

Annual Report 2017

Who we are
What we want
How we work



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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 currently maintain a worldwide network with 33 international offices.

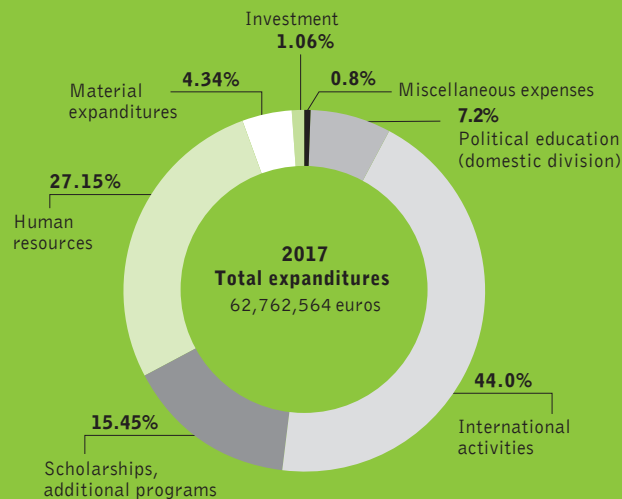
We cooperate closely with 16 state-level Böll Foundations in each of Germany's federal states, and we support talented, socio-politically engaged undergraduate and graduate students in Germany and abroad.

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

Sources and Allocation

of Funding

The Heinrich Böll Foundation e. V. is mainly funded through public grants. In 2017, the Foundation's income increased by 7.8% and reached 64 million euros (preliminary figures). Over two thirds of the Foundation's overall worldwide spending is targeted toward our program work and scholarship program, and our international activities continue to account for the largest share of expenditures.



Heinrich Böll Foundation Worldwide



Africa

- 1 Cape Town (South Africa)
- 2 Abuja (Nigeria)
- 3 Nairobi (Kenya)
- 4 Dakar (Senegal)

Asia

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

Europe

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

Latin America

- 23 Bogotá (Columbia)
- 24 Mexico City (Mexico)
- 25 Rio de Janeiro (Brazil)
- 26 San Salvador (El Salvador)
- 27 Santiago de Chile (Chile)

Middle East and North Africa

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

North America

- 33 Washington (United States)

Russian Federation

- 34 Moscow (Russia)

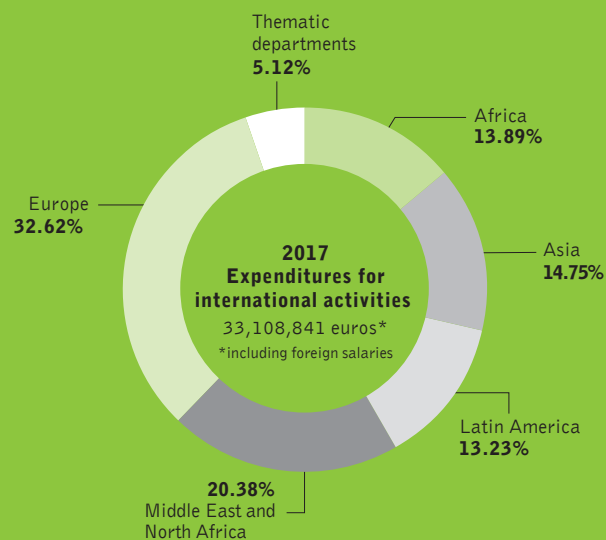
International

Cooperation

In 2017, the Heinrich Böll Foundation received approximately 24.5 million euros in funding from the Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development, including roughly 1 million euros for measures to mitigate climate change in developing countries. Approximately 562,000 euros in additional funding from the ministry's Transformation Partnership program was targeted toward projects in Morocco, Tunisia, and Lebanon, and roughly 231,000 euros in special funding from the ministry's One World, No Hunger initiative was directed toward projects in Kenya.

Our International Cooperation Division received approximately 4.9 million euros from the Federal Foreign Office. In addition, the Federal Foreign Office provided roughly 361,000 euros in special funding for activities in Tunisia and Morocco, and 180,000 euros for Belarus.

European Union funding totaling about 1.3 million euros was targeted toward projects in the Middle East and North Africa as well as toward multi-regional projects in the Caucasus region and South Africa, and within the framework of the EcoFair Trade dialogue.



Foreword



Dr. Ellen Ueberschär Image: Stephan Röhl



Barbara Unmüßig Image: Bettina Keller

In 2017, we had a special reason to celebrate: Our partner ICAN, the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons, was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. The accolade recognized the organization as the driving force behind a treaty outlawing nuclear weapons that was adopted by the majority of UN member states on July 7. While the nuclear powers were not among the signatories, it was a great achievement that brought movement into the disarmament debate.

2017 was also a year of exciting elections: The European public looked to France and Germany, the two countries that are often regarded as the heart of the European Union. The relief was great when European-minded Emmanuel Macron won the French elections. In Germany, a right-wing populist party – the *Alternative für Deutschland* – entered the Bundestag for the first time. Germany has changed: The threat to democracy from right-wing populism has arrived at the federal level and is influencing political discourse from there as well.

The major upheavals brought about by globalization, digital technology, climate change and migration are also becoming more tangible in Germany. However, such a prosperous country can draw on different economic and social resources to address these challenges than many of the countries in which the Foundation operates. Ultimately, this raises the question of global justice.

In the face of resource destruction and climate change, the ecological transformation of our economy and our lives continues to be one of our key priorities. The shift from fossil and nuclear power generation to renewables, together with ecological farming, marine conservation and the preservation of biodiversity are all objectives that we are advancing with our partners at home and abroad.

Nationalism, authoritarianism and the massive repression of civil society actors in many societies

around the world make it necessary for us to stand up for human rights and gender democracy. Values and mindset are essential to political education, the core mission of the Heinrich Böll Foundation. We stand for liberality, pluralism and cosmopolitanism – and this is reflected in a wide range of dialog forums, digital formats and publications.

A highlight of the past year was the 100th anniversary of Heinrich Böll's birth. The number of events and exhibitions held in his honor and in memory of his extensive work was vast and underscored his popularity and topicality time and again. Readings in Thailand, film screenings in Mexico and Frankfurt, seminars in Heinrich Böll schools, René Böll's conversations with contemporary witnesses – the overall effect was impressive.

A big thank you goes to our employees and partners in Germany and abroad. Without them our work would not be possible. They deserve our appreciation for their responsible and dedicated efforts in many parts of the world, in some cases under difficult conditions. Our heartfelt thanks also go to the many people who volunteer their time in the Foundation's committees. We are looking forward to continuing our shared work in the new Executive Board team.

Berlin, April 2018

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Ellen Ueberschär'.

Dr. Ellen Ueberschär

Presidents, Heinrich Böll Foundation

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Barbara Unmüßig'.

Barbara Unmüßig



Overcoming Europe's Challenges

In many areas including refugee policy, fiscal policy, and foreign and security policy, the European Union is divided on many issues and finding it difficult to develop a common response to current challenges. Yet now would be the time for Europe to close its ranks, stabilize the euro, fight unemployment and defend its model of liberal democracy, because much is at stake. The European Union must shed its despondency and seek new ways to achieve more, such as a strong, values-based foreign and security policy, a sustainable economic and infrastructure policy, an innovation-friendly climate and energy policy and an immigration and asylum policy that meets the present challenges. Then the European Union can continue to guarantee prosperity, peace and freedom.

The crisis of liberal democracy in Europe

The British referendum against EU membership, right-wing nationalist governments in Hungary and Poland, strong right-wing and left-wing populist movements throughout Europe – more and more citizens are rejecting established politics and Europe, or at least the European Union as we know it today. Skepticism toward the EU has long since expanded into a crisis of legitimacy. Values and freedoms for which Europeans have fought for decades are at stake.



Pulse of Europe – citizens protesting for a democratic and cosmopolitan Europe.
Image: Martin Kraft/flickr (CC BY-SA 2.0, <https://bit.ly/2JtRYe0>)

International Conference: Moving Forward with Europe!

Our international conference on European policy, which we held in March 2017 in cooperation with the Green European Foundation, addressed the question of how Europe can regain its legitimacy and capacity for action. Participants agreed that the architecture and policies of the European Union need reform. External and internal security, climate protection and energy, the modernization of Europe's transportation networks, sustainable growth and a common migration and refugee policy could form the basis of a new European agenda.

Globalization has accelerated the pace of technical innovation. The world is changing ever faster, and many people find this unsettling. The European project will have a future only if liberal democracy can show that a retreat into nationalism and the flight into autocratic systems will not solve the current problems. The consensus at the end of the conference was clear: we must move forward with Europe! Europe is and must remain a successful model of liberal democracy. More than sixty years of peace and freedom in Europe are proof of that. We must not take these achievements for granted – standing up and fighting for them is the order of the day.

