

DEUTSCH-BRITISCHE GESELLSCHAFT

69TH KÖNIGSWINTER CONFERENCE

LANDESVERTRETUNG NORDRHEIN-WESTFALEN
11TH – 13ST APRIL 2019



EUROPE'S ROLE IN A MULTILATERAL
WORLD ORDER



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Deutsch-Britische Gesellschaft would like to thank the Auswärtiges Amt, the Vertretung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen beim Bund and the British Embassy Berlin for their generous support. Warm thanks are due to Stephanie Ashton and UK Königswinter for helping with the organisation of the conference and to Lena Haas for writing the conference report.

With the kind support of Auswärtiges Amt, Vertretung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen beim Bund, British Embassy Berlin and UK Koenigswinter



Auswärtiges Amt

Vertretung des Landes
Nordrhein-Westfalen
beim Bund



British Embassy
Berlin

The Deutsch-Britische Gesellschaft would like to thank its friends and supporters:

► Königswinter Stiftung



DEUTSCHE BÖRSE
GROUP

VOLKSWAGEN
AKTIENGESELLSCHAFT



bankenverband



EUROPE'S ROLE IN A MULTILATERAL WORLD ORDER

- 4** 69TH KÖNIGSWINTER CONFERENCE – PROGRAMME
- 7** CONFERENCE REPORT
- 23** GERMAN PARTICIPANTS
- 28** BRITISH PARTICIPANTS
- 33** OBSERVERS
- 34** THE KÖNIGSWINTER CONFERENCE
- 35** THE DEUTSCH-BRITISCHE GESELLSCHAFT
- 35** ADMINISTRATION DEUTSCH-BRITISCHE GESELLSCHAFT
ADMINISTRATION UK KOENIGSWINTER

EUROPE'S ROLE IN A MULTILATERAL WORLD ORDER

THURSDAY, 11TH APRIL 2019

Arrival and check in

12:00 – 14:00

Registration and Flying Buffet

14.30

Opening of the Conference (Europasaal)

by *Hans-Henning Horstmann*, Chairman,
Deutsch-Britische Gesellschaft, Berlin

Sir Michael Arthur KCMG, Chairman UK Königswinter,
President of Boeing UK and Ireland

14.40

Introduction to the three working groups by their Chairs
moderated by *Susanne Biedenkopf-Kürten*, ZDF
Dr. Claudia Major, *Dr. Robin Niblett*, *The Rt. Hon. Lord
Willett*s

approx. 15.45

Break for coffee and tea

approx. 16.30

Opening Statements

Lord Ahmad of Wimbledon

Parliamentary State Secretary Stephan Mayer MdB

approx. 16.45 – 18.00

followed by a **Panel Discussion** with

Lord Ahmad of Wimbledon, *Dr. Franziska Brantner MdB*,
Parliamentary State Secretary Stephan Mayer MdB, *Jo
Johnson MP*

moderated by *Susanne Biedenkopf-Kürten*, ZDF

18:30

Bus transfer to dinner venue

19:00

Dinner hosted by the Federal Foreign Office
(Austernbank-Gendarmerie, Behrenstraße 42, 10117 Berlin)
Speaker: *Dr. Katarina Barley MdB*, Minister for Justice and
Consumer Protection

22:00

End of dinner, participants make their own way back to the hotel

FRIDAY, 12ST APRIL 2019

9:00 – 9:15

Welcome Address (Europasaal)
Dr. Mark Speich, State Secretary for Federal, European and
International Affairs of the State of North Rhine-Westphalia

9:15 – 10:45

The Conference will divide into three groups

Group 1:

The UK, Germany and Europe: How do we strengthen
the global rules-based architecture? (Saal Westfalen)
Chair: *Dr. Claudia Major*, SWP
Rapporteur: *Daniel Franklin*, The Economist

Group 2:

2019, a bumpy year in Europe: Elections, events, exit
(Saal Rheinland)
Chair: *Dr. Robin Niblett*, Chatham House
Rapporteur: *Dr. Nicolai von Ondarza*, SWP

Group 3:

Social cohesion under pressure: adapting to technological
and economic change (Saal Lippe)
Chair: *The Rt. Hon. Lord Willets (David)*
Rapporteur: *Amanda Diel*, EUMETSAT

10:45 – 11:15

Break for coffee and tea

11:15 - 12:45

Continuation of group discussions

13:00 - 14:30

Lunch (Flying Buffet)

Speaker: *Alex Chisholm*, Permanent Secretary, Department for Business, Energy & Industrial Strategy

14:30 - 16:00

Continuation of group discussions

16:00 - 16:30

Break for coffee and tea

16:30 - 18:00

Plenary (Europasaal)

Reports from the study groups and Q&A

Daniel Franklin, Dr. Nicolai von Ondarza, Amanda Diel moderated by *Andreas Krautscheid*, Bundesverband Deutscher Banken

18:00 - 18:15

Winding-up address (Lord Mance)

18:30

Bus transfer to dinner venue

19:30

Dinner hosted by the British Embassy at the Ambassador's Residence

Speaker: *Caroline Wilson*, Foreign and Commonwealth Office

22:00

End of conference and bus transfer to Maritim Hotel Stauffenbergstr. 26, 10785 Berlin

SATURDAY, 13ST APRIL 2019

Breakfast and departure



INTRODUCTION

The steering committee of the Königswinter Conference has a reputation for choosing dates that turn out to be highly timely, but this year, in the words of Hans-Henning Horstmann, Chairman of the Deutsch-Britische Gesellschaft, they “overdid it”: Just the night before the conference, the European Council averted another Brexit cliff edge by agreeing on an extension until the 31st of October 2019.

