

Annual Report 2015

Who we are
What we want
How we work



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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 partner projects in approximately 60 countries.

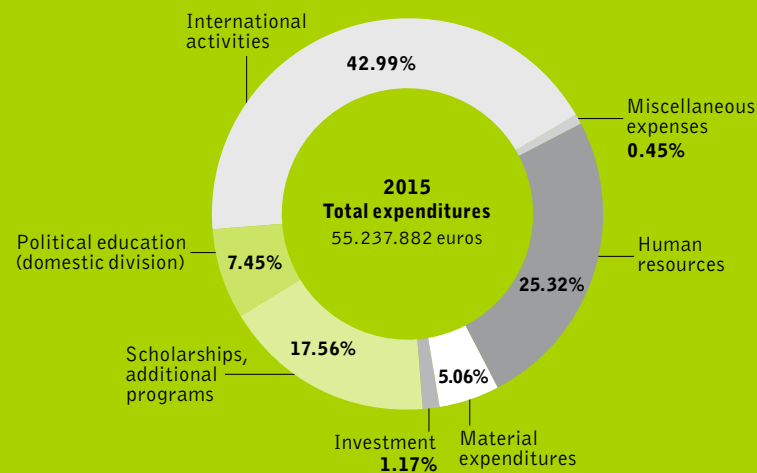
The Heinrich Böll Foundation works independently and nurtures a spirit of intellectual openness. We maintain a worldwide network with currently 31 international offices.

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.

Sources and Allocation of Funding

The Heinrich Böll Foundation e.V. is mainly funded through public grants. In 2015, the Foundation's income increased by 7.2% and reached 57.6 million euros (preliminary figures). Over two thirds of the Foundation's overall worldwide spending is targeted toward our program work and scholarship program, and our international activities continue to account for the largest share of expenditures. While we increased investment in order to modernize our IT equipment, material expenditures remained at last year's level.



Heinrich Böll Foundation Worldwide



Africa

- 1 Cape Town (South Africa)
- 2 Abuja (Nigeria)
- 3 Nairobi (Kenia)
- 4 Dakar (Senegal)*

Asia

- 5 Bangkok (Thailand)
- 6 Kabul (Afghanistan)
- 7 Islamabad (Pakistan)
- 8 New Delhi (India)
- 9 Beijing (China)
- 10 Phnom Penh (Cambodia)
- 11 Yangon (Myanmar)

Europe

- 12 Belgrade (Serbia)
- 13 Berlin (Germany)
- 14 Brussels (Belgium)
- 15 Istanbul (Turkey)
- 16 Kyiv (Ukraine)
- 17 Paris (France)
- 18 Prague (Czech Republic)
- 19 Sarajevo (Bosnia and Herzegovina)
- 20 Tbilisi (Georgia)
- 21 Thessaloniki (Greece)
- 22 Warsaw (Poland)

Latin America

- 23 Bogotá (Colombia)*
- 24 Mexico City (Mexico)
- 25 Rio de Janeiro (Brazil)
- 26 San Salvador (El Salvador)
- 27 Santiago de Chile (Chile)

Middle East and North Africa

- 28 Beirut (Lebanon)
- 29 Ramallah (Palestine)
- 30 Rabat (Morocco)
- 31 Tel Aviv (Israel)
- 32 Tunis (Tunisia)

North America

- 33 Washington (USA)

Russian Federation

- 34 Moscow (Russia)

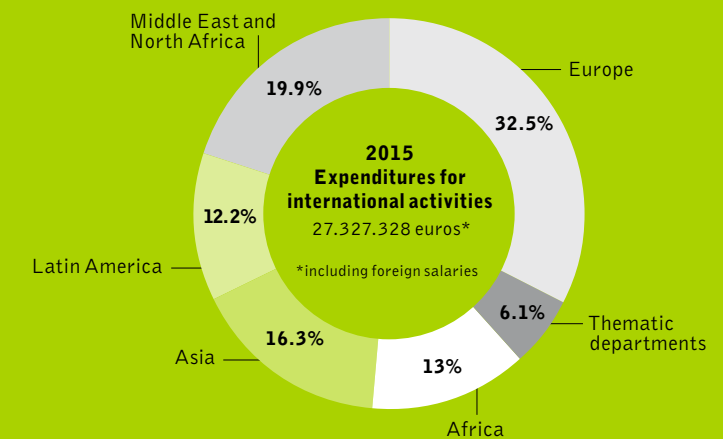
* planned

International Cooperation

In 2015, the Heinrich Böll Foundation received approximately 22 million euros in funding from the Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development, including roughly 900,000 euros for measures to mitigate climate change in developing countries. Approximately 185,000 euros in additional funding from the ministry's Transformation Partnership program was targeted toward projects in Morocco and Tunisia, and roughly 100,000 euros in special funding from the ministry's One World, No Hunger initiative was directed toward projects in Kenya.

Our International Cooperation Division received approximately 4.5 million euros from the Federal Foreign Office. In addition, the Federal Foreign Office provided roughly 360,000 euros in special funding for activities in Tunisia and Morocco.

European Union funding totaling about 950,000 euros was targeted toward projects in the Middle East and North Africa as well as toward multi-regional projects in the Caucasus region and within the framework of the EcoFair Trade dialogue.



Foreword



Ralf Fücks Image: Julia Baier



Barbara Unmüßig Image: Bettina Keller

The year 2015 came to a close with the adoption of the Paris Climate Agreement, which lent crucial momentum to climate policy and global sustainability. The Heinrich Böll Foundation will closely monitor the implementation of both the Paris Agreement as well as the Sustainability Goals contained in the UN's 2030 Agenda. In addition, we will press forward with a wide variety of activities to promote sustainability in key policy areas such as energy, agriculture, mobility and urban development.

The social and environmental transformation of our societies is certain to trigger disagreements over conflicting goals. To resolve these disagreements constructively, it is essential to have democratic processes of deliberation and negotiation, democratically elected parliaments, independent media, and open spaces for civil society engagement. However, these open spaces are being curtailed more and more around the world. As a political foundation with strong ties to civil society actors in our partner countries, we are experiencing first-hand the massive violation of fundamental democratic rights, along with policies that make it nearly impossible to engage in political action. Despite these obstacles, our international offices and our local partners are performing outstanding work under extremely difficult conditions.

Terrorist attacks – whether in Paris, Beirut, Turkey, or Nigeria – are also occurring in cities and countries where our offices carry out their work. Along with the shock and fear such attacks generate, we also face the political challenge of how to deal effectively with terror without sacrificing precisely those things that must be defended: namely freedom and fundamental democratic rights.

In Germany, too, right-wing populists foment people's fears at the expense of those who have fled their homelands hoping to find protection against war and persecution. We oppose populism and are committed to a common European refugee policy and the expansion of legal opportunities for immigration. Only if we forge alliances and work together with other democratic forces will we succeed in proving that democratic systems can take effective political action. Our foundation aims to contribute to a political culture in which values such as human dignity, democracy, equal opportunity, self-determination, and pluralism are practiced actively and vibrantly.

We would like to express our thanks to our partners in Germany and abroad, to the members of our volunteer boards and commissions, and not least to all our dedicated staff. They are the lifeblood of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's successful work.

Berlin, March 2016

Ralf Fücks

Presidents, Heinrich Böll Foundation

Barbara Unmüßig

International Conflicts, Security Policy, and the Future of Europe

The number of wars and the intensity of violent conflicts are on the rise again. Military advances by the terrorist forces of the “Islamic State” in Syria and Iraq have exacerbated the civil war in Syria. Other militant Islamist groups such as Boko Haram in Nigeria are tyrannizing people in several countries. The conflict in Ukraine has placed a severe strain on relations between Russia and Europe in particular. Despite all of this – and precisely for this reason – we are doing our utmost to foster and expand democratic structures and civil societies, to secure the peaceful resolution of conflicts, and to promote policy-making based on human rights. We provide background information and host discussion forums that shed light on conflicts and the forces shaping them, and we work jointly with a broad spectrum of partner organizations to identify ways to settle conflicts.



