



HEINRICH BÖLL FOUNDATION

ANNUAL REPORT

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PREFACE BY THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

On Human Rights Day, December 10, 2004, Wangari Maathai, recipient of the Petra Kelly Prize and longtime project partner of the Heinrich Böll Foundation, was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo. We were delighted about the choice of the first female Nobel Peace Laureate from Africa; more than any other personality, Wangari Maathai and her activism stand for the connection between environmental protection, democracy and civil conflict resolution.

But congratulations are in order for other project partners as well: The Russian human rights organization Memorial and Islam scholar Ali Ashar Engineer were awarded an alternative Nobel Prize. Memorial was honored for its courageous work under difficult conditions, for example in Chechnya; and Ali Ashar Engineer was honored for his activities promoting tolerance and understanding, both within India and between the nations of Southeast Asia. What we have in common with the prizewinners and a multitude of cooperation partners throughout the world is our continual work for democracy and human rights, for socially and ecologically just development. Almost all regions in which the Heinrich Böll Foundation works must deal with either acute or latent conflict and violent structures. As such, we support programs on conflict management, reconciliation and the establishment of democratic institutions.

New ideas are needed to tackle the foreign and domestic policy challenges facing us; these include global security, the future of international law, reform of the social systems, and education policy. For example, the Heinrich Böll Foundation has initiated a project on international law, in which experts from scholarship, politics and the Foundation participated. The result of that collaboration is a Memorandum titled “The Role of International Law in a Globalized World.”

The Heinrich Böll Foundation has always placed particular value on art as a medium for addressing societal processes. The exhibition titled “Identity versus Globalization,” which was shown in Bangkok, Chiang Mai and Berlin, was nonetheless a very special event: approximately 50 artists from ten Southeast Asian countries presented their works in a three-month exhibition in Berlin, giving us the opportunity to familiarize ourselves from a unique perspective with the dynamic processes of this region under the conditions of globalization. The year 2004 marked a giant step forward in the history of the European Union: with the enlargement by ten new member countries, the Union has overcome the East-West division of Europe. The Community has attained more political and cultural diversity as well as economic strength. But the process of enlargement has also brought with it new internal struggles over distribution and political tensions. This made it all the more important to reach agreement on the new common Constitution in October. The Heinrich Böll Foundation monitored these developments along with other non-governmental organizations and political actors, Think Tanks, universities and Green networks. The Foundation office in Brussels serves as a liaison to the European institutions. In addition to the European constitutional process and the debate on democracy and civil rights in the EU, we have also addressed the membership negotiations with Turkey, the debate on the future borders of the EU, and are discussing the issue of the future role of Europe in the world. One example of project work in the European Union is the “Rivers Link Regions” project, which we introduce in this report.

Berlin, April 2005

Ralf Fücks, Barbara Unmüßig
Executive Board of the Heinrich Böll Foundation

AWARDS

Nobel Peace Prize and Petra Kelly Prize Awarded to Wangari Maathai. For Wangari Maathai, longtime project partner of the Heinrich Böll Foundation, 2004 was the year of her long-deserved recognition: in the spring, she was awarded the Petra Kelly Prize by the Heinrich Böll Foundation, and she was presented with the Nobel Peace Prize in the autumn. It was awarded to her “for her commitment to sustainable development, democracy and peace.” A noteworthy part of the rationale of the Nobel Prize committee is the comprehensive understanding of peace and security, which also includes the protection of natural living conditions and the respect for human rights. Like virtually no other personality, Wangari Maathai stands for this connection between environmental protection, democracy and civil conflict resolution. With this, she is a harbinger of hope for Kenya and all of Africa. Wangari Maathai was awarded the Petra Kelly Prize for her activism and commitment as an outstanding representative of the Green movement of Africa. In the early 1970s, she founded the environmental organization Green Belt Movement, and struggled for the preservation of the forests in Kenya and East Africa. In the past, she has been forced to endure imprisonment, repercussions, and even abuse for her commitment. Going beyond the ecology movement, she fights for the democratic and social rights of the population; at the same time, she is one of the most internationally well-known ambassadors for African women. Meanwhile, Wangari Maathai is the vice environmental minister of Kenya, and the first Green politician in Africa that has become a member of the government.

The Petra Kelly Prize of €10,000 is awarded every two years to individuals or associations that have committed themselves in an outstanding manner to respect for universal human rights, for non-violent conflict resolution, as well as the protection of the natural environment.

Peace Film Pricewinner 2004: Vinko Bresan. The 19th Peace Film Prize of the Berlin International Film Festival was awarded to the Croatian director Vinko Bresan for his film “Svjedoci” (The Witnesses). The film tells the story of the deformation of the citizens of a small Croatian city through exclusion and violence. “A post-war film that does not separate dignity and guilt of individuals, and shows us how thin the line continues to be between war and peace in Europe. [...] The existence of this film and its creation ends the mute phase of the post-war period and enables dialogue, controversy and hope,” reads the rationale of the Jury.

The Peace Film Prize is endowed with €5,000 and a sculpture by the artist Otmar Alt. The Heinrich Böll Foundation provides the prize money. The event is sponsored by the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, Physicians for Social Responsibility (IPPNW)

The Heinrich Böll Foundation also supports the Talent Campus of the Berlinale Film Festival; in 2004, it enabled the participation of eight young filmmakers from six countries.

Hannah Arendt Prizewinner 2004: Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde. The Hannah Arendt Prize for Political Thought was awarded to legal philosopher and retired German Constitutional Court Justice Prof. Dr. h.c. Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde in 2004. In its rationale, the international jury paid tribute to Böckenförde’s sound interventions in constitutional controversies and his essays that deal with the position of religion in modern secular societies.

The Hannah Arendt Prize for Political Thought has been awarded since 1994, and is funded by the Senator for Education and Scholarship of the Free Hanseatic City of Bremen and the Heinrich Böll Foundation.

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

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND GLOBALIZATION

The design of globalization is one of the central challenges facing policymakers. The Heinrich Böll Foundation is working worldwide with organizations and networks that are seeking opportunities and ways to shape the world in a more just and democratic manner. It strengthens civil-society initiatives and develops alternative concepts that strive to prevent social tensions, ecological destruction of living foundations, and cultural "leveling" as a result of globalization processes.

Identity vs. Globalization – Positions of Contemporary Art from Southeast Asia. The Foundation's largest project in the year 2004 on its "Cultural Effects of Globalization" topic of focus was the exhibition "Identity vs. Globalization – Positions of Contemporary Art from Southeast Asia," from October 22, 2004 to January 30, 2005 in the Ethnological Museum in Berlin-Dahlem. At first glance, it might seem unusual for a German political foundation to serve as curator of an exhibition on Southeast Asian art. However, the idea is to focus on contemporary art to convey and promote current socio-political debate. The exhibition, which was previously shown in Thailand, featured works by 50 artists from 10 Southeast Asian countries; they primarily address questions of their own identity against the background of profound societal transformation. The exhibited works thus reflect a segment of the political and social realities in the region. The discussion about identities and globalization processes is one of extreme relevance among fine artists. The artworks and installations presented in the exhibition show the extent to which increased cultural openness is able to expand and enrich artistic and political scope of action. But the works also portray the ambivalence, fragmentation, threats and fears that can be evoked by co-opting and globalizing consumer goods, images and life plans.

The Berlin exhibition, under the patronage of Kerstin Müller, government secretary in the German Foreign Office, welcomed more than 17,000 visitors. With an extensive accompanying program, the Foundation also offered the opportunity to address the multi-faceted dimensions of cultural globalization. In advance of the exhibition, the Heinrich Böll Foundation put on a workshop with scholars from Germany and Asia on the topic "Asian Modernity – Globalization Processes and Their Political and Cultural Localization?"

[Asian Modernity – Globalization Processes and Their Cultural and Political Localization? Documentation of a Workshop held on July 6, 2004 in Berlin. Documentations, Papers and Reports, No. 7, Berlin 2004, 84 pages]

Ecology and sustainable development continue to represent decisive issues for securing our future. Environmental protection and new opportunities for economics and jobs may be effectively combined here. For this reason, the Foundation provides support worldwide to the transition to renewable energies.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR RENEWABLE ENERGIES IN BONN.

"Renewables 2004" – this is the abbreviated name of a conference to which the German federal government invited governments and non-governmental actors throughout the world to Bonn in June 2004. After the Conference on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg two years previously succeeded in formulating only general areas, but no concrete goals for the expansion of renewable energies, the Bonn Conference now hoped to provide a way out of the

self-blockading rites of the UN negotiating processes. In fact, at the end of the meeting, a Political Declaration and an International Action Program were arrived at which contain over 165 activities of various quality and scope to expand the use of renewable energies. In advance of the conference, the Heinrich Böll Foundation had initiated a preparatory workshop, to which it invited representatives of non-governmental organizations throughout the world to Bad Honnef – along with the Forum for Environment and Development and the WWF. This is where the CURES network (Citizens United for Renewable Energies and Sustainability) was founded; it provided the framework for coordinating NGO participation in the conference. Today, the network numbers over 240 members and has a 20-member coordination group.