Conference: France after the elections – opportunities for Germany and Europe

The election of Emmanuel Macron in May 2017 was a source of great hope. Not only did he succeed in defeating the extreme right-wing Marine Le Pen, but also in winning with a decidedly pro-European election campaign. His victory aroused expectations in many EU countries, not least in Germany, that reforms that had long been postponed could now be tackled. Our discussion with German and French experts on 6 July 2017, organized in partnership with the German Council on Foreign Relations and the German Institute for International and Security Affairs, addressed the question of what expectations would be realistic for Franco-German cooperation in and for Europe. The participants agreed that a close Franco-German tandem is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for far-reaching reforms. Other EU member states, such as Poland, will have to be brought on board when it comes to realigning foreign and security policy, economic and fiscal policy, labor market and social policy, and climate and energy policy. Moreover, there was a general consensus that the responsiveness of democratic systems and parties, and their capacity for reform, will prove crucial.

 Publication: Images et stéréotypes. Perceptions franco-allemandes en temps de crise

www.fr.boell.org

 Dossier: Europe's future after Brexit

www.boell.de/en/dossier-europes-reaction-brexit-vote



Fifth European Youth Conference in Gdańsk. Image: Heinrich Böll Foundation Warsaw

German-Polish exchange on the future of the EU ↗

Poland and Germany currently have quite different visions for Europe. There are divergences in migration policy, in the rule of law and in relations with Russia. It is crucial to achieve a mutual understanding of motives and interests in order to resolve conflicts and reconcile interests. A change of perspective is the key to a sustainable European policy. Our Warsaw office, together with WiseEurope, acts as a mediator between experts and decision makers from both countries. In addition to discussion circles, in 2017 it prepared a series of expert articles for a German-Polish European blog. These articles present Polish and German perspectives on EU foreign policy and identify key challenges and opportunities for bilateral cooperation.

Fifth European Youth Conference in Gdańsk

Our European offices take turns hosting the annual Green European Youth Conference. The 2017 gathering entitled "Regain or Retreat?" was held in Gdańsk and organized by our Warsaw office in cooperation with the Green European Foundation (GEF) and the European Solidarity Center. Young people from 25 countries discussed the rise of nationalist and populist movements, social identity crises and the future of the EU with European policymakers, experts and activists. They also had the opportunity to improve their social media and campaigning skills in workshops and to jointly develop ideas for future socio-political action.

Politics of memory and renewed nationalism in contemporary Europe

Rising nationalism in various European countries is going hand-in-hand with a new politics of memory. From Poland to Turkey, readings of history are being advanced that serve to legitimize political positions characterized by isolation, the homogenization of society and xenophobia. Our November conference addressed not only the politics of memory initiated by populist governments in Eastern Europe, but also developments in Western countries. In Austria, and to some

extent in Germany, a shift in discourse can be observed in positions regarding National Socialism. The past is being idealized, and anti-Islamism and anti-Semitism are being made socially acceptable again in right-wing and populist circles.

European Historical Forum: The Epochal Year 1917: The Dream – or Nightmare – of Emancipation?

Our 2017 European Historical Forum in Berlin examined how Europe looks back on the epochal year 1917. For many decades, children in eastern and southeastern Europe were taught to remember the Russian Revolution of 1917 as the beginning of the great liberation that was supposed to save people worldwide from social and national oppression. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the forced commemoration of the purportedly heroic event has made way for a mixture of condemnation, repression and partial appropriation. Former Soviet republics such as Georgia and Ukraine now make more or less strong references in their national history to the rather short periods of autonomy in which there were a number of progressive developments. After 1917, projects of national emancipation were doomed not only on the territory of the then-Soviet Union, but also in the western Balkans in what was to become Yugoslavia. A guaranteed international order that combines national emancipation with the international reconciliation of interests – as the European Union has so far practiced quite successfully – would appear to be necessary for the success of such projects. This could be taken as a lesson from 1917. The conference took place in cooperation with the Memorial Human Rights Center, Moscow.

GreenCampus – 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.

greencampus.boell.de

↗ German-Polish European blog

<http://wise-europa.eu/en/ge-pl-european-blog/>

Flight and migration

There are around 250 million migrants worldwide; another 65 million people are refugees. Since 2015, about 1.4 million refugees have applied for asylum in Germany. In Germany, both the number of refugees and immigration as a whole have increased. Germany is now one of the most important immigration destinations among OECD countries. This brings with it challenges for state and society that call for a sustainable refugee and immigration policy. This is also true at the European level, because the 'refugee crisis' is intensifying tendencies to renationalize European politics and is threatening to divide the EU.

Prospects for a humane and sustainable immigration and refugee policy

Germany has a legal and moral responsibility to offer refugees protection and security. As an economic powerhouse and in view of foreseeable demographic trends, Germany also needs an immigration policy that is fit for the future. A new consensus must be found for a sustainable refugee and immigration policy that encompasses the broadest possible political and social spectrum. Already in late 2015, the Foundation set up a commission of experts to draw up recommendations for action. In December 2017, the commission presented its final report. A key demand is for greater coherence in refugee and immigration policy through interdepartmental communication, coordination and cooperation. Political and administrative action, as well as joint action with civil society, must be more tightly meshed. In the medium and long term, a strategy like this would bring about a migration and integration policy that does not react to pressure in times of crisis or is driven by public excitement, but approaches problems with foresight.

Turkey: giving refugee children their language back

More than three million Syrian refugees currently live in Turkey – among them roughly one million school-age children. The education rate among refugee children remains low. The main reason is the language barrier. Nearly half of these children have been able to visit local Syrian schools where they have been taught in Arabic. However, the Turkish Ministry of Education now wants to abolish these schools in order to rein in their rampant growth within the country's education system. The children are now to receive instruction in Turkish. But many schools simply cannot cope with students that have native languages other than Turkish. Drawing on Germany's experiences with bilingual education, our office in Istanbul teamed up with Yildiz Technical University in Istanbul and our Turkish part-

ner Anadolu Kültür to organize an exchange between scholars and experts from both countries on the topic of multilingualism in schools. Their discussions focused on barriers, conflicts and proposed solutions in the education of migrant and refugee children, as well as how the children themselves can be more actively involved.

Morocco: street theater for tolerance of 'the other'

Morocco is currently changing from a transit country to an actual destination for immigrants. With the growing number of migrants, racism is on the rise in Moroccan society. The theater group Gorara wants to help reduce mutual prejudices and unmask power politics as a cause of racism. The group itself stands for diversity: the actors are evenly balanced between Moroccans and sub-Saharan Africans, and gender parity is strictly maintained as well. In 2017, our office in Rabat supported the development and production of "The Fairy Tale of the Nose". The story illustrates how 'the other' is socially constructed and subtly dissects the idea of biological or God-given differences. The group uses the Forum Theater method developed by Augusto Boal. Gorara manager and director Hosni El Mokhlis adapted the Brazilian's theater for Morocco and integrated it with the *halqa* (circle) tradition. The *halqa* always takes place in a public space. A narrator attracts an audience, which gathers around and turns the street into a stage. As in Boal's "Theater of the Oppressed", the audience is invited to play an active role. In "The Fairy Tale of the Nose", the 'other' is put before a royal tribunal. Members of the audience then assume the role of his lawyer.

 Dossier: Crossing Borders – Refugee and Asylum Policy in Europe

www.boell.de/en/dossier-crossing-borders-european-refugee-policy

 Photos:

www.facebook.com/Association-Gorara-pour-les-Arts-et-les-Cultures-587527351454005/

Foreign and security policy

A few years ago, the political institutions of the West appeared to be reasonably firmly established. Now, the EU and NATO – as the most important of those institutions – are being buffeted by turbulence. In the United States and Europe, forces are on the rise that propagate the pursuit of national self-interest and have lost all sense of the West's historic project. The defense of democracy and open societies, both internally and externally, has become Europe's most important mission.



We were delighted to see the 2017 Nobel Peace Prize go to our project partner, the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN). The Nobel Prize Committee honored ICAN's groundbreaking efforts to bring about the international Nuclear Weapon Ban Treaty, which was passed by the majority of UN member states on 7 July 2017 (l-r): Sascha Hach, Stephanie Mendes Candido (Böll Foundation), Xanthe Hall, Anne Balzer and Gregor Enste (Böll Foundation)

18th Annual Foreign Policy Conference – the Crisis of the West ↗

In 2017, international foreign and security policy was dominated by the new president of the United States, Donald Trump. Trump's statements on US alliance policy and his withdrawal from the Paris Agreement have exemplified the crisis of the liberal world order and the Western security and values community. Our 18th Annual Foreign Policy Conference in June 2017 sought answers to this challenge. Given the seriousness of current circumstances, many experts called for revisiting the 'big questions'. After all, the transatlantic alliance's future, Europe's security and ultimately liberal democracy itself are at stake. The new policy orientation offered by Emmanuel Macron, however, provides a window of opportunity to make European security policy more efficient and to establish Europe as an international peacekeeping power. Franziska Brantner of Alliance 90/The Greens reminded listeners that Europe can act internationally as a defender of the liberal world order only if the supporters of liberal democracy in the EU states continue to win political majorities.

