



## ANNUAL REPORT

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## PREFACE BY THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

In the past decades, German society has become ethnically, religiously and culturally diverse. Germany has in fact long since become an immigration society; but we are still lagging behind that reality in the public consciousness and in integrating immigrants via the educational system and the labor market. To succeed, a multicultural democracy needs global openness and tolerance, but also common points of reference such as the basic values anchored in our Constitution, our legal system, and a common language as the basis of understanding. Cultural diversity is an enrichment when it is built upon that foundation. However, it must not be confused with a relativism of values. It is within this area of tension that the Heinrich Böll Foundation is active both domestically and abroad. Questions of social and political citizenship, productively dealing with societal diversity, as well as the dialogue with the Muslim community are among the emphases of our work. The examination of cultural and religious diversity is also at the core of our activities abroad. Virtually on a daily basis, we are involved with organizing the “dialogue of cultures” and simultaneously promoting respect for universal human rights. The interplay between our activities domestically and abroad is particularly positive in terms of addressing issues of political culture. This was illustrated most recently by our activities addressing the controversy surrounding the Mohammed caricatures.

Globalization is a process replete with contradictions. It brings forth new things and destroys old traditions. At the same time, a unique dynamic is developing in the worldwide communication between people, institutions and nations. The Heinrich Böll Foundation is participating in the debate on the new global challenges and strives to take steps to promote an ecologically and socially most just world. We are active with events and publications on the topics of agriculture, global gender justice, trade and future development. One example of this is the EcoFair Trade Dialogue, which we introduce in this report.

The Foundation initiated one of the most comprehensive cooperation projects in its history to commemorate the occasion of the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the murder of over 8,000 Bosnian boys and men by Serbian troops in the “UN Protected Zone” of Srebrenica. The photo exhibition “Srebrenica – Remembrance for the Future,” created in cooperation with numerous Bosnian partners, was shown in several European cities and in Washington. The exhibition was accompanied by discussion events and a publication featuring internationally renowned authors such as Václav Havel and Carla del Ponte. Of equally current relevance was our event “The Presence of the Past,” commemorating the occasion of the genocide of the Armenian people during the Ottoman Empire. That also involved the difficult examination of historical injustice, without which the emergence of a democratic and open society is virtually impossible.

Gender equality is a central issue of democracy and justice for the Heinrich Böll Foundation. With an international congress in September, attended by almost 1,000 women (and a few men), the Foundation offered a forum for discussion and controversy, where debate was held on important political issues such as the labor market and globalization, bio- and science policy, peace and security, and the effects of religious and political fundamentalism, all viewed from the gender-political perspective. We were particularly pleased by the attendance of many young women for whom these issues were still unfamiliar.

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 2006

Ralf Fücks

Barbara Unmüßig

## SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND GLOBALIZATION

*The process of globalization is highly contradictory. On the one hand, it creates wealth and a plethora of goods; but at the same time, it causes large-scale impoverishment and inequality. Its ecological consequences are dire as well – they include global warming, loss of biological diversity, scarcity of drinking water reserves, and dramatic losses of fertile land. One of the areas upon which the Heinrich Böll Foundation focuses its activities is the multitude of consequences of globalization processes. As such, the Foundation works throughout the world with organizations and networks that are active in promoting just and sustainable development. It strengthens civil-society initiatives and develops alternative concepts to prevent social division, ecological destruction and cultural “leveling” as a result of globalization processes.*

**Renewable Energies: International Conference and Dialogue with China.** The advancement of China to an economic power of the first order is both fascinating and frightening to Western economists, geostrategists and not least ecologists. Due to its unfettered growth, the country’s energy needs are enormous, and China’s demands on the world’s markets is contributing to a consistently high oil price. It was thus of particular significance that China organized an international conference for renewable energies in Beijing in November 2005. A year and a half following the Bonn energy conference “Renewables 2004,” interim conclusions were to be reached and the distribution of renewable energies was to be further encouraged. The Conference was supported by the German government, the European Commission, and the United Nations. Also active in Beijing was the Heinrich Böll Foundation: it organized a preparatory workshop which was attended by representatives of NGOs from 52 countries. The workshop culminated in a declaration which was distributed and read out at the official conference – which cannot be taken for granted in China. With the declaration, its signatories advocated an end to the subsidies for fossil and nuclear energies and increased investment by multilateral development banks in renewable energies, among other things (for the complete text, go to [www.cures-network.org](http://www.cures-network.org)). Furthermore, with the support of the Heinrich Böll Foundation, WWF China was able to carry out a forum on South-South cooperation as a part of the official conference program. A few days later, the Heinrich Böll Foundation was the co-sponsor of a high-level Chinese-European dialogue on the topic of “China and Europe: Partners in the New Global Energy Economy.” In an unusually open atmosphere, experts from academia, industry, politics and NGOs discussed common perspectives for energy security and climate protection. In fact, energy efficiency and renewable energies offer economic and ecological opportunities for an intensive European-Chinese partnership, as was agreed at the 8<sup>th</sup> EU-China Summit at the beginning of September 2005 in Beijing. The Heinrich Böll Foundation is striving to continue its activities in this regard and to engage in cooperation with institutes and academies in China.

**The Myth of Nuclear Energy – Risks and Perspectives of Nuclear Energy.** Nuclear energy has returned to the agenda as a topic of discussion. Increasing oil prices and galloping climate change are raised as points in its favor. In South Africa, where the Foundation’s office in Johannesburg supports partners in the dispute over the construction of a pebble-bed reactor based on German plans, the public debate is particularly vehement. But expansion of nuclear electricity supply is also being considered in other countries such as Brazil, China, Russia, and the U.S.A. For that reason, the Heinrich Böll Foundation commissioned a number of international experts in the year 2005 to address the extremely controversial topics of reactor safety, fuel cycles, proliferation, economic feasibility and climate protection. The results are

now available in book form titled “Nuclear Power – Myth and Reality.” Translations of excerpts into Portuguese, Polish, Russian, Czech, Ukrainian, Italian, and French are planned.

Information and downloads at [www.boell.de/nuclear](http://www.boell.de/nuclear)

**Increased Energy Efficiency in Chile.** For years, ecological organizations in Chile have been calling for more energy efficiency as well as the use of renewable energies. They can now report initial successes in the form of the Law for Renewable Energies and the “Programa País de Eficiencia Energética” (PPEE). This “Land of Energy Efficiency” program was initiated by the Economics and Energy Ministry, among others with the participation of Chile Sustentable, one of the Heinrich Böll Foundation’s project partners. The great challenge in this is satisfying the energy needs of Chile at a reduced economic, social and ecological cost. Increased energy efficiency is potentially of central significance in this regard. Therefore, Chile Sustentable, the Economics Ministry and other organizations sponsored a two-day seminar on that topic in Santiago de Chile in July 2005, which was supported by the Heinrich Böll Foundation. The primary focus there was on suggestions for energy efficiency in public and private spaces and improved participation of civil society in decisions on energy issues.

Spanish-language information on Chile Sustentable at [www.chilesustentable.net](http://www.chilesustentable.net)

**Nobel Laureate Wangari Maathai Pays a Brief Visit to Berlin.** Wangari Maathai, Kenyan Vice Environment Minister and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, came to Berlin at the end of May 2005 for a short visit upon the invitation of the Heinrich Böll Foundation. A partner of the Foundation for many years and holder of the Petra Kelly Prize, she met with then-Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer and other leading Green politicians. Also on her program were a discussion with students from a Berlin secondary school and a meeting with non-governmental organizations including Transfair and Oxfam. At the beginning of her visit, Wangari Maathai called for a stronger financial commitment from the industrialized countries in implementing the UN millennium goals to cut worldwide poverty in half. The governments of the developing countries, for their part, need to define developmental goal against poverty, undertake a massive fight against corruption, build up functioning public structures, respect human rights, and anchor principles of the rule of law, said Ms. Maathai. She said that the worldwide struggle against poverty and global environmental and resource protection are the most effective strategies to prevent crises and conflicts.

With her organization the Green Belt Movement, Wangari Maathai has been working to preserve the forests in Kenya and eastern Africa since the early 1970s. In the year 2004, the environmental activist was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for her commitment “to sustainable development, democracy and peace.”

**Human Rights Violations in Amazonia – The Murder of Dorothy Stang.** At the beginning of 2005, violence in Amazonia made international headlines. Paid killers murdered Dorothy Stang, a nun of U.S. origin who had lived in Brazil for more than 30 years. Her life’s work was supporting the small-scale farmers in the region of Rio Xingu. In the 1970s, the military government attempted to establish a massive migration project: the Transamazonica. Poor small-scale farmers from other regions of Brazil received land there and were to become a part of a large-scale “upgrading” of Amazonia. The plans soon failed due to the difficult conditions. But the farmers stayed. And they founded one of the most important social alliances in Amazonia: the “Movement for Survival in Transamazonica.” The “survivors”

learned that only sustainable agriculture in the region enabled their adaptation to the ecosystem of the rainforest. Dorothy Stang worked for the sustainable development of the region as well. At the time she was murdered, she was working in a national program that envisioned the settlement of 600 families who were planning to engage in organic farming. Meanwhile, initiatives for sustainable use are being supported by international cooperation projects and national programs as well. The murder of Dorothy Stang shines a spotlight on the conditions with which reformers are confronted in their struggle to gain ground in Amazonia. On the one hand, there has definitely been noteworthy progress in national environmental policy; but on the other, the local and regional power structures remain. In many parts of Amazonia, a formal state under the rule of law exists, but there is no state power monopoly which could guarantee it. Quite the contrary: the de facto power monopoly lies with the major landowners and dubious characters who earn their keep primarily with land speculation, deforestation and the drug trade.

