GERMAN ‘SOFT POWER’: FROM THE FALL OF THE WALL TO THE 2006 WORLD CUP

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By

Juan Carlos Holguin, BA

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After the Second World War, and especially since the fall of the Berlin Wall, Germany has made an enormous effort to build international relations and external cooperation. To do this, it has used many strategies of soft power, attempting to distance itself from the negative stereotypes of its history. In this thesis, I will analyze the “German model of development” that has positioned the country in the new world order of the second half of the twentieth century as an economic power with a successful democratic system. This thesis will also examine the ways in which Germany influences different regions of the world, spreading its democratic, economic and cultural principles with the help of a strategic plan of cooperation that includes official and non-governmental organizations, foundations, schools, churches, and others, while developing a new tool of diplomatic relations that began in 2006: soccer.
The research and writing of this thesis
is dedicated to my wife and my son Gabriel; my parents; Eric; Victoria;
and all the good friends that supported me during this process in Quito, Buenos Aires,
Washington D.C., Germany and Brazil.

Many thanks,
Juan Carlos Holguin
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INTRODUCTION

In the last 24 months, Germany has dominated the world’s headlines. There is not a newspaper in the world that has not contained an article, editorial or photograph of Germany, its Chancellor, Angela Merkel, or the situation in Europe. Germany has become the most powerful country in Europe\(^1\).

In October 2010, during discussions regarding the future of Greece and its current crisis, a press note\(^2\) saying that the German Minister of Economy, Philipp Rösler, had traveled to Athens to propose his economic model to Greece was striking. During this visit, he suggested to his Greek colleagues an institutional configuration that “is more similar to the German model.” He offered Greece economic assistance from Germany, its main business partner with 8 billion Euros in trading annually. This assistance arrived through a plan approved by the majority of German politicians who voted in favor of a European rescue fund, despite the fact that the majority of the population did not agree with this initiative\(^3\). After the contribution, Germany requested a “change in mentality” in the Greek political structure.

In spite of the fact that power has always existed, nowadays it’s more difficult to exert power over others because modern societies have increasingly rejected the military, economic and other conventional forms of power. While in recent years many countries and regions have enforced their speech over sovereignty, abandoning the recipes prescribed by multilateral organizations like the World Bank or the International

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3. Statistics showed that 75% of the population was against the resolution. See: http://espanol.cntv.cn/20111001/101776.shtml
Monetary Fund, or the advice of certain world leaders, how has Germany been able to have the diplomatic strength to directly affect the decisions of other countries? How have they done it?

In a world with new forms of communication, with globalization at its apex, it would be difficult to interfere with the sovereignty of another country without receiving the automatic disapproval of the majority of world citizens. But while Germany has been at the center of the analysis of the European crisis, and despite skeptics of its model have taken advantage of the crisis to criticize Germany’s advice on how to manage the European economy, some studies have determined that Germany is the most widely-liked country in the world. In the BBC Country Rating Poll in 2011, Germany was the most positively viewed nation, with 62 percent of those surveyed rating its influence as positive. A spokesman for Globescan, the company that administered the survey, said: “Germany has a successful image and doesn’t have the baggage that countries like the US and China have, which can be seen as culturally controversial.”

How can a world power, with a history as sinister as having participated in two world wars, that less than 25 years ago was divided in two, and that is currently in the middle of a crisis, be accepted worldwide? In this thesis, I will analyze the German strategy of diplomacy after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the challenges that it faced to modify its position as a country that survived Nazism and the destruction of its society. There will also be an exposition of the ways in which the German government engages in international cooperation and its influence in an increasingly multi-polar world. I will begin with the dream of building a new Europe, in which postwar Germany, headed by

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Konrad Adenauer, played a fundamental role. There will also be an analysis of the tools that its diplomacy has used to spread its influence, among them agencies of cooperation, foundations, schools, churches, etc. Finally, I will establish how Germany is using a new innovative tactic of “soft power”: mega-sports events.

In many societies, sports are an essential element to the construction of culture. Throughout the last century, not only sports, but large sporting events, have been a part of political and diplomatic strategies of many governments and leaders. Let us recall the Olympic Games of 1936 and the reasons why Hitler and Goebbels declared them a “state priority,” or Nelson Mandela’s focusing all of the South African government’s politics on the Rugby World Cup in 1995.

Could the 2006 World Cup in Germany have been a mechanism to expand the use of German soft diplomacy? In the following chapters I will study the objective of winning the bid for this mega-sport event as a public policy in Germany. An analysis will be conducted to explain how this policy was made, how it was debated and how the process that led up to hosting of the 2006 World Cup was carried out. Based on this analysis, there will be a detailed exhibition of how the 2006 World Cup experience was used to politically, culturally and commercially influence two very important countries in the new world order: South Africa and Brazil. South Africa hosted the World Cup in 2010, while Brazil will host the 2014 Cup and the 2016 Olympic Summer Games.

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CHAPTER 1

GERMANY’S DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS STRATEGY AFTER THE FALL OF THE BERLIN WALL

Getting to Dr. Thesing’s house wasn’t easy. His house was one of the last at the top of a hill. When I arrived, he opened the door and we went straight into the living room. I asked him if we could record our interview. After briefly discussing Ecuador and the political situation in Latin America, I asked him directly, “What does the fall of the Berlin Wall mean for us?”

His reply was similar to something I had read in his article, “20 Jahre nach dem Fall der Berliner Mauer”: that all walls have their particular meaning in history. The oldest wall in history, the Great Wall of China, was meant to securely separate the Chinese empire from the rest of the world and keep out their enemies. The other wall, the Berlin Wall, was constructed on August 13, 1961 by the rulers of Communist Germany, with the objective of keeping its own inhabitants from traveling from Germany to Germany. A wall divides; a wall separates two places.

Thesing says that the fall of the wall meant that the process of German reunification had begun and could not be stopped. And in order to complete this process, they had to stop thinking as Germany, but also think in the importance of the entire region. There are many texts that describe Germany’s idea of creating a new Europe. Germany’s central location in Europe, which was always a disadvantage in times of political tension and

7 Dr. Josef Thesing is one of the founders of the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS). He worked in Guatemala for eight years and in Colombia for three years as a representative of the KAS. Later, he held the position of Director of the KAS was the director of all international activities, ending his career as Adjunct Secretary General. Currently, he is writing a book on the international activities of the foundation Konrad Adenauer from 1962 to 2002. Additionally, he has published 73 books in 22 languages and is a professor of political science in Guatemala, Colombia and at the University of Koeln in Germany.
war, was now a great opportunity in times of peace. And this peace was realized by post-Nazi Foreign Ministers from Willy Brandt to Hans Dietrich Genscher, who used strategies of “Friedenspolitik” (pacifist policies) to avoid provoking further animosity from the world.

This system of “friendly” diplomacy was initiated after 1949, but Helmut Kohl was one of the politicians that most deeply solidified it in a post Cold War world. Kohl governed Germany during 16 years, from 1982 to 1998. In 1990 he established a foreign policy characterized by the “culture of restraint” that, according to several academics, may be understood as “conscientiously abstaining from having a negative image in the world, while assuming strong leadership.” An example: Kohl refrained from speaking about commercial and military affairs and began to speak about “the universalization of human rights”, which entailed a broader conception of the desired changes in the international system. Therefore, the promotion of democratic values and institutions became vital capital in international cooperation and assistance for development. This democratic promotion became an essential component to Germany in seeking European integration but also when turning to other regions. He was the political head of the process of the falling of the Berlin Wall and “he knew how to direct the following events with intelligence, sensitivity, good judgment, decisiveness and the necessary amount of political shrewdness.”

His first symbolic decision, which communicated peaceful messages and Germany’s strategy of repositioning itself in the diplomatic world, was to move the capital to Berlin. For many, this decision itself demonstrated the economic and political

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commitments made with Gorbachev as a result of signing the German-Soviet Treaty on November 9, 1990, in Bonn. But for other authors, those who subscribe to German soft diplomacy theories, this decision was made in order to demonstrate Germany’s commitment to approach the “East,” that is, to separate itself from the past political center and move towards a new beginning.

Political Scientist Soledad Loaeza\textsuperscript{11} says that “the events of November 1989 took on a historical dimension of universal proportions, because they represented the manifestation of liberty and democracy,” which led to total political change, including a change of capital city. The fall of the wall, therefore, gave the German government the opportunity to consider a foreign policy whose long-term objective was to inspire a feeling of trust in the world. This feeling was built on post-1949 traditions, but was now more unconstrained because of reunification and the end of the Cold War. An image of Germany was created that showed the country as deeply committed to democratic values and the institutions that preserve democracy, and especially committed to peace. Its people wanted peace. There are many documents that demonstrate this, showing statistics on the reactions of German society to violent conflicts. For example, during the Persian Gulf War, a survey from INFAS\textsuperscript{12} showed that 71 percent of Germans called for non-violent solutions to the conflict. In 1991, there was even a rebirth of the German pacifist movement with an anti-war message: of the 500,000 European protests during the first weekend of the Gulf War, it is estimated that 250,000 of those were German. In other words, after maintaining a low profile due to Germany’s internal political conflicts, the majority of citizens were giving a resounding “yes” to peace, which


\textsuperscript{12} INFAS (Institute for Applied Social Sciences) is a private as well as independent market and social research institution rendering research and consultancy services for business, science, politics, and administration.
helped the Government validate this value and convert it into a policy of foreign relations.

Alvin Toffler\textsuperscript{13}, in his book \textit{Powershift: Knowledge, Wealth and Violence at the Edge of the 21\textsuperscript{st} Century}, says that German post-Nazi diplomatic strategy was one of “soft colonization”, which means the slow and ordered expansion of a development model over other society or territory. How did the Germans do it? In the late 1980s, the Cold War came to a dramatic end. The economies of nations behind the Iron Curtain were in trouble. Marxism and Communism had collapsed, creating a large power vacuum in the societies where these ideas had been applied, which created the conditions for the arrival of Western politics, that is, “the Germans.” However, the Germans were already estranged from the ideas of Soviet domination or domination by Hitler. Therefore, Toffler speaks of a “soft colonization” that would improve the lives of many Europeans and East Germans and that would direct the compass of the continent’s economy.

With the decision to follow soft diplomacy after the Second World War, German foreign policy was converted into a balancing act between two superpowers: the United States and the Soviet Union. At the end of the twentieth century, several authors confirmed that in Europe, economic wealth and political moderation were in greater demand than military power and ideological convictions. Germany had two of these elements: a practical and effective democracy, and an economic model\textsuperscript{14} that generated wealth and equality. Regarding equality, Toffler writes that European countries’ main import was the “German version of social democracy.” For the government, “exporting” this model has been fundamental, as shown by the fact that Germany has made no

\textsuperscript{13} Toffler Alvin, “Powershift: Knowledge, Wealth, and Violence at the Edge of the 21st Century”, Random House Publishing Group, 1991, USA.

\textsuperscript{14} Social Market Economy (in German: Soziale Marktwirtschaft)
threats or committed any belligerent act and has efficiently and loyally complied with all its international promises with a spirit of absolute cooperation, restoring trust in Germany within all European countries and the world\textsuperscript{15}.

This is what we call soft diplomacy: a foreign policy whose long-term objective is to build trust. Germany, since its reunification, has portrayed itself as a country firmly committed to defending democratic values and institutions. Obviously, in seeking this objective, Germany has gained power, including moral power, which has become even more influential than economic power in support of its new role of bringing democracy to the world.

In the book \textit{Germany’s Role in the “Common Foreign and Security Policy” (CFSP) ‘Normalität’ or ‘Sonderweg’?}\textsuperscript{16}, Reinhardt Rummel explains that under the command of the Minister of Foreign Relations, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Germany widened its perspective to non-European regions, strengthening bilateral relations and foreign policy. For example, German diplomacy in Latin America has changed its commercial objectives for objectives based on ideals, values and principles, all with this “soft power” content. Germany now has interest in the world, but that interest is in spreading its values.

Dr. Thesing mentioned two cases during our interview: Mexico and Chile. In the Chilean example, he was a direct participant in the process of German diplomacy, in his position as Director of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation during the 1980s. Thesing says that the creation of these foundations as tools of diplomacy, as it will be seen in the

\textsuperscript{15} Considering the book \textit{Denken in Kontinenten}, written by Jordis von Lohausen, in which he mentions that historically, Germany has always made diplomatic efforts to placate its neighbors, in the past 40 years.

\textsuperscript{16} Reinhardt Rummel, “Germany's role in the CFSP ‘Normalität’ or ‘Sonderweg’?”, \textit{The Acton in Europe's Foreign Policy}, 1996.
third chapter of this thesis, had the objective of participating in political processes outside of Germany, “in order to spread certain democratic values to Chile and support several local political parties and civil organizations in the construction of a united front that would guarantee an orderly departure from the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet”.17

“I was involved in the whole process. We worked very hard in the development of cases, methodology and concepts. Later I accompanied each one of the opposition leaders “in situ” throughout the formation of the Chilean Concertation18.” The idea was that they needed to be united in order to be victorious. It was a situation very similar to that of Germany with Adenauer, but only vaguely similar, since nothing is comparable to the Nazis. “At this time in Chile, many countries were able to collaborate internally in ensuring democracy, without violent conflict. We were able to achieve unity and defeat Pinochet in the polls,” Thesing explained in our academic interview.

When asking him if this strategy led Chile to apply the “German model of development,” Thesing stated that a German model of development does not exist, because each state, each country, has conditions that lead them to build their own model. In the German case, he believes that the model spoken of by many academics is the result of a balance between the strong democratic institutions built by Germany and an economic model that yielded good results, creating wealth, work and prosperity. All of these experiences in Germany have naturally made other countries want to apply certain general concepts. This occurred in Chile. Thesing added that they were able to create a more or less similar path:

17 Taken from personal interview with Josef Thesing
18 The Concert of Parties for Democracy (In spanish, “Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia”), more often known as the “Concertación”, is a coalition of center-left political parties in Chile, founded in 1988.
We had to recreate democratic institutions and at the same time propose an economic model that would help Chile to stabilize itself. I think that in Chile, in both cases, many concepts were able to be applied, and as a result, many academics argue that Chile followed the German model.

