

## PREFACE BY THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

No event in recent years has influenced our international civic education activities as suddenly and completely as the terrorist acts of September 11, as well as the subsequent invocation of Article 5 of the NATO Charter and the military intervention in Afghanistan. Immediately following the attacks on the United States, we initiated a discussion series to interpret the event and its effects on world politics. Our Internet site, [www.boell.de](http://www.boell.de), includes a comprehensive dossier titled „After September 11,“ which offers reports, analyses and background information. Parallel to the Petersberg talks, at which the schedule for establishing a post-Taliban government was determined, the Foundation organized the first conference on civil society development in Afghanistan. In accordance with its own capacities, the Heinrich Böll Foundation will participate in efforts to build up Afghan civil society – primarily in the areas of women’s rights, education and the media.

The World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg continues to top the agenda as well. Ten years after the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, the nine-day conference will show whether the concept of sustainable development has any chance of success in the coming decade. The Foundation has been active in summit preparations for more than two years. We have supported regional NGO coalitions, organized numerous events, and initiated a well-received series of publications to provide momentum to discussions on the goals of international sustainability policies at Johannesburg and thereafter. The most prominent document produced by these efforts is the Jo’burg Memo, an 80-page memorandum on the World Summit. It is the product of an almost two-year cooperative effort by an international editorial staff consisting of scientists, scholars, politicians and NGO activists. Of the large number of countries in which we actively cooperate with over 200 project partners, we would like to mention two in particular. The first is Iran: after organizing a major Iran conference in April 2000, the Foundation has continued its active engagement toward this Middle Eastern region by implementing a series of smaller initiatives. The goals of these efforts include the development of a civil-society based German-Iranian dialogue to support reform endeavors in Iran, and the promotion of a more sophisticated discussion on Islam and Modernity. The second is China: here the Foundation’s activities include a series of dialogues on urban development issues in China. We also provide support to a women’s center in Beijing, which provides research and consulting on how the rapid social transformations occurring in China affect the situation of women. At the same time, we are continuing our long-term cooperation with Tibetan exiles to preserve the cultural traditions of the Tibetan people. In the meantime, the Foundation now operates 18 international offices on four continents. Most recently, we have opened offices in Lagos (Nigeria), New Delhi (India) and Warsaw (Poland). These offices maintain contact with our project partners in the respective regions; furthermore, through their events and visitors’ programs, they are a key component of our participation in the global political dialogue. This brief report illuminates additional aspects and details of our efforts during the past year. Current information may always be found on our homepage.

Berlin, June 2002

Ralf Fücks, Barbara Unmüßig

Under Article 5 of the NATO Charter, an attack against one NATO member is considered an attack against all members. This article was invoked in September 2001 for the first time in the alliance’s history.

The memorandum is now available in German, English, Russian, Italian and Spanish, and is being translated into numerous other languages. Extensive information can be found on the Internet at [www.worldsummit2002.org](http://www.worldsummit2002.org) and [www.joburgmemo.org](http://www.joburgmemo.org)



Ralf Fücks, Barbara Unmüßig

## THE HEINRICH BÖLL FOUNDATION'S WORK TO PROMOTE CIVIC EDUCATION AND PUBLIC AWARENESS

### SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

The Heinrich Böll Foundation considers the issues of ecology and sustainable development to be determinative in shaping the future; their progress must not be dependent upon the respective political conditions. Ecology and sustainable development are thus multi-departmental, collective undertakings addressed by all of the Foundation's departments.

#### ON THE ROAD TO JOHANNESBURG – ACTIVITIES RELATED TO THE WORLD SUMMIT ON SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT, AUGUST 26 – SEPTEMBER 4, 2002

The Heinrich Böll Foundation views the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development (Rio+10) as a significant opportunity to return central „Green“ issues to the public consciousness. The World Summit thus represented a major focus of the Foundation's activities, both domestically and abroad, in 2001. One extremely important project surrounding Rio+10 is the World Summit Memorandum Group. The Heinrich Böll Foundation invited 16 prominent personalities from the fields of science and academia, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), politics and economics, from both North and South, to write a Memorandum for the World Summit on Sustainable Development. Their recommendations for shaping globalization in a manner that adheres to the principles of sustainability and justice are meant not only to serve as World Summit preparation materials for NGOs, governments and experts, but also to provide a mid-term political orientation on issues central to the World Summit.

To help the international Green movement get in gear for the World Summit, the Heinrich Böll Foundation organized a Rio+10 workshop that took place in Canberra on April 12–13, 2001. It was organized in cooperation with the Green Institute (affiliated with the Australian Greens) and Friends of the Earth Australia, and took place shortly before the Global Greens Conference. Approximately 150 people from Green movements, parties and NGOs participated in the workshop, which produced two resolutions (on climate policy and the Johannesburg process) that were subsequently adopted by the plenary session of the Global Greens Conference.

Capacity-building is a central focus of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's work. Numerous partner organizations have little or no experience in international negotiation processes. In this area, the Foundation conducts capacity-building activities in an effort to promote more effective participation and intervention and to raise a „second generation“ of activists. The Foundation offices in San Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, Nairobi and Ramallah each conducted several-day workshops, some of which were organized in cooperation with local NGOs. These workshops provided both an overview of various international negotiation processes as well as training in intervention strategies (e. g., media work and lobbying).