What influence can the Heinrich Böll Foundation have in the face of such a situation? In the year 2005, we supported our partner “Rede Social” in legally monitoring the trial of the murderers of Dorothy Stang and those who hired them. Indeed, partial success was achieved in December 2005: the two confessed murderers were convicted and sentenced to long prison terms. But the legal dispute over the conviction of those who hired them goes on.

The Heinrich Böll Foundation also provided support to the development of a report on the state of human rights in the state of Pará by Justiça Global, one of the Foundation’s project partners. The report paints a comprehensive picture of the human rights violations there and was widely reported in the press in Brazil.

The fight against the deforestation of Amazonia is always directly connected with the struggle for human rights. But it is not individual courageous environmental protectionists who will save the rainforest, but rather a wide-ranging coalition of individuals who are committed to sustainable development. But initiatives and movements need to have rights in order to be able to take effective action. As such, the Heinrich Böll Foundation provides support to a broad civil-society alliance which has banded together under the motto “There are Rights in the Forest.”

**Reconstruction Aid for the Victims of the Tsunami Disaster.** The Tsunami in Southeast Asia on 26 December 2004 claimed tens of thousands of human lives; entire villages along the coastlines were washed away. The tidal wave also destroyed the livelihoods of some many-year partners of the Heinrich Böll Foundation in Thailand. The Foundation reacted without delay: funding was reallocated for immediate first aid. It flowed into making local infrastructure in the fishery industry operable; new boats and other equipment to re-establish livelihoods were financed with the funds. Emergency aid was also provided to Burmese guest workers, who were working illegally in the affected provinces and thus had no rights. They received support in bringing families together and in dealing emotionally with the trauma. Also, the Foundation’s Southeast Asia office introduced a monitoring program with Tsunami Aid Watch (TAW), which will observe the continued development of the Tsunami reconstruction until at least December 2007.

On the occasion of the anniversary of the Tsunami disaster in December 2005, a commission sent by the Heinrich Böll Foundation, medico international and Brot für die Welt submitted its report on the use and effects of international aid in Sri Lanka. Their conclusion was critical: in the course of reconstruction, many of the victims are marginalized or dismissed with “alms.” Major international aid organizations dominate the process to the detriment of local organizations; and not least, unequal treatment between Tamils, Singhalese and Muslims further exacerbate the conflict and give rise to fears of renewed armed conflicts. The complete report of the Fact-Finding Mission may be downloaded at [www.boell.de](http://www.boell.de).

**Training of Journalists in Environmental Matters.** Examining environmental issues is not particularly prevalent to Palestinian media. While a leading newspaper has been offering a regular weekend supplement on environmental issues for some time, the issue still does not play a major role in the editorial offices. If reports are published at all, then these are often written by experts or activists from the environmental protection movement. For the most part, the texts are not very creative and reader-friendly. In order to improve the quality of reporting on the environment, the MAAN Development Center, an environmental organization in Ramallah and one of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's project partners, developed an advanced training course for journalists in the year 2005. The program included improving skills of expression, introduction to research techniques, and training in problem areas with environmental relevance. The advanced training project, supported by the Foundation office in Ramallah, has had some effect: their examination of the urgent environmental problems of Palestine has motivated the journalists to engage in further activities. They are now planning to produce radio advertisements, design posters, create educational materials, and visit schools to sensitize students to environmental issues.

**WTO Minister's Conference in Hong Kong.** The WTO Ministers' Conference in December 2005 in Hong Kong ended without a decisive breakthrough. But a long overdue partial success was achieved at the last minute: the agrarian export subsidies of the industrialized countries, which are particularly harmful to the developing countries, are to expire by 2013 and be partially reduced as early as 2010. It is of political significance that in Hong Kong, the developing countries did not allow themselves to be divided.

As at the previous WTO Ministers' Conference in Cancun, the Heinrich Böll Foundation presented itself in Hong Kong with its own Forum and several "dinner debates."

Representatives from politics, academia and civil society met there to discuss issues such as agriculture and world trade, as well as the effects of Chinese textile exports on Mexico.

The debate over special and preferred treatment for developing countries – meaning the suspension of certain trade regulations – is one of the "hot topics" which is rattling the core of the WTO. Due to their history, the developing countries insist on this special regulation to protect their own economy. This is countered by the strategy of the U.S.A. and the EU to allow special and preferred treatment in the agrarian area only if and when, in turn, the markets of the developing countries are opened up to industrial goods. In addition to disseminating information and presenting questions, arguments and negotiating positions, the Foundation also offered a Blog diary with daily new impressions surrounding Hong Kong conference life. It is available for reading at the new globalization Web site

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

**The Heinrich Böll Foundation's "EcoFair Trade Dialogue".** Although the neoliberal trade agenda of the WTO meets with rejection within many groups, there has thus far been no common concept as to what the future of world agrarian trade might look like. As such, in 2005 the Heinrich Böll Foundation, in cooperation with Misereor, initiated an "EcoFair Trade Dialogue," conceived for two years and moderated by the Wuppertal Institute for Climate, Environment, Energy. This international expert dialogue strives to spur on the discussion about "correct" world agrarian trade. The result is to be an internally consistent concept for reform which takes up the social and ecological challenges faced by agriculture of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The project strives to allocate political instruments to the demands, in order to influence policymaking processes in world agrarian trade in a mid- and long-term manner. In regular meetings, the 12 international members of the expert panel will formulate research

questions and develop proposals for reform. Finally, the presentation of the reform proposals is planned for the beginning of 2007 in Berlin.

**“McPlanet.com” – Consumption. Globalization. Environment.** Less power for companies – more power for consumers! With that call to action, “McPlanet.com” came to an end in Hamburg. This was the joint congress of Attac, BUND and Greenpeace in cooperation with the Heinrich Böll Foundation and the Wuppertal Institute for Climate, Environment, Energy. From 3-5 July 2005, 150 mostly younger people discussed in seven panels and approximately 80 forums, workshops and Philosophical Salons about consumerism between freedom and temptation, as well as the limits of global trade. During the Late-Night Talk at the crowded main auditorium of the University of Hamburg, one of the topics was “What if all Chinese ... Justice on a Limited Planet.” Sara Larrain (Chile), active on the executive board of the International Forum on Globalisation and a project partner of the Heinrich Böll Foundation for many years, sees China primarily as a buyer of raw materials. Whether wood, soy or ore – according to her, exports from Latin American to China, for example, have risen by 163 % between the years 2001 and 2004. She says that the gathering of raw material has serious consequences for the population in its regions of origin. Wolfgang Sachs from the Wuppertal Institute had harsh words for the Chinese economy, which he characterized as imperialistic. While he made clear that the current destruction of the biosphere was an “aftereffect of European colonialism,” he still declined to view the countries of the South exclusively as victims. Ailun Yang from Greenpeace China viewed her country with a critical eye as well, but emphasized that the very existence of her organization showed that there was another China as well. Yang gave primary responsibility for the economic development to the West. She said that the “What if...” question must be posed on the demand side as well, not only on the producers’ side. For good measure, the counter-question was raised as well: “What if all Europeans would live differently, using less resources than before?” In the end, the declared goal of the event was to take action together with the Chinese, whether this be in promoting renewable energies, educational programs, or even the organization of the Olympic Games as a “critical and Green Olympics.”

**Global Corporate Social Responsibility.** To commemorate the five-year anniversary of the existence of “Global Compact,” the Heinrich Böll Foundation cooperated with Oxfam in sponsoring a discussion on the issue of the social and ecological responsibility of corporations. Renate Künast, who at that time was German Federal Minister of Consumer Protection, called for the World Trade Organization to consider environmental, social and health standards as “hard” criteria. She said that this was the only way for the notion of Corporate Social Responsibility to penetrate into the core operations of enterprises. She also said that consumers needed to show more responsibility in making their purchasing decisions. In a one-day workshop at the end of June, the Heinrich Böll Foundation joined with the German Trade Union Association (DGB) and the Berlin office of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in evaluating experiences with the relevant OECD guidelines. The focal point of both events was the question of how the conduct of international corporations may be controlled with respect to their application of social and environmental standards. While the UN’s Global Compact offers an instrument for voluntary commitment and exchange of experiences, the OECD guidelines are equipped with a sanctioning mechanism; however, it is rarely used. In discussing the chances and limits of the existing instruments, it became clear that although there are positive approaches, these are not yet sufficient to impose effective controls.



Global Compact is an initiative by UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, in which international corporations make a commitment to comply with social and environmental standards in their worldwide production chains.

## ART, CULTURE AND GLOBALIZATION

*Promoting the creation and dissemination of literary and other artistic works – this is another of the elementary portions of the Heinrich Böll Foundation’s work to promote public awareness. The Foundation also centers its activities on the cultural effects of globalization: Is the globalization process destroying cultural diversity, or is it rather bringing forth new cultural identities and integrated forms with beneficial effects in terms of making progress in the implementation of democracy and human rights?*

**“Identity vs. Globalization?” – International Cultural Conference.** With the international conference “Identity vs. Globalization?” held on 20-22 January in Berlin, the Heinrich Böll Foundation sponsored a major event in cultural policy to follow the exhibition of the same name, which was shown in Berlin from 22 October 2004 through 30 January 2005. The exhibition included works from artists from 10 Southeast Asian countries, and was seen by over 17,000 visitors. This was a major success for the Foundation, which for the first time served as curator of an art exhibition. The concluding conference made it clear that simplistic categorizations cannot explain the complex contexts of economics, politics, religion and everyday life. Culture, tradition and religion are too often interpreted as static and unchangeable. However, every culture is dynamic to a greater or lesser degree, and adapts to changed conditions. Various traditions, styles and aesthetics transform and blend anew to new forms. The “hybridization” is not a new phenomenon; without it, the development of culture would be inconceivable.

