

GERMANY'S ROLE IN THE WORLD

The recommendations of the
Digital Citizens' Assembly

13 January to 20 February 2021



BÜRGERRAT

Deutschlands Rolle
in der Welt



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Dear readers,

In this citizens' report, you will find different forms of linguistic gendering. Some of the participants, and to some extent also the team, felt that gendering was important, others did not, and so the Citizens' Assembly, in its tolerance and great respect for those who think differently, allowed for diversity.

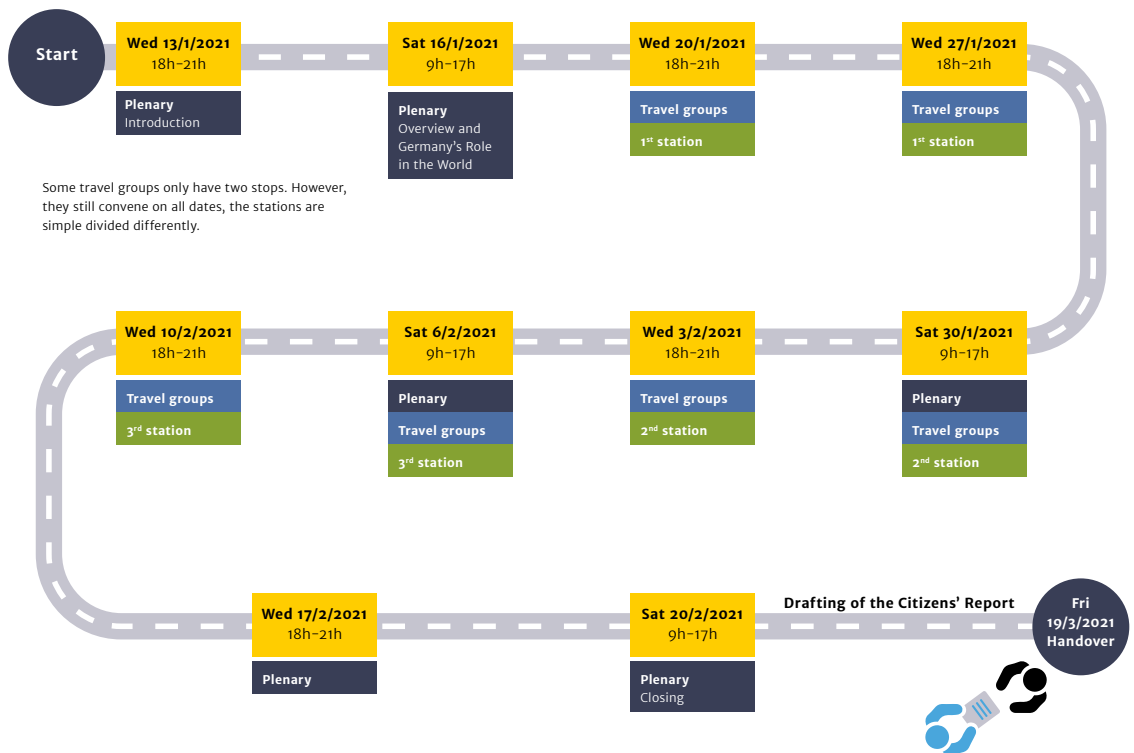
The situation is different with the personas that illustrate Germany's role. We deliberately worked with both female and male personas so that there would be greater opportunities for identification. Some may find it disconcerting that in the mission statement of the German version of this report Germany is addressed as a partner and mediator, using the female noun. This was the editorial team's decision. This has no bearing on the vision of Germany's role in the world, such as the participants have outlined it in the mission statement.

1. In a nutshell

The **second nationwide Citizens' Assembly** took place in Germany between 13 January and 20 February 2021. Approximately 160 (169 in the beginning and 152 in the end) participants from all over Germany were drawn by lot by using population registers. Because of the pandemic, the Assembly had to take place online, making it **the first completely digitally organized citizens' assembly** of this scale.

According to the **suggestion of the Council of the Elders of the Bundestag**, Germany's role in the world was the chosen theme that was discussed for a total of 50 hours. To be able to work on such a broad and complex topic, the Assembly was further randomly divided into 5 subgroups. The groups discussed five thematic fields that were identified in the preparation phase as central to Germany's role in the world. The subgroups were called "travel groups" in order to emphasize the idea of the discussions as a journey. In the travel groups, the participants received information from various sources to be able to easily form their own opinions.

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Itinerary of the Citizen's Assembly on Germany's Role in the World

1.1 SUMMARY OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS

Working in the travel groups not only allowed the participants to develop recommendations on the five thematic areas, but also made it possible for them to contemplate Germany's role in the world through concrete examples. The gained insights were incorporated into a discussion on Germany's role that took place in plenary, meaning that all participants were present at the same time. The reflections were formulated into **guiding principles** which, on the last day, were voted on together with the recommendations of the individual travel groups.

The **guiding principles** show what led the deliberation in all travel groups: **an orientation towards fundamental values** and the question of whether Germany is and should be a **role model**. In the end the citizens reflected critically on these perhaps typically German questions and came to the conclusion that values must be internalized before they can be credibly represented on the outside. At the end of the Assembly journey, the participants put forward the following guiding principles of foreign policy:

- Germany should assume the role of a “partner and mediator” and take more responsibility in the world. Sustainability, climate protection, protection of human rights, as well as peace and security, should be at the center of its action. For this to happen, German policies must first meet these demands and assume this role.
- If Germany acts innovatively and inspiringly but also self-critically and consistently, other countries will see Germany as a role model.

The participants in the **travel group on Economy and Trade** emphasize that Germany should stand up for fairness and sustainability in international trade.

- This will be made concrete, for example, with a supply chain law which ensures compliance with social, environmental, and human rights standards
- The demand for free global trade without trade barriers is limited to a certain extent by the fact that human rights, democracy, and the rule of law should be the values that form the foundation in shaping international trade relations.
- This way, a stronger counterweight to the trading power of China can be built up along with other democratic states.

The **travel group on the European Union** stated that Germany can play a bigger role in the world as a member of the EU than it would alone.

- Because of that, EU foreign policy should be made more effective by allowing majority decision-making, and through that it should, step by step and subject area by subject area, become independent.
- The travel group recommends that migration policy should only be based on a coalition of the willing if another solution cannot be reached. The reasons for that are Germany's interest in Europe's unity, the need to end continuous human rights violations at the EU's external borders, and the need to be able to divide asylum seekers more evenly.

The [travel group on Peace and Security](#) answered the question of Germany's military engagement in the world and the availability of civilian measures to avoid and settle conflicts.

- The group advocates strengthening prevention, modernizing the Bundeswehr's equipment, and setting it up as a force that primarily takes on peacekeeping and humanitarian tasks.
- Civilian peacekeeping is classified as an equivalent option. Expenditures for the defense budget are to be adjusted accordingly.

The [travel group on Democracy and Rule of Law](#) looked at international cooperation and relations with autocracies and came up with a dual strategy. Germany should consistently address the violation of human rights and rule of law everywhere in the world, but at the same time strive to remain in dialogue with autocratic states.

- For reasons of historical responsibility and cultural closeness and to convey democratic values, a relationship based on partnership should be sought with Russia. Germany does not have comparable ties with China.
- Germany should also advocate a reform of the UN Security Council.

According to the [travel group on Sustainable Development](#), sustainability, climate protection, the right to clean water and the fight against world hunger belong at the center of Germany's political action.

- For this reason, the goal of sustainability should be included in the Basic Law and a Ministry for Sustainability should be established.
- To secure the livelihood of future generations, detailed proposals have been drafted for restructuring the economy, especially agriculture.
- It is necessary to break with the growth paradigm. To work towards this, Germany should promote sustainability and climate protection in the world, thereby triggering changes in awareness and behavior.

1.2 ALL RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE CITIZENS' ASSEMBLY "GERMANY'S ROLE IN THE WORLD" AT A GLANCE

NO.	RECOMMENDATION	YES	NO
1	<p>Guiding principle</p> <p>In the future, we see Germany's role in the world as a fair partner and mediator, working together with others, especially with the EU, to shape a world in which future generations can also live a good and self-determined life.</p> <p>To this end, we are globally committed to sustainability, climate protection, protection of human rights, the rule of law, peace, and security.</p> <p>We want to face up to our responsibility of achieving these goals by acting transparently and with foresight and by living up to our own aspirations.</p> <p>If we take an innovative and inspiring lead in our own country, learn from each other self-critically and act consistently, we can become a role model for others.</p>	140	4
2.1	Germany should stand up for fairness, human dignity, transparency and sustainability in international trade.	141	4
2.2	Germany should also take into account the interests of economically weaker countries in international trade.	127	17
2.3	Germany should stand for innovation, technical know-how and quality of goods in international trade and actively protect these values.	135	7
2.4	Germany should support free trade, the dismantling of trade barriers and the standardization of international industrial standards and norms.	122	19
2.5	Germany should ensure compliance with social, environmental, and human rights standards in its supply chains and adopt a German supply chain law for this purpose, but also work towards a common European regulation. The long-term goal should be an international supply chain law to harmonize standards worldwide.	135	7
2.6	The supply chain law we are calling for should include as many companies as possible, be based on the number of employees but also on turnover and apply to all products that are produced and/or sold in Germany.	129	13
2.7	Germany should invest in cultural exchange with China and in joint scientific projects that do not concern economic relations.	106	38

2.8	Germany should use its good relationship with China to confidently further develop and promote human rights, environmental protection, and fair trade relations.	132	11
2.9	Germany should act in solidarity with other democratic states in its dealings with China. In this way, a stronger counterweight to the trading power China is to be built up in order to represent its own values and to better cope with sanctions.	132	12
3.1	Germany should work to ensure that decisions in EU foreign policy are taken by a qualified majority.	139	6
3.2	Germany should advocate an autonomous European foreign and security policy that can act independently of the foreign policies of individual member states.	123	21
3.3	Germany should support efforts by the EU to reduce the number of refugees by analyzing and combating the causes of flight.	140	6
3.4	Germany should support an EU resettlement program („intake program“) to end the inhumane conditions in the camps at the EU’s external borders. It is outrageous that the EU violates universal human rights and its own legislation.	134	11
3.5	Germany should work for a reform of the common asylum policy.	140	4
3.6	For non-persecuted migrants who are not entitled to asylum, an immigration law is to be created at the EU level.	127	14
3.7	In principle, we recommend that Germany advocate for a coalition of the willing, i.e. move forward together with other EU states, if no other solutions can be reached in EU migration policy.	120	25
4.1	The defense of one’s own country, the protection of human rights or assistance to allies are preconditions for Germany’s military engagement.	138	8
4.2	The Bundeswehr should be an operational, efficient and modern defense and peacekeeping army of specialists that can react flexibly to current threats and emergencies.	137	9
4.3	Germany should take preventive action earlier. If this does not lead to success, peacekeeping operations should provide help for self-help in as non-violent a manner as possible.	124	23
4.4	In civilian missions and Bundeswehr operations abroad, it is important to respect and take into account the local culture.	139	9
4.5	Peacekeeping operations are to be thoroughly planned and evaluated. Coordination between both the German ministries involved and the international partners is to be improved.	135	10

4.6	Germany should strengthen the formation of public opinion through differentiated public relations work by providing more transparent, reliable and comprehensible information on military engagement and foreign missions.	132	12
5.1	Germany should work with allies to reform the UN Security Council to seek a fairer and more democratic distribution of seats and voting rights.	140	3
5.2	Germany should use its influence in close coordination with its (European and global) partners, but in a self-confident and leading manner, to advocate for the observance of human rights and the rule of law in the world. Germany should publicly address human rights violations and violations of the rule of law and take a clear stand.	134	8
5.3	Dealing with autocracies is to be considered individually. Cooperation with Russia and China is to be differentiated, as the relationship with the two countries and their shared history are very different.	125	16
5.4	Due to its historical responsibility and close cultural relationship with Russia, Germany should commit itself to a partnership-based relationship with Russia in the EU and convey democratic values through the partnership.	117	25
6.1	Germany should promote sustainability, climate protection, the right to clean water and the fight against world hunger as a global cross-sectional task (a task that affects all areas) and place them at the center of its political action so that future generations can also live well. In doing so, Germany should also act in the interests of other countries.	139	8
6.2	Germany must set international standards by enshrining sustainability in the Basic Law and establishing a sustainability ministry that coordinates, controls and monitors other ministries and ensures transparency.	116	31
6.3	Germany should work internationally to ensure that the economy and consumption on the global and local level are shaped according to the principles of sustainability and climate protection and that compliance with these principles is monitored. The time that has been wasted in the area of climate protection should be made good and Germany should work with and within the EU to consistently restructure the energy and mobility sector in an emissions-neutral way and to represent and promote this transformation at the international level.	131	14
6.4	Germany must work with and within the EU to ensure that agricultural policy is brought under the principle of sustainability by respecting and preserving the natural foundations of human, animal, and environmental life worldwide.	142	3

6.5	Germany is to drive forward research and development in the field of sustainability together with the EU as a top priority through clear political guidelines and financial support. Among other things, disadvantaged countries should be promoted and enabled to meet sustainability criteria in cooperation. If necessary, Germany should also move forward without the EU.	131	15
6.6	Germany should promote consistent changes in consciousness and behavior around the world by showing courage to embrace a reorientation towards the common good and end the continuous growth paradigm, and by promoting positive, sustainable behavior.	131	15

Table 1: All voting results of the Citizens' Assembly

All the recommendations of the Citizens' Assembly were adopted with very clear majorities which are rather uncommon in parliamentary work. That is certainly due to the fact that the participants searched for viable solutions after the detailed discussions in the Assembly and, as a rule, travel groups only put to the vote proposals that seemed to be capable of gaining a majority. Nevertheless, some recommendations were more controversial than others, as can be seen from the number of negative votes.



