

Annual Report 2012



What We Want

Fostering democracy and upholding human rights, taking action to prevent the destruction of the global ecosystem, advancing equality between women and men, securing peace through conflict prevention in crisis zones, and defending the freedom of individuals against excessive state and economic power – these are the objectives that drive the ideas and actions of the Heinrich Böll Foundation. We maintain close ties to the German Green Party (Alliance 90/The Greens) and as a think tank for green visions and projects, we are part of an international network encompassing well over 160 partner projects in approximately 60 countries.

The Heinrich Böll Foundation works independently and nurtures a spirit of intellectual openness. We maintain a worldwide network with currently 29 international offices. We cooperate closely with 16 state-level Böll Foundations in each of Germany’s federal states, and we support talented, socio-politically engaged undergraduate and graduate students in Germany and abroad.

We gladly follow Heinrich Böll’s exhortation for citizens to get involved in politics, and we want to inspire others to do the same.

Facts about the Foundation

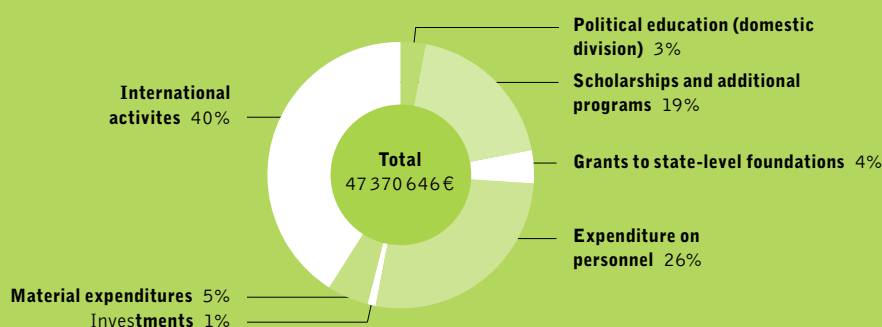
Sources and allocation of funding

The Heinrich Böll Foundation e.V. is funded almost entirely through public grants. In the reporting year of 2012, the Foundation had 47.4 million euros at its disposal (preliminary figures).

In 2012, the bulk of funds (40%) went towards our international activities. Other increases were directed toward our scholarship program, material expenditures, and investment (see figure for percentages).

Allocation of funding

2012



Heinrich Böll Foundation Worldwide



Africa

- 1 Cape Town (South Africa)
- 2 Abuja (Nigeria)
- 3 Nairobi (Kenya)

Asia

- 4 Bangkok (Thailand)
- 5 Kabul (Afghanistan)
- 6 Islamabad (Pakistan)
- 7 Neu Delhi (India)
- 8 Beijing (China)
- 9 Phnom Penh (Cambodia)

Europe

- 10 Belgrade (Serbia)
- 11 Berlin (Germany)
- 12 Brussels (Belgium)
- 13 Istanbul (Turkey)
- 14 Kiev (Ukraine)
- 15 Prague (Czech Republic)
- 16 Sarajevo (Bosnia-Herzegovina)
- 17 Tbilisi (Georgia)
- 18 Thessaloniki (Greece)
- 19 Warsaw (Poland)
- 20 Zagreb (Croatia)

Latin America

- 21 Mexico City (Mexico)
- 22 Rio de Janeiro (Brazil)
- 23 San Salvador (El Salvador)
- 24 Santiago de Chile (Chile)

Middle East/North Africa

- 25 Beirut (Libanon)
- 26 Ramallah (Palestine)
- 27 Rabat (Morocco)*
- 28 Tel Aviv (Israel)
- 29 Tunis (Tunisia)

North America

- 30 Washington (USA)

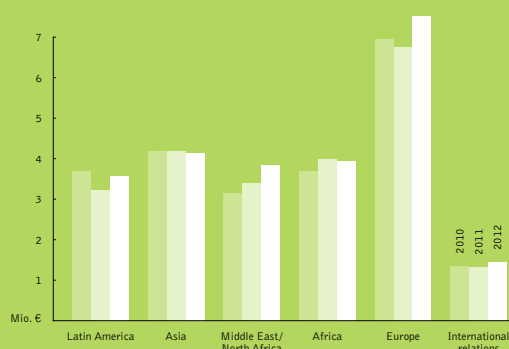
Russian Federation

- 31 Moscow (Russia)

* office under development

International cooperation

2010-2012



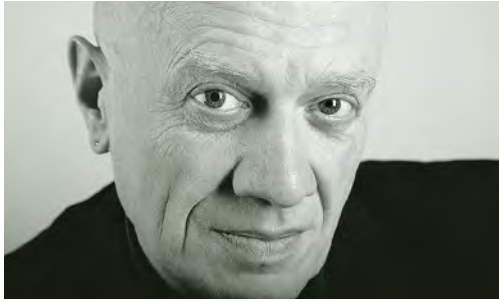
The Heinrich Böll Foundation's largest source of funding is the Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development, which provided approximately 22 million euros in funding in 2012. This amount included roughly 170,000 euros for measures to mitigate climate change in developing countries and 129,000 euros in targeted funds for Myanmar. International cooperation funds totaling 190,000 euros were disbursed to other Foundation divisions and organizational entities.

The Foundation also received funding of approximately 1.3 million euros from the Federal Foreign Office. EU funding totaling roughly 640,000 euros was targeted toward projects in the Middle East and Africa as well as multi-regional projects in southeastern Europe and within the framework of the EcoFair Trade dialogue.

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Foreword



Ralf Fücks



Barbara Unmüßig

June 2012 marked the 20th anniversary of the historic United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro. In the run-up to the Rio+20 Summit, we closely monitored the international preparations for the summit, and we organized a wide variety of activities in Rio and other cities focusing on the theme “Green Economy”. Our proactive involvement reinforced the Foundation’s reputation as a knowledgeable, internationally engaged actor in the field of environmental and socially equitable sustainability.

We also focus on international energy policy: Our website *energytransition.de* features comprehensive information on Germany’s transformation of its national energy system – a policy known as the *Energiewende* – because Germany’s efforts are laying the groundwork that can make Europe a trailblazer in the areas of renewable energy and energy efficiency technologies. Our work showcases the benefits that can be achieved through a European energy network and a common European energy policy.

Another issue that is keeping us busy is the euro crisis, which is far from being fully resolved. Overcoming the euro crisis requires national efforts combined with European solidarity. This means that individual countries will have to implement reforms targeted toward both the long-term consolidation of the financial sector as well as sustainable economic growth. The Heinrich Böll Foundation advocates a European “Green New Deal” that will offer new prospects for the younger generation in particular.

In certain countries around the world, we are currently witnessing a wave of legal and administrative measures that restrict the freedom of action of both domestic NGOs and international organizations. For example, the Ethiopian government has required organizations to re-register under the country’s NGO laws, a situation which made it impossible for us to fulfill our mission of working jointly with local partners to foster democracy, gender justice, and sustainable development. As a result, the Foundation decided to withdraw from Ethiopia. In Egypt, political developments and a muddled legal framework leave us without a solid basis for working there. Our cooperation with Egyptian partners is therefore being coordinated from our new office in Tunis.

Much of the Foundation’s success in recent years is due to the efforts of Dr. Birgit Laubach, who departed from her position as CEO on April 1, 2013. Her tremendous skills helped the Foundation achieve numerous key objectives, including the construction of our new central offices, which continue to serve as a model for other organizations thanks to their first-rate design, high level of energy efficiency, and responsible use of public construction funds.

As always, we would like to express our gratitude for the work of our highly motivated staff and colleagues, who form the backbone of the Foundation’s activities. We also receive essential and extensive voluntary support from our supervisory board, membership meeting, women’s council, expert advisory boards, expert commissions, and the Green Academy. We deeply appreciate your trust and cooperation, which serve to strengthen us, both now and in the future.

Berlin, April 2013

Ralf Fücks Barbara Unmüßig
Presidents, Heinrich Böll Foundation

Changing the World in an Environmentally Sound, Sustainable and Equitable Manner

We are facing a set of interlinked problems that will demand our attention for many years to come: ongoing climate change, rising poverty, dwindling resources, and declining biodiversity. The international community is doing little to stem these developments, as national interests too often get in the way of global solutions. Changing this political reality will require political pressure from below. One of the central priorities of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's work is to help build a civil society that has the capacity to demand, wherever possible, political conditions that are conducive to environmentally sound and socially equitable change. We are actively committed to advancing a global economy fueled by renewable energy, ensuring resource-efficient development, and fostering a global shift in agricultural systems. In addition, we promote alternative strategies and experiments. There is an abundance of ideas – and we want to support creative minds and forge new alliances.

Germany as a blueprint for the transformation of energy systems

Along with *kindergarten* and *autobahn*, the word *Energiewende*, which essentially means the transformation of energy systems, has entered the English vocabulary. Germany is leading the way in developing renewable energy sources and in phasing out coal-based and nuclear energy. If an economic power like Germany can succeed in running its industry on the basis of renewable energy, and without nuclear power, this will provide a blueprint for other countries. We want to disseminate Germany's experiences to the rest of the world and persuade other stakeholders to press forward with the shift to renewables. For example, in September 2012, ten leading energy experts from various U.S. states accepted the Foundation's invitation to come to Germany and gain in-depth knowledge about the *Energiewende*. Among other things, they visited the *100% Renewable Energy* conference in Kassel and traveled to the village of Großbardorf in Bavaria to find out more about the key role that energy cooperatives play in rural development.

Also in 2012, Arne Jungjohann, the energy expert at our office in Washington, D.C., traveled to Ramallah and Amman to initiate discussions about alternative energy sources in the Middle East and to report on Germany's experiences in this field. Against the background of Israeli occupation and Palestinians' heavily restricted access to energy resources, the discussions in Ramallah focused chiefly on renewables as an avenue for overcoming energy dependence. In Jordan, where the gov-



Energy experts from various U.S. states visit the cooperative solar power facility in Großbardorf. [photo: hbs](#)

ernment under King Abdullah II has been working for years to set up a nuclear program, discussions focused on ways to expand the use of renewable energy sources that could satisfy the bulk of Jordan's energy needs and thereby render a risky atomic energy program superfluous.

