
National Endowment for Democracy



Annual Report
1992

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY

1992 ANNUAL REPORT

October 1, 1991 - September 30, 1992

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Chairman's Message

I am struck by three significant and related transitions: in the world at large, where democracy, despite sobering setbacks, continues to advance; in Washington, where a new Administration and Congress take charge; and at the Endowment itself, where the final group of founding members passes on a legacy of extraordinary accomplishment.

When the Endowment was established in 1983, only a few lonely outposts of freedom could be found outside the Western democracies. The most recent Survey of Freedom in the World issued by Freedom House chronicles the dramatic changes that have occurred since then, with the number of democracies growing to a record 99 this past year. That represents eight more countries than in 1991, and eight additional ones may become formal democracies before this report is published.

No one should have expected that the transitional period for emerging democracies would be smooth or graceful. As 1992 has brutally reminded us, democracy is a very complex system; it cannot be firmly established simply by deposing a dictator and conducting an election: it sometimes unleashes unsettling forces; it often engenders backlash.

We at the Endowment harbor no illusions about the wayward passages and paths of democracy. Our grants program, reaching every region of the world, is predicated on the principle that the values and institutions of democracy must grow over time, sink roots, and earn legitimacy and loyalty. Democracy requires, among other elements, political parties that respond to the needs of citizens; trade unions that protect the rights of workers; a market economy that promotes an efficient exchange of goods and services; a civil society that spurs local participation; a free press that informs citizens; and an independent judiciary that respects the rule of law and safeguards human rights.

Inevitably, economic crises, social upheavals and ethnic conflicts marred the landscapes of fragile democracies in 1992. But the essential trends set in motion during the 1980's were not erased. Moreover, we should note encouraging developments — among them Poland, which may have turned the corner in restoring health to a devastated economy; South Korea and Taiwan, which progressed steadily toward democratic rule; and El Salvador and Mozambique, where years of bloodshed yielded to peaceful transitions. Nor should we overlook those emerging democracies, too numerous to mention, which maintained their momentum.

None of this is meant to gloss over the huge challenges facing those struggling to consolidate and expand freedom across the globe. Nor can we forget the vast numbers of people still living under repressive regimes where democracy has yet to be sown. But we should not let our dismay over daily headlines obscure the central fact that the world is much freer than it was a few short years ago. History is on the side of liberty.

This then is the terrain, full of peril and promise, that greets a new President and a new Congress. The incoming Administration recognizes the importance, as President Clinton stated during the campaign, of "standing up for democracy as it remakes the

world." That Administration can build upon a broad bipartisan consensus that promoting freedom not only reflects American ideals but also serves American interests. Democratic countries do not go to war with one another, sponsor terrorism, or threaten others with weapons of mass destruction. They are more reliable partners in trade, diplomacy and protecting the environment. They are much more likely to respect civil liberties, property rights, and the rule of law. They do not spawn refugees. The post-Cold War environment truly offers the new Administration and Congress fresh opportunities to work for a safer, more humane world.

Such an environment offers new challenges to the Endowment as well. In January 1992 the Board approved a Strategy Document setting forth long-term objectives for a new era. Thus the NED will increasingly position itself on the "cutting edge" of democratic advance, employing its nongovernmental status to extend its reach in Africa, the Islamic World, and East Asia where most of the world's most unsavory governments hold sway. To reinforce the relatively weak, inexperienced democratic movements in those areas, the Endowment will provide "venture capital" to help them overcome social, cultural, political and historical obstacles. Where breakthroughs toward freedom have yet to occur, the NED — more than the U.S. government — enjoys the flexibility and independence to encourage democratic activities.

The Strategy also calls for the Endowment to increase program coordination between the Endowment and its institutes representing business, labor, and the two major political parties. This offers a more comprehensive, mutually reinforcing approach to democratic needs. Let me take this opportunity to pay tribute to the outstanding work of these institutes, the Center for International Private Enterprise, the Free Trade Union Institute, the International Republican Institute, and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs.

The third pillar of the Endowment's strategy will be to expand its role as a vital center of democratic thought and action. Achieving successful democratic transitions is a complex process, and it is essential to gain a more sophisticated understanding of what makes them work. Fortunately, there is now a vastly expanded range of democratic experience in every region of the world. The NED is well placed to bring together activists, fresh from their own recent labors, with scholars and other experts to compare notes and shape strategies for building democracy.

The Endowment is undergoing personal, as well as substantive transition. In January 1993 the final group of founding Board members, consisting of Frank Fahrenkopf, Lane Kirkland, Charles Manatt, and Jay Van Andel, takes its leave after a decade of dedication and impressive results. To them and to my predecessors as NED Chairmen, Dante Fascell, Bill Brock, and John Richardson, I extend deep gratitude for their vision and skill in crafting an organization that is truly bipartisan and whose sole mission is to foster freedom. The Endowment's important contribution in such a brief period is eloquent testimony to their foresight and labors.

Shortly after completing this message, I learned that I, too, will soon face a transition with implications for the Endowment. Because I have accepted a position in the incoming Administration, I will be resigning my membership on the Endowment's Board of Directors and therefore its chairmanship as well. Although I will no longer

have a formal relationship with the organization, I remain highly committed to its objectives and intend to follow its progress with great interest.

The work of the Endowment is a team effort, a reality I have appreciated even more during my tenure as Chairman. I would like to recognize here the seminal contributions made by Carl Gershman and his superb staff as well as my distinguished colleagues on the NED Board.