The Heinrich Böll Foundation's preparatory activities were also reflected in the official conference documents: four contributions to the International Action Plan are based upon the intensive advance work of the Foundation. The Foundation offered an extensive accompanying and visitor program during the conference itself. Three hundred international guests attended the reception hosted along with the World Wind Energy Association. In numerous events, the Foundation presented studies on international energy policy along with their partner organizations worldwide. The Heinrich Böll Foundation will continue to work for the expansion of renewable energy sources in the future, for example at the planned "Renewables" follow-up conference in China.

Dossier at www.boell.de/energie

THE RESOURCE CURSE: RAW MATERIALS EXPORTS AS A CRISIS FACTOR.

Only one-seventh of the world's primary energy consumption currently stems from regenerative energy sources. And worldwide, almost 80 % of the total primary energy is gained by burning fossil fuels. For the majority of countries, the import dependence upon fossil fuels such as petroleum and gas poses both a political and an economic problem. For numerous countries with their own petroleum and natural gas reserves, the export of these raw materials is still not leading to economic development and overcoming poverty. To the contrary: often, only a selected few profit from the earnings from petroleum. Corruption and regional conflicts over the control of resources are stirred up and authoritarian regimes are strengthened, but only very little flows back into the producing regions.

Upon the invitation of the Heinrich Böll Foundation, international experts met at a conference in Berlin on May 27-28, 2004 to address this phenomenon, today often referred to as the "resource curse." Case studies from Nigeria, Chad and the Caucasus presented problems and various approaches to solutions. The latter currently focus on the improvement of transparency and democratic participation in oil income and state expenditures.

Dossier at: www.boell.de/oelkonferenz

WATER: Human Right or Trade Commodity? Worldwide, 1.1 billion people still have no access to adequate water supplies; and 2.4 billion people do not have adequate sewage disposal. In many metropolises of the third world, the majority of the population does not have access to clean water. For example, in Lagos, Nigeria, the largest city in black Africa with a population of 12-14 million, the public water supply reaches half of the people at the most. Following its transformation into an independent company, the Lagos State Water Corporation (LSWC) attained an increase in efficiency and began with the reconstruction of the broken-down network, but it is dependent upon outside capital for network maintenance and expansion. But the World Bank, as a potential provider of capital, is making the issuance

of credit dependent upon opening the water sector for private investors. Civil-society organizations in Lagos view this with great concern, since experiences from other places shows that (partial) privatization in the water sector often severely neglects the needs and opportunities of poor population groups. The revised version of the Water Law, undertaken in the autumn of 2004 and which allows privatization, has served to exacerbate these fears. The Heinrich Böll Foundation's office in Nigeria supports non-governmental organizations and media representatives in their critical activism for a sustainable and just water policy in Lagos.

The Third Development Policy Forum of the Heinrich Böll Foundation, which took place at the end of March 2004 in Berlin in cooperation with the organization *Brot für die Welt* (Bread for the World), also addressed the topic of "Water: Human Right or Trade Commodity?" With almost 300 participants, the Forum met with enthusiastic interest. Numerous guests from international organizations, scholarship, trade unions, water companies, NGOs and politics discussed the human right to water, the role of the private sector, and the financing of the international water supply. Despite all agreement with regard to the "human right of water," controversies erupted with regard to the question of how such lip service may be translated into practical policies. While the World Bank and German development policy focus primarily on the role of private industry, civil-society actors demand a reorientation in principle of current policy approaches and the explicit anchoring of the human rights approach into sector-based policy. This includes the establishment and/or strengthening of public capacities. Despite all differences, the consensus with regard to the human right to water offers a good and hopeful foundation for future debate.

Dossier at: www.boell.de/wasser

Free Trade – Between Mercosur and the European Union. Against the background of the III. Summit of the state and government leaders of the EU, the Caribbean and Latin America in Guadalajara, Mexico at the end of May 2004, the Heinrich Böll Foundation sponsored a conference in Berlin along with FDCL (Research and Documentation Center for Chile-Latin America) from May 3-5, 2004. The focus was on the question of the consequences of free trade between the EU and MERCOSUR, as well as on the effects of liberalization, privatization and foreign investment on developmental opportunities and human rights. Particular attention was paid to the agrarian sector and the consequences of the liberalization of the potable water market. Discussion focused as well on the possible effects of an association agreement on the economic, social, cultural and environmentally-based human rights (ESCE rights) and their protection.

A particularly controversial point in negotiations within the WTO or between the EU and MERCOSUR on the topic of free trade continues to be agricultural policy. In South America (Cono Sur), the Heinrich Böll Foundation cooperated with regional partner organizations in organizing two conferences on relevant issues of sustainable agricultural policy and/or the trade in food. The events were directed both to representatives of rural organizations (producers' associations, indigenous peoples and small-scale farmers) and to scholars and researchers, government representatives and members of social organizations. This enabled an exchange of interests and experiences, some of which differed greatly. Given the intentions of the governments and companies of promoting the industrialization of agriculture by 2015 by means of development measures, foreign investment and increased flexibility of the labor market, the participants formulated arguments for preserving respect for human rights and protecting natural resources, as well as approaches to a new agricultural policy and local marketing which is based upon sustainability of production and the food sovereignty among the local population.

[LOS IMPACTOS DE GÉNERO DE LAS POLÍTICAS COMERCIALES: AVANCES Y DESAFIOS PARA LA INVESTIGACIÓN Y LA ACCIÓN. Autores: Alma Espino und Verónica Amarante (Spanish)
<http://www.boell-latinoamerica.org>]

[PROYECTO INVESTIGACIÓN COMPARATIVA DE EXPERIENCIAS DE INICIATIVAS DE PRESUPUESTO SENSIBLE AL GÉNERO. Autores: Lucía Pérez Frago y María Concepción Martínez Medina (Spanish and English)
<http://www.boell-latinoamerica.org>]

Gender and Trade – A Workshop in El Salvador. From July 8-9, 2004, the Heinrich Böll Foundation's office for Central America, Mexico and the Caribbean put on a methodology workshop on gender analysis of free trade agreements and public budgets. This advanced training session was targeted to project partners, NGO experts and scholars, as well as representatives of government institutions in the U.S.A., Latin America and Germany. In advance, the office had commissioned two studies which had the task of summarizing the current state of research, identifying conceptual and methodological gaps, and formulating questions in terms of future approaches. The participants in the debate agreed that politically, it made little sense to “gender” free trade agreements whose overall language fail completely to address issues of development. On the topic of gender budgeting, the second major issue, the methodological debate took a significant step forward, because there have been numerous practical experiences since almost a quarter of a century. The study by Lucia Pérez Frago and María Concepción Matínez Medina (both from Equidad de Género, Mexico) attempts to systematize several of these experiences (in Australia, Bolivia, Tanzania, Mexico). Announcements of gender-just policies often remain a “plan without a budget,” a mere expression of goodwill. In contrast, analyzing a budget and allocating resources allows a clear identification of whether “gender justice” is nothing more than an empty phrase. The conclusion is that public policy and public budgets are inseparably connected with one another, and this is precisely what the methodological approaches in issues of gender budgeting must reflect.

Macroeconomics Under Gender Aspects – An Advanced Training Course in Johannesburg. The economics page of the newspaper is still not preferred reading for most women in Africa – activists, ministerial public servants and researchers alike. It is uncontroverted that they are often the victim of male-dominated economic policies – but active interference is quite another question. Often, the only thing lacking is the necessary knowledge. This was one reason for the enthusiastic interest in a course on economic policy which the Foundation's Southern Africa office offered in Johannesburg in October 2004. Women from all parts of Africa, from NGOs and governments, from academic institutions and grassroots organizations applied for the few available spots. The one-week course, titled “Engendering Macroeconomics and International Trade,” was the continuation of the Foundation's successful Summer Academy from the previous year. Several men from gender organizations took part in the advanced training event as well. The extent to which economic globalization comes up against trade barriers, primarily in the export of agricultural products, quickly became clear to the participants. But the effects of an export offensive on food security was a topic as well. Neither was host country South Africa, a model for other African nations in many other respects, spared criticism: Thandi Makanana, from the Landless

Movement in South Africa, reported that ten years after the end of Apartheid, rural women often still live in abject poverty and dependence. She holds not only globalization responsible for this, but rather in many cases also the far-reaching powers of traditional leaders in rural communities, who are holding fast to their patriarchal rights.

In those few days, an intensive work atmosphere resulted in close connections; and shortly following the course, Tiruwork Tizazu, Director of the Women's Division in the Ethiopian Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, took up the initiative to begin the gender budget discussion in her country: A small breakthrough.

SECURITY POLICY AND CRISIS PREVENTION

The foreign and security policy agenda has changed significantly since the end of the bloc confrontation. New concepts for worldwide risk prevention, crisis intervention and order policies are increasingly replacing the traditional parameters of deterrence and containment. The attacks of Sept. 11, 2001 further accelerated this process. In this context, the question of the future of international law plays a central role; this is a topic in which the Heinrich Böll Foundation was deeply involved in the year 2004. Furthermore, the Foundation examined the transatlantic relationship and the future of an independent European foreign and security policy.

