

Annual Report 2009



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Foreword

Climate change, the global food crisis, and poverty continue to pose enormous challenges to international politics. While the global financial crisis has had an impact on every country in the world, it has wiped out progress toward development particularly in the poorest countries. The ongoing war in Afghanistan, the instability of states such as Pakistan, and the continuing tensions in the Middle East present major challenges to foreign and security policy. The issues of arms control and nuclear disarmament have become increasingly urgent. And in many countries, democratization processes are experiencing alarming setbacks.

These are just a few of the key developments and conditions confronting the international work of the Heinrich Böll Foundation. For us, these challenges represent both an obligation and an inspiration to help overcome current and future crises through the development of new political concepts and alliances.

The failure of the Copenhagen Climate Change Conference (COP 15) does not signal the end of climate policy. We know that solutions to the problems of climate change, the economic crisis, the global food crisis, and international poverty are tightly interlinked. Furthermore, there is increasing awareness and agreement that climate protection can serve as a key driver of new prosperity. We are standing at the transition point between the fossil fuel-driven industrial age and a new epoch of sustainability – and this means a heightened emphasis on renewable energy sources, resource-efficient technology, and environment-friendly products. The Heinrich Böll Foundation is actively involved, with numerous projects and partners, in shaping this great transformation.

The vision of “gender democracy” is one of the foundational principles and driving forces that underlies both our organization and our work. The fruits that this idea has borne in our international work have now been pooled together for the first time in our publication, *Gender Politics Makes a Difference*. The Foundation’s Gunda Werner Institute (GWI) is a special hub for efforts to implement our guiding principle of gender democracy. Through such activities as our Ladies Lunches, our men’s forums, and our continuous focus on such priority topics as “gender and security”, the Foundation has become a leading address in the field of gender policy.

Our new headquarters in the heart of Berlin now provides a forum for events in a wide variety of formats ranging from major international conferences to art exhibits, concerts, and theater performances. Two outstanding examples in 2009 included the summertime guest performance by Berlin’s Neukölln Opera Company at the Foundation headquarters, as well as the highly regarded art exhibition “nochnichtmehr – action in unmarked spaces”.

The Foundation’s scholarship program has also enjoyed major advances in recent years. The number of program fellows has grown at a rapid pace, and we have succeeded in expanding our networking and outreach activities for program alumni while also continuing our fellowship program to help young immigrants gain a solid foothold in the journalism profession. This Annual Report highlights the central priorities and activities that characterized our work in the past year. Of course, current information is always available on www.boell.de.

Berlin, April 2010

Ralf Fücks Barbara Unmüßig
Presidents, Heinrich Böll Foundation



Ralf Fücks



Barbara Unmüßig

For a Climate of Justice

For many years now, the domestic and international activities of the Heinrich Böll Foundation have placed a special focus on the consequences of globalization. One of the hallmarks of our work in this area is that we not only point out the causes of crises but also aim to identify solutions. In addition, we consistently demand that gender perspectives be taken into account.

Over time, our efforts in the field of globalization have crystallized into a focus on three priority areas: climate change, food security, and resource policy. In particular, the necessity of adjusting to climate change has continued to grow in relevance and urgency. Climate change is already well underway. It exacerbates already existing inequities and worsens damage to the environment. As a result, the pursuit of a “climate of justice” has become the guiding principle underlying our local, regional and international activities targeting the issues of energy and climate policy.

Together with our partner projects and organizations, we are building a broad-based network that is now having an effective impact on climate policy in many regions. We have often played a pioneering role that others now follow.

The largest conference in the history of the United Nations: the Copenhagen Climate Summit (COP15)

The aim of the Copenhagen Climate Summit in December 2009 was to negotiate and adopt a follow-up agreement to the Kyoto Protocol, which is set to expire in 2012. Already during the run-up to the conference, it had become increasingly clear that the summit would be unlikely to generate satisfying results. In the end, the climate conference failed – despite the presence of 119 heads of state and government and the tremendous engagement of countless civil society organizations. It is now apparent that reaching a consensus on this issue at the international level will be difficult. In forums such as the WTO, the G20, and international climate negotiations, emerging countries such as China, India, and Brazil are no longer willing simply to sit on the sidelines as the large industrialized nations adopt major international agreements. Less prosperous developing countries are also learning to build alliances in order to gain a stronger voice. Moreover, international climate protection issues are no longer being negotiated solely under the umbrella of the United Nations. Organizations such as the G8, the G20, and the Major Economies Forum are gaining increasing influence in this area.

The Heinrich Böll Foundation was present in Copenhagen as well, with roughly 60 staff members and partners. Our chief activities consisted of observing the negotiations, meeting with official delegations from various countries, and organizing events both at the Bella Center and at the *Klimaforum09* alternative summit, which was held as a parallel event to the UN summit.

Ultimately, the Copenhagen summit once again made clear that climate justice – the core focus of the Foundation’s overall work on climate policy – is an issue that stands very high on the climate agenda. However,



Demonstration at the 2009 Copenhagen Climate Summit

45,000 participants

119 heads of state and government

40,500 tons of CO₂ emissions from air travel

0 results

Our Dossier “On the Road to Copenhagen” at

→ www.boell.de/ecology

Our Blog www.climatequity.org has become a leading source of information and commentary on national and international climate policy debates.

the various notions of what comprises climate justice diverge greatly. For this reason, in 2010 and beyond, the Foundation will continue to develop and promote innovative solutions like it has already done, for example, with the European Community for Renewable Energy (ERENE) and the Greenhouse Development Rights Framework.

On the Road to Copenhagen: the Heinrich Böll Foundation's activities around the world

In the run-up to the Copenhagen summit, the Heinrich Böll Foundation and its international offices organized numerous climate conferences that assembled local experts and examined the needs and conditions in specific regions.

A climate conference held in November 2009 in Mexico City highlighted the complex matrix of interests that shape the struggle over climate policy in Mexico. Energy production is largely in the hands of the Mexican state, and private sector activity in this sector is possible only under special conditions – a constellation that tends to hinder rather than foster energy production from renewable sources. And in locations where renewable energy is being produced on a larger scale – such as Oaxaca, where a Spanish company operates a wind farm – local indigenous populations have frequently engaged in loud protests, arguing that the operating company has defrauded them by concluding dishonest contracts to lease their property. The situation becomes even more difficult when the already complex national situation collides with interests and negotiations at the international level. Despite all these difficulties, the presentations by three environment ministers from California, Mexico City and Tabasco gave cause for hope: even if enormous divisions at the international level stand in the way of an ambitious binding climate agreement, there is still great potential for combating climate change at the local level.

A conference was also held in Prague, where participants examined the prospects of achieving a post-Kyoto international climate accord. This event placed a central focus on domestic political developments in the United States as well as the perspectives of emerging economies. It also took a closer look at the positions of the new member states that joined the European Union in 2004 and 2007. The new member states have largely adopted a skeptical position with regard to ambitious climate protection targets, primarily because they fear that the policies necessary to fulfill these targets will have a negative impact on economic growth and international competitiveness. To counter these concerns, it is essential for climate protection protagonists to point out the costs of inaction on climate policy. There was a consensus among conference participants that ambitious climate protection targets also provide countries with a crucial opportunity to modernize their economies.

The run-up to Copenhagen was also closely followed in Berlin, where the "Countdown to Copenhagen" conference, which was held in November 2009, placed a central focus on Germany's responsibility for the pursuit of climate justice. Workshops and dialogue forums focused on strategies for avoiding and adapting to climate change as well as Germany's role in international climate policy.

The Heinrich Böll Foundation did more than just organize conferences, however. For example, our international office in Israel got involved in the 350.org campaign, which highlights the scientific argument that the atmospheric concentration of CO₂ must be held to 350 parts per million or below in order to avoid the severe consequences of global warming. The Foundation co-organized appearances by author and environmental activist Bill McKibben in Tel Aviv und Beer Sheva. In addition, on 350.org's International Day of Climate Action (24 October 2009),



Energy and resource policy
Publication Series on Europe – Volume 3: ERENE
European Community for Renewable Energy
Berlin 2009, 96 pages, ISBN 978-3-927760-83-7

This study by Michael Schreyer and Lutz Mez, which was commissioned by the Heinrich Böll Foundation, outlines how renewable energy sources can cover Europe's entire electricity needs by 2050. This concept now enjoys the backing of the European Green Party. www.erene.org



Barbara Unmüßig, President of the Heinrich Böll Foundation, at the conference "Countdown to Copenhagen" in Berlin Photo: Stephan Röhl



Böll.Thema 2/09 "Climate Change and Justice. On the Road to Copenhagen"
Berlin 2009, 36 pages www.boell.de/thema



350.org activists at the Dead Sea in Jordan

→ www.indyact.org

the organization Friends of the Earth Middle East (FoEME) mobilized a human chain with the support of the Foundation. In order to highlight both the importance of cross-border cooperation in reducing the consumption of natural resources as well as the need to view environmental problems as shared challenges, the event took place in three different locations along the Dead Sea.

