

# Annual Report 2011



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# What We Want

Fostering democracy and upholding human rights, taking action to prevent the destruction of the global ecosystem, advancing equality between women and men, securing peace through conflict prevention in crisis zones, and defending the freedom of individuals against excessive state and economic power – these are the objectives that drive the ideas and actions of the Heinrich Böll Foundation.

We maintain close ties to the German Green Party (Alliance 90/The Greens) and as a think tank for green visions and projects, we are part of an international network encompassing well over 160 partner projects in approximately 60 countries.

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

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

## Facts about the Foundation

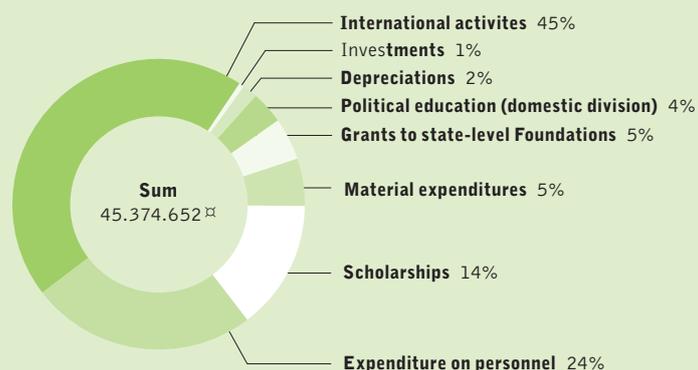
### Sources and allocation of funding

The Heinrich Böll Foundation e.V. is funded almost entirely through public grants. In the reporting year of 2011, the Foundation had 45.4 million euros at its disposal (preliminary figures).

In 2011, the bulk of funds (45%) went towards our international activities. Other increases were directed toward our scholarship program, material expenditures, and investment (see figure for percentages).

### Allocation of funding

2011



# Heinrich Böll Foundation Worldwide



## Africa

- 1 Addis Abeba (Ethiopia)
- 2 Cape Town (South Africa)
- 3 Abuja (Nigeria)
- 4 Nairobi (Kenya)

## Asia

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

## Europe

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

## Latin America

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

## Middle East / North Africa

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

## North America

- 31 Washington (USA)

## Russian Federation

- 32 Moskow (Russia)

\* office under development

## International cooperation

2009-2011



Similar to the preceeding year, in 2011, our project funding for international cooperation amounted to 23.6 million euros.

The Heinrich Böll Foundation's largest source of funding in this area is the Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development, which, in 2011, provided approximately 21.5 million euros in funding. This amount included an allocation of 600.000 euros for activities focusing on climate protection in developing and emerging countries.

The Foundation receives additional project funding from the Federal Foreign Office (1.3 million euros) and the European Union (700.000 euros). The EU funding was targeted toward projects in Africa and the Middle East as well as the general area of international relations.

# Foreword



Ralf Fücks



Barbara Unmüßig

Through its decision to phase out nuclear power, Germany has become a global trailblazer in making the transition to an energy supply based completely on renewable energy sources. If this ambitious plan proves successful, this can facilitate efforts to achieve the ecological transformation of economic systems throughout the world. The Heinrich Böll Foundation is actively involved in this process, both nationally and internationally. We develop and support projects that will push this transition: through forward-looking mobility concepts, the renewal of our urban centers, and the sustainable use of scarce resources. We support people who are working to counteract misguided policies and who advocate alternatives – in agriculture, in the mining industry, and in the energy sector.

Europe is being shaken by a persistent financial and debt crisis that poses powerful challenges both to individual member states and to European institutions. While financial markets react to developments with great speed and volatility, transnational decision-making processes tend to be complicated and time-consuming. What can we do to enhance the European Union's capacity to act while simultaneously improving the transparency of European policymaking? "More Europe" must go hand-in-hand with more democratic participation. This is also the best antidote to populist movements that are turning against European integration and the rights of minorities. This is reason enough for us to intensify our activities and commitment to foster a united, democratic Europe.

The upheavals in the Arab world – including in Libya, Tunisia, and Egypt – represent a historic turning point. These changes have significant ramifications for these countries' internal socio-political systems, for international cooperation, and for relations between the Arab countries themselves. The mass demonstrations in Tunis and Cairo swept away the old regimes and opened the gates to democratization throughout the region. At the same time, ensuing events have made clear that the political, social, and economic modernization of the Arab world will be a long and complicated process. Current developments in these countries are having a major impact on our work in the region and in Germany. We deliver information through analyses and reports from and on the Arab region, and we provide support to local democratic forces. In addition, we are expanding our presence in the region by establishing offices in Tunisia and Morocco.

Discrimination based on gender and sexuality remains a crucial issue on the international political agenda. In Germany and in many regions around the world, we work together with courageous partners to build societies that are characterized by gender justice and to protect sexual minorities. We pool capacities, expand existing networks, and build new ones. This year's *Annual Report* also highlights our activities in this important area.

The knowledge and dedication of our staff form the essential foundation for our successful work. Their efforts are further enriched by the extensive voluntary support provided by our expert advisory boards, expert commissioners, women's council, supervisory board, membership meeting, and the Green Academy. We would like to express our great thanks to all of those who contribute to the effectiveness of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's work.

Berlin, April 2012

Ralf Fücks    Barbara Unmüßig  
Presidents, Heinrich Böll Foundation

→ [www.boell.de](http://www.boell.de)

# Promoting Democracy, Asserting Human Rights

The Arab Spring stands for the great desire for freedom, a better life, and the rule of law throughout the entire Arab world. Autocratic rulers were toppled in Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya. Syria is riven by a de facto civil war. The path toward more democratic societies is long and difficult. The construction of corresponding institutions requires patience and tenacity. The Heinrich Böll Foundation supports partners around the world in their efforts to achieve these goals. We work in established democracies, but we are also engaged – sometimes under authoritarian and repressive conditions – in regions acutely affected by conflicts or the aftermath of violent strife. Wherever we encounter courageous partners, we attempt to open up further leeway for political and social participation and emancipation. Our central aim is to strengthen civil societies and democratically legitimate parliaments.



People's Power  
The Arab World in Revolt  
Perspectives Middle East, Special Issue  
Edited by the Heinrich Böll Foundation  
Berlin, May 2011, 278 pages, € 10

## The Arab Spring: What can the Heinrich Böll Foundation do?

A year has gone by since the outbreak of democratic uprisings in the Arab world, and the region confronts tremendous challenges. The Heinrich Böll Foundation is expanding its presence in the region. In Tunisia, we want to foster regional networks. Social and political actors in the region have expressed a great desire to exchange experiences and to benefit from mutual learning. We support these processes through targeted forums. In 2012, we are expanding our work to include Morocco, where many – especially young – democracy activists want to achieve change. Furthermore, in Morocco our activities will also place a priority on regional energy policy and the promotion of alternative energies.

### Example: Monitoring the first democratic elections in Tunisia

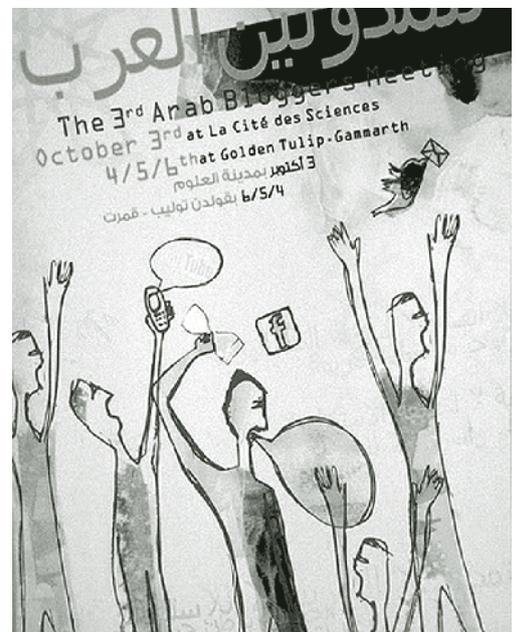
The revolution in Tunisia was the launching pad for the Arab Spring, and the first democratic elections in October 2011 constituted a milestone on the path toward democratic transition. After decades of dictatorship, experiences with elections were naturally very limited, particularly with respect to election monitoring. In cooperation with the Lebanese Association for Democratic Elections (LADE), our international office in Beirut supported a training program for the new Tunisian organization *Association Tunisienne pour L'Éveil Démocratique* ("Tunisian Association for Democratic Awakening", or ATED). This project provided training in just a few weeks to hundreds of election monitors, while also helping to build election booths and test the election process. In addition, an expert seminar gave participants from the entire Arab region the opportunity to discuss the reform of the Tunisian election system, to exchange experiences, and to develop reform proposals. Tunisian civil society actors are currently feeding these proposals into the reform process.

**Example: Strengthening independent lawyers**

For many years now, reform-oriented judges in Tunisia and Egypt have worked to maintain their independence and attempted to advance the rule of law. Their efforts were aided by the revolutionary upheavals of 2011, which provided an opportunity to put legal system reforms on the political agenda. To support this process, our foundation offices in Beirut and Ramallah joined forces with the Lebanese organization *Legal Agenda* to organize two conferences in Beirut and Tunis. The aim was to give judges, lawyers, and legal experts from Tunisia, Egypt, and Lebanon a forum for discussing the priorities and key steps of legal system reform. Both conferences met with a high level of enthusiasm, because they were the first events of their kind to bring these actors together after the democratic revolutions. Participants discussed how authoritarian regimes traditionally exercise influence over the judicial system, examined ways to ensure the protection of judges, and debated their role in the fight against corruption and in processes of transitional justice.