THE FUTURE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW – WORKING CIRCLE AND

MEMORANDUM. Even before the Iraq war, the Kosovo war sparked an intensive international law and public debate in Germany. While the most controversial point in the Kosovo war was the question of humanitarian intervention without a UN mandate, the issue in advance of the Iraq war was the legitimacy of “preventive” intervention. A working circle of the Heinrich Böll Foundation, composed of about 20 experts from the fields of law, politics, and academia, undertook an intensive examination of the new challenges facing international security and the future role of international law. A group of authors, led by political scientist Ulrich K. Preuss and the international law expert Peter-Tobias Stoll, wrote a Memorandum that was presented at the Foreign Policy Annual Conference of the Heinrich Böll Foundation in July 2004. With this Memorandum, the Foundation strives to contribute to the international debate on the future of international law, as well as expand that debate to include several special aspects of global changes, for example the reform of international environmental laws. Also, we believe that the discussions on the future of international law should be linked to a reform of the United Nations. This causes us to focus not only on institutional questions, such as the enlargement of the UN Security Council, but also the realization of the UN’s Millennium Goals on development and combating poverty, as well as the recommendations of the Cardozo Report, which advocate increased participation on the part of civil society in international policy processes.

“BEYOND IRAQ” – AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE IN BERLIN. The Iraq war dealt a severe blow to transatlantic relations. Differing approaches to democratization and stabilization of the Middle East led to a prolonged and sometimes tense debate between the alliance partners. The current discussion in Europe and the U.S.A. has as its goal a coordinated transatlantic initiative, with which the division of the alliance over the Iraq war is to be overcome. The international conference “Beyond Iraq – A Dialogue on Modernization, Democratization and Security in the Near and Middle East” from May 25-26 in Berlin was the initial event of a longer-term examination by the Foundation of current developments in the region, as well as of the Middle East policy of the EU and the U.S.A. In this, the Foundation relies on its longtime project work in the Middle East and in the Maghreb states. The goal is to speak with, not about, partners in the region. The focus is on the exchange of problem analyses, corresponding suggestions for solutions, and political strategies. Future events will also take place in Arab countries, in Israel, in the EU and in the U.S.A.

[Report: “Beyond the Great Divide. The European Common Foreign and Security Policy in the Wake of the Iraq Crisis” by Marianne Ebertowski, Heinrich Böll Foundation, Brussels office, May 2004]

NATION BUILDING – A CONFERENCE IN WASHINGTON. Against the background of the intensive efforts of the U.S.A. – and increasingly the international community as well – to build up democratic structures in Iraq, the Washington office of the Heinrich Böll Foundation sponsored a conference on June 21, 2004 on the topic of Nation Building. Among the issues discussed were the experiences and challenges of reconstruction in Iraq. The conference succeeded in bringing together experts from the areas of development, security, the judiciary, and addressing the past. The conference deepened the debate over the characteristics of the conflicts of the 21st century, and what opportunities for resolution exist. The event was organized in cooperation with the renowned New America Foundation. Conference report at: http://www.boell.org/docs/Nation_Building_Conference_Report.pdf

THE “GENEVA INITIATIVE” – A NEW OPPORTUNITY FOR THE MIDDLE EAST. The “Geneva Initiative,” the draft of an Israeli-Palestinian peace agreement, was met with a great deal of enthusiasm internationally following its start in December 2003. The initiative, created by prominent Israelis and Palestinians, shows that there are partners that are willing to negotiate on both sides of the conflict. The offices of the Heinrich Böll Foundation in Tel Aviv and Ramallah supported the work of the “Geneva Initiative” in 2004, regularly moderating talks between international delegations. At a conference in October, bilateral negotiation processes for the disengagement plan for the Gaza Strip were underscored and discussed with an Israeli public.

PEACE AND SECURITY POLICY FROM A FEMINIST, GENDER-DIRECTED PERSPECTIVE. The Heinrich Böll Foundation’s Feminist Institute (FI), which has meanwhile established itself as a competent address for feminist peace and security policy, organized several workshops and lectures on this issue complex in the year 2004. The FI also worked in the steering committee of the Women’s Security Council. On the occasion of the first anniversary of its establishment and German participation in the UN Security Council, in the spring of 2004 the Women’s Security Council undertook a critical assessment and identified its perspectives for the future. The result is mixed: as a political experiment, the Women’s Security Council is a success; its work was productive, and its acceptance among ministries and institutions was definitely satisfactory. But not much has changed in the practice of national and international security policy. Despite the recommendations of the Women’s Security Council, Germany has not developed many activities to promote an accelerated implementation of UN Resolution 1325. The activities of the WSC are thus concentrated upon publicizing and implementing UN Resolution 1325.

Somalia – A Successful End to the Peace and Reconciliation Conference. Following 13 years of civil war, the federal transition parliament in Somalia was sworn in in summer 2004. This was preceded by two years of protracted negotiations with international mediation. The successful end to the peace and reconciliation conference, particularly the constitution of a federal transition charter and the election of 23 women to the parliament – including one woman as a cabinet minister – would not have been possible without the support of international organizations. For example, the Heinrich Böll Foundation has been providing successful support for years to the NGOs Horn Relief and Save Somali Women and Children (SSWC); its director, Asha Hagi Elmi, is meanwhile a member of the transition government. In the course of the controversial debate on the charter, the Foundation initiated a discussion forum which finally culminated in a “harmonization report” which summarizes the different

opinions. The report served as the basis for consensus-based solutions, and was able to bring the reconciliation conference one step closer to its goal.

The Heinrich Böll Foundation also brought together a broad spectrum of Somali intellectuals, scholars and actors from the Diaspora and Somalia to plan their contribution to the democratic transformation of Somalia. This group formed the National Civil Forum (NCF) and plans to focus on the key challenges facing Somalia in the future. These include reconciliation, security, governance, economic recovery, education and health care.

EUROPEAN NEIGHBOR POLICY

Another of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's topics of focus is the debate on European integration and the European constitution. By way of civic education activities, the Foundation is striving to create an informed public that will actively intervene in the discussion regarding the future of Europe. It cooperates in this endeavor with non-governmental organizations and political actors, as well as with experts from think tanks, universities and Green networks.

RIVERS CONNECTING EUROPEAN REGIONS – A PROJECT OF THE

EUROPEAN UNION. The enlargement by ten new members will greatly change the European Union on many levels. Until now, the European public has known relatively little about the new member states. These deficits are often connected with strong reservations against the accession of these countries: the new members could burden the EU coffers disproportionately, could lower environmental standards, or could cause an additional burden for the labor markets. In this, speculation is often substituted for facts and is mixed with fears and prejudices. The EU project “Flüsse verbinden Europäische Regionen” (Rivers Connecting European Regions) strives to counter this with discussion and information. It is being sponsored by the Heinrich Böll Foundation and its state-level foundations, the Green Educational Program of Austria and the *Stichting Duurzame Solidariteit* from the Netherlands. Between November 2003 and December 2004, more than 30 events took place in Germany, Austria and the Netherlands. The focus was on the Danube, Elbe, Oder and Rhine rivers; the events also addressed multi-regional topics such as environmental and climate protection, agriculture and consumer protection, as well as transport and mobility. At www.fluesse-verbinden.net, you will find lists of links with commentary on the following topics: EU enlargement, environment and environmental protection, consumer protection, and culture. The links refer to informational offerings of institutions and actors in the new EU member states and the offerings of the European Commission.

[The CD-Rom “Flüsse verbinden” with informational materials in German, Dutch and English on the numerous events that took place in 2004 within the scope of this project is available from the Foundation]

BEYOND THE EUROPEAN CONSTITUTION – A MEMORANDUM. In February 2004, during the founding congress of the European Green Party in Rome, the Heinrich Böll Foundation presented its Memorandum titled “Beyond the European Constitution.” The Memorandum is the result of a series of workshops with experts from politics and scholarship. It includes position statements on the European integration process, defines the future challenges for the EU (enlargement, common foreign and security policy, sustainability, democratization and efficiency of institutions) and discusses the significance of the European draft constitution for these issues.

[BEYOND THE EUROPEAN CONSTITUTION. Memorandum by Christian Sterzing, Dr. Ben Crum, Pierre Jonckheer, Heidi Hautala, Dr. Hanna Machinska, Anna Luehrmann, Gabriela Szuba, Diana Siebert, February 2004, English (32 pages) or Italian (32 pages). Download at: www.boell.be]

THE NEW NEIGHBORS OF THE EUROPEAN UNION. *In the year 2004, the European Union's common foreign and security policy (CFSP) primarily emphasized EU enlargement and the constitutional process. The Heinrich Böll Foundation focused on the CFSP as well. Events on the topic took place in Brussels as well as in Tiflis, Moscow, Sarajevo and Istanbul.*

THE EUROPEAN UNION AND TURKEY. For Turkey and the European Union, the year 2004 was one of great importance: following years of controversial discussion, the European Council was to make a decision on the beginning of membership negotiations in December 2004. The Heinrich Böll Foundation accompanied this difficult process with numerous events, beginning with an international conference in Istanbul in April 2004. Turkish activists from the environmental, peace, human rights and women's rights movements debated with politicians from Germany, Europe and Turkey on European culture and identity, about the need for reforms in Turkey, and about the future of a CFSP.

