



HEINRICH BÖLL FOUNDATION

Annual Report 2003

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[Preface by the Executive Board]

The Heinrich Böll Foundation's activities strive to meet the new challenges arising from the sweeping changes in global economic, social and security policy. For example, the agenda on foreign and security policy is in a phase of profound transformation; this was further accelerated by 9/11 and the political turmoil due to the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq.

The question of how the Heinrich Böll Foundation may contribute to crisis prevention, stabilization of civil-society structures, and the rule of law in crisis regions has become of increasing practical relevance for us. For example, the Foundation is already active in the Balkans and in the Caucasus, in Afghanistan and the Horn of Africa. With these experiences, we hope to develop action-oriented concepts for processes of democratization and the establishment of civil societies; always with a particular emphasis on the perspectives and interests of women.

Another important aspect of our work is shaping policy for globalization processes. The Heinrich Böll Foundation's goal is to cooperate with our partners in developing opportunities to design globalization in a manner characterized by social and ecological sustainability and gender justice. We bring relevant recommendations into multilateral trade and environmental negotiations. As an international foundation, we place particular emphasis in drawing attention to the analyses, perspectives and demands of emancipationist social forces from threshold and developing countries in the debate on shaping globalization.

In the past year, the Foundation focused on a critical examination of the policies of the World Trade Organization (WTO). The Foundation, its international offices and its international partner associations critically monitored the WTO meeting in Cancún, Mexico. The Foundation provided up-to-date information on an English-Spanish Web site (www.cancun2003.org) and sponsored several forums in the fall, both at the conference site and in Germany.

With a total of 22 branch offices, the Foundation has now reached the limits of its presence abroad. With our substantive topics of emphasis - crisis prevention, European unification, democracy and human rights, socially and ecologically sustainable development, as well as gender and women's policies - we are making concrete contributions to building up civil societies, promoting processes of democratization and enabling many actors to engage in political intervention.

Meanwhile, independent projects dominate our activities. However, this does not mean an end to cooperative projects, but rather the transition to "active cooperation" with NGOs, academic institutions, and publishers on the topics we have chosen for ourselves. In this, we function as a mediator between social movements, academia and institutional policy, as well as providing impulses for societal reforms. Our conferences, publications, cooperative efforts and alliances strive to achieve a political dialogue which goes beyond traditional political and societal camps.

In the next few years, we aim to expand our networking with other Green-affiliated foundations, Think Tanks and alliances. We will continue to place particular focus on strengthening civil-society structures and monitoring "Green" organizational approaches in Eastern Europe.

In the middle term, we plan to increasingly transfer classic project activities to the crisis-ridden neighbor regions of the enlarged EU.

This report highlights some of the aspects and details of our work in the past year; current information is always available on our Web site.

Berlin, April, 2004

Ralf Fücks
Executive Board of the Heinrich Böll Foundation

Barbara Unmüßig

[The Heinrich Böll Foundation's Work to Promote Civic Education and Public Awareness]

Sustainable Development and Globalization

With its emphasis on globalization, the Heinrich Böll Foundation is active in the national and international discussion on designing globalization in an ecologically and socially just manner. Building on the Rio+10 campaign from the year 2002 and the multi-faceted regional activities of the Foundation, the focus is on the issues of **globalization and ecology** (with an emphasis on energy and climate policies, water policies, as well as ecology and justice), **economic globalization** (with an emphasis on GATS, agricultural markets and financial markets), as well as **cultural globalization**. Our partners and reform alliances vary according to topic, goal, interest constellations, and reform options. Above all, the Foundation sees itself as an important builder of bridges between civil society and government actors.

The 3rd World Social Forum - January 23-28, 2003 in Porto Alegre. In previous years, the Foundation limited itself to enabling the participation of its partners from the South; but this time, it implemented several of its own events. In one workshop, for example, Jeremy Hobbs from Oxfam International debated with Walden Bello from Focus on the Global South on the demand for more market access for the countries of the South. Jeremy Hobbs argued that the South was losing many times the sum they received in development aid through their lack of market access opportunities; Walden Bello countered by rejecting the opening of the markets as the pure expansion of old patterns of free trade.

Another panel addressed the question of how a sustainable energy strategy might look - the Heinrich Böll Foundation had commissioned a study on that topic. Finally, the Foundation took advantage of the World Social Forum to present two publications: the office in El Salvador presented a study on the topic of patent rights, and the South African office introduced a publication on the topic of civil-society activism at the World Summit for Sustainable Development.

The 5th Ministers' Conference of the World Trade Organization (WTO) - September 10-14, 2003 in Cancún, Mexico. Representatives of the over 140 WTO member states negotiated comprehensive global regulations for the international trade regime. Predictable points of conflict included the agricultural agreement, as well as the so-called Singapore Topics (investment, competition, public acquisition and relaxation of trade restrictions), massively advocated by the industrialized countries. Many developing countries rejected the idea of adding new issues at this point in the WTO negotiations, demanding instead substantial concessions in their key concerns, for example access to the markets of the industrialized countries. The conflicts of interest, the way the "cotton initiative" of the West African nations was dealt with, and the new alliances formed in Cancún between developing and threshold countries led to the abrupt breakdown of the official negotiating process. Despite this premature end, the WTO Ministers' Conference was a venue with

productive encounters for the Heinrich Böll Foundation. With two central event forums, the *Böll Forum* and the *Böll Dinner Debates*, the Foundation had offered an ambitious program for dialogue, discussions and controversial debate. Ministers, parliamentarians, non-governmental organizations, representatives from multilateral institutions, farmers' organizations and the media were invited to the Böll Forum - a portion of the colourful spectrum of parallel events organized by the "Peoples Forum." The panels and public discussion events dealt with almost all issues relevant for the official round of negotiations: the trade in services, the problem of water, agriculture, including questions of intellectual property rights and WTO reform. Because many organizations had elected to participate only in events within the closed-off hotel zone, not accessible for non-accredited individuals, the Heinrich Böll Foundation was the only international organization whose Böll Forum successfully created a visible space for open discussion parallel to the official negotiations.

In contrast, the Böll Dinner Debates were not open to the public, and took place in the closed-off hotel security zone. Coordinated in many substantive points with the Böll Forum, the Dinner Debates proved to be a site of intensive "off the record" dialogue, which was an effective complement to large-scale official events.

The Heinrich Böll Foundation, in addition to actively shaping the above-mentioned event formats, also enabled some of its project partners to travel to Cancún. It also supported numerous initiatives: for example the International Women's Forum, which took place directly preceding the official conference.

Further, the Foundation ensured comprehensive press coverage and public relations/outreach work. In July 2003, the only Spanish and English Web site on the topic of Cancún [www.cancun2003.org] went online. No other Web page worldwide took so much care to provide information on the WTO conference in two languages. Under the motto "Don't trade away our future / No comiercen nuestro futuro," it includes information, articles and links on the topics of agricultural liberalization, gender & GATS, water, cultural diversity and WTO reform. The WTO-related GLOBAL ISSUE PAPERS on intellectual property rights (TRIPS), agriculture, water and GATS may be downloaded there as well. The content of the page was integrated into the Foundation's new Latin America Web site in early 2004.

International Environmental Congress: McPlanet.com - from June 27-29, 2003 in Berlin.

With more than 100 forums and workshops, McPlanet.com was an educational congress with a broad range of topics and vibrant exchanges between international critics of globalization and members of the environmental movement. In the podium discussion "Corporations - Regulations - Global Markets," Peter Knödel from BP Germany debated with Oronto Douglas from Friends of the Earth Nigeria on corporate responsibility. Manfred Heller from BMW discussed with Vandana Shiva from the Research Foundation for Science, Technology and Ecology (India) the question of "Cars for everyone?" The topic of discussion at another podium discussion was whether "global regulation" or "local determination" is the better response to globalization processes. Green politicians participated in debates as well: one highlight was surely the Late Night Talk on the seeming irreconcilability between social movements

and established policy, with Ricardo Navarro, President of Friends of the Earth, Vandana Shiva, and Christian Ströbele, a German Green parliamentarian. The concluding event, "Where do we go from here? A different world and environment are possible," advocated the notion that "ecological activists, attac activists, and the third world movement belong together." Barbara Unmüßig of the HBF's executive board concluded that only in broad-based alliances is it possible to bring about a political and societal transformation; but this must also include cooperation with institutions, parties and parliaments. For this reason, the critical dialogue between social movements and institutionalized politics will remain an important field of activity for the Heinrich Böll Foundation in the future as well.

