

Shifting Gears of China's Post- Covid Economy

Report

Webinar Organised by

Institute of Chinese Studies

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Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung

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Shifting Gears of China's Post-Covid Economy

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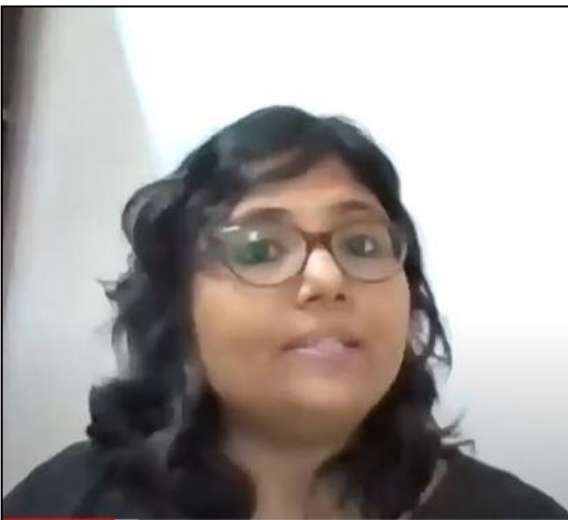
Moderator

Peter Rimmele

Resident Representative to India
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Introductory Remarks

Glimpses



Background

The pandemic has accelerated prevailing trends and triggered new ones in China. Erosion of Deng-Era institutions has led to centralization of power and coloured China's response to the pandemic. An emphasis on 'dual circulation' and boosting domestic consumption to reduce reliance on exports will impact China's position in global supply chains. A pivot towards self-sufficiency in face of US-China tensions will prioritize high technology capabilities. The clampdown on homegrown technology giants even as digitization gains prominence will significantly impede their global ambitions.

Industry players worldwide will need to re-adjust their global strategies to account for these new realities as geopolitics takes a prominent seat in boardrooms. Debates around re-shoring, de-coupling and dependency will continue long after the pandemic abates. This panel discussion combined policy, sectoral and global perspectives to take stock of the predicament.

Program Overview

To understand the shifts happening in the Chinese economy in the context of the pandemic and their implications for the global economy, the Institute of Chinese Studies (ICS) in partnership with the India Office of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS) organized the ICS-KAS Conversation ‘Shifting Gears of China’s Post-Covid Economy’ on Wednesday, 18th August 2021 at 3:00 P.M IST on Webex along with ICS media partner, ThePrint.

The Conversation witnessed the presence of distinguished panellists from India, Taiwan and Germany who provided excellent insights on the current scenario as well as future prospects. The panel comprised of the following panellists:

- **Hans H. Tung, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science & Faculty Associate, Center for Research in Econometric Theory and Applications, National Taiwan University**
- **Mareike Ohlberg, Senior Fellow, Asia Program, German Marshall Fund**
- **Priyanka Pandit, China Studies Post-Doctoral Fellow, Department of International Relations & Governance Studies, Shiv Nadar University**
- **Nivedita Rao Kommineni, China-India Visiting Scholars (CIVS) Fellow, 2020-2021**

The conversation was moderated by **Santosh Pai Honorary Fellow & Treasurer, Institute of Chinese Studies & Partner at Link Legal** and the Introductory Remarks were given by **Peter Rimmele, Resident Representative to India, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung**.

ICS-KAS Wednesday Seminar
Shifting Gears of China's Post-Covid Economy
Wednesday | 18 August 2021 | 3:00 P.M. IST

Key Takeaways

- The world is dealing with a new China that has made hegemonic claims and is trying to claim supremacy in Asia and beyond. This new China is also moving away from the Deng-era's policy of market liberalisation and tightening party's control over markets with wide reaching consequences for both, domestic and foreign businesses. This display of autocratic power is visible in the narrative of the state media, in the rebuke of MNCs that speak against human rights abuses as well as in the chokehold over tech giants like Alibaba. Interestingly, at a time when China faces a daunting demographic challenge marked by aging population, falling productivity rates and declining economic growth rates, the CCP has taken the counter intuitive strategy of increasing state control over the market.
- Concentration of power within China has gained momentum during the COVID-19 pandemic, especially in the form of weakening of institutions. Economic reforms in the 1980s were built on the institutional foundations of for example that of power sharing between elite leaders which allowed for a Chinese style system of checks and balances. However, this system has changed since Xi Jinping came to power. President Xi has personalised power and targeted other elites under his anti-corruption campaigns.
- Further with the advancement of digital and communication technologies, the regime has been able to monitor society to an unprecedented extent. Decentralisation of power had allowed private sector in China to grow, it allowed for immense international collaborations. However, during the pandemic, there has been a further backsliding of democratic procedures and a setback to international cooperation due to rise of nationalism.
- The Chinese economy was displaying warning signs since 2013, already before the pandemic. The new normal is characterised by slowing down of growth rate, overcapacity in certain sectors, an overheating property market and a very high debt to GDP ratio. The pandemic hit the economy and growth rates plummeted even as unemployment sky rocketed. In this context, the relatively smaller stimulus was rolled out not in the form of direct financial support at the industry level but rather in the form of loans to small and medium enterprises, tax relief, new infrastructure spending, etc.
- While the economy has recovered rapidly, the Chinese leadership is walking on a tightrope between maintaining growth and dealing with structural problems which could lead to a middle-income trap