Germany's Energiewende is also being followed with great interest in Japan. This was abundantly clear at an international conference in Tokyo in July 2012, which the Foundation co-organized with the Fujitsu Research Institute. After the conference, some members of the Foundation's delegation traveled to Fukushima prefecture to meet with various public authorities. Their talks made clear how determined regional officials are to phase out nuclear power and to transform their province into a model region for the use of renewable energy in Japan. Their wish for German "sponsorship" and their desire to draw on German experience and know-how highlighted the extent to which Germany has become a pivotal player of reference when it comes to the transformation of energy systems. The Foundation will continue to make its expertise and networks available to help Japan press forward with its own Energiewende. If, like Germany, Japan were to make the shift to a renewables-based energy system, this would represent a major breakthrough, especially for Asia.

Critique of the green economy: UN Rio+20 Conference and McPlanet.com

Since the first UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio in 1992, all the important environmental trends have taken a turn for the worse. In government and business, decisions are still taken with scant regard for climate change, biodiversity loss, or resource scarcity. The idea that unfettered growth is the way to end poverty and overcome the economic and financial crisis remains largely undisputed. Countering this trend, the concept of a green economy is gaining international currency as a potential alternative to the growth-driven model. However, precisely what constitutes a green economy – and the policies that need to be adopted to put it into practice – remains undefined and politically highly contentious. The UN Rio+20 Conference (the first UN sustainability summit 20 years ago also took place in Rio de Janeiro), which convened in June 2012, was intended to bring greater clarity to these issues as well as to the question of whether or not to upgrade the UN Environment Programme. However, the summit's outcome document remained vague and noncommittal. As a result, the event that took on real significance was the simultaneous People's Summit, which was supported by the Heinrich Böll Foundation. The People's Summit focused on the green economy and on critiques of the energy- and resource-intensive growth model. NGOs and social movements from Latin America and Europe criticized the green economy as the North's attempt to provide new legitimacy to an economic model that remains "brown" at its core and in this way to retain access to dwindling global resources.

The 5th *McPlanet* Congress took place in Berlin during the run-up to Rio+20. Held under the headline "Too BIG to fail: there is no planet B", the congress undertook a critical appraisal of the achievements of 20 years of international environmental policy and took an in-depth look at current debates on the green economy. The Foundation played a key role in conceiving and organizing the congress. A number of our in-house experts served as speakers, panelists, and moderators. In addition, we organized several workshops, and several internationally renowned Foundation partners – including Tim Jackson, Harald Welzer, and Achim Steiner – provided essential input into the discussions.



www.energytransition.de – Graphics and PowerPoint slides explain the core elements of Germany's energy transformation, including the nuclear power phase-out, the Renewable Energies Act, the eco-tax, and more. All texts and graphics are made available under a creative commons license. The website had 24,000 visitors in its first six weeks of operation, with the highest number of visitors from the United States, followed by China. The English-language website will soon be available in French, Polish, Russian, and Spanish, and it will be supplemented with a blog.

Inside a Champion

An Analysis of the Brazilian Development Model

Ed. by the Heinrich Böll Foundation

Rio de Janeiro 2012, 224 pages

www.br.boell.org



The Foundation's anti-nuclear tent at the People's Summit drew large audiences. photo: Thiago Ripper

Seasons of Change – an online dossier with features spotlighting climate policy basics, climate finance, Foundation activities in Doha, analyses of the host country Qatar and the Gulf region, as well as other topics involving resources and natural resource policies in the region. In German, English, and Arabic.

→ www.boell.de/seasons-of-change



“The protection of the individual cannot be separated from the protection of the environment. It is true that only governments can ratify binding and effective laws to reduce CO2 emissions, but such laws are meaningless if citizens don’t get involved ... one example of this type of involvement is the work of the Arab Youth Climate Movement, which engaged in excellent, in-depth preparation for the climate negotiations and exerted active pressure on participating decision-makers.” Muna Dajani, environmental activist from Palestine and member of the Foundation delegation. *photo: hbs*

www.deutscheklimafinanzierung.de – the website and its database provide a user-friendly and accessible overview of climate finance projects implemented with German government funding. This collaborative effort between the Heinrich Böll Foundation, Oxfam, Brot für die Welt, and Germanwatch aims to enhance the transparency of Germany’s contribution to international finance and to deliver a critical appraisal of German policies in this field. In German and English.

→ www.deutscheklimafinanzierung.de



Well-connected and highly motivated: young decision-makers from the Arab region at the closing session of the Summer School in Amman. *photo: hbs*

Doha Climate Change Conference: critical intervention in global climate negotiations

Without a global climate agreement, it will be impossible to curb the worldwide rise in temperatures. Many people in the countries of the South are already suffering the consequences of climate change. They need more than just financial assistance to adapt to climate change; rather, they also have a right to develop their own adaptation measures – and these measures must be fair and socially equitable while also taking gender issues into account, because women and men are often affected differently by the impacts of climate change. The Foundation’s efforts in this area include monitoring global climate negotiations, engaging in critical interventions, and giving partner organizations the opportunity to participate at the negotiations. For example, with our support, the first-ever delegation of young Arab activists was able to attend the international climate change conference (COP 18), which was held in Doha from November 26 to December 7, 2012. The Middle East is one of the regions most severely affected by climate change. Using creative interventions and much expertise, the activists put pressure on their governments to intensify their commitment and to improve the transparency of their policies.

German climate finance policy at a glance: website and database

International climate finance has gained crucial significance in view of the dangers posed by climate change and the urgent need for action. Germany has committed itself under international law to provide climate finance support and has quantified some of these commitments in recent years. In 2011, the German federal government allocated approximately 1.3 billion euros for measures classified as international climate finance, using various instruments of bilateral and multilateral development cooperation. Our website www.deutscheklimafinanzierung.de aims to enhance the transparency of the various facets of German climate finance policy. We provide a critical appraisal of the measures taken, together with an overview of funds pledged and disbursed as well as the instruments and channels used.

The website is a collaborative effort between the Heinrich Böll Foundation, Oxfam, Brot für die Welt (“Bread for the World”), and Germanwatch.

Climate change in the Middle East and North Africa: summer school in Jordan

Gender issues in climate policy and adaptation projects were the main focus of the Foundation’s second Summer School in Amman, which was hosted by our Palestine, Beirut, and Tunis offices. Regional and international experts – including lecturer and women’s rights activist Nisreen Mazzawi, Rania El Masri from UNDP Cairo, and Wael Hmaidan from the Climate Action Network – designed the lectures and workshops. All of the summer school’s forums inspired lively discussions, because environmental issues and natural resource policies have drawn increasing attention in Arab countries since the recent political upheavals, particularly among young people. The participants, who ranged in age from 21 to 34, came from Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, Lebanon, Iraq, Palestine, Jordan, and the United Arab Emirates and brought with them a wide variety of professional backgrounds, including journalism, grass-roots activism, local green politics, and private enterprise. The event created a new network of future decision-makers who will help shape the region’s future.

Green Deal Nigeria: road show through Nigeria

The only thing in Nigeria that is green is the national flag... and the little that remains of the country's once-rich tropical forests, which have now shrunk to just 5 percent of their former size. The oil boom that has consumed the country since the 1960s has ruined the landscape and put power in the hands of a corrupt elite. Added to these problems today are the effects of climate change – including droughts, desertification, floods, and rising sea levels – which are further undermining the natural environment that forms the basis for people's livelihoods. Most people live in abject poverty, while only the elite benefits from Nigeria's phenomenal economic growth rate of nearly 7 percent.

Less than half the country's population is connected to the public power grid, and the flow of electricity is often sporadic. A decentralized supply of renewable energy could unleash a social and economic revolution here: Solar or biogas installations in villages would enable countless girls to go to school, because they would no longer have to stay at home to haul water or grind millet. The use of renewable energy for agricultural irrigation would have the potential to curb desertification and reduce youth unemployment, which would serve the government's interest, as young men with no job prospects are increasingly drawn to terrorist activity in the northern part of the country. In many cases, green options are less expensive than conventional methods, however there is scant knowledge of green technologies in Nigeria, and private interests often stand in the way of their dissemination.

To mark the occasion of the Rio+20 summit, our office in Nigeria published the study *Green Deal Nigeria*, which includes analyses of policies, stakeholders, and structures as well as recommendations for solutions in the fields of oil and gas, agriculture, and energy. The advisory group for *Green Deal Nigeria* included the governor of Nigeria's central bank, an anti-corruption activist who argues that the study's recommendations have little chance of being implemented as long as Nigeria lacks good governance. In his view, transformation will only come about once the Nigerian people take to the streets and demand change. In other words, the public needs to be aroused to take action. To this end, our Nigeria office worked together with bloggers from the Nigerian Occupy movement to "translate" the study's key points into easily accessible language and turned this text into a multimedia presentation with film clips from various Nigerian regions affected by climate change. Wherever film clips were unavailable, cartoons and illustrations were produced to provide visual explanations of often highly complex issues such as corruption in the oil sector. The plan was first to put the presentation on a "road show" to raise public awareness, and then – backed by the newly won public support – to take the study's recommendations to the government. However, government agencies showed immediate interest even during the first presentations in the capital city of Abuja. For example, the National Planning Commission invited the young bloggers to participate in the second phase of Vision 2020, the country's official development policy. An invitation came from the Nigerian parliament as well. These could be the first substantial step toward the implementation of sustainable growth strategies in Nigeria.

Adapting to climate change: a study in Thailand

Together with the Forest and Farmer Foundation (a Thai NGO), our office in Thailand carried out a study in the city of Phitsanulok that demonstrated the links between climate change and income losses in the agricultural sector. Interviews with local people who have lived in the region for generations confirm the changes: floodwaters now come irregularly and unpredictably, and water levels have increased dramatically in re-

→ www.ng.boell.org



Flooded highway between Lokoja and Abuja, Nigeria.
photo: hbs

→ www.th.boell.org



In 2012, Thais stayed afloat as best they could, nevertheless, long-term adaptation measures will have to be taken. [photo: picture alliance/Asian News Network](#)

→ www.cn.boell.org

International Resource Politics New challenges demanding new governance approaches for a green economy

By Raimund Bleischwitz, Bettina Bahn-Walkowiak, Felix Ekardt, Heidi Feldt, Lili Fuhr
Edited by the Heinrich Böll Foundation in
cooperation with Wuppertal Institute
Berlin 2012, 96 pages

→ www.boell.de/en

cent years. These developments have caused increasing seed and harvest losses.

