

# Speaking up!

HELMUT  
SCHMIDT  
LECTURE  
2022



02





Hatice Cengiz (@mercan\_resifi) is a Turkish human rights activist. Her fiancé, journalist Jamal Khashoggi, was assassinated inside the Saudi consulate in Istanbul on 2 October 2018. Since that day, Hatice has campaigned for truth and justice. She will give the *2022 Helmut Schmidt Lecture*.

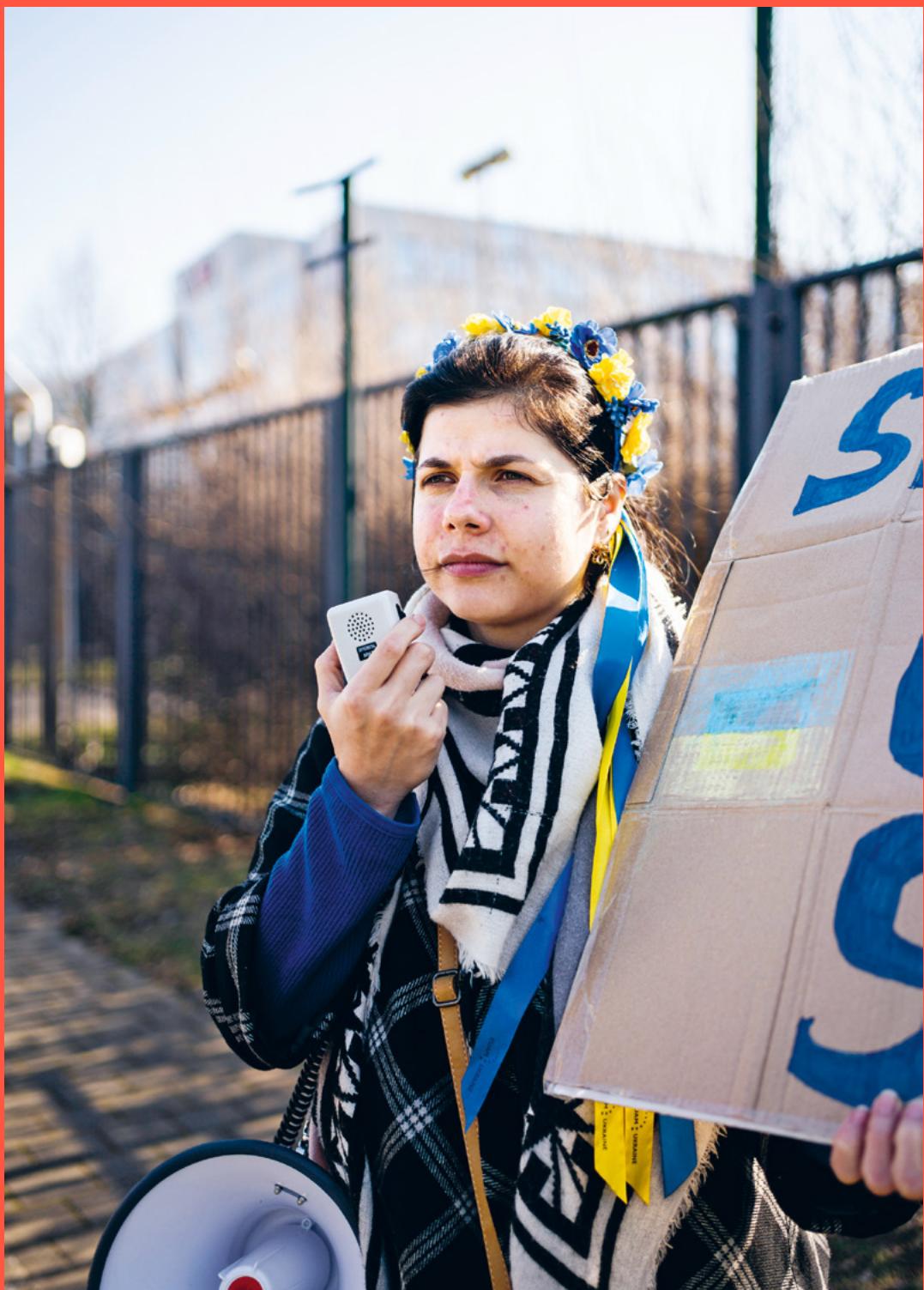
"For me, the need to speak up, to strive for justice, stems from the importance of raising our voices at a time when the rights offered to us by political elites are insufficient. At a time when communication technologies have made it much easier to raise our voices to defend our rights, we also have obligations to defend those who cannot speak up or are unaware of how to do so .

Life has primarily asked me to tell others about what I have experienced, not what I have read. Four years ago, we, all of us, came across the news of a world-famous journalist who had been assassinated. Readers and listeners encountered this news in one way or another. Unwillingly, I found myself part of this news. Later, when I found that I was the first and the last witness to this news, my testimony turned into that of a victim and then of an advocate for justice, placing a burden on me to become his voice.

While waiting outside the consulate, the media started flocking to the scene slowly. But soon, representatives of all local and international media agencies were present and the story was having a major impact. It was at that moment that I fully realised and understood how powerful the media would be in uncovering the murder that took place and in providing the context for it. Both the media and the impact of speaking up was evident from day one. After that day, the media did not let go of the incident.

I can still remember my first media interview as if it was yesterday. At the time, I was under great shock and it was hard to speak in person. I needed to pull myself together to explain everything that had happened. In the end, it was a natural human act, despite all the chaos, the suffering and the pain. It is a natural human right for a person to defend themselves. If the person cannot defend themselves because they are now absent, another person must speak up to defend them and demand their rights.

Several months ago, a reporter at the White House questioned the US president's spokesperson, quoting a tweet published by me. Unfortunately, the spokesperson gave a diplomatic answer – as it is usually the case for a politician. Nevertheless, it still meant a great deal to me, as it embodied what speaking up means. When I look back, I could not have known that a journey that started with an interview would put me on the path to be a human rights defender today. I am motivated to seek my rights on a subject on which I am convinced I am right. To be the change the world needs, I feel the need to talk, to speak and to bring up not only my own experience but also other painful events that took place around the world. Sadly, I have learnt how crucial this is from my own experience."



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# DEAR READERS,

TEXT: JULIA STRASHEIM AND  
ELISABETH WINTER

We don't know whether you share this feeling, but for us, the year 2022 has been particularly disheartening. Around the world, we are witnessing the expansion of authoritarianism, the building of geopolitical tensions and even war. The most extreme example is Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine. It has not only inflicted unspeakable horrors upon Ukraine's civilian population; it has also become a major threat to global food and energy security.

Sadly, this is just the tip of the iceberg. For years, regimes all over the world have increasingly taken measures to restrict, defame, threaten or kill people who dare to speak up and raise their voices. The right to freedom of opinion and expression, enshrined in the 1948 *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, has come under attack and the state of press freedom has also deteriorated around the world.

Luckily, brave people from across the globe are fighting these developments. One of them is human rights activist Hatice Cengiz, who will give the 2022 *Helmut Schmidt Lecture*. She has tirelessly spoken up against repression and has persistently called for justice and accountability ever since her fiancé, journalist Jamal Khashoggi, was murdered inside the Saudi consulate in Istanbul in October 2018.

We could learn a lot from Hatice's commitment at any time. But 2022 has given us particularly striking reasons to listen to her. Throughout this year, many decision-makers have condemned Russian President Vladimir Putin for persecuting dissidents, attacking journalists and launching a war in which civilians are deliberately targeted. At the same time, leaders such as Olaf Scholz, Joe Biden and Emmanuel Macron have started to re-engage with Saudi Crown Prince and now Prime Minister Mohammed bin Salman to seek alternative energy supplies. They have done so

despite previously calling him a "pariah" due to his own human rights record at home and for ordering the assassination of Khashoggi.

It seems like once again, "Realpolitik" has won out over a values-based policy and justice for a murdered journalist. But we should not simply accept this as a binary choice with a clear winner. Because attacks on human rights are among the main drivers of conflict, instability and insecurity worldwide, today's global developments rather lend a new urgency to rebuild and strengthen the fundamentals of democratic societies. It is not the time to bury our heads in the sand. It is the time for speaking up.

To show how this is done, this second issue of our *BKHS Magazine* is arriving just in time for the *Helmut Schmidt Lecture*. It celebrates people who dare to speak up all over the globe: journalists in the face of declining press freedom, peacebuilders in the midst of war, artists at risk of persecution, human rights defenders up against repression, workers demanding fair wages, LGBTQI\* activists in their fight against discrimination and women\* claiming the power to make choices about their own bodies.

The contributions to our magazine are as diverse as the opportunities for speaking up. They include essays, photo series, statements, tweets, poems, playlists, cartoons and questionnaires. Taken together, they highlight that in whatever way people choose to speak up – whether in a song, a novel, on the streets or in a conference room – speaking up is not only about the right to express an opinion. It is about who is going to listen, what consequences you might fear – and developing the courage to do it anyway.

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Archives are more than fragile paper and dusty bookshelves: they are places of lived history, debate and cultural exchange. Archives facilitate not only access to information, but are resources that enable us to speak up for the rule of law and democracy.

# Archives: remembering the past to imagine the future

TEXT: FRANZISKA ZOLLWEG

Even the oldest cultures for which we have written records had well-organised collections of their paperworks (Friedrich 2013). Over time, archives grew out of these collections, preserving statutory rights and guarantees such as contracts, certificates and political correspondence. Consequently, archives became an important tool for enforcing the rule of law.

In the 18th century, estates were archived for the first time. Since then, personal archives have emerged as an indispensable tool for historians recording the impact of individuals and providing important alternative evidence to official accounts (Friedrich 2013). These personal archives give insights into everyday life and social history. Today, they are an essential element of a pluralist, democratic society.

## Making history accessible to subsequent generations

Helmut Schmidt, who served as chancellor of West Germany from 1974 to 1982, collected personal documents and family memories from an early stage. After the majority of his collection was destroyed by a bombing raid on Hamburg in 1943, Schmidt restarted his collection of memories and documents, creating the basis for his now extensive personal archive. The personal was supplemented by the political when Schmidt joined the centre-left *Social Democratic Party of Germany* (SPD) in May 1946. The constantly updated repository covers the decades between 1943 and 2015 and contains statements relating to Schmidt's political work, personal reflections and information on major historical events and

societal developments. By the end of his life, the collection had grown to a total of 3,500 file folders and around 400 photo albums.

Helmut Schmidt had a clear message to German historians when addressing them at a conference in 1978: "History affects every citizen!" (HSA EA 149). In Schmidt's view, people not only need to come to terms with history, they also need to make history accessible to subsequent generations. Being aware of this historical significance of archives for politics and research, the former chancellor ensured that his personal archive would be independent of authorities, maintained under the provisions of archival law and made accessible to the public. For Schmidt, the focus when handling the social function of his estate was clear: it should be able to be scrutinised and made available to academics and researchers to reveal and understand his political decisions. Schmidt recognised that archives are an essential foundation for contemporary political considerations and decision-making.

#### **Supporting the rule of law and democracy**

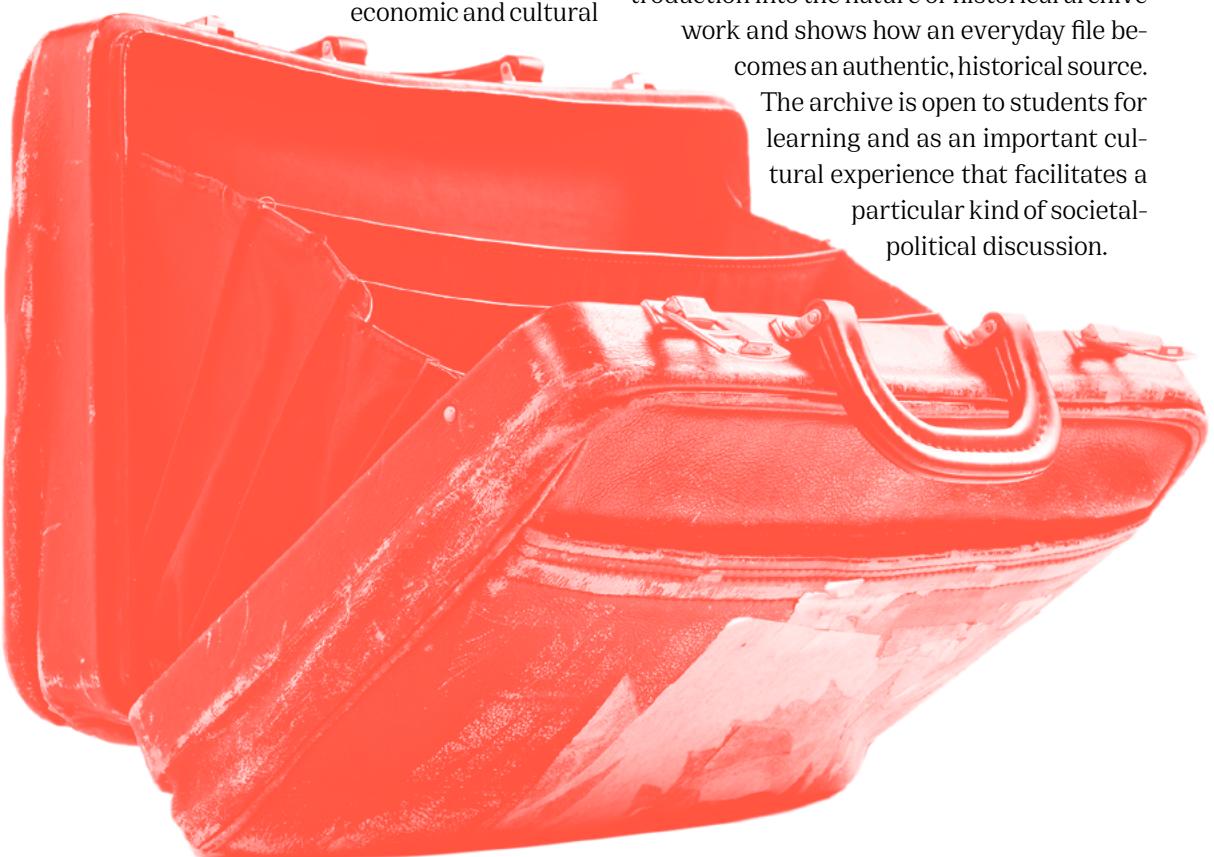
Schmidt's estate is of exceptional societal and historical value when considering his political, economic and cultural

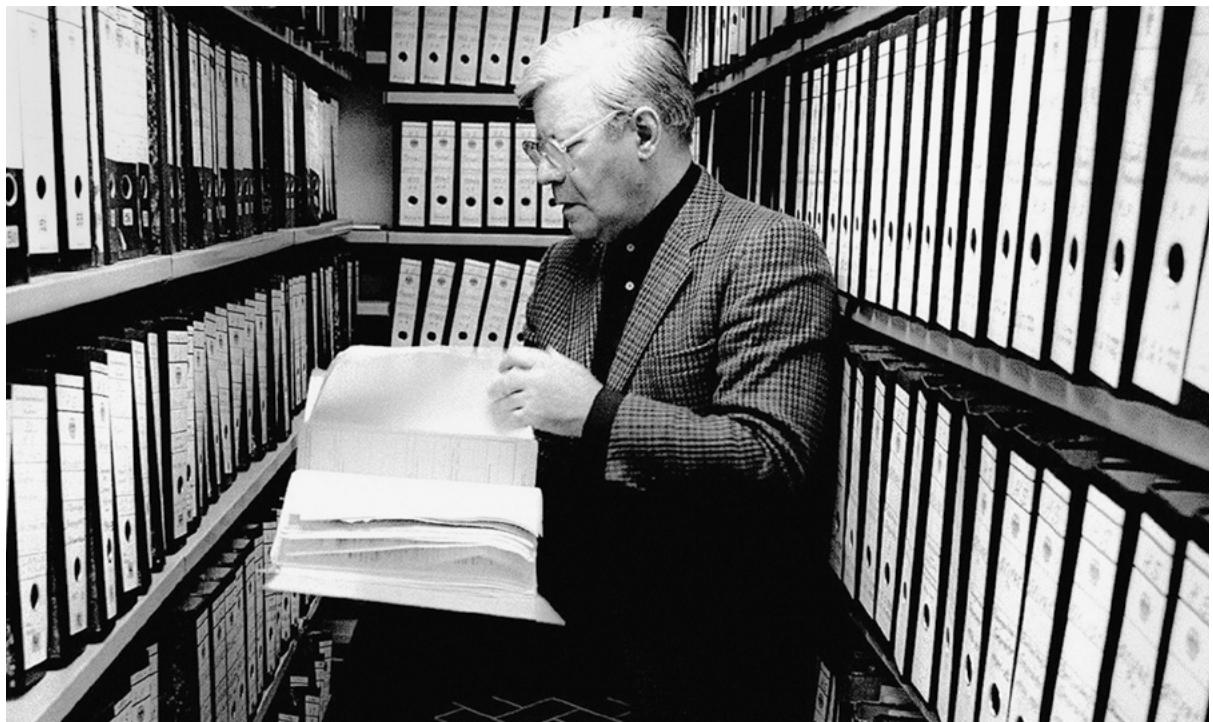
impact. The archives - now called the *Helmut Schmidt-Archiv* (HSA) - are among the most comprehensive and long-running of any German politician in the 20th century. Together with the collections from his brother Wolfgang, his wife Hannelore "Loki" Schmidt and his close friend Karl-Wilhelm Berkhan, the HSA forms a legacy that goes well beyond a personal repository. It documents and preserves the decisions and actions taken by Schmidt, as well as his reflections upon them. It is an impressive example of how archives serve as a tool for supporting the rule of law and democracy.