Frederic C. Hof, Director of the Rafik Hariri Center for the Middle East at the Atlantic Council

Civil war in Syria – efforts to find a political solution to the conflict

Five years since the outbreak of the uprising against the Assad regime, Syria remains wracked by a bloody war that is having a devastating impact on the country’s civilian population. So far, none of the international community’s many declarations of intention to resolve the conflict and to provide better protection for the civilian population have succeeded. On the contrary, the war’s brutality has taken on new dimensions again and again. As a foundation, what action can we take in this situation? We can supply analysis to shed light on the conflict. We provide ongoing information on Syria: on the conditions facing the population and on political and military developments. And we seek to identify paths toward a political solution. For example, in the spring of 2015 we organized the international conference “Syrien in der Sackgasse?” (“Syria at an impasse?”) together with our Syrian-German partner organization Adopt a Revolution. In his keynote speech, Frederic C. Hof,

former US special adviser for transition in Syria, outlined how the United States and Europe can work together to help build a Syrian National Stabilization Force. In the ensuing panel discussion with representatives of Syrian civil society and experts from the region, it quickly became clear that Assad and his regime constitute a fundamental part of the problem and cannot in any way be a key to resolving the conflict. The conference also focused on the situation of refugees in neighboring countries, EU refugee policy, and ways in which Germany can take action. To conclude the event, *Spiegel* reporter Christoph Reuter sat down with Petra Steinen, a Dutch expert on Syria, to present his new book on the Islamic State (titled *Die schwarze Macht*) and to discuss his experiences while conducting research in Syria.

Supporting Syrian refugees in Lebanon

Nearly half of all Syrians have fled their home country. Up to two million refugees are living in Lebanon. Ever since the Lebanese government tightened its



Shahed, 38 years old, from the Homs region. She fled to Lebanon in 2012. The pillow reminds her of the scent of her home in Syria. Image: Marta Bogdańska

entry requirements for Syrian citizens and instructed the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR) to suspend its registration of refugees, these people are dependent on assistance from civil society more than ever. Our office in Beirut cooperates with organizations that facilitate exchanges and communication between receiving communities and refugees, particularly in terms of fostering integration and providing psychosocial support to women. On their own initiative, two of our partner organizations – Women Now and Sawa from Syria – are building camps, community centers, and schools for refugees in coordination with local populations.

What still connects Syrian refugees to their home country? This is the question that photographer Marta Bogdańska explores in her exhibit *Exilium*, which premiered in May 2015 in Beirut with the support of our Beirut office. Many refugees held out in Syria as long as they could and never wanted to leave. Bogdańska's portraits depict them with the objects they took with them to preserve their memories of home. These include a five-pound banknote signed by friends (see cover photo) and a plastic lighter that reminded one woman of the little arguments she used to have with her fiancé. One man reveals scars from an attack, and other photographs show family members who died during the flight from Syria. *Exilium* can be viewed online on our Beirut office's website. ↗

The Foundation also provides support for documentary films from and about Syria, including "Home". The film premiered in October 2015 at the Metro Al Medina theater in Beirut, with the direc-

tor Rafat Alzakout in attendance. It has been shown at over ten international festivals and events to date, winning the Marseille Espérance prize at the Marseille International Film Festival in 2015. The film takes place in Manbij, a city in northern Syria, at the beginning of 2013. After months of fighting, the Free Syrian Army takes control of the city, which lies to the east of Aleppo. Despite ongoing air strikes by the Assad regime and the approaching terrorist forces of the Islamic State, a sense of liberation – captured by Alzakout's camera – spreads throughout the city. The director follows a small group of men – the ballet dancer Ahmed, the deserter Mohamed, and the former art teacher Taj – as they attempt to realize their dreams. They spend a lot of time acting, singing, and drawing at "Home", a cultural center they have set up themselves. Far from the ideological divisions that are tearing their country apart, they attempt to live the dream of free coexistence. But when the Islamic State invades Manbij, the friends have no choice but to shut down the cultural center and flee to Turkey in the hope that, one day, they will be able to return to a free and peaceful Syria. 📺

Fighting hopelessness in Palestine

Even in the 49th year of the Israeli occupation, no political initiative is in sight that might bring a Palestinian state into being. The expansion of Israel's settlement policy and the associated displacement and expropriation of Palestinians in the West Bank add to the sense of helplessness and desperation. This forms the backdrop for the knife attacks committed

by Palestinian youths against Israeli soldiers and civilians, to which Israeli authorities are responding with an iron fist. The Palestinian Authority stands powerless in the face of escalating violence and is losing legitimacy in the eyes of the population. Furthermore, the reconciliation process between Fatah, which dominates the West Bank, and Hamas, which controls the Gaza Strip, is at a standstill.

Our office in Ramallah is carrying out a wide range of projects in an effort to counteract the sense of hopelessness in Palestine. For example, we support Palestinian human rights and prisoner advocacy organizations such as Al-Haq and Addameer. We also collaborate with think tanks and research centers such as the renowned Institute for Palestine Studies and the Al Shabaka policy network. We assist young scholars in conjunction with our partners Masarat and the Palestinian American Research Center (PARC). In East Jerusalem, we support marginalized women, youths, and children who are particularly affected by the escalation of tensions there: this includes initiatives to boost the income of women, to expand playgrounds for children, and to provide art instruction to young people.

Keeping the channels of communication open

In Israel, the governing coalition under Benjamin Netanyahu has agreed on a series of legislative initiatives that will change the country. In December 2015, the cabinet approved a so-called “transparency law” that is now being discussed in the Knesset. The bill would require Israeli non-governmental organizations that receive more than 50% of their funding from foreign governments to note this fact on all documents and at all events. Violations of the law would be subject to heavy fines. The main objective, however, is to stigmatize and vilify left-wing NGOs that are critical of the government and that oppose the occupation and strive to protect human rights. If the Knesset passes the bill, many partners who receive funding from Germany’s political foundations will be directly affected.

In 2015, our office in Tel Aviv launched a series of “Jerusalem Talks” as part of our German-Israeli dialogue program. In June, writers Nir Baram and Lea Fleischmann, Prof. Raphael Greenberg of Tel Aviv University, and Judith Oppenheimer of Ir Amim convened for a panel discussion on the history and future of Jerusalem as a focal point of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In October, as violence escalated anew, we looked at the question of whether the two-state solution and the Oslo Accords can even be considered feasible options anymore. This discussion brought together individuals who would otherwise be highly unlikely to find themselves in the same room, including the settler Eliaz Cohen; Aida Touma-Sliman, Arab-Israeli member of the Knesset; and Ami Ayalon, former head of Israel’s internal security service and “gatekeeper”.

In November, the Haaretz Peace Conference – which also aims to find ways to resolve the Middle East conflict – took place for the second consecutive year. With over 3,000 people in attendance, the conference has definitively established itself as a discussion forum for the center-left, providing an alternative to other, more traditional, security conferences such as the Herzliya Conference (which features the Israeli-US security establishment) and the conference hosted by the Institute for National Security Studies, which is closely aligned with the Israeli government. Supporters of the Haaretz Peace Conference include our office in Tel Aviv.

Prospects for a sustainable refugee and immigration policy

Over 60 million people worldwide have fled their homes. Most seek protection from war and violence, and most seek refuge first in their own country or in neighboring countries. But more and more people are now looking to find safety in the countries of the European Union. The EU is overwhelmed by the rising pressure of migratory flows. Courageous visions and strategies for dealing with refugees and migrants are in short supply. The magnitude of refugee flows to Europe poses significant challenges, both for individual countries and for the EU as a community. These challenges cannot be solved without a common refugee and immigration policy and a fair sharing of responsibilities and burdens.

In December 2015, the Foundation established a non-partisan commission to examine “prospects for a forward-looking refugee and immigration policy.” The commission is comprised of 29 experts from government, business, and academia. Its task is to analyze the connections between refugees, migrants, and related policy areas (such as demography, labor markets, development policy, security policy, and more) and then to formulate recommendations for a humane refugee policy. One of the main questions will focus on how to achieve a successful transition from uncontrolled refugee flows to an effectively managed immigration policy. The Geneva refugee convention and the principles of asylum law will form the normative framework for the commission’s deliberations. The commission will present its final report in early 2017.