The Heinrich Böll Foundation's International Summer School in

Berlin. The summer school, titled "Engendering Economic Policy in a Globalizing World," was one of the highlights of the three-year international women's program of the Foundation on globalization and gender. The one-week program, with a blend of academic lectures, seminars and workshops, imparted basic knowledge and skills in feminist economy and the functioning of the WTO, placing particular emphasis on a precise analysis of the liberalization of services in the sectors of water, health and education, as well as possible alternatives. The goal was to offer capacity building to project partners and scholars from the South in the field of gender and economic policy, while simultaneously making available a space for international networking and cooperative projects. Lecturers included Prof. Christoph Scherrer, University of Kassel; Prof. Laura Gonzalez, University of Texas; Maohau Pheko, International Gender and Trade Network (South Africa); and Elisabeth Tuerk, Center for Environmental Law, Geneva. The productive connection between theoretical approaches and a multi-regional political exchange of experiences enabled new perspective on world trade issues. The summer school is to be continued in 2005.

The GATS Negotiations in the WTO and the "Right to Regulate." In Germany, the discussion on the ongoing negotiations in the WTO was concentrated primarily on the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS). This deals with the continued liberalization of numerous service sectors and corresponding new WTO regulations to do away with global "trade hindrances." Critical voices from civil society and parliaments fear a restriction of scope of action of regulatory policies, while GATS advocates repeatedly emphasize that GATS will not infringe on the "right to regulate." The Heinrich Böll Foundation has taken up this discussion and commissioned two papers: one primarily addresses political decision-makers, showing options for action in dealing with the service agreement. The second serves to provide background information, particularly for the Foundation's project partners.

Global Strategies for Renewable Energies. Almost two billion people have no access to modern energy services. But energy requirements are increasing worldwide; they are increasing particularly rapidly in the threshold countries. Even at current levels, the effects of global energy consumption on the natural environment are severe: the

fossil energy system is destabilizing the climate, nuclear energy leaves radioactive waste and brings with it uncontrollable risks of proliferation, and huge dams are displacing millions of people worldwide. It is urgently necessary to rethink energy policies. The Heinrich Böll Foundation has commissioned a study on that topic. The paper, written by the independent *Öko-Institut*, includes 14 recommendations for implementing a sustainable energy policy, with particular emphasis on the developing countries. In the coming decade, massive investment into the energy infrastructure will be made, and we can now set the stage for access to energy services for all, while simultaneously protecting the environment. The paper focuses on a comprehensive analysis of current financing of the energy sector in developing countries, as well as future financing options. Building on this, authors Uwe Fritsche and Felix Matthes develop their core suggestions for a global energy strategy. A draft of the paper was discussed in 2002 at the Sustainable Development Summit in Johannesburg; it was presented to the public in March 2003, and has since then been introduced worldwide and subjected to debate.

Promoting Acceptance and Use of Renewable Energies - The Example of Latin America. Energy supplies are inadequate in many countries of Latin America - recall, for example, the major electricity crisis in Brazil in 2001 - and are substantially based on conventional energy sources. Regenerative energies using water power and renewable raw materials (primarily sugar cane) are already in use, but the "new" energies (solar, wind, geothermics, etc.) are barely represented in the energy mix of these countries. Rather, the governments rely on continued construction of large thermal, nuclear and water facilities to satisfy their increasing energy requirements, with predictable consequences for the environment. Within the scope of its "Sustainable Cono Sur" program, the Heinrich Böll Foundation supports projects and initiatives which work to promote acceptance and use of new regenerative energy sources. For example, our partner organization *Chile Sostenible* cooperated with parliamentarians in working up draft legislation to promote regenerative energies, which it presented to the Chilean government in August 2003. This was preceded by an international conference on efficient energy use and renewable energy sources in the year 2001 in Santiago de Chile, organized by the Heinrich Böll Foundation and the energy research program of the University of Chile. Thanks to intensive lobbying, substantial elements of the draft were included in the electricity reform legislation, which was adopted in 2003. In Brazil, the Heinrich Böll Foundation cooperated with the Brazilian NGO *Sapé* in implementing a seminar in August 2003 on renewable energies in Angra (state of Rio), the location of two nuclear power plants. The reason was the announcement by the government that it planned to continue plans for nuclear power plant Angra 3. The enthusiastic response to the seminar showed that the energy issue is one of the key issues of the development model of the newly-elected government under President Lula. By the Bonn energy conference of 2004, the Foundation hopes to cooperate with its Brazilian partners - particularly the working group on energy and climate of the Brazilian NGO Forum and social movements like *Rios Vivos* (International Rivers Network) - in developing common perspectives for sustainable energy strategies. The visit of

Brazilian politicians and NGO representatives to Germany also served to foster the dialogue on regenerative energies. The program consisted of a seminar on the topic of renewable energies, with lecturers from industry and politics, as well as a journey through Ostfriesland (East Frisia) and Freiburg to become familiar with wind and solar energy facilities in practice. Important contracts were made, and these have already led to additional Brazilian-East Frisian exchanges. Mention should also be made of the publication "Desafios para la sustentabilidad energética en el Cono Sur" (Challenges for a Sustainable Energy Industry), a comprehensive analysis of the energy matrix, current tendencies and conditions for sustainable energy production and use in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay.

Resistance against the "New" Nuclear Industry - The Example of South

Africa. The state-owned energy concern ESKOM plans to develop a new construction series of high-temperature reactors with pebble-bed reactor technology. This technology was developed and tested in Germany in the 1970s; but despite huge investments, it was never utilized. The new construction series of small reactors is now to be developed especially for use in developing countries. But South Africa as well is lacking a concept for permanent storage of highly radioactive waste. The debate is currently proceeding in a manner which almost completely excludes the public. Civil society has been weakened, and too many activists of the first hour today themselves hold high-ranking positions in government, trade unions and industry. In contrast, the still-young groups such as *Earthlife Africa* and the *Environmental Justice Forum*, the pioneering national environmental organizations, are still weak and have little experience with the many technological questions which must be taken into account in drafting legislation. As such, the Foundation supports these and other environmental protection organizations in their educational and lobbying work. Background knowledge is lacking primarily in the black communities, which are usually directly affected by industrial projects. The Heinrich Böll Foundation thus provides support to regional educational initiatives so that affected people may take part in the debate on nuclear energy and alternative energy concepts in the region in a qualified and informed manner.

[www.earthlife-ct.org.za]

Foreign and Security Policy and Crisis Prevention

Foreign and security policy are in the midst of a profound transformation. Since the end of the bloc confrontation, traditional security policy parameters of deterrence and containment have been replaced or complemented by new concepts of worldwide risk prevention, crisis intervention and law-and-order policies. The Heinrich Böll Foundation hopes to use action-oriented concepts to create a secure and peaceful world.

The Iraq War and Its Consequences - Heinrich Böll Foundation

Activities in Berlin and Washington. During the year 2003, there were numerous events with international guests on the topic of Iraq; further, the Foundation offered a constantly-expanding information platform with its Iraq dossier at www.boell.de. The question of the appropriate measures to establish democracy, universal human rights standards and stability in Iraq was the focus of a podium discussion to which the Washington office of the Heinrich Böll Foundation invited Daniel Cohn-Bendit, leader of the Green parliamentary group in the EU parliament, and Richard Perle, one of the leading neoconservative voices in Washington. Against the background of the imminent beginning of the Iraq war, Cohn-Bendit called for continuing the containment of Iraq with political means because a military strike was not a suitable method to foster democratization and stabilization in the region. Richard Perle countered that the overall problem situation in the Middle East would be best solved if Saddam Hussein were no longer in power. The event received enthusiastic coverage by the international press; the 1 ½ -hour discussion was interpreted into several languages. [Excerpts of the debate at: http://www.foreignpolicy.com/issue_mayjune_2003/debate.html]

Two of the events in Berlin on the same topic are particularly noteworthy: on May 19-20, 2003, high-level members of the former political opposition in Iraq met for the first time in Berlin with German representatives from politics, administration, academia, foundations and media. The event provided important background information on the economic, political and social preconditions for a democratic development in Iraq, and enabled a direct dialogue between the Iraqi and German sides.