**Example: Supporting Arab bloggers**

Arab bloggers have been using the internet for years as a central tool in their fight for democracy and the freedom of expression. We support the blogging scene by providing networking opportunities. For example, in October 2011 we organized the *3rd Arab Bloggers Meeting* in Tunis in cooperation with the international internet platform *Global Voices* and the Tunisian organization *Nawaat*. The event enjoyed powerful resonance in the media, both regionally and internationally. The first two meetings, in 2008 and 2009, took place without garnering any media attention. However, these initial meetings helped to spawn a network between the citizen journalists of the blogging scene and major regional television news stations. When the protests started in 2011, the bloggers were able to provide the stations with up-to-date information. As the blogger Nasser al-Weddady stated, "The bloggers and internet activists succeeded in breaking down the monopoly on information held by the state-run Arab media. By providing counter-information, they were able to call into question the legitimacy of the regime". The four-day event brought together over 100 bloggers from 20 different countries. Participants discussed the internet's power to unleash freedom while also examining the limits and risks of blogging.



3rd Arab Bloggers Meeting in Tunis, October 2011

**Afghanistan ten years after the launch of the international mission: policy recommendations from Afghan civil society**

At the first international Afghanistan Conference in 2001, the Petersberg Agreement laid down a step-by-step plan to hand over power to a democratically elected government after the fall of the Taliban regime. The agreement was designed to bring peace and democratization to the conflict-ridden country. In December 2011, foreign ministers from around the world met again in Bonn to take stock of what had been accomplished in the last 10 years. Among the participants was a 34-person delegation representing Afghan civil society. At the *Afghan Civil Society Forum*, which took place immediately prior to the international conference, the delegates unveiled a set of policy recommendations. To aid efforts to prepare these recommendations, the Heinrich Böll Foundation and *Friedrich Ebert Foundation* provided support for an extensive coordination and consultation process during the run-up to the Bonn conference. Starting in June 2011, civil society representatives gathered for meetings in Kabul to exchange views on what the future of Afghanistan



As spokesperson for the *Afghan Civil Society Forum*, Selay Ghaffar presented the policy recommendations at the Conference of Foreign Ministers

photo: Marco Urban

should look like and how these future objectives should be achieved. These discussions led to the policy recommendations that were later presented in Bonn.



Barbara Unmüßig visiting Afghanistan in 2011

photos: Bente Scheller

The Heinrich Böll Foundation has been working with its partners in Afghanistan since 2003. Foundation co-president Barbara Unmüßig traveled to Kabul in 2011 to gain an overview of the situation in the country.

**Question: Media coverage of Afghanistan is dominated by negative headlines: bombings, attacks, demonstrations, and more. What was your experience of Afghanistan during your stay there?**

The fact that I could no longer even travel through the country to meet important partners proves how tense security conditions are in Afghanistan. Pro-democracy actors find their room for maneuver increasingly constrained. On top of that, corruption and the lack of transparency at all levels have led to disillusionment among many Afghan citizens. Nevertheless: I met a lot of courageous and dedicated people whose determination to take action on behalf of democracy and women's rights remains unbroken. Their tireless efforts to achieve a peaceful future for their country impress me deeply. The courage of these people receives far too little attention. Media coverage both before and after the withdrawal of troops focuses far too much on military angles.

**Question: What has changed, in both a positive and negative sense, since your last visit in 2007?**

The construction of political institutions continues to move forward much too slowly. Their mere existence isn't enough. Unfortunately, attempts to undermine key constitutional provisions still occur on a regular basis. At the same time, conservative voices are becoming louder and louder in both politics and society. One example is the demands by Afghanistan's top religious council for tighter restrictions on women's freedom of mobility in public, in terms of how they dress, and their interactions with men. These types of demands subvert the principles laid down in Afghanistan's constitution and ignore basic human rights.

**Question: In late 2011, you attended the Afghanistan civil society forum that was held in the run-up to the international conference of foreign ministers in Bonn. Did the forum fulfill your expectations?**

It was a big success that an international audience and the foreign ministers heard the demands of 18 men and 16 women representing Afghan civil society. However, the process of creating this delegation – on the basis of a participatory and democratic election – was almost even more important. I was very pleased when several people involved in the process told me that it had been a special and unique experience to elect their representatives in a democratic and transparent procedure that was then also treated as binding. The message was this: Democratic deliberations are a worthwhile process. This was a very important experience for an Afghan civil society that is otherwise very fragmented. Even today, this experience continues to serve as an example underlining how important it is for a democratic Afghan civil society to negotiate and coordinate its positions if it wants to influence key decisions at the national and international level.

**Question: What challenges do actors like the Heinrich Böll Foundation face when they work together locally with Afghan civil society?**

Security conditions pose the biggest problem. It's very difficult to predict how our working conditions on the ground will continue to change after withdrawal of NATO troops. Right now it isn't even possible to make long-term plans. We're constantly assessing what types of actions we can take responsibly – both politically and for reasons of security.

## Human rights are indivisible: The UN women's rights convention after 30 years

Human rights are indivisible. Again and again, however, the world has to be reminded of this principle, especially when it comes to women's rights. This is true not just in the countries of the South – in Germany as well, women's rights are still not embedded in all areas of politics and society. This fact was made clear at a panel discussion held in September 2011 to commemorate the 30th anniversary of CEDAW, the *UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women*. The event, co-organized by the *Gunda Werner Institute* of the Heinrich Böll Foundation, the *German Institute for Human Rights*, and the *Deutscher Frauenrat* (German Women's Council), drew an audience of over 120 participants.

Beate Rudolf, director of the German Institute for Human Rights, emphasized CEDAW's central significance as the institutionalized guarantee for the human rights of women around the world. She called on governments and NGOs to integrate the convention into national and international policies more consistently and vigilantly and to insist on its universal applicability.

She argued, for example, that in negotiations on the future of Afghanistan, the international community has been too quick to allow women's equality to become an issue that is up for negotiation, on the purported grounds that this "fundamental value" is unfortunately not yet culturally embedded in Afghanistan. Rudolf insisted that the right to equal political participation is a universal human right that applies to everyone and that cannot be relativized. She warned against similar developments in North Africa: Here, women bloggers, journalists, and students had played a key role in the Arab Spring but were now nearly invisible in the new structures of power. She stated that international actors have an obligation "to remind the new power holders of CEDAW's importance and to put pressure on their own governments to make cooperation with new rulers contingent upon observance of the Convention".

## Equal rights for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and intersex (LGBTI) persons

Around the world, discrimination based on gender and sexuality remains a matter of daily occurrence. Homosexual and transgender persons in many countries continue to fear public humiliation or even physical violence. We are committed to equal rights for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and intersex (LGBTI) persons and help our international partners to strengthen existing networks and build new ones. For example, we support a project by the Turkish organization KAOS GL to build a regional LGBTI network spanning the entire region between the Balkans, the Caucasus, and the Middle East. In Beirut, we support a project by the Arab Foundation for Freedoms and Equality (AFE) to set up a web-based platform on LGBTI issues and sexuality that will offer access to regional research and information, mainly in Arabic. In summer 2011, our international office in Israel provided funding for a youth exchange program between the LGBTI center *Jerusalem Open House* and the *Lambda* youth network in Berlin. Our Israel office also serves as the venue for regular meetings of a new coalition of Israeli LGBTI organizations that want to intensify their collaboration.

## Scholarship program in Myanmar

2011 was a year of remarkable change in Myanmar, formerly known as Burma. After a semi-civilian government took office under president Thein Sein, a wave of reforms followed that few had foreseen. However, the country confronts a wide variety of challenges as it opens up. Above all, there is a shortage of skilled and well-educated workers to carry out

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)



In Berlin, homosexual youths from Israel and Germany visited an exhibit on Nazi terror during the Third Reich  
photo: Jerusalem Open House



Zeya Thu, former scholarship recipient of the Heinrich Böll Foundation photo: Zeya Thu

the task of rebuilding the once prosperous country. Since 2004, the Heinrich Böll Foundation's Bangkok office has provided scholarships enabling students to attend master's programs at Thai universities. One of these scholarships was awarded to Zeya Thu, a Myanmar citizen who obtained a master's degree in international development studies from Chulalongkorn University in 2006. After completing his degree, he returned to his home country, where he resumed his work as editor-in-chief of a weekly regional newspaper. Upon his return, a newly established local NGO called *Myanmar Egress* invited him to teach courses on various topics, such as development theory and practice. In Zeya Thu's words: "I would not have been able to teach development without the MA program. My students include people from all walks of life in Myanmar, including politicians, businesspeople, students and public servants. At the same time, as a columnist for *The Voice*, I comment on development and political issues facing the country, and the program in Bangkok helped me here as well by enriching my knowledge and expanding my perspectives. Furthermore, going to Thailand to study was my first trip abroad. It broadened my horizons and strengthened my confidence, not just academically but also personally."