and low productivity. Further, the ongoing trade war with the US has raised concerns about resilience of global supply chains and self-sufficiency, especially in high tech products like semi-conductors, to which the government has responded with its dual circulation policy.

- The Chinese economy is undergoing sectoral shift in terms of consumption over investment. In the last few years, investment level has stagnated but consumption has grown with the expanding middle class. Secondly, services have become the driver of China's growth story over manufacturing. Services are also being used to support traditional manufacturing processes. Thirdly, there is an emphasis on innovation over imitation as a path for development. Fourth, the export story has its limitations but China has now moved on to exports of high tech and intermediate goods, especially to neighbouring countries. At the same time, given its expanse as well as its importance in regional supply chains, the stickiness of the Chinese manufacturing shall stay.
- The trends of digitization and tussle over control of data have been accelerated during the pandemic. The separation between the Chinese government and big tech companies has been obliterated. The Chinese government is looking for new drivers of growth and it wants to be the first mover and set the rules of the game.
- Earlier the government gave a lot of leeway and free rein to the private sector. This enabled rapid digitization of the Chinese society as can be seen with the universal use of digital payments. A lot more data is being collected for pandemic control, both by the government as well as thousands of major and minor apps. However, in the current regime, the CCP has tried to reassert its control over the private fin-tech sector via regulatory crackdowns on giants like Alibaba, Didi Chuxing etc. The impact of this heavy-handed party control on innovation is yet to be seen. Raising capital overseas will become difficult for Chinese technology companies unless regulators in China and US agree on a mechanism for sharing control over data.
- The political clock is ticking in China. The checks and balances system has broken down under Xi Jinping, which makes it harder for the foreign political or economic elites to trust China. With the 20th Party Congress lined up for next year, President Xi would be aiming for consolidation of power and a third term. In the US, the Democrats have adopted a tough approach towards China and this augurs for a rocky road ahead for global cooperation.
- However, China can still be a major driver for global economic recovery as it not only retains a large share of global manufacturing but is also the major innovator for e.g., in adoption of AI technologies in manufacturing. But this recovery will also be dependent on an inclusive strategy for production and distribution of vaccines, especially in countries with weaker vaccinations' infrastructure.
- Agreements like RCEP, though its scope was reduced by India's decision to sit out, provide a way for China to set rules and standards in the region. It also allows China to bypass multilateral arrangements and adopt plurilateral negotiations. This will greatly impact India as it 'Looks and Acts East' because it will have to play according to the standards and rules set by China via BRI and RCEP etc.

Opening Remarks



Mr. Santosh Pai extended a warm welcome to everyone and introduced the distinguished panellists: Hans H. Tung, Mareike Ohlberg, Nivedita Rao Kommineni and Priyanka Pandit.

At the outset, Mr. Pai noted the relevance of the theme of the Chinese economy, which was not just topical but also complex and unclear for many China watchers, especially due to the turmoil caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. Further, the metaphor of a car denotes the movement of the economy away from dependence on exports and towards boosting internal consumption, self-sufficiency and expansion of the high-tech industry. He further complicated the context by alluding to the US-China tensions and the ongoing vaccine-related diplomacy. Different stakeholders- be it nations or industry players- are constantly re-evaluating their relationship with China and rethinking their China strategy. In this context, the panellist would combine policy, sectoral and global perspectives while taking stock of the situation.