Network for the protection of refugee rights in Tunis

In recent years, the EU has been setting up “mobility partnerships” in an attempt to structure its migration policies toward its eastern and southern neighbors. Such partnerships have been established, for example, with Georgia (2009), Armenia (2011), Morocco (2013), Tunisia (2014), and Jordan (2014). Partnerships are currently being negotiated with Egypt and Lebanon as well. Human rights organizations view these partnerships critically, arguing that



The crew of the Sea-Watch helps a boat full of exhausted people to board a freighter. Over 100 refugees were rescued in the operation. In an online logbook published on www.boell.de, two of the ship's crew members reported on the dramatic situation in the waters of the Mediterranean Sea. Image: Thomas Lenzen

they ease access to the EU only for those who already have it anyway, namely business and political elites. In return, the EU is able to use local security structures – which are not subject to democratic control – for purposes such as reinforcing borders with other transit countries. Moreover, supplementary agreements would provide individual EU member states with a legal framework for repatriating refugees and migrants, thereby shifting the responsibility for carrying out deportations to authoritarian law enforcement officials in partner countries.

Working together with the Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Network, the Tunisian General Labor Union, and other initiatives, our Tunis office invited human rights activists from the entire region to a meeting in Tunis. The objective: to formulate a blueprint for a migration policy geared toward the protection of human rights. Because the EU's policies rely on cooperation with authoritarian security forces in the countries of the southern Mediterranean region, local human rights organizations there have a key role to play in terms of monitoring and reporting, in order to ensure the protection of migrants' rights. At the meeting in Tunis, a network was established for this purpose.

Joining forces to combat right-wing populism in Europe – conference, projects, workshops

Democracy is under pressure all around the world, and the European Union has not been spared from these developments. Hungary's prime minister Viktor Orbán openly touts his vision of establishing an illiberal state in the center of Europe and takes a heavy-handed approach to NGOs critical of his policies. In Poland, the newly elected government led by the national-conservative Law and Justice Party is moving swiftly in an attempt to establish itself as the sole power in the country. In France, the right-wing extremist *Front National* was once again just barely prevented from making major advances in the second round of regional elections. And here at home, the populist and sometimes even right-wing-extremist rallying cries of the party Alternative for Germany are attracting large numbers of voters.

At a conference in Prague that we organized in cooperation with the Faculty of Social Sciences at Charles University, the Goethe Institute in Prague, and the Václav Havel Library, scholars from over 20 countries examined the reasons for the growing influence of populist movements in Europe. In addition, together with green foundations from Austria and the Netherlands as well as the Green European Foundation, we hosted a workshop in Vienna where experts from government, media and academia discussed strategies to counteract right-wing populism.

A capacity-building program on right-wing populism and extremism that was organized by our Brussels office specifically targeted young Europeans. The subject matter was presented by experts from European institutions, think tanks and NGOs as well as by philosophers, journalists, activists and lawyers. The group also took an excursion to Antwerp, the stronghold of Flemish right-wing extremism, where local members of the Belgian green party *Groen* provided on-the-ground expertise. After five days of work, program participants presented their conclusions to a panel of experts. Their finding? The challenge posed by right-wing movements is considerable but not insurmountable. And they were convinced

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.



Congress of Young Europeans in Budapest Image: Zdenka Lammelova

- ▶ that it is possible to build a Europe that lives up to the historical ideals of democracy, human rights, diversity, respect and peace. In 2016, their insights will continue to be available on the blog “Young Voices of Europe”. ↗

Shaping Europe’s future – Congress of Young Europeans in Budapest

Our third Congress of Young Europeans took place in Budapest in September under the title “(Re)Claim Your Space in Europe”. In a variety of workshops – for example, on the future of education, the future of urban spaces, and freedom in the digital age – young people from all over the continent formulated their visions of Europe. As one participant put it, “More than anything, Europe is the experience of the other: meeting people who are not exactly like ourselves and who give us the opportunity to confront things that we are not yet familiar with”.

At the same time that participants were engaging in discussions about current political conditions in Hungary, a drama was unfolding at the Keleti railway station in Budapest. For days, thousands of refugees were stranded in the squares and underpasses leading to the station, thus exposing the utter failure of the EU’s refugee policy. For a time, the focus of the event shifted outside, where participants helped Hungarian volunteers provide care for the refugees, whom the Hungarian authorities had left to fend for themselves.

The congress was organized in cooperation with the Green European Foundation, the Ecopolis Foundation, and the Federation of Young European Greens.

Strengthening the Franco-German tandem – our new office in Paris

When France and Germany are in sync, they often lead the way in formulating European policy. This was evident again in 2015 in their response to the Greek debt crisis. However, the Greek crisis also exposed fissures in Franco-German relations, particularly in terms of the future direction of economic and fiscal policy in the eurozone. Policies in both countries are increasingly driven by national interests, with the European perspective slipping into the background. By establishing an office in Paris, we aim to help cultivate and reinforce Franco-German relations with a view toward shaping a shared, united Europe. The office’s kick-off event cast a spotlight on both countries’ shared role in Europe a quarter century after the fall of the Berlin Wall. Additional activities and events were organized in connection with the climate change conference in Paris.

Recommendations for international peace and security policy

For over 15 years now, our Annual Foreign Policy Conference has provided a forum for open and constructive discussions on pressing questions of international foreign and security policy. We take the stance that Germany – always with a clear commitment to the Western alliance and the European Union – needs to use its foreign policy toolbox more vigorously. In 2015, our annual conference focused on the question: What is the right way to deal with authoritarian regimes? The answers from our invited experts – including Walter Russell Mead (from Bard College in New York) and Herfried Münkler

↗ **Blog**

<http://young-voices.boellblog.org>



Walter Russell Mead (Bard College, New York) and Sylke Tempel (Editor-in-chief of *Internationale Politik*, Berlin)

(from Humboldt University in Berlin) – often took very different directions. At the same time, nearly all of our guests noted the declining influence of Western foreign policy. One instrument that still remains available to the Western project of “normative democracy”, they argued, is to support civil society in countries led by authoritarian regimes. Civil society actors have a key role to play, but crackdowns in many authoritarian states make it harder and harder for them to do their work. Speakers such as Rahul Sagar (from the National University of Singapore) and John Keane (from the Social Science Center in Berlin) called on Western countries to counteract this trend by pursuing their own policies of openness. This could take the form, for example, of liberalized visa policies that would make it easier for democracy activists to travel to Europe. Participants argued that this type of “democratization from below” offers greater potential for success than diplomatic efforts or the widely discredited strategy of forced regime change.

Civilian crisis prevention

Our event series “Civilian crisis prevention in foreign and peace policy” advocates the position that crisis prevention needs to be established more firmly – in terms of structure, staffing, and budgeting – as an instrument of German foreign policy. At four public events, Green politicians including Franziska Brantner, Winni Nachtwei, Tom Koenigs, and Marieluise Beck joined scholars and federal government experts to discuss what parliament and civil society can do to advance this policy priority. For example, in October, we took the occasion of Germany’s upcoming 2016 chairmanship of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) to discuss what role this organization – which is a key player in promoting peace and crisis prevention, but which has tended to be neglected since the fall of the Iron Curtain – should play in the future.

The new world (dis)order – Ukraine, Russia and Europe one year after the annexation of Crimea

By annexing Crimea and intervening in eastern Ukraine, Russia violated all the rules of the European security system. How should Europe respond to the new threat that these developments pose? This was the big question at an international conference we hosted in Berlin in March, one year after Russia’s annexation of Crimea. Interest in the event was tremendous: over 500 people attended, not least to hear the opening speech by historian Timothy Snyder. There was consensus among the participants that Kyiv cannot achieve a military victory in the war in eastern Ukraine. At best, a durable ceasefire could “freeze” the conflict, thereby giving the Ukrainian government time and political leeway to stabilize the economy and carry out reforms. There was also agreement that Europe must support this process with swift and generous financial assistance and investment programs. But so far the EU lacks the political consensus needed to take these steps, a fact lamented by all of our guests. Instead, the EU reacts to short-term developments without developing a long-term strategy. This will have to change soon, they asserted, if Ukraine is to succeed as a democracy and serve as a role model for the region.