German-Polish-Russian expert meeting

Polish-German-Russian relations carry a heavy historical burden. The Russian annexation of Crimea has not made these difficult relations any easier. As early as 2013, our Warsaw office launched the Trialogue project,

an attempt to create a basis for political understanding through expert discussions. Since then, young participants from think tanks, the media, business and the scientific community in Germany, Poland and Russia have met regularly to present their respective national perspectives. In March 2017, norms and regulatory power were discussed in Warsaw. Then in November, a meeting in Moscow focused on the causes of the current loss of trust and possible steps for the restoration of trusting cooperation. The talks are organized in cooperation with our partners DGAP Berlin, IMEMO Moscow and PISM.

Israel: settlement policy as a security risk

Many Israelis are convinced that settlements make an important and positive contribution to Israel's security. In 2017, our Tel Aviv office supported a study by the nongovernmental organization Molad that, based on scientific analyses and interviews with former generals of the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF), shows that the expansion of settlements and the ongoing occupation have the opposite effect and are contrary to Israel's security interests. The study also provides arguments in favor of a two-state solution. Our office conducted a campaign in another attempt to ensure that this potential solution remains firmly anchored in the national discourse. In September, the study was featured in the "Jerusalem Talks" series and discussed by representatives of Molad and Ami Ajalon, the former head of Israeli domestic intelligence.

↗ Conference reader:

www.boell.de/krise-des-westens



Rio de Janeiro: Demonstrators reacted with grief and anger over the murder of councilwoman Marielle Franco in March 2018.
Image: Romerito Pontes/flickr (CC BY 2.0, <https://bit.ly/2119arL>)

Strengthening Democracy and Human Rights

In many parts of the world, democratic spaces for action are being restricted and repression against those who think or act differently is on the rise. Powerful business elites are increasing their influence on political decisions. Promoting democracy, the rule of law and political participation is part of our core mission – in Germany and worldwide. Universal human rights are pivotal to our work: We support the political involvement of citizens, organize public debates and fight for gender equality and for the inclusion of minorities. Together with our partners, we work to advance legislative initiatives to protect the rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans* and inter* people (LGBTI) worldwide. We also work with our partners to resolve conflicts and to build civilian strategies of dispute settlement. Another key mission of the Foundation is to provide German audiences with informative analyses of international trends.

Civil society under pressure

A strong civil society is one of the pillars of liberal democracy. It can help shape political processes, organize participation, uncover corruption and human rights violations, promote social fairness and demand state accountability. However, the repression of civil society is intensifying worldwide, even in countries with supposedly established democracies. Spaces are shrinking – through bureaucratic hurdles, legal restrictions, criminalization, defamation and even physical violence. Getting involved has become more difficult.

Conference on the rule of law in Turkey – ten years after the assassination of Hrant Dink

In 2007, Armenian-Turkish journalist Hrant Dink was murdered in the streets of Istanbul by a young Turkish nationalist. To date, the case has not been fully investigated. It is believed that key evidence has been suppressed. In memory of this courageous activist, we discussed the current state of the rule of law in Turkey at a conference in January 2017. Bundestag Vice President Claudia Roth (Alliance 90/The Greens) noted that, in the years immediately following Dink's death, Turkey's economy enjoyed a period of strong success, and tentative steps had been taken toward rapprochement between Turkey and Armenia. Without Dink, some of the positive developments of the time would have been unthinkable. Today, by contrast, the separation of powers has been de facto abolished and the country is divided along lines of ethnicity, religion and lifestyle. Democracy, human rights and freedom of the press in Turkey all leave much to be desired. Roth therefore noted the importance of continuing to stand with supporters of democracy in Turkey and observing what goes on there closely.

Media in the grip of illiberal elites in the Balkans

Bosnia, Macedonia and Albania are prime examples of 'captured states'. Links to organized crime exist at all levels of government and public administration. Corruption and nepotism are widespread and the media are largely controlled by the state. Critics of the power cliques are increasingly being put under pressure. In a publication by our Sarajevo office, the journalism professors Lejla Turčilo and Belma Buljubašić show how politics interfere with reporting in the media. Numerous interviews provide insight into the difficult working conditions facing critical journalists. The opaque ownership structures of Bosnian media houses are also highlighted. It is no coincidence that, in the *Economist's* global democracy ranking for 2017,

Bosnia ranks near the bottom in the 'hybrid regime' category – on par with countries such as Morocco and Burkina Faso.

Hungary's rejection of democratic principles

In Hungary, Prime Minister Viktor Orbán has distorted democracy beyond recognition since 2010. His government thrives on polarization and bogeymen, on stigmatization, defamation and conspiracy theories. He treats the opposition with little respect and never misses an opportunity to discredit voices critical of the government in and outside parliament. Since mid-2017, a new law requires NGOs to register as 'foreign-funded organizations' if they receive more than HUF 7.2 million (approximately €23,000) annually from abroad. The drafting and passage of legislation has become an integral part of the government's propaganda machine. We have compiled numerous articles that take a critical stance toward developments in Hungary in an English-language web dossier.

Revision of NGO legislation in Israel

In July 2016, the right-wing nationalist Israeli government passed a law requiring NGOs that receive more than 50 percent of their funds from foreign institutions to disclose that information, as well as imposing high fines for violations. This law is a political attack on organizations that are particularly critical of the government, especially with regard to the issues of occupation and human rights. In 2017, the government tried to hamper the work of these NGOs further, threatening to ban organizations that criticize the Israeli army and confiscate funds they receive from foreign governments. German political foundations, above all our Israel office, have worked closely with Israeli NGOs and the German embassy to prevent this tightening of the law. Due to various corruption investigations, including against Prime Minister Netanyahu himself, no further deliberations on these legislative amendments have taken place.

□ "Media and Shrinking Space in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Silenced Alternative Voices":
www.ba.boell.org

📄 Dossier: "Focus on Hungary":
www.boell.de/en/focus-hungary



Mazen Darwish, lawyer and human rights activist from Syria.
Image: Mohamed Badarne/ECCHR



Bente Scheller, Heinrich Böll Foundation Beirut; Shappal Ibrahim, Air Force Intelligence; Yazan Awad, Saydnaya Detention
Image: Mohamed Badarne/ECCHR

Enforced disappearances in Mexico

According to official figures, more than 32,000 people in Mexico have been victims of involuntary disappearance. They have been arrested, detained, kidnapped or otherwise deprived of their liberty. The UN International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance obliges state parties to search for disappeared persons. In the event of their death, the mortal remains must be identified and handed over to relatives. In practice, the search is difficult in many places, often due to a lack of political will or technical resources. At our July 2017 symposium in cooperation with the German Institute for Human Rights, we invited members of the UN Committee and the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances, representatives of the German Foreign Office and experts from Latin America, Syria, Tunisia and Europe to share their experiences and develop effective procedures that can later be incorporated into guidelines for the work of the UN Committee. The meeting was also attended by Carlos Beristaín, a member of the expert commission set up in Mexico to investigate the case of 43 kidnapped students from Ayotzinapa.

Conference on the prosecution of human rights crimes in Syria

The torture and execution of civilians and the targeted bombing of institutions and residential areas are just some of the crimes under international law committed by all parties in the armed conflict in Syria. Syrian activists have been documenting serious human rights violations for years in order to bring the perpetrators and those responsible to justice one day. Khaled Rawas is one of these activists. At a conference we

co-organized with the European Center for Constitutional and Human Rights (ECCHR) in March 2017, he reported on the torture he survived in Syria. The conference brought together experts, lawyers, activists and torture survivors to discuss the legal remedies that are currently available. The International Criminal Court cannot act – firstly, Syria is not a contracting state, and secondly, Russia is blocking a referral to the court by the UN Security Council. The principle of universal jurisdiction, however, allows national courts in third countries to claim jurisdiction over the offenses and to hold perpetrators to account. In Germany and other EU countries, authorities have already initiated investigations and criminal proceedings. We support the ECCHR financially in the preparation of such prosecutions.

North Caucasian activists visit Berlin

Many organizations have long since withdrawn from the northern Caucasus, either because of the difficult working conditions or out of caution. Our office in Moscow is still active in the region and tries to maintain the existing network of activists and support them in their challenging work. It is important for activists not to become disconnected from current debates. In June 2017, our Moscow office held a training course for young North Caucasians on the topic “Me and others: opportunities for tolerance and intercultural dialog”. Three weeks later, a number of the activists traveled to Berlin, where they got to know various nongovernmental organizations. The topics ranged from urban gardening to interfaith dialogue and countering domestic violence. Back at home, they came up with initiatives that they wanted to implement themselves.



