

# Annual Report 2013



# 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 30 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

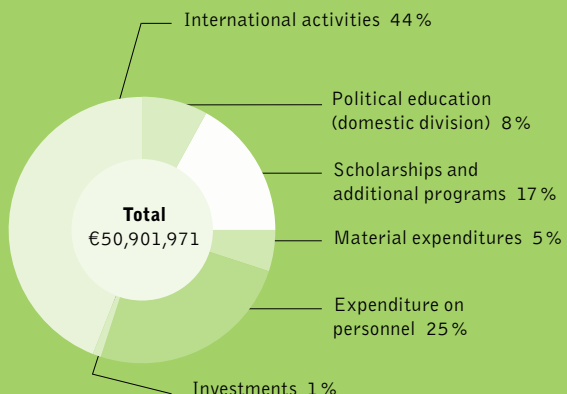
### Sources and allocation of funding

The Heinrich Böll Foundation e.V. is funded almost entirely through public grants. In the reporting year of 2013, the Foundation had 50.9 million euros at its disposal (preliminary figures).

In 2013, the bulk of funds (44%) went toward our international activities. Other increases were directed toward our scholarship program, material expenditures, and investment (see figure for percentages).

### Allocation of funding

2013





# 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 New 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 (Lebanon)
- 26 Ramallah (Palestine)
- 27 Rabat (Morocco)
- 28 Tel Aviv (Israel)
- 29 Tunis (Tunisia)

## North America

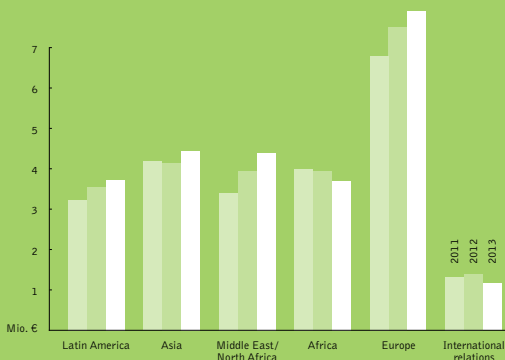
- 30 Washington (USA)

## Russian Federation

- 31 Moscow (Russia)

## International cooperation

2010-2013



The Heinrich Böll Foundation's largest source of funding is the Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development, which provided approximately 23,2 million euros in funding in 2013. This amount included roughly 570,000 euros for measures to mitigate climate change in developing countries and 258,000 euros in targeted funds for Syria. International cooperation funds totaling 270,000 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 574,000 euros was targeted toward projects in Africa and North Caucasus 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 Photo: Julia Baier



Barbara Unmüßig Photo: Bettina Keller

The conflicts occurring throughout the world last year – from Syria, Egypt, and Afghanistan to Hungary, Turkey, and most recently Ukraine – have also had a major influence on the Heinrich Böll Foundation's work. We are doing our utmost to support many initiatives and political actors who are taking action locally to promote democratic structures, human rights, and peaceful solutions to conflicts. One of the primary tasks of Germany's political foundations is to foster the development of a transnational public sphere. Together with our partners, we work to incorporate analyses and perspectives from around the globe into the public discourse in Germany and Europe. This includes issues that many people are reluctant to address, such as sexual violence in conflict situations. Our highly skilled staff performs outstanding work – often under very difficult conditions – to achieve our objectives. They deserve our respect and gratitude.

In 2013, the future of the European Union was again one of the top priorities of our work. The global financial crisis has exacerbated economic inequality and social tensions within the Eurozone. This has provided a fertile breeding ground for the return of nationalist resentments that pose a threat to the project of European integration. To oppose this trend, our current work is placing an added emphasis on the benefits of cooperation and solidarity in all policy areas, both domestic and international. The foundational values of the European Community – democracy, equal opportunity, the rule of law, and security through cooperation – are as urgent today as they ever were.

Germany's efforts to transform its energy system, too, will only succeed if they are embedded in a common European energy and climate policy. In this context, the green energy revolution remains a key priority of our work, both in Germany and abroad. We disseminate Germany's path-breaking experiences to audiences around the world and promote dialogues on energy policy with our European neighbors.

Another central focus of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's work is to contribute to social and environmental transformations worldwide. Just one example here is our 2013 Meat Atlas, which investigates the social and environmental impacts that European meat consumption has on developing and emerging countries. The public response was so resounding that we published a Meat Atlas again in 2014. The study sheds light on little-known aspects of the large-scale international trade in meat products spanning vast distances encompassing Europe and the United States and even China and India.

Our success is the result of teamwork. We would like to express our thanks to our partners in Germany and abroad, to the members of our volunteer boards and commissions, and to all of our dedicated staff. They form the backbone of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's successful work.

Berlin, April 2014



Ralf Fücks



Barbara Unmüßig

Presidents, Heinrich Böll Foundation

# At a Glance

## 3 The Great Transformation

We want to accelerate the transition to a sustainable economic system. To this end, we develop alternative reform strategies in a wide variety of policy areas including energy, mobility, urban development, resources, and agriculture. We provide a forum for people who are committed to achieving an environment-friendly transformation, and we forge alliances to boost their efforts.

## 8 Democracy and Human Rights

We work in countries with established democracies, but we also work in countries with authoritarian and repressive regimes and in regions confronting active conflicts or struggling with post-conflict scenarios. Together with our partners, we attempt to expand opportunities for political and social participation.

## 14 Gender Policy/LGBTI Rights

In order for a democracy to function properly, it is essential that all individuals enjoy equal rights. In many parts of the world, women are still forced to take on conventional roles and are excluded from political life. In addition to promoting gender democracy, we place a particular priority on boosting the participation of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and intersex (LGBTI) individuals and organizations in political and social life.

## 16 Foreign and Security Policy

The EU lacks a cohesive foreign and security policy. We want to contribute to a sustainable German and European foreign policy that is based on the values of democracy and human rights. In 2013, we organized a major international conference on digital warfare and an expert meeting on the future of arms control.

## 18 European Policy

Many Europeans are asking themselves whether the European Union – with its current structures and policies – still offers positive prospects. We organize many events and produce a wide variety of studies on Europe. The aim is to facilitate discussions on the future of the EU, to highlight the benefits that EU-wide action can bring, and to give voice to Europe's diversity.

## 21 Scholarship Program

The future needs good minds! In 2013, we provided financial support to a total of 852 undergraduate and graduate students as well as 235 doctoral candidates. 57 percent of our

fellows are women, and 43 percent are men. We brought 310 new fellows on board in 2013. In addition to receiving financial support, our fellows advanced their skills through an extensive program of events focusing on such issues as adaptation to climate change; career obstacles facing women; and the relationship between art and revolution. In 2013, we launched the academic and training program «Shaping Transformation» for 24 selected fellows.

## 22 Art and Culture

We promote art and culture as vehicles for expressing how society reflects upon and understands itself. Through such activities as the international conference «Energize, Polarize, Mobilize», we explore the connections between digital culture and activism in social and political movements. We also organize literature festivals, workshop-conferences, and panel discussions on cultural issues.

## 25 Heinrich Böll House in Langenbroich

In many countries, artists face repression because of their committed stand for freedom. Our stipend program at the Heinrich Böll House in the village of Langenbroich provides writers and artists with the opportunity to work undisturbed and without financial concerns for a period of several months. In 2013, our guests were mainly writers and poets from Syria. In Langenbroich, they were able to recover from war and persecution, devote themselves to their craft, and continue their peaceful advocacy for an end to the war and for democracy and human rights in their home country.

## 26 Awards and Prizes

The Heinrich Böll Foundation also awards prizes! The major award winners in 2013 included Mahdi Fleifel, who won the Peace Film Award for his film *A World Not Ours*; the feminist activist and intellectual Lepa Mladjenovic, who was honored with the Anne Klein Women's Award; and historian Timothy Snyder, who was awarded the Hannah Arendt Prize.

## 28 International Office Anniversaries

2013 saw the 20th anniversary of our office in Pakistan, the 15th anniversary of our EU office in Brussels, and the 10th anniversary of our office in Georgia. Conferences and ceremonies marked these important occasions as we looked back at histories, recapitulated political developments, and celebrated with our staff, partners, and regional guests from civil society and government.



Photo: picture alliance / Ikon images

# Paving the Way Toward an Environment-Friendly Modern World

Our current economic model not only endangers the climate and the environment, it also poses a threat to the resources that people's livelihoods depend on – in both today's generation and in future generations. We want to accelerate the transition to a low-carbon, resource-efficient, and equitable global society. To this end, we are working to develop alternative reform strategies in a wide variety of policy areas, including energy, mobility, urban development, resources, agriculture, and global commons. We also foster debates on undesirable technological and political trends. Our goal is for all of the world's people to enjoy prosperous lives in democratic societies. However, this goal can be achieved only if we live within the Earth's ecological limits, and this calls not only for economic transformation but also for major cultural and social change. We are actively involved in efforts to build a civil society that can create, wherever possible, the necessary political conditions for paving the way forward.





**New Economy of Nature. A Critical Introduction**  
By Thomas Fatheuer  
Volume 35 of the Publication Series Ecology  
Edited by the Heinrich Böll Foundation  
Berlin, April 2014, 68 pages

### Is a «new economy of nature» the solution?

The «new economy of nature» could provide a potential solution to the great environmental crises confronting our world. The advocates of this approach argue that one of the main reasons for the destruction and over-exploitation of natural resources is that the benefits nature provides to humankind are unaccounted for in economic terms. To protect nature, they assert, we must give it a value. But can nature really be better protected if the existential benefits it provides to humankind are expressed in dollars and euros? Will policymakers and entrepreneurs make better decisions if they measure the value of natural resources and incorporate these values into their economic policies and business plans? In 2013, we continued to take a critical and differentiated look at the concepts, instruments, and stakeholders that feature in the «new economy of nature». The Foundation published an easy-to-understand introduction to the subject, written by Thomas Fatheuer, which analyzes the concepts and instruments that follow from the idea of monetizing nature. It also provides practical examples that shed light on conflicting social and environmental objectives and point out the powerful yet risky consequences such a new economy could have.