Finally, we offer our genuine appreciation to our friends in the Congress and in the outgoing Administration, including the White House, State Department, United States Information Agency, and Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, for their critical support. Both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue maintained backing for the Endowment during a period of severe budgetary pressures. While courageous peoples around the world are the heroes of democracy's wave, we can take pride in America's commitment to their cause.



Winston Lord

President's Report

Two words that are frequently used to describe the present process of democratization in the world — transition and consolidation — also sum up the institutional development of the National Endowment for Democracy during fiscal year 1992, the period covered by this Annual Report. FY 1992, the ninth year of the Endowment's existence, marked the end of one period in the life of the organization and the beginning of another. This transition was a process of both change and of building, a consolidation of what we have learned during the founding period of the Endowment as the basis for preparing to meet future challenges.

During this first period, which covered the years 1984-1991, the Endowment established its procedures, programs and identity. This would have been an exciting and challenging experience under any circumstances, but the period also happened to coincide with possibly the most extraordinary surge of democratic activity in the history of mankind. Though the Endowment was just a fledgling organization, with more idealism than experience and more aspirations than resources, it was able to be part of this momentous Democratic Revolution by providing vital assistance to many of those who were making it happen. From Poland and South Africa to Nicaragua and Chile, from what used to be the Soviet Union to what is still Communist China, the Endowment and its grantees — especially its party, labor and business institutes — were able to offer material and technical help to movements that were short on everything but people and vision. We may never see a period like it again, and we'll be forever proud and gratified to have been able to play the part that we did. But now this time is over, and we — like those who made the revolution — must move on.

For the Endowment, "moving on" has meant building for the future, developing our institutional capabilities so that the Endowment will be in a position to provide effective and sustained help, in good times and bad, to those trying to build democratic societies. Indeed, it is clear that the "good times" are now over, and that we have entered a post-revolutionary period of turbulence and reaction, of ethnic and national conflict and political dislocation. Far more countries are trying to make a rapid transition to democracy than are adequately prepared to do so. Democratic aspiration outpaces democratic experience, and the political, economic, demographic, environmental, ethnic, constitutional and related problems confronting new and fragile democratic regimes are enough to overwhelm even the most stable and experienced democratic polities.

The challenges facing the Endowment, therefore, are greater and more complex than ever before. We no longer have a situation where we can simply add our shoulder to the momentum of history. Today the principal task more closely approximates the mission for which the Endowment was originally created: long-term democratic development. This means creating and strengthening democratic institutions, spreading democratic ideas and nurturing democratic values, trying to build the culture as well as the institutions and procedures of democracy. This is not just the work of years but of generations. It will require, in addition to adequate resources, an ability to shape, manage and assess programs in scores of countries throughout Asia, Africa, Latin America, the former Soviet Bloc and the Middle East.

During the past year, the Endowment undertook two major initiatives to reinforce its ability to carry out this mission. First, it developed and began to implement a comprehensive plan to improve the management and monitoring of the several hundred grants made annually, to strengthen the financial controls applied to all grants, and to enhance the ability of the Endowment and its grantees to evaluate the effectiveness of each grant made. In January 1992 the General Accounting Office (GAO), in a report assessing the Endowment's progress, commented favorably on the overall plan and on the steps the Endowment had already taken to implement it. Further progress was made during the remainder of the fiscal year as the Endowment continued to strengthen its oversight capabilities.

When the Endowment embarked on the development and implementation of this plan, some Members of Congress asked whether the strengthening of grant management might occur at the expense of the dynamism, flexibility and vision that marked Endowment programs during its initial years. The fear was that the Endowment might turn into a cumbersome bureaucracy and lose the qualities that had made it effective. Almost two years later, we can say with confidence that such fears, while understandable, have not been realized. The Endowment has put tremendous effort into tightening procedures and increasing oversight. But as the present Annual Report demonstrates, especially the section on program accomplishments, the Endowment continues to pursue a far-reaching and ambitious grants program that has engaged devoted democratic activists throughout the world, even in such difficult and remote places as Tibet, Mongolia and Iraq. We are confident that we can expand this dynamic grants program while maintaining the kind of rigorous procedures that the management of public funds requires.

The second major initiative was the development of a long-term strategy that would focus the energies of the Board, the staff and the grantees upon the achievement of three broad priorities, each growing out of a particular aspect of the Endowment's institutional nature. The first priority is consciously to position the Endowment at the "cutting edge" of democratic advance and, by so doing, to take full advantage of the organization's independence of the U.S. government and proven ability to assist beleaguered democrats. In practice, this has meant a somewhat greater emphasis than in the past on countries and regions that had yet to experience a democratic breakthrough of the kind that occurred in Eastern Europe. Thus, during the past year the Endowment began the development of programs in the Middle East and enhanced its programs in such "pre-breakthrough" countries as China, Burma, Zaire and Cuba.

At the same time, the Endowment never interpreted "cutting-edge" to exclude countries where anti-democratic regimes have given way to democratically-elected governments. On the contrary, it assumed that politically active non-governmental groups would continue to play a decisive role in such countries, especially those undergoing a crisis of transition and consolidation; and that the non-governmental Endowment was particularly well-suited to aid them. As the program accomplishments and summaries contained in this Annual Report make clear, the Endowment's grantees have been extremely active in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union in promoting party development, conflict resolution, civic education and, not least, a democratic economy from the standpoint of both worker rights and private enterprise.

The second priority is enhancing the Endowment's coordinating role vis-à-vis its party, labor and business institutes, thereby taking advantage of the synergistic potential of the Endowment's multi-sectoral structure. Since the Endowment is also involved through its discretionary program in the areas of human rights, media, civic education and helping organizations of civil society, the Endowment has a truly unique ability to coordinate democratic efforts across a broad spectrum of non-governmental groups and sectors.