At the previous Königswinter, the participants parted assuming that by this year’s conference, the UK would have left the European Union. Not only did this not come to pass, three meaningful votes and two extensions later, many doubted if Brexit would go ahead at all. Naturally, Brexit consequently still dominated many of the conversations, whether during coffee and lunch breaks or at the collective discussions. The extension provides some breathing space for all sides, but especially the UK, to take a moment to figure out a way forward. What better moment than this to get together at Königswinter and reflect on priorities and prepare for the challenges before us.

OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE

To kick off the conference, Chairmen Hans-Henning Horstmann and Sir Michael Arthur warmly welcomed the participants. They stressed the role Königswinter had played in Anglo-German relations for the last 69 years and were confident that it would continue to be a bridge between the two countries going forward. This was echoed by Lord Ahmad of Wimbledon, Minister of State for the Commonwealth and the UN, and Parliamentary State Secretary Stephan Mayer in their speeches later that afternoon. They highlighted the importance of Königswinter in fostering people-to-people ties between Germany and Great Britain and providing a platform to share points of view and gain a greater understanding of each other. They also emphasised how important the Anglo-German relationship is for both countries, and the commitment to maintain the close friendship even beyond Brexit. Shared interests, such as an effective collaboration in the security sector and preserving a close trading relationship, ensure that the two countries will continue to work together. However, while everyone agreed on the importance of Anglo-German relations, a British participant observed that most of the political energy is still going into the Brexit process, which means that the bilateral relations are underdeveloped compared to what they could be.



Nevertheless, Germany and Britain are already cooperating on a wide range of issues, such as climate change, women, peace and security, or media freedom through avenues that are independent from the EU, like currently the UN Security Council. They are united not just by shared institutions, but also the values and beliefs that these institutions are based on. The rules-based international order is currently being challenged, by actors such as China and Russia as well as by an increasing US scepticism towards multilateral approaches. One British participant suggested that the world as we know it is becoming unhinged through the global balance of power shifting fundamentally, and that we need to be prepared for the uncertain. At the same time, multilateral action is critical to address for example the huge issue of climate change. Germany and Britain's close friendship means they are uniquely positioned to work with like-minded states to champion the rules-based architecture and at the same time work to reform these institutions in a way that reflects the changing dynamics of the here and now.



While much of the speeches focused on Anglo-German cooperation after Brexit, in the subsequent panel discussion the question was raised if Brexit will actually be happening, with one British participant arguing that we had reached "peak Brexit", and that Brexit lost momentum. Without consensus in the House of Commons on how to proceed, and with a shifting public opinion – exemplified by prominent Brexiteers like Peter Osborne publicly recanting and admitting to having been wrong about Brexit – a second referendum might emerge as the only viable option. Nevertheless, there was also some uneasiness about the legitimacy and the consequences of a second referendum in Britain and the possible



widening of social divisions. The need to “just get on with it” and deliver Brexit, however, was dismissed, as it would actually be the decision to remain that would end the uncertainty, whereas any form of Brexit would entail years of intense negotiations about the future relationship. Some expressed worry about the effect on the EU of the UK staying in for an uncertain amount of time, wondering if it would bring division into the EU, but most Germans emphasised the “unlimited patience” they had with the UK and rejected the claim that Germans are sick of the negotiations and want Britain out of the EU. If Britain leaves, they maintained, the possibility to return to the EU should remain open.

Broad consensus existed on the importance of addressing the root causes of Brexit, such as rising inequality, falling living standards and worsening prospects. Previous to the referendum campaign in 2016, EU membership never featured in the top 10 concerns for the British public, who were much more concerned about issues of the NHS, education, or the cost of living. The Brexit campaign managed to create an “alliance of the excluded and insulated” and present Brexit as the solution to many widely differing grievances. Instead of just continuing to pursue a Brexit deal and present it as a fix to these root causes, we need to address them directly. The need to do some soul-searching in the EU and take Brexit as an opportunity to readjust was also raised.

Some questioned the integrationist tendency towards an ever-closer union, while others wanted to see a more value-based discussion instead of the focus on institutional reform. One participant for example criticised the EU response to the Euro crisis and called for a more compassionate approach.