Russian propaganda under Putin

“Russian disinformation in the 21st century” was the subject of a Berlin conference organized by the Atlantic Council, the European Council on Foreign Relations, and the Heinrich Böll Foundation in June 2015. Invited experts from Russia warned that the Russian government’s highly professional war of information should not be underestimated and that one should not expect fair play from President Putin. They argued that the aim of Russia’s novel propaganda campaign, which is being conducted with first-rate technological prowess, is to disorient the Russian public with a cloud of rumors, ambiguities, and false information



Soh Horie, a *hibakusha*, or survivor, from the atomic bombing of Hiroshima

- ▶ while simultaneously discrediting Western media sources. So what can be done to disrupt the monopoly of information held by Russian-language media? Many participants insisted that Russian propaganda must not be answered simply with counter-propaganda. Some argued that all lies and distortions must be resolutely and consistently debunked. Others called for more mutual encounters between Russians and Westerners: every shared visit, and every shared conversation, is greatly needed during this time of Russian self-isolation, in line with the slogan “Keep your distance from the rulers, and get closer to the people!” Willingness to engage in self-criticism, openness to other opinions, and the careful weighing of different positions – these traits were cited by many participants as key strengths of Western democracies. From a long-term perspective, this culture of debate was viewed as the most attractive alternative to an authoritarian regime.

Nuclear disarmament: 70 years after Hiroshima and Nagasaki

The UN Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons ended in May with no agreement. We analyzed the consequences in an online dossier featuring background reports and interviews. The failure of this conference was also the subject of a public event we organized in June to mark the 70th anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Soh Horie, a *hibakusha*, or survivor, traveled from Japan to Berlin to speak at the event. The discussions made clear once again how the destruction of these two cities serves as a grave admonition to free the world from the threat of nuclear war. Because the UN review conferences have so far failed to achieve substantial progress toward nuclear disarmament, over 130 countries are working within the framework of the UN to ban nuclear weapons on humanitarian grounds. In the event’s panel discussion, we explored the role that the humanitarian argument played during the UN review conference and asked how the demand to ban nuclear weapons under international law could become reality.

Bosnia and Herzegovina: 20 years after Dayton

In December 1995, the presidents of Serbia, Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina signed the Dayton Agreement at a ceremony in Paris. At the time, the international community heralded the agreement as a peace treaty, but today the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina see it as the basis for a dysfunctional state. At a panel discussion hosted by the Foundation in Berlin in November, Marion Kraske (director of our Sarajevo office) discussed the country’s future with experts including the film director Jasmina Žbanić and the journalist and former diplomat Zlatko Dizdarević. Despite rampant cronyism and a public administration that remains hostile to reform, Žbanić argued that civic engagement and especially education could forge a path toward progress and change. In contrast, Dizdarević asserted that, because its citizens lack clear prospects, the country could again become a problem for the EU in the near future. In his view, only then would the EU address the issue of Bosnia again, rather than taking proactive measures now and changing the framework of the state.

In December, we organized a panel discussion that included Valentin Inzko (High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina), Dennis Gratz (member of parliament in Bosnia and Herzegovina) and Marieluise Beck (member of the German Bundestag). One of the main messages to emerge from the event was the urgent need for democratic reforms to the constitution: otherwise it will be nearly impossible to improve the generally bleak political and economic conditions affecting the country. One of the guests at the event, who was 12 years old when he fled to Germany, called on the panel’s non-Bosnians to “use your influence and motivate people to take action in support of new political forces”. In turn, he urged Bosnians to “use your influence and do not vote for any party that has held power in the past 20 years. You can be certain that they are criminals”.

Fostering Democracy, Enforcing Human Rights

Supporting and advancing democracy and democratization worldwide is one of the core priorities of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's international work. Universal human rights – from freedom of expression to the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women – are both the wellspring and linchpin of democracy. Together with our partners, we also work to advance legislative initiatives around the world that aim to protect the human rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans* and inter* (LGBTI) individuals. Vibrant societies need forces that promote and nurture a free political culture. To this end, we support the work of civil society organizations, journalists, and the media. We also work with our partners to resolve conflicts, to find constructive paths for the settlement of disputes, and to achieve a balance of interests – all crucial factors in preventing the erosion or even collapse of democratic practices.



Maina Kiai at the conference "Accountability Now!"

Re:Claim Human Rights! – event series

2015 was a year of key UN summits. New goals and targets for ending global poverty and promoting environmental sustainability were agreed. A new, binding climate agreement was adopted. And the agenda for women's rights – the Beijing Platform for Action – celebrated its 20th anniversary. In our event series "Re:Claim Human Rights!", we aimed to draw heightened attention to the issues of justice, environmental sustainability and human rights, which are central to these UN processes. At the kick-off event, Tom Koenigs (human rights policy spokesperson for the Green Party) asserted that the issue of human rights must serve as a compass to guide foreign policy. He argued that human rights violations must be spoken about and criticized openly, and that civil society has an essential role to play in this effort.

A highlight of the event series was an international conference in June, which focused on responsibility and accountability in the enforcement of universal human rights and international agreements. Jochen von Bernstorff, professor of international law at the University of Tübingen, argued that international law works for investors, but not for victims of human rights violations. Maina Kiai (UN Special

Rapporteur on the rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and of association) also reported that the conditions facing civil society organizations in many countries are considerably more difficult than those facing companies. Closing the accountability gaps in states and companies remains a major challenge.

Defamation of dissidents in Russia and Belarus

At a Foundation conference held in Berlin in January 2015, well-known Russian and Belarusian human rights activists drew a sobering conclusion: 2014 was a very bad year for human rights in their countries. The freedoms of expression, media and assembly, along with the freedom of sexuality and the ability of civil society actors to operate freely, are being curtailed or even criminalized, and dissidents are subject to fines and imprisonment. One bright spot at the conference was the attendance of Ales Bialiatski, winner of the Foundation's Petra Kelly Prize in 2012. Since his release from political detention, he has returned to the scene as an unbroken, level-headed activist.

In recent years, Russia has been trying to bring critical non-governmental organizations to their knees on the basis of its so-called "foreign agent



Young Moscovites at an opposition rally Image: Vladimir Varfolomeev, goo.gl/evk3mn

- ▶ law". As of February 2016, 120 organizations that receive foreign funding and that engage in arbitrarily defined "political activity" have been defamed as foreign agents – this includes most of our partner organizations in Russia. As a result, many organizations have dissolved, some no longer accept foreign money, and others simply carry on as best they can. But the problems don't end with their classification as "foreign agents": rather, extended audits, criminal penalties, court orders, and state-enforced shutdowns demonstrate that the government's primary aim is to silence human rights organizations. Still, discussions at our Green Russia Forum, which was held in Moscow in December 2015, provided clear evidence that young Russians in particular exhibit a great desire to get involved – although their activities now tend to be more project-oriented and less openly political. Resourceful activists can still find small openings where engagement is possible. For example, our office in Moscow organizes a summer school for young activists that aims to impart skills and expertise, build networks, and provide encouragement. For the first time ever, about half of all summer school slots in 2015 were open to applicants from throughout Russia. The high number of applicants showed that many young people remain undaunted by the state's policies of intimidation.

Suppression of media freedom and free expression in Thailand

When Thailand's military government lifted martial law on 1 April 2015, it quickly became clear that this was simply a tactical maneuver to avoid political sanctions and disruptions to the country's tourism industry. At the same time that martial law was revoked, the military junta's leader issued a decree

that granted military officials wide-ranging powers to summon and question individuals and to detain them without a court warrant for up to seven days. This meant that nothing had in fact been done to curb the military's unrestricted powers. Moreover, additional decrees remained in effect that left citizens increasingly at the mercy of military jurisdiction. The expansion of military jurisdiction led to a wave of intimidation along with far-reaching restrictions on basic procedural rights such as the right of appeal. Our partner organization Thai Lawyers for Human Rights (TLHR), which provides legal assistance to affected individuals, reported in September 2015 that over 1,400 civilians had been tried before military courts since the putsch. Two individuals were given prison sentences of 56 and 60 years, respectively, for committing *lèse-majesté* on social media; after the accused confessed their guilt, their sentences were cut in half. Along with TLHR, two additional Foundation partners – the online newspaper *Prachatai* (<http://prachatai.org/english/>) and iLaw, which operates the Freedom of Expression Documentation Center (<http://freedom.ilaw.or.th/en>) – are actively involved in efforts to preserve civil liberties in Thailand.