ILLUSTRATED REPRESENTATION OF GERMANY'S ROLE IN THE WORLD

Germany's future role in the world is that of a fair partner and mediator. She is reliable, forward-looking, responsible and credible, and sustainability is important to her. She stands firmly for the values of democracy and has a neutral ecological footprint. She looks to the future with binoculars and reaches out to the world in partnership. She has adopted aspects from the travel groups: she has a magnifying glass for transparency and scales for a balance between human rights and sustainability. She has done her homework in her own country and is energetic, innovative, and experienced.



To start off the discussion, the participants of the Citizens' Assembly drew a very differentiated picture of Germany's role in the course of history and in current politics. The role descriptions of a role model, pioneer, partner, and mediator came up particularly often.

The experts' presentations during the second day of the Assembly (16 January) made it clear that **Germany has had a chequered and difficult history. Its role in the world was and is ambivalent.** Particularly in the 20th century, Germany brought much disaster upon the world with its power and ambition. However, Germany has also always served as a role model and has been able to enrich and inspire the world culturally, scientifically, economically and in sport. When Germany shows its strength, it is quickly perceived as dominant and old fears resurface. On the other hand, Germany's privileges and potentials are recognized and it is increasingly expected that Germany assumes responsibility and commits itself accordingly.

The travel groups worked very intensively on Germany's values and attitudes, Germany's interests in the world, the expectations that other countries have of Germany, and Germany's options in the various thematic fields. These considerations led to visualizations of the country's different roles in the respective thematic fields. The visualizations are presented in the respective chapters of the travel groups.

The different roles were discussed in summary in the joint sessions of the Assembly. Word clouds were created from the participants' contributions and the discussion was enriched with visualizations by the citizens and the Assembly's illustrator. In this way, a common picture of Germany's role emerged.

The picture of Germany's role changed along central themes as the discussion went on. While at the beginning the "midfielder" (a suggestion by historian Timothy Garton-Ash) and the "trail-blazer" were in the foreground, later the participants tended more and more towards the roles of a partner, mediator and role model. **Being a role model triggered the greatest controversy:** wouldn't this put Germany on a pedestal, wanting to make its mark on the world? Does Germany actually live up to its own standards? How credible can Germany be as a role model in the world?

In a discussion on how Germany should deal with autocratic regimes, the visualization of a boxing shadow emerged, originally to visualize the counterpart and the role of autocratic countries as a hooligan who does not play by the rules and imposes his will on others. However, at the same time it showed a phantom and a shadow. It struck the participants that this figure could also well express the fear of Germany and describe its own shadow. The insight arose that Germany cannot make itself a role model; instead, it can only become one if it is credible and consistent in its actions and succeeds in realizing its own values.

The guiding principles developed and agreed upon in the last meeting express the insights of these discussions:

The first sentence expresses that the future role is to be that of a partner and mediator. Whenever possible, Germany works as an equal with others. **This is a clear commitment by the Citizens' Assembly to multilateralism and international cooperation.** Instead of dominating, Germany should develop solutions together with others. **The goal is also clear: a good world for future generations.**

The second guiding principle concretizes what this good world involves: sustainability, climate protection, respect for human rights, the rule of law, peace, and security.

The third guiding principle is a commitment to Germany's own responsibility and the standard of its own demands. Germany cannot make demands on the world if it itself is inconsistent in them. **This is also to be understood as a strong appeal to politicians by the Assembly.**

The deep insight of the joint debate is expressed above all in the fourth guiding principle. It concerns the strong debate about Germany as a role model. According to the principle, Germany wants to and can be a role model, but that is not for Germans to decide. What Germany and Germans can do is be innovative, inspiring, and self-critical and learn from others – both within the country and in the world.

With this twist, the participants solve the dilemma of Germany's role in the world. According to this understanding, Germany can live and realize its potentials, power, ingenuity, and values without holding back. At the same time, Germany invites the world and meets it in partnership, as equals and cooperatively. **In this way, Germany can make its contribution in the world, assume its responsibility, and realize cooperation without dominating.**

The decision to describe the role of Germany as female came from several directions during the process: for example, the illustration showed a female figure, and the editorial team chose the female form of the noun for the role. There was also opposition from both women and men but in the end, the mission statement was adopted with high approval overall.





2.3 INTRODUCTORY LECTURES

On the second date of the Citizens' Assembly (16 January), four lectures that illuminated Germany's role in the world from different perspectives provided the information basis for the discussion on the concept of role.

The British historian [Prof. Dr. Timothy Garton-Ash](#) dealt with Germany's historical responsibility in the world. He began with the general human responsibility for the Earth which is existentially endangered by climate change, nuclear weapons, and extreme poverty. He went on to say that Germany has a special obligation to stand up for the rule of law, human rights, and democracy all over the world because of the suffering it brought upon Europe during the Nazi era. This applies above all in its own region. Authoritarian regimes like Viktor Orbán's Hungary are unacceptable to the Western community of values. In order not to endanger the EU as a peace project, a reform that should close the gap between North and South during the economic recovery after the pandemic is needed, as well as a stronger common foreign and security policy.

But even if it were more capable of acting in terms of security policy than it is at present, Europe is too small a geopolitical actor to be able to form a counterweight to China or Putin's Russia. The EU, the USA, but also all other Western states would have to work together to represent their values in the world.

Finally, Timothy Garton-Ash addressed the problem of Germany's size. Since reunification, Germany has been the central power of Europe. It is too big not to lead, but not big enough to be the hegemon of the EU. This problem has deepened with Britain's departure from the EU.

Timothy Garton-Ash used a football metaphor to sum up his vision of Germany's role in Europe: [Germany should be the midfielder who holds the whole team together and distributes the passes.](#) Goal-scoring should be left to others.

The German historian [Prof. Dr. Andreas Rödder](#) also dealt with the role Germany has taken in the course of history. The German Question has existed in Europe for about 200 years. In the phases of national weakness and division it has arisen as a question of identity. In these times the Germans reinvented themselves again and again as – in their perception – a superior cultural nation. In the phases of unity and the accompanying strength the German Question was essentially about how a strong Germany could exist in the center of Europe without upsetting the European balance. The situation after the founding of the German Empire in 1871, when the German Reich under Prussian leadership was the economically and technologically superior center of Central Europe, was repeated after German reunification. Unlike then, however, Germany is now multilaterally integrated. From outside, Germany is expected to assume more responsibility for Europe.

In this situation the question of identity leads to discrepancies between external perception and self-perception. Germany appears unpredictable to the outside world because it shows the world two faces that are difficult for outsiders to reconcile. The contrast that used to be seen between humanistic education and militarism is now seen, for example, between the strict austerity policy towards the southern member states of the EU on the one hand, and the philanthropic reception of stranded migrants in 2015 on the other. Against this backdrop, Germany would at one time be accused of being the disciplinarian of Europe and at another time derided as a hippie state.

Finally, Andreas Rödder made clear his position on the question of power politics: **Germany must find the balance between ruthless leadership and leaderless consideration.**

Dr. Andreas von Schumann from the Deutsche Gesellschaft für internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) – the German Development Agency – gave the participants the opportunity to look at Germany from the outside. Based on the GIZ study “Germany in the Eyes of the World”, in which the results of a global survey from 2017/2018 were published, he drew a picture of Germany that is perceived as a strong democratic state that stands on a strong foundation and whose institutions are secure. The image of Germany has become more human through the reception of refugees. However, the motivation for accepting them remains unclear to many.

Germany presents itself to foreign countries as a somewhat unmodern country that may be missing out on the challenges of the future. **The respondents from 24 countries around the globe recommend that Germany should become more flexible, more digital, and more courageous.** It must now quickly and consistently digitize its industry and promote women in the professional world more strongly. Furthermore, Germany should allow more knowledge transfer and be more willing to share technologies in order to support other countries. Modernization also includes the internationalization of universities and research.

The role Germany wants to play in the world remains unclear to outsiders. **There is a wish for Germany to take on a leadership role and to fulfil it sensitively, professionally and with a sense of proportion, also for the benefit of other nations.** In doing so, Germany can rely on its “soft power”, which is appreciated by all. At the same time, doubts arise as to whether more “hard military power” is not needed. International responsibility also includes focusing on Africa and becoming more involved there. Germany should not slacken its efforts in environmental and climate protection because it is expected to play a leading role in global implementation.

Prof. Dr Nicole Deitelhoff introduced Germany's role in the web of international relations. She began by explaining the basic features of the international order which is based on the three pillars of collective security, the free trade system, and the protection of fundamental rights. **The unifying principle is multilateralism**, whose core she defined as “problem-solving through the equal involvement of all parties for the common benefit and on the basis of shared principles”.



She then explained the institutions that are central to German foreign policy: United Nations, NATO and the European Union.

On this basis Germany faces new challenges. Transnational problems, actors and institutions are becoming more diverse, and the global balance of power is changing into a multipolar constellation. This makes politics more complex and decisions more difficult. At the same time, old organizations are pushed back, and the cornerstones of the international order is increasingly called into question.

2.4 HALF-TIME DISCUSSION WITH MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

At the half-time of the Citizens' Assembly on 6 February, the foreign policy spokespersons of the Bundestag parliamentary groups were invited to the Citizens' Assembly. The representative of the AfD, Armin-Paulus Hampel, was unable to attend at short notice. For the other parties, the following MPs answered questions from the participants of the Assembly:

- Dr. Reinhard Brandl, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Working Group, CSU.
- Bijan Djir-Sarai, Foreign Affairs Spokesperson, FDP
- Dr. Gregor Gysi, Foreign Policy Spokesperson, The Left
- Roderich Kiesewetter, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, CDU
- Dr. Nils Schmid, Spokesperson on Foreign Policy, SPD
- Ottmar von Holtz, Chair of the Subcommittee on Civilian Crisis Prevention, Conflict Transformation and Networked Action, Alliance 90/The Greens

In preparation for the discussion with the foreign policy spokespersons, the participants of the Citizens' Assembly were able to collect questions in the chat of the Assembly's online platform. Immediately before the start, the participants were also given time to develop questions for the MPs in unmoderated small groups and to forward them to the moderator in the studio via the chat.

Finally, the MPs were invited to formulate their wishes for the Citizens' Assembly:

Dr. Reinhard Brandl, CSU: In the field of military security, the Citizens' Assembly should also deal with the issue of weapons of mass destruction, as well as with attacks in space and cyber warfare. In addition to military issues, internal security in Europe should be considered. International terrorism as well as cyber-attacks on politics and critical infrastructures belong to this topic area.

Bijan Djir-Sarai, FDP: Initiatives like the Citizens' Assembly should be used by politicians to create a culture of discussion on foreign policy. Citizens and politicians should concern themselves more with global issues and contexts. This is still not done enough. It was important to Bijan Djir-Sarai that the participants of the Assembly and the public understand that politicians must include the perspective of others in their politics.



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Dr. Gregor Gysi, The Left, welcomed the fact that there is a citizens' assembly because citizen participation is extremely important for politics. He pleaded for organizing an action day on site in the Bundestag where all parliamentary groups answer questions from citizens – similarly to “Youth in Parliament”. He asked the participants to think about social questions as well as ecological sustainability because price increases do not affect everyone equally.

Roderich Kiesewetter, CDU, proposes to regularly evaluate foreign and development policy actions and to hold an annual debate in the Bundestag on foreign and development policy issues. In his view, more attention should be paid to maintaining economic performance while acting in a sustainable manner. His vision is to further develop the Federal Security Council into a Council for Security, Sustainable Development and Foreign Policy Action, possibly including a citizens' assembly. The “climate and security” narrative should be continued together.

Dr. Nils Schmid, SPD, encouraged the participants of the Citizens' Assembly to continue to deal with the complexity of the topic, as that is the only way to meet the foreign policy challenges. For him, the joint search for solutions with European partners is the basis of foreign policy action. Germany has a bridge-building function. Regarding international conflicts and their resolution, he drew the attention of the participants of the Assembly to the networked approach in which military and civilian measures are combined.

Ottmar von Holtz, Alliance 90/The Greens, in his closing statement focused on the question of balancing interests. Individual interests are always pitted against each other, he explained, citing the example of trade where the desire to control supply chains is pitted against concerns that Germany's competitiveness would be damaged by such a law. He also sees hardly reconcilable opinions on the question of how peace and security can be preserved and protected. He is curious to see whether the Citizens' Assembly can create proposals to balance interests.

The many questions that remained unanswered due to time constraints were submitted to the politicians and answered by them in writing.



3. Travel Group Economy and Trade

3.1 ITINERARY AND QUESTIONS

The itinerary of the Economy and Trade Travel Group took in the following stops:

- Germany's role in international trade
- Germany and its supply chains
- Economic relations between Germany and China

Germany's role in the world must always be thought of in the context of Germany's economic power. Exports guarantee jobs and prosperity. Free trade and the dismantling of trade barriers can strengthen economic development in Germany, but other countries view Germany's economic influence more critically. In particular, the countries of the global South point out that their regional and local businesses cannot survive without protection from overpowering German competition. Moreover, as suppliers of raw materials, they are not able to fully exploit their economic potential due to unfair trade conditions.

How should Germany position itself between the interests in prosperity and jobs, but also in sustainable development for itself and others? What role should Germany play as a fair partner and driver for sustainability in economic relations with other countries? It must also be taken into account that fairness, sustainability, and good working conditions have their price. How much would German consumers be willing to pay for products whose production is subject to stricter human rights, ecological and social minimum standards?

