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### PREFACE BY THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

Climate change is upon us — it is not only a measurable phenomenon in our natural environment, but has also ascended to the top of the political agenda. Our goal is to ensure that declarations of intent and resolutions are followed by genuine shifts in priorities and behavior, particularly in the field of energy policy. Wealthy nations in particular must finally do their ecological homework. This is also a question of solidarity: not only with future generations, but also with the poorest populations in the Southern Hemisphere, who are especially affected by climate change. It is most certainly a task that requires collective action, new alliances and new coalitions.

Last year, at a major conference entitled "KyotoPlus", the Heinrich Böll Foundation assembled prominent international experts from science, government, business and society to propose and discuss potential pathways out of the climate trap.

April 2006 also marked the 20th anniversary of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster. To underscore the importance of this occasion, the Foundation organized an international conference that engaged in a scientific, political and cultural "remembrance for the future." It is not only the passage of time since this extraordinary catastrophe that makes the dangers of nuclear power seem remote. Rather, it is also imperative to conduct a critical assessment of the nuclear lobby's attempts to bring nuclear energy back into play as a way out of the climate catastrophe – we should certainly seek to avoid jumping from the frying pan into the fire. In order to bring the debate on the risks of nuclear energy up to date, the Heinrich Böll Foundation has published a comprehensive volume entitled *Nuclear Power: Myth and Reality*, which has been translated into several languages.

For several years, we have also actively focused on the topic of Europe, as is evidenced by numerous events and publications. Here in Germany, the German EU Presidency has raised public awareness of Europe's unresolved problems: the European constitutional process must regain momentum and take on a clear direction, the issues of the EU's borders and its relationship to Russia have not yet been clarified, and there is still no commonly agreed conception of the Union's role in foreign and security policy. The EU now holds the primary responsibility for peaceful and democratic development in Southeastern Europe. In 2006, our Annual Foreign Policy Conference dedicated itself to this topic. The message of the conference was clear: the most effective mechanism for overcoming unresolved status issues and reversals in the democratization process is to provide the Balkan states with a prospect of EU membership that is reliable and that is connected to clear criteria. Democracy promotion is one of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's central missions. In many countries throughout the world, we are actively engaged in efforts to advance democratization processes

throughout the world, we are actively engaged in efforts to advance democratization processes and to support like-minded individuals in their sometimes risky commitment to peace and freedom. Unfortunately, last year we lost two of our courageous cooperation partners and trusted allies in attacks. In Afghanistan, the governor of Paktia province, Abdul Hakim Taniwal, fell victim to a suicide bomb attack. In Turkey, an assassin's bullets struck journalist and human rights activist Hrant Dink. We will not forget them and will remain actively committed to their causes. This report highlights some of the aspects and details of our work in the past year. Of course, current information is always available on our website.

Berlin, April 2007 Ralf Fücks, Barbara Unmüßig



Ralf Fücks



Barbara Unmüßig

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



'According to NASA, we have only 10 more years to develop an effective policy of climate protection to prevent the most severe catastrophes. We call for an end to blockades, ignorance and half-hearted measures in climate protection – at both the national and international levels."

Barbara Unmüßig



According to Jerome Ringo, President of the Apollo Alliance, the United States could certainly achieve independence from oil imports if research and development on alternative energies were consistently

Photos, audio downloads and expert papers are available at www.kyotoplus.org

### SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND GLOBALIZATION

One of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's priority issues is to shape globalization processes in a way that is both sustainable and just. Throughout the world, the Foundation cooperates with organizations and networks committed to the same ideal. We support civil society initiatives and formulate concepts to prevent social fragmentation, environmental destruction and cultural "flattening" as a result of globalization processes while working together with our partners to develop alternatives.

Berlin: "KyotoPlus" - International Conference. Heat waves, droughts, floods and tropical storms - the signs are increasing that humanity is not dealing merely with a gradual change in climate. Extreme climatic events appear increasingly likely. So far, however, the policy responses developed to promote climate protection have proven inadequate. On 28-29 September 2006, the Heinrich Böll Foundation organized the international conference "KyotoPlus - Escaping the Climate Trap," in cooperation with the Wuppertal Institute for Climate, Environment and Energy; WWF Germany; and the European Climate Forum. The conference took stock of existing climate policy measures and instruments, and discussions focused on four main topics:

New targets: Climate protection requires legally binding targets for reducing the greenhouse gas emissions. By 2050, worldwide emissions must be reduced by over 50% in order to keep global warming under 2 degrees above pre-industrial levels. To achieve this, emissions must reach their maximum level within the next 10-15 years and then decline rapidly.

New technologies: Hermann E. Ott of the Wuppertal Institute for Climate, Environment and Energy believes the climate problem can be solved. If the most efficient technologies already at our disposal were put to use throughout the world, we would take a major step forward. In Germany, for example, energy savings of at least 30% could be realized profitably, and energy savings of up to 50% could be achieved with current technologies. According to 0tt, these savings simply require good incentives for investment. Thus climate protection needs a technological "push".

New policies: The most exciting new approaches to climate policy came from California. John Geesman, member of the California Energy Commission, explained the lawsuit that the state has initiated against the six largest automobile manufacturers for damages arising from the environmental harm caused by automobile emissions. Such an action would be virtually inconceivable in Germany. Peter Barnes, a businessman from San Francisco, presented his vision for a reform of emissions trading. Barnes argued that emission rights belong to all of us; consequently, they should not be given away to polluters who simply add these costs into the price of their products. In Barnes' view, emission rights should be auctioned instead.

**New alliances:** Broad societal alliances are necessary for climate protection to make progress in political terms. One example of this is the Apollo Alliance. 23 international trade unions, 13 major environmental associations and more than 200 companies from throughout the United States have banded together in this unusual alliance with the goal of attaining U.S. independence from oil imports within 10 years.

The "German Climate Alliance" was established as a result of the KyotoPlus Conference - under this working title, the most important German environmental and development organizations will collectively strive to exert pressure to achieve improved climate protection.

### Nairobi: Conference on the Occasion of the UN Climate Summit from 6-7 November 2006.

There was no better place than Nairobi to make it clear: Climate change is leading to increased global injustice. Poorer countries will shoulder the main burden of climate change rather than the wealthy countries that are primarily causing it. For example, Africa, with 15% of the world's population, is responsible for merely 3.5% of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions. Nonetheless, its people suffer massively from the effects of climate change. What do the climate experts have to say about Africa's future? What opportunities do renewable energies present? Does planting trees help? These were some of the questions that Wangari Maathai, Nobel Peace Laureate and longtime Kenyan project partner of the Foundation; Achim Steiner, newly appointed Executive Director of UNEP; and climate researcher Ogunlade Davidson from Sierra Leone discussed at an event organized by the Heinrich Böll Foundation in the center of the Kenyan capital. Jörg Haas, head of the Ecology and Sustainability department at the Heinrich Böll Foundation, concluded: "In Europe, there already exists a great deal of awareness about the necessity of reducing emissions. But an awareness of the responsibility for climate damage is lacking. As one of actors that has caused climate change, Europe must help to mitigate the effects of climate change and compensate its victims."

Kiev: "Chornobyl+20: Remembrance for the Future" - Conference. In April 2006, people throughout Europe recalled the worst disaster to occur in the history of civilian nuclear energy: the reactor catastrophe of Chornobyl. Just 100 kilometers from the Ukrainian capital of Kiev, near the city of Prypiat, the worst-case scenario unfolded in Block 4 of the nuclear power plant in April 1986. Large swaths of the Soviet Union and Europe were radioactively contaminated. Even 20 years after the disaster, people are still dying of accident-related impacts upon their health. For the Heinrich Böll Foundation, this anniversary provided an occasion to conduct an international conference, held in Kiev on 22-24 April 2006, to recall the risks and dangers of nuclear energy and to highlight the need for a transparent energy policy debate that includes broad social participation. Representatives from the German Bundestag and the European Parliament took part in conference discussions, together with well-known experts such as Steve Thomas and Anthony Froggatt from Great Britain, Claudia Kemfert and Wolfgang Köhnlein from Germany, Adam Guła from Poland and Vladimir Usatenko from Ukraine.

The high level of Ukrainian public interest in the conference and the strong media coverage give cause for hope that, with this conference, the Heinrich Böll Foundation is succeeding in providing an impetus for further energy policy discussions in the region.

Berlin: "Nuclear Power: Myth and Reality" - Publication. Twenty years after the Chornobyl disaster, the Heinrich Böll Foundation presented a comprehensive volume - published in both German and English – of current analyses and information on the main controversial issues related to nuclear power. These key issues include reactor safety, fuel cycles, proliferation, economic viability and climate protection. The Chornobyl anniversary arrived at a time when debates on nuclear energy have been rekindled. Factors fueling arguments in favor of nuclear energy include the thirst for energy on the part of rapidly industrializing states, soaring oil prices, dependence upon Russian natural gas, and climate change. However, nuclear power's share in total energy use is declining across the globe, many facilities are outdated, and there are still no secure final repositories. Furthermore, with its highly dangerous facilities, nuclear power provides additional targets for terrorist attacks. The authors of the volume, specialists in their fields, present background information



Lake Nakuru, in the Great Rift Valley in Eastern Africa, is severely affected by climate change. Due to increased evaporation, the water level has already decreased significantly. There is now a broad strip of former lake bottom surrounding the lake. The flamingo population in this world-renowned national park has declined noticeably in recent years.



The dead city of Prypiat, the closest city to the atomic reactor that failed in 1986.