“Arabs are more than Oil”: Arab participation at the Copenhagen Climate Summit

IndyAct, an alliance of activists based in Beirut that receives support from the Heinrich Böll Foundation, assembled a 35-member delegation to bring the Arab voice of civil society to Copenhagen. Together with journalists, experts, and prominent personalities, IndyAct called on Arab governments to agree on a fair and binding position at the climate summit. In the run-up to the summit, IndyAct collaborated with the United Nations Development Programme in advising Lebanon’s parliamentary committee on public works, transport, energy, and water. The outcome of these deliberations was *Beirut’s Call to the Copenhagen Summit*, a declaration whose ambitious demands represent the most powerful call to date for a strong Arab stance on climate protection. Now IndyAct is working to convince Lebanese decision-makers to adopt the declaration as the Lebanese Parliament’s official position on climate policy.

Training seminar for African delegates to ongoing climate negotiations

Africa contributes only minimally to the causes of climate change. Nevertheless, it is likely to suffer the heaviest impact from shifts in the global climate. As a result, international climate negotiations, and the outcomes they produce, are of tremendous significance for Africa’s future. To help ensure that Africa asserts its voice more effectively in future international climate negotiations, the Heinrich Böll Foundation’s international office for Southern Africa organized a training and strategy-building seminar for African negotiators that took place in September 2009 on the sidelines of the UN climate negotiations in Bangkok, Thailand. At the seminar, over 20 participants from seven African countries deliberated on key climate policy issues and proposed joint negotiating strategies for the Copenhagen Climate Summit. Because the majority of African states lack the necessary financial means and human resources capacity to have a formative influence on international climate negotiations, it is crucial for these countries to pool their resources in order to assert their interests effectively.

“Perspectives: Political Analysis and Commentary from Africa” – a publication series of the Africa offices of the Heinrich Böll Foundation.

With this series, we intend to let experts from Africa express their views about current political issues in their region.

Download: → www.boell.org.za

Posing the gender question in the fight against climate change

Poverty increases vulnerability to the consequences of climate change. Women comprise roughly 70 percent of the world’s poorest of the poor. Moreover, the general structure of power relations places women at an economic and legal disadvantage and denies them a proportionate political voice. All of this makes women more vulnerable to the negative effects of climate change. However, official international climate policy has been reluctant to acknowledge the gender dimension of climate change. The Heinrich Böll Foundation is working to make decision-makers more aware of differences in the ways that women and men are affected by climate change, as well as differences in the ability of women and men to assert their interests in terms of climate policy. We show how gender-equitable climate policies can be designed and why these would



Village Women in Bangladesh fighting climate change with reforestation Photo: FAO/Roberto Faidutti

be more effective than gender-blind policies. This applies in particular to the large number of new financing instruments to deal with the consequences of climate change as well as to the future design of a global climate finance architecture – key issues that are being tackled by our international office in Washington, D.C.

There are many studies that examine Africa's attempts to adapt to climate change, but very few provide insights into the gender-specific effects of shifts in climate patterns. For this reason, our Cape Town office commissioned studies of poor rural communities in four southern African countries (South Africa, Botswana, Mozambique and Namibia) to investigate (a) what types of climate change are already being felt and (b) how women and men are responding differently to these changes. The studies found that, when confronted by changes in environmental conditions, women attempt to pool their knowledge of crop types and crop rotation, to adapt their farming methods, and to look for new ways to secure their livelihood. Although climate change affects and endangers both men and women, women appear to develop more promising and effective adaptation strategies. However, they also have less access to political decision-making processes than men, which in turn has a negative impact on the financial resources they have at their disposal to cope effectively with the consequences of climate change.

Russia and climate change: a report from Moscow

Russia has taken an ambivalent stance on the issue of climate change. In 2004, Russia signed the Kyoto Protocol basically in order to "buy" EU approval of its application to join the WTO. Since then, it has implemented next to nothing of the protocol. As late as 2007, then-president Putin joked that a country as cold as Russia could only benefit from a few extra degrees of warmth. The notion of an ice-free Arctic Circle with its enormous reserves of raw materials sparks great enthusiasm in the Kremlin, which views the Arctic largely as an economic zone.

As a result, the behavior of Russian delegations to climate negotiations in 2009 was contradictory. On the one hand, Russia did not want to look like a spoiler on the international stage. Yet on the other hand, Moscow continues to view ambitious climate targets as a threat to the Russian economy. However, given the country's sheer size, its vast primeval forests in Siberia, and its immense reserves of raw materials, Russia is a crucial partner for any international climate agreement. For this reason, with the support of the Heinrich Böll Foundation, Russian NGOs have embarked on a three-part strategy involving public outreach, training for journalists, and active involvement in international climate negotiations. Probably the most important activity was the formation of an NGO coalition on climate change, which participated as observers at all of the international climate negotiations in Poznan, Bonn, Bangkok, and of course Copenhagen.

Israel: the "Paths to Sustainability" coalition

The Paths to Sustainability coalition encompasses 30 Israeli environmental organizations. With the support of the Heinrich Böll Foundation, it publishes regular reports on the Israeli government's environmental policy. Its seventh report was published in April 2009. The report was distributed to Israeli decision-makers, including the newly appointed Minister of Environmental Protection, who has convened an interministerial committee that is tasked with formulating an action plan on climate policy within the coming year. NGO representatives have also been invited to provide input into the committee's work.

Gender and Climate Finance: Double Mainstreaming for Sustainable Development

By Liane Schalatek

PDF, 29 pages

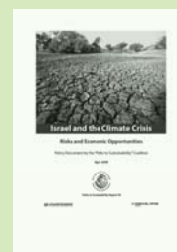
Download: www.boell.org/web/141-318.html

The website www.climatefundsupdate.org, which is sponsored by the Foundation, offers a unique source of information and analysis on many new climate funds.

Gender and Climate Change in Southern Africa

Four case studies examining the interrelations between climate change and gender.

Download: www.boell.org.za



Israel and the Climate Crisis: Risks and Economic Opportunities

Report by the Paths to Sustainability Coalition
Hebrew, PDF, 86 pages

Executive summary available in English

Download: www.boell.org.il

At the Copenhagen summit, the coalition's 25 delegates unveiled a paper outlining its views of the necessary climate-related policies that Israel needs to adopt in key fields such as water, transport, and energy.

Project: A Right to Clean Water – the Association for Health and Environmental Development (AHED)

For several years now, the Association for Health and Environmental Development (AHED), an Egyptian partner organization of the Heinrich Böll Foundation, has been supporting local and marginalized communities in their struggle to improve the environment and gain secure access to clean water. In 2009, AHED launched a broad-based public outreach campaign targeting policymakers, lawyers, and journalists, with the aim of raising their awareness of alternative political strategies and health systems. At the same time, the campaign mobilized local populations to demand the right to have their voices heard in national matters involving environmental protection and health care. And these efforts met with success: for example, the campaign succeeded in halting the construction of a factory in the city of Damietta that would have caused widespread water pollution throughout the region.

→ www.ahedegypt.org

Climate change, resources, and migration: old and new sources of conflict in Africa?

Achieving peace and security is one of the central challenges facing the African continent. Discussions on this topic often focus only on military and political issues. Consequently, the structural causes of violent conflict are largely relegated to the background. The conference "Climate Change, Resources, and Migration", which was held in Cape Town in August 2009, focused on precisely this problem. The event was attended by South Africa's Deputy Minister for International Relations and Cooperation, Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim. Mr. Ebrahim argued that, while the establishment of the African Peace and Security Architecture under the auspices of the African Union is an important step in the right direction, it is crucial to develop preventive mechanisms to address the structural causes of violent conflicts. For example, one can already foresee that water shortages resulting from climate change will exacerbate social and environmental tensions. The conference concluded that sustainable security and peace in the whole of Africa can be achieved only through the successful formulation and implementation of comprehensive, interdisciplinary approaches to crisis prevention.

Conference publication: *Climate Change, Resources, Migration: Securing Africa in an uncertain climate.*
PDF, 72 pages

Download: www.boell.org.za

Nigeria: Drafting a "National Adaptation Program of Action" (NAPA)

For many years now, many parts of Nigeria have been feeling the effects of climate change. If no action is taken, two-thirds of Nigeria will soon be faced with desertification, flooding, and erosion. Resulting food shortages and rising prices will weaken the country's economic growth and threaten the fragile coexistence of diverse ethnic and religious groups. To help prevent this dangerous downward spiral, the Heinrich Böll Foundation collaborated with Nigeria's Federal Ministry of the Environment in organizing a series of information and training workshops. Workshop participants included representatives of state environment ministries, members of state legislatures, university professors, and media professionals. A draft national strategy for adapting to climate change (National Adaptation Program of Action, or NAPA) – prepared by the Foundation in cooperation with the Federal Environment Ministry – served as the basis for the workshops. In the first stage of the workshops, partici-



Training workshop on the causes and effects of climate change in Nigeria

pants were informed about the causes and effects of climate change in their specific regions. Some participants quickly recognized the urgent need to act and established climate policy departments in their environment ministries as a result. The second stage focused on the development of simple adaptation strategies for Nigeria's various states. The following tasks were identified as particularly urgent for Nigeria: the revision of outmoded environmental laws, the discontinuation of logging for firewood, the introduction of energy-efficient cooking stoves, reforestation, the use of smart irrigation systems, and public outreach campaigns.