It is essential for the Thai government and local populations to develop strategies to adapt to these changes – and these strategies must have a long-term vision. So far, local governments have offered only short-term measures such as compensation for failed harvests. Such measures will be of little use to future generations. However, proposals for long-term measures – such as early warning systems and microcredits – already exist. Our Bangkok office has joined forces with the Forest and Farmer Foundation to urge the government to adopt such proposals and to let citizens participate in the design of climate adaptation measures.

Responsible raw materials strategies: a Chinese-African dialogue

In recent years, China has developed into the African continent's largest trading partner. However, the new economic powerhouse is a polarizing presence: While some view China as an imperialistic force that is solely interested in exploiting natural resources and that is impeding Africa's industrial development through the mass marketing of cheap finished products, others – including China itself – view the country as a benevolent partner in development. Neither view does justice to the complexity and diversity of Sino-African relations.

Our offices in Africa and China have launched an exchange between Chinese and African academics, civil society actors, and policymakers, with the aim of fostering mutual understanding. Three Chinese-African dialogues have already taken place, most recently in Johannesburg in November 2012. The talks are conducted in a very open atmosphere, and both sides are demonstrating an increasing willingness to reflect critically on their own roles – something we as the organizers view as a highly encouraging development.

Improving the transparency of natural resource policies: recommendations for Afghanistan

Afghanistan's soil holds a wealth of raw materials worth roughly three billion US dollars. Deposits of minerals, rare earths and oil could lift the country out of economic crisis – thus the hope of the government, civil society, and the international community. However, the question of whether the extraction of raw materials actually contributes to economic development – for example, in the form of infrastructure construction and new jobs – depends on numerous factors, including the transparency of decision-making processes surrounding the awarding of contracts. Afghanistan remains a country plagued by conflict, and power struggles over access to and control of natural resources continue to have a destabilizing impact on the country.

In July 2012, our office in Kabul joined forces with other national and international actors to formulate demands for transparency and accountability in Afghanistan's extractive industries sector. Some of these demands were then taken up in the guidelines for future civilian engagement in Afghanistan, which were adopted at the Tokyo Conference on Afghanistan. In the process of implementing these guidelines, the Afghan government published approximately 200 contracts that had been awarded in the raw materials sector.

In addition, in November 2012, a group of national and international organizations formulated recommendations targeting lobbying activities in the extractive industries sector. The Foundation supported this effort as well. The main objectives of these recommendations are to ensure that (i) impact assessments, site development decisions, and contract negotiations are made public and (ii) civil society input is included at all

→ www.af.boell.org

levels. The plan is now to discuss these recommendations with the Afghan government and the international community, with the aim of securing their implementation.

In addition to these advocacy activities at the international level, our Kabul office has built a civil society network that focuses on the management of natural resources such as land and water and that provides training programs to local communities in mining regions.

Water legislation reform: initial successes in Chile

Chile is one of the world's leading producers of mineral raw materials. Deposits of copper, molybdenum (a metal used to increase hardness), gold, and silver, as well as industrial salts such as lithium, iodine, and boron, are concentrated along the length of the Andes mountains, which stretch nearly 5000 kilometers. However, the massive expansion of Chile's mining sector is reaching its physical and political limits: By itself, the mining sector consumes 34 percent of the country's electricity and, in some areas, over 50 percent of the available water. Yet Chile has been suffering from water shortages for years, and conflicts over planned and current mining projects are on the rise. Criticism is targeted in particular toward the non-transparent and irreversible sales of water rights on the basis of Chile's Water Code, which permits the sales of water rights independent of property ownership – i.e., companies can use specialized law firms to buy up the water rights for large swaths of land without actually owning it. This means that investors in the mining (and other) sectors are free to tap all of the mountain and glacier water reserves covered by their purchased water rights and use this water for their production needs, thereby taking water away from other users such as private households and farmers.

For years now, our office in Santiago de Chile has been actively involved in efforts to promote transparent water policies that are geared toward the public interest. In 2012, we organized two conferences as well as numerous working meetings that brought together local and regional water councils, grass-roots initiatives, and decision-makers. In 2013, our office will promote cooperation between stakeholders and the Chilean parliament's newly formed water committee. A cross-party parliamentary alliance is already emerging that wants to reform key aspects of Chile's water legislation, to ensure for example that the law places a priority on the right to water and on drinking water supplies.

Realigning the partnership between Europe and Latin America: conference in Berlin

"Otra alianza es posible! A different type of partnership is possible!" This was the motto of the November 2012 conference hosted by the parliamentary group of Alliance 90/The Greens in tandem with the Heinrich Böll Foundation. To replace the paradigm of limitless growth and the promotion of export business at any price, participants called for an alliance advocating socially equitable and sustainable development and the enforcement of human rights. Both sustainability and human rights are given short shrift in Latin America's predominant development model, which is geared mainly toward the extensive exploitation of fossil, mineral, and agricultural raw materials for export purposes, as described by conference participants from Latin America. In their view, even when so-called "leftist" governments – such as those in Brazil, Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador and other countries – use some of this export-driven income to set up and expand social benefit programs, this model of development still produces clear losers: namely (i) the people who are driven from their land to make room for export industries and (ii) the natural environment, which is severely damaged by the depletion of natural resources.

→ www.cl.boell.org



Bishop Álvaro Ramazzini of Guatemala demanded a shift away from current free trade agreement policies and called for new trade policies that take existing asymmetries into account. photo: Laura Allenfort

Promoting Democracy, Asserting Human Rights

Two years after the onset of a series of social and political upheavals in the Arab world, a sense of disillusionment has replaced the original euphoria. Democratic transitions are progressing slowly and in contradictory directions and are frequently accompanied by violence. More and more, the brutal civil war in Syria is overshadowing the accomplishments achieved by the “Arabellion”. The region faces tremendous economic and social challenges that have hardly been addressed to date.

The Heinrich Böll Foundation wants to support its partners in transition countries as they navigate this difficult path. This is true not only in the Arab world but in all of the world’s regions where we are actively engaged. Wherever we encounter courageous partners, we work with them to expand their scope for effective political and social participation and empowerment. Our central priority in these efforts is to strengthen civil society and democratically legitimate legislatures. The integration of gender perspectives into every aspect of political life is a guiding vision that we constantly strive to practice ourselves. We want to reinforce the political and social rights of women, and we actively oppose the discrimination or criminalization of people whose sexual orientation or gender identity differs from the mainstream: in short, LGBTI.

New Foundation office opens in Tunisia

The Heinrich Böll Foundation originally intended to open a new office in Egypt in 2012. However, over the course of 2011, the scope of action for civil society organizations in Egypt became increasingly restricted. When investigations were launched in late 2011 against various international NGOs (including Germany’s Konrad Adenauer Foundation) for alleged infringements such as lack of proper registration, it became clear that opening a new office in Egypt was out of the question. Moreover, a collective sentiment was brewing in Egypt against the supposed “external financing” of “unpatriotic forces”. These factors led us to focus our efforts on opening a new office in Tunisia, where we were received with open arms by both civil society actors and the government. One of our first partners there is the *Association Tunisienne pour L’Éveil Démocratique* (ATED), which belongs to the Mourakiboun NGO network. With our assistance, ATED is currently in the process of building its capacity to function as a lobby group for democratic change in Tunisia, a possibility that was inconceivable just two years ago. Together with ATED, we organized two events in Tunis in 2012 that brought together Arab activists and experts to formulate joint civil society positions on an election law and an electoral commission.



Qatar – Aspirations and Realities

Perspectives Mena #4, November 2012

An analysis of Qatar’s role in the region. This small Arab state’s political influence continues to increase throughout the Arab region, but its policies and use of soft power – for example, through the TV broadcaster Al Jazeera – remain controversial. Ed. by the Heinrich Böll Foundation, Tunis, Beirut, Ramallah 2012, 48 pages

In the countries where we work, we're not always welcome.

In the countries where we want to work, we're not always safe.

by Barbara Unmüßig

The Heinrich Böll Foundation's political autonomy includes the freedom to decide which countries we want to set up offices in. In making these decisions, we are guided by political criteria. A central criterion is whether we can find partners who share our political values and objectives – democracy, human rights, environmentally sound and socially equitable development, gender justice, and peaceful conflict resolution – and who want to take action to achieve these goals. At the same time, the overall political environment is a crucial factor that influences whether we can work together with our partners as an independent political actor to achieve political change. This always includes an assessment of whether the safety of our partner organizations and staff is assured and whether the political leeway even exists for engaging in effective action.

Around the world, we are currently experiencing an outright wave of legal, administrative, and tax-related measures that severely restrict civil society's freedom of action – this includes our partners as well as our own foundation. In some countries, this includes out-and-out defamations and smear campaigns against any form of opposition. Non-governmental organizations and critical thinkers who cooperate with organizations or foundations from abroad are sometimes maligned as the “long arm” of outside countries, as is the case with Russia's legislation on “foreign agents”. In Turkey and elsewhere, it is even suggested that NGOs are in cahoots with terrorist groups. A generalized suspicion is being deployed to justify any and all repressive measures. We view these developments with great concern and are undertaking increasing efforts to draw political attention to this problem.

Identifying available scope for political action in difficult environments is one of the core tasks of a political foundation. This requires carefully honed instincts and a powerful sense of responsibility, particularly with respect to our partners, because we do not want to jeopardize their safety. Sometimes this means remaining in a country despite all the obstacles and – as in Russia – providing support to civil society actors as long as this is possible. Nevertheless, sometimes this also means that we have to draw the necessary conclusions and pull out of a country – when our scope for action vanishes, as was the case in Ethiopia in late 2012.

Cause for hope: our work in Myanmar expands

In Myanmar, the reforms being implemented by Thein Sein's government are continuing, and this gives cause for hope. The country still faces significant challenges, foremost among them the need to democratize the country, to achieve reconciliation between minority groups, and to shape development in a socially equitable and environmentally sound manner. These efforts require qualified and well-educated minds. Since 2004, our Bangkok office has been awarding scholarships that enable students to attend master's programs at Thai universities. By now, over 30 scholarship recipients from Myanmar have succeeded in completing their master's degrees in Thailand, and about 80 percent of them have returned to their home country, where they are now actively involved in Myanmar's democratic transition and reconstruction. The first alumni meeting, which took place in July 2012, served as the launching pad for our new Heinrich Böll Alumni Association Myanmar. One of the goals of this network will be to make the knowledge and experience of the program alumni available to the public.