German influence in Chile was so great that for many years, German political foundations created processes of heavy information exchange, converting Chile into one of the main objectives of the German diplomatic cooperation. In his article “Las relaciones entre América Latina y Europa Occidental,” Wolf Grabendorff assures that despite the fact that many European countries and specifically the United States were concerned with the economic dimension of their relations with Latin America, Germany has never been seen as an economic power. Consequently, after the fall of the wall, Germany positioned itself as an alternative political facilitator for Latin American countries which have always been suspicious of American intervention.

This paradigm change was confirmed by Germany’s response as a key figure in the processes of democratization in Mediterranean countries, for example in the role it played in post-Franco Spain. As a result, during the 1990s, Germany went from being viewed as a mere trade partner to participating in processes of democratization of several Latin American countries. And since Germany participated “apolitically,” that is, only transmitting ideas, the openness of members of the Latin American elite towards Germany did not take long to bear fruit, unlike the case of the United States, which couldn’t count on its clean reputation and could demand nothing of its southern neighbors, as Laurence Whitehead argues in his book, *International Aspects of Democratization: Europe and the Americas.*
In 1990, Josef Thesing wrote a text\textsuperscript{19} in which he describes the opportunities presented to Germany to “establish objective cooperation,” especially with Latin America, once the Soviet Union had fallen. According to Thesing, this event put an end to the political game that many developing countries had been playing for decades, alternating between the East and the West. The new perception of Latin America demanded stronger cooperation between different German actors within Latin America. In this way, the official foreign policy towards developing countries was conceptualized, as we will see in the following chapter, in the concrete cases of countries like Chile and Mexico.

It is important to mention that the new German policy of diplomacy had an impact across the globe. The entire strategy was focused on carrying out deep political reform as a foundation, in order to later apply solid economic development. This is how the German model can be described. One case to analyze within Europe itself is Spain, where Germany’s diplomatic strategy had great influence in the period of Spanish democratization both in the 1970’s and 1980’s and after the fall of the Berlin Wall.

German-Spanish relations have a very strong historical basis that, without a good diplomatic strategy, could have caused rejection from the Spanish society, since their relations began with Nazism and Francoism. In his book \textit{Franco and Hitler: Spain, Germany World War II and the Holocaust}\textsuperscript{20}, Stanley Payne states that when the Second World War began, Franco opted for “biased neutrality” that did not attempt to hide his sympathies with the Axis forces. Later on, this alleged neutrality was transformed into a curious “non-belligerence” that emphasized Spanish sympathies even more and that would not be abandoned until autumn of 1943. The Allied forces, meanwhile, pressured


\textsuperscript{20} Payne Stanley, “Franco and Hitler: Spain, Germany, and World War II”, Yale University Press, 2008.
Spain against joining the Axis countries, for which they, at times, bribed individuals within the Franco regime.

Evidence of Spanish sympathy for the German cause can be seen in the dispatching of the División Azul that operated in the Russian front from the beginning of 1942 onward and that was, supposedly, voluntary. At the end of 1943, when Spanish authorities tried to reorient their position in the conflict, this military unit was problematic and the last men were secretly repatriated.

By that time, the Spanish government was attempting to win the favor of the Allies, making pleas for the protection of Jews in light of the threat of the Holocaust. The issue of relations between Franco and Hitler has received much attention from historians, attention that Germany might regret in its current positioning and influence in Spain, because of the effect of the tragic nazism. However, this has not been the case, since Germany’s ability to influence Spain due to its “exportation” of democratic values that helped in the transition from Francoism was able to overcome the Spanish notion of the “bad influence” of Nazism.

Javier Noya, main researcher of “Imagen de España” of the Real Instituto Elcano, expresses that in the final phase of the Franco dictatorship, “arrived to Spain a German leftist thought: the Frankfurt School (Adorno/Horkheimer and Habermas)”. At the same time, German influence also gained footing in Catholic base groups that had been critical of the Spanish Church’s support of Franco. The Spanish left had become “Germanized,” and its contribution to the transition was vital.

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21 The Elcano Royal Institute (Real Instituto Elcano) is a private entity, independent of both the Public Administration and the companies that provide most of its funding. It was established, under the honorary presidency of HRH the Prince of Asturias, on 2 December 2001 as a forum for analysis and debate on international affairs and particularly on Spain’s international relations.
This way, the presence of foundations, foreign parties and international organizations contributed to protect and strengthen the democratic opposition in the transition process in the last years of Franco’s regime, and also in the first years of the transition. In some cases, such support would play a main role.

In the political sphere, German foundations contributed to the transition. The support of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) of the new Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) was fundamental in the consolidation of democracy and the contribution of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAS) or the Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FES) to civil society was decisive.

In his memoirs, Helmut Schmidt (1991), the German Federal Chancellor in those years (1974-1982), recounts that the Federal Republic of Germany supported the parties and labor unions in Spain to rapidly achieve democracy, by promoting the creation of a socialist party of broad foundations that was capable of stopping the communists. It is for this reason that, since the beginning of the 1970’s, the German Government systematically intervened supporting the leaders of the democratic opposition in Spain.

The FES would be the first German foundation to install an office in Spain managed by Dieter Koniecki in 1976. This social democratic foundation openly supported Felipe González, General Secretary of the PSOE.

After the dictatorship, relations between Helmut Kohl and Felipe González were

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consistently positive, despite ideological differences. Spain decidedly supported
Reunification and Germany was a generous contributor to Spain’s admittance into the
European Union in 1986. Certainly, as Noya shows, since the fall of the Berlin Wall,
relations between Germany and Spain in the political and diplomatic spheres have been
cordial and increasingly influenced by European institutions, as well as in the cultural
sphere, in which Germany also enjoys enormous prestige among the Spanish elite, even
greater than French culture does. So, is the scope of Germany’s strategy of soft
diplomacy in the world valuable? Every year, the Reputation Institute (RI) publishes a
survey of country reputations. In Spain, of the thirty countries that Global Pulse of the
RI asked about at the beginning of 2010, Germany was the most valued (see Figure 1).

The Spanish Instituto Elcano, in its Barometer of 2010\textsuperscript{24}, added on to the data the
Spanish perception of Germany. In order to get an idea of Spaniards’ image of
Germany, interviewees were presented pairs of adjectives and they were asked to
choose the one that they believed best described Germany. “The greatest consensus was
the belief that the country is ‘cultured’ (88%) and ‘hard-working’ (86%). With already
positive results and fairly high percentages, the majority also chose ‘European’ (66%),
‘pacifist’ (65%), ‘exporter’ (65%) and ‘trustworthy’ (62%),” according to the study.

\textsuperscript{24} THE BAROMETER OF THE ELCANO ROYAL INSTITUTE is an analysis of the Spanish public opinion on its foreign policy
and international relations, including the image Spaniards have of other countries.
Figure 1: How countries are valued

Source: “Barómetro de Junio 2010”

Question: Of the following adjectives, with which do you most associate Germans and Germany?

- Pacifist/Aggressive
- Cultured/Uncultured
- Selfish/Altruistic
- Boring/Fun
- Exporter/Importer
- Hardworking/Lazy
- European/Anti-European
- Trustworthy/Untrustworthy

The data shows the position of Germany in Spain. It is important to mention, that the German tourism to Spain could help to this position: Germany is the country with the most amount of tourists in Spain: 22.8% per 100 tourists. And this percentage rises to 32.6% per 100 tourists in terms of overnight stays in hotels in Spain\textsuperscript{26}. It is also important to mention the influence level that Spain has in Latin America. This means that the preceding data may be a significant element for the perception that this region has of Germany.

These results are also the logical effect of Germany’s diplomacy strategy, catalogued as “soft power”. Joseph Nye states that soft power is a country’s ability to have influence in events through persuasion and attraction, not through military or economic coercion\textsuperscript{27}. A country has greater soft power if its culture, values and institutions generate motivation and respect in other countries.


\textsuperscript{27} "Soft Power -The Means to Success in World Politics", Tysha Bohorquez in “reviews Joseph Nye Jr.’s book on the importance of soft power”, UCLA International Institute, December, 2005.
Nye develops his concept in contraposition to the traditional conception of hard power. This vision based genuine power on military strength, economic wealth, and the capacities that come from them. Opposed to this perspective, which reduces power to material and quantifiable elements, in their majority coming from the political initiative and subjected to direct control, Nye outlines the existence of other immaterial factors, which not always can be controlled by the governmental structure. Nevertheless, those elements are able to contribute as much as -or more than- military pressure and economic constraint in the achievement of a nation’s objectives. The popularity of a country’s artistic, musical and cinematographic productions, its scientific and educational prestige, its touristic attractiveness, its capacity to export fashion and trends, the quality of life, the gastronomy, among others, are elements whose capacity to mobilize people continues to increase. This means there’s an indirect way to exert power, where “a country may obtain its pursued results because other countries want to follow its trail, admiring its values, imitating its example, aspiring to have their prosperity and openness level.”^28 In the case of Spain, the result is evident, and this was achieved through the use of many different tools.

Since the fall of the wall, German diplomacy has been guided by the objective of increasing not only official political exchanges between the Heads of State and relations between Parliament groups, but also to promote the inclusion of social groups in all cooperation initiatives and dialogue, emphasizing the role of parties and political foundations, of churches, unions, athletic associations and cultural organizations. Through these organizations, German diplomacy has created a “parallel diplomacy”

with an extensive network, which is the foundation of an ambitious plan of international cooperation, through which diverse institutions receive public financing (See Chapter 3).

In his book *Policy and Politics in West Germany*, Peter. J. Katzenstein concludes, in agreement with Hans Peter Schwartz, that since the democratic transition post-nazism, Germans have eliminated the concept of “power” from their political vocabulary. Instead, Germany now speaks of the language of “politics of responsibility.” “Hans-Peter Schwarz has referred to a new forgetfulness of power, which has replaced Germany's old obsession with power.”

And Katzenstein goes on, arguing that “the German approach to power, and the practices that sustain and reformulate it, emphasizes its 'soft' elements”.

The fall of the Berlin Wall and German unification are politically and inseparably linked, and at the time of the fall, a new idea was born of how to do diplomacy in a country that had been historically strong. That idea consisted on a soft diplomacy using “soft power” in its strategy. And the advantage for Germany is that its diplomacy has changed its focus from national security and has provided a language in order to be able to speak of public diplomacy centered on culture, education and its values.

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CHAPTER 2

FROM THE CREATION OF THE EUROPEAN UNION TO COOPERATION IN OTHER REGIONS

Following Nazism, Germany adopted a foreign policy that especially favored good and peaceful community relations. In an academic interview for this thesis, Doctor Norbert Wagner\(^{30}\) stated that “the beginning of integration was the political conviction of post-Nazi German leaders that lasting and stable peace could only be achieved if Germany was part of a large and solid regional community, that is, a united Europe.”

And it is true that European integration would not have been possible without the determined support of European leaders in recent years. Frenchman Robert Schumann claimed that, as a result of the end of the Second World War, the motivation for a united Europe was essentially political\(^{31}\). His colleague Jean Monnet, when speaking about the recently established European Coal and Steel Community\(^{32}\) (ECSC), assured that “it was the outline of a federal state” and its objective “lacked any sense at all if it did not result in a veritable autorité politique”\(^{33}\). German Walter Hallstein used the term “constitution” to refer to the treaty of Rome. Adenauer, De Gasperi and Spaak, from Germany, Italy, and Belgium respectively, also spoke in similar terms.

In the case of Adenauer’s Germany, in many of his writings there can be found solid convictions regarding regional integration:

\(^{30}\) Norbert Wagner, PhD., is Advisor and Visiting Fellow at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, and Representative of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation. At the moment he serves as Director for the KAS in D.C., USA.

\(^{31}\) Declaration on May 9th, 1950.

\(^{32}\) The European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was a six-nation international organisation serving to unify Western Europe during the Cold War that created the foundation for the modern day developments of the European Union.

There is only one way to save our political liberty, our personal liberty, our security, our way of life, which we have developed for many centuries, and that has as its foundation a human concept of the world: a firm connection with the people and countries that have the same opinions as us about the state, the person, liberty and property.

Josef Thesing speaks of Adenauer that “in his political convictions and his vision for the future, he never imagined Germany apart from the context of Europe. He always thought of Germany as part of a larger community, of a broader country whose society had similar values and culture.” Adenauer affirmed: “We live under the same sky, but we do not have the same horizon.”

But how could sufficient trust be built in the region to take firm steps toward integration, considering all the destruction that imperial and Nazi Germany had caused? Adenauer made two vital decisions to solidify the presence of his country as a strategic force in the ideal European Union: the foreign policy strategy analyzed in the previous chapter and the execution of an efficient economic model that would become an exemplary foundation for regional monetary policy.

It is in this way that under his government, the so-called “German economic miracle” was achieved, which is attributed to the ideas of Ludwig Erhard. The economic reforms and the new system of the Federal Republic of Germany received large-scale assistance from various sources: U.S. investment funds under a European recuperation program, known as the “Marshall Plan;” the stimulus of German industry provided by the diversion of other Western resources for the production of the Korean War; and the German populations’ willingness to work hard and at low salaries until achieving a level of high productivity. But the essential component was the success of the rebirth of faith.

35 Interview with Joseph Thesing, October 14th, 2010 in Königswinter, Germany.
in the German economy, inspired by the Erhard reforms. In this way, the Social Market Economy model rapidly appeared on the radars of all other European countries, turning West Germany into central case for the aspiration of a prosperous Europe.

But what did this model consist of? Germany was able to synchronize a market economy with a model of representative democracy\textsuperscript{36}, quickly becoming a highly developed country. The economic model that Adenauer proposed during this democratic period came to be known as “Social Market Economy.”

It is important to note that the situation of the economy in Germany in 1945 was the clearest example of what Dieter Benecke\textsuperscript{37} calls “a political, economic and cultural disaster.” Following the election of Adenauer in 1949, the new government applied an economic model that was developed based on multiple studies of other scientists. In Erhard’s new Social Market Economy, factors of functional competencies and social security were combined.