**German-Israeli Literature Days in March 2005.** “The past does not ignore you” – with that insight, Israeli writer Amos Oz provided the motto for the German-Israeli Literature Days in Berlin. In March 2005 following the Leipzig Book Fair, the Heinrich Böll Foundation and the Forum Goethe Institute invited Israeli and German writers to an encounter in Berlin. Forty years following assumption of diplomatic relations between Germany and Israel, the authors attempted an assessment of German-Israeli relations. But the literary works of the second and third generations address the Shoah as well. Katharina Hacker, who tells the story of a persecuted Jew in her book *Eine Art Liebe (A Kind of Love)*, advocated her attempt at a type of empathy as a means of approaching the Shoah. She said that the story had been told to her in Jerusalem by a lawyer living there. “I am giving you this story as a gift – you write it down!” he said. In this way, memory can stay alive as a piece of art after the generation of survivors has passed away.

Literature is the seismograph and the mirror which reflects relationships, emphasized Ralf Fücks, a member of the executive board of the Heinrich Böll Foundation. He said that in the face of the historicization of the extermination of the Jews by the Nazis, but also the growing criticism of Israel occupation policies, we must continue to promote these types of exchanges.

**Heinrich Böll and China – Exhibition and Symposium in Shanghai.** On the occasion of the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the death of Heinrich Böll, an exhibition on his life and works as well as a three-day symposium took place in Shanghai in November 2005. Especially following the Cultural Revolution, Heinrich Böll’s works were widely translated and read, because the “Rubble Literature” of the post-war era in Germany provided many associational opportunities with the “Scar Literature” widespread in China after the Cultural Revolution. Among other things, the Symposium addressed the question of in what ways Heinrich Böll’s works and particularly his socially critical attitudes are of significance for current Chinese

society. Heinrich Böll's "Frankfurter Vorlesungen" (1964), for example, are important programmatic texts in which he developed his "aesthetic of the humane." With these attitudes, Heinrich Böll was active throughout his life for social movements against war, for dialogue between the North and the South, for women, and for the ecology movement. Particularly from the aspect of globalization, these topics continue to be of current relevance. Because today's Chinese society views culture as a commercial product and tends to neglect the examination of social problems in this context, this event in Shanghai was successful in enabling new points of view to emerge.

## NEW WORLD ORDER, SECURITY POLICY AND CRISIS PREVENTION

*With the end of the bloc confrontation, the foreign and security policy agenda has changed completely. New concepts for worldwide risk prevention, crisis intervention and economic governance are increasingly replacing the traditional parameters of deterrence and containment. The attacks of September 11, 2001 have further accelerated this development. In that context, the question of the future of international law continues to play an important role: this is a topic which the Heinrich Böll Foundation continued to address in the year 2005.*

**UN Reform and International Law.** The future of international law and UN reform have been areas of focus for the Heinrich Böll Foundation since mid-2003. For example, the Foundation commissioned a Memorandum on International Law, which describes a global order in which freedom, security and stability mutually support one another and in which newly-emerging conflicts may be managed without again leading to a global confrontation. One of the Foundation's central projects is the Web dossier "International Law" ([www.boell.de/voelkerrecht](http://www.boell.de/voelkerrecht)), which has also been available in English since the end of 2005 ([www.boell.de/un](http://www.boell.de/un)). With this, the international and regional discussion processes thus far, the official UN reports and studies commissioned by the Heinrich Böll Foundation have been made available to a broad international public. In this way, the Foundation strives to strengthen democratic structures on the regional level and promote the participation of civil-society actors in the UN reform process.

*The Role of International Law in a Globalized World  
Security Policy Challenges for the International Order at the  
Outset of the 21st Century*

By Dr. Birgit Laubach, Prof. Dr. Ulrich K. Preuss, Joscha Schmierer and Prof. Dr. Peter-Tobias Stoll  
Published by the Heinrich Böll Foundation

**"Srebrenica – Remembrance for the Future" – A Photo Exhibition.** In July 1995, Serbian troops murdered around 8,000 Bosnia boys and men in the UN Protected Zone of Srebrenica. Many women were raped, and 15,000 people were forcibly deported. Srebrenica stands for the darkest chapter of European history following World War II, and the bitter failure of the Europeans and the international community of nations. With the photo exhibition "Srebrenica – Remembrance for the Future" to mark the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the massacre, the Heinrich Böll Foundation carried through one of its most ambitious and comprehensive cooperation projects. The exhibition has meanwhile been shown in several European cities, including Sarajevo and Belgrade, as well as in Washington, and has met with a great deal of public response. In Belgrade alone, about 400 people attended the exhibition opening, which was organized by an alliance of the most important human rights groups in Serbia. The exhibition was accompanied by podium discussions, seminars and a book of the same name, which has been published in English, French, German, Bosnia, Croatian and Serbian. In it, authors from 11 countries reflect on the events of that time and the lessons for current politics. While the accompanying events in Berlin, Brussels and Washington portrayed the events of Srebrenica primarily from the perspective of international policy, the events in Sarajevo and Belgrade focused on the issue of societal responsibility and the importance of addressing war and genocide for the democratic transformation to the rule of law in the post-war societies of Southeast Europe.

**(Srebrenica – Remembrance for the Future.**

With articles by Vaclav Havel, Madeleine Albright, Marieluise Beck, Chris Keulemans, Slavenka Draculic, Susan Sontag and others. Edited by the Heinrich Böll Foundation. Sarajevo 2005, 182 pp.)

**Crimes against Humanity – Causes, Manifestations and Prevention.** Another event that addressed the topic of genocide was an international conference sponsored by the Heinrich Böll Foundation, held at the Berlin City Assembly from 3 - 5 November 2005. Sixty years following the end of World War II, genocide and violent conflicts for national, ethnic, racial or religious reasons continue to be a part of current politics. The global public watches, whether it be Rwanda, Bosnia or the destruction of Grozny by the Russian Army. The conference, held in cooperation with the Peter Weiss Foundation and the European Network of Genocide Scholars, attempted to link research into causes, legal consequences and the question of instruments and methods of prevention. The conference brought together the world's two leading researchers into this issue: Zygmunt Bauman, professor emeritus of sociology in London, and Henry Huttenbach, professor of history from New York. The agenda for discussion included issues of ideological backgrounds and the role of models to explain the world that devolve into ideologies of extermination, as well as the issue of national and collective storytelling. A new stream of genocide studies is emerging; these inquire, for example, about intercultural and supranational standards of legal review.

**Book Presentation with Joschka Fischer: Report on the State of the World 2005.** For almost 20 years now, the State of the World Reports by the renowned Worldwatch Institute have been pioneers in promoting the debate on sustainable development. Since 2003, the German edition of the Worldwatch Institute Report has been published in cooperation with the Heinrich Böll Foundation and Germanwatch. Joschka Fischer, Foreign Minister of the SPD-Green German federal government, introduced the book on 27 April 2005 at the Foreign Office in Berlin. The Report criticizes the prevailing term of security, restricted to the military, which has emerged following Sept. 11, 2001. It places the threat of terrorist attacks in the context of other threats to global security: climate change, population explosion, the arms trade and destruction of the environment. The Report also describes new mechanisms of cooperation for an extended global security system.

In his speech, Fischer said that in the age of globalization, democracy, human rights and ecology have long since not been “soft issues” any more. Because the population is growing, he said (but not the Earth's natural resources), the nations are condemned to cooperation. “Security must not be defined exclusively as the security of the rich world, and must not be defined primarily in military terms,” said Ralf Fücks, executive board member of the Heinrich Böll Foundation. He continued that forward-looking security policy must address the issues of education and work for billions of young people in the “Third World,” take up the fight against hunger and epidemics, and do everything to limit climate change. “A forward-looking security policy must also show consistent commitment to human rights and democracy. The fight against poverty, protection of the environment, democracy – these are the three keys to a forward-looking security policy,” emphasized Fücks in presenting the Report.

In the evening, the Heinrich Böll Foundation cooperated with Germanwatch in organizing, as part of the “Nachhalten” (*Sustain*) series, a podium discussion titled “Mars, Venus ... and Earth – A Transatlantic Dialogue on the Report on the State of the World 2005” – among others, with Christopher Flavin, President of the Worldwatch Institute, Washington, and Angelika Beer, Member of the European Parliament for Alliance 90/The Greens. Finally, at the end of June the co-author of the Report, Michael Renner, embarked on a tour throughout Germany with the book. He presented it to the public in cooperation with the State-level foundations of the Heinrich Böll Foundation.

**From Gaza to Nowhere – A Conference.** A great deal of interest was generated by the international conference “From Gaza to Nowhere” in October 2005 in Berlin, in which the Heinrich Böll Foundation addressed the question of the perspectives of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process.

The analysis of the domestic political developments showed that acceptance of unilateral policies has increased in Israel, particularly because alternative political concepts are not a subject of debate since the political left-wing is deeply divided regarding the question of how to proceed. The settlers’ movement, a major hindrance in the peace process, has tended to gain rather than lose sympathies due to the retreat. On the Palestinian side, the pullout is not associated with much hope, especially because other Israeli settlements are being expanded. On the other hand, there is no end in sight to the corruption and mismanagement in the Palestinian areas. Nobody at the conference was able to assess with any certainty what direction domestic and foreign policy will take in the future. In any case, concluded the participants, with respect to Israel, Hamas has played a not insignificant role in exacerbating the conflict, both with its rhetoric and with its actions.

Meanwhile, the “Geneva Initiative” and its detailed plans for management of the conflict still give cause for hope. It is considered to be one of the most promising civil-society Israeli-Palestinian projects; however, its significance and support have again decreased in both societies. But the substantive importance of the Geneva Initiative in future negotiations and peace regulations continues to exist, and it is thus important to continue the activities and to provide international support from the outside.