3.2 EXPERTS

Dr. Boniface Mabanza Bambu is a literary scholar, philosopher, and theologian from Kimbongo in the DR Congo. Since 2008, he has been working in Heidelberg at the Kirchliche Arbeitsstelle Südliches Afrika (KASA), which sees itself as an information and service center on Southern Africa and as a lobby and campaign office on issues of social and economic justice in the context of globalization and climate change. The office, which was founded in 1996, is supported by 15 church organizations and ecumenical groups. At the Citizens' Assembly, Dr. Boniface Mabanza Bambu said that the supply chain bill is at best a start. He argued for cooperation between the former colonial powers and the former colonies on equal footing.

Lea Deuber is a journalist and has been working as a correspondent in China for around five years. She has been reporting from Beijing on Chinese politics and society as well as German foreign policy for the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* since 2018. Before that, she worked for *Wirtschaftswoche* in Shanghai for three years. Lea Deuber studied politics and Asian studies in Bonn and Berlin and attended the Cologne School of Journalism for Politics and Economics. Live from Beijing, she gave an up-to-date insight into Chinese politics and society.

Katja Drinhausen from the Mercator Institute for China Studies (MERICS) focuses her research on the development of China's legal and political system under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, as well as on human rights and minority policy in China. She also coordinates

research in the area of domestic politics and society at MERICS. Katja Drinhausen studied sinology and international and Chinese law. She worked as a research assistant and project manager at the Beijing office of the Hanns Seidel Foundation. At the Citizens' Assembly, she provided information on the human rights aspects of trade with China.

Sabine Jost-Heil has built up the trade and industrial policy department at Daimler AG. She has also worked on various internal projects – for example, on the tax burden on vehicles, emissions trading, and the globalization of the company in sales and production. Since mid-2006, she has held various positions in the External Affairs department of Daimler AG. She is responsible for trade and industrial policy. In the area of trade policy, she deals, for example, with bilateral and multilateral trade agreements, studies on trade protection instruments as well as concrete market access barriers and trade restrictions. Sabine Jost-Heil emphasizes the complexity and challenges of designing supply chains from the perspective of a large corporation. In her statement to the Citizens' Assembly, she deliberately did not refer to Daimler AG, but described the challenges in general.

Bertram Kawlath is the managing partner of Schubert & Salzer GmbH, a medium-sized company with around 350 employees. The company is headquartered in Ingolstadt, manufactures in Germany, and distributes its products and services all over the world. Their core business areas are the development and distribution of innovative solutions in measurement and control technology for liquid and gas materials, steel production for mechanical and vehicle engineering, and the development and distribution of software for medium-sized companies for operational planning and control. Such innovative SMEs formed the backbone of the German export economy and the resulting prosperity. Bertram Kawlath brought the perspective of an export-dependent company that suffers from many hurdles, such as different standards in international trade.

Matthias Krämer is the Head of Department for Foreign Trade Policy at the Federation of German Industries (BDI). The BDI's declared goal is to keep the export engine running. This requires open markets and the dismantling of barriers in the international trade of goods and services as well as the mobility of labor, as Matthias Krämer explained to the Citizens' Assembly. Furthermore, the BDI is pushing for rules on public procurement, investment protection, competition and the treatment of state-owned enterprises in international trade agreements. The association is also concerned with sustainability issues.

Jürgen Maier, Executive Director of the Forum on Environment and Development, represents the perspective of a non-governmental organization (NGO) working for sustainable development. The Forum was founded in 1992 after the UN Conference on Environment and Development and coordinates the activities of German NGOs in international policy processes on sustainable development. It maintains contacts with organizations from developing countries and coordinates with international associations for joint actions. At the UN level, it accompanies the



international work on environment and development that has continued since Rio. Jürgen Maier's position on international trade is clear: In a globalized world, trade policy has an impact on almost all areas of public and private life. It always involves questions of democracy, consumer protection, product prices, environmental and social standards, or the enforcement of corporate interests over human rights.

Armin Paasch works as a consultant for business and human rights at MISEREOR, the Catholic relief organization that supports development projects in Asia, Africa, Oceania, and South America. Mr. Paasch coordinates the work on "Responsible Business" and represents the German Association of Development Organizations VENRO in the working group on business and human rights at the Federal Ministry of Labor for monitoring the implementation of the National Action Plan (NAP). His work focuses on business and human rights, the Supply Chain Act, UN agreements on business and human rights, trade policy, and raw materials policy. Armin Paasch brought the perspective of civil society for an ambitious supply chain law into the discussion at the Citizens' Assembly.

Dr. Stefanie Schmitt holds a doctorate in economics and joined Germany Trade & Invest (GTAI), then still called the German Office for Foreign Trade (bfai), in 1997 after working for five years for a mechanical engineering company. From 2000 to 2008, she worked for bfai in Shanghai and from 2008 to 2011 in Hanoi. Since 2013, she has been working as a foreign correspondent for the GTAI in Beijing. Dr. Stefanie Schmitt reported on trade with China from a business perspective.

Anahita Thoms heads Baker McKenzie's German foreign trade law practice. Baker McKenzie is one of the largest commercial law firms worldwide with 4,700 lawyers in 74 offices in almost every region of the world. Anahita Thoms is a board member of Atlantik-Brücke, an association in which some 500 leaders from banking and finance, business, politics, media, and academia have joined forces to build an economic, financial, educational, and military policy bridge between the United States and Germany. She is also a member of the Steering Committee of the International Human Rights Committee of the American Bar Association (ABA). Anahita Thoms provided an introduction to the legal basics on the topic of supply chains.



3.3 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE AREA OF ECONOMY AND TRADE

The sentences in bold were voted on in the Citizens' Assembly. This does not apply to the points below the sentences. They were developed in the travel group and serve to concretize the respective recommendation.

Germany should stand up for fairness, human dignity, transparency and sustainability in international trade.

- To guarantee compliance with these values, an independent multilateral body is to be established. This body should be democratically structured and not favor economically stronger nations.
- Fairness, human dignity, transparency and sustainability must be reflected in concrete legal standards in trade agreements. Existing trade agreements are to be reviewed to this end.

Germany should also take into account the interests of economically weaker countries in international trade.

- To this end, Germany is to promote local production capacities in economically weaker partner countries and, in cooperation with them, continually eliminate grievances (e.g. building infrastructure, reducing corruption).
- In addition to university exchanges, Germany should also promote exchanges in the skilled trades and apprenticeships.
- Germany is to strive for a stable balance of trade (application of the Stability Act of 1967).

Germany should stand for innovation, technical know-how and quality of goods in international trade and actively protect these values.

- To this end, Germany should invest more in research and its own digitization and be open to new ideas.
- Germany should protect its intellectual property and German high-tech key companies from being taken over by investors from totalitarian states.

Germany should support free trade, the dismantling of trade barriers and the standardization of international industrial standards and norms.

Germany should ensure compliance with social, environmental and human rights standards in its supply chains and adopt a German supply chain law for this purpose, but also work towards a common European regulation. The long-term goal should be an international supply chain law to harmonize standards worldwide.

- As a basis for such a law, the abuses should first be analyzed and quantified.
- All supply chain law debates should be transparent.

- A supply chain law and the rethinking of supply chains should reduce dependencies (e.g. on China or in the manufacture of strategically important products such as active pharmaceutical ingredients).
- Germany should cooperate with local actors and verify compliance with the standards on site.

The supply chain law we are calling for should include as many companies as possible, be based on the number of employees but also on turnover, and apply to all products that are produced and/or sold in Germany.

- Companies that violate the law are to be sanctioned and excluded from public contracts. In return, German companies in Germany and abroad are to be supported in complying with the standards through government subsidies.
- The origin of products and services should be transparent for consumers. For this purpose, products should be marked accordingly by a label, certificate or traffic light system. The label should be issued by a European certification body and renewed regularly.

Germany should invest in cultural exchange with China and in joint scientific projects that do not concern economic relations.

- The aim is for Germany to exchange ideas with China on the subject of digitization in particular and to learn from this.

Germany should use its good relationship with China to confidently further develop and promote human rights, environmental protection and fair trade relations.

Germany should act in solidarity with other democratic states in its dealings with China. In this way, a stronger counterweight to the trading power China is to be built up in order to represent its own values and to better cope with sanctions.

- In this context, Germany and the EU should work for stronger relations with Taiwan in order to serve as a role model and signal for cooperation with democracies in the region.
- To this end, Germany should form an alliance with other European countries and/or the USA.

In its recommendations, the travel group takes up two traditional role patterns of Germany in international trade: **“Made in Germany”, which stood for engineering and quality, shall be modernized.** Germany is to invest above all in digitalization and protect intellectual property as the basis of prosperity. **The other role model – the export world champion – is in urgent need of reform in the view of the travel group. Above all, Germany should be a fair trading partner with a trade balance and a supply chain law with which German companies take responsibility for humane and sustainable production conditions in the globalized economy.**

Supporting weaker states is close to the travel group’s heart. How this is to be reconciled with the demand for a reduction of trade barriers still has to be spelled out in detail, but the direction

is clear: **fair comes before free**. For example, local production capacities in economically weaker partner countries are to be promoted, which hardly seems conceivable without protection against international competition.

China is a special trading partner. Human rights violations and environmental pollution and damage should be clearly addressed so that fair trade can also be developed with China. However, skepticism about whether China will adapt to Western values is made clear in the concrete points. Thus, instead of calling for an intensification of economic relations, special attention is paid to cultural and scientific exchange. The recommendations that Germany should free itself from its dependence on China for strategic products, e.g. pharmaceutical items, also reveal rather a distrust of the systemic competitor. Little confidence that trade with China could move the country towards a more democratic course also speaks from the warning of takeovers of key technological companies by totalitarian states. If cooperation with Taiwan were to be expanded, as the travel group demands, conflict would be inevitable. As a precaution, the travel group recommends proceeding in an alliance of Western states.

3.4 GERMANY'S ROLE IN INTERNATIONAL TRADE

The travel group has drafted a value-based role model. Germany should be fair, reliable, and honest with its partners. To live up to these values, Germany must rethink its trade relations with other countries and take more into account the interests of economically weaker countries. In its relations with autocratic states like China, Germany should stand up more strongly for human rights and environmental protection. The challenge of reconciling economic interests with values such as fairness and sustainability is therefore great. Germany should continue to develop in order to become an innovator, partner and role model in international trade that acts transparently and sustainably in its economic relations. To achieve this, a political framework and corresponding laws are needed – where possible at the European level, but also at the national level, if necessary, in order to be able to act more quickly. Ordinary people as consumers also need to question their behavior.



ILLUSTRATED REPRESENTATION OF THE TRAVEL GROUP ECONOMY AND TRADE

The scale symbolizes fair trade relations. In one scale are workers' human rights and in the other the planet, whose leaf refers to ecological sustainability. The transparency needed for these goals is symbolized by the magnifying glass. Stability and reliability, which are essential for a strong trading partner, are shown by the scale's position, a watch, and a completed to-do list. Her heart is in the right place.

4. Travel Group European Union

4.1 ITINERARY AND QUESTIONS

The Journey of the Travel Group European Union passed through the following stations:

- European foreign policy, with special attention for
 - qualified majority decision-making
 - independent EU foreign policy
- EU migration policy, with special attention for
 - legal foundations of EU asylum policy and
 - different positions in the EU
 - sea rescue and possible actions

As a member of the European Union, Germany can represent its interests in the world more emphatically than on its own. However, this also makes it dependent to some extent on the functioning of European foreign policy. Germany therefore has a responsibility to shape this policy field, stemming both from self-interest, but also from an external vision of Germany as the EU's economic heavyweight and most populous country.

At the beginning, the participants were introduced to the interaction of the various decision-making bodies of the European Union and the basic features of European foreign policy. The principle of unanimous decision-making was identified as a particular weakness, which leads to the EU reacting slowly, weakly and sometimes not at all. As a possible solution, the idea of introducing qualified majority voting was introduced during the discussion on European foreign policy. The further communitarization into an autonomous European foreign policy, that is largely independent of national governments, was also formulated as a goal.

Because challenges in the globalized world can best be solved together, the unity of the EU is of great value. However, since the 27 individual states of the EU have different ideas in all policy areas, further steps toward communitarization may put the EU to the test. Instead of the desired unity, an insistence on common action can lead to the opposite: the disintegration of Europe, in which groups of countries behave differently to one another or move at “different speeds.” This dilemma of EU policy was explained using EU migration policy as an example. After an introduction on the legal foundations of EU asylum policy, the example of sea rescue in the Mediterranean was used to report on the different values, interests and strategies that drive EU states. The double question “To save or not to save?” and “To save and then what?” determined the discussion of the topic. The overarching question for the travel group was how important the unity of the European Union is to Germany and how to deal with “red lines” that are crossed, for example, in migration policy.

4.2 EXPERTS

Dr. Annegret Bendiek is deputy head of the European Union/Europe Research Group at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP). She has been conducting research on fundamental issues of European foreign and security policy since 2005 and is a lecturer in the postgraduate program “Master of European Studies” at Freie Universität Berlin and Technische Universität Berlin. In 2014, she was appointed to the planning staff of the German Foreign Office for the project “Review 2014: Rethinking Foreign Policy.” In 2013, she was a Robert Bosch Fellow at the Transatlantic Academy, “The Future of the Liberal Order,” and a visiting scholar at the German Marshall Fund in Washington, D.C.. Dr. Annegret Bendiek publishes regularly in academic journals and is the author and editor of several books. In addition to her research and publication activities, she advises governments, international institutions, and companies on European foreign and security policy as well as on regulatory issues related to cybersecurity and digitization at the EU level. Dr. Annegret Bendiek discussed with Hans Kundnani whether an independent European foreign policy would be desirable. She expressed cautious approval, but considers its introduction unlikely.