NUCLEAR POWER: MYTH AND REALITY. THE RISKS AND PRO-SPECTS OF NUCLEAR POWER. Ed. by Heinrich Böll Foundation Saxonwold, South Africa 2006, 356 pages

www.boell.org.za

Download at www.boell.de/nuclear

www.boell-tr.org



China is one of the countries most severely impacted by desertification.

www.boell-china.org

SLOW TRADE – SOUND FARMING. A MULTILATERAL FRAMEWORK FOR SUSTAINABLE MARKETS IN AGRICULTURE By Wolfgang Sachs and Tilman Santarius. Published by Heinrich Böll Foundation and MISEREOR Aachen/Berlin 2007, 92 pages

Download at www.ecofair-trade.org

for all those who wish to participate in debates over nuclear power. Some of the book's chapters have been translated into Russian, Ukrainian, Czech, Turkish, Portuguese, French and Italian, and many have been presented at public events in Germany and abroad.

**Ankara: "Intelligent Energy".** This was the title of an international conference held by the Istanbul Office of the Heinrich Böll Foundation on 28–29 October in Ankara, where alternatives to traditional sources of energy were discussed. The concept of climate neutrality was presented in Turkey for the first time. But the focus was also on regenerative energies such as wind, solar, biomass and geothermal energy – after all, the Turkey possesses highly favorable natural conditions for using renewable energy sources to produce energy and heat. Furthermore, due to its geographical position, Turkey is a key country as regards European energy security; this is true for fossil fuels such as coal, but this may be equally true in the future with respect to renewable energy.

**Beijing: "Environmental Protection in China".** The economy of the People's Republic of China is growing at a rapid pace — with negative consequences for the environment: air pollution, contaminated drinking water, desertification — the list of environmental damage is long. Environmental protection and sustainable development are thus priority issues for the Heinrich Böll Foundation's work in China.

In 2006, the Beijing Office cooperated with the Chinese organization IED/Fuping to develop a research and consulting project on energy savings and emissions control in eastern China. While the Chinese government's strategy to introduce a "green" gross national product (by calculating the concrete costs of environmental damage) has stagnated, this projects aims to show how energy efficiency and environmental protection at the municipal level may be integrated into economic planning. The pilot project will be tested in the city of Wuxi (in Jiangsu province) in the years 2007 and 2008.

To raise awareness on environmental damage, the Foundation supports the "Green Choice Network," an alliance of two independent non-governmental organizations with the information center of the national environmental authority. This cooperative project is dedicated primarily to informing consumers and fostering citizen participation in municipal environmental protection.

Further, with the "China Energy and Climate Action Network," the Foundation laid the foundation for a new alliance in climate and energy policy. In November 2006, representatives from environmental organizations from throughout China met in the Beijing Office for consultations on how to strengthen civil society action in the areas of energy and climate protection.

International: The Heinrich Böll Foundation's "Ecofair Trade Dialogue". Global agricultural trade is neither fair nor sustainable. It primarily burdens the poorest countries and the coming generations. But how can trade be shaped more justly? How must the system of global agricultural trade be reformed so that sustainable economic structures oriented toward small-scale farming have a chance? These are just a few of the questions that are discussed within the framework of the "Ecofair Trade Dialogue," sponsored by the Heinrich Böll Foundation and Misereor. An international panel of experts moderated by the Wuppertal Institute for Climate, Environment and Energy, has been formulating reform proposals during the past year, which are then discussed in regional consultations with scholars, parliamentarians, government officials, and representatives from farmers' organizations. For example, on 30–31 May 2006 in Chiang Mai (Thailand), more than 35 stakeholders from Thailand, Vietnam, India, Bangladesh, the Philippines, Indonesia and Australia gathered to discuss the expert panel's main ideas and reform proposals. The debate focused on papers dealing with such issues as the governance of imports to protect small-scale farming as well as the concentration of market power in agricultural trade. The meeting also promoted

the exchange of experiences regarding the practices of international corporations in the region and how to respond to these practices. As an outcome of the debate, Jayson Cainglet, a farmers' movement activist in the Philippines and agricultural trade expert, produced the report "From Bottleneck to Hourglass: Issues and Concerns on the Market Concentration of Giant Agrifood Retailers in Commodity Chains and Competition Policies." The report can be downloaded as Global Issue Paper 29 at www.ecofair-trade.org. Additional regional consultations took place in Senegal, Thailand, Brazil, Mexico, the United States and Brussels. The results will be presented in 2007.

Egypt: The "Association for Health and Environment Development" (AHED). This organization, supported by the Arab Middle East Office in Ramallah, deals with the impacts that the World Trade Agreement has had on the health care sector, the Egyptian agricultural industry, the country's natural resources and public nutrition. New regulations often have powerful negative effects on quality of life. AHED conducts empirical studies, informs the population and helps other civil society organizations to articulate the interests of the public in international negotiation processes.

Lebanon: "Rural Bus" - Mobile Education for Rural Populations. Since the state of Lebanon was established, the southern part of the country has been a marginalized region that is largely cut off from state services. The war during the summer of 2006 exacerbated the situation. Local economic and social structures need to be strengthened and rehabilitated to help the population living in southern Lebanon. The problems are manifold – particularly in the agricultural sector, which for many citizens is the only means for earning a livelihood. To strengthen the rural population's commercial activities and economic opportunities, the Heinrich Böll Foundation supported the creation of a mobile rural development center – located in a bus. This bus travels from village to village, offering a range of services and training programs such as agronomic advice (the optimization of costs and resource use, sustainable means of production), training in information technology (improved access to information on working methods and technology, particularly for women), support for small businesses (improved product marketing, support in obtaining micro-credits and other development assistance available in Lebanon), as well as socio-cultural activities.

Lebanon: "Assabil" - Establishing a Culture of Continuing Education. In Lebanon, there are very few places offering information and continued education that are open and accessible to the general public. The Assabil association, founded in 1997 and supported by the Heinrich Böll Foundation, endeavors to alleviate this shortage. The association supports the establishment and use of public libraries and works to improve library offerings. The aim is for libraries to become places where diverse populations come together and obtain free and unlimited access to knowledge, information and culture. In this way, the association hopes to help create public spaces where questions of tolerance and citizens' rights are addressed and discussed.

Mexico: Expert Conference on "Collective Goods and Citizenship". The concept of collective goods is based upon the conviction that all people are the common guardians of a collective heritage. This heritage consists of the nature's creations such as air and water, as well as social and cultural achievements such as knowledge or the Internet. But collective goods are becoming increasingly accessible to a broad spectrum of society and are increasingly removed from citizens' control. Privatization, contamination, and scarcity are the result.

An international conference sponsored by the Heinrich Böll Foundation in Mexico City on 7-9 December 2006 addressed the current problems associated with these developments. More than 140 scholars and NGO representatives attended the meeting, including Alternative Nobel Prize Internet dossier at www.ecofair-trade.org

www.ahedegypt.org



Women in southern Lebanon learning how to manufacture soap from laurel.

www.assabil.com



LA GOTA DE LA VIDA Ed. Foundación Heinrich Böll Mexico City 2006, 400 pages

Since 1999, through the Ediciones Böll series, the Heinrich Böll Foundation has been publishing Spanishlanguage books conceived especially for Central American readers. The 22nd volume in this series, La Gota de la Vida, was published in 2006 and offers an extensive collection of contributions by international authors focusing the theme of water.

Download available at www.boell-latinoamerica.org winners Pat Mooney and Tony Clarke. Discussions focused on a wide variety of issues, including biodiversity, human genetic resources, software, patents, the privatization of water, genetic technology and nanotechnology - the challenges are manifold. How promising is the concept of collective goods in terms of political strategy? How can we guarantee equal access to collective goods, and how can we ensure their transparent, democratic control and sustainable use? What role will states, markets and citizens play in the new institutional models that need to be created? There are no simple and global answers to these questions. Nevertheless, use of the concept "collective goods" has facilitated the establishment of linkages that broaden horizons as well as the development of political alliances - none of which would have been possible without this point of entry. The Conference documentation as well as excerpts in Spanish and English are available at www. boell-latinoamerica.org.

Nigeria: Enhancing the Transparency of State Finances. When former Nigerian military dictator Sani Abacha died in June 1998, the population of Nigeria breathed a sigh of relief. Since then, this oil-rich country on the Gulf of Guinea, with a population of approximately 140 million, has been ruled more or less by civilian governments. In the meantime, a World Bank study determined that oil revenue totaling approximately 300 billion U.S. dollars was embezzled during the reigns of various military dictatorships. Much of these funds landed in Swiss bank accounts, including the so-called "Abacha billions," 1.2 billion dollars of which the dictator's family has since paid back.

Following arduous negotiations, Switzerland agreed in 2005 to pay back approximately 500 million dollars to Nigeria. This result was achieved only under pressure from human rights groups such as the Berne Declaration, and clear conditions were attached to the reimbursement: the money was to be used exclusively for attaining the UN Millennium Goals, i.e., for health care projects, schools, and poverty reduction. Also, an independent commission was to be established to ensure that the funds were properly spent. This represented a première in Nigeria because, for the first time, the Nigerian government was allowing civil society a first-hand look at how the government operates. In order to guarantee the full independence of the civil society-based monitors, the Heinrich Böll Foundation financed their training and expenses. After all, there is a high level of mutual distrust. More than three decades of corrupt military dictatorships have deeply undermined the people's trust in their governments. Yet, at least, non-governmental organizations working under the leadership of the Nigerian Network on Stolen Assets (NNSA) were granted the right to publish their findings and experiences in their own shadow report.