In addition to these capacity-building programs, several Foundation offices and regional departments were active on the regional level in preparing for Rio+10. For example, the South Africa office played a decisive „midwife role“ in establishing a legitimate body to represent South African civil society (Civil Society Indaba) in the Johannesburg process. It also hosted the second meeting of the World



Wolfgang Sachs, coordinator of the Memorandum Group

Members of the Memorandum Group:  
Prof. Henri Acselrad, Farida Akhter,  
Ada Amon, Dr. Tewolde Gebre  
Eghziaber, Hilary French, Pekka  
Haavisto, Paul Hawken, Dr. Hazel  
Henderson, Ashok Khosla, Sara  
Larrain, Dr. Reinhard Loske, Anita  
Roddick, Dr. Wolfgang Sachs  
(coordinator), Dr. Vivienne Taylor,  
Dr. Christine von Weizsäcker,  
Sviatoslav Zabelin



International environmental experts visiting Germany

Summit Memorandum Group and organized a dialogue with South African NGOs and government representatives. During the summit, the office will play a key role in the implementation of the Foundation's activities.

The Thailand office in Chiang Mai placed the coming Johannesburg Summit on the NGO agenda with a series of events, such as the conference „Debating Growth and Sustainable Development“ and the art exhibition „The End of Growth? Ways of Development into a Sustainable Future“. The office successfully supported grassroots movements and critical NGOs in their efforts to have their positions represented in official and alternative reports on the implementation of Agenda 21 in Thailand. The preparations for Johannesburg were taken as an occasion to initiate a national discourse on a paradigm for sustainable development that is feasible for Thailand.

The Washington office organized a visitors' program, primarily for project partners from South Africa, to attend PrepComm I. It also organized the conference „The Road to Earth Summit 2002“ which took place on April 19–20, 2001 in New York City. Also, an occasional Newsletter (in English, Spanish and German) published by the Washington office provides information on developments in the international Rio+10 process.

The Nairobi office supports NGOs in Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia and Sudan in the Johannesburg process. It organized an African strategy forum in September titled „Sustainable Development, Governance and Globalization“ and a pan-African preparatory conference in December.

The Brazil office organized the visit of a South African delegation to Rio in May 2001. The goal was to exchange experiences with Brazilian NGOs that were involved in the organization of NGO activities in Rio in 1992.

The World Summit Papers published by the Heinrich Böll Foundation include various informational materials, studies, essays, documentations, etc., regarding issues to be covered at the World Summit. The series is published in various languages, both by the Foundation's headquarters in Berlin and by various foreign offices; it seeks to help the international public prepare for the summit meeting. The World Summit Papers are available free of charge from the Heinrich Böll Foundation in Berlin and from the Foundation's foreign offices; they may also be downloaded at [www.boell.de](http://www.boell.de)

### PROMOTING ECONOMIC RESPONSIBILITY AND SUSTAINABLE SMALL-SCALE INDUSTRY IN INDIA

One of the goals of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's international project work centers on the reconciliation of ecologically sustainable economic growth and socially just distribution as a basic precondition for securing economic, social and cultural human rights. For example, in India the Foundation supports the Centre for Social Markets (CSM), an NGO founded by renowned development policy activists. In contrast to most NGOs in developing countries and in Europe as well, who maintain very few or no contacts to private industry, CSM seeks to cooperate intensively with large and small-scale businesses in order to strengthen entrepreneurs' business ethics and sense of social responsibility. Special seminars and workshops for entrepreneurs are offered in Calcutta and other major cities in India. CSM is developing concepts for the ecological and sustainable promotion of small-scale industry and provides information on opportunities to improve social and environmental standards. Furthermore, current and potential investors are included in discussions on ecologically sustainable investment projects.

Ecology and sustainability will represent central themes in the Foundation's future efforts in India. The Heinrich Böll Foundation opened a small office in New Delhi in October 2001.

Regional office in Chiang Mai, Thailand



MANAGING SUSTAINABILITY – WORLD BANK-STYLE: AN EVALUATION OF THE WORLD DEVELOPMENT REPORT 2003 With contributions from Liane Schalatek & Barbara Unmüßig, et al. World Summit Papers No. 19, Johannesburg, August 2002

DEBATING LIMITS TO SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT A case study of Thailand from a cultural perspective on sustainable development in Southeast Asia. By Karl H. Segsneider. World Summit Papers No. 14, Chiang Mai 2002, 109 pages

SUSTAINABILITY AND JUSTICE Documentation of a Conference in Berlin, September 2000. World Summit Papers No. 13, Johannesburg, July 2002

POLITICAL ECOLOGY AND SUSTAINABILITY A Comprehensive study of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's Projects Abroad. By Theo Mutter, Jochen Töpfer and Christa Wichterich. Published by the Heinrich Böll Foundation, Berlin 2002, 348 pages, numerous tables and diagrams



Executive Office for the Common Task: Gabriele Schambach, Henning von Barga, Kerstin Ahrens

## GENDER DEMOCRACY AND WOMEN'S ISSUES

The model of gender democracy involves the establishment of democratic conditions between women and men. For this, strategies of women's politics are complemented by self-reliant and assertive cooperation with men – without excluding classic instruments such as quotas.

### GENDER DEMOCRACY AS A COMMON TASK WITHIN THE HEINRICH BÖLL FOUNDATION

The Heinrich Böll Foundation has identified gender democracy as a common task, and thus as an internal organizational principle, since 1997. As a common task, the responsibility for its implementation lies with the individual divisions and departments of the Foundation. In other words, gender democracy is not a policy that is confined within a specific department; rather, it is practiced and further developed by all Foundation employees. It is also a specific leadership task of the executive board and department heads. The volunteer Women's Council supports the Foundation's women's and gender policy goals and monitors progress in the Foundation's internal and external implementation of the common task of gender democracy.