Introductory Remarks



Mr. Peter Rimmele welcomed the distinguished guests and participants and remarked on China's image in the current global situation. To begin with, he pointed out two facts: one, that through its hegemonic claims like in territorial disputes, China is trying to become the leader. Second, even though there is a lot of talk about 'decoupling', Mr Rimmele disputed such claims and argued that there is a greater level of diversification, but not decoupling. He then laid out the differences in scenarios for private business in China's Deng-era market liberalisation and the current dispensation. Autocratic forms of power are being displayed by the CCP as it spews stern warnings to MNCs to refrain from condemning human rights violations in Tibet and Xinjiang, and these warnings, Mr Rimmele opines should not be mistaken as a bluff. Examples of arm-twisting companies to submission include the billions of dollars in fine against Jack Ma's Alibaba were cited.

Interestingly, this ever-tightening chokehold of the CCP on business or businesses is taking place at a time when the Chinese economy appears to be stuck in a major slow down. Moreover, there are daunting demographic problems marked by sharply declining birth rates, rapidly ageing population and steadily falling productivity rates. In such a scenario, the intuitive path would be more liberalisation, but the CCP under Xi Jinping has opted for the strategy that puts the private sector in the back seat. In his analysis, China has arguably regressed from the days of market liberalisation that accompanied its succession to the WTO in 2001. Xi Jinping's new strategy can be encapsulated in three words: interventionist, domestic-oriented and self-reliant. The dual circulation strategy, which at first glance seems to be very inward oriented, actually aspires to increase China's control over global production supply chains. This ambition also explains the heavy-handed stance towards the companies to tow the Party line.

This will have far-reaching consequences for foreign companies as well. For e.g. foreign companies are facing increased pressure to share their technology with local partners. Similarly, if the companies point out wrongdoings regarding human rights etc., they would be denied access to the Chinese market. As a result, a strategy of diversifying supply chains away from China is being discussed not only in political circles but also

in boardrooms of the majority of largest investors. Mr. Rimmele concluded that the Chinese economy has shifted towards a party centred authoritarian system with no end in sight. Hence, it is prudent for like-minded democratic countries to continue to diversify supply chains away from China's monopoly. He ended with an insightful remark about people being the ultimate resource for economic development.

Panellist



Prof. Hans Tung highlighted the centralisation of power within China and how it has gained momentum during the COVID crises, along with what the trends portend for coming years. Using a cross-country study, he argued that the concentration of power within China had gained momentum during the COVID-19 pandemic, especially in the form of weakening of institutions. Economic reforms in the 1980s were built on institutional foundations like power-sharing between elite leaders, which allowed for a Chinese style system of checks and balances. This power-sharing framework with features like economic decentralisation and power to the provinces, special economic zones provided a fertile institutional set-up for the development of the private sector.

However, this system has changed since Xi Jinping came to power. President Xi has personalised power and targeted other elites under his anti-corruption campaigns. Furthermore, with the advancement of digital and communication technologies, the regime has been able to monitor society to an unprecedented extent. Decentralisation of power had allowed for the private sector in China to grow and make immense international collaborations.

But during the pandemic, there has been a further backsliding of democratic processes and a setback to international cooperation due to the rise of nationalism. Using graphs to support his argument, Prof Tung shows that China stands high in the list of pandemic violations of democratic standards. Further, there was not much damage to the original political framework, showing that the coercive state capacity that was required to handle the pandemic was already present.

Panellist



Dr. Priyanka Pandit discussed about the genesis of the dual circulation policy and how it will play out in the post- Covid scenario. Ms Pandit argued that the Chinese economy had been displaying warning signs since 2013, a fact that has been acknowledged by Chinese policymakers as well.

The new normal is characterised by a slowing down of growth rate, overcapacity in certain sectors, an overheating property market and a very high debt to GDP ratio. The pandemic hit the economy, and growth rates plummeted even as unemployment skyrocketed. In this context, the relatively smaller stimulus was rolled out not in the form of direct financial support at the industry level but rather in the form of loans to small and medium enterprises, tax relief, new infrastructure spending, etc. This is unlike the 2008-09 Financial Crisis, where the Chinese government stepped up with a massive stimulus package and public spending to mitigate the economic and financial effects of the recession. However, in the long run, that strategy has proven to be costlier, and the repercussions can still be felt, particularly in the high GDP to debt ratio.

While the economy had recovered rapidly from the first quarter of 2020 when growth rates plummeted, the Chinese leadership is walking on a tightrope between maintaining growth and dealing with structural problems, which could lead to a middle-income trap and low productivity. China is currently at the tail end of a long period of remarkable economic expansion and faces many structural limitations like competition from other low-cost producers, insufficient skilling of labour to move to high tech manufacturing, lack of credible and independent regulatory institutions etc. Further, the ongoing trade war with the US has raised concerns about the resilience of global supply chains and self-sufficiency, especially in high tech products like semi-conductors, to which the government has responded with its dual circulation policy.