The HSA reflects the political discourse of the decades in which they were formed and provides deep insights into the history of the Federal Republic of Germany, its transatlantic and international connections and, in particular, the process of European unification in the 20th century. But as a repository of source material and as a site for imparting history, the HSA is above all a workshop for political memory. It is a place to conduct historical and political research and for promoting an awareness of history through various formats. As a repository for historical source material, the HSA provides a good introduction into the nature of historical archive

work and shows how an everyday file becomes an authentic, historical source.

The archive is open to students for learning and as an important cultural experience that facilitates a particular kind of societal-political discussion.





### Then and now: archives as bones of contention

Archives secure cultural treasures and contemporary memories for the future, allowing insights into past events and making historiography possible in the first place. Publicly accessible archives are a symbol of democratic states, they are essential for a nation's collective memory and support individual identity-finding (Hering 2019). It is therefore no surprise that archives have become bones of political contention ever since they came into existence. The political and symbolic value of archives have made them an attractive target (Friedrich 2013).

This systemic importance of archives also becomes apparent in Ukraine, where Russian troops have deliberately destroyed Ukrainian cultural heritage since the start of the Russian invasion. Fearing archives as resources for speaking up for Ukrainian sovereignty and independence, archives have been targeted explicitly. Fortunately, Western countries are donating packaging materials and are assisting with digitisation, including making servers available for this purpose and backing up Ukrainian websites. The goal is to facilitate cultural restoration after the end of the Russian invasion, so as to not conceal history for future generations.

- Franziska Zollweg (@\_Franz\_ka\_) is the academic head of the correspondence project at the Helmut Schmidt-Archiv.

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For former German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, press freedom was a cornerstone of democracy. Following his political career, he joined the nationwide weekly *Die Zeit* newspaper as co-publisher. This year, Helmut steps aside to make room for the voices of journalists from all over the world. We asked them what press freedom means to them and how they speak up for it. Their answers run right through this issue.

**"If you don't  
speak,  
you can't be  
heard."**



Helmut Schmidt was Chancellor of West Germany from 1974 to 1982.

SPEAKING UP

# THE RUPTURE IN RUSSIAN POLITICS AND CULTURE

TEXT: VIKTOR EROFEEV



Russian authorities have taken the silencing of critics and the suppression of dissent to new extremes since the country's invasion of Ukraine. Any form of protest is met with oppression and those who dare to speak up against the war face years in prison. This crackdown on free speech also includes attacks on Russia's culture industry. We therefore asked Viktor Erofeyev, one of the country's best-known dissident novelists and Vladimir Putin-critics who recently left Russia for Germany, to write about the scale of the onslaught on culture and what happens to those who still dare to speak their mind. He states: "When it comes to wartime laws, in the heads of those in power diversity of opinion turns into a call for its elimination."

We have all heard of the Napoleonic wars, named after the French emperor. Now we shall talk about Vladimir Putin's war, simply because there is no other term for it. Putin will go down in world history as the Russian commander-in-chief who, for no apparent reason, attacked Ukraine and launched a full-scale war there, full of bloody battles and paradoxes.

The first paradox is that Putin forbade his subjects to call the war in the centre of Europe a war, but ordered it to be described instead, somewhat frivolously, as a "special military operation". Those rare daredevils in Russia who have the audacity to call it a war are subjected to all sorts of repression. George Orwell is known to have been the sarcastic master of totalitarian fantasies, but even he would have failed to scale the heights of such a reversal of reality. Judge for yourself. According to Russian state television, the devastation of Mariupol is the work of the Ukrainian army. And Bucha is even more preposterous. According to the same broadcasters, it is a theatrical production, with the corpses of Ukrainian civilians (killed by Ukrainian soldiers themselves) laid out in the streets, most likely arranged by some clandestine Western stage directors. If this is the case, those same stage directors are quite simply men of genius. But do the Russian people believe these stories? And here we have the next paradox – the vast majority of the Russian people trust Putin and in everything that happens at his command. Essentially, Putin is the first people's pres-

ident in the history of Russia. The vulgarly emotional rhetoric of this one-time street urchin from an underprivileged Leningrad family makes him "their own".

According to Putin's original plan, the war was supposed to be over in a matter of days and to end with the capture of Kyiv and the replacement of the Ukrainian government with pro-Russian puppets. And here again we encounter a paradox. The Ukrainian army, weak compared with Russian tribal might, albeit strongly motivated, succeeded in defending Kyiv. The Russians retreated. Why? The simple reason is that the Kremlin security officials had been reporting to Putin what he needed to hear: Russians would be greeted in Ukraine with garlands. Flowers even appeared in staged television coverage at the start of the war, but quickly disappeared. The war has dragged on. Paradoxically though, Putin is now telling the public that the war (that is, the special military operation) is going according to plan. This has to be an exceedingly ingenious plan! Apparently, it includes the planned death of eight Russian generals and the prearranged refusal to return to Russia the corpses of a significant number of fatalities – they continue to fill Ukrainian refrigerated train carriages. Is it even worth bringing them back? After all, if it is admitted that they have died in action, the state will have to pay out seven million roubles to each family – otherwise they are simply considered missing in action and no pay-out is necessary.

You will scream: "This is nonsense! Putin has gone mad!"

Why in the end did Vladimir Putin go to war with Ukraine? He was convinced that if he did not, Ukraine, with the support of NATO, would attack Russia. Where did he get this idea? There are two different answers. The first is about cunning. Putin sees his divine destiny in returning Russia's borders to those of the Soviet Union in order to restore its superpower status before sitting down with the Americans at the negotiating table and carving up the world. In short, *Yalta II*. In order to achieve this, he declares the goal of the war to be the "denazification" of Ukraine, even though not a single high-ranking neo-Nazi has been named. According to the Kremlin, President Zelensky is a clown surrounded by (unnamed) neo-Nazis, and these neo-Nazis are backed by Europe and America, which have also become neo-Nazi entities. You will ask: how is that? The answer is quite simple: everybody has turned into a neo-Nazi since everybody hates Russia and has become a Russophobe (because Russia under Putin has been rising from her knees and is growing strongly!) and they are eager to divide Russia's natural resources among themselves. You will scream: "This is nonsense! Putin has gone mad!" And Putin replies: "It is Europe that has gone crazy."

The second reason for the monstrously bloody war is Putin's fear that Ukraine will end up in NATO and will be a threat to Russia, because NATO missiles launched from the Kharkiv region will be capable of reaching Moscow in a matter of minutes. However, the paradox is that the two traditionally neutral countries, Sweden and Finland, deeply disturbed by Putin's barbaric war, have turned to NATO to ask for acceptance into their club. This should not have been unexpected, and if Kyiv had been taken immediately, probably no one would have made a squawk. But this is no longer the case. And since, as Putin claims, he has a planned operation that goes on and on, it was fatally naïve of him not to consider the desire of the Nordic countries to join NATO. As for the new line of contact between NATO and Russia, the length of the Finnish-Russian border is 1,300 kilometres, from which Saint Petersburg can be reached

during winter in a leisurely cross-country skiing jaunt.

To summarise: paradox upon paradox, and if the war drags on, Switzerland will also decide to become a NATO player. But the main paradox of Putin's war is that it cannot have a happy ending. Putin thought this war up, took virtually sole responsibility for it, and if he wins, he will want to go further. Where to? Well, for example, to Kazakhstan. Or he will decide to "denazify" Poland — voices crying out for this can already be heard in the Kremlin. But Poland is a NATO country! So what? Putin is not averse to taking risks. After all, Ukrainians, according to Putin, are the same as Russians, but he is not afraid to destroy them while liberating them from the neo-Nazis who were conceived in his head. If Putin wins, the party of war in Russia will destroy the entire fifth column — everyone who thinks against Putin's grain. If Putin loses the war — no, Putin never knows how to lose anything. Victory is the principal word in his vocabulary. But still, if he feels that something is going wrong, he will pull from his trousers a tiny little nuclear bomb and drop it somewhere in Ukraine.

Then, of course, everyone will be scared and what should we do? Perhaps this will be the point at which Switzerland will consider it essential to join NATO and Putin will be given *Yalta II* by the Americans. Or, instead, the Americans might scurry to look for Putin in his bunkers to have a final one-to-one chat with him, presenting him as the new Gaddafi for whom Putin at one time had felt so sorry. You will ask: is there a more optimistic scenario? Well, this question can only be put to one player that currently maintains pro-Russian neutrality and to which Putin gives serious consideration. That player's name is China. But so far China has stayed silent.

### What will happen to those who dare to speak up about the war?

Those who are not silent are the persecutors of Russian culture. The blow to the finest theatres in Moscow is a natural extension of the special military operation, which, in its search for enemies, found them deep in the cultural underbelly. Not only were the ideological



positions of theatre directors a target, so were their dreams of future productions. Beneath the mask, a position so familiar to me, punishment came via the non-renewal of contracts, a rocket attack of hatred, fear and cowardice. There are real victims. Among them, first of all, was the *Gogol Centre*. It had been created by Kirill Serebrennikov, but the Moscow Department of Culture renamed it the *Gogol Theatre*, a label reminiscent of its senile past.

What will happen to the shows and actors of the *Gogol Centre* who dare to entertain their own (different from the official) opinions about the war in Ukraine? What will be banned? Who will be expelled? In terms of the scale of the onslaught on culture, our authorities are already akin to the Bolsheviks and their coup. They might even go one better than the memorable persecution of the enemies of the state. That time they came up with the category of pro-Soviet "fellow travellers" – whereas what is needed now is not mere loyalty but dog-like devotion. One absolutely horrendous victim of the shelling turned out to be Iosif Raikhelgauz, the long-term director of the *School of Modern Play Theatre* on Trubnaya. The entire Moscow theatrical world knows Iosif as an inventive stagecraft master who devoted his whole life to creative art. One has to be a truly aggres-

sive ignoramus to raise a hand against such a master. And finally, the legendary Sovremennik: interfering with the creative matters of such a theatre is an unforgivable iniquity.

Who took these devastating decisions and why, essentially an affront to and humiliation of culture, and which replicate the dark days of tsarism and communism? One can make various assumptions.

Most likely, this is a rehearsal for the great spectacle entitled *The Successor*. Repressions against the entire liberal camp, including the aforementioned theatres, represent the palpable desire of the security forces to prevent another historical thaw which would be unlikely to spare them. The party of war finds in culture breaches of the peace, not particularly stable as it is, fragile and at some point capable of gathering into a storm. According to the Chekists, the Successor X, who will eventually appear for purely biological reasons, should continue the policy of the "besieged fortress", and theatre, if it is a real theatre, is an open platform striving for dialogue by its very essence. In our country, culture traditionally opposes the lawlessness and impunity of the upper classes. It can be broken or bought, but then it will cease to be a culture.

# "No matter how events on the cultural front continue to develop, it is clear that we are dealing with a fracture of our culture, with its deconstruction."

## Censorship dresses itself up in all sorts of formal objections

The theatres also came under fire for a purely formality on account of failing to comply with wartime laws. There has been no official war for more than a hundred days now and wartime laws are becoming more and more stringent. In order to shut down an exhibition or a theatre, censorship still dresses itself up in all sorts of formal objections, but soon it will be possible to act with impunity. The desire to curry favour with the president, who suggests that songs should be composed about his valiant liberators, is growing by leaps and bounds. The history of the country has been turned into a carousel.

But in addition to obliteration, there is also a recruitment method – there are many professionals in that business among the elite. This presents a famous person with an unbearable choice: leave their post, give up their life's work, or collaborate. It is a form of torture, essentially sadistic torture. The directors of the theatres above have apparently rejected the deal – and have been punished, although a soft rollback may occur or is already emerging. For example, Dmitry Astrakhan, a fairly well-known director, obviously not an enthusiast of the war, was appointed to replace Paikhelgauz, but we shall see what will happen to him and whether a failure (if any) of professional ethics has taken place. In Soviet times, an equally talented director, Anatoly Efros, was appointed to supplant Yuri Lyubimov at the *Taganka Theatre*. He preserved the theatre, but the aftertaste of his acceptance of the proposal to replace Lyubimov lingered.

But there are also straightforward examples of genuine or ostensible surrender. The recent case of Mr Hermitage, aka Piotrovsky,

is a valuable intermixture of villainy and camouflaged defiance. Losing his brainchild museum is plainly not a joke. Clearly no person is perfect and is sometimes prone to compromises, which our homeland has long been teaching us. That is why when the director of the country's greatest museum talks in an interview with a government newspaper about the imperial nature of the Russian mentality and the war as national self-affirmation, it is unclear whether he is secretly mocking the authorities, playing along with them, or – under the guise of surrender – he is simply talking about things that are closer to Chaadaev than to the president. Whatever the case, he said it. The liberals first voiced their outrage; then after a while forgot about it. Both his post and the collection, on the age-old humanity of art, were saved and kept under Mr Hermitage's wing.

No matter how events on the cultural front continue to develop, it is clear that we are dealing with a fracture of our culture, with its deconstruction. Some are for, others are against, others again are undecided – a familiar picture of Russian reality. But when it comes to wartime laws, in the heads of those in power diversity of opinion turns into a call for its elimination. If you want to be silent, be silent, but do not demand public money and support from the Department of Culture. Those who are deeply disillusioned will be labelled "foreign agents" and fine fellows like Mr Hermitage will be protected and buttered up. It cannot be otherwise in our tsardom-state. Shame about the fine theatres though.

→ Viktor Erofeyev is a Russian writer.



**"To me, press freedom is everything. Without independent media, there is no democracy. We need to fight for it for the sake of every generation – because those in power, whether in autocracies or democracies, do not benefit from accountability and will inevitably work to undermine journalism."**

Melissa Chan (@melissakchan) is a Chinese-American independent journalist.

# Five Questions

ANSWERED BY  
BERND NEUENDORF



Bernd Neuendorf is currently serving as the president of the *German Football Association* (DFB). He is a member of the management board of the Bundeskanzler-Helmut-Schmidt-Stiftung (BKHS).

1. Who are you — and what does "speaking up" mean to you?

I am Bernd Neuerendorf and I am Chairman of the German Football Association, which has over seven million members. In my professional life, speaking up means defending the values of the Association and its members, which include commitment to fair play, integrity, respect for others, diversity and solidarity.

2. How do you speak up against injustice in your current work?

I use the media and various types of events to draw attention to injustices within football but also in society as a whole. The DFB is the largest sporting association in the world. This creates responsibility for a wide community. We also need to make sure that our voice is heard internationally when sporting events take place in countries in which human rights are not fully respected. To this end we have recently held a human rights congress on the DFB-Campus in Frankfurt.