Two roundtable discussion events sponsored by the Foundation offices in Istanbul and Brussels also addressed the EU accession of Turkey, particularly with regard to the effects on the transatlantic relationship and Europe's opportunities to help shape the Near and Middle East.

The attitude of the U.S.A. with respect to Turkey's accession to the EU is strongly influenced by geostrategic and/or foreign and security policy considerations. In contrast, there is not much reflection in the U.S.A. about the actual intra-societal, extremely complex discussions within the EU member states. With an event series, the Washington office of the Heinrich Böll Foundation attempted to convey the European debate. It also organized a trip for representatives of U.S. think tanks to Istanbul and Brussels, where they were able to inform themselves with regard to the various positions on the EU accession process and the status of reforms.

As December 17, the day of the decision, approached, the discussion of the advocates and opponents of Turkey's EU accession took on a sharper tone. The expert debate put on by the Heinrich Böll Foundation in Berlin in November, on the "Kemalist heritage" and its influence on the capability to and/or speed of reform with respect to the relationship between the state and society, as well as minority issues, hit the nerve of the current debate in Turkey. At the subsequent public podium discussion, the focus was again on the major pro and contra arguments that dominate the intra-German discussion on this issue. It again became clear that justified European policy reservations may be set aside only if the EU meets the challenges posed by the accession of Turkey in all of their aspects.

The European Union and the Caucasus. At the beginning of June 2004, the Foundation's regional office in the Southern Caucasus cooperated with the Brussels office in organizing a conference that dealt with the prerequisites for the development of a common European policy with respect to the Southern Caucasus. The conference served to promote the exchange of information and experiences between EU specialists and experts from non-governmental organizations and academic institutions of the Southern Caucasus. The topic of the Caucasus will also play an important role in the foreign policy work of the Heinrich Böll Foundation in 2005. Since February 2004, the Tiflis office of the Foundation has been sponsoring a series of public debates which address the various aspects of democratic reforms in Georgia. The goal of these meetings is to provide new impulses for the development of public discussions surrounding the establishment of the rule of law and a civil society.

THE EUROPEAN UNION AND THE UKRAINE. Following the EU enlargement in the year 2004, the Ukraine has taken on a key position among the neighboring states of the

European Union. It also plays an important role in regional and global security. As such, it is of great importance to the European Union for the Ukraine to continue its successful democratic and economic development. The Heinrich Böll Foundation is currently focusing on supporting cross-border cooperation between the Ukraine and Poland.

[UKRAINE AFTER THE ORANGE REVOLUTION: STRENGTHENING EUROPEAN AND TRANSATLANTIC COMMITMENTS. Ed. by Joerg Forbrig and Robin Shepherd, 2005, 136 pages. Download at: www.gmfus.org]

The European Union and Russia. The EU enlargement has required a re-determination of the relationship between the EU and Russia. It is already evident that President Putin's Russia has no desire to become the object of a policy of "Europeanization." In autumn 2004, the Heinrich Böll Foundation's regional offices in Moscow and Brussels organized two expert talks on the CFSP from the Russian perspective. Experts from various EU states discussed with their Russian colleagues a new determination of the relationship between Russia and the EU following its enlargement by ten new members. The positions were definitely conflicting. On the one hand, the thesis was espoused that the EU made a mistake in not offering Russia any perspectives of accession; on the other hand, said some, the EU should take into account Russia's self-interest more than has been the case thus far.

It is quite clear that even over the long term, Russia will not be offered a perspective of accession to the EU, although this is regretted by some Western-oriented circles in Russia. But there is no alternative to mutual good relations, neither for the EU nor for Russia. With respect to its relationship with Russia, the EU has defined "four common spaces." To date, Russia seems to have shown interest in only two of these spaces: security and economics; it prefers to exclude the two others, specifically democracy and human rights. The EU must now make it clear that only the total package will be acceptable, and it must insist upon the compliance with democratic norms within Russia, as well as its direct neighbors. It is important for the Heinrich Böll Foundation that its partners from Russian non-governmental organizations are involved in this foreign policy dialogue. Via its Moscow office, the Foundation promotes networking of civil-society groups in Russia, and is endeavoring to find international support for the concerns of the Russian democracy movement.

The EU and Bosnia-Herzegovina. In cooperation with the regional office in Sarajevo, the Heinrich Böll Foundation's Brussels office organized an expert conference on the topic "The European Union and Bosnia-Herzegovina: Between Crisis Management and State-Building." Issues addressed were the statehood of Bosnia-Herzegovina, its European perspectives, and particularly the CFSP. At the end of 2004, EU units relieved the NATO units in Bosnia; and the EU must now prove that its security strategy is effective in a post-war country as well. Because the U.S.A. will also maintain a – albeit small – military presence, the central question is: between these two security concepts, what position will Bosnia-Herzegovina adopt? In the discussion, skepticism with regard to the "Dayton state" prevailed. People argued that this could not really function as a durable democracy, because its institutions are constituted ethnically, and its sovereignty is limited. Repeated reference was made to the necessity of changing the constitutional framework conditions. Responding to the question of the extent to which Bosnia-Herzegovina has any future as a state at all, the willingness of the international community to complete the statehood process was called into doubt. International and European actors were accused of serious mistakes in steering. The participants from the European Union made it clear that despite all the problems, a great deal

has been achieved, but that the expectations with regard to the EU are too high and that the current problems must be solved before there can be any talk at all of EU membership. This tendency continued at the “mirror event” in Brussels, at which Damir Miljevic, head of the employers’ association of the Republika Srpska, and Srdan Dizarevic, chair of the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights, presented the results of the event in Sarajevo. The participants in Brussels emphasized the EU’s responsibility to Bosnia-Herzegovina and the entire Balkans, but simultaneously warned against unrealistic hopes of rapid success. A successful implementation of the EU mandate on the SFOR forces is an important test of EU crisis management. Participants agreed that it is of great importance, and also in the EU’s own interests, for it to participate actively in solving the problems on the Balkans.

DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Despite the universal validity of human rights, effective protection of “life, liberty and security,” as called for in Article 3 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, is still a long way off in many areas of the world. For the Heinrich Böll Foundation, realizing respect for human rights is one of the decisive tasks of the future, because they lay the groundwork for democratic and just development throughout the world.

COMBATting POVERTY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA – THE EXAMPLE OF OUR WORK WITH THE ASSOCIATION OF NUNS AND LAYWOMEN.

Cambodia is still suffering from the effects of the decade-long civil war. The fight against abject poverty is one of its greatest challenges. Since 1993, the Heinrich Böll Foundation has been represented in Cambodia with a country office. Within the scope of the Action Program 2015 to Combat Poverty, it is focusing especially on education and training programs for women. Since 1996, it has been supporting the development of a network of so-called “Donchees” (comparable to nuns, but not ordained and equated with monks) in cooperation with the “Association of Nuns and Laywomen of Cambodia” (ANLWC).

This association pursues two main goals: first of all, by way of sound training both in Buddhist teachings and in social work, women are to receive the opportunity to fully develop themselves according to their wishes. The training includes both modern approaches to conflict resolution, peace work, human and women’s rights, as well as trauma therapy and legal counselling. The training sessions are designed so that some of the participants are able to train other women in their communities following their return. Secondly, the organization is striving for more gender justice by recognizing the social commitment of the Donchees. After eight years of involvement, some women report that they are supported by members of the community with donations of food and money, which was heretofore an exclusive privilege of men in connection with the Karma principle.

An important principle of Buddhism is “Come and see for yourself!” It is a call for independent, critical thought, against manipulation and for self-determination. But the realities in hierarchically structured, paternally influenced, traditional societies are still very different. The key is to change this.

Sharia and Women’s Rights in Nigeria. Five years ago, twelve Muslim-majority states in Northern Nigeria introduced the Sharia criminal law. Since then, Sharia courts have issued a series of judgments that clearly violate international human rights standards, which Nigeria had accepted. Judgments calling for stoning of women due to adultery have attracted the most attention. Although these judgments have thus far always been overturned by higher Sharia jurisdictions, new cases could arise at any time.

Since 2002, the Nigeria country office of the Heinrich Böll Foundation has been supporting the dialogue between human and women’s rights organizations and representatives of Islamic law from the judiciary and academia. This dialogue promotes understanding and trust between both sides and works up and propagates concrete steps to improve the legal security of women under Sharia law. Particular importance is attached to the procedural rules which, applied consistently, are to exclude stoning judgments. The Heinrich Böll Foundation has also been supporting the Women’s Aid Collective since 2004. The Collective supports local women’s organizations in Northern Nigeria with educational work and consulting in the establishment of legal aid structures. The Foundation also provides support to the League of Human Rights, which is active in protecting minority rights in states with Sharia criminal law.