Panellist



Ms. Nivedita Kommineni gave an industry perspective on what is happening in China and how the world is looking at China from the outside, focusing on the global supply chains and the innovation economy in particular. Building on the arguments made by speakers before her, she opined that the shifts that now come to a head in China or are more visible now have been in the making for the last 10 to 15 years. For example, the national medium to long term program in scientific and technological development which ran from 2006-2020.

Ms. Kommineni discussed the sectoral shifts in four buckets: consumption over investment, services over manufacturing, innovation over imitation and change in export strategy. First, the Chinese economy is undergoing a sectoral shift in terms of consumption over investment. In the last few years, investment level has stagnated, but consumption has grown with the expanding middle class. Second, services have become the driver of China's growth story over manufacturing. Services are also being used to support traditional manufacturing processes. Third, there is an emphasis on innovation over imitation as a path for development. Earlier, a lot of low-tech manufacturing used to happen in China, but indicators like the massive numbers of STEM graduates shows how seriously innovation in the tech sector is being treated as the path for development. Finally, the export story has its limitations, but China has now moved on to exports of high tech and intermediate goods, especially to neighbouring countries.

While there are a lot of anecdotal references about companies off-shoring, but the macro data does not yet show that. Many indexes continue to show the countries are still very much exposed to China for trade. Even with the ongoing trade war, the trade surplus with the US is going strong. Thus, given its expanse as well as its importance in regional supply chains, the stickiness of Chinese manufacturing shall stay.

Panellist



Dr. Mareike Ohlberg made remarks about the trends in digitization and the ongoing tug-of-war over data. She argued that the pandemic had introduced something fundamentally different. Rather, trends of digitization and tussle over control of data have accelerated during the pandemic. The separation between the Chinese government and big tech companies has been obliterated. The Chinese government is looking for new drivers of growth, and it wants to be the first mover and set the rules of the game. Further, they also want to reduce dependency on other countries, in particular, the US, for high tech goods, and hence the emphasis on dual-circulation.

Earlier the government gave a lot of leeway and free rein to the private sector. This enabled the rapid digitisation of Chinese society, as can be seen with the universal use of digital payments. At the same time, the government became highly dependent on tech companies for collecting and processing vast amounts of data. The companies have often resisted this in the past. Further, a lot more data is being collected for pandemic control both by the government as well as thousands of major and minor apps.

However, in the current regime, the CCP has tried to reassert its control over the private fin-tech sector via regulatory crackdowns on giants like Alibaba, Didi Chuxing etc. The impact of this heavy-handed party control on innovation is yet to be seen. Raising capital overseas will become difficult for Chinese technology companies unless regulators in China and US agree on a mechanism for sharing control over data.

Interventions

- 1. With respect to the remark(s) made by Mr Rimmele that Jack Ma's Ant Group angered CPC: What exactly did they do to earn the CPC's ire?**

Ant group is (at least was) China's largest finance provider. In general, it also shows a conflict between innovation and regulatory bodies. Ant has developed a micro-lending system at very favourable conditions, as such side-lining the banking system and getting too powerful.

- 2. RCEP without India was signed last year in the middle of a pandemic. Is it serving China's purpose?**

India's decision to sit out substantially reduces the size of the FTA, and RCEP would no longer remain the largest FTA in the world. But it also allows for China to set the rules in the region. RCEP will also help China in bypassing multilateral consensus-based organisations like the WTO. Other types of trade agreements are coming up in the region to offset Chinese influence. For e.g., the QUAD began as a grouping based on geopolitical consideration, but now, we are talking about trade agreements among the members.

- 3. The BRI of China is surely going to affect the economies of the region. Do you think India's economy will be impacted as India has not joined the BRI? How?**

Just like in the case of RCEP, BRI will also affect India's interests in the sense that China would be setting the standards. Via the BRI, China is looking for alternative trade channels. Hundreds of contracts have been signed in developing economies, and all industrial or construction-related work is going to happen according to these standards. So if India's looking at approaching these economies, there may be a lot of technical problem-solving required in terms of entering into contracts.

From a political perspective, there is a great divergence between countries. Countries or governments that are less suspicious about the Chinese intention and their influence are more willing to join the BRI and derive benefits from it. However, the suspicions of the origin of the virus and negative PR surrounding it might negatively change people's perception.