Disappearances in Mexico

In September 2014, 43 students were abducted in the Mexican state of Guerrero and have not been sighted since. According to official figures, over 27,000 individuals have gone missing in Mexico since 2007, with many of these cases attributed to organized crime. To date the state has done little to combat these systematic crimes. Family members decry the lack of state support in searching for missing persons and in bringing perpetrators to justice. Instead, they



Young gang members imprisoned in Quezaltepeque, El Salvador Image: OEA / SMS Arena Ortega CC BY-ND 2.0, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/arenaortega/7315651350/>

themselves have to take on tasks that should be performed by the state, often risking their own safety in the process. For this reason, activists in Mexico are calling for a general law on disappearances that provides for searches, investigations, and compensation in line with international standards. At a panel discussion in Berlin co-hosted by the Foundation and the German Coordination for Human Rights in Mexico, we honored the memory of the disappeared students and discussed ways to combat these types of crimes. Often the only support for families of missing persons comes from human rights organizations such as the Tlachinollan Human Rights Center and the *Centro Pro Derechos Humanos*, both long-time partner organizations of the Foundation.

La Red – network against violence and impunity in Central America

Two years ago, in a process closely coordinated by our office in El Salvador, a large number of civil society organizations from El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras established *La Red*, a network that aims to address urgent problems of (in-)security, violence, and impunity in the region. One of the network's main priorities is to identify and analyze the structural weaknesses of states and the increasingly blurred lines between legality and illegality. *La Red* has commissioned studies focusing on such issues as the strategies and territorial power of (youth) gangs; the displacement of populations within each country; and growing migratory movements abroad due to the lack of security. While these countries are democracies in formal terms, democratic institutions are impeded from functioning properly, and the network is attempting to shed light on the *de facto* powers that are responsible for this state of affairs. *La Red* regularly shares its findings with policy-makers, and its

reports are made available to a broad public audience by media organizations that are members of the network, including *Plaza Pública* in Guatemala and *El Faro* in El Salvador.

Success in the fight against land confiscation in Cambodia

After years of vigilant lobbying efforts, our partner organization Equitable Cambodia finally achieved success in 2015 when Thai sugar producer Mitr Phol withdrew its operations from Cambodia. This victory was preceded by protracted disputes over land grabs, intimidation tactics against local populations, destroyed crops, and incinerated homes. The sugar giant had benefited from EU trade preferences for Cambodian goods, but none of these benefits had trickled down to local populations. For its part, the EU remained unmoved by accusations that its trading partners were committing human rights violations. Ultimately, it was Equitable Cambodia's talks with Coca-Cola, one of Mitr Phol's main customers, that led to success. Coca-Cola has adopted a zero tolerance policy on land confiscation, and it conducted on-site investigations of Mitr Phol's activities. That, together with a complaint that Equitable Cambodia filed with the Thai human rights commission on behalf of the affected communities, escalated the pressure on the sugar corporation to the point that it decided to pull out of Cambodia. The local communities are now waiting for the Cambodian government to return their land to them.

Courage to make change – an exhibit in Nairobi

Africa's population is the youngest in the world. In Kenya for example, 35% of the population is between 15–24 years of age. But the much-prophesied demographic dividend has yet to materialize. Young Ken-



“Courage” – an exhibition in Nairobi tells the story of Kenyan heroes. Image: Brian Inganga

- yans suffer from a lack of prospects and political representation. They have the highest unemployment level – 67% – of any demographic group, and the daily fight for survival leaves them with limited leeway to mobilize political clout. Role models are few and far between, but they do exist. Kenya’s history is replete with courageous women and men who have made great sacrifices in the fight for self-determination and justice, but they are unknown to most people. Our office in Nairobi provided support for an exhibition, “Courage”, that tells the story of these heroes. The project was initiated by a man who himself has demonstrated great courage: Boniface Mwangi, prize-winning photojournalist and perhaps Kenya’s best-known activist. Thousands of people have viewed the exhibition, but that is just the beginning: the project #TeamCourage aims to launch a movement of young change makers and to instill them with an awareness of the influence they possess, so that they can tackle the challenges facing their country. It is hoped that over four million new voters – nearly one-fifth of the electorate – will step up to the ballot box during the next general elections in 2017. ↗

LGBT organizations in Tunisia start to achieve gains

For the first time ever, established civil society organizations in Tunisia such as the Tunisian Human Rights League (LTDH) – which shared the 2015

Nobel Peace Prize with the Tunisian General Labor Union (UGTT) – have expressed their support for calls to abolish Article 230 of the country’s penal code (which criminalizes homosexuality) and for the right to sexual self-determination. Prior to this positive development, LGBT organizations had not been accepted as part of civil society. But now even the Tunisian parliament has held a brief debate over LGBT rights. In addition to these forward steps, the feminist organization Chouf and the Damj Association for Justice and Equality have organized numerous events, including the feminist art festival *Chouftouhonna*. Both organizations have been partners of the Foundation since 2013. ↗

What is natural? – conference in Lebanon

In Lebanon and a number of other countries in the Middle East, “unnatural” sexual acts are subject to punishment. In 2015, however, a Lebanese court ruled that homosexuality is not “contrary to nature”. Picking up on this important development, our Beirut office organized a conference that examined the philosophical question of nature’s essence. The term “nature” is continually misused with the aim of influencing social norms. The three-day conference featured discussions of court cases as well as film and audio input focusing on both historical frameworks and contemporary research. This multi-pronged ap-

↗ **Courage exhibition**
www.teamcourage.co.ke/mapping

↗ **Video**
<http://chouf-minorities.org/chouftouhonna-the-trailer>

proach highlighted the fact that the term “nature” is endowed with highly contradictory meanings. It cannot serve as a measuring stick for “right” or “wrong” behavior.

Traditional healers combat homophobia in South Africa

Homosexuality is “un-African”: this claim is made over and over again by policy-makers, religious and traditional authorities, and other opinion leaders. Even though South Africa’s constitution prohibits discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation, homophobia is ever-present and is frequently expressed through acts of violence. Traditional healers – called sangomas – in South Africa exert important influence on issues of morality, mental health and family values. Recently a group of sangomas joined forces to fight homophobia. The group – which includes lesbian and gay sangomas – meets regularly in our Cape Town office. They question unfounded interpretations of African traditions and argue that sexual diversity is definitely compatible with culture and tradition. Their influential position is helping to engender positive changes in social attitudes toward LGBTI individuals.

Debating gender online – *Kohl*, a new magazine from Lebanon ↗

Kajal or *kohl* is a black powder that has been used as eye makeup in the Arab region for thousands of years. Eyes lined in black were long viewed as an expression of Arab eroticism. While in the past Western depictions of Arab women were frequently hypersexualized, this image has given way today to the stereotype of the veiled Arab woman as a victim of patriarchal domination. The publishers of *Kohl*, a new online academic journal based in Lebanon, want to disrupt these kinds of stereotypes and stimulate discourse on gender-related topics throughout the region. The journal’s writers – Arab women, mostly – examine questions of gender, sexuality and feminism. Our Beirut office provides support for the project, which is targeted toward Arab- and English-speaking audiences.

Taking stock: Beijing+20 ↗

The year 2015 marked the 20th anniversary of the Beijing Platform for Action, which was adopted at the World Conference on Women in 1995. The Beijing agenda represented a milestone for feminist struggles such as the fight against racist population policies or the promotion of women’s health. Nevertheless, we are still a long way off from attaining the goals of gender justice and the systematic, worldwide elimination of discrimination against women.

↗ **Link**
<http://kohljournal.org>

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.

Progress certainly has been made in advancing equal rights from women and girls (to varying extents depending on the region), but the fight for gender equality has seen setbacks too. The Foundation created an animated short film and compiled an online dossier with contributions from various world regions to explain the Beijing Platform for Action and to illustrate the current status of women’s rights around the world.

Prenatal sex selection in Asia – conference in New Delhi

The practice of aborting female fetuses is widespread in India and other Asian countries. As a result, millions of girls are never even born. For years, the Centre for Social Research (CSR), a partner organization of ours based in New Delhi, has been pressing for legislative measures to combat sex-selective abortion, and in particular to prohibit the use of ultrasound technology to determine a child’s gender before it is born. The organization also supports projects to enhance the social status of daughters, using strategies ranging from moral appeals to financial incentives. With the backing of our office in New Delhi, CSR organized a conference in July 2015 that compared conditions and practices in India, South Korea, Vietnam, and the Indian diaspora in the United States. Despite great variations in national circumstances, the participants found that prohibitions against specific technologies have only a limited impact – and even then only if they are implemented resolutely and consistently. In the longer term, the priority must be to instill a change in social values and to improve the status of daughters in families and society as a whole.

