



# Annual Report 2014

How we strengthen  
democratic governments

Why we stand up  
for Europe

How the Energiewende  
will succeed

Who we are

# What We Want

Fostering democracy and upholding human rights, taking action to prevent the destruction of the global ecosystem, advancing equality between women and men, securing peace through conflict prevention in crisis zones, and defending the freedom of individuals against excessive state and economic power – these are the objectives that drive the ideas and actions of the Heinrich Böll Foundation. We maintain close ties to the German Green Party (Alliance 90/The Greens) and as a think tank for green visions and projects, we are part of an international network encompassing partner projects in approximately 60 countries.

The Heinrich Böll Foundation works independently and nurtures a spirit of intellectual openness. We maintain a worldwide network with currently 31 international offices.

We cooperate closely with 16 state-level Böll Foundations in each of Germany's federal states, and we support talented, socio-politically engaged undergraduate and graduate students in Germany and abroad.

We gladly follow Heinrich Böll's exhortation for citizens to get involved in politics, and we want to inspire others to do the same.

# Facts about the Foundation

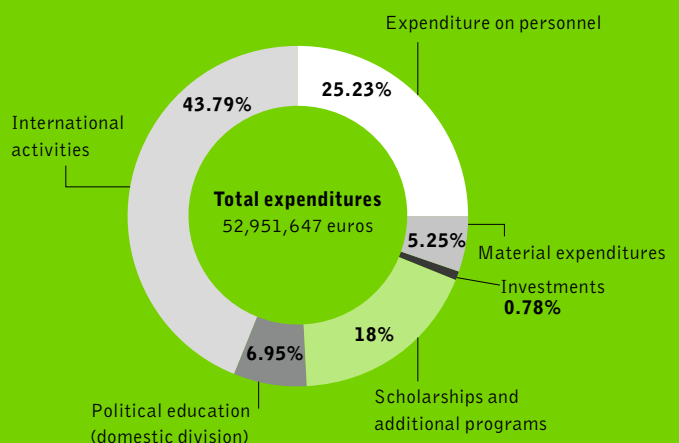
## Allocation of funding

2014

### Sources and allocation of funding

The Heinrich Böll Foundation e.V. is funded almost entirely through public grants. In the reporting year of 2014, the Foundation had 54.9 million euros at its disposal (preliminary figures).

In 2014, the bulk of funds (43.79%) went toward our international activities. Other increases were directed toward our scholarship program, material expenditures, and investment (see figure for percentages).





# Heinrich Böll Foundation Worldwide



## Africa

- 1 Cape Town (South Africa)
- 2 Abuja (Nigeria)
- 3 Nairobi (Kenia)

## Asia

- 4 Bangkok (Thailand)
- 5 Kabul (Afghanistan)
- 6 Islamabad (Pakistan)
- 7 New Delhi (India)
- 8 Beijing (China)
- 9 Phnom Penh (Cambodia)
- 10 Yangon (Myanmar)

## Europe

- 11 Belgrade (Serbia)
- 12 Berlin (Germany)
- 13 Brussels (Belgium)
- 14 Istanbul (Turkey)
- 15 Kiev (Ukraine)
- 16 Prague (Czech Republic)
- 17 Sarajevo (Bosnia-Herzegovina)
- 18 Tbilisi (Georgia)
- 19 Thessaloniki (Greece)
- 20 Warsaw (Poland)
- 21 Zagreb (Croatia)

## Latin America

- 22 Mexico City (Mexico)
- 23 Rio de Janeiro (Brazil)
- 24 San Salvador (El Salvador)
- 25 Santiago de Chile (Chile)

## Middle East / North Africa

- 26 Beirut (Lebanon)
- 27 Ramallah (Palestine)
- 28 Rabat (Morocco)
- 29 Tel Aviv (Israel)
- 30 Tunis (Tunisia)

## North America

- 31 Washington (USA)

## Russian Federation

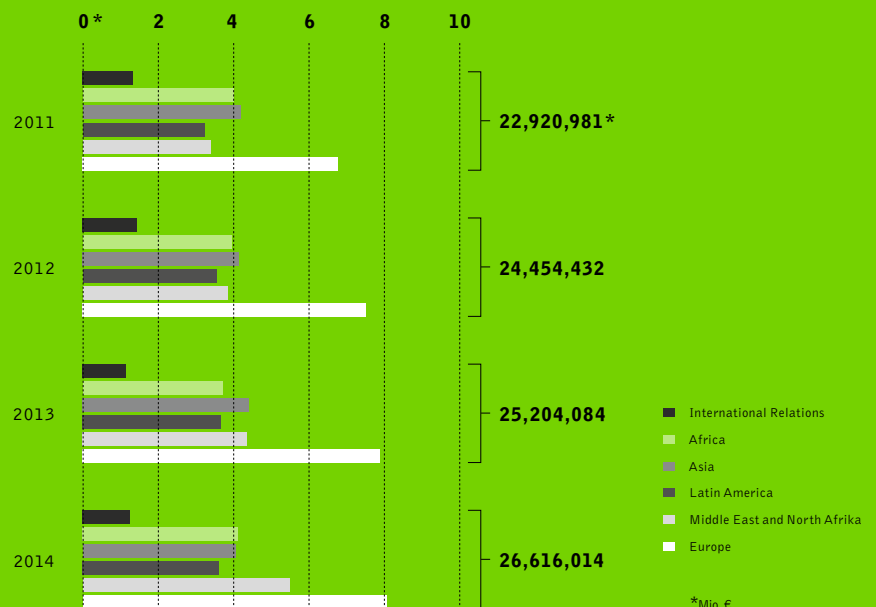
- 32 Moscow (Russia)

## International cooperation

2011–2014

The Heinrich Böll Foundation's largest source of funding is the Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development, which provided approximately 22.8 million euros in funding in 2014. This amount included roughly 822,000 euros for measures to mitigate climate change in developing countries and 215,000 euros in targeted funds for Syrian refugees. International cooperation funds totaling 210,000 euros were disbursed to other Foundation divisions and organizational entities.

The Foundation also received funding of approximately 1.4 million euros from the Federal Foreign Office. EU funding totaling roughly 950,000 euros was targeted toward projects in the Middle East and North Africa as well as multi-regional projects in southeastern Europe and within the framework of the EcoFair Trade dialogue.



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# Foreword



Ralf Fücks Photo: Julia Baier



Barbara Unmüßig Photo: Bettina Keller

Once again, this past year has shown how relevant the Foundation's activities are.

War rages once again in Europe, in the Middle East, and in many regions of Africa. The conflict over Ukraine places a strain on international relations, particularly between Europe and Russia. The military successes of the Islamic State's terrorist army have further aggravated conditions in Syria and Iraq. The situation in Gaza remains precarious after last summer's war, which caused 2,000 casualties and left over 10,000 people injured. Terrorist organizations such as Boko Haram in Nigeria threaten every aspect of civilian life. Despite – and precisely because of – these crises and challenges, we are doing everything in our power to help build and expand democratic structures and civil societies, to foster peaceful solutions to conflicts, and to advance policies and policymaking regimes that are geared towards human rights. We provide background information and host discussion forums to shed light on the forces driving these conflicts, and we team up with a broad range of partners to identify ways to resolve them. One major effect of these wars and the intensifying social crises that accompany them is a dramatic rise in the number of refugees, which now stands at over 50 million worldwide. We engage in activities to explain the root causes of what drives

people to flee their homes, and we take action to promote humane refugee and asylum policies.

The Foundation's contributions to social and environmental transformation – both in Germany and at the global level – constitute another hallmark of our work. Our international environmental activities strongly focus on the issues of climate justice and resource equity. With the publication of our 2014 Meat Atlas, which has been translated into several languages, we have reached a wide audience in Germany, Europe, and around the world. The Meat Atlas is the most successful publication in the Foundation's history.

In 2014, we launched a process of reflection on our working methods and political profile. The outcome of this process was our new "Strategy 2020", which is designed to ensure that we are well-equipped to tackle the political, economic and socio-environmental challenges of the coming years by building on our strengths, skills, and expertise.

We would like to express our heartfelt thanks to our staff for their outstanding commitment and for their hard work, often under difficult conditions. We would also like to extend our sincere thanks to the many individuals who perform important volunteer work for the Foundation. We all share the credit for our successful endeavors.

Berlin, April 2015

Ralf Fücks

Barbara Unmüßig

Presidents, Heinrich Böll Foundation

## Strengthening Democratic Participation, Enforcing Human Rights

Democracy is under pressure in many parts of the world. Democratic liberties are being curtailed, and the repression of people who think and act differently is on the rise. From Ethiopia to China, developing countries with an authoritarian leadership may promise improved living conditions and greater prosperity, but this does not include freedom, the rule of law, and political participation. Meanwhile, economically powerful elites are capturing ever-increasing influence over political decision-making processes in both liberal and illiberal democracies alike.

Freedom, justice, human rights, and democracy constitute the normative foundations of our work – in Germany and around the world. We operate offices in 31 countries. Together with our international partners, we strive to identify and expand opportunities for political and social participation and emancipation. This requires carefully honed instincts and a strong sense of responsibility, for ourselves as well as for our partners.



At least 3.8 million people have become refugees as a result of the war in Syria.  
Photo: Bryan Denton/The New York Times/Redux/laif

### International trouble spots: Syria

Three years on, the conflict in Syria has metamorphosed into a war that has caused over 200,000 deaths, millions of refugees, and extreme suffering for the country's civilian population. So far, every initiative that has been launched in an attempt to resolve the conflict has failed. The military successes of the Islamic State's terrorist army have added a new dimension to the civil war. The rapid military advances of the IS have induced the United States and Europe to intervene militarily in Iraq after years of hesitation. However, this involvement on the part of the international community is not guided by any political strategy that aims to resolve the conflict.

What can an organization like the Heinrich Böll Foundation do in a situation like this? We can pro-

vide information and explanations – about the conflict's background, and about its dynamics. This, in turn, can then form the basis for an informed and productive discussion on the options available to Germany and the international community. We appeal to Western institutions' sense of responsibility, attempt to identify political solutions, and work to foster courage and political will. In Syria, Lebanon, and Germany, we support activists who are taking local action to help build a democratic Syria. And we try to put a face on the countless war refugees by giving voice to their stories. For example, we provided funding for Carol Mansour's film, "We Cannot Go There Now, My Dear", which documents the fate of Palestinian refugees from Syria.



Mariam Jalabi, member of the Syrian National Coalition's liaison office to the United Nations and the Syrian Women's Network, demanded that women take on a greater role in international peace negotiations. Photo: Stephan Röhl

### Conference:

#### Women to the peace tables

At a symposium organized by the Gunda Werner Institute in November 2014 and held at the Heinrich Böll Foundation in Berlin, experts from international organizations, Syria, and Iraq examined the question: Under what conditions, and with which strategies, can women influence ceasefire and peace agreements at the national and international level? Even though UN Resolution 1325 calls for the participation of women in peace negotiations, this key step forward has had little practical effect to date, as negotiations in Syria demonstrate yet again. Decades of male dominance, together with associated gender stereotypes and prejudices, still hold too much sway over how peace negotiations are structured and conducted. Women are not considered capable of acting as decision-makers, and men are loath to give up their positions of power. Against this, Miriam Jalabi, member of the Syrian National Coalition's liaison office to the United Nations and the Syrian Women's Network, demanded that women must always play a leading role in peace negotiations. Among other things, this will require international solidarity and the support of UN mediators.