Human Rights Training for Imams. In the Palestinian areas, the training of Imams includes Islamic law; but modern attitudes toward human and women's rights are not on the curriculum. Basic knowledge and a serious debate is lacking, because the encounter with the "Western"-influenced human rights debate – if engaged in at all – is usually confrontational rather than constructive. The Arab Middle East office of the Heinrich Böll Foundation, in cooperation with the Ramallah Center for Human Rights Studies, has developed an "advanced training program" for Imams, which specifically includes instruction on women's rights. For ten days, "functionaries" from the religious and state administrations joined religious dignitaries in listening to lectures and discussion rounds, thus informing themselves on the international-law foundations of international human rights, on conventions and resolutions on women's rights, and on the problems in their implementation. The advanced training program also included an examination of religious texts that highlight the role of women and their rights.

Building Up Civil Society in Afghanistan. The Heinrich Böll Foundation has been working in Afghanistan since the beginning of 2002. As for many other Western actors, the country presented a new challenge for the Foundation. Meanwhile, however, we have been successful in building up a network of contacts and cooperation partners. The Foundation maintains a project office in Kabul, supports local projects, but also initiates dialogue events in Germany, for example in advance of the International Afghanistan Conference on March 26, 2004 in Berlin.

The parallel nature of the power structures and legal systems is most widespread in the Pashtun areas in Southeast Afghanistan. In these areas, the security situation is precarious, the Afghani government has little influence, and power is in the hands of traditional tribal leaders. Hardly any international assistance is reaching the region. In a cooperative project with the Swiss Peace Foundation, the Heinrich Böll Foundation is supporting liaison offices (TLOs) with the traditional tribes in three Pashtun provinces. The offices work closely with the tribal leaders, promoting their dialogue with the central government and the international community. The tribal leaders are encouraged to guarantee security in their areas, to participate in political processes, and to open up their structures for reforms in the areas of education, women's and human rights. The offices also fundraise among international donors for development projects in the region, and offer support in their implementation. Improving the standard of living hopes to strengthen the position of reform-oriented tribal leaders and to, in the long term, encourage the population to participate in the democratic process. Results thus far have included security agreements between tribes and the government, an increased perception of the region by donor organizations, and intensive discussions on structural reform among the tribes. Some of them have already paved the way for girls' schools; also, large numbers of men and women from the region participated in the presidential elections in 2004. Concrete development projects are now necessary in order to avoid disappointing the expectations of the population for an improvement in their living conditions.

German-Chinese Dialogue on the Rule of Law. China is currently attracting attention to itself primarily due to its economic boom. Social developments in the country, however, are lagging far behind this rapid upswing. The work of the Heinrich Böll Foundation in China thus concentrates on support for the young civil society. Within the scope of the German-Chinese Dialogue on the Rule of Law, the Foundation organized a study trip from June 5-15, 2004 for representatives from government, non-governmental organizations and academia to Germany. The topic of the educational trip was German association, federation and

foundation law. The relevant occasion is the impending revision of legal framework conditions for non-governmental organizations in China. Due to the significance of legal framework conditions for the development of civil society, the participants were to receive an overview of continental European legal systems. Until now, the study of foreign NGO law in China has been limited exclusively to U.S.-American sources. The Research Center for Non-governmental Organizations at the renowned Beijing Qinghua University immediately included the results in its work. A publication with the experiences of the participants appeared in China in May 2005.

Promotion of Human Rights in Brazil. Long following the end of the military dictatorship in Brazil, respect for human rights still does not go without saying. Although they are guaranteed by the state, social, economic, political and cultural rights are seldom applied in reality. There are various approaches to reform on the federal level and in some states, but few structural improvements are perceptible thus far.

The Heinrich Böll Foundation has been providing support to Justiça Global for several years; this is a non-governmental organization whose activities include documenting and publicizing human rights violations. In addition to its publications, the organization also offers training sessions. For example, in early 2004, it organized a human rights course in Rio de Janeiro for family members of prison inmates. The family members learned how to advocate the rights of their imprisoned relatives, and were to pass on their knowledge to other affected persons. In 2004 for the first time, Justiça Global also submitted human rights violations to the UN Special Rapporteur on Adequate Housing. And for the first time in the history of Brazil, a petition submitted to the Interamerican Human Rights Commission was passed on to the Interamerican Court.

Argentina – Germany: Remembering Instead of Forgetting. Six years ago, the archives of the secret police from the province of Buenos Aires were dissolved; since 2000, the “Comisión por la memoria” (Memory Commission), presided over by Nobel Peace Laureate Adolfo Pérez Esquivel, has been assuring that the public has gradually received access to them.

The archives include extensive data on political-ideological persecution in Argentina – not only during the last, brutal military dictatorship, but since the end of the 1930s. In addition to approximately 300,000 entries about individuals, it also includes minute documentations of activities of professional organizations, guilds, trade unions and student associations. The archives currently represent the only source of this type in Argentina, thus playing a core role in dealing with the country’s unresolved past.

Upon invitation of the Heinrich Böll Foundation and the German government’s agent responsible for the East German secret police files, vice president Laura Conte and several members of the Memory Commission took part in a two-week program of exchange and information at BSTU, the agency responsible for the files of the security service of former East Germany. The exchange focused not only on expert questions, such as on archiving or working up the files; it also pursued the goal which both institutions have in common: working up the experiences with dictatorship and the memory of the victims, the opposition, and the resistance. For example, “Comisión por la memoria” undertakes a variety of literary, film and theatre projects within the scope of its civic education activities in schools throughout the province of Buenos Aires; these address the local involvement during the era of the military dictatorship – the motto is “Remembering instead of forgetting, repressing, justifying.”

THE POLITICS OF OUR KNOWLEDGE SOCIETY

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.

THE WORLD SUMMIT ON THE INFORMATION SOCIETY (WSIS). At the first WSIS meeting in December 2003 in Geneva, the WSIS Declaration was issued as a type of “constitution for the information age.” It formulates the consensus of the governments on questions such as freedom of information and security in cyberspace, on Internet governance, freedom to choose software systems, privacy protection and cultural diversity. The Heinrich Böll Foundation accompanied in WSIS from the outset with a wide variety of activities. It was particularly committed to achieving civil-society participation in the Summit process. The second WSIS Meeting will take place in Tunis in November 2005. At an event put on by the Heinrich Böll Foundation within the scope of the preparatory conference in Tunis in June 2004, the German participants were able to talk to Tunisian human rights groups and find out how little the elementary rights of freedom of opinion are respected in Tunisia. In the scope of the Information Summit, the situation of the not officially recognized and thus not accredited Tunisian human rights organizations was particularly criticized. The circumstances under which the debate at the preparatory conference in Tunisia took place on questions of freedom of opinion, press and information, as well as access rights, made it clear that the people in the threshold and developing countries will not benefit much from the implementation of the new information technologies if it is not accompanied by respect for the comprehensive rights of communication and participation.

INTERNATIONAL BIOPOLICY CONFERENCE IN MEXICO CITY. The Heinrich Böll Foundation's International Biopolicy Conference took place in Mexico City on October 22-23, 2004; it addressed the increasing privatization of nature and knowledge. The goal was to work up the concept of the Commons, publicly accessible resources, thus calling into question the permanent expansion of intellectual property rights. Silvia Ribeiro from the Erosion, Technology and Concentration Group provided an overview of the process of “fencing in Commons” and its consequences. Those providing the impulses in this process of increasing restriction of access to resources, she said, included the laws of international property rights (IPRs) that enable the patenting of everything from atoms to living organisms. Also among the issues addressed was that of what understanding of knowledge and nature these agreements are based upon, as well as the effects of IPRs on indigenous communities. For many of the participants, a new issue was the discussion, long debated controversially in the countries of the North and in Brazil as well, on biotechnological manipulation of human beings. In the ensuing debate, it became clear that ethical reflections must contribute to imposing limitations on science – technological developments must serve public health, human rights and social justice.

At the end, there was consensus on using this encounter as the starting point for various forms of cooperation between the organizations – the most concrete result is a tour planned for 2005 of the Center for Genetics and Society through Central America – where the debate on the social consequences of the creation of markets for the new human genetic technologies has not yet arrived.

[Detailed conference report in Spanish at:

http://www.boell-latinoamerica.org/download_es/MemoriasConferenciaBiopolitica2004.doc

¿UN MUNDO PATENTADO? LA PRIVATIZACIÓN DE LA VIDA Y DEL
CONOCIMIENTO. Published by Fundacion Heinrich Böll, San Salvador 2005, 236 pages
(Ediciones Boell 19) Download at: www.boell-latinoamerica.org]

CONTEMPORARY HISTORY AND MEDIA

ANTI-SEMITISM TODAY. Anti-Semitic stereotypes can be seen on a daily basis in the Arab press. But they can be found in the European media as well. Is anti-Semitism becoming more socially acceptable in Europe as well? The Heinrich Böll Foundation examined that question in a high-level conference on January 28-30, 2004 in Berlin. Prominent guests from Germany, France, Israel, Poland and Great Britain reported on their respective experiences with anti-Semitism and discussed strategies to counter it.