Dr. Marcus Engler is a social scientist and has been conducting research at the DeZIM Institute since September 2020. He is intensively involved in refugee and migration movements as well as in German, European and global refugee and migration policy. Dr. Marcus Engler studied social sciences and economics in Berlin and Paris. Before taking up his position at DeZIM, he worked for the Expert Council of German Foundations on Integration and Migration (SVR). Previously, he worked for the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR) and the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ). Marcus Engler is a member of the board of the German Network for Forced Migration Studies, co-director of the Forced Migration Studies blog and co-founder of the Working Group Active Refugee Admission Policies. Marcus Engler gave an introductory overview of figures and flows concerning refugees and explained why the legal framework dictates that people be rescued and securely admitted to an asylum procedure.

Gerald Knaus, founder of the European Stability Initiative, studied philosophy, political science and economics at Oxford, Brussels and Bologna. Geographically, he has focused primarily on Eastern and Southeastern Europe. He has worked in Ukraine, Bosnia, Kosovo and Turkey for international organizations and NGOs. His involvement with the issue of migration to the EU and asylum began long before the crisis year of 2015, during the wars surrounding the disintegration of Yugoslavia. Gerald Knaus founded the European Stability Initiative, a liberal think tank, in Sarajevo in 1999. For his book “Welche Grenzen brauchen wir? Zwischen Empathie und Angst – Flucht, Migration und die Zukunft von Asyl” (What Borders Do We Need? Between Empathy and Fear – Flight, Migration and the Future of Asylum) he received the Bruno Kreisky Prize in the category “political book” in 2020. He became known as the “inventor” of the EU-Turkey agreement. He argued forcefully for a resettlement program.

Hans Kundnani studied at Oxford, New York and Berlin. In his professional career, he worked at the European Council on Foreign Relations in London, a think tank that provides analysis on European foreign policy issues and aims to act as an advocate for a more coherent and stronger European foreign and security policy. He also worked at the German Marshall Fund in Berlin, a foundation established to deepen understanding between Europeans and U.S. Americans. In 2018, he joined Chatham House in London, the world's leading think tank on international relations. His research and consultations there focus particularly on European and German policy. As a Briton, Hans Kundnani casts a critical eye on the aspirations of an independent EU foreign policy, especially due to its dubious democratic legitimacy, but also because of Germany's lack of hard power in common security policy.

Prof. Dr. Nele Matz-Lück is Professor of Public Law with a focus on international law, in particular the law of the sea, at Kiel University and Vice President of Kiel University. After studying in Trier and Lausanne, Prof. Dr. Nele Matz-Lück earned her doctorate in public international law at the University of Heidelberg, where she also completed her habilitation. In addition to her first and second state law examinations, she completed an interdisciplinary LL.M. degree at the University of Aberystwyth, Wales, in "Environmental Law and Management". After several career stations, at the Max Planck Institute for Foreign Public Law and International Law in Heidelberg and as a research assistant at the German Federal Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe, she answered the call of the University of Kiel in 2011. In addition, she has also taught at the universities of Halifax in Canada and Tromsø in Norway. Since 2018, she has been a member of the Constitutional Court of Schleswig-Holstein. In addition to international maritime law, her research and publication activities focus on international environmental law and international treaty law. In her legal introduction, she reported that people in distress at sea must be rescued without any ifs and buts, even if they intentionally put themselves in this life-threatening situation.

Karoline Popp is a research associate at the German Council of Experts on Integration and Migration. The Council of Experts was established by the German government as an independent body of experts. Karoline Popp studied geography at Oxford University and conflict resolution and international law at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London. From 2008 to 2017, she worked for the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in the area of migration policy and international cooperation in Geneva and at the IOM's regional office for the Middle East and North Africa in Cairo. Karoline Popp reported on Germany's previous stance on migration policy and the different positions within the EU.

Dr. Jana Puglierin is head of the Berlin office of the European Council on Foreign Relations. Her first professional station after studying political science, international and European law, and sociology in Bonn, Vienna, and New York was the German Bundestag, where she worked as a consultant on disarmament and arms control. This was followed by the management of the Center for European Policy Studies at the German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP) and, since 2020,

the position at the European Council on Foreign Relations. There, she also leads the initiative “Rethinking Europe.” Dr. Jana Puglierin introduced the topic of European foreign policy and also gave a short presentation on the qualified majority voting principle.

Dr. Lucas Rasche is a Research Fellow at the Jacques Delors Centre of the Hertie School, a private university for public action in Berlin, sponsored by the non-profit Hertie Foundation. Lucas Rasche’s research interests include the reform of the Common European Asylum System (CEAS), EU migration policy, and EU foreign and development policy. Previously, he worked as a Research Assistant at the International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD) in Vienna. Lucas Rasche participated in the panel discussion on options for action in migration policy.

Prof. Dr. Karl Albrecht Schachtschneider canceled his participation in a panel discussion with Annegret Bendiek and Hans Kundnani on independent EU foreign policy at short notice for health reasons. He is considered a fierce opponent of the path to greater communitarization in the European Union. Between 1992 and 2012, he filed constitutional complaints in this context against the Treaties of Maastricht and Lisbon and the Act Approving the EU Constitution; as well as against the introduction of the euro, the euro rescue policy, and Austria’s accession to the EU.

Andromachi Sophocleous, political analyst and consultant, Greek Cypriot peace activist: After studying political science in London, she first taught as a lecturer at the University in Nicosia. She has been involved in Cypriot civil society for many years. She is co-founder of the grassroots movement “The Cypriot Puzzle” and the association “Unite Cyprus Now!” Together with Kemal Baykallı, a Turkish-Cypriot peace activist, she produces the podcast “Nicosia uncut”. Andromachi Sophocleous’ areas of focus include Cypriot politics, the Cyprus problem and natural gas in the Eastern Mediterranean. In the Citizens Assembly EU veto power was explained using the example of Cyprus, which did not agree to sanctions against Belarus because it was not supported by the EU in its dispute with Turkey over Turkish gas drilling off Cyprus’ coast. Andromachi Sophocleous used this example to explain why small EU countries bring their interests to bear in this way, even if she personally does not approve of her government’s actions.

Prof. Dr. Ulrich Vosgerau studied law in Passau and Freiburg. He teaches as a professor of public law, international and European law, general political science and philosophy of law at the University of Cologne. Prof. Ulrich Vosgerau became known for calling the 2015 opening of the border “the rule of injustice.” He represented the AfD in the proceedings on the opening of the border before the Federal Constitutional Court and serves on the board of trustees of the Desiderius Erasmus Foundation, the party foundation of the AfD. Prof. Vosgerau has explained why and under which conditions the legal basis of EU asylum policy allows the rejection of protection seekers. He has urgently warned against a “mass migration” from Africa.

4.3 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE AREA OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

Germany should work to ensure that decisions in EU foreign policy are taken by a qualified majority.

- Germany plays a greater role in the world with the EU than it does alone.
- EU foreign policy is weak because all 27 member states must agree.
- In order for the EU to better represent its and thus Germany's interests in the world, its ability to act must be strengthened. A first step in this direction is majority decisions.
- If the fundamental interests of a state are opposed to the majority decision, that state should also be able to veto majority decisions. The veto must be factually related to the decision and justified.

Germany should advocate an autonomous European foreign and security policy that can act independently of the foreign policies of individual member states.

- This is to be done step by step and subject area by subject area.
- It is important that it is supported by a majority of EU member states. In this way, the common foreign and security policy can gradually take shape.
- Democratic legitimacy and transparent decision-making processes remain open questions. Germany should advocate for the broadest possible participation of the European population by appropriate means.

Germany should support efforts by the EU to reduce the number of refugees by analyzing and combating the causes of flight.

- Climate change can also threaten livelihoods, so the EU may need to recognize it as a cause of flight.
- Measures also include more efficient and sustainable development aid.
- The states outside the EU, to which those affected initially flee, are to receive increased support.
- All EU states should participate fairly in these tasks.

Germany should support an EU resettlement program („intake program“) to end the inhumane conditions in the camps at the EU's external borders. It is outrageous that the EU violates universal human rights and its own legislation.

Germany should work for a reform of the common asylum policy.

This is linked to the following goals:

- Refugees are to be distributed more fairly among all EU states. To this end, effective sanctions and/or incentives are to be created.
- Refugees should encounter a uniform legal procedure and equal, humane treatment in all EU states.

For non-persecuted migrants who are not entitled to asylum, an immigration law is to be created at the EU level.

- Germany is not the only country with a strong interest in regulated migration for demographic and economic reasons.

In principle, we recommend that Germany advocate for a coalition of the willing, i.e. move forward together with other EU states, if no other solutions can be reached in EU migration policy.

- Out of necessity, the ideal of EU unity must then be abandoned.

The travel group wants a strong, united Europe that can convincingly represent its values and interests in the world. To achieve this, the EU must become more capable of acting. The qualified majority, in which 55% of the member states – in practice this means 15 out of 27 states – and 65% of the total population of the Union must back the decision, is a necessary first step for them. **For the sake of an independent European foreign policy, they would also give up their own sovereign rights**, but only gradually and embedded in a longer process.

The example of migration and asylum policy made the fault line in the EU clearer. Clearly oriented to Western values, the travel group chose the word „outrageous“ to emphasize that the ongoing violation of human rights at the EU’s external borders and also within the EU is unacceptable. As possible courses of action in the asylum problem, the participants rely on a bundle of measures. In terms of European policy, **the vote for a coalition of the willing** is the recommendation that sets a direction: unity in the EU is a high good, but it does not have to be sought at any price. As a last resort, if red lines are repeatedly crossed, Germany should seek partners in the EU with whom it can try to find solutions together. But Germany should not act as a lone wolf.



4.4 GERMANY'S ROLE IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

Germany is supposed to be an engine that drives a strong EU capable of action. The participants see Germany in a **leadership role**, which is fulfilled in a **restrained, goal-oriented** manner. Because more European unity always carries the risk that the EU countries could drift apart, or even split, **Germany should also be a bridge builder, mediating** between countries and acting as an **advocate**, especially for smaller states. In order to **credibly** represent further European integration, Germany should act in **solidarity, diplomatically, socially** and **reliably**.



ILLUSTRATED REPRESENTATION OF THE TRAVEL GROUP ON THE EUROPEAN UNION

In the way the persona is standing, she is forming a bridge that connects the bottom of the EU raft as it literally drifts apart. She strives to hold together the different tree trunks that represent the member states. The instruments she has for this are solidarity with weaker, smaller states; social responsibility (lifebelt); reliability (anchor) and diplomacy (outstretched hand).

She drives the EU as an engine, but she is not the captain; she is part of the crew.

5. Travel group Peace and Security

5.1 ITINERARY AND QUESTIONS

The itinerary of the Peace and Security Travel Group led it through the following stations:

- International engagement of the Bundeswehr
- Civilian peacekeeping measures

Stops were made at the following topics:

- Current challenges regarding foreign deployments of the Bundeswehr and civilian peacekeeping operations, with an in-depth look at the example of Afghanistan
- Equipping the Bundeswehr and the use of artificial intelligence in modern weapons systems
- A networked approach, using the example of the interaction of military missions and civilian peacekeeping in Mali
- Challenges of civilian peacekeeping on the African continent
- Tasks of international police missions
- Mediation as a means of conflict resolution

For some years now, Germany has been told by its allies that the role it plays in NATO is not commensurate with its economic and political strength. However, the expectation of greater military involvement in NATO is met with a historically determined strict reluctance to accept engagement in military conflict resolution and to allow foreign deployments of the Bundeswehr. Acquiring better equipment for the Bundeswehr and its modernization in general, for example through the procurement of armed drones and the use of artificial intelligence, are also controversial.

Less controversial, but also less well known, is civilian peacekeeping, in which civilians work unarmed to create and secure lasting peace. Here, too, however, there are situations in which a fundamental orientation and clarity about one's own tasks and goals are necessary. For example, humanitarian operations may encounter local traditions that include genital mutilation. In such a case, respect for local cultures and universal human rights conflict with each other.

5.2 EXPERTS

Lieutenant Colonel Andreas Bachmann has been a soldier since 1989 with various command and staff assignments in the Bundeswehr throughout Germany. He spent several years with NATO in Norway and has participated in five foreign deployments, including Afghanistan, Iraq, and Mali. Since 2018, he has been responsible for sub-Saharan Africa as a military policy officer in the Strategy and Operations Division at the Federal Ministry of Defense. The EUTM Mali and MINUSMA missions are part of his department's portfolio. Andreas Bachmann reports on the mission in Mali from a military perspective.

Ralf Becker is a coordinator of the initiative "Rethinking Security", a think tank of 30 German and European civil society organizations and churches. "Rethinking Security" brings the perspective of a clearly non-violent foreign and security policy for Germany into the debate.



Previously, Ralf Becker worked for the study “Zukunftsfähiges Deutschland” (Sustainable Germany), among others. He is a member of the Spokesperson’s Council of the Platform “Civilian Conflict Transformation”, an association of 55 organizations and 110 individuals from civil society to overcome violence.

Hans-Lothar Domröse has held leadership responsibilities at all levels in the Bundeswehr: from company commander to battalion, brigade and division commander to commanding general of EUROCORPS in Strasbourg, France. His last assignment was as a four-star general with NATO in Brunssum, the Netherlands. He gained operational experience in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, North Macedonia, Congo, and Afghanistan, where he was responsible for the ISAF mission. As Commander, Hans-Lothar Domröse was responsible for planning and leading NATO operations throughout the Supreme Allied Commander Europe’s area of responsibility. He is also responsible for relations with non-NATO countries such as Sweden, Finland, Austria, Ireland, and Switzerland. Hans-Lothar Domröse is a sought-after consultant and speaker on geopolitics and security policy for renowned companies, universities, politicians, and the media at home and abroad.