After the World Bank had still not published its report by December 2006, the NNSA took the offensive and published its report first. The monitors' findings were significant: the receipts from project expenditures could account for only a portion of the Swiss funds. In addition, some of the projects supposedly financed through the reimbursed Abacha billions could not even be found to exist. Other projects were completely ineffectual. On top of that, numerous cases of corruption were documented. The World Bank thereupon reported serious deficits in accounting and controlling and confirmed many of the monitors' findings. However, the World Bank report kept the project-related information under wraps.

In Nigeria, there is still a long way to travel before budget transparency and secure financial planning are achieved. Nonetheless, an initial breakthrough has occurred: government behavior in Nigeria is gradually becoming more transparent. And lip service to civil society no longer suffices, because civil society actors are rapidly learning to look closer and to take officials to task if necessary.

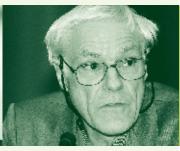


Former Nigerian military dictator Sani Abacha embezzled billions of U.S. dollars.

### NEW GLOBAL ORDER, SECURITY POLICY AND DEMOCRACY PROMOTION







Fatoumata Siré Diakite, Ambassador of Mali; Jürgen Trittin, Alliance 90/The Greens; and Peter Burnell, University of Warwick, at the Conference "Exporting Democracy" in Berlin

The foreign and security policy agenda has changed dramatically since the end of the Cold War. New concepts for global risk prevention, crisis intervention and international order are increasingly replacing the traditional paradigms of deterrence and containment. The attacks of September 11, 2001 have further accelerated these developments. In this connection, the issue of future developments in Afghanistan and the Middle East continue to play a significant role.

Berlin: "Exporting Democracy: Opportunities and Risks of External Democracy Promotion in Fragile States" – Conference. Democracy promotion is an issue on many policy agendas these days. Yet given the broad spectrum of actors – from large institutions like the United Nations and the World Bank to small, local NGOs – the strategies and methods they pursue could hardly be more diverse. The Heinrich Böll Foundation is also involved in promoting democracy. For this reason, the Foundation invited scholars as well as experts from international organizations to Berlin on 8–10 March 2006 to engage in an exchange of ideas and experiences. Discussions focused primarily on how to deal with individuals and groups who are broadly viewed as "spoilers" of democratization processes, such as traditional and religious authorities. The Heinrich Böll Foundation has already gained considerable experience in this area through pioneering projects that promote the involvement of traditional structures in state-building processes, for example in Afghanistan and Somalia.

Discussions also concentrated on the recurrent issue of cooperation with "classic" civil society organizations. Participants agreed that these organizations must not be viewed uncritically as "saviors". There was also a consensus that in order to succeed, democracy promotion efforts must involve political parties, religious and/or traditional authorities, and businesspeople in addition to civil society organizations.

**Berlin: International Conference on the Reconstruction of Afghanistan.** On 27–28 November 2006, five years after the Petersburg Conference in Bonn, the Heinrich Böll Foundation invited representatives from Afghan civil society as well as scholars and decision-makers to discuss the prospects for stability, democracy and independent economic development in Afghanistan.

In light of the unstable security situation and lack of economic progress in Afghanistan, Afghanistan's ambassador to Germany, Prof. Maliha Zulfacar, emphasized the country's successes in her opening remarks to the conference. The youngest parliamentarian in Afghanistan, Sabrina Saqib, provided a vibrant example of the progress which is opening up new opportunities for many women. However, the participants agreed that insufficient attention is being paid to long-term reconstruction processes, that the international donor community still lacks a recognizable strategy, and that the development of structures for implementing the rule of law may fail. All speakers from Afghanistan advocated the establishment of Afghan armed forces. At the evening public event, "German Military Deployments in Afghanistan – What are the Limits?" participants



The Heinrich Böll Foundation has been cooperating for four years with Afghan organizations active in development and democratization activities with tribal elders in the Loya Paktia region

AFGHANISTAN
Publication Series on Promoting
Democracy under Conditions of State
Fragility. Issue 1. Ed. by the
Heinrich Böll Foundation
Berlin 2006, 88 pages



Afghanistan's ambassador to Germany, Professor Maliha Zulfacar

South Africa Voice of the People, Simbabwe Asia Aurat Foundation, Pakistan AWRC – Afghan Women's Resource Centre, Afgha-

INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE AND GOVERNANCE IN **AFGHANISTAN** 

A study by Hamish Nixon. Publication Series on Promoting Democracy under Conditions of State Fragility. Volume 2. Ed. by the Heinrich Böll Foundation Berlin 2007, 40 pages



ACTIVE CITIZENS UNDER PO-LITICAL WRAPS: EXPERIENCE FROM MYANMAR/BURMA AND VIETNAM. Published by the Heinrich Böll Foundation, Chiang Mai 2006, 201 pages

Download available at www.boell.de

warned against the "Baghdadization" of Kabul and called for an increase in civilian development assistance from Germany.

Afghanistan needs good governance if the rebuilding of the country is to be successful. This was the conclusion of a study on international donor financing in Afghanistan, which was commissioned by the Heinrich Böll Foundation's Kabul Office and presented at the conference. The study further asserted that the donor community must provide services that are visible and tangible at the local level. This would enhance the donor community's credibility and thereby serve to counter the Taliban resurgence in the southeastern part of the country.

Burma (Myanmar): Political Dialogue for International Community Involvement. The main policies pursued by the EU and the United States toward Burma – isolation and sanctions – have yielded few results. Political conditions in the country offer little hope for rapid political changes. In March 2006, the Heinrich Böll Foundation conducted a two-day round table in Berlin, in cooperation with the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (German Institute for International and Security Affairs), titled "Societal and Political Change in Vietnam: An Instructive Example for Myanmar/Burma." The meeting focused primarily on the question of how organizations and initiatives can cooperate with subnational state institutions in order to overcome political stagnation. The discussions succeeded in countering the widespread view that civil society does not exist, or has no opportunities for action, in socialist Vietnam or under the Burmese military regime.

Berlin: The Middle East in Transition: Different Concepts of Democracy? - Conference. What opportunities exist for external actors to affect democratization processes in the Middle East? This question was among those addressed in several expert discussions during an international meeting on 2-3 November 2006 in Berlin. The possibilities and limits of working with Islamists proved to be the central topic of many debates. Recent developments in Lebanon, Pakistan, Egypt and Iraq gave rise to various ideas. A number of political scientists argued that it is counterproductive for the West to boycott Islamist movements. In their view, there is no choice but speak to Islamists as well, although it is crucial not to abandon basic positions and conditions such as respect for human rights and the recognition of Israel.

Berlin: Conversation with Akbar Ganji. In April 2000, this Iranian journalist and government critic was arrested along with other journalists and intellectuals upon his return from a Heinrich Böll Foundation conference on Iran. He was ultimately convicted of "endangering national security" and "propaganda against the Islamic system" and sentenced to six years in prison. After six years, during which he twice staged a hunger strike, he was finally released from prison on 18 March 2006.

In July 2006, upon the invitation of the Heinrich Böll Foundation, Ganji presented his view of domestic and foreign policy developments in Iran one year after President Ahmadinejad took office. He highlighted the strength of Iranian civil society and spoke of a transformation in Iran which could not be suppressed - not even by conservative forces. According to Ganji, civil disobedience and non-violent resistance offer the only means for achieving change in Iran.

Ramallah: "Islam and Peace" working group. Dealing with religious fundamentalism is a central issue in the Palestinian territories. The Ramallah Office of the Heinrich Böll Foundation, in cooperation with the Center for Conflict Resolution and Reconciliation (CCRR) in Bethlehem as well as Islamic dignitaries, sheiks, imams and religious instructors, created a working group that explored the role of non-violence, reconciliation, peace and rights of freedom and equality in the religious writings of Islam. In the 20 working meetings held during the year 2006, participants focused chiefly on the Koran. The working group members, who can be considered representatives of "moderate Islam", sought above all to shed light on peace and non-violence as essential elements and values of Islam. Their efforts resulted in the book "Islam and Peace", which has thus far been published in Arabic and English.

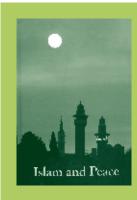
Tel Aviv: Conference on "Organization of Social Change in Israel during and after the Second Lebanon War". The second Lebanon war in the summer of 2006 had had a strong impact on Israeli society. While the majority of the Israeli population and the Israeli media supported the war during the first few weeks, a minority protested against it. The rockets fired by Hizbollah into the northern part of Israel strongly exposed the social gaps inside Israeli society. The Israeli government's long-term retreat from responsibility for the social welfare of its citizens as well as years of neglect left residents fundamentally alone and ill-equipped to demand their rights and seek assistance during the war. Moreover, the rift between Israel's Jewish majority and Arab-Palestinian minority grew wider and the sense of distrust became stronger.

All these aspects were discussed at Tel Aviv University, five weeks after the end of the war, in a conference organized by the Tel Aviv Office of the Heinrich Böll Foundation in cooperation with Shatil, the New Israel Fund's Empowerment and Training Center for Social Change Organizations in Israel. The event provided an opportunity for 160 participants, from various social change organizations, to participate in lectures and group discussions aiming to analyze the reality created by the second Lebanon war. It created a space for self-expression and reflection that enabled social change activists to share and discuss their experiences during the war. Finally, the event served as an open forum that was used by participants as a means of generating cooperation and joint action.

Israel: Back to the Future or Forward to the Past? - Conference. Political developments in Israel have changed considerably as a result of the early parliamentary elections in March 2006 and the conflict in Lebanon during the summer. Six months after the elections and the end of the war, the majority of the population was dissatisfied with the government led by the Kadima and Labor parties. The government coalition rapidly lost popularity, while the conservative nationalist Likud Party and various ultra-right groups gained ground. At a conference in September 2006, scholars, policymakers and journalists discussed - together with Israeli guests from a variety of political camps - the factors influencing (i) developments within the Israeli party system, (ii) domestic politics and (iii) various reactions to the outcome of the war in Lebanon.