The conclusions drawn from the conference were not very optimistic in terms of the examination of the past and the future development of the Middle East conflict. Hope remains, however, for positive developments and for the revival and expansion of international initiatives to resolve the conflict and stabilize the entire region.

**Women as Conflict Mediators – The International Women Commission (IWC).** The Brussels Regional Office of the Heinrich Böll Foundation has been providing support since 2002 to Israeli and Palestinian women in their endeavors to lay to rest the conflict in the Middle East. The primary goal is to convince decision-makers that women must be included within the peace process. In the past three years, various delegations have come together in Brussels with high-ranking EU officials; among others, with Romano Prodi, then-President of the European Commission. A great leap was then successfully taken in July 2005: the International Women Commission (IWC) was founded – initiated and coordinated by the Brussels Regional Office and with financial support from the government of Belgium. The UN Security Council had previously received a group of women who reported on the situation of women and their peace activities. They called upon the Security Council to make available instruments with which women could contribute to the peace process. At the request of the Brussels office, Naoleen Heyzer, Director General of UNIFEM, accepted the initiative and issued an invitation to Istanbul in July 2005 for the founding of IWC. During two work-intensive days, the participants agreed upon a basic Charter and founded the IWC. The Commission was introduced in Israel and Palestine in September 2005, and in Brussels in November 2005.

**Election Legislation in Palestine.** Palestine needed a new election law for the planned 2005 election of a new parliament. Muwatin, the Palestinian Institute for Democracy Studies, has been carrying out comparative studies on different election law systems for several years with the support of the Heinrich Böll Foundation office in Ramallah. Draft legislation finally emerged following many discussions and workshops with representatives from politics,

academia and civil society: it provides for a combination of proportional representation and majority election law. Because the elections were scheduled to be held in the summer, the debate became more heated in the first half of the year, following several months of discussions in parliament and its committees. The Foundation office in Ramallah was asked for its support by parliamentarians: they said that especially lacking was an understanding of the mode of functioning and political implications associated with proportional representation, as well as legislative experience. Upon invitation of the office, a German state-level election officer traveled to Palestine in order to implement workshops for various target groups in Ramallah and Jerusalem to inform them about the German experiences with a mixed election system. It quickly became clear that an election system not only represents a counting system for votes, but also influences the political (party) landscape and culture in many ways. As expected, however, the parliamentarians showed less interest in democracy theory and more in the question of which system would best enhance their chances for re-election. Another subject of intensive discussion was the connection between proportional representation, which requires the compilation of a list, and the demands of an intra-party democracy. Since the latter takes some getting used to in a country where, for example, Yassir Arafat alone decided who was allowed to campaign as a representative of his Fatah party, the introduction of proportional representation proved to be a political tinderbox. The result of the debate was a classic compromise: half of the parliament was to be elected by way of a proportional voting right, and the other half via majority vote – and as a precautionary measure, parliamentary elections were delayed. They took place in January 2006.

**Iran after the Elections – Back to the Future?** Teheran mayor Mahmud Ahmadinejad was elected as president of Iran in July 2005 with a large majority. The conservative, religious hardliner, not well-known internationally, had made a name for himself as an advocate and promoter of marginalized population groups, and found a broad measure of support with his program primarily among those groups. The elections ended in disaster for the reform movement: their candidate Mostafa Moin came in one of the last places. The period of reform, which has now ended once and for all, did provide civil society with opportunities for development, but it did not lead to a democratization of political power relationships or to a significant improvement in the living conditions of the population. Quite the contrary: Iranian society is divided into a small, modern-thinking, socially and economically ambitious middle class, and the masses affected by increasing unemployment and poverty.

Directly following the elections in Iran, the Heinrich Böll Foundation, as part of its “International Policy Debates” series, put on a podium discussion about the political and social dynamics and the perspectives of future development in Iran. Podium guests Farah Karimi, Green parliamentarian in the Dutch Parliament, publicist Bahman Nirumad, and journalist Rudolf Chimelli expressed little doubt that the policies of Ahmadinejad will concentrate primarily on economic reform and redistribution, as well as a conservative-religious transformation in terms of societal development. Furthermore, concluded the panelists, he will continue not to shy away from using foreign policy conflicts, such as the controversial nuclear program, for domestic rhetoric and propaganda. There was agreement that negotiations and talks with the international community, particularly the U.S.A. and the EU, will likely become more difficult in the future.

**On the Path Toward a Civil-Society Dialogue in Southern Asia – The “Delhi-Lahore Talks”.** Southern Asia remains one of the most unsafe and conflict-ridden regions of the world. In addition to the Tamil conflict in Sri Lanka, which seems unending, the growing fundamentalism in Bangladesh and the sub-national conflicts in India, it is primarily Pakistan and Afghanistan which have become the epitome of “torn nations” and threatening

government collapse. Also, the Indian-Pakistani conflict over the crisis region of Kashmir has meanwhile been raging for more than half a century and is evidence of the simmering political and cultural contrasts in the region. With this new area of emphasis, the Heinrich Böll Foundation's Pakistan/Afghanistan country office strives to meet the challenges involved in promoting peace and security in the region. A Roundtable in August 2005 in Lahore kicked off a series of events and initiatives; there, peace activists and scholars from Pakistan, Afghanistan and India sought the path toward a societal dialogue for peace and security. One focus of the lectures and discussions was the role of women, young people and the media in the conflicts, the historical roots of the tensions, and the dangerous consequences of religious fundamentalism. In that way, the Roundtable offered the basis for identifying the most important approaches, which are to be continued in the so-called "Delhi-Lahore Talks."

**Afghanistan as an Example of State-Building and Promotion of Democracy in Fragile States.** In Afghanistan, the Heinrich Böll Foundation works primarily on promoting democracy in the "traditional" societies of the Pashtun provinces in the southeast of the country. In these areas, power is in the hands of the tribal leaders rather than of the central government in Kabul. The Tribal Liaison Office Project, supported by the Heinrich Böll Foundation, attempts to integrate tribal leaders willing to engage in dialogue into the democratic reconstruction process in Afghanistan and to open their respective tribal areas to reform. With this project, the Foundation is treading new ground in a highly volatile area in terms of regional policy as well. As such, continual conceptual and self-critical monitoring of the project is necessary. Since the beginning of 2005, this framework has been provided by the Foundation-internal "state-building and promotion of democracy in fragile states" project group. In contrast, already successfully established are the expert talks on democracy development in Afghanistan, which took place for the fifth time in the top-floor gallery of the Heinrich Böll Foundation in 2005. The topic of this year's talks was the question of including traditional structures in Afghanistan's democratization process. Is this an innovative way to promote democracy, or a weakening of government institutions? And is it possible and permissible for a Foundation which in many places promotes a pluralistic party system, the participation of women, independent media and civil-society initiatives, to work – in Afghanistan of all places – with tribal structures that are patriarchal, traditional and have conservative values? Does it not, by virtue of the accompanying enhanced image of the tribal leaders, specifically strengthen their patriarchy and further undermine the development of the structural rebuilding that is necessary for Afghanistan? Despite this ambivalence, the TLO Project was evaluated positively as a whole, and the Foundation was encouraged to continue it. As such, the Foundation will provide support to the TLO Project in the coming years, thus gathering important experience in cooperating with traditional and religious leaders in fragile states.

**Kenya Seeking a New Constitution.** The 40-year rule authoritarian government term of the party "Kenyan African National Union" (KANU) ended in December 2002 with its election defeat. The winners of the election were the opposition parties, allied under the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC). NARC came to power with an ambitious reform program, whose promises included economic and social reforms, a state respecting the rule of law, fighting against corruption, and above all a rapid conclusion to the constitutional reform process. However, this has thus far not been completed. With the change in government, the future role of civil society needed to be redefined as well. Many members of the new government had previously belonged to it. The challenge for Kenyan civil society now involved overcoming its biases in favor of some fellow strugglers in



the opposition, and conscientiously taking on their role as a political corrective force for government leadership. A study by the Heinrich Böll Foundation recommended the creation of a Think Tank for political observation and the development of new ideas. The result was the establishment of Sayari (Swahili for “planet”), an initiative supported by the Heinrich Böll Foundation which addresses social, political and economic problem areas and develops alternative approaches to solutions. One particularly urgent issue is the rapid conclusion of the process of constitutional reform. In the year 2005, Sayari was involved in drafting a proposed constitution with expert analyses, roundtables and public forums, in which all demands of civil society were included. With the support of the Foundation, women’s organizations such as FIDA Kenya and the Women Political Alliance of Kenya (WPAK) were able to participate in the constitutional debate as well. However, the draft constitution was rejected by referendum in November 2005, one reason being because of the controversial comprehensive powers to be accorded to the President. The movement to reject the draft was headed by the Orange Democratic Movement, an alliance between the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), progressive KANU members and members of civil society. The LDP, the most important party within the government coalition, was thereupon forced to leave the coalition, which in practical terms brought an end to the coalition government. Given the political polarization following the referendum and the necessity of reviving the constitutional reform process, Sayari has mobilized a group of independent actors to work up new proposals.