↗ **Online dossier**
www.gwi-boell.de/en/beijing20-womens-rights-worldwide-time-implementation-once-and-all

Paving the Way Towards an Environment-Friendly Modern World

The Heinrich Böll Foundation wants to accelerate the transition to a low-carbon, resource-efficient, and equitable global society – this means moving away from the predatory exploitation of natural resources and moving towards greater cooperation with nature. We are actively committed to the conclusion of a global climate accord under the auspices of the United Nations. Furthermore, those stakeholders whose business models make climate change worse must be called on to pay. One of our top priorities is to promote alternatives: the green energy revolution, environment-friendly agriculture, and sustainable urban development. It's within our power to achieve a turnaround in global climate policy! We support social and environmental transformation everywhere – here at home in Germany, and around the world wherever our international offices are located. We fight for drastic reductions in resource consumption, for transparent contracts in the commodities industry, and for accountability on the part of mining companies. We want to find solutions that enable natural resources to be used in a way that respects the ecological limits of our planet while simultaneously strengthening human rights and democracy.



Climate summit in Paris: People from around the world staged creative protests to call for climate justice
Image: Julien Brachhammer CC-BY-NC 2.0, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/spidey-man/23412049230/>

International climate diplomacy

There is hardly an issue that calls more urgently for international cooperation than climate change. Yet efforts to combat climate change have so far made only halting progress because the conflicts of interest within and among states are simply too great. After the failure of the Copenhagen climate summit six years ago, all hopes for a breakthrough in global climate protection were aimed toward the November 2015 climate summit in Paris. When France's foreign minister finally announced the conclusion of a new agreement on 12 December 2015, this was clearly a success in diplomatic terms, but the agree-

ment was not the fair and ambitious deal that people had been hoping for. The (voluntary) contributions pledged to date by participating countries will not be sufficient to keep global warming well below 2°C, and preferably below 1.5°C. Human rights and gender equity are only weakly anchored in the agreement. Furthermore, the wording of the agreement leaves the door open to risky geoengineering technologies. There is no plan to top up financial assistance for developing countries from 2020 onwards, and countries that suffer losses and damage due to climate change will not be able to assert claims for compensation on the basis of the agreement.



Conference on the financialization of nature in Belém, Brazil: community representatives from Quilombolola do Rio Capim report on local problems, such as those caused by the large-scale production of palm oil. Image: Financeirização da Natureza Não CC-BY-NC

The Heinrich Böll Foundation took a delegation to Paris, where we added to the discussion by organizing our own events within the framework of various alternative forums. We backed up discussions on how to phase out the use of fossil fuels by providing facts and data from our newly published “Coal Atlas”. We also organized an event with Peruvian farmer and mountain guide Saúl Luciano Lliuya, who reported on his lawsuit against the German energy giant RWE. He holds RWE’s carbon emissions responsible for climate change and is demanding that RWE help pay the costs to prevent a glacial lake from overflowing and threatening local communities. □

The “carbon levy” ↗

An interesting climate finance proposal has been put forward by one of our project partners, the Climate Justice Programme: they are calling for a “carbon levy” to be imposed on the 90 companies that account for nearly two thirds of the global greenhouse gases emitted since the onset of industrialization. Revenue from the levy would be used to assist the poorest communities in the global south that are most threatened by the effects of climate change. In 2015, the Climate Justice Programme assembled a network of influential supporters and formulated a Carbon Levy Declaration that was signed by a large number of international organizations and well-known experts and activists. The Heinrich Böll Foundation supports the declaration as well.

REDD+ – a contentious climate finance mechanism

REDD+, which stands for “reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation”, is the most advanced global attempt to develop a climate finance mechanism that is based on an ecosystem service, namely carbon sequestration by (natural) forests. At a symposium hosted by the Foundation during the

direct run-up to COP 21 in Paris, experts from Germany, Europe and Latin America argued that this is the wrong approach. In their view, REDD+ simply enables industrialized countries to reduce their emissions through projects carried out in other countries, without having to modify their own patterns of production and consumption. In addition, they argued that REDD+ projects are implemented mainly in areas inhabited by indigenous and traditional communities and therefore risk triggering major disputes over land use rights. Rather than recognizing these communities as key actors in the pursuit of socially and environmentally compatible climate change mitigation, their forest use practices are simply prohibited. A better approach would be to target those sectors that are the leading cause of deforestation – such as the ever-growing practice of industrial agriculture and livestock production – and hold them responsible for their actions.

Critique of the green economy □

The green economy is the subject of heated debates around the world. For some, it offers the solution to protracted environmental and economic crises, while for others it simply represents “business as usual” dressed up in green. The debate inflames passions because there is more involved than just the protection of the environment. Rather, key questions are at stake: How we want to live in the future? How do we want to share finite resources with each other? And what really constitutes the “good life”? The book “Critique of the Green Economy”, written by Barbara Unmüßig, Lili Fuhr and Thomas Fatheuer and published in 2015, provides a critical review of the green economy – describing its opportunities, consequences and blind spots – and outlines a roadmap for overcoming global crises while simultaneously taking social priorities into account.

□ [Coal Atlas: Facts and figures on a fossil fuel](http://www.boell.de/en/2015/11/05/coal-atlas-facts-and-figures-fossil-fuel)

www.boell.de/en/2015/11/05/coal-atlas-facts-and-figures-fossil-fuel

↗ [Link](http://www.boell.de/en/carbon-levy-project)

www.boell.de/en/carbon-levy-project

□ [Inside the Green Economy – Promises and Pitfalls](http://www.boell.de/en/2016/06/22/inside-green-economy)

www.boell.de/en/2016/06/22/inside-green-economy

In 2015, we also launched an online discussion on the financialization of nature. Attempts to calculate the economic value of nature are not new, but many recent models appear to possess a new quality and deserve to be analyzed and discussed in greater detail.

The financialization of nature is an issue that our office in Rio de Janeiro has been focusing on for several years. This work was capped off in 2015 with a four-day conference in Belém, Brazil, the gateway to the Amazon. In Brazil, a country with tremendous biodiversity and the largest rainforest in the world, the question of the relationship between (a) nature conservation and (b) the rights of people who live in and with nature has long held special relevance. Conference participants from all of Latin America were especially impressed by a tour to the area surrounding Belém, where they witnessed not only the effects of massive resource depletion but also visited villages that are putting agroecological alternatives into practice.

The *Energiewende*, in Germany and around the world ↗

Renewable energy sources can provide us with 100% of our electrical power: this is not only possible, but also necessary. This is the only way we will be able to prevent climate disaster, gain independence from finite fossil fuels that will become increasingly expensive in the future, and free ourselves from reliance on uncontrollable and expensive nuclear power. Germany's *Energiewende* shows how it is possible to make the transition to renewable power. Our website www.energytransition.de and its accompanying blog provide information on the latest developments in Germany's energy transition and on other international strategies and solutions in the energy sector. The blog features entries from around the world, including contributions from our international offices in Brussels, Prague, Mexico, China, India and South Africa.

Green transformations in Poland and the South Caucasus

Interest in pushing for environment-friendly change is found mostly at the local level in Poland these days. Our office in Warsaw supports local and regional initiatives in their efforts to help communities develop the necessary capacity and skills. For example, the "Green Point" project in the city of Słupsk provides local residents with advice on easy ways to save energy in their own homes. Green Point's services are offered free of charge.

In the South Caucasus, the issue of environmental protection has gained little traction due to the overriding urgency of economic and political crises. How-

ever, this has been changing in recent years: growing numbers of courageous young activists in Georgia and Armenia are demanding protection of the environment and human rights. For example, initiatives led by young people aim to take action against the growing trend towards privatization, which is leading to overbuilding in urban areas. The Green Academy run by our office in Tbilisi offers a forum where, several times a year, activists and organizations can get together and build networks. The Academy's objective is to serve as the breeding ground for joint strategies to promote environment-friendly change, a democratic political culture, and green policies of equal opportunity.