During the past year, the Endowment has developed a civic education initiative in Romania involving the four core institutes and several discretionary grantees. It has also conducted coordinating meetings on the Middle East, Zaire, Central Asia and Haiti, and plans are already in place for future sessions on China, Russia and Cuba.

In addition, at the recommendation of the Congress, the Endowment will convene a "democracy summit" bringing the four institutes together with the four party foundations (*stiftungen*) in Germany, the new Westminster Foundation for Democracy in Britain, and the International Center for Human Rights and Democratic Development in Canada. Participants are also expected from the European Community, Sweden, Japan and possibly France. It is expected that other coordinating meetings of this kind will follow (perhaps hosted by other participants at the summit), and that the Endowment will develop a database of democracy grant-making that could be accessed by all of the participating foundations, thereby further enhancing possibilities for coordination.

The third and final strategic priority is to develop the Endowment's potential to become a vital center of democratic thought and action, taking full advantage of its public mandate to strengthen private sector initiatives to promote democracy. The Endowment already undertakes a number of initiatives in this area, including the publication of the *Journal of Democracy*, the organization of seminars with democratic activists and thinkers, and the convening every two years of an international conference of democratic activists at which its Democracy Award is presented. Before expanding this "international forum for democracy," the Endowment sought clarification from the GAO that these activities did not conflict with the prohibition in the NED's authorizing legislation against carrying out "programs" directly, rather than by means of grants. On September 9, 1992, the GAO ruled that such activities were not merely permissible under the legislation but fully envisioned by Congress, which saw the Endowment serving as "an intermediary between private sector groups and as a clearinghouse for inquiries and proposals in order to bring groups together and to create new opportunities for democratic assistance."¹

Over the next year, the Endowment will develop a plan for the fuller implementation of the International Forum for Democracy. The strengthening of the Endowment's role as a center of democratic thought and action will take on even greater importance in the years ahead, when "post-breakthrough" countries face the complex problems of democratic consolidation. The Endowment's grants program, as well as its coordinating function, will be helped immeasurably by a stronger research and planning capability

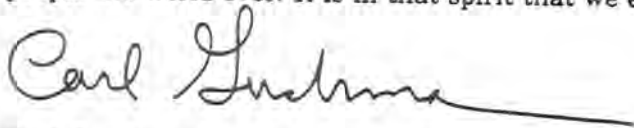
¹ This quote, taken from a House subcommittee report, appears on pg. 4 of the GAO Decision, File B-248111, September 9, 1992.

that will help it address such questions as how stable party structures can be built, what kind of electoral laws will enhance consensus-building, and how democracy and nationalism can be reconciled. The combination of the scholars associated with the *Journal* and the global network of activists trying to build democracy will offer an especially fruitful basis for strengthening what we know about democratic development.

Among the many reasons that FY 1992 is a transitional year for the Endowment, none stands out more than the fact that this was the last year of service by the remaining founding Members of the Board. Frank Fahrenkopf, Lane Kirkland, Chuck Manatt and Jay Van Andel created the Endowment along with Dante Fascell, Bill Brock, John Richardson and a handful of other people. It is not enough simply to thank them. It is necessary to recognize the importance of their achievement. Many things come and go in American politics, and it is rare that one can point to an institutional initiative that is both enduring and, in its initial phase, was able so quickly to make an historic contribution to human betterment. We can claim that for the Endowment.

This organization brought together an extraordinarily diverse group of people who could agree upon a common principle — democracy — and upon a common purpose — democracy's advance throughout the world. This was a uniquely American initiative: democratic in inspiration, global in scope, characterized by boundless idealism and hard-nosed pragmatism. This organization would not exist were it not for Frank, Lane, Chuck and Jay, who brought to it both their commitment and their institutions — our two political parties, our trade union movement and our business community. The institutes associated with these institutions are now firmly embedded in the Endowment, and the Endowment, as a result, is firmly established in America. It's hardly an accident that such skilled organizational leaders leave behind a solid organization. It would be hard to carry on without-them, but for the fact that they prepared the ground so well for their successors. I, above all, am grateful to them.

By the time this Annual Report is released, we will also have lost at least three additional Board Members, in these cases not because they have served three terms, the limit permitted under our by-laws, but because they have been appointed to significant positions in the new Administration of President Bill Clinton. The departure of our Chairman, Winston Lord, and of Madeleine Albright and Henry Cisneros, is a severe loss for the Endowment, but this loss is of little significance compared to the gain for the nation. It is also indicative of the fact that the purposes and vision of the Endowment are shared fervently by the new Administration, as indeed they were by the two preceding Administrations. We are especially grateful to the United States Information Agency for its cooperation and assistance. We, therefore, look to the future with hope, confident that the institution we have built can play an important part in America's effort to extend the values and benefits of democracy to people the world over. It is in that spirit that we enter a new era.



Carl Gershman

Journal of Democracy

Since it first appeared in January 1990, the Endowment's *Journal of Democracy* has become a leading periodical for both scholars and general readers. Now published for the Endowment by the Johns Hopkins University Press, the *Journal* monitors and analyzes democratic movements worldwide and examines the cultural, political, social and economic factors that affect the institutionalization of democracy. Each issue of the *Journal* also features key documents on democracy, reports on elections abroad and topical book reviews.

Contributors to the *Journal* during the past year included such outstanding democratic leaders, scholars and political thinkers as Nobel Laureate Aung San Suu Kyi of Burma, Polish Parliamentarian and former Solidarity leader Bronislaw Geremek, Robert Dahl and Francis Fukuyama.

