

Friedrich Naumann  
STIFTUNG

FÜR DIE FREIHEIT

Annual Report 2017



## 60th anniversary of the **Foundation for Freedom**

**Dear reader,**

on 19 May 1958, Germany's federal president, Theodor Heuss, brought together friends and long-time companions at his official residence, the Villa Hammerschmidt in Bonn, to found the Friedrich Naumann Foundation. Heuss decided to start a political foundation not just because of his political experience in the Weimar Republic, which failed as the first German republic because too few democrats were prepared to fight for its survival. He also intended for the Friedrich Naumann Foundation to provide civic education to as many citizens as possible to turn them into guarantors of democracy in the young Federal Republic of Germany. Following in the footsteps of his political mentor and role model, Friedrich Naumann, Heuss decided to use civic education as a means to combat extremism and fanaticism.

In its 60-year history, the Friedrich Naumann Foundation has always read its founder's intention as an injunction, an obligation and a mission. The Foundation's activities would not have been possible without its many partners, both in Germany and abroad, with some of whom we have been associated for decades. We thank all of you, our civic partners and stakeholders in Germany, Europe and the world, for having worked with us in successful collaboration and partnership for 60 years.

The exit of the Free Democratic Party from the German Bundestag represented a watershed for the Foundation, too. It was the first time that our very existence as a political foundation was threatened, and required a quick and decisive response. This urgent need to change to survive has borne fruit over the past few years. The Foundation has defined its profile more clearly by focusing on key liberal topics such as the social market economy, education, the open and digital society, and foreign policy. Through modern communication techniques and innovative marketing tools, we managed to increase the number of citizens interested in our events year by year.

But we will not be resting on our laurels. With the historic return of the Free Democrats to parliament in 2017, the Foundation once again has a long-term perspective as a political foundation. The task now at hand is to continue building on our achievements and guiding the Foundation towards a new future. The Board of directors and Board of trustees have adopted the strategic objectives for 2022, which are aimed in particular at expanding our educational offering in terms of both themes and organisation. We will be concentrating on developing themes in the medium to long term with the aim of enriching the political and intellectual debate in Germany. In doing so, we have to make our educational offerings more accessible to more people in Germany to champion democracy and the rule of law. At the same time, we want to identify and discuss the global mega-themes of our times together with our international partners and friends, and develop concrete actions.

I cordially invite you to discover the breadth of our engagement and activities in 2017, as we celebrate the Foundation's 60 years in existence. And it would give us great pleasure to welcome you at some of Foundation's events this year. At our – your – Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom.

**Steffen Saebisch**

CEO, Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom

## 08 Highlights



- 10 Freedom as a Lebensgefühl
- 12 Genscher as a compass
- 14 Africa as a continent of opportunity
- 16 Publicity as the most effective weapon
- 18 A plea for civic courage

## 20 Open society



- 22 Journey to an uncomfortable country
- 24 Creative and innovative ways to "Re-Animate Europe"
- 26 Beyond the headlines
- 28 How Guanajuato is implementing criminal justice reform
- 30 Lights, camera – Mov\_E!
- 32 Interrogating the Constitution through architecture
- 34 Once upon a time in Romania
- 36 The "Third Gender"

## 38 Education



- 40 A musical journey of hope
- 42 Equal, yet unequal
- 44 Learning Through Quizzing

## 46 Social market economy



- 48 "Fuck Up Nights" in Moscow
- 50 Neuromarketing and growth hacking in Central America
- 52 Business in crisis

## 54 Digital society



- 56 Asia goes mobile
- 58 Coding for freedom
- 60 Jakarta: a behemoth gets smart

## 62 International politics



- 64 Promoting Tolerance
- 66 Cementing an old friendship
- 68 You can achieve more with humour
- 70 Migration is a topic that connects Africa and Europe
- 72 Good governance
- 74 Why Europe – rekindling love for Europe

## 76 Taking stock: a liberal perspective

- 78 Defending and promoting freedom worldwide
- 79 Report by the Board of trustees on committee work in 2017
- 80 Shared vision of the political foundations
- 81 Engaged in political dialogue in over 60 countries worldwide
- 82 Acknowledgement and imprint

“Diligence, talent and the willingness to take risks have to be allowed to make a difference.”





“Diligence, talent and the willingness to take risks have to be allowed to make a difference.”

## Berlin Freedom Address

# Freedom as a Lebensgefühl

The annual Freedom Address at the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin gives speakers the opportunity to stake a claim for freedom. The eleventh address in the series was given by Christian Lindner. A photo tweeted by Lindner just a few hours before the event shows white sneakers, blue jeans, scribbled notes and a mindmap drawn in blue ballpoint pen on a piece of paper, with the comment: “Moved my desk outdoors: final touches to the Freedom Address.” Just after 7pm, he came on stage at the Allianz Forum, dressed in a blue suit, white shirt and blue tie.

Dr Wolfgang Gerhardt started the proceedings by commenting: “Don’t be fooled: many people are in their comfort zones and see freedom as something inevitable. In a way, everyone feels liberal. But when the going gets tough, when it comes to protecting minority rights, when we are surprised by new developments – then things get a bit more complicated.”

### Liberalism – an invitation to reflect

Lindner used John F. Kennedy’s famous “Ich bin ein Berliner” quote – 2017 was the centennial of JFK’s birth – to transition to contemporary politics. In the aftermath of the G7 summit with US President Trump, Lindner warned of the dangers of a growing distance to the USA. “One president doesn’t endanger our friendship, and the strengthening of Europe must not become a counter-model to the transatlantic partnership.” Only then did Lindner, who is also a member of the Foundation’s Board of trustees, turn to address Gerhardt with a smile. “They told me not to make a campaign speech and to keep it shorter than 45 minutes.

So today I’m being asked to switch genres by doing nothing less than setting out the principles of liberal politics. I’m grateful to you, as the initiator of this tradition of speeches, for giving me the opportunity to ponder this!” Lindner used concrete examples to illustrate recurring liberal themes, such as freeing up the economy, encouraging individual responsibility, and experiencing the liberal spirit or Lebensgefühl. Liberalism always implies dialogue, and it is by its very nature an invitation to think about things. The objective is always to give people the opportunity to take charge of their own destinies.

### Diligence, talent and the willingness to take risks have to make a difference

For Lindner, education is a key topic: “Why aren’t we debating why Germany is not one of the front-runners when it comes to investing in education?” Lindner said he didn’t want to offer people templates, but enable them to realise their life’s ambitions as individuals. “Diligence, talent and the willingness to take risks have to be allowed to make a difference. Diversity is essential.” Providing a social safety net should always be a priority, “therefore a plea for a welfare state carried by people who work to build prosperity is justified”.

In his Freedom Address, Christian Lindner spoke of a “foundation for liberal politics”.



As in previous years, many people followed the speech online on [freiheit.org](http://freiheit.org) or via the Foundation’s Facebook profile, which streamed the event live. The Foundation’s Hamburg office hosted a public viewing for those who couldn’t attend the event in Berlin – a first. The event was also covered on social media under the hashtag #RzF17 (Rede zur Freiheit – Freedom Address).

Previous speakers at this annual event hosted by the Foundation at the Brandenburg gate have included Udo di Fabio, Heinrich August Winkler, Joachim Gauck, Paul Nolte, Peter Sloterdijk, Cardinal Karl Lehmann, Gabor Steingart, Mark Rutte, Zhanna Nemzowa and Ryszard Petru.

For more information, all of the videos and articles on the speeches, visit the topic page [www.freiheit.org/thema/rede-zur-freiheit](http://www.freiheit.org/thema/rede-zur-freiheit).



2007: Professor Udo Di Fabio, a former judge at Germany’s constitutional court, delivered the inaugural Freedom Address. Since then, the Foundation has been hosting the annual “Berlin Freedom Address”, which gives speakers a platform to add thought-provoking contributions to the public debate.



# Memorial service in honour of Hans-Dietrich Genscher **Genscher as a compass**

Gerhart Baum, Dr. Irmgard Schwaetzer, Klaus Kinkel and Alexander Graf Lambsdorff MdB spoke at the commemoration ceremony in honour of Genscher at the Federal Audit Office (former Foreign Office) in Bonn.



“In Genscher’s terms, it is time for us to stop being spectators and take a stand against right-wing populists, ethno-nationalism and Yes-But-Europeans!”

Hans-Dietrich Genscher dominated Germany’s foreign policy for almost two decades. He was an indefatigable supporter of human rights, a promoter of a more just global order, and an advocate for European unification in peace and freedom. The fact that his successors continue to use his writing desk is just one aspect of his enormous legacy, according to Dr Wolfgang Gerhardt, chairperson of the Foundation for Freedom’s Board of directors.

Genscher was always inspired by his passion for freedom and led his life accordingly, said Dr Irmgard Schwaetzer, former federal minister and president of the Synod of the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKD). As a member of parliament and in the public offices he held, he worked tirelessly to advance a liberal modernisation of state and society. Freedom, stability and dependability were the cornerstones of his politics.

A personal address by Roland Dumas, former foreign minister of France, was read out by the minister-counselor at the French embassy, Jean-Claude Tribolet. Dumas recalled his first meeting with Genscher in 1983 and emphasised that he continued to be proud of the “strong, brotherly bond” which they had formed.

## Man of dialogue

Klaus Kinkel, Genscher’s successor in the foreign ministry, reminded the audience that his political mentor’s term as interior minister also deserved to be remembered. No fewer than six constitutional changes took place during this period. Genscher’s memorable offer to act as a replacement hostage during the hostage drama at the Munich Olympic Games will remain unforgotten. Former federal minister Gerhart Baum added that Genscher could be seen as the “first minister of the environment” because he created the foundations of modern environmental protection during his tenure as interior minister.

Kinkel also paid tribute to Genscher’s diplomatic skills. His policy was always aimed at dialogue, true to the motto “while you’re talking, you usually aren’t shooting”.

## “Genscherism” remains relevant

Alexander Count Lambsdorff MEP drew a link to today’s international relations by pointing out that Genscher laid the groundwork through German reunification as well as a commitment to Germany’s constitution, the Grundgesetz, and to European borders.

Lambsdorff noted that “Genscherism” continues to remain relevant. It is a term that once carried a negative connotation, but became a mark of quality in German foreign policy. Based on Germany’s embeddedness in the Western alliance, it was of critical importance to enter into realistic dialogue with governments such as that of Russia, he added.

## Taking a stand against the retreat of freedom

Lambsdorff concluded by addressing Brexit, which, he said, “shows what happens when democrats cede to populists”. For him, Brexit embodied not only a crisis of trust in the EU, but also the growing tendency in Western democracies of questioning liberal democracy per se. In difficult times, it was particularly important to take one’s bearings from Genscher’s optimism. For example, liberal forces were clearly on the rise in Austria, Poland and Spain. “Our responsibility is to prevent populist and nationalist forces from gaining the upper hand. We have to take a stand against the gradual erosion of freedom. In this, I see Genscher as my compass.”

Sabine Leutheusser-Schnarrenberger, former federal minister and Board of the Foundation for Freedom, echoed Lambsdorff’s sentiments in her concluding remarks: “In Genscher’s terms, it is time for us to stop being spectators and take a stand against right-wing populists, ethno-nationalism and Yes-But-Europeans!”



Sabine Leutheusser-Schnarrenberger,  
Board of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation  
for Freedom

**2006:** The Foundation awarded its inaugural “Freedom Award” to the former foreign minister of Germany, Hans-Dietrich Genscher. The award honours persons who have made a special contribution to the development of liberal civil society.



# Africa Conference

## Africa as a continent of opportunity

Africa is home to eleven of the world's twenty fastest-growing economies, but much of the potential offered by our neighbouring continent remains underutilised, a fact which the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom highlighted at its Africa Conference. The Foundation works with its local partners in a number of African countries to ensure that people become aware of Africa's potential and that they demand the necessary framework conditions for it to be used. The Foundation's activities therefore place a clear emphasis on promoting good governance. Ten recommendations for a liberal policy on Africa were developed at the conference, five of which are aimed at German/European politics and five at African politics.

### Ten recommendations for a liberal policy on Africa in brief

#### For German/European politics:

##### 1. A paradigm shift in German and European development cooperation

Over the past five decades, classical development cooperation with Africa has enjoyed only moderate success. In future, the private sector will have to be recognised as an equal partner alongside state and civil society stakeholders. This is particularly critical when the aim is to stimulate economic growth, create jobs, reduce poverty, and combat the root causes of migration.

##### 2. A values-based development policy

Germany and Europe must continue to stand up for their values in Africa. Complying with minimum democratic standards should continue to be a precondition for development cooperation.

##### 3. Getting the EU's Economic Partnership Agreements with African states signed

The German government should push to get the Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) signed quickly. African governments and companies should be made aware of this opportunity for improved access to the EU market and how best to use it.

##### 4. Better support for German investors in Africa

To encourage more German companies to invest in Africa, the portfolio of the German development bank DEG (Deutsche Entwicklungsbank) should be increased, state export credit insurance and investment guarantees for African countries should be expanded, and the budget of the BMZ (Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development) for cooperation with business (currently only 1.8%) should be significantly boosted.

##### 5. Support for innovative sectors and financial instruments in Africa

German development cooperation should increasingly focus on Africa's innovative sectors. Supporting so-called innovation hubs is a promising approach. The development of African crowdfunding platforms also deserves support. They represent an alternative to traditional bank loans.

##### 3. Promoting African innovation

Research infrastructure should be enhanced, particularly in highly innovative fields, and research cooperation with other countries intensified. More use could also be made of the potential for innovation represented by SMEs and start-ups.

##### 4. Driving regional economic integration

The vision of a "continental free trade zone" in Africa should be welcomed. As an intermediate step on the path to this goal, greater efforts should be made to promote regional economic integration. The regional approach to integration is more promising than the planned investment partnerships with so-called "reform champions" being promoted by the German federal government.

