, but in Eisenach, Thuringia, in 1904.

Four decades of socialism and the chaos of the early 1990s failed to extinguish Thuringia's entrepreneurial spirit or to set back its engineering tradition. A quarter-century after the peaceful revolution, Thuringia's growing creative industry is back on track to become Germany's central hub for research and innovation. Overall during the last 25 years, 80 percent of Thuringian companies have been newly established, which speaks for the state's never-wavering, business-friendly and encouraging spirit.

Wolfgang Tiefensee, born in 1955, is minister of economics and science in Thuringia. He is a member of the Social Democrats.



Black Forest power

Baden-Württemberg – An economic community with a sense of purpose | *By Nils Schmid*

Baden-Württemberg is at home throughout the world. Liebherr drills bore their way into almost every continent, companies from South Africa to East Asia use SAP software for their accounting, Japanese and American factories alike deploy Trumpf machine tools, and there's hardly a road in the world where you won't see a Mercedes or Porsche.

Southwestern Germany has more global leaders per capita than any other German region. And they're not just big corporations. In fact, most are medium-sized, family-run companies that provide customers worldwide with highly innovative products. Export is Baden-Württemberg's forte. For ten of the fifty leading exporters of German goods, Baden-Württemberg is the biggest exporter.

The region's economic vigor spread long ago throughout Germany. Porsche builds cars in eastern Germany, where Trumpf also has a production site. Since the Fall of the Berlin Wall, Germany has merged both socially and economically, and companies from Baden-Württemberg have proudly done their part.

At the young age of 25, unified Germany has outstanding economic prospects, which emerged when borders began to vanish. It meets the challenge of change by way of its strong foundation, upon which a shared future has been built. Reunification was a world event that marked the starting point of Germany's healing process 25 years ago. It was an enormous gain for Germany and its states.

In recent years, not just Germany but the entire world has been closing ranks. Geographic distance has been digitally marginalized, and markets have been tapped that are continents away. Baden-Württemberg's economic community is treading this path with a sense of purpose – in both a unified Germany and a globalized world.

Nils Schmid, born in 1973, has been minister of finance and economics. He is a member of the Social Democrats.



PICTURES: IMAGO/PICTURETEAM; AUTOFOCUS67 - FOTOLIA; FRANZ METELEC - FOTOLIA; IMAGO/MÜLLER-STAUFFENBERG

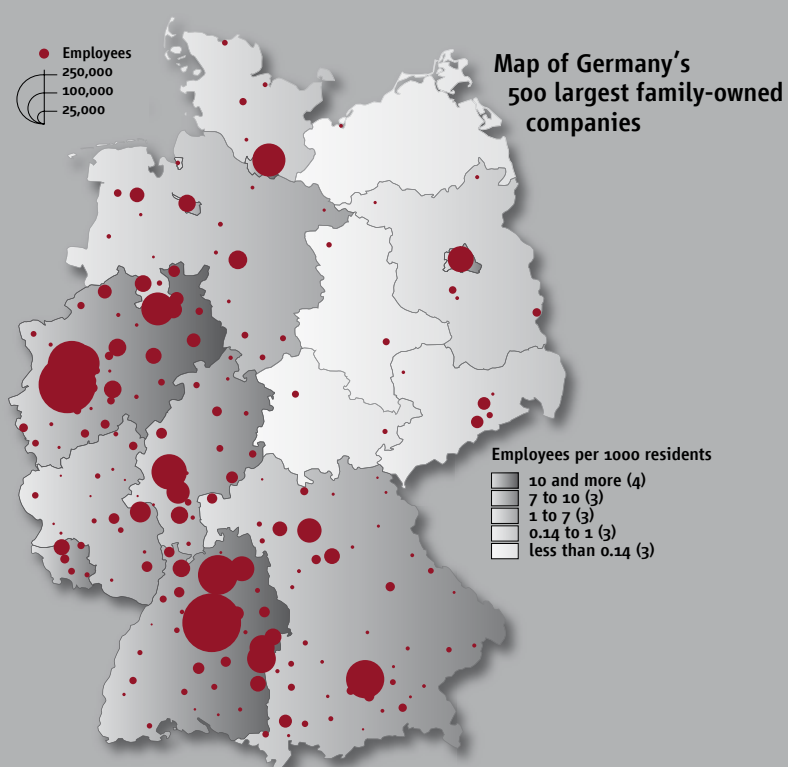


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German unity – we congratulate family-owned companies in the old and new federal states for their 25 years of common social market economy!