The second meeting, from June 30-July 1, 2003, dealt with the participation of women in the reconstruction and democratization process in Iraq. The Iraqi speakers portrayed the political and humanitarian situation in Iraq in dramatic terms. The discussion made clear the different needs and ideas of Iraq's women: while those with particularly political modes of thought focused on international cooperation and future government work in Iraq, those active in humanitarian and socio-political issues primarily emphasized the necessity of cooperation on the local level. But all participants agreed in calling on the German public and politics to participate in the political reconstruction and humanitarian aid, thereby strengthening civil-society forces in Iraq.

Marianne Birthler, responsible for the documents of the *Stasi*, the former East German secret police, met with leading Iraqi exiles in December 2003 in the U.S. capital, invited by the Washington office. One workshop was dedicated to working up the most recent history,

both in dictatorships overall and specifically in Iraq. The contact with the Iraqis responsible for securing and dealing with Iraqi secret service documents from the Hussein regime led to plans for additional projects in cooperation with the German Foreign Office, Birthler's authority and the Heinrich Böll Foundation. The goal is to have Iraq benefit from Germany's experiences in dealing with the GDR heritage in its efforts to work up the past in Iraq.

The Role of International Law in a Globalized World. The conflicts in the UN Security Council during the Iraq crisis again made it clear that not only the UN as an institution, but also international law as the foundation of a global legal order is faced with new challenges. Whether ethnic wars against the civilian population, failing states, international terrorism or - viewed positively - increasing democratization processes and civil-society developments: In a globalized world with phenomena which transcend or even do away with national borders, international law, which has thus far been purely nationally centered, requires a new direction. With the lecture "The Future of International Law" by Constitutional Court Justice Brun-Otto Bryde, the Heinrich Böll Foundation introduced its discussion circle "The Role of International Law in a Globalized World" in November 2003. Approximately 20 experts from academia and politics meet once a month to discuss the various aspects of international law in the face of new threats, such as the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and international terrorist networks. The discussion circle also hopes to work up concrete recommendations for improvement of the UN's authority for decision-making and action in the case of conflict. The monthly meetings are complemented by occasional public lectures and discussion events.

The Heinrich Böll Foundation's Fourth Annual Foreign Policy Conference. Europe's role in the world has changed significantly following Nov. 9, 1989 and Sept. 11, 2001. More and more, Europe is intervening politically - and militarily in isolated cases - in regional conflicts outside of its own continent. The intra-European conflicts over the Iraq war made clear how urgent it is to define common interests and find new strategies. The Heinrich Böll Foundation's Fourth Annual Foreign Policy Conference in Berlin focused on a future European security strategy. From Nov. 12-13, 2003, representative from politics and Think Tanks from Germany, France, Great Britain, Belgium, Poland, the Czech Republic, Azarbeidjan and the USA discussed the issue of the strategic goals of European foreign policy, as well as its necessary instruments and economic framework. The event was initiated with a discussion on whether Europe has any potential and calling to become a "superpower," and how civil and/or military Europe's role in the world should be in the future; panelists included the European parliamentarian Daniel Cohn-Bendit, former Clinton adviser Ron Asmus, journalist Marek Ostrowski from the Polish newspaper *Polityka*, and political scientist Antje Wiener.

Conflict Management in Israel. Since 1998, the Heinrich Böll Foundation's office in Tel Aviv has been providing support to civil-society forces in the country in their endeavors to realize the goal of peaceful coexistence. Conflict management is part of the office's everyday activities. While the so-called "security fence" which separates Israel from the Palestinian territories has caused criticism internationally, the fences and walls erected within Israel during 2003 between wealthy and poor city neighborhoods have remained largely unnoticed by the global public. The Israeli Social Forum, an alliance of organizations working for social justice for all societal groups in Israel, and a partner organization of the Heinrich Böll Foundation, organized several lecture and discussion series in the year 2003 on the problem of the internal fences, and worked with neighboring communities on alternative possibilities which involve working with instead of against one another. The work of the Israeli Social Forum focuses equally on supporting the Arab communities, specialist discussions, and involving the inhabitants and investors of the wealthy neighbors. The question of the significance and role of women in conflict prevention, particularly in the Middle East conflict, was the focus of a conference in Tel Aviv in March 2003. Resolution 1325 of the UN Security Council calls for the institutional integration of gender justice into all stages of peace negotiations, peace-promoting measures and all UN deployments. Nonetheless, the influence of women's peace groups leaves a great deal to be desired. The Israeli women's organizations *Isha le Isha* and *Kayan* coordinate the participation of both Jewish-Arab organizations such as *Physicians for Human Rights* and *Bat Shalom*, as well as Israeli politicians such as Naomi Chazan and organizations from the Palestinian territories.

The Heinrich Böll Foundation in the Caucasus. In June 2003, the Heinrich Böll Foundation opened a regional office in the Georgian capital of Tiflis, thus expanding on the work in the southern Caucasus that it began in 1995. Twelve years following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the democratic reconstruction in the southern Caucasus is threatened by numerous unresolved territorial and ethnic conflicts, a lack of the rule of law, corruption, and increasing impoverishment of the population. The Foundation strives to support all societal initiatives that are attempting to overcome these conditions. It is active, for example, in efforts to transform the conflicts in a non-violent manner in Berg-Karabach, Abkhaz Republic, and southern Ossetia. Together with the Foundation's Moscow office, it organizes a Georgian-Russian dialogue on a non-official level, and regularly sponsors public debates on central reform issues of Georgian politics. In the Azerbaijan capital of Baku, the Foundation is closely cooperating with the Federation of Human Rights Organizations, and regularly organizes roundtable discussions on the human rights situation in that country. The Foundation focuses specifically on providing suggestions for an active and consistent policy by the European Union with respect to the southern Caucasus. As such, it regularly organizes workshops and expert discussions in Berlin, Brussels and in the region to debate the role of a common European foreign and security policy with regard to the Caucasus, and to advocate inclusion of the region in the EU's "wider Europe" concept.

On the occasion of the office opening, an exhibition on the life and works of Heinrich Böll was shown in the Goergian national library. One chapter of the exhibition was dedicated to Böll's two sojourns in Georgia, and the intensive contacts he maintained to his friends in the country.

What to Do in Burma/Myanmar? Development Aid vs. Sanctions? How can a military dictatorship be persuaded to advocate? Since the bloody suppression of the democracy movement in the year 1988, this question has dominated the political agenda in Burma/Myanmar. The National League for Democracy (NLD), led by Nobel peace laureate Aung San Suu Kyi, achieved clear victory in the free elections of 1990; but they were prohibited from taking over government authority. The Heinrich Böll Foundation office in Chiang Mai, close to the Thai-Burmese border, has been observing the developments in Burma since mid-2000. One condition causing increasing concern is the threatening humanitarian disaster, which demands rapid decisions on both the national and international levels. In May 2003, the Heinrich Böll Foundation sponsored an expert meeting in Berlin. An advisory paper was presented there that, in addition to portraying the conflict and approaches to resolution, also discussed the opportunities for a German contribution toward improving the living situation of the people in Burma while simultaneously promoting the process of political reform. The focus of discussion at the event was the policy of sanctions and its effectiveness thus far. Opinions on this issue diverged. Some demanded sharpening of the sanctions; others pointed out the relative ineffectiveness of sanctions and emphasized that isolation of the regime had resulted in doing without important channels of information and thus opportunities for influence as well. But others argued that a discussion of easing economic sanctions by the EU and USA without substantial concessions by the regime.