- 4. What is the European perspective on EU's Comprehensive Agreement with China? Was it done just to keep engagement with China?**

The Comprehensive Agreement on Investment was a debacle, and for now, it is on ice, and it does not look like it is going to move forward. It was fraught with problems to begin with, as even after negotiating for 7-8 years, there was no progress from the Chinese side. Further, from the European side, it was being driven by France and Germany and could not gather a consensus. Already opposition was shaping up in

the European Parliament regarding the terms of the agreement as well as on matters of human rights violations.

5. Foreign firms have long complained that enforcing their intellectual property rights in China is difficult due to local judicial protectionism, which China unethically used to leapfrog in fast-developing high-technology sectors. Any views on this?

There has always been a problem of transparency in the Chinese market. Chinese IP laws are not in sync with the global IP laws. Many smaller foreign firms, even subsidiaries of big firms, overlook these international laws and operate in the Chinese framework given the economic gains.

About the Speakers



Peter Rimmele is currently the Resident Representative of Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung Office, India. He has a First Law Degree from Freiburg University, as well as a Second Law Degree from the Ministry of Justice Baden-Württemberg, Germany and a M.A. in Geography. After working as, a jurist, judge and lecturer, he took public office as Ministerialrat, Head of Division at the State Ministry of the Interior in Saxony, Germany, from November 1991 on until 2000. There he first served in the Police and Security and later in the Local Government Department. On behalf of the German Foreign Ministry he served in East Timor as Registrar General, Head of Civil Registry and Notary Services (UNTAET), and became later the principal Advisor for Governance Reform for GIZ (German International Cooperation) to the Ministry of Administrative Reform and the Anti-Corruption-Commission of the Republic of Indonesia, where he served for 7 years. He then moved to Rwanda, also as Principal Advisor Good Governance/Justice Program. Earlier he was Resident Representative Lebanon, Director of Rule of Law Program Middle East North Africa, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung.



Hans H. Tung is an associate professor in the Department of Political Science and a faculty associate of the Centre for Research in Econometric Theory and Applications at National Taiwan University. He received his Ph.D. in Government from Harvard University. He is primarily interested in the formal and empirical analysis of the politics of economic policy-making in both authoritarian and democratic settings, and has authored and co-authored several articles in both academic journals and edited volumes. More specifically, one strand of his research seeks to uncover the political logic of institutional development under authoritarian regimes. His book, *Economic Growth and Endogenous Authoritarian Institutions in Post-Reform China* (2019), develops a dynamic theory of authoritarian institutional change in the context of post-reform China. A second strand of his research explores more fundamentally individuals' political-economic decision-making by utilizing advanced neuroscientific methods and data. A third strand builds on the theoretical insights developed from other parts of his research to address various issues regarding how China's rise on the world

stage affects the regional dynamics in East Asia. He has also written extensively on the political economy of COVID-19 and one of the co-authored papers is forthcoming in Nature Communications.



Mareike Ohlberg is a Senior Fellow in the Asia Program at the German Marshall Fund and leads the Stockholm China Forum. She is based at GMF's Berlin Office. Before joining GMF, Mareike worked as an analyst at the Mercator Institute for China Studies, where she focussed on China's media and digital policies as well as the Chinese Communist Party's influence campaigns in Europe. Prior to that, she was an Wang postdoctoral fellow at Harvard University's Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies and a postdoctoral fellow at Shih-Hsin University in Taipei. She has spent several years living and working in Greater China. She is co-author of the book *Hidden Hand: How the Communist Party of China is Reshaping the World* (2020). Mareike has a doctoral degree in Chinese studies from the University of Heidelberg and a master's degree in East Asian regional studies from Columbia University.



Nivedita Rao Kommineni is a development economist with an interest in globalisation, comparative development, and more recently, gender and labour markets. She currently works with the Chief Economist's office at Tata Sons Pvt. Ltd., with a focus on the intersection between macroeconomics and public policy. Previously, she worked as a research analyst at PRS Legislative Research (New Delhi) tracking the education and health sector related legislations and policies, supporting legislators at both at the central and state level in India. She holds an MPhil in Development Studies from the University of Cambridge, an M.A. in Development Studies from Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS) and a B.A. (Honours) in Economics from Lady Shri Ram College for Women.