During dinner, Katarina Barley, Minister for Justice and Consumer Protection, admitted that she had always been in favour of a second referendum, since as a dual German and British Citizen, she wants the UK to stay in the EU. Young people both in the UK and the EU were devastated by the referendum result, as they see Europe as their future. If there is one positive outcome of Brexit, it is this realisation especially among the young generation that the EU is not something to be taken for granted and the heightened interest in and passion for the European idea. She spoke passionately about the EU as a peace project, describing her own family's experiences of WWII, and shared her worries about the Irish border and the sense that many in Britain are not fully aware of how fresh the memories of violent conflict are in Northern Ireland. She also argued for a stronger social pillar in the EU that would ensure that people, and not just corporations, feel protected by the EU.



THE UK, GERMANY AND EUROPE: HOW DO WE STRENGTHEN THE GLOBAL RULES-BASED ARCHITECTURE?

Group 1 took a step back from hectic day-to-day politics to ask the big strategic questions of how Germany and Britain can be partners in foreign policy and security matters and how – or more pessimistically, if – they can strengthen the liberal world order. As the global order is being challenged in multiple ways, Europe as a whole needs to adapt to the changing situation and consider how to maintain its capacity to act. The group first debated the concept of European strategic unity, with some British participants expressing doubts about the achievability of both unity of vision and unity of action – maybe the best we can hope for is “strategic congruity” with a greater overlap in interests. If we press too hard for strategic unity, we might actually alienate countries like Britain if they perceive it as going against their national interest. On the other hand, strategic unity is desirable, as it represents the ability to change the costs-benefit analysis of adversaries. Some even called not just for European, but Western strategic unity.

In the next step, the group applied the question of European strategic unity to the three main actors currently challenging the multilateral order and asked if there is shared European vision or action regarding these key players. Discussed first were the US, who are challenging our understanding of partnership, although the question remained open if President Trump’s rhetoric will turn out to have a lasting impact on the transatlantic bond. The group identified three policy fields where Germany and Britain should position themselves vis-à-vis the US. Firstly, in the realm of the economy, the challenge is to keep markets open and ensure that Western standards prevail rather than allowing others to set the standards for us. Secondly, we need to keep our societies liberal and open in a “shrinking space for democracy”, in which the impact of authoritarian regimes on political and scientific discourse is growing. The power of example of open Western societies needs to be maintained. The discussion, however,



mostly revolved around the third policy field: security. It was acknowledged that Europeans live off borrowed stability, as they would not be able to replace the US as the provider of security to the continent. A clear lack of defence capabilities was identified. In this area, therefore, the question is how to keep the US on board. Europe needs to demonstrate to the US that it is serious about its own security by increasing its defence spending. However, the participants recognised a gap between the grand aspirations of European cooperation with improved and more integrated defence capabilities and the actual level of preparedness. The discussion quickly turned towards the role of the UK in European defence post-Brexit. The debate around continued British access to the Galileo project has shown the fragmentation between the EU and Britain. While cooperation is desirable, the status of the UK as a third country after Brexit raises questions of how to act together without undermining the EU. The risk of the UK becoming a strategic competitor was mentioned; however, Brexit was also perceived as sharpening minds and providing the opportunity to think creatively about common ways forward and creating new structures for European collaboration that involve the UK.



The second actor discussed was China, which presents a deep and long-term challenge to the international system through its global and hegemonic ambitions. Especially for the US, China is a challenger power that is deeply integrated into the economic system. It is acting to extend its influence around the world and is prepared to use unorthodox methods, like theft of intellectual property, political disruption, or financial theft for strategic purposes. It is therefore crucial for Europe to understand how serious this challenge is. It needs to figure out how to remain relevant in the US-Chinese confrontation and to do so, a more coordinated European approach is crucial. Even though Europe would certainly side with the US when the chips are down, it should still have its own voice and should identify its interests regarding US views and ambitions on China. The group saw a key role here for Germany and the UK to take a strong and value-based stance. In some areas German-British collaboration is starting to develop, for example on maritime security or strategy in Africa vis-à-vis China. In order to handle China, the group argued, a certain amount of tough bargaining is needed. There are some institutions that China needs and where the West has strengths it can use. Some firmness in negotiations with China was recommended: Europe should show both strength and willingness to cooperate, or, as one participant put it, "kind words and the gun".

The third and last actor challenging the international order is Russia. Economic and demographic trends show Russia to be a declining power, which is grappling with the loss of its influence and empire. This does not mean, however, that Russia is accepting this without a struggle: it is showing its continued relevance in places like Syria or Ukraine, the centre of confrontation between Russia and NATO. The biggest threat though is not direct military aggression towards NATO members, but rather Russian subversion of domestic Western politics, cyber activities, and Russian behaviour in grey zones such as Belarus, Georgia, or Moldova. NATO's response to these developments was cohesive; arguably Russian assertiveness even helped NATO rediscover a role for itself. However, there is a lot of work to do: NATO's readiness initiative for example still has a long way to go. Nevertheless, the group was optimistic that things are moving in the right direction. A challenge is the difference in approach towards Russia between the UK and Germany. While Germany is keen to leave channels open, since it has much higher business stakes in Russia, the UK is more hard-line on Russia, not least because the Skripal incident is still raw in the British consciousness. The question of Nord Stream 2 is a case in point with German business interests overriding strategic misgivings. The group also took a longer-term view and debated the Russian-Chinese "alliance of authoritarianism" which pursues a different rules-based system focused not on the promotion of democratic values but the principle of non-interference. Europe should try to identify the weaknesses of this relationship and possible opportunities to pry them apart, as a post-Putin Russia might become more pro-European and more democratic. Britain and Germany should look at ways of shaping a different potential relationship between Europe and Russia with a view to containing China.



