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# MAGAZINE #21

## Peace

Robert Bosch **Stiftung**

Robert Bosch **Stiftung** Magazine #21 **Peace**

### **FIGHTING DESPERATION**

*Many Syrian refugees are traumatized and disillusioned. A project in Jordan that combines martial arts and dance is helping to channel their emotions.*

**ESSAY**

#### **It cannot be done alone**

German Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier on why foreign policy is impossible without civil society.

**INTERVIEW**

#### **Talking to 'terrorists'**

Mediator David Harland negotiates crisis settlements. He explains why support from private organizations is increasingly important.





EDITORIAL

Dear Readers,

“Peace is not an absence of war, it is a virtue, a state of mind, a disposition for benevolence, confidence, justice.” These words were written by Dutch philosopher Baruch Spinoza in the 17th century. And they are still relevant today.

Those who believed that the end of the Cold War signaled the beginning of a new, more peaceful era have since learned better. In fact, the opposite has happened. Conflicts are increasing, in both number and intensity. Indeed in recent years, fears have even been growing that the Cold War could return.

That’s why it is all the more important to continue to work toward peace. This is an ambition firmly embedded in the DNA of the Robert Bosch Stiftung. Robert Bosch himself organized meetings between German and French veterans after The First World War to promote reconciliation. In the same spirit, the Stiftung’s first projects were dedicated to achieving common understanding with France.

Since those early days, peace and understanding have been the principle themes of our work - whether in the Balkans, eastern Europe, or the South Caucasus. In the beginning, our projects were mainly concerned with reconciliation after conflict. But since 2014, when a focus area dedicated to peace was set up at our Berlin office, prevention and negotiation in acute conflicts have also come into greater focus.

In this magazine we present projects that contribute to peaceful coexistence in very different ways. They cannot stop wars. That is a matter for politics. But civil society organizations and foundations are still needed in order to create that particular state of mind, that disposition for benevolence, confidence, and justice. Because without these, no lasting peace can be achieved.

Enjoy your read.

Uta-Micaela Dürig and Joachim Rogall signatures.

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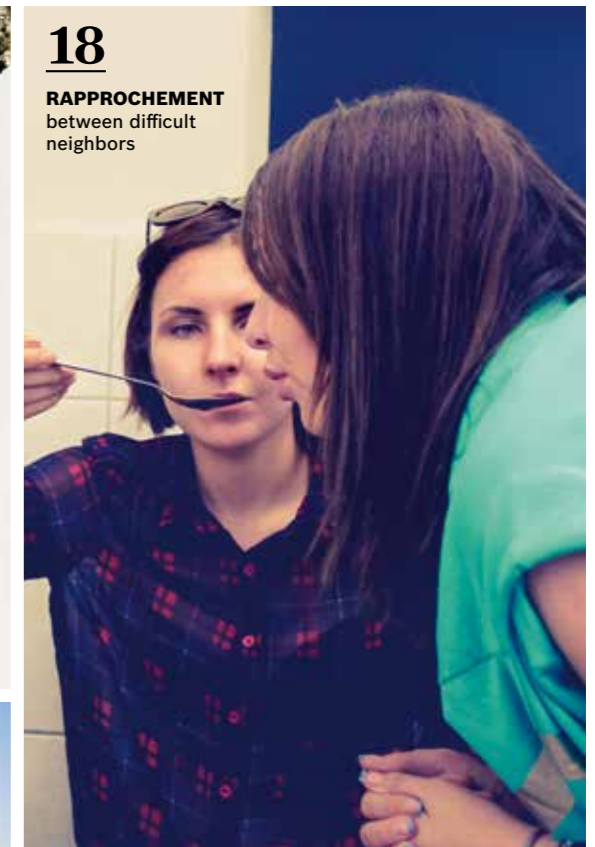
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Photos: Title: Nadia Bseiso, page 2-3: Björn Hänssler (1), Nadia Bseiso (1), Sascha Montag (1), Jonas Opperskalski (1), Marko Risovic (1), Cedric Widmer (1), Global Arts Corps (1)

# AN ISLAND IN THE MADNESS

*Everyday life in Israel is shaped by segregation, mistrust, and recurring violence. Peace is possible only if Jewish and Arab fellow citizens meet face to face, a fact that has long been recognized by the organizers at Givat Haviva - a meeting place, where they still learn something new every day.*

by Agnes Fazekas



'Leave in peace' is the greeting at the entrance. This is still too rarely achieved in Israel.

A joint photography exhibition is breaking down the walls in people's heads, as with these two Jewish and Arab Israeli friends.



**T**he old aircraft hangar is a good place for a photography exhibition. Charmingly run down and light. The series featuring Omer and Abed Allah especially resonates. Both are 17 years old, and shot standing in a room - but never together. They look past one another, even when staring in each other's direction.

Omer has the Israeli flag painted on his face; Abed Allah has Palestine's green, white, and red on his cheeks, forehead, and nose. This year, the photography class in Givat Haviva is called 'Stereotypes', a title chosen by the young participants. Tonight, they will present their work to their families.

**BARRIERS, WAR, ATTACKS**

In Wadi Ara, a valley between Tel Aviv and Haifa on the border with the West Bank, Jews live in kibbutzim privatized a long time ago, while many Arab Israelis live in densely populated villages.

The aircraft hangar was built at a time when British armed forces were stationed in the area. The British left in 1948, the Israelis fought their war of independence and the Palestinians suffered the Nakba - the catastrophe. Expulsion and flight. Wadi Ara was captured by Iraqi forces during the war

and later swapped for an area in the east. As a result, after the war, 15 old Arab villages found themselves in the new country of Israel.

How long has this photography project between Jewish and Arab Israeli teenagers been going? Since autumn 2000, the art teacher responds without hesitation. That was when the bus exploded in nearby Hadera, kicking off the Second Intifada. Afterwards, Arab Israelis referred to themselves as Palestinian Israelis, declaring their solidarity with their relatives on the West Bank and in Gaza. Thousands demonstrated in the streets and 13 Arab Israelis were shot by police.

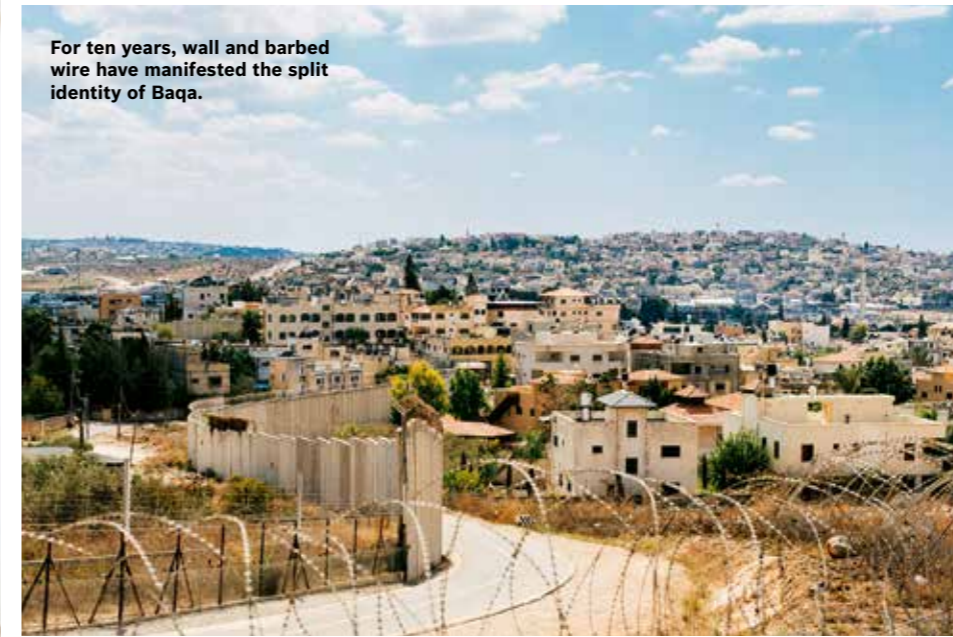
Since then it has never really let up, the teacher tells us. An Arab assassin blew up a bus, just two kilometers from here in the Jewish town of Karkur, leaving 14 dead and 50 injured.

Karkur is where Omer's family lives. Abed Allah comes from the neighboring Arab community of Kafr Kara. These two worlds could hardly be closer, yet they are constantly moving further apart.

After the Intifada the construction of the barrier wall along the West Bank started, then the Gaza Wars. Knife attacks. And even when things quieten down, old scars can still burst open.

It's hardly surprising, then, that there's an unusual atmosphere on the Givat Haviva campus: surreal, people treading on eggshells, as in a therapy center. Deep-seated fears are treated here. It's an island in the madness.

The campus was founded in 1949 as a think tank for the kibbutz movement. Its supporters wanted to persuade the government to build the young state according to their beliefs. A home for the Jews. Socialist, brotherly. As a logical



For ten years, wall and barbed wire have manifested the split identity of Baqa.



“**Palestinian Israelis want to be seen as equal citizens.**”

consequence of these ideals, the kibbutz members also strove for a good relationship with their Arab neighbors.

In the 1950s, they went from village to village, teaching themselves spoken Arabic in order to teach it later on campus. In the segregated Israeli school system, Jewish children learn only Standard Arabic to this day, for military service, not for communication.

Rosh Hashanah is approaching. Under the trees, in front of low, socialist-looking buildings, groups of Jewish and Arab Israelis sit and prepare for their encounter seminars. At the same time an illustrious group of women are sitting in the conference room at the women's center, honing their leadership skills. The members all exude self-confidence - the Bedouin woman with deep wrinkles under her glittering headscarf as much as the Jewish woman in her tight denim

dress, the Arab actress with her blonde head of curls, or the lawyer in her hijab.

While they sketch the stories of their lives on paper, moderator Yael Ben Zvi whispers, "In each of these women I discover something of myself. We come from the same mother." That's what one of the women told her after the first meeting. For Givat Haviva, these are the links to the female citizens in their respective communities.

Ben Zvi runs the workshop with an Arab colleague - and this double leadership principle applies to all the events on offer. Part of the strategy of Givat Haviva is to engage the inhabitants of the village in a close network of Jewish-Arab relationships. "We believe that change starts in your immediate social environment," says Yaniv Sagee, 53, the executive director and himself a child of the kibbutz movement.

"Before the Second Intifada, the NGO had chosen the motto of 'coexistence through dialogue'. But Palestinian Israelis want to be seen as equal citizens," says Sagee. "It's of no use to them to return to their poor villages after some pleasant conversation, while we Jews continue to enjoy our privileges."

He forms two rings with his thumbs and index fingers. Coexistence. Like Omer and Abed Allah in the photographs, side by side but not together. Then he merges the rings. If the model in Wadi Ara works, there are no more excuses for the rest of Israel.

**NO ONE ENJOYS LIFE BEHIND A FENCE**

Next to educational programs, an important idea is that harmony can be achieved, above all, by "shared communities" based on an idea of Sagee's Arab colleague, Riad Kabha. He insists that Jewish and Arab Israelis need to meet in their everyday lives, whether at school, in their free time or for business - not live side by side in parallel worlds. The Robert Bosch Stiftung has been supporting the approach taken by Givat Haviva since 2014.

There are now four Jewish-Arab paired communities totalling 160,000 people. Together, they tackle projects such as the building of a commercial area or a leisure park. This interaction has made a difference. For instance, Yael Ben Zvi, moderator of the women's workshop, lives on the edge of Emek Hefer. For a long time, the nearby Arab village of Zemer was a blind spot on the map for her. Now she likes to shop there, instead of driving to the nearest Jewish town.

Photos: Jonas Opperskalski (7), Illustration: C3 Infografik (1)



Yael Ben Zvi (right), a Jewish woman, conducts leadership workshops for women at Givat Haviva (above).



► “There must be a motivation for both partners,” says Sagee. For the Jewish community, that motivation is security. “No one enjoys life behind a fence.” For their Arab partners, the motivation is a shopping mall, soccer stadium or a long-overdue access road. The government does not invest much in Arab communities on its own accord. But money is available for cooperative agreements.

In the small Muslim town of Baqa al-Gharbiyye, you can see the infrastructure gap immediately from the rubbish that collects on the eastern edge of town. That’s where concrete blocks, many meters high, have separated the Israeli part of Baqa from the Arab section for about ten years now, a manifestation of split identity. Anyone wanting to visit relatives on the other side has to pass through the nearest checkpoint, a one-and-a-half-hour drive.

Baqa is the main commercial Arab center in the region, with many well-to-do business people living here. As does Baka Muwassi. The 38-year-old social worker was also in the room that morning during the women’s workshop.

Although she moderated a joint cookery class for Givat Haviva with Menashe, the Jewish partner community last year, she believes there is plenty of room to improve. “Trust is not built over a two-day cookery course.” Hatred bubbled up when Jewish extremists defaced the mosque in Baqa with graffiti

“**Omer no longer thinks of the other as a potential terrorist when he is on the bus.**”

in 2013. “At the time, we could have done with a workshop to teach us how to handle such situations,” says Mawassi.