Tunisia: prospective young judges meet with the First President of the Higher Administrative Court and the President of the Administrative Court Council.
Image: Heinrich Böll Foundation, Tunis

Colombia one year after the peace agreement: what has changed?

In December 2016, the peace agreement between the Colombian government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) entered into force after almost four years of negotiations. Actually implementing the agreement is one of the most difficult parts of the process, however. In December 2017, we organized a symposium in Berlin to discuss the challenges and weaknesses of the implementation. Participants included members of the German Foreign Office, the Colombian Embassy, the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, the German Association of Judges as well as representatives of civil society from Germany and Colombia. It became clear that the success of the peace process mainly depends on the immediate and complete implementation of agreed land reforms, the Special Jurisdiction for Peace and the protection of human rights defenders against assassination. The symposium was organized in cooperation with Amnesty International, Adveniat, Brot für die Welt, Kolko and Misereor.

A milestone on the way to democratic transformation in Tunisia

Tunisia will finally hold municipal elections in May 2018 after postponing them several times since 2015. In future, 350 administrative units are to provide local governance that is more closely attuned to the needs of local populations. In the event of disputes that were previously under the jurisdiction of the central administrative court in Tunis, citizens and municipalities can turn to their respective local administrative courts in

future – a historic decision. To this end, twelve new chambers – one each for two governorates – will be set up and filled with 60 judges. Most of these new judges are young and 60 percent are women. In December 2017, they took part in a training course organized by the Foundation in the coastal city of Mahdia. Equipped with the necessary knowledge, they will work at the governorate level to help put structures into place that will provide local legal assistance to municipal governments and citizens' initiatives in cases of conflict.

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.

gwi-boell.de/en

Strengthening women's and LGBTI rights

In a democratic society, no one should be persecuted for their sexual orientation and identity. Yet that is the order of the day in many countries. Together with our partner organizations, we are working to bring about change. Our most important objective is to strengthen women's rights and to promote legislative initiatives to protect the human rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans* and inter* people (LGBTI) worldwide. Over the past three years, the philanthropic organization Dreilinden has provided funding for the Foundation's section head position for international gender policy and LGBTI, thus enabling us to advance our gender policy work.



“Where love is illegal” photo exhibition in Berlin: Badr Baabou (chairman of the Tunisian organization Damj). Image: Bodo Gierga

Photos of LGBTI people from Tunisia

Homosexuality is banned in Tunisia and can be punished with imprisonment. ‘Otherness’ is rarely accepted in society, let alone within families. LGBTI people therefore often live on the fringes of society and have to hide their sexual orientation. Our “Where love is illegal” exhibition in Berlin was aimed at drawing attention to the special situation in Tunisia and giving those affected the opportunity to tell their stories.

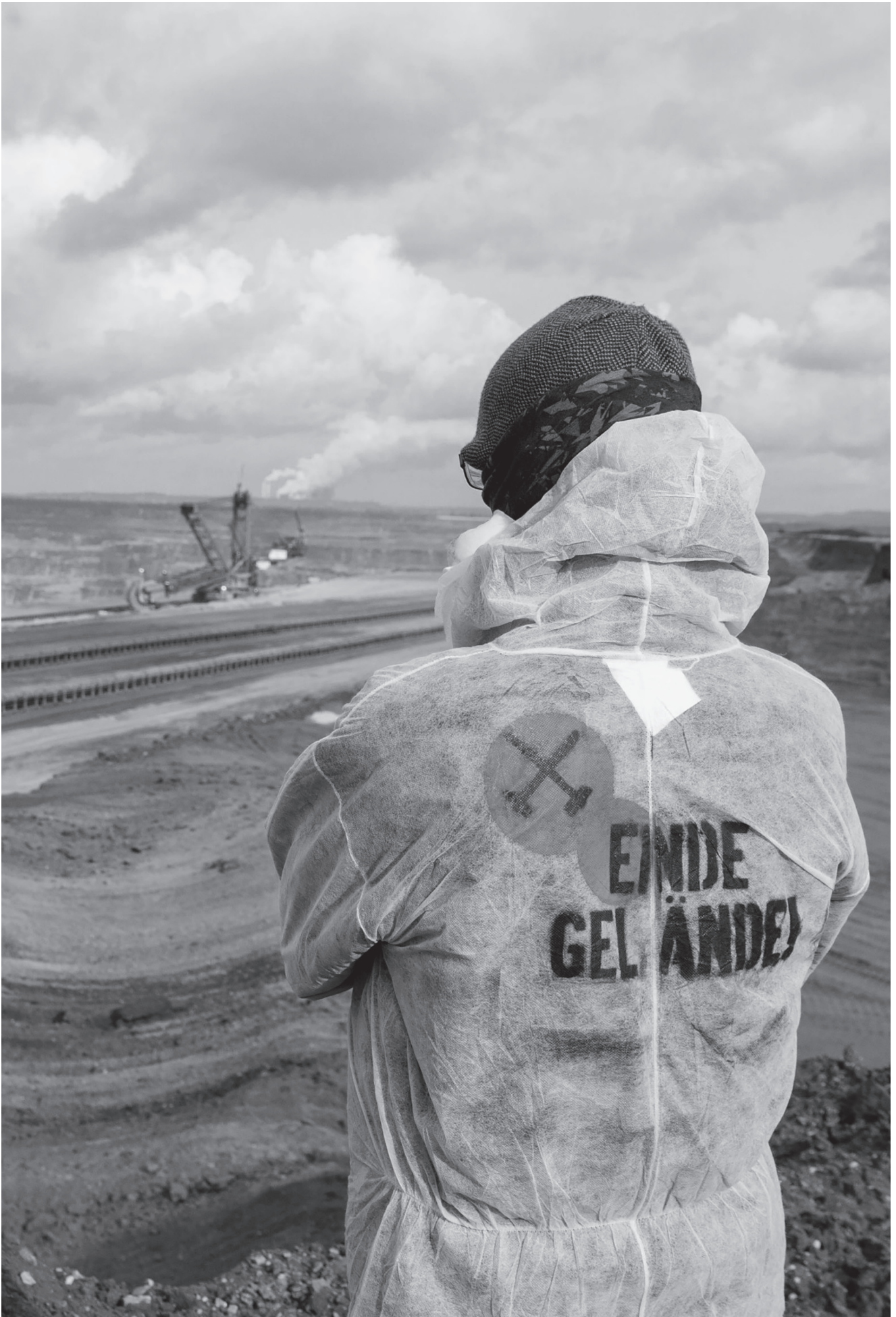
Young feminists in Brazil take action

In the run-up to the 2013 World Cup, millions of people took to the streets of Brazil to demonstrate for greater social benefits and better education. These protests came out of the blue and quickly subsided. Or so it seemed. Since then, the ‘new feminists’ – young women who want opportunities and change – have been generating buzz. They are getting involved, especially in social networks and with their own blogs. The women rely on personal networks and are extremely skeptical

about ‘organization’. Our office in Rio de Janeiro supports the communication activities of young feminists, both among themselves and with traditional, old-school feminists who remain active.

Bosnian women visit Germany

In March 2017, a group of Bosnian women traveled to Berlin. They wanted to learn more about women’s political participation and organization in Germany, gender equality and inclusive urban development. We organized meetings for them with political parties and parliamentary groups, with feminists and experts, and with members of the Berlin state parliament and senate. The exchange with women politicians and the opportunity to learn more about their motives for political action and the struggle for mandates and offices was particularly interesting for our visitors. Excursions to initiatives founded by and for women inspired some of them to start their own projects. An initial follow-up meeting in Bosnia-Herzegovina has already been arranged.



Hambach (Germany), November 2017; The Ende Gelände ("Stop coal!") movement engages in civil disobedience to protect the climate.
Image: Pay Numrich, flickr.com, CC BY-SA 2.0, <https://bit.ly/2K3uBbz>

Shaping the Great Transformation

Germany has been striving toward a green transformation for some time now. We want to accelerate this transition to a low-carbon and resource-efficient economy. The great challenge of our time is fighting poverty and unemployment while at the same time combating climate change. That is why we are committed to a green energy revolution, environmentally friendly agriculture and sustainable urban development. Germany's transition to renewable energy is showing how the exit from fossil fuels can succeed in a thriving, export-oriented nation while also creating jobs. But that alone won't be enough. Transport, housing, the chemical industry and mechanical engineering are further economic sectors that are on the threshold of a transformation. Industrial agriculture is also highly problematic: Mass livestock farming in particular has a profound impact on the climate and the environment. Conservation is being subordinated to business interests, ecosystems are being destroyed in ever greater numbers and species lost forever. We seek solutions that enable natural resources to be used in a way that respects the ecological limits of our planet while strengthening human rights and democracy.