3. Sport is always political – true or false?

I think we have seen over many decades that where and between whom international sport is played, and who finances it, are intensely political questions. And so I would agree – sport is political. It is also political when you look at our regional clubs. They are struggling, because of the corona-crisis of the energy-cuts that have been risen dramatically due to Russia's war against the Ukraine. We need help from regional and federal governments to secure our outstanding sport-infrastructure.

4. How can we provide a platform for athletes to speak up against injustices in their field?

Successful athletes automatically have a platform to speak up against injustices by virtue of their prominence. I think it is important that athletes feel free to speak up about issues they feel strongly about and not only about injustices in their own field. I read about and was particularly impressed by the success of Marcus Rashford's campaign against food poverty.

5. Your three wishes for the intersection of sports and politics are...

1. The importance of sport is not adequately reflected either in political decision-making or in governmental structures. This needs to be changed.
2. Politicians like to praise the hundreds of thousands of people who facilitate sport on a voluntary basis. But these people need practical support. I am not just talking about money here, but also the removal of bureaucratic obstacles and a higher degree of respect.
3. Many people in politics see sport as the glue which binds society together. But sport can only continue playing this role if the basic conditions are right. This means good infrastructure. We urgently need a renovation programme for existing sport venues and - especially in the cities - new pitches and sport halls so that children and young people can play.

Access to reproductive healthcare – including safe and legal abortion – cannot be taken for granted. Recent events in the United States and Poland, where there has been a rightward shift under the Law and Justice government since 2015, are instructive. As the world grapples with war and inflation, we must speak up because even in countries where access to abortion is not currently threatened, there is a lot of work to be done.

# THE FIGHT FOR ABORTION RIGHTS CONTINUES

TEXT: ANNABELLE CHAPMAN

Whenever the debate on abortion is rekindled, I think of Anna. Back in 2016, I boarded an early morning train from Berlin Hauptbahnhof to Prenzlau, a town about an hour north of the capital, to visit a local clinic for an article. At the time, the clinic was known as a destination for women from Poland who were seeking an abortion; a Polish gynaecologist worked there and many contacted him directly. After I interviewed him, one of the Polish women who had just received an abortion agreed to speak to me. Anna – the name she gave me to protect her identity; not her real name – had travelled to Germany alone by train from her home in Poland's rural, socially-conservative south. Although she identified as a Roman Catholic, Anna said that she already had three young children and that she and her partner could simply not afford to add a new member to their family.

Listening to Anna's story, I was struck by her strength. Despite having travelled hundreds of kilometres on her own to Germany – an unfamiliar country where she did not speak the language – and now facing the long journey home, she was speaking up to raise awareness

of Poland's restrictions on abortion, which, even at the time, were among the toughest in Europe. This was in 2016, before a ruling by the Constitutional Tribunal that was loyal to the government restricted access to abortion even further. In 2021, the year the new rules entered into force, just 107 legal abortions were performed in Poland (Ferfecki 2022) – ten times lower than the number carried out in previous years.

## Linking the issue of abortion to war, weapons and inflation

The year 2022 has been dominated by ominous words. War. Weapons. Inflation. Recession. The headlines are loaded with urgent questions, from how Europe can be weaned off Russian gas to whether the West should engage with Russian leader Vladimir Putin at all. These questions are obviously important: they concern the security of millions of people. However, this focus on hard security and the economy can provide an easy distraction from the state of women's rights – especially in countries where the political leadership does not value these rights.

Yet all of these issues are connected. Access to abortion – or, rather, the lack of it – does not exist in a vacuum, separate from the war in Ukraine or the global economic situation.

First, let us consider the war. Earlier this year, the world was shocked by images from *Maternity Hospital No. 3* in Mariupol, which the Russian Air Force bombed on 9 March 2022. These included a photograph of a heavily-pregnant woman called Mariana Vishegirskaya descending the stairs, her face bloodied. People were outraged: no pregnant woman should be exposed to this kind of physical and mental stress. After Russia invaded the country on 24 February 2022, millions of Ukrainian women fled the horrors of the war with their children. Many of them found refuge in neighbouring countries in the EU, where they were safe – that is, safe from the Russian bombs. Yet once they had crossed the border, they faced new types of dangers as women: they were at risk of human trafficking and, in Poland, they were unable to access a legal abortion if they needed one. The only exception to the ban on abortion in Poland since the regulations became even tougher last year is when the

woman's life or health is endangered by the continuation of the pregnancy.

Second, there is the economic situation. I recently saw an article with the headline "Inflation, not abortion, is the likely key issue in the US midterms", referring to the elections in November 2022 (Al Jazeera 2022). Fair enough – except that the two issues are not separate. Here is another recent headline, also from mid-2022: "Record number of abortions in England and Wales amid financial insecurity" (Campbell 2022). The figures referred to 2021, a period of financial uncertainty caused by COVID-19, but before the latest increases in the cost of living in Britain and many other countries. Most of the women obtaining abortions were already mothers, the article noted, with the largest increase in terminations in the 30–34 age group. Because they were in Britain, these women were able to receive a legal abortion. Women in Poland do not have that option. This brings me back to Anna, whose decision to get an abortion was linked to her economic situation. She was prioritising taking care of her existing family: the three children she already had.





Women's rights are by no means a "closed" issue. All this means that women's rights – including access to a safe and legal abortion – are by no means a "closed" issue. To quote French writer Simone de Beauvoir: "Never forget that a political, economic or religious crisis will be enough to cast doubt on women's rights. These rights will never be vested. You will have to stay vigilant your whole life." As long as these rights remain at risk or are actively being curtailed, as they are across the Atlantic right now, people who can speak up should do so – including women not directly affected by abortion bans in "faraway" countries such as Poland (which, of course, is right next to Germany) and men. Speaking up should go beyond posting on social media and extend to positive engagement: sharing contacts and resources, not just within a single country, but across borders.

This is not only about abortion: it is about women's rights to make decisions about their bodies, regardless of whether they are in their hometown or fleeing a war. Even in countries where access to abortion is not currently threatened, there is work to be done: ensuring that reproductive healthcare – including, but not limited to, abortion – is easily available to vulnerable groups of women such as refugees, who might not speak

the language or know how to navigate the country's bureaucracy. As the world grapples with uncertainty – war in Europe and the looming winter – we must speak up to ensure that these rights are not forgotten.

→ Annabelle Chapman (@AB\_Chapman) is an independent journalist.

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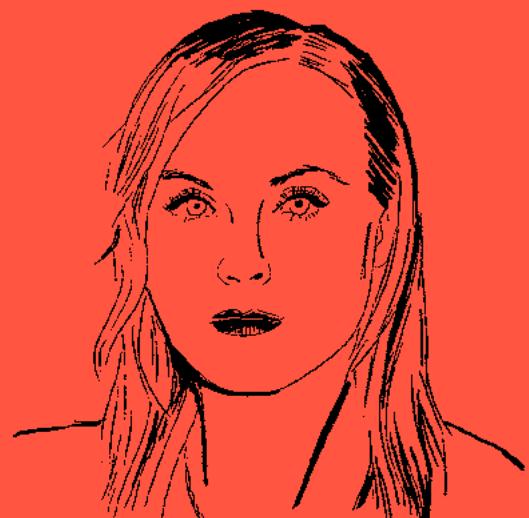
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**"Democracy dies with lies  
and it cannot exist without  
a well-informed electorate.  
It is a never-ending fight  
against corruption at all  
levels of society.**

**Without a free press, demo-  
cracy is merely a facade.  
As an academic and a former  
journalist, fighting for demo-  
cracy with a range of tools is  
a civic duty for me."**



Edit Zgut (@ZgutEdit) is a Hungarian former journalist and political scientist.



ZON



N  
E  
S

A large, bold, black text graphic consisting of the letters 'N', 'E', and 'S' arranged vertically. The 'N' is on the left, the 'E' is in the center, and the 'S' is on the right. The letters are thick and have a clean, sans-serif font style.



PHOTOGRAPHED BY BART STASZEWSKI

In 2019, nearly 50 Polish cities agreed to adopt official documents entitled *Statement against LGBT ideology*. They stated their opposition to the “homosexual lobby” and to “LGBT ideology” that supposedly jeopardise tradition, family and the future of local communities. The campaign became one of the most vicious ever experienced by the LGBT community in Poland – and it was related to the presidential and EU parliamentary elections. The most prominent Polish politicians – including the President, Prime Minister and other government ministers, as well as the hierarchy in the Catholic Church – also expressed their contempt for LGBT people.

The term “LGBT-free zone” was first used by *Polish Public Television* (TVP). For my photo project called *Zones*, I turned this term into warning signs in order to do justice to the people who were being dehumanised by the inhumane resolutions – I created a yellow sign and took pictures in the towns that issued the horrendous resolutions. Following my project, I became the government’s enemy – I was sued by three localities which claimed to be offended by my campaign and by Polish President Andrzej Duda who referred to me as the most radical and aggressive activist.







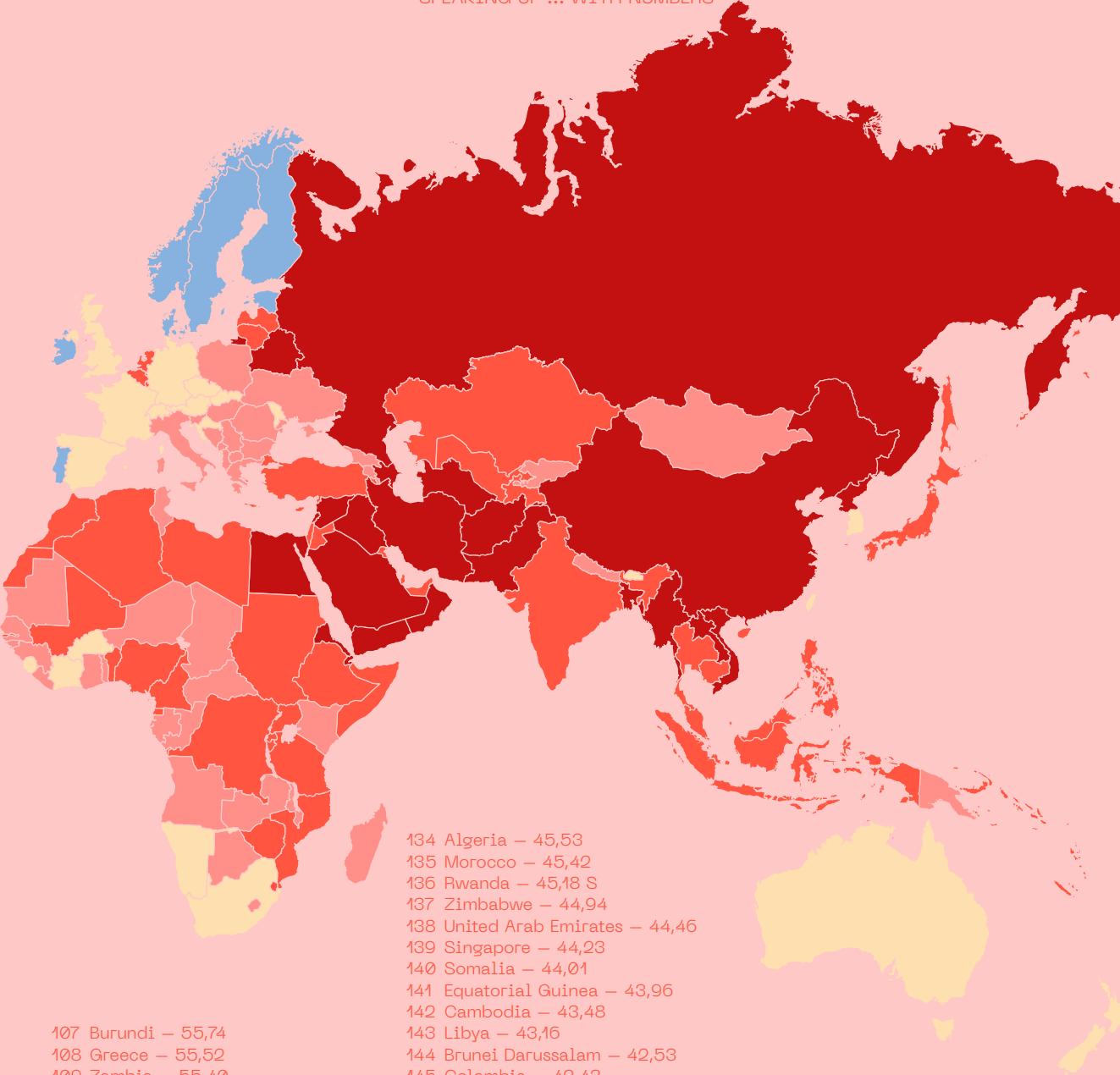
→ Bart Staszewski (@BartStaszewski) is a Polish LGBTI+ activist and documentary film director.

Speaking up is a fundamental part of the journalistic profession. Journalists around the world speak truths, even if they have to fear risks for doing so. Freedom of the press provides them with the basis for speaking up in safety.

# Freedom of the press worldwide 2022

## Ranking with total score

1	Norway	- 92,65
2	Denmark	- 90,27
3	Sweden	- 88,84
4	Estonia	- 88,83
5	Finland	- 88,42
6	Ireland	- 88,30
7	Portugal	- 87,07
8	Costa Rica	- 85,92
9	Lithuania	- 84,14
10	Liechtenstein	- 84,03
11	New Zealand	- 83,54
12	Jamaica	- 83,35
13	Seychelles	- 83,33
14	Switzerland	- 82,72
15	Iceland	- 82,69
16	Germany	- 82,04
17	East Timor	- 81,89
18	Namibia	- 81,84
19	Canada	- 81,74
20	Czech Republic	- 80,54
21	Luxembourg	- 79,81
22	Latvia	- 79,17
23	Belgium	- 78,86
24	United Kingdom	- 78,71
25	Trinidad and Tobago	- 78,68
26	France	- 78,53
27	Slovakia	- 78,37
28	Netherlands	- 77,93
29	Argentina	- 77,28
30	Dominican Republic	- 76,90
31	Austria	- 76,74
32	Spain	- 76,71
33	Bhutan	- 76,46
34	Guyana	- 76,41
35	South Africa	- 75,56
36	Cape Verde	- 75,37
37	Ivory Coast	- 74,46
38	Taiwan	- 74,08
39	Australia	- 73,77
40	Moldova	- 73,47
41	Burkina Faso	- 73,12
42	United States	- 72,74
43	South Korea	- 72,11
44	Uruguay	- 72,03
45	Samoa	- 71,39
46	Sierra Leone	- 71,03
47	Belize	- 70,67
48	Croatia	- 70,42
49	Tonga	- 69,74
50	Gambia	- 69,25
51	Armenien	- 68,97
52	Suriname	- 68,95
53	Andorra	- 68,79
54	Slovenia	- 68,54
55	OECS	- 68,49
56	Romania	- 68,46
57	North Macedonia	- 68,44
58	Italy	- 68,16
59	Niger	- 67,80
60	Ghana	- 67,43
61	Kosovo	- 67,00
62	Papua New Guinea	- 66,66
63	Montenegro	- 66,54
64	Mauritius	- 66,07
65	Cyprus	- 65,97
66	Poland	- 65,64
67	Bosnia and Herzegovina	- 65,64
68	Ecuador	- 64,61
69	Kenya	- 64,59
70	Haiti	- 64,55
71	Japan	- 64,37
72	Kyrgyzstan	- 64,25
73	Senegal	- 63,07
74	Panama	- 62,78
75	Liberia	- 62,77
76	Nepal	- 62,67
77	Peru	- 61,75
78	Malta	- 61,55
79	Serbia	- 61,51
80	Malawi	- 61,40
81	Cyprus North	- 61,08
82	Chile	- 60,61
83	Comoros	- 60,16
84	Guinea	- 59,82
85	Hungary	- 59,80
86	Israel	- 59,62
87	Maldives	- 59,55
88	Lesotho	- 59,39
89	Georgia	- 59,30
90	Mongolia	- 59,17
91	Bulgaria	- 59,12
92	Guinea-Bissau	- 58,79
93	Congo	- 58,64
94	Tunisia	- 58,49
95	Botswana	- 58,49
96	Paraguay	- 58,36
97	Mauritania	- 58,10
98	Madagascar	- 58,02
99	Angola	- 57,17
100	Togo	- 57,17
101	Central African Republic	- 56,96
102	Fiji	- 56,91
103	Albania	- 56,41
104	Chad	- 56,18
105	Gabon	- 56,00
106	Ukraine	- 55,76