## EUROPEAN NEIGHBOR POLICY

*Another of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's areas of focus is European integration and the constitutional debate. With its public awareness activities, the Foundation strives to create an informed public that actively intervenes in the discussion on the future of Europe. In that endeavor, it cooperates with non-governmental organizations and political actors, with experts from Think Tanks, universities and Green networks. Particularly the Foundation office in Brussels monitors the work of the European institutions and offers its own events as well.*

**Annual Foreign Policy Conference of the Heinrich Böll Foundation.** The EU's new neighbor strategy was the topic of this meanwhile sixth Annual Foreign Policy Conference of the Heinrich Böll Foundation, which was held from 2-3 June 2005 in Berlin. Based upon a series of questions, representatives from scholarship and politics attempted to identify the European instruments of political and financial cooperation. Topics included possible alternatives to full membership in the EU: i.e., accession to the internal market or to the economic and currency union; or participation in the common foreign and security policy. Also discussed was the question of what could be the possible criteria for a differentiated neighbor policy. Who can hope for full membership, and who cannot? How the EU deals with authoritarian and corrupt regimes in the neighborhood was an issue as well. In terms of the EU's common foreign and security policy (CFSP), the question is posed of whether the existing regional and transatlantic security arrangements are adequate and to what extent the security instruments of CFSP must be further developed. Both the neighbors in the South and the East are among the most important energy exporters to the EU. A strategic energy partnership as a core element of the EU's neighbor policy must, in addition to securing supply, also address concerns of protection of the environment, nature and climate. With this event, the Heinrich Böll Foundation proceeded from the point of its second Annual Foreign Policy Conference in the year 2000, which dealt with the "Borders of Europe," as well as of the "Beyond Iraq" Conference which in May 2004 discussed reform proposals for the transformation of the Near and Middle East – including the EU's neighbors in the Mediterranean region.

**Ukraine Following the Orange Revolution.** Shortly following the so-called "Orange Revolution," the Heinrich Böll Foundation in cooperation with the German Marshall Fund of the United States, organized an event in Kiev on the European perspectives of Ukraine. In an informal framework, discussions were held between representatives of the EU, NATO, Western Think Tanks and foundations and the democratic political forces in Ukraine about the potential shape of the middle-term European perspectives of Ukraine, and which steps would be necessary for this in the short term. There was agreement that after the Orange Revolution, Ukraine would orient itself more strongly to the West, and that the instruments of European neighbor policy can be only one initial offer for Ukraine's integration within Euro-Atlantic structures. There was also consensus that the domestic reforms of Ukraine under the new democratic government must have priority, and that the country's "EU-worthiness" will be measured against the success in that area.

This and a previous event from the year 2004 are documented in the book *Ukraine after the Orange Revolution*. The book may be downloaded free of charge at [www.boell.de/de/05\\_world/3391.html](http://www.boell.de/de/05_world/3391.html).

**International Conference: Russia and Europe – Russia in Europe?** The dissolution of the Soviet empire and the enlargement of the EU have radically changed the political map of Europe. Today, political Europe consists almost exclusively of the EU, a few additional countries who have declared their desire to become EU members, and then Russia, where the extent to which it sees itself as a European power is unclear. How can this relationship be shaped peacefully in a long-term manner? Is the key for this a partnership in a “common European house,” or a tension-laden reprise of “peaceful coexistence”?

At an international conference sponsored by the Heinrich Böll Foundation in Berlin on 11-12 May 2005, experts from Germany, Poland, Ukraine, Russia, the USA and Georgia analyzed the relationship of Russia to the West and the EU. According to the analysis, the relationship varies between cooperation on many political questions, and dissent, some of it subtle and some of it bitter, when it comes to values important to European politics such as democracy, human rights and freedom. The brutal Russian actions in Chechnya do encounter criticism in Europe, but this is of no consequence for political relations. The experts also pointed out that discomfort about the restriction of basic civil liberties in Russia is growing as well. The state-produced downfall of the Jukos Company and the trial against Mikhail Khodorkovsky are fomenting irritation about the lack of legal certainty and the economic role of state actors in Russia. On the other side, in Russia the “normative empire” of the EU, with its activism for democratic development in Ukraine, is perceived by large portions of the political elite as a threat to their own interests. It is thus difficult, concluded the participants, to bring the contradictory developments in Russia down to a common denominator: are we dealing with the most laborious way toward democracy and a market economy under difficult conditions, or are we the witnesses of an authoritarian turn backward? The discussion initiated at the Conference will be continued in the year 2006 with events in Warsaw and Moscow.

**The Presence of the Past – The 90<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Expulsion and Extermination of the Armenians.** History is a political issue: policies are made with history, and the interpretation of history has far-reaching significance for a society’s political self-understanding. In terms of conflicts over political history, nowhere is this more the case today than with the debate over the expulsion and extermination of a large majority of the Armenian population in the Ottoman Empire in the shadow of World War I. The Heinrich Böll Foundation took the 90<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the expulsion of the Armenians as an occasion to hold discussions with representatives from scholarship and politics about the Armenian tragedy and its current political significance. One of the issues raised at the meeting was that of historical examination. The willingness within Turkish society to critically examine this chapter of history is increasing; but at the same time, Turkey, as the legal successor to the Ottoman Empire, has refused to appropriately deal with the issue to this day. Those who break the official rules of language must expect a prosecution for denigrating the Republic. But, the discussion continued, there is reason in Germany as well to face such an examination. More recent publications have reported that the deportation and extermination of the Armenians took place under the eyes of German officers, that the political and military leadership of the German Reich was informed from the outset about the persecution of Armenians and covered it up for reasons of political calculation. Since the beginning of negotiations on Turkey’s EU accession, the debate has taken on a new present-day relevance. With the conference, the Heinrich Böll Foundation endeavored to make a small contribution toward the reconciliation of the peoples in a common Europe, aware that the path to that goal involves the critical examination of the history that still divides those peoples.

**The Development of Rural Areas in Turkey.** Against the background of the perspectives of Turkey for accession to the EU, the Heinrich Böll Foundation's Turkey office organized the Conference titled "Turkey – EU – Agricultural Policy" in Istanbul in November 2005. Strong interest exists in this topic, as evidenced by the attendance of approximately 200 experts from the areas of academia, politics, administration and civil-society organizations, as well as by the intensity of the debate. It became clear during the conference, with a view toward the experiences in Poland, that an agrarian reform requires a well-organized and informed civil society in order to take into account the concerns of the population. Also, European aid instruments may be used only if local initiatives with independent projects emerge as a result. The participants repeatedly emphasized that Turkey must develop its own ideas about the future of a coherent agricultural policy and also demand this from the EU. For some, this is also associated with the hope that Turkey might possibly even take on a locomotive function with regard to pushing through a sensible European agricultural policy, based upon a concept for rural development. The mutual exchange of information and approaches is indispensable for this, and the Istanbul office hopes to continue to create a forum for it.

## FEMINISM AND GENDER DEMOCRACY

*The equal participation of women in politics and society are central goals of the Heinrich Böll Foundation. It supports women's networks and organizations throughout the world via its international offices. Furthermore, it consults with organizations and institutions in the implementation of gender mainstreaming and gender democracy. Gender democracy has been one of the core themes of the Heinrich Böll Foundation for many years – the gender perspective is taken into account in all phases of planning for projects and programs.*

**Femme Globale – Gender Perspectives in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.** Global gender justice – is this a purely utopian idea? Over a decade ago, the UN Women's Conference in Beijing presented a comprehensive catalogue for action for international women's rights. The platform in Beijing was considered a milestone in the history of the women's movement. But after 10 years, the assessment is anything but satisfactory. Political-religious fundamentalism and setbacks in women's rights even give rise to fears of a backlash. In September 2005, the Heinrich Böll Foundation took the anniversary of Beijing as an occasion to sponsor an international congress in cooperation with the Center for Transdisciplinary Gender Studies of the Humboldt University in Berlin, titled "Femme Globale – Gender Perspectives in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century." It provided a forum for the discussion of current feminist issues and challenges. A total of approximately 1,000 women and men from almost 30 countries took part in the eight plenary sessions and 36 workshops.

The spectrum of topics ranged from "Gender Mainstreaming" to "Fundamentalism and Women's Rights" to "Biopolitics." The Feminist Institute of the Heinrich Böll Foundation also participated in the congress with two workshops and a plenary lecture; these dealt with one of the current topics of focus of the Institute: peace and security policy from a feminist perspective, as well as implementation of UN Resolution 1325. (This resolution would require women to be appropriately included in UN missions, in negotiations and agreements to bring about or preserve peace.) During the first debate on Gender Mainstreaming, despite the sobering assessment of the progress attained in feminist policies in the past 10 years, most of the participants agreed that the key is to use and blend institutional and social-policy processes in a strategically oriented manner rather than to view Gender Mainstreaming as an "either-or" issue.

Women's rights activists continue to meet the greatest resistance in Islamic countries. These had already announced in Beijing that they would not implement certain points of the demands. "In these countries," said Barbara Unmüßig of the Heinrich Böll Foundation, "examination of the gender question" is undertaken at a completely different level. There, the first step is struggling to active political participation by women in the first place." With this international congress, the women's and gender movement has definitely announced its comeback – although much remains to be done.

**"Added Value" Through Gender Democracy in San Salvador.** In the year 2002, the Heinrich Böll Foundation office in Mexico commenced a pilot project together with the city government of San Salvador: the city's municipal administration was to be restructured in a gender-just manner. At the beginning, plans included only drastically increasing the percentage of women in the administration. Meanwhile, however, gender criteria are even included in the job advertisements and job descriptions of the municipal administration, and individual attitudes and concerns of the employees are discussed openly. A standard for sexual harassment in the workplace has been introduced as well and – probably the most important aspect – the city government is meanwhile convinced that gender-sensitive policies are beneficial not only for the women, but for the municipal administration as well. In the past

four years, the percentage of women in leadership positions has increased from 12 % to 48 %. The ratio of women in classic male professions (e.g. city safety corps, construction and provision of services) has risen by 25 % to 35 %. Gender-specific aspects may now be found in 90 % (!) of the city government's operative planning documents. For Julia Evelyn Martinez, gender commissioner of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the project is "quite simply what we call 'best practice' in UN jargon." She has offered her support for the national and international dissemination of the project approach. Not only the UN representative is convinced by the measure's success; in the meantime, many organizations, such as the consumer protection center in El Salvador, the renowned human rights organization *Centro PRO Derechos Humanos Augustin Juarez* in Mexico, as well as Cuban NGOs, work with the participative approach developed by the Heinrich Böll Foundation for organizational development from a gender-democratic perspective.