The climate crisis, the transition to renewable energy, green mobility

Climate change has serious consequences for people and the environment. Far-reaching climate protection and adaptation measures will be needed to counter droughts, floods and other extreme weather events. However, no country is doing enough to effectively meet the Paris climate goals. While progressive sectors of industry and business are beginning to change, they are still too few in number, and competitiveness remains an issue in a global economic system that does not adequately appreciate the importance of climate protection. Effective climate protection needs environmental governance, and harming the climate must come at a tangible cost for polluters – ideally worldwide, but on a European level at a minimum.



UN Climate Change Conference: protesting governments' inaction on climate change.
Image: Jörg Farys/BUND/flickr (CC BY-NC 2.0, <https://bit.ly/2r0TX2w>)

Geoengineering – the wrong path as we see it ↗

In international climate policy, many are pinning their hopes on 'geoengineering'. The technologies being discussed under this term would have a major impact on planetary systems. Proposals include extracting gigatons of CO₂ from the atmosphere and storing it underground or in the oceans. Such interventions in the climate system are unproven, extremely risky, and would in some cases involve immense land, energy and resource consumption. Furthermore, they merely tackle the symptoms and not the causes of climate change. For these reasons, we are highly critical of geoengineering and consider alternative responses to climate change to be indispensable. We are therefore monitoring political developments and seek to intervene in various multilateral forums such as the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) and the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). Our goal is to strengthen the voices critical of geoengineering worldwide.

UN Climate Change Conference in Bonn ↗

In November 2017, the UN Climate Change Conference (COP 23) was held in Bonn, Germany, under Fiji's presidency. In the wake of that year's powerful hurricanes and typhoons, the issue of compensation for damage and losses related to climate change loomed large on the agenda. Many of the key political debates and encounters took place at the alternative People's Climate Summit, which we co-sponsored. The defining topics there were the great transformation and the phasing out of coal. Numerous workshops dealt with issues of global climate justice and ways to make society function in a more environmentally sustainable manner.

One of our key messages to COP 23 was a clear 'no' to geoengineering. Instead, we advocate strict regulations to reduce emissions and protect and restore natural ecosystems. In numerous publications, including an interactive world map of geoengineering experiments, we provided background information on the risks and dangers of geoengineering.

Legal strategies for greater climate justice

In June 2017, the Foundation and the Climate Justice Programme (CJP) brought together some 60 experts from 21 countries in Kenya to discuss existing and possible legal initiatives for greater climate justice. These have attracted increasing attention since the Paris Agreement: for example, claims for damages by parties suffering from the adverse effects of climate change could prompt companies with high carbon emissions or stakes in the fossil fuel trade to change course. Human rights lawsuits are also seen as an appropriate remedy. Human rights are violated not only by the impact of climate change but also by fossil fuel industries with their often egregious behavior, particularly in Africa. Since those affected (individuals, cultural communities, future generations) are often unable to seek justice in their own countries due to corrupt or ineffective legal systems, taking action against major corporations at their legal domiciles may be a more promising approach, as the lawsuit by a Peruvian farmer against the German utility company RWE before a German court shows.

Dirty cement in Indonesia

The cement industry is growing worldwide. Major infrastructure projects in Asia in particular demand more and more building materials for roads, dams and large-scale urbanization measures. Cement production causes major carbon emissions, however, making the industry one of the biggest climate killers. The mining of sand and limestone for the cement industry also destroys natural habitats and human communities. Southeast Asia is a new key market for HeidelbergCement, a German company. Through its subsidiary Indocement, it wants to strip parts of the Kendeng Mountains in central Java and produce cement there. This would literally dig the ground out from under people's feet. Local people have been protesting for years, taking their case against the project all the way to the Indonesian Supreme Court.

In cooperation with Südostasien Informationsstelle (Southeast Asia Information Office), Watch Indonesia! and Rettet den Regenwald (Rainforest Rescue), we invited the activist Gunarti and the filmmaker Dandhy Dwi Laksono to Germany. Together, they toured ten German cities and presented the film *Samin vs. Semen* about the situation in the Kendeng Mountains. Gunarti also spoke at the shareholder meeting of HeidelbergCement. Indocement's permit for the Kendeng site expired at the end of 2017 and a new one is currently being reviewed for approval. That is reason enough for us to continue to follow the case.

“A Work in Progress: The Transition to Renewable Energy” conference ↗

Ecological modernization – and the transformation of the energy system as its key project – is essential to a just, sustainable society. We hosted a conference in late June 2017 called “A Work in Progress: The Transition to Renewable Energy” that explored the specific transformation paths for power, heat and transportation. Undersecretary Rainer Baake of the Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs and Energy urged those present to think in terms of investment cycles, explaining that a coal power plant has a service life of 40 years. According to Baake, anyone putting money into lignite mining now is making a bad investment, as it is unlikely that Germany will take another 40 years to phase out coal. Even Michael Vassiliadis, Chairman of the Union for Mining, Chemical and Energy Industries, thought that 2047 would be too long to wait to end Germany's use of coal. At the same time, however, the union leader warned that an overly rushed shift from coal to renewables would cause a shock to German industry. With a view toward the next legislative period, economist Claudia Kemfert proposed a to-do list for German policymakers: initiating the phase-out of coal, pushing ahead with alternatives to gasoline and diesel internal combustion engines, and realizing energy savings in the building sector.

Learning from Germany's energy transition – Tunisian MPs in Berlin

Our office in Tunis is working to help establish environmental policy in Tunisia. The “Policies of the Future” program trains MPs and party leaders on how to implement environmental and energy policy in practical terms. At the invitation of our Tunis office, members of the Tunisian parliamentary committee on environment, energy and industry traveled to Berlin in July to study the German transition to renewable energy. The participants were particularly interested in the question of how to put policy conditions in place that will facilitate the development of green energy. So far, the Tunisian government has relied on gas imports and is considering permitting fracking. Dr. Georg Meiners, an expert who played a major role in Germany's shale gas legislation, gave his assessment of the risks of fracking technology in Tunisia. Whether or not to listen to experts is an ongoing political issue in Tunisia's young democracy. The group of visitors had a highly practice-oriented discussion with Green representatives of the Berlin Senate on the city's cycling referendum. They also visited Feldheim, a town in Brandenburg that generates 100% of its energy from renewable sources.

↗ Website and blog:

<https://energytransition.org/>



Partners of the Foundation protesting nuclear power in South Africa.
Image: Heinrich Böll Foundation

Supporting the national anti-fracking alliance in Colombia

Faced with dwindling reserves for conventional oil extraction, Colombia is looking toward using the controversial method of fracking in the future. However, pilot projects planned in the small village of San Martín in the state of Cesar are being met with a groundswell of resistance. Citizens' initiatives fearing pollution and socio-ecological impacts on the region have joined forces in a national anti-fracking alliance to combat this form of resource exploitation. The alliance is highlighting the risks of fracking technology and questioning the extractive economic model, i. e. development through exploitation of natural resources. Our new office in Colombia supported the alliance's formation and work by sponsoring networking meetings, discussion events, publications and a documentary film on fracking in Colombia.

South Africa's plans for nuclear power stopped by court order ↗

In April 2017, a South African judge put a spectacular end to government plans for the wholesale expansion of nuclear power. For years, the public had protested the government's efforts to push ahead with the construction of nuclear reactors in cooperation with Russia. In February 2015, the South African newspaper Mail & Guardian published details of the agreement. The Russian anti-nuclear activist Vladimir Slivyak, a partner of the Foundation, had obtained a Russian-language copy of the 'secret' agreement through contacts in the Russian Foreign Ministry and passed it on to our partner organization Earthlife. As a result, the public learned that the agreements with Russia were much more extensive and binding than the South African government had claimed. Earthlife ultimately went to court against the government. Our office in Cape Town ran a broad-

based campaign alongside the hearings. In April 2017, the court ruled that the government had broken with democratic principles and had acted unconstitutionally. The court stated that a rational decision-making process and fair public participation were imperative for decisions with such far-reaching consequences for the country. In the future, the government will no longer be allowed to exclude the public and parliament – a great strategic success for our partners and their commitment to South African democracy.