#### War, art, and emancipation: *Antigone of Syria*

"*Antigone of Syria*" is a project conceived by the Syrian playwright Mohammad Al Attar. The actors in the piece – all women – are refugees who have personally experienced the war in Syria, with Sophocles' *Antigone* providing the dramaturgical framework. By placing her own conscience above the law, *Antigone* calls into question not only the relationship between the individual and the state, but traditional gender roles as well. Thus the text is not only politically relevant but also depicts the actresses' reality, as *Antigone's* rebellion also reflects their own resistance against a world dominated by men. But the theater project is much more than just a stage setting for the personal catharsis of the actresses –

"*Antigone of Syria*" demonstrates what acting and theater can do. Performing on stage gives the women self-confidence. The theatrical work teaches them how to stand up for themselves and raise their voices. In this way, "*Antigone of Syria*" is a modern tragedy by and about strong women, emancipation, rebellion, and self-determination. Furthermore, the project supports the actresses' emancipation process by rewarding them financially as well. "*Antigone of Syria*" premiered in December 2014 in Beirut's Al Madina theater. A film recording of the play will be published online in the fall of 2015. Our Beirut office provided financial support for the project.

#### Nothing but hot air?

Rumors fulfill a social function. They can foster alliances or drive wedges between individuals and social groups. Some rumors undermine credibility, others can ruin entire careers and lives, while yet others evolve into conspiracy theories over time. Our Perspectives report "*Rumors*" places a particular focus on the political effects and repercussions of rumors.

## 2014 Petra Kelly Prize awarded to Syrian human rights activists

The 2014 Petra Kelly Prize was awarded to the Violations Documentation Center in Syria and four of its staff members: Razan Zeitouneh, Samira al-Khalil, Wael Hamadeh, and Nazem Hammadi. These four individuals were abducted in the vicinity of Damascus on 9 December 2013, and there has been no trace of them since then.

The Violations Documentation Center was founded in 2011. It monitors and documents violations of international law in Syria and makes this information accessible to the public. The crimes are documented regardless of which party to the war commits them. In this way, the organization aims to build an objective memory of the Syrian revolution that, once the civil war is over, can provide the basis for a collective coming to terms with human rights violations.

The Heinrich Böll Foundation's Petra Kelly Prize honors individuals and civil society organizations for their outstanding achievements in upholding human rights, promoting non-violent conflict resolution, and protecting the environment. The prize is endowed with 10,000 euros and is awarded on a bi-annual basis.

#### Publication

«Rumors» – *Perspectives. Middle East & North Africa*, Issue 7, 55 pages Available online: <http://fb.boell.org>

#### Link

Laudatory remarks by Petra Stienen: [www.boell.de/en/2014/11/27/laudatory-petra-kelly-prize-2014-we-do-exist-when-does-world-start-believing-us](http://www.boell.de/en/2014/11/27/laudatory-petra-kelly-prize-2014-we-do-exist-when-does-world-start-believing-us)

## Our “bridgehead” in Washington, D.C.

In Washington, D.C., political think tanks are lined up practically door to door. The city is international, multilingual, and cosmopolitan. Think tank experts strive to explain the world, often with well-founded expertise, but sometimes also with a complete lack of awareness of the civil societies affected by their analyses and recommendations. This is where our office in Washington, D.C. comes into play. The office communicates actively with our other international offices around the world and functions as a bridge between experts and decision-makers in the U.S. capital and the multifaceted world outside the United States.

For example, in 2014 our Washington, D.C. office funded a visit by Afghan women’s rights activists to Washington, D.C. and New York City, where they spoke about their hopes, expectations, and concerns for the period following the withdrawal of international troops. The women’s delegation was even invited to a personal meeting with members of President Obama’s National Security Council. In New York City, they attended the session of the Commission on the Status of Women. These annual sessions are organized by the United Nations to evaluate the progress and gaps in implementing the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995.

Of course, political dialogue is not a one-way street. To this end, our Washington, D.C. office accompanied a delegation from the U.S. House of Representatives and the Center for American Progress (a think tank closely aligned with the Democratic Party) to Turkey and Lebanon for the purpose of gaining a closer insight into local political developments. This visit was followed up by an expert meeting, which we organized in cooperation with the Atlantic Council and colleagues from our Beirut office. At the meeting, 40 experts – including experts from the Middle East, representatives of the German Foreign Office, advisors to the French and British governments, former U.S. ambassadors to Turkey and Syria, and President Obama’s security advisor for Syria – discussed what can be done in the region beyond humanitarian assistance. This question, of course, is far too complex to be answered within the scope of a day’s discussions. We will however continue to focus on this issue – in Berlin, Washington, Brussels, and in crisis regions themselves.



August 2014: Palestinians collect their belongings from Gaza ruins. Photo: CC BY\_NC\_ND 2.0 UN Photo/Shareef Sarhan

### International trouble spots: the Middle East conflict

The frontlines in the Middle East conflict have hardened as a result of the summer 2014 war in Gaza. During the conflict, over 2,000 Palestinians lost their lives, and more than 10,000 Palestinians were injured. Israel counted 72 casualties (including 67 soldiers), and hundreds of Israelis were injured. At this time, chances that peace negotiations will be resumed are slim. We support those actors who remain actively committed to achieving a peaceful settlement to the conflict, if possible on the basis of a two-state solution. In 2014, for example, the project “Two States in One Space”, which was carried out by the Israel Palestine Creative Regional Initiatives (IPCRI), worked to identify innovative ways to implement a two-state solution. As part of the project, Palestinians and Israelis produced a joint paper proposing comprehensive alternatives that depart from the paradigm of strict separation that the two-state solution normally implies. The group drafted a confederate model of coexistence between both peoples that contains detailed proposals on contentious issues such as security, the status of Jerusalem, the right of return for Palestinians, and the definition of citizenship. From the point of view of our office in Tel Aviv, the space for such initiatives is limited but absolutely necessary in order to enable ongoing discussions towards a successful end to the occupation.

For our project partners in the Gaza Strip, the 51-day war was a matter of sheer survival. There was hardly a person whose family or possessions remained unscathed. An important part of our work involves analyzing developments in local conditions and in the overall Israeli-Palestinian conflict itself. For example, in late 2014 we supported an academic conference dealing with the Gaza Strip, which was organized by the Institute for Palestine Studies and held at Birzeit University (Palestine).

Conditions have deteriorated dramatically not only in the Gaza Strip but in East Jerusalem as well. Within the framework of a large-scale EU project, our office in Ramallah is attempting to help reduce the legal, cultural, social, and economic marginalization of residents, particularly women and children. Together with our partner organizations, we assist young women artists, grant microloans to women en-

#### Publication

The United States, Turkey, and the Kurdish Regions: The Peace Process in Context.  
A collaboration of the Center for American Progress and the Heinrich Böll Foundation, Washington 2014, 50 pages  
[www.us.boell.org/publications](http://www.us.boell.org/publications)

#### Link

[www.us.boell.org](http://www.us.boell.org)





A wall for campaign posters in the center of Tunis. Numbered surfaces were provided where parties campaigning for parliamentary elections – and subsequently candidates for president – could affix campaign posters. Photo: Malek Khadhraoui



Lasaad, campaign director for a left-of-center political party, talking with voters in a scene from the film "Winek – Where Are You?", a production by our international office in Tunis. Photo: Heikel Ben Bouzid

trepreneurs, support measures to prevent violence against women, and assert the rights of women and children in East Jerusalem.

### **On the positive side: the example of Tunisia**

Civil war in Syria, military advances by the Islamic State, political oppression in Egypt, state fragility in Yemen and Libya – the challenges facing the Arab region are tremendous. Tunisia is the only country in the Arab world that has achieved a national consensus in favor of a non-violent transition from dictatorship to democracy. The parliamentary and presidential elections that were held from October to December 2014 constituted a decisive step towards the consolidation of democracy in Tunisia. In order to help ensure a fair election process that was accepted by all political stakeholders, our office in Tunis worked together with the Tunisian Association for a Democratic Awakening (ATED) to develop a concept for an election monitoring network, which resulted in the creation of the Mourakiboun ("moni-

tors") network. Under the network's auspices, teams of volunteer election monitors mobilized throughout the country. What was new about this was that Mourakiboun didn't just monitor the elections but the entire run-up. Monitors reported on the general public atmosphere as well as efforts to intimidate minorities. Other monitoring organizations do exist in Tunisia, but Mourakiboun was generally perceived by the public as independent and politically neutral. And Mourakiboun did uncover some irregularities in the conduct of elections. For example, voter registers were not in conformity with the total number of registered voters – a well-known vote-rigging tactic, because it makes it possible for votes to be cast in the name of deceased persons. The electoral commission corrected the problem immediately.

In addition, our office in Tunis hired a team that filmed four individuals – two of them from partner organizations of the Foundation – as they monitored the election process during the final weeks prior to the parliamentary and presidential elections.



At the Urban Civil Society Forum in Kiev, participants formulated numerous proposals addressed to the city's newly elected mayor, Vitali Klitschko. Photo: Olena Angelova



Euromaidan monitors at the Heinrich Böll Foundation in Berlin, in direct proximity to the Ukrainian Embassy Photo: Stephan Röhl

### International trouble spots: Ukraine

Russia responded to the Euromaidan revolution by annexing Crimea in 2014 and launching a hybrid war against Ukraine. Today, a fragile ceasefire prevails in Ukraine, and a political solution to the conflict appears remote. The Ukraine conflict involves much more than "only" the hopes of millions of people who seek to join up with Europe's democratic and social achievements. Rather, what is at stake is the framework for European peace, and even the future of the European community itself.

What can the Foundation do in Kiev? The Maidan movement and the external threats to Ukraine's security have unleashed a wave of civil society activity in the country. Many people were and are ready and willing to take action to build democratic institutions and fight corruption.

To bolster these efforts, our office in Kiev encourages, assists, and advises civil society actors as they work to get their voices heard in political institutions. For example, we support the Reanimation Reform Package Initiative, an informal alliance of civil soci-

ety experts that formulates reform proposals. Some of the initiative's leaders were elected to parliament in October 2014. We also place a priority on supporting civic engagement at the local level, particularly with a view towards local elections in 2015. One new, highly successful example of local political action in 2014 was the Urban Civil Society Forum in Kiev, which developed numerous proposals addressed to Kiev's newly elected mayor, Vitali Klitschko. The proposals, which drew significant media attention, were unveiled and put up for discussion at a public event. Some of the ideas were taken up by local officials and incorporated into the city government's plans. Another positive development was Mayor Klitschko's November 2014 appointment of Ksenia Semenova, an advocate for the Kiev Cyclists' Association and a Foundation partner, as his advisor for cycling infrastructure in Kiev. In Berlin, the Foundation provided support for the "Kiev Dialogue", a non-partisan, independent initiative launched by civil society organizations from Germany and Ukraine.

**Kenya:****Sauti Mtaani – making our voices heard**

Since its 2013 elections, Kenya – once a highly centralized state – has been subdivided into 47 counties. Now members of county assemblies (MCAs) are tasked with tending to the interests and concerns of their voters. However, even a carefully structured reform such as this changes little if citizens are unable to use their newly gained access to their elected representatives constructively. This is precisely where our project partner, the Community Education and Empowerment Centre (CEEC) is taking action. In particular, they aim to help give voice to a group of people who, so far, have had little opportunity to participate in political processes – namely young men and women from the informal settlements and slums of the capital city, Nairobi. For example, the CEEC provided training to youth representatives from 15 electoral districts to familiarize them with their rights of participation and the obligations associated with these rights. The CEEC also provided training to the MCAs themselves, explaining to them the scope of their electoral mandate, their duties and responsibilities, and how they can ensure that young people are given the chance to participate and have their voices heard.