##### 5. Expanding support for start-ups

Support and funding programmes as well as mentoring initiatives – tax relief during the start-up phase – improved market access – incentives for angel investors and venture capitalists – crowdfunding – introduce efficient, affordable patent and trademark protection.

#### For African partner countries:

##### 1. Vocational education and training

Vocational training has to be better aligned with the needs of industry and the job market, and should take place in companies. E-learning offerings could be more widely adopted.

##### 2. Entrepreneurship training

Africa's future generation of young entrepreneurs needs better education. Entrepreneurial thought and action should form a greater part of the curriculum at all levels. Centres for entrepreneurship should be established at universities.



Ten recommendations for a liberal policy on Africa were developed at the conference.



On the panel Ulrich Grillo, Gwendolyn Ngwenya and Günter Nook discussed the strengthening of the African economy.

**1963:** The Foundation launched its international department. The first project was launched in Tunisia in 1964 and focused on training journalists.



# Raif Badawi Award Publicity as the most effective weapon



Can Atalay accepted the Raif Badawi Award 2017 for courageous journalists for the then imprisoned prize winner Ahmet Şık: from left to right Can Atalay, Ensaf Haidar, Gerhart Baum.



**Ahmet Şık** is one of Turkey's most well-known investigative journalists. He writes for newspapers including Cumhuriyet, known for its critical stance towards the government. In 2011, even before publication of his book "The Imam's Army" about the Gülen movement, he was arrested on suspicion of membership in "Ergenekon", allegedly an organisation of putschists. "The Imam's Army" was considered the "the most dangerous book in the country". He was again taken into custody on 29 December 2016 and not released until March 9, 2018, subject to conditions.

The Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom has awarded the Raif Badawi Award for courageous journalists 2017 to Turkish investigative journalist Ahmet Şık. The independent jury selected Şık for the journalism award because of his outstanding importance for Turkey's free media, and as a representative of all journalists currently imprisoned in Turkey.

In Ahmet Şık's absence, Ensaf Haidar, wife of imprisoned Saudi blogger Raif Badawi, presented the award to Şık's lawyer, human rights activist Can Atalay. "I am deeply touched by Ahmet Şık's courage. He and Raif are sharing the same fate. Both were imprisoned for saying what they think," said Haidar.

Can Atalay read out Ahmet Şık's expression of thanks on his behalf: "I am proud and sad to receive this prize. I am behind bars for exercising my profession as a journalist, for telling the truth and expressing my opinion. And I'm being given an award named after Raif Badawi, who is himself imprisoned and being tortured in another country for expressing his opinion."

In his speech paying tribute to Şık, former German minister Gerhart Baum noted that Şık's case reflected the current political situation in Turkey. Baum sharply criticised the Turkish government for cracking down with disproportionate harshness on thousands of alleged supporters of the July 2016 coup attempt, including 170 imprisoned dissident journalists and authors.

He added that the recipient of the award was one of Turkey's leading journalists, many of whom were currently being put on trial without any guarantees that due process would be followed. "The fate of Ahmet Şık and Can Dündar, to name just two of the accused, is and remains a barometer of freedom and constitutional development in Turkey, which is an indicator of the relationship between Turkey and the European Union as a whole," said Baum, adding: "Turkey cannot expect to continue its process of integrating with the European values community if it continues to systematically restrict civil rights and liberties."

In his speech, Ahmad Mansour, spokesperson of the Muslim Forum Germany, honoured the award winner as a courageous man who was persecuted and incarcerated for pursuing the truth – even when it was an uncomfortable one. Mansour called for "a strong signal to be sent to radicals of any type". "We will not let ourselves be intimidated by you, and we will not allow you to use violence to restrict our freedom of expression!"

The unendowed award for journalists was initiated by Badawi's wife, Ensaf Haidar, and TV presenter Constantin Schreiber. It is intended to raise awareness for the imprisoned Saudi blogger Raif Badawi, who was sentenced to 1,000 lashes and ten years' imprisonment. The award is supported by the German Publishers and Booksellers Association.



Russian political activist Ildar Dadin received the Boris Nemtsov Prize for his courageous commitment to freedom of expression and assembly in Russia.



“Ildar Dadin is not a party chairman, not a political journalist, not a business magnate. He is an ordinary citizen.”

## Boris Nemtsov Prize 2017

### A plea for civic courage

This year, choosing a winner was particularly difficult, said Sabine Leutheusser-Schnarrenberger, Board of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom, in her opening remarks. Among others, the imprisoned opposition politician Alexei Navalny was on the five-name shortlist on which readers of independent Russian newspaper Novaya Gazeta were able to vote.

Leutheusser-Schnarrenberger concluded her opening remarks with an appeal to German politics and society: “It is important to strengthen those who have the courage to fight for freedom and individual dignity in a state without an independent judiciary.” The time for being a passive spectator had passed, also in Germany.

In his laudation, Alexander Count Lambsdorff, vice president of the European Parliament, paid tribute to the special civic courage of the award winner: “Ildar Dadin is not a party chairman, not a political journalist, not a business magnate. He is an ordinary citizen, but one who has shown true courage by standing up in a silent crowd and fighting for his civil rights. And he does this under conditions we can hardly imagine here in Germany.” Dadin made use of his civil rights to draw attention to grievances through one-man vigils. For this, he was sentenced to two-and-a-half years in jail after the introduction of a new law in 2015. The prize was given by Zhanna Nemtsova, daughter of Boris Nemtsov and founder of the Boris Nemtsov Foundation.

Sergei Davidis accepted the award on behalf of Ildar Dadin, as Dadin had been denied permission to leave the country. Nemtsova concluded by saying: “I very much hope that we will jointly continue to fight for a democratic and free Russia.” Since 2016, and with the support of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom, the Boris Nemtsov Foundation has awarded the annual Boris Nemtsov Prize in recognition of courageous individuals who are working to create a free, democratic Russia. The 2016 prize was awarded to the journalist and politician Lev Schlosberg.

#### Hope as a motivator

“My father was associated with the future. That is why the future is the topic of this forum.” With these words, Zhanna Nemtsova opened the 2017 Boris Nemtsov Forum in Berlin. The ongoing debate about Putin and his policies was important, she said, but did nothing to help Russia move forward.

The Forum was hosted for the second time by the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom and the Boris Nemtsov Foundation for Freedom, with the support of the European Endowment for Democracy.

Wolf-Dieter Zumpfort, Board member of the Foundation for Freedom, emphasised the close ties between the two hosting foundations in his opening remarks and encouraged the speakers and guests to engage in lively debate. The link between Russia and the EU must not be broken, he said; preserving it would have been Nemtsov’s wish, too. In his introduction, Gerhart Baum, the former German interior minister, called for a relationship with Russia characterised by “dialogue and openness”. Referring back to his time as a member of parliament, he painted a vivid picture of recurring problems in the relationship between Russia and Europe, but also mentioned potential solutions and visions for the future.

#### Hope springs eternal

In her freedom address, however, the young author Alisa Ganieva clearly showed how difficult it is to communicate these visions in Russia. Russian society had become deaf and mute, she said. Large sections of the population were trying to justify injustice and thereby sustaining the skeptics who were already in thrall to the Kremlin’s propaganda and disinformation.

Those listening to Ganieva’s words were given a frighteningly dark impression of the current situation in Russia; but they were also impressed by the activism and personal hopefulness apparent in the author.

As became clear in the various “open space” working groups on the second day of the conference, Ganieva was not alone in exhibiting this attitude. Almost 200 participants interactively discussed topics such as the new world order, the future of communication, and new forms of civil resistance and of artistic expression.

The conference serves as a meeting point both for the active Russian community in exile and for European experts. Their passion and commitment give cause for hope.



1976: The Foundation first started officially recognising the important work of journalists through an award, the Karl Hermann Flach Award.



Human rights are  
the foundation of our  
coexistence.

The self-confident women of the village of Sankli in Gujarat/India, where the Foundation, together with its partner organisation ARCH, supports marginalised female farmers in improving their living conditions by IT-based protection of their property and land rights.



# Sabine Leutheusser-Schnarrenberger

## Journey to an uncomfortable country

Sabine Leutheusser-Schnarrenberger (in the middle) with Nayat Karaköse, Delal Dink and Pinar Ensari from the Hrant-Dink Foundation. In the background Hans-Georg Fleck, Rainer Adam and Aret Demirci from the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom.



Currently, the German party-political foundations are still able to go about their work relatively unhindered, but dark clouds are gathering.

Campaign appearances by Turkish politicians in Germany, President Erdoğan's Nazi rhetoric against Germany, German citizens arrested for political reasons, the DITIB affair, German members of parliament denied access to the Incirlik NATO airbase, the Bundestag resolution on Armenia, massive human rights violations after the failed putsch attempt of 15 July 2016 and the resulting increase in applications for asylum in Germany from Turkish citizens... the crises between Ankara and Berlin in 2017 were more numerous than can be counted on the fingers of one hand. In the run-up to the historical referendum on 16 April 2017, President Erdoğan and his ruling AKP appeared to have taken collective leave of their senses.

Currently, the German party-political foundations are still able to go about their work relatively unhindered, but dark clouds are gathering. AKP members of parliament and government-friendly media regularly rail against "foreign organisations", and the situation is even more difficult for the local partners of the foundations. The state of emergency is still in place, meaning that they are completely exposed to show trials and harassment from the Turkish authorities.

In this sense, the visit by the former German minister of justice, Sabine Leutheusser-Schnarrenberger, came at a good time. By visiting many partner organisations and talking to journalists, academics and lawyers, she was able to get a more accurate impression of current working conditions and obtained information at first hand.

### Making a mark – in-country talks with partners

Together with the head of the Foundation's regional office for East & Southeast Europe, Rainer Adam, the project manager for Turkey, Hans-Georg Fleck, and project coordinator Aret Demirci, Ms Leutheusser-Schnarrenberger held several meetings with representatives of local partner organisations of the Foundation. The Foundation works with the organisations TOHAV, IKV, Hrant Dink Foundation, Citizens' Assembly, Freedom Research Association and KAOS GL in areas including the rule of law, Turkey's EU integration process, human and minority rights, and refugee affairs.

At the meetings, all of the partners without exception noted how working conditions had become a great deal more difficult since the frustrated military coup and the state of emergency that followed it. Sensitive subjects such as human rights violations in the Kurdish south-east of Turkey, LGBTI rights and the integration of almost 3.5m Syrian refugees in Turkish society are sufficient to attract the attention of the authorities.

Emergency decrees have led to several hundred NGOs and initiatives being shut down, mostly, but not exclusively, from the Kurdish south-east; hundreds of academics were summarily fired; some, less fortunate, were imprisoned. Many newspapers, magazines and TV stations that were critical of the regime were forced to close, and about 150 journalists have been jailed.

### The cases of Aslı Erdoğan and Deniz Yücel: a whiff of a legal scandal

Most of the new prisoners have not been formally charged. The current, extremely broad definition of "terror" views any form of opposition action as "terrorist propaganda", "membership in a terrorist organisation" or "sedition". Even symbolically working as editor-in-chief for a day at a Kurdish newspaper can lead to draconian punishments, as the author Aslı Erdoğan discovered.

In conversation with the former minister, Ms Erdoğan shared information about the status of the investigation against her. Her portrayal of the day of her arrest, when her flat was searched by several dozen armed security force members, inspires little hope for the further course of the trial.

The cases against the German-Turkish journalist Deniz Yücel – who has in the meantime been released and left Turkey – and several imprisoned Cumhuriyet journalists are similarly spurious. Hair-raising details about the prosecution of the journalists which emerged in conversation with the lawyers Veysel Ok and Tora Pekin smack of a legal scandal. To name just one example: according to Turkish press law, journalists may only be prosecuted for reports or columns published up to four months previously. But the articles on which the cases against Deniz Yücel and about ten other Cumhuriyet staff members were based had been published one to two years previously.

It would certainly have been valuable to speak to an AKP official to get an official view on the many crises and problems. But all attempts to arrange a meeting with Mustafa Yeneroğlu, a German-speaking AKP member of parliament, failed.



The Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom has been working in Turkey since 1991, first in Ankara, then in Istanbul (since 2002).



As diverse as the graphic novels are in content and in style, there is one common message referring to a very liberal belief: the future of Europe depends on us!

## International comic competition Creative and innovative ways to “Re-Animate Europe”

“What can I do to make the people of Europe remember that we are stronger and can achieve much more when we work together?” wrote Magdalena Kaszuba, the winner of the 2017 round of the international comic competition “Animate Europe”.

In 2017, the Brussels office of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom organised a new round of the competition, asking comic artists and graphic novelists from all over the world to share their ideas on how to “Re-Animate Europe”. In times of rising Euroscepticism and a growing divide between “the people” and the European institutions, we asked them: as European citizens, what can we do to bring this European spirit back to life? How can we make people aware of what has already been achieved by working together?

Are these achievements not something to be proud of? What can we do to “Re-Animate Europe”? After all, we are the heart – and the heartbeat – of Europe. For this third round, we wanted to shake people up, to get them thinking not only about the future, but about how to get there. How can we bring to life the kind of Europe that we want to live in and that we experienced in the past?

In her comic “The Old Lady Gives No Answer”, Magdalena Kaszuba tells a very personal story about one person’s search for answers to Europe’s struggles. Born in Poland and having moved to Germany as a child, Kaszuba shares her experience of crossing the border between the two countries, Germany and Poland – which was still a significant barrier at the time.

Back in the present, her comic illustrates the search for ways of moving Europe ahead, while remembering what was achieved in the past. The jury praised Kaszuba’s intimate approach, which is connected with a very distinct artistic style: instead of explicitly telling readers how to re-animate Europe, she describes potential ways of doing so by graphic means.