The Foundation's Gender Democracy unit monitors, initiates and supports processes and projects for implementing the common task within the various departments, divisions and teams of the Foundation. Within the scope of its own educational activities, the unit coordinates and monitors the network „Men's Forum on the Theory and Practice of Gender Relations“ and has organized the Gender Democracy Dialogue Series since April 2000. In Spring 2001, the fifth event in this series was dedicated to the issue of right-wing extremism and gender. The goal of this event was to gain insight into the attractiveness and fascination of the right-wing extremist scene by analyzing the construction of femininity, masculinity and gender relationships. The sixth event in this series focused on the extent to which equal opportunity and gender policy play a role in the EU enlargement process. Lisa Paus (Alliance 90/The Greens) and Czeslaw Fiedorowicz (member of the Polish Parliament for the Freedom Union party) discussed equal opportunity among women and men within the framework of EU enlargement and explored the political relevance of gender democracy.

### CONFERENCE: „IS GENDER EVERYTHING? OR WHAT? – THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER (S) AND THEIR PRACTICAL RELEVANCE IN EDUCATION, CONSULTING AND POLITICS“

In March 2001, the Heinrich Böll Foundation organized the expert meeting „Is Gender Everything? Or What?“ The conference was co-organized with the Men's Forum on the Theory and Practice of Gender Relations. Among other things, the event examined the question of how theories construct genders, whether these theories involve more than abstract academic discourse, and what practical relevance they have for (men's) education and consulting. Two introductory lectures provided an overview of current discussions within feminist theory on the construction of gender, as well as a presentation on the theory of Judith Butler, philosopher and gender researcher from Berkeley. Following a critical examination of men's and boys' educational programs, one workshop used the example of boys' educational programs to discuss alternative practices that follow a deconstructionist perspective. Another workshop addressed the question of the extent to which a deconstructionist approach can contribute to violence reduction. In contrast to the dominant approach within anti-violence efforts, which de-links violence and masculinity and postulates a positive, non-violent form of masculinity as a personal and social utopia, the deconstructionist approach declines to identify (positive or negative) masculine identities and fights against the cultural imperative to exclude the feminine, since boundaries are what enable violence against women in the first place.

### NISAA INSTITUTE FOR WOMEN'S DEVELOPMENT, JOHANNESBURG

The program to promote gender democracy in Southern Africa focuses on the economic problems and interests of women as well as combating violence against women. One partner organization dedicated primarily to the latter is the NISAA Institute for Women's Development in Johannesburg. It was founded in 1993 by a group of activist women who established a shelter for battered women. It not only provides women with protection from their abusive partners, but also gives them professional support in developing their own life perspectives. The work of the institute, however, is not limited to the shelter; in the communities of the Gauteng region, it mobilizes the public by way of events, advertisements and broad-based campaigns which address the issue of violence against women. NISAA's goal is to demonstrate alternative conflict resolution strategies to women, children and men from all levels of society. The organization thus makes a significant contribution to the fight against violence. Another focus of NISAA is to strengthen women and to promote their participation in political, economic and social life. During the first five years of democracy in South Africa, the institute also participated in commissions that reformed domestic violence laws. The result is quite impressive: South Africa has not only a progressive constitution but also legislation with a broadly defined concept of violence that includes domestic violence. NISAA's goal in the coming years will be to publicize and implement these legislative developments.

[www.nisaa.org.za](http://www.nisaa.org.za)

### PROMOTING WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN THE CARIBBEAN

The steadily improving educational system in the Caribbean, which has benefited many girls in the past 30 years, did not automatically lead to equal treatment, to say nothing of economic advantages, for the broad majority of women. The majority of women are jobless or have low-income employment. Men continue to dominate the upper levels of management and politics. Changing these conditions is the goal of the support programs of the Heinrich Böll Foundation and its project partners in the Caribbean.

*Coordinadora de Mujeres del Cibao (CMC)* is an association of various women's groups in the Cibao region of the Dominican Republic. With its extensive training program, CMC provides information on the legal and political situation of women and on issues such as racism, sexism, violence against women and sex tourism. Another aspect of the program involves political participation by women: the educational offerings are designed to strengthen women's self-confidence and empower them to formulate their interests and demands, e. g., on the community level. For the women's organizations of the Zona Franca, CMC offers courses on labor law issues and new organizational forms.

*Colectiva Mujer y Salud* is dedicated to population and health policy. Basic and advanced training programs strive to empower women to construct a health system that focuses on prevention. Their educational activities address additional issues including women's reproductive rights, sexuality and contraception, gynecological examinations and counseling, as well as death in childbirth. Colectiva Mujer y Salud maintains a women's health center in Santo Domingo and is also active in political communities advocating improved and holistic health care for women.

In 1985, 40 activist women from the Caribbean founded the umbrella organization *Caribbean Association for Feminist Research & Action (CAFRA)* in Barbados. In the meantime, women's organizations from 14 Caribbean nations are members of the umbrella organization, along with associate members in Europe and North America. CAFRA's educational activities support feminist politics and concrete actions that lead to an improvement in the living situation of women. In its activities, CAFRA continually strives to overcome the region's traditional, colonial linguistic and cultural boundaries in its organization, programs and everyday practice.

The Heinrich Böll Foundation supports the regular meetings of CAFRA's regional committees and national representatives, as well as the publication and translation of the *Novedades CAFRA* news.

[www.cafra.org](http://www.cafra.org)





Navid Kermani and Citha Maaß

The magazine [www.boell.de](http://www.boell.de), 2001  
Two, „After September 11,“  
is available from the Foundation  
(in German).

## HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY

An elementary prerequisite for the democratization of societies is the recognition of and respect for human rights. Thus, an important goal of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's educational work is to foster the maintenance and defense of human rights, with particular emphasis on the protection of minorities.