She has observed that people in Baqa are becoming more religious. “But that does not mean extremist,” she adds quickly. “There is a huge gap between needs and resources. Particularly for women.” Many speak only a little Hebrew. Every visit to the authorities is an obstacle; university or a good job are distant dreams. This is another area where Givat Haviva helps, having developed a pilot project that aims to get more Arab women into work. As a side effect, a second income lifts families above

the poverty line. At the moment, every second Arab family lives below it.

At nightfall the parents start to arrive in the hangar. Some faces are familiar from the photographs. The camera makes it easier to enter the living rooms of strangers – and have a change of perspective.

On stage, Omer and Abed stand close together. In their skinny jeans, with folded arms and James Dean eyes, the two are not dissimilar. In his speech, Omer says he no longer thinks of the other as a potential terrorist when he is on the bus.

At Givat Haviva, the hope is that these young people will stay in touch and enter a shared future as tolerant citizens. But first, the Jewish half will be conscripted into the armed forces next year.



Agnes Fazekas was impressed with the power of the Arab and Bedouin women who have traveled from far away to establish the Givat Haviva model in other parts of Israel.

# “WE ARE CREATING A DIFFERENT REALITY”

*Muhammad Darawshe was Richard von Weizsäcker Fellow of the Robert Bosch Academy in 2016. He explains what needs to be done for Jews and Arabs to live together peacefully in Israel.*

**As an Arab Israeli, you are campaigning for peace in the country. Why are people like you so rare?**

**Muhammad Darawshe:** Many have given up because the social, economic and political integration of the Arab minority is progressing very slowly. For a long time we believed in coexistence. But after the Second Intifada, many realized that there can be a hierarchical coexistence, rather like that between a rider and his horse. I lost about half my colleagues at that time. Because we are convinced that honesty is the basis of a shared society, we then launched a second phase that we refer to as the “narrative debate.” But what keeps me in this business is very personal. My children are the 28th generation to live in our village. I do not want to be the generation that cuts this. And what can you leave for your children? Money can disappear, and so can land. The only thing you can leave behind is education and a different political reality. That is what I am working on.

**Jews and Arabs lead mostly separate lives in Israel. Isn’t a ‘shared community’ a utopian idea?**

**Darawshe:** Only 8 percent of inhabitants live in mixed towns or neighborhoods and 99 percent of children attend separate educational institutions. It changes a little at university and work, but that is a bit too late. Nonetheless a shared Israeli community is realistic and



MUHAMMAD DARAWSHE

## Peace worker

Since 2014, Darawshe has been the Director of Planning, Equality and Shared Society at Givat Haviva. It is the strongest driver within Israel towards a peaceful coexistence between Jews and Arabs. Among other things, the 53-year-old is a member of the strategic planning team of the Israel Authority for the Economic Development of the Arab Sector, worked for the Abraham Fund and was previously an electoral campaign manager for Arab parties in Israel.

**How can this change be achieved?**

**Darawshe:** For example, in 2005, we started by introducing six Arab teachers to Jewish schools. Today, we have 558 teachers and reach about 20 percent of educational establishments in Israel. Two years ago we did the same thing on the other side. We are approaching a change in public opinion. And while only 3 percent of university students were Arab in 2003, they now make up 16 percent. This changes the way that Jews view us, we are no longer the underprivileged, not so smart, not achieving Arab citizens. We are now, for example, trainee doctors. Dialogue is not enough to create a shared community, we also need structural changes. One of them is capacity-building of the Arab minority so that the exchange between Jew and Arab is no longer a dialogue between unequal partners.

**What did you most benefit from as a fellow of the Robert Bosch Academy?**

**Darawshe:** I have learned two things, one personal and one professional. It was good to take time to breathe, to focus on the essential goals – in life and in your career. I spoke to experts, practitioners and scientists specializing in national minorities in Europe. Europe has a variety of different approaches when handling minorities – and we know from Israel what actually works.

practical. It is even the most pragmatic solution to the explosive Jewish-Arab relations. And we are on our way, by creating small islands with our programs, creating a different reality, bit by bit. You need to bring people together. The important thing is to build long-term contacts rather than one-off interactions in order to create lasting relationships.

Photo: David Ausserhofer (1)

# ASSESSING THE STATE OF PEACE AROUND THE WORLD

For the first time since 1946, the number of conflicts has been rising. The majority are internal conflicts. Obviously to achieve peace, we need to do more than just put down guns. People need to feel that they live in a safe and just society.

Acting in conflict situations

**PILLARS OF PEACE**  
Supporting a peaceful society

Source: Institute for Economics and Peace



## KEY

Number of deaths caused in the country by war and conflict in 2015

1,652  
Mexico

1,304  
Ukraine

1,035  
Turkey

1,482  
Libya

2,518  
Sudan

8,892  
Nigeria

7,457  
South Sudan

1,200  
Somalia

6,984  
Yemen

17,986  
Afghanistan

11,251  
Iraq

52,933  
Syria

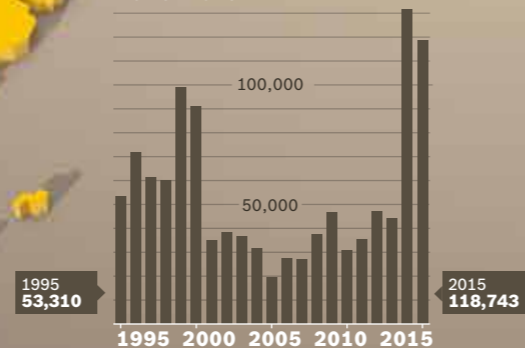
## ORIGINS OF CONFLICT

- Politics/ideology
- Identity (ethnic, cultural, religious)
- Socio-economic
- Environment/resources
- Threats to safety

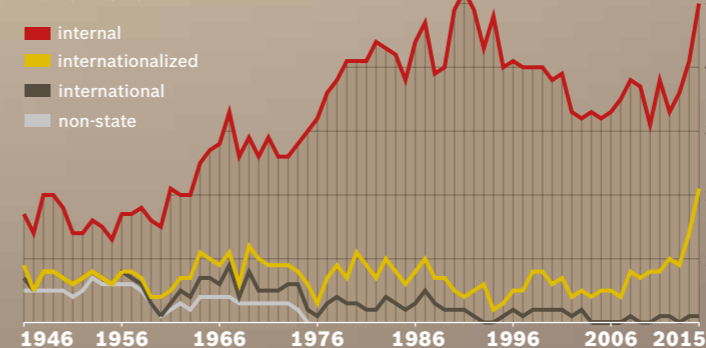


**Around 50%**  
of countries freed from conflict fall back into violence and war within five years of the peace agreement.

## WAR VICTIMS WORLDWIDE 1946-2015



## NUMBER OF CONFLICTS 1946-2015



Source: Uppsala conflict data program



# HOW TO TALK TO A 'TERRORIST'

*David Harland dares to go to places that others gladly flee. As a mediator, he negotiates crisis settlements and helps to resolve armed conflicts. Before this, he was a United Nations diplomat. Here he explains how to talk to 'terrorists', and why assistance from institutions such as the Robert Bosch Stiftung is increasingly important.*

by Eva Wolfangel



Photo: Cedric Widmer (1)

Acting in conflict situations

## CENTRE FOR HUMANITARIAN DIALOGUE

**David Harland** has been the Director of the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (CHD) in Geneva since 2011. The private organization mediates in armed conflicts. The Robert Bosch Stiftung has been supporting the work of its roughly 140 employees since 2016. The mediators – negotiators – at the centre are called upon to assist by the belligerents or they approach them on their own accord if they believe a conflict is ready for negotiation. This first step is often the hardest: When conflicting parties want to talk, they often do so in secret at first. The population finds out only years later – when the negotiations have been successful.

**You negotiate peace and ceasefires with hostile parties around the world. How has the situation changed in recent years?**

**David Harland:** Since 2010, the number of people dying in armed conflicts has increased every year. At the start of the millennium, war was one of the rarest causes of death; now war has returned. There are hardly any conflicts between countries, and that is a good thing – such conflicts could end in nuclear war. But there are plenty of domestic armed conflicts, for example between governments and rebel groups, or cross-border conflicts between drug gangs or organised crime.

**Do you find it depressing talking to terrorists?**

**Harland:** No. It is the same as when we speak to each other. The personalities of terrorists are no different from those of other people. Some are witty, others boring, some inspiring and some are depressing. There is also no very clear definition of a terrorist. People who kill others and put their goals above their own lives – are they terrorists? Some resistance groups against the National Socialists worked in the same way. It can be beautiful and proper to have something that is more important than your own life. Many states believe they have the right to kill people for political reasons, and that is true for some non-state actors as well. Maybe I suffer from a typical occupational disease for mediators; but in the end it comes down to the question of whether the aim justifies the means. Above all I am interested in helping people find a way to achieve peace.

**Does the risky nature of some of your assignments frighten you at all?**

**Harland:** Of course, I am often afraid. We meet dangerous people. You have

to know how to handle them. And there are plenty of risks. Most of the time I manage risks. Physical risks as well as moral or legal risks.

**What are the moral risks of your work?**

**Harland:** A hypothetical example: when negotiating with the Taliban in Afghanistan, I have to make concessions. Our conversations could end up with us finding a compromise between the Taliban and the government that brings peace, but at the cost of education for girls. This is because one of the Taliban's aims is to provide less education for girls. We always have to weigh up what is still acceptable in order to achieve peace.

**The public is rather distrustful of secret negotiations. Is that suspicion at all justified?**

**Harland:** I find this distrust natural and healthy. But some aspects of international diplomacy cannot be public. In a normal war, if you can call it that, both parties say to their supporters: We will not talk to the enemy. Once they are ready to talk, they need a secret space where they can find out whether negotiations can provide a solution. And only then do we work out together with them how they can inform their supporters.

**Wouldn't it be better to do your work more openly?**

**Harland:** Why does everything have to be public? 80 percent of all successful negotiations in wars take place in secret. The British government was in contact with the IRA from the early 1970s. The public only found out in the 1990s. Now the Colombian government has reached an agreement with FARC – that would not have happened if they had not negotiated in secret for years.

**It seems official negotiations are increasingly accompanied by parallel**

**discussions with individual groups. Why is that?**

**Harland:** In general the power imbalance in the world is shifting from states to persons. This is partly to do with the way that people can spread their ideas using new media – and there are upsides and downsides. An upside was demonstrated on Tahrir Square, while IS mobilization on the internet is a downside, for example. As a result, we no longer negotiate only with political leaders, but also in parallel with their supporters. One hundred years ago, mediation was restricted to a small number of elitist deciders in a smoky room. That has changed.

**Why are you increasingly reliant on support from private organizations?**

**Harland:** State support for our work is complicated: on the one hand, states do not want to talk to armed groups or even support such talks. On the other hand, they have to negotiate with them to achieve peace. That is where we mediate – and non-governmental financing makes it easier.

# RAPID ASSISTANCE FOR STRONG WOMEN

How best to help women fighting for peace in crisis zones? The Urgent Action Fund (UAF) helps women worldwide with rapid financial aid.

by Alexandra Wolters

Those fighting for peace and human rights in regions with armed conflicts, escalating violence, or an uncertain political situation sometimes need quick and non-bureaucratic financial aid - money for a lawyer, to save lives, or deal with opportunities that arise at short notice. In these situations, the Urgent Action Fund (UAF), supported by the Robert Bosch Stiftung, provides immediate and rapid assistance - without lots of questions and bureaucratic hurdles. Women worldwide can apply for financial aid up to \$5,000, in any language and at any time, online, by email, SMS, mail, telephone, or fax. They simply have to answer a few questions such as, "Do you need the money to get to safety?" or "Does your planned campaign serve to promote women's rights?" Where necessary, the women's personal details are kept any-

mous to preserve their safety. Every applicant receives a response within 72 hours, and the money is paid into their accounts within seven days at the latest.

Women fighting for a better world are often particularly at risk in times of crisis and during armed conflicts. Their rights are less respected, and they usually receive less assistance than men. To offer women in these situations fast, essential monetary aid in emergency situations, Americans Margaret Schink and Julie Shaw, and Canadian Ariane Brunet, set up the Urgent Action Fund almost 20 years ago. Since then the global organization has awarded more than a thousand grants in 97 countries, with the last year alone seeing 143 bank transfers to more than 40 countries. And its annual budget has grown from \$100,000 when it was founded to \$1.5 million today.

Photos: Krissanto Triputro (1), Lee Jin-man (1), Asuda (1), private (1), courtesy of Urgent Action Fund (1), Illustration: C3 Infografik (6)



Lian Gogali

**Organization** Mosintuwu Institute  
**Location** Poso, Central Sulawesi province, Indonesia



Lian Gogali campaigns for peace and women's rights in the troubled region around Poso, her home in the Indonesian province of Central Sulawesi.

**Conflict**

Indonesia suffers from a number of ethnic and religious conflicts. Today, many women experience violence and oppression, and exclusion from decision-making, as well as often being disadvantaged.

**Why did Gogali ask the UAF for assistance?**

A few years ago sustained violence flared up between Muslims and Christians around Poso.

**What did she use the money for?**

Gogali spent part of the money on a safety and alarm system for the buildings belonging to her organization. She invested the rest in The Women's School, where women train to become ambassadors for peace.