The second prize went to Jordana Globerman (Canada & UK) for her story “My Uncle’s Dream” about one immigrant’s personal journey to Europe, based on the main character’s nostalgic dream. Further prizes were awarded to Štěpánka Jislová (Czech Republic, “How to Save the World”), Noëlle Kröger (Germany, “There’s a Way”), Stefan Haller (Switzerland, “Back to the Grass Roots”), Davide Pascutti (Italy, “The CreatEUre”) and Paul Rietzl (Germany, “A Dream of Europe”).

The jury of international experts, which selected the seven finalists from 75 entries from 23 countries, was impressed by the high standard of all participants and the wide range of styles and approaches they chose. This record number shows how much European artists care about Europe. They want to share their solutions and show their ideas. Once again, the 2017 round of the competition confirmed that artists and comic illustrators have diverse and enriching perspectives and ideas when it comes to Europe.

The comics were published in the anthology “Re-Animate Europe”. The exhibition started its tour across Europe and the U.S. with stops at the Brussels Comic Strip Festival, the “Maison de l’Europe in Paris” and the World Forum for Democracy (Strasbourg) and will continue its tour all over Europe as well as in Canada, at the Montréal Comics Arts Festival. More than 50,000 people visited the exhibitions of the 2013 and 2015 competitions and 6,000 have already seen the “Re-Animate Europe” exhibition. More than 14,000 books have been handed out to curious readers.

As diverse as the graphic novels are in content and in style, there is one common message referring to a very liberal belief: the future of Europe depends on us! Or to quote one of our artists: “United in diversity, we will become boundless”.



The first prize was awarded to Magdalena Kaszuba and her story “The old lady gives no answer”, which promotes a European society built on citizens’ involvement.

# Jerusalem

## Beyond the headlines

The city of Jerusalem has always attracted attention, not just because of its historical and cultural legacy, with intimate ties to all three monotheistic religions, but more recently also because of its central place in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Claimed by Israelis and Palestinians alike as their capital and often the scene of violent attacks and clashes over holy sites and political decision making, Jerusalem has been in the focus of international politics and media for decades. But beyond these headlines and the rhetoric of political leaders, what do reality and city development really look like in this conflict-ridden city? With its 883,000 inhabitants, Jerusalem is characterised by its diverse population. The dominant divide runs between the Arab minority (342,000) and the Jewish majority (542,000). The share of Jerusalem's Arab population (37%) is significantly greater than the proportion of Arab citizens in Israel as a whole (21%).

This demographic, ethnic and religious divide is also reflected in the physical division of the city into West Jerusalem (mostly Jewish) and East Jerusalem (mostly Arabic). The East-West division of Jerusalem is the result of the wars of 1948 and 1967, after which Israel extended its jurisdiction and administration over East Jerusalem. Finally, in 1980, Jerusalem was declared the „complete and united“ capital of Israel. But what was written in the statutes never became reality – East and West Jerusalem never really grew together.

From any look-out on the city, the dividing line is clearly visible, with West Jerusalem reflecting a well-organised urban space reflecting a modern lifestyle, while the grey and chaotic-looking Eastern neighbourhoods lack any planning system, with hardly any parks or leisure areas.

Despite the ever-changing political tides, residents of Jerusalem still seem to share a common will to live peacefully side by side, if not really with each other. While each group lives segregated in its own „tribal enclave“, there are shared urban spaces where they interact on a daily basis, whether in hospitals, commercial centres, city parks or the light train. These interactions have been increasing over the last few years and are also the result of the separation wall and fence, which separates East Jerusalem from the West Bank and enhances the orientation of its Arab residents towards Jewish West Jerusalem in employment, education, housing and leisure.

However, many citizens – the Arabs of East Jerusalem especially – vehemently reject any development of adaptation into a “one-city-reality”. They point to the controversial political status of the city and to the limitations on civil rights for the Arab population of East Jerusalem, which they claim as the capital of an independent state of Palestine. Nevertheless, with regard to the municipal elections in 2018, there is a discussion among the Arab residents to no longer waive their right to vote, but to give up this form of protest against Israel's annexation in order to have directly elected representatives in the municipality who will be fighting for their rights and interests.

The Jerusalem office of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom supports „The Arab Neighbourhood Project“ of the Jerusalem Institute for Policy Research, which promotes practical solutions and policy measures for improving public services and living conditions in East Jerusalem's Arab neighbourhoods.

Field researchers are collecting data on infrastructural needs and service shortages, on the social structure and conditions for better planning. Expert roundtables bring together all relevant parties, Jews and Arabs alike, residents, planners, municipal, government and civil society representatives, who present and discuss their research findings. So far eight neighbourhoods have been mapped and a dialogue between local leaders in East Jerusalem and the municipal authorities has been established. Public awareness is growing, and as a consequence decision makers increasingly request the Institute's consulting services and recommendations in order to better understand conditions on the ground. Notwithstanding the headlines on violence and political blockades, the Foundation for Freedom and its partners have found ways to support a peaceful and constructive process aiming at creating an open society based on civil rights and the rule of law.

Jerusalem has been in the focus of international politics and media for decades.



In 2008, Mexico introduced a fundamental reform of its criminal law system: a change from an inquisitorial to an accusatory system. Specifically, it meant the introduction of the presumption of innocence and public, oral court proceedings.

Up to that point, criminal proceedings were conducted exclusively in writing. Judges had to decide the fate of the accused solely on the basis of documents, without ever laying eyes on or even hearing the person in question. The accused were often remanded in custody for years while awaiting legal judgment, an untenable situation which persists to the present day and which the new system was meant to change.

Lawmakers gave the 32 federal Mexican states eight years' time to implement this fundamental reform: from June 2016 onwards, the new system was meant to have been fully implemented throughout Mexico. But reality looked different.



Justice project Guanajuato:  
Workshop to develop an action plan

The Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom is supporting the implementation process in collaboration with its Mexican partner.

## Mexico – Using management tools for legal reform

# How Guanajuato is implementing criminal justice reform

### Paradigm shift for everyone involved

When the reform bill was passed in 2008, the governor of Guanajuato state declared that he was personally going to take charge of the reform. But despite this executive support from the very top, there were always going to be implementation challenges with a project of this magnitude. For one, the change meant a complete paradigm shift for all stakeholders involved in criminal proceedings. Moreover, there was no information about the extent of the resources that would be required to implement the new system.

Mauricio Ontiveros, head of the responsible department at the regional Supreme Court, found an interesting solution to this challenge. A management expert with many years of experience in quality and process management gained while working at an automotive supplier, he transferred his experience to the workflows needed in criminal proceedings. With the assistance of statistics experts from the University of Guanajuato, he developed a simulation that calculated the resources required for the new system to function.

### Judges doing internships at automotive suppliers

Performance indicators are used to track and coordinate implementation of the reform, based on Mauricio Ontiveros' experience in the international automotive industry.

New court employees visit and complete internships with global companies, thereby learning about how businesses implement efficient and effective workflows. But is there any point to getting future judges to work as interns at automotive suppliers? "Definitely," says Mauricio Ontiveros. "The new colleagues return with a completely new perspective on workflows." International value chains not only have well-established "spill-over effects" on local companies, but can even help boost the efficiency of public administration and politics.

The federal state of Guanajuato is a role model in this area, but even it is encountering a range of problems in implementing the new criminal procedure code. The Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom is supporting the implementation process in collaboration with its Mexican partner, México Evalúa. In spring 2017, a status report was generated in collaboration with the responsible state authorities and a German technical adviser.

It was used as the basis for an action plan that will be implemented during 2018. The objective is to assist Guanajuato state not only in retaining its number 1 ranking among the 32 Mexican federal states, but also to help it become a role model for implementing the new criminal justice system.



“We are all living together in a world that needs more peace, justice and human rights.”

## A short film festival for human rights and freedom in the Philippines Lights, camera – Mov\_E!

In prison, a young girl dreams of flying. A dragon mother yearns for humanity. A child wants to go back to school. These stories, representing some of the top entrants in “Freedom Mov\_E” 2017, the Friedrich Naumann Foundation’s film competition, transfer the experiences of human rights defenders and victims of human rights violations from reality to the big screen.

In the face of dwindling public support for human rights, the Foundation – together with the Philippine human rights commission and the human rights organisation DAKILA – is exploring new approaches in the public debate. The short films are created in collaboration with engaged directors and are designed to show that human rights affect everybody. Philippine directors created a variety of short films to illustrate their visions of freedom and human rights, with the best films being screened at the Philippine human rights commission’s Diokno Freedom Park in Manila on 28 September 2017.

“The FNF Philippines Freedom Mov\_E festival strengthens human rights and freedom. We use these films to translate abstract concepts into concrete stories with which viewers can identify. The films generate attention, illustrate rights and duties, and overcome apathy to strengthen civic engagement,” said Wolfgang Heinze, the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom’s project manager in the Philippines. Three winners of the 2017 short film competition were introduced in the context of the Freedom Project’s film night. They combined important human rights issues with artistic talent to create persuasive messages:

### **Lupad, Lupad by Steve Paul Evangelio**

Andeng, a young girl who finds herself in prison, dreams of flying. She tells her older cell mate Manang Edith about her dreams. They talk about their freedom and about the fact that Manang Edith is due to be released soon. This makes young Andeng sad because it means she is going to lose her only friend. She falls asleep again, hoping to return to her dream of flight. She dreams of flying again, higher and higher.

### **Prayers of the Prey by Dylan Ray Talon**

The dragon mother, the last survivor of her species, is fleeing from her hunters. Her hopes reflect the thinking of many persecuted people: “I hope that my pursuers will preserve a modicum of their humanity.”

### **Daing sa Dilim by Eve Baswel**

Isabelle is a primary school pupil who wants to go back to school. But Teresa, her mother, is opposed. This is a story which focuses on verbal violence.

Short films are particularly suitable for this purpose because they translate the general declaration of human rights into personal experiences.

The format is also well suited for distribution through digital platforms like Facebook. As the Philippines are the world’s leading nation when it comes to the use of social media, the short films are widely shared by Facebook users and thereby enrich the public debate.

“Tonight is one of those moments when we celebrate art, cinema and freedom, and recall the importance of human dignity. We are all living together in a world that needs more peace, justice and human rights. Every one of us is called upon to do everything in his or her power to change things,” said the chairman of the human rights commission, Chito Gascon. The film festival represents a new approach to supporting abstract concepts like human rights and freedom in the Philippines.

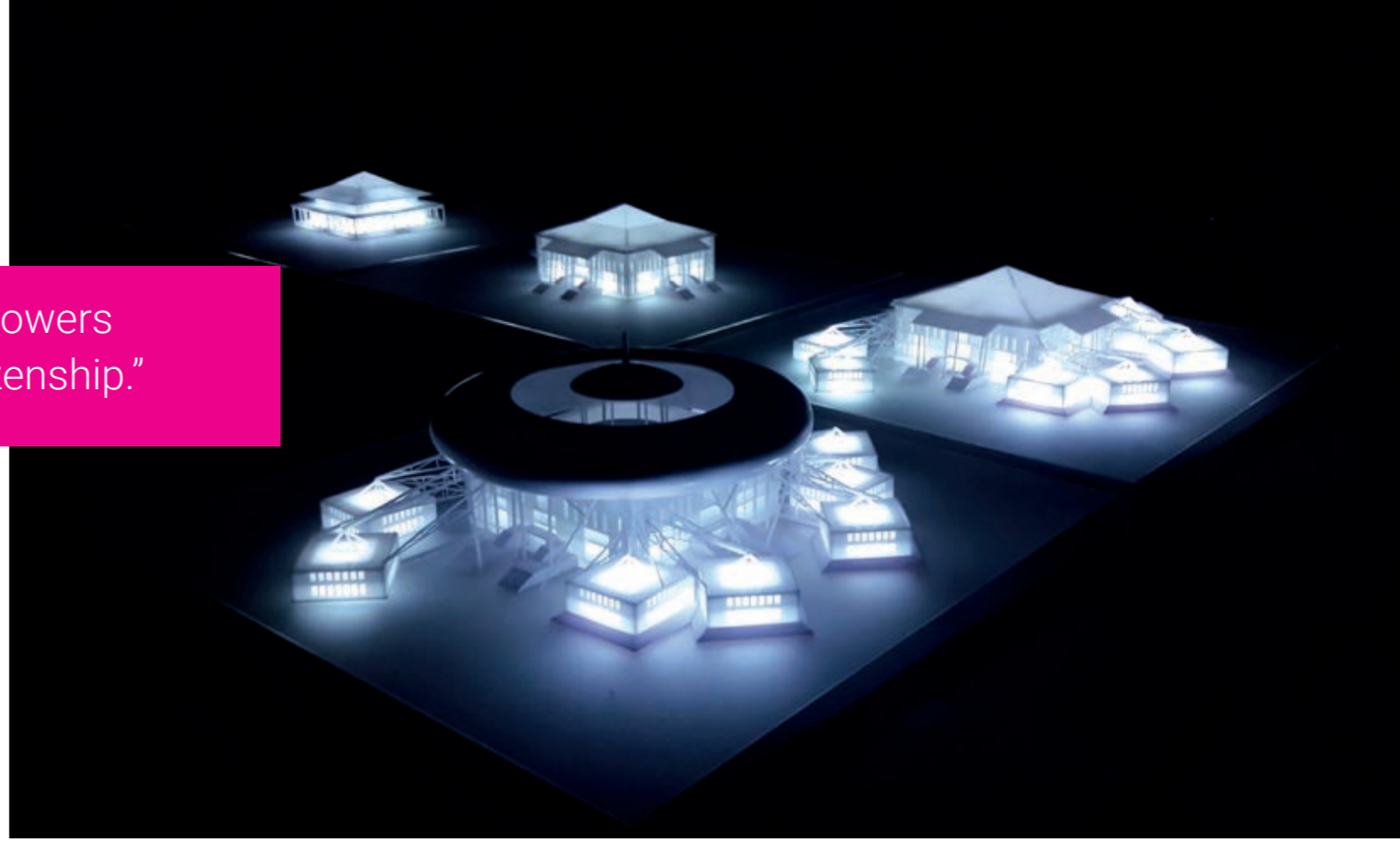
“[...] the visual arts can close the gap where facts and speeches fail: they present the truth in the form of understandable parables. The use of music makes it easier for the viewers to identify with the characters. The stories create a feeling of emotional attachment. The film makes viewers feel that they are part of the action and lets them personally connect with the story on an emotional level, something which isn’t the case with news reports,” explained Arun Singh, a blogger for Weekend Warrior Reviews.