**The Work of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's Feminist Institute.** The Feminist Institute (FI) sees itself as a bridge between feminist theory and practice. It takes up everyday experiences by women and feminist insights, places them in the public discussion, and promotes exchanges between feminist studies and practical policies. One of its major events in the year 2005 was the "Workshop on the Future of Feminist Politics in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century" in February. More than 40 experts from academia and politics debated questions such as societal visions, men's politics, gender-specific division of work and new gender agreements. The 20<sup>th</sup> Green Ladies Lunch in June addressed the issues and conclusions in more depth, with input by Prof. Tina Thürmer-Rohr (Berlin), Prof. Fatou Sow (Senegal), Dr. Nada Sofronic (Bosnia-Herzegovina) and Jutta Sommerbauer (Austria). The tenor of the comments was that in the face of the globalized world, it is important to recognize what separates us and to accept the special regional approaches to issues and concepts for action. By engaging in comparisons, we may learn from one another, identify generally valid dangers and challenges, and measure anew our common scope of action. However, the conclusion was that central points of reference must be the economic conditions and the associated questions of participation and just distribution.

The Feminist Institute also continued its activities on its topic of focus "peace and security policy and civil conflict prevention from a feminist perspective." Together with the volunteer interdisciplinary working group titled "gender in peace and security policy and civil conflict prevention," the FI held expert talks on the gender-policy demands of UN reform and on European security strategy. This extensive discussion process was documented in the cooperatively developed position paper titled "Security for All! A Feminist Critique of the New Security Policy," which was presented at the "Femme Globale" Conference in September 2005.

[www.glow-boell.de](http://www.glow-boell.de)

GLOW, the bilingual Internet portal of the Feminist Institute, has meanwhile become established as a virtual space for communication, networking and provision of information for feminists and all those interested in gender politics. It provides a comprehensive documentation of the Institute's work and offers current information on events as well as a look back at past events.

**Interactive Learning in Palestine – "Gender Democracy" Online Course.** In the Palestinian areas, where regularly attending university is often difficult due to the travel restrictions imposed by the Israeli occupation forces, interactive online courses are a popular medium. In the year 2005, the Ramallah office of the Heinrich Böll Foundation provided support to the Institute for Development Studies in Gaza in conceiving two online courses within the scope of a post-graduate course of study of the Mediterranean Virtual University

(MVU). The first course deals with the issues of “Development and Sustainability,” while the second – for the first time in this form and in the Arabic language – is dedicated to the topic of “Gender and Development in the Complex Political Reality of Palestine.” Students and interested laypeople from civil-society organizations are able to develop analytical and conceptual skills from the point of view of social and political sciences in order to examine gender-democratic approaches in politics, economics and society – and in the end, to apply these approaches as well.

A four-month test phase is currently underway; this will serve to critically evaluate and, if necessary, change the teaching curriculum. Upon successfully completing the course, students may earn the coveted “credits.”

**The Common Task of Gender Democracy.** The Heinrich Böll Foundation has dedicated itself to the political goal of gender democracy for many years. As a common task, it is a part of the organizational Leitbild of the Foundation and thus a task which applies to all staff members. Democracy is understood in the wider sense, and means taking action for and recognizing equal rights and opportunities for all people, independent of their gender or sexual orientation. The primary focus is on the just division of societal resources. Staff members are supported in implementing the common task by way of gender training, targeted gender consulting, as well as gender-oriented project planning. The training and consulting team also offers its services externally.

## THE POLITICS OF OUR KNOWLEDGE SOCIETY

*The activities of the Heinrich Böll Foundation in addressing our knowledge society are oriented to the current transformation from an industrial to a knowledge society. Knowledge, particularly academic knowledge, is becoming a key resource for economic success, and education is becoming a prerequisite for participation in societal life. The issue of the limitations of scientific and technical 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 II.** Following four years of intense negotiations, the World Summit on the Information Society was concluded in Tunis in November 2005. The special fascination of the WSIS had to do firstly with the topic of the negotiations: the norms, values and principles of the information age; and secondly with the new manner and creativity of the negotiation process. For the first time, non-governmental actors from civil society and industry were officially included.

With its Charter of Human Rights for a Sustainable Knowledge Society (translated into four languages), the Heinrich Böll Foundation had already created a basis for an examination of the Summit issues during the first phase of the WSIS. In the second phase, it supported project partners with networking and qualification programs. In Ramallah and Beirut, for example, the Foundation offices cooperated closely with the Arab NGO Network for Development (ANND) and Sisterhood is Global (SIGI/Jordan) in initiating the “Arab Caucus,” an alliance of 39 non-governmental organizations from the regions of the Near and Middle East and North Africa. Due to the events at the Tunis Summit, the Arab Caucus was faced with special challenges. Massive police deployment and political censorship by the Tunisian regime significantly hindered the work of international civil society. The Heinrich Böll Foundation’s first workshop, which was supposed to address the topics of censorship, legal restrictions on freedom of opinion, and the private sphere in the Arab region, had to be canceled in protest because lecturers were prevented from participating. A second workshop introduced several projects in which information and communication technology have made an important contribution to improving the work of non-governmental organizations. Interesting discussions were also had in the two internationally composed panels at the event titled “Towards a sustainable and inclusive knowledge society – How to get there from WSIS?” where the Heinrich Böll Foundation’s new publication, *Visions in Process II – The World Summit on the Information Society*, was presented as well.

“It is essential to enable all citizens access to old and new media. The establishment of public-access points and the furtherance of information and media competence will enable people both in developed and developing countries to find their bearings in the world of media information, to evaluate the content on offer, to produce their own content and to profit from information for their own personal pursuit of well-being.” *Charter of Human Rights for a Sustainable Knowledge Society*

### **Visions in Process II**

#### **World Summit on the Information Society Geneva 2003 – Tunis 2005**

Heinrich Böll Foundation (ed.) Berlin 2005, 128 pp.

Detailed information on the WSIS: [www.worldsummit2005.org](http://www.worldsummit2005.org)

**“Un mundo patentado?” – The Idea of the Commons Helps Form a Movement in Latin America.** With “Un mundo patentado?” the Foundation office in Mexico published a collected volume in 2005 on the subject of patents. The concept for the book goes back to a conference in October 2004 in Mexico, which was the beginning of the Politics of Our Knowledge Society international program outside of Europe. The 17 authors – including



Alternative Nobel Prizewinner Pat Mooney, James Boyle, one of the leading theorists on the Commons and co-founder of the Creative Commons, as well as Richard Stallman, “father” of the free software movement – embarked on the search for a common strategic denominator for the societal debates on genetic technology in agriculture and human medicine as well as the access to knowledge and information. Among other things, they pointed out the need to defend the Commons, public goods, and the public access to resources and materials for gaining knowledge. The book provoked a public discussion in Latin America which, particularly due to its global dimension, primarily illustrates one thing: how important it is to bring together various social movements and the relatively isolated expert debate. Meanwhile, the Johannesburg office has published an English version of the book, titled “A Patented World?” which has been supplemented with a few articles containing a specific reference to Africa. With this, the Politics of Our Knowledge Society program will be able to participate in the currently emerging debate on the Africa Commons and potentially the Asia Commons as well.

## PROMOTING YOUNG TALENT

*The Heinrich Böll Foundation provides support to students and doctoral candidates from all fields and of all nationalities who exhibit outstanding academic performance, take on responsibility, and are active in issues of social policies. In 2005, the Heinrich Böll Foundation developed a Leitbild for promoting young talent, and adapted the selection procedure accordingly. For example, individual interviews and group discussions with the applicants were introduced.*

*In addition to financial support, the Heinrich Böll Foundation primarily offers its fellows non-material support as well as networking opportunities. It promotes their critical examination of social policy and their academic qualifications, and supports them in preparing for their later careers. In addition to enhancing academic qualifications, the primary goal of support is to win future multipliers who will take responsibility in actively committing themselves to democracy, ecology, solidarity and non-violence.*

**Focus of Support in 2005.** A total of 616 fellows received support in 2005. As a general rule, the term of support varies from 1½ to 3 years. In addition to the focus of support in the fields of humanities and social sciences as well as art and cultural sciences, the Foundation continues to increase its support for disciplines underrepresented thus far, such as economics, law, technology, media and natural sciences. Women generally, as well as women and men with an immigrant background, are specific target groups where support is concerned. The Study Program also funds foreign students and graduates from throughout the world who have begun studies in Germany or are pursuing their doctoral degrees; the regional focus here is on Eastern Europe. In Russia, the Foundation operates a sur-place Fellowship Program in cooperation with the Moscow office and Russian partner organizations to support young scholars on site.

**Promotion of Doctoral Studies.** The Study Program is currently supporting five doctoral colleges. These take up innovative academic issues and connect these to problem fields of social policy. They offer qualifications to the doctoral candidates during their doctoral phase, and contribute to shortening it.

The annual forum for doctoral candidates offers them the opportunity to develop a communication network and to present their research results to one another.

**International Exchange.** One of the Foundation's primary goals is to create international spaces for encounter and to promote academic exchange. The Study Program provides support to fellows who research or study abroad or wish to do an internship, or invites students from the Sur-Place programs to Germany. Study trips have become an integral portion of the Study Program. A new trip in the year 2005 was a study trip to Istanbul, organized and accompanied by fellows, which focused on the topic of EU-Turkish relations. A three-day seminar on the political history and socio-cultural and economic system of Turkey prepared the participants for their trip.