→ www.boellnigeria.org

Transatlantic solutions to enhance sustainability

On 7 October 2009, the concluding report of the Transatlantic Climate Policy Group (TCPG), *Toward a New Climate Network: Transatlantic Solutions for a Low Carbon Economy*, was unveiled in Washington, D.C. In this report, U.S. and European experts highlight possibilities for future transatlantic cooperation in the field of climate policy. Particular opportunities for collaboration exist in addressing those regions on both sides of the Atlantic that are lagging behind in terms of energy policy – i.e. industrial and rural regions that have not yet tapped the tremendous potential offered by economic sectors focusing on green and sustainable products and services. This work must go hand-in-hand with efforts to overcome political resistance in the U.S. Congress, the European Council, and the European Parliament. In the coming years, the Foundation's international offices in Brussels, Prague, and Washington, D.C. will continue to organize conferences and visitor programs for decision-makers and experts, with the aim of fostering cooperation between U.S. and European regions.



Transatlantic Climate Policy Group (TCPG): (l–r) Jay Inslee (D-Wash) and Klaus Linsenmeier, Heinrich Böll Foundation, presenting the concluding report on 7 October 2009 in Washington D.C.

→ www.boell.de/climate-transatlantic/

China's investment in the Mekong region

China has established itself as a leading global economic power. As its economy has grown, so has its thirst for raw materials. For years, China has been making investments in Africa and Latin America to secure supplies of natural resources. The Mekong region is another resource-rich area that is the target of Chinese interest. On 26–27 November 2009, the Foundation's Beijing and Phnom Penh offices held a conference in Beijing focusing on key economic, political, and social issues surrounding China's activities in this region. The Foundation's Chinese partner in organizing the event was the Institute for International Economic Research, a research institute under China's National Development and Reform Commission. Conference participants mentioned key examples of the consequences of Chinese investment in the Mekong region, including the expropriation of land in Myanmar to build factories, bauxite mining in Laos and Vietnam, and the construction of dams in Thailand. China's investment policy (sometimes referred to as its "going out" strategy) is often the target of international criticism as well as calls for China to place a higher priority on issues of environmental and social sustainability. China tends to respond to this criticism by pointing out that multinational corporations also frequently cause environmental damage and fail to observe human rights. At the same time, foreign observers often fail to acknowledge China's contribution to the development of poor countries. Conference presentations highlighted the fact that continued advances in regional economic integration – particularly within the framework of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) – have also boosted the significance of political and social cooperation between the involved countries. For example, China has adopted environmental guidelines



In Search of Aluminum: China's Role in the Mekong Region

By Kate M. Lazarus. Produced in 2009 with the support of Heinrich Böll Foundation Cambodia, WWF Denmark and International Institute for Sustainable Development, 44 pages
Download: www.boell.de/asia

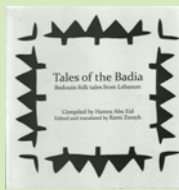
that often contain higher standards than those that exist in other countries of the Mekong region.

However, Chinese participants at the event also pointed out that the implementation of these guidelines poses great challenges, even in China. There is also the risk that contracts for large-scale infrastructure or factory construction projects can be lost due to the imposition of environmental standards. Throughout the course of the conference, it became increasingly clear that the global North needs to be included in policy debates regarding China's relations with other countries in the Mekong region. It is only on the basis of such a triangular perspective that productive discussions of "alternative regionalisms" can take place.

The Bedouin community: helping people help themselves

With the support of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's Beirut office, the American University of Beirut conducted a study of 70 Bedouin households, with a particular focus on their way of life and the sustainability of their livelihoods. For centuries, the Bedouin tribes of Lebanon's Bekaa valley were a nomadic people who traded livestock and who bought salt in Syria, which they then exchanged for dates in Iraq. However, the drawing of political borders throughout the Middle East severely restricted their mobility, and as state-building processes advanced throughout the region, the Bedouins ultimately had to decide whether or not to become citizens of a particular state. Today, those tribes who refused to take on a particular citizenship remain stateless and are thereby excluded from public education and health care systems as well as state institutions. Furthermore, erosion caused by drought and climate change, together with the liberalization of agricultural markets, threatens the Bedouins' unique way of life.

The Foundation's project encourages tribe members to take the initiative in finding their own solutions to the problems they face. For example, the Bedouin women were able to revive their traditional handicrafts, which they now market successfully in Lebanon and abroad. In addition, project leader Hamra Abu Eid is the first Bedouin woman ever to author a book that puts the oral history and local knowledge of the Bedouins in writing. With the Heinrich Böll Foundation's support, the book was published under the title *Tales of the Badia* in both English and Arabic.



Tales of the Badia – Hamra Abu Eid, the first Bedouin Woman to write a book about oral history and local knowledge of the Bedouins

→ www.boell-meo.org

IMF/World Bank meeting in October 2009 in Istanbul

The annual meetings of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank Group were held on 6–7 October 2009, in Istanbul. To provide a local platform that would give voice to alternative visions, the Heinrich Böll Foundation supported the organization of an alternative forum that took place in parallel to the IMF/World Bank meetings. Discussions at the forum focused on (i) the role played by the IMF and the World Bank in climate change and the global economic crisis, (ii) international financial institutions and the climate finance architecture, and (iii) alternatives to the IMF and the World Bank. The event was organized by over 15 local NGOs and included discussions, film screenings, and presentations. However, the alternative forum also unexpectedly revealed a certain difficulty internal to the NGO community itself: over the course of the forum, it became clear that representatives from international NGOs showed surprisingly little interest in local conditions in Turkey and in creating networks with local actors. Similarly, the Turkish NGOs found it difficult to cast their vision beyond the boundaries of their own local issues. This situation provides important grounds for re-thinking how international NGO conferences and meetings should be organized in the future.

→ www.triplecrisis.com/about/ the TripleCrisis Blog presents the findings of a network of economists tackling the three interconnected crises – finance, development, and the environment. The website is aimed at policy-makers and the broader public alike. A project of GDAE, Economic Research Foundation, and the Heinrich Böll Foundation.

Shaping European Politics

The European model stands for peace and freedom, democracy, and prosperity. Its success exerts a powerful attraction on other countries and world regions. At the same time, however, Europe increasingly has to compete with new powers that are pursuing their own interests and their own political and economic models.

Europe faces internal challenges as well. The recent rounds of enlargement have significantly increased wealth disparities as well as the diversity of policy positions and priorities within the European Union. Furthermore, the EU's spatial expansion has caused the spectrum and disparity of geopolitical interests within the EU to grow as well.

This heterogeneity calls for a new framework of order that leaves room for diversity while simultaneously safeguarding political unity. The Heinrich Böll Foundation is committed to building a shared European vision. This is essential if the EU wants to succeed in reconciling its dual priorities of solidarity and self-assertion – both internally and externally. The EU has to prove that the liberal rule of law, the social market economy, and structures of supranational integration are capable of solving the great challenges of our time. And on the international stage, the EU must continue to demonstrate the viability and appeal of its model.

Focus: 1989 – Europe in transformation

The fall of the Berlin Wall, the Round Table talks in Poland, and the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia were key turning points in the peaceful revolution of 1989. They paved the way toward democracy in Central and Eastern Europe while simultaneously accelerating the global spread of capitalism. Since then, global power structures have changed fundamentally. Together with our state-level foundations and our international offices, the Heinrich Böll Foundation commemorated these transformative events of 20 years ago with a series of over 50 events, exhibitions, and publications.

Have the young democracies in post-socialist countries achieved political maturity? And have they formed a European identity based on democratic values? The Heinrich Böll Foundation's Warsaw office tackled these questions in a series of debates that were held in May 2009 in conjunction with the screening of various films at the Planete Doc Review documentary film festival in Warsaw. Among the participants at these debates was Russian opposition figure and former world chess champion Garry Kasparov, whose report on the development of democracy in Russia was attended by over 300 people.

The Warsaw office also organized the international conference "Old and New Walls in Europe", which took place in Warsaw in November 2009. At this event, eyewitnesses to the transformative developments of 1989 discussed the question of whether the post-socialist countries' dream of a "return to Europe" had come true.

In Moscow, Mikhail Gorbachev, Adam Michnik, Werner Schulz, Ralf Fücks, Alexander Auzan, and other prominent guests exchanged views

The website of our Prague office features 11 short films – seven in Czech and four in English – in which civil society actors comment on socio-political developments since 1989. See → www.boell.cz



Former Polish Solidarnosc leader Lech Walesa meeting Garri Kasparow, founder of the Russian Solidarnost, May 2009, Gdansk. Photo: Michal Szlaga

The Heinrich Böll Foundation marks 10th anniversary of the opening of its office in Russia

In early November, our international office in Moscow celebrated its 10th anniversary. We've come a long way: after starting out in a two-room office with just two staff members, our Moscow office has grown into a "major enterprise", with a staff of eight spread out over 180 square meters. And the focus of our work has changed as well. In the beginning, our efforts consisted of providing support to the projects of partner organizations such as the human rights organization Memorial, the Baikal Environmental Wave, and the St. Petersburg Center for Gender Issues. Nowadays, pure project financing constitutes just a part of the Moscow office's work. Additional activities now include projects and campaigns that we conduct jointly with our partners as well as self-organized events such as the "Green Russia" forum in Moscow.