The entire interview is available at [www.boell.de/en](http://www.boell.de/en)



Mexico City in May 2011: *Estamos hasta la madre*, a national march for justice and against impunity  
photo: Claudia Wondratschke

### Mexico City: Civil society forum on violence prevention

Violence and insecurity are prominent features of public and private life in Mexico and Central America. This problem is caused primarily by drug cartels, organized crime, and criminal youth gangs called *maras*, but police and military forces are frequently involved in criminal activity as well. Governments hope to curb violence by enacting state-based measures such as police and judicial reform. Little consideration is given to the role that civil society might play in this effort, even though it could offer useful ideas and recommendations. To help change this state of affairs, our Mexico City office organized a three-day forum attended by nearly 100 local civil society initiatives that work actively on the issue of violence prevention, as well as additional experts and guests from South America and Italy. The forum, held in November 2011, was the first large-scale event of this kind. Participants acknowledged the limits to what civil society can do in this area, especially when it comes to direct confrontations with violent actors. But their main goal was to identify ways in which civil society engagement is both possible and necessary, such as classic prevention strategies involving work with young people, neighborhoods, and local communities. The Heinrich Böll Foundation supports these approaches and seeks to strengthen them, for example through a publication highlighting best practices in this area, which will appear in 2012.

### Africa: Strengthening women's presence in the political arena

In the past 50 years, many African countries have adopted national programs and quotas to increase the proportion of women in politics. The results speak for themselves: While women comprised only one percent of political office-holders in 1960, this number had increased to nearly 20 % in 2009. Nevertheless, an increase in the share of women in politics has not automatically led to gender-sensitive policies. As ever, women are more likely to be affected by poverty and have little access to power in both public and private life. Even those women who have achieved positions of influence and power have had to overcome many obstacles. Against this background, a project by our offices in Kenya, South Africa, and Nigeria sought out a number of successful women politicians and portrayed their stories. The result was nine video portraits that bear witness to their personal achievements and setbacks.



In 1974, Julia Ojiambo became the first woman in Kenya to be directly elected to political office.

The project also included three “learning forums” that examined key country-specific issues: In Kenya, where women must still struggle to achieve adequate political representation, discussions focused on access to political office. In South Africa, where this access has become easier since the end of Apartheid, the forum tackled the issues of transparency and the accountability of women politicians toward the women whose interests they are meant to represent; after all, it is not automatic that women who hold political office pursue gender-sensitive policies. In Nigeria, participants worked to identify the central issues that determine the political agenda for women. All three countries are currently at different stages in the process of negotiating and promoting the political participation of women. The lessons learned in – and the links between – these three country-specific forums will feed into the Foundation’s ongoing work in this area.

### **Pakistan: Women members of parliament demand greater representation**

Without quotas, women rarely achieve positions of power – this fact has become familiar knowledge in Pakistan too. In Pakistan’s parliament, 17.5 % of the seats are reserved for women. For the members of the country’s highly active *Women’s Parliamentary Caucus* (WPC), this is far too little. Part of the problem is that women MPs are often not taken seriously by their male colleagues because they were supposedly appointed by their parties “only” on the basis of the quota and not because they managed to gain support in their electoral districts.

This situation is now poised to change. The WPC – an association that comprises all women of all parties in Pakistan’s parliament and that the Foundation has been supporting since 2011 – is calling for at least 10 % more “winnable” seats in electoral districts to be reserved for women. Their lobbying has succeeded. A September 2011 conference that focused on strengthening women’s representation in political offices and legislative bodies adopted a resolution to this effect. In early 2012, this resolution was introduced in parliament in the form of draft legislation. A final decision has yet to be taken on this issue. We will continue to support Pakistan’s female MP’s in their efforts to bring more women into political office – particularly in the upcoming election year.

The videos can be viewed at <http://www.gwi-boell.de/web/democracy-video-research-learning-engendering-political-leadership-africa-3380.html>



Nafisa Shah, a Karachi-based representative from the Pakistan People’s Party (PPP), is one of the driving forces in the WPC [photo: Nafisa Shah](#)

### **Fostering democracy among our neighbors and partners**

Fostering democracy in Europe and in the countries that make up the EU’s eastern and southeastern neighborhood is one of the priorities of our Europe department. We follow the development of the EU’s Eastern Partnership and are also active in Belarus – these activities are managed primarily by our international office in Warsaw. Because of the success achieved in recent years by right-wing populist movements and parties in many EU member states, our work in 2012 will also place a stronger focus on the issue of populism in Europe. To advance the development of a culture of democracy, we also support green movements and parties, and we cooperate with the *Green European Foundation* (GEF) and the *European Green Party* (EGP).

#### **Example: Hungary**

Democratic deficits also exist within the European Union. This is illustrated by the example of Hungary, where the policies of Viktor Orbán’s right-wing government – which has a two-thirds majority in the legislature – have been making international headlines. These

policies undermine basic democratic principles and are steering the country toward an authoritarian order. Current surveys show 20 % of the population throwing their support behind the extreme right-wing party Jobbik. Due to these alarming developments, we have intensified our work in Hungary and provide support above all to the country's green movement. The opposition LMP party (which stands for Politics Can Be Different), which entered parliament for the first time in 2010 and aims to change Hungary's political culture, has been a member of the European Green Party since 2011. Our Prague office works closely with the *Ecopolis Foundation*, a new political foundation affiliated with the LMP.

#### **Example: Turkey**

Political polarization in Turkey, together with increasingly regressive tendencies in the country's process of democratization, poses growing challenges to our work in Turkey. We support initiatives and organizations that take action to oppose discrimination and to promote the rule of law – with a focus on upcoming discussions concerning constitutional reform. Even though it is unlikely that a new constitution will be drafted during the current legislative period, numerous initiatives are working to ensure that Turkey's new constitution will meet minimum standards for a democratic, secular order governed by the rule of law. In 2011, we provided support for two online platforms – KÜYEREL ([www.kuyereel.com](http://www.kuyereel.com)) and YAP ([www.yenianayasaplatformu.org](http://www.yenianayasaplatformu.org)) – which discuss various aspects of Turkey's constitution.

#### **Example: Belarus**

Intimidation, harassment, persecution – in Belarus, this is what anyone engaged in political or civil society activism must expect. The country has been ruled by Alexander Lukashenko since 1994 and is frequently named Europe's last dictatorship. We began activities focused on Belarus in 2009. At first, these were mainly limited to political observation as well as contacts to and support for individuals, for example by providing scholarships. However, due to the repression of civil society initiatives and the severe deterioration of human rights there, we have continually expanded our cooperation with important Belarusian NGOs. This cooperation focuses on (i) strengthening the prospects for integrating a democratic Belarus into Europe and (ii) the country's energy policy.

Silent protest against election results in front of the Palace of the Republic, Minsk, where President Lukashenko took his oath of office.

photo: picture alliance / dpa



# Justice in a Finite World

Climate change, resource scarcity, the loss of biodiversity, and the international food crisis: The challenges we face in the coming decades could hardly be greater. Global crisis management requires multilateral solutions, but the positions and interests of individual countries diverge greatly when it comes to responding to these challenges. Germany's *Energiewende* – that is, the decision to transform its energy supply – sends a very positive signal to the rest of the world: Here is a highly industrialized and export-oriented economy making the shift to an energy supply based on renewable sources. Our international offices are working to spread this message. We forge alliances with all groups who are committed to achieving environment-friendly transformations – by advancing a global economy that is not based on fossil fuels, by ensuring resource-efficient development, and by fostering a global shift in agricultural systems. In addition, we support all of those who are adversely impacted by “business as usual” and misguided responses to the multiple crises, such as oil extraction from shale and tar sands, nuclear power, large-scale dams, land expropriation, and agrofuel monocultures.

## The Durban Climate Summit

By now, climate and energy policy are core priorities of our work in regions where our international offices are located. Climate change prevention and adaptation require local responses and solutions. At the same time, however, it is crucial to reach and enforce international agreements on fair and ambitious targets for reducing carbon emissions. For this reason, we have been participating actively at international climate change conferences for many years, and we also provide support that enables many of our partners from emerging and developing countries to attend these events as well. In December 2011, South Africa became the latest emerging economy to host a UN climate summit (COP17). The Heinrich Böll Foundation was once again actively involved, and our innovative input garnered a positive response from NGOs and governments alike. Already during the run-up to the conference, we published the study *A Future for International Climate Politics*. At the summit itself, we organized a variety of events – including an informational event on Germany's energy transformation as well as round tables focusing on equitable climate finance and on climate adaptation and governance in Africa – that met with great interest. In addition, our Cape Town office supported the national civil society committee C17 in organizing the alternative summit that took place alongside the UN conference.