Bai Ali Indayla

**Organization** Kawagib  
**Location** Maguindanao, Philippines



Bai Ali Indayla campaigns for peaceful coexistence. Above all she campaigns against poverty and violence against women.

**Conflict**

In the autonomous region of Maguindanao, there is a simmering conflict between indigenous Muslims and Christian immigrants. Armed and bloody confrontations have repeatedly occurred.

**Why did Indayla ask the UAF for assistance?**

Early in 2016, she organized a demonstration by farmers. During the event, gunfire was exchanged with government security forces. Several farmers were injured and intimidated - among them, Indayla herself.

**What did she use the money for?**

First, she got herself and her son to safety. Indayla also used the money to fund an international campaign calling on the Philippine government to account for its actions.



Zainab Al-Khawaja

**Twitter name** AngryArabiya  
**Location** Bahrain



Zainab Al-Khawaja campaigns for human rights in Bahrain. She uses hunger strikes, sit-ins and tweets under the name of AngryArabiya to draw attention to abuses.

**Conflict**

In recent years, the authorities in Bahrain have placed ever tighter restrictions on free speech, and used violence to shut down protest.

**Why did Al-Khawaja ask the UAF for assistance?**

In March 2016, the 29-year-old activist was imprisoned along with her baby. Her crime? She tore up a photo of Bahrain's King Hamad Bin Isa Al Khalifa and allegedly insulted a policeman. For that, she was sentenced to three years in prison.

**What did she use the money for?**

International human rights organizations used the money to launch a successful campaign for the immediate release of Al-Khawaja.



Christine Ahn

**Movement** Women Cross DMZ  
**Location** North and South Korea



Christine Ahn campaigns for peace between North and South Korea and the reunion of the roughly 10 million families separated between the two countries.

**Conflict**

The border between North and South Korea is one of the most closely guarded borders in the world, surrounded by a demilitarized zone (DMZ) that neither side may enter without permission.

**Why did Ahn ask the UAF for assistance?**

In May 2015, the peace activist wanted to attract international attention to the conflict by crossing the demilitarized zone on a peace march with approximately 10,000 Korean women.

**What did she use the money for?**

Ahn used her bursary to found Women Cross DMZ with a full-time coordinator, organize a meeting of the international delegation after the march, and host a press conference.



Khanim Latif

**Organization** Asuda  
**Location** Kurdistan, Iraq



Khanim Latif works with Asuda, an organization that denounces violence against women in the Kurdistan region of northern Iraq, and campaigns against corruption.

**Conflict**

During the Arab Spring, demonstrations took place in Kurdistan. People were demanding an end to corruption, and many women were demanding an end to violence and oppression.

**Why did Asuda ask the UAF for assistance?**

After several people were killed during the demonstrations in 2011, there was a growing fear of civil war.

**What did she use the money for?**

Asuda organized press conferences with female activists, a peace march, and a Facebook page. These efforts finally led to negotiations between the government, the opposition, and the protesters on how to resolve the conflict peacefully.



**P**ace is not everything, but everything is nothing without peace." Willy Brandt's words are still as relevant as ever. After the end of the Cold War, we believed that peace, freedom and democracy would begin to sweep the world. But things turned out differently. The cynical old order of the Cold War was not simply followed by a new peaceful order. Quite the reverse - the world has become more inconsistent, complex and confusing. Crises and conflicts have seemed to come thick and fast in recent years.

Just a few days after I assumed office in late 2013, the situation on the Maidan in Kiev escalated. A short time later, Russia invaded Crimea in breach of international law, and thereby called the ultimate principles of European peace architecture into question. The conflict in eastern Ukraine, the Ebola pandemic, the rise of the so-called Islamic State in Syria and Iraq, the power vacuum in Libya, escape and migration across the Aegean and the Mediterranean to Europe, tensions in the South China Sea, most recently the failed coup in Turkey - crisis seems to have become the norm. This concentration of crises in our time is no accident. They are expressions of

“  
*Against a background of a turbulent neighborhood, Germany is assuming more responsibility at an international level.*  
”

# PROMOTING PEACE IN TROUBLED TIMES

*It cannot be done alone. Germany's Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier is placing his trust in the cooperation of civil society in the search for peaceful resolutions to conflicts.*

the world's struggle for what is presumably the correct social order - freedom, democracy, the rule of law and human rights - and the struggle for geopolitical spheres of influence.

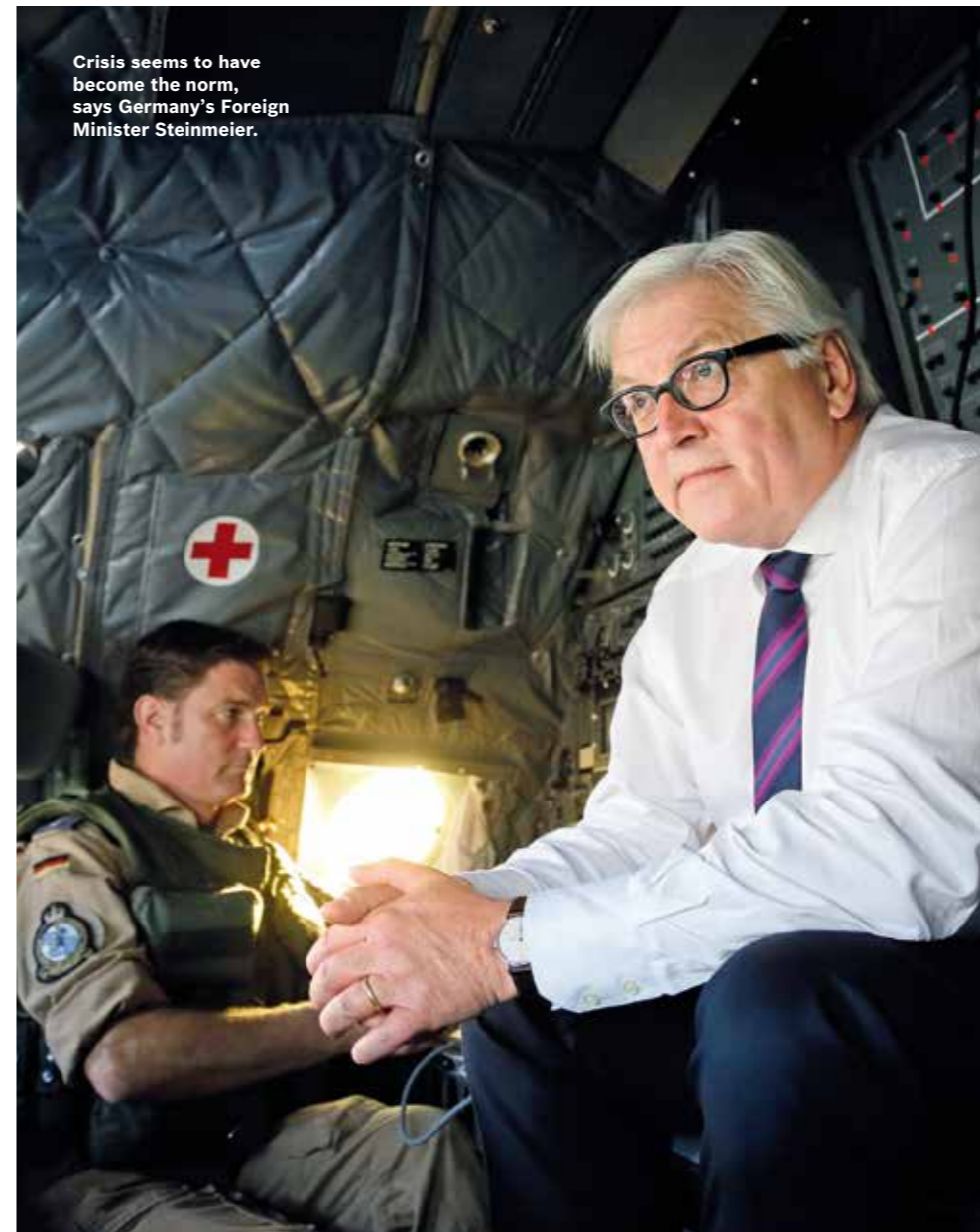
Against this background of a turbulent neighborhood, Germany is assuming more responsibility at an international level. We are doing so not to because we are full of swagger, but because many expect it from us. We are too large and stable a player to merely comment on events from the sidelines. We do it simply because we have a responsibility, not only in the eyes of our international partners, but also because it is in our own interest to fulfill that responsibility. In particular, as a country closely connected to the rest of the world in economic, political and social terms, Germany relies on a functioning and peaceful international order.

To play an active role in shaping this order, we assumed the presidency of the G7 (2015), the OSCE (2016) and the G20 (2017) and are once again running for the Security Council of the United Nations (2019/20). We take responsibility when dealing with acute crises. In Ukraine,

we are involved in what is referred to as the Normandy format for de-escalating and finding a political solution to the conflict. In Syria we are supporting efforts to revive for ceasefires and for negotiations to resume between the regime and the opposition in order to reduce the population's suffering and bring this appalling war to an end. And in Mali, we are working under the umbrella of the UN peace mission to stabilize the country and implement the Malian peace accord.

These are all difficult, often tough and sometimes frustrating endeavors. Diplomacy requires a lot of patience. But it has also achieved significant successes time and again. In the negotiations about the Iranian nuclear program, for example, which took many years, we and our partners managed to find a political solution to a bitter conflict that has brought the world to the edge of military confrontation more than once.

And because today's crises and conflicts are so multi-layered and complex, our answers must be formulated accordingly. The Review 2014 process at the Foreign Office has helped us



Crisis seems to have become the norm, says Germany's Foreign Minister Steinmeier.

Photo: Getty Images (1)

improve our own capacities, particularly by gathering and strengthening our resources in a new department for crisis prevention, stabilization, and post-conflict rehabilitation - or Department S, as it is known in-house.

We have also boosted our cooperation with partners in civil society, especially when it comes to public discussions regarding Germany's role,

and debating the future international order. And at an international level, foundations also play an important role.

Ralf Dahrendorf, Parliamentary Secretary of State at the Foreign Office during the era of Willy Brandt, coined the phrase 'international social policy' ('zwischenstaatliche Gesellschaftspolitik'). Today, it is almost a matter of course for social stakeholders to be

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*In this networked and interwoven world, foreign policy without civil society has become unthinkable.*  
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involved in German foreign policy. This is also true for the implementation of Agenda 2030, the "world transformation contract" with the potential to become a central regulatory framework for a more just, sustainable and therefore more peaceful world order, to which Germany can make a major contribution.

In short, in this networked and interwoven world, foreign policy without civil society has become unthinkable, as promoting peace, whether on large or small scale, is not just politics. It is about the interaction - and in some cases, interplay - between policy making and social actors.

To promote this exchange and collaboration, we have initiated a strategic dialogue between the Foreign Office and German foundations. The Robert Bosch Stiftung is an important partner in German foreign policy. Promoting understanding, reconciliation and peace is not just a noble goal for its employees, but is the core of their daily work. This brings us together, and must motivate us to work tirelessly for the peaceful resolution of conflicts. This is far from easy, and that will not change in the future. Many will point to the enormous obstructions and obstacles. Others will say there is no hope. But as anyone who has understood Willy Brandt's words will know, peace is worth every effort.



Photos: Sascha Montag (4), Illustration: C3 Infografik (1)

# BETWEEN WORLDS

*Their countries are in open conflict with each other, and as a result many people – friends and neighbors – have been killed or driven out of their homelands. But at a meeting of young people in Germany, Masha Barabash from Russia and Maria Vladymyrova from Ukraine put on a theater play together. A convergence in several acts.*

**by Kristin Oeing**

A man hears shots – cannon fire – while he sleeps. Startled, he wakes and looks around. But the shooting doesn't stop. The war has reached his homeland. He flees with his family, but only the mother is allowed across the border. The father and daughter are left behind.

For Ukrainian Maria Vladymyrova and Russian Maria "Masha" Barabash, both 21, the drama unfolding on the stage is not just some story from a distant land. The war in Ukraine has arrived in the real lives of both young women, driving refugees into their cities, dividing families, generating fear and alarm.

In Erfurt, the two women meet at a German-Ukrainian-Russian youth encounter organized by CGE Culture Goes Europe – Soziokulturelle Initiative Erfurt e.V. It is supported as part of the Meet Up! program by the Remembrance, Responsibility and Future foundation

(EVZ), the Federal Foreign Office, and the Robert Bosch Stiftung. Meetings such as this are intended to help intensify relations with Ukraine and reinforce the engagement of young people with democratic values and intercultural understanding. Russian participants are occasionally invited too, so people come together – as here in Erfurt – while their home countries are waging war against each other. Like Masha, a young woman studying theater direction in Russia. And Maria, a law student from Ukraine who often sits aloof from the group with her laptop. Their task is to create a play together within the space of six days. The topic: lost homeland.