### The power of the commons

The global commons movement is growing, and the Foundation has contributed to this development. For years now, we have been supporting efforts to advance the idea of the commons and promoting networks among stakeholders in the movement. For example, in May 2013 we joined forces with the Commons Strategies Group and other partners to organize a working and networking conference in Berlin. Presentations and workshops focused on commons-based alternatives for land and water use, the reorganization of labor and money, and the need to develop infrastructure to serve the commons. With approximately 220 «commoners» from 30 countries in attendance, the conference embodied the extraordinary diversity of stakeholders and the wide variety of political, cultural, and historical contexts they are engaged in. While some groups – such as urban gardeners or people promoting the digital commons – are just starting to discover the importance of the commons, others – mainly from the global South, and indigenous peoples in particular – are struggling to defend the last remaining common goods and the territories where these goods are located. This diversity has given rise to vastly different organizational forms and policy interventions. We will continue to address the question of a common identity and structural similarities among the diverse individuals and groups who are active in the commons movement. Answering this question will be crucial for efforts to forge future alliances with other movements that can strengthen the economy of the commons.

→ [www.boell.de/en/topics/commons](http://www.boell.de/en/topics/commons)

→ [www.remixthecommons.org/en](http://www.remixthecommons.org/en)

### Green transformation in Africa: the Makoko project – promoting urban development from the bottom up

Boulevards, bank towers, and luxurious glass-paned hotels – this is the city government's vision for the Nigerian mega-city of Lagos. The city's many informal settlements and even its historical districts merely represent obstacles that stand in the way. One of these older districts is the fishing community of Makoko, a lively urban jewel that many people believe has the potential to be transformed into the «Venice of Africa». However, from the government's point of view, the stilt houses of Makoko's roughly 20,000 inhabitants are simply an eyesore. In July 2012, the city attempted once again to tear down the houses with brute force. The demolition was stopped only in response to public protests and after a resident was shot to death by police. Then the residents of Makoko came up with a unique initiative: They submitted a proposal laying out their own vision for the district's development and called for the



The Makoko floating school was erected on top of plastic barrels Photo: hbf



proposal to be incorporated into the city's construction plans. Over the course of one year, local and international architects and urban planners developed the «Makoko/Iwaya Waterfront Regeneration Plan» in collaboration with local residents. The plan aims to upgrade and fundamentally transform the entire district. For example, new neighborhood centers would provide women with communal kitchens where they could use biogas – a healthier and more environment-friendly fuel – to make smoked fish, their primary source of income. Simple biogas generators would be fueled by organic waste, thereby solving multiple infrastructure problems in a single stroke: Local residents would finally gain access to electricity, while waste that used to end up in the lagoon would be processed as fuel. The planned neighborhood centers would also contain areas where women could plant vegetables for their own consumption or for commercial purposes. Organic fertilizer from the biogas generators could be used for this purpose. Once the area's waste problems were solved, the «new Makoko» could then be developed into an attractive destination for visitors. This clever strategy would also enable the city – with the support of fishing communities around the lagoon – to secure a food supply that is less dependent on imports.

The Foundation's Nigeria office has actively supported the Makoko project. In addition, it has helped the project win the enthusiasm of experts and has created a platform for exchanges and networking. In all stages of development, the project has been discussed and improved with the input of various experts and stakeholders. This type of participatory planning is rare in Nigeria. It was therefore crucial to gain the support of officials at relevant government ministries, who followed the planning process attentively in their capacity as private citizens and then paved the way for an official presentation to the government. In 2014, the project is being showcased at two major architecture biennales in Venice and Rotterdam.

### **Dance with the devil?**

#### **Foundation dialogue with the German automotive industry**

Over the period of a year, our discussions on the environmental transformation of key industrial sectors focused on the automotive industry. Together with mechanical engineering, the chemical industry, and electrical engineering, the automotive industry epitomizes Germany's industrial sector. It possesses paramount importance in terms of both employment and the country's industrial structure. As a result, anyone who is concerned with Germany's future must also address the future of the automotive industry (and its suppliers).

In a series of expert meetings, we addressed contentious issues such as alternative drive technologies, resource consumption, safety, car-to-car and car-to-infrastructure networking, and the embedding of cars in intermodal transportation systems (e.g. Car2Go). On certain issues, diverse stakeholders such as the Greens, environmental associations, the research community, and the business sector share the same vision: For example, we all want to cut energy consumption and reduce our dependence on oil. The big challenge, however, is to find the right strategies to achieve these goals. This fact was also evident at the conference «Auto 3.0», held in January 2013 in Berlin, which brought together two groups that are rarely on speaking terms: grass-roots environmentalists and automotive engineers. On most leading global markets, it is the size of cars that counts – luxury sedans and SUVs are major generators of revenue for carmakers. Europe, however, is pushing in a different direction, as more and more emphasis is placed on reducing CO<sub>2</sub> emissions. Ever since the European Union adopted strict environmental regulations for motor vehicles, automobile manufacturers have been developing new motors and fuel-saving technologies that are gradually enhancing the environ-



Will this be the Makoko of the future?

Photo: Fabienne Hölzel, Fabulous Urban



Dr. Anna-Maria Karl, Daimler AG

Photo: Stephan Röhl



Matthias Wissmann, VDA President

Photo: Stephan Röhl

Video: → [www.youtube.com/user/boellstiftung](http://www.youtube.com/user/boellstiftung)



Seven energy experts from Kenya, Nigeria, Tanzania, Burkina Faso, and Somalia visited Berlin in August 2013 to get a first-hand look at Germany's energy transition. Photo: hbf

→ [www.germanclimatefinance.de](http://www.germanclimatefinance.de)

**Powering Africa through feed-in tariffs:  
Advancing renewable energy to meet the continent's electricity needs – February 2013**

This study, which was commissioned by the Foundation, is based on a comprehensive analysis of existing or planned legislation to promote renewable energy use in 13 African countries. Individual case studies examine the socio-economic effects of feed-in tariff regulations and illuminate the conditions for successful implementation.

→ [www.boell.de/en/2014/02/10/powering-africa-through-feed-tariffs](http://www.boell.de/en/2014/02/10/powering-africa-through-feed-tariffs)

→ [www.energytransition.de](http://www.energytransition.de)



The Berlin Resource Summit presented new ideas for a return to a sustainable resource use Photo: hbf

mental performance of cars. Kerstin Andreae, member of the Bundestag for the Green party, stated «consumers everywhere have to deal with the fact that resources are becoming scarcer, and this makes them more expensive». As a result, she argued, policymakers have to adopt ambitious targets and rules. This is a view that – in contrast to the past – the European automotive industry now largely agrees with. They know that European carmakers will have a competitive advantage if European standards are adopted at a global level.

**Fighting climate change and advocating a global transformation of energy systems**

A global climate agreement will be feasible only if it safeguards development opportunities for the majority of the world's population. The Foundation's task in this respect is to help formulate a global climate and energy policy and to facilitate the development of governance and enforcement structures. We are actively involved in international efforts to advance analyses and forge alliances that promote renewable energy and climate adaptation financing.

For example, in November 2013, our staff and partners were in Warsaw observing the 19th Conference of the Parties to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change and providing critical commentary and assessments in the form of blog entries, interviews, reports, and articles. One of the highlights of our activities there was the side event on «Transparency, Accountability and Integrity: Building an Effective and Efficient Green Climate Fund», which we organized together with the Stockholm Environment Institute.

The issue of international climate financing has taken on crucial significance in light of the risks posed by climate change and the urgent need for action. Here, our German/English website on climate financing aims to enhance the transparency of Germany's contribution to international climate financing for developing countries and to deliver a critical appraisal of German policies in this area. On the website, we provide an overview of approved and disbursed funds targeting climate change mitigation and adaptation, and we outline the relevant instruments and funding mechanisms. We also discuss the criteria for evaluating the impact of climate-related projects. This collaborative effort between the Heinrich Böll Foundation, Brot für die Welt, Germanwatch, and Oxfam Germany also offers a blog and a project database.

Our website on Germany's Energiewende (energy transition) has garnered significant praise, both at home and abroad. After its initial launch in English, it has now been translated into Spanish, French, Polish, Russian, Chinese, and Japanese. We also added an Energiewende blog in February 2013 that reports on the latest developments in Germany.

**Resource equity in a finite world**

The chase for the last remaining resources has begun. Our resource consumption already far exceeds what raw materials alone can cover. We are exploiting the Earth with no consideration of the losses that this will incur. How can we achieve a turn-around toward prudent raw materials policies? This will not be an easy task. The Foundation has launched a pilot project that recruited young people from 29 countries in Latin America, Europe, Africa, and Asia to spend a year examining the issue of resources in their regions. In September 2013, they came together to share their experiences, ideas, and visions at a Resource Summit in Berlin. The project is being assisted by a commission of 11 international experts in the fields of environmental and resource policy. At the end of the project, a report will be written up that lays out guidelines for the Foundation's future priorities in the area of resource policy ([www.boell.de/en/resource-equity](http://www.boell.de/en/resource-equity)).

### Resource policy in Tunisia

The democratic transition in Tunisia has facilitated the democratic control of resource policies. The country's new constitution, which took effect on 27 January 2014, calls for transparency in the use of natural resources (under Article 13). This important step was accomplished not least due to dedicated efforts by democracy activists, including the collective blog Nawaat, which promoted public discussions and lobbied hard on this issue. In this context, the Foundation supported studies analyzing the distribution of oil and gas concessions, thereby helping to ensure greater public awareness of issues such as (i) the need for democratic control of state-owned industries and (ii) the profits gained through the extraction of fuels (including gas, shale gas and oil, and phosphate).