In 2005, the Study Program again coordinated the International Bundestag Intern Program along with state-level foundations of the Heinrich Böll Foundation on a rotating basis. Graduates from throughout the world who are striving for an international career at the government level or in the public sector, work during this internship program in the office of a Bundestag representative.

**Networking and Alumni Activities.** The Study Program is promoting the establishment of an international cooperation network, and seeks out regular contact with its 1,400 former fellows. Since 2005, the alumni have been able to network among one another by means of access to the Intranet of the Study Program. A total of approximately 250 counselors as well as members of the selection committee work actively within the Study Program, hold interviews with applicants, write opinions, initiate meetings with fellows, and are available to give expert lectures. Among them are many alumni.

**Relationship of students/post-graduates**

Total students: 390, of which 138 were newly admitted in 2005

Post-graduates: 226, of which 48 were newly admitted in 2005

Ratio of men/women in 2005: men 204 (33 %), women 412 (67 %)

## THE HEINRICH BÖLL FOUNDATION'S FELLOWSHIP PROGRAMS ABROAD

*The Heinrich Böll Foundation operates sur-place Fellowship Programs in Russia, Central America, Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Southern Caucasus; i.e. the students and postgraduates receive support locally. The respective regional offices in Moscow, Mexico City, Sarajevo und Tbilisi are in charge of selection and supervision of the fellowship programs.*

**Southern Caucasus.** The societies in the southern Caucasus region are suffering greatly from the drain of well-educated young people. Under the difficult post-Soviet conditions, particularly young academics do not find suitable work opportunities. The universities are still dominated by the old authorities, many of whom changed seamlessly from Marxism-Leninism to Nationalism in the 1990s. Often, historians see their “patriotic duty” as historically underpinning the viewpoint of their respective side in the southern Caucasus territorial conflicts. Sociology as a critical social science is new; interdisciplinary approaches and qualitative methods are not yet widespread. Further, the result of the ongoing conflicts over Nagorno-Karabakh, Abchasia and South Ossetia is that young scholars have no contacts whatsoever to their colleagues from the enemy neighboring countries. However, the modernization of the societies in the southern Caucasus depends precisely on the ideas and the commitment of these young talented people.

The Heinrich Böll Foundation's Southern Caucasus office in Tbilisi (Georgia) has been carrying out an annual sur-place Fellowship Program for 25 young social scientists from all regions of the Caucasus since 2003. In their research projects, they address the topics of contemporary history, sociology and urban studies. They are supported by the Southern Caucasus office and an international network of mentors in building up a network among themselves despite adverse conditions and in contributing toward the substantive and methodological renewal of the social sciences. Four working meetings are organized annually, including a one-week summer school. Special attention is paid to the development of cross-border follow-up projects: for example, a research project by former fellows from Armenia and Azerbaijan about taboo areas of their common history with the goal of working up proposals for school teaching materials. The best research projects are published each year in a collected volume in Russian.

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

**Fellowship Program for Central America.** The Mexican Regional Office awards annual fellowships for young academic talent in the region as well. In 2005, 13 students from Guatemala, Nicaragua, El Salvador and the Dominican Republic were accepted as fellows. The overall quality of education in Central America is low; a fellowship provides students with the opportunity to receive their Master's Degree at renowned research institutes in Mexico. Opportunities include social sciences, communication and economics, anthropology, environmental sciences, international relations and studies on rural and urban development at public and private universities in Mexico. This small but extremely successful program has been in existence since 1997. A total of 71 people (45 women, 26 men) have thus far taken advantage of the opportunity, and almost 100 percent of them successfully completed their studies – with an average of 9.2 out of a total of 10 points.

In the past year, the program enhanced its image primarily by way of its cooperation with the International Educational Institute of the Ford Foundation and with LaSUR, an international research project of the Swiss government. Cooperation with LaSUR made it possible for some fellows to be included in an international North-South research project in addition to their

individual research activities. As a rule, the fellows return to their home countries, where critical and constructive thought is urgently needed.

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

## CONTEMPORARY HISTORY

*The manner in which historical events are interpreted may be of great significance for political debate. Specifically, collective and/or national identities are based upon such historical interpretations. The Heinrich Böll Foundation regularly strives to examine these interpretations critically by way of events and publications on the culture of remembrance and the “politics of memory.” This also includes the examination of the National Socialist past and the consequences of other totalitarian systems.*

**The Bridge Function of Jews Living in Germany in Relations between Germany and Israel.** In the 2005 celebrations commemorating 40 years of German-Israeli relations, mutual rapprochement and an increasing trust of Germany by Israel was repeatedly emphasized. But the role of the Jewish communities in Germany was largely ignored. A conference organized by the Heinrich Böll Foundation in cooperation with the Central Council of Jews in Germany endeavored to remedy that situation, and attempted to find answers to questions such as the impressions of one another, expectations, hopes and misunderstandings in the German-Jewish-Israeli relationship. An initial status report showed that the bridge function attributed to the Jews living in Germany was an illusion fostered by all sides. German Jews did not play a significant role either in the assumption of German-Israeli relations or in the following years. This was described by publicist Micha Brumlik, supported by contemporary historical facts. He said that the life stories of the first post-war generations supported that thesis as well. The concluding podium speakers Kiv Kaufman as a representative of immigrant Jews, Charlotte Knobloch, a survivor of the Holocaust, and Micha Brumlik, a post-war child, discussed their personal perceptions of Israel. They all emphasized that they saw themselves as German citizens who – in different ways and degrees – have a rather distanced relationship to Israel – despite all political loyalty, of course.

**Religion and Politics in the Public Sphere: A Comparison between Germany and the USA.** A dispute has broken out in the USA about politics using religious arguments and the relationship between politics and religion. In Germany as well, the Christian churches are increasingly functioning as carriers of social values into the social and political consciousness and are defining the standard of ethical conduct. How do both countries solve the dilemma between the democratic demand of cultural diversity and ethnic-religious pluralism on the one hand, and the clerical-religious “claim of exclusive representation” in terms of moral issues on the other? What role can and should politics play in that process? The conference “Religion and Politics in the Public Sphere: A Comparison between Germany and the USA” endeavored to examine those questions. Participants took a look at the particular influence of the Christian right in the USA. Clyde Wilcox of Georgetown University was of the opinion that neo-conservatives use evangelist rhetoric in order to push through their goals, but that the religious right itself is still a long way from attaining political power. Josef Braml from *Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik*, in contrast, noted an increased influence on the part of Christian organizations on the political agenda of the USA; as such, he said, they must be considered to be a political force. The question of the integration and perception of religious minorities in both societies was posed using the examples of the Muslim and Jewish communities. The USA, who see integration as an identity-fostering element of their nation, have integrated religious minorities more or less without problems and have also left space for processes of change. This is true for Muslims as well. Meanwhile, not only in Germany, but in other (Western) European countries as well, an attempt is being made to create a new foundation for the coexistence of Islamic communities and Christian majority societies.

One goal of the event was to differentiate in terms of mutual perceptions. The two cultures may learn a great deal from one another, both concerning the role of the state and the attractiveness of extreme religious positions.

## MIGRATION, DIVERSITY AND INTERCULTURAL DEMOCRACY

*More or less all European immigration societies are currently confronted with the challenges of integration, and with conflicts and problems resulting from the rapid increase of immigration since the 1960s. Diversity brings with it many opportunities, but also often calls forth misunderstandings and conflicts. The Heinrich Böll Foundation is committed to fostering an immigration society. It addresses questions of integration of immigrants, society diversity, and multiculturalism as a social reality.*

**The Myth of Kreuzberg – Assessment of a Multicultural Experiment.** Whether as the center of the left-wing alternative scene or as Little Istanbul – Berlin’s Kreuzberg district is well-known far beyond the borders of Germany. It is considered to be a place of special vitality and socio-cultural diversity; but some also see Kreuzberg as an example of “the failure of the multicultural illusion.” With its Congress “The Myth of Kreuzberg” held from 26-28 May 2005 in Berlin, the Heinrich Böll Foundation endeavored to take a closer look and undertake an assessment of a multicultural experiment. Martin Düspohl from the Kreuzberg Museum explained that there had never been such an experiment; and that the diversity was a result of an error in urban planning: buildings slated for destruction were opened up for interim use. Those who moved in were guest workers and young people from West Germany, who yearned to enjoy the anti-authoritarian living atmosphere of the walled city. But the debate soon extended beyond the district’s borders. There was agreement that Germany is lacking a clear self-definition as an immigration country. It was also agreed that clearly formulated conditions must exist which are associated with immigration. In turn, immigrants must be given the feeling that they are welcome. In this sense, however, many omissions have occurred – especially with respect to the language, an important precondition for equal opportunity on the part of immigrants.

“To us, a positive attitude toward cultural diversity and a committed attitude toward the basic values and rules of a democracy do not represent a contradiction. Together, they form the foundation of a multicultural republic. The key is equal opportunity and political, economic and social participation for all members of society. How well this succeeds will be a decisive factor for the future progress of Germany.” Ralf Fücks

[www.migration-boell.de](http://www.migration-boell.de) – the new Web site on migration, integration and diversity. It offers a wide range of information, analysis and opinion on topics of migration, social and political integration as well as productively dealing with cultural diversity in institutions and education. The texts are still primarily in German, but the offerings in English are increasing as well.

**“Green Meets Green”.** The “Green Meets Green” dialogue series, initiated in 2004, was continued in the year 2005. With this series, the Foundation seeks to make a contribution toward a political dialogue with Muslims in Germany; this is a cooperative project with the German government’s Commissioner for Migration, Refugees and Integration as well as the newly-founded Muslim Academy in Germany. The focus is on topics such as political participation, democratic representation and gender relationships. Guests and participants come from the Muslim community, civil-society groups, academia and (Green) politics.