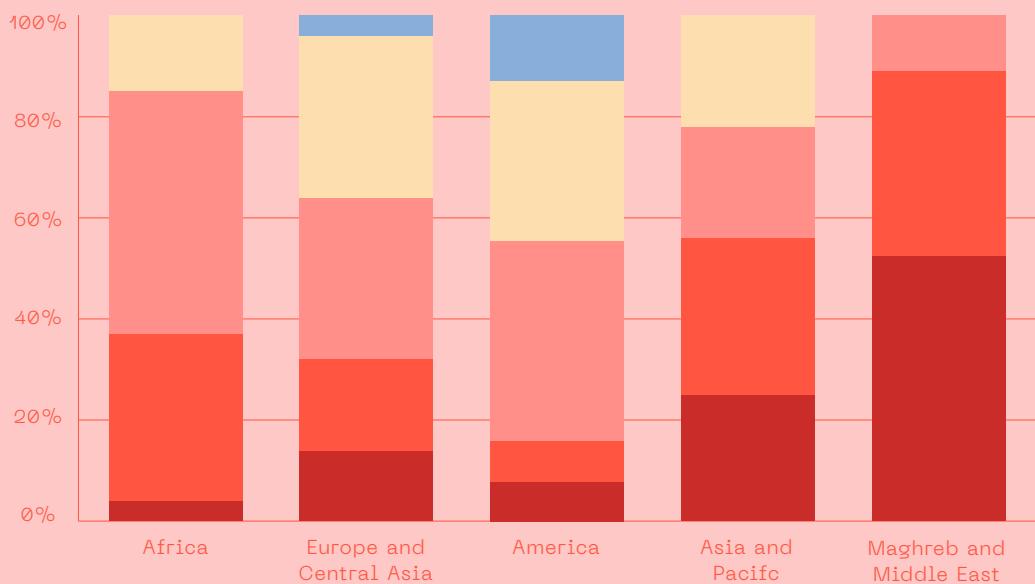


107	Burundi	– 55,74
108	Greece	– 55,52
109	Zambia	– 55,40
110	Brazil	– 55,36
111	Mali	– 54,48
112	El Salvador	– 54,09
113	Malaysia	– 51,55
114	Ethiopia	– 50,53
115	Thailand	– 50,15
116	Mozambique	– 49,89
117	Indonesia	– 49,27
118	Cameroon	– 49,10
119	Qatar	– 49,03
120	Jordan	– 48,66
121	Benin	– 48,39
122	Kazakhstan	– 48,28
123	Tanzania	– 48,28
124	Guatemala	– 47,94
125	The DR Of The Congo	– 47,66
126	Bolivia	– 47,58
127	Mexico	– 47,57
128	South Sudan	– 47,06
129	Nigeria	– 46,79
130	Lebanon	– 46,58
131	Eswatini	– 46,42
132	Uganda	– 46,35
133	Uzbekistan	– 45,74
134	Algeria	– 45,53
135	Morocco	– 45,42
136	Rwanda	– 45,18 S
137	Zimbabwe	– 44,94
138	United Arab Emirates	– 44,46
139	Singapore	– 44,23
140	Somalia	– 44,01
141	Equatorial Guinea	– 43,96
142	Cambodia	– 43,48
143	Libya	– 43,16
144	Brunei Darussalam	– 42,53
145	Colombia	– 42,43
146	Sri Lanka	– 42,13
147	Philippines	– 41,84
148	Hong Kong	– 41,64
149	Turkey	– 41,25
150	India	– 41,00
151	Sudan	– 40,96
152	Tajikistan	– 40,26
153	Belarus	– 39,62
154	Azerbaijan	– 39,40
155	Russian Federation	– 38,82
156	Afghanistan	– 38,27
157	Pakistan	– 37,99
158	Kuwait	– 37,87
159	Venezuela	– 37,78
160	Nicaragua	– 37,09
161	Lao People's DR	– 36,64
162	Bangladesh	– 36,63
163	Oman	– 35,99
164	Djibouti	– 35,75
165	Honduras	– 34,61
166	Saudi Arabia	– 33,71
167	Bahrain	– 30,97
168	Egypt	– 30,23
169	Yemen	– 29,14

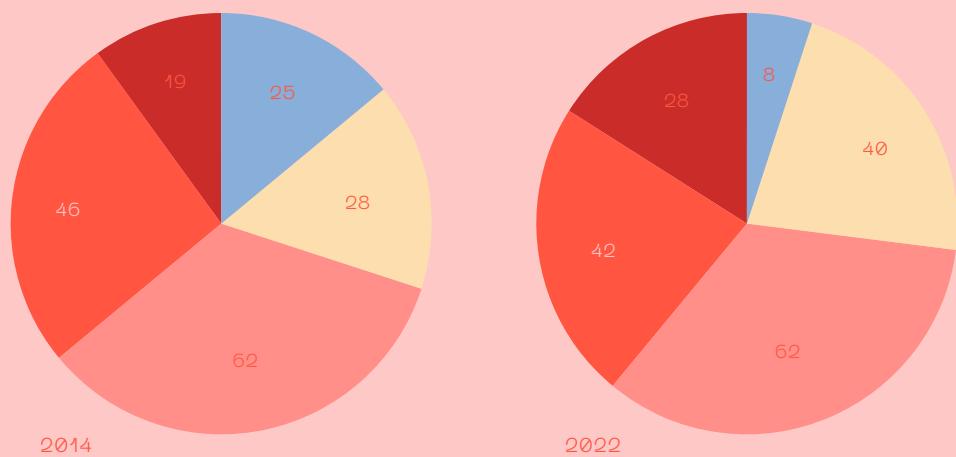
World Press Freedom Index 2022

- GOOD
- SATISFACTORY
- PROBLEMATIC
- DIFFICULT
- VERY SERIOUS

## Freedom of the press on the five continents in 2022



## Distribution of the 180 countries and territories rated by the state of press freedom from 2014 and 2022



- GOOD
- SATISFACTORY
- PROBLEMATIC
- DIFFICULT
- VERY SERIOUS

Source: Reporters without Borders (2022): World Press Freedom Index 2022, <https://rsf.org/en/index?year=2022>.



**"I believe that in every society in the world, freedom of the press is non-negotiable. Unfortunately, we have seen a huge decline in recent years. Press freedom is being neglected in Russia, Turkey, China and Afghanistan. The case of Julian Assange ultimately revealed that Western societies tend to imitate autocratic regimes and even work with them instead of working against them with us – journalists, whistleblowers and others who regularly expose war crimes and corruption scandals. That's the dystopian world we live in at the moment."**

Emran Feroz (@Emran\_Feroz) is an Austrian-Afghan journalist and author.

When debating the challenges of the digital world, too often we fall short in our attempt to comprehend the issue at hand. Instead of focusing on technical obstacles, we need to strengthen our core values of freedom, justice and solidarity. This change will be difficult, but speaking up now to protect people could make the digital world more advantageous for all, instead of just a few.

# Digital transformation: progress for all, not for the few

TEXT: HENNING TILLMANN

We are on the cusp of a digitised world in which exponential growth will be the new normal. As a society, we need to be prepared for this future. This is why we need to foster a paradigm shift towards digital transformation. While digitisation refers solely to the conversion of analogue information into a digital format, digital transformation is by far the more challenging task that could result in a greater benefit for society. This means that a poor analogue process will remain poor if it is only digitised – or become even worse.

When we aim for a digital transformation instead, we analyse the problem, define a goal and develop a tailored solution from scratch. Take schools for example: digitisation means converting books into PDFs. By contrast, digital transformation means rethinking how education can be elevated into the digital world – by using interactive elements, adjusting to individual strengths and weaknesses and distributing information freely.

## Securing freedom is the biggest task of the 21st century

Digital tools and a digital lifestyle can enable mass surveillance in a way that was never imagined before. China is not the only country to have an almost seamless system of monitoring its citizens. In many Western countries too, infrastructure that could become a major threat to civil liberties is slowly being established.

A recent example is the US Supreme Court overturning the landmark decision of *Roe v. Wade*. With the removal of the right to abortion and the announcement by some Republican lawmakers that they intend to prosecute women seeking abortions, period-tracking apps have been uninstalled by many women. The apps' highly sensitive data could potentially reveal information about whether a woman has had an abortion.

Civil liberties in the digital space are also being increasingly dismantled in the name of public safety. Data retention laws, which can facilitate the creation of seamless movement profiles for all citizens through location data, have been passed by many countries over the past fifteen years. Fortunately, the *European Court of Human Rights* has already stopped those attempts multiple times. But for how much longer?

These incidents show how freedom must always be considered when we shape the digital transformation. Politics must not see fundamental rights as an obstacle in the digital sphere, but rather as the backbone of our society. Too often, as in the case of data retention laws, valuable time is wasted on misguided approaches that eventually fail in court.

Yet freedom and security do not need to be in competition, as the digital think tank D64 (2022) has shown with its concept of the login trap. The login trap as a digital transformation approach would make efficient use of existing processes for acquiring only relevant data – instead of storing data from everyone, as in the previous digitised approach.





### Equal justice through digital transformation

Whether computer systems, especially those using machine learning (often referred to as Artificial Intelligence or AI), perform fairly or unfairly depends in large part on their training data. These systems need vast amounts of mostly labelled data to train neural networks to identify recurring patterns. If skin cancer software is trained only with photos of people with light skin, it will have trouble recognising cancer in dark skinned people. So, in effect, it is possible to create racist artificial intelligence.

On the other hand, if the same software is trained with different, balanced data, it could come to completely different decisions. Checks and balances are therefore needed to ensure that appropriate systems are equipped with data that is as nondiscriminatory as possible. The verifiability and documentation of the learning units should be made mandatory for government systems. Minorities must not be disadvantaged through misguided AI. Policymakers must also create legal obligations for private systems so that the principle of equal treatment continues to be guaranteed in the future.

Furthermore, media literacy, abilities for evaluating internet content and the ability to deal with the internet in a socially acceptable way are part of basic democratic education.

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# “A social, progressive society should primarily be concerned with protecting people through a just transition”

## Solidarity matters

Many activities that could not be automated in the past will be able to be automated in the future. Digitising existing flawed processes would mean cementing outdated and inefficient structures. Some people would benefit financially, while many would suffer from surveillance, permanent work overload or from excessive demands that are damaging to health.

The digital transformation, on the other hand, could facilitate enormous social progress. For this to succeed, the general social benefit needs to be increased. A social, progressive society should primarily be concerned with protecting people through a just transition. In this respect, Scandinavian countries lead the way with their guiding principle of “protect people, not jobs”. A changed workplace, new work processes or the increasing intensity of communication between internationally connected colleagues do not necessarily have to place an additional burden on employees if they are handled properly.

Furthermore, the right to public data needs to be established. *Open Data* and “open by default” must become basic principles for data at local and federal state authorities. Companies must also be encouraged to make data available for public use.

## Strengthening core values

The terms digitisation and digital transformation seem so similar, yet they result in fundamentally different outcomes. Fundamental values in our society are facing new challenges as a result of digitisation, especially AI systems. Nevertheless, the advantages of a digital world clearly outweigh its disadvantages. Yet, we should swiftly adopt a paradigm shift towards a digital transformation mindset for the greater benefit. Society and policymakers need to move fast – assisted by experts from science and civil society, i.e. people without a commercial interest. Through intelligent concepts and an approach that safeguards the fundamental values of freedom, justice and solidarity, the prosperity of all can be increased.

→ Henning Tillmann (@henningtillmann) is co-chair of D64 – Zentrum für digitalen Fortschritt e. V. (Centre for Digital Progress).

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# Amid Moscow ramps up digital repression



The internet had been one of the few remaining avenues for independent thought in Russia. But popular uproar over the government's war of aggression has led to a ruthless crackdown on online dissent and censorship has become a central tool for the Russian government to silence its critics. We invited Adrian Shahbaz, Vice President for Research and Analysis at the prodemocracy organisation *Freedom House*, to make digital repression in Russia tangible. Adrian's text is censored and shows us the extent of the Russian government's control on access to information that targets what seems to us as the most basic facts.

TEXT: ADRIAN SHAHBAZ

During an April 2022 appearance on a popular television news programme, the editor-in-chief of *Rossiya Segodnya* and RT, two state-controlled outlets, made a startling statement: "This is the turning point to look at everything in our country a different way. Starting with the phrase in our constitution that 'censorship is prohibited'" (Davis 2022). The words from Margarita Simonyan, one of the Kremlin's most ardent propagandists, constituted an admission of the limits of disinformation and a desire to breach them. The regime would need to intensify its digital repression to legitimise its br ██████████

*Freedom House*, the prodemocracy organisation where I work, has long rated Russia's online environment as "Not Free" (Freedom House 2021). Anti-corruption activists have faced legal charges and extra-judicial attacks for posting YouTube videos detailing ██████████

██████████. Courts have regularly handed out fines for unobtrusive commentary, such as a social media post stating, ██████████, or a comment below a picture of Putin visiting Finland asking, ██████████ (Tsoi 2019). Authorities accused the editor of a student-run online journal of inciting minors to engage in "illegal activities" for creating a video explainer stating that ██████████ ██████████ (Lokot 2021). Nonetheless, many Russians went online to voice and read

opinions unseen on traditional media, even if the consequences remained stark.

██████████ fundamentally altered the status quo. Mirroring a ██████████ throughout the country, the State Duma fast-tracked over a dozen pieces of legislation that further undermined the constitution's nominal free-expression protections. A law passed less than a month after the ██████████ criminalised the spread of so-called "false information" about the Russian military. Over 3,000 people face administrative fines for "discrediting the armed forces", while 72 face criminal penalties of up to 15 years in prison. Targets include a former mayor, a theatre director and a priest. In July, local lawmaker Aleksei Gorinov received a seven-year prison sentence, the first under the new law, for stating "██████████" during a council meeting streamed on YouTube.

Moscow has taken further steps to restrict the availability of information at odds with its propaganda. Over 5,000 websites have been blocked ██████████, according to digital rights group RosKomSvoboda (Meduza 2022). The list includes independent news outlets, human rights organisations, prominent foreign news sites and information sources from Ukraine. Numerous domestic media organisations have closed, after they realised that ██████████ had become untenable within the country. Russia's



IVAN KOLPAKOV, EDITOR-IN-CHIEF OF MEDUZA, AN INDEPENDENT NEWS OUTLET OPERATING OUTSIDE RUSSIA.

**"Moscow has recently introduced policies and technical upgrades to make it easier to cut off the country from the global internet during political crises, allowing it to close digital tunnels to the outside world."**

communications regulator blocked US social media companies over their efforts to combat Kremlin-backed disinformation. Employees at Russia-based tech platforms have come under tremendous pressure to embrace [REDACTED]. A former Meduza publisher and Yandex employee has been prosecuted for posting pictures of the [REDACTED] to his *Instagram* page (Novaya Gazeta 2022). Even Wikipedia has found itself in the courts' crosshairs for hosting an article on the [REDACTED] and for publishing [REDACTED]

Not all of Moscow's censorship efforts have been successful. Many news organisations have fled the country and found creative ways to circumvent online blocking. Russians' usage of virtual private networks (VPNs) and other anti-censorship tools has skyrocketed. Nonetheless, prospects for internet freedom remain bleak. Moscow has recently introduced policies and technical upgrades to make it easier to cut off the country from the global internet during political crises, allowing it to close digital tunnels to the outside world. Through foreign aggression and digital repression, Putin is plunging Russians into further isolation.

- Adrian Shahbaz (@adrianshahbaz) is Vice President for Research and Analysis at Freedom House.

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YOU CAN READ THE UNCENSORED TEXT HERE ↵

# THE COST O

I am Rushan Abbas, a Uyghur-American born in East Turkistan, aka the Xinjiang Autonomous Uyghur Region. I am an advocate for my people. While Uyghurs have always been oppressed in their homeland, today they face genocide, the eradication of their culture, religion and ethnic identity ...