"I love peace," says Masha with a confident voice. She lives in the Russian city of Krasnodar. "Many refugees have moved there. It's very difficult for them. They've lost their houses, their homeland, their country." ▶

“  
*The lack of trust makes them insecure.*  
 ”

► Maria comes from the city of Dnipro, Ukraine, just 200 kilometers from the contested city of Donetsk. “My whole life has changed. I always wanted to study abroad, but today I want to stay in my homeland.” Tears well up in her eyes. “It’s a painful time for all Ukrainians,” she says, sweeping a dark strand of hair behind her ear. “I’ve become more patriotic. And many other people feel the same way.” Roughly 75,000 refugees from the conflict zones currently live in her city. The situation is tense. “The integration process is very difficult. Many Ukrainians hold the refugees responsible for the conflict.” First they lured the Russians in, the thinking goes, and now they’re running away from them. Discussions quickly become antagonistic, says Maria. Even at her university, heated debates are all too common, she says.

**MEDIA RESPONSIBILITY** Masha has had the same experience. Even within her family, the tone has become rougher. “My grandmother’s siblings live in Ukraine. They don’t understand our position and we don’t understand theirs. Relations with them are very difficult at the moment.” The media, she says, bear some responsibility for that. “The information is so different.” Her faith in the

media has therefore been lost. Maria feels the same way. “In our country, the TV broadcasters are owned by oligarchs. It’s a big problem.” This lack of trust plays out in other areas, too – for example when rehearsing their play. Masha has taken the role of director; the play will have just three scenes. That’s fine with Maria – it’s her first time on the stage and she is happy to have only a small role. They don’t talk about the conflict between their countries neither

during the rehearsals nor in the breaks, and when others do they stay out of it. They have a powerful aversion to getting into discussions that could end in fights. It makes no difference when one Ukrainian in the group speaks of how difficult it has become to travel to the conflict region. Masha listens attentively and Maria nods, but neither says a word. When they speak with each other, they use Russian – the language that unites them. It’s all short questions and



Maria (left) finds it difficult to ignore the war in her country when speaking with Russian participants.



“  
*They don’t talk about the conflict between their countries, and when others do, they stay out of it.*  
 ”



Cooking together is an icebreaker between difficult neighbors.

deliberations about the play. A true conversation never really takes shape.

That only changes on the third day. An intercultural evening with traditional dishes and music is in the offing. Both women sign up for kitchen service. Maria cooks borsch, a hearty Ukrainian soup with cabbage and meat. “People only know the Russian version of it,” she says, “but I want to change that.” Masha, meanwhile, is peeling eggs for the Olivier salad, a typical Russian New Year’s dish. The two women are talking loudly. “Can I try your soup?” asks Masha. Maria nods and carefully inserts a spoonful into her mouth. Both of them laugh.

Another situation illustrates all the more poignantly how different attitudes can be between Russians and Ukrainians. When the transvestite artist Conchita Wurst performs in Erfurt’s Old Town, it leads to discussions within the group. “For us Ukrainians it’s completely OK if people like her are on the street, but the Russian Federation thinks differently,” says Maria. Some in the group, she says, had expressed disgust

*Establishing trust*

at the sight, especially because there were many children on the street. “That shows you how the politics of the state affect people’s thinking. Suddenly traditions are more important than human rights.”

**POLITICS IN THE HEAD**

For her part, Masha sees some deficiencies in the neighboring country. “I’ve been there many times and I like it a lot.” What the Ukrainians lack, she says, is a strong president. “They don’t feel that large, strong hand over them like we do. Putin is like a father for us. He does everything for our country.”

Three days later the show is set to take place. Masha is wound up, pushing Maria back and forth across the stage. The two now speak together much more often – even teasing each other now and then. “I’m going to miss everyone so much. We’re like a family,” says Masha. “I didn’t think the nations would mix so well.” The conflict between their countries was really not an issue, she says.

For Maria, by contrast, the war was on her mind. It was little comments she couldn’t help overhearing. “Some Russian participants said things about Maidan that really hurt my feelings. They only repeat what they hear on Russian television.” When someone asks what Russia and Ukraine have in common, Maria’s first thought was “Crimea.” She didn’t say it out loud – she didn’t want to be impolite.

In spite of everything, the encounter was a good experience for her, she says. “I wanted to see how people who are neither politicians nor aspiring lawyers conduct

political discussions,” says Maria. “I was able to do that here, and it made a big impression on me.” She also made a new friend, she says. She didn’t mention Masha.



Kristin Oeing got goosebumps when the participants sang a Russian song. It sounded both melancholy and combative – a patriotic song, she was certain. She couldn’t have been more wrong: it was about a flying pig!

**YOUTH ENCOUNTER**

**FACTS AND FIGURES**

**3,000**

youths from Germany and Ukraine have so far taken part in one hundred Meet Up! projects, and many are arranged for Russian youths, too.

**140,000**

young people from Germany and Russia have been brought to each other’s countries by the Stiftung Deutsch-Russischer Jugendaustausch (SDRJA) (German-Russian Youth Exchange Foundation) since 2006.

**600**

German-Russian encounters are arranged annually by the SDRJA, co-founded by the Robert Bosch Stiftung.

# UKRAINE IN TURMOIL

*The conflict in the east of the country has all but vanished from headlines worldwide. Yet the people in Ukraine need the attention of the West to return to a life of peaceful coexistence. A training program for German representatives from politics, business, and civil society is helping to establish contacts within the country.*

by Julia Rommel

Reaching the office of Emine Dzheppar involves a brief tour of Ukraine's socialist heritage, through a marble-clad foyer, past uniformed security guards, up a spiral staircase and down Kafkaesque hallways with paintings of undulating fields of grain. An antechamber, and at last, Sarah Reinke steps into an austere room. Three desks, two young assistants and by the window, Emine Dzheppar, First Deputy Minister of Information Policy of Ukraine and Crimean Tatar, who has been involuntarily separated from a large part of her family on the Crimean peninsula since the annexation of Crimea.

Sarah Reinke is head of the Berlin office of the human rights organisation Society for Threatened Peoples (Gesellschaft für bedrohte Völker). Along with 15 other participants in the in-service

training programme Ukraine Calling organized by the Robert Bosch Stiftung and the European University Viadrina, she traveled to Kiev to deepen her knowledge of Ukraine and advance her project. She aims to set up a Society for Threatened Peoples in Ukraine to improve the lot of minorities. "The country cannot allow itself to be divided along ethnic lines, with people being pitted against each other," says Reinke. "But that is exactly what Russia is currently doing."

After some sweet black tea, Sarah and Emine begin to feel their way forward. Would Emine perhaps be willing to come to Germany to talk to politicians there about the situation of the Crimean Tatars on the annexed peninsula? Does Sarah see a way of supporting the wives of imprisoned Crimean Tatars, classified by Russia as extremists and locked up as

## THREE PHASES

### THE UKRAINE CALLING PROGRAM

- 1 **Gaining knowledge and exchanging experiences** – in compact seminars on history, language, politics, and the media.
- 2 **Dialogue and networking on-site** – with representatives from politics, media, civil society and business – not least as a means of finding contacts for joint projects in Ukraine.
- 3 **Cooperation and implementation of projects** – assisted by experts in transnational project management.

political prisoners? As they wrap up, Emine embraces her German guest. After the meeting, Sarah has to hurry to be on time for a panel discussion at the German embassy.

The fact that in the east of the country, a war dulled only by a hard-won ceasefire is continuing, is visible only here and there in the capital. You can see it on the central Maidan square, for example, where makeshift memorials of yellowing photos, crosses, sashes, letters, and slogans are erected as memorials to the victims of the revolution, while streams of shoppers pass by and youths are listening to boomboxes. Or there, at the airport, where huge photographs of soldiers honor the Heroes of Ukraine, with great courage and pride in their eyes and a bit of dirt and rust on their faces. And also, in the cemeteries, with graves of many men who died too young. Perhaps

Photo: Yaroslav Shtanhet (1)



On the central square in Kiev, the Maidan: Participants of Ukraine Calling.

more than anything, there is a war in Ukraine over the interpretation of recent history. In their attempt to build a new country, the government launched a "decommunisation" campaign. The legacy of the Soviet era is being excised, Communist symbols banned, statues of Soviet heroes torn down from public spaces and the image of Russia as a capricious aggressor promoted. The conventional mechanisms of propaganda, in other words. Yet the war also prevents the government from tackling the problems facing the country – widespread corruption, the persistence of the old elite in politics and the civil service, the small number of critical media outlets, low economic growth and the weakness of the rule of

“*Perhaps more than anything, there is a war in Ukraine over the interpretation of recent history.*”

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law. Sarah Reinke has been monitoring the situation of roughly 300,000 Crimean Tatars in Ukraine for many years, following their return from exile after the end of the Soviet Union and their resistance to the Russian occupation of Crimea. That resistance has since landed

many Crimean Tatars in Russian prisons. Some 10,000 fled into the core territory of Ukraine and now find access to their homeland cut off, as does Emine. The fact that a Crimean Tatar now sits in the cabinet as the First Deputy Minister of Information Policy of Ukraine is an unmistakable signal. Yet for a minority population group, it is important to have their protection and rights enshrined in law. "The health of a democracy can be determined by its treatment of minorities," says Reinke.

Although the human rights advocate has been observing the country for many years, visiting it is nevertheless valuable for her work. It provides an opportunity to compare acquired knowledge with the realities on the ground, and have the

direct contacts and the time to focus on issues without distractions. "I understand much more about Ukraine now," says Reinke. She has discovered, for example, that the widely held view of Ukraine as a divided country is actually inaccurate. There is a section of the population that is more orientated towards Russia. "But the fault lines don't run along linguistic or ethnic boundaries," says Reinke. "Ukraine is a hybrid society. Some people look towards Moscow while others adopt more of a European lifestyle."

And it's exactly this sort of knowledge about conditions in the country that is crucial for Reinke in setting up a human rights organisation. The basis for this was provided by Ukraine Calling.

CARL FRIEDRICH GOERDELER KOLLEG

# TAKING RESPONSIBILITY

*Good governance, a low rate of corruption, and the free exchange of information are hallmarks of a peaceful society. In many countries, these things are anything but assured. The Carl Friedrich Goerdeler Kolleg imparts the principles of responsible conduct in public administration, NGOs, and the business sector – and also to Irine Chikhladze from Georgia and Maxim Pijevskii from Moldova.*

by Lena Schnabl



Chikhladze wants to stem corruption in Georgia.

**S**he fights against monopolies in her home country. Irine Chikhladze, 27, is a consultant with Georgia's independent Competition Agency, founded in 2014. Most recently, the lawyer audited the Georgian oil market over a period of three months – and scarcely got away from her desk the whole time. In the end, ten companies were fined. "If we make mistakes," she says, "It can all fall apart in court."

Chikhladze represents the country's new elite. She finished secondary school just a year after the Rose Revolution in 2003, which was driven by a desire to eradicate nepotism and corruption. "We had to rebuild the country," she says. Thousands of police and civil servants were sacked, and the education system was reformed. Chikhladze studied at one of the best universities in Georgia, gained a master's degree at Ludwig Maximilian University in Munich, and completed internships at the German Bundestag and the Supreme Court of Georgia. Now she wants to inform her fellow citizens about how the Georgian Competition Agency works, and how to submit complaints concerning

corruption and bribery. She is being supported by the Carl Friedrich Goerdeler Kolleg for Good Governance, a joint project from the Robert Bosch Stiftung and the German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP). She is given a coach for a year, and attends seminars on proper civil service conduct and project management. The special thing about the Kolleg is that participants not only gain theoretical knowledge about political relations and international cooperation, but also get to carry out their own personal projects.

Together with Chikhladze, some twenty young leaders from Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, Russia, Turkey, and Ukraine started the new program in August, just as the previous year's group were wrapping up the presentation of their projects at a fair in Mittenwalde, near Berlin. Like the other newcomers, Chikhladze visited each stand at the project fair. When she got to Maxim Pijevskii's, she lingered. Pijevskii, a 35-year-old employee of the Moldovan environmental organization EcoVisio, was an entertaining fellow who quickly gained the attention of the new participants.

Maxim Pijevskii founded a sustainability platform in Moldova.