Beirut: Independence of the Judiciary. Seminar with Arab Judges. The independence of the judiciary is one of the cornerstones of democratic governance. In the Middle East and North Africa, courts are still subjected to a multitude of pressures and are often coerced to make decisions that uphold the interests of the powerful. They thereby contribute to the public's generally low level of trust in the state and its institutions. Proceeding from the example set by the Egyptian Judges Club, which in 2005 organized a highly publicized boycott against the Egyptian government's attempt to force the judiciary to rubber-stamp manipulated election results, a seminar organized by the Beirut Office of the Heinrich Böll Foundation examined the issue of how judges can assert their independence within existing legal systems and thereby succeed in upholding the rule of law. The event focused particularly on experiences and opportunities in Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, Palestine, Lebanon and Syria.

The seminar brought together judges from various Arab countries for the first time and demonstrated that judges can also function as important civil society actors and possibly even provide a decisive impetus for change and reform.



ISLAM UND PEACE Ed. by Center for Conflict Resolution and Reconciliation, Bethlehem 2006

Websites of the Foundation's offices in the Near and Middle East: Israel: www.boell.org.il Lebanon: www.boell-meo.org Palestine: www.boell-ameo.org

### **EU POLICY**

European integration and the constitutional debate are priority issues for the Heinrich Böll Foundation. The Foundation's civic education activities aim to foster a well-informed public that participates actively in debates on the future of Europe. In these efforts, the Foundation cooperates with nongovernmental organizations and political actors as well as with experts from think tanks, universities and "green" networks. In particular, the Foundation's Brussels Office closely observes the work of European institutions and organizes topical events.

### Berlin: "Quo Vadis EU II – The Future of Democracy in Europe" – International Conference.

Germany assumed the rotating Presidency of the European Union on 1 January 2007. The stagnant debate on the European Constitution will be one of the central issues of European politics during this period. It was also the subject of the second conference entitled "Quo Vadis EU?" organized by the Heinrich Böll Foundation on 27 October 2006 in Berlin. For example, for Janusz Onyszkiewicz, Europe has a dual meaning. First, Europe stands for a concept of civilization. Second, the EU embodies the notion of political union. For Onyszkiewicz, this latter concept is particularly significant, and he argued that Europe's ability to act effectively and assert its geostrategic interests must not be put on hold. He therefore also advocated strong and stable transatlantic relations.

In his concluding remarks, Ralf Fücks called upon the speakers and the audience not to lose their passion for Europe. He underscored the urgent need to foster a European civil society.

Warsaw and Bratislava: "Prospects for Democracy in Belarus". How can Belarus find its way to democracy? This question was posed by Belarus opposition politicians as well as experts from several EU states, Ukraine and the United States at two conferences organized by the Heinrich Böll Foundation on 27–29 January and 3–5 March 2006 in the run-up to presidential elections in Belarus. Taking Ukraine's experience as a starting point, participants sought to identify potential conditions and opportunities for a transition to democracy in Belarus and examined avenues by which external actors – particularly the EU – can promote democracy.

Pirkka Tapiola, a close adviser to Javier Solana, the High Representative for the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy, pointed out the significance of the European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR). He stated that the EIDHR is an important instrument for supporting civil society institutions in Belarus. Support for independent media is of crucial importance, he emphasized, because an information vacuum undoubtedly exists in Belarus.

Dov Lynch of the EU Institute for Security Studies in Paris argued that policies toward Belarus need to "become real". For example, linkages need to be created between positive changes in neighboring countries and domestic developments in Belarus. Lynch suggested that the EU's neighborhood and partnership programs could help to intensify this process.

These and additional considerations can be found in the book Prospects for Democracy in Belarus, which was published as a follow-up to the conference and is now in its second edition.

The conference was conducted in cooperation with the Bratislava Office of the German Marshall Fund of the United States and the Institute for Public Affairs in Warsaw.

Berlin: 7th Annual Foreign Policy Conference: "The European Perspective for the Western Balkans". Now that the process of integrating Southeastern Europe into the European Union is underway, the main responsibility for ensuring the peaceful and democratic development of the western Balkans has passed to Europe. At the 7th Annual Foreign Policy Conference, held on 6-7 July 2006, a broad spectrum of international experts took a close look at the potentials and problems in the western Balkans. Participants were in unanimous agreement that, in terms of having a



Janusz Onyszkiewicz, Vice President of the European Parliament



PROSPECTS FOR DEMOCRACY **IN BELARUS** Published by German Marshall Fund Washington 2006, 108 pages

Download available at www.boell.de

The dossier on the Annual Foreign Policy Conference is available at www.boell.de

unified policy (the Common Foreign and Security Policy) as well as available instruments for conflict management and democratization, Europe is much better equipped than it was 15 years ago. They highlighted the important progress that the region has achieved with international assistance since the 1990s. Yet they also emphasized that the international community should not feel overly assured of success. Unresolved status issues with regard to statehood (for example in Kosovo and Bosnia), ongoing ethnic conflicts and the fragility of democratic reform processes still present significant obstacles and pose potential dangers for setbacks in the integration process.

Speakers from Southeastern Europe criticized what they view as the lack of a clear European strategy for the integration process, arguing that there is a tendency in European capitals to gloss over the actual conditions. They emphasized that this is particularly problematic because the current crisis in the EU enlargement and constitutional process has provided a boost to European opponents of Western Balkan membership in the EU, thus sending the wrong signals to the region, which is having its own difficulties dealing with various transformation processes.

Berlin and Tbilisi: "The Escalation of the Russian-Georgian Conflict - Conflicts of Nationality, Regional Power Interests". In 2006, the ongoing conflict between Georgia and Russia escalated: Russia temporarily discontinued its natural gas shipments to Georgia and blocked trade with its southern neighbor. The difficult relations between the two countries were the focus of a panel discussion organized by the Heinrich Böll Foundation on 14 November 2006. Andrei Riabov of the Gorbachev Foundation's Center for Political Science Programs in Moscow emphasized that the Russian leadership wanted the developments in Russian-Georgian relations to serve as a warning in order to prevent Georgia from joining NATO. According to Paata Zakareishvili, Georgian coordinator of the Georgian-Abkhazian civil society dialogue, Georgia in fact seeks to anchor itself firmly within Western institutions and therefore wishes to join NATO as soon as possible. However, he stated, it was unfortunate that domestic reforms in the areas of justice, democratization and human rights were not making headway in Georgia. An additional problem is that the Georgian leadership views Russia as bearing sole responsibility for the conflicts with Abkhazia and South Ossetia rather than acknowledging its own co-responsibility. According to Liana Kvarchelia of the Center for Humanitarian Programs in Sukhumi, Abkhazians increasingly view themselves as pawns in a geopolitical conflict between Russia and the West. She argued that the heightened tensions between Georgia and Russia are not good for Abkhazia, because the situation increases the pressure on Abkhazia to integrate with Russia, impedes democratization efforts in Abkhazia and Georgia, and thus diminishes prospects for a peaceful and sustainable arrangement.

Berlin: 11th German-Russian Autumn Talks. This year's talks, held on 17-18 November 2006 in Berlin, focused on the topic of xenophobia and racist violence in Russia and Germany. The analysis of the situation gave cause for great alarm: in Germany, the National Democratic Party (NPD) is expanding its presence in local politics and is attempting to make its xenophobic ideology increasingly palatable. In Russia, racist attitudes seem to some extent to have entered the mainstream of society. Arseni Roginski, director of the human rights organization Memorial, argued that the Kremlin is partly responsible for the strengthening of xenophobic attitudes. He stated that the Putin government has paid scant attention to the ideals of liberty and democracy. Instead, patriotism is propagated as the idea that holds the nation together, and this leaves no space for a critical confrontation with Russia's totalitarian past.

Robin Kendon of the Mobiles Beratungsteam gegen Rechtsextremismus ("Mobile Consulting Team against Right-wing Extremism"), based in Brandenburg, underscored that it is not enough to say that nationalism is a bad thing. Rather, people must experience why democracy and the notion of universal human rights are values worth striving for.



"For the Heinrich Böll Foundation, the goal of integrating the Western Balkans into the EU is not an option. Rather, our focus involves assessing the EU's strategies and instruments, to see whether they have proven effective in consolidating the transformation process toward democracy, the rule of law and market economies. After all, this process is the foundation of European integration."

### FEMINISM AND GENDER DEMOCRACY

The equal participation of women in politics and society is a central concern for the Heinrich Böll Foundation. Its international offices support women's networks and organizations worldwide. The Foundation also advises organizations and institutions regarding the implementation of gender mainstreaming and gender democracy.

The Feminist Institute of the Heinrich Böll Foundation. The Feminist Institute continued its activities in the area of gender-oriented peace and security policy with an international expert workshop on "Gender Relations and Conflict: Causes, Courses and Solutions." The discussion paper Peace and Security for All: A Feminist Critique of the Current Peace and Security Policy also fits within this context. This publication emerged from the work of a voluntary working group at the Feminist Institute.