2019, A BUMPY YEAR IN EUROPE: ELECTIONS, EVENTS, EXIT

Group 2, the group responsible for contingency planning and foreseeing the unforeseeable, first discussed Brexit. The changed mood in the room from the previous Königswinter conference was striking, as it was much more hopeful – a majority of participants believed that the UK would still be a member of the EU at the next Königswinter conference. This feeling was driven mainly by what participants perceived as a changed logic of article 50: From an EU point of view, not being able to come to an agreement will lead not a no deal scenario, but to a longer extension. The outcome of the Brexit process will therefore be defined mostly by British internal politics. The group discussed the impasse in Westminster, the likelihood of finding a majority in the House of Commons for a softer Brexit, and the possibility of the European parliamentary elections in the UK serving as a catalyst one way or the other by giving a sense of how public opinion as developed on Brexit. All in all, the feeling prevailed of being at a turning point regarding Brexit, where nothing is decided yet. The German participants especially cautioned that a second referendum might very well turn out to be a vote for no deal, but overall, the mood was perceptibly changed and more optimistic. The role Germany should take if it comes to a second referendum was also debated, with the plea from some British participants for direct German messaging in the remain campaign.



In the second session, the group turned towards the topic of elections. They discovered some similarities between the situation in Germany and the UK: in both countries, the possibility of early elections is being discussed, but in both cases, this outcome was deemed not very likely by the participants. In Germany, there are various state elections coming up this year, which may call into question the grand coalition if the SPD does badly, especially in the elections in Bremen. However, general elections would be so difficult for the major parties that it is not in the interest of either of them to break up the grand coalition. In the more likely scenario, Merkel will stay on as chancellor throughout this legislative period. In the UK, the Conservatives, and possibly also Labour, will probably do quite badly in both the local and the European parliamentary elections, which greatly reduces the probability of early elections. The group rated the chances for a confirmatory second referendum higher than for general elections in the period before the 31st of October. The similarities between Germany and Britain extended to the European parliamentary elections as well. In both countries, they are seen as definite votes on the domestic parties, but also as more important than in the past. In the UK, they might turn into a vote on Brexit itself, while in Germany interest in the European elections has been higher due to the crisis in Europe in recent years and the rise of populist parties. The fear of a strong result for Eurosceptic parties in the EP elections, however, was judged to be overrated: Even if they gain around a quarter of the votes, this would not be enough for a real political impact, and might even push the major pro-European centrist parties to work more closely together. Rising populism within member states, where Eurosceptic parties might actually join the government, was deemed more dangerous, as they would be able to influence the policy-making in the European council.

Running through all discussions was the question of future UK-EU and UK-German relations. Regardless of what happens, one participant argued, we are in a post-Brexit environment. The Brexit process has changed the relationship between the UK and the EU and the images we have of each other. Even though the bilateral relationship between Germany and Britain was seen as crucial in this new situation, most of the attention was focused on UK-EU relations. Assuming that the UK will stay in the EU for a longer period of time, either in a limbo or again as a normal member, there was no clear answer on how to deal with the UK in the future. A British participant was optimistic that relations can be normalised again, while the Germans were more cautious on whether and how soon this will be feasible. If the UK leaves the EU, the question will be how capable the EU is of developing a relationship with the UK that does not require Britain to sign up to EU rules and regulations without having a decision-making role. The British participants called for a conversation in the EU on how to design alliances that are not asymmetrical. One issue where the difficulties of this became apparent was that of data-sharing, with some Brits voicing their frustration at the EU not yet being willing to come to an agreement. This caused some bewilderment among German participants, as they saw the complexity of creating a legal base for data-sharing. However, given that the UK is an important player in the area of security and defence, which gives a lot of added value to the EU, a solution will have to be found.

Taking a step back from the issues discussed, the group identified the danger that Germany, the UK, and the EU are so pre-occupied with these immediate challenges of Brexit, internal politics and relationship-building, that they are distracted from the slow-moving developments of the global order that are challenging the role of Europe and that none of them are equipped for.