This model was a concept coined by Alfred Muller Armack (1901-1978), defined as “a market economy that assumes social responsibility.”\textsuperscript{38} It was a system that respected the market and the freedoms and limits that must be guaranteed in order for that market to function in a technical sense, but successfully combined this with a social order that sought equality under a democratic political order. In summary, Germany was a society that benefited from the efficiency of the market and used this to generate social peace (Quaas, 2008). One of the most important characteristics of the application of this model was the search for basic social political consensus and stable institutional rules.

that ensured that they would be achieved\textsuperscript{39}.

Using a simple and clear definition, we can say that West Germany was able to build a society with a market economy, freedom and a high quality of life. In other words, an economy that sought to maximize technical efficiency along with a more equal distribution of wealth.

There were rules that were maintained, like competition and free pricing, freedom of the entrepreneur, and the respect of these rules enforced by a state committed to service and solidarity. This was what was considered to be “economic order”. In his book \textit{Wirtschaftspolitik und Ordnungspolitik}, Dieter Casser (1998) argued that this economic order was promoted as the German government consolidated a model where individual liberty was combined with social responsibility, including eight main components\textsuperscript{40}:

\begin{itemize}
  
  \item A system of planning and coordination that determined competences of the different economic actors.
  
  \item A regime that ensured private property and established the right to own property, goods and factors of production.
  
  \item A fiscal order and system of taxation, i.e., a balanced public budget, without excessive debt, establishing fair taxes that were paid by all.
  
  \item A pro-business state that included all types of business but took most interest in small and medium business and chambers of industry and commerce.
  
  \item A competitive system that interacted with the pro-business state and imposed certain rules for the market of goods and services.
  
  \item A financial and monetary regime that regulated the availability of monetary resources.
  
  \item A pro-trade state that achieved national economic openness with the goal of improving national competitiveness.
\end{itemize}


\textsuperscript{40} Dieter Cassel, “Wirtschaftspolitik und Ordnungspolitik”, Munchen, 1988, pages 313-316.
A system of social security in which all citizens were equal before the law but that also recognized that each citizen had different abilities and opportunities, and that because of this, the state had the obligation of preventing social marginalization.

With these eight fields covered, Germany created the basis to initiate the application of Social Market Economy, which constituted an interesting opportunity for various countries in Europe. With the consensus of 1949 led by Adenauer, terms such as “economic freedom” were interpreted in different ways by different actors. What an entrepreneur interpreted as economic freedom was very different from what labor unions interpreted. Each group had its own vision of solidarity, service, and individual responsibility, but all parties knew that they had to combine all the elements in order to achieve personal and collective development.

Therefore, a regional movement began in which Germany played a special role, since, having improved its economy, it now required new markets, and Adenauer and Erhard were sure that Social Market Economy could be an option for Europe. Because of this, when Robert Schuman presented his well-known “Schuman Plan” that included the creation of the “European Coal and Steel Community”, Germany wholeheartedly supported him, knowing that this could be the beginning of its influence on the economic and democratic values that Europe needed.

So, how did everything begin? On May 9, 1950, the French foreign minister Robert Schuman suggested combining French and German coal and steel production into a joint organization that would also be open to other European countries. This plan was supposed to help prevent future wars in Europe. Chancellor Konrad Adenauer

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41 See also: Benecke, Dieter W., “Economía Social de Mercado: ¿puede imitarse en America Latina?”, Rio de Janeiro, 2003
welcomed this idea “as a decisive step toward a close bond between Germany and France and thus to a new order in Europe that will be based on peaceful cooperation”. On June 20th, 1950, delegations from the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy and the Benelux countries\textsuperscript{42} started negotiations for the foundation of a European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). The Federal Republic of Germany was represented as an equal member. The treaty was signed on April 18th, 1951. On January 11th, 1952, the Bundestag accepted the agreement against the votes of the SPD. This was the starting point for political reconciliation of Europe. Through the foundation of the ECSC, national sovereign rights were transferred to a supranational authority for the first time. The ECSC treaty was the start of the establishment of various institutions; supremacy was exercised by a higher authority based in Luxembourg, where Germany had commensurate part of the control.

Following this first stage, Germany began to push for a second one of regional integration through the Treaties of Rome. In dealing with this stage, Adenauer suggested:

\textit{The first period of European integration has ended. Its purpose was to ensure that a war may never break out between the European people. The objective of the second period of European integration is to ensure that Europe and the European countries retain their value, relevance and their standing in the world.}\textsuperscript{43}

So, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Federal Republic of Germany agreed upon the creation of the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM) under these Treaties of Rome. A common market would be established through the EEC. EURATOM sought common research and the peaceful use of nuclear energy. Twelve yellow stars on a blue

\textsuperscript{42} The Benelux is an economic union in Western Europe comprising three neighbouring countries, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg.

\textsuperscript{43} Konrad Adenauer, in a press statement, September 9th, 1956.
background became the symbol of the EEC. The Rome treaties came into effect on January 1, 1958. At the same time, the EEC institutions started to work: the parliamentary assembly, whose delegates were sent from the national parliaments, exercised a right of consultation and control. The decisions of the EEC were made by the ministerial council, which was comprised of the respective national department ministers involved. The Commission was set up to carry out these decisions and to develop the EEC further; each country appointed two members to the Commission. It was considered to be the motor of European integration and the guardian of the treaties. Walter Hallstein, a close confidant of Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, was the first president of the European Commission.

After the Commission began taking action in Brussels in 1958, it changed its structure only upon the establishment of the Treaty of the European Union. The treaty, negotiated in December 1991, was signed and ratified in Maastricht in 1992, and has been in effect since November 1993. With this change began the use of the term “EU” and a new structure was built with regional organizations. The book Konrad Adenauer and the European Union provides the following description of the foundation of the European Community:

*The communities merged in the EC remain the primary element and created the supranational core area (first pillar); the Common Foreign and Security policy were further elements of collaboration (second pillar), and collaboration between the Justice and Internal ministries was the third pillar.*

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From that moment until the present, Germany, by way of its Chancellor Angela Merkel, has been a solid rock in the EU. In 2007, Merkel stated:

The draft of the constitutional treaty is the first text of a European treaty which refers specifically to tolerance, which is the hallmark of the European Union Member States and which enables us to build the foundations on which the Europe of the future can develop new, sensible regulations. Regulations which reflect the new size of the European Union and the challenges it faces. Regulations which must give us scope to act. For we know that under the current regulations the EU can neither be enlarged, nor is it capable of making the necessary decisions.46

An article from the BBC47 shows us the current extent of Germany’s influence in the region, stating that Germany’s “presence is essential to calm the volatile world markets and to renew confidence in Europe. This European country, which experienced a vigorous economic growth rate of 3.6% of GDP in 2010, is the motor of the region. Germans are those who contribute to the European Union (more than US$200 Billion) and therefore are those that have the greatest capacity to exercise influence,” referring to the fact that the members of the German Parliament had voted in favor of a rescue

45 It is important to mention that the Treaty of Lisbon, signed in 2007, abolished this pillar system, and as a consolidated entity, the European Union succeeded the legal personality of the European Communities. Therefore, the EU is now able to sign international treaties in its own name.

46 Speech of Angela Merkel to the European Parliament in Strasbourg, on January 17th, 2007
fund to assist economies at risk in the Euro zone.

If we go to the back, Germany appointed always to the application of the Social Market Economy in the European Union. It is therefore no coincidence that the concept of Social Market Economy should feature alongside the Single European Act. The Article 3 of the Treaty states: "The Union shall establish an internal market. It shall work for the sustainable development of Europe based on balanced economic growth and price stability, a highly competitive social market economy, aiming at full employment and social progress, and a high level of protection and improvement of the quality of the environment." László Andor, EU Commissioner responsible for Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion, mentions in his article "Building a social market economy in the European Union" that this encapsulates the essence of three intertwined requirements that the European Union has constantly sought to meet in its efforts to bolster and sustain prosperity. As a market economy, it harnesses competition to keep prices stable and generate growth and innovation, and is subject to rules to eliminate distortion. Its social dimension involves the application of rules on working conditions, the introduction of individual and workers’ rights and the objective of full employment. Its concern for sustainability is highlighted by the idea of balanced growth and the quality of the environment.

The Treaty also highlights the importance of the social dialogue, another pillar of the European social model. Indeed, social dialogue turned out to be an asset and proved its value. It is not just a coincidence, that the best performing member states (in terms of economic growth and job creation), like Germany, Austria, Sweden and the Netherlands, all have strong and institutionalized social dialogue between organizations.

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of business and trade unions. Therefore, Social Market Economy has been a great tool for the effective planning of Germany’s influence in the region. In fact, in 2007, in the “Külz Declaration”\textsuperscript{49} the concept of social market economy is considered to be a vision of political economy in the Treaty of the European Union. The Treaty of Lisbon of 2007 reads the following:

\begin{quote}
The Union will establish an internal market. It will work for the sustainable development of Europe based on balanced economic growth and price stability in a highly competitive social market economy, inclined toward full employment and social progress, in a high level of protection and an improved level of the quality of the environment.\textsuperscript{50}
\end{quote}

But, can Germany influence other world regions? With the same political strategy, that of expanding its democratic values throughout the world, Germany has been increasing its influence, mostly using “Social Market Economy” as an efficient tool proven to be successful. In Latin America, for example, its influence is of growing strength, especially in countries with the greatest economic and political growth: Brazil, Chile and Mexico.

As it was analyzed in the previous chapter, one advantage that Germany has in influencing the region is that it did not participate in the fight of Latin American countries to achieve independence from Europe. Historically, the relationship between Latin America and Germany began in 1834 with the establishment of the “Zollverein,” or the “customs union” that facilitated the integration of Prussia with other regions. But the first official contacts and the first diplomatic representatives arrived in Latin America at the end of the nineteenth century, with the name “ministerial residencies.” Relations improved, because Germany had moved itself away from economic interest in

\textsuperscript{49} The Külz Declaration is a document elaborated by Polish and German Priests in the year 2000. It states that Social Market Economics is “one of the necessary elements for the future societies”.

\textsuperscript{50} Treaty of Lisbon 2007, article 2, number 3, establishes:
its relations with Latin America. In fact, the document “Brief history of diplomatic relations between Germany and Argentina”\(^{51}\) mentions a conversation in 1856 between the Minister of Argentine Foreign Relations, Juan María Gutiérrez, and the Consul of his country in Berlin, in which Gutiérrez states:

> *Prussia holds a privileged place in the sciences and in matters of education. It is for this reason that it should, with the resources within its reach, try to convince some men with the capacity for school and university teaching to come to Argentina and ensure all those that have this inclination the protection of our government.*  

(Page 1)

Germany’s postwar economic recovery analyzed in the previous paragraphs not only turned this country into an important commercial partner for Latin America but also into a donor of assistance for development (German trade alone across the entire Latin American region was raised to a value of $62 billion in 2008, making Germany Latin America’s largest trade partner in the EU)\(^{52}\). Today Germany has diplomatic relations with the 33 countries of Latin America and the Caribbean. It has 22 embassies, plus four consulates in Brazil. Currently, commercial relations are a strong pillar of cooperation between Germany and Latin America. Chile, Mexico and Brazil are the priority countries of this cooperation. For example, Sao Paulo is Germany’s industrial center outside of the European Union, especially for auto manufacturing. More than 250 thousand people work in German companies in Brazil, and in Mexico, there are about 1,000 companies with German participation\(^{53}\).

Doctor Olaf Jacob is the director of the regional policy program created by the Konrad

\(^{51}\)“Breve historia de las relaciones diplomáticas entre Alemania y Argentina”


\(^{52}\)The Trumpet, “Is Germany conquering Latin America?”, 2008,

http://www.thetrumpet.com/article/5153.3439.0/0/economy/trade/is-germany-conquering-latin-america “

\(^{53}\)www.auswaertigesamt.de/diplo/de/Aussenpolitik/Weltwirtschaft/AufgabenAA.html.
Adenauer Foundation, “SOPLA” (Social Policies in Latin America)\textsuperscript{54}. It has been located in the city of Rio de Janeiro for five years. When analyzing Brazil’s position on the continent as the indisputable leader in the region\textsuperscript{55}, I asked Dr. Jacob if in fact it can be stated that the German democratic, economic and political model has been successful in this country. His answer was that Germany has definitely played an important role in Brazil, above all economic. Sao Paulo, for example, is considered to be the largest German industrial conglomerate in the world, and therefore, from an economic perspective, Germany indeed does play a leading role.\textsuperscript{56}

Jacob also comments that technology related to energy efficiency and the environment is highly valued in Brazil. In addition, German contributions to infrastructure in South Africa for the Soccer World Cup have caught Brazil’s attention, since Brazil will host this event in 2014. Because of this, Germany, from its central government, has planned a “Year of Germany” in Brazil for 2013.

When asking Dr. Thesing if Brazil has been influenced by the German model in its policies, especially economic ones, the academic commented, that “Brazil still does not have a lot of German model in its model”. Thesing believes that Brazil has a formal democracy but that having a true democracy on this subcontinent is a long way away. Regarding this issue, he believes that democracy was the fundamental element of German development and that Latin America is missing a system of social economic equilibrium. The lack of equality between rich and poor limits what we understand to be true democracy. But he believes that regardless, Brazil has positive prospects for the

\textsuperscript{54} In German: Soziale Ordnungspolitik in Lateinamerika


\textsuperscript{56} The Brazilian metropolis of São Paulo is considered the largest German industrial city abroad with 1,200 German companies (See https://www.deutschland.de/en/topic/business/globalization-world-trade/dynamic-investments), “Dynamics Investments”, by Alexander Busch, 2011.
future if the country is led with “prudence and diligence.” In personal interview in 2010, I asked him about Germany’s influence on former President Lula da Silva, considered to be one of the best presidents in the history of Brazil. He answered: “Remember that Lula was a supporter of labor unions. But a supporter of labor union for a German company: Volkswagen. So, he must have had some influence, especially from the corporate values and culture of a German company”.