Wolfgang Heinze, project manager for the Philippines, summarised it as follows: “We are trying to explore platforms that transform seemingly abstract concepts such as human rights and freedom into a concrete narrative, allowing people to make a link between the values and their personal lives. This is how Freedom Mov\_E was created.”



“The students grasped the separation of powers and grasped the importance of active citizenship.”

Architectural model to illustrate the “Corridors of Power”



## Sri Lanka's encounters with democracy

# Interrogating the Constitution through architecture

What is a constitution? And what place and relevance, if any, does it have in the popular imagination? Do citizens really care about an abstract document most would never have seen or read, when more pressing existential concerns continue to bedevil their lives and livelihoods, even post-war?

In February 2018 Sri Lanka celebrated 70 years of independence. Seven decades is a long time, perhaps a lifetime for many. A lifetime should be sufficient to learn from past mistakes and realise that the way forward is to instil political pluralism, democratic governance and constitutionalism. Unfortunately, this is still not the reality. Even with all the technological tools and platforms in use by so many today, constitutional reform and related debates remain alien to and removed from society in Sri Lanka.

Our task was to make constitutional reform more “people centric, public spirited and humane”. A tall order indeed. Our partner, the Centre for Policy Alternatives (CPA) came up with a unique concept, The Corridors of Power (CoP), as an attempt to kick-start this discussion and locate constitutional reform in the public imagination.

It is an interrogation of Sri Lanka's constitutional evolution through architecture. Architecture makes small spaces seem larger than they are, harnesses the chiaroscuro within a building to influence the mood of inhabitants, enables access to spaces, bars access to others, creates secret pathways, chambers and shortcuts purposefully or inadvertently, giving the illusion of openness, when in fact inhabitants could be boxed in, or conversely, frees up a claustrophobic space with just slivers of open sky.

The CoP exhibition demonstrates Sri Lanka's constitutional development since 1972 and all the amendments since then. “It highlights the outgrowth of authoritarianism and the illusion of stability. It gives life to the phrase, the centre cannot hold,” says the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom's country representative, Sagarica Delgoda. Through errors thrown up by the architectural programme, significant flaws of Sri Lanka's present constitution are clearly flagged, she notes.

The architectural output makes abundantly clear the failure of the constitutional vision. “Corridors of power” is an invitation to reflect on what Sri Lanka has been hostage to in the past in order to imagine a more just, inclusive, open future, Ms Delgoda concludes. In the space of two years, the CoP has travelled to the four corners and the central hills of Sri Lanka. Scores of people from all walks of life have flocked in, stared, gasped in awe, questioned and argued, in short the idea turned out really well.

A few days ago, at the final outing of the CoP in Kurunegala, the curator faced the youthful onslaught of 300 youngsters.

### World-changing ideas

“It was an amazing day, and the best response to the exhibition to date. The students grasped the separation of powers and grasped the importance of active citizenship,” said Sanjana Hattotuwa, CoP's curator, highlighting the overall objective of the exercise.

Corridors of Power is not only conquering its motherland, it is also receiving international recognition. The project was a finalist in the Fast Company's World Changing Ideas 2017 Awards. More recently, the CoP has been invited to participate in the 2018 International Art Exhibition in Dhaka, Bangladesh and one of the co-authors of CoP, Dr Asanga Welikala, is exploring the possibilities of taking the exhibition to Edinburgh, Scotland.



What is the true cost of corruption? In Romania alone, it is estimated to have been around €24 billion in 2016, enough to pay for 260 hospitals or 6,000km of highways. In this country with its collapsing health system and lack of highways, the money would have been enough to build a highway from one end of the country to the other not just once, but seven times. This is one of the memorable facts illustrated by Alex Lungu and Liviu Barbulescu in their animated film, which won first prize in the anti-corruption short film competition "Once Upon a Time in Romania".

But corruption causes more than just financial damage. At the end of October 2015, a fire during a rock concert at Klub Colectiv killed 64 people, leaving many others severely injured. Investigations showed that corrupt fire safety authorities and the responsible mayor's office had ignored safety standards. This avoidable national tragedy led to nationwide protests culminating in the entire government stepping down.

It also triggered the emergence of Initiative Romania (IR), a citizen movement with which the Foundation partnered for several successful activities before jointly launching the inaugural edition of the film competition, which is aimed at highlighting the effects of corruption.

The competition's appeal was reflected not only in the fact that over 50 films were submitted, but also in the positive synergies generated in its environment within a short time. A prominent judge created an anti-corruption skit for pupils for the project's website; the radio stations Rock FM and Vice Romania joined as media partners; the French cultural institute and the Canadian embassy became supporters; a well-known water producer funded a prize, and over €1,000 in additional prize money were generated through a crowdfunding initiative. The campaign was also supported by prominent persons such as Laura Codruta Kövesi, head of the Romanian anti-corruption agency DNA, who gave her first public interview in the context of the project after a long break.

The numbers speak for themselves. The homepage was visited by over 54,000 people within two months, and over 1.2m people were reached through Facebook. Over 200 guests attended the closing anti-corruption gala event and award ceremony, which was emceed by TV star and talkshow host Lucian Mândruță and graced by a host of prominent personalities. 85-year-old acting legend Victor Rebengiuc delivered the keynote. Irina Margareta Nistor, who chaired the jury, was known as "The Voice" under communism because she translated and dubbed all of the films smuggled into the country from the West.

More recently, she also became famous in the US and western Europe through the documentary "Chuck Norris vs Communism". To crown the evening, the rock band "Byron" played a charity concert. In addition to its information function, the project also had a surprisingly strong effect on creating a sense of community. A school project from the small town of Roman won the audience award, based on online voting. The pupils got not just their schoolmates, but the whole town to vote for their film.

This is particularly noteworthy because the Foundation intends to take information about corruption and its effects offline, into the daily routine of schools and communities, in 2018. The project will go on tour in the first trimester of 2018, visiting seven towns – including Roman, of course – while showing films and hosting public debates. For the second year of the competition, the Foundation and its partners hope to receive even more entries from pupils, and they are relying on the support of the audience favourites from Roman. The winners of the main prize have already come up with ideas to continue their film.

Scriptwriter Alex and graphic designer Liviu, who lives in Berlin, want to use the prize money, which was meant to be used to professionally recreate their film, to create four further short films instead. This time around, they want to address corruption at the individual level, in the health sector, in politics and in business. This series and a motivation film are designed to show that everyone can do something against corruption in Romania.

## A film competition and festival against corruption

### Once upon a time in Romania

Irina Margareta Nistor (left) was known as "The Voice" under communism because she translated all of the films smuggled into the country from the West. In 2017 she chaired the jury. Also present on stage with the award recipients was the French ambassador, Michele Ramis (middle photo), a career diplomat with professional training in combating international criminality and money laundering.



The project had a surprisingly strong effect on creating a sense of community.

# Transgender persons in India

## The “Third Gender”

Transgender individuals attract a wide variety of labels in India, and their experiences are similarly varied. Through the prism of time, their position in society has declined from deification to ostracism. Recognised recently as the “third gender”, the community continues to live on the fringes of Indian society.

The Constitution guarantees every individual a life of dignity and liberty, but transgender lives are devoid of this protection. “The transgender persons live a life of discrimination, violence and often penury”, says Dona John, program manager at the regional office of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom, who is working with our partner, the Centre for Law and Policy Research (CLPR) on accentuating the public discourse on transgender inclusion and legal redressal mechanisms available to the community.

CLPR developed India’s first curriculum for law students at the National Law School of India in Bangalore. The course has been introduced as a four week elective graduate course titled “Transgender Identity and the Law in India” and covers core themes of transgender identity, transgenderism and the Indian Constitution, equality and non-discrimination, right to health, marriage and family. The course will now be taught at other Indian universities also.

Recent judicial and legislative developments are small steps towards improving the plight of transgender persons. However, what is really required is a change in the mindset of society and inclusion of the community into the mainstream of social, political and economic life. Living on the fringes of society, their right to identity, livelihood and entitlement to universal services is based on the whims of “an apathetic state administration”, opines Ms John. While the judiciary and the administration have made visible efforts to demarginalise the transgender community, the implementation gap in law is most often the cause for deprivation of individual rights in India, Mrs. John states.

“Civil society plays a crucial role in breaking the taboos”, says Ms John. “Large-scale sensitisation needs to happen, starting from the school level, to see transgender persons not as an aberration, but an integral component of societal life”, she writes in her recent report titled “Living a Life of Exclusion – Being a Transgender in Modern India”.



“The transgender persons live a life of discrimination, violence and often penury.”



The best education  
for everyone! For more  
self-determination and  
equal opportunities.

The proud participants  
of the music project



Songs about abandoned homes, Syrian culture and individual identities helped create a feeling of hope and confidence in the audience.

## A music project for Syrian child refugees **A musical journey of hope**



During an intensive six-month collaboration period, the young musicians met 4-5 times per week with their mentors in preparation of a closing concert. At the sessions, the participants not only honed their musical skills, but also had the opportunity to practice independent thinking and reflect on their uncertain situation.

In light of their many traumatic experiences of war, flight and living in the refugee camps in the poor northern regions of Lebanon, this was a desperately needed outlet for their many pent-up feelings. It will come as no surprise that the emotions were clearly visible on the faces of parents, teachers and representatives of local organisations who attended the concert on 22 December 2017. Songs about abandoned homes, Syrian culture and individual identities helped create a feeling of hope and confidence in the audience.

The many photos from the concert and the enthusiastic applause aren't the only souvenirs from the concert. Each of the talented young participants was also given a certificate confirming the training received, with many of the children proudly holding their certificate up to the cameras. Some of the songs are available online at <https://mishwarmusic.bandcamp.com/> for playing and purchase. The approach chosen by the NGO Miswar Amal turned out to be both modern and innovative.

The children enjoyed the experience and we hope that they will have the opportunity to continue working on their artistic expression and to grow up in peace. A journey of hope deserves a happy ending, after all.

How does one process war atrocities? Music stimulates creativity and opens up new approaches to dealing with the past, as the closing concert by young Syrian refugees in Lebanon just before Christmas 2017 showed.

In previous years, many Syrian child refugees involuntarily found themselves "on the road", but most of them have lost all hope. Changing this is the mission of Mishwar Amal ("journey of hope"), an organisation based in the north of Lebanon. Its aim is to help children process their experiences of war and flight through music, to give them an avenue for self-expression and a source of strength for the future. With the support of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom in Lebanon, Syrian child refugees from three different refugee camps were given the opportunity to take part in this project.

The blind keyboard player Mohammad Loubani contributed the musical part. He is a refugee himself, and his own experiences helped him understand the children's experiences much better. In addition to the musical support, the children were also assisted by a trainer who helped them process their experiences – as well as their dreams for the future – in text form.

# A look at South Africa's education disaster – and an example showing how things could be done better

## Equal, yet unequal



The Western Cape shows that a great deal can be achieved in South African education when the right political will is there.

"There is no place for [the Bantu] in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour [...]. What is the use of teaching the Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice? That is quite absurd. Education must train people in accordance with their opportunities in life, according to the sphere in which they live." So spoke South African minister for native affairs (prime minister from 1958 to 66), the architect of the Bantu Education Act of 1953, which prescribed a state-controlled, two-class education system.

The system made provision for black children to be educated "within the limits of their possibilities" and in the knowledge, in Verwoerd's words, that "they should know that their station in life is to be hewers of wood and drawers of water". The two-class education system was reflected in the expenditure on education. The apartheid government spent two to two-and-a-half times more money on white children in urban areas and five times more on white children in urban areas than on black children. This extremely unequal schooling system should have been replaced with an education system worthy of a modern democracy and accessible to all children after 1994.

But 23 years after the introduction of democracy, South Africa remains a deeply divided country where socio-economic factors have taken the place of ethnic belonging as a differentiator. Those most affected are the so-called "born frees", black youths who were born after the end of apartheid, but whose prospects were torpedoed by an education system marked above all by corruption and inefficiency. Every year, thousands of young South Africans drop out of school. They stand almost no chance of finding a job in the South African labour market, which needs highly skilled labour, making it very difficult for them to creating a better life for themselves.

Is there any hope? The Western Cape province, which is governed by the Foundation's long-standing partner, the Democratic Alliance (DA), gives reason for hope. In comparative studies as well as in the national matriculation examinations, learners from the Western Cape regularly achieve higher scores than their peers in other provinces. For instance, 39.1% of pupils in the Western Cape passed their matric with university exemption in 2017, allowing them to register for tertiary education. In contrast, the rate in the Limpopo province was only 21%. Moreover, far fewer children drop out of school in the Western Cape than in other provinces.

64.3% of pupils remained in the schooling system between 10th and 12th grade in the Western Cape. In Gauteng province, where Johannesburg and Pretoria are located, the number was 12.8 percentage points lower. In the Free State, it was 22 percentage points lower.

One of the secrets of the Western Cape's education success is the strategy pursued by the provincial education department, which spends the majority of its financial resources on the poorest schools. 92% of the current education budget is allocated to school books, stationery, transport and school lunch programmes for pupils at no-fee state schools, precisely the schools most used by poorer children and youths. Poor families can get their school fees refunded.

There are also accommodation options and food programmes for disadvantaged pupils, benefiting mainly black families. Furthermore, the Western Cape is investing in modernising its schools by promoting e-learning, and is open to working with private education providers and NGOs. The Western Cape shows that a great deal can be achieved in South African education when the right political will is there.