Phasing out coal – an exchange of views with Poland

Phasing out coal is a key to transitioning to a post-fossil future. This phase-out is feasible if we commit to basing our energy supply on renewable energy sources. To accelerate the exit from coal and promote the structural transformation of coal mining regions, we provide support for exchanges with other countries on this issue – with Poland, for example. The realization that we cannot rely on fossil fuels indefinitely is gaining ground there as well. Poland wants to modernize its economy and is increasingly open to renewables. However, mining is still perceived as part of the country's cultural identity. Our office in Warsaw organized a study trip to North Rhine-Westphalia for representatives of the Catholic media and church-related organizations to acquaint them with examples of successful structural change. In Poland, the Catholic Church has vast social influence. It could become a key advocate for ecological modernization in coal mining regions, above all Silesia.

Regional network for the promotion of renewable energy in Thailand

The growth forecasts for the ASEAN region are impressive. Gross domestic product in the region is expected to post an average annual increase of 5% in the coming years. The population of the ten-member confeder-

↗ Watch: [Civil Society Wins Nuclear Court Case](https://za.boell.org/2017/05/09/watch-civil-society-wins-nuclear-court-case)

<https://za.boell.org/2017/05/09/watch-civil-society-wins-nuclear-court-case>



Smog in Sarajevo: schoolchildren are sent home, experts urgently recommend staying indoors. Image: picture alliance/AP Photo

tion is also set to grow from 639 million at present to 715 million in 2025. Most of the additional energy requirements are to be covered by conventional power plants. According to Vietnam's national energy development plan, coal-fired power generation is expected to become the dominant national energy source by 2030 with a share of 53 percent. Indonesia plans to build a total of 117 new coal-fired power plants by 2025. Working together with the Vietnamese Green Innovation Development Centre (GreenID), our office in Thailand stepped up its efforts in 2017 to build a regional network to promote renewable energy. This network will be campaigning for a shift from coal-fired power generation, at both the national and ASEAN levels, and developing models to facilitate renewable energy use.

Air pollution in Bosnia – a smog app makes short shrift of denials

Sarajevo, Tuzla and Zenica are among the most polluted cities in Europe. With far-reaching consequences: According to a WHO study, Bosnia and Herzegovina, a country with only 3.5 million inhabitants, ranks second in the worldwide mortality rate – behind only North Korea. Every year in Bosnia, 10,000 die from the effects of air pollution, amounting to 27 people a day! The alarming smog levels are also causing great economic harm: 21 percent of the already weak gross national

product is being eaten up by sick leave, follow-up costs, cancelled school days and the like. For a long time, local elites denied that there was a problem. However, an app developed by our office in Sarajevo in cooperation with Eco Akcija put an end to their stonewalling. The app provides air pollution values, updated hourly, for several Bosnian cities. Smog has been a hot topic since the launch of the app, which has been downloaded thousands of times. In March 2017, the Bosnian parliament held its first hearing on air pollution. At the hearing, Foundation partners from Sarajevo and Tuzla explained the dire consequences of air pollution to MPs who had mostly never dealt with the topic before. Nevertheless, Bosnian policymakers are still struggling to address the issue. It was in this vein that the premier of Sarajevo canton publicly attacked the developer of the app, accusing him of manipulation and using false data – slandering the critic instead of working out a political solution is a tried and true move in the playbook of Bosnian political actors. Nevertheless, the release of the app and the subsequent information campaign raised the pressure on the Bosnian government: it is hardly possible to deny the health hazards any longer. Our office in Sarajevo and Eko Akcija now aim to take the next step by identifying measures that can be taken to reduce the high smog levels and provide a healthier environment for the people of Bosnia.

Resource policy

The ruthless exploitation of water, land and mineral resources is accelerating worldwide. At the same time, the scope for action is narrowing for civil society groups that oppose land grabbing and environmental destruction and that demand democratic participation and human rights. Those who criticize government plans for resource projects are put under intense pressure. Unfounded criminal proceedings, slander, physical intimidation and even extrajudicial killings are common forms of repression. Environmental protection and human rights thus lose out to business interests and a focus on profits.



Berta Cáceres (*1973 † 2016). She was killed in Honduras on March 3, 2016. Her death drew worldwide attention to the risks faced by communities that want to have a voice in decision-making in natural resource governance. Image: cooloud, flickr.com CC-NC-ND 2.0, <https://bit.ly/2M5ozff>


How the race for resources threatens democracy and human rights worldwide

In countries of the global South, communities affected by resource extraction rarely benefit from their natural resources. On the contrary, resource projects deprive people of their livelihoods, pollute the environment and displace local populations. Those affected are therefore calling for more involvement in decision-making processes and greater protection of their rights. Yet non-governmental organizations (NGOs), social movements and affected communities that monitor and criticize the extraction and use of natural resources face intense pressure. The study "Tricky Business: Space for Civil Society in Natural Resource Struggles", which we published in partnership with the European Center for Constitutional and Human Rights (ECCHR), examines the mechanisms behind expropriation and the undermining of human rights. The authors Dr. Carolijn Terwindt and Dr. Christian Schliemann of the ECCHR interviewed experts in India, Mexico, South Africa and the Philippines. The study finds that states and corporations are increasingly following a similar pattern: Access to information is denied, legally prescribed consultation processes are reduced to sham consultations and activ-

ists are criminalized and sued in violation of national and international legal and constitutional guarantees. Citizens and the civil society organizations standing up for their rights against resource projects are subjected to intense pressure, slander and sometimes even murder. In response, social movements, NGOs and activists are increasingly resorting to legal instruments to protect their rights and interests. However, as the study also shows, communities and NGOs need much more support in order to defend themselves against criminalization and libel charges and to develop strategies for using the law to regain their influence and freedom of action. The study also looks at the role of corporations and shows how they are (co-)responsible for the negative consequences of resource depletion and for the associated restrictions on civil society's scope for action.

The fight against illegal gold mining in Colombia

With a length of 750 kilometers, the Rio Atrato in the Colombian state of Chocó flows through one of the world's top-10 biodiversity hotspots. Illegal gold miners polluting the river with mercury are a grave threat to this diversity. Together with three Afro-Colombian

 "Tricky Business: Space for Civil Society in Natural Resource Struggles" study

www.boell.de/tricky-business

groups living along the river, environmental NGO Tierra Digna filed a constitutional complaint to protect the river. In a landmark ruling by the Colombian Constitutional Court in 2016, the Rio Atrato was awarded biocultural rights. Our new office in Colombia supported Tierra Digna last year in monitoring the implementation of the verdict. *Guardianes del Rio Atrato* (river guardians) were elected, a body of community members whose role is to ensure compliance with the remedial measures stipulated by the court.

Ocean Atlas – about our relationship with the marine world

Without the sea, there would be no life on our planet. Oceans play a major role in regulating the climate and supply both food and energy. But the marine world is subject to stress, as the old principle of ‘freedom of the seas’ has led to overfishing, loss of biodiversity and massive pollution. In 2017, we published an Ocean Atlas summarizing key facts and figures about the state of the oceans. It has been translated into Chinese, Arabic, Spanish, French, Turkish and Khmer and was presented at numerous venues, including the United Nations Ocean Conference in New York and the World Forum of Fisher Peoples in New Delhi. Around 200 delegates from 42 countries representing a total of 10 million coastal dwellers came together at the latter event. The conference, which was organized by Indian partners of the Foundation, served to network activists who promote locally organized, non-industrial fishing, advocate sustainable coastal protection and fight against the settlement of dirty industries in seaside locations.

The Ocean Atlas was also presented in Jordan. Jordan has less than 26 kilometers of coastline, making the protection of the beaches and the unique underwater world off the port city of Aqaba on the Red Sea all the more important. Together with the Royal Marine Conservation Society (JREDS), our office in Ramallah has long been committed to their conservation. At the presentation of the Ocean Atlas in Amman, the Jordanian Minister of the Environment – himself a marine biologist – announced his intention to use the atlas in schools and other educational institutions.

Study on plastic waste in the oceans

The pollution of the oceans by the constantly growing stream of all kinds of plastic waste poses a major threat to marine ecosystems. Extensive research is already underway into how plastic waste is distributed and breaks down in the world’s oceans and how it affects marine and coastal life. Our “Stopping Global Plastic Pollution” study advocates addressing the problem at its source – waste on land. The authors of the study call for internationally coordinated mea-

asures, propose key elements for an international plastics convention, and make recommendations on how negotiations can be initiated at UN level. The Third United Nations Environment Assembly (UNEA 3) in Nairobi in December 2017 took the first tentative steps in this direction, which we must now monitor and support.

A different take on agriculture – our *Grüne Woche*

Every year in January, the *Grüne Woche* (Green Week) – the world’s largest trade fair for the agricultural industry – takes place in Berlin. We used the spotlight on agricultural topics to set a clear signal for sustainable and globally just agriculture with our series of events entitled *Landwirtschaft anders – unsere Grüne Woche* (“Doing agriculture differently: our own Green Week”). New ideas and alternative discourses are urgently needed: More and more people are dissatisfied with the food industry and are organizing themselves in solidarity with farmers, bypassing corporate power and price pressure. They place greater value on environmental protection and animal welfare and no longer accept that powerful corporations are holding us back on our way to a rural, sustainable and fair agriculture. In our “Agrifood Atlas”, we provide facts and figures on power structures and market shares in the agricultural and food industry. Fewer and fewer companies are dividing up the market for agricultural products and food amongst themselves. This trend is continuing without clear political rules – the most prominent example in this regard is perhaps the takeover of Monsanto by Bayer.