Nwet Kay Khine has been working for the Foundation since 2012 at our project office in Yangon, where she is responsible for project management and political analysis. She is also responsible for coordinating our scholarship alumni program. [photo: hbs](#)

→ www.mx.boell.org

Rule of law in Mexico? An international conference in Berlin

Mexico's "war on organized crime", which was launched by ex-President Felipe Calderón in 2006, has claimed over 60,000 lives to date. Torture and illegal arrests have increased substantially in recent years. Civil society activists who try to join forces against violence and insecurity face considerable danger. One of the Foundation's key priorities in Mexico is to strengthen civil society networks. To this end, we organized an international conference together with Deutsche Menschenrechtskoordination Mexiko ("German human rights coordination in Mexico"). The conference took place in Berlin from November 30 to December 2, 2012, at the same time that Mexico's newly elected President, Enrique Peña Nieto, took office. Peña Nieto is a member of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), which is now back in power for the first time in 12 years. Given the conference's timing, one of the central questions we examined was what direction the country will take under the new president. One of the most renowned participants at the conference was José Raúl Vera, liberation theologian and the bishop of Saltillo. He discussed the "silent understanding" between the government and organized crime, which explains the high level of impunity in Mexico. With regard to the issue of law and impunity, there was widespread agreement among participants that, in Mexico, the rule of law currently exists at best only in formal terms. For this reason, participants expressed near-unanimous opposition to the planned security agreement between Germany and Mexico that would provide for German assistance in equipping and training Mexican law enforcement officers.

Nevertheless, there are success stories in Mexico's legal system as well, as the conference pointed out. These include the reform of Mexico's criminal law, which was initiated in 2008, and the arduous reform of military law. However, even in these cases, the reforms still have to be put into legal practice, yet a Mexican human rights activist emphasized that these reforms represent major steps forward, arguing that "Just ten years ago, military jurisdiction was untouchable". In his view, the current progress in Mexico is attributable to the pressure being exerted by civil society organizations.

The 10th anniversary of the International Criminal Court: two panel discussions

Wartime rape, forced sterilization, sexual slavery, and forced prostitution are crimes against humanity that are rarely tried before the International Criminal Court – and that, more rarely still, result in convictions. Liberian ex-president Taylor's conviction before the UN Special Court for Liberia in May 2012 marked the first time in the history of international justice that a former head of state was held accountable for the gender-based crimes committed by troops loyal to him. Does this represent a milestone in the fight against sexualized violence? This was the question that participants discussed at a panel hosted by the Foundation's Gunda Werner Institute in July 2012. Among other things, the debate drew connections between wartime/military violence and domestic violence and emphasized that gender-based violence must be addressed in any efforts to achieve long-term, post-conflict reconciliation between the parties to a conflict. All discussants agreed that the judgment against Taylor actually does represent a milestone, because this is the first time that a former head of state was sentenced to 50 years in prison for wartime sexual violence.

Wartime sexual violence as a major challenge for the International Criminal Court had already been the focal point of an earlier panel discussion organized by the Gunda Werner Institute in April 2012 entitled

GUNDA WERNER INSTITUTE

Feminism and Gender Democracy

Gender policy, together with feminist analyses and strategies, are firmly embedded in the overall activities and internal structure of the Heinrich Böll Foundation. In this connection, the Foundation's Gunda Werner Institute (GWI) plays a special role: The GWI pools gender policy themes and fosters the discourse relating to feminism and gender democracy. The Institute conducts public outreach to counteract blindness to gender issues in international peace and security policy, identifies emancipatory gender policy strategies in other countries, and assesses the transferability of these strategies to policy-making processes in Germany, and the European Union. www.gwi-boell.de

“Blind in One Eye?”. Prominent guests at the event included Monika Hauser, winner of the Alternative Nobel Prize and founder of the women’s rights organization *medica mondiale*; Wolfgang Kaleck, General Secretary of the European Center for Constitutional and Human Rights; and lawyer Silke Studzinsky. All three argued that there is a significant gap between political demands, legal norms, and social reality when it comes to dealing with sexual war crimes. However, their analyses of the causes, and the conclusions they drew, were very different and sometimes controversial. For example, Kaleck emphasized the role that civil society can play in supporting victims and removing taboos against sexual war crimes, thereby ensuring that these crimes are increasingly brought before courts. In contrast, Monika Hauser argued that it is the responsibility and task of judicial systems and governments to put the conditions in place that will enable victim-witnesses of sexual violence to testify before international courts.

Women parliamentarians and their political strategies for the security transition: a study on Afghanistan

International troops will withdraw from Afghanistan by 2014. Concerns are high that the withdrawal will occur too quickly and without taking sufficient account of political necessities. An unpredictable security vacuum could jeopardize the tremendous progress that has been made in the area of women’s rights. Against this background, the Foundation commissioned Andrea Fleschenberg to produce a study on women’s political participation in Afghanistan with a particular focus on women’s interests and strategies in connection with the security transition. Interviews with women parliamentarians and activists highlighted the fact that Afghan women’s viewpoints are rarely heard or taken into consideration in relevant policy discussions, even though the transition is likely to have significant consequences particularly for women. The study documents Afghan women’s demands for greater participation in defining and implementing political reforms, preparing and carrying out pending elections, and conducting peace negotiations with the armed opposition. It also outlines conditions for the more sustained and effective engagement of international actors through 2014 and beyond. In 2012, an Afghan delegation came to Berlin to present the study at a series of dialogue events. In addition, there are plans to present the study to the Afghan parliament in 2013.

South Africa: United they are strong – women challenge traditional justice

In South Africa, the Foundation provides support to the Alliance for Rural Democracy, a coalition of over 30 women’s rights and human rights organizations, including the Rural Women’s Movement, a network that by itself boasts over 50,000 members. In 2012, the Alliance launched a highly effective campaign against the Traditional Courts Bill. The draft legislation transfers significant judicial authority to traditional – and mostly male – leaders, thereby strengthening customary law. As a result, it violates the constitutionally enshrined rights of rural women in particular and exacerbates their social marginalization. The activists began a campaign in parliament and in the media to prevent the bill from becoming law. Training workshops were organized for women farmers to prepare them for their appearance at public hearings, so that they could confidently demand the protection of their rights. The campaign succeeded in pressuring political leaders, including South Africa’s President, to acknowledge the bill’s weaknesses and to admit that the legislation in its current form would be unlikely to hold up against a constitutional challenge. While it remains unclear what form the legisla-

Afghanistan’s Transition in the Making Perceptions and Policy Strategies of Women Parliamentarians

A study by Andrea Fleschenberg. Ed. by the
Heinrich Böll Foundation, Berlin 2012, 48 pages



Golalei Nur Safi is a fervent women rights activist who has been a member of the Afghan Parliament since 2005. She represents the Balkh province in the north of Afghanistan in the Wolesi Jirga and is a member of High Peace Council. [photo: hbs](#)

→ www.za.boell.org

tion will ultimately take, the campaign has already achieved crucial successes by raising public awareness of the undemocratic draft legislation and by helping women take the offensive in this important matter. Women are now starting to challenge the increasingly authoritarian tendencies in South African politics.

Palestine: Women's rights under Hamas rule – the work of the CWLRC in Gaza

Ever since Hamas took power in the Gaza Strip, pressure on women has increased dramatically, particularly due to conservative interpretations of family law. Our partner organization, the Center for Women's Legal Research and Consulting (CWLRC), is attempting to counteract this development by providing legal assistance to women and conducting public outreach. The construction of a women's shelter, for example, is currently encountering heavy resistance from the Hamas government. While the CWLRC is able to continue its work, this requires great courage and fortitude. During the bombardment of the Gaza Strip in late 2012, the organization carried out its work under life-threatening conditions. In 2012, the CWLRC initiated a public debate on the difficulties faced by young women who break up with their fiancés after becoming engaged. Such women are then regarded by law as divorced, and they are consequently vulnerable to social and legal disadvantages and discrimination. CWLRC is attempting to achieve changes in the relevant legislation and to stimulate public discourse on this issue.

Georgia: A diversity of viewpoints on gender – international conference

Georgia's national identity has been very much shaped by two historical figures, both of them women. Saint Nino brought Christianity to Georgia in the fourth century, and the country achieved the zenith of its power and cultural expression during the Middle Ages under Queen Tamar. Today, Georgian women have little say in politics and society, and progress in this area has been stagnant for years. There is not a single woman in a number of regional legislatures, and women in the upper echelons of business and public administration are the exception. The Orthodox Church has a powerful influence on society, generally to the disadvantage of women and minorities. Similar tendencies are at work in Poland, Russia, and Ukraine.

In November 2012, our South Caucasus regional office in Tbilisi joined forces with our offices in Kiev, Moscow and Warsaw to organize an international conference attended by representatives from all four countries. Conference workshops focused on possibilities for enhancing women's participation in the political sphere; gender roles and religion; and LGBTI (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and intersex) rights.

LGBTI: A taboo topic in the Middle East

Advocating the rights of sexual minorities is not an easy task in the Middle East, where there is a strong stigma against LGBTI issues and the discussion of sexuality in general. Non-governmental organizations and interest groups rarely address LGBTI issues in public. Nevertheless, some organizations are taking cautious steps in this direction. They are trying to establish protected spaces and identify appropriate avenues for public outreach and discussion. One organization that is working successfully in this area is alQaws, one of our partner organizations in Palestine. alQaws provides the LGBTI community with a forum for political debate, self-organization, and support in dealing with everyday problems. It also promotes and initiates cultural projects.