School bus in Rosemoor, Western Cape



“The competition was intense, with teams displaying stark alertness and scholarly responses.”

Lively (and joyful) participation in the quiz

## Another battle of the constitutional wits at CONQUEST 2017

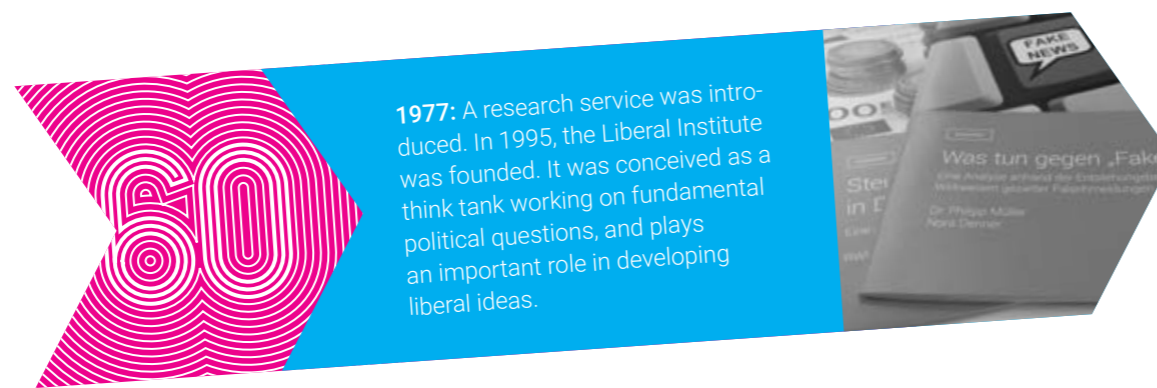
### Learning Through Quizzing

India has a strong quizzing culture in schools, colleges and universities. Quiz clubs are a common feature in education, manifested through intra-school and inter-school quiz competitions. The latest entrant in the sub-genre of quizzing focuses on India's constitutional and legal history. The idea is a brainchild of the Centre for Law and Policy Research (CLPR), a partner of the regional office of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom.

After its huge success in 2016, the team at CLPR organised its 2nd edition in 2017. The competition was not limited to college and university students. Instead, for the first time, it was open to school students as well. The highly educational contest had four regional rounds and culminated in a grand national final. Each regional round had one spot reserved for school teams. Four regional rounds in Delhi, Kolkata, Pune and Bangalore produced two winning teams each who made it to the national finals. The final rounds of ConQuest 2017 in Bangalore saw eight teams competing against each other for the national title of 'Champions of ConQuest 2017'. The winners of the 2017 edition of the quiz were Karan Kamath and Amey Pilay of Symbiosis Law School, Pune.

“This year's competition was tougher than the premier in 2016. The questions posed were eclectic in its form ranging from audio clippings, connect-the-dots, potpourris and buzzer rounds”, said Dona John, the FNF program manager who observed the event. “The competition was intense, with teams displaying stark alertness and scholarly responses. Even the audience was far more engaged and eager to answer any questions posed to them”, Ms John noted.

The Foundation supports CLPR in its endeavour to promote a constitutional culture amongst young students. Both organisations believe a constitutionally well-informed individual makes for a better citizen. The two organisations intend to continue to work together and explore participatory methods to engage young minds from Indian universities and colleges in educational programs.



**1977:** A research service was introduced. In 1995, the Liberal Institute was founded. It was conceived as a think tank working on fundamental political questions, and plays an important role in developing liberal ideas.



With innovations and entrepreneurial spirit to the upswing for all.

# Working for social change in support of entrepreneurship

## “Fuck Up Nights” in Moscow

During the course of 2017, the “Moscow Fuck Up Nights” became a major public attraction for young creatives and entrepreneurs. The events are organised by the Foundation in cooperation with the “Digital October” start-up centre and are hosted in a former chocolate factory. They take place every one to two months and give 200-300 paying participants the opportunity to hear and discuss three to four stories of business failure. Based on the Moscow example, the Friedrich Naumann Foundation has also organised “Fuck Up Nights” in other cities, including Beirut (Lebanon), Belgrade (Serbia), Bishkek (Kyrgyzstan) and Dakar (Senegal). The “Fuck Up Nights” movement was originally launched in Mexico in 2012. Its aim is to use evening events as a platform for three to four presentations describing failed business ventures, so-called “Fuck Ups”, and providing the opportunity for a discussion. The presentations are subject to strict limitations (like TED talks), allowing only 7 minutes’ time and 10 images.

“Fuck Up Nights” are not only meant to entertain, but are also designed to let others learn from the mistakes of founders while reducing the social stigma and fear of failure. Being able to take responsibility for business decisions requires not being paralysed by the fear of failure.

In his work “Functions of Social Conflict”, Ralf Dahrendorf, former chairman of the Foundation for Freedom, wrote: “Conflict always contains in itself exceptional creative power.” Most of the speakers say that they are still engaged in business ventures, despite their failures, and encourage others to start a business.

As the Austrian economist Joseph Schumpeter wrote: “Entrepreneurs are at the very centre of everything. Whether in large or small, well-established or new companies, they are the driving force behind innovation and creative destruction. Their ventures are a source of new jobs, higher incomes and general economic progress.”



“Entrepreneurs are at the very centre of everything. Whether in large or small, well-established or new companies, they are the driving force behind innovation and creative destruction.”

In addition to many Russian entrepreneurs, ranging from the founder of a lingerie boutique to IT entrepreneurs to the founder of a halal butchery, two Germans also participated in Fuck Up Nights in Moscow in 2017.

As recently as June, entrepreneur Frank Sitta, who was elected as a member of the German parliament in September 2017, described his experience in failing to get a large project aimed at building a techno festival in Saxony-Anhalt off the ground. At the subsequent Russo-German city partnership conference in Krasnodar (Russia), he again emphasised that entrepreneurial culture, sufficient availability of risk capital and a dependable legal framework were more important for successful business ventures than direct government support. Entrepreneur Jennifer Miksch, who published the study “Startup Deutschland” on behalf of the Foundation in early 2017, spoke about the failure of a Silicon Valley startup aimed at placing cleaning personnel which she ran in Germany.

Building on the “Moscow Fuck Up Nights”, the Foundation organised the launch of the “Startup Deutschland” study with Jennifer in Moscow in May 2017, including a discussion with Russian startup incubators and entrepreneurs. In response to strong demand from the organisers, Jennifer Miksch repeated her presentation at the German-Russian Young Leaders Conference in October 2017 in Sochi (Russia) at the workshop “Failure should not be fatal – start-ups and unlocking entrepreneurial courage”, which was organised by the Foundation.



# Innovate Summit 2017 in Guatemala City

## Neuromarketing and growth hacking in Central America

For the second year running, Guatemala City took centre stage in Central America's start-up world in August 2017. In cooperation with our partner alliance, "Alianza para Centroamérica", we hosted the Innovate Entrepreneurship Summit in the Central American capital.

Over 700 delegates visited the exhibition grounds to take a deep dive into entrepreneurship and innovation in over 20 workshops and conferences. The topics ranged from neuromarketing and growth hacking to funding models and discussions about entrepreneurial engagement in challenging political environments. As in the previous year, delegates from rural areas were encouraged to participate to help stimulate economic development beyond the main cities.

The conference in Guatemala was preceded by the "Road to Innovate", a series of events in Central America's most important cities. Among other things, young entrepreneurs were given the opportunity to pitch for a ticket to Guatemala City, where they would be able to compete at the Summit to be recognised as the year's best Central American start-up. The prize-giving was the highlight of the event. On this occasion, it was the "Schoolbuzz" from Guatemala that took home the prize in an extremely competitive field. Schoolbuzz developed an app allowing parents to track their children's trip to school on the school bus, allowing them to make sure that their offspring arrive safely.

In Guatemala, plagued by a high crime rate like most other Central American countries, this represented "a key contribution to personal safety which can help reduce individual traffic as it provides parents with a trustworthy alternative", said Luis Velásquez, member of the jury and president of Guatemala's development bank, Banco CHN. As a liberal political foundation, we believe that the effects of supporting young entrepreneurs and innovation range far beyond the direct economic impact. It's all about freedom itself. While few would dispute that freedom of the arts is a requirement for individual freedom and self-expression, the opposite is true when it comes to entrepreneurial freedom.

Overregulation, private or government monopolies and oligopolies, and contempt for entrepreneurship in some circles of society are just some of the barriers that prevent young people from expressing themselves creatively and pursuing entrepreneurial interests. This can have fatal consequences for societies, not only, but especially in Central America.

Central America is one of the world's youngest regions. The median age is only 21 years in Guatemala, i.e. half the population is younger than 21. This means that promoting entrepreneurship and start-ups in the region is a highly political activity. Should efforts fail to dramatically boost growth and value-adding activities in the coming years, giving young people better prospects, then there is a real risk of increased unrest, populist excesses and even greater violence.

We are proud to have created the largest Central American platform for start-ups and entrepreneurs in just two years. This would not have been possible without the support of our many sponsors, including Centro Cayalá, Siemens, the mobile operator Tigo, the governments of Costa Rica and Guatemala and many others. We are deeply grateful to all our supporters.

We are proud to have created the largest Central American platform for start-ups and entrepreneurs in just two years.



Lego Serious Play Workshop



In collaboration with the Greek Liberties Monitor, the Foundation produced a video documentary focusing on the contributions of entrepreneurship to society.

## Greece

# Business in crisis



The team from the Greek soft-drink manufacturer Epsa

The Foundation for Freedom resumed its work in Greece in 2012. The country's sovereign debt crisis has already gone on for almost a decade and has severely impacted Greece's economy. Worse, Greek businesspeople are operating under particularly challenging conditions not only because of the macroeconomic impact of austerity politics, but also because of the difficult social context.

Running a business in Greece really isn't easy. Debt financing is significantly more expensive than for competitors in other countries, capital controls continue to restrict most financial transactions, and the slow-grinding mills of the Greek bureaucracy stretch business people's patience to the breaking point. "I just wish we could have a few years of stability", says Michális Tsaoútos, who works for Greek soft-drink manufacturer Epsa. He's not even talking about ideal operating conditions, but just about not having to deal with weekly new laws or regulations that have a direct impact on his work. "Greek companies are doing their best to perform well on this playing field. But it's really hard to shoot a goal when the goalposts are constantly being shifted."

Fundamentally reforming an economy like that of Greece is a mammoth task. Guidelines issued by the EU institutions impact not only the public sector, but also – and to an even greater extent – private industry. Greek society has long been marked by enormous trust in the state, and this was the case even in the decades before the crisis. It is therefore not surprising that the reputation of private business has suffered as a result of unavoidable retrenchments.

The Foundation's strategy in Greece is aimed at highlighting the benefits of the social market economy and raising awareness for the opportunities and obstacles of entrepreneurship. In collaboration with the Greek Liberties Monitor (GLM), the Foundation produced a video documentary focusing on the contributions of entrepreneurship to society. The film casts a positive light on Greek entrepreneurs and the social responsibility of their businesses. The documentary "Greek Crisis Success Stories" was viewed about 40,000 times in a single month. The online campaign, which also includes short video clips that use graphics to explain economic and political facts, recorded almost half a million views – an extraordinarily high number in a country with just under eleven million inhabitants.

To help correct the battered image of entrepreneurs while also contributing actively to the economic recovery of this crisis-ridden country, the Foundation for Freedom also hosts Entrepreneurship Academies where professional coaches advise entrepreneurs who are just starting out and help give their business ideas the final polish. In addition, participants are introduced to liberal concepts such as free trade, competition and the social market economy. The purpose of these activities is to counter the caricature which equates liberalism with predatory capitalism.

Shifting attitudes in a society deeply imprinted by clientelism towards a more favourable view of capitalism is going to take some time. Together with its Greek partner organisations, the Foundation for Freedom is accepting this challenge to help ensure that businesspeople like Mr Tsaoútos will once again be able to shoot goals – and help all Greeks become winners.

Participants of the Entrepreneurship Academy



Understanding  
digitization as an  
opportunity.



# The Foundation's Digital Innovation Hub in Hong Kong

## Asia goes mobile



Innovation in motion: the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom hosted a tram workshop in Hong Kong.

### Mobility with a smartphone and Octopus

Thanks to some old-fashioned, decidedly non-digital signage, I quickly find my way to Hong Kong Central Station. This is where you'll find one of the two in-town check-ins. The lady at the counter takes my suitcase and issues me with a boarding pass. I'm on my way to meet Lawrence Hui, the man behind a Hong Kong start-up. In a city where parking is even more expensive than in London, his current project focuses on car sharing. Our conversation becomes a podcast of the Naumann Foundation's new Innovation Hub. In Beijing and a few other cities, I could now have used a bicycle to get back, using a ridesharing app.

I pay for our coffee by holding my Octopus card over the scanner at the till. Credit can be loaded onto the card at any kiosk and it can be used to pay in supermarkets, on the subway, on a ferry, tram or bus, at McDonald's, KFC and Yoshinoya. A small piece of plastic that unlocks personal mobility.

"We've had Octopus for 20 years. It's obsolete," a friend of mine who works in the Hong Kong fintech scene tells me. "In Shanghai I carried just 10 renminbi in my pocket for a week. I even paid at a fruit stall using my smartphone and a WeChat QR code."

I think of my flight to Germany, where many linked transport systems seem to be as far from implementing technologies like the Octopus card as they were 20 years ago. I also use the card for the Airport Express, which takes me from the city centre to Hong Kong airport in 25 minutes.

### Asia on the move

The Foundation's Innovation Hub brings young start-up founders from Asia to Germany. One of them is Samantha Kapunan, whose start-up is called "IwantSeats". It uses software and smartphones to help prevent the collapse of transportation in Philippine cities, and gives the less well-off better access to mobility. It does so on the basis of ideals, creativity and as a sustainable business.