Brazil and Chile are the countries with the most successful markets and those that offer the most potential for the future. In Chile, Social Market Economy was able to be applied, through the governments of the “Concertacion”, as we saw in the last chapter. However, the Brazilian economic model still cannot be identified. According to Dr. Jacob, the Brazilians are not applying the German economic model entirely, because they need a unique model. There exists support for society’s most needy, as in the system of conditional income transfers for poor families (“Bolsa Familia”), so that these families can access education and health, but by no means may the model be characterized as Social Market Economy. According to his analysis in Brazil, they still have the problem of poverty that Chile no longer has, “as a result of the implementation of almost every rule of the Social Market Economy.”

For Dr. Josef Thesing, Germany’s influence on Latin America, especially Chile, is very important. In his opinion, the work that the foundations do is vital, because, their function of cooperating at the national and international levels with peer agencies (political parties, NGOs, governments, parliaments, among others), they have the potential to be very influential. He explains:

57 Data from the Global Retail Development Index 2012, http://www.atkearney.com. About the Index: Published since 2002, the GRDI helps retailers prioritize their global development strategies by ranking the retail expansion attractiveness of emerging countries based on a set of 25 variables including economic and political risk, retail market attractiveness, retail saturation levels, and modern retailing sales area and sales growth.
We have cooperated on the foundation of an institute of political formation and research, and we have offered a number of scholarships for Latin students with the objective of extending their studies in Germany. For example, in the beginning of the seventies, we began in Chile a dialogue on the issue of social market economy, because our experience in Germany after World War II told us that democracy is more stable when it is combined with an economic system that combines economic and social principles. In Chile, the principles of this economic system were implemented, mostly after Pinochet’s dictatorship. We --and myself personally-- have consulted with the former President Aylwin on the matter. And Chile has had success with its social market economy under a method adapted to the conditions in Chile.

Without doubt, Latin America plays an important role for Germany and its influence in the region is substantial. In private interviews that I had with Chancellor Angela Merkel; the former President of the European Parliament, Hanz Gert; and parliamentarian Peter Weiss in 2008 and 2009, I understood that in the past several years there has been more German interest in the region. Germany has supported different Latin American initiatives focused on new technologies of fuel production or natural preservation, like the Yasuni project in Ecuador\(^\text{58}\). Germany is a main actor in the permanent mechanisms of dialogue between the two continents, like Grupo de Río, the European Union and Latin American and Caribbean Summit, and also has a special interest in the processes of regional integration like “Mercado Común del Sur” (MERCOSUR), the Community of Andean Nations, or “Unión de Naciones Suramericanas” (UNASUR). Today, Germany is a “special collaborator”\(^\text{59}\) in the promotion of the foundation of the South American Defense Council (SADC), and the first summit for all Latin American and Caribbean states.

\(^{58}\) National Park Yasuní is the area with the greatest biodiversity in the world. It was created in 1979, between the provinces of Orellana and Sucumbíos, and it has 982,000 hectares. In 1989 is was recognized by UNESCO as “World Biosphere Reserve.” Beneath it lies the greatest reserve of petroleum in the country; for this reason an initiative was proposed to sign a trusteeship in which Ecuador would commit to not extracting 20% of the confirmed petroleum reserves in the country (846 million barrels), located in ITT, inside the national park. To recognize this contribution, the international community must contribute at least 50% of the sacrificed resources, based on the principle of joint responsibility. This calculation was obtained from the Net Present Value, applying an adequate rate of discount.

\(^{59}\) Germany collaborates with know how and through their tools of soft diplomacy with the members of the Council.
In Africa, the situation is not different: Germany has very solid influence. Currently, Germany is the third largest contributor to development cooperation behind the United States and Japan, and actively supports the eight Millennium Development Goals, among them, to reduce the percentage of the population living in poverty by half by the year 2015.

As with Latin America, and using the same strategies that we will see in the following chapter, Germany seeks to insert principles of Social Market Economy in Africa. Martin Beck, Resident Representative to Amman, Jordan, for the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, stated in a conference organized for Angela Merkel’s visit to Africa in 2011:

> It is the ideal time to begin a process of application of Germany’s democratic values and the principles of Social Market Economy, since many countries are starting to consolidate models and emerge with an improvement in their economy… They ought to, however, observe the events in each country to be able to reasonably execute the fostering of democracy”. Beck emphasizes the importance of “preferably orienting ourselves towards the values and recognition of pluralism.

Researching other recent documents on the cooperation and influence of Germany in Africa, we find writings by the former President of the Federal Republic of Germany and the former President of the International Monetary Fund, (IMF), Dr. Horst Köhler, who, advising the German government in Africa in 2010, suggested: “We must help Africa to achieve its own balance between an open market and social justice.”

In Nigeria, for instance, one of the greatest manifestations of German influence in Africa can be found, where bilateral relations have been strengthened to the point at which the two countries have made direct exchanges of construction of roadway and

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60 Development Cooperation is financial aid given by governments and other agencies to support the economic, environmental, social and political development of developing countries. Data taken from Magazine-Deutschland, http://www.magazin-deutschland.de/es/politica/cooperacion-internacional/articulo/article/deutschland-ein-verlaesslicher-partner.html
hospital infrastructure for petroleum. Since Nigeria’s return to democracy, German-Nigerian economic and technical cooperation has resumed. German agencies and organizations such as GTZ or German political foundations are active in Nigeria. Substantial support is being given by Germany to Nigeria through multilateral channels like the EU. In fact, the EU is one of the biggest donor organizations in Nigeria, with Germany as the largest contributor to EU development funds.\textsuperscript{61} For example, in South Africa, in turn, German presence has been so extensive that a center for cooperation for the 2010 Soccer World Cup was built as a policy of the German Ministry of Foreign Relations.

Today, Germany looks at the regional integration of East Africa and other territorial structures, in which it can insert values, like those achieved in the European Union, and assist them with cooperation. Without doubt, its impact has been expanding throughout the world, trusting in their soft power tools that will be explained in the following chapters.

\textsuperscript{61} German Embassy in Abuja, “Economic and technical cooperation with Nigeria”, Federal Foreign Office, http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/EN/Aussenpolitik/Laender/Laenderinfos/01-Nodes/Nigeria_node.html
Education is a potent soft power tool, and is a very important element in exercising influence over societies. Lidia Henales, Argentine expert on academic issues says that “since the beginning of human history, education has been linked to power and therefore has been one of the main tools for the exercise of politics”.\textsuperscript{62} To demonstrate, I will take a current case in South America, where the Communist regime has been in power for more than fifty years. Fidel Castro, the revolutionary Cuban leader, says about this: “Within education lies the fundamental instrument of society to develop whole individuals capable of living in Communism”\textsuperscript{63}

In fact, the Cuban regime has demonstrated to the world its achievement as being one of the only countries with zero illiteracy. Its educational system, according to the “revolutionaries,” is one of the best in the world, and this has helped them to “export” its model to other countries. For example, in 2007, Cuba made a bilateral agreement with Ecuador with more than seven treaties, which includes an “Education Agreement” that “seeks to strengthen specialized mechanisms of technical cooperation relating to primary, basic, technical and secondary education (experience in university pedagogy, national system of evaluation, science and innovation, intercultural education and specialized training in each of these areas and levels)”\textsuperscript{64}

\textsuperscript{64} Source: Agencia de Cooperación Internacional, AGECI, http://www.ageci.gob.ec
This is the way in which Cuba exercises “soft-power” to reveal the successes of its “revolution” in other countries. The “good will” that Cuba generates in the Ecuadorian population is currently very high, thanks to its collaboration in these social programs in the area of education by “sending Cuban professors to Ecuador free of charge”. This is a soft mechanism for exporting their revolution.

The strategies of Cuba are not new, given that many governments have used them with political ends and expansionist ideology in the past. During the Hitler regime, Germany used education as a tool of social control but also to export his ideas to other countries. Sadly, the history of some German schools across the world evolved in the following way: with the objective of expanding his thinking, Hitler took possession of the system of German schools abroad where the most well-known symbols of the Hitler regime began to be used. For example, in Argentina, “the swastika, the Horst Wessel Hymn and portraits of Hitler were used in German schools, the Argentine authorities unable to prohibit them. In said establishments, students even raised their arm while singing the Argentine national anthem, in the characteristic salute imposed by Hitler in Germany.”

In addition, in his book *Los Nazis in Chile*, Victor Farías affirms that the Nazi regime even had great influence in Chilean society “through German schools, German societies (Deutsche Verein) and even the Lutheran Church.”

Currently, Germany is strengthening the expansion of its German schools and their pedagogical and academic influence in other countries. The German Academic

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65 In his “Washington Post” column on November 12, 2009, the well-known American blogger, Steve Clemmons, published an analysis entitled “Cuba's Soft Power: Exporting Doctors Rather Than Revolution”.
Exchange Service (DAAD in German\textsuperscript{68}), for example, has more than sixty offices around the world for the coordination of its activities. There are an estimated 1,000 German schools in the world, all with public financing from the German government and possessing great academic prestige and excellent infrastructure.

In Latin America, for example, German schools are associated with the Headquarters for German Schools Abroad (ZfA from the German initials). Their principal objectives are\textsuperscript{69}: to spread German culture, to meet the educational needs of German students abroad, to promote the German language, and to promote Germany as a place for professional and educational activities. All schools are coordinated from the Headquarters. According to official statistics, there are more than 47,000 students in Latin America being educated in this network of official schools. Additionally, those who attend non-official schools that teach the German language should be included.

Currently underway is the initiative “Schools, partners for the future,” promoted by the Ministry of Foreign Relations of the Federal Republic of Germany. The goal is to increase the number of schools that follow the German model. In 2008, minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier headed an initiative called “PALSCH” (Partner School Initiative). The objective was to create a universal network of “partner-schools.” According to the program’s official website\textsuperscript{70}, “students at these schools are not just given the opportunity to learn German and enjoy German education. This cultural relations initiative is intended to arouse long-term interest in modern Germany and the German language amongst young people”. The German Bundestag made 45 million Euros

\textsuperscript{68}Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst (DAAD) is “a publicly-funded independent organization of higher education institutions in Germany. Each year DAAD, its Regional Branch Offices, its Information Centers, and DAAD Professors around the globe provide information and financial support to over 67,000 highly-qualified students and faculty for international research and study.”

\textsuperscript{69}Bundesverwaltungsamt, “Los Colegios Alemanes en el Extranjero: gestión escolar en todo el mundo”, Germany, 2009.

\textsuperscript{70}http://www.germany.info/Vertretung/usa/en/09__Language__Study__Exchange/01/04/_PASCH.html
available for the implementation of the initiative in 2008, while a budget of 54 million Euros has been provided for 2009.

The influence of German schools has been effective, from the academic quality of its schools to the creation of “German pedagogical systems” in other countries. One study published by Matices Magazine at the Universidad Nacional de Colombia\(^1\) demonstrates that during the last several years, students who were associated with German institutions (in Colombia) held the top spots in the state exams and in the country’s university admission exams. Even though the education is supervised by the state, German schools in Colombia, have made a change in secondary education, adding another year of schooling called “Abitur” (reproducing the German school system) thanks to which the graduates of this course can enroll directly in German universities, helping many Colombian students continue their academic studies linked to this European country.\(^2\)

The most important part of this study is that in its conclusions, it states exactly what a policy of soft diplomacy would want: the “good will” of the Colombian society toward Germany, referring to the fact that “Germany has had a very large influence on the Colombian educational system in recent years.” The study ends with a thought from author Ana MaríA Angulo, who expresses:

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\text{We ought not to unfairly judge the actions of the Germans in our territory, and we must be aware of the actions taken by Germany for the benefit of Colombia. I mean that the Germans have contributed enormously to the development of education in our country, creating opportunities for high work performance for all Colombians.}^3
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\(^{2}\) See Ceballos y Müller, 1993
\(^{3}\) Page 24.
But Germany has not only used schools as a tool of soft diplomacy. There are other instruments that facilitate the same type of relationship with countries of other regions that have been successful in exercising influence in some way.

In 1962, Chancellor Konrad Adenauer decided to channel funds reserved for foreign assistance to German political foundations with the objective of promoting democratic values and spreading German political culture. “This decision was the first step toward the creation of an instrument of soft power that will serve as a foundation for the parallel diplomacy that has worked in Germany in the last fifty years,” states Mexican Soledad Loaeza in her study on Mexico and Germany.

The idea of creating foundations to promote academic and research-related activities of political parties harkens back to the Weimar Republic. Currently, there exist five political foundations, all affiliated with a political party: Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (Christian Democracy, CDU), Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (Social Democracy, SPD), Friedrich Naumann Stiftung (Liberal, FDP), Hanns Seidel Stiftung (Social Christian, CSU) and Heinrich Boll Stiftung (Green, GP).

In the world of diplomacy, German foundations seem to have two personalities. On the one hand, German political foundations operate with public funds, are subject to government control and are supervised by the Parliament. However, they present themselves as non-governmental organization.

75 For example, en el 2009, the BMZ contributed €216 million to the German Political Foundations for their work in Development Cooperation. See http://www.ciberoamericana.com/pdf/Briefing9.pdf
In their daily functions, according to Loaeza, the foundations are similar to think tanks, as non-profit organizations. But, although their activities are mostly private, their objectives are clearly political: to foster peace and liberty, to strengthen democratic order, to establish guarantees of human rights, to provide development assistance and to seek international understanding and cooperation. This is a clever strategy, since an official institution, like an embassy, would not be able to promote these activities, because by getting involved in political affairs and issues of national security, they would clearly be infringing on local rules of sovereignty.

The oldest of these organizations is the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, connected to the Social Democratic Party, founded in 1925. Following its founding, almost all right-wing parties and movements replicated this model. They began with "party academies" with no continuous agenda, but soon they turned into firmly institutionalized organizations. The Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung, was created in 1958; the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in 1964; and the Hans-Seidel-Stiftung in 1967. Initially, they funded themselves with contributions from party members or businesses, but in 1962, the foundations began to receive contributions from the government, and two years later the Ministry of Economic Cooperation formalized contributions in order to carry out activities abroad.