Green Campus

GreenCampus is the political training academy within the Heinrich Böll Foundation. Our core areas of expertise are political management, diversity and gender trainings for people working voluntarily or professionally in NGO's, political parties, organisations and the private sector. GreenCampus draws on the Heinrich Böll Foundation's many years of experience, combines different competences and offers a wide-range portfolio with a particular focus on international training.

→ www.greencampus.de

on the question of what has become of Gorbachev's vision of a "common European home".

In the run-up to the 20th anniversary of Czechoslovakia's Velvet Revolution, the Foundation's Prague office organized the international symposium "1989–2009: Society – History – Politics" in cooperation with the Czech Institute of Contemporary History and the Goethe Institute. The event was held at the Liblice chateau near Prague. Among other topics, the conference focused on continuities and discontinuities between the new democratic era and the past in the Czech Republic and Central Europe.

Another international conference was held in Kiev. At the event titled "1989–2009: Ukraine on the threshold between two eras – the end of communism and the difficult path toward democracy", three panels examined the various dissident movements in the former eastern bloc and their role in the political transitions that took place in the early 1990s.

Return to Europe: Bosnia-Herzegovina's difficult path into the EU

Bosnia-Herzegovina has once again become Europe's problem child in the western Balkans. Hostility between the dominant political parties – which are largely divided along ethnic lines – is increasing, efforts to build state institutions are stagnating, and reform processes have largely ground to a halt. The crisis is intensifying. As a result, the country is in danger of falling behind the rest of the western Balkan countries in its efforts to join the European Union. This danger is further intensified by the fact that more and more voices within the EU itself are demanding that the EU put an end to its policy of enlargement (or at least take a long-term break). On 18 June 2009, Bosnia-Herzegovina's foreign minister, Sven Alkalaj, came to Berlin at the invitation of the Heinrich Böll Foundation to present his views on Bosnia's prospects for joining the EU.

The Czech EU Council Presidency – a report from Prague

Many Czech citizens likely breathed a sigh of relief after the EU Summit in June 2009: thanks to a relatively smooth and successful summit, the tarnished image of the crisis-ridden Czech EU Council Presidency had at least been somewhat rehabilitated. During the initial stages of the Presidency, it seemed as if the three "E's" of the Czech Presidency's policy agenda – Economy, Energy, and EU in the World – had been replaced with the three "G's" – the Gaza conflict, the gas dispute, and the global financial and economic crisis. And the Czech government had its share of domestic political troubles as well. Nevertheless, the first three months of the Presidency gave rise to the hope that, in the future, the Czech Republic's reputation in Europe will no longer be associated primarily with the views of President Václav Klaus. For example, Prime Minister Mirek Topolánek's team demonstrated strong negotiating skills during the gas dispute between Russia and Ukraine, and they were effective in communicating the concerns of the Central and Eastern European states that were particularly threatened by Russia's decision to cut off gas supplies. However, at the end of March, shortly before Barack Obama's visit to Prague, the Czech government collapsed and an interim government assumed responsibility for the Presidency.

Through events, analytical reports, and a dedicated page on its website (www.boell.cz), the Heinrich Böll Foundation's Prague office closely followed developments during the Czech EU Presidency.



Getting settled in Brussels – the "greenhorns" in the European Parliament

Together with the Green European Foundation, the Heinrich Böll Foundation's Brussels office invited the newest Green members of the European Parliament to a welcome evening and networking event. We present the new Greens in our publication:

The Class of 2009. Green Visions for Europe.

Ed. by the Heinrich Böll Foundation

Brussels 2009, 80 pages

Download: www.boell.eu

Promoting Democracy, Upholding Human Rights

The development of democratic institutions is stagnating in many parts of the world. Underperforming young democracies have lost legitimacy in the eyes of their citizens, and the West's commitment to democracy promotion is increasingly being called into question. This stands in contrast to the apparent development success of certain authoritarian states, which are now viewed in some developing countries as an alternative model to liberal democracy. The Heinrich Böll Foundation has been addressing these challenges for many years now. We are actively involved in many regions that are affected by violent conflict and the deterioration of state institutions. Our programs and projects make a direct contribution to civilian conflict resolution in these countries. Together with our partners, we engage actively in the political sphere to advance democracy and political participation and to promote processes of social empowerment.

The BARGAD student network – a success story from Pakistan

In Pakistan, there is very little room for public discussions on social policy, national identity, and other cultures. Even universities – in contrast to their counterparts in secular Western societies – are not sites for cultivating free speech and free thinking, much less the development of alternative visions. General Pervez Musharraf's military coup in 1999 led, among other things, to the immediate renewal of the ban on student associations. At that same time, a small group of progressive, pro-democracy students attending Lahore's University of the Punjab – Pakistan's largest state university – contacted the Heinrich Böll Foundation. They wanted to exchange ideas and establish a platform for political activities, and they asked for support in countering the open hostility of self-appointed Islamist "guardians of virtue" at the university. The little "one-woman office" that was established back then has now grown into the Bargad organization, a nation-wide network with over 800 registered members and a broader circle of participants encompassing nearly 10,000 students. In 2009, with help from the Foundation, Bargad moved into a well-equipped office building that also contains space for events. The new offices serve as the organization's home base for activities aiming to help shape Pakistan's education and youth policies. Today Bargad even functions as a small training academy to help students boost their political expertise and professional skills. In another encouraging development, Pakistan's Ministry of Higher Education now increasingly consults the Foundation's maturing "foster child" on questions of national youth and student affairs policies. It is no coincidence that Bargad is named after the elaborately branched banyan tree in whose shade the Buddha once found inspiration and enlightenment.

→ www.boell-pakistan.org



Philosophy professor talking to students at Punjab University

Arab Bloggers meeting 2009 — laying the cornerstone for digital activism



Egypt's famous blogger Alaa Abdel Fattah at a bloggers meet, Beirut, 2009

In the Arab world, blogs have long since developed into more than just a form of entertainment for a bored middle class. For example, from 2004–2006, bloggers played a decisive role in formulating the call for new elections in Egypt. Today, thanks to their digital activism, bloggers are among the few groups demonstrating that the fight for democracy and freedom of expression can move forward after the failure to displace President Mubarak. To show solidarity with these efforts, the Foundation's international offices in Ramallah and Beirut support networking activities among Arab bloggers. Together with Global Voices Online, an independent platform for critical voices, the Foundation organized the second annual meeting of Arab bloggers, which took place in Beirut as a BarCamp – an open event format that allows participants to determine the content and agenda of events. What started out as just an experiment proved to be a forward-looking recipe for success. The event unleashed a high level of knowledge-sharing, individual initiative, creativity, and intensive learning that excited both organizers as well as participants. At the conclusion of the bloggers meeting, everyone agreed: Arab Bloggers 2009 laid the cornerstone for a fresh, new movement to advance democracy and human rights.

Israel – the impact of the most recent parliamentary elections

In the early elections to Israel's Knesset on 10 February 2009, the political parties representing liberal, leftist, progressive, and environmentalist views suffered a dramatic defeat. The new "Green Movement" failed to win any seats in the Knesset, and the New Movement-Meretz again suffered major losses. The Labor Party, which for decades had once been the strongest party in the Knesset, saw its representation drop further from 19 to 13 seats and is now fraught with internal divisions in the aftermath of the elections. In light of these powerful setbacks, numerous discussion forums are being held in Israel to grapple with the causes and potential consequences of these developments. The Heinrich Böll Foundation is in regular contact with representatives of the Green Movement, Meretz, and a new group called *Efshar Acheret* ("New Way"), and our discussions with these groups focus chiefly on the question of how the idea of a "Green New Deal" can achieve success in Israel.

Democracy is a good thing, in China too



Chinese tea picker reading a wall newspaper in Hangzhou Photo: Michael Ende

In Germany, the level of public interest in China has increased markedly in recent years. There is more media coverage of China than ever before, and an abundance of new books provide detailed analyses of China's economic rise and the impact this is having on the global economy. However, there is much less media coverage of the political and social changes occurring in China. The Heinrich Böll Foundation has attempted to help fill this gap with a new collection of essays entitled *Wie China debattiert* ("How China Debates"). The book presents the views of several key Chinese intellectuals who are helping to shape the contemporary public discourse in China. All of the essays were published in China over the past four years and have had a strong influence on Chinese political debates and public opinion. The publication was unveiled at the 2009 Frankfurt Book Fair, which showcased China as the fair's guest of honor in 2009.

Supporting politically involved young people in Ukraine

Providing support to young people is one of the central priorities of the Foundation's office in Kiev, Ukraine. Together with the Theodor-Heuss-Kolleg, our Ukraine office organized workshops for politically involved young people, with the aim of providing them with project management skills as well as new ideas for civilian involvement in everyday social and political affairs. The workshops took place in Dnepropetrovsk and in Luhansk. The participants received small budgets that enabled them to put the project ideas they developed during the workshops into action right away. After the workshops, they presented the results of their projects to representatives from regional NGOs.