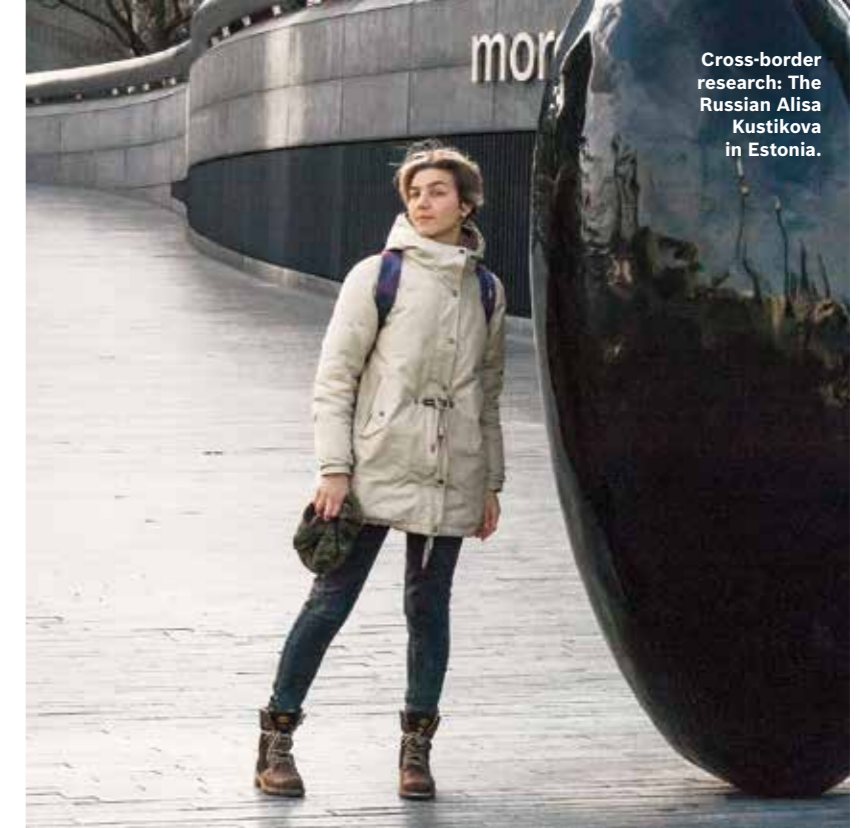


**"YOU VERY QUICKLY FIND A COMMON LANGUAGE."**

Previously, he had coordinated projects for the Society for International Cooperation (GIZ). In his amusing manner, Pijevskii tells how his vague idea to promote the active involvement of civil society turned into a concrete project. He developed the idea of an online platform through which initiators of sustainable projects can establish networks with each other. "Even in an area as small as the Republic of Moldova, not everyone knows what the others are doing." When he came to the first meeting of the Goerdeler Kolleg participants a year ago, he immediately sensed the others' energy. "You very quickly develop a common language." Through his coach, he learned how to think step by step and set achievable goals. He started a working group, found a programmer, and launched a beta version of his website. Today he is proudly presenting his network platform. Without his mentor, Pijevskii says, he might have lost his focus.

For Irine Chikhladze, the journey has just begun. She's particularly delighted about the contact with other young reformers. "I'm building a network for the future here."

Photos: Stephan Röhl (2), Alisa Kustikova (1)



Cross-border research: The Russian Alisa Kustikova in Estonia.

PERSPEKTIVY

**"PEOPLE ARE LOOKING FOR SOLUTIONS"**

*Perspektivy promotes cross-border journalism in Russia, Eastern Europe, and Central Asia, as well as challenging ancient animosities.*

**T**here are scarcely any texts or materials dealing with relations between our countries," says Alisa Kustikova from Russia. "I found that astonishing." The countries she's referring to are Estonia, the Russian exclave of Kaliningrad, and Russia – all united in a complex neighborly relationship. But the dearth of information was not enough to deter three young journalists. Along with colleagues from Tallinn and Kaliningrad, Kustikova interviewed and spent time with two generations of Russian immigrants in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania over several months for the Perspektivy program, which was designed to support cross-border research by Russian-speaking teams of journalists from Eastern Europe, Russia, and Central Asia. In light of increasingly complex conflict scenarios and difficulties establishing facts, nuanced and balanced reporting is more important than ever.

The program has led to the emergence of stories about people living on the border between Russia and Kazakhstan, for example, or refugees from the Donbas region. One side effect of the research is that both the journalists and their protagonists are grappling with complex questions about achieving peaceful coexistence. Kustikova's New Wave project has also had an impact. In conversations with immigrants from the Soviet era and today's refugees, she found a strong polarization between the two groups. "On one side you have people who are very nostalgic with respect to the Soviet Union, while for the others it's rather the opposite."

And yet there is a significant desire to bridge those gaps. "People are open to each other. They're looking for solutions." Through research like this, they can begin to talk to each other.

## BELGRADE SECURITY FORUM

# “THIS IS AN ENCOUNTER OF IDEAS, NOT PEOPLE”

*For years, the Belgrade Security Forum (BSF) has gathered experts and prominent players from the worlds of politics and business – and in many cases, brought together people that otherwise would not speak with each other. That accomplishment is down to Sonja Licht, organizer of the BSF and former Richard von Weizsäcker Fellow of the Robert Bosch Academy.*

by Alexandra Wolters



**Celebrated engagement:** Sonja Licht has received numerous peace and human rights awards.

**Why is it so important, particularly in the Balkans, to bring people from different sides – opposition politicians, former wartime enemies, and nationalist antagonists – together in one place?**

**Sonja Licht:** The need for dialogue in the Balkans remains high. With the Belgrade Security Forum (BSF) in 2011, we created a forum where people could engage in dialogue with each other, both within the region and from around the world and, in particular, Europe. It was important to us to bring the debate about burning questions of international politics and security to us here in Serbia, and thereby bring people – even adversaries – together. At the BSF, it’s an encounter of ideas, not people. That makes a difference. At our forum, everyone is welcome and treated with respect, as long as they are prepared to make the world a better place for all of us. Our participants take these expectations very seriously, which is why – even between adversaries – we have a very fruitful exchange on a wide variety of subjects without emotions getting out of hand and overpowering the rational.

One of our most important successes was initiating a continuous dialogue between various actors concerning relations between Kosovo and Serbia.

The BSF has never taken sides on the question of the status of Kosovo; We never pre-judge people or their positions. On the contrary we demand respect for all sides and arguments.

Over the past five years, many extraordinary and dedicated people from around the world, from the fields of politics, science, expert committees, civil society, and the media, have accepted the BSF’s invitation to come to Belgrade. We’re very proud of that. Many of them come back to the forum time and again, accompanied by completely different groups, and not only listen very attentively to others, but also take part in the lively and very stimulating discussions. For many people, the BSF has meanwhile become a veritable intellectual and political festival.

**How do you induce people with very different attitudes to take part in an open discussion?**

**Licht:** The Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence – as well as our partners, the European Movement in Serbia and the Belgrade Center for Security Policy – organize and support a variety of different events on the political level. As a purely civil society organization, we enjoy a high degree of trust. And we are very experienced in bringing people with

opposing ideas and political inclinations to the table. Our young employees and volunteers play a decisive role in creating an atmosphere of mutual trust. In my experience, people tend to be more tolerant and even more empathetic when they feel good. And when they feel that they are working in a productive, enriching atmosphere, they can share their ideas and look for solutions together.

**Why was it so important to establish your own security forum for the Balkans – including for Europe?**

**Licht:** Sadly, the Balkans have again become more significant from a geopolitical perspective. And it remains a sensitive and insecure region in Europe. Just 20 years ago, we were still embroiled in war resulting from the violent disintegration of Yugoslavia. That’s why we have to talk about the future of the Balkans – the Belgrade Security Forum serves as a local platform for an open debate.

The Balkan states are geographically, historically, and culturally a part of Europe – without them, the European

Union is incomplete. As direct neighbors of the EU in southeastern Europe, their democratic development, stability, and security is critical for the entire continent. That’s why all serious debates about how the Balkans and Europe can continue to grow closer represents a significant contribution to stability and peace throughout Europe – including the Balkans.

**The first BSF examined both what unites the region and what separates it from the rest of the world and Europe. What will be discussed at the forthcoming sixth forum?**

**Licht:** This year the overarching theme is the future of democracy in times of global transformation. We will be talking about migration and the changes in the European security situation, radicalization and political extremism, and the role of institutions and citizens as changes to the countries and societies in the Balkans take shape. And for the very first time, we are also dedicating an item in the agenda to China.

**Why are the Belgrade Security Forum and the dialogue between its participants so important at this point in particular?**

**Licht:** The complexity of the problems in Europe requires a major effort on the part of all actors. The Balkan states showed themselves to be responsible partners when countless refugees and migrants flowed into Europe via the Balkan route in 2015. In that difficult time, it became clear just how close the Balkans are to the center of Europe. I am optimistic that the Belgrade Security Forum will once again show that the Balkan states deserve their rightful place at the table of involved parties – as a valuable contributor to our common European future.

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**THE BALKANS ARE A SENSITIVE REGION**  
”

Photo: Tobias Bohm (1)

## TRILATERAL DIALOGUE

## TOWARDS A FORUM FOR UNDERSTANDING

*A conference with representatives from the US, Russia, and Germany.*

**E**ven in times of tense relations, the Robert Bosch Stiftung seeks dialogue with Russia and acts as an honest broker between the parties. On the initiative of the Aspen Institute Deutschland e.V. in May 2016, it brought together some 25 German, American, and Russian representatives at the four-day Trilateral Dialogue conference. Scientists and experts on transatlantic relations and foreign policy were also invited. The aim was to offer parliamentary representatives a suitable forum for an impartial exchange, based on mutual trust, in order to reinvigorate political dialogue between the three countries. Feedback from the conference showed that it was a success. And many participants suggested that the forum be continued.

# MEMORY GAPS

*Efforts to come to terms with the wars in former Yugoslavia are still in the early stages. Questions of guilt and responsibility remain unanswered, attitudes are stuck in the past. Participants on a study trip to Serbia look for answers – and a common memory.*

by Alexandra Wolters

**T**he Bosnian Mirsad Duratović is regarded in his hometown of Prijedor as both a warrior and a diplomat – and is revered. “If you, with your history, can manage to talk to Serbs and call them your friends, then we can too,” people often say to him. Duratović lost 47 of his family members during the Yugoslav wars of the 1990s – all of them civilians killed by Serbs. Today, the 41-year-old travels through the land of his former adversaries with other members of Memory Lab, a European network of memory workers that Duratović has been a part of since its foundation in 2010.

Indeed, he credits the network for shaping his attitude towards the Yugoslav war in the first place. “Here I met Serbs who extended their hands in friendship.” On this year’s trip, the networkers are in search of answers. How can the citizens of former Yugoslavia get along with each other? How can they remember their history, together?

On this gray October day, the group stands in the pouring rain in front of the General Staff building in Belgrade, which was destroyed by NATO bombing in 1999 and then condemned as contaminated with asbestos.

Yet the people who crowd together in front of the ruins of the building seem unperturbed by either the threat of asbestos or the incessant rain. As far as their umbrellas allow, they put their heads together and engage in lively conversation.

Alma Mašić, Director of the Youth Initiative for Human Rights in Bosnia and Herzegovina and co-founder of the Memory Lab tour, explains how the Serbian government manipulated people during the war with the help of the media. Newspapers, radio and television broadcasters were prohibited from reporting on anti-war demonstrations. To this day, the fact is scarcely mentioned. There is no memorial plaque to be found – nor, indeed, any sign of remembrance of the Yugoslav wars at all. “It’s the same throughout Serbia. People don’t talk about that time much here.” says Mašić with a resigned gesture. To date, the Serbian government has only allowed memorials for the victims of NATO bombing, banners with pictures of soldiers, monuments or destroyed buildings deliberately kept as ruins, bedecked with fresh anti-NATO graffiti. Like many Memory Lab participants from the former Yugoslavia, Alma Mašić advocates remembrance of all victims of the war, regardless of their nationality or religion. ▶



“I’ve met Serbs here who extended their hand in friendship.”

”

► “But attitudes are still dominated by prejudice. For some, the Serbs are responsible for everything, for others, nothing at all. It feels like we’re still living the conflict. Our history is our present.”

To some participants, the trip is a stark reminder of just how recently the conflicts took place. “I had almost forgotten how fresh it all is and what stage people are at in processing it all,” says Stefan Jost, who works with young people at the Max Mannheimer Study Centre in Dachau, Germany. When the networkers visited Novi Sad in northern Serbia the next day, Jost got talking to a colleague from Macedonia. As the two viewed a memorial for the victims of The Second World War on the banks of the Danube, they agreed to set up a joint youth program in Dachau. The Memory Lab network works – many partnerships and almost 50 successive initiatives have been formed.

Just a few steps farther and the participants gather before a sculpture of a four-member family, made of black-gray metal. It commemorates a massacre in January 1942 in which Hungarian fascists brutally killed Serbs, Jews and Roma and threw them into the river. This war and its crimes is also a focus of the memory work being carried out on this trip. Duratović takes photographs. In his Bosnian homeland, many friends and acquaintances are waiting for news from him. “What did you learn in Serbia? Whom did you meet? Who can help us? These are the questions that occupy us,” explains Duratović. He is the president of the Prijedor 92 association, which advocates remembrance of all victims. It’s a difficult task however, he notes, as long as politicians whip up nationalism in the region.

**ABUSED AS A HUMAN SHIELD**

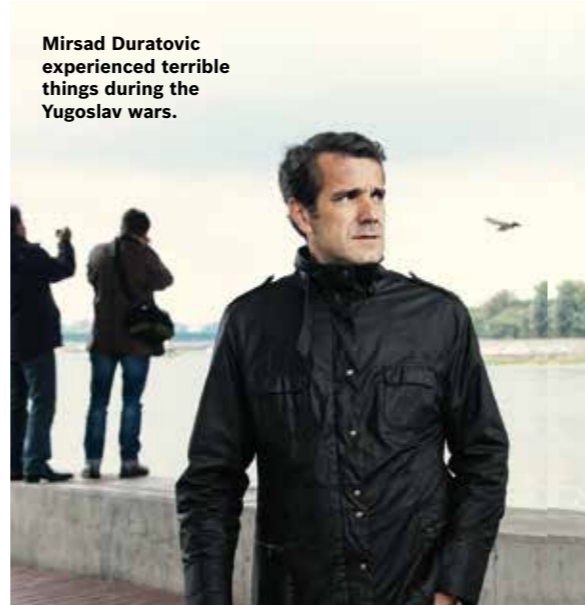
In the evening, Duratović sits on a bar stool in a cultural centre on the edge of the old town of Novi Sad. The partici-

pants discuss their experiences. When a young Serb talks about her interviews with Serbian refugees, Duratović’s ears prick up. He hadn’t known that many Serbs had been sent to the front, often to their deaths, against their will. The discussion becomes emotional as participants from the western Balkans recall their traumatic experiences in the Yugoslav wars. As they recount their tales, they speak in Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian. Even those who don’t understand the language see the teary eyes and knowing nods and sense the suffering that people went through.