Russia: Gender for chainiki. In Russian, chainik means "water kettle" or "teapot". In relation to people, the word means "beginner"; for example, it is popular as a derogatory expression in traffic. Even though the root word chai (i.e., tea) originally stems from Chinese, chainik is nonetheless perceived as authentically Russian. The term gendernaya demokratiya (gender democracy) does not engender warm feelings, even among its few supporters. It sounds technical, foreign, inaccessible. So far, books and texts on the subject have been written by a small circle of experts for a small circle of readers. The approximately 10 gender centers in Russia have an equally small impact on public debate even within the narrower circles of the NGO community, to say nothing of the political and social mainstream. The booklet *Gender for chainiki,* published by the Heinrich Böll Foundation's Moscow Office and written by female Russian experts especially for Russian readers, attempts to provide a comprehensible yet comprehensive introduction to the topic by using clear language and focusing on everyday life in Russia. Its success proves that the attempt was worthwhile. The book is in strong demand by universities and libraries as well as non-women's NGOs, journalists and politicians from liberal parties.

Gender Mainstreaming in Turkey: Opportunities and Risks. Gender mainstreaming is slowly becoming an issue in Turkey as well. Throughout September 2006, the Heinrich Böll Foundation invited experts to discuss gender mainstreaming in politics, education, working life and in the matrix of relations between family, religion and society. These workshops were followed by an international conference, held on 23 September in Istanbul, which addressed the meaning, practice and implementation of gender mainstreaming in Turkey and compared the situation in Turkey with corresponding policies in other countries. These discussions revealed that the institutionalization of gender mainstreaming in Turkey is very difficult because planned legislative reforms are not implemented in practice and exist only on paper. In fact, only non-governmental organizations are working actively on this issue - without any support from government, which is ignoring its responsibilities in this regard.

There are four specific points that are particularly important for the implementation of gender mainstreaming in Turkey: the establishment of institutional preconditions; a concept and road map for gender mainstreaming; comprehensive research; and commitment on the part of political decision-makers. Turkey is still at the beginning of a long and difficult path with respect to gender mainstreaming.

PEACE AND SECURITY FOR ALL Ed. by the Feminist Institute of the Heinrich Böll Foundation Berlin 2006, 72 pages, 5,00 Euro

Download at www.glow-boell.de

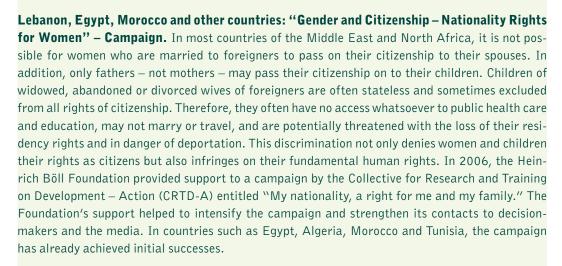


Gender for beginners – a publication of the Foundation's Moscow Office

www.boell-tr.org

Arab Middle East: Network against Violence against Women. Five women's organizations from Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon and the Palestinian territories have banded together to form the SALMA network, with the goal of actively combating violence against women. This regional cooperation project was initiated by the Foundation's regional office in Ramallah and then coordinated under the auspices of the EU. In 2006, the Egyptian women's organization focused on the advanced training of women who work voluntarily on social issues in rural areas. Following months of confrontation with the Palestinian Social Ministry, the first Battered Women's Shelter opened in Jericho in the West Bank, and its staff received training. In Amman, Jordan, the Foundation's partner organization operates a website that serves as the only comprehensive source of information on violence against women in the Arab world.

At the end of 2006, the European Commission approved an additional project that, over the next two years, will enable these women's organizations to conduct a collective, cross-border campaign to criminalize domestic violence - a first in the region! Additional women's and human rights organizations in other Arab countries will also be recruited for this campaign.



Lebanon: "International Day against Homophobia". Helem (Arabic for "dream") is the only organization in the Middle East that is publicly active in fighting discrimination against homosexuals and bisexuals; as a result, its efforts openly question dominant social, cultural and legal norms. It is hardly surprising that the organization was founded in Beirut, since that city has long been known for its relative tolerance and cultural diversity. Nonetheless, even in Beirut, homosexuals encounter significant social resistance and are frequently the victims of police or civilian violence. Helem offers counseling services and above all attempts to raise public awareness and to establish sexual rights as rights of citizenship. In 2006, the Beirut Office of the Heinrich Böll Foundation supported Helem's broad-based campaign on the occasion of the International Day against Homophobia. A special edition of the magazine Barra was dedicated to the topic of homophobia, and the first Arabic-language book was published which identifies homophobic behavior and gives a voice to both affected people and activists. The book also introduces new Arabic terminology to counter widespread language-based discrimination. The volume thus serves as a useful source of information for journalists, doctors, psychologists and social workers.



Demonstration of women in Gaza



Campaign: "My nationality, a right for me and my family"

### www.crtda.org



Special edition of the magazine Barra, dedicated to homophobia.

Download available at



Clara Herrmann is studying geography, economics and business administration at Berlin's Humboldt University and has been a Heinrich Böll Foundation fellow since October 2006. Like Heinrich Böll, Clara Herrmann wants to "be involved, not just observe": she is a member of the Berlin State Parliament, spokesperson for Alliance 90/The Greens on youth issues, and a member of the Humboldt University student



Dr. René Wildangel, former doctoral fellow. After completing his doctoral dissertation on "The Arabic-Palestinian Encounter with National Socialism," he worked as a desk officer in the German Foreign Office. He is currently serving as policy expert for Working Group IV (Foreign policy, foreign cultural policy, human rights, development policy, defense, Europe) of the Alliance 90/The Greens parliamentary group. He specializes in the issues of international institutions, the Middle East, and Muslim states.

### SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM: PROMOTING YOUNG TALENT

The Heinrich Böll Foundation supports undergraduate, graduate and doctoral students from all fields of study, both within Germany and abroad. Through this support, the Foundation aims to discover and promote the potential of promising scholars and to recruit young people to become globally engaged in the pursuit of the Foundation's goals: democracy, solidarity, environmental action, sustainable policies and human rights.

Focus of Support. In 2006, a total of 616 students received scholarships; of these, 425 were undergraduate and graduate students and 191 were doctoral candidates. The period of support generally varies from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  and 3 years. In addition to its focus on humanities and the social sciences as well as art and cultural studies, the Foundation is continuing to expand its support for previously under-represented fields such as economics, law, technology/engineering, media studies and the natural sciences. Special target groups for support are women (approximately 66 percent in 2006) and people with immigrant backgrounds (approximately 16 percent in 2006). The Scholarship Program also provides support to foreign students and graduates who have begun a course of study in Germany or wish to obtain a doctoral degree. While the Foundation places a particular regional priority on supporting students from Central and Eastern Europe as well as the CIS countries, it welcomes applications from throughout the world.

Conceptual Support/Promoting Ideas. The Scholarship Program offers more than just financial support. Through its conceptual support of young scholars, the Foundation places a particular priority on providing students with the opportunity to explore their possibilities for action, open up new realms of thought, engage in policy discussions, establish networks, and participate in international exchanges. The program supports sociopolitical debate as well as the academic qualification and personal development of its fellows. This is accomplished through an extensive accompanying program for both fellows and alumni that encompasses 70–80 events per year.

International Exchanges. Creating international spaces for meetings and promoting academic exchanges are central Foundation objectives. For example, the Scholarship Program provides support to fellows who wish to study, conduct research or obtain practical training abroad, and it invites fellows from the Sur-Place Programs to Germany. Particularly popular are the severalmonth internships in the Foundation's international offices. In 2006, Foundation support enabled a total of 172 fellows to travel to foreign countries in order to study abroad for a year or complete practical training. The most popular countries and regions for a sojourn abroad are still Great Britain, France, the United States and Central and South America, followed by Central and Eastern Europe and the CIS countries.

In 2006, the Heinrich Böll Foundation also participated for the first time in the European Journalism Fellowship Program of the Free University of Berlin (Institute for Media and Communication Studies). The program offers journalists primarily from Central and Eastern Europe as well as the CIS countries the opportunity to work in Berlin on a research project for one year.

Alumni Networking. The Scholarship Program seeks to maintain contact with its constantly expanding group of former fellows (which currently numbers 1,650) and promotes exchanges and cooperation among them. A regular newsletter informs the alumni about Foundation news and alumni activities. In 2006, the 4th Alumni Salon took place in the gallery of the Heinrich Böll Foundation, with over 100 alumni in attendance. The Salon focused on the topic of "Intercultural Coexistence and Anti-Discrimination Strategies."

### FELLOWSHIP PROGRAMS ABROAD

With funds from the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development and the Foreign Office, the Heinrich Böll Foundation supports four Sur-Place Fellowship Programs in Russia, Central America, the Southern Caucasus and Bosnia-Herzegovina. The respective international offices of the Heinrich Böll Foundation have the primary responsibility for selecting and supervising the fellows.

Moscow Office. The fellowship program in Russia has been supporting students since 1994 in the fields of sociology, history and law and places a particular emphasis on funding students outside the metropolises of Moscow and St. Petersburg. The historical research projects concentrate on the history of repression by the totalitarian Soviet system, particularly on the study of regional histories of political persecution. As early as the 1990s, the program's regional history studies set a standard that is still generally applicable today. The sociological research projects primarily address the living conditions of minorities in Russia, while the legal projects focus on current human rights issues. In total, the program, which is carried out in cooperation with Memorial and the St. Petersburg Centre for Independent Social Research, has helped approximately 200 young scholars to continue their research in Russia. An Alumni Program is currently being established.

Mexico City Office. For 10 years, the Fellowship Program has been helping university graduates to participate in selected courses of graduate study at prestigious universities and other academic institutions in Mexico. Support is provided to graduates in the fields of sociology, regional planning and development, as well as economics. More than 80 fellowships have thus far been granted; of these, approximately two-thirds were awarded to women. About 37 percent of fellowships went to El Salvador, 30 percent to Nicaragua and 19 percent to Cuba. The Program was only very recently opened up to interested students from Guatemala, the Dominican Republic and Haiti. The completion rate is 95 percent, which is very impressive in a region where long-term armed conflicts have had extremely detrimental effects on schools and universities. Even today, however, the institutes are inadequately equipped, the instructors are poorly paid, and traditions of research and publication remain underdeveloped.