## Climate finance: A question of principles

Adaptation to climate change is an issue that is gaining increasing significance in emerging and developing countries. To implement adaptation measures, poorer countries must receive financial help from industrialized nations. But not everything that receives funding makes sense in social and environmental terms. In a project spearheaded by our office in Washington, D.C., we analyze the environmental and social impacts of funding allocated by the international community for the purpose of



At the Heinrich Böll Foundation's information stand in Durban: Mahelt Eyassu, climate finance expert for Ethiopia's *Forum for Environment*

A Matter of Principle(s)  
A Normative Framework for a Global Compact  
on Public Climate Finance

By Liane Schalatek

Ed. by the Heinrich Böll Foundation

Berlin 2011, 112 pages

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

→ [www.climatefundsupdate.org](http://www.climatefundsupdate.org)

A website that provides access to a project database, expert analyses, and information in multiple languages

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

A website in German and English that provides up-to-date information on and assessments of Germany's contribution to international climate finance

climate change mitigation. Our aim is to ensure that the principles of international environmental law and human rights will serve as the guideposts for international climate policy in the future.

Climate finance must be based on fairness and justice. To monitor and analyze flows of public money spent on climate finance, we work together with the London-based Overseas Development Institute on the website *Climate Funds Update* ([www.climatefundsupdate.org](http://www.climatefundsupdate.org)), which provides access to a project database, expert analyses, and information in multiple languages. In this way, we help a wide variety of international actors build the necessary capacities that will enable them to intervene effectively in climate finance activities.

Our 2011 activities in the field of climate finance also included close involvement in negotiations on a global Green Climate Fund. These efforts paid off! Starting in 2012, the Green Climate Fund will be the first international climate fund explicitly tasked with taking into account the gender-specific effects of climate change.

### India: Climate change, agriculture, and gender relations

India is now one of the world's leading sources of greenhouse gas emissions, albeit not in per capita terms. This is based on the country's size and high economic growth rates. However, many observers overlook the fact that India remains a poor country. The majority of the population continues to work in the agricultural sector and will therefore be hit especially hard by the consequences of climate change. Droughts, floods, changes in crops, and disease patterns – all of these impacts will require India to undertake significant efforts to adapt. However, India's adaptation policy is only in the earliest stages of development. With support from our office in New Delhi, the Indian development sociologist Aditi Kapoor has conducted a study on the impacts that current and future climate change will have on women in particular, since they perform the bulk of agricultural labor. Basing her analysis on examples from four Indian states, Kapoor identifies what is required to implement gender-sensitive adaptation policies at all levels of government, from the planning units of federal government ministries to autonomous administrative structures. For example, increasingly scarce water reserves demand better-organized and fair distribution systems. In addition, changes to inheritance law would not only empower women and mothers economically, politically, and socially, but could also lead to improvements in land use, food quality, and food security.

photo: Aditi Kapoor

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

The study *Engendering the Climate for Change* can be downloaded at [www.boell-india.org](http://www.boell-india.org)



### Promoting sustainable energy and resource policies

Climate change and global poverty call for strategies that implement a rapid shift to carbon- and nuclear-free economies while simultaneously ensuring social justice. 2011 proved to be a watershed year for energy policy in Germany with the Fukushima nuclear catastrophe and Germany's subsequent decision to phase out nuclear power. Using the example of Germany, we want to demonstrate that it is possible for an industrialized country to transform its energy supply and to renounce nuclear power.

#### Example: East Central Europe

The Fukushima nuclear disaster did nothing to alter the positions of political decision-makers in East Central Europe. Poland still plans to start building nuclear power plants, and the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Hungary are committed to expanding their use of nuclear power as well. We support dialogue with our neighbors on energy policy issues, and we call attention to the importance of raising Germany's policy of energy transformation to the European level. For example, in 2011 we organized an international conference in Prague that focused on the economic aspects of nuclear power. In addition, we initiated a pilot project in the Czech Republic. Led by the think tank *Glopolis*, this project brings together over 100 experts from the scientific community, civil society, government, and industry, with the aim of developing a forward-looking vision for the Czech Republic by 2013, focusing in particular on socio-environmental modernization and innovative democratic structures.

#### Example: Israel

Our 2010 publication *Myths about Nuclear Energy* by Gerd Rosenkranz provided the German-speaking public with facts and expertise to support a critical approach toward nuclear power. Our office in Israel translated the book into Hebrew and added two chapters focusing specifically on the situation in Israel. On the occasion of the Hebrew volume's publication, we co-organized the conference *Solution or Pollution? Civil Nuclear Reactors for Israel*, which was held in April 2011 in Tel Aviv. In the midst of the ongoing nuclear disaster in Fukushima, Israeli government representatives, scientific experts, and energy and environmental activists discussed nuclear power's role in a safe and clean energy mix for Israel. While it has no immediate plans to build any nuclear power plants, Israel nevertheless faces the question of which energy sources it can best use to reduce its tremendous dependence on energy imports in a climate-friendly manner.

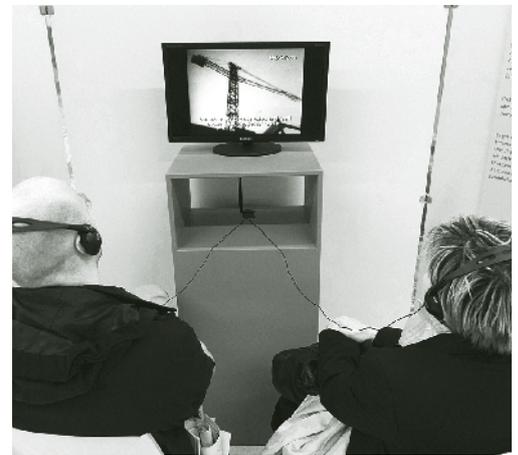
#### Example: Jordan

"Today is the first time that the Jordan Atomic Energy Commission has gone public. The debate starts now." These were the words of Khaled Irani, Jordan's former energy minister, on the occasion of the Commission's participation at a discussion event held in Amman that was co-hosted by the Heinrich Böll Foundation, the IUCN Jordan, and the Jordanian non-governmental organization EDAMA. This was the first time ever that the country's atomic energy commission had faced a public audience to address questions regarding the meaning and purpose of Jordan's atomic energy program. The event was attended by over 200 persons representing parliament, government, civil society, research institutes, and foreign diplomatic missions. The Arabic translations of various Foundation publications on nuclear power also met with a high level of interest. We hope that these publications can contribute to a broad-based, well-informed regional dialogue.

#### Energy of the Future? Nuclear energy in Central and Eastern Europe

Ed. by Karel Polanecký, Jan Haverkamp

Published by Heinrich Böll Foundation, Prague 2011



#### Chernobyl – expeditions

The exhibition "Enthusiasts' street", curated by Water Mossmann and Eva Morat, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Chernobyl disaster, presented the history of the rise and fall of the nearby city of Prypiat. On show were photographs by, among others, Robert Polidori, Andrej Krementschouk, and Sergij Nekhajej, as well as Soviet-era posters, environmental posters produced by the group BLOCK4 from Kharkiv, and poetry by Lina Kostenko. The exhibition also went on shown in Warsaw, Kiev, Brussels, Gartow, and Freiburg. [www.tschernobyl25.org](http://www.tschernobyl25.org) photo: Stephan Röhl



#### Arabic edition of *The Myth of Nuclear Power*

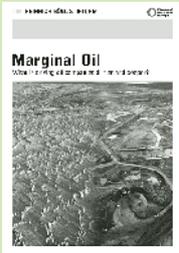
Also available in: Polish, English, German, Chinese, Hebrew, Russian, Czech, Spanish, Italian, Thai

**Example: China**

Our Beijing office used the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster as an opportunity to launch a public debate on nuclear safety and the often exaggerated economic advantages of nuclear power. Several chapters of our publication *The Myth of Nuclear Power* were translated into Chinese for this purpose. These chapters were then presented at various workshops for journalists and discussed with Chinese and international experts. The Fukushima nuclear accident in particular opened up new possibilities for wide-ranging discussions. The disaster spawned a new willingness and even desire on the part of Chinese actors to enter into discussions with the Heinrich Böll Foundation – as an international organization active in China – regarding German experiences in the field of nuclear power. This development would have been inconceivable prior to the fateful events in Japan.

**Tar sands extraction: A bad alternative to conventional oil**

Global supplies of “cheap” conventional oil are becoming scarce. As a result, investors are shifting increasingly toward high-risk and carbon-intensive forms of extracting oil and other fossil fuels. This includes the extraction of oil from tar sands, and investors seeking to exploit this avenue have set their sights not only on more familiar sites in Canada and Venezuela but also on sites in southern Africa – a region that is highly susceptible to environmental damage caused by these types of industrial projects. The consequences and problems of extracting oil from tar sands have received scant attention so far. We are one of only a few global actors highlighting this important issue. For example, as a follow-up to an international meeting that we co-organized with *Friends of the Earth Europe* in May 2011, we published the study *Marginal Oil*. This report provides a critical overview of global tar sands extraction and investigates the political and economic interests that are driving investment in this field.