→ www.ps.boell.org



Ukraine's Feminist Offensive launched a public outreach campaign in March 2012 with the demand "Reclaim the political meaning of International Women's Day!" photo: Feminist Offensive

Manifold Angles of Gender

Conference Report, publ. by Heinrich Boell Foundation South Caucasus Regional Office, 2013, 84 pages

→ www.ge.boell.org

For a United and Democratic Europe

The crisis in Europe is far more than just an economic crisis. The European project as a whole is at stake when mutual recriminations put a strain on relations between EU member states, when populist movements gain increasing support, and when European solidarity is called into question. There no longer appears to be a common, guiding vision. Yet the added value of European cooperation is obvious when we look at crucial areas such as energy policy, enhanced economic and fiscal policy coordination, and a coordinated European foreign policy. Nevertheless, public trust in the European project is fading and for many, the benefits of a deeper European Union are imperceptible. The Heinrich Böll Foundation's events and studies on key European issues aim to foster debate on the future of Europe, to inform citizens, and to encourage people to participate actively in efforts to shape the European Union.

Europe's Common Future: conference in Berlin

At our international conference on "Europe's Common Future", which was held in Berlin on September 25–26, 2012, many speakers gave voice to concerns over the disastrous effects that would accompany a potential break-up of the eurozone and the EU. Fundamental doubts about the eurozone's ability to survive in its current form were expressed not only by John Kornblum, former U.S. Ambassador to Germany, but also by Roger Bootle, renowned economist from the London-based research consultancy Capital Economics. However, Bootle's sobering analysis met with vigorous resistance. Most conference participants remained convinced that the economies of Greece, Spain, and other countries affected by the crisis could recover without exiting from the eurozone.

At the same time, however, few participants expected a "big leap" toward a European federal state. This general skepticism was shared by experienced experts and politicians such as Gesine Schwan and Michael Schreyer, who nevertheless expressed their conviction that much could still be accomplished within existing European structures by strengthening the roles of the European Parliament and the European Commission.



Gesine Schwan, President of the Humboldt-Viadrina School of Governance, Berlin, expressed confidence that much can still be accomplished within existing European structures. [photo: Stephan Röhl](#)

Hellas in Crisis: international conference in Berlin

A tone of critical solidarity with the people of Greece guided our January 2012 conference, "Hellas in crisis: How can Greece re-invent itself in Europe?". Our most prominent guest, former Prime Minister Costas Simitis, expressed little affection for the current austerity policies being pursued by the Troika and the Greek government. He called for EU-coordinated policies of consolidation on the part of deficit countries, accompanied by policies to stimulate demand in donor countries. Daniel Cohn-Bendit, co-chair of the Group of the Greens in the European Parliament, criticized the insufficient democratic legitimacy of European austerity policies. Both speakers agreed that a Greek exit from the Eurozone – apart from its incalculable political impact on Europe – would only



Former Prime Minister Costas Simitis, the most renowned participant at our conference "Hellas in Crisis" [photo: Stephan Röhl](#)



Athens-based writer Maria Topali
photo: Stephan Röhl

→ www.gr.boell.org

European Union for Renewable Energy – Policy Options for Better Grids and Support Schemes
Commissioned and published by the Heinrich Böll Foundation, European Union
Authors: Sascha Müller-Kraenner, Susanne Langsdorf. Brussels, 2012, 28 pages (also available in German and French)
→ www.boell.eu

Greencampus

Practicing successful politics

GreenCampus – the political training academy of the Heinrich Böll Foundation and its affiliated foundations at the federal state level – pools our diverse spectrum of advanced training programs in the field of political management. GreenCampus offers skills development, capacity-building, and management consulting for people active in politics – whether they work as volunteers, in political parties, or in organizations. In this way, we make a key contribution toward building and upgrading the skills that people need to engage in successful political work and effective social participation.
www.greencampus.de

exacerbate the unfair distribution of burdens in Greece: In their view, the main beneficiaries of such a development would be Greek holders of foreign euro accounts, while the vast majority of people would be hit by the collapse of social security systems and a drachma without purchasing power. Additional speeches by numerous Greek guests provided insights into the reform backlog in government institutions and labor unions and showed how difficult it will be for the Greek economy to regain competitiveness. However, participants also made clear that the Greek economy requires prospects for growth. Promising areas in this respect include sustainable agriculture, tourism, and renewable energy, as pointed out in particular by Nikos Chrysogelos, a Greek Member of the European Parliament for the Greens.

New Foundation office in Thessaloniki

With the opening of our new Thessaloniki office in June 2012, the Foundation now has a presence in Greece. Our work with local partner organizations aims to strengthen Greek civil society actors who can play a proactive role in re-shaping Greek politics, implementing structural reforms, and carrying out projects to promote public welfare.

The Foundation has already launched several joint projects with the city of Thessaloniki. A particular highlight is the “Network of Greek Green Cities”, which was established in December 2012. Encompassing ten Greek cities from various regions, this new network exudes a joint determination to identify solutions to common problems and to launch cooperative projects that will open up sustainable green perspectives for urban spaces.

Laying the groundwork for a common energy policy

It is crucial that the European Union conceives the climate and energy policy challenges of our time as key opportunities. We can create a sustainable, strong, competitive Europe – a Europe that derives all of its energy from renewable sources by the year 2050 – but to achieve this goal, joint efforts are indispensable. Europe possesses decisive advantages due to its size, climatic conditions, and geological characteristics. We have to harness this potential, both jointly and cost-effectively, in order to ensure that European innovations can compete successfully on global markets.

Currently, however, there is not a strong sense of a joint European *Energiewende*, or energy system transformation. There is no consensus among member states regarding the shape and thrust of EU renewable energy policy after 2020. Our project, “Energiewende – Think European!” aims to enhance European awareness of the challenges and opportunities inherent in Germany’s *Energiewende* and to develop instruments for intensifying cooperation towards an EU-wide energy transformation. To this end, in the coming years we will be offering seminars, hosting conferences, and distributing publications in a number of EU member states. These efforts will be backed up by exchanges of expertise among key stakeholders. The main organizers of the project include the Foundation headquarters in Berlin, together with our offices in Brussels, Prague, and Warsaw.

Enlargement of the European Union

Within the European Union, the willingness to accept new members has diminished significantly. Potential candidate countries are increasingly gaining the impression that the EU has lost interest in letting them join. The widening and deepening of European integration has to go hand in hand – even if there are often tensions between these two processes.

To abandon the objectives of strengthening the federal elements of European cooperation while simultaneously integrating additional countries into the EU would mean that the Union would no longer be able to fulfill the expectations upon which it is built. The EU must improve and advance its structures and decision-making processes in order to cope successfully with a growing number of heterogeneous member states. One of the key goals of the Foundation's European policy is to provide an EU-wide space for open debate on the widening and deepening of the European Union.

For example, a high-level panel discussion in October 2012 focused on the regional implications of Croatia's accession to the EU. At this event, former Croatian President Stjepan Mesić expressed his vehement opposition to a "new Iron Curtain cutting straight across the Balkans". In his view, that is precisely what the EU's future external border in Croatia – which stretches over 1000 kilometers along the borders of Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Montenegro – threatens to become, if the EU fails to press firmly forward with its efforts to integrate Croatia's neighbors.

Acquittal of Croatian generals: series of interviews on International Criminal Tribunal rulings

When the UN war crimes tribunal in The Hague acquitted two Croatian generals on November 16, 2012, reactions in Serbia demonstrated how distant the country remains from Europe. The appeals court found that the evidence did not prove that the two accused generals had conspired to plan the expulsion of roughly 200,000 Serbs at the end of the civil war in Croatia (1991–1995). Serbia's president, who denies the genocide in Srebrenica and entertains dreams of a "greater Serbia", continues to maintain the Croatian generals' guilt. Many Serbians regard Serbian defendants in The Hague as heroes and deny any responsibility for war crimes. Our Belgrade office asked prominent Serbian personalities, such as human rights activist Sonja Biserko, about their perspectives on the tribunal's rulings and published the interview series on its website. Working together with partners from Serbian civil society, our Belgrade office strives to achieve greater acceptance of responsibility in Serbia.

The future of democracy in Europe

The future of democracy in Europe depends on increased citizen participation at various levels of the EU, yet it is also closely linked to the development of vibrant democracies in the member states themselves. Anti-democratic developments in individual EU member states damage the credibility of the European Union as a whole. Within the EU and its neighboring countries, the Foundation supports civil society organizations that take action to foster democracy and social participation.

In **Hungary**, the right-wing populist government under Prime Minister Viktor Orbán has used its two-thirds majority in parliament to push the country in an authoritarian direction. The separation of powers has been diluted, and television and radio placed under state control. The new constitution, which took effect in 2012, undermines the protection of fundamental rights, weakens the constitutional court, and violates the principle of religious and ideological neutrality. This turn of events has led us to intensify our activities in Hungary. Together with our Hungarian partners, we are studying the conditions for democratic renewal in Hungary, the challenges facing the democratic opposition, and the threat emanating from the extreme right-wing Jobbik party. We are organizing events in Budapest, Berlin, and other European capitals to call attention to the alarming developments in Hungary.



Former Croatian President Stjepan Mesić expressed his vehement opposition to a "new Iron Curtain cutting straight across the Balkans". [photo: Stephan Röhl](#)

Interviews in English and Serbian
→ rs.boell.org/web/40-582.html

The Future of European Democracy

By Claudio Franzius and Ulrich K. Preuß

Commissioned and edited by the Heinrich Böll Foundation 2012. Berlin, November 2012, 76 pages

Our English-language online feature "Focus on Hungary" provides up-to-date news and in-depth analyses on developments in Hungary
→ www.boell.de/focus-on-hungary

→ www.ge.boell.org



Proclamation of Belarusian sovereignty.
Vera Tserlyukevich, 1996. [photo: vytoki.net](http://photo.vytoki.net)

In **Georgia**, our office in Tbilisi hosts a popular series of public debates that contribute to the democratization of the country's political culture. The debate series has become the signature feature of our work in Georgia – for example, the general director of Georgia's National Parliamentary Library, Giorgi Kekelidze, has praised it as "the most relevant forum for discussions on democracy and civil society in Georgia". Twenty-eight such events took place in 2012 alone – and not just in the capital of Tbilisi but also in smaller cities such as Batumi, Gurjaani, and Poti. In 2012, we "exported" this successful concept to Armenia, where we hosted five events in the capital Yerevan. In late 2012, we published an edited volume on the debates entitled *Intervention Wanted*.