Tbilisi Office. This Fellowship Program aims to reform the social sciences by supporting individual research projects that both focus on and are conducted in the region. This program concurrently serves as a way for the Foundation to build up a network of young social scientists who will later be able to perform important functions within the context of regional projects and educational activities. The organization of this regional program in a region torn by serious political conflicts requires considerable investments of time and political attention. An international selection committee was formed to select fellows at the end of each year from a pool of up to 100 applicants. Particular emphasis is placed on the development of cross-border networks and follow-up projects. For example, two publications that examine multiple aspects of the origins of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict are currently being jointly prepared by fellows from Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Sarajevo Office. This Fellowship Program is directed toward students of the humanities as well as natural and technical sciences who demonstrate a particular interest in environmental issues. Because many young people are departing the region, Bosnia-Herzegovina is losing the very potential that could ensure future social change. The Fellowship Program strives to keep young people in the country and provide them with perspectives for the future. More than 80 fellowships have been awarded to date.

www.boell.ru

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### MIGRATION, DIVERSITY AND INTERCULTURAL DEMOCRACY

The political, social and economic challenges facing societies with high levels of immigration are multifaceted and affect both the migrants themselves as well as the societies that take them in. The Heinrich Böll Foundation deals with questions of integration, diversity and multiculturalism as a societal reality.

Berlin: "New Alliances for Integration". It is a part of the multicultural reality of Germany and other western European states: Immigrants are an established part of society and make an enormous contribution to the economy, social stability as well as art and culture. Nonetheless, a majority of them participate in public life only to a limited extent. The event series titled "New Alliances for Integration" investigates the reasons for this inadequate level of participation in actively shaping society. Several expert meetings on this issue took place in 2006. For example, in Frankfurt/Main in September, a meeting was held on the topic of "Democracy - Equal Opportunity - Participation in the Economy and Work," where discussants focused primarily on the issue of integration in the labor market. It is well-known that the unemployment rate for immigrants is high. Nonetheless, there are plenty of examples of individuals who have succeeded in breaking through in the labor market. Some of these persons were introduced at the event. The central conclusion of the discussion can be summarized as follows: Despite the legal progress achieve in recent years and the success of numerous immigrants, a fundamental shift in consciousness is still necessary. The talent and potential of immigrants remain inadequately recognized and utilized.

Hamburg: "Fortress Europe? The Consequences of Labor Migration". This conference, held on 16-17 February 2006, examined the economic characteristics of several European immigration countries and their policies toward immigrants. The legalization campaigns in Italy and Spain, which primarily benefited labor migrants in low-wage sectors, as well as the opening of labor markets in Great Britain, Ireland and Sweden to citizens from new EU member states provide various examples of differences in labor market policies throughout Europe. Antje Möller, member of the Hamburg state parliament, argued that in contrast to other countries, Germany lacks a strong debate on the opening of Europe and the need for additional labor. According to Möller, if the debate takes place at all, it is dominated by fear. René Plaetevoet of the Belgian organization "December 18" pointed out the necessity of agreements to protect immigrants' rights. The International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families



### Cairo: Exhibition on "The Maghreb Connection - Movements of Life Across North Africa". Relations between North Africa and Europe have changed fundamentally during the past few decades. On the one hand, Europe devotes significant effort to containing migration flows; on the other hand, however, European industries are attempting to expand into the Maghreb countries in order to attain raw materials and cheap labor. The increasingly complex forms of mobility and the socio-economic dynamics in the Mediterranean region were the focus of an exhibition which was supported by the Beirut Office of the Heinrich Böll Foundation and presented in Cairo in December 2006. The exhibition items included cartography, animated films, video, photos and installations by artists from Europe as well as Egypt, Libya and Morocco. In addition, a visual conference addressed such issues as the growing transformation of North Africa into a transit region for sub-Saharan African migrants on their way to Europe. Tourist resorts next to refugee reception centers in Lampedusa and massive harbor projects next to refugee camps in Tangiers provide examples of the contradictory aspects of globalization.



Fortress Europe - the European Union seals off its borders ever more tightly against the influx of refugees and migrantsab

### **CONTEMPORARY HISTORY**

The interpretation of historical events is of immense political significance. For example, collective and/or national identities are strongly based on such interpretations of history. In regular events and publications dealing with the culture of remembrance and the politics of memory, the Heinrich Böll Foundation seeks to reflect critically on such interpretations. This includes addressing the subject of National Socialism and the consequences of other totalitarian ideologies.

Berlin: International Hannah Arendt Conference. October 2006 marked the 100th anniversary of the birth of Hannah Arendt, one of the best-known thinkers of the 20th century. For the Heinrich Böll Foundation, this provided an occasion to present and discuss Arendt's works. The conference "Concealed Tradition - Untimely Relevance", held on 5-7 October, provided a forum for examining the contemporary relevance of Arendt's political thought. The opening lecture was given by Jerome Kohn, Director of the Hannah Arendt Center in New York and Arendt's last assistant. He raised the concept of a "break with tradition" and pointed out that Arendt's response to the catastrophe of World War II was to reformulate "the political" in a manner that transcended both liberalism and conservatism.

The first part of the conference investigated the impact that the revolutionary critique contained in the existentialist philosophy of the 1920s had upon traditional metaphysics. In the philosophical debates of those times, the "German" and "Jewish" traditions of thought still overlapped. The divide did not occur until the rise of National Socialism and from that point on became insurmountable. Arendt drew philosophical consequences from the Holocaust. For her, the totalitarianism of the 20th century represented the downfall of modernity, and this was accompanied by the disappearance of the political sphere as she understood it.

What is the significance of Arendt's philosophy for contemporary political theory? In the view of Rainer Forst, professor of political theory and philosophy in Frankfurt, Arendt viewed history as catastrophe and not as progress and sought to gather rescuing forces as a result. However, Oliver Marchart from the University of Basel perceived an ambivalence in Arendt's republicanism, because her idea of "public happiness" represents an interesting, optimistic component within her theory. If one takes a closer look at the current dilemma of reduced national sovereignty and institutionalized politics, as constitutional law expert Gertrude Lübbe-Wolf did in her presentation, it becomes evident that Arendt raised and analyzed crucial problems in a globalized world in a manner that is nearly prophetic.

Nicaragua: "Tren Cultural" - A Museographic Experiment. In Nicaragua, the Heinrich Böll Foundation provides support to a very special project: the Tren Cultural (Culture Train), a type of mobile museum. Wherever the train stops, three converted truck containers encircle a covered platform. This is where the tour begins. "Reading is power" is the motto of the exhibition. With the assistance of up-to-date technology, the mostly very young visitors encounter the literacy brigades of the 1980s. They become acquainted with a part of their history which official Nicaragua no longer tells in that manner. The exhibition shows nearly-forgotten photographs and reminders of a revolution that produced impressive educational indicators in a very short period of time, which have once again fallen to deplorably low levels after only 15 years of liberal government. Backpacks, lamps, boots and personal items deliver an impression of everyday life in the brigades. Letters from the "pupils" of that time to their usually younger "teachers" are exhibited as well. Above all, the Tren Cultural also serves as a reminder that it was precisely young people – who were exactly the same age as today's visitors to the exhibition - who helped to change Nicaragua in the early 1980s.



"I wish to view politics, as it were, with eves that are not clouded by philosophy." Hannah Arendt in a conversation with Günter Gaus on 28 October 1964



The "Tren Cultural" informs about the literacy brigades of the 1980s in Nicaragua.

### **ART AND CULTURE**

Promoting the creation and dissemination of literary and artistic works: this is also a fundamental component of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's civic education activities. Panel discussions and conferences focus primarily on the political dimensions of art and culture, its ability to shake the status quo and its potential for providing insights into contemporary developments.

Berlin: "Well Played" - Arab-Iranian Film Festival. Migration, post-war structures, Islamic traditions, urban life, and conflicts between generations, ethnic groups and sexes ... the themes of Arab film are as diverse as its perspectives and visual languages. From 31 January-5 February 2006, the Heinrich Böll Foundation held an Arab-Iranian film festival that brought the multifaceted world of Arab and Iranian cinema closer to a German audience. Following the screenings, viewers enjoyed the opportunity to engage in question-and-answer sessions with the filmmakers. A second phase of the film festival took place on 15–16 October 2006. This time, the focus was on the films of Iranian women directors. Feature films, documentaries and short films depicted the everyday lives of women caught between tradition, conservative Islamic laws, and modern secular lifestyles. After their film screenings, the two directors Tahmineh Milani ("The Unwanted Woman") and Mona Zandi Haghighi ("On a Friday Afternoon") discussed the problems of Islamist state censorship and self-censorship. Their examples showed that, contrary to widespread beliefs, spaces do exist for addressing politically and socially controversial issues.

Rabat: "Transcultural Iconography" - Seminar. In 2006, two events provided particularly powerful examples of the power of images: the protests against the caricatures of the prophet Mohammed, published in a Danish newspaper, and the "war of images" of civilian victims of the Lebanon war. The dispute over the caricatures, in particular, highlighted the impact of global communication networks, which until then had not been sufficiently taken into account. In cooperation with the Goethe Institute, the Beirut Office of the Heinrich Böll Foundation organized a seminar entitled "Transcultural Iconography" on 28-29 October 2006. Along with Moroccan cultural studies experts, participants discussed cultural differences in the perception of visual images, and what implications these differences have for the field of journalism. In addition, a network of Lebanese filmmakers, Cinemayat, presented short films which were shot by amateurs during the Lebanon war and disseminated via the internet. The short films stimulated a discussion about possibilities for producing alternative visual images that originate from within the Arab world itself. The seminar was part of the "Living Globality" project, an exchange program for journalists from Germany and Arab Mediterranean countries who specialize in cultural issues.