**Marginal Oil**

Report by Lorne Stockman and Sarah Wykes  
ed. by the Heinrich Böll Foundation, Berlin 2011

**Shaping globalization processes: Monitoring the G20 summits**

One of the fundamental challenges facing policymakers today is to ensure that financial market regulation and supervision are structured in a way that prevents a repetition of the 2008 financial crisis. Given the fact that the global economy is so tightly interlinked with financial markets, this effort will necessarily require international agreements. Any effective proposals will have to balance the divergent interests of developing and advanced countries, and of surplus and deficit countries. The creation of the G20 – which brings together the 20 leading industrialized and developing economies – was meant to tackle precisely this task. In the meantime, however, G20 summit agendas have expanded immensely, and the G20 has developed into a major nexus of international power that is short on democratic legitimacy and transparency. This makes it very challenging for national parliaments and civil society organizations to monitor and influence G20 summit agendas and resolutions. We aim to support these actors by pressing for greater transparency in international political forums. To this end, we monitor decision-making processes in international institutions and publish corresponding reports. Together with our international offices and with international networks such as the *G8G20 Coalition* and the *Our World is not for Sale* (OW-INS) network, we invest in strategy-building in order to help critical actors to better monitor and influence the work of the G20.

## For a global shift in agricultural policy

More than ever before, agricultural practices and policy play out within the multiple contexts of resource scarcity, climate change, and global food supplies. The Heinrich Böll Foundation is committed to the goal of ensuring sufficient food for all people. How to achieve this under the conditions of inequitable global agricultural policies and climate change is a question that drives many of our initiatives and projects. We produce regular background materials and case studies on agricultural trade and investment, and we formulate alternatives to approaches that are overly based on technology. We expose misguided policies such as the production of agrofuels, which lead to land scarcity and exacerbate the food crisis, and we highlight the potential of organic farming.

## Food security in Nigeria

Two-thirds of the Nigerian population make their living from agriculture – many of them hand to mouth – and the situation of farmers threatens to become even worse. The desert is expanding, and periods of rainfall and drought are becoming more extreme. Harvests shrink from year to year, exacerbating food insecurity. Better networks among farmers could help them to assert their interests more effectively. This is precisely where our office in Nigeria aims to provide support. In cooperation with *Tubali*, a Nigerian organization, we have succeeded in strengthening contacts between farmers, agricultural ministries, and research centers in four communities in the states of Kaduna and Enugu. As a result, farmers have started submitting more requests to institutions that in turn have provided the farmers with new seeds and increased the number of agricultural advisors. Initial successes of this effort were reflected in the good harvest enjoyed by the region's farmers last year.

## Selling out: The land crisis in Cambodia

Nature preserves, rivers, farmland, villages, urban settlements – nothing in Cambodia is safe from the grasp of private investors. In 2011, land concessions by the government to well-connected companies seeking to implement large-scale agro-industrial projects exceeded two million hectares for the first time. This figure represents 54 % of Cambodia's total arable land. Due legal process plays little to no role in the allocation of land. Many of the concessionaires are businesspeople who simultaneously occupy high-ranking political positions. For example, three senators from the governing *Cambodian People's Party* (CPP) control a total of 25 % of all agro-industrial land concessions in the country. The economic and social consequences of this inequitable situation are borne primarily by families dependent on subsistence farming, who make up 80 % of the population. The year 2011 saw a rising number of violent clashes between state security forces and affected citizens.

Our office in Cambodia works together with a number of partner organizations on projects that promote equitable and gender-democratic land and resource policies in Cambodia. We want to enhance the capacity of women and men in regions affected by land crises to develop their own, self-determined agendas and to make their demands heard in governing bodies that deal with land and resource management issues.



Standing in line for potable water  
photo: Manfred Hornung

# Committed to a United and Democratic Europe

The European Union is facing a make-or-break test. The financial crisis confronts European institutions and national governments with the difficult task of guaranteeing a sustainable structure for the continuation of the EU. In addition, populist parties in many member states are undermining the principle of European solidarity and putting their governments under pressure. A common European vision no longer appears to exist. Furthermore, the energy policies of the 27 member states diverge in numerous ways. European policy is on the defensive in every key area, and the next two years will decide how and in what form the European project will be continued. The Heinrich Böll Foundation fosters discourse on the future outlook of the EU and aims to stimulate further European integration in crucial policy areas.

## Berlin: Recommendations by our expert commission on the future of the EU

More Europe and more democracy – this is the central message of an expert commission set up by the Heinrich Böll Foundation to examine the future of the European Union. Right now the process of unifying Europe is stagnating. To give this process new momentum and to gain the support of the European people, the commission proposes strategic flagship projects that will showcase the added value of European cooperation – that is, projects that cannot be implemented by individual countries themselves. One example is the *European Community for Renewable Energy* (ERENE), whose objective is to ensure an affordable, reliable, and environmentally compatible energy supply and to pave the way toward a European energy supply that is based 100% on renewable sources.

The commission's findings were presented and discussed at a conference held on October 19-20, 2011, in Berlin.



Prof. Andrew Moravcsik of Princeton University called for greater self-confidence on the part of Europe

photo: Stephan Röhl

See our online dossier at  
[www.boell.de/zukunftdereu](http://www.boell.de/zukunftdereu)

## Shaping European politics

Interview with Ralf Fücks, co-president of the Heinrich Böll Foundation

### ***Why do we need a Europe that is characterized by both strength and solidarity?***

Because only a strong Europe will have the capacity to safeguard the “European way of life” and represent European values on the international stage. And because Europe must achieve solidarity if it wants to act effectively both domestically and internationally.

***The crisis of the European Union has shown that our fiscal and economic policies need better coordination. How must the EU be constituted in order to accomplish this?***

Solidarity and Strength

The Future of the European Union

Commissioned and publ. by the Heinrich Böll Foundation  
Brussels 2011, 132 pages

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

I believe that, in the medium term, the EU will remain a hybrid: on the one hand an intergovernmental union that is decisively influenced by national governments and parliaments, and on the other hand a union of citizens with genuinely European institutions. Within this framework, countries will have to be ready to allow stronger coordination of their economic and fiscal policies in the future. The trick will be to exercise greater solidarity and mutual liability without relieving member states of their responsibility to practice sustainable fiscal and economic policies.

***For a long time we've heard that the EU suffers from a democratic deficit. What should democracy in the EU look like?***

More democracy in Europe means more than just strengthening the European Parliament or introducing European referendums. Rather, greater transparency and participation must already kick in at the local and national levels. No more than what is absolutely necessary should be decided at the European level. At the same time, we have to keep working on the creation of a European public sphere, for example through transnational election platforms and candidate lists for European elections. European democracy will emerge where political issues are discussed on an EU-wide level.

**The Future of European Democracy: A study**

What might a more democratic EU look like? This is the question that constitutional law experts Ulrich K. Preuss and Claudio Franzius examine in the Foundation-commissioned study, *The Future of European Democracy*. Two specific recommendations made by the authors include: (i) strengthening the European Parliament by granting it the right to initiate legislation and (ii) allowing the European Parliament to elect the head of the European Commission. In their view, the key to a vibrant democracy lies in getting civil society more involved in political decision-making processes. This means that non-profit organizations must have just as powerful a say as business associations, which are currently the most prominent voice of civil society in Brussels.

**Borders of the EU – Borders of Human Rights?  
A conference in Berlin**

During the past decade, the European Union has increasingly sealed off its borders, and a greater willingness to take in refugees is not in sight. Together with various non-governmental organizations, we organized an international conference on this issue that was held on April 6-7, 2011, in Berlin. At the event, Mekonnen Mesghena, director of our Migration and Diversity Department, stated that discussions on European refugee and asylum policy cannot take place without reference to political developments in North Africa. In this connection, he argued, it is essential to examine the role that European governments have played in preserving the power of dictatorial regimes in the region. Mahdi Mabrouk, sociology professor and current Tunisian government minister, pointed out the dubious developments in European migration policies. In his view, the issues of migration and terrorism have become increasingly intertwined since 2001, and this has gone hand-in-hand with harsher policies in Europe's treatment of refugees.

## greencampus

*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)

*“The future of European democracy will remain closely interlinked with the development of democracy in the member states. For this reason, there is an overall European responsibility for the internal development of member states: Threats to democracy in one country undermine the democratic legitimacy of the EU as a whole.”*

Ulrich K. Preuss, co-author of the study

# Green New Deal: The Future Starts Now!

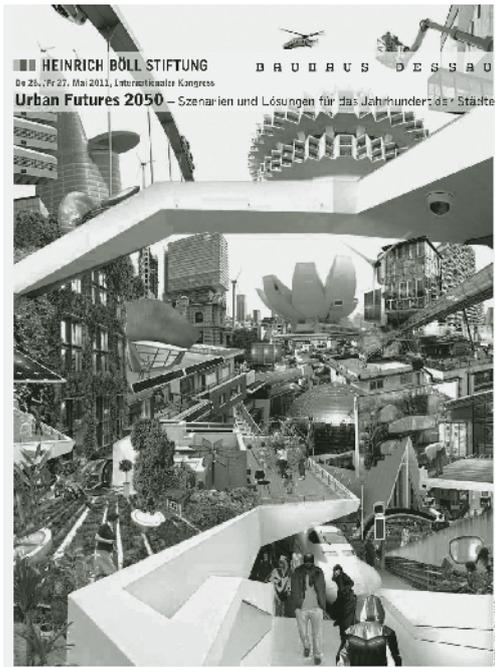
We are living beyond our means. This is shown by our ecological footprint, which is growing larger by the year. Our carbon-based economic model not only threatens our climate and environment but also endangers the livelihoods of present and future generations. We have to restructure industrial society, and this requires everyone's involvement: the business community with its know-how and financial power, scientists and researchers who develop new technologies, and policymakers who shape the conditions for the transition. The Heinrich Böll Foundation provides a forum for people who are committed to ecological transformation. We forge new alliances and foster new ideas, strategies, and experimental approaches all around the world.