Many former Latin American and other regions’ presidents and politicians have received scholarships or support from German foundations. In our interview, Josef Thesing identified some of them, especially in Latin America: Patricio Alwyin and Eduardo Frei (Chile); Osvaldo Hurtado and Jamil Mahuad (Ecuador); Vicente Fox and Felipe Calderón (México), Carlos Andrés Pérez (Venezuela), among others.
The foundations justify the funds they receive by arguing that they contribute to “educational, democratic work.” The foundations have various advantages over the political parties: the donations that they receive are completely tax-exempt and their income reporting does not need to be as detailed. They function as separate entities from the political parties with which they are affiliated, even though in fact the members of the executive boards are, in most cases, party leaders. The Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FES), for example, is represented in 21 Latin American countries. About one third of this organization’s budget for development cooperation has been allocated to projects in Latin America. In addition, the Konrad Adenauer (KAS) has been focusing its work on Latin America since 1964. From the beginning, this organization has established contacts with Christian Democratic parties in the region and has contributed to the process of democratization. The KAS has allocated more than half of its budget to promote the rule of law, and the modernization of the state and means of communication in Latin America. The Friedrich Naumann Stiftung (FNS) has provided much support, especially in the environmental sphere in Latin America, most of all in Colombia. The Hans Seidel Foundation bases its work on political cooperation in Central and South America, in particular with political parties with conservative ideology. These foundations are present in almost all countries where Germany has diplomatic representation, and they even have mechanisms of coordination between each other, despite having different ideologies.

According to the director of the KAS in the United States, to achieve its objectives, German political foundations carry out activities of many different types, always working in conjunction with local political parties that share the political ideology of...
each one of the German parties identified with each foundation. They organize series of seminars, meetings, dialogues with different political leaders, publications, and trainings. They also share their experience in issues that are related with different local political agenda and encourage various actors and organizations come to them with questions or help conduct exchanges with their country and Germany through officials of the German government who collaborate with the foundations. Many times, they even bring local actors to “neutral” territory to have closed debates or for issues that require a high level of confidentiality.

The work is almost always with the political elites of each country, as well as with businesspeople, the media, churches, unions, academic institutions and schools, and they form strong bonds with all these actors through specific programming. For example, last February in Peru, the Konrad Adenauer Foundation organized an event for almost 100 former scholars (many of them actual politicians and social leaders in their countries) of 8 different Latin American countries. During the event, the KAS promoted meetings with politicians of Ecuador and Venezuela, in order to discuss strategies to creat similar opposition movements for their countries.

But the German Political Foundations also create projects for more popular classes, in order to apply Social Market Economy in popular indigenous communities77.

Are these foundations successful? Without a doubt, just as we have seen with education, Germany has managed to penetrate many countries with its politics and exercise influence at the governmental level. The largest difference here is that if Germany manages to influence political parties or certain leaders with mobilizing abilities, the

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77 For example, see: “Programa de Políticas Públicas para los pueblos Indígenas de Ecuador”, http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_11357-544-4-30.pdf
influence on the country will be very great and there will be a high level of effectiveness.

The diplomacy of the United States has aimed at implementing political strategies that replicate “soft power” mechanisms. Through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), for example, there exists great economic and academic support to various think tanks. However, these think tanks, which are generally of the country of origin, oftenly approach only academic or editorial topics or the formulation of public policy. German foundations, in contrast, organize institutions, create movements, parties and observatories; they are organizations that outlast the governments in office and that have capacity for decision-making and influence.

Similarly, think tanks in a developing country are seen as “centers of thought” of an academic elite, and when their funds come from certain developed countries, they are perceived in society as “organizations that respond to foreign interests.” In contrast, German foundations are considered to be politically independent organizations whose objective is only that of expanding values of general interest without any other end than that of helping, of creating a public good. They are seen as organizations that do not seek power or that do not have interests of obtaining it. Finally, they are considered to be very trustworthy, altruistic institutions for the country.78

For this reason, in Mexico for example, the KAS is considered by several political scientists to be the creator of the National Action Party (PAN) and the facilitator of bringing an end to the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI)’s sixty years in power.

Initially, the founding of this party to work with the KAS took place due to a “coincidence in the Christian message”. Meanwhile, other German foundations were working with other parties, one of them, the FES, with the party in power, attempting to employ measures that would be beneficial for democracy.

One example of this was in 1970 when new labor legislation, based on an FES document, was voted on. Another decisive moment for the relations between Germany and Mexico was in 1992, when the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was signed between the United States, Canada and Mexico. From then on, the KAS decided to focus its efforts on the PAN, the party with the best electoral perspectives.

In the year 2000, PAN won the presidency in Mexico, destroying the hegemony of the PRI. For Soledad Loaeza, many factors influenced the modernization of the PAN and the achievement of this triumph; first, the mobilization of anti-PRI voters, who voted for the PAN in protest against the regime; second, the changes in electoral legislation, for example those who guaranteed respect for elections and the independence of electoral authorities; and thirdly, the activism of a democratic coalition that united various actors and responded to the demands of society and their initiatives. Loaeza argues that this third element occurred thanks to the KAS’ support to the Mexican party.

Since its foundation in 1939, PAN has been thought of as a party without doctrine. Its ideology spoke of ethical Christian issues but was always considered to be a “party of the Catholic Church” that did not have a plan for the government. The influence of the KAS was so strong in the years of Mexican restructuring that in 1988, Presidential Candidate Manuel Clouthier used the name of Ludwig Erhard and his economic policies

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as an escape route for Mexico in his campaign. Since then, Social Market Economy has been a central factor in PAN’s doctrine and its ideology took on an air of modernism and of efficient policies, which helped the electorate to support concrete issues, such as the need to cut the size of the bureaucracy.

While the PRI was in power, PAN took the position of German Christian Democracy (CDU) in its critique and opposition to the regime. In fact, there were various interactions between the CDU and the PAN during the 1990s.

In short, once in office, the relationship between the PAN and the KAS did not change, but rather was strengthened, and currently they maintain close cooperation through common instruments and activities: publications, exchange programs and trainings, seminars, conferences, among others. For example, in 2011, the President of Mexico inaugurated the “Forum for Security”, promoted by the KAS and to which many Mexican and German politicians were invited.\(^8^0\)

But in addition to schools and foundations, Germany has also used another tool to apply its strategy of diplomacy. Apart from its cultural influence through that kind of institutions, Germany is using yet another instrument to promote its corporations throughout the world.

With a low profile, but with much efficiency and strength in almost all the countries of the region, is the Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ)\(^8^1\), a, “limited-liability non-profit association, owned by the Government of the Federal Republic of

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\(^8^0\) http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_5374-1442-4-30.pdf?111214161436
\(^8^1\) Official information from http://www.gtz.de
Germany”. For example, in Latin America and the Caribbean, since the beginning of the twenty first century, the GTZ has maintained a strategic alliance with the Economic Commission of Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) for its development policies, in order to carry out their plan called “Toward sustainable and equitable globalization.” This plan has as its objective “to promote and support processes of development and reform in the countries of the region, especially regarding the topics of good governance, sustainable development, the integrated management of natural resources and climate change, the improvement of access to global markets and social policy, and access to financial services to combat poverty.”

Generally, because of Latin America’s colonial history, for many of the political leaders in the region, “all foreign organizations want to exploit its resources” and therefore, they are skeptical of any kind of foreign investment. Nevertheless, to determine whether German diplomacy has produced results, it is sufficient to look at President Felipe Calderón’s declarations, who in 2010 called for the investment of Volkswagen to produce the new model “Beetle” in Mexico: “There is no other word in Mexico to create jobs than the word investment. Public investments, like the work we are doing on the country’s highways, or private investment, like that of Volkswagen here in Puebla. National or global competitive investment is the key”.

Moreover, there are fifty German companies operating in Nigeria with offices or production facilities. The largest construction company in Nigeria, Julius Berger, is partly managed and owned by Germans. Other large German firms are there as well,

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82 2006-2007 Programme - Towards sustainable and equitable globalization, Germany, Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development/ GTZ
such as Siemens and Deutsche Bank.\textsuperscript{84}

To end, despite Germany's relatively small size, it has consistently exerted a powerful influence on the world economy, through the execution of plans ranging from entities like the GTZ. This country is the indisputable leader in areas like heavy machinery, the pharmaceutical industry, vehicles, telecommunications, and infrastructure construction like stadiums, highways, transportation systems, as we will analyze in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 4

GERMANY AND THE 2006 WORLD CUP

FIFA’s official review says that the beginning of the match between Argentina and Holland in the 1978 World Cup final was not one of the most attractive that history has seen. But that game is recognized for being one of the most passionate for the total sacrifice of each one of the players on that field, players who were witnesses of when the team coached by César Luis Menotti, captured the World Cup.

The official FIFA review of the match states:

*The host nation, desperate to win their first title, faced a vastly experienced Dutch side playing in their second consecutive final. On paper at least, the Dutch were favorites - but that was discounting the influence of the passionate home crowd. Right from the outset, it was clear they would play a big part in the outcome of the match. As the teams emerged from the tunnel, more than 70,000 fans released a spectacular mass of confetti and streamers from the stands, covering the whole pitch. They were in a frenzy, and over the next two hours roared their team to a victory that culminated with captain Daniel Alberto Passarella raising the legendary FIFA World Cup trophy skyward.*

The final result of the game was 3 to 1. Argentina had won its first World Cup and the South American country leapt with joy. Hours before the game, an official television channel showed General Jorge Rafael Videla before the players of the Argentine team, saying the following: “Gentlemen, just like the commander encourages the troops before combat, today I have wanted, before you all in this visit, to exhort you to feel like true winners”.

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86 Jorge Rafael Videla Redondo is a former senior commander in the Argentine Army who was the de facto President of Argentina from 1976 to 1981. He came to power in a coup d’état that deposed Isabel Martínez de Perón.
The 1978 World Cup should have been one of the happiest and most historic moments for the Argentine people. But the reality was that while millions of Argentines were celebrating the victory in the River Plate stadium in Buenos Aires, the country was in a difficult place, under a terrible dictatorship that, in the words of the documentary *World Cup 1978: the Parallel History*, “used soccer to cover up torture, kidnappings and murder.”

Years later, the winner of the 1980 Nobel Peace Prize, Adolfo Pérez Esquivel, who was detained in the Argentine Federal Police barracks from 1976 until two days before the end of 1978, said about the World Cup:

*In jail, the guards also wanted to listen to the game, we could hear the radio broadcast over the loudspeaker. It was strange, but in a unanimous shout of “Goal!,” the guards and prisoners became united. It made me feel like at that moment, despite the situation that we were in, we all felt the feeling of love for Argentina. All us political prisoners, those being chased, those being tortured and the families of the disappeared were hoping that Menotti would say something that had a tone of solidarity, but he didn’t say anything. He was also exercising politics with his silence. (Documentary “World Cup 1978: the parallel history)*

For this reason, the 1978 World Cup is well known for many thinkers who believe that the Argentine military dictatorship used sports as an excuse to “sedate” the country, focusing its interest solely on soccer, “without repairing the other reality, hidden in the darkness”.

The fact is, sports, or rather, mega-sports events, can become a political, social, economic or psychological instrument for regimes. Historically, the Olympic Games organized by Adolf Hitler -although they were awarded to Germany before Hitler came

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88 He was released from Unit 9 on June 23, 1978 thanks to international pressure.
to power- received severe criticism. Hitler's administration, which began in January 1933, coincided with the meeting of the Organizing Committee of Olympic Games in Berlin 1936. In the abstract of his article “Nazism and Sport: The Olympic Games of Berlin 1936”\textsuperscript{90}, Solar Cubillas mentions:

*Hitler and his government were initially uninterested in sport, though they soon realized the global propaganda power conferred by an occurrence as universal as the Olympics, and spared no effort, neither economic nor diplomatic, to produce a grand Olympic festival. Finally, the Games were held with great displays of technical prowess and symbolic innovations, yet they could not hide the Nazi's thirst for power nor the misery of Nazi racism.*

Months before the start of the Olympic Games, Hitler signed peace agreements with several neighboring countries. In his government, his experts knew that by hosting this event, they could show the strength of Germany to the world, and propagate its supposed peaceful image as a propaganda ploy.

Currently, many authors find similarities between Hitler’s Olympic Games and those that took place in China in 2008. “Compare it (Olympic Games in Beijing 2008) to Berlin 1936, when hosting the Olympics was used by a totalitarian regime to legitimate itself in the eyes of the world”\textsuperscript{91}, says Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom.

And during the Olympics in Beijing, China managed to create an image of power and project it to the world, putting on spectacular acts, such as in the opening ceremony. The Beijing Games offered an excellent opportunity to promote China to the world. It was the use of games as an act of propaganda to send a message to the world.

In his book *Beyond the Final Score: The Politics of Sport in Asia*, Victor D. Cha shows


that “sport is not just about lean bodies glistening with sweat from physical exertion, it is an activity that is of the utmost strategic importance.” As is was expressed earlier, the Olympic Games or the Soccer World Cup, or even the Miss Universe Pageant are opportunities for certain countries to develop strategies of “soft power.”

Mega-sporting events are considered to be large-scale events with international significance, followed widely. The country that organizes them automatically gains an image of modernity. Coordinating such events requires countries to go through processes of urban renewal and the construction of different types of infrastructure, and as a result, these cities or countries become very attractive. Given that we live in a world highly influenced by the media, all mega-sporting events hold their attention while they are occurring, showing the countries or cities where they are taking place to the world.

In a personal interview for this thesis, Doctor Romero Cotorruelo Menta, Director of one of the largest sport management groups in Spain, Grupo Santa Mónica, he assures that, for example, “for Madrid, winning the 2016 Olympic Games was a public policy.” Cotorruelo Menta was part of the group of consultants to the city government for the process of choosing candidates. He says:

Undoubtedly, hosting a mega-sporting event or simply trying to do so is a very successful strategy for society. For example, the Madrid Metro, currently considered to be one of the best subways in the world, was built to comply with the transportation requirements imposed by the International Olympics Committee

And although Madrid did not win the games, its subway continues to function and serves millions of people daily.