In April 1992, with support from the Endowment and The Pew Charitable Trusts, the *Journal* convened an international conference on "Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy," commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of Joseph Schumpeter's landmark work of the same title. The *Journal's* July issue featured essays based on presentations made at the conference by leading scholars from five continents on the relationship between democracy and alternative economic systems.

The *Journal* is funded primarily by private contributions and subscription income. Subscriptions are \$24 for one year, or \$48 for institutions. To subscribe, send check or money order in U.S. funds to: Journals Publishing Division, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2715 N. Charles Street, Baltimore, Maryland, 21218-4319; or call toll free, 1-800-537-5487.

The *Journal* is published quarterly in January, April, July, and October. Contents of the 1992 issues are listed on the following page. Back issues are available for \$7.50, plus \$2.00 for postage and handling, by contacting the Johns Hopkins University Press at the above address.

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Discussion Series Features Democratic Activists

The Endowment's discussion series features leading democratic activists as guest speakers and provides a forum for visiting Endowment grantees and others on the front lines of the democratic struggle to address timely issues and share experiences and insights with representatives of policy institutes, government, the media and other guests. Featured speakers and topics addressed during the past year included:

Nationality Issues in the Former Soviet Union -

Galina Starovoitova, Adviser to Russian President Boris Yeltsin on
Inter-Ethnic Affairs - October 18, 1991

Political and Economic Trends in the Former Soviet Union -

Ilya Zaslavsky, Co-Chairman, Moscow Branch, Democratic Russia -
October 25, 1991

Prospects for Democracy in the Middle East -

Gehad Auda, Center for Political and International Development Studies,
Cairo, Egypt -December 13, 1991

The Struggle for Freedom in Liberia -

Gabriel Williams, Secretary General, Press Union of Liberia -
January 23, 1992

Prospects for Democracy in Cambodia -

Kassie Neou, Co-Director, Cambodian Documentation Commission -
February 14, 1992

Zambia's Future -

The Honorable Frederick Chiluba, President of Zambia -
February 17, 1992

Algeria's Experience in Democratization -

Lahouari Addi, Algerian political scientist - March 6, 1992

Democratic Developments in Ukraine -

Serhij Holowaty, President, Association of Ukrainian Lawyers,
Member of Parliament, Ukraine -March 13, 1992

Brazil: Economic Crisis and Political Stalemate -

Francisco Weffort, Center for the Study of Contemporary Culture, São
Paulo, Brazil - April 2, 1992

Political Crisis in Peru -

Eduardo Ferrero Costa, Peruvian Center for International Studies -
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Current Developments in Ukraine -

Ivan Drach, Founding President, Rukh, popular movement of Ukraine -
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Doan Van Toai, Director, Institute for Democracy in Vietnam -
May 12, 1992

Nationalism and Democracy -

Ghia Nodia, Institute of Philosophy, Tbilisi, Georgia - June 3, 1992

National Conflicts and the Dissolution of Yugoslavia -

Vesna Pesic, Director, Center for Anti-War Action, Serbia - June 19, 1992

The Philippines in the Wake of the Presidential Elections -

Bernardo Villegas, Center for Research and Communications, Manila -
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Prospects for Democracy in Iraq -

Laith Kubba, Executive Committee, Iraqi National Congress and
Jalal Talabani, Leader of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan - July 30, 1992

*Titles listed effective at time of presentation

Highlights of Program Accomplishments

Since 1984, through the efforts of indigenous groups, Endowment-funded programs have helped to encourage and strengthen the process toward greater democratization in countries around the world that are undergoing democratic transformations. In those countries that have yet to make a democratic breakthrough, Endowment funding has provided support and encouragement to activists working toward that goal. These efforts have made a difference on an individual basis and in some cases have captured international attention as well.

Endowment funds have supported a broad range of activities enabling democratic activists to achieve considerable success in vastly different political contexts. Individual projects have facilitated open political dialogue among democrats in the Arab world; advanced the cause of human rights in Zaire, Cambodia and Cuba; provided civic education and knowledge of legal rights to populations in Peru and China; strengthened support for the electoral process among democratic leaders and activists in Africa; supported the development of civil society throughout the republics of the former Soviet Union; provided analysis of complex economic issues to legislatures in Bolivia and Nicaragua; helped workers gain a voice in Malawi and Poland; and more.

The following are highlights of program accomplishments whose impact was evident during 1992.

AFRICA

In many African countries independent human rights groups have been important catalysts in the movement for greater democratic freedom. Human rights groups in **Zaire, Burkina Faso** and **Nigeria** have braved government harassment and intimidation to become leaders in the struggle for human rights in their countries. Endowment funding has helped to support these and many other groups as they continue their work educating citizens about their rights and making government more accountable for its actions in violation of those rights. For example:

- In **Zaire**, a country notorious for its poor human rights record, a small group of activists formed La Voix Des Sans Voix (The Voice of the Voiceless, VSV) to protect and educate the most vulnerable portion of the population. Over the last several years, VSV has distinguished itself as a persistent voice demanding government accountability and respect for human rights. A special VSV report provided key documentation which helped refute government claims that peaceful demonstrators instigated the February 1992 massacre that left 40 people dead. The report included eyewitness accounts which vividly described how soldiers opened fire on the unarmed demonstrators, targeting the religious leaders who had organized the march. Other VSV reports provided important documentation on the mutiny by government soldiers, the bombing of independent newspapers, and attacks on opposition candidates, incidents downplayed or denied by the Mobutu government. In recognition of

such outstanding work, the founder of VSV, Floribert Chebeya Bahizire, was recently awarded the prestigious Reebok Human Rights Award, which is given annually to human rights activists under the age of 30 whose work serves as an inspiration to others around the world.