Nigeria: Training in parliamentary practices (CISLAC)

Over 10 years ago, the federal state of Nigeria embarked on the path toward democracy after the military transferred power to a democratically elected president. Since then, networks of dynamic and professional civil society organizations have established themselves in most federal states, and many have succeeded in building close cooperative relationships with their respective state parliaments. However, this is not the case in Nigeria's northern states, where governors still make decisions in a largely autocratic manner. The parliaments in these states take little initiative on their own, and there are few active civil society organizations. For this reason, the Heinrich Böll Foundation's Nigeria office is working together with Nigeria's Civil Society Legislative Advocacy Centre (CISLAC) to strengthen the political skills of civil society organizations and members of parliament in several of Nigeria's "Middle Belt" states. Our work with activists and decision-makers aims to spread knowledge of the role that the legislative branch plays in a democracy, including the rights and duties of legislatures as well as their responsibilities vis-à-vis the people they represent. In addition, our activities serve to foster dialogue between parliaments and civil society. In the meantime, some state parliaments have established liaison offices as a means of institutionalizing links and exchanges with civil society. The next steps in our cooperation with CISLAC involve (i) strengthening the instrument of "public hearings" and (ii) providing support for the submission of draft laws to increase transparency and economic efficiency. Such laws have already proven effective at the federal level in Nigeria.

Fostering diversity of opinion in Central America

Limitations on freedom of the press can have many causes. Freedom of expression and the development of diverse opinions are hindered not only by state censorship but by media monopolies as well. For this reason, large media concerns can function as a de facto arm of state power, as is the case for example in Mexico. The press sector in other Central American countries – such as El Salvador and Nicaragua – lacks variety as well, and this leads to a dearth of critical voices. As a result, the Heinrich Böll Foundation places a priority on supporting independent media in this region. For example, we support the feminist news agency CIMAC in Mexico, which has succeeded – after years of tireless work – in getting their reports and dispatches published in the mainstream media, thereby gaining a broad readership. We also support the online newspaper *Contrapunto* in El Salvador, whose coverage of a wide variety of topics serves as a model not only nationally but throughout Central America as well. In Nicaragua, the Foundation supports the newspaper *La Brujula* ("The Compass"), which is distributed free of charge at universities, on street corners, and in front of supermarkets, and which operates an online version as well.

Study: Actors without Society

To commemorate its 10-year anniversary, the Heinrich Böll Foundation's Southeastern Europe office in Belgrade commissioned a study on the role of civil society actors in post-communist transformation processes. The report's author is Srđan Dvornik, who was among the few human rights activists in socialist Yugoslavia as far back as the 1980s and who served as director of the Foundation's Croatia office from 1999–2004. In his study, Dvornik investigates the self-conception of local actors on the one hand, and the predominant understanding of the concept of "civil society" among Western democracy promotion organizations on the other. In this way, he makes an important contribution to analyses of the possibilities and limits of civil society actors in (post-)authoritarian societies.

Publication series on Democracy, Volume 15:

Actors without Society. The role of civil actors in the postcommunist transformation

A study by Srđan Dvornik

Edited by the Heinrich Böll Foundation

Berlin 2009, 156 pages, ISBN 978-3-86928-016-5



In El Salvador the Foundation supports the news website *Contrapunto*

→ www.boell-latinoamerica.org

Investing in the Future

The reality of climate change demands that we all make a rapid transition to carbon-free economies. This will require far-reaching reforms and technological innovation on a grand scale. What is needed is nothing less than the ecological transformation of global capitalism. In order for this transformation to succeed, we must proceed equitably – both in our own societies and in relations between industrialized nations and emerging and developing countries as well. The Heinrich Böll Foundation strives to identify approaches, projects, and policies that will enable us to succeed in making the transition to environment-friendly market economies while simultaneously protecting global public goods.



Discussing the potential for a Transatlantic Green New Deal: Michael Renner, Amy Fraenkel and Jürgen Trittin

Toward a Transatlantic Green New Deal:
Tackling the Climate and Economic Crises
Brussels 2009, 38 pages
www.boell.eu

The green revolution

Transformation in times of crisis is possible. This is shown in the strategy paper "Toward a Transatlantic Green New Deal: Tackling the Climate and Economic Crises", which was compiled by the Heinrich Böll Foundation in cooperation with the Washington-based Worldwatch Institute. The report was unveiled at an international conference in Berlin in May 2009 and at the Rayburn Office Building of the U.S. House of Representatives in June 2009. It argues that a "Green New Deal" must be created to achieve two central goals: (i) a sustainable economic revival and (ii) the transition to environmentally compatible, low-carbon economies. This requires the restructuring of key sectors that are characterized by particularly high energy consumption and CO₂ emissions. This includes the automotive industry, whose philosophy and technology must change fundamentally. Another essential step involves the upgrading and re-orientation of public infrastructure, which would have a major impact on all economic sectors as well as everyday social life.

The global financial and economic crisis: not gender neutral

In spring 2009, the Foundation's office in Washington, D.C. undertook an analysis of the global economic crisis and published a series of essays focusing the divergent effects that the crisis has had on women and men. Their findings: precarious employment situations for women (such as part-time jobs or jobs without a regular contract and social insurance) have become even more insecure, especially – but not only – in the export industries of many developing countries. And where excess public debt has caused governments to make drastic cuts in social and health benefits, women are often forced back into their traditional roles as "care-takers" for families and local communities. The essays argue therefore that economic stimulus packages – at both the national and international level – must also be designed with an awareness of gender issues, because targeted investments in women and girls are frequently more effective and beneficial in terms of development and economic growth than the gender-neutral allocation of financial resources.

Various reports on gender and the financial crisis can be accessed at → www.boell.org

Online dossier: Gender, Macroeconomics and the International Financial Institutions at
→ www.boell.org

A video documentation of the event "Gender and the Economic Crisis: Opportunities for Equitable Responses", which was organized by the Heinrich Böll Foundation's Washington office in cooperation with Center of Concern, can be downloaded at
→ www.coc.org/Gender-Economic-Crisis

European Foreign Policy for a Multipolar world

The year 2009 showed us how much the world is changing. The distribution of power in international relations is shifting. The war in Afghanistan, the dispute over Iran's nuclear program, the peace process between Israel and the Palestinians: not one of these problems has been solved. And the United States – once the sole superpower – can no longer “go it alone” in tackling these challenges. The Climate Summit in Copenhagen provided clear proof of this as well.

Europe, too, is threatened with the loss of influence on the global stage. Transforming the European Union from an economic giant into a political heavyweight remains a herculean task, despite the adoption of the Lisbon Treaty. In its work on foreign and security policy, the Heinrich Böll Foundation's aim is to help ensure that, now and in the future, Germany and the EU play a constructive and consistent role in finding solutions to global challenges such as climate change, conflict resolution, and the prevention of nuclear anarchy.

A world free of nuclear weapons, or nuclear anarchy?

The call for “global zero” (a world without nuclear weapons), together with U.S. President Obama's announcement that he would resume nuclear disarmament negotiations with his Russian counterpart Dmitry Medvedev, gave new momentum to the vision of a world free of nuclear weapons. But time is running short: the time frame for preventing Iran from becoming a nuclear power, for example, is becoming increasingly narrow. The risk of nuclear anarchy is no longer a remote nightmare scenario. Furthermore, an increasing number of industrialized and emerging countries intend to boost their use of civilian nuclear energy. But is it really possible to draw a clear line of separation between the peaceful and military use of nuclear power? Against the background of these developments, and with a view toward the review conference on the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in May 2010, the Heinrich Böll Foundation dedicated its 10th Annual Foreign Policy Conference to the question of disarmament and nuclear arms control. At the conference, which took place in Berlin on 10–11 September 2009, the international participants generally concurred that the nuclear non-proliferation regime can be saved only if the nuclear superpowers, i.e. the United States and Russia in particular, demonstrate their credibility by taking concrete and comprehensive steps toward disarmament. At the same time, however, nuclear anarchy can be prevented only if the nuclear programs in Iran and North Korea, and the efforts of many countries to acquire or expand the use of nuclear energy, are brought to a stop.



Ralf Fücks, President of the Heinrich Böll Foundation with former Indian UN ambassador Arundhati Ghose
Photo: Stephan Röhl

Online dossier: → www.boell.de/NPT

Peacekeeping: an African problem or a global concern?

In spring 2009, images of Somali pirates and German marines on the Horn of Africa reminded the German public that the conflicts on our

neighboring continent also reverberate here at home. The Heinrich Böll Foundation took a closer look at the current state of conflict management and peacekeeping missions in Africa at the conference "Peacekeeping in Africa: African Problems or Common Concerns?", which it organized in cooperation with the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (*Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik*) on 18–19 May 2009. At the event, French scholar and renowned Africa specialist Gérard Prunier cast doubt on the purpose of peacekeeping missions in general. Monica Juma, Executive Director for Research at the Africa Institute of South Africa (AISA) and member of a UN expert panel on peacekeeping missions in Africa, took a very different view, arguing that the African continent is developing an increasing sense of responsibility. As an example, she pointed out the African Union's emerging security architecture in particular. In her view, the AU's security policy still needs to address various gaps and tackle the challenge of insufficient capacities, but its efforts represent a major step in the direction of a continent that is ready and willing to take action. However, all participants agreed that, first and foremost, resolving conflicts requires political capital. Issuing mandates or providing financial assistance for peacekeeping missions can no longer compensate for a lack of political will and action but must be part of an overall strategy of shared responsibility.