Duratović tells his story, too. As a 17-year-old in 1992, he was used as a human shield on the front by Serb soldiers, and put into Serbian concentration camps. His younger brother was executed, but he fled to Germany. After the war ended, Duratović helped to rebuild his home village and locate mass graves, and buried hundreds of his compatriots in cemeteries. He now wants to erect a monument in Prijedor to the children killed in the war. But the city government is against it, as the monument could raise some uncomfortable questions about the involvement of the Serbs who live here. But as Duratović is finding out, that is part of processing and enabling long-term reconciliation. It is the basis of being able to extend their hands in friendship.



In Serbia, Alexandra Wolters realized that only those who are prepared to listen to others and show empathy can find peace.



Mirsad Duratovic experienced terrible things during the Yugoslav wars.



In memory of the victims of The Second World War.

“It feels like we’re still living the conflict. Our history is our present.”



Alma Mašić (far left) with colleagues in search of answers in Belgrade.



**PROGRAM**

**MEMORY LAB**

The Memory Lab is a network supported by the Robert Bosch Stiftung for people from western and central Europe and the western Balkans who are involved in memory work, mutual understanding and reconciliation. Since 2010, some 40 networkers have gathered every year for a study trip to discover places of memory in different countries, exchange experiences and come to terms with historical traumas in other regions, and gain inspiration for their own work and develop joint projects. The participants include representatives of NGOs, memorial sites, museums and research institutions.

Photos: Marko Risovic (5), Illustration: C3 Infografik (1)





Remembering conflicts

Michael Lessac congratulates the Cambodian artists (below) after their performance for Congolese refugees (left).

“  
If a society does not talk about war crimes, it is difficult to deal with them.  
”

# DEALING CREATIVELY WITH SUFFERING TOGETHER

*In “See You Yesterday,” young acrobats from Cambodia perform a play about the Khmer Rouge – in a refugee camp in Rwanda. The aim is to inspire a dialogue about the genocides in their countries.*

by Alexandra Wolters

**D**ark wooden boards slam down on the dusty soccer pitch in a refugee camp in southern Rwanda. This throws up a cloud of sand, and a crowd of children come running, eagerly pointing and looking around

to see what’s being built on the open space between the trees, tents and corrugated-iron huts. It’s a big stage with metal scaffolding and loudspeakers. In a few hours, young artists from Cambodia will be appearing here to perform a play about the genocide committed in

their country by the Khmer Rouge. The audience is the inhabitants of the Kigeme refugee camp, where nearly 19,000 people have been living since 2012 after fleeing to Rwanda from the uprisings of the March 23 Movement in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Very different peoples who have suffered terrible things in the past are coming together here. It unites and helps them. Both peoples learn something about the conflicts and suffering in each other’s countries. At the same time, they are inspired to think about their own war-

Photos: Global Arts Corps (2)

## DIRECTOR

## MICHAEL LESSAC

Ten years ago, Lessac wrote the play “Truth in Translation” about the work of South Africa’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The play’s success in 11 countries led to the foundation of Global Arts Corps, a non-profit organization that supports reconciliation projects through the medium of theater. A film is being made about the current project. “See You Yesterday.” It documents rehearsals, performances, and the personal development of the young Cambodians.

torn past. The Robert Bosch Stiftung is supporting this project in the conviction that stable peace can only arise from consciously reflecting on a violent past. If a society does not talk about war crimes, it is difficult to deal with them. This is particularly true for children and young people who did not experience the war, but have inherited its terrible memories.

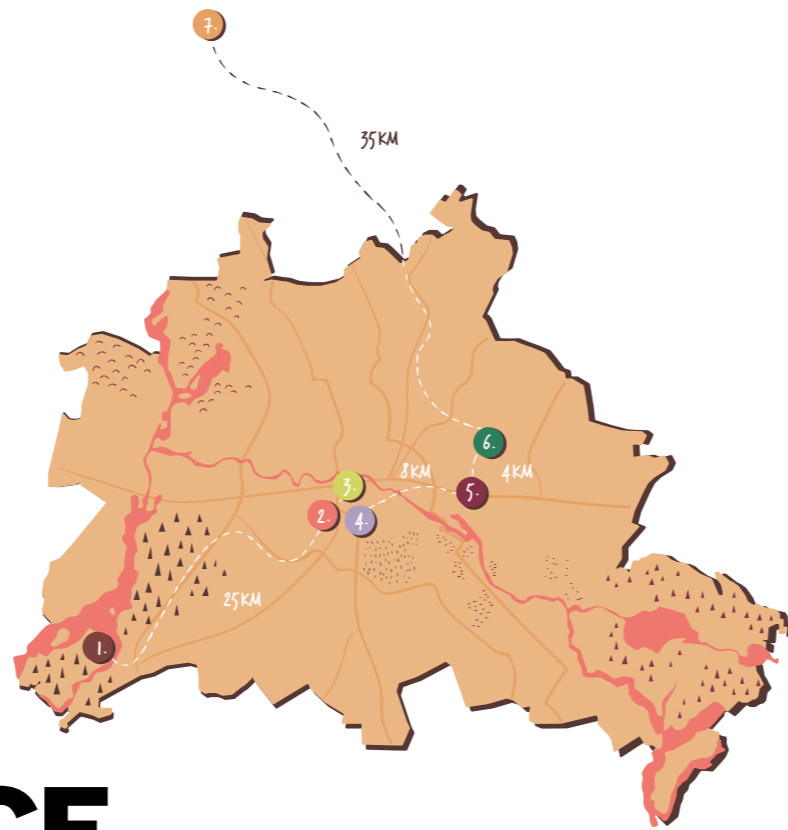
American theater and film director Michael Lessac uses dance and acrobatics to bring together young people of the post-war generations from different countries. For his latest project, “See You Yesterday,” Lessac spent four years with 19 young street artists from Cambodia exploring how their parents and grandparents experienced the tyranny of the Khmer Rouge. Performances of the play in

Cambodia led many older people to talk for the first time about what happened. Now the play will be performed at the refugee camp and at a festival in Kigali to stimulate a dialogue about violence and genocide – and encourage people to come to terms with the past. Lessac is convinced that the play, with its circus elements, will open the doors. “The clown breaks the ice and makes both groups laugh, and then they start talking to each other.”

Before the performance, refugees gather in front of the stage and on the slopes around it. An assistant sits on a speaker with a microphone in his hand and talks about the play’s historical background. Then the acrobats come bouncing onto the stage. Wordlessly, using body language alone, they tell of

the atrocities of the Khmer Rouge, the desperation of their parents and grandparents, and their own hopes. Some of the audience of 6,000 are aware of scenes like these from their own experience. “I thought I was the only one that something like this had happened to. But now I see I wasn’t,” says one, when he sees a young man on stage being forced to beat another man. At the end, he’s not alone in this realization.

And even while the applause is still sounding, some children are already copying the acrobatics of the Cambodians. After the play, the acrobats offer the young refugees some tips. And, quite spontaneously, dialogues begin – just as Lessac intended. “Without adults – simply between young people talking to each other.”



# THE LONG ROAD TO PEACE

*All over the world, societies suffer from traumatic experiences in wars and conflicts. The Berlin Seminar of the Robert Bosch Stiftung: Truth, justice and remembrance, brings representatives from (post-) conflict societies to Germany's capital to work towards an appropriate approach to addressing violence in their countries. The belief is that lasting peace is only possible if the legacy of conflict is dealt with together.*

**Text and Interview by Eva Wolfangel**

**T**he road from ceasefire to peace is usually a long one. Wars and conflicts affect people's lives far beyond the armed confrontations themselves. This is often underestimated in societies after the end of a conflict. However, poor documentation of crimes and a failure to come to terms with collective experiences of violence worsens the suffering of those affected. Even if a debate about the past opens old wounds because the former enemies each have their own version of the truth, it is essential to talk about what happened. Otherwise, conflicts simmering beneath the surface can erupt into new violence. Dealing with the past must therefore never be neglected – it is the foundation for stable peace in a society.

It's not only governments that play an important role in this, but also civil society stakeholders. Every year, the

Robert Bosch Stiftung invites experts from 15 countries to meet in Berlin. Representatives of governments and NGOs, as well as journalists from (post-) conflict societies, talk with German experts, exchange experiences and good examples of reconciliation processes, and visit various memorials in Germany.

The global network Truth, Justice and Remembrance is being established as a platform that will constantly receive new input from the Berlin seminar. The seminar also illustrates the key element of the Stiftung's commitment: documentation of war crimes and human rights violations in order to uncover the truth, because fair investigation and discussion of the past are some of the biggest challenges in (post-) conflict societies. Here, some of the participants talk about the places they visited, and what they have learned from the exchange.

Photos: Robert Bosch Stiftung (6), Massimo Rodari (1), Illustration: C3 Infografik



**PATRICK HAJAYANDI, BURUNDI**

“

I was very impressed with how the German government cooperates with civil society. At the Holocaust Memorial, we saw how everyone – the whole of society – discussed it together. In my country, politicians tend to view civil society primarily as the opposition. And then I often hear the excuse that there's no money. But in Germany I saw that you don't need a big budget. For example, the 'Stolpersteine' are a great memorial to those who died. The trip also helped me to make contacts for my work at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission – we want to bring all the African commissions together. The first conference in Rwanda, where we shared experiences and learned from each other, was a great success. At the moment, we're developing guidelines on how to set up truth and reconciliation committees.

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**MILOS CIRIC, SERBIA**

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During the trip it became clear to me that, in Serbia, we are only at the beginning of the process – at least compared to Germany. It took a long time to develop a lasting culture of remembrance. I realized that we're only just beginning to understand what crimes were committed in our names in the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s. I believe – and what I saw on the trip confirms it – that there cannot be a meaningful culture of remembrance without the participation of public bodies and their recognition and support. That goes for society as a whole as well as for the individual memorials. That's one of the conclusions I've drawn from the fact-finding trip: dealing with the past is a painful process that demands persistence and determination from everyone involved.

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**SELLAH KING'ORO, KENYA**

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I was pleased to see that good memorial projects don't have to be expensive. You can do it with modest means, without having to build huge monuments. I realized that commemoration can also be expressed in many other ways. As well as museums, memorial centers where people can talk to each other are important. They are places of communication about the past. That's also important for the victims, because it gives them a space where they can come to terms with their past.

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# “WE’RE SEEN AS MODEL STUDENTS WHEN IT COMES TO REMEMBRANCE”

*What can international guests learn from the work of remembrance in Germany? And what can we learn from them? We asked Christoph Kreutzmüller, curator of the new permanent exhibition at the Jewish Museum in Berlin and former research associate at the House of the Wannsee Conference. He accompanied the Berlin Seminar as an expert on projects dealing with the past in Germany.*

**ASMAA FALHI,  
MOROCCO**

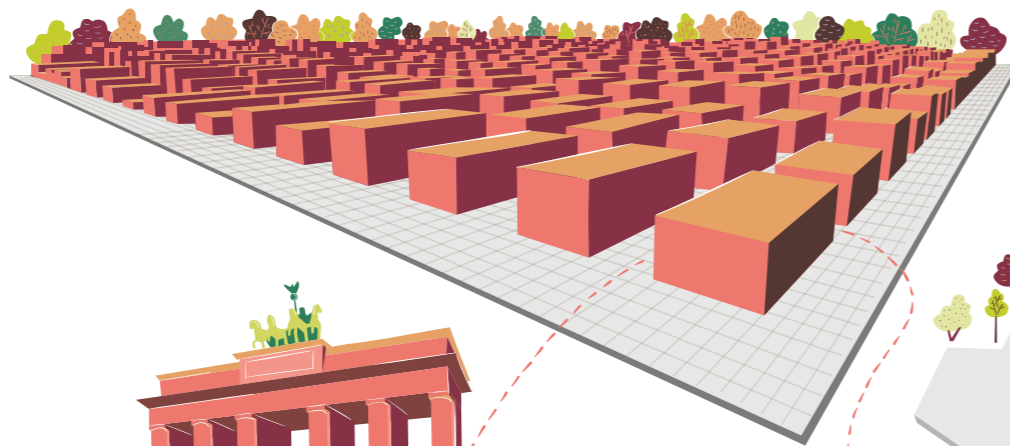
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Looking at experiences in Germany showed me that the success of a remembrance process can depend on how the different parties involved interact – whether they are governmental or non-governmental bodies. The main thing is that they make an effective decision on how commemoration should take place at a local historical site.