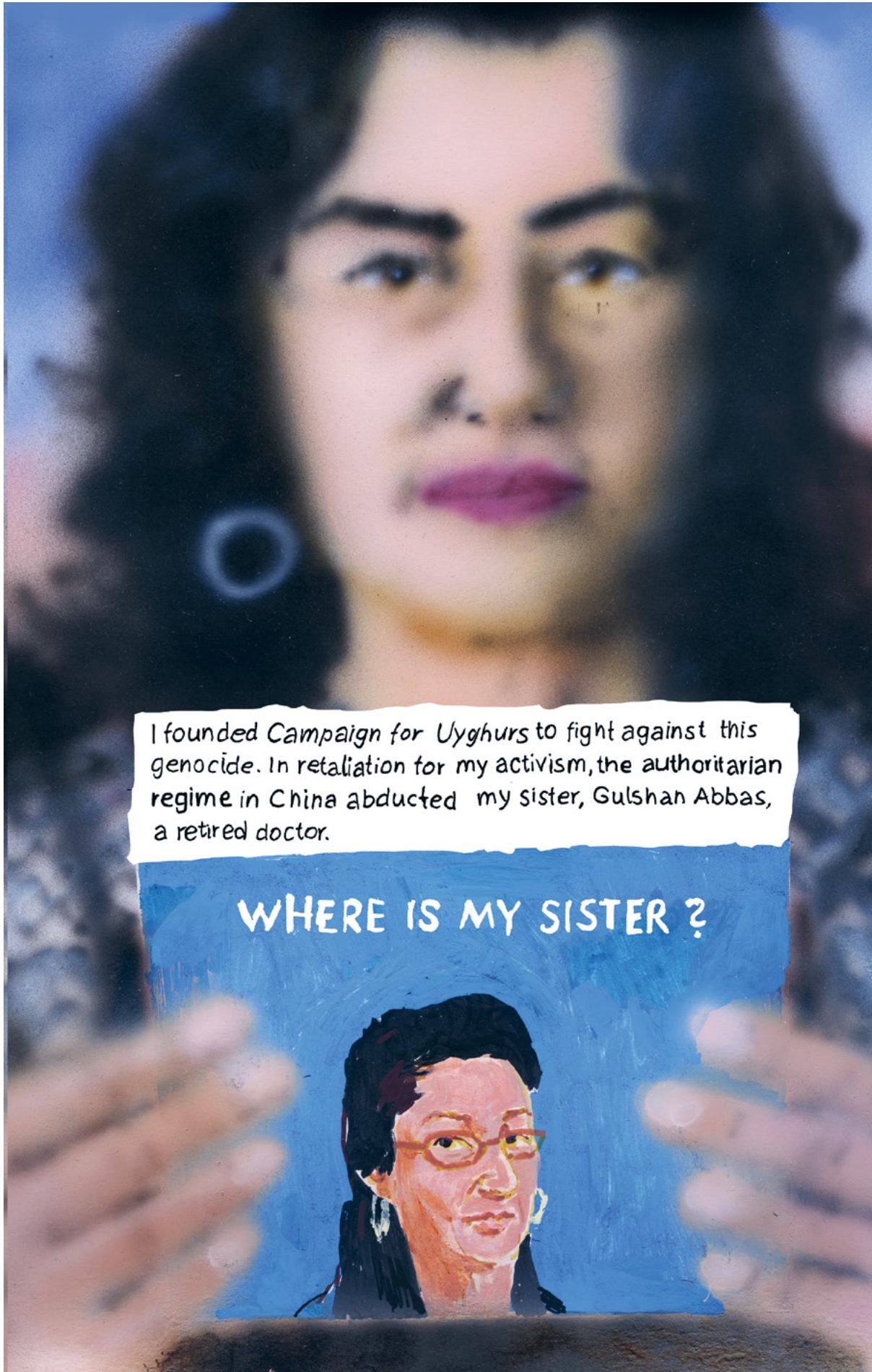


# OF COURAGE

...forced sterilisations, abortions and child abduction. Millions are placed in concentration camps and into forced labour. Mosques are destroyed and homes are monitored.



The story of Gulshan Abbas and her sister Rushan Abbas (@RushanAbbas), founder and executive director of Washington, DC-based nonprofit organisation *Campaign for Uyghurs*. Illustrated by Janne Marie Dauer (@jmdauer).



I founded Campaign for Uyghurs to fight against this genocide. In retaliation for my activism, the authoritarian regime in China abducted my sister, Gulshan Abbas, a retired doctor.

**WHERE IS MY SISTER ?**



She was sentenced to prison for 20 years in a sham trial. The work that we do is to save our people, to tell the world about the atrocities my people endure, and educate and empower others to do the same.



I am proud and grateful that these efforts have been recognised worldwide by governments and allies. And I am especially honoured that Campaign for Uyghurs has been nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize...



...and was awarded the Democracy Courage Tribute by the World Movement for Democracy.



I will continue to seek justice and expose the war on freedom and democracy waged by Xi Jinping's regime.

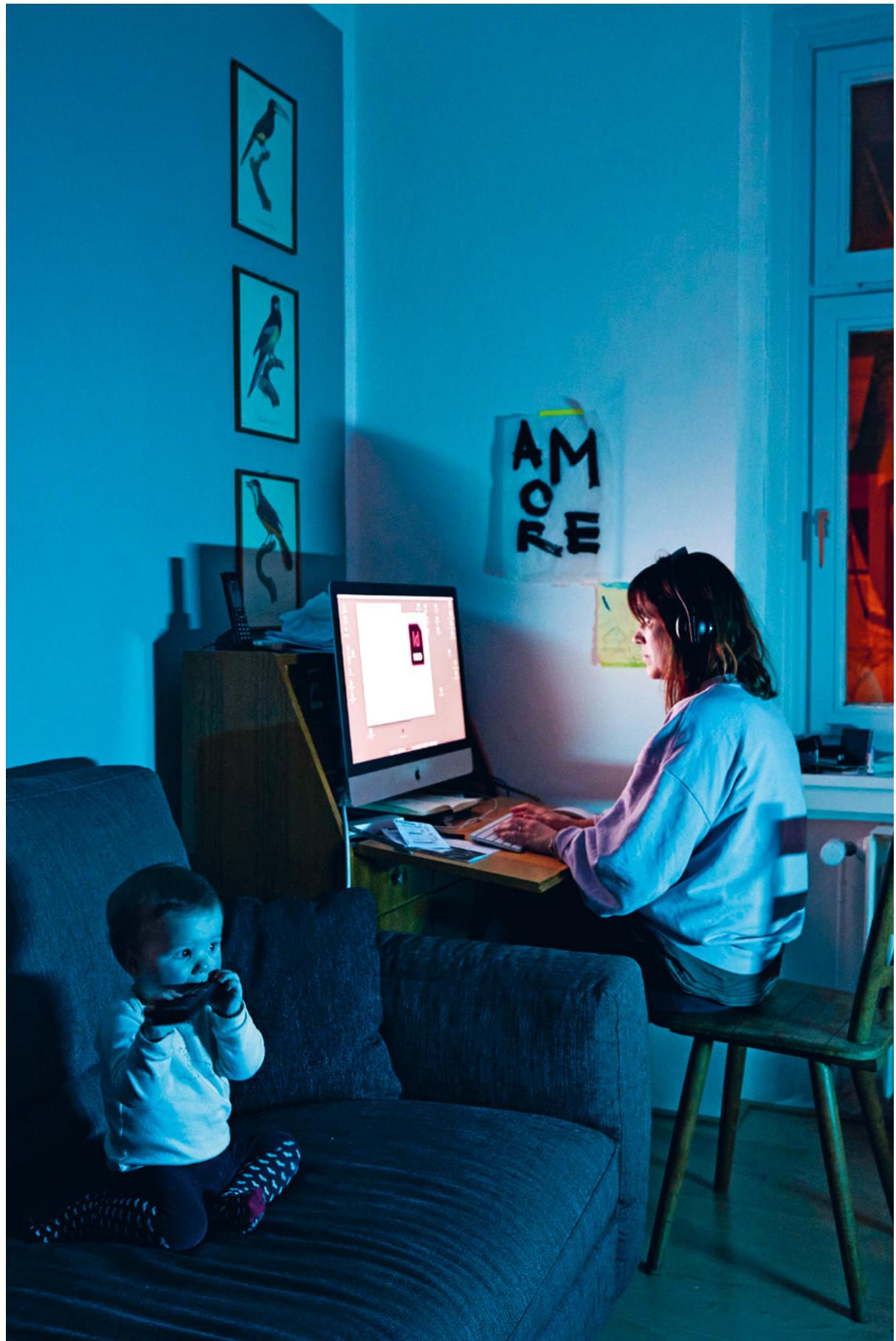


The COVID-19 pandemic has highlighted the importance of science advice in democratic policymaking. But the lack of diversity within the expert bubble makes it less likely that science advisors will think “outside the box” when it comes to solving complex policy problems. Greater diversity in policy advice can help us design better policies for diverse societies. Here’s how we can advance diversity, equity and inclusion in this area.

# Think tankers, speak up for greater diversity!

TEXT: CLAIRE LUZIA LEIFER

The political response to the COVID-19 pandemic has shown in dramatic fashion that different social groups have different needs and are affected by the same policies in different ways. Apparently, the under-representation of women and younger people in national COVID-19 taskforces and advisory councils contributed to the side-lining of the needs of these demographics in the political responses to the crisis. When the *German National Academy of Sciences Leopoldina*'s COVID-19 working group advised the German government to keep kindergartens closed and enforce strict social distancing rules in schools, it turned out that no one aged under 50 years old was included in the working group and more men with the name Thomas than women were involved (Munzinger 2020). The homogenous make-up of the advisory group put into question whether all relevant perspectives had been assessed.



**"There are stories of colleagues who do not feel safe to speak up in staff meetings because of their working-class backgrounds and because they fear they will not sound 'smart enough'."**

#### Why diversity in scientific policy advice matters

Science advice is significant for democratic policymaking. The role of scientific advice bodies, policy research institutes and think tanks is to provide political decision-makers with advice based on the best available evidence to help them make good decisions. To deliver sound recommendations, the scientific method needs to be applied rigorously to evaluate what has worked in the past and is likely to work in the future. A similarly important but often overlooked task is to examine what has not worked and why. For instance, the demographic composition of scientific advice bodies plays a particularly important role: homogeneity within the policy expert bubble leads to "groupthink" or confirmation bias (Colonemos 2016). When scientific advice bodies act as echo chambers, the likelihood that we will think "outside the box" when it comes to solving complex policy problems is diminished compared with more diverse group settings. Our personal experiences influence our views on sociopolitical issues. And when the people around us share a similar educational background and upbringing, we tend to mutually confirm our own assumptions and reinforce the status quo.

Unequal representation in terms of gender, education, age, socioeconomic, cultural and ethnic backgrounds in the staff, panels and publications at think tanks can create a slippery slope in which the policies recommended are less likely to respond to the realities of a diverse society and may thus re-embed the status quo, including the precise inequalities that diversity and inclusion efforts aim to level out. If scientific policy advice seeks to be a force for political innovation rather than preserving the status quo, there is no way around investing in inclusive organisational culture.

#### Statistics and stories

In the United States, the #MeToo and *Black Lives Matter* movements have sparked a debate over how to make think tanks more inclusive. Many US think tanks across the political spectrum have gone on to adopt institutional diversity policies, with some publicly releasing demographic information about their staff. In contrast to their US counterparts, until recently, think tanks in Europe have not held in-depth discussions about diversity. This is reflected by the fact that hard data on diversity in European think tanks is hard to come by.

Recent studies have tried to close the data gap on gender equality. For instance, in an analysis of high-level policy conferences in Europe for the years 2012-2017, a report by the *Open Society Foundations* (2018) found that 74 percent of speaking roles were given to men and only 26 percent to women. The

COVID-19 pandemic increased the gender gap in policy research and debate. A study carried out by volunteers at *The Brussels Binder* (2021) found that women account for only one third of total research authors at 33 European and national think tanks. These findings are in line with gender imbalances of think tank workforces. In a review of the gender composition at 25 European think tanks, a study by the *German Marshall Fund* (GMF) reveals that while European think tanks employ men and women in nearly equal proportions, the leadership of the institutions continues to be male-dominated (Hörst et al. 2020). This is also the case for senior research and analysis positions which are male-dominated.

Unfortunately, there is a lack of data about other dimensions of diversity beyond gender. This means that intersectional approaches to diversity, equity and inclusion (DEI) targeting the think tank ecosystem currently lack a quantitative evidence base. Think tanks that want to improve their DEI record will need to develop their own benchmarks.

While diversity statistics for European think tanks are rare, during our *Think Tank Lab Diversity Challenge*, we heard many personal stories about experiences of exclusion. There are stories of people who did not apply for jobs for which they were qualified because they felt discouraged by the wording of the job postings. There are stories of colleagues who do not feel safe to speak up in staff meetings because of their working-class backgrounds and because they fear they will not sound “smart enough”. And there are stories of colleagues who find their competence questioned based on their looks and age each time a media statement is issued. But there are also stories of colleagues who put incredible dedication into reading up on DEI, mentoring younger staff and organising anti-bias training sessions, often in their free time and without guidance or additional resources.

#### **How to advance diversity, equity and inclusion in policy advice**

Based on our work in the *Think Tank Lab Diversity Challenge* (German Council on Foreign Relations 2022), here are five suggestions that could help you to speak up for greater diversity in policy advice:

- ◆ If you are managing a think tank or simply work in scientific policy advice and want to develop a DEI strategy for your organisation, the seven-step guide in “Diversity officers in think tanks” (Pongratz et al. 2022) may be for you.
- ◆ If you are in charge of hiring at a think tank or research organisation, you are the gatekeeper of who is able to work at your organisation. Consult the guide “How to hire for diversity and inclusion” (Bergner et al. 2022) for tips how to hire for diversity and inclusion.
- ◆ If you are an organiser of policy conferences, you have an important role in shaping who is given a voice in our policy debates. You can find recommendations how to put an end to “manels” (panels with male speakers only) in a report by the *Open Society Foundations* (2018).
- ◆ If you are a researcher in gender studies, sociology, political science or nonprofit management, help to close the data gap. There is a lack of data about the intersectional diversity of European think tank staff including nationalities, age, ethnicities and socioeconomic backgrounds. This includes both quantitative data that would allow us to assess the representation of think tankers from non-majority and historically

marginalised backgrounds, as well as qualitative studies about their experiences and on roadblocks and good practices specific to the think tank sector. An EU-wide state of the sector report would facilitate the creation of industry-wide benchmarks and strengthen the evidence base for DEI initiatives. But even survey data about a single think tank cluster or country could make a difference.

- ◆ If you are working at a public or private funding organisation that funds policy analysis and advice, your organisation has considerable leverage. Through your funding priorities, you can nudge think tanks towards greater diversity and reward inclusive practices. Some funders already require diversity measures such as Gender Equality Plans to be in place to ensure eligibility for funding. Tell your funding recipients that you care about diversity and ask them how you could support diversity efforts in their organisation.
- Claire Luzia Leifert (@ClaireLuzia) heads the Impact & Innovation Lab at the German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP) and the Think Tank Lab initiative.

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**"For me, press freedom means journalists speaking up among themselves and to power with integrity, honesty and sincerity. To achieve this goal, it is essential that media firms and owners do not stifle journalists. This will help to pave the way and provide answers to the press freedom challenges that exist in our societies."**



Tobore Ovuorie (@DaughterOfMit) is a Nigerian investigative journalist and recipient of the 2021 Deutsche Welle Freedom of Speech Award.

# STANDING UP FOR ACADEMIC FREEDOM



STUDENTS REACT AFTER A RESOLUTION TO REAFFIRM THE UNIVERSITY'S COMMITMENT TO PROTECTING FREE SPEECH AND ACADEMIC FREEDOM FOR STUDENTS, FACULTY AND STAFF PASSES DURING A STUDENT GOVERNMENT ASSOCIATION SENATE MEETING AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA.

Academic freedom is in decline worldwide. Here are six ways students, scholars, university administrators and willing governments can speak up for freedoms of research and teaching now – before it is too late.