Family-run companies have a long tradition in Germany. The diversity of large, often globally operating firms is one of a kind. Although 40 years of a socialist command economy has resulted in a relatively modest share of family businesses in the new federal states, the few are accomplishing a tremendous amount – with great power of innovation, strong regional bonds, high employee orientation and cross-generational engagement. Their impressive success is proof of the positive energy and dynamism inherent in free enterprise. Congratulations!



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Language is indivisible

Germany was divided for more than 40 years, but the language always connected the people in East and West Germany. Today, more people around the world are learning it than ever before.

By Klaus-Dieter Lehmann

The language and culture formed a core of commonality long before Germany became a nation-state in the nineteenth century. Language and culture were to provide the unifying force to encompass the fragmented politics of countless political territories. This has left its mark on Germany's long historical development. States have come and gone, but the relevance of the wealth of German language and culture has remained a constant. It brought people together. They did not need a centralized state to be a nation.

More than forty years of division, different social systems, different value systems and different alliances in the politically bipolar Cold War world order were not able to destroy the common cultural foundations of the German people.

East Germany made a conscious attempt to make its German language different. In 1970, communist party chairman Walter Ulbricht announced the division of German into two different national languages. The result was minimal – there are no changes in grammar or syntax. But in the vocabulary – particularly in the coining of politically

loaded terms – there are some noticeable additions. These words were often used in official and institutional communication as well as in newspapers and party documents. Then there are some everyday words – such as those for roast chicken, supermarket and plastic – that are different in the East.

However, it is clear that the attempt to dictate a division of the language did not work. Reviewing the years since reunification, we see that East Germany's special vocabulary has largely been confined to

history – because the conditions requiring its use no longer exist, or because the words simply did not make it into common use. Only a few such words have been adopted into standard German, such as *Fakt*, *Exponat* (exhibit), and *Kosmonaut*.

Greater international curiosity about Germany and the new, can-do mood which followed reunification have led to an enormous increase in the number of people learning German around the world. Today, we are happy to report that – after a short

dip in the early years of the millennium – more people are learning German at Goethe Institutes than ever before.

That is due to new opportunities for teaching German, such as the *Schulen: Partner für die Zukunft* initiative, which takes German learning into schools around the world. Today a total of 1,800 partner schools form a comprehensive network. More than 500 of them are backed by the Goethe Institute.

But in Germany, too, the language is becoming even more important. German language competence is now seen as a key requirement for a successful integration policy and is being promoted consistently as a result. With language, as with culture, neglect makes it less attractive, less rich and less expressive. Its newfound popularity is a win for Germany and a win for the world.



Pleased with the enormous increase in people learning German around the world: Klaus-Dieter Lehmann, President of the Goethe Institute during his speech at the Goethe Medals awards ceremony at the Weimar City Palace in 2015.

Klaus-Dieter Lehmann,
born in 1940, is President
of the Goethe Institute



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Thuringian Ministry for Economic Affairs, Science and Digital Society



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Lead, but don't dominate

Germany has accepted its new leadership role in Europe – during the Greek bailout and even more so in the refugee crisis | *By Theo Sommer*



In the past five years, Germany was at the epicenter of the Greek euro crisis. No sooner than this issue was half-way resolved, Berlin became the epicenter of another, potentially even more disruptive one: Europe's refugee crisis. Once again, Chancellor Angela Merkel finds herself the focus of attention, maligned by some as the villain in the piece, commended by others as the only one getting it right in a situation as unprecedented as it is overwhelming.