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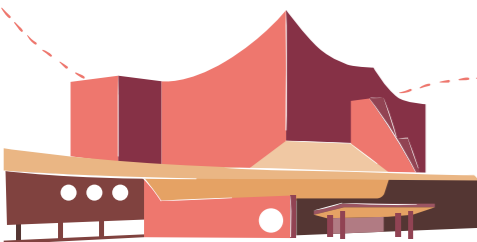
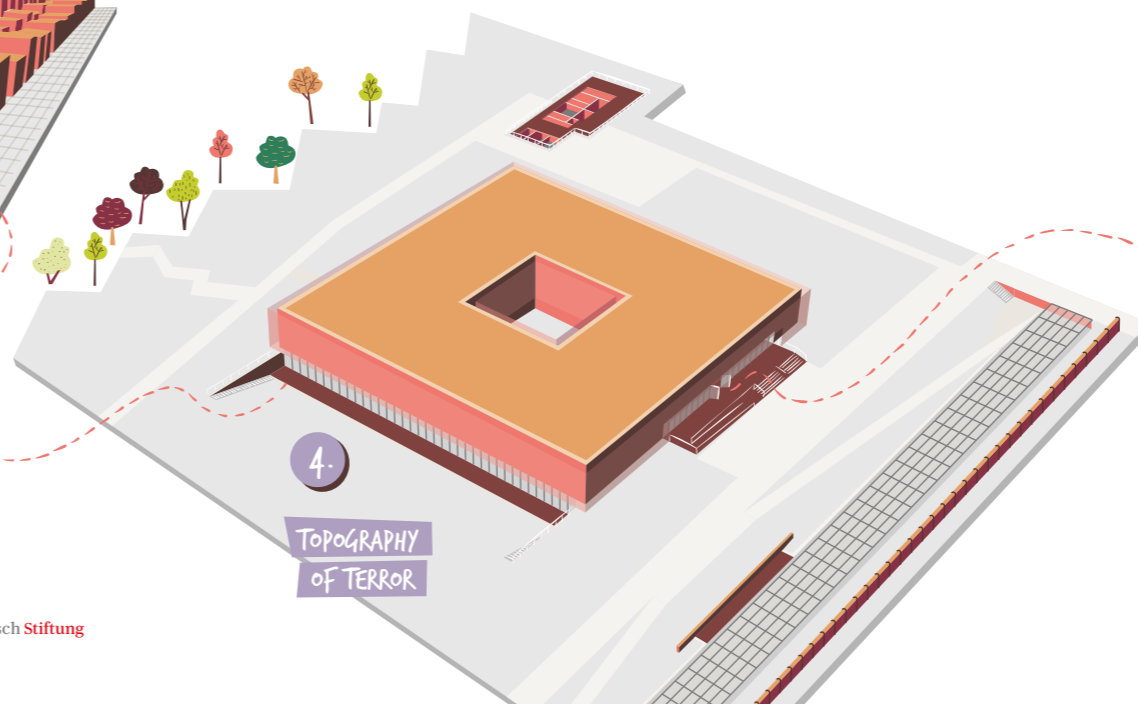
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MEMORIAL TO THE  
MURDERED JEWS OF EUROPE



4.

TOPOGRAPHY  
OF TERROR



Robert Bosch Stiftung

**During the Berlin Seminar you have been talking to many people working on international remembrance processes. What can German experts learn from the experiences of others?**

**Christoph Kreutzmüller:** From the present-day viewpoint of a German person interested in projects dealing with the past, you sometimes forget how hard this process was to begin with. Meeting these people often reminded me of that – and in a positive way: I saw how far we’ve actually come. Despite all the gaps and the things that are still missing, we have already achieved a lot in terms of civil society engagement.

**What do international visitors struggle with the most?**

**Kreutzmüller:** In many countries it’s not clear who should be remembered. Especially in post-conflict situations, people are more concerned with licking their wounds than with the process of remembrance. They have to cope with the traumas first. It takes a long time until they have the strength to face historical facts. It was exactly the same in the two German states. It took a generation until they found a level on which a culture of remembrance could develop. For all of our guests, one of the main questions is how to introduce this into society. And the example of Germany shows them that it might take a long time, but that the time does come. Maybe that encourages them.



**In your experience, how does this process take place?**

**Kreutzmüller:** Germany is a classic example. It took a long time before the discourse became part of mainstream society. Up until the 1970s, dealing with the past was a topic for fringe groups, but it became more and more widespread thanks to various non-governmental organizations. Our society had trouble finding a way to talk about it. And it still has. Think how long we spent discussing whether we should talk about “the demonic spirit of national socialism” or “Nazi students,” or whether we

should say “died” or “were murdered.” Today, politicians have embraced remembrance as a successful model, which is not always a good thing.

**What can the international guests take with them for their work back home?**

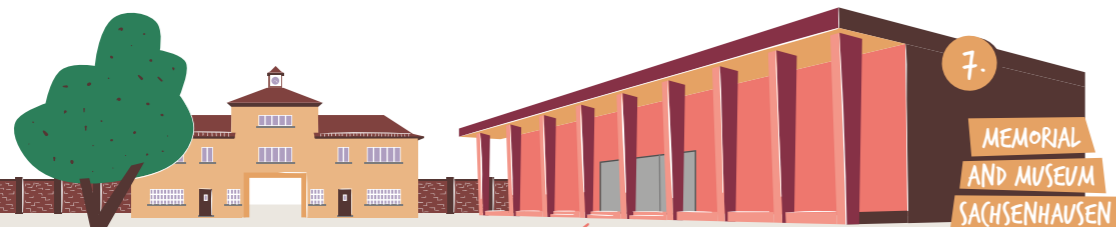
**Kreutzmüller:** We’re often portrayed as model students of remembrance, not entirely without justification. A lot of good work really has been done here. That’s largely based on the work of initiatives from civil society. They can learn that from us, too: that it takes a long time and that you need civil society, which is strengthened through this process. We as shining example – that can also get boring.

**What has talking to other experts on dealing with the past inspired in you?**

**Kreutzmüller:** At the moment what worries me is the stagnation of public discourse in Germany. Someone once suggested that, instead of the Holocaust Memorial, we should put up a sign saying “We wanted to build something here and discussed it for long time but couldn’t agree on anything.” That would have been good. The public debate was very interesting – and is actually almost as important as the result. It seems that we have a lot less to discuss these days, and that’s a shame.

**The participants at the Berlin Seminar are still in the middle of that phase.**

**Kreutzmüller:** Yes, but we’ve come to a turning-point. In Germany, the memory of the Holocaust is gradually slipping away from contemporary history. The last of the historical witnesses are dying out. We have to consider how to keep the memory alive nevertheless. As far as the participants of the seminar are concerned, you could see that their memories were still acute, and that the need to do something was pressing. In Germany, on the other hand, we have to think about how to come up with a meaningful new process, this time without any contemporary witnesses.



**NAYLA KH. HAMADEH,  
LEBANON**

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In Lebanon we live in a post-conflict society that is currently struggling with its memories. It was good for me to see how Germany deals with remembrance and how things have developed over a long time. Twenty years after the end of the Lebanese civil war, we're still trying to agree on a national narrative. The conflict continues to simmer beneath the surface. In Germany, I also realized that we have to reach out to young people and get them actively involved. There's great potential for us there.

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**NAYAT KARAKOSE,  
TURKEY**

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The fact-finding trip once again made it clear to me that confronting the past is particularly important for the group that was harmed. This is particularly true when the confrontation takes place at the historical site of the atrocities. These memorials must be well designed and maintained in a way that suits the emotionality and message of the site.

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**GINA PAOLA DONOSO ROMAN,  
ECUADOR**

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Apart from the interesting discussions, I had three major insights. The first is the importance of civil society's contribution to dealing with the past in Germany. The second concerns the different roles that remembrance plays for individuals and the whole of society: discussions about remembrance are organized by the victims among themselves, as well as by society as a whole. And the third insight is about the role of remembrance as a purifying and simultaneously educational element. In my experience, fairness is usually almost impossible, and the effectiveness of psychotherapy very limited.

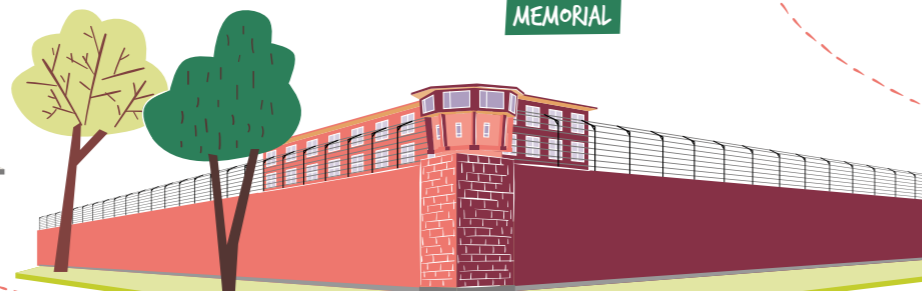
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5.

**BSTU – THE ARCHIVE OF THE FEDERAL  
COMMISSIONER FOR THE RECORDS OF  
THE STATE SECURITY SERVICE OF THE GDR**

6.

**HOHENSCHÖNHAUSEN  
MEMORIAL**



# THE DANCE OF LIBERATION

*Many Syrian refugees in Jordan live in precarious circumstances. Teenagers and young men in particular lack prospects and are frustrated. A project helps them come to terms with the traumatic experiences of war by expressing their feelings through capoeira.*

by Theresa Breuer



Capoeira is often the only leisure activity available for Syrian child refugees in Jordan.

**D**aniel Vallejo Martinez performs the movements as if in slow motion. He slowly raises his leg and holds it over the bent body of his opponent. Two dozen youths have formed a semi-circle around him. They stare in amazement at their trainer, who moves his body as if he is not bound by the laws of gravity. Martinez wipes the sweat from his brow. Even in late September, the temperature in Jordan is still above 30° Celsius.

Martinez, 35, and his students are standing side by side in the foyer of the community center in Zarqa, a town

northeast of the Jordanian capital, Amman. It's all a bit too cramped. Again, there was a great rush to this event this Wednesday afternoon, and they don't want to send away anyone who has taken the trouble to come here. "What are we here for?" Martinez shouts. "For capoeira!" the class shouts back.

Since 2014, the aid organization Capoeira4Refugees, founded by a German-Syrian, has been training children and young people in Jordan, supported by, among others, the Robert Bosch Stiftung. Three capoeira trainers travel throughout the country, visiting refugee camps and communities that house people from Jordan's war-torn

neighbor, Syria. Many of these people are traumatized. They had to leave everything behind, and came to Jordan with nothing more than they could carry. Not knowing if they will ever be able to return home, they are trying to get used to their new lives.

Fear of bombs has long since given way to frustration about uncertain futures. That boredom can turn to aggression, particularly for teenagers and young men. This is a dangerous prospect in Jordan, where many believe the country has already taken in too many refugees. Capoeira gives the young people something to do. It's a way to overcome their boredom, and is

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Fear of bombs has long since given way to frustration at an uncertain future.  
”

an outlet for coming to terms with their traumatic war experiences. In addition, the sport is often the only leisure activity available to these Syrian children.

Every Wednesday, Martinez and his co-trainer Hussein al-Zaben drive to Zarqa, where around 50,000 Syrian refugees live. Here they train about thirty children between the ages of seven and 17. The boys wear soccer jerseys and tracksuit bottoms. A few girls have come too. They wear glittery hair clips and practice in another room with a female trainer. In conservative Jordan, sports classes are separated by gender.

Most of the children have never heard of capoeira. Trainer al-Zaben, 25, says, "They think we want to use the movements for fighting. We have to explain to them that capoeira is something you do together."

Although capoeira is considered a martial art, the aim is not to defeat your opponent but to perform with one another. The fighting style of dance, developed by slaves in Brazil, expressed their desire for emancipation and the struggle for freedom. "We want to show the children how they can create dialogue using their bodies," says al-Zaben. "Destruction is easy. But a discussion can create something new and beautiful."

Sadly, these children are often more familiar with destruction. Although training is open to all the children here, most of those who come are Syrian, such as brothers Mohammed and Ali, and their cousin Omran. The boys are 14 and 15 years old and fled Damascus with their families four years ago. Like most boys their age they love soccer, their older sisters annoy them, and they say that sometimes they like going to school and other times they don't.

What makes them different from other children is their story. They recently wrote a play about four friends in Syria who play football every afternoon. One day, the house of one of the boys is bombed. His parents and siblings are killed. He survives but loses a leg. Once his wounds have healed, his friends try to persuade him to play football again. Come on, they say, you can play with a crutch. But the boy breaks down in tears. He tells them he can't. Finally his friends decide never to play football again. "We didn't want a play with a happy ending," Mohammed explains. "We wanted to show what things are really like in Syria."

Anyone watching the boys training, seeing them giggle and trying to show each other the steps, would think

► they were completely normal teenagers. But the carefree appearance hides traumatic experiences. They have lost their homes and family members and fled bombing. They have had to get used to an unfamiliar environment as well as get to know new schools, teachers, and fellow students. It's often hard for them to talk about this.