Only a few days following that event, on May 30, 2003, Aung San Suu Kyi was arrested again. But the issue of a peaceful transition to a democratic society achieved a new dynamic with the so-called "Bangkok Road Map;" this is grounds for cautious optimism. In the future as well, the Heinrich Böll Foundation will strive to make small contributions toward making progress with a political solution, thus taking advantages of the already-existing space for careful civic involvement in the country.

The Challenges for Peace and Security in Somalia and Sudan. The international community has been endeavoring without success for years to establish peace, security and stability in East Africa. Given the severity and consequences of these conflicts, the nations of Uganda, Ethiopia and above all Kenya have accorded high priority to the search for a peace agreement in their neighboring states Somalia and Sudan. The Heinrich Böll Foundation, which has been active in the region since the early 1990s and has had a regional office in Nairobi since 2001, is taking advantage of the political will of the Kenyan government to foster cooperation between civil society and the state, warlords of splinter groups, and other stakeholders in the peace process. The Foundation is aware of the important role played by individuals in mobilizing communities and motivating bitter enemies to negotiate and resolve their conflicts.

As such, one of its primary goals is to strengthen these civil-society actors and promote the establishment of networks and peace alliances.

The peace process for Somalia placed particular emphasis on topics such as good governance, economic recovery and community-based conflict resolution and reconciliation mechanisms. Such developments can be attributed to some extent to the influence of activist individuals from civil society, who have gradually been claiming more space for activities traditionally reserved for the state. The Heinrich Böll Foundation also supports the women in the Somalian peace process; for example, gender justice and equal rights are to be ensured in creating institutions and procedures for a democratic post-war Somalia. In Sudan, the government responded to external pressure by altering its position on the opposition and civil society. Issues of peace and human rights are now part of the agenda. The Heinrich Böll Foundation made use of this limited openness of the central government and provided support to the National Civic Forum in Khartoum to continue the dialogue and involve civil society actively in all areas of the peace process. The dialogue culminated in a publication titled "Civic Society Dialogue on Peace, Democracy and Development," a study on citizens' rights, minority rights, governance and gender equality in Sudan. The challenges in the region with regard to peace and security are numerous and difficult. Since democracy and peace in the region cannot be attained without the active involvement of the people, the Heinrich Böll Foundation will continue to provide support to committed civil-society actors.

Democracy and Human Rights

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 Role of Civil Society and the Contribution of the Heinrich Böll Foundation to the Democratic Transformation in Kenya. Civil society has played a determinative role in the democratization process of Kenya. For years, political repression and persecution of the opposition was part of Kenyan everyday life, with the people becoming increasingly impoverished. As a response to the failures of the government, civil-society initiatives formed in almost all areas; and in this way, one of the most dynamic and diverse civil societies in Eastern Africa has emerged. The Heinrich Böll Foundation has been supporting civil-society actors for years in their fight for democratization; of these, many took up government positions with regime change at the end of 2002. The government is now attempting to regain Kenya's leading role in East Africa by contributing to conflict resolution in this crisis-ridden region. The Heinrich Böll Foundation has funded studies, debates and workshops by various groups in Somalia, Sudan, Uganda and Eritrea (Diaspora). Finally, it provides support to artists so that they may give artistic expression to the peace process with exhibitions. The Foundation also took advantage of the expanded scope for action to establish an innovative partnership with the Political Science and Public Administration Department of the University of Nairobi. Public lectures by renowned scholars, politicians and development experts address topics such as sustainable development, the policies of transition and globalization. One noteworthy contribution to the political transformation in Kenya is the book published in 2003 titled: "The Politics of Transition: from KANU to NARC." To assist civil society in not neglecting its watchdog role even following the change in government, the Foundation has established a Think Tank on social, political and economic issues, titled *Sayari* (Planet).

Human Rights, Participation and Democratization in Peru. The organizations supported by the Heinrich Böll Foundation in Peru include those working on coming to terms with human rights violations during the civil war. According to estimates by the Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission, almost 70,000 people fell victim to the armed conflict between 1980 and 2000. Dealing with the crimes of the past is an important prerequisite for national reconciliation and the strengthening of civil society. For example, within the scope of the "For Truth and Justice" campaign, the *Asociación Pro-Derechos Humanos* reported extensively in its radio program *Acción Urgente* about all phases and results of the investigative process of the Peruvian Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Excerpts of the radio program were broadcast in the provinces via more than 23 stations.

The *Centro de la Mujer Peruana Flora Tristán* is committed to furthering the rights of women. For example, the Center organizes meetings and conferences to present to the public the results of the Truth Commission on violence against women during the civil war.

Democracy in Russia. The year 2003 was not a good one for democracy in Russia. With the overwhelming victory of Putin's party "Unified Russia" in the *Duma* elections, the separation of powers has been done away with for all practical purposes. Like the Federation Council, judiciary and electronic mass media before it, the parliament has now also become a *de facto* part of the executive. The arrest of Mikhail Chodorkovski, chairman of the board and majority shareholder of *JUKOS*, the largest Russian oil concern, a month and a half before the election was a signal that even the richest and strongest must bend to the will of the Kremlin, and that political independence would not be tolerated. Chodorkovski was not arrested because of his supposed tax violations, emphasized many non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in a statement, but rather because he began to expose his business ties and because he supported civil-society initiatives and opposition political parties. The Heinrich Böll Foundation's partner organizations - such as *Memorial* - are also facing a new and difficult role: in addition to a few democratic politicians, they are the last independent political actors in the country. There are still opportunities to cooperate with national authorities - six representatives of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's partner organizations are members of the president's Human Rights Commission. Putin himself called them one of his "sources of information on the actual situation in the country." This position brings with it both opportunities and risks - on the one hand, the opportunity to deal with concrete problems via direct channels to the Kremlin; but on the other, the danger of falling victim to the illusion of actually possessing political influence. The Heinrich Böll Foundation will continue to support its partners on this difficult path which is laden with responsibility. At the end of October, only a few days following Chodokovski's arrest, Green politicians from the German parliamentary group and the national executive board, accompanied by Ralf Fücks, were able to gain an idea of the atmosphere in Russia. They met with representatives of the Foundation's partner organizations and other NGOs, as well as the leaders of the two democratic parties *Jablonko*, Grigori Yavlinski, and Union of Right forces, Boris Nemzov. The Foundation's Moscow office also sponsored a public debate on the "New World Order - Conflicts and Commonalities between the EU, Russian and the USA."

Forced Marriage in Afghanistan. Since summer 2003, the Heinrich Böll Foundation has provided support to the *Women and Children Legal Research Foundation* (WCLRF) in Afghanistan, a women's research project initiated by Afghan women lawyers which deals with traditional law and its effects on the living conditions of women. The first research report has meanwhile been published - it addresses the topic of *Bad*, thus far taboo: the forced marriage of women as reparations or compensation in the case of family or tribal conflicts. The report documents numerous cases of girls and women who were forced to marry as a peace pledge between feuding families,

as reparations for an injured or murdered son, an unpaid debt, a violation of family honor, etc. It portrays the psychological and social consequences and shows clearly how one crime is compensated with another, and what a burden this is to the affected women, their children and the entire familial atmosphere. The report shows that in terms of anchoring women's rights in the constitution, there is a continued need for action to protect women in civil and criminal law. To bring an end to the practice of *Bad*, the WCLRF women demand legal protections for women in addition to civil and criminal law reforms, as well as broad-based societal educational programs which include religious leaders and traditional structures. With funding provided by the Heinrich Böll foundation, WCLRF is continuing its research and educational activities in further provinces, including in the Pashtun province of Paktia.

European Policy and Transatlantic Relations

Europe is faced with new challenges. The enlargement of the EU eastward, as well as the question of Europe's future role in the world, is of concern not only for European institutions, but for its people as well. The development of Russia deserves special attention as well. Also, the dialogue on either side of the Atlantic with regard to commonalities and differences remains one of the Foundation's major emphases.