The Conference was widely reported in the international media because there had previously been no comparative European debate on this issue. The Foundation will continue to intensively examine this question. As a first concrete step, the Foundation cooperated with the American Jewish Committee in presenting recommendations for action against the “new old” anti-Semitism. The paper draws a clear line between legitimate criticism of Israel, and calling into question the right of existence of Israel as a Jewish state. It also calls for a clear disassociation from anti-Semitic sentiment in all political camps.

The recommendations are the result of a series of expert talks in advance of the Berlin OSCE Conference on anti-Semitism in April 2004, initiated by the Heinrich Böll Foundation and the Berlin office of AJC.

“MEDIA ETHICS AND JOURNALISM IN THE ARAB WORLD: THEORY, PRACTICE AND CHALLENGES AHEAD” – CONFERENCE IN BEIRUT. From June 9-11, 2004, the Heinrich Böll Foundation’s Middle East office cooperated with the Institute for Professional Journalists (IPJ) of the Lebanese American University in Beirut in putting on the regional conference “Media Ethics and Journalism in the Arab World: Theory, Practice and Challenges Ahead.” Arab and European media workers from various branches, scholars and civil-society activists were invited to exchange ideas about media ethics and responsible journalism. The contributions to the conference included the understanding of “objectivity,” the medial construction of stereotypes, power concentrations in the public and private media, censorship and self-censorship, as well as ethics in the virtual world of the Internet. Against the background of the Iraq war, participants intensively debated specifically Arabic, but also international conflict reporting and political influence on media in the region. Two workshops were devoted to media ethics as an integral part of journalism training. One result was the development of new guidelines for the ethical practice of journalism. These guidelines as well as the conference contributions and documentations of the discussions were published in the Conference Reader. Download at: [http:// ipj.lau.edu.lb/events/20040609/index.php](http://ipj.lau.edu.lb/events/20040609/index.php)

MEDIA STUDY: “Walking a Tightrope – News Media and Freedom of Expression in the Middle East”. Since the beginning of the 1990s, the Arab media landscape has changed dramatically. New transnational news satellite channels such as Al-Jazeera, Al-Arabiyya and Abu Dhabi have, to a certain degree, managed to evade state censorship and to inspire a previously unknown public debate in the Arab world. Despite this so-called “Arab Media Revolution,” there are still a series of structural restrictions and taboo topics which affect not only the exercise of freedom of opinion, but also the exercise of civil rights. With the “Walking the Tightrope” study, the Heinrich Böll Foundation offices in Ramallah and Beirut are striving to make a contribution to an improved understanding of the status quo.

Download at: http://www.boell-meo.org/download_en/media_study_hq.pdf

MEDIA TRAINING FOR COMMUNITY COUNCIL CANDIDATES IN RAMALLAH.

For the first time in almost 30 years, community elections took place in December 2004 in 26 communities in the West Bank. This was a test of democracy which garnered international attention in advance of the presidential elections in January 2005 and the parliamentary elections planned for July 2005. Following months of heated conflict in the Palestinian parliament, a compromise with regard to a quota for women was reached shortly before the scheduled election date with the conservative and religious forces: two women were to be included in each of the 11- to 15-member community councils!

In close cooperation with various women's organizations, the Foundation's regional office in Ramallah put together a list of (male and female) candidates in order to offer them a media training session with an experienced German journalist. The goal of the project was to convey especially to the inexperienced candidates a certain degree of security in dealing with the media. With practical exercises on camera and with microphones, short speeches before audiences, etc., the candidates were familiarized with basic communication skills. Due to street blockades and military controls by the Israeli occupation army, the training session was not carried out centrally, but rather in various cities in the Palestinian regions. In Rafah (Gaza Strip), Israeli military forced the early termination of the training. In Jericho (West Bank), the German media trainer was successful able to enter the closed-off city on her second try. Perhaps the difficult conditions were partly responsible for the high degree of motivation on the part of the participants. It quickly became clear that this could represent merely a beginning, and that especially after the elections, it would be necessary to convey additional qualifications in political work. In this first round of community elections in primarily rural areas, 139 women were among the 887 candidates. Fifty-two seats for women among a total of 306 (17%) represents an initial success. It is noteworthy that 33 of the elected women attained their council seats not because of the quota, but rather due to the amount of votes they received. Two of the elected women were later even elected as village mayor by the community council.

GENDER DEMOCRACY

GENDER DEMOCRACY AS A COMMON TASK. The Heinrich Böll Foundation has long been dedicated to achieving the political goal of “gender democracy.” As a “common task,” it forms a part of the internal organizational model of the Foundation, and is an endeavor of all staff members. Democracy is here understood in a broad sense, and means the commitment to and recognition of equal rights and opportunities for all people, regardless of gender and of sexual orientation. The focus is on the just distribution of political opportunities for participation between women and men, as well as equal access to and gender-just distribution of societal resources.

MEN’S FORUM IN THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF GENDER

RELATIONSHIPS. For more than four years, the expert meetings of the Heinrich Böll Foundation in cooperation with the *Forum Männer* network have been examining topics with a gender-policy relevance from a male-specific viewpoint. Often, these are “taboo” topics which are later taken up in the political sphere. The (German-language) documentations of these meetings are among the most popular Internet downloads at www.boell.de. With its offerings, the Foundation is one of the very few sources for men who wish to become active on a gender-policy level in the quest for gender democracy. For example, with its meeting titled “Men as Actors of Transformation in the Process of Gender Mainstreaming” in July 2004, the Foundation reached male GM actors from public administrations and GM consultants as a new target group. The discussions in the workshops included suggestions on how male leaders may be increasingly won over for gender-democratic activism.

MIGRATION AND INTERCULTURAL MANAGEMENT

Intercultural Management as a Common Task. Age, gender, social origin, religious affiliation, ethnic origin or sexual orientation – none of these should be determinative in terms of opportunities within our society. The Heinrich Böll Foundation is well-prepared to meet the challenges of cultural diversity. The topics of Migration and Diversity are taken into account in all projects and measures of the Foundation – in project development, in seeking cooperation partners, as well as in the establishment of Foundation structures. In the year 2004, the Department of Migration and the Intercultural Management Common Taskforce of the Heinrich Böll Foundation focused primarily on issues of how to shape the immigration society. As in previous years, there were several events addressing the topic of “Diversity” – a political concept with enormous potential for a constructive examination of diversity and difference. The Open Spaces and Diversity Cafés which regularly take place within that scope are already considered particularly useful forums by many people.

GREEN MEETS GREEN – A DIALOGUE SERIES. With an event on the topic of “The Self-Understanding of Muslim Organizations in Germany,” the Heinrich Böll Foundation initiated its new “Green Meets Green” dialogue series in October 2004. This is a cooperative project with the office of the German Federal Commissioner for Migration and Integration and the Muslim Academy in Germany. By way of regular discussion forums, the political dialogue among Muslims in Germany is to be strengthened, and new ways of cooperation are to be sought.

MUSLIMS IN SECULAR DEMOCRACIES – A CONFERENCE. While the “Green Meets Green” dialogue series focuses primarily on the German situation, the conference “Muslims in Secular Democracies” from November 4-5, 2004 in Berlin involved a comparison of European countries. Experts from Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, Germany and the U.S.A. discussed the strengths and weaknesses of European integration policies and other issues.

Background materials at: www.boell.de/migration

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 119 artists from 31 countries have been invited to the former home of the Böll family; there, they are able to work creatively and undisturbed for a period, financially secure and free of state control or persecution. Some of the former guests have meanwhile found a new home in Germany and have been able to publish their texts in the German-speaking region. Others have returned to their home countries and are working very successfully there.

Fellows in the Year 2004

Elvira Rodriguez Puerto, writer, poet, photographer and filmmaker from Havana, Cuba (born in 1964). Elvira Rodriguez Puerto has been working as a freelance artist and writer since 1990. She has received numerous literary prizes, has written screenplays and has produced various documentaries about writers, rappers and the Hip Hop scene in Cuba.

Uldis Berzins, poet from Riga, Latvia (born in 1944). His first poems were published as early as 1962 during his study of Latvian literature. He has followed with various studies on language and literature. Berzins has been working as a freelance translator and poet since 1974.

Zsofia Balla, poet from Budapest, Hungary (born in 1949). She is considered one of the most important contemporary Hungarian-language poets. In Romania, where she lived until 1993, she was a member of the Hungarian Jewish minority. She published her first poems in 1965 in a Hungarian literary journal, and her first volume of poetry appeared in 1968. She has worked in radio and on the editing staff of journals. Due to her oppositional activities, she was periodically banned from traveling and publishing. She relocated to Hungary in 1993 and has been living in Budapest since then.