Sebastian Dworack heads the International Capacity Development Team of the Center for International Peace Operations (ZIF) in Berlin, which is dedicated to the tasks of peace mediation and mediation support, among others. Sebastian Dworack is a member of the ZIF staff pool of civilian experts for international peace operations as well as a trained mediator and systemic organizational consultant. Between 2002 and 2010, he worked as a political advisor in peace operations of the European Union and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation (OSCE) in several countries of the former Yugoslavia. He then worked as the executive director of the Willy Brandt School of Public Policy at the University of Erfurt and coordinated projects to train mediators in the South Caucasus and Eastern Europe in cooperation with the University of Applied Sciences Potsdam. He studied political science at the Universities of Munich, Edinburgh, and Bonn.

Dr. Ulrike Franke is a Policy Fellow at the European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR). She works on issues of German and European security and defense policy, in particular the influence of new technologies (e.g. drones and artificial intelligence) on warfare. She has published on these topics in DIE ZEIT, War on the Rocks, Comparative Strategy, Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte and Loyal, among others. She is part of the team that produces the “Sicherheitshalber” podcast (To be on the safe side), a German-language podcast on security and defense policy. Dr. Ulrike Franke studied in France, the United Kingdom and Switzerland and holds a PhD in International Relations from Oxford University, for which she received the John McCain Dissertation Award from the Munich Security Conference in 2019.

Dr. Tobias von Gienanth, Transparency International, has been Deputy Head of the Analysis Division since 2002 and was Project Coordinator at the German Section of Transparency In-

ternational from 2000 to 2001. His work focuses on peacekeeping on the African continent, US policy and transatlantic peacekeeping issues.

Dr. Annika Hansen has been working at the Center for International Peace Operations (ZIF) in Berlin since 2016. Previously, she worked at the United Nations from 2008 to 2016, mainly as an advisor on police deployment but also in the field of evaluation and rule of law and security institution building, the latter also in the UN mission in Libya. From 1996 to 2008, Dr. Annika Hansen was a research fellow at the Norwegian Defense Research Institute, where she also worked on peace operations and especially on police deployment and civil-military cooperation. From 2002 to 2003, Dr. Annika Hansen was the senior political advisor in the EU's first civilian mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina. She has studied in Cologne, Oslo and Boston and has also been a member of two advisory bodies to the Norwegian government, the Security and Disarmament Committee and the Defense Policy Committee.

Anne-Katrin Niemeier has been living in Mali for four years. She is head of the project "Support for Stabilization and Peace in Mali", which the Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) is implementing on behalf of the German Federal Foreign Office and which supports the Malian Government in implementing the peace agreement of 2015. Anne-Katrin Niemeier has been working for the federally owned GIZ in Germany and abroad since 2003. She has extensive work experience in countries such as Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Honduras. She is a certified consultant for systemic organizational development and specializes in working in fragile states in the field of crisis prevention and peacebuilding.

Dr. Almut Wieland-Karimi has been Executive Director of the Center for International Peace Operations (ZIF) since 2009. Prior to that, she worked internationally for the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) for many years, most recently as Head of the Country Office for the USA and Canada, based in Washington, D.C.. From 2002 to 2005, she established the FES representative office in the Afghan capital Kabul. She is a member of the International Advisory Board of the United Nations Training and Research Institute as well as the Advisory Board of the Federal Academy for Security Policy (BAKS), the German Armed Forces Command and Staff College and the Mercator Foundation.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE AREA OF PEACE AND SECURITY

The defense of one's own country, the protection of human rights or assistance to allies are preconditions for Germany's military engagement.

- A prerequisite for military engagement outside Germany is a valid mandate from an international alliance (such as the UN, NATO, the EU) of which Germany is a member. Diplomatic means must be exhausted before a military engagement.
- Economic self-interest should never be the reason for military engagement.
- Where possible, the Bundeswehr should engage in non-combat areas (e.g., health, protection of civilian forces, technology, supply, cybersecurity, mediation between conflicting parties, diplomacy) in areas of operations, thus fulfilling Allies' expectations of Germany in other ways.
- The aim of the commitment should be to build democracy and necessary infrastructures, to secure civilian services, to improve the humanitarian situation or even disaster prevention.
- Preventive measures should always have priority (see Recommendation 4.3). If these measures are not successful and Germany has to become involved militarily, it should concentrate on networked approaches and strengthen civilian involvement and development cooperation in the process. Germany's military engagement should primarily be aimed at protecting civilian measures and should be carried out in consultation with civilian forces on the ground.

The Bundeswehr should be an operational, efficient and modern defense and peacekeeping army of specialists that can react flexibly to current threats and emergencies.

- Germany is to meet the 2% target for defense spending in line with the NATO requirement. This is to include fixed quotas for humanitarian aid measures (also by civil society organizations) as well as acute civilian measures in the context of NATO missions.
- To be able to respond to current threats such as cyberattacks, terrorism and the trafficking of banned weapons of mass destruction, it is necessary to modernize the equipment and capabilities of the Bundeswehr. The Bundeswehr's equipment should be modernized according to the principle of quality over quantity. To this end, investments in armaments must be put to the test and adjusted if necessary.
- Autonomous weapon systems that select and engage targets without human intervention are to be abandoned. Germany should also work towards this with its alliance partners.
- Within the scope of possibilities, the use and transfer (export) of weapons must be restricted and controlled. Demonstrable misuse must be sanctioned. In addition, continuous talks on disarmament and arms regimes¹ are to be held. Community solutions and further disarmament treaties should be sought.
- Social skills of the Bundeswehr are also to be strengthened. These include the development of de-escalation skills, cultural sensitivity, mental preparation for war deployment, and post-deployment support. To this end, psychological support for soldiers should be expanded. Doctors and psychologists must receive specialized training and be paid in such a way that the Bundeswehr becomes an attractive employer.

¹ Regime is a political science term for a system of rules that determines how the actors involved deal with each other. In this context, the term "arms regime" refers to the rules that the world community sets for itself in dealing with weapons.

Germany should take preventive action earlier. If this does not lead to success, peacekeeping operations should provide help for self-help in as non-violent a manner as possible.

- In addition to prevention, the objectives are to include support for the pacification of conflicts, the creation of administrative structures based on the rule of law, the establishment of democracy and necessary infrastructures, the provision of education, economic development, and the fight against terrorism. The security forces on the ground are to be trained in such a way that the country will be able to protect itself on its own in the future.
- An advisory body should be set up to determine, on the basis of (ethical) criteria, where Germany should become involved. This body could, for example, take into account the recommendations of Crisis Watch from the International Crisis Group.
- Prevention should focus on promoting democracy by supporting elections and electoral assistance, promoting education, and fair and sustainable forms of trade that help stabilization and peace.
- More money is to be made available for development projects and civilian engagement to further expand and promote existing organizations. The funds in the budget are to be distributed in a balanced manner between preventive and reactive measures. This should make both the distribution of funds and their use in concrete measures verifiable.

In civilian missions and Bundeswehr operations abroad, it is important to respect and take into account the local culture.

- In peacekeeping operations, care must be taken to ensure that the engagement takes into account and respects the local culture. The measures must not violate the will of the local population or the United Nations General Convention on Human Rights.
- Operations can also be carried out if the local culture violates human rights (e.g. genital mutilation). At the same time, activities are to be included that work to reduce human rights violations and mitigate the consequences for the victims.
- The introduction of human rights takes time and only works in the long term. Possible courses of action are: tying supporting activities to conditions; combating causes through education; bringing about a change in awareness through education (imparting knowledge of interrelations); using local structures (council of elders, etc.); promoting cultural exchange (also on the Internet); using diplomacy and various incentives to influence governments and administrations; educating and supporting victims and those affected as well as clarifying their rights; and taking diverse teams into account when planning operations (gender, skin color, culture, level of education, age, etc.).

Peacekeeping operations are to be thoroughly planned and evaluated. Coordination between both the German ministries involved and the international partners is to be improved.

- Mission planning involves the formulation of clear, unambiguous objectives and sub-objectives, roadmaps, guidelines and exit strategies. In the course of a mission, these must be regularly reviewed and, if necessary, adjusted.

- A concept for evaluating deployments is a necessary prerequisite for mandates to be granted and extended by the Bundestag.
- Intensive exchange between international partners involved in peacekeeping operations is necessary and must be established in planning.
- An overarching body that is not staffed exclusively by politicians is to be established. The body should support coordination and the exchange of information between the ministries involved and the various actors in civilian peacekeeping, development cooperation, the Bundeswehr, and German missions abroad.
- A regular short-term evaluation of the achievement of the defined objectives is carried out. At longer intervals, a detailed evaluation of foreign deployments is to be carried out in which, in addition to the course of the deployment, the cooperation of the various departments is also assessed. The report will be addressed to the Bundestag and all organizations involved in the mission, as well as Germany's missions on the ground. An understandably worded report is to be produced for the public.

Germany should strengthen the formation of public opinion through differentiated public relations work by providing more transparent, reliable and comprehensible information on military engagement and foreign missions.

- The procedure for military engagements and foreign missions should be transparent for the German population as well as the population of the country of deployment. The population should be better informed about German involvement in peacekeeping and development cooperation. The information should be made available in simple language.
- The neutral evaluation panel is to report self-critically and in detail on the objectives, the measures of the operations and the interim results of the continuous evaluation. This will promote the interest of the population and create the basis for forming their own opinions. In addition to representatives of the Bundeswehr, the panel should also include other organizations that contribute different perspectives. This should also include federal institutions, such as the Federal Agency for Civic Education.
- Communication is to be structured not only linearly, but also dialogically. Feedback based on differentiated information is to be made possible via framework formats (for example, through citizens' assemblies).
- There should be room in school curricula for educational work on Germany's commitment to peace and security in the world.

With its recommendations, the travel group ties in the familiar model of the Bundeswehr with a restriction to non-combat operational areas. Nevertheless, it does not want to leave everything as it is. Regarding the financial commitment to peace and security, it strongly recommends keeping to **NATO's 2% target, albeit including spending on civilian engagement**. The participants also recommend better equipment for the Bundeswehr, adapted to the requirements of the 21st century. The travel group indirectly approves of the acquisition of remote-controlled drones: the participants only speak out against fully autonomous weapon systems.

The recommendations of the Peace and Security travel group follow the “primacy of politics and the primacy of prevention”. This primacy is also laid down in the Federal Government’s 2018 guidelines “Preventing Crises, Managing Conflicts, Promoting Peace”. The travel group’s program includes restricting arms exports, promoting disarmament, building competencies for de-escalation and promoting them within the framework of NATO’s 2% target. The program overlaps with the recommendations of the travel groups on Sustainable Development, Economy and Trade, European Union and Democracy and Rule of Law, all of which also address development projects and economic development through fair trade and democratization.

The travel group’s recommendations make a point out of recommending a communication strategy to ensure more transparency and information. This also includes the recommendation for more citizen participation, which could bring this largely unfamiliar policy area closer to the citizens.

5.4 GERMANY’S ROLE FOR PEACE AND SECURITY IN THE WORLD

Germany should increase its commitment to preventive measures (diplomacy, education, building democracy and the rule of law, mediation, etc.) **in order to prevent conflicts before they break out, if possible.**



Germany should be perceived as a reliable partner and mediator in peacekeeping, acting internationally with restraint and foresight. The reliable partnership also explicitly refers to existing alliance obligations, for example within NATO or future obligations within the EU.

Germany should deploy itself militarily to defend itself or its allies and to protect peacekeeping operations on the ground. In doing so, the Bundeswehr should be active in particular in non-combatant parts of the deployment and respectfully take into account the local culture.



ILLUSTRATED REPRESENTATION OF THE TRAVEL GROUP PEACE AND SECURITY

The peace dove keeps a watchful eye on Germany making sure it practices restraint in military matters (helmet under the arm) and acts exclusively within the framework of multilateral missions (UN). The dictionary symbolizes the understanding of and exchange with the culture and people in the field. The missions are based on a clear plan. Helping people to help themselves is one of the most important instruments. This is symbolized by the shovel and the cable drum.

6. Travel group Democracy and the Rule of Law

6.1 ITINERARY AND QUESTIONS

The route of the Democracy and the Rule of Law travel group led them through the following stations:

- Multilateralism and international cooperation
- Engagement with autocracies

The travel group dealt in detail with the following issues:

- The UN as a multilateral organization of international order
- Germany's relationship with China
- Germany's relationship with Russia



Germany is a dedicated advocate for multilateralism. It believes that its interests in the world are best served when it acts together with others, either within the framework of the EU or the UN. This also means that Germany's role in the world depends on the functionality of international organizations. This raises the question whether Germany should support a reform of the UN, for example, to improve the UN's democracy and efficiency.

Despite its fundamental commitment to human rights, democracy and the rule of law, within the framework of international organizations and in bilateral relations, Germany cooperates with authoritarian states that violate these principles. What economic, political or even security-related interests lead to this? Are there "red lines" in the conflict between interests and values?

6.2 EXPERTS

Katja Gloger, who informed the travel group about the historical development of German-Russian relations, studied Russian history, politics and Slavic studies in Hamburg and Moscow and went to the Russian capital in the early nineties to work for "Stern". From 2004 to 2009 she worked as a correspondent in Washington. Since 2009, she has been living and working in Hamburg as a journalist and author. She has remained committed to the topic of Russia with the publications "Putins Welt. Das neue Russland, die Ukraine und der Westen" (Putin's World. The new Russia, Ukraine and the West) (2015) and "Fremde Freunde. Deutsche und Russen – Die Geschichte einer schicksalhaften Beziehung" (Strange Friends. Germans and Russians – The Story of a Fateful Relationship) (2017). On the one hand, Katja Gloger clearly names Putin as the driving force behind Russia's transition towards an authoritarian and repressive state that seeks to regain its past glory, while on the other hand, she regrets that the EU has not done enough to build a better relationship with Russia, especially after the fall of the Soviet Union. Since the annexation of Crimea, alienation and mistrust increased to such an extent that an understanding each other now hardly seems possible at all. Both sides have reasons for self-criticism.