### THE HEINRICH BÖLL FOUNDATION AND SEPTEMBER 11

Since the terrorist attacks of September 11, the world is faced with a new dimension of warlike terror. The consequences of these events also touch on the core areas of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's work: whether international relations and conflict prevention, domestic security and civil rights, or the dialogue between cultures – these issues have attained a new significance following the attacks in the United States. To offer a forum for the intense need for information and discussion immediately following the attacks, the Heinrich Böll Foundation initiated a discussion series titled „After September 11 – Consequences, Interpretations, Questions.“ By attempting to remain as up-to-date as possible and by incorporating input from various experts, the Foundation sought to deliver in-depth expertise on the current political situation to interested members of the general public. The Heinrich Böll Foundation also established a dossier on the subject on its home page immediately after September 11. Continually updated, it offers an extensive collection of essays, background information and reports on the consequences of the attack, on Western foreign policy, and on the situation in Afghanistan. Staff members from the Foundation's international offices report from various regions of the world on the reactions to the terrorist acts in the U. S. The highly diverse and often controversial points of view have served to heighten awareness of the multifaceted nature of the explosive mixture of terror and counterstrike. Also available on our home page are all statements, declarations and open letters in connection with the attacks, as well as a listing of additional links. The Foundation magazine also focused on the topic in its issue „After September 11.“

### THE NEW CHALLENGE OF AFGHANISTAN

The rebuilding of Afghanistan following the downfall of the Taliban regime presented the Heinrich Böll Foundation with a new development policy challenge on unexplored terrain. While our regional office in Pakistan has had the task of observing the neighboring country since 1993, and while smaller-scale projects were supported in specific cases in the Afghan refugee camps of Quetta, until recently German political foundations were prohibited for political reasons from supporting projects in Afghanistan. That changed with the attacks of September 11 and the international fight against terrorism. To reassess and coordinate its options for action and simultaneously gain expertise, the Heinrich Böll Foundation hosted a high-level expert meeting on November 14, 2001. Afghani men and women from the German diaspora, such as Mariam Notten and Rangin Dadfar Spanta, along with representatives of the Afghan Embassy and over 30 additional experts, discussed the current situation in Afghanistan. Controversial presentations by participants such as Citha Maaß (German Institute for International and Security Affairs), Prof. Michael Pohly (Iran Studies Department, Free University of Berlin), Uli Fischer (Human Rights Policy Coordinator, Alliance 90/The Greens), Lotte Leicht (Human Rights Watch) and Erhard Bauer (German Agro Action) illuminated political and humanitarian problems as well as the spectrum of power both in Afghanistan and in exile.

Some of the recommendations for action that arose out of this meeting were quickly overtaken by the course of history. Overall, however, this event did foster the development of both personal and political relationships and perspectives. These will help the Heinrich Böll Foundation serve as a source of information and expertise on the reconstruction of Afghanistan, particularly in the areas of women's

rights, the media and education. This proved true as early as December 2001, when the Foundation helped bring about the first „Civil Society Conference on Afghanistan,“ which took place parallel to the historic Petersberg talks. The Heinrich Böll Foundation has meanwhile established its first cooperation partnerships in Kabul. Results from several trips and studies will help to consolidate our work on the topic of Afghanistan in the coming years and possibly expand it to include a focus on democratization.

### AL MUWATIN – THE PALESTINIAN INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRATIC STUDIES

Among the activities supported by the Heinrich Böll Foundation in the Middle East is the Institute for Democratic Studies *Al Muwatin* (The Citizen), founded in 1992 by Palestinian scholars and journalists in Ramallah, Palestinian Autonomous Areas. The institute has meanwhile become one of the most important pillars of the democratic and civil society debate on current issues in Palestine and the surrounding region. The institute's symposia, conferences and publications on current political and social development issues and challenges have received a positive and sustainable response throughout the entire Arab region. Further, it is a founding member and major force within the network of independent Palestinian NGOs.

The civic education and public awareness work of Al Muwatin seeks to foster democratic consciousness and action, thereby promoting the democratization process in Palestine and the countries of the Arab Middle East. It also seeks to strengthen the development, promotion and networking activities of civil society on a local and regional level. However, Al Muwatin's work was severely hindered in 2001 due to measures taken by the Israeli military (barricades, curfews and the occupation of Ramallah). For example, the international conference planned for November 2001 on challenges facing future Palestinian politics unfortunately had to be postponed.

### „MACEDONIA BETWEEN STATE SOVEREIGNTY AND ETHNIC SELF-DETERMINATION: OPPORTUNITIES AND APPROACHES FOR PROMOTING PEACE.“ EXPERT MEETING OF THE HEINRICH BÖLL FOUNDATION ON SEPTEMBER 24, 2001

A few days prior to the end of the NATO deployment in Macedonia, the Heinrich Böll Foundation sponsored an expert meeting on opportunities and strategies for peace policy in Macedonia. In cooperation with the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, experts and guests from South Eastern Europe were invited to exchange viewpoints and information on the sources, opportunities for international influence, and regional implications of the crisis. Forum 1 focused on the actors involved, particularly the National Liberation Army (UÇK), which had been engaging in armed activities since the beginning of 2001. Forum 2 examined the strategies of international actors and organizations and explored lessons learned from the past. All experts quickly formed a consensus in the following diagnosis: the international community's strategies on the Balkans have not been very effective; indeed, they have occasionally exacerbated disastrous conditions. The question was justifiably posed whether the policies of external actors in the region constitute part of the problem. In this context, discussants pointed out serious errors on the part of external actors as well as occasionally contradictory strategic and national interests among individual Western countries. In Forum 3, the implications of the Macedonian conflict for regional stability were generally viewed as negative. Here, discussants emphasized that the weakness of states throughout the region has increased the danger of a chain reaction of violent border revisions. In Forum 4, „Conflict Management – but How? Conceptual Questions and New Approaches,“ participants asserted that, for over 10 years now, the western Balkan region has been characterized by deep-seated conflicts, and there is no real end in sight to ongoing instability and economic decline. There were few examples of approaches to solutions that were developed in the region

A documentation of the expert meeting is available at [www.boell.de](http://www.boell.de) in the dossier on September 11 (in German).