Just a few days after these training programs concluded, voters and elected officials jointly launched the e-participation platform Sauti Mtaani, which basically translates into “voices from the ghetto”. Now young women and men can send text messages to their elected representatives free of charge. Requests have been submitted from every electoral district, with proposals ranging from street lights to scholarships to job creation. Not all MCAs show equal enthusiasm for the project. Some have gone silent, while others respond regularly and take action. But with over 12,000 messages in just four months, it has become clear that this communication platform via text message and *Facebook* is becoming increasingly popular.

**Nigeria:****Votes have their price**

For years now, Nigeria has been making international headlines due to the actions of the Islamist terrorist group, Boko Haram. The group is fighting with increasing brutality against the civilian population and security forces in northeastern Nigeria, and their attacks now occur on a regular basis. The lack of socio-economic prospects is the primary factor that drives Nigerian youths into the orbit of extremist groups – despite the fact that Nigeria is a rich country and has the highest gross domestic product in Africa. Unfortunately, however, profits from the booming economy generally end up in the pockets of corrupt elites.

One problem in Nigeria is that many voters act in their short-term interest and sell their votes to politicians for a quick profit. Our project partners, the

Center for Social Justice, developed an online game called “Sell Your Vote?” that aims to show young people what they and their country stand to lose if they put their votes up for sale. Players are asked what price they would demand to cast their vote for various politicians. By clicking on different politicians, players can collect larger or smaller amounts of money, depending on the wealth of the respective politician. Players who select the option “better policies” as the price for their vote receive no money. After a series of clicks, the various amounts are added up. Players who have sold their votes for large sums of money then see a picture of a grinning politician who gives them answers like: “I don’t have much money left over now, and you’ve already been given your share! That means you’ll still have to walk three kilometers to the next water well, there will be just three hours of electricity per day, and you’ll go school, but what kind of education will you get?”

**South Africa:****Awethu! Towards more responsible policy-making**

South Africa is currently experiencing its highest level of political tension since 1994. The verbal jousting over what constitutes the right policies is becoming increasingly contentious, and the scope for participation by social movements and other civic organizations is narrowing. Cases of political interference in public institutions are on the rise. The governing African National Congress (ANC) has lost its moral authority to lead the country, but a credible and politically sustainable alternative has yet to materialize. Against this background, the Awethu! (“For the people!”) network is taking action to ensure more responsible policy-making and social justice in South Africa. Awethu! is an alliance of civil society organizations that receives support from our office in Cape Town. Its civic education program has been taken up by the United Front, a new political coalition launched by the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA). In the run-up to local elections in 2016, Awethu! and the United Front are working together to fine-tune and advance their political program.

**South Africa:****Fighting corruption with Corruption Watch**

Widespread corruption in South Africa inflicts major damage on the common good. Corruption is estimated to have cost South Africa over \$50 million since 1994. Especially at the local level, a lot of money ends up in private pockets – money that is supposed to be spent on schools, for example. Our partner organization Corruption Watch helps citizens to detect, prevent, and counteract the misuse of funds. In the case of schools, Corruption Watch works together closely with school boards comprised of parents, community members, school directors, teachers, and students. The school boards are given

training to understand procurement rules, the responsibilities of school directors, and the rights of parents. Corruption Watch also uses cartoons and social media as tools to reach young people as well.

#### **Pakistan:**

##### **More opportunities for young people**

Pakistan is a very young country. People under 18 years of age will soon account for half of the country's population of 180 million. However, young people have poor prospects for attaining jobs and leading autonomous lives, and government has little to offer them. Political offices are occupied by entrenched elites who cater to their own interests. Our office in Pakistan supports projects that work to ensure better opportunities for young people. For starters, this includes getting young people interested in politics, because only well-informed people can stand up effectively for their interests. Moreover, young people who have their own visions and who can define their own views are much less susceptible to religious-conservative influences. It is precisely the lack of prospects that drives many young people into the hands of extremist groups. Together with our Pakistani project partners, we strive to put better policies in place for Pakistani youths. For example, our partner organization Bargad builds student networks at various universities throughout Pakistan and drafts youth policies. Some of these proposed policies have already been successfully adopted in the province of Punjab. In the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Bargad organized exchanges in 2014 among students, young members of provincial parliaments, and representatives from relevant ministries. The aim of these exchanges is to secure the adoption of policies that improve educational opportunities and establish apprenticeships and training positions. Corresponding implementation plans for both provinces are to be developed in the future.

#### **Thailand:**

##### **A film on democracy in Thailand**

For decades, Thailand has had to contend with enormous domestic political problems. These include a huge gap between rich and poor, a politically dominant urban elite, and widespread corruption and cronyism. In May 2014, the military seized power in a coup, and martial law has prevailed since then. As a result, the freedoms of speech, press, and assembly have been tightly restricted. Thai society is deeply divided and unsettled. The great extent to which the Thai people have been shaken by recent events is exemplified by the filmmakers Pen-Ek Ratanaruang and Passakorn Pramoolwong. Although they are best known as makers of feature films and commercials, they switched genres to shoot the film

“Paradoxocracy”, a political documentary focusing on Thailand's modern history. Despite government censorship and obstructions to distribution, the film garnered widespread positive coverage and was discussed throughout the country. With support from our Bangkok office, the directors are now working on a sequel. Preliminary cuts of this second film, which is still in production, were screened in February 2015 at a panel discussion held at the Foundation's main offices in Berlin.

#### **Prachatai:**

##### **Voices of a free media**

Since 2004, the Thai online newspaper *Prachatai* has been a key source of free and independent political reporting. Over the ten years since its premiere, *Prachatai* has enhanced its professionalism and, in the process, redefined Thai online journalism. Our Bangkok office has been collaborating with *Prachatai* for many years now. On the occasion of the website's 10th anniversary in 2014, we provided support for the publication “Voices of a Free Media: the First Ten Years of *Prachatai*”.

#### **Brazil:**

##### **The World Cup – for whom and for what?**

Brazil boasts the largest economy in Latin America today. However, Brazil's development model incurs high costs, as demonstrated by monumental projects such as the construction of Belo Monte, the third largest hydroelectric dam in the world. Rain forest and cropland have been flooded and indigenous peoples displaced as part of the construction process, which is still ongoing. Major sporting events, such as the 2014 World Cup, are also highly controversial. Such events gobble up billions in financial resources that could be put to use elsewhere. Tens of thousands of people were either displaced or dispossessed of their property to make room for the construction of World Cup sports venues.

The most expensive World Cup in history went smoothly, but many Brazilians were not in the mood to celebrate – and not just because of their team's 7–1 semi-final defeat against Germany. The parties responsible for organizing the event had promised many long-lasting benefits, such as improved infrastructure, but the reality turned out differently. For example, the stadiums were built under enormous pressure, and it is highly likely that expensive construction defects will soon come to light. Furthermore, over half of the transport projects planned for the World Cup – including roads, tramways and underground railway lines – never happened. The World Cup delivered modest increases in revenue from tourism and retail sales, but these gains were counteracted by record costs officially tallied at eight billion

 [Link](#)

[www.prachatai.com/english](http://www.prachatai.com/english)





Family members demand information on the fate of the abducted students. Photo: Timothy Fadek/Redux/laif

euros. Our office in Rio de Janeiro investigated the social costs incurred by the World Cup. For example, thousands of families had to leave their homes to make way for new sporting venues. In response, we published an interactive map documenting forced evictions and newly constructed housing settlements. Our online dossier “World Cup: for whom and for what?” features many additional maps, videos, articles, and interviews in German, Portuguese, and English. Our study, “World Cup for Whom and for What?”, which provides a comparative analysis of the World Cups in Germany (2006), South Africa (2010), and Brazil, also garnered widespread attention.

#### **Mexico:**

##### **Support in the case of the missing students**

Violence and uncertainty are a part of everyday life in Mexico. In September 2014, the case involving the disappearance of 43 male students drew widespread international attention. The young men had been taken into custody in the city of Iguala because they were traveling to a demonstration in commandeered buses. The local police were instructed by the mayor to hand them over to an organized crime syndicate. The students have not been seen since then, and only one person’s remains have been identified. The case unleashed a tremendous outpouring of indignation and protest, in both Mexico and around the world. In recent years, at least 26,000 persons have disappeared in Mexico, either never to be found or only to turn up dead.

From September 2014 onwards, the Tlachinolán Human Rights Center in the Mexican state of Guerrero was working at peak intensity. The staff at the Centro Pro Derecho Humano, a long-time partner organization of the Foundation, was in non-stop mode as well. The relatives of the disappeared – ordinary rural families – were assisted by human rights workers along every step of the way in their efforts to uncover the truth. This included logistical, legal, humanitarian, and political support: in filing complaints with local and capital city authorities, attending protest marches throughout Mexico, meeting with President Peña Nieto, and traveling to Geneva

to meet with the UN Human Rights Council. Human rights activists – many of them very young – worked tirelessly to help achieve justice. Our office in Mexico City did its best to support our project partners. For example, Abel Barrera, one of Tlachinolán’s directors, paid a visit to the Foundation’s Berlin headquarters in November 2014. On behalf of the students, human rights defenders, and desperate parents, he called on Germany to take action as well. For years now, the German government has been in the process of negotiating a police cooperation agreement with the Mexican government. There is a high degree of police corruption in Mexico, and law enforcement authorities frequently have links to organized crime. These are areas where Germany could exert a positive influence. Barrera called on Germany to act on this opportunity.

#### **Myanmar:**

##### **Human rights monitoring in Chin State**

Since 2011, Myanmar has been pursuing a surprisingly liberal reform agenda after nearly five decades of military dictatorship. The next parliamentary elections are slated to take place in late 2015. But ▶

2014

## **Anne Klein Women’s Award: Imelda Marrufo Nava**

The 2014 Anne Klein Women’s Award was presented to Imelda Marrufo Nava, a lawyer, feminist, and women’s rights activist from Mexico. For years, Marrufo Nava has been taking action to outlaw and prosecute femicide (the killing of women because of their gender) and gender-based violence. She lives and works in Ciudad Juárez, a Mexican city bordering the United States that has gained sad notoriety due to the spate of women who have been murdered there since the 1990s. Impunity is the rule, not the exception, in Ciudad Juárez. In its decision, the award jury cited Marrufo Nava’s dedicated work in the Mesa de Mujeres network, which she co-founded in 2001. Mesa de Mujeres played a key role in ensuring that cases involving the murders of eight women on the outskirts of Juárez were tried before the Inter-American Court of Human Rights and that, for the first time, femicide was recognized in a court judgement as a crime against human rights. In three of the cases, the Mexican state was found guilty of failing to protect the security, integrity, and freedom of the murdered women, their mothers, and their families.

The Anne Klein Women’s Award is endowed with 10,000 euros. The keynote speech to present the award was held by Claudia Roth, Vice President of the German Bundestag.