Frankfurt: The Heinrich Böll Foundation at the Book Fair. In October 2006, the Heinrich Böll Foundation once again had a stand at the Frankfurt Book Fair. Visitors had the opportunity to gather information about the Foundation's work, browse through new publications and consult with fellows from the Scholarship Program about fellowship-granting procedures. The Foundation's stand always serves as "base camp" for its guest speakers both before and after their appearances. This year, India was the Book Fair's annual Guest of Honour. The Foundation offered a series of events dealing with India, including the panel discussion "Religion and cultural diversity in India: a role model for tolerance and integration?" as part of the Forum Dialogue. Guest speakers at this event included Ashgar Ali Engineer, Director of the Center for the Study of Society and Secularism in Bombay, and Swami Agnivesh, founder of Religions for Social Justice, a multi-denominational forum based in Delhi.



The Well Played-Festival depicted the multifaceted world of Arab and Iranian cinema



Panel discussion with Indian social activist Swami Agnivesh

Beirut: "Travelling is Impossible: Harun, Kodwo and I" - Film Retrospective. Media depictions of war, violence, racism and social conflicts formed the centerpiece of a film retrospective in Beirut entitled "Travelling is Impossible: Harun, Kodwo and I," which presented works by German documentary filmmaker Harun Farocki and the British Black Audio Film Collective (BAFC). While the BAFC showed films that consciously blur the boundaries between documentary and fictional films in order to highlight the fictitious character of constructions of history, Mr. Farocki is clearly a practitioner of contemporary documentary film-making. For example, his film "Videograms of a Revolution" consists exclusively of original video clips recorded during the Bucharest uprising in 1989. At that time, demonstrators occupied the national television station, broadcast for 120 hours and thereby transformed the television studio into a historiographic location. Farocki edited the video material into an evening-long documentary. His documentary essay "Erkennen und Verfolgen" (Recognize and Pursue) focuses on televised images from the 1991 Gulf War, some of which were taken from cameras mounted on the tips of projectiles, a phenomenon that served to merge waging and reporting on war. Using the example of his films, Farocki explained and discussed the way in which conflicts are communicated through images produced both by the military and technology developers as well as by opposition movements.

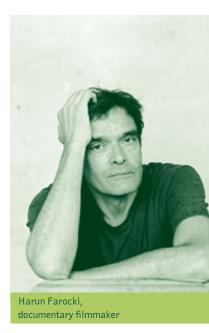
The retrospective was organized by the Lebanese organization Ashkal Alwan (The Lebanese Association for the Plastic Arts) in cooperation with the Beirut Office of the Heinrich Böll Foundation.

Chiang Mai: "Such Is Life!" - Exhibition. As in all modern societies, beauty is commercialized in Thailand as well. Women in particular are expected to conform to specific media-disseminated ideals of beauty in order to be desired and accepted. In November 2006, the Chiang Mai Office of the Heinrich Böll Foundation sponsored the exhibition "Such Is Life!", which offered a critical assessment of predominant conceptions of beauty and the perfect body. For example, Thai artist Estelle Cohennys showed an alternative to prevalent notions of beauty in her work "The Other Barbie." Rather than depicting typical standard-version beauty, her "Barbies" are images of real women, with their rough edges and blemishes intact, just like in everyday life. A previous workshop attended by artists from Chiang Mai and northern Thailand provided the impetus for the exhibition.

Yerevan and Istanbul: "MerhaBarev" (Hello). This was the title of an Armenian-Turkish photo exhibition opened in Yerevan in October 2006. The exhibition was the outcome of a unique idea for a project developed by the Foundation's offices in Istanbul and Tbilisi: five Armenian photojournalists from the Patker Photo Agency traveled to Istanbul, and five Turkish photojournalists from the Narfoto Agency journeyed to Yerevan. Far off the beaten path for tourists, their goal was to capture everyday life with their cameras. At both locations, approximately 60 black-and-white photographs were taken which reveal insights into the culture, traditions and people of the two cities.

This project succeeded in building a unique bridge between two neighboring countries whose borders have been closed for more than 80 years and that do not maintain diplomatic relations with one another. The positive resonance and great interest that greeted the exhibition, which was presented in Istanbul, Tbilisi and numerous additional cities in Turkey and Armenia following its debut in Yerevan, show that understanding is possible. The title itself was characteristic of the exhibition and its purpose: "MerhaBarev" is a combination of the words for "hello" in both languages - "Merhaba" in Turkish and "Barev" in Armenian.

A four-language catalogue of the exhibition (in Armenian, Turkish, English and German) is available via e-mail at info@boell-tr.org.





Tolga Sezgin (Patker Photo Agency)

### HEINRICH BÖLL HOUSE IN LANGENBROICH

Throughout the world, artists take positions on political and social issues without regard to the prevailing opinions, and despite repression and persecution. With their dedication to free thought, they make a valuable contribution to the development and maintenance of democracy and human rights. Through the Fellowship Program of the Heinrich Böll House Langenbroich, the Heinrich Böll Foundation supports these artists' commitment, in the spirit of the Foundation's namesake.

### **FELLOWS IN THE YEAR 2006**

Eva Durán, journalist, poet and writer from Colombia (born in 1976). Her texts are influenced by her life in Cartagena, a city which has never been able to shed its dark past as a center of the slave trade. Particularly her poems offer compact depictions of society and the intimate relationships between the sexes. Eva Durán received a fellowship from the International Poetry Festival in Medellín in 1997, and was awarded the literature prize of the city of Cartagena in 1999 and 2003.

Jiao Guobiao, writer, journalist and university professor from China (born in 1963). He was chief reporter for the "Chinese Cultural Newspaper" and published numerous internet articles and essays focusing on democratization processes in China. Beginning in 2001, Guobiao was professor at Beijing University's College of Journalism and Communications. He was fired in March 2005 after he sharply criticized the central propaganda department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and demanded the abolition of its censorship authority. He has been a fellow of the "Writers in Exile" program of the P.E.N. Center in Germany since February 2007.

Amir Valle, writer, essayist, literary critic and journalist from Cuba (born in 1967). His 15 books have been translated into several languages and awarded both international and Cuban prizes, most recently in 2006 with the renowned Spanish Vargas Llosa Award. In the meantime, his works have been banned in Cuba, and his links to the Cuban dissident movement caused repressive measures to be directed against him. These became more severe when his study on prostitution in Cuba, condemned by Fidel Castro, was circulated secretly throughout the country. He received a "Writers in Exile" fellowship from the P.E.N. Center in Germany in August 2006.

Sabit Madaliev, writer and poet from Tashkent, Uzbekistan (born in 1949). He lived in Moscow until 1991 and returned to Uzbekistan during the years of perestroika. He published a literary journal there until he was fired in 1995. Publication of his poems and essays was banned, and his analytical texts on the development of democracy in Uzbekistan and the phenomenon of terrorism could only be published abroad.

Arian Leka, writer, poet and musician from Albania (born in 1966). Leka belongs to a group of young writers who have opened up a new chapter in the history of Albanian literature. His poems and prose have been translated into English, Italian, French, Portuguese, Romanian, Croatian and German, and have been awarded several literary prizes. He is also the editor of the literary journal *Poeteka* and organizer of the international literary festival of the same name.

Ahmad Faal, writer from Teheran, Iran (born in 1958). He studied industrial and trade management and is the author of several books. His numerous essays and articles on politics, philosophy and science have been published in journals outside of Iran and on the internet.



Eva Durán (r) and Sigrun Reckhaus



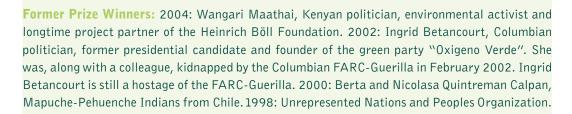
Amir Valle



Arian and Sylvana Leka

### **AWARDS**

2006 Petra Kelly Prize: Russian human rights lawyer Yuri Schmidt. The founder and chair of the Russian Lawyer's Committee for Human Rights has been one of Mikhail Khodorkovsky's lawyers since 2004, and at the end of the 1990s he served as defense counsel for Alexander Nikitin, the naval officer and ecologist who was accused of spying. "With this award, the Heinrich Böll Foundation pays tribute to Yuri Schmidt's outstanding commitment to the respect for human rights and the establishment of the rule of law in Russia. As a lawyer, he has worked tirelessly for years to ensure that his clients have access to court procedures that comply with the rule of law. Yuri Schmidt fights both in the courtroom and in public against the arbitrary and selective application of the law by the state in Russia and in other republics of the former Soviet Union," the selection committee stated in awarding the prize. Yuri Schmidt has been subjected to numerous acts of hostility due to his work. As such, the prize also represented a gesture of solidarity with the award-winner and with many other human rights activists in Russia; and it constituted an appeal to the Russian government as well. With prize money of €10,000, the Petra Kelly Prize has been awarded every two years since 1998 to individuals or groups that demonstrate outstanding commitment to respect for universal human rights, nonviolent conflict resolution, and the protection of the natural environment.