Trainer al-Zaben talks about a 12-year old boy at the Emirati refugee camp. "He was incredibly shy, and was always elsewhere in his head. He couldn't get one move right." Eventually al-Zaben took him to one side and asked him if he had something on his mind that he wanted to talk about. But the boy didn't want to talk. Instead, he picked up the berimbau, the single-string percussion instrument that accompanies the movements of capoeira, and began to play. Al-Zaben says that after this, the boy transformed before his eyes. And he became one of his best students.

"Many of the children are angry and they don't know why," says Martinez. "We want to give them a platform to express themselves." In cultures where men don't cry or show their feelings, capoeira can be a way of expressing those feelings without fear of embarrassment. Even so, the children have to observe rules during training. "What's the first rule?" asks Martinez at the beginning of the lesson, pointing at one of the boys. "Respect," his student answers.

Still, after about 45 minutes, the children are beginning to lose concentration. While Martinez explains an exercise, one boy keeps interrupting him. So Martinez sends the boy to the corner of the room. Silently, the boy watches the training until the next break "Do you know why you had to go to the corner?" asks Martinez later. The boy nods. "Because I wasn't paying atten-



Ali had to flee Damascus. He says capoeira classes help him beat his boredom and anger.

tion," he says quietly. Martinez takes him by the arm. "That's OK," he says. "Now promise me that you'll concentrate." This isn't the first time the trainer has had to be a little tougher. "Some children are undisciplined and aggressive," Martinez notes. "They often don't even know that they're misbehaving." But if this is to be a safe space, there need to be well-defined limits. "The children need to learn how to control their feelings."

That takes time. Trust can only be established slowly. The current capoeira courses have only been running a few weeks and most of the students are beginners. But al-Zaben is confident. "The nice thing about our job is that we can see the effects of our training directly," he says. With many young people, he notices the changes after only a few months. "It makes the work incredibly

“*If you're just sitting around at home, you get aggressive. But if you do capoeira, you feel strong and confident.*”

”



Even if it's overcrowded at capoeira training, everyone will have a go.

Photos: Nadia Bseiso (6), Illustration: C3 Infografik (2)

satisfying, because you have the feeling that it is changing something."

Capoeira4Refugees is currently working on establishing long-term projects. One of the aims is to teach talented young people how to be capoeira trainers themselves. "Children need something constant in their lives," says Martinez. "So that they become physically and mentally healthy adults."

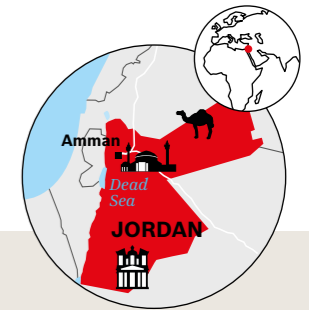
If nothing else, the training has aroused curiosity among many of the children here. Mohammed, Ali, and Omran want to come back next week. "The first months after we left home were like a period of depression," says Mohammed. "We never went out, there was



nothing for us to do, and it was really, really boring." His brother nods. "If you're just sitting around at home, you get aggressive," Ali notes sagely. "But if you do sport, like capoeira, you feel strong and confident."



Theresa Breuer found it remarkable how the children opened up to the capoeira trainers. It showed her how much you can change the lives of children if you give them attention and something to do.



## SYRIAN REFUGEES

**9.5 million people** live in Jordan.

**More than 700,000 refugees have been taken in by the country,** with 640,000 of them coming from Syria.

**More than 85 percent** of them live outside refugee camps – in cities or in shanty towns and tents.

**With around 80,000 inhabitants,** Camp Zaatari is the fourth-largest city in Jordan.

**54,000 refugees** live in Camp Azraq. Around 7,400 people live in the Emirati Camp.

**115,000 Syrian children** of school age have to work to support their families.

FROM THE FOUNDATION

# NEW FOCUS WITHIN THE FUNDING WORK

*The Robert Bosch Stiftung will be concentrating its attention on three focus areas in the years to come.*

**P**reservation and change – this was the central theme for the strategic development of the Robert Bosch Stiftung. In its 52-year history, the foundation has gained significant experience and established networks across many areas of society – both nationally and internationally. Its traditional areas of funding – international relations, education, society, science, and health – derive directly from Robert Bosch's legacy, and are as important as ever today. This core of the foundation

will be maintained in the future. At the same time, developments in recent years have shown that, to carry out our tasks effectively, we must be able to react even more flexibly to global challenges, and make our contributions to lasting change over a shorter time span. This is why the foundation has identified focus areas where it will increasingly direct its activities to the coming years. The aim is not to create new structures, but to ensure that expertise from every part of the foundation flows into these focus areas:



## MIGRATION, INTEGRATION, AND INCLUSION

Diversity has long been an integral part of our society, and with a globalizing world on our doorstep, we embrace and shape this diversity. This calls for an honest and objective discussion of migration without forgetting the challenges facing both immigrants and the native population. The Robert Bosch Stiftung supports the development of action strategies for political and social decision-makers, as well as practical projects on the ground. The aim is to ensure the welcome and swift integration of migrants so that they have access to crucial aspects of society such as education, health, civil society, and culture.



## SOCIAL COHESION IN GERMANY AND EUROPE

The Robert Bosch Stiftung works towards an open and supportive society. A society in which everyone can participate, regardless of their social, cultural, or ethnic origins. This includes open dialogue and understanding of social values and attitudes. The foundation supports equal opportunities and promotes an active civil society with a European perspective. It aims to counteract nationalist movements, promote objective discussions about our continent, and reach out to people hitherto uninterested in European politics and other topics. We feel that the more people taking responsibility for their community, the stronger the social glue that binds us together.



## SUSTAINABLE LIVING SPACES

More and more people around the world live in cities. As well as work, housing, and infrastructure, cities must provide solutions for people living together. Rural regions are being left behind. The Robert Bosch Stiftung is aiming to improve the quality of both urban and rural life, e.g. by promoting the development of new public health structures and improved conditions for citizens' participation. Another priority involves increased commitments fostering research in Africa. The foundation already supports young African researchers and an international research conference, while projects promoting education, peace, and international relations are also underway.

Photos: Jan Zapfner (1), Sofie Puutfariken (1), Theodor Barth (1)



INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

## Achieving change through culture

**I**n defiance of the ongoing crisis in Greece, they are spreading an optimism that many in the country are currently lacking. At a launch event at the Kulturbrauerei in Berlin, the Robert Bosch Stiftung welcomed 30 Greek culture managers to the second year of its START – Create Cultural Change program. To gain professional experience, they sit in as guests at sociocultural centers and

initiatives in Germany. At the same time, they are developing their own projects to be implemented in Greece. What makes these culture managers special is that they not only act locally, but are part of an international network. Last year, the program resulted in a series of cultural events, such as virtual exhibitions, dance performances and community projects.

► [bosch-stiftung.de/start](http://bosch-stiftung.de/start)



Photos: Manuel Frauendorf (1), Lukas Ullrich (1)

EDUCATION

## Scholarships for 110 promising pupils

Education must be open to everyone. That's why the Joachim Herz Stiftung and the Robert Bosch Stiftung have set up the »grips gewinnt« ("wisdom wins") program for promising students in northern and eastern Germany who are unable to realize their potential due to financial, cultural, or social disadvantages. The 110 new scholars this year each receive €150 per month, participate in seminars, and benefit from personal advice. ► [bosch-stiftung.de/grips](http://bosch-stiftung.de/grips)

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

## Civil society under pressure

At the start of 2017, a law regulating foreign NGOs will come into force in China. Within the series of events titled Engaging with China, experts discussed the law's effects on cooperation between China and foreign NGOs, and the future of civil society in China. They concluded that the government hopes to reduce the 'ideological' influence of civil society, and that space for critical dialogue is shrinking. According to the discussion, the work of foundations in China will also become more difficult in the future.

SOCIETY

## Chamisso Prize to be awarded for the last time in 2017

Next year, the Robert Bosch Stiftung will award the Adelbert von Chamisso Prize for the last time. The prize was launched in 1985 to publicize literature by authors who had migrated to Germany. Today, many authors with a migration background are established on the German literary scene, their works recognized. For this reason, the foundation is changing the focus of its funding. The Chamisso funding support for activities such as writing workshops at schools and festivals is being extended. The foundation is developing a new program to strengthen the literary, language, and reading skills of children, young people, and groups with little interest in literature.

## HEALTH

# Strong alliance against cancer

The Robert Bosch Stiftung is providing €24 million for cancer research.



**F**ighting cancer together: the Robert-Bosch-Krankenhaus (RBK), the Robert Bosch Stiftung, and the Bosch Group have formed an alliance to launch a number of new initiatives. Key elements are the newly established Robert Bosch tumor center (RBCT) in Stuttgart and a planned alliance with the German cancer research center (DKFZ) in Heidelberg. The foundation will, by 2020, provide €24 million

“**By 2025 it is forecast that 20 million people each year will be diagnosed with cancer.**”

for cancer research. The Bosch Group is providing another €1 million to give employees with cancer access to the latest diagnostic methods at the RBK and DKFZ. This commitment to fighting the disease is motivated by the increasing incidence of cancer worldwide. It is forecast that, by 2025, 20 million people a year will be diagnosed with cancer. In Germany alone, some 224,000 people die from cancer every year.

► [bosch-stiftung.de/rbct](http://bosch-stiftung.de/rbct)

## EDUCATION

# How digital media promotes learning

**T**he Robert Bosch Stiftung, Deutsche Telekom Stiftung, Bertelsmann Stiftung, and Siemens Stiftung are convinced that digital media can improve Germany's education system and contribute to greater equal opportunities. This is why, with the support of Stiftung Mercator, they have set up the Forum Education and Digitalization, a platform for relevant stakeholders



from politics, science, business, and society. Together they will develop strategies for digital teaching and learning, beginning with schools. “Digitalization in schools has to be more than simply updating the IT infrastructure. We need suitable educational concepts, intelligent materials, and teachers who know how to use the tools available,” says Uta-Micaela Dürig, CEO of the Robert Bosch Stiftung. At a conference in September, around 180 experts from schools, academia, civil society and educational administration discussed their experiences of learning with digital media.

► [bosch-stiftung.de/forumBD](http://bosch-stiftung.de/forumBD)

Foundation's laid - what's next?

## PEACE

# BREAKING THE SILENCE

*Vesna Teršelič is head of Documenta, a center in Zagreb for documenting war crimes, and a critic of inadequate historical debate on the war in Croatia. In 2012/2013 she was Richard von Weizsäcker Fellow of the Robert Bosch Academy.*

**What was the starting point for your research?**

**Vesna Teršelič:** From childhood, I wondered why my neighbors whispered about their losses. This unspoken suffering became painfully apparent to me again during the war in the 1990s. I wanted to do something about unpunished crimes and to make sure people knew the actual facts about the war, rather than just discussing the exact numbers of dead. That's how Documenta began. Since 2004, we document the victims of the war, record personal memories, monitor war crimes as well as reparation proceedings, analyze institutional remembrance practices, and experiences with initiating social debates on violent past.

**How did the foundation first support Documenta?**

**Teršelič:** In 2007, we published the ‘Supplement to Textbooks for the Newest History’, along with press articles documenting malicious attacks on the authors. The Ministry of Education and Sport decided not to publish this well-written book, but left the history professors to



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2016

do it themselves. We advertised the book at public discussions and organized a study trip to Germany. That was how the systematic development of commemorative culture began.

**Why is your work in the Balkans still so important?**

**Teršelič:** Because institutions and societies have still not managed to deal with our violent past and acknowledge rights victims of war crimes. As societies, we have not found a constructive way to deal with the Second World War, the political violence of socialist Yugoslavia and the war in the 1990s. The refusal to take responsibility for war crimes obstructs the full social, economic, and political development of the region, and is slowing down integration into the EU.

**What did you learn from your time as a Fellow?**

**Teršelič:** Cooperation with museums and documentation centers, and dialogue with political representatives. We established a network of experts on memorial culture, and in 2017 we are planning a conference with a new approach. We won't just have guests from Europe, but also from Africa, Asia, and Latin America. We must recognize the suffering from our past – be it from colonialism, slavery, wars, or totalitarian regimes – and work to end the violence that still results from it.

## HEALTH

# New hospital study revealed

A foundation study on people with dementia in general hospitals shows for the first time the challenges that hospitals are currently facing. Some 40 percent of their patients over 65 have cognitive impairments, and nearly one in five suffers from dementia. The data is an important planning aid for hospitals to improve their patient care.

## HEALTH

# Groundbreaking research



Why are drugs more effective for some people than for others? Professor Dr.

Matthias Schwab investigates this question as head of the Institute for Clinical Pharmacology (Institut für klinische Pharmakologie) at the Robert-Bosch-Krankenhaus. For his groundbreaking contribution towards individually tailored medicine, he received the €50,000 Robert Pflieger Research Prize in 2016. For example, Schwab developed a standard test for children suffering from leukemia, to recognize potentially serious side effects in advance.

Photos: Phil Dera/Deutsche Telekom Stiftung (1), Björn Hänsler (1), Robert-Bosch-Krankenhaus (1), private (2)

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