The full privatization of water in Chile

How a country treats its natural resources is not just a question of economics and ecology. It is also a question of how private citizens are included in decision-making processes regarding the use of such resources. In most countries, an abundance of resources does not lead to poverty reduction. On the contrary, it generally leads to the concentration of economic power in the hands of a few, environmental degradation, and growing social inequality. For this reason, it is crucial to ensure transparency and accountability in the resources sector and to promote public awareness regarding the risks and consequences of resource exploitation.

In Chile, for example, the water sector was fully privatized. Water legislation in Chile, along with the corresponding constitutional provisions, permits the state to transfer water rights free of charge to private entities, who can then sell water at high prices. But illegal activities occur as well, such as the diversion of river water. For example, in Petorca province, large-scale avocado producers divert river water into an underground system of canals, thereby depriving over 40,000 small farmers of a resource that is essential for their economic survival. The organization Modatima (short for *Movimiento de Defensa por el Acceso al Agua, la Tierra y la Protección del Medio Ambiente*), one of the leading forces of the national water rights movement, is active in the fight to win back water rights. It also runs training programs around the country for people affected by water shortages. Rodrigo Mundaca, one of Modatima's leaders, barely escaped a murder attempt in March 2015. Half-hearted investigations by law enforcement authorities have produced no results to date. Nevertheless, the movement refuses to be intimidated and continues to fight. Working in close cooperation with the *defensoría del pueblo* (ombudsman's office), Modatima launched legal proceedings against large-scale landowners in late 2015. Our of-



Every year following the annual demonstration *Wir haben es satt!* ("We're fed up with the agro industry!"), organized by the *Meine Landwirtschaft* ("My agriculture") alliance, the Heinrich Böll Foundation serves as a central meeting point for thousands of marchers as they continue their discussions over a warm bowl of soup.

office in Santiago de Chile supports Modatima's grassroots work and helps water rights activists to forge stronger networks that can boost the effectiveness of local resistance efforts. To help protect water rights activists from further attacks, our office is boosting their (inter)national visibility by providing media outreach and regular coverage on its website. We are also providing support to lawyers who are willing to litigate cases that have the potential to achieve a broader impact on the inter-American and international human rights system above and beyond the individual case.

"Soil Atlas": Facts and figures about earth, land and fields

Fertile soil is essential for life. It takes 2000 years for 10 centimeters of soil to form. Every year, millions of hectares of fertile soil are lost as a result of road construction, urban development, and erosion caused by intensive farming. We use the world's soils as if they were inexhaustible. Unless we develop a fundamentally different approach toward dealing with this valuable resource, many of the UN's Sustainable Development Goals – such as halting biodiversity loss, ending hunger and combating climate change – will not be met. In order to foster greater awareness of the pivotal importance of soils, we joined forces with Friends of the Earth Germany and the Institute for Advanced Sustainability Studies to publish a "Soil Atlas" in January 2015. The report contains approximately 20 short essays that use informative examples and graphics to explain why soil conservation is so important, and why it matters to all of us.

How a sustainable and fair transformation of the food system can help the environment

Despite higher levels of agricultural production, more than 800 million people around the world con-

tinue to suffer from hunger. At the same time, the environmental impact of industrial agriculture can no longer be ignored: fertile soils and biological diversity are being lost, and water resources are being polluted and overused. Biodiversity loss and climate change are destabilizing ecosystems and endangering the natural foundations of agriculture. It is imperative to reorient agricultural practices in a way that is socially and environmentally sustainable. In the run-up to the International Green Week – the world's largest agricultural trade fair which is held every year in Berlin – we advanced discussions to push for a sustainable and environment-friendly transformation of agriculture. One of our main activities here was the organization of an international symposium on agroecology.

Reducing waste in local communities, retail businesses, and industry

When people talk about waste policy, discussions usually focus on who collects the rubbish and how much it costs. To mark the European Week for Waste Reduction in November 2015, the Foundation organized a conference in Berlin that highlighted the question of how to prevent raw materials from becoming waste in the first place. Examples from Germany, Italy, France and the UK showed the way forward: useful approaches include packaging-free products, reuse strategies in logistics systems, high-quality recycling in industry, and more. A European Precycling Network was launched as a result of the event.

Art and Culture

Art too can be an instrument of civic education. Art sharpens our perceptions, trains our sense of intuition, and inspires us to creative action. The spread of digital technology generates entirely new possibilities for artists: it dramatically expands opportunities to participate in cultural activities and achievements and in this way opens up new spaces for social and political intervention.



“Zambezi News” live in Berlin: the satirical news show provides trenchant send-ups of politics and everyday life in Zimbabwe. Image: Andi Weiland

Zambezi News – a news satire from Zimbabwe

In their fake news show – a parody of the state broadcaster’s propaganda-laden reporting – the makers of “Zambezi News” use biting, double-edged humor to address the problems facing Zimbabwe. The show provides trenchant analyses of the crisis-ridden country’s politics and everyday life, covering a wide spectrum of topics that include race and sex, politics and sports, hip-hop and land reform. The creators distribute the show via social networks, in defiance of the authoritarian regime of Robert Mugabe. Zambezi News receives support from our office in Cape Town, and audiences in Berlin reacted with enthusiasm too when the show was presented live in Berlin in September 2015.

The Third Circle – dance and music under Islamic law

What happens to art – music and dance in particular – when it becomes subject to Islamic law? The Lebanese choreographer Nancy Naous and composer Wael Kodeih created a project to explore this question in greater detail. They showed religious scholars from various schools of thought a short performance of modern dance and asked them which movements, sounds and types of clothing are *haram* (forbidden) from their point of view, and what would need to be changed in order for the music and dance to comply with Sharia law. There was no consensus among the religious scholars on any of these issues. For some, all of the dance movements and music were *haram*,

while others objected only to certain electronic sounds and heavy breathing. For some, women are permitted to sing only to other women, while others asserted that women can sing to men too, as long as they sing well enough. In a performance called “The Third Circle”, which was staged at the Shams Theater in Beirut in June 2015, audiences listened as the scholars’ recommended changes were recited one after the other. In this way, censors became actors in a creative process. Audiences were able to imagine how difficult it is to be both artist and Muslim at the same time, because the scholars’ wide variety of recommendations showed that there is no clear “right” or “wrong”. Our office in Beirut supported the project.

Jewish Culture Day 2015

Jewish life is booming again in Berlin. First thousands of Russian-speaking Jews moved to the German capital, and now young Israelis are coming too. Jewish cultural life in Berlin is flourishing as a result. In 2015, we hosted our first Jewish Culture Day, which attracted nearly 700 visitors. One of the main draws was a performance-lecture by David Solomon, who is now well-established as a pop star among scholars. He needs just a few thick marker pens and a few meters of poster board for his presentations. At our Jewish Culture Day, he presented “A prophetic revolution in one hour”, awing the audience with the contemporary relevance of the prophets’ spiritual messages.

Heinrich Böll House Langenbroich

Artists around the world take stands on political and social issues. The association of the Heinrich Böll House Langenbroich provides artists and writers 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. The association is financed by the Heinrich Böll Foundation together with the city of Düren and the federal state of North Rhine-Westphalia.



Abdul Razzak Shabbalout in his atelier Image: Private

A Tradition of Hospitality

The Böll family purchased the house, located in Germany's Eifel region, in the 1960s. It served as their summer residence, where Annemarie and Heinrich Böll found the tranquility to conduct their literary work. The house garnered public attention when Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn found initial refuge there following his expulsion from the Soviet Union in 1974. After Heinrich Böll's death, family members, friends, the city of Düren, the town of Kreuzau, the state of North Rhine-Westphalia, and the Heinrich Böll Foundation joined together to establish the association "Heinrich Böll House Langenbroich", with the aim of turning the house into a refuge where selected artists can work in peace and freedom for an extended period of time. An independent jury awards stipends that are financed by the Heinrich Böll Foundation and the Böll Fund (operated by the state of North Rhine-Westphalia to assist artists who are persecuted on political grounds).

Our guests in 2015

Abdul Razzak Shabbalout (born in 1974), painter from Damascus, Syria. He served as lecturer in the fine arts department at Damascus University, but fled to Beirut after he found himself subject to polit-

ical persecution in Syria. In Langenbroich he found the tranquility and strength to start painting again. His hyperrealistic portraits and still life paintings awaken memories of his family and friends and radiate a call to new life. By illuminating the tragedy in Syria, his art is also directed toward a German audience.