## The limits of growth

For decades, economic growth has served as the guarantor of prosperity and social harmony. The recent financial and economic crisis has shaken our faith in this doctrine. With his best-selling book *Prosperity without Growth*, the British economist Tim Jackson has provided a pivotal contribution to the current debate about growth. In 2011, we published the German-language edition of his book. We also published analyses by two other authors focusing on the issue of growth: In *Buen Vivir* (The Good Life), Thomas Fatheuer presents an Andean alternative to Western economic thinking, and Harald Welzer argues in *Mental Infrastructures* that the quest for growth is an inherent feature of the capitalist-bourgeois model of society.

## Scenarios and solutions for the urban century

By 2050, approximately 80 % of the world's population will live in cities. If the global community is unable to make the transition to carbon-neutral cities, resource-efficient modes of production, and sustainable lifestyles, the problems we face – including environmental crises and social erosion – will intensify. How can we design cities that are livable and worth living in? This was the central question we posed at our *Urban Futures 2050* congress, which was held in May 2011 in Berlin and attended by over 400 participants and 60 speakers. Dieter Salomon, mayor of the "environmental showcase city" of Freiburg, Germany, argued that the key is to win the public's commitment to the fight against climate change. As an example, when Freiburg's city government was developing its current land-use plan, it ensured that the public was involved in discussions with the administration. In the end, 600-800 citizens took part in the process. But what can a metropolis like São Paulo learn from an example like this? Two officials from São Paulo's housing authority, stated that one of the main challenges they face is simply to get 4,500 slum-like settlements – which house 30 % of the city's population – integrated into the "formal" city in the first place. Michael Knoll of the Berlin-based *Institute for Futures Studies and Technology Assessment* cautioned against euro-centric perspectives. He stated, that "it is essential to make greater use of local expertise and to gain an understanding of the local urban system in the first place".



*Urban Future 2050* – over 400 participants and 60 speakers took part in the congress

The results of the congress and its workshops are documented at [www.boell.de](http://www.boell.de)

# European Foreign Policy: Trusting One's Own Strengths and Values

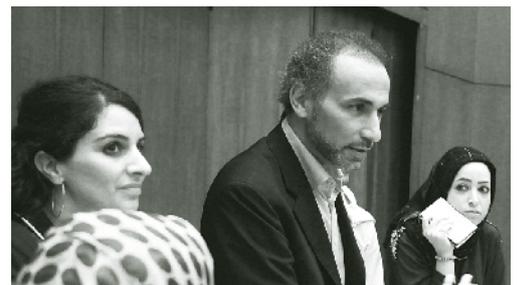
Since the beginning of the new millennium, the constellation of global power has been shifting steadily from West to East. Manifest changes include the rise of major emerging economies, the declining dominance of the United States, and the increasingly confident demands of aspiring regional powers. The countries of the European Union have mustered only hesitant responses to these processes; as a result, they risk becoming mere onlookers to global developments. The Heinrich Böll Foundation wants to help foster an effective and sustainable German and European foreign policy that is oriented toward the values of democracy and human rights and that establishes the EU as a confident, normative trailblazer toward a modern “global domestic policy”.

## Ten years after 9/11: Foreign and security policy in a turbulent decade

At our *12th Annual Foreign Policy Conference* in June 2011, which we co-organized with the *European Council on Foreign Relations*, we cast a spotlight on global shifts in political power since 9/11 and sought to draw lessons from the foreign policy successes and failures of the past decade. International speakers discussed the responses of Europe and the United States to the events of September 11, 2001, and teased out the political ramifications of these various responses. The conference also focused on the issue of “fear”, which has played a key role in the discourse on terrorism over the past decade. Who is afraid of whom, and for what reasons? Distinguished participants such as Cem Özdemir, co-chair of the German Green Party (*Alliance '90/The Greens*), took stock of how the instrumentalization of fear had impacted society, and he demonstratively rejected the Islamophobia of Western societies, which has become more or less overt in the ensuing years. The subject that captured the conference's main attention, however, was the Arab Spring; in this context, participants discussed how democracy promotion and human rights could serve as guiding values for the West's foreign policy response to unfolding events in the Arab region.

## Islam and the West

Debates over the so-called “clash of civilizations” continue to flare up ten years after the events of 9/11. Together with the American University Beirut, our Beirut office co-organized the international symposium *Cartoons and Minarets* in April 2011 to examine western depictions of Islam and associated public protests by Muslims. The event brought together journalists, academics, and religious scholars from the Arab region, Europe, Nigeria, South Africa, Pakistan, and the United States to discuss how issues such as racism, freedom of expression, criticism, and humor play out in authoritarian and democratic contexts. Among the participants was Tariq Ramadan, the prominent Islamic studies scholar from Oxford University and grandson of Hassan al-Banna, founder of the *Muslim Brotherhood*.



An audience of over 600 listened to Tariq Ramadan's analysis of Islam's role in the Arab Spring.

photo: Heinrich Böll Foundation, Beirut office

## International security guarantees for Israel and Palestine

It appears to be increasingly difficult to achieve a two-state solution for Israel and Palestine. International security guarantees that do justice to the needs of both sides are discussed repeatedly, but concrete proposals have yet to be put on the table.

Based on an initiative by the Heinrich Böll Foundation, a working group comprised of Israeli and Palestinian security experts as well as representatives from the EU and NATO has now succeeded in drawing up such a proposal. In a policy paper and an overview addressing 72 specific questions, the group spells out the role and mandate of an international presence that could also include Germany. In 2011, the paper was presented to the Israeli government and the Palestinian Authority in confidential meetings. The proposal will be made available to policy-makers in Berlin, Brussels, New York, and Washington, D.C. in 2012. In this way, the Foundation hopes to make a small contribution to the identification of solutions that can be put into practice, given the necessary political will.

## Peace and security in Pakistan

More than ever, Pakistan is viewed as the “most dangerous country in the world”, not least because of its shared border with Afghanistan and the problematic role that Islamabad plays there. In December 2011, international scholars, policymakers, and activists gathered at a conference in Islamabad organized by the *Foundation and the Center for Research and Security Studies* (CRSS) to discuss the highly complex matrix of hostility, war, terrorism, flawed governance, and international intervention that affects the region. Prominent guests included Pakistani nuclear physicist Pervez Hoodbhoy, whose passionate arguments against a nuclear arms race between India and Pakistan were not uncontroversial, given the fact that nuclear weapons constitute a key *raison d'état* in Pakistan.

In 2012, the Foundation will co-publish a book with Professor Hoodbhoy in which Indian and Pakistani scholars engage in a critical analysis of their respective governments' nuclear policies. The conference concluded with the adoption of a resolution containing a catalog of measures intended to help solve the multi-dimensional crisis in Pakistan.

## Peace and security policy from a gender perspective

Armed conflicts go hand-in-hand with an increasingly militarized and brutalized society, and violent sexual crimes are an everyday occurrence. These phenomena persist in post-conflict societies as well. Peace accords frequently prove unsustainable, and one reason for this is the gender blindness of government peace and security policy. Since 2001, the Foundation's *Gunda Werner Institute* has been raising awareness of this problem and advocated political change. At an expert meeting in May 2011, we examined various projects that offer effective strategies for counteracting militarized and hegemonic patriarchal structures – and the violent (sexual) crimes caused by these structures – in (post-)conflict countries. An additional expert meeting in November focused on constructive strategies for coming to terms with experiences of sexual violence and associated reconciliation strategies.

Reports on these expert meetings are available at [www.gwi-boell.de](http://www.gwi-boell.de)

# Boosting 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 advisory services, skills development, and networking opportunities.

Our aim is to discover promising talent and to enhance its potential. In this way, we hope to win over 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 our programs and activities to promote talented young people, we place a dual emphasis on the principles of achievement and equal opportunity. The Foundation's selection process places a strong emphasis on high academic achievement, which is assessed within the context of each person's individual biography. In addition, we expect our fellows to take on responsibility for the common good, to become actively involved in society, and to take an interest in political issues.

In 2011, we selected 207 new fellows in a three-stage selection process involving approximately 1,800 applicants. Last year, a total of 825 undergraduate and graduate students as well as 180 doctoral candidates received financial support. Out of this total pool, 909 scholarships were financed by the *Federal Ministry of Education and Research*, 95 by the *Foreign Office*, and one by the *Britta Lohan Memorial Foundation*. In 2011, women comprised 58 percent of our fellows, men 42 %, and 30 % had an immigrant background. The duration of support usually varies from 1½ to 3 years. Our aim is to provide support to all fellows until they complete their respective degrees.

## Conceptual support/fostering ideas: advice – training – networking

The Foundation's Scholarship Program offers its fellows additional forms of support and personal mentoring that are designed to nurture conceptual development, to cultivate ideas, to help students plan their course of studies, and to promote networking. Seminars, workshops, a summer academy, numerous training programs, study trips, and discussion forums foster the personal and professional development of our fellows. These activities aim to spur political debate, impart crucial skills, encourage interdisciplinary dialogue, and promote social and political activism.