"Perspective Europe 2004 - Dialogue on the Constitution of Europe."

The recent enlargement of the European Union has given new impetus to the debate on the future shape of Europe. Until now, however, the discussion has largely been held only on a national level. The working group "Perspective Europe 2004 - Dialogue on the Constitution of Europe," established by the Heinrich Böll Foundation in 2003, is attempting to develop the discussion on "Europeanization" and reform perspectives in a direction which goes beyond today's round of enlargement and the current constitutional debate. Upon invitation of the Foundation, Green politicians from various national parliaments and the European parliament, as well as experts on Europe from academia and the media, met in Berlin, Brussels and Prague to discuss, both among themselves and in public, future European foreign policy and federalism in the EU. The Foundation's Europe Memorandum, "Beyond Constitution," written by an international group of authors, strives to provide food for thought for broad-based public discussion, and encourages people to participate in the Europe-wide debate on the continent's future.

[Download at:

http://www.boell.de/downloads/europa/memo_gruene_eu.pdf]

The Future of Central Europe and the Work of the Heinrich Böll Foundation in the EU Accession Countries.

With its enlargement from 15 to 25 members, the number of EU citizens has grown from 370 to 450 million. This means profound changes, not only for the accession countries, but for the older member states as well. The Heinrich Böll Foundation, currently represented in East Central Europe with offices in Warsaw and Prague, strives to promote public debate with its activities, thus increasing the influence of civil society and the population in the enlargement process. This includes, for example, dialogue with the citizens' movements and the new Green parties which are emerging in several countries.

The development of European democracy and the promotion of civil society and the rule of law in the new member states will be given more weight in the future. There have already been a series of events, for example on the new eastern exterior borders of the EU and how they may be shaped.

Turkey on the Road to the European Union - One Year Following the EU Summit in Copenhagen.

Within the scope of its German-Turkish discussion series, the Heinrich Böll Foundation organized a meeting of specialists with high-ranking participants in Berlin on Nov. 6, 2003. Both scholars and politicians from Germany and Turkey debated issues like the legislative initiatives to fulfill the Copenhagen

criteria, as well as the reform endeavors already resolved by the Turkish government. Despite existing weaknesses and deficits, for example in implementing new laws and regulations, both Turkish and German discussion participants agreed that an extraordinarily positive transformation had taken place within the last year in Turkey in terms of political thought and action. This was attributed primarily to the consistently EU-friendly course of the new government, but also to a new level of openness in large portions of Turkish society. In order to further the process of mutual understanding on all levels, however, it would be necessary to spur on a broad and open dialogue and exchange between associations and organizations in Germany and Turkey. The Heinrich Böll Foundation will offer a platform for such exchanges in the future as well.

Migration and Intercultural Management

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.

"Diversity Dialogue Forum" and "Workshops for the Future." In the course of the past century, flight and emigration have increased dramatically; the reasons include political persecution, war, and economic crises. This throws people of varying origin, identity and/or culture together. But foreign languages, unaccustomed behavior and surprising world views often lead to rejection and hostility in the host countries. As such, how can an open and tolerant immigration society be realized? The Heinrich Böll Foundation examines this issue in its "Migration/Intercultural Management" field of focus. For example, representatives from academia, politics, industry and trade unions gather in its "Diversity Dialogue Forum" series to debate practices and policy approaches to diversity management and equal opportunity. The "Workshops for the Future" also address the topic of integrating minorities and immigrants. A process of understanding among all societal actors strives to develop middle- and long-term perspectives for an open immigration society.

The Headscarf - Much Ado about a Piece of Cloth. The lawsuit brought in the German Constitutional Court by a Muslim teacher, the so-called "Headscarf Dispute," sparked the German debate on dealing with religious diversity and the limits of tolerance in the face of the political exploitation of religion. In cooperation with Marieluise Beck, the German government's representative for immigration, refugees and integration, the Heinrich Böll Foundation organized a public podium discussion in September 2003, titled "A Piece of Cloth between Religion, Politics and Culture." The podium members, exclusively women, were colorful and diverse; as were the quite controversial opinions.

"Migration - Citizenship - Ethnos" Conference in Toronto. Both Germany and other European countries can benefit from a view toward North America in questions involving an immigration society. Many things can be learned from their variety of "multiculturalism" in terms of the debate on migration and integration in our own countries. Against this background, the Heinrich Böll Foundation cooperated with the University of Toronto in organizing an academic congress in October 2003 in Toronto. Following a review of the immigration history of Germany and Europe since 1945, and a comparison with North America, discussion focused on the most recent developments with regard to legislation, citizenship and political participation.

German Images of History - Colonial History. The Heinrich Böll Foundation organized several podium discussions on this topic in 2003, as well as the international conference "Colonial Heritage, Colonial Trauma and Reparations" in June 2003; it dealt with the historical and political analysis of the immigration conditions under the aspects of the colonial past. Numerous workshops offered the opportunity to examine the various aspects of colonialism and its effects up to the present day. A major polarization developed: between the advocates of an Afro-centrist position, and those who decline to cease cooperation with the former colonies. The conference agenda included for the first time the topic of demands for reparations within the context of colonial history. This demand is not viewed merely as material compensation for the injustice of slavery, but also as recognition of wrongdoing committed by the state through colonialism.

["The true issue that we must address in Germany in the coming years, beyond all legislative initiatives, is: Are we really ready to see ourselves as a republic open to the world, and to recognize that German identity ... must be a republican one in times of globalization and immigration, as well as accepting the ethnic diversity that goes with it?" **Marieluise Beck**]

Gender Democracy

For the Heinrich Böll Foundation, gender democracy is both a guiding principle and a political goal. The term "democracy" is used here in a wider sense, and means the recognition of equal rights and opportunities for different individuals. Key issues are the just distribution of opportunities for political participation among women and men, the criticism of authoritarian and hierarchical structures in private relationships, as well as of the explicitly violent exercise of domination by men over women.

Gender Democracy in the Social Dialogue. Economic and social reforms can make a successful contribution to the modernization and transformation of the European Union only when a broad consensus exists in society. Positive changes have been observable since gender mainstreaming was made binding on all EU states by the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1997. Because developments within the EU occur with varying speeds, however, exchanges with regard to measures and strategies for the implementation of gender mainstreaming are necessary. The Heinrich Böll Foundation's specialist conference in September 2003, titled "Gender Dialogue Social Mainstream," made an important contribution in this regard. In addition to information on the uses, benefits and limitations of gender mainstreaming, the exchanges focused on socio-political framework conditions and the changes to policy content through consistent gender mainstreaming.

Men in the Theory and Practice of Gender Relationships. In many ways, sex has become a public matter in the Western world: magazines, films and books discuss the topic in varying ways. As such, it seemed logical to sponsor a specialist conference on the topic of "Men and Sex(uality)." Male bodies are meanwhile presented as sex objects as well, and are connected with associations that impart limited images of masculinity and physicality. If it is true that men have more problems in recognizing, showing, or talking about their feelings due to their socialization, this is even more true for the topic of sexuality. With its expert conference in Berlin in June 2003, the Heinrich Böll Foundation offered space for creatively addressing men's (purported) speechlessness. A meeting in the fall dealt with the topic of "Masculinity and War." Only a small minority of the armed conflicts of the past several years have been "traditional" wars; i.e., military conflicts between sovereign states. For the most part, they are regional conflicts between different power and interest groups. In these conflicts, men are generally perceived as the primary actors and beneficiaries, but they are almost never considered victims. This reflects the constructs of "masculinity" and "femininity" which, on the one hand, may be a constituting factor for conflict forms and processes; and on the other, allow themselves to be reproduced by them. The meeting thus focused on the issue of how - from a social science and psychoanalytical perspective - war and masculinity constructs and/or gender constructs are formed on both sides.