Mohammad al-Attar (born in 1980), playwright from Syria. He is one of Syria's most acclaimed young playwrights and is considered a chronicler of his war-torn country. His works have been performed worldwide – including, most recently, the play "Antigone of Shatila", which was staged at the Thalia Theater in Hamburg and at the *Les rencontres à l'échelle* theater festival in Marseilles. In this new interpretation of Sophocles' "Antigone" – a drama about flight, struggle, pride and resistance – women who have fled Syria retell this ancient story from their own highly personal, culture-specific perspective.

Additional guests in 2015 included visual artist **Roya Issa** and writer **Ramy Al Asheq**, both from Damascus, Syria. They were introduced in our 2014 annual report.

📌 Applications to:

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Scholarship and Fellowship Program – Giving a Life to Young Talent

We provide support to undergraduate, graduate, and doctoral students from both Germany and abroad, in all fields of study. 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.



"Green promotion of gifted students makes a difference" – This was our slogan to celebrate the Scholarship Program's 25th anniversary. Our new fellows for 2015 joined the festivities.

Who receives support?

In 2015, the Foundation's Scholarship Program selected 194 new fellows in a three-stage selection process involving 2,023 applicants. Last year, a total of 978 undergraduate and graduate students as well as 215 doctoral candidates received financial support (58% women, 42% men). The Foundation's target regions for selecting international fellows are Central and Eastern Europe, countries belonging to the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), and the Middle East and North Africa (in this region, our focus is primarily on students from Egypt, Lebanon, Morocco, Tunisia and Syria). 28% of our international fellows came from countries outside the EU. The largest national contingent of international fellows was from Russia (16), followed by Syria (8), Iran (7) and Egypt (5).

Advice – Training – Networking

In addition to financial support, the Scholarship Program provides fellows with personalized advisory services to help them plan their course of study. We also offer networking opportunities as well as an extensive program of events including seminars, workshops, study trips, and much more. Our aim is to spur political debate, impart crucial skills, encourage interdisciplinary dialogue, and promote social and political activism. At the same time, we place a high priority on promoting self-organization, independent thinking and action, and conceptual skills.

Where are our fellows now? Key results of a study on the paths our alumni have taken (September 2015)

- To date, **98%** of our undergraduate and graduate fellows and 84% of our doctoral fellows have completed their degrees – most of them with first-rate marks.
- **42%** of our alumni entered a profession immediately after finishing their studies, and another 42% did so during the following months, generally in positions that corresponded to their level of qualification. 47% of our male fellows and 42% of our female fellows now hold management positions.
- **81%** are (very) satisfied with their professional achievements. Approximately 70% say that their stipends played a (very) significant role in their personal and professional development – this is particularly the case for alumni with an immigrant background or who come from families with no academic background.
- **90%** of our alumni take part in volunteer activities, primarily in the fields of environmental protection, politics, human rights, education, and the promotion of integration and equal opportunity.

 [Link](#)

www.boell.de/en/foundation/scholarships

Award Winners in 2015

The Heinrich Böll Foundation issues numerous awards and co-sponsors various additional honors. Our most important awards are the Anne Klein Women's Award and the Peace Film Award, as well as the biannual Petra Kelly Prize (not awarded in 2015).



Joshua Oppenheimer

2015 Peace Film Award: Joshua Oppenheimer

The 30th Peace Film Award at the Berlin International Film Festival was presented to "The Look of Silence" by Joshua Oppenheimer – a documentary depicting the atrocities that occurred in Indonesia after an attempted coup in 1965. Over a period of months, more than a million people were brutally and indiscriminately murdered. Many of the perpetrators remain in positions of power, because the crimes were never resolved. In presenting the award, the jury stated: "In his stirring film, Oppenheimer succeeds in shattering a social taboo. The result is a film that plumbs the depths of human cruelty while simultaneously highlighting what is hopefully our equally developed capacity for reconciliation." The Peace Film Award is endowed with 5,000 euros and is awarded together with a bronze sculpture by the artist Otmar Alt.



Nebahat Akkoç

Anne Klein Women's Award: Nebahat Akkoç

The 2015 Anne Klein Women's Award was presented to Kurdish activist Nebahat Akkoç for her resistance against state and domestic violence and for her defense of human rights and the rights of women. She founded the women's rights organization KAMER, which offers women counseling services, legal assistance, shelter, and support in attaining economic independence. In issuing the award, the jury stated: "Nebahat Akkoç stands up fearlessly to violence – she too continues to receive personal threats – and she refuses to accept gender-based violence and every form of unequal treatment. In this way, she serves as an inspiration to women in southeastern Turkey and far beyond." Ms. Akkoç is the fourth recipient of the Anne Klein Women's Prize, which is endowed with 10,000 euros.



Elisabeth Winter, Nora Burgard-Arp and Anke Dankers

Reporting Award for Young Journalists

The winners of the 2015 Reporting Award for Young Journalists were Nora Burgard-Arp (1st place), Mariel Müller, Alexandra Reinsberg and Elisabeth Winter (2nd place), and Anke Dankers (3rd place). The Reporting Award is co-sponsored by *JungeJournalisten.de* (an online network for journalists), the Heinrich Böll Foundation and *Zeit* online (the online version of the weekly newspaper *Die Zeit*). The 1st prize winner receives 1,500 euros.

Notable Guests in 2015



Image: James Duncan Davidson/TED CC-BY

Taiye Selasi – British writer and photographer with roots in Nigeria and Ghana. In her essays and short stories, Selasi portrays a new generation of African world citizens, whom she calls “Afropolitans”. In February 2015, as part of the event series “Literary Topographies of Colonialism”, she discussed the 21st-century African diaspora with cultural studies scholar Peggy Piesche and read excerpts from her works.



Image: Private

Vidulfo Rosales Sierra – lawyer at the Tlachinollan Human Rights Center in Mexico. He represents the families of the 43 missing students from Ayotzinapa. He visited the foundation in October 2015 to report on the systematic practice of enforced disappearances in Mexico.



Image: Guillaume Paumier CC-BY

Naoto Kan – Prime Minister of Japan during the nuclear disaster of March 2011. He depicted his experiences during the Fukushima crisis in a book that appeared in 2012. In October, he presented the German translation of his book, which was published in 2015, at the Frankfurt Book Fair. He took this occasion to visit the Heinrich Böll Foundation in Berlin, where he gave a speech on crisis management and the lessons learned from the triple disaster in Fukushima.



Image: Stephan Röhl

Joumana Seif – Syrian activist for women’s rights and peace. She advocates a more prominent role for women in peace processes. As a member of the Syrian Women’s Initiative for Peace and Democracy, she works together with numerous organizations including UN Women. She participated in a panel discussion at our international feminist conference “Dare the impossible”, where she reported on violence against women in the Syrian conflict.



Image: Stephan Röhl

Gloria Atiba-Davies – Investigator at the International Criminal Court in The Hague. Her work focuses in particular on sexual and gender-based violence, crimes against children, and victim and witness protection. Prior to working at the ICC, she was principal state counsel in her home country of Sierra Leone. She attended our international feminist conference “Dare the impossible” in October 2015, where she took part in a panel discussion on wartime sexual violence.

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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 organization, 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: defense 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 presenting and discussing 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-organize 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.

■ 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 development 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 the Foundation aims to strengthen ecological and civic 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 sociopoliti-

cal education programs with its project partners abroad is on a long-term basis. Additional important instruments of international cooperation include visitor programs, which enhance the exchange of experiences and political networking, as well as basic and advanced training programs for committed activists. ■ The Heinrich Böll Foundation's Scholarship 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. ■ Ralf Fücks and Barbara Unmüßig are the current Presidents. Dr. 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, France, Poland, the Czech Republic, Turkey, Greece, Russia, Georgia, Ukraine, Bosnia, Serbia, Israel, Lebanon, the Arab Middle East, Tunisia, Morocco, Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa, Thailand, Myanmar, Cambodia, Pakistan, India, Afghanistan, China, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, El Salvador and the United States. In 2015, the Foundation had about 57.6 million euros in public funds at its disposal.

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