### Resource management in Afghanistan

In 2010, reports of immense raw material deposits in Afghanistan aroused the world's attention. But whether or not the extraction of raw materials will contribute to economic development – for example, through the creation of new jobs and the expansion and upgrading of infrastructure – will depend on the transparency of decision-making processes in the awarding of contracts. The Foundation supports a civil society network established in 2012 that is formulating a five-year resource management strategy. As part of this support, we were involved in lobbying campaigns to revise mining legislation and were able to secure civil society involvement in procurement decisions. In addition, Foundation project partners brought residents from resource-rich regions in the provinces of Logar, Bamyan, Jowzjan, and Sar-e Pul together with national and international civil society actors and government representatives to talk about their interests and concerns.

### International agriculture policy

The linkages between decades-long intensive agricultural practices, the loss of biodiversity, hunger, and rural poverty have long been evident in many countries. These developments are further exacerbated by rising global meat consumption and industrial livestock production. We want to accelerate a re-thinking of agricultural practices. As part of our efforts, in 2013 we took advantage of the international public attention that is always drawn to farming- and food-related issues during the International Green Week in Berlin, the world's largest annual agricultural trade fair, by organizing our own parallel Green Week. Held under the motto «Landwirtschaft anders» («Doing agriculture differently»), our Green Week featured events and discussions addressing a broad spectrum of issues connected to the global food supply, farming, and agricultural trade. The main event was an international conference entitled «Agriculture in Transition» that focused on the issue of sustainable investment in agriculture. Organized in cooperation with Misereor, Oxfam, and the Czech NGO Glropolis, the conference provided a powerful counterweight to the official Green Week.

Our biggest success in this area, however, was our *Meat Atlas*, which we published together with *Le Monde Diplomatique* and Friends of the Earth Germany. This 50-page handbook with over 60 diagrams provides a detailed overview of the multiple problems associated with today's industrial meat production practices. This publication was far and away the Foundation's «hit product» of the year, with six editions by the end of 2013, and over 100,000 copies printed. It also broke the Foundation's social media records: Within the first 24 hours after publication, the website featuring the *Meat Atlas* counted over 16,000 visitors, and the publication was downloaded free of charge over 8,600 times.

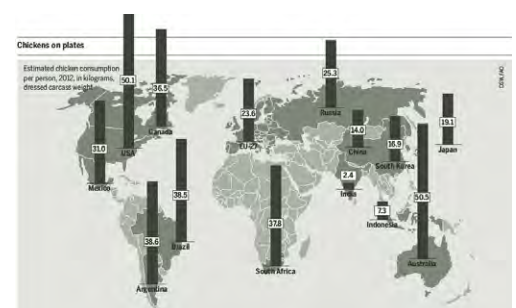
### What Future for International Climate Politics?

#### A Call for a Strategic Reset

Policy Paper by Hans Verolme, Farhana Yamin, Victor Menotti, Lili Fuhr

Ed. by the Heinrich Böll Foundation

Berlin 2013, 36 pages



### Meat Atlas

Facts and figures about the animals we eat

Edited by the Heinrich Böll Foundation in cooperation with Friends of the Earth Europe

First edition, Berlin 2014, 66 pages

Download: [www.boell.de/en/meat-atlas](http://www.boell.de/en/meat-atlas)





Photo: picture \_ alliance / abaca

# Strengthening Democratic Participation, Enforcing Human Rights

In many countries, government authorities respond with repression and intimidation to people who actively support human rights, the rule of law, women's rights, and socially and environmentally responsible economic policies. This is true not only in countries ruled by authoritarian regimes, but also in many formal democracies. Together with our international partners, we work hard in these countries to expand opportunities for political and social participation and emancipation. Of course, this is possible only to the extent that spaces for political action exist at all. Identifying these spaces is one of the core tasks of a political foundation, and this requires carefully honed instincts as well as a strong sense of responsibility, particularly toward our partners.



## Strengthening civil society in a turbulent

### Arab world: the example of Syria

The great hopes that were once attached to the «Arab Spring» have yielded to a sobering reality. Egypt is riven by power struggles between Islamists and the military. In Syria, the escalation of violence constitutes not only a humanitarian disaster but also a growing threat to the stability of neighboring countries. Despite the dangers, civil society is still taking courageous action, and we are trying to provide vigorous support.

Through our office in Beirut, for example, we work to support activists who are engaged in efforts to achieve a democratic Syria. For instance, we organized a training seminar on «rumor management» in 2013. Because it is very difficult to access reliable information in Syria, rumors are rampant. These rumors take on a life of their own, which impedes humanitarian assistance and exacerbates mistrust among oppositional forces. In the seminar, activists were taught how to counter speculation with facts and in this way to curb the destructive influence that rumors can have. This approach proved so useful that the United Nations commissioned our partners to offer similar training seminars in other locations.

We also provide funding for film projects and publications dealing with the situation in Syria, including the documentary «Not Who We Are» by the Lebanese filmmakers Carol Mansour and Muna Khalidi. The film depicts female refugees from Syria who talk about their experiences in exile. In addition, an issue of our *Perspectives* magazine focused on the subject of refugees. Several articles took a closer look at the problems that host communities can experience as a result of refugee flows – an issue that was also discussed with experts from the region at various events organized by our EU office in Brussels. These discussions produced a series of recommendations on how the EU and its member states can improve their efforts to alleviate the adverse impacts generated by the Syrian conflict. These recommendations are available for download at [www.lb.boell.org](http://www.lb.boell.org).

### Political upheaval and sexual violence

The use of sexual violence as a weapon during periods of political upheaval is a worldwide problem that tends to be viewed not as a weapon, but rather as a side effect of conflicts. The spectrum of sexual violence is very broad, ranging from intimidation and assault to mass rape and sexual slavery, with women and girls particularly at risk. Today, many experts argue that this particular type of violence is rooted in generalized discrimination against women in times of peace, which then erupts – or is specifically directed – against women in the form of sexual violence during times of crisis. For our international conference «(No) Spring for Women?», which was held in Berlin in December 2013, we invited activists from various world regions – and especially from Arab countries in transition – to take stock of the situation. Exact statistics on the magnitude of sexual violence are not available, and it is extremely difficult to document such violence given powerful social taboos against addressing the issue, particularly in the cases of Libya and Syria. This in turn raised the question: What possibilities and hindrances exist for achieving criminal prosecution of such acts in the future? While (mostly) younger activists called for interventionist and action-based approaches, other participants – mainly women’s rights organizations, policy-makers, and lawyers – placed a greater emphasis on the urgent need to implement existing national and international law. However, this confidence in legal-based approaches was not shared by all participants, some of whom argued that international law in particular too often remains a mere formality and has little to do with the facts on the ground.



I do not want to be born a refugee  
 Perspectives Middle East & North Africa #6  
 Ed. by the Heinrich Böll Foundation, Tunis, Beirut and  
 Ramallah 2013, 36 pages  
[www.boell.de/en/node/282243](http://www.boell.de/en/node/282243)

Our website [www.boell.de](http://www.boell.de) provides ongoing analysis of the latest developments in Syria, including the regional impacts of the Syrian conflict on countries such as Israel, Lebanon, and Turkey. We give voice to people from the region and use a variety of formats – including videos, interviews, and excerpts from lectures – to provide informed insights into a conflict whose dimensions and ramifications are increasingly impenetrable.



Patricia Sellers, Special Advisor at the International Criminal Court in The Hague **Photo: Stephan Röhl**

### **Our work in fragile states and societies in transition: the example of Afghanistan**

2014 will be a decisive year for Afghanistan and also for our work there. The withdrawal of international troops is expected to be completed by the end of the year, and a new government will be elected in April. How these elections are carried out, and their outcome, will have a major influence on whether or not stability and democracy can advance in Afghanistan and thereby prevent a backslide into violent conflict.

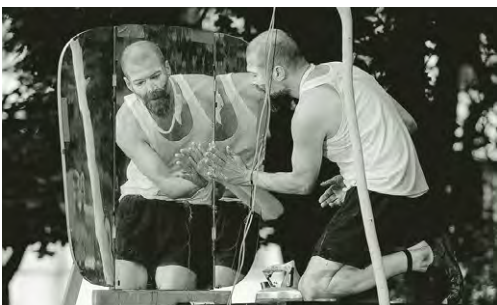
The Heinrich Böll Foundation provides assistance to international lobbying efforts by Afghan civil society actors and organizations. For example, with our support, a delegation of Afghan civil society actors traveled to Washington D.C., New York City, Brussels, and Berlin to present background information on the upcoming presidential and provincial council elections, together with recommendations for the subsequent political bargaining process and ongoing internal peace-building process. In addition, they took part in events at renowned research institutes, and they also participated in a conference at the European Parliament, which the Foundation co-organized with the European Network of NGOs in Afghanistan. These international exchanges led to the launch of new projects in Afghanistan and, even more importantly, reinforced the political identity and self-confidence of the Afghans in the delegation. In addition, since December 2013 the Foundation has been supporting an initiative to promote dialogue and networking between politically active young people in Afghanistan, with the aim of helping them formulate a political agenda for the period following the withdrawal of international troops in 2014.