SOCIAL COHESION UNDER PRESSURE: ADAPTING TO TECHNOLOGICAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGE

Group 3 started off the day with a debate on the possibility of rebuilding social cohesion and bridging the state-citizen gap. In the digital age, they diagnosed, the expectations of what politics should deliver have evolved. The proliferation of tools and platforms to both engage with current affairs and politicians and also express one's own thoughts on political matters has led to new expectations regarding transparency and responsiveness. Whereas we used to be limited in what we saw of politics, we are now permanently connected and engaged. The group also identified what they called an "atomised political debate" as a defining feature of our times, with one aspect being the trend of "manufactured outrage", which makes us focus on small things and forget the big picture of politics sometimes. There was also a call for adjusting our expectations of what politicians should do to their actual capabilities. This includes a recognition of the bureaucratic hurdles that prevent effective change from happening as quickly as we would like, as well as, on the side of the politicians, a more honest explanation of the advantages and disadvantages of new ideas instead of grand promises that are destined to remain unfulfilled.



The question arose if the way we are doing politics and exercising democracy needs rethinking and if it is still suitable to the current moment. One British participant suggested that in the UK, the unwritten constitution should be reconsidered, asking if it is still fit for purpose and if the activities of the German constitutional court do not show the benefits of a more formalised underpinning of democracy. Perhaps the efforts to preserve the UK's integrity could also learn from the German system of decentralisation and regionalisation. The fairness of the British voting system was also questioned, which arguably leaves large sectors of population feeling disenfranchised. One example discussed was the issue of constituencies with the idea of a local MP that you can engage with and who represents you. Maybe, the group wondered, there are other ways of congregating electorates in a way that is not based on geography but other dimensions of belonging.



Looking at the big picture, a participant argued that rather than just trying to adapt, we should take the current moment as a political renaissance and aim for a recalibration of politics that better reflects the way the world is changing and the speed at which we live and work.

Turning to the topic of technology and digitalisation, the group first discussed the difficulty for regulatory bodies to keep up with the speed of technological change and to actually be able to shape the direction of this change instead of just reacting to new developments. The EU's General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) for example took seven years to come into being and now has to be interpreted to fit blockchain and the cloud. There is a fundamental tension between the speed of developments in the tech

sector and our democratic processes, which are deliberative and slow. This leads to a gap between what we expect the state to protect us from and its abilities to do so. The question is therefore how to increase the foresight capacity of institutions and speed up regulatory processes. One suggestion was to foster the discourse between political decision makers and people working in the tech sector, who have a deeper understanding of the issues at hand and can guide the process. On a more positive note, a British participant observed that the EU has the power to establish global norms in these inherently transnational issues, as the GDPR for example is now a standard that big tech companies are forced to apply globally.



When discussing automation, the group did not focus on the effect on jobs, but rather on the increasingly pervasive use of technology e.g. in the health sector and the more general question if robots can ever provide the comfort we get from human interaction. While it was admitted that technology is less prone to error and can provide a different level of analysis, and is therefore more suited to some jobs, participants also strongly felt that computers cannot be compassionate and could never create the feeling of human interaction. However, it was also discussed if this is possibly more of a European mindset, with different attitudes towards robots prevailing for example in parts of Asia, where they take on more social functions as well. General agreement was found, though, on the suggestion that technology should only be used to complement, not replace, the human touch.



CONCLUSION

At the final dinner, Caroline Wilson, Director for Europe at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, echoed a sobering view of post-Brexit relations that had crystallised during the discussions: For Germany, the importance of preserving unity in the EU comes first, and trumps commonality with the UK, which can be hard to hear for Brits. However, we can be comforted by the agreement that the global challenges we are facing merit collaboration. Whether the UK will leave the EU or not, let's not hold our cooperation hostage. Germany and the UK are like-minded partners with quite a robust relationship. Königswinter is a good place to get together to be reminded of this, while also taking an honest look at the tasks ahead. In its long history Königswinter has dealt with many difficult developments in Europe and itself predates the European Union. Regardless of the outcome of the Brexit process, we can therefore be optimistic that we will continue to meet and do our bit to strengthen the Anglo-German relations.

GERMAN PARTICIPANTS

BAGGER Dr. Thomas

Ambassador
Diplomatic Adviser to the
Federal President
Bundespräsidialamt
Spreeweg 1
10557 Berlin

BARLEY Dr. Katarina MdB

Federal Minister of Justice
and Consumer Protection
Mohrenstraße 37
10117 Berlin

BIEDENKOPF-KÜR TEN

Susanne

Head of Editorial Division
Economics, Law,
Environment, Social Affairs,
Consumer Advice
ZDF
ZDF Straße 1
55100 Mainz

BISMARCK Dr. Helene von F.R.Hist.S

Historian and Writer
Ebertallee 29
22607 Hamburg

BOHN Dr. Maike

Co-founder, the3million
38 Apsley Road
Bristol BS8 2SS

BRANDIS Dr. Ruprecht

Chairman Advisory Board
Königswinter Stiftung

BRANTNER Dr. Franziska MdB

Deutscher Bundestag
Platz der Republik 1
11011 Berlin

BROCK Peter

Managing Partner
BEEWYZER GmbH
Tauentzienstraße 6
10789 Berlin

BUSCH Prof. Dr. Andreas

Professor of Political Science
Georg-August-Universität
Göttingen
Platz der Göttinger Sieben 3
37073 Göttingen