[www.muwatin.org](http://www.muwatin.org)



Teuta Arifi, St. Cyril and Methodius University, Skopje

*“The most important long-term task is the rebuilding of a democratic and economically stable society in Kosovo. Only in this way can the radius of action of the Mafia, extremists and organized crime be effectively reined in. In this context, constitutional and democratic changes must be undertaken with the goal of achieving true equality for the Albanians in Macedonia.”* Zlatko Dizdarevic, freelance journalist from Sarajevo

itself. Discussants argued that attempts to manage conflict in the region have been characterized by fundamentally different positions, reflecting different perspectives on international law regarding the questions of sovereignty and people's right to self-determination. There is no consensus as to how the implementation of minority rights will affect the stability of states.

### INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE: „THE CONSEQUENCES OF EU EASTERN ENLARGEMENT – THE CASE OF POLAND AND UKRAINE“

The Ukrainian citizens' association „Ji“ is a project partner of the Heinrich Böll Foundation. Its goal is to open up Ukrainian society to the political, cultural and intellectual developments and debates of Western and Central Europe. It is dedicated to confronting the multiethnic past of western Ukraine and giving it contemporary relevance, thus fostering greater understanding among this region's Polish and Ukrainian neighbors. More information is available at [www.ji.magazine.lviv.ua](http://www.ji.magazine.lviv.ua)

The Eastern enlargement of the European Union presents an enormous challenge not only to member states and accession countries, but also to those neighbors whose accession has been ruled out for the near future. While many people in the so-called „outsider“ countries are definitely aware that their new direct-neighbor status to the European Union brings important opportunities, the public debate in the past few years has nonetheless been dominated primarily by expressions of fear and mistrust – fear of exclusion, of renewed isolation and of the continuation and/or exacerbation of the West-East prosperity gap. As a result, the fear expressed most often is that conflict could develop which is both easily inflamed and difficult to control. By organizing an international conference in cooperation with the independent cultural journal *Ji* (Lviv) and the Southeastern Europe Institute (Przemysl), the Heinrich Böll Foundation sought to call serious attention to these concerns – not least in the interests of responsible conflict prevention. Recognized specialists, journalists, politicians, and other public figures from Ukraine, Poland, Germany, France, Belgium, Russia and Switzerland met on May 22–25, 2001 in Lviv (Ukraine) and Przemysl (Poland) to present and discuss practical analyses, prognoses and proposals for EU and Ukrainian policies. The goal of the conference was to link practical cross-border experiences with a „workshop of ideas“ to shape effective cross-border cooperation on the future eastern border of the EU. The Ukrainian media response to the event was surprisingly enthusiastic; the voices of well-known politicians – both international as well as from the Ukrainian opposition – were heard, as were those of spokespeople from the sponsoring organizations.

### LHAMO (TIBETAN OPERA) AT THE CARNIVAL OF CULTURES IN BERLIN

The Tibetan Institute of Performing Arts (TIPA) participated in the June 2001 Carnival of Cultures in Berlin with the performance of a traditional Lhamo (Tibetan Opera). The artists were invited to Germany by the Heinrich Böll Foundation. Since the early 1990s, the Foundation has been providing support to the Tibetan exile community in Dharamsala in northern India for the construction of democratic institutions and the preservation of their cultural and religious identity. Cooperation with TIPA began in 1997 within the scope of the project „Cultural heritage and development for the Tibetan exile community in India.“ The project focuses primarily on reviving and popularizing Lhamo within the exile community, in order to portray topics of sociopolitical relevance in a manner which both educates and entertains the public and simultaneously revives cultural traditions.



Tibetan artist at the Carnival of Cultures in Berlin



## MIGRATION AND DEMOCRATIC PARTICIPATION

The Heinrich Böll Foundation is working to promote a democratic society of immigration. This is a model for its civic education and public awareness activities. The topic of migration is addressed in all of the Foundation's projects and strategies: in project development, seeking out cooperation partners, and establishing structures within the Foundation.

### CONGRESS: „GERMANY AS A COUNTRY OF IMMIGRATION: IDENTITY – INTEGRATION – DIVERSITY“

Against the background of the political debate on a new German immigration law, this congress – held in August 2001 in Frankfurt/Main – was targeted at a broad public audience. The goal was to discuss both concepts as well as the actual practice of integration. In her introductory lecture, the German government's Commissioner for Foreign Resident Affairs, Marieluise Beck (Alliance 90/The Greens) called for a reorientation in integration policy. She emphasized that integration policies toward immigrants must be both strengthened and better funded, but that immigration issues must not be played off against the humanitarian protection of refugees.

Various forums provided the opportunity to examine diverse aspects of societies characterized by immigration. Discussions focused on the economic and social opportunities and benefits of labor migration. It became clear that not much progress has been made in terms of achieving equal opportunity for immigrants on the labor market. For example, the rate of unemployment among immigrants, at 18.4%, is more than twice as high as that among Germans. In contrast, in no other area of German society is the integration of various nationalities as advanced as in the field of art and culture. A particular case is the literature of authors who have already begun to express their art in the language of their new home. In the forum „New Home – New Language: German,“ three authors from Romania, Turkey and the former Yugoslavia reported on their experiences with Germany and the „new language“ and read from their works.