Zakaria Mohammed, writer and journalist from Ramallah, Palestine (born in 1951). Zakaria was born near Nablus, Palestine. Following his study of Arab culture at the University of Baghdad, he worked as a freelance journalist in Beirut, Amman and Damascus. He has served as editor-in-chief of various political, cultural and literary journals. Currently living in Ramallah, he is an executive board member of the Sakakini Cultural Centre in Ramallah, a Palestinian NGO working in the areas of art and culture, as well as assistant editor-in-chief of the cultural journal al-Karmel. In addition to children’s books, dramas and volumes of poetry, Zakaria Mohammed has also published two novels: “The Black Eye” (Ramallah, 1996) and “Cyclamen” (Amman/Cairo, 2003).

Patricia Suarez, writer from Bogota, Columbia (born in 1952). She studied philosophy and literature at the University of Amsterdam, dramaturgy at the Institute of Culture in Cienfuegos, Cuba, and literary studies in Bogota. In addition to numerous collections of poetry, her essays and short stories have been published in several cultural journals and daily newspapers. She has been president of the Columbian foundation *Pensamiento y Vida*

(Thought and Life) since 2004. In addition to her poetry, she dedicates herself to the fine arts. Her works have been exhibited in numerous group and individual exhibitions.

Anatoly Prelovsky, writer and poet from Russia (born in 1934). Anatoly Prelovsky is working with scholars from Moscow and Siberia on an anthology of Siberian epic poetry and history, based upon the research of the Turkologist Vassily Radlov (1837-1918).

ADDITIONAL ORGANS OF THE FOUNDATION'S EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

FEMINIST INSTITUTE

The Feminist Institute (FI) of the Heinrich Böll Foundation serves to promote the transfer of innovative feminist approaches and research perspectives into political practice. Additional goals include (inter)national networking and promotion of young people. In the year 2004, the FI concentrated on two areas of emphasis: First, on peace and security policy, as well as on civil conflict prevention from a feminist, gender-directed perspective. The other focus was a situational determination and development of perspectives of feminism(s) in the 21st century. For example, developing a concept for a “workshop for the future of feminist politics” strives to achieve a re-politicization of feminist perspectives and approaches in sociopolitical debate; it was worked up by the volunteer working group “Feminist Workshop for the Future.” The Feminist Institute continued its successful event series “Green Ladies’ Lunch” to intervene in current political debate; topics included “Transformation in Social and Labor Market Policy: Do Women Profit from the Reforms?”, “Reproduction Technologies – New Opportunities or New Imperatives for Women?” and “How Does Gender Come into Everyday Life at School?” The “Ladies’ Lunch on Tour” was also continued successfully; events included a debate on women in the EU enlargement process, as well as one on family policy.

GREEN ACADEMY

The Green Academy is a forum composed of scholars and politicians interested in theory; it has given itself the task of discussing fundamental societal issues at the interface of scholarship and politics. What its members have in common is knowledge about issues, an affinity to Green politics, and their contacts to scholarship, politics, and educational institutions. The Academy is composed of approximately 60 volunteer members who, along with the executive board of the Green Academy, determine its substantive profile as well as shaping its topics of emphasis.

The Green Academy’s major events include the so-called “Workshop Talks.” At two-month intervals, Academy members meet with experts from scholarship and politics to discuss politically relevant issues. The lectures are documented in the new series “Writings of the Green Academy.” In the year 2004, Workshop Talks were held on the following issues: “Sustainable Innovation Policies,” “Theory and Politics of Political Camps,” as well as “The U.S. American Elections and their Effects on the Transatlantic Alliance.” The annual conference of the Green Academy in November 2004 dealt with the issue “The Fight over Tolerance.”

The topics of focus for the Academy’s work, both in the past and the current year, lie in the areas of “political and party research,” “the knowledge society,” and “religion and secular society.”

The events organized under the broad topic of “the knowledge society,” including the 2003 Summer Academy, will be documented in a multi-volume set titled “Contours of the Knowledge Society.”

PROMOTING YOUNG TALENT

The Heinrich Böll Foundation provides support to students and doctoral candidates from all fields of study and of all nationalities who demonstrate not only outstanding academic achievements, but who also take on responsibility and display a commitment to shaping social policy. The Foundation's idea of support combines the idea of achievement with equality of opportunity. This is expressed in the unusually high number of women receiving support; applications from students with an immigrant background are particularly desired. In addition to material support, the Study Program places particular emphasis on ideal support, accompaniment of and networking among its fellows. While the study and doctoral dissertation phases serve to promote general education, they are training phases as well. The Study Program takes this dual role into account in developing its concepts for its program of events. It fosters a critical examination of social policy by its fellows as well as enhancing their academic qualifications, and provides support in preparing the fellows for their later careers. One central goal of the support program is to gain additional multipliers for the Foundation's topics of focus, who will work actively on the Foundation's core values of democracy, ecology, solidarity, and non-violence.

Focus of Support in 2004. In the year 2004, a total of 577 fellows received support. As a general rule, the term of support varies from 1 ½ to 3 years. In addition to the emphasis thus far on the humanities and social studies as well as art and cultural studies, the Foundation is currently expanding its support into previously underrepresented specialist disciplines, such as economics, law, technology, media and natural sciences. Two new doctoral fellowships have been announced.

The international program fellowships are awarded to students from throughout the world who have commenced studies in Germany or wish to receive their doctorate there. The Heinrich Böll Foundation specifically focuses its support on young people from the countries of the South and from Eastern Europe. Also, in Russia the Heinrich Böll Foundation funds a *Sur-Place* program along with its Moscow office and Russian partner organizations to support young scholars in the country.

International Exchange. Creating spaces for international encounters and promoting academic exchange is one of the Foundation's foremost aims. One ambitious project from the year 2004, for example, was the multi-disciplinary doctoral seminar on the topic of "International Structural Policy" at Berlin's Humboldt University. Three fellows of the Heinrich Böll Foundation from India, Palestine and Togo qualified for participation. The core of the program was a one-week excursion to the United Nations in New York and to the World Bank in Washington. In the year 2004, the Study Program also continued its international program of internships at the Bundestag, the German parliament. During this internship program, graduates from throughout the world who aspire to an international career at the government level and/or in the public sector work for a time in the office of a German Bundestag representative.

Networking and Alumni Work. The Study Program is promoting the expansion of an international cooperation network and is seeking contact to its 1,300 former fellows. The 2nd Alumni Salon, in which about 100 former fellows from both Germany and abroad participated, took place in November in Berlin with "Art and Politics" as the topic of emphasis.

Relationship of students/post-graduates

Total students: 345, of which 114 were newly admitted in 2004

Post-graduates: 232, of which 74 were newly admitted in 2004

Ratio of men/women among the fellows supported in 2004: Men 177, Women 400

NEWS FROM THE FOUNDATION

Annemarie Böll Passes Away. Annemarie Böll passed away on November 15 at the age of 94 at her house in Langenbroich/Eifel. The widow of the Nobel Laureate for literature was primarily known for her many translations, some of them in collaboration with her husband, of works by English-speaking authors such as Brendan Behan, George Bernard Shaw, J.D. Salinger and Saul Bellow. Her work promoted not only communication between languages, but between people as well. This was consistent with her personality, which was characterized by empathy, open interest for all people, compassion and patience. She displayed all of these qualities, combined with her sense of literary judgment, in her encounters with the artists and scholars in the *Heinrich Böll Haus Langenbroich*, of which she was the director and a member of the jury from 1991 to 2001.

In 1987, Annemarie Böll was in the founders' circle which established the Heinrich Böll Foundation. Since then, she was always involved in the Foundation's activities, displaying goodwill and always encouraging us in our activities. We shall always honor her memory.

NEW OFFICE IN BEIRUT, LEBANON. The Foundation is intensifying its work in the Middle East with its new office in the Lebanese capital. Beirut follows Tel Aviv and Ramallah as the third location in the region. "The democratic and emancipationist approaches from and within the region are barely known in Germany – a significant activity of our new office will be to convey these more effectively," said Barbara Unmüßig of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's executive board at the official opening in November 2004.

Numerous guests took part in a seminar on opening day, titled "Europe and the Middle East – Old Structures, New Challenges." Barbara Unmüßig from the executive board of the Foundation, Kerstin Müller, government secretary in the German Foreign Office, and Volker Perthes from *Stiftung für Wissenschaft und Politik* (German Institute for International and Security Affairs) debated with Lebanese discussion partners about the opportunities and limitations of political dialogue, as well as the potential for political and civil-society initiatives.

[The Web site of the office in Beirut, www.boell-meo.org is to be expanded into one of the core interactive forums for debate, both within the region and with Europe]

NEW OFFICE IN MEXICO CITY, MEXICO. The Foundation has been represented in Mexico City with its new office since the summer of 2004. The new office coordinates the work in Central America, Mexico and the Caribbean. Its work will focus primarily on the Free Trade Agreement as well as the global agreement between the EU and Mexico, and their effects on the concerns of the population. Additional important topics will include gender democracy and ecology.