Gender Democracy as a Common Task. It is one thing to set ourselves the goal of "gender democracy" as an organization and to propagate that goal to the outside. To that end, the Heinrich Böll Foundation has issued many publications and organized numerous civic education and public awareness events in the past several years, thus contributing to disseminating and anchoring the term of gender democracy. But it is quite another thing to implement the idea of "gender democracy" in everyday professional activities: it is a much greater challenge than might be assumed at first glance. It demands from the staff members a high level of gender competence and complete support for the directors and leadership levels. The Heinrich Böll Foundation will continue to work toward the goal in the future.

Science, Scholarship and New Media

The Heinrich Böll Foundation's activities in education and scholarship are oriented to the current transformation from an industrial society to a knowledge society. Knowledge, particularly academic knowledge, is becoming a key resource; and education is becoming a prerequisite for participation in social life. The issue of the limitations of scientific and technological progress is also posed with increasing urgency - particularly the question of the opportunities to control and regulate biotechnology.

"Within and Beyond the Limits of Human Nature" - International Conference in Berlin on Biopolitics. In the context of the UN negotiations on an international convention to prohibit human cloning, the conference was a first step in creating an international civil-society network which can become involved in the regulation of human genetic technologies. Issues range from "genetification" of biomedical research and the consumer-oriented eugenic tendencies of reproductive medicine with regard to patents on life, to the strategies of the biotech industry, to the military use of human genetic technologies. A special focus was placed on strategic issues: for example, how can we build up effective networks despite differing fields of interest such as the environment, human rights or women, bringing together the views of the NGOs from the North and the South? Above all, however, the societal consequences of applying the new human genetic technologies must not be viewed in an isolated manner. The consequences of the new technologies, as well as their requirements and approaches, become evident only against the background of the commercialization of health systems or within the scope of global regimes of intellectual property rights. Despite differing positions on specific issues, initial common actions were planned during the event.

World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS). Initiated by the United Nations, the first Summit on the Information Society took place in Geneva in December 2003; and a second is planned for November 2004 in Tunis. The goal is to achieve an understanding among the world community with regard to a vision of the information society, as well as on ways and strategies for its realization. In addition to a changed consciousness of the global problem, exhibited by a willingness to work at this early stage for a just and sustainable constitution for the networked world, the negotiations also tread new ground: Governments of the member states were joined by private industry and civil society, of which the Heinrich Böll Foundation sees itself as a part, in their discussions to prepare the Summit.

Following a two-year marathon of negotiations, the 176 government delegations could not agree on the two official concluding documents until shortly before the beginning of the Summit. These remained vague and contradictory, and consensus remained at a low level; but the civil-society groups were more successful in coming to an agreement on an independent declaration: the "Charter of Civil Rights for a Sustainable Knowledge Society." The core of the Charter is the draft of a global knowledge society which guarantees the

communication rights of individuals; thus, it ensures that their knowledge resources, determinative for creativity and innovation, are accessible to all people instead of being made scarce through privatization and commercialization.

The vision of an inclusive information society can only be realized by way of inclusion and active participation by all societal actors - politics, industry, and civil society. This recognition by governments must now be taken seriously, and to expand and strengthen democratic participation on all levels - local, national and on the level of Global Governance - beyond the World Summit.

[Background information, documents, reports on the WSIS and the activities of the German and international civil society at: www.worldsummit2003.de (in German) and www.worldsummit2003.org (in English)]

[Visions in Process - World Summit on the Information Society Geneva 2003 - Tunis 2005," Berlin 2004, 64 pages, collection of English-language essays, in which representatives of the German and international civil society active in the WSIS process analyze and evaluate fields of conflict at the Summit.]

Art and Culture

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.

Heinrich Böll House Langenbroich

Since the founding of the "Heinrich-Böll-Haus Langenbroich Association" in the year 1989, a total of 107 artists from 29 countries have been invited to the former home of the Böll family, able to work creatively and undisturbed for a period, financially secure and free of state control or persecution.

Fellows in the Year 2003

Mildred Ngesa, writer and journalist from Nairobi, Kenya (born in 1975). In the year 1988, she was awarded the "Female Award for Media Excellence (FAME)" by the "Forum for African Women Journalists (FAWE)" for her reporting on the lives of women (child labor, early forced marriage, circumcision, sexual violence against girls and women). In the same year, she was named by FAWE as the most promising young journalist of the year. To call attention to the precarious legal situation of sexually assaulted girls in Kenya, Mildred Ngesa initiated a campaign in Life magazine in December 1999 which led to the submission of a legislative amendment in the Kenyan parliament.

Toni Kan, writer and poet from Lagos, Nigeria (born in 1971). He has been publishing poems, novels, short stories and essays since 1997 for various publishers and magazines. Most recently, a collection of poems appeared in Nigeria in 2002, titled "When a Dream Lingers Too Long." In the year 2000, he won 3rd prize in the Nigerian "Muson Poetry Competition."

Agron Tufa, writer and journalist from Tirana, Albania (born in 1967). Thus far, he has published two volumes of poetry, a novel, as well as numerous essays, reviews and lyrical texts in various Albanian newspapers. He has won several awards, most recently in 2000, when he won 1st prize of the Albanian national poetry competition "Lulet e Veres." Tufa also works as a translator; among others, he has translated poems by Josef Brodsky, Ossip Mandelstam and Paul Celan. He is the editor of the literary journal *Aleph*, a magazine for young and new Albanian literature.

Anna Sidorenko, artist from Lviv, Ukraine (born in 1958). Her artistic interests include graphics, installations, land art, photography and video. Her preferred materials are water, stone, sand, air and fire. With these "original sources" of nature, she embarks on the search for light, form, tone, movement, time and space - often along with her artistic partner, Sergei Jakunin.

Sergei Jakunin, artist from Lviv, Ukraine (born in 1954). He dedicates himself primarily to installations, photography, video,

land art, and sculpture. Jakunin has been participating in international symposia and exhibitions since 1976. Along with Anna Sidorenko, fellowships have brought him to places like the Headland Center for the Arts in California.

Nicolae Coande, writer from Craiova, Rumania (born in 1962). Since 1995, he has published three volumes of poetry in Romania; and his lyrical texts have appeared in numerous anthologies. Coande also works for various Romanian cultural journals. For his first volume of poetry *On the Brink*, he was awarded the "Romanian Writers Union Debut Award," the prize of the Romanian Writers' Association for the best debut, in 1995. He was awarded the Craiovan Writer's Alliance prize in 1997 for *Fincler*, his second volume of poetry.

Ales Rasanau, poet from Sjalez, Belarus (born in 1947). He writes in Belarussian, a language that was suppressed during the Soviet era. At that time, his texts were published only following extensive censorship. During the transformation in 1990, however, he received the Janka Kupala Prize, the national award for Belarussian literature. In the mid-1990s, under President Lukasenka, Rasanau again took on the role of a regime opponent. His works were censored or not published at all. In 1999, he resigned from the editorial board of the monthly magazine *Krynica* for political reasons, accepting invitations from abroad. He was awarded the renowned Herder Prize In May 2003.

Zeynel Kizilyaprak, journalist from Turkey (born in 1960). In the year 1980, he was jailed due to his political activities for the first time for 5 ½ years. Since the late 1980s, he has worked as a publisher and journalist. Kizilyaprak was a member of the Kurdish Democratic Party (DEP) and the Democratic People's Party (HADEP) until 1996. In 1996, he founded Kürt.Kav, the Kurish Foundation for Culture and Scholarship. He is also a member of the independent Initiative Democratic Conciliation and Solution of the Kurdish Problem, and of the Kurdish Institute in Istanbul.

Additional guests in the year 2003 - already introduced in the 2002 Annual Report - included: Agus R. Sarjono (Indonesia); Leisola Jalal Habibi (Iran); Sarita Jenamani (India); and Aftab Hussain (Pakistan).