We have been addressing the unsustainable consumption of meat for years. Our book for young readers, *Iss Was?! – Tiere, Fleisch und ich* (Had enough?! – Animals, meat and I) was nominated for the German Youth Literature Award in 2017 and made it onto the list of the year’s six best non-fiction books for young people. It is currently in its 6th edition.

Global and alternative economic governance

Economically, the world is closely interconnected. But most of the profits from manufacturing, trade and services flow in a single direction due to a lack of internationally valid and fair agreements. Even in bilateral agreements, might is usually right. We therefore need more international cooperation, rules for financial markets and a fair and environmentally sound investment and trade policy. The G20, as one of the pillars of global governance, has so far not been able to put global financial market regulation in place that could protect us from new crises or that might even help reduce social inequality and promote economies that respond to the challenges of climate change, flight and migration.



G20 protest in Hamburg. Image: Jörn Neumann/Flickr (CC BY-NC 2.0, <https://bit.ly/2r0uNky>)

G20 – we shake things up!

In July 2017, the G20 summit in Hamburg focused on how to coordinate the globalized world economy in the interest of all people in times of growing inequality, climate change, flight and migration. Doubts in the G20's ability to solve major problems such as climate change, poverty and wars were voiced at the parallel Global Solidarity Summit, which the Foundation helped organize. Panel discussions and over 70 working groups were dedicated to developing alternative policies. Among other issues, the alternative summit sharply criticized the G20 countries' climate policies, as the countries had signed the Paris Agreement but are not developing coherent investment and implementation policies to actually reach the 2°C target.

For a sustainable design of global infrastructure investments

Whether for autobahns in Germany or water supply infrastructure in developing countries, public-private partnerships (PPPs) are on the rise worldwide and receive strong support from the G20. The objective is to attract institutional investors to finance infrastructure projects while satisfying their profit motive through usage fees or government payments. It is supposedly a win-win situation, offering infrastructure and development for the global South and secure returns for the rich North. Standardized contract terms have been designed to accelerate PPPs internationally and create 'pipelines' of bankable projects. The World Bank played a particularly important role by drafting PPP model contracts intended to serve as the basis for potentially thousands of PPP agreements worldwide.



Carlos Lopes, former Executive Secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Africa. Image: Jörg Farys

The crucial nature of these model contracts and the course they set warrant a closer look at the fine print. Our Washington office therefore consulted a renowned law firm for a pro bono opinion on one of the model contracts. The verdict was highly critical: Risks are shifted unilaterally to the public sector. The right of the state to regulate in the public interest is restricted by 'stabilization clauses' under which investors must be compensated in the event of legislative amendments that, for example, favor humans or the environment. Investors could therefore sue for damages if an eco-tax were to restrict the profitability of a coal-fired power plant or an air traffic levy were imposed that might curb an airport's growth rates. Armed with a detailed, critical legal analysis and bolstered by the protests of a broad range of NGOs, we reached out to the World Bank to discuss these model clauses for PPP contracts. We achieved an important intermediate success: the already-completed model contracts will now be put through a further review process.

Investment and sustainable development on the African continent ↗

As part of its G20 presidency in 2017, the German government placed Africa prominently on the agenda with a 'Marshall Plan' and the "G20 Compact with

Africa". The focus was on investment policy and migration management and followed strictly liberal doctrine: Africa must curb government spending while at the same time promoting economic growth and new jobs with infrastructure projects. The plans prioritize legal and planning certainty for investors – even though many investment agreements already place liberalization and the protection of investors' interests above the common good. At our "Monopoly in Africa?" conference in Berlin in May 2017, we brought together experts from Nigeria, Cameroon, Kenya, South Africa, Guinea-Bissau, Germany and the United States. They discussed the kinds of economic engagement that would be desirable in Africa in order to promote socially and environmentally sustainable development. The former Executive Secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Africa, Carlos Lopes, called for greater recognition of Africa's economic and social potential. The lively participation of the audience left no doubt that investment policy is a hotly debated issue. In particular, a link between investment and sustainable development is anything but guaranteed. African and European businesses, policymakers and civil society must now find sustainable ways to ensure that investments also benefit those who need them most.

"Africans should not just to be recipients of aid and help for adaptation to climate change – but rather protagonists and ahead in terms of proposing solutions."

Carlos Lopes

Scholarship and Fellowship Program – 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.



Participants at the "Views of a Foundation" kick-off seminar in April 2017

Who receives support?

In 2017, the Foundation's Scholarship Program selected 304 new fellows in a three-stage process involving 2,161 applicants. Last year, a total of 1,200 students – 987 undergraduate and graduate students and 213 doctoral candidates – received financial support. 61% of these fellows were women.

The largest national groups of international fellows (by country) are from Russia (14%), followed by Syria (10%), Ukraine (7%) and Egypt (6%).

Non-material support: advice – training – networking

Our event program – the core of the non-material side of our support – aims to spur political debate, impart crucial skills, encourage interdisciplinary dialog, provide career preparation and foster the social and political activism of our fellows. In particular, we strive to cultivate our fellows' ability to think, act and organize their activities independently.

Our "Green Networks" mentoring program provides fellows support when launching their careers: Mentors advise students and doctoral candidates in the

final stages of their degree programs as well as young alumni, guiding them in their personal and professional development and helping them approach their goals with greater clarity.

Highlights of the event program in 2017

The "Campus" summer academy in Bad Bevensen is an annual highlight of our event program. In August, some 140 participants came together there to discuss media literacy, the handling of alternative facts and their impact on democracy under the title *Die große Verunsicherung – Die Krise der liberalen Moderne* (The Great Uncertainty – The Crisis of Liberal Modernity).

In May, the annual doctoral candidates' forum dealt with the topic *Wissenschaft und Forschung in Zeiten des digitalen Wandels* (Science and Research in Times of Digital Change) and the Alumni Salon discussed *Die große Transformation* (The Great Transformation). Topics included strategies for climate protection and decarbonization, innovative economic models, the sustainable and fair use of global commons and the politicization of lifestyles.

Short-term scholarships for "(Young) Scholars in Exile"

The difficult situation faced by many Turkish scholars who have left their country for political reasons and are now in Germany prompted us to launch the "Scholars in Exile" program to provide doctoral candidates and postdocs with short-term scholarships (three to six months) in Germany. It complements our existing programs and is a demonstration of solidarity with persecuted researchers. Two applicants have been accepted to date. www.boell.de/en/scholarships

Art and Culture

Art can be an instrument of civic education. Art sharpens our perceptions, trains our sense of intuition, and inspires us to creative action. Heinrich Böll, who lent his name to our foundation, was an artist and public intellectual, and we honored the 100th anniversary of his birth for the entire year 2017. Readings of Böll's work took place in many German cities, film adaptations of his novels were screened, and of course there was a great deal of discussion – above all with regard to how political art and literature can or should still be today. Our international offices also commemorated our namesake with a series of events. Here is a small selection:



Image: Amphon Chansirispi



Image: Thai Rath (Chkasit Viriyasak)

Bangkok: Our office in Bangkok celebrated Böll's birthday with a party in a small city garden. Numerous local artists took part. Video clips in which prominent Thai people highlighted the importance of political engagement in Thailand were shown with the aim of prompting guests to talk about getting involved in the political sphere. Everyone in Thailand knows the famous photo of Picharrinee Ratanachamnonng holding up a flashlight to protest the darkness that had enveloped the country. The guests at the Böll event were given just such flashlights and encouraged to search the garden for quotes on the topic of 'desired interference' and discuss them with others.

Moscow: Heinrich Böll was an esteemed and frequently translated author in the Soviet Union. Our office in Moscow commemorated him by publishing an exchange of letters between Böll and the human rights activist and dissident Lev Kopelev. The texts, published in Russian for the first time, show how important Böll's support was for many Soviet activists and artists. A further premiere was the screening of "Der Dichter und seine Stadt: F. M. Dostojewski und Petersburg" (The Poet and His City: F. M. Dostoevsky and Petersburg), which our office showed for the first time in an uncensored version with Russian subtitles. Böll wrote the screenplay for the film in the late 1960s.