Approximately 250 guests, including many project partners, representatives of German industry, the Goethe Institute, political foundations, and Mexico's former UN Ambassador, Adolfo Aguilar Zinser, attended the official opening in August. On the previous evening, the Foundation had hosted an expert debate on the Directive of the EU for the release of transgenic organisms and its implementation in Germany – interesting input for the extremely controversial Mexican legislative debate on the topic of "Biosafety" held in autumn 2004.

PERSONNEL AND FUNDING

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.

Personnel

Following a continual increase in the years up until 2003, the number of employees decreased for the first time in the year 2004. On December 31, 2004, 178 staff members were employed within Germany (49% of these part-time); this is 11 less than in the previous year. The number of individuals employed abroad, in contrast, rose by 1. In the year 2004, 28 % of the employees of the Heinrich Böll Foundation were men, and 72% were women. In contrast to many other organizations, the high percentage of women is equally distributed over all levels. With 40 % in the management area and 64 % in mid-level leadership positions, the percentage of women is also higher than in comparable institutions in this area. In 2004, the percentage of immigrants, at 14%, again exceeded the quota of 10% provided for in the by-laws.

Funding

As a political foundation, the Heinrich Böll Foundation (registered association) is funded almost exclusively from public funds. In the year 2004, this funding was reduced by approximately €1.2 million compared with the previous year to €36.2 million (calculates to 3 %). The reasons for this include the change in the allocation scheme among the political foundations; additionally, the “global reduction in expenses” imposed by the Finance Ministry had a negative effect on the total income of the Heinrich Böll Foundation. This reduction in funding was compensated only partially by means of third-party funding, particularly by acquisition of funding from the European Union. For example, the amount of funding in the Middle East region is due to the extremely successful acquisition and administering of EU funds. Overall, the funding for international cooperation totaled €18.6 million. The distribution of project funds by region is as follows: Latin America 18 %, Asia 18 %, Middle East 15 %, Africa 16 %, Europe 29 %, multi-regional projects 4 %.

OFFICES ABROAD

Africa

Eastafrica/Horn of Africa Regional Office

Heinrich Böll Foundation
Forest Road, P.O. Box 10799-00100
GPO Nairobi, Kenya
Phone: +254-20-3744227/3750329
Fax: +254-20-3749132
E-mail: nairobi@hbfha.com
Internet: www.hbfha.com

Country Office Nigeria

Heinrich Böll Foundation
9b, Omo Osagie St.
S.W. Ikoyi, Lagos, Nigeria
Phone: +234-1-47214 65
E-mail: info@boellnigeria.org
Internet: www.boellnigeria.org

Southern Africa Regional Office

Postal address

Heinrich Böll Foundation
PO Box 2472, Saxonwold, 2132 South Africa

Physical address:

43 Tyrwhitt Avenue
Melrose, 2196
Johannesburg, South Africa
Phone: +27-11-447 8500
Fax: +27-11-447 4418
E-mail: info@boell.org.za
Internet: www.boell.org.za

Asia

South Asia Regional Office

Heinrich Böll Foundation
76-B, Nisar Road
Lahore Cantt-54800, Pakistan
Phone: +92-42-6666322
Fax: +92-42-6664899
E-mail: sa@hbfasia.org
Internet: www.hbfasia.org

Southeast Asia Regional Office

Heinrich Böll Foundation
91/9 Umong Soi 5
Tambon Suthep Amphur, Muang
50200 Chiang Mai
Phone: +66-53-810430-2
Fax: +66-53-810124
E-mail: sea@hbfasia.org
Internet: www.hbfasia.org

Country Office Cambodia*

Heinrich Böll Foundation
#224, 184 Street
Daun Penh, Phnom Penh
Phone: +855 23 210 535
Fax: +855 23 216 482
E-mail: hbf@camnet.com.kh

Country Office India

Heinrich Böll Foundation
C – 4/5, Second Floor
Safdarjung Development Area,
New Delhi 110016
Phone: +91-11-26854405
Fax: +91-11-26962840
E-mail: india@hbfasia.org

Country Office Afghanistan*

Heinrich Böll Foundation
Shahrara Wot. Nr. 45, Kabul
Phone: +93-70-295 972
E-mail: jawed@hbfasia.org

China Project Adviser

Heinrich Böll Foundation
No. 18, Bei San Huan Zhong Lu
Beijing 100011
People's Republic of China
Phone/Fax: +86-10-62011945
E-mail: china@hbfasia.org
Internet: www.boell-china.org

Europe**European Union Regional Office**

Heinrich Böll Foundation
Rue d'Arlon 15
B-1050 Brussels, Belgium
Phone: +32-2-743 41 00
Fax: +32-2-743 41 09
E-mail: brussels@boell.be
Internet: www.boell.be

Central Europe Regional Office (Warsaw)

Fundacja Heinricha Bölla
ul. Podwale 13
00-252 Warsaw, Poland
Phone: +48-22-831 6356
Fax: +48-22-635 7923
E-mail: hbs@boell.pl
Internet: www.boell.pl

Office Prague

Nadace Heinricha Bölla
Spálená 23 (Entrance Spálená 21)
CZ-110 00 Prague 1, Czech Republic
Phone: +420-251 814 173
Fax: +420-251 814 174
E-mail: info@boell.cz

Turkey Country Office

Heinrich-Böll-Vakfi
Inönü Cad. Haci, Hanim Sok. No. 10/12
TR 34439 Gümüssuyu - Istanbul
Phone: +90-212-2930545
Fax: +90-212-2450430
E-mail: info@hbstr.org
www.boell.tr.org

Russia Country Office

Heinrich Böll Foundation
Grusinskij Pereulok 3-231
RU 123056 Moscow
Phone: +7-095-2541453
Fax: +7-095-9358014
E-mail: info@boell.ru
Internet: www.boell.ru

South Caucasus Regional Office

Heinrich Böll Foundation
Radiani Str. 5
0179 Tbilisi, Georgia
Phone: +995-32-227705
Fax: +995-32-912897
E-mail: info@boell.ge
Internet: www.boell.ge

Southeast Europe Regional Office

Fondacija Heinrich Böll
Cekalusa 42
BIH-71000 Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina
Phone: +387-33-260 450
Fax: +387-33-260 460
E-mail: h.boell@bih.net.ba

Country Office Croatia*

Fondacija Heinrich Böll
Berislaviceva 20, HR-10000 Zagreb
Phone: +385-1-4812530
Fax: +385-1-4818977
E-mail: hbs-hr@zamir.net

Country Office Serbia/Montenegro*

Fondacija Heinrich Böll
Resavska 14
11 000 Belgrade
Phone/Fax: +381-11-30 34 371
E-mail: hbs-bgd@eunet.yu

Latin America

Regional Office Brazil/ Cono Sur

Fundação Heinrich Böll
Rua da Gloria 190, ap. 701
2024 1180 Rio de Janeiro – Gloria
Phone/Fax: +55-21-3852 1104
E-mail: boell@boell.org.br
Internet: www.boell-latinoamerica.org

Regional Office Central America, Mexico and the Caribbean

Fundación Heinrich Böll
calle José Alvarado No. 12
Colonia Roma, Delegación Cuauhtémoc
CP 06700 México, D.F.
Phone/Fax +52-55-52642894
E-mail: direccion@boell-latinoamerica.org.mx
Internet www.boell-latinoamerica.org

Country Office El Salvador*

Fundación Heinrich Böll
Residencial Zanzibar
Pasaje A-Oriente, No. 24
San Salvador
Phone: +503-274 6812
Fax: +503-274 6932
E-mail: boell.programas@telesal.net
Internet: www.boell-latinoamerica.org

Near and Middle East

Country Office Israel

Heinrich Böll Foundation
Nahalat Binyamin 24
IL-65162 Tel Aviv
Phone: +972-3-516 77 34/35
Fax: +972-3-516 76 89
E-mail: hbstl@boell.org
[Internet: www.boell.org.il](http://www.boell.org.il)

Middle East Regional Office Beirut

Heinrich Böll Foundation
266, Rue Gouraud
Gemmayzeh, Beirut Libanon
for all mail: PO Box 175510
Gemmayzeh, Beirut, Libanon
Phone: 00961-1-562926
Fax: 00961-1-562978
E-mail: boell@terra.net.lb
Internet: www.boell-meo.org

Arab Middle East Regional Office

Heinrich Böll Foundation
Tal az-Zaatar St. 6, Ramallah
Palestine
P.O. Box 2018 Ramallah, Palestine Authority
Phone: +972-2-296 1121
Fax: +972-2-296 1122
E-mail: info@boell-ameo.org
Internet: www.boell-ameo.org

North America

North America Regional Office

Heinrich Böll Foundation

Chelsea Gardens

1638 R Street, NW, Suite 120

Washington, DC 20009,USA

Phone: +1-202-462 75 12

Fax: +1-202-462 52 30

E-mail: info@boell.org

Internet: www.boell.org

*Local staff office