### „STRATEGIES AGAINST RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM“

Democracy in Europe is endangered – this is the conclusion of a report by the Council of Europe, which warns of the increasing influence of right-wing parties and the advance of the skinhead movement. This motivated the Heinrich Böll Foundation to continue its emphasis on „strategies against right-wing extremism“ in its educational activities in 2001. New aspects included the issues of „the new Right“ and „intellectual right-wing extremism.“ Our current activities – intended as both ideological critique and an „immunization of minds“ – posed questions such as: Where do anti-democratic, populist and right-wing conservative thought intersect? How do right-wing extremist ideologies address controversial current issues such as biopolicy, European unification and immigration? Among other activities, the Foundation participated in the project „Multi-colored, not Brown,“ which was part of a German federal government program to promote civil society initiatives against right-wing extremism and xenophobia. This project offers political and cultural education to young people and trainers in the Brandenburg region; its goals are to provide information, to shed light on issues, and to encourage resistance and activism against right-wing ideas and structures.



Marieluise Beck, the Federal German government's Commissioner for Foreign Resident Affairs



Emine Sevgi Özdamar, writer and actor, Berlin

„Sedina, Jasmina and Senada from Bosnia give us insight into the effects of war trauma, which persist for generations. They show us that remembering intolerable psychological pain is the only way to keep on living.“  
Excerpt from the Jury's opinion.

## ART, CULTURE AND MEDIA

An elementary part of the civic education and public awareness activities of the Heinrich Böll Foundation is promoting the creation and publication of literary and artistic works. People who are able to appreciate and understand art develop into more complete individuals – and perhaps into more tolerant citizens as well.

### 2001 PEACE FILM AWARD FOR „VIVRE APRÈS – PAROLES DES FEMMES“

The Peace Film Award has been presented annually since 1986 at the Berlin International Film Festival. Films are recognized that combine aesthetic quality with humanistic thought, a fundamental attitude of democracy, and social activism. The Heinrich Böll Foundation has provided the prize money since 1996. The Peace Film Award is presented under the auspices of the German chapter of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War/Physicians for Social Responsibility. In 2001, the Award of DM 8,000 and a sculpture by artist Ottmar Alt was presented to the French documentary film „Vivre après – paroles de femmes“ (Living Afterwards – Words of Women) by Laurent Bécue-Renard. The film follows three Bosnian women as they process the trauma of war.

„The Optimists“ by Jacky Comforty received honorable mention and a prize of DM 2,000. This documentary film, set in Bulgaria during World War II, shows how protests by the population, the church and parts of the political establishment prevented the deportation of Jews to extermination camps. The Jury stated that the film demonstrated clearly that it was in fact possible for private citizens to act independently and courageously and to protect fellow Jewish citizens.

### THE HEINRICH BÖLL FOUNDATION'S HAUS LANGENBROICH FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

In a cooperative project of the association *Heinrich-Böll-Haus Langenbroich* and the German state of North Rhine-Westphalia, artists who would otherwise have few opportunities to work undisturbed, financially secure, and free of state control or persecution are invited to pursue their creative activities in Langenbroich's Heinrich Böll House, the former home of the Böll family.

In 2001, the following artists were guests of Haus Langenbroich: *Ilja Falikov*, Russian writer and literary critic. Following initial difficulties – he resisted the pressure to write „patriotic poems“ – his works have been published regularly, and Ilja Falikov has become a renowned master of essay writing and literary criticism. *Sokol Beqiri*, painter, graphic artist and sculptor from Kosovo. He is part of a generation of artists from Kosovo who, influenced by the escalation of violence, are bringing to light a new trend in visual arts. *Meja Mwangi*, Kenyan writer. Beginning in the mid-1970s, he earned international acclaim as a writer and was awarded various prizes. In his socially critical novels, plays and children's books, Mwangi describes the life of the lower and middle classes. *Hasiba Abdulrahman*, writer and human rights activist from Syria. She has been imprisoned several times due to her membership in the Communist Action League. Most recently, she was arrested and tortured for meeting with an AI delegation. Released from prison in 1993, novel „The Cocoon“ was published in Lebanon. *Faraj Bayrakdar*, writer, lyricist and journalist from Syria. He was arrested in 1987 due to his political activities and his membership in the banned Communist Action League. A volume of Faraj Bayrakdar's poetry, smuggled out of prison, was published in Lebanon in 1997. He received the Freedom to Write Award from PEN/New York in May 2000. He was released from prison in November 2000 within the scope of an amnesty program initiated by Syrian president Bashar Al-Assad. *Adem Gashi*, writer, journalist and chair of the Kosovo Writers' Association. He was arrested in 1982 for his political convictions and banned from exercising his profession by the Serbian regime. His house was set afire in 1998, and his library of 4,000 volumes as well as three manuscripts fell victim to the flames.



Hasiba Abdulrahman



Faraj Bayrakdar

## EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND SCHOLARSHIP

The Heinrich Böll Foundation's activities in the fields of education, science and scholarship are oriented to the shift from the industrial society to the knowledge-based society. Knowledge – particularly scientific knowledge – will become a key resource, and education will become a precondition for participation in the everyday life of our society. This will also include the capacity for involvement in society's decision-making regarding the directions and limits of scientific and technological progress.

### CONGRESS: „GOOD TO KNOW – LINKS TO A KNOWLEDGE-BASED SOCIETY“

From May 4-6, 2001, the Heinrich Böll Foundation sponsored the Congress „Good to Know – Links to a Knowledge-based Society“ at Berlin's Humboldt University. The concept of a knowledge-based society focuses on individuals who are capable of processing, ordering and interpreting information – those who possess knowledge.