TEXT: ILYAS SALIBA

Academic freedom is under threat across the globe. Freedoms of research and teaching are increasingly being curtailed. Students and scholars in online seminars and on campuses are becoming victims of surveillance. Despite general internationalisation trends in higher education and research, international exchange between scholars and students is increasingly being regulated and at times even restricted (Nagy et al. 2019).

Authoritarian governments in particular (but not exclusively) regularly scrutinise the cooperation and exchange between scholars in conferences and joint research projects or through formal procedures such as security clearances and visa regulations. Censorship (including self-censorship) in academia is rising and is limiting research opportunities as a result. At the legal and institutional levels, the autonomy of universities is being eroded through politically appointed rectors and funding structures that undermine university autonomy and democratic self-governance (Roberts Lyer/Suba 2019). In addition, the privatisation and commodification of higher education is reinforcing existing inequalities in access to tertiary education and the reputation of higher education institutions (Kinzelbach et al. 2021). Scholars conducting fieldwork have had to adjust their research agenda and methods of data collection (if possible) in order to continue their research despite the travel restrictions imposed by the COVID-19 pandemic (Saliba 2021). By and large, these problematic trends have been observed in many higher education systems around the globe. The *Academic Freedom Index* shows that academic freedom has – in terms of the global average – been slowly declining for the past ten years (Kinzelbach/Quinn et al. 2021).

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“Indeed, some of the most reputable universities in the world operate in environments where intellectual and academic freedoms are severely restricted.”

### The pandemic and Russia's war against Ukraine as accelerators

Initial evidence suggests that the pandemic is likely to have accelerated some of these worrisome trends. First, by switching teaching and conferences to online formats, digital surveillance has penetrated teaching and academic exchange more deeply. Second, pandemic-related travel restrictions have been seized upon by governments and university administrations to deny researchers access to fieldwork sites or to prevent scholars and students from participating in conferences and international exchange programmes. Third, Vladimir Putin's war against Ukraine has brought cooperation with Russian scientists to an abrupt halt (The Economist 2022). Fourth, public underfunding of universities and market-oriented reforms of higher education systems have increased access inequality to tertiary education, politicised university leaderships and marginalised some disciplines, while prioritising others that seemingly generate more value for the economy (through graduates, developments or findings). This trend is likely only to strengthen in the future, given the more austere policies that can be expected in the upcoming years because of the increased public spending during the pandemic.

### What can we do to counter these trends?

There are at least six ways in which we can stand up for academic freedom and help to turn the tide against the global trends identified above.

First, rankings and quality assurance processes need to include academic freedom as part of their quality and reputation assessments (Kinzelbach et al. 2021). Indeed, some of the most reputable universities in the world operate in environments where intellectual and academic freedoms are severely restricted. Scientific inquiry and the production of knowledge are inhibited if professors and students risk sacking, expulsion or even worse repercussions for discussing topics that are deemed off limits or for asking and discussing controversial questions. None of the main university ranking systems acknowledges the central role of academic freedom in top quality teaching and research. It is time for universities, scholars and students to hold ranking and quality assurance companies accountable and to push for the inclusion of academic freedom in their assessments, creating incentives for governments and universities to respect and not curtail academic freedom.

**“Assisting at-risk scholars and students and their voices may also help to generate knowledge about academic freedom and its limitations and to document and increase public awareness of issues of academic freedom.”**



Second, international scientific cooperation and exchange is vital to academic freedom, which is why restrictions on cooperations and exchanges should be minimal. At the same time, it is important to acknowledge that institutional cooperation agreements in particular may also harbour risks for academic freedom even in relatively free environments. Governments, university administrators and scholars have to be aware of potential risks – such as through independent periodical risk assessments – in order to identify and mitigate these effectively. Universities, governments and scholarly organisations (such as discipline-related associations and unions) should build networks to protect academic freedom and foster debates about associated issues to increase awareness across university management, scholars and students.

Third, with more refugees recorded than in any previous period, more funding should go into programmes for at-risk scholars and students to accommodate displaced researchers and students and provide them with the opportunity to continue their research or studies in host countries. Assisting at-risk scholars and students and their voices may also help to generate knowledge about academic freedom and its limitations and to document and increase public awareness of issues of academic freedom.

Fourth, universities and governments should develop inhouse capacities and capabilities to detect and monitor changes to higher education systems in relation to their consequences for academic freedom. Such analyses can inform decisions about international partnerships and potential risks through extraterritorial restrictions, such as censorship (including self-censorship).

Fifth, fieldwork needs to be facilitated and safeguarded, not overregulated or restricted. Scholars who rely on fieldwork require greater flexibility and more support. Data gained through regular fieldwork informs political debate

and decision-making. Thus, the growth of restrictive policies on fieldwork missions for liability reasons is a highly problematic development that has consequences beyond the generation of scientific knowledge. For this reason, instead of limiting field research, supervisors, universities and funders should provide their research staff with the necessary training and resources to adjust their projects to the situation on the ground whenever possible.

Sixth, scholars, students (and their unions) and universities need to lobby relevant local, regional, national and international regulatory institutions and funding bodies to improve legal safeguards for academic freedom and university autonomy (including democratic self-governance) in constitutions, laws, regulations and international (cooperation) agreements.

If students, scholars, university administrators and willing governments want to turn the tide on academic freedom they should act now, or it might be too late.

- Ilyas Saliba (@ilyas\_saliba), is Non-Resident Fellow at the Global Public Policy Institute (GPPi) in Berlin.

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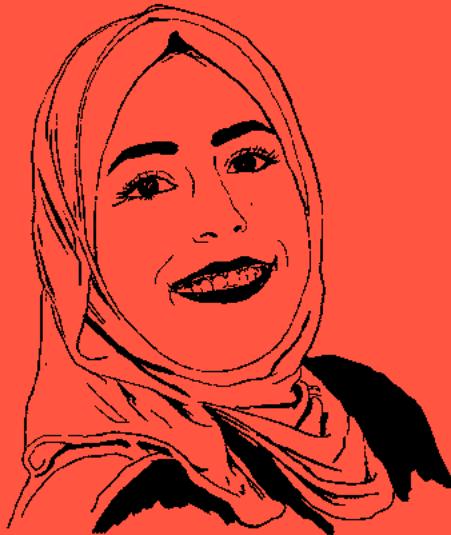
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**"As crises spread around the globe, freedom of the press is deteriorating and gender-based discrimination is increasing. But freedom of the press as a fundamental human right and the ability to speak up for gender equality and justice are essential for creating and maintaining democratic societies."**

Fawzya El-Shami (@fawzya\_el) is a journalist from Palestine.

# #TRANSRIGHTS ARE #HUMANRIGHTS

Social media companies are regularly criticised for enabling transphobic hate speech and violence. We asked German journalist Georgine Kellermann (@GeorgineKellermann) why she still uses Twitter and what can be done to speak up and fight for better social media platforms. Here are her ideas – in an imaginary Twitter thread.

COMPOSED BY GEORGINE KELLERMANN



**Georgine Kellermann**

@GeorgineKellermann

1/11 #Trans people care only about themselves. #Trans people do not care about anybody else. #Trans women are especially hostile to women's rights.



**Georgine Kellermann**

@GeorgineKellermann

2/11 How often have I read these criticisms in the last 2 years? They have been a popular #KillerArgument. I want to shout "it's not true!".



**Georgine Kellermann**

@GeorgineKellermann

3/11 People who exclude transgender people from society will not listen to me. Because they don't want to listen to me. The #Hate seems overwhelming.



**Georgine Kellermann**

@GeorgineKellermann

4/11 Stay calm!



### Georgine Kellermann

@GeorgineKellermann

5/11 **#Haters** are very loud. You get the impression they are a big crowd. They are not. If you check their tweets you'll always find the same people.



### Georgine Kellermann

@GeorgineKellermann

6/11 Their network is perfectly organised. Their **#Hate** is international. The biggest players are based in the US and UK. Some very powerful influencers are amongst them. And they are supported by several extremely right-wing coalitions. They have a lot of money.



### Georgine Kellermann

@GeorgineKellermann

7/11 And yet I still like social media. Not for the **#Hate**, but for the **#Support** people like me find there.



### Georgine Kellermann

@GeorgineKellermann

8/11 I would not be where I am without social media, especially @Twitter. They helped me to go public to tell others who I really am. I now have 40,000 followers on @Twitter and the vast majority of them are supporters – **#Allies** in the fight for my right to live the life I am living.



### Georgine Kellermann

@GeorgineKellermann

9/11 **#TransRightsAreHumanRights** – if I could wish for something, it would be for social media companies such as @Meta and @Twitter to take responsibility for the **#Hate** on their platforms. With every click, they earn money.



### Georgine Kellermann

@GeorgineKellermann

10/11 Nobody asks whether it was a **#Hate** click that put the money in their pockets. Take these **#Hate** profits and fight the hate. That would be the best solution in the fight for better social media platforms.



### Georgine Kellermann

@GeorgineKellermann

11/11 I can't wait to see that happen

Around 60 to 75 million people work in the textile and garment industry worldwide. The majority of them are women who work and live in strongly patriarchal societies such as Bangladesh or India. Supported by trade unions, only few of them dare to speak up against labour rights violations. As spaces for organised labour continue to shrink, freedom of expression is more and more trampled down.

# A voice for workers

TEXT: GISELA BURCKHARDT

In Bangladesh, there are some 5,000 factories with around four million employees. Approximately 70 percent are young women aged between 18 and 30. The country lives off export earnings from the garment industry, which accounts for about 70 percent of Bangladesh's income. Numerous factory owners sit in parliament and speak for their own interests, not for those of their employees.

**Minor improvements after the disastrous collapse of the *Rana Plaza* building**  
The collapse of the *Rana Plaza* building in Bangladesh on 24 April 2013 buried more than 1,000 textile workers, most of them women. It also resulted in 2,500 workers becoming disabled. The disaster put the spotlight on the catastrophic working conditions in the garment industry. Even before the incident, there were repeated disasters. These included the fire at the *Tazreen* factory in Bangladesh in 2012, which killed over 100 people and injured close to 200, and one at the *Ali Enterprise* factory in Pakistan in 2012, which killed over 250 people.



**"The work of trade unions and NGOs in Bangladesh and India has become increasingly difficult in recent years. In both countries, governments are increasingly controlling remittances."**

In 2013, the collapse of the *Rana Plaza* building led to a landmark agreement on structural, fire safety and electrical engineering, the *Accord*, which at the time was signed by nearly 200 brands. In June 2022, the importance of occupational health and safety was highlighted by the International Labour Organisation's (ILO) decision to upgrade its core labour standards. The ILO's core labour standards (no child labour, no forced labour, no discrimination, right to freedom of organisation) are mandatory for all countries, whether or not they have ratified the standards. Nevertheless, they are subject to massive violations in many manufacturing countries. The *Accord* improved the safety situation in factories, but working conditions have remained the same: a minimum wage that is far too low and not enough to live on (a wage that is around three times higher is needed), a very high level of manufacturing pressure that forces staff to work overtime, gender-based harassment and violence in the workplace and factory management that prevents workers from organising.

#### **The pandemic has made a bad situation for workers worse**

The coronavirus pandemic has only made the situation for workers worse. Brands and retailers around the world have responded to COVID-19 by cancelling orders without paying for goods that have already been manufactured, delaying placement of new orders and demanding discounts for products that have already been produced. By doing so, they have offloaded the main risks and costs of the crisis on to the people who are least able to afford it.

According to *McKinsey* (2020), more than half of all companies have renegotiated delivery terms, such as by demanding price reductions. Factories were forced to close due to the decline in orders, while workers lost their jobs or were sent home temporarily without income. When production resumed, often fewer workers were hired. Factory management used the pandemic to eliminate organised workers, which meant unionised staff were hit particularly hard. Many workers went into debt just to pay the rent. According to estimates from the *Clean Clothes Campaign* (2020), workers in the garment industry around the world are owed between \$US 3.2 and 5.8 billion in wages just for the first three months of the pandemic. In response, CCC has launched the campaign *#PayYourWorkers*.

While the pandemic and the resulting economic crises are global phenomena, the speed and scale of the economic impacts felt in the garment sector reveal the fragility of its businesses and jobs. This is especially true in countries where the state provides a weak healthcare and social welfare system and companies have very limited insurance policies for this purpose. In these circumstances, large numbers of vulnerable workers and their families will quickly slide into poverty.



In Bangladesh, the government called for factories to close from March to May 2020, but most factories did not respond to a call for another lockdown in 2021. Losses were too high, and instead of closure, safety measures were implemented in the factories to prevent the spread of COVID-19. Masks were distributed. However, workers live in cramped quarters, often several in one room, sharing toilets, washing areas and cooking facilities with many others. These conditions made the containment of the pandemic almost impossible. It is believed – exact figures are unknown – that around 300,000 workers at least temporarily lost their jobs as a result of the pandemic, without receiving the severance pay that is required by law.

#### **Speaking up against gender-based violence is taboo**

In the patriarchal societies of Bangladesh and India, sexualised violence in the workplace – irrespective of COVID-19 – is an enormous problem. In a survey of some 420 workers in Bangladesh, 76 percent of respondents said they had experienced gender-based violence in the workplace (Haque Chunnu 2020). Women may be verbally insulted, have their hair pulled or be forced to provide sexual services to their supervisors. They may also become victims of rape and murder (FEMNET 2022a). 70 percent of these cases go unreported because the women do not trust the internal complaints mechanism in their factory, if such a procedure exists at all.

It is true that there are some workers who defend themselves against labour rights violations with the help of trade unions. This action is also supported by German NGOs (FEMNET 2022b), but it very rarely addresses gender-based violence. The topic is taboo, as often women blame themselves and therefore do not dare to go public with it.

The work of trade unions and NGOs in Bangladesh and India has become increasingly difficult in recent years. In both countries, governments are increasingly controlling remittances. In India, NGOs now have to register their projects with the government if they wish to receive money from abroad. They are also subjected to strict controls, including accounting-related measures. The government has even banned NGOs such as *Amnesty International* and *Oxfam* from accepting money from abroad. In Bangladesh, NGOs are also required to register their projects with a government agency and to apply for permission to transfer money from abroad. These “shrinking spaces” all hinder freedom of expression and ultimately constitute a threat to the continued existence of NGOs.

- Gisela Burckhardt is Founder and Chairperson of FEMNET e.V.  
(@FEMNET\_eV).

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**"It is the job and duty of the press to hold the powerful to account. Brave journalism is important for society, but it can lead to resistance and repression from those in power. That's why everyone must fight for press freedom. It is a human right that benefits all of us."**



Andre Meister (@andre\_meister) is an investigative journalist at Netzpolitik.org, a German language website on digital rights.

# CIVIL SOCIETY: TAKING TO THE STREETS FOR MORE INCLUSIVE PEACE

From Afghanistan to Ukraine, the brunt of war is being borne by ordinary civilians. But efforts to end wars are often dominated by representatives of the warring parties, while civil society remains excluded from peace talks. Three examples show how civilians are still raising their voices to demand a greater say in the peace process.

TEXT: JULIA STRASHEIM

War and armed conflict have long been among the greatest threats to human security worldwide. Since 1989, numbers from the *Uppsala Conflict Data Program* show that 190 conflicts took place in almost 100 countries, with nearly a million civilians being killed in deliberate attacks by armed actors. This number, however, does not even begin to account for the millions more who have been injured, tortured or abused during war, who have died from starvation or diseases as a result of war, or who have been forcibly displaced.

Countries such as Afghanistan, as the former *UN High Commissioner for Human Rights*, Michelle Bachelet, recently argued, are "among the deadliest places in the world to be a civilian" (OHCHR 2021). In Ukraine, human rights NGOs have documented horrific violence against civilians by Russian troops since February 2022, including executions, torture and sexualised violence; we have seen bombing of residential areas, schools and hospitals, as well as the use of particularly brutal weapons, such as cluster munitions and landmines.

While the brunt of war is borne by ordinary civilians, the efforts to end war and build peace tend to be dominated by members of the warring parties. Representatives from NGOs, victims' organisations, women's groups and political parties tend to be excluded from peace talks. The same applies to religious, spiritual and community leaders. Warring parties often oppose their inclusion

and mediators sometimes assume that in order to end a war, armies need to be bought off with a seat at the table, while involving too many actors makes compromise difficult to reach.