The better I get to know the start-up founders on this delegation trip, the more their determination to turn their ideas into reality – from Malaysia to Myanmar – fascinates me. I'm impressed by the way they drive progress in their countries through their entrepreneurial commitment and how they use new technologies as a tool to shape the future. We stop at Berlin, Hamburg and North Rhine-Westphalia. Our Asian start-up founders meet their German counterparts. They are often driven by the same passion. Their conclusions are also similar: Fewer barriers. Fewer restraints. Less talking. More acting. More freedom. More possibilities. More commitment to progress.

Through exchange programmes and other activities, our Innovation Hub also aims to combat the misconceptions which many Europeans have about Asia, and which appear to have been frozen in the 1990s. Many countries in Asia, and even more so the cities, have done more than just catch up. They have overtaken Europe and are shaping the future as Smart Cities with modern mobility.

Openness to change and the massive adoption of new technologies is common in Asia. There's a feeling of energy that often grabs you as you arrive at the airport, and pulls you along, be it in Yangon or Hong Kong, in Jakarta or Taipei, in Bangkok or Seoul. Things are happening. Should we wait until this shift hits us like a typhoon – or are we joining it?



"Openness to change and the massive adoption of new technologies is common in Asia."



New media offer a world of possibilities, but in crisis situations, exploiting creative potential is fraught with difficulties.

## Game Jams

# Coding for freedom

New media offer a world of possibilities, but in crisis situations, exploiting creative potential is fraught with difficulties. To help address the challenge, the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom is focusing on new formats and technologies to develop better ways of linking Syrian refugees and Lebanese host communities.

Overcoming obstacles has become a daily routine for 25-year-old Ayham\*. After he and his family fled to Lebanon from Syria in 2012, he first worked on a banana plantation and then as a graphic designer – instead of working on his education and future. It was only once he'd obtained a bursary that he was able to pay for study fees in Beirut and get a degree in computer science. Now he is investing his salary as a software developer in his own automated programming platform.

Unfortunately, there is little support for people like Ayham. Investors are cautious because of the insecurity, and further education is often only accessible to Lebanese citizens. As a way of providing young creatives with access to know-how, capital and contacts, the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom is exploring new concepts such as game jams and hackathons.

For example, the Foundation hosted an event where participants spent a weekend developing gaming apps under the motto Games for a Cause. Some of the participants had travelled all the way from Syria just to take part, while others were students from the economically depressed north of Lebanon. From the description, the event may sound like fun, but it also played an important role by helping to raise awareness for day-to-day topics on the basis of specially formulated challenges. For instance, in addition to technical skills, the participants learnt basic principles of entrepreneurship, teamwork and liberal values. The four main topic areas were education, health, human rights, and economic opportunity. At the end of the weekend, seven teams presented prototypes of their games which highlighted concrete issues such as waste management, dropping out of school and the topic of child soldiers.

The Innovate Education hackathon pursued a different approach. Here, the Lebanese start-up ecosystem was opened up to young Syrian and Lebanese students who worked in mixed teams to identify innovative solutions to help educate young Syrians in Lebanon. For this, they were first provided with basic framework data on "social entrepreneurship" and introduced to organisations that are already active in this field. In addition, specific problems faced by Syrian teenagers in Lebanon were analysed to find ways of improving the situation and collaboration in the host communities.

The participants, students from a variety of courses, were given just under two days' time after the introduction to develop their own ideas. They were supported by coaches like Ayham, who had already gained some experience in working with comparable start-ups or companies. At the end of the hackathon, the teams presented the ideas they had developed, and discussed their benefits and business cases. The two winning teams were identified by a jury and received several months of coaching, a co-working space and support from a local university to continue working on their ideas.

Such projects provide young people facing significant problems in Lebanon with practical and sustainable support. Moreover, they represent an important contribution to making unused potential accessible to the Lebanese economy, helping promote a positive trend towards more start-ups and more jobs.

\* The Syrian refugee asked to be identified by his first name only for this article.



Gamejam – Introduction and presentation of the project

# A City App promotes citizen engagement and competition

## Jakarta: a behemoth gets smart

In Jakarta, Indonesia's 15m-strong capital megacity, the air is bad and the traffic jams are a disaster. For 20 years, the government has been neglecting the city's infrastructure – with the exception of public buses, which were given their own lanes.

Now, finally, a subway, a skytrain, bridges, tunnels and sidewalks are beginning to appear. City hall boasts a "Smart City Lounge" and citizens can download an app called Qlue from the internet. After registering on the app with their own name or a pseudonym, users can immediately get started: if they stumble over a pothole, they can upload a photo and a comment describing the problem. The location of the pothole is registered via GPS.

The citizen complaint is then forwarded to officials – but not to those at city hall, who would be overburdened by 900 reports per day. Instead, the photo and the report are submitted to one of the 262 neighbourhood offices of Jakarta, namely the one responsible for the pothole area, based on the GPS data. Complaints about uncollected garbage, blocked drains, etc. are initially marked red in the app. The colour changes to yellow as soon as officials start dealing with the problem. Once the pothole has been repaired, the status changes to green and a photo of the newly tarred road is added to the report. A small bonus per solved problem is an incentive for the officials. Staff who ignore complaints can be demoted.

Qlue is introducing competition between the 262 neighbourhoods of Jakarta. "The Selong neighbourhood has resolved 90% of its 31 notifications", reports Qlue when you open the app in the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom's Jakarta office, which is situated in Selong. However, in the city-wide rankings, the Foundation's neighbourhood is only ranked 171st.

More than 600,000 citizens of Jakarta use Qlue. The app is helping to ensure that roads improve, fewer metal girders stick out of sidewalks, broken street lights get repaired and garbage is collected more quickly.

Whether it's overhanging branches, blocked drains, dangerous low-hanging power cables or parked cars blocking roads: Qlue forces officials to act.

Users can comment on online complaints, for example to point out that they agree with their fellow citizen or that he or she is being difficult. In Selong, a noise complaint about the local mosque, which has its speakers on for several hours each day, triggered vigorous debate on Qlue. It abated when the complainant uploaded a link to the regulations of the ministry for religion: mosques may only switch on their loudspeakers and direct them outwards five times per day, briefly, during the calls to prayer. However, the complaint is still showing red: the mosque continues to blast out its religious messages like before. Qlue is not omnipotent.

Despite progress, Jakarta is not yet as neat and tidy as Stockholm and unlikely ever to be. But at least the city is finally showing signs of improvement as Qlue combines citizen participation, subsidiarity, accountability and competition.

From any computer in the world, anybody can see how Qlue is spreading all over Jakarta: <https://mycity.qlue.id/>. The app, a collaboration between a start-up and city administrations, is already being used in 13 Indonesian cities. The young entrepreneur who developed the app, Mr Rama Raditya, thinks Qlue may be so popular because "Indonesians love complaining". Imagine what the app would do in German cities.

In Jakarta, the Qlue app is part of the city administration's Smart City concept. The Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom regularly hosts workshops on mobility, infrastructure and Smart City, with Qlue staff participating as speakers.

The app is helping to ensure that roads improve, fewer metal girders stick out of sidewalks, broken street lights get repaired and garbage is collected more quickly.



A collection of numerous colorful globes, each displaying a different world map. The globes are arranged in a dense, overlapping pattern, filling the entire frame. The maps use various color schemes to represent continents and countries. Some globes show the Americas, others show Europe and Africa, and some show the Pacific and Indian Oceans. The text is overlaid on the right side of the image.

Cementing  
old friendships and  
building new ones.

# 25th Anniversary Promoting Tolerance

Just after the fall of the Iron Curtain and the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom launched the “Promoting Tolerance” programme in cooperation with the American Jewish Committee. Over the past 25 years, a total of 320 participants from 25 countries in Central and Eastern Europe have met, exchanged ideas and networked thanks to the programme.

## Then: young and engaged; now: political trendsetters and high-ranking politicians

Active participants met with alumni and guests to take stock under the heading “Confronting bigotry and intolerance in the face of rising populism”. The programme’s success was reflected in the speakers who took to the stage, all of them alumni of the Promoting Tolerance programme from various years. In the panel discussion, Ivo Goldstein, the Croatian ambassador in France and UNESCO ambassador of his country, emphasised that he was no longer as optimistic about the political and social condition of the world as he had been in the past. Had it not been for the Promoting Tolerance programme, he would have abandoned all optimism, he surmised.

Keit Pentus-Rosimannus, former foreign minister and minister for the environment of Estonia, member of the Estonian parliament, was less pessimistic. She was confident that by the time of the 30th or 35th anniversary of the programme, discussions would revolve around the “post-populist era”. Populists didn’t offer solutions, she said, but usually defined themselves in opposition to something, an approach that wouldn’t take them far.

Máté Hajba, director of the Free Market Foundation, agreed with Pentus-Rosimannus in principle, although he pointed out that based on the political development in his own country of Hungary, he really didn’t have much reason to be optimistic. He called for an approach based on dialogue instead of isolation in dealing with populists and their potential voters. “True, populists live in their own bubble. But so do we. We have to step out of our bubbles and seek debate,” said Hajba.

Emil Krijas, secretary general of Liberal International, brought the discussion to a very personal level and described various experiences where he encountered intolerance towards minorities – among others, in his home country of Macedonia. But like the preceding speakers, he emphasised how much he had gained from participating in Promoting Tolerance in dealing with such situations as well as everyday life.

## Liberals carry a special responsibility

In an impassioned speech, Sabine Leutheusser-Schnarrenberger, former federal minister of justice and Board of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom, appealed to all democrats and especially to liberals to commit themselves to countering intolerance, xenophobia and populism. She said that we should not fall into the trap of believing that democratic values were automatically protected because they were more firmly anchored in society and better institutionalised politically than in previous decades.

Quite the contrary: democratic values were under threat precisely because they were being taken for granted. It was essential, she added, to prevent civil liberties from being hollowed out and to uphold them in these times above all others because radical streams were often strongest when democratic forces were weakest.

## Ever-changing challenges, but always the same goal

As one of the founders of the programme, Rabbi Andrew Baker from the American Jewish Committee shared some very personal opening remarks and praised the good partnership with the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom. Since the start of the programme 25 years previously, much had been achieved, as was apparent from the exceptional position many alumni had achieved in their societies. As multipliers, they assumed an important role in their respective countries of origin.

Ulrich Niemann, head of the international department of the Foundation for Freedom, took his cue from the opening remarks: he emphasised how important the programme was at the time when the transition of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe began 25 years ago and when the after-effects of communism still had to be processed. Today the challenges were different, he said, and accordingly the focus of the programme had to be adjusted several times over the course of time; but the core message had remained unchanged for a quarter century: working for tolerance – through an exemplary German-Jewish partnership.



“Democratic values were under threat precisely because they were being taken for granted.”



A delegation of the Foundation visited the President of the Tunisian Parliament



The achievements of Tunisia's democratic transformation can only be preserved in the medium- to long-term if the country manages to pair its successful political change with economic development.

## Foundation's Board pays tribute to Tunisia's exceptional democracy Cementing an old friendship

Dr Wolf-Dieter Zumpfort with Nobel Prize laureate Wided Bouchamaoui



### Appreciation

The autumn 2017 trip to Tunisia by Dr Wolf-Dieter Zumpfort, Board member of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom, paid tribute to the special relationship between the Foundation and the North African country.

In talks with liberal partners as well as MPs and ministers who support the Foundation, Dr Zumpfort had the opportunity to emphasise and acknowledge the new role of parliamentarism in Tunisia, as well as the stabilising role of the country in a neighbourhood of volatile states. In his response, the speaker of parliament expressed his appreciation and deep gratitude for the Foundation's role in the development of his country over such a long period.

Seven years after the Jasmine revolution, Tunisia, the birthplace of the "Arab Spring", continues to be seen as the only remaining prospect for open, democratic development in the region. However, the long-term success of the country is by no means assured. The achievements of Tunisia's democratic transformation can only be preserved in the medium- to long-term if the country manages to pair its successful political change with economic development.

The Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom turns 60 in 2018. Its international department is almost as old as the Foundation itself: it was founded in 1963, and the Republic of Tunisia played an important role in this story. In early 1964, the Institute Ali Bach Hamba was launched as the Foundation's first project outside of Germany. It served as a multi-purpose education and training institute for journalists, documentalists and prominent Tunisians.

### Continuity and change

The Foundation experienced highs and lows during its half century in Tunisia, but fortunately maintained its presence throughout, including in politically difficult times. In doing so, it was able to demonstrate some of the core qualities of its liberal activities in support of democracy, the rule of law, the market economy and human rights to partners and target groups equally: strategic continuity, dependability and adaptability.

When Tunisians triggered the hopefully-named "Arab Spring" in the region in 2011 by overthrowing the Ben Ali regime, the Foundation opened a new chapter in its work with partners from politics, civil society, the media, research and business, aimed at promoting the success of a liberal political and economic transformation in the country.

Through its international activities, the Foundation for Freedom contributes to a liberal and democratic world in almost 60 countries the world over. In doing so, it cements old friendships – because a free world cannot be achieved without friends and partners.

# Firas Alshater – Syrian Youtuber and “clown prince of migrants”

## You can achieve more with humour

There is no doubt in Firas Alshater’s mind that you can get more done with humour. “I’ve seen enough hate”, says the 26-year-old Syrian filmmaker, comedian and Youtuber. In Syria, he was imprisoned and tortured; in Germany, he makes Germans and Syrians laugh with his video channel, “Zukar”. In response to an invitation by the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom and the Tagesspiegel, a German daily newspaper, Firas Alshater presented his book “Ich komm auf Deutschland zu – Ein Syrer über seine neue Heimat” (I’m approaching Germany – a Syrian on his new homeland) – in fluent German.