- In **Burkina Faso**, the Endowment continued to support the Burkinabe Movement for the Rights of Man and Peoples (MBDHP). In 1992, MBDHP became increasingly active in educating the rural population about its legal rights and has pushed for electoral reform and greater press freedom. Pressure from MBDHP's grassroots lobby forced the government to revise the country's electoral code and loosen restrictions in its press law. MBDHP also trained more than 50 election monitors who were able to validate that the May 1992 local elections were free and fair.
- The Civil Liberties Organization (CLO) is one of **Nigeria's** most active human rights organizations. With Endowment support, CLO engages in a variety of activities, including investigation and documentation of human rights abuses as well as publication and dissemination of reports on CLO findings. It also takes a public defender role in human rights cases, and has provided legal assistance to more than 350 victims of human rights violations, many of whom were indigent.
- Working in conjunction with the international labor movement and human rights groups, the African-American Labor Center (AALC) has urged the government of **Malawi** to release trade union leader and human rights activist Chakufwa Chihana and other political prisoners. Chihana was arrested on April 6, 1992 as he tried to deliver a speech calling for democratic multiparty elections and the end of one party rule in Malawi. AALC officials met with Malawi's "President for Life" Hastings Banda to insist on Chihana's safety and demand his release and an international labor delegation was eventually allowed to meet with Chihana in prison. These efforts contributed to his release in July, but he was later re-arrested, tried and convicted of sedition and sentenced to two years of hard labor. The Court is currently considering his appeal. In recognition of his human rights activism, Chihana was selected as the recipient of the 1992 Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights Award. The AALC is continuing its efforts to assure that Chihana and other activists are not forgotten, exerting pressure on the Malawian government to refrain from the abuse of trade union rights, and to allow movement towards multi-party democracy in Malawi.

The Endowment has also funded a growing number of initiatives designed to support free and fair electoral processes as more African nations have conducted multi-party elections. These efforts included:

- In **Mali**, the Center for the Research and Study of Democracy and Economic and Social Development (CERDES) organized a series of three debates for presidential candidates in the country's first ever multi-party elections. The debates, carried on national radio and television, reached a majority of the country's nine million people.

- The Study and Research Group on Democracy and Economic and Social Development in Africa (GERDDES) based in **Benin** has taken a leading role in providing civic education and training for election monitoring in an increasing number of West African countries. For example, GERDDES members trained election monitors for recent elections in Burkina Faso and Cameroon. Working with the National Democratic Institute (NDI), GERDDES observers in Cameroon provided documentation of abuses that seriously challenged the government's claim to fair elections.
- In response to a request from the Organization of African Unity (OAU) Secretary General Salim Salim for election monitoring training for OAU personnel, NDI, with Endowment funding, sponsored a seminar entitled "The Evolving Role of Intergovernmental Organizations in Election Monitoring," in Addis Ababa, **Ethiopia** in September 1992. With over 50 OAU staff and ambassadors present, a seven-member international faculty of experts led panel discussions and facilitated workshops designed to provide participants with the skills necessary to conduct technical assistance assessments, as well as to organize credible election monitoring efforts. The seminar represented the first in-depth training program on election monitoring organized by the OAU and was most timely, given that the organization had received more than ten requests from member states to observe elections over the coming 12 months. Improving the quality of future OAU observer efforts will help the OAU play a constructive role in promoting democratization across the African continent.
- With funding from the Endowment, NDI organized a three-day regional seminar designed to provide democratic leaders and activists in **East Africa** with practical information about the electoral process and its significance in a democratic society. Entitled "Strengthening East Africa's Democratic Elections," the seminar was held in Bujumbura, Burundi in May 1992, and was attended by more than 60 government, political party and civic leaders from **Burundi, Comoros, Kenya, Madagascar, Mauritius, Rwanda, the Seychelles, Tanzania** and **Uganda**. At the conclusion of the seminar, participants drafted a declaration that called upon the governments of the region to create independent electoral commissions and allow for the participation of independent observers to monitor the election process.
- Ninety government officials, political party leaders and representatives of civic groups from nine countries in **Southern Africa** assembled at an NDI-sponsored conference in Mt. Etjo, Namibia that focused on ways to promote democratic elections in the region. Many of the participants have been adversaries for decades and, in some cases, engaged in armed struggle. They met for the first time to analyze the political transitions in the region and to discuss how they could secure a foundation for democracy through free elections. At the closing session, the delegates adopted the Mt. Etjo Declaration, which reflected the spirit of cooperation that prevailed during the week-long program, and called for multiparty elections as a means to resolve political disputes and advance democracy in the region.

Highlights of additional Endowment supported efforts in Africa include:

- A groundbreaking conference in **Ghana**, hosted by the Institute for Economic Affairs, brought together for the first time members of the opposition and government officials. The conference opened up a whole new dialogue about democracy in Ghana and was a catalyst for broad-based negotiations between the government and opposition forces which led to a revised constitution and an agreement for multi-party elections.
- In March, a two-day seminar in **Ethiopia** sponsored by the Center for Foreign Journalists provided a forum for candid discussion of censorship and its incompatibility with democratic freedom in a pluralist society. More than 60 participants, including representatives of the Ethiopian government, academia, the emerging independent media and human rights organizations took part in the debate. At the conclusion of the seminar, a resolution was prepared urging changes in the country's draft press law which the government has agreed to review.