► the country is currently being shaken by Buddhist nationalist campaigns to stir up hatred against Muslims and by armed clashes between government forces and ethnic militias. Peace negotiations between the government and ethnic groups are being weighed down by disagreements over claims to autonomy and by unequal rights to participate in decision-making processes over the tendering of infrastructure projects. These tensions and conflicts are also being felt in Myanmar's Chin State. Chin State – with a population of about 500,000 and located in a relatively isolated part of western Myanmar bordering Bangladesh and India – is one of the least developed regions in Myanmar. Its population, which speaks a number of different languages, is over 90 percent Christian. Since 1995, the Chin Human Rights Organization (CHRO) has been an important advocate for democracy in Myanmar, for the interests of ethnic minorities, and for the rights of people living in Chin State. Our Bangkok office supports the CHRO's activities, which in 2014 included training seminars for local activists who received instruction in documenting human rights cases and monitoring elections. After receiving training, the activists then put their learning into practice, serving as monitors in Chin State. Their findings will be incorporated into an independent report that the CHRO will submit to the United Nations Human Rights Council in 2015 as a contribution to the Universal Periodic Review on Myanmar.

#### **LGBTI rights are human rights**

All around the world, people experience discrimination, marginalization, and violence due to their sexual orientation or gender identity. Moreover, the hu-

man rights situation of lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans\* and inter\* (LGBTI) individuals has clearly deteriorated in certain countries and regions. In our view, the rights of LGBTI individuals form an integral part of efforts to enforce human rights. In addition, combating the criminalization of LGBTI individuals serves to strengthen both democracy and the rule of law. In November 2014, the report "Strengthening Human Rights!", which was published by Dreilinden gGmbH and the German Institute for Human Rights, designated the Heinrich Böll Foundation as the leading German funder of international human rights work carried out on behalf of LGBTI people. Out of the 26 German organizations that allocated an aggregate of nearly 1.5 million euros for LGBTI human rights work, the Heinrich Böll Foundation alone accounted for over 20 percent of total funding. For many years now, projects and activities to promote LGBTI rights have constituted a key component of our international work.

#### **Strengthening democracy in Germany**

Today, many people in Germany seem to have become disconnected from political life. People with low income and low education levels in particular have withdrawn from political activity – many of them no longer vote. Our projects in Germany aim to foster vibrant democratic practices – in society, in political parties, and in institutions. We ask the question: What needs to be improved? For example, how do political parties – which are currently under especially heavy pressure – need to improve? Many people no longer vote in elections, for a number of reasons. They appear to have lost their trust in political parties.

The urgent need for a "democracy update" in Germany became starkly clear with the emergence of various anti-modern movements in the autumn of 2014. The most prominent of these movements was Pegida, an acronym that translates into "Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamisation of the West". Our regional Heinrich Böll Foundation in Saxony was directly confronted by these developments, which were based mainly in Saxony and especially in the city of Dresden. Our staff analyzed the phenomenon, described how and where it is situated in overall political and social trends, and became actively involved in the heated public discourse by hosting events and publishing reports. Our activities in this area aim to make clear that Pegida – together with its offshoots and supporters, especially in the "Alternative for Germany" party – reflects an aggressive confrontation with the fundamental values of an open, pluralistic society based on solidarity, a society where disputes are carried out using arguments and discourse. However, simply explaining facts has its limits. As a political foundation, we ourselves are called upon to actively advocate a democratic culture committed to human rights.

## Gunda Werner Institute – Feminism and Gender Democracy

Gender policy, together with feminist analyses and strategies, are firmly embedded in the overall activities and internal structure of the Heinrich Böll Foundation. In this connection, the Foundation's Gunda Werner Institute (GWI) plays a special role: The GWI pools gender policy themes and fosters the discourse relating to feminism and gender democracy. The Institute conducts public outreach to counteract blindness to gender issues in international peace and security policy, identifies emancipatory gender policy strategies in other countries, and assesses the transferability of these strategies to policy-making processes in Germany and the European Union.

 [Link](#)

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

## Towards a values-based foreign policy

The old global order is unraveling. Iraq and Syria are sites of widespread conflict. Terrorist armies such as the Islamic State and Boko Haram deal mercilessly with those who do not share their views. And the war in Ukraine has thrown the confrontation between East and West back onto the political agenda. So far, Europe has failed to articulate a persuasive foreign policy response to these recent developments.

How should a sustainable foreign policy, based on the values of democracy and human rights, be structured? As a foundation that is active around the globe, we tackle these big questions too. To do this effectively, we have to understand what is happening on the international stage. Which new patterns are emerging? Which alliances or crises are starting to take shape? Our annual foreign policy conference has established itself as a forum for examining these questions. The conference provides international experts with the opportunity to engage in dialogue and helps us to assess and re-assess the parameters of green foreign policy.



15th Annual Foreign Policy Conference: (l-r) Beata Peksa, François Heisbourg, Cathryn Cluever, Heinrich August Winkler, Cem Özdemir and Ralf Fücks Photo: Stephan Röhl

### 15th Annual Foreign Policy Conference: On the Way Toward Greater Responsibility

At the outset of 2014, leading German policy-makers argued that Germany must become more actively engaged in international foreign and security policy. Since then, this pledge has been put to the test on a continuous basis. The war in eastern Ukraine and Russia's annexation of Crimea pose a fundamental threat to the European framework for peace. These developments raise key questions: Is Germany's foreign policy sufficiently equipped to respond effectively to these challenges? And what are the consequences of "more responsibility", for Germany and for Europe? These questions were the focus of our

15th Annual Foreign Policy Conference, which took place in June 2014. At the event, German and international policy-makers, diplomats, and academics discussed their expectations of German foreign policy, focusing in particular on the examples of German relations with Ukraine, Russia, and the transatlantic partnership. International experts in particular argued that Germany must show its clear commitment to the Western alliance by making much more active use of all the foreign policy tools at its disposal. In their view, such a more active foreign policy stance is necessitated not only by Germany's current position of economic and political power but also by its historical responsibilities.

## For a Strong and United Europe

The euro crisis is not yet over, and economic weakness throughout large swaths of Europe has yet to be overcome. But one thing is already clear: The financial crisis has changed the European Union profoundly. Nationalist tendencies are making a powerful comeback, as demonstrated by the increasing popularity of the Front National in France and other right-wing and left-wing populist parties in Europe. The fundamental debate over Europe's future is now really getting started: How much Europe do we want? What purpose does Europe serve? And what role should Europe play in this 21st century world? The crisis in Ukraine highlights how important it is for Europe to be united and capable of taking effective action. But whether or not these developments lead to the strengthening of European institutions remains an open question. The Heinrich Böll Foundation wants to advance debates over necessary reforms. We think in European terms. We give voice to stakeholders from all over Europe and showcase Europe's diversity. And we put our findings up for discussion throughout Europe.



Greece: Beer coasters and posters against every form of discrimination. Photo: Select Respect

### Hungary:

#### Strategies to counteract right-wing extremism

In April 2014, a new parliament was elected in Hungary. Prime Minister Viktor Orbán and his Fidesz party emerged as the winners. The opposition alliance "Government Change" received just under 26 percent of "second votes" that are cast for national party lists. Jobbik, Hungary's right-wing extremist party, garnered 20 percent of the parliamentary vote, a deeply alarming development. Jobbik also posted big gains in local elections that took place in the fall of 2014 and is now the second-strongest political force in 18 of 19 regional administrative districts, even expending its power in major urban centers compared with the 2010 elections.

We have been supporting the Political Capital Institute and the Social Development Institute in Hungary since 2014. Both institutes are developing strategies to combat right-wing extremism and study the links between Russian power elites and right-wing extremist parties in Europe. According to a study by the Political Capital Institute, which pre-

sented its findings at various expert meetings hosted by the Heinrich Böll Foundation, 15 of 24 influential right-wing parties in Europe openly take sides with President Putin, and six additional parties are open to such alliances. Similarities between the positions held by these parties and the Russian government abound, including an anti-Western stance, blatant anti-Americanism, an authoritarian view of politics, contempt for "liberal decadence", a conservative definition of family, homophobia, and more. All of them share an opposition to the European Union. There was widespread agreement at these expert meetings that Europe's ultra-right-wing forces represent a kind of Trojan horse for the Kremlin that serves to undermine the EU from within. Moreover, these forces serve as disseminators of Russian propaganda in platforms ranging from parliaments to the internet. This in turn furnishes the Russian government with channels for the approval and recognition it so ardently seeks to foster.



### Network to counteract ideologies of hate

Together with the Amadeu Antonio Foundation, we are currently building a network to combat ideologies of hate and to foster an everyday culture of democracy. We want to link up people who fight xenophobia and discrimination in Central, Eastern, and Southern Europe with their German colleagues for the purpose of sharing experiences and best practices. In 2014, representatives from Hungarian civil society organizations came to Germany to meet with non-governmental organizations in Berlin and Dresden. Further exchange visits are planned for colleagues from the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Greece, and Poland.

### Greece:

#### Campaign against racism and discrimination ↗

In the run-up to the 2014 European elections, our office in Thessaloniki joined forces with Greek human rights organizations to launch the campaign "Select Respect". The campaign's objective is to take action against nationalism, racism, and discrimination of every kind. For example, beer coasters depicting symbols of basic needs and values such as love, health, and justice were distributed to remind people that these needs and values are or should be universal and independent of skin color. The campaign also produced a 68-page report on racism and discrimination in present-day Greece. The report provides analyses and facts on the complex socio-political causes that lead to the reproduction of racist and discriminatory attitudes and behavior in broad segments of Greek society.

#### Europe as a gender equality project? ↗

The European Union is based on a set of values, including gender equality. Equality between women and men is specifically cited in the EU's Charter of Fundamental Rights (Article 23). But how does the EU enforce the value of gender equality? And what challenges does this effort face in the coming years? At the conference "Europe – A Gender Equality Project?", which was hosted by the Heinrich Böll Foundation's Gunda Werner Institute in March 2014, participants took stock of the current situation and discussed strategies for a European gender policy, with a particular focus on right-wing populism, human trafficking, and peace and refugee policies.

At the conference, international speakers discussed the impact of German-influenced EU policies on the living conditions of women and minorities. Many of the roughly 200 persons attending the event were surprised to hear how negative the speakers' experiences and assessments were. A panel on right-wing populism highlighted the fact that right-

## Green Campus – Practicing successful politics

GreenCampus – the political training academy of the Heinrich Böll Foundation and its affiliated foundations at the federal state level – pools our diverse spectrum of advanced training programs in the field of political management. GreenCampus offers skills development, capacity-building, and management consulting for people active in politics – whether they work as volunteers, in political parties, or in organizations. In this way, we make a key contribution toward building and upgrading the skills that people need to engage in successful political work and effective social participation.

wing extremism and nationalism go hand-in-hand with homophobia, sexism, racism, and xenophobia in many European countries. The panelists also argued that neo-conservative conceptions of gender roles are regaining popularity and calling progressive gender policies into question.

#### Europe's shared future – youth exchanges

Young people in Southern and Southeastern Europe have been hit the hardest by Europe's economic and political crisis. Sustained high levels of youth unemployment are causing millions of young Europeans to lose their confidence and faith in the European project. This in turn drains Europe of the energy that an aging continent needs. This issue was addressed at a four-day youth conference called "Reclaiming Our Future", which was held in Thessaloniki in May 2014. The event was organized by our office in Greece, in collaboration with eight of our other international offices as well as Greek and European partner organizations. In workshops, public forums, and side projects, participants discussed how European cooperation can serve the interests of young people, developed strategies to assert these interests more effectively, and set up joint projects such as the Youth Network for Sustainable Energy and the Social Economy Network.