Someday the Lukashenko dictatorship in **Belarus** will come to an end. To help establish favorable conditions for a future Belarusian democracy, our office in Kiev supports the online archive www.vytoki.net, which compiles and arranges material documenting the 17 years of Lukashenko's despotic rule. The archive is updated and expanded on a continuous basis and now encompasses several thousand digitized documents from the private archives of opposition leaders and civil society activists. This project is closely linked to the development of a lustration strategy to be implemented once the dictatorship finally ends and the country will be forced to confront its authoritarian past. In this connection, an interdisciplinary working group from Belarus traveled to Warsaw and Berlin to gather information and expertise on how other countries have dealt with their authoritarian past.

In addition, the fourth summer school for democracy was held in 2012. The Foundation invited 12 young Belarusians who are actively involved in various organizations and initiatives to present their projects in Berlin. The program included workshops, lectures, and meetings with political decision-makers. Our aim was to provide young activists with key insights into the workings of a democratic society.

European neighborhood and migration policy

For years now, there has been a general tendency among EU member states to view the EU's neighbors solely as a problem. Many Europeans believe that the EU's relations with these neighboring countries should be restricted to trade and efforts to curb migration. However, recent events in North Africa have demonstrated that the EU needs to develop a new neighborhood policy. This is particularly true with respect to the Mediterranean region, but it is also crucial for the EU's relations with Eastern European countries, which have been left dangling in a state of limbo between neighborhood and accession.

The Foundation organizes conferences and produces studies that aim to contribute to responsible EU neighborhood and migration policies. For example, in May 2012 we invited activists and artists from northern and sub-Saharan Africa to attend our conference on "Interspaces/ Dreams – Transcontinental Migration Following the Upheavals in North Africa", where they presented their views on migratory trends in the aftermath of political revolutions in their countries. The first part of the conference looked at relations between North Africa and Europe, with a particular focus on cooperative measures that have been taken to control migration. The second part of the conference then examined whether these relations have gathered any new momentum, spotlighting the role of Brussels in particular. German MEP Ska Keller presented findings from the study "Borderline: The EU's New Border Surveillance Initiatives", which was commissioned by the Foundation for the purpose of analyzing the control and surveillance mechanisms announced by the EU in the wake of the "Arab Spring". The study concludes that these new measures will achieve no recognizable benefits while costing billions of euros.



Fabien Didier Yene, writer from Cameroon and spokesperson for various organizations that seek to safeguard the rights of (transit) migrants in Morocco, most of whom come from sub-Saharan Africa. [photo: hbs](http://photo:hbs)

Borderline. The EU's New Border Surveillance Initiatives Assessing the Costs and Fundamental Rights Implications of EUROSUR and the «Smart Borders» Proposals. A study by Ben Hayes and Mathias Vermeulen. Ed. by the Heinrich Böll Foundation 2012, 82 pages
→ www.boell.de/en

Towards a Values-Based European Foreign Policy

To date, the Western community has not been especially convincing in its efforts to tackle global challenges. Europe in particular has been hesitant to assume a greater share of responsibility, and this hesitancy demonstrates a lack of political will to advance united European foreign policies that supersede national priorities. Overall, the European Union has lost much of its former magnetism as a political and economic trail-blazer that could serve as a role model for other parts of the world. In our activities, the Foundation aims to contribute to a sustainable German and European foreign policy that is based on the values of democracy and human rights and that confidently presents the EU as an innovative force that can pave the way toward a modern “global domestic policy”.

Democracy and security in the Middle East: 13th Annual Foreign Policy Conference in Berlin

Recent developments in Syria and Egypt highlight how uncertain the Middle East’s future remains in the second year since the outbreak of regional upheavals. While some countries succeeded in toppling old structures of authority, the consequent transformation processes are advancing slowly and in often contradictory ways. At our 13th Annual Foreign Policy Conference in November 2012, international experts examined a variety of foreign policy questions affecting the region, including how best to support democratization processes in the Middle East, and whether active European involvement is even desired or advisable. Arab conference participants answered the latter question with a clear “yes”, emphasizing that Europe and the Middle East share many interests and policy priorities where joint action can be taken. At the same time, civil society representatives from the region pointed out certain “red lines” that should not be crossed. A number of panels also explored the future of political Islam, which has become a dominant force in the region and which will be a crucial factor in influencing European policies toward the Middle East. The conference’s nearly 300 participants included members of diplomatic missions from 26 countries, and the panels included speakers from Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Israel, Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, and Turkey. The active participation by representatives from the entire Middle East reflected the trust that our international offices in the region have built and nurtured. We aim to continue building these political bridges and stimulating “big ideas” to address the policy challenges that emanate from the Middle East.

A two-state solution for Israel and Palestine: recommendations for action

There will be no peace and security in the Middle East if the Palestinian question remains unresolved. Again and again, however, events have shown how difficult it is to achieve a two-state solution. International security guarantees for both sides could help pave the way toward an accord. Already in 2011, policy recommendations for an international



Dr. Abdul Mawgoud R. Dardery, Member of Parliament, Freedom and Justice Party (FJP), Cairo, and Dr. Radwan Masmoudi, President of the Center of the Study of Islam & Democracy (CSID), Washington DC [photo: Stephan Röhl](#)



Heba Morayef, Human Rights Watch, Kairo [photo: Stephan Röhl](#)

presence were drawn up by an expert commission convened by the Heinrich Böll Foundation and comprised of Israeli and Palestinian security experts as well as representatives from the EU and NATO. The recommendations encompass proposals addressing the international agreement that would underpin such a mission, the positioning and payment of troops, and detailed rules for deployment and coordination. In March 2012, the recommendations were presented and discussed at Germany's Federal Chancellery and in Brussels (with both NATO and the EU). International experts have argued that the proposed solutions could definitely be put into practice. At presentations to the Middle East departments of the Pentagon and the White House in Washington D.C., U.S. experts likewise viewed the proposals as politically viable, especially with a view toward new Middle East peace initiatives expected in 2013. The Foundation was also invited to give a presentation in November 2012 at the Halifax International Security Forum, the North American security conference held each year in Canada.

Iran's nuclear program: expert talks in Berlin

The long-simmering conflict over Iran's nuclear program escalated further in 2012: the UN Security Council adopted several resolutions calling on Iran to suspend its nuclear enrichment program, and the UN's International Atomic Energy Agency accused Iran numerous times of failing to cooperate with efforts to inspect clandestine aspects of its nuclear program. Iran rejects the charges and asserts its right to use nuclear power. Israel views the prospect of Iran gaining nuclear weapons as an existential threat and considered military intervention in 2012, a step that the United States has also refused to rule out. In July, the EU, in an effort to prevent Iran from developing a military nuclear program, tightened its sanctions by halting oil imports from Iran and restricting financial transactions with Iranian banks. These rising tensions induced the Foundation to organize two off-the-record high-level meetings – "Can Sanctions Stop Iran's Nuclear Program?" and "Red Lines on Iran's Nuclear Program?" – in cooperation with the Berlin office of the American Jewish Committee. The meetings brought together experts from academia, the German Foreign Office, the German Bundestag, and the Iran policy departments of foreign ministries in the United States, France, the United Kingdom, the European Union, and other EU member states. The chief objectives of the talks were (i) to deliver an assessment of official negotiations, (ii) to identify potential ways out of the current dead-end in negotiations over Iran's nuclear program, and (iii) to seek a solution that will put an end to Iran's isolation and, at the same time, makes sure that Iran will not join the club of nuclear powers.

South Caucasus: a culture of remembrance

Since 2007, our offices in Tbilisi and Istanbul have been organizing activities to foster dialogue and exchanges between Armenia and Turkey. As part of this effort, the "Ani Dialogue" series was launched in 2009, with the aim of (i) disseminating information on political reform processes to the Armenian and Turkish people and (ii) facilitating discussions between both sides about how these two neighbors can place their relations on a more positive and constructive footing. Within the framework of the Ani Dialogue, a former fellow of our South Caucasus office's scholarship program edited a collection of essays. In these essays, experts from Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Turkey analyze history books to uncover how memory and history are represented in each of the four countries. The study provides keen insights into national cultures of remembrance and the varying, divergent lessons that have been drawn from the history of the 20th century.

Art and Culture as Catalyst for Social Change

We live in a time of transition, in a period where policies and paradigms hover in a state between “no longer” and “not yet”. A return to unfettered resource consumption and the putative certainties of past decades is highly improbable. But how do we move forward – and in which direction? Can art offer solutions to these urgent questions? In some ways, artists are better prepared than anyone for grappling with open-ended situations as they specialize in transitions, ambiguities, and experimentation. Furthermore, digital culture opens up completely new forms of interaction that will revolutionize social participation. The Heinrich Böll Foundation promotes art and culture as vehicles for expressing how society reflects upon and understands itself. In addition, we examine the connections between art and activism in social and political movements, both in Germany and around the globe. To this end, we participate in and sponsor exhibits and theater projects, and we develop, and host film festivals, workshops, conferences, and panel discussions on pressing cultural issues.

SurVivArt: Arts for the right to a good life

For many years now, the Foundation has been focusing on the issue of climate change and the question of how to deal effectively with this challenge at the political, economic and social level. To shed light on the cultural dimensions of climate change as well, we developed the project SurVivArt. In this project, we invited artists from Cambodia, the Czech Republic, Ethiopia, Myanmar, Nigeria, and Thailand to explore the meaning of the “good life” in their own surroundings in times of climate change. The outcome was a kaleidoscope of highly diverse approaches to questions of climate change, sustainability, nutrition, and gender relations. In Ethiopia, for example, canisters made of plastic can be found in every rural household – and thus they litter the countryside as well. Ethiopian artist Kebreab Demeke designed a sculpture – five meters high and two meters wide – constructed of hundreds of plastic canisters and clay pots. Attached to the sculpture are hoses that irrigate edible plants growing in containers in the lower part of the sculpture. This work of art was realized as a joint project with residents of the village of Harla and stands in a schoolyard. The school’s environmental club takes care of the plants and harvests them. In this way, the canisters remain a visible part of daily life, and as an artwork, they can be looked at and used for practical purposes.

In Thailand, the artist Nino Sarabutra chose to focus on an aspect of daily life that is omnipresent especially in the megacity of Bangkok with its countless shopping centers: consumption. For most Thais, consumption is practically synonymous with the notion of a “good life”. In February 2012, the works produced by Ms. Sarabutra and other artists as part of the SurVivArt project were exhibited in the Mikael Andersen and Meinblau galleries in the Prenzlauer Berg district of Berlin.