### **Workshop for journalists from Myanmar**

For foreign observers in particular, the end of media censorship in Myanmar in August 2012 and the official closure of the state censorship authority in January 2013 provided further proof of the country's democratization and the government's serious intent to press forward in this direction. In Myanmar itself, however, reactions were mixed. Ever since these developments, young journalists have been testing their new freedoms, while older journalists are more restrained and still tend toward self-censorship when it comes to expressing criticism of the government, the military, and their ties to the economic elites. In November 2013, we collaborated with the *taz* Panter Stiftung (a foundation operated by the leftist daily newspaper *taz*) and the German Foreign Office to organize a training workshop in Berlin for journalists from Myanmar. The workshop agenda included subjects such as the role of the media in transformation processes and the responsibility of journalists when reporting on religious conflicts. The participants also visited various political institutions and met with representatives from government and civil society.

### **Protest, culture, politics: a creative uprising against fear**

Societies in Eastern Europe are stirring. Young people in particular are calling into question the cultural values that favor autocratic regimes. In June 2013, we invited 30 artists and activists from Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine to a conference in Berlin, where they presented projects and reported on developments in their respective countries. Even though not all of the participants viewed themselves as activists, many of them had experienced government repression. In a repressive environment, art that reflects just a piece of reality can be perceived as an act of resistance. For example, threats are part of everyday life for Gulya Sultanova, one of the organizers of the international LGBT film festival *Bok o Bok* («Side by side») in Saint Petersburg. In her view, Russia is becoming increasingly totalitarian, and the state is afraid of every freely expressed opinion, and of every expression of dissatisfaction. In turn, she added, repression is politicizing culture in Russia.



The DEREVO dance-theater ensemble performing at the conference *protest, culture, politics* in Berlin Photo: Stephan Röhl

The conference participants viewed personal conversations as particularly valuable. Belarusian artist and curator Sergey Shabohin stated, «As activists, we know who the like-minded people are, even across national borders, but it's difficult to convene in a single location». He felt it was symptomatic that most of the people at the conference were young. «As part of the Internet generation», he added, «we are more active politically and are not afraid to talk about it. Almost all political art in Belarus today is made by young people.»

### Civil society-based anti-violence initiatives in Mexico

Ever since the war on drugs was declared in 2006, violence in Mexico has risen dramatically. For this reason, our office in Mexico City supports local civil society initiatives that aim to prevent and control violence. In 2013, the Foundation presented a number of these initiatives in its publication *Picar Piedra*. Two of these initiatives are located in Saltillo, the capital and largest city of the northeastern Mexican state of Coahuila and a hot spot of violence. Here, the Grafitos organization offers cumbia dance classes for children and adolescents who live in neighborhoods where violence is especially common and where young people in particular are frequently recruited into the world of organized crime. The dancing serves as a form of prevention while simultaneously offering a brief respite from the violence that characterizes everyday life. The second initiative, FUUNDEC, is an association of families who are attempting to locate relatives and friends who have disappeared. The initiative started out as a small group of families searching for a total of 21 missing persons. Today the number of missing persons has risen to nearly 300, and none have been found to date. The families develop strategies for dealing with law enforcement officials and public authorities, conduct outreach, and provide each other with mutual support. They are now networked with a large number of similar national and international organizations.

*Picar Piedra* was presented in numerous Mexican cities, including Saltillo. On the day of the book presentation in Saltillo, hearings on the missing persons cases had taken place before the governor of Coahuila. Many of the family members came to our event following the hearings. Tears flowed and the mood was tense, because both victims (that is, family members of missing persons) and (potential) perpetrators were gathered in the same room. The event showed how difficult it is to cope with the consequences of violence and drug wars and to find new paths toward constructive co-existence: however, it is worth the effort, as these promising initiatives demonstrate. In the meantime, very few copies of *Picar Piedra* are left, even after a second printing.

### Land confiscation and displacement in Cambodia

Eighty percent of the Cambodian people live in rural areas. Most of these people are small farmers whose livelihoods depend on access to the land. For a number of years now, the government has been granting large-scale land concessions to private investors who frequently evict the farmers from their fields with the assistance of government security forces. Over half of Cambodia's total arable land has now been transferred to private investors. Against this backdrop, the Foundation supports communities and civil society organizations that are taking action to achieve legally guaranteed access to land and to ensure the observance of human rights. We assist them in their efforts to document and analyze the relevant problems, and we help victims of land confiscation to present their cases before officials, including at the international level. At the Annual World Bank Conference on Land and Poverty, which was held in Washington D.C. in April 2013, we presented a study on the problems that indigenous populations encounter in connection with land titling processes. In addition, we provided support for a report by the organization Equitable Cambodia that (i) describes how a European Union trade



Cumbia classes for young people – dance as anti-violence training for those living in a brutal environment. Photo: hbf

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*Picar Piedra* –  
Iniciativas Ciudadanas frente a la violencia  
Ed. by the Heinrich Böll Foundation  
Mexico 2013, 226 pages  
E-Book at [www.mx.boell.org/](http://www.mx.boell.org/)  
(only in Spanish)

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**Bittersweet Harvest – A Human Rights Impact Assessment of the European Union’s Everything But Arms Initiative in Cambodia**  
Ed. by Equitable Cambodia and Inclusive Development International  
Cambodia/Germany 2013, 100 pages

**Human Rights between the Sexes – A preliminary study on the life situations of inter\* individuals**  
By Dan Christian Ghattas  
Part of the Heinrich Böll Foundation’s Publication Series on Democracy – Volume 34  
Berlin, September 2013, 60 pages



Graphic: Ins A Kromminga

policy instrument, which was originally adopted to help fight poverty, has resulted in serious human rights violations and (ii) illuminates the role that companies from the neighboring country of Thailand have played in this connection. The report was presented not only in Cambodia but also at a public forum in Bangkok and to members of the European Parliament in Brussels. Some MEPs took up the report’s recommendations and are now calling for this EU program to be reviewed and modified in order to prevent adverse outcomes in the future.

### **Human rights between the sexes**

Inter\* individuals are often regarded as «sick» or «abnormal». Intersex individuals are people whose sex cannot be designated in accordance with the traditional medical standards for what are classified as male and female bodies. They are frequently assigned to the male or female sex/gender by means of surgical interventions, even during infancy. However, there is no medical necessity to do so, because intersex individuals are, for the most part, absolutely healthy. Medical treatment almost always takes place without the consent of inter\* individuals, especially when it is performed during the early years of their lives. They frequently suffer from serious psychological and physical effects resulting from the medical interventions. Consequently, they are largely denied the opportunity to develop a gender identity of their own, which may be located between the socially dominant bipolar sex/gender model of male or female. A study on the life circumstances of inter\* individuals, which was commissioned by the Foundation, was published in 2013. The author, Dan Christian Ghattas, surveyed inter\* activists in 12 countries and compiled a list of recommendations for improving these circumstances.

### **Working in networks: Chinese-Russian dialogue on coming to terms with recent history**

Global networks are expanding continuously – in business, in political affairs, and in civil society too. We are participating in this trend by intensifying the cooperation between our international offices, at both the regional and trans-regional level. Our aim is to develop and disseminate perspectives, discourses, and dialogue forums that focus on our strategic priorities and that transcend national borders. These efforts include organizing a wide variety of visitor programs. For example, in 2013 a group of Chinese intellectuals joined staff from our Beijing office for a visit to several cities in Russia, including Moscow, Saint Petersburg, and Perm. The main focus of the trip was to become familiar with the work of the Memorial organization (a partner of the Foundation and one of Russia’s leading human rights organizations) and their efforts to enforce human rights and to help Russian society to come to terms with its recent history. Russia and China experienced similar forms of political repression in the 20th century. For the past 25 years, it has been possible in Russia to research, discuss, and publish more or less freely on issues connected to the political repression of the past. In China, however, it is still not possible to engage in a critical analysis of most of China’s recent history. Crimes committed by the state are a subject that remains largely taboo; this is particularly true with respect to the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution under Mao, but it also applies to the bloody suppression of protests on Beijing’s Tiananmen Square in the early summer of 1989. However, some initial cautious attempts to address these issues are now being made in China – mostly by scholars and public intellectuals.

### **Maintaining a vibrant democracy in Germany**

There is a lot of talk about political apathy in Germany these days. Despite this purported trend, many people still want to be politically involved and to help shape the society around them – in their local commu-



nities, in parliament, at school, and at the workplace. We support initiatives and projects that aim to advance democratic participation and to maintain a vibrant democracy in Germany – in society, in political parties, and in institutions. This includes strategies for good migration policies and equitable gender relations. As Germany confronts the challenges of demographic change, we also keep an eye on issues such as the sustainability of social security systems, structural shifts in the educational system, and changes in working life. One of our activities in this area was the conference «Baustelle Demokratie» («Democracy under construction»), held in June 2013, which examined the question of how (through which procedures and processes) and where (in which locations and areas) we can improve our democracy. The event was open to everyone «who wants to get something moving». In a wide variety of workshops, political stakeholders and activists took an in-depth look at current problems and formulated recommendations on issues that cut across all policy areas, such as the self-organization of underrepresented groups and equitable gender representation.

### **Will we feel well tomorrow? Reforming Germany's health care system**

International comparisons show that Germany's health care system is performing quite well. Nevertheless, substantial reforms are needed to ensure high-quality and affordable health care for all. The current system is dominated primarily by the interests of providers – including the pharmaceutical industry, pharmacists, and private practice physicians – and thereby creates false incentives rather than rewarding the smart deployment of resources. The Foundation's commission on health care policy has proposed reforms toward a health care system that is based consistently on the interests of patients and insured persons. Among other things, this means re-shaping incentive and remuneration structures in a way that is geared toward the quality of health care and toward the health benefits that treatments provide to patients. In order to foster progress toward this goal, the commission formulated a number of recommendations for action. The commission's final report was presented to the public in February 2013.