Elections in Afghanistan

During the run-up to the elections in Afghanistan, the Heinrich Böll Foundation held a panel discussion on 15 July 2009, that focused on the country's general security situation, the candidates for president, and ways in which the international community might have a constructive influence on the proceedings. Dr. Kabir Ranjbar, member of the Afghanistan parliament for the Democratic Party of Afghanistan, emphasized that democracy is a new concept for Afghanistan, and that therefore the upcoming elections were of key significance. However, he also stated that the deteriorating security situation was undermining the public's faith in democracy and their willingness to participate in everyday political life. Adela Mohseni, a women's rights activist and member of numerous civil society organizations, focused her remarks on the oppression of women in Afghanistan. In her view, the current conditions for effecting change in the lives of women are "catastrophic" because it is so difficult even to connect with women in the first place. Female activists are in constant danger not only in the southern provinces but in other regions of the country as well. Furthermore, disseminating information and cultivating political awareness – not just among women – are made increasingly difficult by the fact that a large share of the population is illiterate. Therefore, Mohseni argued, the population will go to vote lacking crucial information.

What role could the international community play during the elections? Michael Daxner, professor of sociology at the University of Oldenburg and experienced advisor on Afghan affairs, clearly expressed his opposition to "moral interventions" by the West within the Afghan election process. He argued that the international community has no business imposing Western ways thinking on Afghanistan and should therefore not endorse any candidates. In his view, the current constitution was written too hastily, places too strong an emphasis on federalism, and fails to recognize legal pluralism. For Daxner, the first priority in Afghanistan must be to use international military assistance to establish a stable security order that will then make it possible to build core institutions such as education and health care facilities. However, this is a goal that will still take many years to accomplish.

Afghanistan's Parliament in the Making Gendered Understandings and Practices of Politics in a Transitional Country

By Andrea Fleschenberg. Edited by the Heinrich Böll Foundation in cooperation with UNIFEM
Berlin 2009, 192 pages
ISBN 978-3-86928-006-6



Afghan woman voting in parliamentary election
Photo: Gulbuddin Elham

Gender Policy Makes a Difference

“Gender policy makes a difference!” This is one of the central principles of the Heinrich Böll Foundation’s work, both in Germany and abroad. We are actively committed to increasing the participation of women in political decision-making processes and achieving legal equality between women and men. One of the chief priorities that drives our work is to introduce a gender perspective to all areas of political and economic activity.

Another hallmark of our work is our dedication to combating discrimination against lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people. In many regions of the world, we work together with courageous partners to protect sexual minorities and to expand and assert their human rights. An additional priority of our programs and projects is to examine and address the impact of religion on gender relations and human rights.

Women’s rights and the political instrumentalization of religion

Even today, religion is clearly and completely separated from the state, politics, and civil society in very few countries. However, when religion is intertwined with politics, this can have major repercussions on women’s rights. Religious and political elites frequently mobilize religious principles as a way to restrict women’s rights and gender justice. On the other hand, many emancipation movements – such as movements for democracy and human rights – have been inspired by religion-based arguments asserting the equality of all human beings. So is religion a threat or an ally in the struggle for women’s rights? On 5–6 June 2009, international scholars and feminist activists gathered to examine this question in greater detail at a conference organized by the Heinrich Böll Foundation. Already in 2007, the Foundation launched a major research project on this issue in cooperation with the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD). The project investigated the links between religion and politics – and their implications for gender justice – in 11 countries in North and South America, Europe, Africa, and Asia.

A women’s forum in Gaza fights for the rights of divorced women

The conflict in the Middle East affects more than just geopolitical power structures. The social situation in the Palestinian territories is changing as well, and the consequences of these changes have a disproportionate impact on women. Political stagnation has caused a retreat to traditional values, a development that impedes efforts to improve the situation of women. Furthermore, the ongoing Israeli occupation, together with associated political unrest and violent attacks, squelches any attempt to place the issue of women’s rights on the political agenda. Women in the Gaza Strip face an especially difficult set of circumstances. After the assumption of power by Hamas and the resulting schism between the West

A Debate on the Public Role of Religion and its Social and Gender Implications.

By José Casanova and Anne Philipps.

Published by UNRISD, Geneva 2009, 60 pages

ISSN 1994-8026 Download: www.unrisd.org



Farida Shaheed, independent expert on cultural rights at the UN Human Rights Council

Photo: David Ausserhofer



Bareed Mista3jil, a book containing the personal stories of 41 LGBTQ women in Lebanon, caused a sensation. Published in October 2009 by Meem, one of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's project partners, the book is the first of its kind in the Arab world. The stories tell of the life circumstances of sexually non-conformist women in Lebanon and the legal discrimination and social taboos they confront. The first edition was sold out within a few weeks, and a second edition is now in press. Although the book was published anonymously, it is now being sold openly on the mainstream book market and can also be purchased online at www.bareedmista3jil.com.

Gender Politics makes a Difference

Experiences of the Heinrich Böll Foundation across the world

Edited by the Heinrich Böll Foundation
Berlin 2009, 72 pages, photos

The publication presents an overview of our activities – including key successes and setbacks – all over the world. Download: www.boell.de/en



Radical Cheerleading – Workshop during the Gender-Happening Foto: Alex Giegold

Bank and the Gaza Strip, transfers of public funds were shut off. This has meant, for example, that divorced women no longer receive the child benefits to which they are legally entitled. In 2009, one of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's partner organizations, the Center for Women's Legal Research and Consulting (CWLRC), established a network of women's and human rights organizations that is taking action to assert the needs of divorced women. One initial success involved the release of withheld child benefits for 56 women in the Gaza Strip. The purported justification for freezing child benefits – namely that the funds could not be released until the dispute between Hamas and Fatah had been settled – was ultimately unable to stand up against the social and political pressure exerted by the network.

Femicides – Murders of women in Latin America

For years, the murders of women in Mexico and Central America have been making headlines. Two years ago, the European Parliament adopted a motion for a resolution on these murders and on the European Union's role in fighting the phenomenon. The motion underscored the responsibility of states to prevent, punish, and eliminate violence against women and provided the impetus for a number of legislative initiatives to combat impunity in Latin America. The EU certainly has numerous options at its disposal for exercising influence and providing support. What is frequently lacking, however, is the clearly articulated political will to do so. In 2009, the Heinrich Böll Foundation's Brussels office launched an initiative to place the issue of femicide on the agenda of the upcoming EU-Latin America and Caribbean Summit in May 2010. In cooperation with Amnesty International, the Central American Women's Network (CAWN), and the European Center for Constitutional and Human Rights (ECCHR), the Foundation organized the conference "No More Killing of Women, No More Impunity", which took place in the European Parliament. An advocacy visit to Spain, which will hold the EU Presidency in the first half of 2010 and which will be the venue of the EU-LAC Summit, gave cause for hope, since the Spanish government has made violence against women one of the top priorities of its Presidency.

60 – 40 – 20: "Love Me Gender – Gender is Happening"

The year 2009 was the anniversary year for several key events that hold major significance for feminism and other central issues of gender policy: it was the 60th anniversary of Germany's Basic Law and the publication of Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex*; the 40th anniversary of the Stonewall uprising in New York, a major turning point for self-organized lesbian/gay/queer political activity; and the 20th anniversary of the peaceful revolution in the former German Democratic Republic, a development that helped bring together important emancipation movements from both East and West. This was reason enough for the Foundation to organize a major gender policy event: the "gender happening" *Love me Gender* on 6–11 July 2009. A total of 83 events (re)presented an impressive variety of political approaches encompassing feminism, lesbian/gay/queer politics, gender democracy, and new ways of conceiving the roles of men. The events included discussion forums, lectures, readings, and video and dance performances, together with creative workshops, exhibits, political salons, and films, including a screening of Melisa Önel's film *Ben ve Nuri Bala* ("Me and Nuri Bala"), a documentary portrayal of the well-known Turkish transsexual Esmeray. The film, which received funding from the Heinrich Böll Foundation, debuted during *Love Me Gender* and later received the award for best documentary film at the Antalya Film Festival.

Giving a Lift to Young Talent

The Heinrich Böll Foundation provides support to undergraduate, graduate, and doctoral students from both Germany and abroad, in all fields of study and from all types of higher education institutions. This support includes a stipend, advisory services, skills development, and networking opportunities.

Our aim is to discover promising young talent and to nurture and enhance its potential. In this way, we hope to win over young people to become globally engaged in the pursuit of the Foundation's goals: more democracy, mutual solidarity, environmental action, sustainable policies, and human rights throughout the world.

In its programs and activities to promote talented young people, the Heinrich Böll Foundation places a dual emphasis on the principles of achievement and equal opportunity. In addition to requiring high academic achievement, which is assessed within the context of each person's individual biography, the Foundation also expects its fellows to take on responsibility for the common good and to become actively involved in social and political issues. In 2009, the Heinrich Böll Foundation's Scholarship Program selected 174 new fellows in a three-stage selection process involving approximately 1,700 applicants.