As hundreds of thousands of Syrians, Iraqis, Afghans and Eritreans seek refuge from war and destitution, the chancellor has opened her arms and welcomed them to Germany. The country expects to process a staggering 1,000,000 asylum seekers this year. In pitiful contrast, Britain's prime minister referred to 3,000 desperate migrants clustered in squalid camps near the Calais entrance to the Eurotunnel as "swarms" trying to "break into Britain". It took the heart-rending picture of the Syrian toddler Aylan Kurdi, who was washed up drowned on a Turkish beach, to change Cameron's view that "simply taking more and more refugees" was no answer to the crisis; he has now promised to admit up to 20,000 Syrian refugees by 2020. No less shameful was the refusal by the leaders of Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary – countries that were beneficiaries of Europe's unrestricted solidarity after the fall of the Iron Curtain – to accept an EU quota system for a fair distribution of asylum seekers across the 28 member states. Steel fences and barbed wire in Calais and along the Hungarian-Serbian border are not true emblems of the European spirit.

Over the course of the Greek debt crisis, Chancellor Merkel was depicted in Athens with a Hitler moustache. Many saw the Greeks as the victims of German bullying, being asphyxiated by Berlin's austerity dic-

tate. Even Luxembourg's affable Foreign Minister Jean Asselborn admonished Merkel "to put away the whip". "Merkeliavelianism" was a favorite pun of her critics. Others, however, egged Merkel on. *The Economist* deplored that Germany was "the reluctant hegemon". Poland's Foreign Minister Radek Sikorski made a dramatic appeal to the Bundestag: "I fear German power less than German inactivity."

There have always been those who have feared German leadership and those who have yearned for it. "Lead, but don't dominate" was the gist of Sikorski's appeal. To which Martin Schulz, president of the European Parliament, once replied: "As soon as we lead, we hear: Not in this direction, and not in this style." Thomas de Maizière, defense minister at the time, then added, tongue in cheek: "Those who

the refugee crisis, the pecuniary factor is only an ancillary element. The issue hinges primarily on values, moral standards and codes of behavior.

Angela Merkel has boldly taken the lead. Her message is clear: Europe is not only about the economy, the euro and EU structural funds; first and foremost it's about solidarity, mutual support, charitable helpfulness and cooperative fairness. Germany stands out for its efforts in dealing with the current wave of migrants washing up at its borders. In the first half of 2015, it accommodated no less than 180,000 asylum seekers. One amazing fact, which dwarfs the shocking neo-Nazi attacks on housing for asylum applicants, is that the vast majority of Germans approve of Merkel's stance. Moreover, their approval is more than just theoretical: tens of thousands of volunteers

table, humane and well-funded response to today's mass migration tsunami from conflict-roiled regions.

Germany is no longer afraid to lead. But hardly does it storm ahead – "leading from the middle" is the guideline, bringing its partners along. It is wary of military interventions; the dismal record in the Middle East is a powerful deterrent. Nor will it contemplate military force as a means of resolving the crisis in Ukraine, yet Merkel has played a leading role in the Minsk negotiations. "In practice, she is now leading Western policy toward Russia", Anne Applebaum writes in *Foreign Affairs*, adding: "At long last, Europe's economic powerhouse has taken on some foreign policy responsibilities as well." Indeed it has, and it is high time for Germany's partners to recognize this fact. The nuclear deal with Iran is an offshoot of a German initiative begun twelve years ago. Germany is a member of the "quartet" addressing the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Its navy pursues pirates at the Horn of Africa, patrols the Lebanese coast to prevent Hezbollah arms smuggling, and participates in the hunt for human traffickers in the Mediterranean. Germany is neither a free rider nor a country that cops out, but it does not see itself as Europe's overlord. Leading in partnership, or partnering in leadership, is its preferred mode of action. In the European Union, that is the only mode that works.

"Germany does not see itself as Europe's overlord."

demand leadership usually want money." This may explain why Chancellor Merkel exerted her leadership in the Greek crisis with remarkable reluctance. She insisted on a price for German financial solidarity: solidity, meaning sound husbandry, fiscal discipline and moderate levels of new debt.