## Highlights in 2011

In 2011, 364 fellows participated in 38 different events offered within the framework of our "bonus program" (Gutscheinprogramm). These are multi-day events that are organized by the Foundation or one of its 16 affiliated state foundations, focusing on topics that correspond to the Foundation's thematic priorities. As usual, last year's events encompassed a wide range of topics including "Afghanistan today?", "Perspectives on sustainable animal husbandry and future-proof meat consumption", and the "Green new deal". In addition, numerous workshops



Since 1996, Dr. Gisela Holfter has been a senior lecturer in German literature at the University of Limerick, where she also co-founded the Centre for German-Irish Studies. Her research includes a focus on Heinrich Böll's relationship to his adopted second homeland, Ireland. Her book *Heinrich Böll and Ireland* was published in November 2011. We supported her with a scholarship from 1993-1995 while she worked on her doctoral project, "Experiencing Ireland: German travelogues on Ireland in the 20th Century". She currently serves as a member of the Scholarship Program's selection committee.

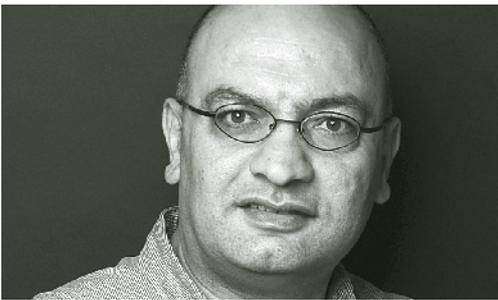
photo: private

## International fellows and countries of origin\*





Environmental economist Dr. Jan Minx is a researcher at the *Potsdam Institute for Climate Impact Research* and heads the Technical Support Unit of Working Group III (Mitigation of Climate Change) for the *Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC)*. Prior to his current position, he served as project director at the *Stockholm Environment Institute* and the *Technische Universität Berlin*. Dr. Minx, who studied in Cologne and completed his PhD at the *University of York*, was the recipient of a Foundation scholarship from 2001 to 2002. He currently supports us by serving as an academic advisor to Scholarship Program fellows and is also a member of the Foundation's Green Academy. [photo: private](#)



Dr. Omar Kamil is an assistant professor at the University of Leipzig's *Simon Dubnow Institute for Jewish History and Culture*. He was a Foundation fellow from 1999 to 2003 and wrote his dissertation on the topic of Arab Jews in Israel, receiving his PhD from the University of Leipzig in 2003. His post-doctoral thesis (Habilitation) for the university's Institute of Political Science focused on "The Arab Memory of the Holocaust". Dr. Kamil is a visiting lecturer in Haifa, Jerusalem, and Cairo and is currently serving as the Ben Gurion Guest Chair for Israel and Near Eastern Studies at the College for *Jewish Studies in Heidelberg*. He supports the Foundation as an academic advisor to Scholarship Program fellows and as a member of the program's selection committee. [photo: private](#)

Our primary target groups for providing assistance are:

- "First generation" students
- Students with an immigrant background
- Students attending universities of applied sciences (*Fachhochschulen*)
- Students in "MINT" disciplines (mathematics, informatics, natural sciences, and technology), particularly those specializing in fields dealing with the environment, ecology, climate and resource consumption

were held that targeted the development of key personal and professional skills, such as "Mediation and constructive conflict resolution". Another highlight of our 2011 support program was an emphasis on creative and cultural events that gave fellows the chance to become event managers. These included a "song workshop" in which participants put together a small concert featuring European songs. In addition, the Scholarship Program's first film festival was held in March 2011 in cooperation with the *German Film and Television Academy (dffb)*. The festival showcased documentary and feature films, art videos, and performance art by current and former fellows.

### Training for young journalists

Together with four media partners and the kind support of the *Robert Bosch Foundation*, the Scholarship Program provided fellowships for 25 young journalists with immigrant backgrounds. The training program included seminars to help build the necessary tools of the journalism trade (such as reporting and political interviews) and to examine key professional issues such as journalistic ethics. One of the year's highlights was a study visit to Belgrade and Sarajevo; afterwards, participants published reports on their trip on the Foundation's website. Two former fellows are now employed as editors at daily newspapers, six are working as trainees at various media companies.

### Supporting doctoral studies

Our annual forum for doctoral candidates focuses on interdisciplinary exchanges, discussions on the sociopolitical significance of selected academic issues, and the various possibilities and forms for presenting and disseminating scholarly work. "Academia and Democracy" was the interdisciplinary topic of our 2011 forum, which was attended by 52 doctoral students.

### Our project "Fair Opportunity"

The educational background and migration history of parents can still have a determinative influence on the educational trajectory of their children. In this context, university students and students eligible for higher education who come from families with no academic background tend to run into obstacles within the German educational system, especially when they are at the threshold of moving up to the next level – whether this be secondary school, university, or a doctoral program. For students with an immigrant background who are at university or preparing to enter university, these hurdles are particularly high for "first generation" students – that is, those who are the first in their families to attend university. Our Fair Opportunity project – funded by the *Federal Ministry of Education and Research* – aims to help these students by reducing access barriers to university, by mitigating difficulties they may encounter during their studies, and by counteracting obstacles that may prevent them from completing their degrees. This includes providing financial assistance and guidance/training programs.

# Art as a Barometer of Politics and Society

Political actors would be well-advised not to lose sight of developments in the art world. Literary works, art installations, and theatrical productions often cast a spotlight on social and political questions long before these questions reach the political stage. The arts in all their great diversity point to issues that may someday become deeply relevant to society at large. The Heinrich Böll Foundation is committed to an interdisciplinary discourse between the arts, science, and politics. We are involved in exhibits and theater projects, we organize film festivals and literary events, and we hold panel discussions on cultural issues.

## Exhibit: The Urban Cultures of Global Prayers

New religious movements and communities play an increasingly important role in the major metropolitan centers of the world. In Lagos, the largest Pentecostal church can hold five times as many worshipers as the world's largest football stadium – a city of God is emerging on the outskirts of an African mega-city. In Rio de Janeiro, cinemas are being converted into churches, and public spaces in Mumbai frequently serve as the stage for religious spectacles. All world regions and all religions are witnessing the emergence of new religious communities that are reshaping urban topographies and playing roles as both economic and political actors. From November 2011 to January 2012, an international art exhibit in Berlin entitled *The Urban Cultures of Global Prayers* presented differentiated perspectives on the connections between urban development and religious practices. The event, co-organized by the *Neue Gesellschaft für Bildende Kunst* (New Society for Visual Arts) and the Heinrich Böll Foundation, primarily showcased the visual and multimedia formats of photography, video installations, and soundscapes.

## Israeli Film Days in Berlin

After the state of Israel was established in 1948, many people of Jewish faith and with Jewish roots emigrated to the new country from the surrounding states of the Middle East and North Africa. In their new homeland, these Mizrahi Jews, as they were called, encountered the founding fathers of the Israeli state who had been socialized in Europe and who dominated the country's political and social life for decades. It was not until the 1990s that the culture of Arab Jews began to find acceptance throughout broad segments of Israeli society. This theme was the focal point of our January 2011 *Israeli Film Days*, which examined how the Orient is reflected in the everyday lives of the Israeli people. The festival's 13 documentary and feature films – prize-winners among them – offered a broad palette of historical, contemporary, and sometimes decidedly ironic perspectives on social tensions in Israel's multicultural society.

## Film festivals in Iraq and Palestine

Violence, destruction, and insecurity continue to mark everyday life in Iraq, even eight years after the overthrow of Saddam Hussein. The 16 short documentary films featured at the Independent Film and Television College's documentary film festival – which was held in April-May



The film *Neilah – Closing Prayer* by Zohan Markman and Amir Busheri depicts a small synagogue that is threatened with closure. [photo: Ruth Diskin Films](#)

2011 in Baghdad, Basra, and Erbil – offered a small glimpse into this contemporary reality. The films, made by Iraqi students, had already been shown internationally and won numerous prizes at Arab and international film festivals. The somewhat improved security situation in Iraq made it possible for these films to be shown in their home country for the first time. The festival, which is funded by our international office in Beirut, aims to provide support to a new generation of Iraqi filmmakers. In an accompanying program, the filmmakers described their production processes, the risks involved in their work, and their experiences while filming.

We also provided funding for a film festival in the Palestinian territories. Under the title, *I Am a Woman from Palestine*, the festival presented ten films by Palestinian women directors. A total of 56 screenings in the West Bank and Gaza Strip were attended by over 2,600 viewers. The festival, which we co-organized with *Shashat*, a Palestinian non-governmental organization, offers a successful model that provides young women with the opportunity to present their perspectives on social and political conditions.

### Democracy and the public sphere

The internet is in the process of revolutionizing political culture. New forms of political influence (such as online petitions) and new tools of online political participation (such as liquid democracy) have the potential to help citizens reclaim democracy and to counteract the growing lethargy toward political parties. Our program *Democracy and the Public Sphere* strives to identify how the public's desire to participate in and shape political processes can be coupled institutionally with parliamentary democracy in such a way that empowers citizens not to function as mere naysayers but rather to take on more responsibility for matters of public concern.