Dr. Janka Oertel is the Director of the Asia Program at the European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR). After studying and completing her doctorate in Jena, she was a visiting fellow at

the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) and at the United Nations Headquarters in New York. Before joining ECFR, she managed the Asia Program of the Körber Foundation and was a Senior Fellow in the Asia Program of the Berlin Office of the German Marshall Fund of the United States. Her focus areas – transatlantic China policy, emerging technologies such as 5G, Chinese foreign policy and security in East Asia – make her predestined to provide the members of the travel group an outside perspective on China.

Michael Meyer-Resende, who introduced the topic of democracy and the rule of law, is executive director of the think tank “Democracy International Reporting”. After studying law and international law in Freiburg, Berlin and Brussels, he worked, among other positions, in the OSCE’s Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights. The OSCE supports the member states and civil society in their efforts to consolidate democracy and the rule of law, the protection of human rights and the promotion of tolerance and non-discrimination, and offers know-how to them.

Prof. Dr Kristin Shi-Kupfer, is Professor of Sinology at the University of Trier and Senior Associate Fellow at the Mercator Institute for China Studies (MERICS). After studying political science and sinology, which she completed with a PhD, she initially worked as a journalist and reported from Beijing for various newspapers from 2007 to 2011. Prof. Shi-Kupfer’s academic focus lies on China’s digital politics, ideology and media politics, civil society and human rights. Due to the many years she lived in China and the private and professional connections she established there, she reported on China from an internal perspective. Because of the human rights violations and the state’s ideological claim to power, she takes a critical stance towards China.

Michael Thumann studied history, politics and Slavic studies in Berlin, New York, Leningrad and Moscow before he became a journalist, mainly for *Die Zeit*, reporting from Southeastern Europe, Moscow and the Islamic countries of the collapsing Soviet Union. Michael Thumann is a member of the Deutsch-Russisches Forum e.V., a member of the advisory board of the Deutsch-Türkische Jugendbrücke and a member of the board of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Osteuropakunde e.V. He received the German Journalism Award in 2012 and 2016. In his latest book “Der neue Nationalismus. Die Wiederkehr einer totgeglaubten Ideologie” (The New Nationalism. The Return of an Ideology Believed Dead) (2020), he describes how Putin, Erdogan and Trump use nationalism as a way to remain in power. In the Democracy and the Rule of Law travel group, Michael Thumann reported on current issues and conflicts in the relationship with Russia. In contrast to Katja Gloger, he is certain: Russia is too big for European offers to have any influence on its self-determined actions.

Dr. Peter Wittig has been “Senior Advisor Global Affairs” for Schaeffler, a global German industrial company, since 2020. He is also a Fellow of the Harvard Kennedy School and teaches at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C.. Previously, he was a member of the German diplomatic service for almost four decades – holding a total of five ambassadorial posts. Most



recently, he was German ambassador to London (2018–2020), to Washington (2014–2018) and to the United Nations in New York (2009–2014). In 2011–2012, when Germany was a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council, Ambassador Wittig chaired this body on a rotating basis. Dr. Peter Wittig studied history, political science and law at the universities of Bonn, Freiburg, Canterbury and Oxford. Afterwards, he taught for three years at the University of Freiburg.

6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE AREA OF DEMOCRACY AND THE RULE OF LAW

Germany should work with allies to reform the UN Security Council to seek a fairer and more democratic distribution of seats and voting rights.

- Germany should work to ensure that the EU is given a permanent seat on the UN Security Council.
- The voting rights of the UN Security Council are to be revised, especially with regard to veto possibilities.

Germany should use its influence in close coordination with its (European and global) partners, but in a self-confident and leading manner, to advocate for the observance of human rights and the rule of law in the world. Germany should publicly address human rights violations and violations of the rule of law and take a clear stand.

- Dialogue with autocracies should be conducted on an ongoing basis, including in cases of human rights violations.
- (Political) education projects and social exchange with countries that are not democracies should be promoted worldwide, as they are a key to democratic change from within.
- Germany should take a stand against human rights violations and for the rule of law by having politics work together with business and by holding companies accountable. This can involve, for example, the foreign representations of companies or the introduction of import and export controls. Guidelines are to be developed to provide companies with guidance on trade with states that violate human rights. Better working conditions in the producing countries entail cost increases for products. These must be accepted. Citizens should be made aware of these correlations. Within Germany, the regulation of the internal market and the real estate market should be used as economic levers against autocratic systems.
- Political and/or economic sanctions should only be used when human rights violations have occurred, when it can be demonstrated that civil society is not suffering as a result, and when there are no further options for action.

Dealing with autocracies is to be considered individually. Cooperation with Russia and China is to be differentiated, as the relationship with the two countries and their shared history are very different.

Due to its historical responsibility and close cultural relationship with Russia, Germany should commit itself to a partnership-based relationship with Russia in the EU and convey democratic values through the partnership.

- Germany should play a mediating and peacemaking role between Russia and the USA.

The fact that Germany should publicly address violations of the rule of law and human rights and take a clear stand does not mean that it should seek confrontation. In the detailed subsections, it becomes clear that the travel group focuses on the model of “change through rapprochement”. There needs to be continuous dialogue and a democratic model of society should be promoted through exchanges between people, e.g. through educational projects. This is linked to the hope of being able to encourage change from within in autocracies. Democracy is a dynamic process that cannot be achieved overnight, but has to develop step by step.

The question of how German businesses should interact with autocracies is more demanding. Businesses should cooperate with policymakers and should be counted on to use their influence in autocratic systems. Guidelines for companies and their economic representations abroad should be developed in order to provide orientation on how to trade with countries that violate human rights. The accountability for supply chains, which the Economy and Trade and Sustainable Development travel groups have also dealt with, also plays a role in this context.

One tool identified by the travel group, that can be used as leverage to directly influence autocratic states, and basically constitutes a possibility to impose sanctions, is to limit the possibilities to profitably invest money in companies or real estate in Germany for those who are close to autocratic regimes of profiteer of power.

The travel group sees China much more critically than Russia. This assessment is mainly informed by reflections on the historic German-Russian relations: the responsibility for the Second World War, which caused more victims in the Soviet Union than anywhere else, but also the relations between the GDR and the Soviet Union, which many experienced as friendly. This demands of Germany, according to the travel group, that it stands up for a collaborative relationship with Russia, and even takes on the role of an advocate in the tense relationship with the USA.

6.4 GERMANY’S ROLE FOR DEMOCRACY AND THE RULE OF LAW IN THE WORLD

The travel group sees **Germany in the role of a parent, a mother or a father**. Just as parents assist their children, support them and take care of them until they “stand up” on their own, become “fledglings”, Germany should accompany other countries on their way to democracy and the rule of law. However, Germany should not act from a top-down position, but rather follow the path together with the countries. In its role as defender of democracy and the rule of law, Germany should be sustainable, self-confident, transparent, reliable and exemplary



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ILLUSTRATED REPRESENTATION OF THE TRAVEL GROUP DEMOCRACY AND THE RULE OF LAW.

The persona needs his broad cross and a strong foundation (education for all and a reliable and independent judiciary). Transparency and a watchful eye (magnifying glass) to make sure they are observed are essential. The persona reaches out to his partners who by their own efforts have not yet managed to establish themselves democratically. On the other hand, the persona holds a ballot box. The blue hand on the shirt is the symbol for human rights. The participation of all citizens in shaping opinion is an important part of democracy, that is why we recognize the silhouettes of people demonstrating on his shirt.

7. Travel Group Sustainable Development

7.1 ITINERARY AND QUESTIONS

The Sustainable Development Group's itinerary included the following stops:

- Germany and the Sustainable Development Goals
- Germany's role in global climate protection
- Germany's agricultural policy and the fight against hunger in the world

The 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) adopted by the United Nations (UN) in 2015 are intended to ensure sustainable development worldwide economically, socially as well as ecologically by 2030. **A lack of commitment and ambition make it unlikely that these goals will be achieved by 2030 in Germany and elsewhere.** The situation is similar when it comes to climate protection. **From the point of view of a clear majority of the Citizens' Assembly, climate is a particularly urgent field of action,** because without a rapid reduction of the emission of climate-damaging gases, tipping points are likely to be passed soon, at which the entire Earth's system will change and the livelihoods of future generations will rapidly dwindle. In contrast, the fight against hunger and poverty has received less public attention in Germany. But industrial agriculture, international trade in agricultural goods, climate change and changes in ecosystems are interconnected. This was illustrated by the example of the trade agreement between the European Union and the South American Mercosur states.

An orientation towards an ambitious policy of sustainable development also entails personal sacrifices and macroeconomic losses. How should Germany position itself in this regard? In view of this cost, how can we succeed in awakening the necessary ambition to achieve the sustainability goals and ensure greater binding force for compliance with this self-commitment?

7.2 EXPERTS

Dr. Hermann-Josef Baaken, Managing Director of the German Animal Nutrition Association, brought the perspective of agriculture, the feed sector and the food industry into the discussion on the Mercosur Agreement. A lot has already been done for climate protection in the past decades, e.g. through the high use of by-products from food production, which represents the circular economy and sustainability. Feed producers have also committed to sustainable soy and palm oil in animal feed itself. With regard to the Mercosur Agreement, the German Animal Nutrition Association therefore cautions that questions of environmental policy, for example in Brazil, would have to be regulated so that comparable conditions could be achieved worldwide as a basis for global trade in goods. Agricultural imports from third countries must not undermine the high and cost-intensive EU standards in consumer, environmental, climate and animal protection.

Pastor Prof. Dr. h. c. Cornelia Füllkrug, President of Bread for the World and Diaconia Disaster Relief, has for many years shaped the commitment of the Protestant Church in Germany to sustainable and globally fair development. In 2007, she was awarded the Federal Cross of Merit for her engagement. In 2019, the Federal Government appointed her to the Commission on



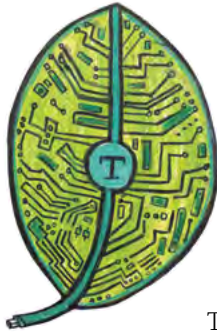
the Causes of Flight and the Commission on the Sustainable Development Goals, as well as to the German Council for Sustainable Development on 1 January 2020. At the beginning of 2020, Pastor Prof. Dr h. c. Cornelia Füllkrug was appointed honorary professor by the Protestant University of Applied Sciences Ludwigsburg. At the Citizens' Assembly, she spoke as a dedicated campaigner for the hungry and disadvantaged of this world.

Prof. Dr. Maja Göpel is a political economist, expert on sustainability policy and one of Germany's best-known transformation researchers. Before joining "The New Institute" in Hamburg as Scientific Director in 2020, she served as Secretary General of the German Advisory Council on Global Change (WBGU). Maja Göpel is co-founder of Scientists for Future and holds an honorary professorship at the University of Lüneburg. With her publications, she has made her ideas for changing our society and economy known to a wide audience (Spiegel bestseller), and at the same time gained academic recognition (Adam Smith Prize, Erich Fromm Prize). Her model of sustainable economic activity and fair distribution of wealth is based on seeing growth only as a means to an end and subordinating all economic activity to the strategic use of natural and finite resources. In order to achieve this, a fundamentally new way of thinking is needed that turns those affected into actors in processes of change – she also represented this position in the Citizens' Assembly.

Prof. Moenieba Isaacs works at the Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS) at the University of Western Cape (UWC) in South Africa. Via video message, she reported to the Citizens' Assembly from the perspective of the Global South. Her research focuses on small-scale fisheries. Their contribution to food security and poverty alleviation is affected by the impact of global change processes such as climate change, globalization and urbanization.

Dr. Roland Kube grew up in Düsseldorf and works in the competence field Environment, Energy and Infrastructure at the German Economic Institute in Cologne (IW) as an economist. His work mainly involves impact analyses on energy and climate policy in Germany and Europe, especially on the question of how the industrial sector can become climate neutral. In his doctoral thesis at the University of Münster, he already used company data to examine the effectiveness of climate policy in German industry. In the process, he assisted his doctoral supervisor, Prof. Dr. Andreas Löschel, with annual reports for the German government on the progress of the energy transition, as well as working on reports for the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP). In addition to his academic career, he has gained international experience, especially through stays abroad in India, Israel and South Africa. He represented the perspective of business in the thematic field of sustainable development.

Prof. Dr. Tobias Kümmerle, from the Institute of Biogeography at the Humboldt University in Berlin, reported on the connection between climate protection, agriculture and biodiversity. In projects in several regions of the world, biogeography has shown that land use changes are



the main driver of biodiversity loss and have great synergy effects with other main drivers of the extinction crisis such as overexploitation and climate change. This also applies to South America, where the trade agreement between the EU and the Mercosur (South American Common Market) countries threatens to damage the environment.

Prof. Dr. Imme Scholz, Deputy Director of the German Development Institute (DIE) and Vice Chair of the German Council for Sustainable Development, has worked for over 20 years as a sociologist on various issues at the interface of environment and development, including land and forest use in the Amazon, sustainable consumption, adaptation to climate change and the role of development policy in promoting international environmental cooperation. Prof. Dr. Imme Scholz has been a member of the Chamber for Sustainable Development of the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKD) since 1996. She has also been an honorary professor for global sustainability and its normative foundations at the Centre for Ethics and Responsibility at Bonn-Rhein-Sieg University of Applied Sciences since 2019. Prof. Dr Imme Scholz has been a member of the German Council for Sustainable Development since 2013, and has been Deputy Chair of the Council since 2020. Prof. Dr. Imme Scholz gave an introductory overview of the Sustainable Development Goals and the German Sustainability Strategy.