#### Ten years of EU membership: Slovak and Czech perspectives

Ten years after the EU's eastern enlargement and 25 years after the Velvet Revolution, Slovakia and the Czech Republic have yet to develop a lively public debate over the future of the European project. Voter participation in the May 2014 European elections was below 20 percent in both countries and

#### ↗ Download

Racism and Discrimination in Greece Today: [www.gr.boell.org/en/2014/10/14/racism-and-discrimination-greece-today](http://www.gr.boell.org/en/2014/10/14/racism-and-discrimination-greece-today)

#### ↗ Link

[www.select-respect.org](http://www.select-respect.org)

#### ↗ Download

The online dossier "Europe – A Gender Equality Project?" features wide-ranging contributions and in-

terviews from various EU member states: [www.gwi-boell.de/en/dossier-europe-gender-equality-project](http://www.gwi-boell.de/en/dossier-europe-gender-equality-project)

languished at just 13 percent in Slovakia. What are the reasons for these developments? How have democratic institutions and the countries' respective political cultures changed in the past ten years? What hopes do citizens attach to EU membership? We posed these questions and more to 18 renowned authors from the region. Their contributions call on political decision-makers to become more involved in discussions about the Union's future and to help advance European integration. The Slovak-Czech publication, "Desat' rokov v Únii: Slovenská a česká cesta" ("Ten years in the EU: the Slovak and Czech path), which was produced in cooperation with the Institute for Public Affairs (IVO, Bratislava), is available for download on our Prague office's website.

### **Serbia in between – two publications by our office in Belgrade**

After the Second World War, socialist Yugoslavia gained respect and influence thanks to its smart policy of neutrality between the communist East and the democratic-capitalist West. When communism collapsed and the Iron Curtain dividing East from West fell, these developments also served to hasten the disintegration of Yugoslavia. After the subsequent attempt to build a Greater Serbia ended in bloody failure, all of the Balkan peoples were then free to pursue closer ties with the West. However, the way forward has been arduous, as predatory privatizations, despotic elites, and impoverishment impede progress. The struggle is most evident in Serbia and the Serbian entity in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This is exacerbated by the feeling among many Serbs that NATO's defeat of the Milošević dictatorship was not liberation, and that the real friend of the Serbs is actually Russia; in their view, Russia may not have helped, but at least it did not attack. Serbia today is working its way toward the European Union and is in the midst of accession negotiations. However, ever since the breakout of war in Ukraine, it sees its true opportunity in positioning itself between the EU and Russia. Serbia did not join EU sanctions against Russia and instead seeks to benefit from the situation by undermining them: In 2014, Serbia's agricultural exports to Russia nearly doubled. How does Russia's influence over Serbia's economy, security apparatus, and political culture manifest itself? What kind of propaganda does Russia deploy to bolster this influence? And how does Russia use its energy resources as a means to exert pressure and command loyalty? These questions were the subject of two publications issued by our office in Belgrade: "The Western Balkans and the Ukraine crisis – a changed game for EU and US policies?" (available in English) and "Serbia

in between – does Serbia want to belong to the Russian sphere of influence or join the European Union?" (available in German).

### **Film festival: Refugees and migration**

Today, 50 million people around the world are refugees, more than at any time since the Second World War. Most refugees seek a safe refuge – mainly in their own or neighboring countries – from war and violence. Relatively few come to Europe. Most Syrian refugees flee to Lebanon, Jordan, or Turkey. And for years, Pakistan has been the main destination for refugees from Afghanistan. As parties to the United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, EU member states have committed themselves to the protection of refugees, but they go to great lengths to keep refugees at bay. In 2014, over 3,000 refugees died in the attempt to reach Europe by crossing the Mediterranean Sea. At a film festival focusing on the themes of refugees and migration, which we co-organized with Berlin's Arsenal Cinema in October 2014, we showed images from the other side of the sea – stories about people, their goals and hopes; about the centrifugal forces exerted by armed conflict; and about places of transit. The large audiences and the lively discussions with directors and protagonists following the screenings showed that people are paying attention to this issue.

### **More green energy, less coal**

Poland, the Czech Republic, and Germany are the strongholds of the coal industry in Europe. 79 percent of Europe's hard coal, and 68 percent of its lignite, are extracted in these three countries. They also account for 55 percent of the electricity generated in coal-fired power plants in the EU. Sooner or later, these countries will have to confront the need to phase out coal production and make the transition to more climate-friendly forms of power generation. In the run-up to the March 2014 EU Climate Summit in Brussels, we unveiled the report "Greening the Heartlands of Coal in Europe". It is the result of a series of meetings held by a trilateral expert group that was convened by the Heinrich Böll Foundation and the Ecologic Institute to discuss the effects of Germany's Energiewende on Poland and the Czech Republic. The report contains background information and analyses that examine why national discussions of these issues have taken such divergent trajectories in each country. The authors also provide recommendations urging the three countries, despite their differences, to intensify cross-border cooperation and dialogue and to join forces in tackling their shared energy and climate policy challenges.

#### Blog

Our EU blog "Reshaping Europe":  
[www.reshaping-europe.boellblog.org](http://www.reshaping-europe.boellblog.org)

#### Publication

Greening the Heartlands of Coal in Europe – Insights from a Czech-German-Polish Dialogue on Energy Issues. Edited by the Heinrich Böll Foundation, Berlin, March 2014, 63 pages.

## Paving the Way Toward an Environment-Friendly Modern World

Climate change, the loss of fertile land, and intensifying water crises in many world regions are alarm signals indicating that our natural foundations of life are threatened with collapse. We are already now in a race against time. At the Heinrich Böll Foundation, we want to accelerate the transition toward a low-carbon, resource-efficient, and equitable global society – and this means moving away from the predatory exploitation of natural resources and moving towards greater cooperation with nature. To this end, we are developing alternative paths of reform: for the global transformation of energy systems, for different and better resource policies, and for sustainable agriculture. We take action to support social and environmental transformations everywhere – here at home in Germany, in Europe, and in countries spanning from Nigeria to Afghanistan. We fight for drastic reductions in resource consumption, and for binding transparency and accountability requirements for European businesses. For us, the environment, democracy, and justice go hand-in-hand – they are inseparable.



During the COP 20 in Lima, young people in Dublin protest against the media's silence on the issue of climate justice. Photo: CC BY-NC-License, Andrej Blagojevic

### Advancing climate justice

Our climate is changing, and the changes can be felt around the entire world. Science is sounding the alarm like never before. It is high time for action if we want to keep climate change within tolerable limits. Climate policy is one of the central priorities of the Foundation's work. We advocate a global climate treaty under the auspices of the United Nations. At the same time, our activities address the issues of mitigation, adaptation, financing, and burden-sharing. We aim to ensure that the fossil fuels industry is held legally and financially accountable for its actions and business models, which bear primary responsibility for climate change.

### Climate negotiations: moving in slow motion

The UN climate change conference in Lima (COP 20) came to an end in the early morning hours of December 14, 2014. The main document produced at the conference – a declaration bearing the grandiose

and misleading title "Lima Call for Climate Action" – can in no way be considered a success. In the end, an alliance of political and economic elites from both advanced and developing countries stymied even the smallest advances in the negotiation process. Rather than accelerating progress and setting more ambitious targets, Lima's meager outcome threatens to shift the pace of UN climate negotiations into slow motion during the run-up to the 2015 UN climate summit in Paris.

The Heinrich Böll Foundation sent a small delegation to Lima, where we contributed to discussions by organizing side events and a dinner debate at the alternative civil society summit.

### Holding climate killers accountable

Just 90 corporations – some private, some state-owned – are responsible for the extraction and production of coal, oil, natural gas, and cement that,



Rainer Baake, director of Agora Energiewende, one of Germany's newest and most intriguing think tanks. Photo: Stephan Röhl

taken together, accounts for 63 percent of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions since the beginning of the Industrial Age. These corporations, sometimes referred to as the "carbon majors", include the likes of Chevron, ExxonMobil, Saudi Aramco, BP, Gazprom, and Shell. They have earned massive profits from the extraction and sales of fossil fuels that cause climate change. To date, however, they have not been called to account, either financially or legally, for the damage that they have caused and continue to cause. Together with the Climate Justice Programme (CJP), we are working to call attention to the responsibility that these corporations bear for the damage and losses caused by climate change. We want the carbon majors to be held legally and financially accountable (within the framework of the UNFCCC) and to provide compensation to the victims of climate change.

#### **German climate finance at a glance:**

##### **Website and database**

As part of its climate policy, Germany provides financial assistance to promote climate change mitigation, adaptation, and forest protection in developing countries. To ensure the transparency of this financial assistance, the Foundation operates a bilingual website (in German and English) on German climate finance. The website provides an overview of the funding amounts that have been pledged and disbursed, along with the instruments and channels used for this purpose. In addition, we identify and analyze the criteria that can be used to evaluate the impact of climate-relevant projects. Operated jointly with Brot für die Welt ("Bread for the World"), Germanwatch, and Oxfam Germany, the website also features a blog and a project database.

#### **The *Energiewende* – in Germany, Europe, and around the world**

The transition to renewable energy sources is the central challenge we face in building sustainable industrial societies. Germany's energy transition – called the *Energiewende* – is demonstrating whether

and how this process can succeed. The transition has gotten off to a promising start, and the share of renewables in Germany's energy supply has increased rapidly. The task now is to achieve systemic change. Many open questions remain that need to be resolved in a broad-based discussion that includes policy-makers, researchers, the business community, and civil society. This is precisely where the Foundation can put its skills and expertise into action, by fostering discussion and bringing the various stakeholders together.

#### **Germany: Symposium – *Energiewende* 2.0**

The first stage of the *Energiewende* – *Energiewende* 1.0 – is widely regarded as a success. Hundreds of thousands of new jobs were created, and the share of renewables in the power supply rose by 20 percent within a period of ten years. But where do we go from here? What will the next stage – *Energiewende* 2.0 – look like? The debate among experts is in full swing, but not enough forums are in place to ensure constructive dialogue and a qualified comparison of reform strategies. In February 2014, we organized a symposium entitled "Energiewende 2.0" that aimed to provide such a forum. Apparently, we had our finger on the pulse of society: The event attracted nearly 400 participants from a variety of countries, including individuals whose professional activities are not focused on energy issues.

#### **Website and blog: [www.EnergyTransition.de](http://www.EnergyTransition.de)**

Our multilingual website [www.EnergyTransition.de](http://www.EnergyTransition.de) has become a leading source of information to explain Germany's green energy transition to the rest of the world. It tells the history of the *Energiewende* in nine languages: English, German, Chinese, Spanish, French, Japanese, Polish, Russian, and Korean. It also features an English-language blog that provides near-daily updates on energy policy developments around the globe. In this way, the website's dedicated team of authors places Germany's *Energiewende* within an international context, providing outreach that makes the central issues of energy transition policies accessible to readers world-wide.

#### **Promoting the global transformation of agricultural systems**

As the world's population continues to grow, more and more people need to be fed. Through the deployment of modern technologies such as high-yield seeds, mineral fertilizers, and pesticides, it has been possible to increase agricultural output world-wide. However, very little attention is being paid to the fact that industrial agriculture is severely exacerbating climate change, biodiversity loss, and water scarcity. The great challenge here is to find ways to feed in-

 [Link](http://www.germanclimatefinance.de)

[www.germanclimatefinance.de](http://www.germanclimatefinance.de)

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creasing numbers of people while simultaneously using fewer resources in the process. This can succeed if we change structures of production and consumption. We need to rethink agriculture – toward sustainable practices that combine climate protection, hunger and poverty reduction, efficient resource use, and the protection of biodiversity.