As a result, of the 83 peace agreements signed between 1989 and 2004, only a third included at least one civil society actor (Nilsson 2012). In particular, women remain underrepresented. As numbers collected by the *Council on Foreign Relations* show, they constituted only 6 percent of mediators or signatories and 13 percent of negotiators in peace talks from 1992 to 2019. The most recent example are the talks between Russian and Ukrainian delegations in early 2022 that took place without a single woman at the table.

## Inclusion is essential, not a luxury add-on

But including civilians in peace processes is not a luxury add-on: their participation in decision-making makes negotiations more successful and peace processes more sustainable. Studies show that the risk of a peace agreement breaking down decreases by 64 percent if civil society is involved in talks (Nilsson 2012). The participation of civilians in peace talks can bring forward new ideas for ending a war, increase pressure on the warring parties to implement a deal or undermine the moral authority of those who want to remobilise for war. Civilian participation can also strengthen transparency and the legitimacy of peace processes.

**“Including civilians in peace processes is not a luxury add-on: their participation in decision-making makes negotiations more successful.”**

Three examples from recent history thus show how civilians can raise their voices and speak up to demand a greater say in the peace process — against all odds.

#### **“Sisterhood, Prayer, and Sex”**

One of the most famous examples of ordinary people speaking up for peace was Liberia’s *Women in Peacebuilding Network Mass Action for Peace* campaign, which forced the warring parties to engage in peace talks in 2003. One of the campaign’s leaders was Leymah Gbowee, who received the 2011 Nobel Peace Prize for her nonviolent struggle for women’s participation and who tells her story in the book *How Sisterhood, Prayer and Sex Changed a Nation at War* (Gbowee 2013). The movement was made up of Christian and Muslim women from all parts of Liberian society who used a

number of nonviolent tactics to mobilise for peace, including organising marches, going on a sex strike, congregating for prayers and meeting with the warring parties. On one occasion, women physically prevented warring party representatives from leaving the peace talks by threatening to take off their clothes and barricading the entrance to the meeting room. The campaign was so successful as it gave a human face to the war and because tactics such as the sex strike gained widespread international media attention. The peace deal was subsequently not only signed by the warring parties, but also by 18 political parties and many NGOs. By participating in the talks, the groups were able to ensure that clauses relating to war crimes and human rights violations were part of the agreement.



Only a few years later, but on the other side of the world, it is safe to say that there would not even have been a peace accord to end the war in Nepal had it not been for ordinary citizens taking a stand for peace and democracy. In April 2006, reacting to a coup d'état by the King of Nepal against the democratically elected government, ordinary Nepalis – led by respected civil society and human rights leaders – took to the streets in thousands. Their 19-day-long, country-wide protest would become known as the *Jana Andolan II or People's Movement*. The palace reacted by announcing curfews and sending security forces to violently crack down on demonstrations, but this only brought more people out onto the streets. This increasing pressure on the palace was successful in ending direct rule by the king and in creating an environment conducive for peace negotiations. In Nepal's November 2006 peace accord and subsequent deals, the warring parties agreed to include civil society, women and indigenous groups in decision-making and allocated them 48 seats in the transitional parliament.

### Against all odds

In Cambodia in 1991, the odds were certainly not in favour of civilians speaking up for peace. The country's history of war, genocide and autocracy meant that independent community organisations and political parties had never even existed and the only Cambodians consistently participating in peace negotiations were those with guns. The warring parties opposed proposals to include the wider population in peacemaking and perceived this as a threat to their hold on power. In its article *Make Room for Cambodians*, the *New York Times* concluded in 1991: "Inclusiveness, the world was told only two months ago, was the key to peace in Cambodia", but clearly that did not mean including the Cambodian public.

But Cambodians did demand a greater say in the peace process. Traditional Buddhist organisations were re-established and new NGOs were founded immediately after the peace accord was signed in October 1991. They would come to play a crucial role in safeguarding human rights and creating

awareness of environmental threats. Protests took place in the capital – impossible only months earlier. In May 1992, a Buddhist peace march that had begun in a refugee camp on the Thai-Cambodian border arrived in Phnom Penh to strengthen popular confidence in the peace process. And contrary to the expectations of many observers, 4.2 million Cambodians – a turnout of nearly 90 percent – went to the polls in the country's first national elections in 1993, despite threats of violence and in a powerful demonstration of what speaking up for peace means.

This spirit was also reflected in the 2022 decision by the Norwegian Nobel Committee. Awarding the Nobel Peace Prize to human rights advocate Ales Bialiatski from Belarus, the Russian human rights organisation *Memorial* and the *Center for Civil Liberties* demonstrates the significance of civil society for peace – in their home countries and beyond.

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**"'Speaking up' is even more difficult since Russia launched its full-scale invasion of Ukraine.**

**In Russia and Belarus, independent journalists work from exile or risk imprisonment.**

**In Ukraine, journalists risk their lives. Respect and solidarity to all who continue reporting, which is essential to counter relentless propaganda."**

Valerie Hopkins (@VALERIEinNYT) is an international correspondent for The New York Times.

# HERE'S WHAT PROTEST SOUNDS LIKE!

A PLAYLIST BY MERLE STRUNK AND HENDRIK HEETLAGE

When does music become a form of protest? Is it about the lyrics or the musical style? There are no clear answers to these questions, which closely relate to the nature of protest itself. One thing is for certain: across all continents and throughout the ages, music has been and remains a vehicle for expressing criticism of authorities. It is used to speak up against current conditions, sometimes at great personal risk. Whether rock, pop or techno – across all musical genres, artists use their music to call for solidarity, to persevere, to enlighten, to inspire reflection. Music can cause strong emotions, build identity and create affinity. Grievances and crises often serve as inspiration.

Entire musical genres can trace their roots back to protest, such as punk or hip-hop. Some artists manage to create a certain mood, a sound that is in keeping with political demands and the criticism being articulated at the time. Their songs anchor themselves in people's minds, becoming icons. By being reinterpreted again and again, they can last for decades. Individual songs even become the sound of a generation or a decade, while others are decoupled from the original theme and are sung at different protests. But what all protest songs have in common is their role as a sign of hope. That's because whenever people get loud, and whenever they speak up, there can be change.

... Забавная всё-таки штука  
— этот ваш “мирный”  
атом Высокие технологии,  
культура богатая

А теперь только красные  
пески, крутые горы  
и кратеры ...



NOIZE MC

NOIZE MC —  
*НА МАРСЕ КЛАССНО* (2010)

When Vladimir Putin launched Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine in February 2022, many Russian musicians wanted to express their disgust publicly, despite the threat of repression and violence from the government. Rapper Noize MC republished his 2010 track *На Марсе Классно* (It's great on Mars) on social media. Telling the story about a civilisation on Mars that was wiped out by a nuclear war, the song can be understood as a dedication to pacifism and as a clear message to the Russian president. Science fiction can be a refuge for narratives that would be inconceivable or even dangerous in the real world. The genre makes it possible to represent both utopias and the greatest fears and terrors – not only of their creators, but also of entire communities. By transferring real world scenarios into outer space, fiction becomes a shelter that saves artists from persecution and condemnation.

**LESLEY GORE – YOU DON'T OWN ME (1963)**

It may seem striking that one of the greatest feminist anthems of the 20th century was written by two men. But singer Lesley Gore, only seventeen years old at the time, made it completely her own when she interpreted the song in 1963 and put considerable emphasis on its message. At that time, the *New York Times* described her performance as "indelibly defiant". Gore sings about her self-determination as a woman. This may seem like a topic from the early 1960s and second wave feminism, but the message of the song has never lost its urgency over the decades. Nowadays, as women's rights once again come under attack all over the world, the message couldn't be more topical: you don't own me!



LESLEY GORE

... You don't own me  
Don't try to change me  
in any way  
You don't own me  
Don't tie me down 'cause  
I'd never stay ...

**MON LAFERTE AND GUAYNAA – PLATA TA TÁ (2019)**

With their song *Plata Ta Tá*, Chilean singer Mon Laferte and Puerto Rican rapper Guaynaa showed their support for the Chilean mass protests that began in 2019. The movement was directed against the government and growing social inequality. By uniting protest with pop culture, the song became extremely popular. While its highly professional music video even starred Mexican actress Yalitza Aparicio, the song title and the striking knocking sounds are a reference to the Latin American form of protest called *Cacerolazos*, where people bang on pots and pans to make noise and show that the pots are empty and food will be scarce. By combining these efforts with personal protest actions, such as showing the message "In Chile, they torture, rape and kill" on her uncovered breast at the *Latin Grammy Awards*, Mon Laferte brought great international attention to the whole movement.



MON LAFERTE AND GUAYNAA

... Überall wohin's dich führt, wird  
dein Ausweis kontrolliert.

Und sagst du einen falschen Ton,  
was dann geschieht, du weißt  
es schon. ...



PLANLOS

PLANLOS – *ÜBERALL* (1983)

The history of many punk bands from the former East Germany, or German Democratic Republic (GDR), shows that musicians often take a great personal risk to speak up against an unjust state. Anyone who was nonconformist in the GDR was very likely to face great personal disadvantages such as surveillance and repression. This meant that being a punk – which for many people was the ultimate form of rebellion in the late 1970s and early 1980s – was a very risky choice in the GDR. The Ministry for State Security called punks “filthy” and “antisocial” and made breaking down the scene its goal. Members of punk bands were repeatedly imprisoned or were forced to infiltrate the scene under question-able conditions. Against all odds, punk groups released uncompromising songs that described the situation in the unjust state in clear terms. They included the classic punk song *Überall* by the East Berlin band Planlos, which deals with permanent state surveillance.

... Vamos pa' la calle en pie de lucha  
Quédate con todos los yates  
Por la victoria, no quiero empate  
Que si nos juntamos todo los justos  
Por todos esos disparates ...

**JOAN BAEZ – WE SHALL OVERCOME (1963)**

When civil rights activist Martin Luther King gave his famous “I have a dream” speech to 250,000 people at the *March on Washington* in 1963, 22-year-old Joan Baez sang the protest song. With her incomparable interpretation – and by tailoring the final verse for the event – Baez became an icon of the movement and the song itself became the protest song par excellence. Originally, the Afro-American gospel song had been sung by the workers’ movement around 1903, such as during strikes. It was then popularised in the 1950s by the activist and musician Peter Seeger. The song expresses solidarity, cohesion and the desire for freedom, as well as the hope for a better future. Baez’ work is often reinterpreted around the world in the struggle for equality, peace and freedom, such as in the *Anti-Apartheid Movement* in South Africa or the German peace movement in the 1990s and 1980s.

**EL PROFESOR – BELLA CIAO (HUGEL REMIX) (2018)**

Can the culture industry depoliticise a protest song? For El Profesor’s summer hit of 2018, the *Hugel* remix *Bella Ciao*, it might seem so. The song became popular again from its use in the successful Spanish drama television series *Money Heist*. Suddenly, the anthem of Italian partisans in World War II was sung in clubs and on beaches – most likely without having the fight against Mussolini’s and Hitler’s fascism in mind. So, is *Ciao Bella* still a song about fighting and resistance? Yes, because to endure protest music must adapt and renew itself. Its message has remained the same; its simple and catchy melody is timeless and still able to enthuse people. Thanks to its new fame, the song is now sung at protests around the world. But whether it is heard in Italy, Chile or Hong Kong, the music cannot be separated from its own history.

... We shall live in peace  
We shall live in peace,  
someday ...



EL PROFESOR

SUPPORTERS OF THE ‘SARDINE’ CHANTING THEIR MOVEMENT’S ANTHEM “BELLA CIAO” DURING THE MASSIVE RALLY IN ROME ON 14 DECEMBER 2019. ONLY PEACE FLAGS ARE ADMITTED ON THE SAN GIOVANNI SQUARE.

... È questo il fiore del partigiano,  
(E questo è il fiore del partigiano)  
morto per la libertà! ...



JOAN BAEZ

## ASA – JAILER (2017)

In her 2007 song *Jailer*, Nigerian-born singer Asa not only addresses the philosophical and psychological question of the relationship between guards and prisoners, but also denounces the arbitrariness and brutality of the police in her home country. In Nigeria, music and protest are closely intertwined. In the country where history was removed from the school curricula for roughly ten years (2007–2019), music plays an important role in educating people about historical events. The artist became a driving force behind the #EndSARS protests ten years after the release of her song. The *Special Anti-Robbery Squad* (SARS) was a special unit of the Nigerian police that was accused of kidnapping Nigerians and then extorting their families. The unit has now been officially disbanded – but Asa continues to sing against ignorance, indifference and modern slavery.

- Hendrik Heetlage (@HHeetlage) is an independent historian.
- Merle Strunk is Education and Outreach Officer at the Bundeskanzler-Helmut-Schmidt-Stiftung (BKHS).

... So you better rearrange your philosophies /  
And be good to your fellow man, Jailer! /  
Stop calling me a prisoner / Let he who  
is without sin be the first to cast the stone /  
Mr. Jailer / Oh, I'm talking to you Jailer! ...



ASA

[LISTEN TO OUR PLAYLIST ↗](#)



What is the value of a political speech – at a time when communication is everywhere, when even the most ludicrous political statements are circulated effortlessly, publicly and anonymously, and when politicians are met with apathy, having lost credibility and empathy because they recited empty phrases and waged phony debates far too often?

# Politics by soundbite?

TEXT: JACQUELINE BOYSEN

Since time immemorial, political speech has been a remarkable beast: glamorous diva and cheeky brat, worn everyday object and rare treasure, delicacy and fast food, jewel and weapon, all at the same time, appropriately ambivalent.

Political speeches are a tool of control and governance. They can play the role of social fabric or political dynamite, they can conceal or reveal, they can be cheap advertising or a reliable indicator, a cure or a lethal injection. It's how the ingredients fit together that matters. Everything comes down to the person who prepares it, the person who serves it and the people who consume it. Rhetorical charisma and the venue, the message and context, words and positioning only work when they are perfectly balanced with each other. The political speech is an art form that needs to be finely crafted, that requires practice and knowledge – including knowledge about *how* the person speaking thinks. That's because *what* the person thinks is, after all, supposed to be communicated to the audience through the speech.



### **Speaking and listening is essential for democracy's success**

Political speeches are an under-appreciated text form – they are neither the ancestor of the soundbites of the twenty-first century, nor are they an alternative to social media. These formats might draw on the speeches, but the speeches themselves are fed by different, deeper sources. If speeches are not carefully looked after, they decay. If speeches are not bound by democratic principles, they may be destructive. After two dictatorships, speeches that take a demagogic or inflammatory tone rightly have a bad reputation and are feared in Germany. Speeches are not only capable of impressing and convincing an audience, they can also unleash a manipulative potential – for better or worse.