Peace Film Award: "Grbavica" by Jasmila Zbanic. The film is set in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the post-war era. Esma lives with her 12-year-old daughter, Sara, in the Grbavica neighborhood in Sarajevo. Sara's father died in the Bosnian war. As a result, Esma works as a nightclub waitress because the support she receives from the state doesn't make ends meet. In order to avoid paying the full price for her class trip, Sara has to prove that her father was a war hero. But Esma is unable to come up with the necessary proof and appears to be hiding something from her daughter. Sara begins to dig deeper and coaxes her mother to reveal wartime secrets. The statement of the Jury, which awarded "Grbavica" the 21st Peace Film Award of the International Film Festival in Berlin, describes it as "a sensitive and disquieting film about the consequences of war and the attempt to find a new beginning by speaking the truth, a new beginning where hope and the courage for life appear on the horizon. In her first feature film, the director tells this depressing story with a great deal of artistic sovereignty, and deeply moves her audience." The €5,000 award is funded by the Heinrich Böll Foundation.

### 2006 Hannah Arendt Prize: Julia Kristeva, French psychoanalyst, philosopher and writer. In explaining its decision, the selection committee honored Kristeva's ability to think in terms of broader public issues, beyond the boundaries of academic disciplines. The committee stated that Kristeva has made the borders between psychoanalysis and political thought permeable: as a political person, she questions the evidence in academic and scientific discourse; and as a psychoanalyst and writer, she emphasizes the need to be open to the political sphere. The prize, which consists of €7,500, has been awarded since 1995 and is funded by the Senator for Education and Science of the Free Hanseatic City of Bremen and the Heinrich Böll Foundation.





### **NEWS FROM THE FOUNDATION**

Construction of the New Central Office of the Foundation in Berlin Mitte. The Heinrich Böll Foundation has a total of €12.4 million of federal construction funds at its disposal, which it is investing in the construction of a new home in the heart of Berlin. By spring 2008, a new building within walking distance of the government district will be completed according to the design of the Zurich architectural firm e2a / Eckert Eckert architects. The central office's bel étage will provide space for conferences and meetings seating up to 200 people who attend the diverse national and international events that the Foundation organizes within the framework of its civic education activities. The upper floors will provide modern office space for approximately 180 Foundation employees. The building will comply with high standards of energy efficiency supported by the minimal use of technology and individual responsibility for ventilation and lighting. The philosophy of the new structure emphasizes the visible, reduced use of materials, and a priority will be placed on environmentally friendly construction materials.

New International Office of the Heinrich Böll Foundation in Ethiopia. After almost five years of absence, the Heinrich Böll Foundation returned to Ethiopia in 2006 with the opening of a new office. The Foundation had closed down its former office in 2001 and had conducted its work from regional office for the Horn of Africa. However, the increasing regional significance of Ethiopia and the fact that Addis Ababa, as the seat of the African Union and the UN Economic Commission for Africa, has become an important site for the continent's development persuaded the Foundation re-establish an office in Addis Ababa. By 28 June 2006, everything was ready: on that date, the country office under the direction of Christian Peters-Berries was officially opened.

Personnel News. The Heinrich Böll Foundation's Executive Board was reelected at the Membership Assembly in November 2006. Barbara Unmüßig and Ralf Fücks, together with Chief Executive Officer Dr. Birgit Laubach, will form the leadership team for the coming five years. Peter Siller took over the leadership of the Domestic Division in January 2006. The international offices have the following new directors: Katrin Altmeyer in Beijing, Marion Müller in Kabul, Dragoslav Dedovic in Belgrade, Dr. Michael Köberlein in New Delhi, Layla Al-Zubaidi in Beirut, Jörn Böhme in Tel Aviv, Axel Harneit-Sievers in Nairobi, Stefan Cramer in Lagos, and Antonie Nord in Capetown.

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 2006, the Heinrich Böll Foundation had about €38 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%, Near and Middle East 14%, Africa 18%, Europe 28%, multi-regional projects 4%.



The Heinrich Böll Foundation has once again been operating an office in Ethiopia since summer 2006.

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### THE HEINRICH BÖLL FOUNDATION MISSION STATEMENT

### Who We Are, What We Do

The Heinrich Böll Foundation is part of the Green political movement that has developed worldwide as a response to the traditional politics of socialism, liberalism, and conservatism. Our main tenets are ecology and sustainability, democracy and human rights, self-determination and justice. We place particular emphasis on gender democracy, meaning social emancipation and equal rights for women and men. We are also committed to equal rights for cultural and ethnic minorities and to the societal and political participation of immigrants. Finally, we promote non-violence and proactive peace policies.

To achieve our goals, we seek strategic partnerships with others who share our values. We are an independent organisation, that is, we determine our own priorities and policies. We are based in the Federal Republic of Germany, yet we are an international actor in both ideal and practical terms.

Our namesake, the writer and Nobel Prize laureate Heinrich Böll, personifies the values we stand for: defence of freedom, civic courage, tolerance, open debate, and the valuation of art and culture as independent spheres of thought and action.

### We Are a Green Think Tank

- We promote democratic reforms and social innovation.
- We work on ecological policies and sustainable development on a global level.
- We provide space for the presentation of and debate on art and culture.
- We transfer knowledge and skills from experts to political actors.
  - We provide a forum for open debate and promote dialogue between politics, business, academia, and society.
- We support talented students active on socio-political issues both in Germany and abroad.
- We document the history of the Green movement in order to promote research and provide political inspiration.

### We Are an International Policy Network

- We are part of the global Green network and promote the development of the Green political movement on all continents.
  - We focus especially on the broadening and deepening of the European Green movement.
- We work actively for the development of a political European public.
  - We support the participation of civil society in politics and, within the framework of multilateral organizations, take part in conferences and negotiations.

# We Are Active on Ecology, Democracy, and Human Rights Worldwide

- We consider ecology and democracy to be inseparable. We therefore support individuals and projects that are committed to ecology, human rights, democracy, and self-determination.
- We support respect for the rule of law and democratic participation in all parts of the world.
- We promote the abolition of conditions of dominance, dependency, and violence between the sexes.
- We encourage civic and civil-society activism as it is a constituent factor of all democratic political culture.
- We train activists so that they can successfully selforganize and participate in political processes.

#### **Our Culture**

The national Heinrich Böll Foundation works in close co-operation with its co-foundations in all of Germany's 16 states. Mutual respect and trusting co-operation among ourselves and with our partners are the bases of our business relationships.

We are an open organization. The executive board and all of our employees engage in open dialogue, both internally and externally.

We promote equal opportunities, attentive, respectful dealings between women and men, intercultural competence, and a productive engagement with diversity.

We aim to constantly evaluate and improve our work. We undertake and take seriously both internal and external evaluations.

Commitment, expert and social competence, and flexibility are features of our employees, both in Germany and abroad. They are highly qualified, team-oriented and, with their high level of motivation, they constitute the most important asset of the Foundation.

We strive to be a reliable partner for volunteer work and for co-operation with third parties.

We handle the funds at our disposal economically and efficiently and assure transparent operations.

As a political foundation, we act independently; this also applies in respect to our relationship with the German Green Party. We are autonomous in selecting our executive officers and staffing our committees.

HEINRICH BÖLL FOUNDATION The Heinrich Böll Foundation, affiliated with
the Green Party and headquartered in the Hackesche Höfe in the heart of Berlin, is a legally
independent political foundation working in the spirit of intellectual openness.
Foundation's primary objective is to support political education both within Germany and
abroad, thus promoting democratic involvement, sociopolitical activism, and cross-cultural
understanding. The Foundation also provides support for art and culture, science and research,
and developmental cooperation. Its activities are guided by the fundamental political values
of ecology, democracy, solidarity, and non-violence.
meddle in politics is the example upon which the work of the Foundation is modeled.
Heinrich Böll Foundation strives to stimulate sociopolitical reform by acting as a forum for
debate, both on fundamental issues and those of current interest.
particular importance on attaining gender democracy — signifying a relationship between the
sexes characterized by freedom from dependence and dominance The Heinrich Böll
Foundation's educational activities have a political basis, an ethical outlook, and strive to
promote various forms of cultural expression. The Foundation supports art and culture as part of
its political education work and as a crucial element of each society's self-image.
of its international collaboration with a large number of project partners — currently numbering
about 100 projects in almost 60 countries – the Foundation aims to strengthen ecological and
civil activism on a global level, to intensify the exchange of ideas and experiences, and to keep
our sensibilities alert for change. The Heinrich Böll Foundation's collaboration on sociopolitical
education programs with its project partners abroad is on a long-term basis. Additional important
instruments of international cooperation include visitor programs, which enhance the exchange
of experiences and of political networking, as well as basic and advanced training programs for
committed activists. The Heinrich Böll Foundation's Study Program considers itself a
workshop for the future; its activities include providing support to especially talented students
and academicians, promoting theoretical work of sociopolitical relevance, and working to
overcome the compartmentalisation of science into exclusive subjects.
Foundation has about 170 full-time employees as well as approximately 385 supporting members
who provide both financial and non-material assistance. Ralf Fücks and Barbara Unmüßig
comprise the current Executive Board. Dr. Birgit Laubach is the CEO of the Foundation.
The members assembly, comprised of 49 persons, is the Foundation's foremost decision-making
organ; its responsibilities include electing the Executive Board. Expert advisory boards
(7–10 people each) are staffed by independent experts who consult with the Foundation and
formulate suggestions regarding conceptual issues raised in the educational programs.
The Foundation's by-laws provide for a quota of women and immigrants on all the Foundation's
bodies and among its full-time staff. The Foundation currently maintains offices in the
USA and the Arab Middle East, in Afghanistan, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Brazil, Cambodia, China,
Croatia, the Czech Republic, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Georgia, India, Israel, Kenya, Lebanon,
Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Russia, South Africa, Serbia, Thailand, Turkey, and an EU
office in Brussels. ■ In 2006, the Foundation had €38 million public funds at its disposal.

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