Climate +/-, installation: “When the jerry cans are simply thrown away, it is destructive to the environment. But everything destructive can be used for something positive.”
Kebreab Demeke photo: Kebreab Demeke



“I have created 365 bowls to remind us that the food we eat every day of the year indicates how well we are living and how simple pleasures can be enough to make us happy.” Nino Sarabutra photo: Nino Sarabutra

Conceptual Thoughts on Establishing a Fund for Aesthetics and Sustainability
By Adrienne Goehler . Ed. by the Heinrich Böll Foundation. Berlin 2012, 52 pages
→ www.boell.de/en

radius of art: international conference in Berlin

Art, theater – literature: these forms of expression offer a broad spectrum of possibilities for drawing attention to social issues and politicizing the public sphere. On February 8–9, 2012, we hosted a conference called “radius of art” that provided an international forum for examining the social role of artistic and cultural projects and their potential for fostering social change. Over 70 creative professionals and 160 invited guests from around the world convened in Berlin to discuss such topics as new formats for “public art”; the impact of art and culture on processes of social change; cultures of sustainability; and the future of international cultural promotion and funding. Featured speakers included Egyptian arts manager Basma El Hussein, who is regarded as one of the driving forces behind the transformation of Egypt’s cultural sector, and the architect, urbanist, and scholar Alessandro Petti, whose Bethlehem office is designing proposals for converting Israeli settlements and military bases in the West Bank into usable space after the Israeli occupation ends.

Fight the Fatigue! cultural festival

“Fatigue societies” is a term coined by the Karlsruhe-based philosopher Byung-Chul Han to describe Western European civilizations. On June 2–3, 2012, we organized the “Fight the Fatigue!” festival, which was intended as both a cultural wake-up call and a call to action. Intervention, protest, idealism, and hope were the key terms and ideas highlighted by our international guests, who were comprised mainly of writers from the Arab region and Central and Eastern Europe. They described their artistic and intellectual responses to social and political upheavals in their countries, whether in Egypt and Tunisia two years ago or in Eastern Europe following the collapse of socialist regimes in 1989. Readings, panel discussions, films, and music spotlighted the interactions and links between art and politics. Over the course of the two-day event, the vibrant exchange of views swept away any notion of fatigue. Visual highlights were provided by films such as Nicolaus Geyrhalter’s documentary feature *Abendland*, which depicts striking images of Europe’s “fatigued” societies. These murky visions contrasted with video artist Assaf Etiel’s lively images of the uprisings in Arab countries. The festival also provided a forum for the first Berlin showing of the exhibit “Metro”, containing works by Magdy El-Shafee. El-Shafee’s *Metro* – the first Arab graphic novel – was and remains banned in Egypt and was subject to criminal charges in 2008. In El-Shafee’s words: “I was denounced because I thought about images and words... that’s surreal”.



During the festival: Egyptian street artist Abo Ammar Bakr in action [photo: hbs](#)

Pussy Right: text collage on the punk trial in Moscow

In the direct aftermath of the Moscow trial against the three female activists of the group Pussy Riot, the Heinrich Böll Foundation’s *bel étage* event space served as the venue for the performance “Pussy Right”. At the performance, actresses from Berlin’s Maxim Gorki Theater recited the activists’ defense speeches, together with witness testimonies and the judge’s interrogation, all for the first time in German. These spoken texts were interspersed with excerpts from the play *Antigone* by Sophocles and video images from the trial itself. The performance was streamed live online and subject to lively commentary, especially on Russian websites. The performance video can be watched at www.boell.de.



Performance «Pussy Right»
[photo: Kilian-Davy Baujard](#)

Giving a Lift to Young Talent

We provide support to undergraduate, graduate, and doctoral students from both Germany and abroad, in all fields of study. In addition to scholarships, we offer personalized advisory and skills development services, stimulate political discussions, and foster networks and self-organized activities.

Our aim is to discover promising talent and to enhance its potential. In this way, we hope to encourage young people to become globally engaged in the pursuit of the Foundation's objectives: more democracy, solidarity, environmental action, sustainable policies, and human rights.

Who receives support?

In 2012, the Scholarship Program selected 230 new fellows in a three-stage selection process involving approximately 1,900 applicants. Last year, a total of 877 undergraduate and graduate students as well as 181 doctoral candidates received financial support (604 women and 453 men). Out of this pool, 965 scholarships were financed by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research and 93 by the Federal Foreign Office. Of these fellows, 119 came from abroad to pursue a university degree in Germany.

Conceptual support/fostering ideas: advice, training, and networking

The Scholarship Program provides fellows personalized advisory services to help them plan their course of studies and build networks. Seminars, workshops, a summer academy, numerous training programs, study trips, and discussion forums foster the personal and professional development of our fellows. By nurturing conceptual development and cultivating ideas, we aim to spur political debate, impart crucial skills, encourage interdisciplinary dialogue, and promote social and political activism. Most events pursue an integrated approach and we aim to create a joint learning experience by bringing together undergraduate, graduate, and doctoral students of various ages and from various disciplines.

Another special feature of the conceptual support program are its self-organized working groups that fellows set up to examine political and social issues closely related to the Foundation's work. In 2012, these working groups focused on the following topics: education and training; dialogue with Islam; health, ethics, and the pharmaceuticals industry; international cooperation; art and politics; post-colonial migration and anti-racism; political ecology; and economic policy.

Doctoral studies support: research to study and foster the "great transformation" – an interdisciplinary cluster

To give additional momentum to the growing interdisciplinary field of "transformation studies", our doctoral studies support program has added a new research priority in this field. If our societies are to achieve the "great transformation", it is essential for the scientific community to develop the necessary knowledge and to nurture scientists, academics, and experts who will act responsibly in promoting global justice and an environmentally sustainable global economy. The interdisciplinary cluster of transformation studies is now one of the central priorities of our doctoral studies support program.



Dr. Manja Hussner was a Heinrich Böll Foundation fellow from 1999 to 2004. Her interest in Eastern Europe and Central Asia led her to Tashkent, Uzbekistan, as director of the DAAD Information Centre from 2006 to 2009. After that, she served as head of the Central Asia and Caucasus section at the DAAD's central offices in Bonn until the end of 2011. Since January 2012, she has been serving as director of the International Office at Martin Luther University of Halle-Wittenberg, where she spearheads the university's internationalization strategy. [photo: Hussner](#)



Dr. Rajinder Singh completed a teaching degree in India and then studied physics with an emphasis on renewable energy sources at the University of Oldenburg. He was a Foundation fellow from 1998 to 2001. Since 2006, he has been teaching physics and chemistry at an all-day school in Lower Saxony; in addition to teaching, he heads the school's chemistry department as well as several projects including a youth research group, an e-twinning program, and cooperative projects under the EU's Comenius Programme. [photo: Singh](#)

A Refuge for Artists

Artists around the world express positions on political and social issues. However, critical minds are often unwelcome. The association of the Heinrich Böll House Langenbroich provides artists with stipends that enable them to engage in creative work – undisturbed, without financial concerns, and free from persecution and censorship – for a period of several months. In 2012, we received the largest number of requests and calls for help from Syria and neighboring Arab states.

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Guests at the Heinrich Böll Haus Langenbroich in 2012

Rula Asad (born in 1983), journalist and human rights activist from Damascus, Syria. Ms. Asad co-founded an assistance program for refugees affected by drought in Syria. A planned photo report documenting the situation of refugees was prohibited, and Asad had to leave the country in September 2011. She is currently working on a project “Yes to diversity, no to sectarianism”, which focuses on social conditions in Syria.

Amer Matar (born in 1989), journalist from Damascus, Syria, and co-founder of The Street, an organization that advocates free media and development. His documentary film *Azadi* (2011), which depicts the Syrian insurgency in the Kurdish regions of northern Syria, received an award at the Rotterdam Film Festival. Another documentary, *Smuggling 23 Minutes of Revolution*, portrays events in Hama in summer 2011. In the same year, Matar was imprisoned by the Syrian secret police and subjected to torture. A year later, he succeeded in escaping to Jordan.

Hiba Alansari (born in 1983), women’s rights activist and artist from Damascus, Syria. Ms. Alansari belongs to a large group of creative individuals that have been providing artistic documentation of the Syrian revolution since its outset. Due to the turbulent situation in the country, the art academy in Damascus was closed, and she had to suspend her studies there. Her works have been shown on various occasions including a 2010 group exhibition at the Goethe Institute in Damascus.

Julia Jusik (born in 1981), journalist and writer from Moscow, Russia. Her prize-winning report providing the first coverage of female Chechen suicide bombers appeared in 2002. Following the attack on a musical theater in Moscow, she conducted independent research for a book on this topic. She has been working as an independent journalist since 2004, with articles appearing in i.e. the Russian edition of *Newsweek*.

Qassim Haddad (born in 1948), writer from Muharraq, Bahrain. Haddad is one of the most prominent literary figures in the Gulf region and serves as chair of the Bahraini Writers’ Union. His criticisms of the government have led to his arrest on numerous occasions, and he has spent a total of five years in prison. In 2001, he received an Al Owais award, the top prize for Arab literature, for his poetry. His poems have been translated into English, French, and German.

Rosa Yassim Hassan (born in 1974), writer and women’s rights activist from Damascus, Syria. In 1992 and 1993, she received the Syrian literature award for short stories. Since the beginning of the Syrian uprising, she has been publishing print and online reports on everyday life in Syria. Excerpts from her blog, “Diary of the Syrian revolution”, have been published by the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and *Bild-online*.



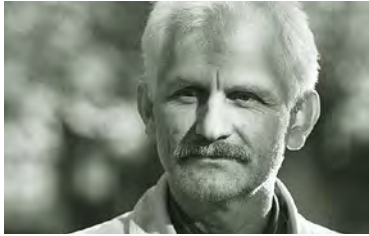
Amer Matar photo: Larissa Bender



Hiba Alansari photo: Larissa Bender

The program at the Heinrich Böll House is supported by the city of Düren and the federal state of North Rhine-Westphalia’s Heinrich Böll Fund for politically persecuted writers.