### **Germany's pension system: What is the best way forward?**

The aging of society brings with it numerous changes that make «business as usual» unfeasible – adaptations are essential. However, just because demographic structures are changing does not mean that society is locked into specific policy adaptations that have no alternative – a fact that is often overlooked. There are still policy choices in an aging society. In November 2013, a demography commission set up by the Foundation unveiled policy recommendations that focused particularly on the issue of pensions. Their top recommendation: The statutory pension scheme must remain the central pillar of Germany's pension system in the future. In order to protect against old-age poverty, the Commission also recommends that old-age subsistence benefits be topped up with supplementary grants. In this way, the Commission argues in favor of maintaining a pension system in which a person's pension benefits are roughly equivalent to the contributions paid.

### **Training and visiting program for Roma**

For many years now, we have been providing support to Roma people in the Czech Republic who are or wish to become politically active. In 2013, we invited a group of seven Roma activists to Berlin for a training and visiting program. The Roma delegation included artist David Tišer, who was a candidate for the Czech Green Party during the early national elections held in October 2013. His stay in Berlin turned out to be an important experience that motivated him to become more active politically.



Conference «Democracy under construction»: Brigitte Young and Hartmut Rosa Photo: Stephan Röhl

→ [www.boell.de/de/baustelle demokratie](http://www.boell.de/de/baustelle_demokratie)



«We need to become more active as Roma people, at the local, national, and European level – this is the only way to bring about change and to have an influence,» David Tišer, candidate for the Czech Green Party 2013. Photo: Zdenka Lam-melová, Archiv Heinrich Böll Foundation Prag



Photo: hbf

# Gender policy makes a difference

Discrimination based on gender and sexuality is still part of everyday life all around the world: Women are forced to take on conventional roles and are excluded from political life, while homosexuals and transgender individuals must fear public humiliation and even physical violence. In order for a democracy to function properly, it is essential that all individuals enjoy equal rights. For this reason, the Heinrich Böll Foundation places a particular priority on women's participation in social and political affairs and on equal rights for lesbians, gay men, bisexual, transgender, and intersex (LGBTI) individuals. In many world regions, we work together with courageous partners to protect sexual minorities. We want to raise political awareness of the issues surrounding gender and sexuality. As part of this process, we want to help people combine their strengths, expand existing networks, and forge new alliances.



### **Mexico: «Man for a Day» - film and workshop**

What makes a man a man, and a woman a woman? What is innate, and what is socially constructed? In Mexico, the film «Man for a Day», by German filmmaker Katharina Peters, triggered a lively debate on identity and gender roles. The film documents a workshop run by the performance artist and gender activist Diane Torr. Mixing humor and seriousness, dozens of women transform themselves into men and imitate their posture, gestures, voices, and demeanor. Torr's aim is to help women discover possibilities for expanding their behavioral repertoire. Our Mexico City office brought the film to Mexico in 2013. Nearly 1000 people attended showings over the course of a few days. All of the screenings in Mexico City were sold out. Many men expressed astonishment and self-criticism about the roles they are perceived to play, while others were annoyed by what they considered «caricatures». Feminists were not convinced that it would be of any value for women to take on «male» behavior. In contrast, the film's ability to spur public discussion on the construction of gender identity met with a very positive response from the LGBTI community. Many women expressed the desire to take part in a «Man for a Day» workshop. Diane Torr responded by offering one.

### **India: gender dimensions of urban planning**

In December 2012, a young woman was brutally raped in Delhi and later died as a result of the attack. This case drew unprecedented public attention to the issue of sexual violence. Since then, protests and amendments to existing legislation have altered the social climate: People no longer remain silent about violence against women, the media provide prominent coverage of the problem, and awareness among law enforcement officials appears to have grown, at least in Delhi. However, the Foundation also wants to draw public attention to violence against women in areas where the problem exists but is often overlooked, for example, in the area of urban development and urban planning. In urban environments, there are real differences between the needs of men and women – not only in the area of security but also in connection with access to services, transportation systems, and care facilities. Urban planning must no longer be based predominantly on the needs of middle-class, able-bodied working males – and this is true not only for India. For the past two years, our Delhi office has been organizing a Gender and Macroeconomic Policy Forum in collaboration with the Institute for Social Studies Trust. In November 2013, one of the forum's panels took a closer look at the gender-specific dimensions of urban development and urban planning. Contributions to all of the forum's events are summarized in policy briefs aimed at policymakers and the interested public. As more forums take place, these policy briefs are growing into a valuable library containing information and recommendations to facilitate gender-conscious policy-making.

### **Brussels: visitor program for representatives of Russian LGBTI organizations**

In October 2013, a delegation of representatives from LGBTI organizations in Russia traveled to Brussels for a visitor program organized by our Moscow and Brussels offices. At a very well attended public event, our Russian guests reported on recent political and legal developments in Russia and their consequences for LGBTI activists. Since 2013, positive statements on homosexuality in the presence of minors or via media such as the Internet are punishable by law in Russia. The program included visits to the European External Action Service, the European Parliament's Intergroup on LGBT Rights, and the University of Brussels. For the Russian activists, these visits opened up new channels of communication with European institutions and new prospects for future collaboration.



Before and after: Women turning into men, imitating their postures, gestures, sound level, and demeanor.

For the «new men» see image on the left. Photo: hbf

### **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](http://www.gwi-boell.de)



Photo: picture alliance/AP Photo

# Towards a Values-Based European Foreign Policy

The global distribution of power has become increasingly complex. International foreign and security policy is now shaped by dozens of different actors that each possess varying levels of military, economic, and cultural power. Neither the United States nor the European Union is strong enough by itself to successfully assert Western interests in our multipolar world. The EU's influence in foreign policy matters is weakened by the fact that it is unable to speak with a single voice. As a result, it risks becoming a follower, and not a shaper, as the new world order coalesces. The Heinrich Böll Foundation's activities in the area of foreign policy aim 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».



### 2013 Annual Foreign Policy Conference

Within just a few years, unmanned weapons systems have evolved from a futuristic concept to an almost regular part of military operations. There is a global trend toward the automation of war by means of drones, long-distance surveillance, and attacks on the computer systems of other countries. The digital age has now spread to military operations. In Germany, the debate over digital warfare is part of everyday political life. Our 14th Annual Foreign Policy Conference on «High-Tech Wars», which took place in June 2013, was the first major public conference to address the peace and security challenges posed by digital warfare. Our focus was not simply on the fear of «killer robots» but rather on the problems that the development of unmanned systems raise in terms of ethics, international law, and disarmament policy. The discussions among policymakers, security experts, international law specialists, and NGO representatives from a wide variety of countries revealed how complex the questions are. While participants were nearly unanimous in their criticism of targeted drone strikes as currently practiced by the United States, there was much more disagreement over the ethical and international legal dimensions of automated warfare. The discussions also highlighted the fact that, as is so often the case, new technologies of warfare are developed and deployed so quickly that public discourse over their control usually lags behind. As a result, participants expressed general agreement in demanding that national parliaments place a stronger focus on these issues in order to pull the matter of digital warfare out of the gray zone of research centers, the arms industry, and military institutions and into the realm of public debate.

### The future of arms control

The issues of arms control and disarmament were once central priorities of Germany's Green movement but have now fallen largely under the radar. To draw renewed attention to these issues, in September 2013 we joined forces with the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) and Hamburg University's Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy (IFSH) for a two-day international conference on the future of arms control. At the event, experts from 13 countries examined ways to make disarmament, arms control, and non-proliferation policies more effective under the conditions of the 21st century. Among other things, the discussions illuminated various perspectives on how U.S. military superiority affects approaches toward conventional and nuclear arms control. Participants also looked at how regional power dynamics influence arms control policies in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East. The contributions to the conference were compiled in an English-language publication entitled *The Future of Arms Control*.

### The nuclear arms race in South Asia

Nowhere in the world is the current build-up of nuclear arsenals as intense as in South Asia. According to various estimates, Pakistan alone has approximately 100 nuclear warheads at its disposal. The nuclear agreement between the United States and India heightened Pakistan's determination not to let its arch-enemy India gain the upper hand in their nuclear arms race, nor to risk the danger that the United States might further undermine Pakistan's sovereignty as part of the U.S. «war on terror». So it was no surprise that the book *Confronting the Bomb: Pakistani and Indian Scientists Speak Out* – published by our Islamabad office in cooperation with the renowned Pakistani nuclear physicist Pervez Hoodbhoy and Oxford University Press – triggered a significant amount of public discussion. The book sends out a warning call urging government and military officials to remain fully aware of the risks and consequences of nuclear warfare and to uphold their responsibility to the people of South Asia by pursuing strategies of de-escalation.



Political scientist Prof. Herfried Münkler presenting a paper on new weapons systems and the ethics of war Photo: Stephan Röhl



Daphne Eviatar of the NGO Human Rights First stated that approximately 4,700 people have been killed by US drones Photo: Stephan Röhl

→ [www.boell.de/de/14\\_aussenpolitische\\_jahrestagung\\_high\\_tech\\_kriege](http://www.boell.de/de/14_aussenpolitische_jahrestagung_high_tech_kriege)

### The Future of Arms Control

Ed. by the Heinrich Böll Foundation.  
In cooperation with Anne Finger and  
IFSH Berlin 2014, 128 pages

### The G20 and BRICS Update: transparency and public outreach

The Foundation's *G20 and BRICS Update* is a bi-monthly English-language newsletter that keeps interested readers up to date on G20 and BRICS activities. The newsletter is geared primarily toward internationally active civil society organizations that monitor the G20 process. However, it is also intended as a form of outreach to government institutions, because it provides insights into the critical viewpoints of civil society organizations and the scholars and scientists associated with them. The Update includes current analyses and reports reflecting a variety of regional and political perspectives, and it also provides recommendations for further reading.