7.3 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE AREA OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Preamble

Germany should promote sustainability, climate protection, the right to clean water and the fight against world hunger as a global cross-sectional task (a task that affects all areas) and place them at the center of its political action so that future generations can also live well. In doing so, Germany should also act in the interests of other countries.

Germany must set international standards by enshrining sustainability in the Basic Law and establishing a sustainability ministry that coordinates, controls and monitors other ministries and ensures transparency. With the help of this sustainability ministry, Germany should:

- Shift subsidy policy from non-sustainable sectors to sustainable sectors,
- increase development aid (e.g. 2% of gross national income) and empower small farmers in the global South,
- commit to transitioning to a sustainable green economy, e.g. through appropriate use of Corona recovery assistance,
- work with its partners, especially the EU, to develop long-term standards and policies of sustainability, also in the interest of other countries,
- consistently expose and sanction violations internationally, and
- use and account for citizen-based, political forums (e.g. citizens' assemblies) on a permanent basis.

Germany should work internationally to ensure that the economy and consumption on the global and local level are shaped according to the principles of sustainability and climate protection and that compliance with these principles is monitored. The time that has been wasted in the area of climate protection should be made good and Germany should work with and within the EU to consistently restructure the energy and mobility sector in an emissions-neutral way and to represent and promote this transformation at the international level.

This should be done by ensuring that Germany,

- enacts legislation to reduce climate-damaging emissions (e.g. taxation, CO₂ brake, higher prices in emissions trading),
- prioritizes climate protection, even if classic economic growth targets are missed in Germany,
- promotes innovations in the field of energy and mobility (and benefits from them internationally), e.g. by promoting local public transport, cycling and railroads and developing comprehensive concepts also for the local and global transport of goods,
- introduce mandatory sustainability certification and supply chain transparency criteria,
- promotes the consumption of sustainable products through price regulation, concessions and subsidies and no longer promotes, reduces and consistently bans non-sustainable products and production chains that are harmful to the climate and health,
- reduce the consumption of meat and animal protein,
- advocates the establishment of and compliance with environmental and labor standards, subjects products produced abroad to the same conditions as those in Germany, and advocates its own sustainability criteria in trade agreements, and
- as a contribution against hunger in the world, prohibits food destruction and orients production to demand.

Germany must work with and within the EU to ensure that agricultural policy is brought under the principle of sustainability by respecting and preserving the natural foundations of human, animal, and environmental life worldwide.

This is to be achieved by

- food prices are fairly reflected so that producers can produce at reasonable prices,
- higher food prices be socially cushioned for example by a reduced VAT rate for all sustainably produced staple foods,
- EU funds and subsidies should only be made available for sustainable agriculture. These should no longer be linked to premiums for land, but farmers should be remunerated for their role as landscape managers, for the protection of biodiversity and the avoidance of monocultures,
- development cooperation is focused on the right to food, empowering smallholder agriculture and improving infrastructure (transport and storage) to prevent food destruction,

- the agricultural industry and its supply chains are monitored to prioritize food production over other uses, avoid overproduction and waste, and prevent exports from Europe at dumping prices to developing countries.
- This also applies if food prices in Germany rise as a result.

Germany is to drive forward research and development in the field of sustainability together with the EU as a top priority through clear political guidelines and financial support. Among other things, disadvantaged countries should be promoted and enabled to meet sustainability criteria in cooperation. If necessary, Germany should also move forward without the EU.

This is to be achieved by Germany

- driving and promoting basic research and innovation,
- financially supporting sustainable technologies, energies, industries and the circular economy,
- cooperating with other countries through technology and knowledge transfer,
- helping other countries to help themselves through development cooperation, thereby enabling future cooperation. The awarding of aid must be tied to the fulfilment of sustainability criteria.
- This should be done taking into account the country's own economic viability and without using non-sustainable solutions from abroad. In doing so, Germany must accept that it may reduce its lead in sustainable technology or suffer economic disadvantages.

Germany should promote consistent changes in consciousness and behavior around the world by showing courage to embrace a reorientation towards the common good and end the continuous growth paradigm, and by promoting positive, sustainable behavior.

This goal is achieved by ensuring that Germany

- creates a positive image of sustainability and climate protection, promotes motivation through recognition and appreciation for positive sustainable behavior instead of penalizing it, and learns from other exemplary countries,
- promotes humanism, international solidarity and partnerships with other countries,
- makes political decisions independently of special interests,
- strategically promote sustainability and global climate protection through lifelong learning in all areas,
- introduce a compulsory subject of sustainability and establish sustainability across the curriculum in all educational institutions and through further training courses in all social, economic and political areas. Educational institutions and companies are to be encouraged to act in a resource-conscious manner through financial incentives.

The numerous concrete proposals of the travel group clearly show: **For the participants, sustainable development is an urgent and time-critical field of action when it comes to Germany's role in the world.** With surprising clarity, the group acknowledges that for the sake of a world worth living in for future generations, sacrifices must be made in some areas of life. This concerns not

only the personal level, where state support is to cushion the cuts for less well-off people, but also and especially the national economic level. Here, the model of economic growth is called into question. The participants want to achieve more binding force through legal regulation and an overarching sustainability ministry. Despite profound measures, the travel group has hardly formulated any prohibitions, because from their point of view it is more sustainable to rely instead on incentives, insight and conviction, which can be promoted through information and education.



7.4 GERMANY'S ROLE IN SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Because Germany is economically so strong, the participants of the travel group are convinced that **it also has the responsibility to advance sustainable development in the world** and to set impulses. Germany should play a pioneering role in this respect. However, it should not act as the world's teacher. For historical reasons alone, that would be unacceptable. Rather, **Germany must start with the consistent implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals in its own country**. This is also the reason why the concrete sub-items are often aimed at the national level, although the participants as a whole are of the opinion that the framework of the EU is also important for working towards sustainable development. Germany should be reserved towards the other partners in the EU and promote a future-oriented policy of the EU through communication.



ILLUSTRATED REPRESENTATION OF THE TRAVEL GROUP SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

With the future generation on his shoulders, carrying a textbook under his arm as a symbol of education, Germany is walking with great strides towards the future (symbolized by the binoculars). Social, economic and ecological sustainability are represented by the three overlapping patches on the chest. Germany does not lose sight of other countries or disadvantaged people and invites them to join. His footprint is CO₂ neutral. Sustainability is fun and innovative.

8. Information on the Citizens' Assembly Germany's Role in the World

8.1 TASKS AND ROLES IN THE CITIZENS' ASSEMBLY

The Citizens' Assembly was initiated by the association Mehr Demokratie in cooperation with the initiative Es geht LOS.

Mehr Demokratie has been working to empower citizens to help shape politics and to build a bridge between the population and politics for over 30 years. They pursue this goal by working on, for example, direct-democratic processes, transparent politics and citizen participation. Mehr Demokratie advises citizens' initiatives on the local and state level and scientifically evaluates the practice of direct democracy. For several years, Mehr Demokratie has also been advocating for sortition-based Citizens' Assemblies. Mehr Demokratie initiated the first nationwide Citizens' Assembly in Germany, the "Citizens' Assembly on Democracy", which took place in Leipzig in 2019. Mehr Demokratie coordinated the project and ensured that there was a good, non-partisan connection to politics. Mehr Demokratie also took on press and public relations work as well as campaigning for the Assembly.

Es geht LOS was the cooperation partner in this Citizens' Assembly. As a non-partisan, independent think & do tank, the team develops various sortition-based formats of outreach and citizen participation. In doing so, Es geht LOS combines perspectives and experiences from politics, science, business and municipal administration. Es geht LOS is a joint initiative of the association Demokratie Innovation and the non-profit buergerpolitik.org GmbH. Es geht LOS mediated the contacts to scientific advisors and took on alliance building for the project.

Independent implementation institutes

Mehr Demokratie has commissioned three independent implementation institutes that have many years of experience in the field of citizen participation to carry out and implement the Citizens' Assembly in terms of content and organization.

ifok is the European market leader for participation and, as part of the international Cadmus Group, offers transdisciplinary strategy and expert advice for sustainable development, sound process and dialogue expertise as well as comprehensive specialist knowledge from a single source.

The **nexus Institute for Cooperation Management and Interdisciplinary Research** designs and moderates participatory processes: from complex citizen participation projects to multi-stakeholder formats. The institute has been conducting deliberative randomized participation processes for 20 years.

The **IPG** is an institute for design and innovation processes. It designs sustainable and meaningful solutions with actors from civil society, business, politics, administration and science. To this end, the institute uses design-oriented and collaborative methods.

Scientific guidance, evaluation and support panel

In selecting the topics and speakers, the independent implementing institutes were supported and accompanied by three proven foreign policy experts: Dr. Cornelius Adebahr, independent policy consultant, Sarah Brockmeier from the Global Public Policy Institute (GPPI) and Barbara Mittelhammer, independent policy consultant.

The independent scientific monitoring and evaluation was carried out by the Institute for Democracy and Participation Research (IDPF) at the University of Wuppertal in cooperation with the Institute for Advanced Sustainability Studies (IASS) Potsdam under the direction of Prof. Dr. Hans Lietzmann and Prof. Dr. Dr. Ortwin Renn. The evaluation was funded by the Volkswagen Foundation.

In an online event, experts from academia, politics and civil society organizations also provided helpful feedback on the Citizens' Assembly concept and program. This support panel acted as a sounding board for the ideas of the initiators and implementing institutions.

8.2 THE CITIZENS' ASSEMBLY AS THE CENTRAL EVENT OF A WIDER PROCESS

Characteristics of Citizens' Assemblies

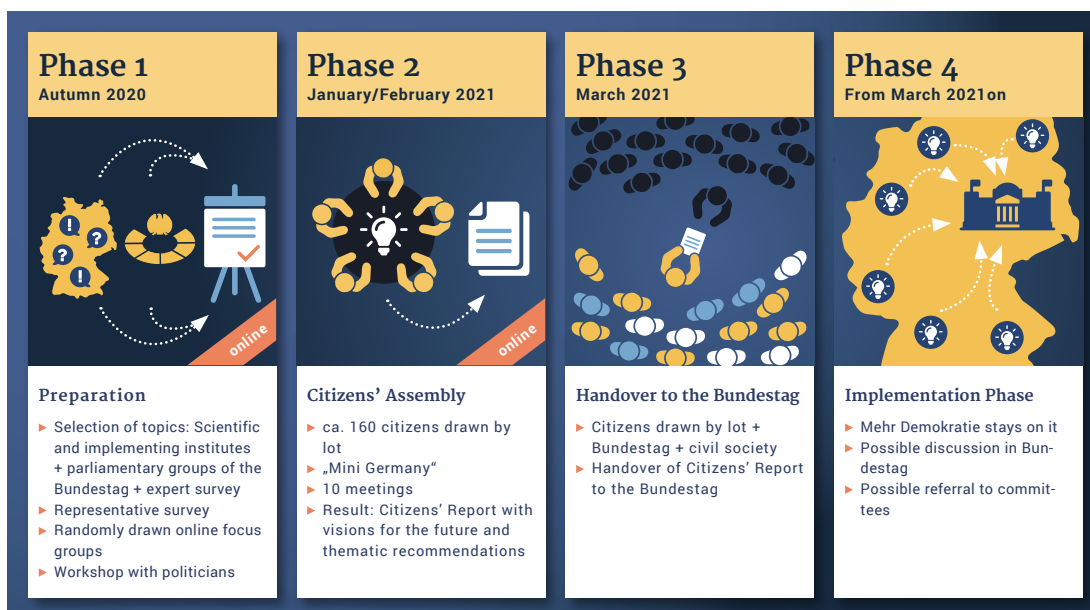
Citizens' Assemblies are a special form of citizen participation based on random selection of participants. Citizens' Assemblies represent a cross-section of the population by virtue of random draws. This is intended to ensure that the recommendations formulated by participants after an intensive negotiation process are also comprehensible and acceptable to society as a whole. Citizens' Assemblies have been successful in resolving highly controversial issues. A striking example of this is how a drawn Irish Citizens' Assembly led the way out of the profound conflict over abortion rights in Catholic Ireland.

The randomly selected participants form their opinions based on presentations by experts representing different perspectives on the particular subject of the Citizens' Assembly. They are supported by a team of moderators and assistants who, while maintaining strict neutrality with regard to content, ensure that everyone is able to participate in the discussion and that the results of the discussions are recorded in consultation with the group.

Phases of the Citizens' Assembly

The Citizens' Assembly on Germany's Role in the World is the second nationwide Citizens' Assembly in Germany, following the Citizens' Assembly on Democracy, which was held in 2019. It was also a democratic experiment aimed at determining whether this form of citizen participation can also be carried out digitally and which elements should be considered to introduce the Citizens' Assembly format at the German federal level.

The overall process of the Citizens' Assembly Germany's Role in the World consists of the following four phases:



Overview of the process of the Citizen's Assembly on Germany's Role in the World

The **first phase** involved preparing the content and practical organization of the Citizens' Assembly.

The **second phase** is the core of the project and gives its name to the entire process. Randomly selected participants developed the recommendations made in this Citizens' Report and approved them with a large majority.

In the **third phase**, the Citizens' Report was handed over to the President of the Bundestag, Dr. Wolfgang Schäuble, and representatives of all parliamentary groups in the German Bundestag on March 19, 2021.

In the **fourth phase**, the implementation of the recommendations will be monitored continuously by Mehr Demokratie, Es geht LOS and by citizens.