The point of departure for the increasing significance of the concept of the knowledge-based society is the new valued position of individuals – with regard to their motivation, knowledge and creativity – in the chain of value creation, discernible both in the New Economy and in innovative industrial and service companies. The recently-formulated discovery with regard to the new type of „knowledge worker“ – that in the value-creation process, not only the capital earns interest, but that an „added value“ is created per employee as well – is not really a new concept. It was formulated as early as the 19th century in the Marxist theory of added value, and has since then inspired emancipation movements and various traditions of socio-critical thought. The idea of the Congress was that the concept of a knowledge-based society could create links to socio-critical and socio-ecological approaches, as well as economic and technological implementation opportunities, on the threshold from the industrial to the service- and knowledge-based society. The Congress consciously featured a broad spectrum of modes of thought and areas of society: internationally prominent scientists and scholars such as Nancy Fraser and Benjamin Barber, innovative service industry entrepreneurs and trade unionists, political consultants, politicians, as well as representatives of alternative research institutions and local movements. The Congress was supported by the Alfred Herrhausen Society for International Dialogue and by DaimlerChrysler Services – this also illustrates new opportunities for social alliances. The concluding podium discussion identified three points for future-oriented policies of reform: First, the demands placed on the political system by knowledgeable citizens will go far beyond the issues of electronic elections and voting discussed thus far; second, the knowledge-based society will be a risk-based society, in which the progress of knowledge will be accompanied by increasing lack of knowledge as well. In the future, a shift toward a political style of dialogue will be necessary, which understands how to moderate and manage contradictory and alternative (including artistic) knowledge. Third, the knowledge-based society will live up to its name only if it is shaped as a society of culture, i. e., if the access to knowledge, in its broadest sense, is maintained and protected from the present tendency toward industrial control of electronic and digital networks; when knowledge is maintained as community property; and if education becomes a core goal, understood as the democratic right of access to and participation in societal processes.



Benjamin Barber



Richard Sennett

A book with the most important contributions to the Congress will be published in autumn 2002 by Westfälisches Dampfboot publishers.

## ADDITIONAL ORGANS OF THE FOUNDATION'S EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

### THE FEMINIST INSTITUTE

The steering committee of the Feminist Institute is composed of prominent women from the fields of politics, culture, economics, science and academia, and the media, including Renate Künast, German Minister for Consumer Protection, Food and Agriculture, and Margery Resnick, Director of the MIT Women's Studies Department, Cambridge, U. S. The steering committee provides consulting and support for the work of the Feminist Institute.

The Feminist Institute, founded in 1998, brings together women from the fields of politics, academia and science, media, culture and economics with the goal of improving the political participation of women. Its aims also include transferring innovative feminist approaches and research perspectives to the political agenda, as well as promoting and expanding both national and international women's networks. Glow, the Institute's virtual pillar, has offered women throughout the world a forum for interactive information and research since 1999 ([www.glow-boell.de](http://www.glow-boell.de)). The *Gunda-Werner-Promotionskolleg* (Gunda Werner Doctoral Fellowship), newly established in the year 2000 in cooperation with the Foundation's Study Program and the Universities of Bochum and Bielefeld, supports young scholars working to transfer feminist insights into political practice. The *Ladies Lunch*, another project of the Feminist Institute, promotes networking, exchanges of information and opinion-forming processes on issues of current sociopolitical relevance among activist women from Green and other feminist-oriented contexts.

### THE GREEN ACADEMY

"The Good Life. A Memorandum for Innovative Policymaking." Published by the Green Academy of the Heinrich Böll Foundation. 1st edition, Berlin 2001, 40 pp. (in English). See: [www.boell.de](http://www.boell.de)

As it did in the previous year, the Green Academy, simultaneously the „Green Think Tank“ and an independent forum for reflecting on current political issues, dedicated itself to the topics of „Europe“ and „future technologies.“ The Green Academy consists of approximately 60 volunteer members from various professional and experiential contexts: politically interested theoreticians and theoretically interested politicians with an interest in the German Green program as well as networks among science and academia, politics and educational institutions. The members actively participate for a limited period of time in a self-determined, interdisciplinary and political process of work and discussion with the goal of building bridges between scholarship and politics. Meanwhile, Heinrich Böll Foundation fellows are also included in the preparation and implementation of the Academy's projects. The involvement of young scholars is increasingly proving to be an indispensable part of the Academy. In workshop discussions, conferences and a biannual summer academy, the Academy also targets a broader public audience. The result of the last summer academy in 2000 was a memorandum on innovative policymaking. Titled „The Good Life,“ the Memorandum declines to engage in technological pessimism or euphoria and primarily addresses the issue of establishing social values. It thus contributes to the debate on the basic program of the Green movement and encourages reflection on the relations between humans and technology against the background of the desire for the „good life.“

## THE STUDY PROGRAM

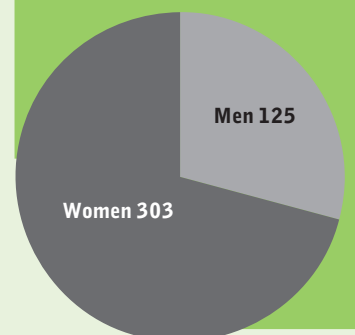
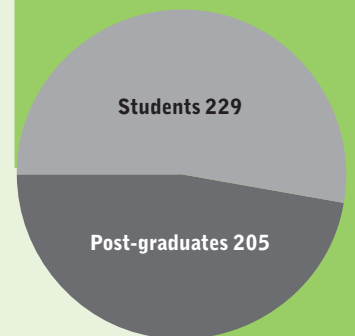
The Heinrich Böll Foundation's Study Program provides support to students and post-graduates in all fields and of all nationalities who combine exemplary achievement with the demonstrable commitment to take on sociopolitical responsibility and to work actively toward the goals of the Foundation. The Study Program is committed to an educational approach which combines training, qualifications, and interdisciplinary and intercultural educational perspectives with individual personality development. Committed to attaining those standards in its policies and programs, the Study Program strives to contribute to the strengthening of civil society structures and the dialogue between politics and scholarship.