The discussion keeps on coming back to freedom. “What do you want to be one day, Firas? I want to be free,” was his response from a young age when asked which profession he wanted to pursue. The first time he really felt free was when he took part in protests against the Syrian ruler, Bashar al-Assad, in Damascus – right there in the front row, with a loudhailer. “That was pure energy – I immediately became addicted to the feeling. My drug was freedom,” he writes in his book.

In the context of the new event series “Diwan”, which the International Journalist and Media Dialogue Programme of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom is hosting in cooperation with the Tagesspiegel, the social media star now had the opportunity to meet readers, fans and people curious to know more. The roughly 150 guests included many refugees, who were able to follow and participate in the discussion thanks to the presence of a simultaneous interpreter. For many of them, the Syrian is a role model because he approaches Germans fearlessly and cheerfully.

In his videos and in his book, he confronts Germans with their own reflection. Sometimes acerbic, sometimes cordial, but always funny. TIME magazine crowned Alshater, who has been living in Berlin since 2013, the “clown prince of migrants”. Before arriving in Germany, Alshater had never heard the word integration. He deals with German bureaucracy and its muddle of competencies in his own way: “It works best when you can laugh together,” he says.



**2002:** Start of the “Media Policy Debate” series. These events are aimed primarily at young journalists. The International Journalist and Media Dialogue Programme was introduced in 2015. It develops new forms of cooperation between media practitioners in Germany and abroad.



“Our handcuffs are still clanging against the keys of our keyboard.”

Exiled journalists in conversation at the launch party for the Tagesspiegel supplement, “We choose freedom”, in collaboration with the Tagesspiegel and the Robert Bosch Foundation

### “We choose freedom”

Young, exiled journalists present their Tagesspiegel supplement on democracy and (lack of) freedom – and also hold up a mirror to the Germans themselves.

“When I first arrived in Germany, I immediately wanted to test the limits of freedom,” says the journalist and hip-hop artist Jamal Ali, who is from Azerbaijan. “But I never hit a limit, despite trying very hard,” says the 30-year-old with a smile, who was jailed and mistreated in Azerbaijan because he had allegedly insulted the president’s mother.

Negin Behkam, who is from Iran, said she was enjoying her new-found freedom as a woman in Germany. “But I’m only going to feel really free when I’m no longer reduced to my identity as an Iranian,” she said in the packed hall at the Tagesspiegel in Berlin, where established residents and many young refugees mingled as the exiled journalists presented the supplement “We choose freedom”, which they had created for the Tagesspiegel on the occasion of the national elections on 24 September. In cooperation with the Tagesspiegel and the Robert Bosch Foundation, the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom supported the exiled journalists by hosting a series of workshops and discussions about democracy and freedom, as well as providing journalism training.

### Never give up

The group also included the famous Turkish journalist Can Dündar, former editor-in-chief of Cumhuriyet, a leading Turkish newspaper, who runs the news website Özgürüz (“We are free”) from exile in Berlin. Dündar, considered a doyen of the many exiled journalists living in Berlin, had authored a very personal text about the difficulty of writing while in exile for the supplement. “Our handcuffs are still clanging against the keys of our keyboard.” Still, he encouraged his young colleagues to never give up.

Hamid Suleiman, a Syrian artist who lives between Berlin and Paris, created six sketches depicting the conflict between the yearning for freedom and the feeling of rootlessness exclusively for the supplement, choosing to communicate through the power of pictures.

With this project, the International Journalist and Media Dialogue Programme of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom is continuing its collaboration with journalists who have had to flee their countries. As early as October 2016, the Tagesspiegel had published articles from exiled journalists in a special edition.

# Creating prospects and explaining dangers

## Migration is a topic that connects Africa and Europe

For this article, we interviewed Inge Herbert, our project manager for West Africa, on migration and human rights – two topics that the Senegal office of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom focused on in a series of events during the last two weeks of September 2017. One of the many responses from the media to the event series was, “An unmissable annual meeting of relevant actors and human rights advocates in Western and Central Africa.” The event series set a new record, with almost 150 participants from 16 African countries. For the eighth time, the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom hosted a series of events on the topic of international human rights in cooperation with the Fondation René Cassin. The topic of the 2017 series, which took place from 18 to 29 September 2017, was “International Migration and Human Rights.”

### What prompted you to focus on this range of topics?

Migration is a topic that connects Africa and Europe. As such, it must be discussed in collective dialogue. As a German foundation with two offices in West Africa, it is our duty to enable and shape this dialogue.

The topic of migration is far too often seen as consisting solely of Africans emigrating to Europe. The fact that many African countries are countries of origin as well as destinations is often ignored, as is the fact that many African countries have the same problems as European countries, such as xenophobia and integration issues. Migration in Africa is a centuries-old phenomenon, be it for climatic, economic or other reasons. For example, 25% of the population of Ivory Coast is made up of foreigners.

However, in contrast to Europe, this range of topics receives far too little attention in the African media. Our event series should therefore also make a contribution to this discussion. In addition, we strive to educate relevant actors (such as lawyers, judges and activists) and help them to acquire in-depth knowledge in the areas of migration and human rights. Human rights violations on the migration routes through the desert are manifold – human traffickers and smugglers are common culprits. It is very important to emphasise that people should not lose their most basic rights, even during illegal migration.

### In your opinion, what were the highlights of the event series?

Our first series took place in 2003 and had 25 participants; this year there were almost 150 highly qualified men and women from 16 French-speaking African countries. The number of partners has also risen continuously. In cooperation with these partners, we managed to design a stimulating framework programme in addition to the training workshops which form the core of the event.

With the assistance of the Italian embassy, we invited a range of NGOs to present their views on migration and human rights. In addition, we organised film screenings with the help of Ciné Droit Libre, an NGO from Burkina Faso. One of the films shown was *Retour d'enfer*, directed by Ivorian-Cameroonian director Patrick Fandio. This film addresses the difficult path of migrants on their way to Libya and the social stigma of returnees. In this way, we managed to reach new target markets and a larger audience, not just experts.

### How do the West African projects of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom contribute to the topics of migration and human rights?

The topics of migration and human rights form an important part of our Foundation's work in West Africa. We pursue two primary goals through our projects. First, we try to explain the dangers of illegal migration by campaigning everywhere in the Ivory Coast with campaign vehicles, concerts, films and other media on the topic, having done so since 2016. Second, we also aim to provide local prospects, especially for young people, who make up the majority of the population (two-thirds of the West African population is younger than 35).

We do this by encouraging entrepreneurship and cooperation with government agencies. On the one hand, we explain the dangers of illegal migration; on the other, we support planned and controlled migration. It is important to us that people of different backgrounds meet, enter into dialogue and learn from one another.



Migration in Africa is a centuries-old phenomenon, be it for climatic, economic or other reasons.



“What the DA is doing could become a model for Africa and throughout the world.”

## A key to prosperity

# Good governance

The executive committee of Liberal International (LI) met in Johannesburg, South Africa on 28 and 29 October 2017. The theme: good governance. Professor Paqué, deputy chairman of the Foundation and LI vice-president, attended the event. He found that the theme of the meeting was anything but theoretical. When you look around you in South Africa, you'll see the impact of “bad governance” everywhere you look.

### Karl-Heinz Paqué reports:

The people of the grand “rainbow nation”, as South Africans like to refer to their country, are being hindered from making the best possible use of the opportunities in their lives. They need “Freedom You Can Use”, the slogan of the Democratic Alliance (DA), South Africa's liberal opposition.

“How to Steal a City” is the provocative title of a bestseller by Chrispian Olver which I bought on the trip back from Johannesburg at the airport book store. The book's subtitle is “An Inside Account”, and that is exactly what it is: the author worked for many years in the city administration of Nelson Mandela Bay (Port Elizabeth) when it was still under the control of the African National Congress. He witnessed a gigantic, complex network of corruption and self-enrichment in one of the country's metropolitan areas, which was dominated by the ANC from the mid-nineties onwards.

The book reads like a thriller, but is in fact a realistic account of the bitter reality faced by many people in South African cities and across the world. Of course, “bad governance” is not exclusive to developing countries and emerging markets.

It exists everywhere lucrative tenders are awarded and anywhere a single political force manages to build a stable political network over an extended period of time, establishing an unbreakable stranglehold on power. Or maybe it can be broken after all? Although South Africa continues to be dominated by the ANC, there are signs of hope: at the local government elections in 2016, opposition forces led by the Democratic Alliance gained majorities in many of the country's large cities. Cape Town, Johannesburg, Pretoria (Tshwane) and Port Elizabeth (Nelson Mandela Bay) now have DA executive mayors. They bear a tremendous responsibility: having promised good governance in their election campaigns, they now have to deliver. This means tenaciously fighting corruption, insisting that the principles of the rule of law be observed, fair and open tender processes, and competent and speedy administration.

It is a mammoth task. But the liberal DA has already proved that it knows how to address this challenge, both in Cape Town and in other municipalities in the Western Cape province, where it has been in government for a number of years. In these towns, the DA managed to achieve striking improvements, news of which spread throughout the country and contributed to the 2016 election victories. The DA's slogan, “Freedom You Can Use” became more than just an empty phrase – it was filled with meaning.

This is what needs to happen in Johannesburg too, a city which has for many years been leading in the world's corruption and crime rankings. Walking through Joburg (one of the resident's nicknames for their city), the impact of bad governance is clearly visible: large numbers of vacant highrises and “broken windows” without prospects. And in among the desolation, a largely poor, black population hoping and praying for “business, jobs and skills” to return to the inner city – along with a stimulating urban life rich in opportunities. But for this to happen, there have to be systematic urban renewal programmes which make it attractive to live and work in the city centre and to enjoy living there. Joburg's new city council is taking its task seriously. There's a palpable buzz throughout the city. The plans are ambitious and time is short – residents quickly become impatient when they don't see progress. But at least a start has been made.

What the DA is doing could become a model for Africa and throughout the world. One more reason for Liberal International to adopt its new Declaration on Better Governance in Johannesburg, following on the comprehensive Liberal Manifesto adopted in Andorra in May. The new declaration represents a broad list of demands in the fight against bad governance, where the state exists for the self-enrichment of powerful clans, families or parties. It makes freedom tangible: “Freedom You Can Use”. That is the best chance of a better future for all.



“We wanted to show people how the EU and a united Europe have a positive impact on their daily lives.”

## Scholarship holders launch a successful project

# Why Europe – rekindling love for Europe

“Europe is a unique project,” say Hans-Christoph Schlüter (23 years old, business studies) and Benedikt Kau (21 years old, liberal arts and sciences). We interviewed the two students, who hold scholarships from the Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung, about their WhyEurope project, which aims to rekindle enthusiasm for the idea of Europe. The complete interview is available at [www.freiheit.org](http://www.freiheit.org). Over 20 people are now involved in the project. The students believe in the idea of Europe and want to discuss the future of Europe constructively. For this purpose, WhyEurope – an independent NGO – offers platforms on social networks including Facebook, Twitter and Instagram. Their goal: a new vision for Europe.

**Congratulations! WhyEurope has just turned one. How did you come up with the idea of launching WhyEurope, what drives you, what made you think “this project is needed”?**

**Benedikt:** Thank you. A year ago, we found ourselves talking a lot about emerging right-wing populism in Europe. The growing threat from Eurosceptics was a further big topic of discussion. After the Brexit referendum, we knew that we had to do something. Populists are incredibly good at disseminating their content and slogans. We kept on asking ourselves: what makes them so successful? Is there any way to use what they’ve got and communicate in the same way? Simply, emotionally, but pro-Europe? We said “yes”, and that’s the idea our project is based on.

**Hans-Christoph:** We wanted to highlight the benefits of European integration. In simple terms, there are two categories: things which everybody knows – peace, for example – and things almost nobody knows about – drinking water standards or airline passenger rights, for instance. We wanted to change this by using social networks like Facebook, Twitter and Instagram to communicate these benefits simply and by appealing to emotions. We wanted to show people how the EU and a united Europe have a positive impact on their daily lives. Beating populists at their own game: that’s what we call positive populism.

**What is it about Europe that motivates you and what is the new image which you want to create?**

**Benedikt:** Europe is a unique project. The fact that we are living together peacefully in Europe should be reason enough to support the European project. Add the domestic market, guaranteed human rights and an enormous range of liberties. None of these things should be taken for granted, considering what you see if you cast your mind back through European history or look beyond Europe’s borders to the rest of the world today.

**Hans-Christoph:** Europe and the EU are often associated with unnecessary bureaucracy, but Europe is not identical with Brussels. Europe – that’s us. And it has to be worthwhile being committed to it. We want to transmit an image of Europe that goes far beyond EU institutions. We want the term to have a positive and emotional connotation, while communicating the enthusiasm with which we should face the European project.

This doesn’t mean that we are one of the EU’s marketing agencies. We do think that drastic reforms are needed. That is exactly what we want to discuss with people: what should the future of Europe look like? We are convinced that we have to pull together. Letting Europe disintegrate doesn’t look like a solution to us.

**How has WhyEurope developed over the past few months and what lies ahead?**

**Benedikt:** At the beginning we never would have expected the impact we’ve had after just one year. Our content reaches between 700,000 and 2.4m people per month. During the election campaigns in the Netherlands and France, we worked with Pulse of Europe to get tens of thousands of people to go out into the streets for Europe through our campaigns “Blijf bij ons” and “Restez avec nous”.

**Hans-Christoph:** In the meantime we’re also publishing our content in French, German and Hungarian. We’re working on making further languages available. The goal is always to reach people, to get out of the pro-European bubble and to reach sceptics with our arguments.

**A football jersey for Europe**

Currently, WhyEurope is promoting the European idea with a soccer jersey, a project implemented via a crowdfunding platform. The jerseys are available for €28 each. And the project has been successful: in November 2017, 426 Europe jerseys were shipped. The idea came from Aaron Martin, a passionate footballer who has joined WhyEurope.