Activities of the Heinrich Böll Foundation during the 2003 Asia-Pacific Weeks. The Asian-Pacific Weeks, with a focus on India, took place in Berlin in autumn. For the Heinrich Böll Foundation, this presented an occasion to offer an event series on the lesser-known social and cultural facets of India. The series, titled "The Other India," introduced the culture of the Adivasi (indigenous inhabitants of the central Indian state of Jharkhand) and the Dalits (caste of the untouchables), virtually unknown in Germany, whose traditions spanning millennia are threatened by the reckless exploitation of natural resources. An exhibition in the Heinrich Böll Foundation's gallery, organized in cooperation with the Tribal Women Artists Cooperative and journalist Susanne Gupta, showed 30 originals of the virtually unknown Adivasi art from Haziribagh in India. In addition to videos and photo documentations, there was a discussion between ethnologists, art historians and human rights

activists on the effects of increasing industrialization and alternatives for the protection of indigenous identities and rights. The workshop "Dalit Voices and Visions," conceived by the Heinrich Böll Foundation's country office in Delhi, offered representatives of the Dalit movements, scholars and politicians, as well as the interested public in Germany, the opportunity for exchange. The invited experts offered a unique opportunity to become familiar with the diversity and complexity of the Dalits.

Building on the already-existing cooperative projects in the areas of urban development and architecture in China, the Foundation provided support to an exhibition of the Aedes Gallery on the urban and economic development of the Chinese port city of Ningbo. The exhibition documented the transformation of this old port city into a modern industrial site, portraying the enormous urban development and pressure for expansion caused by the economic upswing. With the support of the Heinrich Böll Foundation, a delegation of urban planners, architects and journalists from Ningbo and its surrounding area were able to travel to an expert seminar in Berlin. The exchange between German and Chinese experts on the social aspects and effects of construction and urban development once again proved rewarding, because these aspects are still on the sidelines in terms of the interests of Chinese urban planners.

[Additional Organs of the Foundation's Educational Activities]

Feminist Institute

Due to the many international crises, the Feminist Institute (FI) is currently concentrating on the topic of "Security and Peace Policy and Civil Conflict Prevention from a Feminist Perspective." Numerous events on this topic have already taken place. For example, in a workshop in January 2003, experts on feminist peace and security policy formulated demands to the German government on the implementation of UN resolution 1325. The results were subsequently discussed at the Green Ladies Lunch - an established FI project which serves political opinion-forming, networking and information exchanges between activist women from Green and other women's policy contexts. As a result of these (and other) events, the "Women's Security Council" was founded in March: an alliance of activist experts from scholarship and research as well as numerous organizations. The Council plans to support the German government during its two-year membership in the UN Security Council with initiatives and submissions for the implementation of UN Resolution 1325, while simultaneously critically monitoring its activities. In October, the FI cooperated with the Friedrich Ebert Foundation in organizing the international conference "Human Security = Women's Security? No Sustainable Security without the Gender Perspective;" it provided fundamental insights for a gender-political understanding of security and security policy. The 1st Gunda Werner Doctoral College was successfully terminated in 2003 on the topic of "Organizational Reform and Gender Democracy in a Global Context." The next College is titled "Gender Dynamics in Violent Conflicts."

Human Security - Women's Security? No Sustainable Security without the Gender Perspective. Documentation of a conference of the Feminist Institute and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation in cooperation with the Women's Security Council on October 24-25, 2003 in Berlin. Edited by the Feminist Institute of the Heinrich Böll Foundation, Berlin, 208 pages, price: € 5.00, bi-lingual edition (German/English).

The brochure is available from the Foundation. To order contact: Heinrich Böll Foundation, Hackesche Höfe, Rosenthaler Str. 40/41, 10178 Berlin, Germany, Tel. +49 (0) 30 - 285 340, Fax +49 (0) 30 - 285 34-109, e-mail info@boell.de Internet: www.boell.de

Green Academy

In the year 2003, the Heinrich Böll Foundation's Green Academy refocused its activities on the topic of "The Constitution of the Knowledge Society." The Academy's May conference placed particular emphasis on the challenges faced by educational institutions in our knowledge society. Starting with several lectures, participants discussed the issue of whether schools should concentrate on imparting competence or on an educational canon. With its Summer Academy, the Green Academy visited the Neustift Cloister near Brixen in South Tyrolia for the second time. Participants addressed questions of intellectual property, the knowledge forms of the biosciences, the educational opportunities in non-civil societies, as well as the theses of Manuel Castells on the knowledge and network society. Georg Krücken, a sociologist from Bielefeld, warned of exaggerated hopes in virtual educational opportunities: "The complete technologicalization of society based on the Internet, hoped for by many and feared by many others, remains an unrealistic notion." Prof. Michael Daxner, member of the Green Academy, related his experiences in rebuilding the University of Pristina in Kosovo in his lecture on "education under the conditions of ethnic conflicts, post-war situations and international interventions." Daxner emphasized the particular importance of teacher training in conflict areas. But he added that attention must be paid to the curricula as well, which are often subjected to the self-aggrandizement of paternalistic leaders.

["Assuming in realistic terms that so-called European standards will (must?) dominate the future of the educational systems in the Balkans, we must recognize that the anthropological, sociological, and psychological preconditions for their implementation are completely different than amidst Western European post-PISA grumbling." Prof. Michael Daxner]

Study Program

Promoting Young Talent

The Heinrich Böll Foundation provides support to students and post-graduates in all fields and of all nationalities who combine exemplary achievement with socio-political responsibility and activism. In 2003, a total of 559 fellows were provided with support (of these, 128 were students from throughout the world who have taken up their studies in Germany or are seeking a doctorate degree). In Russia, The Heinrich Böll Foundation also supports a *Sur-Place* Fellowship Program to promote young scholars, in cooperation with its Moscow office and several Russian partner organizations. Funds from the German Foreign office finance 28 on-site fellowships of 1 ½ years. In the year 2003, 106 students and 45 post-graduates were added to the roster of fellows. In addition to material contributions, the Study Program also provides "ideal" support. There is an event program conceived especially for the fellows, as well as the opportunity to participate in numerous activities of the Foundation, both domestically and abroad, in projects and visitor programs, in workshops and seminars in Berlin, as well as in the educational offerings of the state-level foundations. The "Summer Camps" in Bad Bevensen, with its many seminars and training events, represents a highlight of ideal support.

Promotion of Post-Graduate Work

In the past year as well, a particular emphasis of the Foundation's support for post-graduate work was on expanding existing offerings and focusing on specific topics. This includes the 2nd Gunda Werner Doctoral College, titled "Gender Dynamics in Violent Conflicts" (in cooperation with professors from the University of Bremen and the Feminist Institute of the Heinrich Böll Foundation).

International Exchange Programs

Creating international spaces for encounter and promoting academic exchange is one of the Foundation's primary goals. In 2003, fellows again had the opportunity to participate in the Spring Conference in Moscow, where Russian *Sur-Place* Fellows presented their research work on human rights issues, the history of repression, and contemporary sociological issues. A summer language school in St. Petersburg also offered a three-week Russian language course, including an extensive accompanying program offering insight into the political and cultural life of modern Russia. Some of the fellows had the opportunity to attend the annual conference of the Central American *Sur-Place* fellows, which discussed the results of the WTO conference in Mexico City.

The international *Bundestag* internship program serves to foster network-building on an academic and political level. It allows post-graduates from throughout the world who seek international careers on the government level and/or the public sector to work for a time in the office of a German representative to the *Bundestag*,

the German parliament. The goal is to enable broad insights into the political system of Germany, as well as fostering contacts to Green politicians.

Networking and Alumni Activities

The Study Program is working on promoting the establishment of an international cooperative network. This includes cooperation with state-level foundations and international offices, as well as with universities, lecturers, other donor institutions, and internship exchanges. In the year 2003, a so-called "Alumni salon" took place in Berlin for the first time; it was attended by approximately 100 alumni from both Germany and abroad.

[News from the Foundation]

New International Office in Mexico City

The Heinrich Böll Foundation opened an office in Mexico City in the year 2004. This office will focus primarily on the free trade agreements (NAFTA, TLCs, ALCA) as well as the global agreement between the EU and Mexico and its effects on the population's social, ecological and economic needs. Additional issues include gender democracy and ecology.