Grupo Santa Mónica Sports is a holding company of ten companies distributed between Spain and the American continent that sell the rights to marketing, images, publicity and licensing in the sector of professional sports, assets that are also applied in event organization.
Madrid competed with Chicago, Rio de Janeiro and Tokyo. These four cities were selected in June 2008 for the Selection Committee to begin the evaluation process. During the procedure, Tokyo and Madrid received the best technical scores during the application phase. Rio de Janeiro and Chicago had the advantage that many judges wanted the games to return to the American continent, it being over 10 years--since the Atlanta games of 1996--that the games had not taken place in the Americas.

The hosting of a mega-sporting event has so much political importance that at the close of the process in the 121st Session of the International Olympic Committee in Copenhagen, Presidents Lula da Silva of Brazil, Barack Obama of the United States, Japanese Prime Minister Yukio Hatoyama and the President of Spain, accompanied by the King of Spain and his wife, Queen Sophie, all personally arrived for the event. All attempted to personally demonstrate their governments’ support for their countries’ bid.

In a press conference a few days before this session, while the G-20 Summit was taking place in the United States, former President Lula stated: “For them, it is just another Olympic games. For Brazil, it is the opportunity to demonstrate our self-esteem and ability to do it better than them.”

It is very exciting to watch videos of the moment when Rio de Janeiro was selected as the city to host the 2016 Olympic Games. Lula burst into tears and hugged his whole delegation, while in Brazil, people celebrated joyfully. Regarding the diplomatic and political effects that this choice produced for the country, Lula says: “There are 200 million of us in Brazil, and to host these games we are accompanied by 400 million in a
country called South America.”

Without doubt, Brazil is today one of the largest economic powers in the world. Not only did it win the bid for the 2016 Olympic Games, it will also host the FIFA Soccer World Cup in 2014. Its economic and world standing has skyrocketed, and the President affirmed: “From the bottom of my heart, today is certainly the most exciting of my life. Brazil has left the group of second-class countries behind and is now in the group of first class countries. I believe that today, Brazil has conquered its international citizenship.” 93

It should be noted that the realization of mega-events was present as a “strategy” in the first Strategic Plan of the city of Rio de Janeiro done in 1996. Since receiving confirmation that it would host the Games, many strategies have been implemented in Rio de Janeiro to promote economic growth. In this context, the scope of mega-events reaches far beyond the sports arena with a symbolic dimension and political expression, the “games” being presented as an opportunity to help urban development. 94

Lula da Silva’s declarations as well as the presence of the Olympic Games in the strategic plan for the city of Rio de Janeiro confirm what Karin García argues in her book Olympic Games and World Cups: Sports competitions or political tools? That mega-sporting events “are not mere sporting events but one of the many international institutions created for the growing need of modern society to expand its relations.” That is, on the one hand they are tools to test the might of world powers, and on the other, they reflect the great rift that developing countries have to cross to belong to this

exclusive club and access the privileges that lead to becoming a world power. As a result, as we have seen with the cases of Argentina, China, or Hitler’s Germany, the governments of different world powers have favored these events as instruments to promote their political agendas or reconstruct their world image. The fact is, mega-sport events are “as much a political event as a sports event”.

Nevertheless, a mega-sport event is useful not only to show political or economic might but also to boost a country’s economy, for example the actual case of Brazil, where the Government is going to invest more than US$600.000 for public works in the next 5 years, until they hold the World Cup and Olympic Games. It is proven that hosting a mega-event can help construct more united societies or repair them if the have a history of social rifts.

This is the case of South Africa, where Nelson Mandela used the excuse of the Rugby World Cup in 1995 to turn it into the undisputed most important political event in the history of South Africa, as it was a mean to help maintain the country’s victory of reaching equality at the beginning of 1990s, when Apartheid ended.

The Rugby World Cup was the tool used by the African politician to unite wills and overcome the fierce anger that was rooted in the South African society. Just one year after being elected president, Nelson Mandela was able to alter the image that the black South African population had of rugby, a sport that represented white power, to achieve something never before seen in South Africa: the whole population, whites and blacks,

96 The growth acceleration program, or PAC (Aceleração do Crescimento), was introduced in 2007 and laid out investment plans of nearly R$504 billion (US$306 billion) until 2010 to solve many long-overdue infrastructure issues as well as prepare for the upcoming 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympics events. See: http://riotimesonline.com/brazil-news/rio-business/brazil-pac-2-spending-plans/
supporting a common goal: to win the World Cup. Sure enough, South Africa won the World Cup in 1995 in an electrifying match, in overtime, against the best rugby team in the world, New Zealand.

The article “From Redemption to Recidivism?” by Albert Grundlingh, provides an excerpt that puts us in the context of the importance of that event:

*Saturday 24 June 1995 was a red letter day in South Africa. Before a capacity crowd at Ellispark stadium in Johannesburg and with millions watching the finals of the Rugby World Cup, the Springbok team narrowly managed to beat the much vaunted New Zealand All Black team in extra time through a dropped goal by the fly half, Joel Stransky. South Africa was the new rugby champion of the world. On hand to present the Cup to the victorious captain, Francois Pienaar, was South Africa’s most celebrated prisoner-turned-president, Nelson Mandela, decked out, in an unmistakable show of identification and support, in Pienaar’s spare number 6 jersey. It was the perfect climax to a tournament which saw South Africa taking pride of place in the rugby world after the international sports isolation of the apartheid years.*

The defeat of Apartheid was possible in part through a political strategy that used sports and mega-events, in this case the 1995 World Cup, as its main mechanism. Mandela created a sort of political ideology and public agenda to unite a divided country.

After this experience, Mandela said that “sport has the power to change the world, the power to inspire, the power to unite people in a way that little else can. Sport can create hope. It is an instrument for peace.”

This issue of “unity” is perhaps the most important when analyzing why Germany, after the fall of the Berlin Wall, decided in 1993 to run as a candidate to host the Soccer World Cup in 2006. The day of the selection of the 2006 host, July 6, 2000, after Joseph

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Blatter informed the world that Germany had been designated to host the Cup, Franz Beckenbauer, Germany candidacy ambassador stated: “it will be the first time that a united Germany will be able to celebrate a world cup.”\[98\] Years earlier, Japan and Korea had used what Victor Cha called “Sports Diplomacy”\[99\] to, in conjunction, win the 2002 World Cup. Cha argues that “Sports may help facilitate relations between states” (Page 5). Germany was attempting to bring together two Germanys that had been newly united.

But what was Germany’s candidacy process like for the 2006 World Cup? Germany announced its intention to bid for the 2006 World Cup for the first time in 1996, after several meetings between the government and the German Soccer Federation (Deutscher Fußball-Bund) that had also combined its East and West organizations\[100\].

Following this, a Bidding Committee was formed that same year and named Franz Beckenbauer as its Ambassador. With these previous events, after reunification, many citizens supported the project and initiated a process of implementation of local plans to run as possible host cities for Germany’s bid. These cities, especially in the East, had to meet minimum standards of road and hotel infrastructure, among others, to be able to satisfy the requirements that Germany had to present to FIFA. At the same time, the Deutscher Fussball-Bund began a process of review and construction of all the stadiums in Germany. The German government issued itemized budgets to support the country’s candidacy. That is, it took the ideal of hosting the World Cup as a state policy that would benefit the construction of this new stage of one, united Germany. From 1993 to

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\[98\] El Mercurio, Newspaper of Chile, “Germany hosts World Cup 2006”, CSIS, July 6th, 2000.  
\[100\] Between 1945 and 1990, while Germany was divided, soccer in East Germany was controlled by the Deutscher Fußball Verband der DDR (DFV), while West Germany soccer was managed by the DFB. La DFV was absorbed by the DFB after reunification.
2000, when Germany was finally chosen, it had become the country with the best stadiums, communication infrastructure and security policies compared with the other candidates (especially England and South Africa).\textsuperscript{101}

What requirements does a country that wants to host a mega-sport event like the World Cup need to meet? When FIFA published the invitation to bid for the World Cup, in the first paragraph of its letter of invitation, there was a highlighted statement:

\begin{quote}
The infrastructure and facilities of the host country must be of high quality in order to meet the requirements of the most popular sporting event in the world. To host the FIFA World Cup, approximately 12 stadiums are required with stands for about 40,000 people for the group phase and 80,000 for the inaugural game and the finals. Likewise, telecommunication technology, television transmission, information technology, transportation and accommodations must be of the latest generation.\textsuperscript{102}
\end{quote}

Germany had to rebuild a large part of its infrastructure, since the differences in the level of development between the East and the West were abysmal. One of the examples of how this mega-event constituted an excuse to reconstruct the country is the Berlin Central Train Station (Berlin-Hauptbahnhof), inaugurated on May 26, 2005, just before the opening of the Soccer World Cup. It was a monumental construction that required ten years of work and that replaced the former S-Bahn that was in operation from 1886 to 2002. This station as well as the remodeling of the Olympic Stadium in Berlin, are perhaps the two symbols of reconstruction as a result of this mega-sport event.

To complete all these works, the German government allocated state funds that boosted the German economy. On the official webpage of the 2006 World Cup, an official


\textsuperscript{102} FIFA, “Proceso de Candidaturas para la Copa Mundial de la FIFA”, Zurich, 2009.

declaration of the government can be found that says:

_The federal German government is in full support of the candidacy of the German Soccer Association for the celebration of the World Cup on German territory. In this bid, the federal German government presented a series of guarantees that were decisive at the time of selecting the country to host the sport event. Without the support of the German government and the federal states, it would not have been possible to host an event of this magnitude._

The closing report of the Organizing Commission of the 2006 German World Cup (Fußball-WM 2006 Abschlussbericht der Bundesregierung)\textsuperscript{104} states that the government headed by Chancellor Angela Merkel invested 3.7 billion Euros in preparing for the World Cup, not counting the investments in stadium construction (the Berliner Olympiastadions alone had a cost of 195.8 million Euros). In addition, the report lists a series of expenditures on culture, industry promotion, education and other activities that took place during the World Cup, not included in the preliminary figure.

Not only from an economic point of view, in which Germany prioritized its expenditure on the 2006 World Cup as the “motor of the economy,” or from the political point of view in which the government, through the Ministry of the Interior (Bundesminister des Innern), assumed the responsibility for hosting the Cup, but also from many other angles, can we observe the use of this mega-event as a new strategy of German “soft power.”

One clear piece of evidence for this argument is the slogan of the 2006 World Cup: “Time to make friends” (“Die Welt zu Gast bei Freunden”)\textsuperscript{105}. For many expert academics on language and communication, the World Cup gave Germany the opportunity to distance itself from the negative stereotypes of its image that existed in

\textsuperscript{103} http://wm2006.deutschland.de/ES/Content/Alemania-anfitriona/Garantias-del-gobierno/Garantias-del-gobierno/EL-GOB-1.HTM

\textsuperscript{104} Fußball-WM 2006 Abschlussbericht der Bundesregierung, Potsdam, 2006.

\textsuperscript{105} The slogan was created by André Heller, who was the art and culture director of the WC-2006.
Europe and other parts of the world.

The World Cup closing report published a series of elements that were created with this objective. There existed campaigns that asked society to improve their hospitality. One television campaign invited citizens to be “extra nice” during the World Cup. Along with this campaign, a series of images and alternative slogans were created, and all of them communicated the idea of a “Soft Germany.”

In her article “We all love the Germans!” Laura Smith-Spark suggests that it “is funny how 10 days of football can change so many people’s ideas about other nations”. She goes on to say that she “never expected to hear so many voices from around the world saying how great the Germans are.”

This is the best way to understand how and why sport, and especially a mega-sporting event, has become a new mechanism of German soft diplomacy. Even the government, in an official document expresses:

\[\text{The federal German government, in collaboration with the president of the Organizing Committee for the World Cup, Franz Beckenbauer, German soccer teams, the economic sector of the country and the most important political groups will enjoy this opportunity to present Germany as a tolerant country full of life. With the dedication, commitment and enthusiasm of the whole German population, the whole world will feel its emotion and will be a direct witness of mutual understanding between people. In this way, the Cups’ slogan, ‘Time to make friends,’ will be meaningful.}\]

With the hosting of the 2006 World Cup, Germany turned into a “Summer’s Fairy

\[106\] Smith-Spark Laura, “We all love the Germans!”, BBC Sport, World Cup 2006, June 18th, 2006. http://www.bbc.co.uk/blogs/worldcup/200606/we_all_love_the_germans.html

in contrast to what Heinrich Heine once said about Germany in his book *Germany, a Winter’s Tale*. The dark and depressing vision of Heine in his poems are now contrasted with the images of joy, brightness, and the awakening of a new Germany, through the sport event that lasted only a few weeks.

The German World Cup was not only an external diplomatic strategy but it also helped Germans themselves to nurture for the first time in many years a feeling of positive nationalism. Not long before, the world looked upon a group of Germans with flags of their country, supporting a national objective, very negatively. With the World Cup and the strategy of soft power, these same citizens once again raised their flag every time Germany participated in a match, and the rest of the world watched their gesture with the feeling that this nation was experiencing a change of attitude.

In his book “Gaming the World”, Andrei Markovits says that the German World Cup during the summer of 2006 attracted 30 billion viewers in 214 countries. There is no doubt that this event “shaped and stabilized social and even political identities around the globe”. Now, it remains to see how, as a result of this experience, Germany has been growing in influence in the world, this time with a new tool: soccer.

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108 “A summer's tale” is a 2006 documentary film, written, filmed and directed by Sönke Wortmann, The title ironically refers to Heinrich Heine's poem "Germany, A winter's tale". As opposed to Heine's melancholic view on Germany this movie illustrates the sanguine and optimistic atmosphere during the World Cup 2006.

CHAPTER 5

SOCCER: A NEW STRATEGY OF GERMAN ‘SOFT POWER’

On July 10, 2006, newspapers across the world all boasted the same headline: “Italy was crowned as champion of the 2006 World Cup, defeating France 5-3 in penalty kicks after an intense match that ended in a 1-1 tie.” With this result, the European World Cup in Germany had come to a close, leaving a great impression on the world.

The German Minister of the Interior (Bundesminister des Innern), Dr. Wolfgang Schäuble, said to this respect: “The 2006 FIFA World Cup has officially ended with the Italy vs. France match. But even several weeks after the final whistle, we still remember this marvelous soccer celebration in which millions of people enthusiastically enjoyed the hospitality of the host: Germany.”