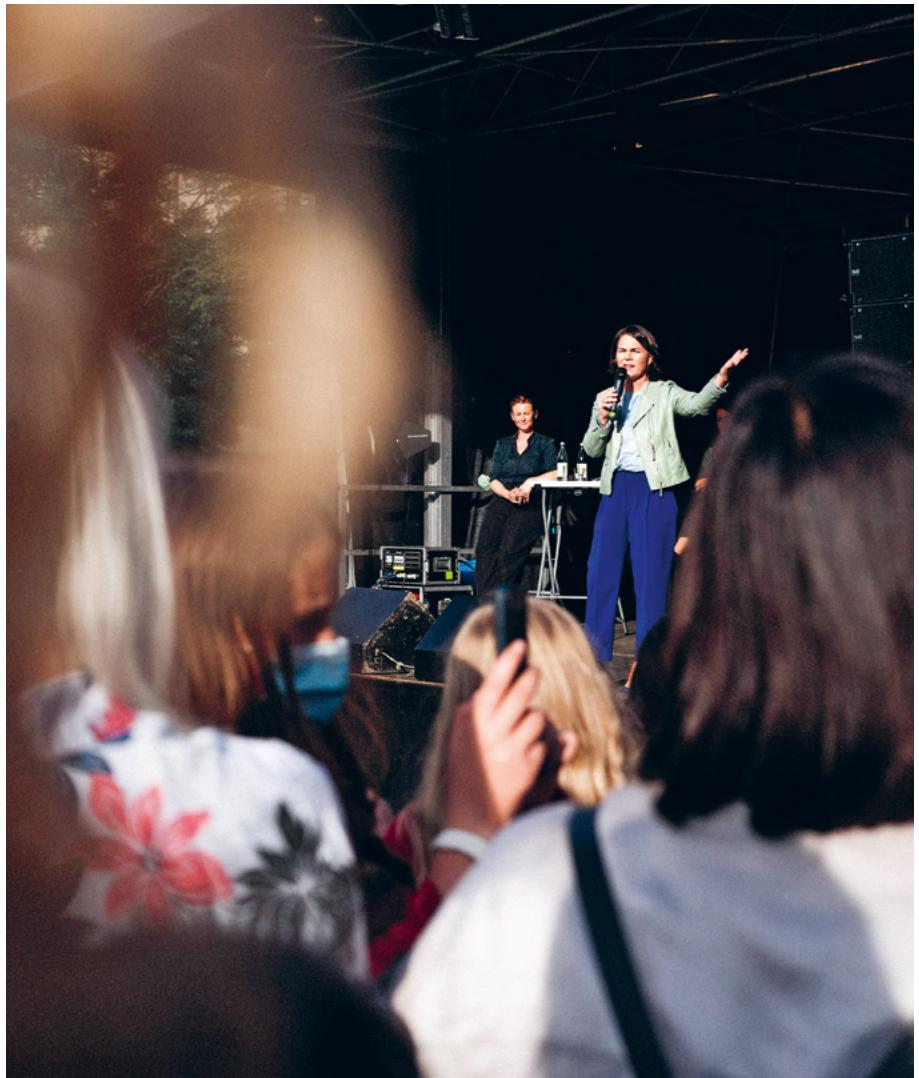
Without political speeches and their corresponding counterpoints, democracy cannot function. Before the people can elect their representatives, they need to be given a chance to familiarise themselves with the people who are standing for election. Online images and memes cannot fulfil this purpose; neither can political talk shows. Those who attempt to build a profile with catchy slogans should not be surprised if these are quickly torn off them, leaving only an empty shell.

Politics will remain colourless and shady if politicians only appear in staged arguments and artificial staccato. If they handle their political communication like an Olympic torch, they will set their own words alight and become marginal figures, known for their amusement factor or the odd rhetorical flourish. This might help to underpin a position for a while – but it is a mistake to believe that this can work permanently in the long run. This is because the opportunity to coherently set out the wider context and point out fundamental differences with the position of one's political opponent is lost.

### **The venue doesn't need to be a beer tent**

The more everyday transactions we can handle online, the greater our need becomes for face-to-face communication. Of course, it would completely contradict reality to promote personal interaction through local council settings. The venue also doesn't need to be a beer tent where people puff themselves up and put on a show. No matter what the setting: political flair will only unfold if representatives engage with each other. If they take time for each other. If one personality speaks and the other one listens – in a very old school way. The relationship between politics and the people might be conveyed through the media, but it should take its cue from fundamental interpersonal experiences – after all, both sides want to be heard and understood. Only if this is the case will mutual trust emerge, a resource that is in short supply. Building credibility requires considerable patience, which is also a scarce resource. Obligations exist on both sides – especially in a representative democracy that aspires to confer authority for a limited period on an individual who is selected from the people. The leader who is chosen needs to be able to use the power of words. No matter whether he or she wants to. The others do not need to listen, but only by doing so can they find out whether a personality is authentic, considered and trustworthy.

In Germany, for instance, chancellors Helmut Schmidt and Helmut Kohl did not have much in common apart from their first names. But both of them were characterised by their personal articulation. One sounded Hanseatic and spirited, while the other explained “diese-unsere” world in Palatinate intonation. Both addressed their audiences in a unique way – they were not always loved by everyone, but they were always backed and probably understood by a considerable number of supporters. Helmut Schmidt faced major



challenges during his time as chancellor, and one called for a high level of communicative skill. He had to stand up to the terrorism of the *Rote Armee Fraktion* and explain a moral dilemma after the abduction of Hanns Martin Schleyer: human dignity is inviolable, the rule of law means everyone needs to be protected – and yet the state cannot be blackmailed either. The tasks that confronted Helmut Kohl as an orator were different in nature, but no less controversial: to ensure the window of opportunity did not close again, he cleared the way for reunification even before the legal and foreign policy preconditions had been settled.

Both orators were demanding of their audiences. They took them seriously and did not go easy on themselves or others. Of course, they knew that headwinds and counterarguments would emerge. But they remained stubborn and showed a willingness to carry the consequences of their words. Neither speaker sugar-coated things. Although they were experienced speakers, they were visibly excited, concerned – and ultimately they disseminated confidence throughout society. That doesn't happen on Twitter or TikTok.

→ Jacqueline Boysen (@MERKELBIOGRAPHY) is Managing Director of the Bundeskanzler–Helmut–Kohl–Stiftung. She was a speechwriter for German Bundestag presidents Norbert Lammert, Wolfgang Schäuble and Bärbel Bas.

Poetry can be a form of protest when facing censorship and persecution in countries of war. Expressing pain and loss in an artistic way may be the only escape when experiencing injustices and seeking freedom.

# Riddles

FROM A BOOK IN TITLE  
“REVERSED SKY”

POEM: KHOLOUD CHARAF TRANSLATION: LERI PRICE

Kholoud Charaf (@CharafLouda) is a Syrian poet, author and art critic. The Syrian war interrupted her studies in Arabic literature. She started a new job as a guard in a high security prison. Working in the women's ward, she witnessed the systemic abuse of political detainees. Experiencing severe intimidation, she decided to speak up against these injustices. Kholoud left Syria and lives in Germany now, where she writes about the situation of children and women in war and publishes them in several languages to break as many barriers as possible.

## - أهانج -

**حول أهانجية يلقي بيت المفت.**

قذيفة  
حول بيته ملئ محببات الصفولة  
همراً همراً... هلاوب.  
والعالم ينبعغ عن رأى أن مينا يستطيع  
أن يجده نالوط غير مفهوم  
نراعه دأهانجيه.

ملئ المفحة ؟  
وحبه نامن مااد. فـلا رضه لنا، كلـه  
هذه الأرضـن لنا وـما المـارـسوـن  
ـحامـليـها وـما زـالـتـ السـارـةـ منـهـةـ  
ـوـما زـالـتـ الـحـيـاةـ تـحـلـ السـمـرـ عـلـىـ  
ـكـاـهـلـ زـيـونـ لـلـمـرـعـهـ عـنـ أـوـلـ بـزـوـعـيـ  
**الـخـلـدـ**

ـهـذـهـ الـأـرـضـ نـلـنـ ؟ـ وـمـنـ خـنـ ؟ـ  
ـمـنـمـارـ دـلـنـ المـاـدـ وـ السـمـرـ عـنـ نـاـعـتـ  
ـخـنـ مـلـكـمـ لـنـأـمـ عـلـىـ مـدـاـهـلـنـاـكـةـ  
ـنـرـبـ بـهـ هـيـاهـ الـلـيلـ وـنـسـتـهـ الـحـيـاةـ  
**ـهـرـفـهـ الـهـبـارـ**

ـخـنـ مـلـكـمـ نـرـهـيـ للـقـرـ وـسـارـةـ عـلـىـ  
ـسـدـرـنـاـكـيـ نـحـلـ.ـ خـنـ مـلـكـمـ  
ـلـنـأـوـظـهـ إـلـاـ أـنـهـ عـصـيـ  
ـعـنـ التـوـ ضـيقـ

- خـلـوـدـ سـرـنـ.

## — Riddles —

Around the shoes  
 rebuilding homes of warmth -  
 a bomb.  
 Around a house  
 gathering blocks of childhood brick by brickescape.  
 The world gets lost  
 but the astrologer can find it  
 misunderstood Death is its conflict and its riddle  
 Who does the poem belong to?  
 We are found by water  
 and the earth is ours  
 all this earth is ours -  
 fire is only for its bearers  
 The sky is still flowered  
 life still carries poets  
 on the back of the olive tree  
 to burn it at the first frost  
 Whose is the earth?  
 and who aware we  
 Coming from water  
 water is ours  
 So is love  
 And the poetry within us grows in power  
 We are like you  
 We have a yesterday trodden by memory  
 We use it to arrange the stories of past nights  
 and while we wait for life we dig up cactus  
 We are like you  
 We name our names in the cracks of our homes  
 We lowered a pillow onto the moon  
 on our bed so we could dream  
 We are  
 Like you  
 But the flood  
 Scaled the bowers of our dreams  
 We are still waiting  
 for an olive branch  
 and a dove  
 We are like you  
 We have a homeland  
 but it is resistant  
 to clarification

**"As journalists, we are committed to a high ethos: the pursuit of truth. This makes us guardians of democracy and defenders of the democratic values that hold our society together. The freedom of the press is one of the most valuable assets we have and must be defended."**



Dügen Tekkal (@DuezenTekkal) is a German-Yazidi journalist and founder of the human rights organisation HÁWAR.help.

Despite the COVID-19 pandemic, huge crowds took to the streets in Germany to protest against Russia's invasion of Ukraine in February 2022. One thing we have learned from the history of almost 40 years of speaking up for peace in Germany: peace protests in the future will be more successful if they manage to link their cause with environmental, democratic and social issues.

# The past, present and future of peace protests in Germany

TEXT: NINA-KATHRIN WIENKOOP

In November 1983, the German Bundestag voted in support of the 1979 NATO double-track decision. It marked a significant shift in German security policies, after the Helmut Schmidt-led coalition government had already fallen apart a year earlier. Notably, it was also a crucial political opportunity to mobilise for peace.

Four decades later, in 2022, Germany saw what may have been the largest wave of peace protests since the demonstrations against the US invasion of Iraq in the early 2000s. Within a few weeks, several hundred thousand people took to the streets to call for peace. In Berlin alone, more than 100,000 activists came together to rally for peace in Europe on 27 February.

The re-emergence of large-scale mobilisations for peace due to Russia's invasion of Ukraine demonstrates that people are willing to take collective action for the value of living in peace. In addition to the geographical proximity and the fact that we are politically involved, the consistent reporting by conventional media and the flood of self-recorded videos by those living in the war zones have contributed to this new wave of large-scale peace protests.

FORESIGHT



### What has changed?

Even if social media helped to boost the visibility of the war and the mobilisation against it, the fact that people are publicly committed to peace has been a continuous part of the protest history of Germany since World War I. The biggest mobilisations to date were the peace protests staged during what were called the new social movements of the 1970s and 1980s. Under the motto "No to Nuclear Armament", more than a million people gathered in 1983 all over West Germany to oppose the NATO double-track decision.

Along with enormous protest rallies on the streets, activists in decades past used a wide range of protest tactics, ranging from sit in blockades to event-based protest forms such as street theatre performances (Becker-Schaum et al. 2020). Contemporary movements, by contrast, tend to overrely on less disruptive protest tactics such as mass demonstrations. This is particularly true when activists are protesting not against their domestic, but against a foreign government. In Germany, this observation could be made during this year's peace protests as well as during the peace protests against the Iraq war in 2003.

A similarity, however, could be seen in their broad alliances of diverse actors and linkages to energy politics and environmental concerns. Back in the 1980s, the groups that advocated for disarmament were almost congruent with those that opposed nuclear power. Because, after all, nuclear plants are needed to produce weapons-grade uranium. Today, we again see this linkage between war and energy supply policies, although the framing has not yet been dominant in activists' claims.

But unlike the environmental movement, which gave rise to influential organisations such as *Bund für Umwelt und Naturschutz* (BUND) and *Greenpeace*, this institutionalisation has largely been absent in peace protests. Peace movements continue to lack a resource-rich, institutionalised foundation or central leading movement akin to the *Fridays for Future* environmental movement. Instead, broad alliances of trade unions, environmental groups, campaign networks, church organisations, social associations and, often, political parties come together on an ad hoc basis. As in the case of the mobilisation against the war in Ukraine, they are united by a kind of minimal consensus to be in favour of peace and against war.

What is new is that this minimal consensus no longer includes opposing rearment. The peace movement was previously united on the need to "create peace without weapons" and opposed the government position. Some even opposed parliamentary democracy overall. Activist groups today are disunited over their stance towards the government's policy to deliver arms to the Ukrainian military. It has already led to initial fragmentation and the exclusion in February 2022 of the Ukrainian diaspora organisation *Vitsche* from the speaker's podium at their mass rally. The minimal consensus of the need to stop the war and mobilise assistance still covers up larger divisions within the *Green Party* in the German *Bundestag* and the civil society organisations close to them, but has already caused splits within the *Left Party*.

### What will peace protests look like in the future?

But as 2022 unfolds, only a few large-scale protests remain, such as those in late September that have been called by *Fridays for Future*. So far, the intersecting crises we face have not translated into a new wave of mobilisation. But when it comes to the current challenges in terms of energy supplies and economic distress (resulting both from the pandemic and war) as well as the heating and water shortages in Europe, one plausible scenario in the months to come will be a remobilisation.

As people become more directly affected by socioeconomic and climate consequences due to rising gas and food prices, this will provide renewed political opportunity to mobilise for peace. However, this will only happen if activists are able to link these issues with values of democracy and peace. Within the pandemic, including in Germany, people have experienced how democratic liberties cannot be taken for granted. The same holds true for the invasion of Ukraine: people in Germany are beginning to realise that peace is always vulnerable and at risk.

If activists are able to find a common position on those interrelated questions, it opens up a window of opportunity to build an even broader alliance that is united on the need for collective action on civil liberties and economic justice and their connection to peace politics. As things stand, activists face the challenge of redefining their goals and setting a new long-term agenda for peace. For instance, is peace the absence of violence, or should our aim be to bring about “positive peace” that resembles the claims by youth-led



environmental groups today (Bowman/Pickard 2021)? This kind of common ground would allow members of the *Green* and *Left Party* to reunite and overcome their fragmentation, given that inherent concerns for the *Greens* revolve around democracy and climate issues and that the *Left Party* is focused on socioeconomic justice.

The precondition for such an outcome is, however, that activists engage in consensus-building and exchange to develop their understanding of peace, democracy and economic justice. Social media and communication tools such as *WhatsApp* may help, following the example of *Fridays for Future*. What is needed to kick-off such a process, however, is a single organisation or group that takes the lead. So far, there are no signs of a new peace movement, but rather individual political campaigns and protests. This makes such a process less likely.

Another plausible scenario is that there will be further splits within the *Left* and *Green* parties that have failed to put this confrontation on their internal agenda. Evidence suggests that the more people here who are negatively affected by the consequences of the war, the fewer there will be who care about the situation elsewhere. If these two forces come together, they could bring about a demobilisation of large-scale protests for peace and feed into demands for different energy policies.

The exact pathway peace protests take will therefore be determined by the extent to which activist groups and political parties are able to overcome their fragmentation. For many social movements, the pandemic has been the time to focus back on relationship-building and their collective identity (Che noweth 2020). For those activists who understand themselves as activists for peace, now should be the time to allow renewal.

New political opportunities are at hand, but only if bridging and bonding of diverse values by the groups convinces enough people to support their cause. The potential is huge, since questions of peace and war have – and will – always be inherently environmental, democratic and social questions.

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Hanna Liubakova (@HannaLiubakova) is a Belarusian journalist, writer and activist.

# One wish for the future



TEXT: ELISABETH WINTER

"Many democracies subscribe to human rights and demand from others to do so as well. But let's call out this hypocrisy: they speak up only as long as it is convenient to do so. As soon as economic or security interests interfere, they lose interest. I wish that this dichotomy between values and interests exists no more. Human rights should no longer be considered as the cherry on the cake of so-called "Realpolitik". A values-based foreign policy must put human security as priority number one, no matter if we can afford them in a specific situation or not. Human rights must be the foundation for our economic and security interests."

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**Speaking up** is not only about the right to express an opinion, but also about who is going to listen, which consequences one might fear – and the courage to do it anyway. This issue of the *BKHS Magazine* celebrates people who dare to speak up all over the globe: journalists in the face of declining press freedom, peacebuilders in the midst of war, artists at risk of persecution, human rights defenders up against repression, workers demanding fair wages, LGBTQI\* activists in their fight against discrimination and women\* claiming the power to make choices about their own bodies.

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