DIEL Amanda Jane

Legal Officer Eumetsat
Steering Committee Member
British in Germany e.V.
Eumetsat-Allee 1
64295 Darmstadt

FABRITIUS Dr. Andreas

British Honorary Consul
Partner
Freshfields Bruckhaus
Deringer LLP
Bockenheimer Anlage 44
60322 Frankfurt

FRANKENBERGER**Klaus-Dieter**

Foreign Editor
FAZ
Hellerhofstraße 2-4
60327 Frankfurt

HANEFELD Jens

Head of International and
European Policy
Volkswagen AG
Berliner Ring 2
38436 Wolfsburg

HARTMANN Ilka

Vice President
International Government
Relations
Commerzbank AG
Representative Office Berlin
Pariser Platz 1
10117 Berlin

HEINEN Dr. Nicolaus

Member of the Board
Königswinter Stiftung
Georgenstraße 114
80798 München

HEIPERTZ Dr. Martin

Head of Division
Federal Ministry of Finance
Wilhelmstraße 97
10117 Berlin

HORSTMANN**Hans-Henning**

Ambassador ret.
Chairman
Deutsch-Britische
Gesellschaft e.V.
Pariser Platz 6, 10117 Berlin

HUPPERTZ Dr. Cornelius

Deputy Head of Division
E21 – Northern
Europe/United Kingdom
German Federal Foreign
Office
Werderscher Markt 1
10117 Berlin

JEFCOAT Nick

Chairman
Deutsch-Britische
Gesellschaft Rhein-Main e.V.
c/o Franz-Lenbach Straße
16
60596 Frankfurt am Main

KRAUTSCHEID Andreas

Chief Executive
Association of German
Banks
Burgstraße 28
10178 Berlin

KURZ Manfred

Head of the "Würth Office
Brussels"
and the "Würth House
Berlin"
Würth Group
Inselstraße 16
14129 Berlin

LANGHOFF Wolfgang

CEO and Chairman of the
Board
BP Europe SE
Wittener Str. 45
44789 Bochum

LINDNER Johannes

Head of EU Institutions and
Fora Division
European Central Bank
Sonnemannstrasse 20
60314 Frankfurt am Main.

MAJOR Dr. Claudia

Senior Associate
SWP / German Institute for
International Security
Ludwigkirchplatz 3-4
10719 Berlin

MARSCHALL Christoph von

Diplomatic Editor
Der Tagesspiegel
Askanischer Platz 3
10963 Berlin

MATUSSEK Thomas

Ambassador ret.
Senior Advisor
Flint Global
Niebuhrstraße 69, 10629
Berlin

MAYER Stephan MdB

Parliamentary State
Secretary
Federal Ministry of the
Interior, Building and
Community
Alt-Moabit 140, 10557
Berlin

MICHAELIS Andreas

State Secretary
German Federal Foreign
Office
Werderscher Markt 1
10117 Berlin

MÖLLER Almut

Senior Policy Fellow and
Head of Berlin Office
European Council on
Foreign Relations
Unter den Linden 17
10117 Berlin

MÖLLING Dr. Christian
Research Director
German Council on Foreign
Relations
Rauchstraße 17-18
10787 Berlin

MOSDORF Siegmар
Former Parliamentary State
Secretary
Partner and Member
of the Board
CNC AG
Friedrichstr. 140
10117 Berlin

MUTTER Dominik
Head of Unit 211 - Security
Policy, Non-Proliferation
and Arms Control, Bilateral
Relations with the USA,
Canada, Northern, Western
and Southern Europe
as well as Turkey
Federal Chancellery
Willy-Brandt-Straße 1
10557 Berlin

NOURIPOUR Omid MdB
Deutscher Bundestag
Platz der Republik 1
11011 Berlin

ONDARZA Dr. Nicolai von
Deputy Head EU/ Europe
Division
German Institute for
Security and International
Affairs
Ludwigkirchplatz 3-4
10719 Berlin

PUGLIERIN Dr. Jana
Head of the Alfred von
Oppenheim Center of
European Policy Studies
German Council on Foreign
Relations
Bauchstraße 17
10245 Berlin

RABERT Dr. Bernhard
Regional Director Central
and Northern Europe
Rolls-Royce INT. LTD
Jägerstraße 59
10117 Berlin

RÖTTGEN Dr. Norbert MdB
Chairman Foreign Affairs
Committee
Deutscher Bundestag
Platz der Republik 1
11011 Berlin

SARRAZIN Manuel MdB
Deutscher Bundestag
Platz der Republik 1
11011 Berlin

SCHMIDT Christian MdB

Former Federal Minister
Deutscher Bundestag
Platz der Republik 1
11011 Berlin

SCHULZ Christian

Partner - Head of Mergers
and Acquisitions GSA
Transaction Advisory
Services
Ernst & Young GmbH
Arnulfstraße 59
80636 München