### **The Meat Atlas: Our blockbuster success**

The 2014 edition of our Meat Atlas, which we published in cooperation with Friends of the Earth Germany (BUND) and Le Monde diplomatique, was a resounding success. A year earlier, our 2013 Meat Atlas – which examined how Europe’s meat consumption affects developing and emerging countries as well as climate change – had already garnered significant public attention. In 2014, the Meat Atlas placed a spotlight on meat as Big Business, with an analysis covering not only Europe and the United States but also the major emerging economies of China and India. The study highlighted issues such as current meat consumption trends in advanced economies, land grabs for the purpose of meat production in developing countries, and the potential ramifications of the free trade agreement currently being negotiated between the US and Europe. At the same time, the 2014 Meat Atlas shows that there are alternatives to the mass production practices of the big meat industry. National and international media coverage of the Meat Atlas – including reports by the BBC in the UK and National Public Radio in the US – was tremendous. Like its predecessor, over 100,000 copies of the 2014 Meat Atlas were printed. The publication is now available in German, English, French, Czech, Spanish, and Turkish.

### **The 15th Garden – self-sufficient food production in Syria**

Syria was once a key supplier of wheat to its entire surrounding region. But today, many people in Syria can barely feed themselves. Entire localities are frequently cut off from food supplies. This is part of the regime’s strategy to wear down the population’s resistance.

Our partner organization, the 15th Garden (a network whose name commemorates both the launching of the Syrian revolution on March 15, as well as its 15 founding members), has set itself the goal of achieving food sovereignty throughout Syria and its neighboring countries. Their efforts, however, confront countless obstacles: Some regions face severe shortages of potable water, not to mention water for agricultural purposes; many areas are lacking in seeds; and because snipers usually make gardening on rooftops too dangerous, crops are planted inside bombed-out buildings instead.

The 15th Garden network is an important point of contact for people who want to pursue urban gardening. The organization provides a wide variety

of organic seeds and offers a platform for sharing knowledge about agriculture. After the network held a number of meetings in the region bordering Turkey and Syria, our Beirut office supported a workshop for activists, which was held in Lebanon in August 2014. Today, organic farming in Syria is not merely a choice; under current conditions in Syria, there is no other way to plant crops and reproduce seeds. Furthermore, local food production boosts local economies and makes the food sold on black markets in occupied areas more affordable. Under the extreme conditions that exist in Syria and the refugee camps, providing people with the opportunity to produce their own food builds their self-confidence and makes them more independent.

### **International resource policy**

Oil extraction from tar sands in North America and Congo, large-scale land purchases in Asia and Africa, Chinese investment projects in the Mekong region, and mining and soybean production in Latin America – all of these developments show that the exploitation of global resources is continuing at full speed. Contrary to widespread hopes, the extraction of natural resources is not being accompanied by a fair distribution of profits and the reduction of poverty. Instead, the race for resources is leading to a greater concentration of economic power, environmental destruction, and higher levels of social inequality. For the Heinrich Böll Foundation, resource policy, transparency, and political and social participation must go hand-in-hand. We want to help develop strategies for using natural resources in a way that respects the environmental limits of our planet while simultaneously strengthening human rights and democracy.

### **Fostering equity – the Resource Memorandum**

Our project “Resource equity in a finite world” brought together young people from 29 countries to engage in a dialogue on resource policy. The participants gathered in a series of “future workshops” that were held in their respective regions, and a total of ten workshops took place in Latin America, Europe, the Middle East, Africa, and Asia. A joint workshop was then held in Berlin, where delegates from each “future workshop” discussed their experiences and visions with the Foundation’s international team and an advisory group consisting of eleven environmental and human rights experts from around the world. The outcome of this two-year dialogue process was a memorandum entitled “Resource Politics for a Fair Future” (available in English, Spanish, German, and Arabic). Using a new political approach that combines ecology, democracy, and human rights, the memorandum points out forward-looking ways toward fair and sustainable resource policies. As such, it constitutes a building block towards an effective global resource strategy.

### Kenya: Representing local interests to the LAPSSSET project ↗

It is just a short flight from the Kenyan capital of Nairobi to Lodwar, the capital city of Turkana county in northwestern Kenya. Ignored by successive national governments for decades, the people of Turkana have never viewed themselves as part of Kenya. This situation is set to change with the implementation of a large-scale infrastructural undertaking called the Lamu Port – Southern Sudan – Ethiopia Transport (LAPSSSET) Corridor project, which aims to open up the economically and socially marginalized northern parts of the country. A flagship project in Kenya's ambitious "Vision 2030" development program, LAPSSSET aims to connect the Kenyan coast with the hinterland through the construction of a road network, railway lines, and an oil pipeline. The project is expected to contribute three percent to Kenya's GDP, which is currently growing at an annual rate of nearly six percent.

The idea of constructing a port in Lamu – the geographic starting point of the LAPSSSET Corridor – is not new. As early as the 1980s, local politicians had called for a port to be built there in order to spur development in the region. In recent years, the project regained momentum with the growth of oil exports from South Sudan and the discovery of oil in Uganda and Kenya. Governments in the region advocate development at any cost, and up to now, the people living along the planned transport corridor are the only stakeholders who have no representation in the project. For a year and a half now, our Nairobi office has been helping to foster networks of civil society organizations affected by LAPSSSET. This has led to the establishment of the LAPSSSET Community Forum (LCF), which represents the interests of fishermen in Lamu as well as pastoralists (who raise livestock on natural pastures) in Turkana. The Forum argues that the desired development of the region can occur and succeed only if the project recognizes the land and resource rights of local populations while simultaneously assessing and minimizing environmental impacts.

### Nigeria: The Good Life – a film musical

The setting: It's election time in Nigeria. A convoy of SUVs drives up together with a pick-up truck loaded with sacks of rice and canisters of cooking oil. Campaign posters are glued to the sides of the vehicles. The candidate emerges from her SUV, certain of victory. She plans to give a quick speech, dole out her gifts, and drive away: This voting district is in the bag. A soft African rhythm plays in the background, the mood is upbeat – this is how elections are won in Ni-



Scene from the film musical "The Good Life"

geria. But then a young rapper suddenly appears on-screen. She crosses the schoolyard and sings to the men sitting there, eating their rice in the shade: "A bag of rice for a bag of votes – but a month or two and you are toast". This is a scene from the film musical, "The Good Life". Our office in Nigeria provided funding for the project in the run-up to the Nigerian general elections in 2015. It also helped to distribute the film via partner organizations and social media outlets.

In Nigeria, a small group of elites benefits disproportionately from the country's resource wealth, while the majority of the population contends with rising poverty. Most people do not even have electricity, which is indispensable for economic development. In "The Good Life", Tomi, a barber, has just purchased a solar energy system. For the first time, he can now rely on a consistent supply of electricity. His business arouses the envy of the entire neighborhood. When the candidate comes to town and offers to make a pact with the community elders, they just shake their heads: With the money that the candidate spent on gifts, they could buy a system that would provide electricity for the entire community!

When our partner organization, the Center for Social Justice (CSJ), presented the film at a town meeting in the run-up to the elections, a politician who then stood up and offered the usual empty promises was promptly met with a chorus of boos. According to Ikenna Ofuegbu of the CSJ, "That was probably a reaction to the film" – after seeing the film, people gained greater confidence in the power of their vote.

### Latin America: Neo-extractivism as a model for development

Since the late 1990s, the extraction and export of natural resources has also intensified in Latin America in response to the booming global demand for raw materials. What ramifications does this development have for the future of democracy in the re-

#### ↗ Link

The website of the Mipakani project, an open-access knowledge base that tracks LAPSSSET: [www.mipakani.net](http://www.mipakani.net)

#### 📖 Publication

Perspectives Africa: Africa Rising. Who benefits from the continent's economic growth? Edited by the Heinrich Böll Foundation, February 2014, 56 pages  
[www.boell.de/perspectives](http://www.boell.de/perspectives)



Edgardo Lander (Universidad Central de Venezuela, Caracas)  
Photo: Stephan Röhl

gion? This was the question we examined at an international conference in Berlin in May 2014, with speakers from Latin America, Germany, and other European countries. While the question regarding the relationship between raw materials, extraction, and democracy possesses global relevance, it is particularly urgent in Latin America. Most countries in Latin America are led by democratically legitimate governments that were voted into power with a claim to increase social participation and to reduce poverty and social inequality through targeted monetary transfers and social programs. The income from intensive resource extraction provides them with the financial leeway to do this.

A well-attended conference organized by our Mexico City office and held in October 2014 also spotlighted the topic of extractivism. The most contentious discussions focused on fracking, which is being practiced primarily in Argentina, but also for some years now in Mexico, with significant consequences for the environment. Participants shared their experiences of protest and resistance against mining operations. They also discussed a variety of legal instruments that can be useful in ensuring genuine participation in decision-making processes affecting raw materials policy. In the end, participants posed the provocative question, "What would happen if we simply left resources like gold, lithium, and oil where they are – in the ground?" This question in turn stimulated considerations on post-extractive development models and the potential they hold.

#### **Afghanistan: Network for resource issues**

Afghanistan possesses a tremendous wealth of raw materials. Whether or not the extraction of these resources will ultimately contribute to economic development – for example, through job creation and infrastructure expansion – will depend on the level of transparency with which tendering processes and decisions are publicly discussed and communicated. The Heinrich Böll Foundation has launched a civil society network in Afghanistan that focuses on resource issues such as the illegal extraction of minerals. In 2014, the network sent open letters addressing

this problem to President Karzai, NATO representatives, and the Chinese government. Another important topic is the protection of forests and water. We organized training and exchange programs on this issue for network members and community representatives from five provinces. Based on the feedback received from these communities, the network is now developing a nationwide campaign to target the issue of water protection.

Some community members were also given the opportunity to learn journalistic practices in order to help them document their experiences and observations. This led to the introduction of a regular newsletter that has established itself as an important tool of communication between community members in various provinces. The newsletter also serves as a key source of information for universities, non-governmental organizations, and government agencies. In this way, environmental issues affecting southeastern and northwestern Afghanistan have gained nationwide attention. In 2014, Afghanistan also created the post of ambassador for environmental protection, appointing Farhad Darya, a popular Afghan musician, to the office. Mr. Darya also served as patron of a "60 Second Film Festival" in Kabul, which focused on environmental issues. The festival was organized by the daily newspaper 8am, with support from the Foundation.

#### **Cambodia: Selling off natural resources**

According to estimates by non-governmental organizations, the Cambodian government has leased nearly three quarters of the country's arable land to corporations. In recent years, over 500,000 people have been forced to give up their land. Most of this acreage is now being used either to grow rubber for export to China and India or to produce sugar for the European market. The sugar is frequently produced in monoculture by Thai and Vietnamese companies, which then export the sugar to Europe and reap the earnings. The profits do not accrue to Cambodia – on the contrary, this leads to the loss of land and to further impoverishment among rural populations who are driven from their farms. In response to protests and complaints by our partner organization, Equitable Cambodia, Deutsche Bank sold its shares in HAGL, a Vietnamese corporate group implicated in large-scale land grabs. Nevertheless, the ruthless exploitation of natural resources (including illegal logging), which is facilitated in part by corruption and the lack of judicial structures, continues. The partner organizations of our office in Cambodia are active in efforts to combat the destructive exploitation of nature, especially in the indigenous areas of northeastern Cambodia. An informal network conducts public outreach and denounces corruption and human rights violations. In addition, their international lobbying efforts have succeeded in placing this problem on the agenda of the European Union.