**“Citizenship – Ethnos – Multiculturalism”.** At the beginning of November, the Heinrich Böll Foundation, in cooperation with the University of Toronto and the Canadian Embassy, sponsored a conference titled “Citizenship – Ethnos – Multiculturalism” in Berlin. This



conference was the continuation of a conference with the same name held in Toronto in the year 2003. The debate at the Toronto Conference focused on the European migration and integration models; in Berlin, the North American models of “citizenship” and “multiculturalism” were introduced. In addition to a number of renowned academics including Aristide Zolberg, Himani Bannerji, Peggy Levitt, Catherine Audard, Jytte Klausen, and Jocelyne Cesari, participants included representatives of civil-society institutions such as the National Council of La Raza and UK New Citizen.

**“Diversity within Unity” – Lecture by Amitai Etzioni.** “Diversity within Unity” was the title of a lecture event with U.S. philosopher Amitai Etzioni, which was held in August 2005. In his lecture, Etzioni addressed the question of how the recognition of diversity may be reconciled with the necessary unity within society. Said Etzioni: “I firmly believe in human rights, the democratic way of live, the respect for law, whatever we agree it is, that these are elementary values everybody has to abide by. And if not, they don’t have to come, wherever we are. When we have laid those foundations, then we can say, whatever else is left, we will respect your particular communities.”

## HEINRICH BÖLL HAUS LANGENBROICH

*In many countries of the world, writers are subjected to political repression – the freedom of words is not worth much. In many places, economic constraints place tight restrictions on artistic production. This is the point of departure of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's work. The Fellowship Program at the Heinrich Böll Haus Langenbroich – the former home of the Böll family in the Eiffel region – offers artists the opportunity to work for a period of time undisturbed, financially secure, and free of state control or persecution.*

### Fellows in the Year 2005

**Reet Kudu**, writer, choreographer and dramaturg from Tallinn, Estonia (born in 1949). Following her studies of Philology at the University of Tartu, she worked as an editor at Estonian Radio. Due to critical statements, she temporarily lost her job in the 1980s. She has been working since 1984 as a choreographer, ballet and theatre dramaturg, and has also written numerous books for children and teenagers, novellas and novels. In her texts, she addresses the post-Communist era and its societal consequences.

**Giselher W. Hoffman**, writer from Windhoek, Namibia (born in 1958). Hoffman, grandson of German immigrants, worked for several years as a professional hunter in the Kalahari, founded a publishing company, and headed a Safari company. He currently lives in Swakobmund, Namibia and works as a freelance writer. With his novels – written in German – he builds bridges between the peoples. He tells stories about the Gwi and the settlement of Namibia by white settlers, about the massacre of the Herero by German soldiers, about German settlers during World War II, and about the culture of the Himba.

**Adania Shibli**, writer and filmmaker from Ramallah, Palestine (born in 1974). She studied journalism and film direction in Jerusalem and is currently living in London and working on her doctorate. Shibli is a member of the younger generation of Palestinian authors who place everyday life and the inner world of humans at the center of their work. She has already received numerous prizes for young talent with her works.

**László Végel**, essayist and writer from Novi Sad, Serbia-Montenegro (born in 1941). After studying Hungarian literature and philosophy, he worked as a cultural editor and television dramatist in Novi Sad until he was fired during the course of political cleansing of the Milosevic regime. He published his first novel in 1968; since then, six novels, seven volumes of essays as well as several plays have been published in Hungarian and Serbian. His central themes are central European nationalism, xenophobia and its specifically Serbian manifestations. Végel has been a founding member of various human rights committees in Belgrade. He has been living in Újvidék/Novi Sad as a freelance writer since 2002. László Végel has received many awards for his literary works, most recently the Hungarian National Prize.

**Ali Ait Ferhat**, poet, composer and singer from Tizi Ouzou, Algeria (born in 1957). Ali Ait Ferhad has been writing, composing and singing songs for nearly forty years in French and Kabyle about the Berber people, to whom he belongs. In his songs, he speaks out against the military regime in Algiers and against the Muslim fanatics. He sings for equality between men and women, the separation of church and state, the recognition of the language and identity of minorities, for freedom and against violence.

**Francisco Díaz Solar**, translator, poet and essayist from Havana, Cuba (born in 1946). Francisco Díaz Solar's poems and short prose are sharp-wittedly analytical, with surprisingly humorous, satirical and sarcastic punch lines. As the translator of mostly German authors, he has also dared to take on the seemingly untranslatable radical writings of Ernst Jandl. Numerous essays, papers and lectures on German, Austrian and Cuban writers have been published in Cuba, Argentina and Austria.

## AWARDS

**2005 Film Peace Prize for “Turtles Can Fly” by Bahman Ghobadi.** At the end of “Turtles Can Fly,” the 14-year-old heroine Agrin throws herself off a cliff. She believes that she has already lived her life – with war, rape, and a child from her rapist. Along with other children, she is stranded in a refugee camp built by the UN on the Iraq-Iran border. The people there live in abject poverty, the fields are full of land mines – a constant threat to children and adults. The girls and boys earn a few pennies by clearing away the mines, and many of them are maimed for life. The film depicts children, but it is not a children’s film. It is an indictment and a “film of pain and destruction,” the Jury wrote in awarding the film the 20<sup>th</sup> Film Peace Prize at the International Film Festival in Berlin. Kurdish director Bahman Ghobadi, who himself grew up in one of those refugee camps, shot the film at authentic locations and with lay actors. He was successful in capturing the realities of the children’s lives in a manner that gets under the skin and moves the conscience of the world. The prize money in the amount of € 5,000 was provided by the Heinrich Böll Foundation. Bahman Ghobadi donated it to the children in the camp.

**2005 Hannah Arendt Prize to Vaira Vīke Freiberga.** In the year 2005, the Hannah Arendt Prize for Political Thought, with prize money of € 7,500, went to Latvian President Vaira Vīke Freiberga. With its decision, the international jury paid tribute to the role played by Vaira Vīke Freiberga as a committed representative of her country in the European Union. As a woman and president of one of the smallest countries in Europe, she represents a voice and a position that too often gets drowned out in the choir of the dominating forces in Europe. This is true both of her open criticism of Putin’s Russia and of her fearless dealings with the dictatorship in neighboring Belarus. At the same time, she has repeatedly spoken out against the discrimination of the Russian minority in Latvia and thus also provoked tensions within the country. The jury also recognized Vaira Vīke Freiberga for providing important impulses for the debate on the relationship between integration and federation in the European Union. The Hannah Arendt Prize for Political Thought has been awarded since 1995 and is funded by the Senate for Education and Scholarship of the Free Hanseatic City of Bremen and the Heinrich Böll Foundation.

## GREEN ACADEMY

The Green Academy is an independent forum for the discussion of both current and fundamental political issues. Its 60 volunteer members meet at two- to three-month intervals in “workshop talks” with experts from academia and politics to discuss relevant topics. For example, one workshop talk in April dealt with “Right-wing Extremism in Germany and Europe.” In Germany, the election victories of right-wing extremist and populist parties are increasing – albeit limited to certain regions and times. In a series of neighboring countries, a new family of rightist parties has emerged as well, and they penetrate deep into the midst of society. Dierk Borstel, a staff member of the “Center for Democratic Culture,” described the problem less as one of extreme right-wing attitudes and more as that of the weakening democratic culture, particularly in eastern Germany. He said that political approaches must thus be directed towards strengthening the democratic culture, and that fighting right-wing extremism by means of repression and offender-oriented measures is too short-sighted. The series “Border Crossings” began at the end of 2005; this is a cooperative project with the Potsdam Human Rights Center which endeavors to link up humanities and natural science themes. The series began with the topic “The End of the Finite?” In modern, secular societies,

the critical examination of life and death is being substituted by a cult of youth, beauty and agelessness which is manifested in lifestyle medicine. The life cycle is perceived as a changeable mass, and death is pushed into the background. Among the topics of discussion was the ethical problem with assisted dying and the question of what is to be understood by a dignified death.

## **NEWS FROM THE FOUNDATION**

### **The Heinrich Böll Foundation's New Building in Berlin's Mitte District**

By the end of 2007, on a plot of previously undeveloped land on Albrechtstrasse near the Deutsches Theater, a new building will be constructed that expresses architecturally what the Foundation stands for: transparency, ecology and democratic culture. The Heinrich Böll Foundation sponsored an architectural competition to help realize its new home. Approximately 200 firms participated. In the end, the Jury selected the model of e2a, eckert eckert architekten ag.

### **Personnel**

On December 31, 2005, 173 staff members were employed within Germany (47 % of these part-time); this is 5 less than in the previous year. The number of individuals employed abroad, decreased from 23 to 22 within the same period. In the year 2005, 26 % of the employees of the Heinrich Böll Foundation were men, and 74% were women. In contrast to many other organizations, the high percentage of women is equally distributed over all levels. With 55 % in the management area and 65 % in mid-level leadership positions, the percentage of women is also higher than in comparable institutions in this area. In 2005, the percentage of immigrants, at 13%, again exceeded the quota of 10% provided for in the by-laws.

### **Funding**

As a political foundation, the Heinrich Böll Foundation (registered association) is financed almost exclusively from public funds. 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. In 2005, the Heinrich Böll Foundation had about € 36 million at its disposal. Approximately half of this sum was spend on international projects. The distribution of project funds by region is as follows: Latin America 17 %, Asia 19 %, Middle East 15 %, Africa 17 %, Europe 28 %, multi-regional projects 4 %.

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