→ [www.boell.de/news](http://www.boell.de/news)



Photo: Peter Hirth/laif

# For a Strong and United Europe

Even though the economic data have improved slightly, the crisis in Europe is far from over. Many Europeans are asking themselves whether the European Union – with its current structures and policies – still offers positive prospects. Populist and anti-European parties are gaining increasing traction. If Europe is to regain its status as a model for the future, what has to change? One of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's key priorities is to foster debate on necessary reforms, and we aim to show where the EU can provide added value, for example, through a common energy and climate policy based on renewable energy sources, through collaborative fiscal and economic policies that promote environment-friendly growth, and through coordinated foreign, security, and neighborhood policies that place a strong emphasis on cooperation. We think in European dimensions, we give voice to Europe's diversity, and we promote EU-wide discussions on the findings of our projects and activities.



### Europe's young people: promoting networks and exchanges

The current crisis has had a particularly dire effect on Europe's young people. Jobs are scarce, particularly in southern Europe, and future prospects are bleak as a result. Despite – or perhaps precisely because of – this state of affairs, many young people are taking action to create a «better Europe». Instead of capitulating, they are launching initiatives and networks to fight for democracy, social equity, and environmental transformation. We support their efforts by organizing events and workshops that serve as a platform for networking and exchanges. For example, we joined forces with the Young European Federalists and the Federation of Young European Greens to organize the conference «Europe's Future – Your Future», which was held in Berlin in the autumn of 2013. At the conference, various workshops focused on strategies for overcoming the economic crisis, strengthening democratic structures in the EU, and fostering an EU-wide energy transformation. A variety of initiatives were given the opportunity to present their work.

### Support for a new start: the example of Greece

The Foundation opened a new office in Thessaloniki in 2012. Our aim there is to strengthen those actors who are committed to building a new participatory political culture and to promote socio-environmental reforms. One example is the Alliance for Water, a project geared toward the reorganization of the municipal water supply, which we implemented jointly with the Greek Green Cities Network and the environmental organization Mesogeios SOS. Over the course of half a year, municipal water companies worked together with Greek and German environmentalists who are experts in water policy. Their collaboration produced a handbook containing strategies and practical recommendations for sustainable water management. These strategies treat citizens not as consumers but as co-owners of a crucial public good – namely water – who bear corresponding responsibility for its proper management.

### European Neighborhood Policy

The European Union must develop a new Neighborhood Policy. This is particularly crucial in the case of the Mediterranean region, but it is also necessary in connection with the EU's neighboring countries to the east, which have been intentionally left in a state of limbo between the EU's Neighborhood Policy on the one hand, and EU accession on the other. The Foundation organizes events and sponsors studies that aim to help develop responsible neighborhood policies. In addition, we provide support for efforts to strengthen democratic forces in the EU's neighboring regions, for example in southeastern Europe. While pressure from Brussels has helped improve relations between Serbia and Kosovo, ties between these two countries still remain far from normal. In November 2013, our Belgrade office organized a trip to the political centers of Berlin for a group of ethnic Serbs and Albanians from Kosovo who are active in politics and civil society. This was followed in December by a conference on Serbia-Kosovo relations, which was held in Belgrade. During discussions at the conference, it quickly became clear that, in order to achieve further progress towards normalizing relations between the two countries, continued support and pressure from the EU is essential. Both countries exploit the Kosovo conflict as a means to obtain rewards from Brussels for the compromises they strike – rewards that can then be held out to domestic audiences as accomplishments.

### Pressing forward with the transformation of Europe's energy system

We want Europe to be a pioneer in the fields of renewable energy and energy efficiency technology. To achieve this goal, it is imperative for EU member states to engage in joint efforts. While Germany has pressed forward on its own with policies to transform its energy system (a strategy



Michalis Goudis from Greece presented his project «Thessaloniki in a different way», which promotes exchanges between young creative professionals and the business community *Photo: Stephan Röhl*

«Young Voices of Europe» – young Europeans present their ideas on the future of Europe Blog

→ [www.young-voices.boellblog.org](http://www.young-voices.boellblog.org)



Greek local governments collaborate with NGOs to create a sustainable water supply *flickr/harald walker*

## 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](http://www.greencampus.de)

called the *Energiewende*), it is now essential to get our fellow European member states on board and to convince them of the benefits of a European alliance for renewable energy. There are still many open questions, and these must be answered within the framework of a broad-based European debate that includes policymakers, scientists, the business community, and civil society. Facilitating such a debate, and bringing these diverse stakeholders around a single table, is one of the Foundation's major strengths. For example, our offices in Brussels, Prague, and Warsaw have launched the transnational project EnergyTransition@EU (formerly GET@EU), which is coordinated by our EU office in Brussels. While Germany's *Energiewende* serves as the basis for this project, it is not the only reference point. This is because the goal of transforming energy systems – as a grass-roots project pushed by dedicated, environmentally conscious citizens – already exists in many countries: in some as an idea that is just taking root, and in others as a more-developed strategy that is starting to bear fruit.

### Alternative energy scenarios for Poland

In Poland, the government's energy policy continues to place a central focus on electricity from coal-fired power plants. The government is also sticking to its plans to expand the use of nuclear power and to extract gas from shale. However, resistance to these policies is starting to grow in Polish society. According to surveys, a majority of the population supports renewable energy development and wants a stronger focus on energy efficiency. In 2013, our Warsaw office and its partner organizations placed particular emphasis on lobbying efforts to support draft legislation that would establish legal mechanisms to expand the use of renewable energy sources and ensure the involvement of local grass-roots initiatives, farmers, energy cooperatives, and city authorities in the decision-making process. This would alter the policy-making dynamics in Poland, because to date decisions have been driven solely by the government and major corporations.

Other Foundation activities in Poland included support for a comprehensive study by the Warsaw-based Institute for Renewable Energy that describes the economic and social benefits that could be won by tapping renewable energy sources. The study was presented in various forums including the Polish Senate and the National Fund for Environmental Protection and Water Management.

### Revamping European migration policy

More people than ever before are abandoning their home countries due to fear of political violence and repression, a lack of economic prospects, or the consequences of environmental disasters. Many of them hope to find a new home in Europe. However, Europe still has not reached a sustainable social and political consensus on the question of who is entitled to protection and asylum, and who is not. We want to facilitate discussions that will lead to the reorientation of migration policies at both the European and national levels.

In October 2013 alone, over 400 people died in an attempt to reach the Italian island of Lampedusa. In the aftermath of this humanitarian disaster, we organized a panel discussion entitled «Sinkende Boote – dichte Schotten» («Sinking boats – sealed hatches»). While the southern European countries of Malta, Italy, and Greece feel like they have been left on their own to deal with migration problems, the other member states and EU institutions are primarily concerned with reinforcing the EU's external borders. At the discussion, Green MEP Ska Keller, Italian human rights activist Father Mussie Zerai, Günter Burkhardt of the organization Pro Asyl, and Asouquo Ude, spokesperson for a Hamburg-based refugee self-help organization, talked about how the EU's closed-border policy directly affects migration and refugee flows.

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Greening the Heartlands of Coal in Europe. Insights from a Czech-German-Polish Dialogue on Energy Issues  
Prague 2014, 60 pages

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Summer school in Szczecin: Workshops and a one-day study trip to Germany focused on practical questions such as opportunities for the use of renewables and the creation of green jobs. Photo: Katarzyna Ugryn/hbf

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## 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 2013, the Foundation's Scholarship Program selected 310 new fellows from a pool of 1,999 applicants. Last year, a total of 852 undergraduate and graduate students as well as 235 doctoral candidates received financial support (57% women, 43% men). 1,002 of these scholarships were financed by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research; of this group, 312 fellows (31%) had an immigrant background and 394 (39%) came from families with no academic background. In addition, funding from the Federal Foreign Office paid for scholarships for 85 international fellows; of this group, 22 fellows (26%) were from other European countries and 63 (74%) from non-European countries.

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

In addition to financial support, the Scholarship Program provides fellows with personalized advisory services to help them plan their course of studies. We also offer networking opportunities as well as an extensive program of events including seminars, workshops, study trips, discussion forums, and much more. 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. As always, our events in 2013 covered an extraordinary range of topics, including a seminar on the role of forests in environmental and climate policy.

### Study program: «Shaping transformation»

The great economic and environmental challenges of our time call for structural changes to build a global economic order that is both sustainable and environmentally sound. This process demands forward-looking decisions, affects individual lifestyles, and requires new forms of political participation. It will also place significant demands on future specialists, managers, and leaders. Our two-year study program, «Shaping Transformation», provides 24 selected fellows with the opportunity to build skills in these areas. The program was launched in 2013 and encompasses a wide range of events, joint projects (with expert supervision), and internships in businesses and organizations. Our aim is to provide program participants with the necessary skills to carry out their future tasks in transforming social structures.



Najat Abdulhaq studied economics and received Foundation support from 2007 to 2009 for her dissertation on «Entrepreneurial Minorities in Modern Egyptian History: Jews and Greeks 1885-1960». After working for the German UNESCO Commission and the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ, the German government's development agency) in various locations such as Palestine, she served until 2013 as editor and project leader for the Arab division of Deutsche Welle TV. She now serves in the energy and climate change division at the embassy of the United Arab Emirates in Berlin. [Photo: Abdulhaq](#)



Mohamed Amjahid studied political science at the Freie Universität Berlin and the University of Cairo. He was a Foundation fellow from 2008 to 2014 as part of our program «A Different Type of Media Diversity». He currently specializes on processes of political transformation in the Mediterranean region and also writes on European and transatlantic issues. He has won several awards for his reports, including a RIAS Award and the Alexander Rhomberg Award for young journalists. [Photo: Jan Schaller](#)



Photo: Stephan Röhl

# Art as a Barometer of Politics and Society

Artists have always had a special ability to engage with transitions, uncertainties, and experimentation. Now digital culture is providing them with new forms of artistic collaboration and revolutionizing social interactions with our cultural heritage. The Foundation promotes art and culture as vehicles for expressing how society reflects upon and understands itself. In addition, we explore 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 international film festivals, workshops, conferences, and panel discussions on pressing cultural issues.