It would seem that a chapter of soccer history, and of German history, was ending. The World Cup was coming to a close and for many experts, it was considered to be one of the best World Cups in history in terms of organization and infrastructure. But just days after this headline, the topic of the “World Cup” returned to the German newspapers, but this time it was not to analyze what had happened in the tournament but to announce that “a German company will build 2010 South Africa World Cup stadiums.”

An announcement from Deutsche Welle confirmed: “Just weeks after the close of the 2006 World Cup, a German architecture firm is working hard to remodel three South African stadiums in time for the next soccer world championship in 2010”, as published on Deutsche Welle’s website.

For Germany, the World Cup experience was not over, but rather a new chapter had begun after, as we saw in the previous chapter, witnessing how a mega-event can constitute a powerful instrument for diplomacy and international relations. In fact, even before the 2006 German World Cup had begun, Germany had already begun to cooperate with South Africa, during a scrimmage between their national teams played on September 7, 2005. Before the game, the federal government of Germany and the German Soccer Federation (DFB) organized a reception in honor of the South African guests. On this occasion, Otto Schily, Minister of the Interior of the federal government assured “Germany’s unconditional support of South Africa to host its world cup.”

One day later, 600 representatives from German and South African companies gathered for a conference of investors to intensify the mutual exchange of information. Business executives were not the only guests, such as the keynote speaker, Theo Zwanziger, Executive President of the DFB. Soccer was already being mixed with industry. As a result, according to the official information on Germany’s Organizing Committee’s website, this meeting ensured good opportunities in contract concessions for German companies in preparation for the World Cup in South Africa. One of Ronald Meißer’s, Director of the Chamber of Industry, proposals confirms Germany’s intentions to become involved in South Africa: “Germany has developed unique knowledge on

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113 Deutsche Welle, “German Architects Design World Cup Stadiums in South Africa”, N.Werkhäuser, August 1st, 2006 http://www.dw.de/dw/article/0,,2112453,00.html
organizational techniques, thanks to the implementation of plans for the tournament in its own country, that could be beneficial for South Africa.”

For this reason, it is not surprising that the first contract awarded for the construction of the stadiums went to the German architecture firm Marg and Partners (GMP). Here, and as seen in previous chapters, it is clear that in the powerful tools that German diplomacy has had in applying its culture, values and projects--and also in investments--in other countries in the region, there are a series of practices that are common to each tool, such as in soccer.

In South Africa, historically, Germany has had a large influence, especially through two elements: their schools and churches. According to the “German South African Resource Page”\(^{115}\), after churches, the German schools as in Latin America are among the most influential institutions in German society in South Africa. There are five private German schools in South Africa that are supported by the Auslandsschulwesen (Office for German schools worldwide), compared to the 37 schools in Latin America\(^{116}\). The German International School Cape Town (DSK), for example, is considered to be one of the best German schools in the world\(^{117}\). Regarding religious influence, there are five churches that traditionally cater to German South Africans (the Evangelical Lutheran Church in South Africa, the Free Evangelical Lutheran Synod in South Africa, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Stadtmission), and furthermore, there are two radio missions, broadcasting to German Lutherans in Southern Africa. Additionally, we can find political foundations and other educational institutions like

\(^{115}\) [http://www.safrika.org/](http://www.safrika.org/)

\(^{116}\) Deutsche Höhere Privatschule - DHPS, Hermannsburg School - DSH, German International School Johannesburg - DSJ, German International School Cape Town - DSK, German School Pretoria - DSP.

\(^{117}\) On 8 April 2011 the German-Federal-State Inspection awarded the German International School Cape Town the stamp of approval: “Excellent German School Abroad”.

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the Goethe Institute or the Goethe Zentrum. This centers, for example, present numerous German cultural and educational programs, and host social events where people who have an interest in German culture can get acquainted.

So, Germany has already had a certain degree of influence in South Africa. Therefore, facing the daunting challenge of hosting the World Cup, South Africa did not have much difficulty accepting support from Germany, the most recent and most efficient and organized host of the Cup. The first symbolic act of this support was the selection of Horst R. Schmidt, the first Vice President of the 2006 German Organizing Committee, as “Consultant for the 2010 World Cup in South Africa.”

Regarding Schmidt’s incorporation into the South African Organizing Committee, Urs Lins, director of the WC-2010 affirmed: “No one in the world has more experience than he does in areas of organization, security, or ticket management. FIFA owes a great debt to the DFB for allowing Horst Schmidt to dedicate himself to this new task.”

Two years later, in October 2008, Germany’s Chancellor Angela Merkel announced the signing of an agreement to support South Africa in hosting the 2010 World Cup. The agreement was signed directly between Merkel and South African President Thabo Mbeki.

Under the agreement, Germany offered to “share its knowledge and experience” to support South Africa’s organization of this important sporting event based on the

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In 2009, German cooperation in South Africa was already very large. On Friday, October 5, Angela Merkel made an official visit to South Africa and in the afternoon she visited the South African Football Association (SAFA) House and Soccer City, with the objective of reviewing the state of preparations for the FIFA World Cup 2010 in South Africa. Then she visited the stadium. 

According to Inter Press Service (IPS), it was difficult to analyze the extent of Germany support in South Africa. On the one hand, the Chancellor gave verbal support and personally visited certain sites of the World Cup projects in South Africa, but the official information from the Foreign Office affirmed: “We have no formal cooperative relationship with the South African Football Association or with the world cup organizing committee. On that matter, you should ask the chancellery (Merkel’s office) or the DFB”.

There was much secrecy regarding official support, but in practice, Germany had already begun an extensive plan of cooperation. This support was mostly delivered with “know how”. For example, the German environmental program for the 2006 Cup, known as “Green Goal”, a programme that was indeed a success, was an issue closely followed by South African sport authorities. According to press notes, the 2006 Cup Green Goal commissioners took part in consulting sessions in December 2008 during a

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122 Some 74 percent of the audience in 2006 did use public transport, especially trains, to travel to the stadiums. All greenhouse gases emissions produced by the event were compensated for with environmental programmes in South Africa and India. Furthermore, all electricity consumed by the event was generated by renewable sources. In addition, the 2006 Cup saved up to 20 percent of the water and electricity budgeted for the event.
visit of the South African organizing committee delegation to Germany.

When speaking about this type of programming that began the direct cooperation between Germany and South Africa, Schmidt mentioned: “South Africa should not try to reinvent the wheel. They can learn from what we did and hopefully it will bring them the success that we expect. South Africa's organizers should take advice from the Germans, but they need to organize a World Cup in their own style.”\textsuperscript{123} This is similar to the previous chapters’ analysis about the way Germany executes plans of international diplomacy, seeking to share values and democratic systems that have been proven successful and may work in other countries, and without seeming to impose their preferences.

In addition to the Green Goal project, the execution of a million dollar cooperation project became public, developed by the Federal Ministry for Economic Development and Cooperation (BMZ) that began in 2007. The program’s name was: "South Africa 2010 - Germany 2006: Competence and Strengthening of Local Cooperation and Development - Partnerschaft mit Kick!”\textsuperscript{124}, and to implement it the BMZ chose the German institution for bilateral development operations, InWEnt, in cooperation with the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ). German cooperation agencies and their organizations of soft diplomacy analyzed in previous chapters had a strong presence in the process.

According to the project’s Closing Report presented in February 2011 to the German


\textsuperscript{124} The “South Africa 2010–Germany 2006: Partnership with a kick!” project formed part of the bi-national agreements between the German and South African governments and was implemented by InWEnt –Capacity Building International, Germany– on behalf of the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ). In cooperation with the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) and the German Development Service (DED), InWEnt coordinated the networking of distinguished partners in the spheres of policy making, sports and civil society in Germany and South Africa. See: http://www.oeko.de/oekodoc/292/2006-011-en.pdf
Ministry of the Interior, the project had three basic work areas considered by Germany to be “challenges”\textsuperscript{125}. The first challenge was that it was a “pilot” project that combined soccer and development with a cooperation format in which local experts advised their colleagues on the preparations for the World Cup. There did not exist data on South Africa’s needs; therefore, the project had to determine what these needs were in four years.

The second challenge was that the project had to be done within a structure of “partners,” uniting the nine host cities of the World Cup in South Africa with the twelve cities that hosted the World Cup in Germany. Then, a work structure had to be prepared with competent ministers at the provincial and national levels of each country and with central authorities. Meetings also needed to be coordinated between security organizations of the two countries, for example.

Finally, the last challenge was that the pilot project had to be completed in a short amount of time. Therefore, “it was necessary to be flexible to new needs and demands in the short term.”

The program received state funds. In its background information, it states that the contribution was delivered to InWent by the BMZ under the title “strengthening cooperation and local development” and the project had to be completed between January 1, 2007 and December 31, 2010. When analyzing these objectives, there’s interesting information that shows that this program had a direct interest in establishing long-lasting relations with South African organizations after the World Cup:

\textit{The objective is to contribute to the success of the first FIFA World Cup on}
African soil, through city cooperation and the transfer of knowledge and to reinforce the knowledge of city staff and the internal partners of the South African communities beyond 2010. With this, a deeper German-South African relationship will be built, which will provide the foundation for new project cooperation in the future.\footnote{Abschlussevaluierung, “Südafrika 2010 – Deutschland 2006: Kommunale Partnerschaft mit Kick!”, Bonn, Februar, 2011, Page 12.}

The projects’ activities were many: cooperation and exchange with local experts in South Africa; consultations and workshops were offered based on specific needs. German local experts from 13 cities received intercultural and language training before being sent to South Africa. Topics ranged from infrastructural planning to logistics, security and traffic issues as well as PR and tourism. There was an information campaign as well and public relations work in Germany, with events held in public locations, football stadiums, at universities and other institutions.\footnote{See: http://www.service-eine-welt.de/wm/wm-start.html}

It is difficult to find an explanation to understand what the terms “beyond 2010” and “future” mean. What is certain is that this project, a so-called “pilot” project, delivered the expected results for Germany, proven by the fact that the project “Brasilien 2014: Kommunale Partnerschaft mit Kick!” (Brazil 2014–Germany 2006: Partnership with a Kick!), is currently underway, which includes cooperation on cultural, security, and transportation matters, to name a few.

The official webpage of the service agency, Communities in One World, of the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, explains that the project with South Africa was so successful that officials decided to continue the project in Brazil 2014. “The Federal Ministry of Economic and Development Cooperation (Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung) (BMZ) has
approved the new project and will provide funds for the collaboration.  

This fact is unsurprising. For Germany, Brazil is fundamental to its international relations. According to the article “Política Alemana con América Latina”\textsuperscript{129}, by Heinrich Kreft, Germany currently has interest in deepening its relations with Brazil and therefore, all of its activities to do so “will continue to expand throughout 2013 and 2014 when the German government, along with cultural institutions and German industry will celebrate the ‘Year of Germany in Brazil’ and present Germany’s economic, scientific and cultural aspects.” Kreft goes on to say: “With the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympic Games in Brazil, German society will be focused on Latin America for the next several years. These programs and events must be taken advantage of to deepen and expand relations between Germany and Latin America.” (Page 155). This academic vision confirms the political, economic and cultural events that are occurring between Germany and Brazil as a result of the two mega-sport events that this South American country will host in 2014 and 2016.

According to the Federal Foreign Office of Germany, “political, economic, cultural and social relations between Germany and Brazil stand on a broad foundation”.\textsuperscript{130} In the German-Brazilian Strategic Partnership Action Plan\textsuperscript{131}, signed in 2008, both countries agreed to further step up bilateral and multilateral cooperation. Brazil is the only Latin American country with which Germany enjoys a “strategic partnership”, in which both countries agreed to further step up bilateral and multilateral cooperation.

\textsuperscript{128}“Das Projekt war so erfolgreich, dass die Servicestelle anlässlich der WM 2014 in Brasilien ein Nachfolgeprojekt auflegen wird. Das Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung (BMZ) hat dem neuen Projekt zugestimmt und stellt Mittel für die Zusammenarbeit bereit” in http://www.service-eine-welt.de/wm/standard-projekt_wm_2014.html
\textsuperscript{130}See: http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de, “Bilateral Relations with Brazil”.
\textsuperscript{131}During Federal Chancellor Merkel’s visit to Brazil in May 2008 a “German-Brazilian Strategic Partnership Action Plan” was agreed. This Action Plan describes the STC as an important key area of the relations between the two countries, and particularly emphasizes the importance of sustainability-related fields of research for the STC between the two countries.
Bilateral cooperation between Germany and Brazil has a wide range. It covers a number of issues: business, energy, environmental and climate protection, defense, labor and social affairs, as well as human rights. With funding from the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development and the Government’s International Climate Initiative, Germany is working together with Brazil on tropical forest protection in Amazonia, renewable energy, and the ecological management of future major sporting events being hosted by Brazil. Both Germany and Brazil place particular importance on scientific, technological and cultural exchange. The fact that large numbers of Germans migrated to Brazil in the past has a favorable effect on cooperation. After a temporary decline due to the economic and monetary crisis, bilateral trade grew again in 2011. German exports to Brazil were worth approximately EUR 11.17 billion in 2011, an increase of 12.4 per cent compared with 2010. In 2011, German imports from Brazil also grew, by 19 per cent compared with the previous year, to EUR 11.2 billion, putting Brazil in 20th place among countries importing goods from Germany and 21st place among exporters to Germany in 2010. Germany recorded a deficit of EUR 31.5 million in trade with Brazil\textsuperscript{132}. There are also numerous contacts between non-governmental organizations in the two countries.

During former President Lula da Silva’s official visit to Germany in early December 2009, further agreements were made, but the most important one was in the area of economic cooperation, especially regarding infrastructure and security, in connection with the 2014 FIFA World Cup and the Olympic Games in Rio de Janeiro in 2016.