Award Winners and Guests



Ales Bialiatski, co-founder and chairman of the Belarusian human rights organization Viasna, was awarded the Foundation's Petra Kelly Prize for his tireless efforts in advocating human rights. Mr. Bialiatski is currently a political prisoner in Belarus. The prize is endowed with 10,000 euros and was presented to his wife at a ceremony in Berlin.



Yfaat Weiss, historian, was awarded the Hannah Arendt Prize for Political Thought, which is presented every year by the city of Bremen and the Heinrich Böll Foundation. The prize is endowed with 7,500 euros. Ms. Weiss belongs to a young generation of Israeli historians who study the history of Israel and Palestine precisely and without bias.



Dr. Nivedita Prasad, activist for women's and human rights, engages in courageous and vigilant efforts to raise public awareness of trafficking in women and violence against women. For her commitment to these issues, she was awarded the Foundation's Anne Klein Prize, which was presented for the first time in 2012. The price is endowed with 10,000 euros.



Bence Fliegau, director, was awarded the Peace Film Award at the Berlin Film Festival for his feature *Csak a szél* (Just the Wind). The jury cited the film for undermining the stereotypical images of Roma – which tend to be steeped in myths and resentment – and depicting his figures in all their individuality and fragility. The prize money of 5,000 euros is contributed by the Heinrich Böll Foundation.



Frie Leysen, founder of the *Kunsten-festivaldesarts* in Brussels and *grande dame* of the international theater festival scene. Since autumn 2012, she has been serving as director of the Foreign Affairs Festival, part of the annual *Berliner Festspiele* cultural festival. Ms. Leysen was our guest at "Fight the Fatigue!" and spoke about the role of art in periods of social and political turmoil.



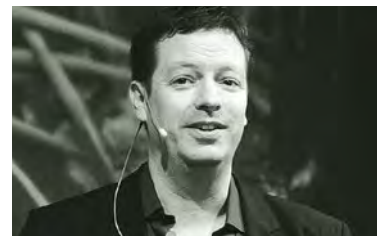
Sondos Shabayek, writer, director, journalist, and founder of the "Tahrir Monologues" performance project. Ms. Shabayek attended the "Fight the Fatigue!" festival, where she discussed the internet's role as a tool for social change and reported on her experience of living under an authoritarian regime.



Monika Hauser, executive member of the managing board of *medica mondiale* and winner of the Alternative Nobel Prize in 2008. Ms. Hauser was a guest at a Foundation event in April 2012, where she outlined her ideas about how the International Criminal Court can effectively counteract sexual violence.



David Solomon, writer, translator, Kabbalah specialist, and known for his innovative teaching style, provided a one-hour tour of the entirety of Jewish history during his August 2012 lecture at the Heinrich Böll Foundation.



Doug Saunders, Canadian journalist and author, was invited by organizations including the Heinrich Böll Foundation to give a series of readings and lectures in Brussels and Germany, where he presented his latest book, *Arrival City*.



As vital as ever: celebrating 25 years of the Heinrich Böll Foundation



“ What the Heinrich Böll Foundation – and everybody here – does, is simply this: you work together with scholars, artists, activists, and civil society actors from around the world to spell out what our possibilities are: in transforming our relationship to the environment, in a digitized world, at a time when all realms of life are subject to forces of commercialization, in a period when wars are legitimized for all too flimsy reasons, in a country that is slow to include those of different faiths and those who love differently. Year after year, the Heinrich Böll Foundation opens up ways to safeguard the imaginary, and at the same time to give it concrete and realizable form, ways to envision new parameters that are not only possible but also necessary. And for this, I say thank you. ”

Carolin Emcke, philosopher, publicist, and reporter

The year 2012 marked the Heinrich Böll Foundation's 25th anniversary. The keynote speech was delivered by philosopher and publicist Carolin Emcke, and congratulatory remarks were provided by Cem Özdemir, co-chair of Alliance 90/The Greens. In November 1987, the original Heinrich Böll Foundation launched its work in a two-room office in Bonn. Two additional green-friendly foundations were founded at the same time: the Frauenanstiftung set new and lasting standards for civic education in the areas of feminism and gender politics, while the Buntstift laid the foundations for the Foundation's current network of regional foundations in each of Germany's 16 federal states. In 1996, the three foundations merged into today's Heinrich Böll Foundation and relocated to Berlin. Our anniversary celebration in December 2012 commemorated historical highlights, projects, conferences, and publications from 1987 to the present day.



The Heinrich Böll Foundation Mission Statement

Who We Are, What We Do The Heinrich Böll Foundation is part of the Green political movement that has developed worldwide as a response to the traditional politics of socialism, liberalism, and conservatism. Our main tenets are ecology and sustainability, democracy and human rights, self-determination and justice. We place particular emphasis on gender democracy, meaning social emancipation and equal rights for women and men. We are also committed to equal rights for cultural and ethnic minorities and to the societal and political participation of immigrants. Finally, we promote non-violence and proactive peace policies.

To achieve our goals, we seek strategic partnerships with others who share our values. We are an independent organisation, that is, we determine our own priorities and policies.

We are based in the Federal Republic of Germany, yet we are an international actor in both ideal and practical terms.

Our namesake, the writer and Nobel Prize laureate Heinrich Böll, personifies the values we stand for: defence of freedom, civic courage, tolerance, open debate, and the valuation of art and culture as independent spheres of thought and action.

We Are a Green Think Tank

- We promote democratic reforms and social innovation.
- We work on ecological policies and sustainable development on a global level.
- We provide space for the presentation of and debate on art and culture.
- We transfer knowledge and skills from experts to political actors.
- We provide a forum for open debate and promote dialogue between politics, business, academia, and society.
- We support talented students active on socio-political issues both in Germany and abroad.
- We document the history of the Green movement in order to promote research and provide political inspiration.

We Are an International Policy Network

- We are part of the global Green network and promote the development of the Green political movement on all continents.
- We focus especially on the broadening and deepening of the European Green movement.

- We work actively for the development of a political European public.

- We support the participation of civil society in politics and, within the framework of multilateral organisations, take part in conferences and negotiations.

We Are Active on Ecology, Democracy, and Human Rights Worldwide

- We consider ecology and democracy to be inseparable. We therefore support individuals and projects that are committed to ecology, human rights, democracy, and self-determination.
- We support respect for the rule of law and democratic participation in all parts of the world.
- We promote the abolition of conditions of dominance, dependency, and violence between the sexes.
- We consider ethnic and cultural diversity to be an essential part of democratic culture.
- We encourage civic and civil-society activism.
- We train activists so that they can successfully self-organise and participate in political processes.

Our culture Commitment, expert and social competence, creativity and flexibility are features of our employees, both in Germany and abroad. They are highly qualified, team-oriented and, with their high level of motivation, they constitute the most important asset of the Foundation.

Equality of opportunity and respectful dealings between women and men of different ages, religions, ethnic origins and sexual orientations are constitutive for the foundation. Intercultural competence and a productive engagement with diversity are part of our corporate culture.

Mutual respect and trusting co-operation among ourselves and with our partners are the bases of our business relationships.

We constantly evaluate and improve our work. We undertake and take seriously both internal and external evaluations. We handle the funds at our disposal economically and efficiently and assure transparent operations.

We work in close co-operation with our co-foundations in all of Germany's 16 states.

We are a reliable partner for volunteer work and for co-operation with third parties.

As a political foundation, we act independently; this also applies in respect to our relationship with the German Green Party. We are autonomous in selecting our executive officers and staffing our committees.

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■ The Heinrich Böll Foundation, affiliated with the Green Party and headquartered in the heart of Berlin, is a legally independent political foundation working in the spirit of intellectual openness. ■ The Foundation's primary objective is to support political education both within Germany and abroad, thus promoting democratic involvement, sociopolitical activism, and cross-cultural understanding. ■ The Foundation also provides support for art and culture, science and research, and developmental cooperation. Its activities are guided by the fundamental political values of ecology, democracy, solidarity, and non-violence. ■ Heinrich Böll's call on citizens to meddle in politics is the example upon which the work of the Foundation is modeled. ■ The Heinrich Böll Foundation strives to stimulate sociopolitical reform by acting as a forum for debate, both on fundamental issues and those of current interest. The Foundation places particular importance on attaining gender democracy – signifying a relationship between the sexes characterized by freedom from dependence and dominance. ■ The Heinrich Böll Foundation's educational activities have a political basis, an ethical outlook, and strive to promote various forms of cultural expression. The Foundation supports art and culture as part of its political education work and as a crucial element of each society's self-image. ■ By way of its international collaboration with a large number of project partners – currently numbering about 160 projects in almost 60 countries – the Foundation aims to strengthen ecological and civil activism on a global level, to intensify the exchange of ideas and experiences, and to keep our sensibilities alert for change. ■ The Heinrich Böll Foundation's collaboration on sociopolitical education programs with its proj-

ect partners abroad is on a long-term basis. Additional important instruments of international cooperation include visitor programs, which enhance the exchange of experiences and of political networking, as well as basic and advanced training programs for committed activists. ■ The Heinrich Böll Foundation's Study Program considers itself a workshop for the future; its activities include providing support to especially talented students and academicians, promoting theoretical work of sociopolitical relevance, and working to overcome the compartmentalization of science into exclusive subjects. ■ The Foundation has about 549 supporting members who provide both financial and non-material assistance. ■ Ralf Fücks and Barbara Unmüßig are the current Presidents. Since April 2013, Livia Cotta is the CEO of the Foundation. ■ The members assembly, comprised of 49 persons, is the Foundation's foremost decision-making organ; its responsibilities include electing the Presidents. Expert advisory boards (7–10 people each) are staffed by independent experts who consult with the Foundation and formulate suggestions regarding conceptual issues raised in the educational programs. ■ The Foundation's by-laws provide for a quota of women and immigrants on all the Foundation's bodies and among its full-time staff. ■ The Foundation currently maintains foreign and project offices in Brussels, in Poland, Czech Republic, Turkey, Greece, Russia, Georgia, Ukraine, Bosnia, Serbia, Croatia, Israel, Lebanon, the Arab Middle East, Tunisia, Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa, Thailand, Cambodia, Pakistan, India, Afghanistan, China, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, El Salvador and in the USA. Another Office is under development in Morocco. In 2012, the Foundation had about 47 million euros public funds at its disposal.