### **Energize, Polarize, Mobilize!**

Anyone who wants to carry out successful political initiatives in today's world must be proficient in social media and must know how to communicate strategically and creatively with these new instruments. From March 21-24, 2013, we hosted «Mobilize», a workshop-conference that brought together activists from around the world to share their expertise and opinions on what it takes to engage in successful activism in the year 2013: What are the latest tools and trends? What are key opportunities and challenges? Presentations and panel discussions took an in-depth look at online and offline strategies in areas such as women's rights, digital freedom, and democracy promotion. We developed a new format for the event, and it worked – the combination of (i) experts-only workshops and (ii) specific days open to the general public created new spaces for fostering ideas and creativity. In addition, a BarCamp generated promising new alliances, as participants jointly discussed and experimented with ways to combine art and activism using a mixture of online and offline techniques.

### **Counterculture in Tunisia**

In Tunisia, the freedom of artistic expression has become a focal point for heated political disputes. Salafist groups are threatening independent artists, galleries, and exhibition spaces, and courts are handing down prison sentences to young rappers who denigrate the police in their songs. In 2013, we provided support for a festival of underground culture that took place on avenue Habib Bourguiba, the main thoroughfare of Tunis. The event was organized by the Tahadi association, a community center based in the volatile neighborhood of Hayy at-Tadhamun. Over several days, rappers, skateboarders, and graffiti artists demonstrated their skills and called for the right to free speech and free artistic expression.

### **The death of theater in Hungary?**

In Hungary, government authorities are tightening the grip on the country's cultural production. In December 2013, we hosted a conference in Berlin with the title «Whatever happened ... to the Hungarian theatre?», which placed a special focus on Hungary's theater scene and current attempts to re-interpret national and cultural identity in Hungary. One panel discussion asked the question: What kind of theater do the people need? The discussants included Attila Vidnyánszky, director of Hungary's National Theater, whose national conservative views were countered by György Szabó, managing director of the Trafó House of Contemporary Arts, Hungary's leading venue for contemporary performing arts, and Árpád Schilling, director and founder of the internationally renowned theater company Krétakör (Chalk Circle). It would have been impossible to see Vidnyánszky and Schilling together on the same panel in Budapest, because they represent such irreconcilably opposed positions. This noteworthy juxtaposition of participants was complemented by additional panel discussions comparing international cultural promotion practices and examining divergent interpretations of seminal events in Hungarian history.

### **Resisting surveillance**

Edward Snowden's disclosures on the surveillance activities carried out by the U.S. National Security Agency (NSA) shattered our trust in the security and privacy of our communication, even in the most personal realms. In December 2013, the Foundation organized the international workshop-conference «Whatever happened to privacy?», which undertook a broad-based investigation of surveillance practices, ranging from a historical analysis of 19th-century government surveillance to the present-day activities of U.S. Internet activist Jacob Appelbaum. Partici-



Panel «Translating Activism into Political Action»: Markus Beckedahl, *Digitale Gesellschaft*, and Ralf Fücks, President of the Foundation Photo: Stephan Röhl



pants included activists from Eastern Europe and Western and Northern Africa, who discussed the various forms of surveillance and repression in their countries. The conference also included workshops that provided activists with up-to-date information on encryption and Internet security systems.

### Theater goes global!

«Hunger for Trade» is the name of an international theater network that examines the dimensions and problems of global food markets and portrays these issues in the form of documentary theater performances. The project was initiated by the Deutsches Schauspielhaus in Hamburg. To plan it, an interdisciplinary conference was held in Hamburg in November 2013, with the support of the Foundation. This event was attended by artists from Belgium, Brazil, Burkina Faso, Germany, India, Romania, South Africa, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom, who were able to discuss the subject matter of their individual theater projects with international food policy experts and establish contacts with NGOs. The experts will serve as advisers to the individual productions throughout the entire course of the project – including preliminary research, artistic conceptualization, and rehearsals. In terms of subject matter, the conference focused on the specific issues that will be spotlighted in the individual theater productions, including the commercialization of agricultural land (Romania), malnutrition and urban agriculture (South Africa), multinational corporations, industrial agriculture, and small farms (Switzerland, Burkina Faso), EU subsidy policies and agricultural trade (Belgium, India), and food speculation (United Kingdom). The individual productions will come together in a simultaneous finale of global, multi-perspective political theater, to be held in 2014.

### Protecting world cultural heritage in Tel Aviv

In 2003, Tel Aviv's White City – a collection of over 4,000 buildings built in the International Style during the 1930s and 1940s largely by German-Jewish emigrants – was proclaimed a UNESCO World Cultural Heritage site. However, these historic structures, which still comprise nearly the entirety of Tel Aviv's city center, threaten to fall into disrepair. Preservationists, investors, policymakers, and private citizens are fighting over the future of this cultural heritage. In May 2013, the City of Tel Aviv and the Foundation's Tel Aviv office co-organized the conference «Greening the White City». Held in Tel Aviv, the event examined the historical, political, and architectural dimensions of efforts to refurbish these structures. At the same time, the conference sought to point the way toward the future – because Tel Aviv aims to renovate the White City in an eco-friendly manner, thus becoming Israel's first green city.

→ [www.hungerfortrade.net/en/globe](http://www.hungerfortrade.net/en/globe)

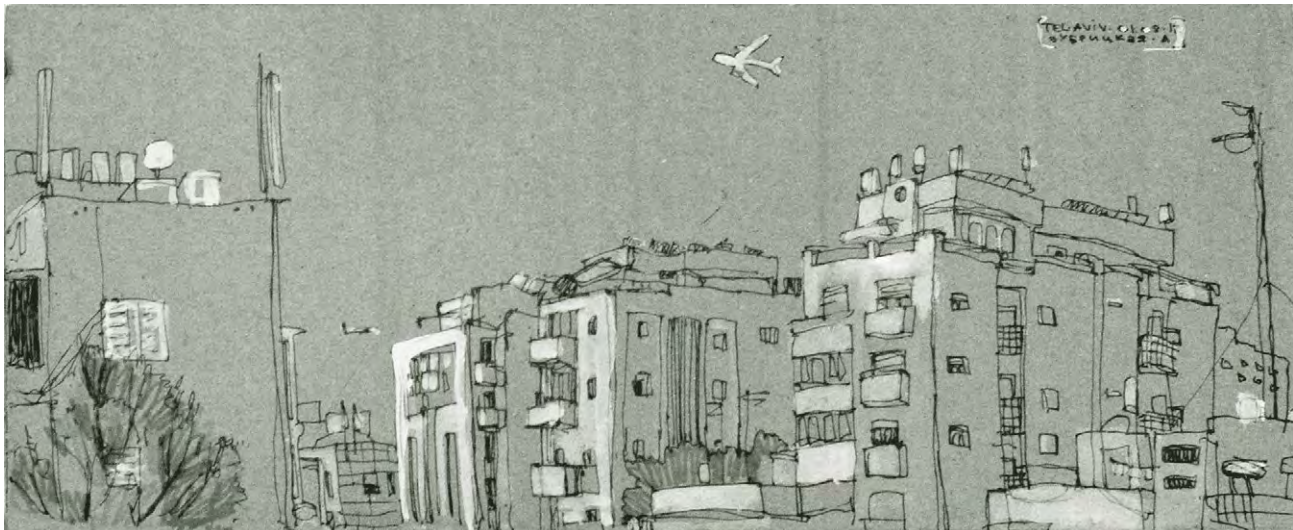


Dr. John Otsile Ntsoane of the South African State Theatre Pretoria

Photo: Deutsches Schauspielhaus Hamburg

Tel Aviv - «view from our balcony»

Image: Alexandra Zubritskaya





# A Refuge for Artists

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

## Guests at the Heinrich Böll House in 2013

**Mohammad Matroud** (born in 1969), writer and poet from Qamishli, Syria. Matroud was editor-in-chief of the cultural journal *Narjis*, and he organized the biennial poetry festival as well as numerous poetry forums in his hometown. His four volumes of poetry to date have been reviewed in national and Arab journals. In Syria, he was prohibited from leaving the country, and his name was on the regime's wanted list. He nevertheless succeeded in crossing the border to Turkey via a checkpoint controlled by the Free Syrian Army. From there, he came to Germany via Istanbul.

**Zaza Burchuladze** (born in 1973), writer from Tbilisi, Georgia. Burchuladze is one of Georgia's most prominent intellectuals and is regarded as one of the most important figures in post-Soviet Georgian literature. His portrayals of controversial topics and experiments with language initially sparked outrage throughout Georgian society, and his works were long ignored by critics. He achieved literary success in 2011 when his novel *The Inflatable Angel* was crowned best Georgian novel of the year. The German translation of the novel will be published in 2014 by the Berlin-based *Aufbau Verlag* under the title *Der aufblasbare Engel*.

**Dara Abdallah** (born in 1990), writer from Damascus, Syria. He is one of the many young creative professionals who followed the Syrian revolution from the very outset, providing artistic and journalistic input. After being arrested three times, he decided to flee the country. He has published work in leading Arab publications such as *Al-Hayat* (an Arab newspaper based in London), *Nawafez* (the cultural supplement to the Beirut-based newspaper *Al-Mustaqbal*), and the cultural website *Ghawoon*. His first volume of poetry was published in 2013 together with three reports focusing on the Kurdish question and democracy in the Middle East.