Who receives support, and where does the funding come from?

In 2009, a total of 976 fellows received financial support, including 809 undergraduate and graduate students and 167 doctoral candidates. The fellowships were financed primarily through public funding. The length of support usually varies from 1½ to 3 years. As part of its goal of promoting diversity, the Foundation especially encourages applications from groups that are underrepresented in academia. These include students with non-academic family backgrounds, students attending universities of applied sciences (Fachhochschulen), as well as students specializing in "MINT" disciplines (mathematics, informatics, natural sciences, and technology). In 2009, women comprised 63 % of the Foundation's fellows while students with an immigrant background comprised 22 %.

Conceptual support/fostering ideas: advice – training – networking

The Foundation's Scholarship Program offers its fellows additional forms of support that are designed to nurture conceptual development and cultivate ideas. This support takes the form of advisory services and networking opportunities as well as an extensive events program. These activities are participatory processes: for example, fellows are actively involved in planning and organizing the events program. They set up working groups that focus on the Foundation's priority issues and initiate workshops that are geared toward professional development. Other events include seminars, workshops, a summer academy, numerous training programs, study trips, and discussion forums. These activities aim to spur political debate, impart crucial skills, encourage interdisciplinary dialogue, promote social and political activism, and enhance personality development. In addition, targeted local initiatives give fellows the opportunity to engage in networking activities directly at their own universities.



Fellows of the Heinrich Böll Foundation



Since 2009, Cornelia Walther has been working as a communication specialist for the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) in Afghanistan. Prior to working with UNICEF, she worked for the United Nations in West Africa for seven years. A Heinrich Böll Foundation fellowship from 2001–2004 supported her law studies at the University of Tübingen. She also completed two master's degrees in France.

A detailed events calendar is available at
→ www.boell.de/scholarships



Dr. Sébastien Luc Kamba Kamdem works as a nature conservation manager in Gabon (Libreville) for the regional environmental protection organization *Réseau des Aires Protégées d'Afrique Centrale* (Central Africa Protected Areas Network). The Heinrich Böll Foundation awarded him a doctoral fellowship from 2000 to 2003, which he used to conduct research on ways to develop ecotourism in Cameroon's protected areas.



Tatiana Petrenko studied linguistics with a specialization in English and German at Moscow Linguistics University as well as media studies and practice at the University of Tübingen. She was a Heinrich Böll Foundation fellow from 2004–2006. She is currently working for Deutsche Welle's Russian-language service in Bonn (dw-world.de/russian).



Dr. Stefan Böschen, sociologist and chemical engineer. He received a fellowship from the Heinrich Böll Foundation to complete his doctoral thesis, which was published in 2000 under the title "The Genesis of Risk". He works at the University of Augsburg's Environment Science Center, with a specialization on the fundamental challenges facing environmental and science policy. He also serves as a lecturer in sociology as well as a scientific consultant, and he remains a tutor for the Foundation.

Highlights in 2009

Together with four partners from the media sector, the Scholarship Program has been operating a media fellowship program since 2007 called "A Different Type of Media Diversity", which focuses on increasing the presence of persons with immigrant backgrounds in the journalism profession. To date, the program has provided support to 23 persons. Key program activities in 2009 included training seminars in journalistic "tools of the trade" such as different types of journalistic reporting, the use of digital video technology in political work, and conducting political interviews.

In addition, for the fourth consecutive year, the Foundation participated in the European Journalism Fellowship program run by the Free University of Berlin's Institute for Media and Communication Studies. This program provides foreign journalists – mostly from Central and Eastern Europe and the CIS countries – with the opportunity to work on a research project for one year in Berlin. In 2009, the Foundation provided support in the form of fellowships to two women journalists, one from Poland and one from Slovenia.

In 2009, the Scholarship Program's events program placed a special focus on the topic of "career preparation". Activities to develop professional skills included facilitator training as well as a project management workshop.

Along with new features, the Scholarship Program always includes tried-and-true activities. Two of our most important regular large-scale events include our twice-yearly orientation seminars as well as the week-long summer academy, "Campus". Each of these events brings together over 100 participants. Fellows also take part in national and state-level events organized within the regular framework of the Heinrich Böll Foundation's civic education work as well as a seminar on the work of Heinrich Böll and its relation to the history of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Supporting doctoral studies/doctoral research groups

Our annual forum for doctoral candidates provides a useful opportunity for our doctoral-level fellows to build and expand networks. The forum focuses on interdisciplinary exchanges, discussions of the sociopolitical significance of selected academic issues, and the various possibilities and forms for presenting and disseminating scholarly work. Together with the presentation and discussion of fellows' various doctoral projects, this year's forum tackled the issue of "Scholarship and Responsibility".

For the past several years, the Scholarship Program has also organized numerous doctoral research groups. Each doctoral research group (called a *Promotionskolleg*) is a cooperative project between higher education institutions, the Scholarship Program, and one of the Foundation's policy departments. The groups offer doctoral candidates qualified training in an interdisciplinary team environment, help them to network with experts associated with the Foundation, and thereby promote mutually productive feedback between scholarship and politics. Three groups received support in 2009: "The future of the European city: forms and consequences of new urban governance" at the Humboldt University of Berlin and the University of Bremen; "Global social policies and governance" at the University of Kassel; and "Civil society and external democratization in post-socialist Europe" at the European University Viadrina in Frankfurt/Oder and the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology in Zürich. A new doctoral research group on "The true costs of transport" at the University of Dresden was launched in 2009.

Art as the barometer of politics and society

In 2009, the talk of crisis was everywhere. Traditionally such times provide fertile ground for artistic creation. It is particularly in periods of crisis that art brings its diagnostic and experimental capacity to the fore. However, art cannot – and does not strive to – eliminate the uncertainty intrinsic in every crisis. On the contrary: it is precisely this uncertainty that is one of the great drivers of art and that sparks its creative spirit.

For the work of the Heinrich Böll Foundation, this means intervening in discourses and debates that are marked by uncertainty or ambivalence. At the same time, we also foster intercultural exchanges and actively facilitate mutual learning processes. In addition, for many years we have placed a priority on organizing projects and activities targeting issues relating to the knowledge society, free culture, and rights in the age of the internet.

Art exhibits in the foyer of the Foundation's Berlin headquarters

Ernst Volland, *Eingebrannte Bilder*

On 29 May 2009, the Heinrich Böll Foundation unveiled the first major exhibition in its new offices: *Eingebrannte Bilder* (which translates roughly into English as "Searing Images"), a presentation of works by the German artist Ernst Volland. His altered and defamiliarized photographs provide a tour through the collective memory of the past 60 years: Willy Brandt falling to his knees at the monument to the victims of the Warsaw Ghetto, the youthful border guard leaping over the barbed wire dividing Berlin, the fall of the Berlin Wall. These are images that shape our perceptions and interpretations of contemporary history to this day. Volland's defamiliarization of well-known images invites us to think about conventions of seeing and thereby to contemplate the interpretation of historical events.



Ernst Volland presenting an exhibition of his works in the foyer of the Foundation [Photo: Joachim Loch](#)

nochnichtmehr – What can art do?

In the autumn of 2009, the Heinrich Böll Foundation launched an ambitious project: using the medium of contemporary visual arts to explore attitudes and possibilities for action in times of existential upheaval. Under the curatorial direction of Kai Bauer, 12 international artists presented their positions both inside and outside the Foundation's headquarters. We were particularly pleased to have the participation and presence of Yoko Ono, who displayed three of her works in our foyer and who traveled to Berlin to attend the opening of the exhibition. The exhibition took place at the time of year when the Foundation's conferences and public activities are at their peak, which intensifies the number of visitors to our institution. As a result, the combination and interaction of art with our civic education activities gave rise to surprising encounters and juxtapositions and ensured that the show was seen by a diverse, international audience.



Installation by Andreas Meyer-Brennstuhl for the exhibition "nochnichtmehr" [Photo: Stephan Röhl](#)

On 15 May 2009 Prof. Lawrence Lessig spoke at the Heinrich Böll Foundation's "Spielstand Spezial" event on Copyright Wars. A question & answer session followed Prof. Lessig's presentation. MP3 file at → www.boell.de/en

Expropriation or Infotopia? Google Books and the future of knowledge

The Google Books program aims to make millions of books accessible online, including books that are out of print or whose copyrights have expired. While this enables millions of readers to enjoy easy and cost-free access to written works, copyright holders fear a loss of revenue. In October 2009, the Foundation organized a conference in cooperation with the Goethe Institute and the iRights.info project focusing on the hopes and concerns that have been triggered by this ambitious project.

Anywhere but Now – Event series on “Belonging and Home”



“Anywhere but now”: Egyptian filmmaker Nadia Kamel in the Beirut Art Center

Since the end of the Ottoman Empire, the societies of eastern Mediterranean countries have been riven by recurrent violent conflicts. Struggles for territory and hegemony have led to massive refugee flows and generations of stateless people. The Heinrich Böll Foundation's Beirut office took a closer look at these issues by organizing a series of lectures, film screenings, artist talks, and readings centered on the theme “Belonging and Home”. The events took place at the newly opened Beirut Art Center. Large audiences were shown new and unique material, including the first-ever screening of confiscated film scenes featuring Syrian Kurds, which had been newly edited with the Foundation's support. Filmmakers and creative professionals from Lebanon, Egypt, Palestine, Iraq, Bosnia, and Turkey presented artistic works in which they address such sensitive issues as the history of Armenians in Turkey and the siege of Sarajevo. The tremendous turnout for the events showed that there is a powerful public interest in finally being able to discuss taboo topics.