Thessaloniki: Our Greek office published 18 short stories that had been translated into Greek for the first time in a collection entitled *The Laughter and Other Stories*. The book was many readers' first acquaintance with

Heinrich Böll; the first edition sold out quickly and a second, larger one was printed. At the presentation of the volume in April 2017, the role of the publicly engaged writer in today's Europe was the focus of discussion. For this event, the Foundation cooperated with the Goethe Institute Thessaloniki, the Greek Society for German Studies and the German Consulate General.

Mexico City: The book *Las ovejas negras (Black Sheep)* with five stories by Böll, four of which were newly translated, was the focus of the birthday series of our office in Mexico. It was presented at Latin America's largest book fair in Guadalajara and elsewhere. Texts by and about Böll appeared in various literary supplements – Böll even made it onto the front page of one of Mexico's largest newspapers. The birthday party in December featured a dramatic reading of *Black Sheep* as well as cake and a piñata. A special highlight was the unveiling of a bronze bust of Böll by the artist Alfredo López Casanova, which has been an eye-catcher in the courtyard ever since.

Beirut: On behalf of our Beirut office, three illustrators re-imagined Heinrich Böll's short stories *Action Will Be Taken*, *The Death of Elsa Baskoleit* and *The Laughter* in comic form. On the occasion of their presentation, the theater director Hanane Hajj Ali, the writer Luna Ali and the visual artist Mari Meen Halsøy talked about how Böll's dictum "getting into the fray is the only way to stay realistic" can be applied to today's Lebanon. A lively discussion ensued on the role of art in politics and politics in art that spilled over into the subsequent reception and beyond.

The Heinrich Böll House in Langenbroich

Our stipend program at the Heinrich Böll House in Langenbroich, Germany, provides international artists and writers with the opportunity to engage in creative work – undisturbed, without financial worries and free from persecution and censorship – for a period of several months. The association that operates the program is co-financed by the town of Düren and the state of North Rhine-Westphalia. The house was inaugurated in summer 2017 after extensive renovation. At the same time, we celebrated the 100th anniversary of Heinrich Böll's birth. Even though the weather gods did not mean well with our celebration, this did nothing to cloud the mood of our numerous guests.



Langenbroich, summer party 2017: Omar Al Jaffal and Stefan Weidner at the "Lesung im Pool" (reading in the pool). Image: Susanne Dittrich

Our guests in 2017

Omar Al Jaffal was born in 1988 and is a writer and journalist from Iraq. He grew up in Syria and had to leave the country for Iraq in 2011. His work there included reporting on the areas controlled by ISIS. He writes for Iraqi magazines and online publications. In 2017, he received the prestigious Mustafa Al Hussein Award for Arabic journalism.

Ahmed Kathlish was born in 1988 and is a writer and journalist from Syria. He publishes poetry and translations of texts by other authors on his *Tiklam* SoundCloud channel, which reached 3 million clicks in June 2017.

Rahim Hessawi was born in 1980 and is a writer and scenarist from Syria. He worked as a teacher in Syria until he was suspended in 2011 for supporting the peaceful revolution. He fled to Turkey, where he serves as a volunteer in refugee camps. He is currently writing his new novel *Popcorn* and working as a scriptwriter for various TV series in Turkey.

Mohammad Mallak was born in 1971 and is a writer, scenarist and journalist from Syria. He has received several awards for his literary work. In Syria, he cam-

aigned for freedom of the press and for human rights. He has been living in France since fleeing Syria. Mallak has founded several online publications that focus on political, social and cultural issues.

Prithu Sanyal was born in 1985 and is a writer, blogger and human rights activist from Bangladesh. His poetry and short stories are published regularly on the *Mukto-Mona* blog. Sanyal is a member of the Shahbag movement that calls for an international tribunal to address the crimes committed during the 1971 independence movement in Bangladesh.

Osamah Al-Dhari was born in Yemen in 1983. He is one of the most important young writers and poets of his country. Al-Dhari experienced political pressure and persecution for his literary work in Yemen and Saudi Arabia.

Taqi Akhlaqi was born in 1986 and is a writer and journalist from Afghanistan. His *Afghanisches Tagebuch* (Afghan Diary) for the German public broadcaster NDR, along with interviews, publications and the staging of his plays, have brought him renown in Germany as well.

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Prize Winners

The Heinrich Böll Foundation awards numerous prizes and co-sponsors various additional honors. Our most important awards are the Peace Film Award, the Anne Klein Women's Award, the Hannah Arendt Prize, and the biannual Petra Kelly Prize. The Petra Kelly Prize was not awarded in 2017.



The Anne Klein Women's Award was presented to Nomarussia Bonase



The Peace Film Prize went to *El Pacto de Adriana*: Miranda (cutter) and Carlos Nunez (producer) of the documentary received the prize.

2017 Anne Klein Women's Award: Nomarussia Bonase

The 2017 Anne Klein Women's Award went to Nomarussia Bonase, a South African activist for women's rights and for policies targeting women's issues. Her dedication to healing the wounds of apartheid has made her a role model for many. Bonase fights for justice for victims and survivors of the apartheid regime, and in particular for women deserving of reparations who were not heard by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (1996–1998). The Anne Klein Women's Award is endowed with €10,000 and was presented for the sixth time. The laudatory speech was given by Ulrike Poppe, the Brandenburg Commissioner for the Study of the Repercussions of the Communist Dictatorship.

Peace Film Prize for the documentary *El Pacto de Adriana*

The 32nd Peace Film Prize at the Berlin International Film Festival went to the documentary *El Pacto de Adriana* by Lissette Orozco. The Chilean director traces the role of her aunt Adriana in the Pinochet dictatorship, breaking the 'pact of silence'. The film gains suspense from Orozco's growing doubts about her beloved aunt. The director gets to the bottom of the truth while not giving in to the temptation to judge prematurely, leaving it to the viewers to draw their own conclusions. Social peace begins with exploring one's own history. According to the jury, Orozco demonstrated extraordinary courage in this very personal and painful examination of her family and the history of Chile. The prize is endowed with €5,000 and a trophy by the sculptor Otmar Alt.

 More:

www.boell.de/annekleinfrauenpreis

All the Best, Ralf



June 2017: Ralf Fücks, Co-President since 1996, saying goodbye to staff, friends, and partners.

His goodbye did not come out of the blue: Ralf Fücks, Co-President of the Heinrich Böll Foundation since summer 1996, chose not to stand for re-election. The Foundation officially bade him farewell on 23 June 2017. Barbara Unmüßig, his long-standing colleague on the Board, praised him as someone who is political through and through. His manifold ideas and proposals on the future of work, immigration policy, freedom, and the future of Europe, together with his clear-cut positions against anti-Americanism, anti-Semitism and all forms of authoritarianism, made the Foundation into a distinguished organization that is closely associated with him.

Cem Özdemir, Federal Chairman of the Greens until January 2018, described Ralf Fücks as a true pioneer: “And his forward thinking has become increasingly

prominent in recent years. For me, he is a left-wing intellectual advocate of sustainable prosperity for all! His thinking is Green thinking, and I share a great deal of common ground with him.” When asked what the Foundation meant to him in retrospect, Fücks replied: “It was the best experience of my professional and political life. And that especially holds true for you, my colleagues, and for our partners around the world. The Foundation represents great human and intellectual wealth. For me, it amounted to 21 years of interdisciplinary study that opened windows to the world, for which I’m very, very grateful.”

Later in 2017, Ralf Fücks and his wife Marieluise Beck founded a think tank, the *Zentrum Liberale Moderne*. His office is very close to the Heinrich Böll Foundation, and that’s surely not a coincidence!

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: defense 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 sociopolitical issues both in Germany and abroad.
- We document the history of the Green movement in order to promote research and provide political inspiration.

We Are an International Policy Network

- We are part of the global Green network and promote the development of the Green political movement on all continents.

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

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

- We consider ecology and democracy to be inseparable.
- We therefore support individuals and projects that are committed to ecology, human rights, democracy, and self-determination.
- We support respect for the rule of law and democratic participation in all parts of the world.
- We promote the abolition of conditions of dominance, dependency, and violence between the sexes.
- We 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, expertise, social skills, 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 cooperation 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.

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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 sociopolitical education programs with its

project partners abroad is on a long-term basis. Additional important instruments of international cooperation include visitor programs, which enhance the exchange of experiences and 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. ■ Dr. Ellen Ueberschär and Barbara Unmüßig are the current Presidents. Dr. Livia 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, France, Poland, Colombia, the Czech Republic, Turkey, Greece, Russia, Georgia, Ukraine, Bosnia, Serbia, Israel, Lebanon, the Arab Middle East, Tunisia, Morocco, Kenya, Nigeria, Senegal, South Africa, Thailand, Myanmar, Cambodia, Pakistan, India, Afghanistan, China, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, El Salvador and the United States. In 2017, the Foundation had about 64 million euros in public funds at its disposal.

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**Cover: The Foundation's
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