Ten-Year Anniversary of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's Office in Pakistan

After ten years of committed work for women's rights, peace, cultural exchange and understanding among the religious communities in Asia, there was plenty of reason to celebrate the Heinrich Böll Foundation's office in Lahore. Angelika Köster-Lossack, director of the office, said on the occasion of the festivities in October 2003 that the primary focus of work in the future would be cross-border efforts to achieve reconciliation.

The Heinrich Böll Foundation at the Book Fairs in Frankfurt and Havana

The Heinrich Böll Foundation introduced itself at the 2003 Frankfurt Book Fair, which focused on Russia, with an extensive program and presentation of the book *Der Krieg im Schatten - Russland und Tschetschenien* (War in the Shadows - Russia and Chechnya). In addition to the book presentation (in cooperation with Suhrkamp publishers) and various discussion rounds, the Foundation presented an exhibition on Russia's past in cooperation with the human rights organization Memorial (www.memo.re). This allowed the Fair's topic of focus to be complemented by a critical assessment of current political developments in Russia [Information on the exhibition: www.memorial.de/lang_doku_dt.htm]

For the first time, the Heinrich Böll Foundation presented its Spanish-language publications at its own stand at the VII. International Book Fair in Havana. Introduced was the most recent volume of the *ediciones boell* series of the El Salvador regional office, titled *Leer nos hace rebeldes* (Reading makes us rebellious) - a Spanish-language anthology of the works of Heinrich Böll. An exhibition on the life and work of Heinrich Böll complemented the book presentation.

Film Peace Prize for "In this World" by Michael Winterbottom

The Film Peace Prize is awarded each year 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 Film Prize in 2003, meanwhile awarded for the 18th time, went to British director Michael Winterbottom for his film "In this World." The film portrays the destiny of two migrants who flee from the squalor of the refugee camps in the border area of Afghanistan and Pakistan, eventually reaching Western Europe. The Film Peace Prize is sponsored by the

Heinrich Böll Foundation and International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW) in cooperation with the Film Peace Prize initiative. It is awarded in the form of a bronze sculpture and a prize of € 5,000.

Hannah Arendt Prize for Political Thought Awarded to Michael Ignatieff in 2003

The Hannah Arendt prize is endowed with € 7,500, funded in equal parts by Bremen's senate for education and scholarship and by the Heinrich Böll Foundation in Bremen. With this annual award, its initiators strive to remember the role of Hannah Arendt as an influential individual of the 20th century, and to point out her significance for the renewal of political thought. In the year 2003, the prize was awarded to Michael Ignatieff, director of the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy at Harvard University (USA). With their selection, the international jury recognized an intellectual who has been making a significant contribution for more than 20 years to the defense and development of both the idea and practice of human rights as a journalist, scholar, essayist and political thinker.

[“There is a substantial risk that the language of rights will be devalued into a vague language of political aspiration unless we develop an analytics of the role that rights can play in empowering and sustaining particular forms of economic development.” Michael Ignatieff at Humboldt University]

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[Publications]

Sharia Implementation in Nigeria. Issues & Challenges on Women's Rights and Access to Justice. Edited by Joy Ngozi Ezeilo, Muhammed Tawfiq Ladan & Abiola Afolabi-Akiyode, Enugu: Women's Aid Collective (WACOL) / Lagos: Women's Advocates Research and Documentation Centre (WARDC) 2003, 278 pages
ISBN 978-36242-4-5 (Download at:
www.boellnigeria.org/documents/Sharia%20Implementation%20in%20Nigeria.pdf)

We the Women... for Peace: Peace could be the colour that people choose to wear... Edited by A. Ghirmazion, Anne Nyabera and Binyavanga Wainaina. Published by Heinrich Böll Foundation, Regional Office for East & Horn of Africa,
Nairobi 2003

Democracia de género, una propuesta inclusiva. Edited by Angela Meentzen and Enrique Gomáriz. Published by Fundación Heinrich Böll, San Salvador 2003, 208 pages, ISBN 99923-35-06-8 (Ediciones Boell 18) [Download at:
www.cancun2003.org/es/download/democraciadegenero.pdf]

La Vida en Venta: Transgénicos, Patentes y Biodiversidad. Edited by Corinna Heineke. Published by Fundación Heinrich Böll, El Salvador, 2002, 296 pages, ISBN 99923-35-04-1 (Ediciones Boell 16) (Download at: <http://www.cancun2003.org/es/download/lavidaenventa.pdf>)

The Search For Common Democratic Standards Through International Law. By Miguel González Marcos. Published by Heinrich Böll Foundation North America, Washington 2003, 34 pages (Download at: www.boell.org)

Reforming the World Bank: Will the New Gender Strategy Make a Difference? A Study With China Case Examples. By Elaine Zuckerman (President, Gender Action) and Wu Qing (President, China Women's Health), Network and inputs by Aida Orgocka and Hilary Sims Feldstein, edited by Liane Schalatek. Published by Heinrich Böll Foundation North America, Washington 2003, 70 pages (Download at: www.boell.org)

Allies or Antagonists? Investment, Sustainable Development and the WTO. Authors Kevin Gallagher, Lyuba Zarsky, Monica Araya, Luke Peterson, Alice Palmer, Luisa Bernal, Kavaljit Singh, Mariama Williams, Peter Hardstaff. Published by the Heinrich Böll Foundation, Washington, DC, 2003, 110 pages (Download at: www.boell.org)

Transitioning to Renewable Energy. An Analytical Framework for Creating an Enabling Environment. Edited by Marc Berthold, Heinrich Böll Foundation North America, and Bosworth Dewey, International Institute for Energy Conservation, published by Heinrich Böll Foundation, Washington 2004, 78 pages
(Download at www.boell.org)

Thoughts on the Future European Constitution. A comparative study of the constitutional traditions and principles of France and Germany by Dr. Lore Maria Peschel-Gutzeit. Published by the Heinrich Böll Foundation EU Regional Office Brussels Juli 2003, Engl. 92 pages or French 76 pages (Download at www.boell.be.)

[For a hard copy of the publications please contact the relevant regional office of the Heinrich Böll Foundation]

[General Information]

Political Foundations

Germany has a certain tradition of public financing for civic education. Beginning in the era following World War II, and based on the idea of "education for democracy" to create a new society resistant to all types of totalitarianism, the German state has funded foundations affiliated with the democratic politics of the political parties represented in parliament. These substantially independent foundations promote the development of democracy, both in Germany and - with the help of many project partners - abroad. They organize conferences and meetings, issue studies and other publications, and monitor the work of world economic policy organizations such as the WTO and the World Bank, while simultaneously enhancing the qualifications of their young partners and parties in their work with authorities and parliaments. The Heinrich Böll Foundation is affiliated with *Bündnis 90/The Greens*; German Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer is currently the party's most prominent representative

Funding

In 2003, the Heinrich Böll Foundation received € 38 million from public funds (the increase of approximately 2 % compared with the preceding year is due to one-time special funding for crisis areas). Approximately half of this sum is expended for project work in foreign countries. The distribution of funds among regions has remained largely constant. The historically-based focus on work in Latin America has shifted in the past few years toward other regions, such as Asia. The increase in funding in the Middle East region is a result of the successful management of EU funds. The funding increase in Europe was occasioned by shifting activities in Turkey from the Middle East Department to the Europe Department. The distribution of project funds by region is as follows: Latin America 18,5 %, Asia 18 %, Middle East 15,2 %, Africa 17,3 %, Europe 26,5 %, multi-regional projects 4,5%.

Personnel

Due to its continued enlargement in the past several years, the number of Foundation employees has risen steadily. As of Dec. 31, 2999, 168 employees worked within Germany; by Dec. 31, 2003, that number increased to 189 (of these, 48 % on a part-time basis). The number of employees sent abroad increased from 16 to 22 within the same period. The number of immigrants, specified at 10 % in the Foundation's Charter, has increased in the past several years as well. The Foundation is striving to increase that percentage among upper-income positions. The number of women and men staff members has remained nearly constant in the past five years, with 70 % women and 30 % men. In contrast to many other institutions, the high percentage of women in the Heinrich Böll Foundation is equally divided on all levels. Women hold 46 % of management-level positions.