**Kheder Alaga** (born in 1963), poet, journalist, and literary critic from Damascus, Syria. Alaga was publisher of the cultural journal *Shouroufat*, managing editor of the journal *Bridges*, and authored several linguistic studies of Syrian literature and poetry. He has also published numerous books and anthologies, including the volumes of poetry *He Wrote* (1995), *Feminine References* (1998) and *Al Jahili I* (2008). When he publicly expressed support for the demands being voiced at non-violent demonstrations, he was dismissed from the civil service and persecuted by the Syrian intelligence services.

**Raed Wahash** (born in 1981), Palestinian poet from Damascus, Syria. Wahash, one of the leading poets of his generation, grew up in a Palestinian refugee camp on the outskirts of Damascus. He refused military service in the Syrian army. He has been writing about events in Syria ever since the outbreak of the revolution. His publications include *White Blood* (2005), *No One Dreams Like You* (2008), and *When the War Didn't Come* (2012).

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Raed Wahash Photo: Larissa Bender



Kheder Alaga Photo: Larissa Bender

The first Syrian journalist was invited in February 2012. Since then, eleven visitors from Syria, together with their partners and children, have stayed at the Heinrich Böll House. Here, they are able to recover from their war experiences, focusing once again on artistic and journalistic efforts, which, in turn, will enable them to continue with their peace activism, help end the war, and bring democracy and human rights to Syria. If our guests are unable to return to their home countries, we are trying – in collaboration with an international network that supports writers facing political persecution – to procure further fellowships for them.

## Prizes Awarded in 2013

The Heinrich Böll Foundation issues a variety of awards and prizes and participates as a partner in numerous other honors. The most significant of these awards are the Peace Film Award, the Anne Klein Women's Award, the Hannah Arendt Prize, and the bi-annual Petra Kelly Prize (which was not awarded in 2013).



Photo: Stephan Röhl

### Peace Film Award: Mahdi Fleifel

A *World Not Ours*, a film by the Danish-Palestinian director Mahdi Fleifel, was the winner of the 28th Peace Film Award at the Berlin International Film Festival. The film, which deals with a Palestinian refugee camp in Lebanon, is a very personal documentary by the director, who spent his youth in the camp. The jury praised the film for «illuminating the demoralizing conditions of people with no hope and no future in a camp that becomes an island of isolation. Fleifel's memories coalesce into a dense portrayal of life in no man's land. The film breaks free from the routine ways in which the conflicts between Israelis and Palestinians are usually portrayed and understood. In this way, the film constitutes a call for a new peace process in the Middle East.» The prize money of 5,000 euros is contributed by the Heinrich Böll Foundation, and the award is sponsored by International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War and Physicians for Social Responsibility.



Photo: Stephan Röhl

### Anne Klein Women's Award: Lepa Mladjenovic

The 2013 Anne Klein Women's Award was given to the Serbian feminist activist and intellectual, Lepa Mladjenovic. The award was presented at a ceremony held on March 1, 2013 in Berlin. Mladjenovic is a dedicated advocate for the rights of women and lesbians, and her work targets many different levels and policy areas. She is actively involved in peace and reconciliation initiatives and develops strategies for the prevention of violence. She strengthens the self-awareness and self-confidence of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and intersex (LGBTI) community, organizes pride marches in Belgrade, and practices solidarity with victims of discrimination and violence. The award is endowed with 10,000 euros and honors women who fight courageously and vigilantly for gender democracy and for an end to discrimination against people based on their gender or gender identity. The award commemorates the work of Anne Klein, a combative lawyer and openly lesbian politician who was a pioneer in feminist advocacy.



Photo: Verlag C.H. Beck

### Hannah-Arendt-Prize: Timothy Snyder

The 2013 Hannah Arendt Prize was presented to the historian Timothy Snyder on December 6, 2013 at the Bremen City Hall. The prize is endowed with 7,500 euros and is awarded by the City of Bremen and the Heinrich Böll Foundation to individuals whose work and scholarship advance critical public discourse and political action in the tradition of Hannah Arendt. The jury cited Snyder's *Bloodlands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin* for re-opening a forgotten and repressed chapter in European history that remains a subject of disagreement among Europeans even 50 years after the occurrence of the events depicted in the book. «Independent of the disputes that the book and its author have triggered among historians and political thinkers, Snyder raises fundamental questions that hit at the heart of the project to build European unity.» In this way, Snyder's provocative historical analysis contributes to a new public debate over the political constellation of Europe.

## Notable Guests



**Fatou Bensouda**, Chief Prosecutor at the International Criminal Court (ICC), was the Foundation's guest at an event in February, where she gave a speech taking stock of the Court's work during the ten years since its founding. With a large audience in attendance, she then answered probing questions posed by Andrea Böhm, journalist for the newspaper *Die Zeit*.



**Thomas de Maizière**, former German Defense Minister, opened the panel discussion on «Security policy in transition – Germany's role in the new world order», which took place in March. In his remarks, he emphasized that the solution to today's new security challenges does not lie in the militarization of foreign policy and that security crises must be resolved through political, not military, means.



**Bill McKibben**, U.S. author, activist, and co-founder of the international climate initiative 350.org, attended our expert meeting «Fossil Free Europe» in October, where he argued that the business model of the fossil fuel industry is destroying our climate and therefore poses an alarmingly real threat to our societies.



**Kate Raworth**, British economist at Oxford University, presented her concept of «doughnut economics», meaning an outer boundary depicting the environmental limits of our planet, while the inner boundary is comprised of standards that form the foundation for a just society. An economic system that respects these boundaries cannot be geared only toward the circulation of money and goods but must also take account of environmental impacts, unpaid care work, and social injustices.



**Pavan Sukhdev**, economist and former managing director of Deutsche Bank, visited the Foundation in October to present his book *Corporation 2020: Transforming Business for Tomorrow's World*, which lays out a vision for a better economic system. His proposals center on the corporate model, arguing that balance sheets must reflect the social and environmental costs of products, and that profit targets must take the common good into account.



**Rob Hopkins**, founder of the Transition Movement, kicked off our «Green Lectures» series in February. In his lecture, he outlined the vision of the Transition Movement in a global context. The central aim of activists involved in this grassroots initiative is to get their towns and cities ready for the post-fossil fuel era. Their priorities include cutting energy consumption and reducing dependence on industrial products and global markets.



**Borka Pavicevic**, writer and founder of the Center for Cultural Decontamination in Serbia, attended our conference «Energize, Polarize, Mobilize!» in March 2013, where she spoke about her life as an activist together with two other women from different generations.



**Priya Basil**, British writer, spoke at our conference «Whatever happened to privacy?» in December, where she discussed the issues surrounding data protection and surveillance and their consequences for politically active individuals. She is co-initiator of A Stand for Democracy in the Digital Age, an appeal signed by 562 fellow writers.



**Jacob Appelbaum**, U.S. activist and one of the few confidants of NSA whistleblower Edward Snowden, attended our international conference «Whatever happened to privacy?» in December, where he reported on the power of intelligence services and the fight for freedom in the age of the Internet.



## 20 – 15 – 10 Years: Our International Offices Celebrate Anniversaries

→ [www.pk.boell.org](http://www.pk.boell.org)

### **Our Pakistan office marks its 20<sup>th</sup> year**

«20 Years – Transformation through Dialogue»: This was the motto chosen by our longest-serving international office to celebrate both its 20th anniversary and its relocation from Lahore to Islamabad. The opening ceremony for our new office in Pakistan's capital city was attended by Foundation co-president Barbara Unmüßig, German ambassador Dr. Cyrill Nunn, as well as numerous project partners, policymakers, artists, and intellectuals. Additional activities commemorating the anniversary year included an exhibit depicting the Foundation's work in Pakistan over the past 20 years, the publication of an anniversary book (in 2014), and the performance of two plays by the Ajoka Theatre paying tribute to the famous Pakistani writers Faiz Ahmed Faiz and Saadat Hasan Manto.

→ [www.eu.boell.org](http://www.eu.boell.org)

### **Our EU office in Belgium turns 15**

Our EU office in Brussels celebrated its 15th anniversary in 2013. The festivities were attended by Eckart Cuntz, German ambassador to Belgium, and Rebecca Harms, co-chair of the Greens/EFA group in the European Parliament, and the keynote speech was held by British sociologist Lord Anthony Giddens. Ever since its founding, our EU office has engaged in close cooperation with all of our other international offices, with the aim of incorporating an EU perspective into our global activities. It pursues its own Brussels-based agenda too, which includes advocating a European climate and energy policy and an inclusive gender democracy. The office itself serves as an international meeting point for people interested in politics. A visit there provides insights into how European policy-making works and how people can actively shape European policy.

→ [www.ge.boell.org](http://www.ge.boell.org)

### **Our Georgia office celebrates its 10<sup>th</sup> year**

At a conference marking the 10th anniversary of our office in Tbilisi, project partners and experts engaged in lively discussions on current political conditions in the South Caucasus and the potential for democratic transformation. In his remarks to open the conference, Speaker of the Parliament of Georgia Davit Usupashvili praised in particular the office's active presence during the period following the 2003 Rose Revolution and its important contribution to the establishment of a democratic political culture in Georgia. At a ceremony and reception following the conference, a «Böll Award» for each of the ten years of the office's existence was presented to outstanding individuals – including policy-makers, human rights activists, journalists, and former fellows from the South Caucasus region – to honor their achievements.

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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 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.

■ 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 – in almost 60 countries – 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 sociopolitical 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. ■ The Foundation has about 550 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, Poland, the Czech Republic, Turkey, Greece, Russia, Georgia, Ukraine, Bosnia, Serbia, Croatia, Israel, Lebanon, the Arab Middle East, Tunisia, Morocco, Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa, Thailand, Cambodia, Pakistan, India, Afghanistan, China, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, El Salvador and the United States. In 2013, the Foundation had about 51 million euros public funds at its disposal.