### Contemporary history

We also organize events focusing on topics of contemporary history, where speakers and audiences examine the interconnections between interpretations of history, the politics of remembrance, and contemporary political developments. For example, one of our conferences in 2011 focused on the role of the German Reich in the expulsion of Armenians in 1915 and 1916. Our hope was that, by engaging in a public debate in Germany, we could help break down taboos against dealing openly with this subject in Turkey.

On the occasion of the 35th anniversary of Wolf Biermann's expatriation from the German Democratic Republic, we organized a major event recalling the protests that took place at that time in East and West Germany and the consequences that these events had for Biermann's supporters in East Germany.

In March 2011, in cooperation with the *Interdisciplinary Center Herzliya* (IDC) and the *Israel Council on Foreign Relations*, our Tel Aviv office presented the book *Das Amt und die Vergangenheit* ("The German Foreign Office and the Past"), a publication containing the findings of an independent commission of historians that had investigated the German Foreign Office's role in the Nazi regime and the extent to which the Foreign Office had confronted and acknowledged that past during the post-war period. The book presentation – which was attended by Joschka Fischer, the former Green Party Foreign Minister – was, to date, the first and only of its kind in Israel.



Chancellor Angela Merkel with Foundation co-president Ralf Fücks at a personal visit to a film presentation featuring Wolf Biermann.

photo: Heinrich Böll Foundation

# A Refuge for Artists

The association of the Heinrich Böll House Langenbroich celebrated its 20th anniversary in September 2011. The Böll family purchased the house in the 1960s, using it primarily as a summer residence up until Heinrich Böll's death. In the spirit of Annemarie and Heinrich Böll, we support the association's objective: to provide artists with a stipend that enables them to engage in creative work – undisturbed, without financial concerns, and free from persecution and censorship – for a period of several months.

## Guests at the Heinrich Böll House Langenbroich in 2011

**Alhierd Bacharevic**, writer from Minsk, Belarus. His novel, *A Practical Guide to the Destruction of Cities*, was awarded the Hliniany Viales – the only independent Belarusian literature prize – for best book of the year in 2002. Bacharevic's works are now banned in Belarus.

**Zvonko Karanović**, writer from Niš, Serbia. Since 1990, Karanović has published numerous volumes of poetry and a trilogy of novels. A key part of his appeal lies in his intellectual independence, which he demonstrated both during the Milošević regime and in the years thereafter.

**German Sadulaev**, Chechen-born writer from St. Petersburg, Russia. Sadulaev wrote poems even as a child, before expanding his repertoire to include song lyrics, short stories, and novels. Before its initial publication in the journal *Snamy*, his novel *I Am a Chechen!* was disseminated throughout artist circles and was subsequently adapted for the theater.

**Liao Zenghu**, who publishes under the pseudonym Ye Kai, writer from Shanghai, China. He holds a doctorate in modern Chinese literature and works as chief editor of the renowned literary journal *Harvest (Shou Huo)*. His novel *The Road to Riches* depicts social relations under Chinese capitalism.

**Ali Bader**, writer from Baghdad, Iraq. One of the best-known Arabic authors of his generation, Bader achieved his breakthrough with the novel *Papa Sartre*, which portrays the existentialist movement in Baghdad during the 1950s and 1960s.

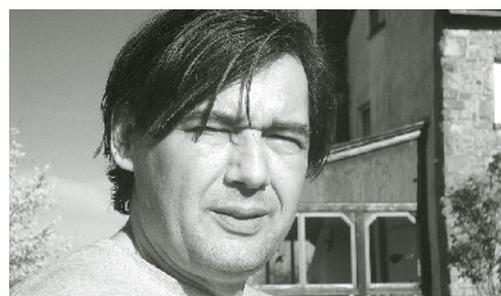
**Hassouna Mosbahi**, writer from Tunis, Tunisia. Mosbahi began writing short stories in his youth, and these were awarded a Tunisian radio prize in 1968. After longer periods of study in Paris, Madrid, and London, he relocated to Munich in 1985, where he lived and worked until 2004 before returning to Tunisia.

**Alaa Khaled**, poet, essayist, and novelist from Alexandria, Egypt. Khaled also publishes the cultural journal *Amkenah* ("Places"), which is highly esteemed throughout the Arab world.

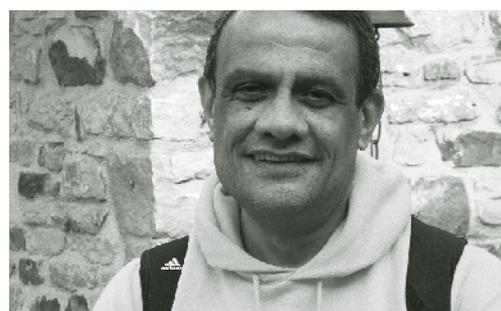
**Chang Ping**, journalist from Sichuan, China. Ping is a leading commentator on contemporary China. He has come under pressure due to his reporting and his commitment to freedom of expression. Because his work frequently focuses on politically sensitive topics, he was forced out of his position at the Southern Media Group, an influential Chinese news organization.

**Magomed Toriev**, investigative journalist from Ingushetia, Russia. Toriev works for a variety of organizations including the oppositionist Ingush website *Ingushetia.org* and the *Caucasus Times*.

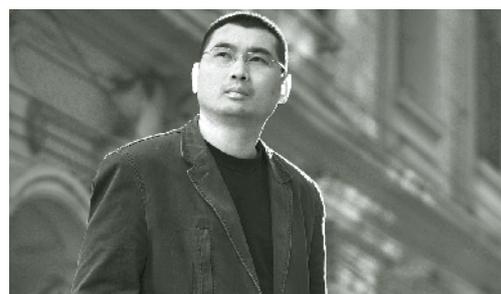
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Zvonko Karanović photo: private



Alaa Khaled photo: private



Chang Ping photo: private

## Guests and Partners



Bahman Nirumand, Iranian-German journalist and author, celebrated his 75<sup>th</sup> birthday in September. We commemorated this occasion with a presentation of his autobiography *Weit entfernt, von dem Ort, an dem ich sein müsste* ("Far from the Place Where I Ought To Be"). He has been writing the Heinrich Böll Foundation's monthly *Iran Report* since 2002.



Milan Horáček, one of the first members of the German Bundestag from the Green Party and long-time director of our international office in Prague, entered his well-deserved retirement in October. A reception was held in his honor at the German Embassy in Prague.



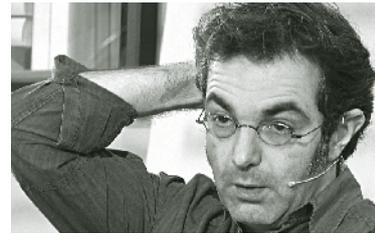
Pinar Selek, sociologist and political activist, unveiled her first novel *Halbierte Hoffnungen* ("Halved Hopes") in December. She wrote the novel at the Heinrich Böll House in Langenbroich, where she spent her initial stay after taking exile in Germany. Even though Selek has been acquitted numerous times, she is still persecuted as a terrorist by the Turkish judiciary.



Tim Jackson, adviser to the British government as part of the *Sustainable Development Commission*, presented his book *Prosperity without Growth* in April 2011. His book describes a post-growth economy that can renew and enhance the sources of public welfare and durable prosperity. The German language version of this important work was published by the Foundation and is already in its third edition.



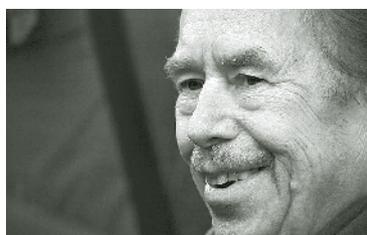
Dorota Kędzierawska, Polish director of documentary and feature films. In February, she received the Peace Film Award at the *Berlin Film Festival* for *Tomorrow Will Be Better*, which was shown as part of the festival's *Generation Kplus* category. The prize money of 5,000 € is contributed by the Heinrich Böll Foundation.



David Kermani, Islamic studies expert and writer. His writings seek to foster inter-religious dialogue, and his political analyses transcend particularistic categories and camps. For his dedicated efforts, he was awarded the Hannah Arendt Prize for Political Thought in December 2011. The Prize, awarded since 1995, is sponsored by the Heinrich Böll Foundation and the city of Bremen.



Prof. Wangari Maathai, Africa's best-known Green politician and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, died in September 2011. With her passing, we have lost a long-time friend and partner. In the spirit of the *Green Belt Movement* she founded, we planted an apple tree in her memory in front of the Foundation's central offices in Berlin.



Václav Havel was a steadfast supporter of the Foundation and kept close contact with our Prague office. The former Czech President, civil rights activist, author, and playwright stood for honesty, courage, humaneness, and the integrity of language. He passed away in December 2011. We will deeply miss his visionary voice.



In her work as a feisty legal practitioner and openly lesbian politician, Anne Klein was a feminist pioneer. She succumbed to cancer in April 2011. In her honor, starting in 2012, we will award the Anne Klein Prize, which will recognize special achievements in fostering gender democracy and combating discrimination based on gender or sexual identity.

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