Theme and development of the program

The topic “Germany’s Role in the World” was proposed on June 18, 2020 by Bundestag President Dr. Wolfgang Schäuble and the Council of Elders of the German Bundestag as the subject for a nationwide Citizens’ Assembly.

In order to be able to define the subject matter more concretely, the parliamentary groups were first asked to explain in keywords what specifically a Citizens’ Assembly under this header should deal with. On this basis, special groups of stakeholders and the public were then involved in four steps:

30 experts from academia and civil society contributed their thematic emphases in an online **survey**. For this process, themes that had previously been mentioned by policymakers were prioritized. In addition, examples were given that could be used to convey and think through the challenges facing Germany.

Afterwards, randomly selected citizens discussed the topic in four focus groups, first freely in small groups. Afterwards they used a mind map to assess where they thought the focus of the Citizens’ Assembly’s program should lie.

Members of parliament and representatives of federal ministries and social stakeholders were also involved in the preparatory phase of the Citizens’ Assembly through a workshop. They explained their positions on the topic in free discussion and with written contributions on a digital pinboard. At the end of the preparatory phase, members of parliament were informed in a further meeting about the Citizens’ Assembly’s rudimentary program and were able to provide feedback on it once again.

THEMES	MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT	EXPERTS	CITIZENS
Peace and security	X	X	X
Multilateralism – international order and law	X	X	
European Union	X	X	X
Democracy and human rights	X	X	X
Sustainability and climate policy		X	X
Standard of living			X
Flight and migration		X	X
Economy and trade	X	X	

Competition of systems with China	X	X
Social justice		X

Table 2: Most important topics of the various groups in the preparation of the work program

The results of a [representative survey](#) conducted at the end of October 2020 mirror those that came to the forefront in the other steps in developing the work program. Asked which issues German policymakers should champion, respondents answered: peace and security, democracy and human rights, climate and environmental protection, flight and migration, the European Community, and business and trade. These topics received considerably more support than all the others.

By superimposing the results from the various building blocks, [five main topics crystallized](#). Other frequently mentioned sub-issues were then assigned to these. Asylum, flight and migration were assigned to the European Union as a sub-theme. The topics of social justice and standard of living were included in the travel groups Sustainable Development and Economy and Trade via the question “What are we willing to give or to give up?”. The theme of multilateralism implicitly accompanied the Europe travel group throughout its journey through the Citizens' Assembly. Explicitly, it was included as the first stop in Democracy and the Rule of Law. Also assigned to this travel group was system competition with China. However, the Economy and Trade travel group also dealt with the German-Chinese relationship.

THEME	WED, 20. JAN.	WED, 27. JAN.	SAT, 30. JAN.	WED, 03. FEB.	SAT, 06. FEB.	WED, 10. FEB.
Peace and Security	Germany's role as a military ally		Germany's role in civilian peacekeeping			Reflection/overall view
Democracy and Rule of Law	The role of democracy and the rule of law in international cooperation and multilateralism			The role of Germany in cooperation with autocracies		
Economy and Trade	Germany's role in international trade		Germany and its supply chains			Economic relations between Germany and China
Sustainable Development	Germany and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)		Germany's role in global climate protection			Agricultural policy and the fight against world hunger
European Union	Germany and European foreign policy			Germany's role in EU migration policy		

Table 3: Work program of the travel groups

8.3 RANDOM SELECTION OF PARTICIPANTS

Staggered random selection

All people with German citizenship over the age of 16 should have a chance to participate in the Citizens' Assembly. In addition, the composition of the Citizens' Assembly should represent Germany on a small scale. To ensure this, a staggered random selection was carried out and subsequently a selection was made according to statistical criteria from all those drawn who wished to participate.

Municipalities from all federal states and in four size categories were selected from the official directory of municipalities in the Federal Republic of Germany. In some federal states, several municipalities had to be selected due to the small number of inhabitants in the selected villages. A total of **84 municipalities were selected**.

The 84 selected municipalities were asked to draw a **random sample from the population registers**. The criteria were: Age of at least 16 years old, German citizenship, and equal numbers of women and men. The number of records requested was based on the proportion of the state's population represented by the respective size class of the municipality.

Of the 84 municipalities contacted, 75 sent address data. **A total of 4,352 invitations were sent**. **In the end, participants came from 52 localities**, which are marked in green on the map. A black dot indicates that the locality was represented in the random selection of municipalities, but no one from there participated in the Citizens' Assembly.



Map of the randomly selected municipalities for the Citizens' Assembly

Composition of the Citizens' Assembly participants according to criteria (sampling).

The Citizens' Assembly was intended to represent German society as a whole in terms of gender, age, level of education, type of municipality and migration background. Overall, this goal has been well achieved. The values highlighted in color in the table deviate significantly from the statistical distribution of the population as a whole:

CRITERIA	ACTUAL (=represented in the Citizens' Assembly) on 13 January 2021, 169 participants		ACTUAL (=represented in the Citizens' Assembly) on 20 February 2021, 152 participants		TARGET (=statistical distribution in the population) calculated for 160 participants	
GENDER						
Male	84	49,7%	76	50,0%	79	49,3%
Female	85	50,3%	76	50,0%	81	50,7%
AGE						
16–25	29	17,2%	27	17,8%	20	12,3%
26–40	40	23,7%	36	23,7%	36	22,4%
41–65	64	37,9%	59	38,8%	66	41,3%
65+	36	21,3%	30	19,7%	38	24,0%
LEVEL OF EDUCATION						
Current high school student	9	5,3%	8	5,2%	6	3,6%
No high school degree	1	0,6%	0	0,0%	8	4,9%
Hauptschule	17	10,1%	13	8,4%	47	29,6%
Intermediate level of education	51	30,2%	45	29,6%	48	29,9%
Technical/general higher education	45	26,6%	42	27,3%	23	14,4%
University degree	46	27,2%	44	28,6%	28	17,6%
MUNICIPALITY SIZE						
under 5.000	27	16,0%	25	16,2%	22	13,9%
under 20.000	44	26,0%	42	27,3%	42	26,5%
under 100.000	43	25,4%	36	23,4%	44	27,5%
over 500.000	55	32,5%	49	32,2%	51	32,1%
MIGRATION BACKGROUND						
yes	23	13,6%	20	13,2%	19	12,1%

no	143	84,6%	130	85,5%	141	87,9%
Information missing	3		2			
FEDERAL STATE						
Baden-Württemberg	22	13,0%	21	13,8%	21	13,3%
Bayern	26	15,4%	22	14,5%	25	15,8%
Berlin	8	4,7%	8	5,3%	7	4,4%
Brandenburg	6	3,6%	5	3,3%	5	3,0%
Bremen	1	0,6%	1	0,7%	1	0,8%
Hamburg	5	3,0%	4	2,6%	4	2,2%
Hesse	13	7,7%	11	7,2%	12	7,6%
Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania	1	0,6%	1	0,7%	3	1,9%
Lower Saxony	16	9,5%	14	9,2%	15	9,6%
North Rhine-Westphalia	33	19,5%	29	19,1%	35	21,6%
Rhineland-Palatinate	9	5,3%	9	5,9%	8	4,9%
Saarland	3	1,8%	3	2,0%	2	1,2%
Saxony	9	5,3%	8	5,3%	8	4,9%
Saxony-Anhalt	5	3,0%	5	3,3%	4	2,7%
Schleswig-Holstein	7	4,1%	6	3,9%	6	3,5%
Thuringia	5	3,0%	5	3,3%	4	2,6%

Table 4: Composition of the Citizens' Assembly: target and actual according to selected criteria

Random drawing is a particularly inclusive process. It affects everyone equally, but because it encounters different social realities, there is still an over-representation of those with a high level of education and an under-representation of those with a low level of education, which is often also accompanied by a low income.

Thus, despite the inclusive entry process, in the Citizens' Assembly, as is the case in other participation processes, there is a lower representation of the less educated third of society. This is all the more regrettable because this group is also less likely to participate in elections or to be involved in political parties, trade unions or associations. **To counteract the effect known as education bias, considerable efforts were made in the preparatory phase:** A nationwide randomized telephone campaign by a polling institute was used to specifically recruit people who did not have a high school diploma or university degree. In addition, people with addresses in socially disadvantaged neighborhoods in large cities who had already been invited by mail were

called via publicly accessible telephone numbers or visited on site, which was comparatively successful but only possible to a very limited extent due to the pandemic. It can be considered a success that people with middle-level education were represented in the Citizens' Assembly in proportion to their share of the population. The fact that people with lower secondary and elementary school qualifications made up 10.1 percent of participants is a good figure for a citizen participation process, especially when it is taken into account that their high proportion of the population is mainly due to the fact that lower secondary or elementary school qualifications are much more common in older cohorts than in younger ones. Among those aged 65 and older, people with secondary and elementary school diplomas account for 54.5%. However, the very elderly are less likely to participate in civic participation processes because of their age. In the case of this Citizens' Assembly, there was also the added hurdle of digital implementation.

Nevertheless, the comparatively low representation of people with a low level of schooling shows that further efforts are needed to ensure that this group can represent its opinions and interests in the same way as others.

8.4 FORMATS FOR OPINION BUILDING IN THE CITIZENS' ASSEMBLY

The forming of opinions in the Citizens' Assembly took place in both plenary sessions and small groups. Even within the specific travel groups there was also a plenum, i.e. a large round, and small groups. In the plenum, experts introduced the topics to be discussed. Afterwards, participants could ask questions. In subsequent smaller "table groups" of six to seven participants, citizens were able to formulate their opinions. The groups were supported by a moderator who ensured that everyone had a chance to speak and that the central theme was maintained. In consultation with the participants, interim results were recorded by an assistant on a digital bulletin board. As a rule, the results were secured according to a scheme that worked with four questions:

- What values should Germany advocate for in the world?
- What interests should Germany represent in the world?
- What expectations do other countries have of Germany?
- What options for action are open to Germany in the world?

In some cases, the table groups also served to prepare questions for subsequent [panel discussions](#) with several experts. In even smaller, [non-moderated small groups](#), three to four participants were able to discuss what they had heard.

The digital implementation of the Citizens' Assembly also offered the possibility of using a [chat](#) for the written exchange of opinions. For this purpose, an [online platform](#) was set up exclusively for the participants. This website also provided access to additional information such as the day's agenda, tips on introductory literature, links to the videos of the presentations, and documentation of the discussion progress on digital bulletin boards.

The classic deliberation, an exchange through arguments, which characterizes the Citizens' Assembly participation format, was supplemented in the Citizens' Assembly on Germany's Role in the World by creative methods with which the abstract topic was made more tangible. By working with **word clouds** collected in the plenary sessions on Germany's role, **personas** were created, personified images in which the particular challenges, values and interests, but also the possibilities for action were pictorially captured. Those who wanted to could paint their personal picture of Germany and share it with the others. In the plenary session, an **illustrator** designed the personas by creatively translating what she heard from the discussions.

The Citizens' Assembly was divided into travel groups due to the complexity of the topic. The challenge was to ensure that they would be more than five isolated, small Citizens' Assemblies. All the travel group topics also were asked to think through Germany's role in the world as a whole. That is why an exchange of opinions across the different travel groups was so important. This challenge was conceptually implemented by having ambassadors from the travel groups report on their interim results in the plenary meetings and then providing space for exchange among themselves in mixed small groups. The last dates were reserved exclusively for the overarching exchange between the travel groups.

9. Quotes from the citizens

On the last Citizens' Assembly day, participants were asked the following question:
How would you describe Citizens' Assembly Germany's role in the world in one sentence?

These are some of the answers that were given:

“ For the first time, I felt like a „responsible“ citizen whose opinion is in demand. I very much hope that our collective work will receive the necessary attention and appreciation that we all hope for, and that the quiet criticism, which our recommendations of course also contain, will stimulate reflection and action.”

“ A building block of democracy, it is good that there is such a thing!”

“ It's hard to help make so many important decisions in such a short time, but VERY IMPORTANT to participate!!!!”

“ ...Brainstorming randomly selected people to come up with a valuable contribution for a better world.”

“ Everyone who is selected should participate in this democratic co-determination!!!!”

“ Much better than expected. Interesting, even exciting and well conducted. Good atmosphere.”

“ ...to be a politician on a temporary basis for once.”

“ ...we err ahead.”

“ Finally, a forum where long-term political goals are discussed in an ideology-free way instead of short-term „solutions to problems“.”

“It’s been an inspiring experience to see how even citizens who aren’t that interested in politics can get involved and contribute in a way that would otherwise go unheard.”

“For me, the Citizens’ Assembly is an important active contribution to the democratic co-determination of political decisions, which should become a matter of course in all issues.”

“The Citizens’ Assembly is a reminder of what a blessing it is to live in a democracy!”

“A perfect solution on how to hear the voices of ordinary citizens and a great experience to talk and discuss with people from all over the country.”

“Nice idea, but the topic is too complex to come up with reasonably thought-out recommendations in a short period of time.”

“The Citizens’ Assembly can hold a mirror up to politicians, drive them and encourage them to respond.”

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“It was grassroots democracy.”

“The Citizens’ Assembly Germany’s role in the world was a great opportunity to actively experience democracy and to increase awareness of politics through diverse inspiring lectures, discussions and experiences.”

“For me, the Citizens’ Assembly meant accepting a challenge, getting involved politically and being part of something big and whole, which filled me with pride.”

“It’s nice to be a part of the whole.”

“The Citizens’ Assembly is an important tool to bring politics and the population closer together.”

“I’m glad I persisted to the end.”

10. Impressum

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Citizens' Assembly participants were asked to send in photos. Most of them participated. Two photographers edited the pictures to create this gallery.



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