German-Israeli Literature Days in Tel Aviv

Featuring the motto “Tel Aviv – Berlin: Living and Writing in the Cities”, the third annual German-Israeli Literature Days took place from 27–31 October 2009 in Tel Aviv. Conceived as an homage to the city of Tel Aviv, which celebrated its 100th birthday in 2009, the event simultaneously drew a connection to Berlin, which was honoring the 20th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall. This year's Literature Days featured four German writers – Marc Buhl, Iris Hanika, Judith Kuckart, and Hatice Akyün – and four Israeli writers – Orly Castel-Bloom, Alon Hilu, Dror Burstein, and Shimon Adaf. The venues comprised a variety of galleries, bars, and cafes that represent the diversity of Tel Aviv's cultural life. The event series was kicked off by a panel discussion at the newly opened Loft Kastiel on Ben Yehuda street, and the following days were dedicated to the appreciation of Israeli and German literature.

→ www.boell-tr.org

The Heinrich Böll Foundation's international office in Istanbul is serious about multiculturalism and the right to one's native language. Since its re-launch in June 2009, the office's website is now available in Turkish, German, and Kurdish. In this way, the Foundation is fostering the continued development of the Kurdish language, offering users the opportunity to improve their Kurdish skills, and sending a political signal!

“Beyond Pressure” – Performance art festival in Burma

In December 2009, the second international performance art festival “Beyond Pressure” was held in Burma, with the support of the Heinrich Böll Foundation. Until shortly before the festival opened, it remained unclear whether or not the event would even be allowed to take place. It was not until the last minute that the festival's artistic director, Moe Satt, and his team received official approval from the authorities. Artists from Burma, Thailand, the United States, Japan, Vietnam, Malaysia, South Korea, India, and China presented their performance art pieces in the Sein Lan So Pya Garden, a popular leisure destination in Yangon. The international guests were highly impressed by the young Burmese artists, by their enthusiasm for new art forms, and by their courage to engage in creative expression under the current political circumstances.



International performers visiting Burma

A Refuge for Artists

Throughout the world, artists take a stand on political and social issues. With their dedication to free thought, they make a valuable contribution to the development and preservation of democracy and human rights. The Heinrich Böll Foundation supports the dedication of these artists through the Fellowship Program of the Heinrich Böll House in Langenbroich. Since 1990, approximately 140 guests from 41 countries have been invited to Langenbroich. In this way, the Heinrich Böll House has become a refuge for artists from all around the world. Here the guests find time to engage in creative work – undisturbed, financially secure, and free from state control or even persecution.

Fellows in 2009

Dorothea Rosa Herliany, philologist and writer from Indonesia. Her first volume of poetry appeared in 1987. Since then, she has published over 20 books and has received numerous awards. Especially since the publication of *Kill the Radio* in 2001, she is widely considered to be one of the most important voices of contemporary Indonesian poetry.



Dorothea Rosa Herliany Photo: ulme-mini-verlag

Damtoz Andreas, visual artist from Indonesia. In 1995, he founded the Indonesia Tera publishing house. Since then, he has designed and published nearly 200 books. In 2001, he received the Indonesian publishers association's award for design.

Shadi Sadre, journalist and lawyer from Iran. She co-founded the campaign "Stop Stoning Forever", established the website *Zanan-e Iran* (Women of Iran), and heads the website *Meydaan.net* (Women's Field). As a well-known Iranian lawyer, she represented human rights activist Shiva Nazar Ahari, among others. In July 2009, she was abducted and imprisoned in Tehran. Due to international pressure, she was released and then able to leave the country.

Babangoni Kubvala Chisale, poet and performer from Malawi. As is customary in Malawi tradition and culture, Babangoni's works strive to impart moral messages to his audience. He explores the political situation in Malawi on his album, *Dale Zili Maliseche* ("Democracy is naked in Africa").



Babangoni Kubvala Chisale Photo: Ajith Herath

Pinar Selek, writer, sociologist, and journalist from Istanbul, Turkey. She organized women's meetings in Kurdish cities to foster dialogue and exchanges, and was actively involved in supporting victims of state violence. She was indicted in Turkey in 1999, where she was subjected to torture and two and a half years in prison before ultimately being acquitted and released. She has published four books to date.

Ajith Herath, poet, journalist, and caricaturist from Sri Lanka. In 1989, he was arrested, tortured, and imprisoned for four years for participating in an anti-government demonstration. In 1995, he joined the editorial staff of the weekly magazine "Hiru Group". The editorial staff served as the breeding ground for a group of political activists committed to pursuing freedom of the press and peace with the Tamils. In 2008, increasing death threats forced him to leave his country.

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Prominent Guests and Partners of the Foundation



Vandana Shiva is an Indian environmental activist, civil rights activist, feminist, and winner of the Alternative Nobel Prize. In November 2009, she presented her book *Soil not Oil* in Berlin, together with Renate Künast and the Heinrich Böll Foundation.



Oren Moverman is an Israeli screenwriter and film director. In 2009, he received the Peace Film Award at the 2009 Berlinale film festival for his directorial debut, "The Messenger". The award is endowed with 5000 euros, and the prize money is contributed by the Heinrich Böll Foundation.



Kurt Flasch is a German historian of philosophy. He was awarded the Hannah Arendt Prize for Political Thought in December 2009. The prize is endowed with 7500 euros and has been funded by the city of Bremen and the Heinrich Böll Foundation since 1995.



Lina Pohl served for many years as staff member and director of the Foundation's international office in El Salvador. In June 2009, she was appointed El Salvador's Deputy Minister of the Environment – a major recognition of her long-term dedication to the issues of environmental protection and nature conservation.



Mechthild M. Jansen serves as a department head at the federal state of Hesse's Center for Civic Education (*Landeszentrale für politische Bildung*). In 2009 she received the Tony Sender Award from the city of Frankfurt/Main. The award honors women who have made significant contributions to the achievement of equal rights between women and men.



Shirin Ebadi is an Iranian lawyer and human rights activist. In 2003 she was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for her commitment to democracy and human rights. In September 2009, she visited the Heinrich Böll Foundation's state-level foundation in Hamburg and gave a report on the current human rights situation in Iran.



Negusu A. Woldemedhin is director of the Forum for Environment and chair of the Civil Society Network on Climate Change in Ethiopia. He is also one of the initial signatories of the African Climate Appeal. In November 2009, he served as speaker at a workshop for journalists that the Foundation held during the run-up to the UN Climate Summit.



Yoko Ono is a conceptual artist, performance artist, and peace activist. Through performances and campaigns, she conducts interventions during times of war to promote peaceful coexistence. In November 2009, she presented three of her works at the Foundation's art exhibition, "nochnichtmehr – action in unmarked spaces".



George Soros is an investment banker and multimillionaire. In 2009, he launched the Climate Policy Institute, a research network that focuses on climate protection issues. In May 2009, he participated at an expert meeting that the Heinrich Böll Foundation organized on the global financial crisis.

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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 organisations, 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 consider ethnic and cultural diversity to be an essential part of democratic culture.
- We encourage civic and civil-society activism.
- We train activists so that they can successfully self-organise and participate in political processes.

Our culture Commitment, expert and social competence, creativity 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.

Equality of opportunity and respectful dealings between women and men of different ages, religions, ethnic origins and sexual orientations are constitutive for the foundation. Intercultural competence and a productive engagement with diversity are part of our corporate culture.

Mutual respect and trusting co-operation among ourselves and with our partners are the bases of our business relationships.

We constantly evaluate and improve our work. We undertake and take seriously both internal and external evaluations. We handle the funds at our disposal economically and efficiently and assure transparent operations.

We work in close co-operation with our co-foundations in all of Germany's 16 states.

We are a reliable partner for volunteer work and for co-operation with third parties.

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.

■ The Heinrich Böll Foundation, affiliated with the Green Party and headquartered in the heart of Berlin, is a legally independent political foundation working in the spirit of intellectual openness. ■ The 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. ■ Heinrich Böll's call on citizens to meddle in politics is the example upon which the work of the Foundation is modeled. ■ The Heinrich Böll Foundation strives to stimulate sociopolitical reform by acting as a forum for debate, both on fundamental issues and those of current interest. The Foundation places 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. ■ By way 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. ■ The Heinrich Böll Foundation has about 470 supporting members who provide both financial and non-material assistance. ■ Ralf Fücks and Barbara Unmüßig are the current Presidents. 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 Presidents. 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 foreign and project offices in the USA and the Arab Middle East, in Afghanistan, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Brazil, Cambodia, Chile, China, Croatia, the Czech Republic, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Georgia, India, Israel, Kenya, Lebanon, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Russia, Ukraine, South Africa, Serbia, Thailand, Turkey, and an EU office in Brussels. In 2009, the Foundation had 43 million euros public funds at its disposal.