"In Europe, Germany is a key power without a key", historian Michael Stürmer once wrote. Indeed, going it alone is not an option for Berlin. It must act within a European framework, persuading, cajoling and, well, buying off its negotiation partners, which used to work in the past. Chancellor Kohl could inconspicuously direct the affairs of the EU-12. In the EU-28, this is much more difficult. But it worked once more, perhaps for the last time, in the euro debt crisis, where money was the crucial lubricant. In

are greeting the arrivals, providing food, water and clothing, arranging for translation and guiding them through the jungle of red tape.

Of course, Viktor Orbán, Hungary's anti-immigrant premier, rants on and on about Merkel. The refugee stampede is Germany's fault, trumpets the Hungarian "pocket Putin", as the *Financial Times* called him. But most others disagree with Orbán. "Merkel's plan shames Cameron's fear" wrote the *Financial Times*. Calling her "Europe's humanitarian leader", its editorialist enjoined her colleagues: "Germany's plea over migrants must be heeded." France's prestigious daily *Le Monde* chimed in: "Aidons Merkel" – let's help Merkel. With this kind of assistance, Europe might at long last agree on an equi-

Theo Sommer is the executive editor of The Atlantic Times and former editor-in-chief of the German weekly Die Zeit.



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The Berlin Times

plays Beethoven's masterpiece

*Freude, schöner Götterfunken,
Tochter aus Elysium!
Wir betreten feuertrunken,
Himmlische, Dein Heiligtum.
Deine Zauber binden wieder,
Was die Mode streng geteilt,
Alle Menschen werden Brüder,
Wo Dein sanfter Flügel weilt.*

He gave his first concert at the age of seven. He sold the tickets himself. Ludwig van Beethoven was a genius – today he would be called a pop icon. He lived for music, women and his own huge ego. There were days when he drank more alcohol than he scored notes. He was respected and feared. And there were years in which he did not know how he would ever pay the bills. Countless maladies drove him to the edge of depression. But his music gave him strength at his weakest moments. When he died, deaf, at the age of 56, he left a grand legacy to the world – the Ninth Symphony. It puts to music Friedrich Schiller's "Ode to Joy".

That made Beethoven's Ninth one of the most popular works of classical music in the world.

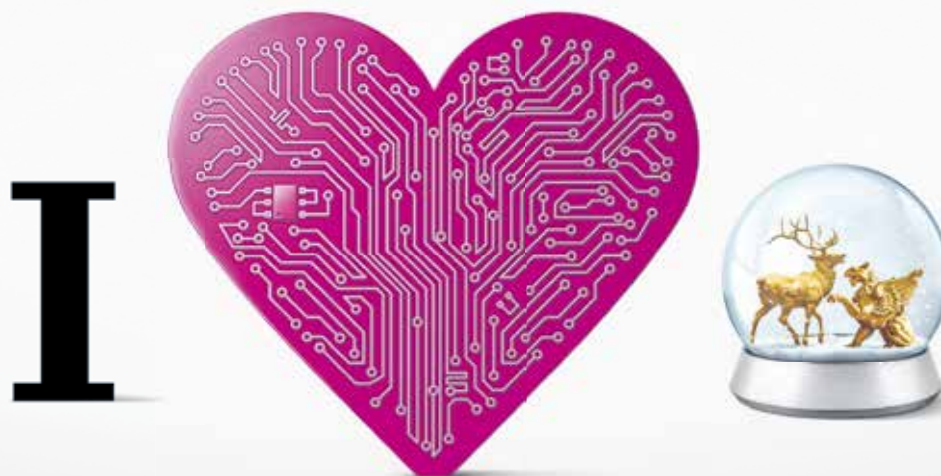
It became the hymn of happiness, hope and harmony. In 1985 the European Community, now the European Union, adopted the work as the Anthem of Europe, stating that the anthem expresses the European ideals of freedom, peace and solidarity. Beethoven's Ninth is played at solemn ceremonies all around the world. And because the 25th anniversary of German Unity is an important national holiday, *The Berlin Times* has decided to present you with the Ninth Symphony. Use the QR code on page 1 to listen to Beethoven's masterpiece.

*Joy, bright spark of divinity,
Daughter of Elysium,
fire-inspired we tread,
thy Heavenly, thy sanctuary.
Thy magic power re-unites
all that custom has divided,
all men become brothers
under the sway of thy gentle wings.*

25

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