\textsuperscript{132}“Political Relations with Brazil”, Federal Foreign Office, http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de
As it can be seen, Germany is taking large steps toward forging a relationship with Brazil, using the opportunity of the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympic Games. In addition to the agreements of economic cooperation and organization of the enormous 2013 event “Year of Germany in Brazil,” all the mechanisms of German soft diplomacy (foundations, cooperation agencies, among others) and the embassy are working toward reinforcing these relations.

In November 2010, with the objective of doing fieldwork for this thesis, I traveled to Rio de Janeiro to participate in an event put on by Konrad Adenauer Stiftung related to the World Cup and the Olympic Games. This was the first seminar organized by this foundation to begin KAS cooperation with its counterparts in Brazil geared toward the mega-sporting events.

The program’s objective was to converse and share experiences about mega-sport events that have taken place in Germany and to analyze the importance that the World Cup and Olympic Games will have for Brazil. In this context, representatives of the government and specialists on specific topics were invited. Among the participants were Márcia Lins, Secretary of Tourism and Sport of the state of Rio de Janeiro, Fernando Sá Freire, Coordinator of the Special Secretariat for the 2014 World Cup and Rio 2016; Matthias Buchert, Director of the Öko-Institut, organization that created the “Green Goal” in Germany 2006; and Laurine Platzky of the government of the province of Cabo Ocidental and who was the Coordinator of the 2010 South Africa World Cup.

This academic experience helped me understand how the foundations work and their

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direct coordination with the official plans of the government regarding its foreign policy. Through the creation of these dialogues and seminars\textsuperscript{134}, a “good will” relationship is fostered between the participants. Local organizations enjoy this type of event, which helps them to learn from successful experiences, while German organizations “appreciate” the possibility of sharing these successful cases. All this takes place in an environment of extreme friendliness and good will.

But the result of these meetings goes far beyond achieving a favorable position with Brazil: through the coordination of specific sessions, the participants achieve different levels of implementation. For example, the KAS facilitated a meeting between the organization that created the “Green Goal” project and the government of the state of Rio de Janeiro, with the objective of presenting the experiences of the Green Goal in Germany and South Africa and to discuss the situation with Brazil. Immediately, an agreement was made to begin the work together. In this specific case, if the cooperation plans produce results, it could lead the German organization to sign a contract for the multi-million Euro execution of the plan.

The fact is that at the end goal of Germany’s strategy of soft power by way of mega-sport events is to strengthen all types of relationships: from political relations to economic ones. As it was previously shown, within the project “Brazil 2014–Germany 2006: Partnership with a Kick!”, Germany will share its experiences with the management of transportation systems during mega-sporting events. One of the advantages of the German World Cup in 2006 was precisely the German system of fast trains (ICE) and the fact that it functioned perfectly during the event.

\textsuperscript{134} See Chapter 3 of this thesis to understand the tools German foundations use to achieve their objectives.
A few months ago, I was surprised to read in the international news that “the German Minister of Transportation, Peter Ramsauer, traveled to Brazil to express to his Brazilian colleague, Alfredo Nascimento, Germany’s interest in bidding on the construction of the so-called ‘bullet train’”\textsuperscript{135} In this way, Germany, by being an advisor and good consultant as to how Brazil should develop its transportation system, may end up operating it, with a million-Euro contract concession. Another development that demonstrates how Germany is achieving certain objectives through this type of diplomacy is that some weeks ago, Volkswagen, another German company, announced in September 2011 that the government of Rio de Janeiro acquired 200 buses from the Volkswagen group as “part of the public transport system now being implemented in the Brazilian town”\textsuperscript{136} because of the upcoming sport mega-events.

In addition to these commercial achievements, the German embassy in Brasilia has also been able to consolidate a strategy of direct German influence in Brazil through the signing of treaties between cities, with the objective of “sharing the direct experiences” of cities that have already hosted a mega-sporting event with cities that will host them in the future. This is the case of Stuttgart, which signed an agreement with the city of Porto Alegre, and of Köln, which has become Rio de Janeiro’s partner.

The agreements are made within an official framework called “Partnerstädte” (Partner Cities) and their scope includes the direct transfer of experiences and collaboration with city governments on issues such as road infrastructure, security and tourism.

\textsuperscript{135} Deutsche Welle, “Germans want to build the train in Brazil”, Nadia Pontes, April 2nd, 2011
http://www.dw.de/dw/article/0,,14962625,00.html

\textsuperscript{136} See:
Cooperation is through exchanges between German and Brazilian public officials and periodic work sessions.

In this way, Germany is making a valiant effort to use mega-sporting events as a new instrument of “soft power,” which has been formalized throughout recent years with the creation of specific projects and with its agencies of cooperation, strategies with its foundations and even the signing of official bilateral agreements in which the issue of sports has as much (or more) importance than an agreement to reform the UN Security Council. The results are visible from any perspective, in South Africa as well as in Brazil, given that in both cases, Germany has enjoyed many concrete economic and cultural benefits, but most of all, Germany has become an influential player in the politics of each country.

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CONCLUSIONS

At the completion of this thesis, Germany continues to make headlines in world newspapers as a result of its strong leadership during the European economic crisis and the world’s expectations as to the actions Germany will take toward other members of the European Union. It cannot be disputed that its influence has been crucial all over the world and that it is one of the most stable and strongest countries in the world\textsuperscript{138}. To achieve this position, there can be concluded that after the era of the two world wars, Germany built a model far removed from all military tactics, based on the construction of a system of strong democratic and permanent institutions, along with an economic system that has generated prosperity. There is a conclusion that can be arrived at, that there exists a “German model of development” that combines all these elements.

In addition, we see that Germany seeks to include these two elements of the model in other regions outside of Europe by using soft diplomacy. We have seen evidence of this throughout this thesis in Germany’s constant desire to instill democratic values through its Political Foundations, geared toward seeking out democratic states, for example, and through the distribution of information and knowledge, socio-political education and political advisement, and by incentivizing various countries to implement Social Market Economy, as in the case of the European Union. German foreign policy has strived to constitute a balance between the two superpowers of the United States and the Soviet Union and also currently as an alternative to the power that is China. Historically, German foreign policy sought to strike a balance between the world’s two superpowers,

\textsuperscript{138} In the Global Competitiveness Index 2012–2013, the top 10 remain dominated by a number of European countries, with Switzerland, Finland, Sweden, the Netherlands, Germany, and the United Kingdom confirming their place among the most competitive economies. Germany maintains its position at 6th place. The country is ranked an excellent 3rd for the quality of its infrastructure, boasting in particular first-rate facilities across all modes of transport. See: http://www3.weforum.org/docs/CSI/2012-13/GCR_CountryHighlights_2012-13.pdf
the United States and the Soviet Union. It is evident that Germany has developed a brilliant strategy for successfully implementing various policies within its “Global Governance” strategy.

Evidence shows that in countries like Chile, Mexico, Brazil, Nigeria, South Africa, and the entire European Union (EU), German influence has been important. Germany’s soft power strategy has been applied very intelligently in the world. German foreign relations are based on several key tenets: political cooperation, economic cooperation, and cultural and social cooperation. Foreign policy consists not only of the actions of the Federal Republic of Germany, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or German embassies, but rather of many actors working in several sectors, such as: the Goethe Institute, political foundations, economic associations, chambers of commerce, and many more. Germany is a country of great diversity; this is evident also in its foreign relations and international cooperation. From the construction of primary schools to the training of the nations’ Presidents, Germany has figured out how to act subtly in South America, mixing the social responsibility of helping emerging countries progress (and developed countries as well as in the case of UE) with the application of successful diplomatic methods.

It is important to reiterate that Germany does not “export” its German model. As it can be seen, each country or region, due to its own historic and political conditions must construct its own model with cultural, social and political components that are specific to its territory but that are often based on the macro concepts of German values. I conclude that there does exist a specific German model but that Germany does not
desire to export it or impose a “one-size fits all” model, but rather exercise influence with its concepts to form regional systems with its own characteristics, maintaining the similarity with the European experience. In this aspect, the strategy consists in generalizing a model concept in the world through a strategy of international relations. Germany is an example of the fight for democratic values, that is, a country that was able to overcome its own problems by creating a stable democratic model and a favorable economic system.

Germany is playing an increasingly influential role in the construction of regional systems like the Unión de Naciones Suramericanas (UNASUR) in the case of South America. Currently, German soft diplomacy organizations can be found working in these systems. But to analyze the success of the application of German components in regional systems, time is needed to see the results of the EU crisis. For the time being, there can be said that the forms of cooperation and “soft-power” diplomatic strategies have produced results. Churches, schools, foundations, cooperation agencies, and all the instruments of German “parallel diplomacy”, have all been very influential on international societies, to the point where Germany has become the most widely accepted country in the world, according to the studies analyzed in this thesis.

It is not a coincidence as well, that the countries researched for this work, where there has existed more German influence, have higher levels of democracy and economic development. And it is democracy, which has been the vital element for German success. Without democracy, there is no development. Without democracy, there is no Social Market Economy.
It is also crucial to emphasize the importance of the 2006 World Cup in Germany: this was a new element in the creation of the German model of development, especially to initiate the era following the fall of the Berlin Wall. Undoubtedly, there can be concluded that a mega-sport event is a political, social, economic and psychological tool for development in societies. In terms of foreign policy, the Cup helped transmit a new image of Germany to the world, one of a united, prosperous, happy and peaceful country. In terms of domestic policy, it was an excuse to implement a project of infrastructure and cultural identity development, seeking to unite the East and the West. It was the best opportunity to achieve lasting improvements in the infrastructure for large stadiums in Germany. The infrastructure also included the public transport services by road and rail, improvements in adequate working conditions for the media and the development of communication technology facilities at the stadium itself and its environment.

With this experience, Germany found a new tool to expand its strategy of soft diplomacy. With the power of sport as a social mobilizer, Germany became the main ally of two important developing countries, South Africa and Brazil, penetrating their public policies with the mega-sport events that these two countries hosted and will host. With the creation of new mechanisms (cooperation agencies, projects related to mega-sport events, the inclusion of these issues in the strategies of political foundations, among others), Germany has exercised great influence over these countries, enjoying numerous economic and cultural benefits: constructions, business for German companies, winning the “good will” of society, the application of certain policies that
coincide with Social Market Economy, among others.

Germany is a country that can offer the world many things, including the opportunity to look at the many problems in their history and reflect on them. The Germans took a very different path, a path that today is being followed in a multipolar world, on the regional scale in Europe, but also in some countries of Africa and Latin America, using the success of Germany's tools of soft power, including soccer as its new strategy.

Some days ago, a friend asked me what was Germany’s intention with seeking to gain influence in these various countries. I believe that there is a genuine desire of the German state to learn from past tragedies like Nazism, in order for them not to be repeated. Germany provides a powerful international network and each tool is not an isolated strategy. The beginning of the cooperation of the projects and programs is to support other societies for each one to choose their own tasks and goals. There is also an aspiration that its society, culture and way of life, that have made Germany a great place to live in, become attractive to the world. There are countries that are beginning to apply this model in its state policies, and many others are beginning to pay attention to Germany, to great extent, as a result of what I finally call “the prescriptions of Berlin”: a stable, strong, and real democracy; an economic model with the human being as its center, based on the solidarity of people; and the path toward an agreed group of ideals, dreams and programs. This last point is very important because it constitutes the real application of policies that Germany has successfully implemented. We can take as an example the success that some countries have had in implementing the SOPLA program (Soziale Ordnungspolitik in Lateinamerika). This program is promoted by the KAS from Brazil in 13 Latin American countries. The special advantage of these regional
programs is that they give us the ability to share and compare different models of public policy between countries with conditions and challenges similar to those of Germany. The regional program focuses on three areas: 1) the dialogue on economic public policy and the state of social welfare and social issues, with which Social Market Economy is promoted as an economic system, providing for a central role of the state in the social welfare of society and serving as a model with respect to support for public policy reform; 2) international dialogue on social policies, which considers the fact that globalization affects all levels of society and therefore also affects social policy; and 3) the social doctrine of the church that works closely with the Latin American Episcopal Council, the Organization of Catholic Universities of Latin America, and the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace. The objective of this initiative is to train the young generation of future leaders of Latin America who are studying in these universities, to contribute toward broadening Latin American countries’ perception of reality so that they may tackle major challenges related to social injustice, inequality and poverty.

Thus, Germany has been getting successfully involved in the international scene with their "soft power" politics. As we have seen here, all the tools utilized have brought specific results of cooperation and relationship with nations and sister regions. Additionally, the Football World Cup undoubtedly was a milestone in the history of cooperation, besides all the internal advancements this mega-event caused, it was converted in a tool of success to get involved especially in two countries that hosted the FIFA World Cups following the one held in Germany.

Finally, it will be important to analyze the future influence of the international cooperation crisis of Germany. For the time being, the impact has not been able to be
measured. What we can anticipate is that the current European financial and economic crisis has affected the nations in Latin America and in the Caribbean in multiple ways, especially since this region has had a remarkable economic growth in recent years which has made cooperation from Germany to focus on the countries in need, like the African countries. Latin America is not perceived as a “group of middle class countries” not worthy of much help. Yet despite this general trend, Germany has continued to provide resources to support the Latin American countries.

Currently, the agenda of international cooperation of Germany will continue with a broad agenda: democracy, trade and investment, debt, peace, security, population and migration, human rights, integration of women in development, environment and energy, nutrition and food safety, are some of them. The challenge Germany has will be to continue with this agenda, with the same strategy of soft power, but focusing more on their particular return interests. This has been seen with Brazil, where cooperation has been focused, but the same can be foreseen as a great return on investment.

This is why we can also conclude that there are environments and times that are more conducive to cooperation. Perhaps the crisis will determine that Germany will stop cooperation in certain ways in certain countries, except those who deliver the financial return to the German state and its corporations.

Ultimately, this will be the great challenge of analysis of the German cooperation since the fall of the wall until the 2006 Football World Cup: if the success of this cooperation was to create financial ties of elements linked to a hard power diplomacy, or indeed is was due to the firm belief of the German people that a world with democratic values
and without poverty is possible. For the time being, the cases of Brazil and South Africa teach us that there is a cooperation strategy and it brings enormous benefits to societies, leaving Germany as the most beloved of their partners and a reference of a successful development model.
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