SORG Sybille

Ambassador
Director for Relations with
the Member States
of the European Union
Federal Foreign Office
Werderscher Markt 1
10117 Berlin

SPEICH Dr. Mark

State Secretary for Federal,
European
and International Affairs
of the State
of North Rhine-Westphalia
Hiroshimastraße 12-16
10785 Berlin

**STRACHWITZ Dr. Rupert
Graf**

Executive Director
Maecenata Foundation
Vice-Chairman
Deutsch-Britische
Gesellschaft e.V.
Rungestraße 17
10179 Berlin

TECHAU Jan

Senior Fellow & Director
of the European Program
German Marshall Fund
of the United States
Voßstr. 20
10117 Berlin

TOMM Niels

Representative of the Board
Gruppe Deutsche Börse
Unter den Linden 36
10117 Berlin

WITTIG HE Dr. Peter

Ambassador
German Embassy London
23 Belgrave Square
SW1X 8PZ London

**ZIMMERMANN Dr. Jens
MdB**

Vice-Chairman of the
German-British
Parliamentary Group
Deutscher Bundestag
Platz der Republik 1
11011 Berlin

BRITISH PARTICIPANTS

AHMAD of Wimbledon Lord Tariq

Minister of State for the UN and Commonwealth
King Charles Street
London SW1A 2AH

ARTHUR Sir Michael KCMG

Chairman
UK Koenigswinter
President
Boeing Europe and
Managing Director UK & Ireland

ARTHURS Kate

Director Arts
British Council
10 Spring Gardens
London SW1A 2BN

BARNES Peter

Chairman
British-German Association
34 Belgrave Square
London SW1X 8QB

BUCHAN Prof. Alastair M.

Pro-Vice-Chancellor,
Head of Brexit Strategy
University of Oxford
Level 7, Room 7501,
John Radcliffe Hospital
Oxford OX3 9DU.

BULLOCH Robbie

Deputy Head of Mission
British Embassy Berlin
Wilhelmstr. 70
10117 Berlin

CARMICHAEL Neil

Professor
University of Nottingham
Senior Adviser
PLMR
2 Vestry Court
5 Monck Street
London SW1P 2BW

CHALMERS Malcolm

Deputy Director General
Royal United Services Institute
London
61 Whitehall
London SW1A 2ET

CHISHOLM Alex

Permanent Secretary
Department for Business,
Energy & Industrial Strategy
1 Victoria Street
London SW1H 0ET

CHOTE Robert

Chairman
Office for Budget
Responsibility
14T 102 Petty France
London SW1H 9AJ

COLLIER Nick

Managing Director
Brussels Office
City of London Corporation
PO Box 270, Guildhall
London, EC2P

DODDS Annelise MP

Shadow Treasury Minister
House of Commons
London SW1A 0AA

DUMAS Charles E.

Chief Economist
TS Lombard
9 Cloak Lane
London EC4R 2RU

ELLIS Alex

Director General
Department for Exiting
the EU
100 Parliament Street
Westminster
London SW1A 2NP

FALKNER OF MARGRAVINE

Baroness Kishwer

Chairman
EU Financial Affairs
Sub-Committee
House of Lords
London SW1A 0PW

FORREST WHITING Alex

Brexit Analyst and Reporter
D.W. News (Deutsche Welle)
Große Hamburger Straße 28
10115 Berlin

FRANKLIN Daniel

Executive and Diplomatic
Editor
The Economist
The Adelphi 1-11 John
Adam Street
London WC 2N 6HT

GOLDING Jane

Co-Chair, British in Europe
and Chair British
in Germany
British in Europe and British
in Germany
Bergstraße 67, 10115 Berlin

GOWING Nik

Founder, Director
Think Unthinkable Ltd
51 Westmoreland Road
London SW13 9RZ

GRABBE Dr. Heather

Director
Open Society European
Policy Institute
130 rue du Trone
Ixelles 1050, Belgium

**GRIEVE Rt Hon Dominic
QC MP**

Chairman of Intelligence
and Security Committee
House of Commons
London SW1A 0AA

IRVINE Gail

Senior Policy and
Development Officer
Carnegie UK Trust
Andrew Carnegie House
Pittencrieff St
Dunfermline KY12 8AW

JOHNSON Jo MP

House of Commons
London SW1A 0AA

KAMPFNER John

Founder, CEO
UK Creative Industries
Federation
22 Endell St
London WC2H 9AD

KENT Ronald

Managing Director, Capital
Markets and Wholesale
UK Finance
One Angel Court
London EC2R 7HJ

KIRK Matthew

International Affairs Adviser
Squire Patton Boggs

KONARSKI Mark

Head of Vodafone
Representative Office
Vodafone GmbH
Behrenstraße 18
10117 Berlin

**MANCE Rt. Hon. The Lord
Jonathan PC**

Former Deputy President
of UK Supreme Court
Member of Singapore
International Court and
Arbitrator
7 King's Bench Walk Temple
London EC4Y 7DS