Endowment efforts to support the progress of the democratic transition in **South Africa** have strengthened the institutional capabilities of several local civic organizations and other groups committed to seeing the process move forward. For example:

- The Soweto Civic Association (SCA) organized the residents of Soweto and helped create a transitional Municipal Council that allows residents a greater say in how they are governed. Pressure applied by the SCA helped transfer control of local utilities to a locally-based body more responsive to community needs.
- Another South African grantee, the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD), has been active in mediation and conflict resolution efforts during the recent period of violence and paralyzing fear in South Africa. ACCORD works to implement provisions of the National Peace Accord signed by most South African political forces, providing training in nonviolent methods of dispute resolution. Officials of the African National Congress, South African police officers, paralegals and other community workers have participated in the group's programs. Because violence has time and time again delayed South Africa's transition to democratic rule, ACCORD's work is significant both for the lives it has saved directly and for its improvement of the political climate.

ASIA

Even as much of Asia turns dramatically toward democracy, the region continues to hold some of the world's most entrenched, rigid, and cruel regimes. The Endowment is committed to strengthening the forces working for change in those countries, where it is often the only source of support for groups working to exert pressure for democracy, human rights, and freedom of expression.

The Endowment has supported a number of initiatives in **China** and within the Chinese democracy movement overseas which seek to promote the development of civil society, promote human rights, and disseminate information about democracy. For example:

- With Endowment funding, Human Rights in China (HRIC) supported the establishment of a Legal Education and Assistance Program that provides legal advice and support for Chinese prisoners of conscience and victims of political persecution. It also produces and circulates materials informing Chinese citizens of their rights within the limitations of Chinese law. In a testament to the growing willingness of Chinese in China to take personal risks to further recognition of human rights and the rule of law, four prominent Chinese have joined the organization's board. These include Nanjing professor Guo Luoji and Beijing historian Yuan Hongbing, both of whom HRIC is helping to bring ground-breaking suits against state agencies for rights violations, and prominent legal scholar Yu Haocheng and former People's Daily Deputy Chief Editor Wang Ruoshui, known for his struggles for freedom of expression before his expulsion from the Communist Party in 1986.
- In March, a delegation from the organization Green China strongly encouraged members of the National People's Congress not to support the Three Gorges Dam, an enormous hydroelectric project which is potentially environmentally disastrous. This effort, which occurred just before the Congress convened, contributed to the historic refusal of one-third of the normally passive, rubber-stamp Congress to support the government's pro-dam position. Green China's work has thus contributed to increased activism on the part of the National People's Congress and national awareness of government accountability, the right to representation, and the freedom to debate.
- With Endowment funds, the Asian American Free Labor Institute (AAFLI) continued to publish and disseminate the *China Labor Notes*, a newsletter which provides accurate, timely information on worker rights in China for decision-makers in government and the private sector and also serves as an important source of information for journalists and others around the world interested in maintaining Chinese worker rights issues on the international agenda. In 1992 AAFLI began publishing a Chinese language edition of the newsletter which is being circulated inside China.
- Chinese democracy activists and reformers-in-exile remain plagued by traditional problems of "Han chauvinism" with regard to **Tibet**, **Inner Mongolia**, and other regions historically dominated by ethnic minorities. On October 5-6, a NED-funded conference in Washington, DC, co-sponsored by the Tibet Forum and the Center for Modern China, provided a forum for heated debate in which Tibetan activists and representatives of the government-in-exile challenged Chinese leaders to live up to their stated commitment to democracy, human rights, and self-determination. The conference marked the first time a range of Chinese scholars and democracy leaders and Tibetan experts and leaders gathered on equal footing to address the future of Sino-Tibetan relations. The dialogue initiated will continue to be an important one during this period of exile.

Other significant Endowment initiatives in the region included:

- With Endowment support, the Cambodian Documentation Commission (CDC) carries out a training program for specialized human rights monitors and for teaching basic human rights concepts on a broader scale in **Cambodia**. Over 1500 people have taken the CDC human rights training classes (growing from 30 who attended the first class less than a year ago). One of the CDC's goals is to support the formation of indigenous human rights groups in Cambodia. It recently began work with the first such group, the Cambodian Human Rights Association (ADHOC), which was formed in the spring of 1992. Under the auspices of CDC, ADHOC leaders (most of whom are former SOC political prisoners) visited the United States in May, meeting with a number of international government and non-government groups, human rights activists and journalists. Voice of America's Khmer language service carried an interview with the ADHOC leaders, thus publicizing throughout Cambodia for the first time word of the organization's existence.
- Que Me, a Paris-based organization which, with Endowment funds, works to further democracy in **Vietnam**, became involved in the spring of 1992 in a crisis in Hue between Buddhist monks and the government of Vietnam. Official interference in the funeral of recently deceased Patriarch Thich Dôn Háo had led the monks to embark on hunger strikes and threaten to burn themselves to death in protest. Que Me mounted an intensive publicity campaign among foreign governments and international organizations to put pressure on the Vietnamese government. This work succeeded, and the funeral took place under the direction of the Buddhist clergy. The president of Que Me then received a fax from the Linh Mu pagoda in Hue thanking Que Me for its support and requesting that the magazine circulate a poem by a Buddhist leader to Buddhists in Vietnam and abroad. Que Me sent the poem to the BBC and thus enabled listeners in Vietnam to hear it the next day. These events indicate the extent to which Que Me is known and trusted in Vietnam, and the fact that Vietnamese are becoming emboldened to communicate ideas about politics and religion to the outside world. Que Me is continuing to support the Buddhist movement by lobbying for the release of five imprisoned Buddhist leaders.
- **Mongolia** is emerging from almost 70 years of communism and Soviet domination, and is attempting to move forward with a successful transition to democracy. In response to numerous requests for assistance in this process, the International Republican Institute (IRI), with funding provided by the Endowment, launched a pre-election political party training program that taught basic skills of political organization and communication. IRI also issued a pre-election assessment report one week before the June 28, 1992 legislative elections which questioned the integrity of the electoral process and concluded that it had been compromised. This finding held up when, in spite of the fact that the opposition parties won 43% of the popular vote, the ruling party swept away 71 of 76 seats in the Great Hural. The program's most important contribution, however, was to begin the long-term institutional development of Mongolia's democratic political process.