**1973:** The scholarship programme was introduced. Then, as now, the programme offers support to gifted students who display a liberal attitude and strong civic engagement.



# Defending and promoting freedom worldwide



**Dr Wolfgang Gerhardt**  
Chairperson of the Board of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom

**Mr Gerhardt, 2017 was a challenging, intense year for the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom. How did you experience it?**

For me, the past year was marked by our intensive campaign to promote political liberalism in Germany, and so I was particularly pleased to see the Free Democrats return to the Bundestag – it meant that the continued existence of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom has been secured. We now have the financial scope to maintain our clear commitment to strengthening and defending freedom, not only in Germany, but also in many other countries all over the world.

Too many people in Germany seem to view freedom as a given, something that requires no further attention. It appears that after the great German catastrophe, generations grew up believing that the level of social safety and liberal order provided in Germany are their birthright. Our Foundation has to make it clear that we live in a country where you cannot assume that everything is guaranteed. The freedom we enjoy places high demands on each and every one of us. Preserving it requires knowledge, reason, a willingness to learn, and individual effort. It is not the welfare state that secures the democratic quality of a society: it is a strong civil society that stands up for its rights even in economically challenging times.

**The past year was marked by the strategic reorientation of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom. What has changed?**

The Foundation set itself new strategic objectives for the period 2018-2022. They can be summarised under the headings of a creative platform for innovation, strong engagement in the area of scholarships, and rebuilding trust in the political culture of the Basic Law and the related democratic institutions. It is apparent that authoritarian systems are on the advance worldwide; that populists are being voted into parliaments; that there are people who believe that anything goes if you're in the majority.

The Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom has to remain clear about remaining strongly engaged in civic education to counteract attacks from the margins. We have to make it clear to people that when casting their vote, they have to read the package insert to find out about side effects and the expiry dates of political offerings. There are no simple political recipes. We have to find a way to overcome the apathy with which many people respond to matters which affect us all, and familiarise them with complexity and cause-and-effect relationships. Of course you have to listen, but you are also allowed – even obliged – to tell them what they also need to know.

**Mr Gerhardt, the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom is celebrating its 60th anniversary in 2018. What are your wishes for the Foundation in its anniversary year?**

The Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom has to continue living up to its name. As Ralf Dahrendorf put it so memorably, it has to preserve the priority of freedom. And it has to do this not least by responding to justice advocates who are increasingly confusing justice with equality. You cannot achieve justice without freedom. Any free society is a huge social experiment. It brings problems with it. But its problems can only be solved in freedom. We are better positioned for the future than ever before, but there is still much left to do if we want to master it.

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# Report by the Board of trustees on committee work in 2017



**Professor Jürgen Morlok**  
Chairperson of the Board of trustees of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom

In 2017, the Foundation's Board of trustees had to bid farewell to Dr Fritz Schaumann, who helped shape and guide the Foundation's work during his 14 years as a member of this Board.

The Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom continued on its path of renewal in 2017. Over the course of the year, the Board of trustees, along with its two committees – the finance committee and the programme committee, which each meet three times a year – worked closely with the Board of directors as well as the executive management team on implementing the organisation's change processes and formulating its strategic objectives for 2022.

The Board's deliberations focused primarily on the strategic reorientation of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom, the resulting funding requirements, and the 2018 schedule of events. Furthermore, the Board followed developments in the international arena closely, particularly the Foundation's work in crisis regions and the ongoing development of the strategy for international activities.

At the traditional get-together on the evening before the official meeting, Thomas Straubhaar, professor of economics and member of the Board of trustees, contributed his expertise to the discussion on "the global world trade order in times of Trumpism".



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# Shared vision of the political foundations

The Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom, Hanns Seidel Foundation, Heinrich Böll Foundation and Rosa Luxemburg Foundation worked together to formulate their common vision.

Their joint declaration simultaneously serves as a position statement, a commitment, and public information. The declaration in brief:

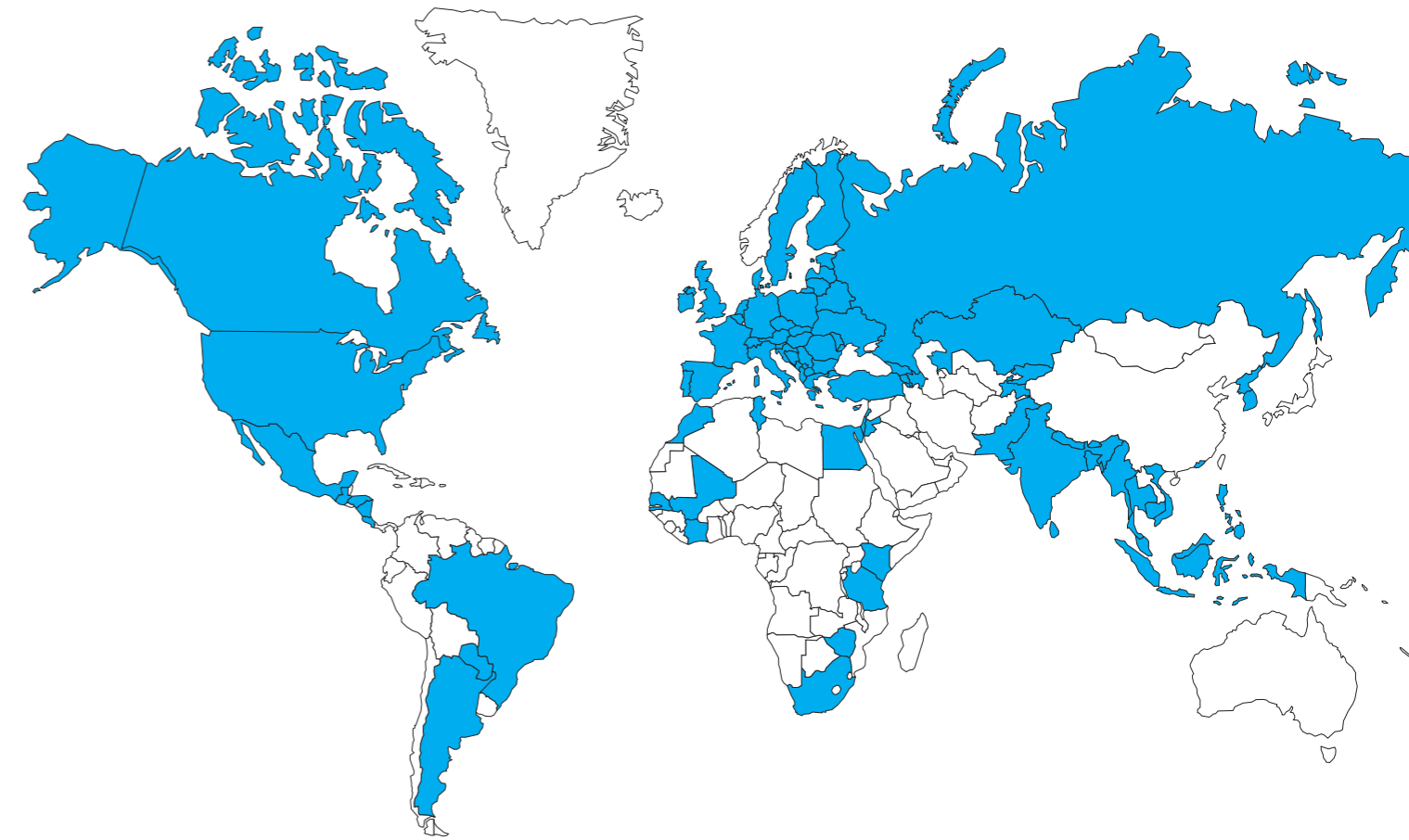
The Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom, Hanns Seidel Foundation, Heinrich Böll Foundation and Rosa Luxemburg Foundation are political foundations which maintain close ties to the following parties, respectively: the Christian Democratic Union of Germany (CDU), the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), the Free Democratic Party (FDP), the Christian Social Union in Bavaria (CSU), the federal Green Party (Bündnis 90/ Die Grünen), and The Left party (Die Linke).

The purpose of their activities, as defined in their respective articles of association, is to participate in shaping the future of our polity. The foundations engage in socio-political and democratic education, offer information and provide political consulting services in Germany and abroad. All of their activities are based on the principles of a liberal-democratic basic order and are inspired by the tenets of solidarity, subsidiarity and mutual tolerance, in pursuit of the following aims in particular:

- The use of civic education to encourage citizens to engage with political questions and to participate in political processes;
- The promotion of science, policy research and consulting to develop principles of political action, and the deepening of dialogue and knowledge exchange between research, politics, government and business;
- The study of the historical development of parties and of political and social movements;
- The use of bursaries and extra-curricular programmes to support the scientific education and training of gifted youths;

- The promotion of arts and culture through events, bursaries, and the maintenance and preservation of cultural works;
- The support of efforts aimed at promoting European unification and international understanding through information and international encounters;
- The support of development policy through programmes and projects aimed at building democratic, free and constitutional structures committed to human and civil rights.

The vision of the political foundations includes applying resources where they create the biggest impact and accounting publicly for their use. Informing the public about activities and spending is a voluntary undertaking of the political foundations and strengthens public trust in their work. It is not least for this reason that the political foundations agreed to implement the recommendations made by the commission of independent experts appointed by the federal president, rather than waiting for a law to be passed. In their joint declaration, the political foundations explain their vision with particular reference to the public funding of their work and the imperative of being accountable to the public.



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Your support helps us make a difference! Your donations allow us to grow the private funding of the Foundation's activities. It is only by increasing the private share of funding that we can become more independent from public grants, and thereby more independent in our work. For this, we thank you sincerely.

Support the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom by contributing to our endowment fund as a benefactor, or with a one-off donation to fund our activities. Contributing to our endowment fund has a lasting impact: all of the interest generated by the endowment helps fund our tasks in perpetuity, as defined in our articles of association. A donation has a one-off effect and contributes directly to funding activities. Decide for yourself whether you would like to support the Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom as a benefactor or as a donor, thereby making a contribution to the polity. In both cases we will provide a tax-deductible donation receipt. Please contact us for more information.

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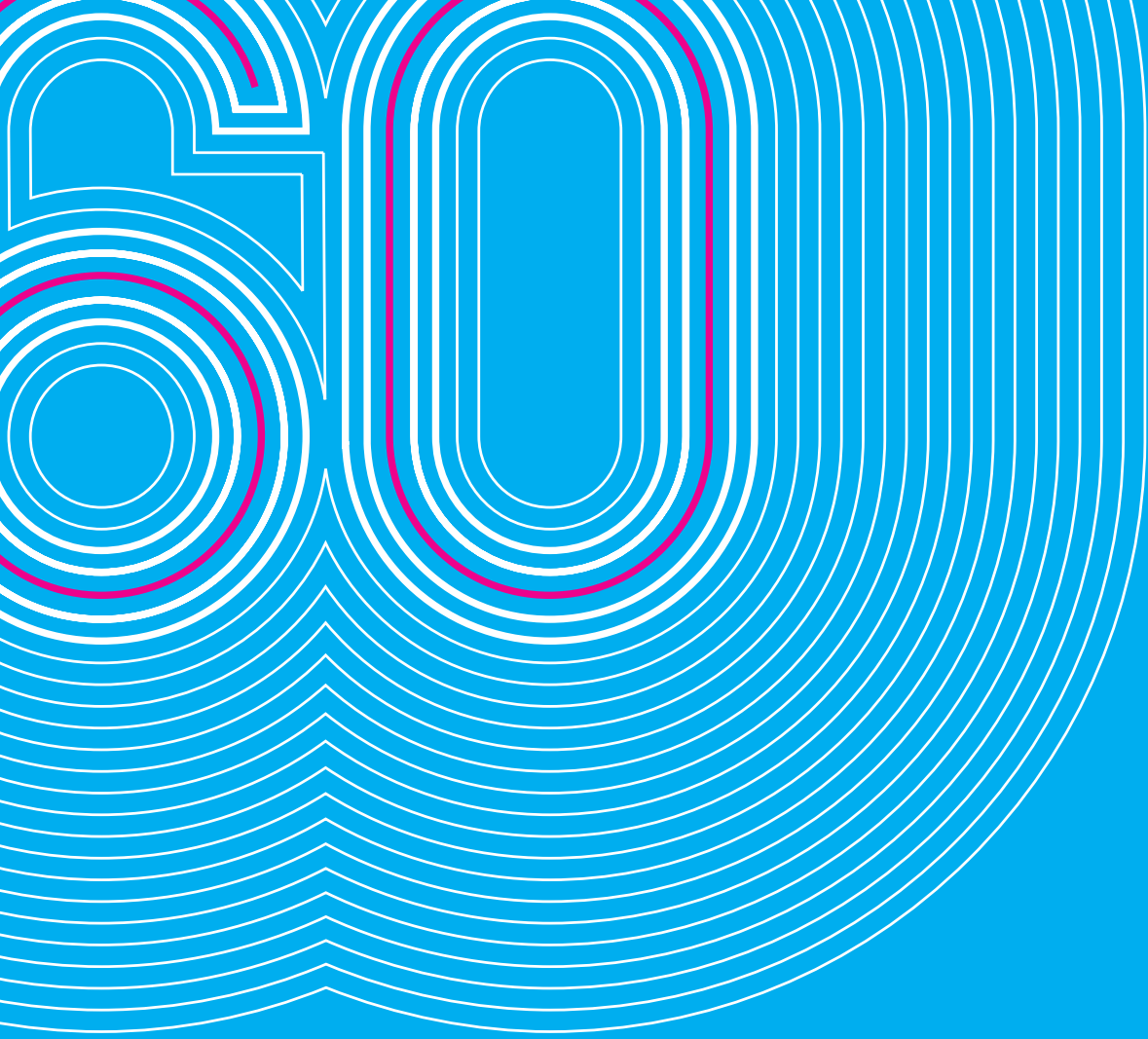
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