Priyanka Pandit is a China Studies Post-Doctoral Research Fellow supported by Ashoka University (India) and Harvard Yenching Institute (USA) at the Department of International Relations and Governance Studies, Shiv Nadar University. Her research focusses on the politics of China's economic reform, China-India economic relations, theories of international negotiations and China's engagement with multilateral economic institutions. She holds M.Phil. and Ph.D.in Chinese Studies from the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University and Masters in East Asian Studies from the University of Delhi. She was formerly Research Fellow at the Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA), New Delhi and Visiting Fellow at the Chongyang Institute of Financial Studies, Beijing. Before joining ICWA, she taught at the Yunnan University of Finance and Economics, where she also pursued an intensive year-long course in Mandarin. She is currently completing her book project on China's negotiating strategies at the World Trade Organisation.

About the Moderator



Mr. Santosh Pai is Honorary Fellow and Treasurer at Institute of Chinese Studies, and Partner at Link Legal, an Indian law firm. He has been offering legal services to clients in the India-China corridor since 2010. His areas of interest include Chinese investments in India, India-China comparative law and policy, cross-cultural negotiations and board governance. He holds a B.A., LL.B. (Hons.) degree from NLSIU, Bangalore, LL.M. (Chinese law) from Tsinghua University, Beijing and an MBA from Vlerick University, Belgium (Peking University campus). His manuscripts "Practical Guide on Investing in India for Chinese Investors" (China Law Press,2017), "Indian Company Law" (China Law Press, 2019) and "Arbitration Law and Practice in India"(China Legal Publishing House, 2020) have been translated into and published in Chinese. Mr. Santosh Pai is also a member of CII's Core Group on China and chairs the East Asia board at an international NGO.

Institutional Profiles



The Institute of Chinese Studies, Delhi (ICS) is one of the oldest research institutions on China and East Asia in India. With support from the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, it is the mandate of the ICS to develop a strategic vision for India's dealings with China and to help adapt India's priorities quickly and appropriately to address the research and educational demands arising from China's emergence. The ICS seeks to promote interdisciplinary study and research on China and the rest of the South -East Asia with a focus on expertise in China's domestic politics, international relations, economy, history, health, education, border studies, language and culture, and on India-China comparative studies. It also looks to foster active links with business, media, government and non-governmental organizations in India through applied research, executive training programmes, and seminars and conferences, and to serve as a repository of knowledge and data grounded in first-hand research on Chinese politics, economy, international relations, society and culture.

Its supporters include Tata Trusts, Indian Council of Social Science Research Gargi Vidya Prakash Dutt Memorial, Jamnalal Bajaj Foundation and Pirojshaty Godrej Foundation. It also boasts of various universities worldwide as academic partners. The mandate of the ICS is to develop a strategic vision for India's dealings with China and to help adapt India's priorities quickly and appropriately to address the research and educational demands arising from China's emergence. The Institute has played a notable role in shaping the public opinion on China through a variety of outlets such as its regular publications like China Report, ICS Analysis, ICS Occasional Papers and Working Papers, which marks its activity on the academic forefront. It also has a robust social media presence as it is very active on Twitter and Instagram, uploads regularly on Soundcloud, videos on YouTube and publishes regular blog pieces on its website.

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS) is a political foundation. Established in 1955 as “Society for Christian-Democratic Civic Education”, in 1964 the Foundation proudly took on the name of Konrad Adenauer, the first Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany.

With 16 regional offices in Germany and over 120 offices abroad, the Konrad Adenauer Foundation is committed to achieving and maintaining peace, freedom and justice through political education. We promote and preserve free democracy, social market economy, and the development and consolidation of the value consensus. We focus on consolidating democracy, the unification of Europe and the strengthening of transatlantic relations, as well as on development cooperation.

The leitmotif of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation "Germany. The next chapter" is supported by a thematic focus. With the three main topics Innovation, Security and Representation and Participation, it is quite clear which topics the Konrad Adenauer Foundation will focus on in the coming years.

We cooperate with governmental institutions, political parties and civil society organizations, building strong partnerships along the way. In particular, we seek to intensify political cooperation in the area of development cooperation on the foundations of our objectives and values. Together with our partners, we make a significant contribution to the creation of a global order that empowers every country to determine its own developmental priorities and destiny in an internationally responsible manner.

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung has organized its program priorities in India into five working areas:

1. Foreign and Security Policy
2. Economic, Climate and Energy Policy
3. Rule of Law
4. Political Dialogue focussed on Social and Political Change
5. Media and Youth

The India Office of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation takes great pride in its cooperation with Indian partner institutions who implement jointly curated projects and programmes.