In the more open societies of Asia, Center for International Private Enterprise (CIPE) initiatives funded by the Endowment have helped maintain economic issues on the agenda of policy makers and others. For example:

- In the **Philippines**, the social and economic problems plaguing the country and the type of reform program required to pull it out of a tailspin were among the most important issues being debated in advance of the May 1992 Presidential elections. With Endowment support, CIPE collaborated with the Center for Research and Communications (CRC) in Manila on a project to draw out the socioeconomic platforms of the presidential candidates, convening a debate and then widely disseminating video presentations and publications on the issues. The forum resulted in a consensus among opinion leaders that the only rational option for the nation was the continuation and advancement of the open market policies ushered in by Corazon Aquino.
- In any country, the press is a critical link for communicating ideas and information in society. With Endowment funding, CIPE has provided support to the Press Foundation of Asia, which trains journalists in **Thailand** and **Malaysia** to understand how a market economy works, what their governments' policies are and what they imply for open markets and democratic development, and what the role of the private sector plays in economic development. The training includes week-long seminars on all aspects of the economy with special emphasis on building contacts with the private sector for future stories. These programs have expanded journalists' knowledge of the scope and role of business in economic development, widened their contacts for new stories, and contributed to a broader understanding of the role of the press in countries where freedom of the press is constrained.

CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

As the democratic transition process moves forward throughout Eastern Europe, the issues of privatization, civic education, institutionalization of democratic values at the local level and building relationships among post-communist societies have all taken on increased significance. The Endowment has provided important assistance in each of these areas. For example:

- Political activists, parliamentarians, journalists, civic leaders, scholars and government officials from 14 countries in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union met in Budapest, **Hungary** in December 1991 to discuss ways to stem the tide of ethnic and religious intolerance in the region. The historic meeting, entitled, "Is Europe Big Enough for all Europeans?," was sponsored by NDI in cooperation with the Budapest-based Democracy After Communism (DAC) Foundation, with funding from the Endowment. Participants concluded that intolerance, mistrust, and stereotyping have complicated governmental efforts to protect minority rights and expressed interest in learning from the governmental and community efforts that have been tried elsewhere to reduce ethnic tensions in democratic societies.

- In **Poland**, *NSZZ Solidarnosc* is fighting battles on many fronts, but it is the outcome of the daily struggle at the enterprise level, in tens of thousands of workplaces, that will critically influence the success or failure of democracy. With funding from NED, the Free Trade Union Institute (FTUI) has provided support to *Solidarnosc* for 13 regional Consulting and Negotiating Bureaus, called BKN, that handle negotiations, training of local activists, and disputes between management and workers. Through their work, BKN seek to provide a reasoned approach and uncover options to some of the disruptive consequences of economic reform. This effort is a creative, positive approach to Poland's economic problems and helps ensure that workers have a stake in the viability of the developing economic system in Poland.
- With Endowment funding, the Mershon Center of the Ohio State University is assisting a team of Polish educators in preparing a new citizenship education program for schools in **Poland**. Through this program, two curriculum guides for an elementary and a secondary school course on democratic citizenship have been developed and endorsed by the Ministry of National Education as the basis for future citizenship courses and in-service teacher training. The primary school curriculum will replace that of an existing pre-1989 course in September 1993. The secondary curriculum guide will be used by the Ministry to create a new secondary school course on citizenship, a decision which was recently approved by the Polish Parliament. When both are implemented, the citizenship education program will reach over one million Polish students each year.
- With funding from the Endowment provided through CIPE, the Center for the Study of Democracy (CSD) in **Bulgaria** is fast becoming a leading proponent of market economic reform. CSD was at the forefront of efforts to promote privatization, including making policy recommendations that were incorporated into Bulgaria's privatization law passed by Parliament in April 1992. Several months later, CSD held an international conference on privatization in Varna, Bulgaria, which was attended by high-ranking government officials and businessmen who recognized the importance of creating a macroeconomic framework for privatization and emphasized the need for a clear privatization strategy.
- Exposure to entrepreneurial skills and behaviors will help young Hungarians adapt to the new economic relationships that govern a market economy and foster the development of a strong middle class. With Endowment funding, CIPE is providing support to the Foundation for Small Enterprise Economic Development (SEED) in Budapest, **Hungary** to incorporate entrepreneurship education into school curricula at all levels to equip individuals entering the workforce with the knowledge and skills necessary to become successful entrepreneurs. During 1992, SEED held six teacher training workshops for 132 teachers from 89 schools. In total, 2,050 students from 68 schools participated in the program in the 105 classes offered. To expand its program, SEED sought and gained approval from the Ministry of Labor to introduce the course in all vocational schools and in about ten percent of the secondary schools in Hungary.