Protest against the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP)  
Photo: Garry Knight/flickr.com (CC BY 2.0)

### International trade policy

Global competition to gain economic – and thus geopolitical – spheres of influence is in full swing. Bilateral trade agreements in particular are a proven instrument for securing economic and political advantages. However, alternatives to current forms of (bilateral) trade agreements are urgently needed in order to ensure that efforts to increase global trade do not leave the environment and equity by the wayside. For years now, we have been involved in various initiatives to promote alternative trade policies. Our priority is to foster a rethinking of trade policy to ensure that it takes into account the environmental and social challenges and necessities of the 21st century.

#### TTIP – a highly contested agreement ↗

The Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) between the United States and the European Union is one of the most contentious trade agreements of all. Trade and industry lobbyists view the planned agreement as a major opportunity for business and for strategic cooperation in Europe, the US, and beyond. In contrast, large swaths of global civil society have mobilized in an effort to point out the potential global risks and ramifications of the agreement in terms of consumer protection, the environment, and social policy (for example labor standards). The Heinrich Böll Foundation is closely monitoring the ongoing TTIP negotiations and follows the process with events and publications. For example, we organized two symposiums that focused on (a) the problems surrounding investor-state dispute settlement procedures and arbitration courts and (b) issues of regulatory cooperation, i.e. ongoing deliberations to reach agreement on the reduction of non-tariff trade barriers. Working together with the

Berlin-based Ecologic Institute, we published English-language studies on both of these issues as part of our TTIP publication series. Our study on investor-state dispute settlement even made it into the Top 10 list of the renowned Social Science Research Network (SSRN).

Two larger conferences, which we co-organized with the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) at Johns Hopkins University, aimed to foster dialogue among interest groups and experts from Germany, Europe, and the US. The conferences were held as international stakeholder forums in Washington, D.C. (in April) and Berlin (in November).

#### G20 Update e-Newsletter ↗

Our G20 Update Newsletter, which is available in English, provides information on the latest developments within the G20 and BRICS frameworks. G20 stands for the Group of 20 leading developed and emerging economies, and BRICS is the acronym for the five major emerging economies of Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa. The newsletter offers analyses and reports from a variety of regional and political perspectives, together with recommended literature on relevant topics.

### Global governance

The ascendancy of emerging economies is changing the international order dramatically. Efforts to develop and adopt multilateral rules are becoming increasingly complex. Added to this are the many new regional and global clubs targeting economic and security policy issues, such as the G20 and the BRICS countries. This “club governance” makes it harder for stakeholders to exercise political oversight, because

#### ↗ Link

All of the publications in our TTIP series can be accessed at:  
[eu.boell.org/en/product-series/ttip-series](http://eu.boell.org/en/product-series/ttip-series)

#### ↗ e-Newsletter

To subscribe to the G20 Update e-Newsletter go to:  
[www.boell.de/news](http://www.boell.de/news)





Due to the Ukraine conflict, the global economy played only a minor role at the G20 Summit. Photo: Paul Cunningham/flickr.com (CC BY 2.0)



Protest at the G20 Summit in Brisbane  
Photo: Paul Cunningham/flickr.com (CC BY 2.0)

they have to fight for the right to have their voices heard in these forums. Increasingly complex constellations of state and economic actors are replacing the old North-South model, and South-South cooperation among civil society actors remains highly underdeveloped. This is an important area where we as a foundation can make a positive impact: We provide capacity-building activities and work actively to expand civil society networks.

### **The BRICS project**

Two of the Foundation's key activities include political monitoring and the provision of information to help civil society stakeholders exercise critical oversight over ongoing shifts in global power structures. In this connection, our office in Brazil launched a project in 2014 focusing on the BRICS countries. Ever since the new BRICS Development Bank was officially established at the sixth BRICS summit, held in Fortaleza in July 2014, our Berlin headquarters and our offices in Brazil, South Africa, India, China, and Washington D.C. have been critically monitoring the policies of this new bank led by the major emerging economies. By establishing the bank, the BRICS countries aim in particular to break industrialized nations' hegemony over international financial institutions such as the World Bank. However, the new bank has practical significance as well. Its primary aim is to finance large-scale infrastructural projects on the basis of public-private partnerships. These projects, which constitute a key component in the development strategies of emerging countries, have significant social and environmental consequences, and so far no arrangements have been put in place for social and environmental impact assessments or for participation rights on the part of civil society and national and regional parliaments. Working together with our partners, we want to help develop relevant criteria and to ensure that the new bank functions transparently and in accordance with accountability requirements.

A congress of civil society organizations took place alongside the BRICS summit in Fortaleza. There, the Heinrich Böll Foundation organized an

international seminar and presented the findings of country-specific studies on the standards and safeguard clauses adopted by the BRICS countries' respective national development banks. The full comparative study will be published in 2015. It became clear from our discussions in Fortaleza that cooperation will be useful and necessary not only in monitoring the new bank, but also in developing a comprehensive approach towards development financing for infrastructural projects. This will be the focus of our continuing activities in this area.

### **China's foreign investment**

In 2014, China's foreign direct investment exceeded the amount of inward investment flowing into China for the very first time. China's large-scale foreign investment projects are frequently the target of international criticism due to their negative social and environmental consequences. For many years now, our China office has been initiating and supporting research projects and case studies focusing in particular on Chinese involvement in Africa, Southeast Asia, and Central Asia. In addition, our staff organizes study trips and international conferences. Our aim is to enhance awareness in China of the potential risks and adverse impacts of planned investments in recipient countries, and our ultimate objective is to ensure the effective regulation and control of investment projects. One milestone of our activities in China was the September 2014 publication of a Chinese-language book that features case studies on the environmental and social risks of Chinese foreign investment projects. The book contains reports by Chinese authors who, for the first time, analyze Chinese investment projects in various countries. It also provides policy-makers and industry with recommendations for action while simultaneously outlining policy measures and practical instruments that can prevent risks and conflict and improve the implementation of existing guidelines and regulations. The case studies were discussed in a series of workshops and expert meetings attended by representatives from government, business, academia, and the media. There are also plans to use the book at Chinese universities.

## Art and Culture in the Digital Age

Art too can be an instrument of civic education. Art sharpens our perceptions, trains our sense of intuition, and inspires us to creative action. Digitization generates entirely new possibilities for artists, exponentially expands opportunities to participate in cultural activities and achievements, and in this way opens up a new space for social and political intervention.

The Heinrich Böll Foundation examines the interconnections between art and activism in social and political movements, online and offline, in Germany and around the world. To this end, we initiate exhibits and theater projects, and we organize international film festivals, workshops, conferences, and panel discussions on pressing issues of culture and connectivity. In our view, art is a means of intervention – both online and on-site.



I Who I Am, Who We Are - The Silent Room at Diamond Plaza, Nairobi Photo: Xavier Verhoest

### Culture for free?

In December 2014, we joined forces with Hungary's Contemporary Drama Festival to organize the conference "Ingyen kultúra? Culture for free?" in Budapest. At the drama festival itself, the performances placed a spotlight on the issues of minority rights, LGBTI rights, and coming to terms with history. With the Foundation's support, a guest production from Bratislava was invited to perform at the festival; together with productions from Germany and Romania, this gave the festival a broader European character. At the conference, panel discussions and workshops featured Hungarian theater experts, as well as guests from Germany, Greece, and Denmark, who discussed issues such as the "self-sustainability" of culture and the "theater of hope", a politically charged concept that is par-

ticularly contested between the political camps in Hungary. Conference participants from all across Europe also put forward visions of how the future theater scene can remain strong in the face of budget shortages. Workshops on this theme presented digital marketing strategies for the theater. Overall, the event facilitated an exchange of views and best practices while simultaneously strengthening the Hungarian theater scene's links with its European counterparts during difficult political times.

### Who we are:

#### The quest for identity in Kenya

Power struggles between political elites in Kenya frequently follow a calculated logic along ethnic lines. In the wake of the country's elections in 2007,



II "Who I Am, Who We Are", an art project led by Wambui Kamiru (Kenya) and Xavier Verhoest (Belgium)  
Photo: Xavier Verhoest



III Crash course with David Solomon: The Whole of the Hebrew Bible in One Hour – with marker pens and a few meters of poster board. Photo: Stephan Röhl

this type of identity-driven politics led to outbreaks of violence in which over 1,000 people were killed. Despite the adoption of a new, progressive constitution in 2010, ethnic rhetoric continued to pervade the most recent presidential elections in 2013. Although the elections proceeded peacefully overall, the outcome left the country deeply divided. Both the government and opposition continue to cater to their respective ethnic groups. In order to stop discourses of ethnic exclusion and dominance from being instrumentalized as tools for political mobilization, it is essential to address issues of ethnicity and identity in a new way. This is precisely the objective of the art project "Who I Am, Who We Are", which receives funding from our office in Kenya. The project is a combination of conceptual art, dialogue, and personal encounters. People come together and illustrate their perceptions of themselves on life-size body maps. One element of the project is a public Silent Room where visitors are asked questions like: "Are you Kenyan?" "What makes you different from other Kenyans?" and "What does it mean to be Kenyan?" Over 800 people have answered these questions to date. Even if their answers differ, their experiences in the Silent Room are similar. For the first time, visitors contemplate the complexities of identity – their own and that of others. In this way, they are spurred to question why and how people are reduced to their ethnic identities. The body mapping and Silent Room projects traveled to various venues from Nairobi to Lake Victoria, the Kenyan coast, and northern Kenya.

### A crash course in the Hebrew Bible with David Solomon


III David Solomon needs just a couple of thick marker pens and a few meters of poster board to present his lectures. He covers roughly 4,000 years in his lecture "The Whole of Jewish History in One Hour".

Through his "In One Hour" lecture series, he has become a leading source of information on Judaism. As part of the Jewish Culture Days that took place in Berlin in September 2014, he gave a lecture at the Heinrich Böll Foundation that examined a shorter period of "only" 2,000 years. Within the space of an hour, Solomon provided an overview of the entire Tanakh, discussed each book's main themes in their historical context, and shed light on the transition from the legends of ancient Israel to the objective reality of Jewish history. This emphasis on historical memory is particularly important at a time when overt expressions of anti-Semitism are once again on the rise. In addition, the history of the Hebrew Bible provides us with an important reminder of the spiritual and ethical foundations of Christianity and European civilization.

### Beyond Borders: Performance workshops

The genocide against Armenians during the First World War continues to burden relations between Armenia and Turkey. Is it possible, within the framework of intercultural dialogue – particularly in the context of conflicts, where language is frequently deployed as a means to categorize, ostracize, and incriminate – to use non-verbal communication as an effective instrument for breaking down negative stereotypes of the enemy? At a workshop supported by our office in Georgia, Turkish and Armenian women engaged in non-verbal communication as a means to get closer to each other – and it worked. The women succeeded in establishing mutual bonds without using language. They were able to break down prejudices and fears towards their "enemies", replacing negative stereotypes with solidarity and understanding. Their efforts culminated in a performance that was staged in Yerevan and Aghdzk (Armenia). Six of the participants subse- ▶

 Lecture video  
[www.youtube.com/watch?v=qIu\\_iZzuTfM](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qIu_iZzuTfM)

 Link  
"In One Hour" online:  
[www.inonehour.net](http://www.inonehour.net)

 Blog  
Beyond Borders: A blog in Armenian, Turkish and English accompanied the project: [www.linkingourstories.com](http://www.linkingourstories.com)

## Hannah Arendt Prize: Yuri Andrukhovych, Nadezhda Tolokonnikova and Maria Alyokhina

The 2014 Hannah Arendt Prize was awarded to the Ukrainian writer Yuri Andrukhovych and the Russian performance artists Nadezhda Tolokonnikova and Maria Alyokhina (former members of Pussy Riot). For years, Andrukhovych has been a key literary voice for the democratic movement in Ukraine, while, at the height of the protests against Vladimir Putin's re-election, Nadezhda Tolokonnikova and Maria Alyokhina – together with the musical protest group Pussy Riot – brought the Russian resistance directly into the spiritual center of the power structures advancing a resurgent Greater Russia. With their selection, the jury honored all of those individuals who, despite persecution, continue to resist the shift toward reactionary policies in Russia. The Hannah Arendt Prize for Political Thought is awarded by the City of Bremen and the Heinrich Böll Foundation and is endowed with 10,000 euros. It is awarded to individuals whose actions demonstrate their courage to “venture into the public realm”.