MATHER Peter

Group Regional Vice
President, Europe
Head of Country, UK
BP plc
1 St James Square
London SW1Y 4PD

NIBLETT Dr. Robin CMG

Director
Chatham House
10 St James's Square
London SW1Y 4LE

O'GRADY Frances

General Secretary
Trades Union Congress
(TUC)
Congress House
Great Russell Street
London WC1B 3LS

PARIKH Tej

Senior Economist
Institute of Directors
116 Pall Mall
London SW1Y 5ED

PRYCE Prof. Vicky

Chief Economic Adviser
CEBR
4 Bath Street
London EC1V 9DX

SPRINGFORD John

Deputy Director
Centre for European Reform
14 Great College Street
London SW1P 3RX

STEIN Dr. Alexandra

Director
Scottish Government Office
in Berlin
Scottish Government
Wilhelmstraße 70
10117 Berlin

STHEEMAN Elisabeth

External Financial Policy
Committee Member
Bank of England
Threadneedle Street
London EC2R 8AH

THOMPSON Maurice

Chairman
Greensill
One Southampton Street
London WC2R 0LR

WALKER Simon

Lead Non-Executive Board
Member
Department of International
Trade
86 Brook Green
London W6 7BD

**WILLETTS Rt Hon Lord
David**

Executive Chair
The Resolution Foundation
2 Queen Anne's Gate
London SW1H 9AA

WILSON Caroline CMG

Director Europe
Foreign and Commonwealth
Office
King Charles Street
London SW1A 2AH

**WOOD HE Sir Sebastian
KCMG**

Ambassador
British Embassy Berlin
Wilhelmstr. 70
10117 Berlin

OBSERVERS

DIOS FALK, Carina

Assistant to Stephanie
Ashton

DIXON Max

Assistant Private Secretary
to Minister of State
for the UN and
Commonwealth

HAAS Lena

Conference Organisation

Mari Mittelhaus, Executive
Director

Deutsch-Britische
Gesellschaft e.V.

Pariser Platz 6, 10117 Berlin
headoffice@debrige.de

Particular thanks to

Stephanie Ashton

Executive Director, UK

Koenigswinter

Managing Partner, Ashton

Munro Consultancy

With thanks to the Helpers

Carina Dios Falk, Clara

Mehring, Mary Redmond

and Johanna Wohlfrom.

▶ THE KÖNIGSWINTER CONFERENCE

The Königswinter Conference was established in 1950 with the aim of improving the troubled relationship between Germany and Great Britain. It takes its name from the Rhineside town opposite Bonn where the Conference took place initially. Since then the Conference has convened once a year bringing together German and British politicians, high-ranking government officials, business managers, academics and journalists for a profound and stimulating exchange of views. Königswinter has created bonds and friendships helping to improve the understanding of policy differences on topical issues and challenges and to work towards common approaches.

The issues discussed over the years have ranked from security policy, the Atlantic alliance, a desirable degree of European integration, societal changes and upheavals in an increasingly globalised world to the future of the welfare state, education policy, the integration of ethnic minorities and international economic policy. The Conference is held alternately in Germany and Great Britain. The 70th Königswinter Conference will take place in the UK in spring 2020.

THE DEUTSCH-BRITISCHE GESELLSCHAFT

The Deutsch-Britische Gesellschaft wants to contribute to an ever closer relationship between Germany and Great Britain and to improve the mutual understanding of its people.

The Gesellschaft aims to

- ▶ initiate and support debate on political, economic, cultural and social issues of concern to both countries
- ▶ help overcome mutual prejudices and encourage British-German friendship
- ▶ strengthen and promote European co-operation and the transatlantic relationship in co-operation with its British partners.

The Deutsch-Britische Gesellschaft is a Berlin-based, non-profit, non-governmental, non-party, independent organisation which has been organizing lectures and conferences since 1949. Its Königswinter Conference enjoys a high reputation and has served as a model for many other bilateral conferences.

ADMINISTRATION DEUTSCH-BRITISCHE GESELLSCHAFT

Deutsch-Britische Gesellschaft e.V.
Mari Mittelhaus, Executive Director
Pariser Platz 6
10117 Berlin
Fon +49 (0) 30 203 985 11
Fax +49 (0) 30 203 985 16
headoffice@debrige.de

ADMINISTRATION UK KOENIGSWINTER

Stephanie Ashton, Executive Director
Managing Partner
Ashton Munro Consultancy
Fon (+44) 07979 861559
stephanie@ashtonmunro.com

IMPRINT

HERAUSGEBER/PUBLISHED BY

DEUTSCH-BRITISCHE GESELLSCHAFT E.V.

PARISER PLATZ 6

10117 BERLIN

FON +49 30 203 985 0

FAX +49 30 203 985 16

HEADOFFICE@DEBRIGE.DE

WWW.DEBRIGE.DE

COPYRIGHT PHOTOS

Bildschön GmbH

GRAPHIC CONCEPT, DESIGN AND PRODUCTION

www.mediendesignbuero.com