In 2001, the Heinrich Böll Foundation's fellows attended a summer (language) school for the first time. This school has been organized and operated for several years by the Hans Böckler Foundation. The summer school offers a three-week Russian language course combined with an extensive accompanying program that provides insight into the political and cultural life of modern Russia. Along with Russian partner organizations, the Study Program has provided support for several years to a Sur-Place program in Russia that promotes young scholars and scientists. 28 fellowships are awarded annually for projects in the research areas of human rights, current sociological issues and the history of repression.

The International Internship Program in the German parliament, the *Bundestag*, is also designed to foster networking between scholarship and politics. This program is sponsored by the Study Program in cooperation with study programs of affiliated state foundations, which rotate annually. The program gives preference to post-graduates aspiring to an international career in government or public service, who receive the opportunity to work in the office of a German member of parliament. The introductory and accompanying program also includes seminars sponsored by other political foundations, with the goal of providing broad insight into the political system and life of the Federal Republic of Germany.

In the future as well, the Study Program will place a major emphasis on building up an international network of cooperation. This includes the intensification of existing programs that link academic and praxis-oriented work, cooperation with higher learning institutions and with the Heinrich Böll Foundation's program team on Education and Scholarship, as well as the conception and implementation of a follow-up program. Through this alumni follow-up program, the Foundation will strive to maintain a productive dialogue of thoughts and ideas with former fellows beyond the term of their scholarships.

The full-time staff of the Study Program, which numbers 11 people, is supported by a large number of volunteers: over 200 lecturers, the Study Program's expert advisory council, its various selection bodies, as well as approximately 430 fellows with their independent structures of decision-making and co-determination. About 100 new fellowships are awarded annually. In 2001, 63 new fellowships were awarded for undergraduate study and 40 new fellowships were granted for post-graduate study. The term of support usually varies from between one and three years. In 2001, the Study Program had approximately € 3, 500, 000 from public funds at its disposal.



## NEWS FROM THE FOUNDATION

### NEW LEADERSHIP TEAM AT THE HEINRICH BÖLL FOUNDATION

In December 2001, the General Assembly of the Heinrich Böll Foundation elected Barbara Unmüßig and Ralf Fücks with a large majority as the new full-time executive board for the next five years. The new leadership body, complemented by Dr. Birgit Laubach as chief executive officer, assumed its duties on April 1, 2002.

With Barbara Unmüßig, the Foundation gains a recognized expert on North-South and environmental policy issues. With a degree in political science, Unmüßig worked in the 1980s on the professional staff of the Greens in the Bundestag. From 1993 until her appointment to the Heinrich Böll Foundation's executive board, she was chief executive officer of the organization World Economy, Ecology and Development (WEED) and spokesperson for the Environment and Development Forum. She is also the volunteer director of the German Institute for Human Rights. Barbara Unmüßig's areas of responsibility within the Foundation include international cooperation in Asia, Latin America and Africa, as well as the Feminist Institute.

Ralf Fücks, who was confirmed in his office for the second time, has been very active in the past several years, distinguishing himself through numerous contributions to Green political programs and ideas. A social scientist, Fücks was spokesperson for the federal executive committee of the Green Party in 1989/90, and the senator for urban development and environmental protection in Bremen from 1991–1995. On the new executive board, his areas of responsibility comprise the domestic division for civic education and public awareness activities, European and foreign policy, the Study Program, as well as the Green Academy.

Birgit Laubach was involved in the area of women's politics in the 1980s. An attorney, Ms. Laubach was responsible for establishing the department of the Liaison for Women's Issues for the state government of Hesse; she was also responsible for the first nationally binding plan for the promotion of women in the state of Hesse. She was a co-founder of the Heinrich Böll Foundation in 1987. Birgit Laubach has published several articles in legal and other professional journals, and she wrote her doctoral dissertation on „European Civil Rights for Foreigners“ (published by Nomos Publishers).

Birgit Laubach



### FAREWELL TO ROSHAN DHUNJIBHOY, DIRECTOR OF THE REGIONAL OFFICE IN LAHORE, PAKISTAN

When Roshan Dhunjibhoy took over as director of the first international office of the Heinrich Böll Foundation in Asia in 1993, she had already gained work experience in almost 40 countries around the world. By the time of her retirement at the end of 2001, ten additional Asian countries had been added to her repertoire. Her pioneering activities in development and Foundation policy in Asia, her wealth of experience and not least her personality were of great benefit to the Foundation. Roshan Dhunjibhoy was also a founding member and volunteer board member of the (former) Heinrich Böll Foundation for many years. Her successor in the Southern Asia regional office, Dr. Angelika Koester-Loßack, will assume her duties in November 2002.



Roshan Dhunjibhoy

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Heinrich Böll in Mutlangen

(Germany, 1983)

Heinrich Böll was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1972. His courageous and unerring intervention significantly enriched and influenced political culture in Germany.

Throughout his life, Heinrich Böll transcended all ideological boundaries in his committed support of persecuted colleagues, civil rights activists, and political prisoners.