### Peace Film Award: “We Come as Friends”

In 2014, the 29th Peace Film Award at the Berlin International Film Festival was presented to Austrian director Hubert Sauper for his film “We Come as Friends”. To make his film, Sauper flew to Sudan in a self-made airplane. Wherever he landed, he met people who are players in various situations that are typical for the African continent. In presenting the award, the jury stated: “This movie with its love for detailed observation inspires our curiosity. It shows how unfailingly the mistakes of the colonial past are being repeated today.” The Peace Film Award is endowed with 5,000 euros and is awarded together with a bronze sculpture by the artist Otmar Alt. The Heinrich Böll Foundation plans and organizes the award ceremony and contributes the prize money, and the award is sponsored by International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War and Physicians for Social Responsibility.

#### Image

Hubert Sauper, winner of the 2014 Peace Film Award, together with Paul Simon Lokwang, television presenter from South Sudan.



I Eva Menasse at the German-Israeli Literature Days in Berlin. Photo: Stephan Röhl

- ▶ quently traveled to an international theater festival in Slovakia, where they presented the results of their project.

#### “Matters of Faith”: German-Israeli Literature Days

- I How do our societies deal with the issue of religious faith? Who decides what morality is today? And is literature the proper arena for grappling with these questions? In countries like Germany, secularization appears to be unfaltering in its advance. Nevertheless – or maybe precisely because of this development – heated controversies touching on aspects of religion flare up on a regular basis. Examples include the issue of crucifixes in schools, the circumcision of boys, the role of Islam in Europe, and the limits of individual self-empowerment. During our fifth German-Israeli Literature Days, which we organized in cooperation with the Goethe Institute, Israeli and German writers discussed these “matters of faith” and read from their works.

#### SPOKEN WOR:L:DS Nairobi – Berlin

- II-V SPOKEN WOR:L:DS, an exchange project organized by the Literaturwerkstatt Berlin (“Berlin Literature Workshop”), examined the poetic topographies of two metropolitan centers that exude tremendous energy: Nairobi and Berlin. The project transported the textual culture of Berlin to Nairobi and vice versa, intermixing highly diverse forms including rap and hip-hop as well as spoken word and poetry. First, rappers, spoken word performers, and poets from Berlin traveled to Nairobi, where they collaborated on texts, performances, and hip-hop songs with Kenyan artists. Five months later – in April 2014 – the Kenyan and German artists continued their collaborative efforts in Berlin. At the lead-off event, held at the Heinrich Böll Foundation’s Beletage conference and event space in Berlin, the artists gave a live presentation of their joint work – a CD featuring hip-hop tracks, poems, and spoken word performances. This kicked off a series of events including talks, performances, and concerts at other venues in Berlin.



II Billy Kahora and Sitawa Namwalie Photo: Olad Aden



III (l-r): Priya Basil, L-Ness, MC Kah and Dr. Susanne Stemmler Photo: Olad Aden



IV (l-r): Billy Kahora, Sitawa Namwalie, Josefine Berkholz and Octopizzo Photo: Olad Aden



V (l-r): Checkmate Mido, Namatsi Lukoye and Sitawa Namwalie Photo: Olad Aden



## Giving a Lift to Young Talent

We provide support to undergraduate, graduate, and doctoral students from both Germany and abroad, in all fields of study. Our aim is to discover promising talent and to enhance its potential. In this way, we hope to encourage young people to become globally engaged in the pursuit of the Foundation's objectives: more democracy, solidarity, environmental action, sustainable policies, and human rights.



The new fellows in 2014 Photo: Stephan Röhl

### Who receives support?

In 2014, the Scholarship Program selected 228 new fellows in a three-stage selection process involving approximately 2,000 applicants. Last year, a total of 1,026 undergraduate and graduate students, as well as 225 doctoral candidates, received financial support (57% women, 43% men). Of these scholarships, 1,116 were financed by the Federal Ministry of Education and Research. Funding from the German Foreign Office paid for scholarships for 85 international fellows; of this group, 25 fellows (29%) were from other European countries and 60 (71%) were from non-European countries. In supporting young scholars from around the world, the Foundation's target regions are Central and Eastern Europe, countries belonging to the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), and the Middle East and North Africa.

### Advise, training, and networking

In addition to financial support, the Scholarship Program provides fellows with personalized advisory services to help them plan their course of study. We also offer networking opportunities and organize an extensive program of events including seminars, workshops, study trips, discussion forums, and much more. By nurturing conceptual development and cultivating ideas, we aim to spur political debate, impart

crucial skills, encourage interdisciplinary dialogue, and promote social and political activism. In this process, we are committed to the concept of "education for sustainable development" (ESD), which aims to help people acquire the skills "to shape a sustainable future". Accordingly, many of our events address issues of sustainability, in terms of both methodology and subject matter. In addition, our support for doctoral students also places a special focus on sustainability science and research. Currently, 24 doctoral students from diverse fields of study are Foundation fellows within the framework of a research cluster on "transformation research".

### Promoting self-organized learning

As part of the Scholarship Program, we promote various forms of self-organized learning, including so-called "ad hoc groups". This format provides fellows with the opportunity to organize one-off events on self-selected topics. These events sometimes serve as the spark for larger projects, such as the creation of working groups that meet on a regular basis. Such self-organized working groups may tackle a wide range of topics, including philosophy, social sciences, natural sciences, contemporary history, and the monitoring of current trends.

 [Link](#)

More information at  
[www.boell.de/en/foundation/scholarships](http://www.boell.de/en/foundation/scholarships)

## A Refuge for Artists

Artists around the world take stands on political and social issues. The association of the Heinrich Böll House Langenbroich provides artists and writers with stipends that enable them to engage in creative work – undisturbed, without financial concerns, and free from persecution and censorship – for a period of several months. The association is financed by the Heinrich Böll Foundation together with the city of Düren and the federal state of North Rhine-Westphalia.



Dara Abdallah, writer from Damascus. He is one of the many young creative professionals who have followed the Syrian revolution from the very outset, providing artistic and journalistic input. Photo: Larissa Bender

### Guests at the Heinrich Böll House in 2014

**Dara Abdallah** (born in 1990), writer from Damascus, Syria. After being arrested three times, Dara Abdallah decided to flee the country. He has published work in leading Arab publications. His first volume of poetry was published in 2013 together with three reports focusing on the Kurdish question and democracy in the Middle East.

**Roya Issa** (born in 1973), painter from Damascus, Syria. Roya Issa spent her early childhood in Algeria, graduated from the Faculty of Fine Arts in Damascus, and worked thereafter as an artist in Dubai. During the period up to 2012, she worked on film and television productions in Damascus and taught art at the Pakistani International School, also located in Damascus. Her exhibition at the Cairo Opera House in Egypt received an award from the “Lovers of Fine Arts Foundation”. She is also co-founder of the “We are puppets” project for Syrian women refugees in Egypt, which is supported by the United Nations.

**Ramy Alasheq** (born in 1998), Palestinian-Syrian writer from Damascus, Syria. Ramy Alasheq describes his works as “vacillating between sorrow and hope”. He grew up in the Yarmouk refugee camp in Damascus, and the war in Syria turned him into a refugee once again. He lived for one year in Amman, Jordan without a residence permit, because Jordan systematically refused entry to Syrian Palestinians. His collection of poems, “Walking on Dreams”, was printed by a Jordanian publishing company in early 2014. His texts explore questions of identity, life in refugee camps, and his experiences as a Syrian activist.

Other guests in 2014 included the Syrian writer and poet Mohammad Matrouf (born in 1969), the Georgian writer Zaza Burchuladze (born in 1973), the Syrian poet, journalist, and literary critic Kheder Alaga (born in 1963), and the Palestinian-Syrian poet Raed Wahash (born in 1981).

#### ! Applications to:

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## Notable Guests in 2014



**Chico Whitaker** – Member of Brazil’s Commission for Justice and Peace, co-founder of the World Social Forum, and winner of the Alternative Nobel Prize. He visited the Foundation in April, where he took part in the panel discussion “A Glowing Business: The German-Brazilian Atomic Adventure”.



**Rita Süßmuth** – German politician and member of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), former Federal Minister for Youth, Family, and Health, and former President of the Bundestag. Süßmuth is a long-time advocate for the integration of migrants. In June, she gave the keynote speech at our conference “Cities of Migration – An Agenda for Shared Prosperity”.



**Mikhail Khodorkovsky** – former Russian oligarch and head of the Yukos oil company who was imprisoned in 2003 on charges of tax evasion. Prior to his arrest, his criticism of political conditions in Russia led to repeated clashes with state authorities. In 2013, he was unexpectedly pardoned and released. He was our guest in January 2014 at the event “Rule of Law and Human Dignity”, where he paid tribute to Russian human rights lawyer Yuri Schmidt, who had served as Khodorkovsky’s defense lawyer.



**Madeleine Rees** – Secretary General of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). As a lawyer, she is a committed advocate of human rights, with a particular focus on gender equality. As part of her efforts, she demands that women take on a greater role in shaping peace policy. She was a guest speaker at our symposium, “Women to the Peace Tables”.



**Rob Hopkins** – Co-founder of the Transition Network. The Transition Movement aims to help local communities make the successful transition to a post-fossil-fuel, re-localized economy. As a guest at the Heinrich Böll Foundation, Hopkins presented his book “The Power of Just Doing Stuff: How Local Action Can Change the World”. In it, he depicts numerous examples of how communities can identify problems, mobilize people, and develop solutions – all at the local level.



**Gesche Joost** – Head of the Design Research Lab at the Berlin University of the Arts and the German government’s Digital Champion. Joost is a leading privacy protection advocate. She held the keynote speech at our conference “netz:regeln 2014: Responsibility in the Digital Society”.



**Joschka Fischer** – former German Foreign Minister and leader of the Green Party. At an event hosted by the Foundation in March 2014, he discussed the Ukraine crisis and its effects on EU-Russian relations. He was joined in the discussion by U.S. investor George Soros and Rebecca Harms, Member of the European Parliament.

# 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 organization, 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 presenting and discussing 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-organize 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.

# Addresses

Date: August 2015

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■ 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 development 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 the Foundation aims to strengthen ecological and civic 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 sociopoliti-

cal 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 political networking, as well as basic and advanced training programs for committed activists. ■ The Heinrich Böll Foundation's Scholarship 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 compartmentalization of science into exclusive subjects. ■ Ralf Fücks and Barbara Unmüßig are the current Presidents. Dr. Cotta 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 Brussels, Poland, the Czech Republic, Turkey, Greece, Russia, Georgia, Ukraine, Bosnia, Serbia, Croatia, Israel, Lebanon, the Arab Middle East, Tunisia, Morocco, Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa, Thailand, Myanmar, Cambodia, Pakistan, India, Afghanistan, China, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, El Salvador and the United States. In 2014, the Foundation had about 55 million euros in public funds at its disposal.

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