- To help overcome the lack of communication between national union headquarters in Bucharest and local organizations elsewhere in **Romania**, FTUI has developed a grassroots education program aimed at the local level, where democratic ideas are just beginning to take root. The program consists of a series of workshops which deal with the issue of democracy, free and fair elections, the role of unions in a democratic society, and unions and the media in the electoral process. Approximately 500 trade unionists representing all major Romanian trade unions have participated in these workshops, including stewards, rank and file members, local and regional leaders, as well as presidents of national confederations. Extensive local media coverage has multiplied the impact of each workshop.
- The Charter 77 Foundation-New York, with Endowment funding, sponsored a conference on "Justice in Times of Transition" in April 1992 in Salzburg, Austria, which brought together policy-makers, human rights law experts, and journalists from **Eastern Europe** to discuss the complex issue of "transitional justice", i.e. the question of whether to punish or pardon individuals who served the former communist regimes and who stand accused of human rights abuses. Individuals from Latin American countries such as Argentina and Chile, which have already confronted the transitional justice question, were also present to offer guidance to their East European counterparts on this issue. The meeting stimulated considerable debate among the participants, attracted significant media attention and spurred plans for a variety of follow-up activities. In particular, there was great interest among the East European participants in Chile's National Commission on Truth and Reconciliation; many viewed it as an appealing model because of its emphasis on truth-telling as a form of justice.
- With funding from the Endowment, Partners for Democratic Change is promoting the conciliation of inter-ethnic conflict in **Eastern Europe**. In conjunction with training programs for national minority leaders at its centers in **Hungary, Bulgaria, Poland** and the **Czech and Slovak Republics**, Partners is helping to establish local conciliation committees to resolve peacefully ethnic and minority issues. In Bulgaria, Partners assisted the city of Plovdiv in the creation of a Commission on Human Rights and Conflict Resolution and in the training of 14 Bulgarian, Turkish and Gypsy commissioners at this first local ethnic conciliation commission in the region.
- The National Forum Foundation's Central and East European Internship Program (CEEIP) offers highly qualified young leaders from **Central and Eastern Europe** the opportunity to work in the fields of government, business, or media in the United States and learn firsthand how they function in a democratic system. The successful Central European program has been expanded to include the Baltic States, Russia and Ukraine. During 1992, the Forum sponsored 59 interns with Endowment funding. Highly regarded media organizations, private corporations, and Congressional offices have been eager to accept interns and have been extremely satisfied with their work. Almost without exception, CEEIP alumni have returned to their countries to assume positions of considerably increased responsibility which have enabled them to contribute in a significant way to the political and economic transformations occurring in their countries. Four alumni have become Vice Ministers, three

are members of parliament, and five now sit on city councils in Budapest, St. Petersburg, and Vilnius. Several alumni have also excelled in the field of journalism, including the Deputy Director of News at Polish Television. The Press Secretaries for the Czech Ministry of Interior and the Slovak Foreign Ministry are also alumni. In the economic realm one former intern is Director of Communications for the GE office in Budapest, while another is chief advisor to the Governor of Romania's state bank.

- Even as war rages in the former **Yugoslav** federation, an Endowment-funded program continues to have an important impact. Endowment assistance, provided through Freedom House, helped the most important independent radio station in Belgrade, Radio B-92, break the official stranglehold on the Serbian media. In 1992, Endowment support enabled B-92 to purchase a powerful transmitter which increased its broadcasting range thereby greatly enhancing the station's effectiveness in providing its listeners with unbiased information and combatting the information monopoly imposed by the regime of Slobodan Milosevic. In a visit to the United States in June, the Director of the Center for Anti-War Action in Belgrade cited Radio B-92 as one of the most important means for communicating the message of tolerance and peace.

SUCCESSOR STATES TO THE FORMER SOVIET UNION

In the wake of the collapse of the former Soviet Union, Endowment-funded programs have fostered the development of civil society, privatization, trade unions and emerging of political parties. For example:

- With funding provided by the Endowment, IRI conducted local party training seminars in **Russia** for hundreds of political activists from Novgorod to Khabarovsk. IRI's practical approach to political education was widely appreciated and even replicated by political parties in Voronezh who initiated mock campaign exercises on a competitive basis between democratic activists in the surrounding five regions. Given the often fragile alliances between and within the new republics, the program served an important purpose in nurturing this spirit of competitive cooperation toward the common goal of democratic pluralism.
- IRI's conference "Steppes Toward Democracy" held in Alma Ata, Kazakhstan June 12-14, 1992 brought together 127 activists from across **Central Asia** and **Siberia** for three days of democratic education and political training. At the end of the conference, a comprehensive public opinion poll was administered, both to teach participants about methods of polling and to learn more about their concerns for the future. Participants representing diverse and even opposing parties were surprised to learn that the results of the poll showed that there was much agreement on a variety of public policy issues and therefore room for coalition building. Nearly all of the participants requested a copy of the poll for use as a model among constituents in their own republics.
- Workers in the former Soviet Union face disruptive economic change as their countries begin the process of market-based reform. Drawing on experience

with economic transformation in Central and Eastern Europe, FTUI's Warsaw office, which is responsible for projects in western regions of the former Soviet Union, developed an educational program utilizing skills of veteran American trade unionists and trainers from Poland's *Solidarnosc* to teach workers the basics of market economics and the function of trade unions in a democratic society and also provide them with basic trade union skills such as bargaining, organizing, and union administration. More than 100 trade union leaders from **Lithuania, Latvia and Belarus** attended these programs.

- In September 1992, CIPE, the Confederation of Associations of Entrepreneurs in **Russia**, and the Moscow Public Committee for Russian Reforms brought together private sector representatives and government officials for a conference entitled "Who is the Russian Entrepreneur?" Over 275 people attended the two-day seminar, which was covered by the Russian and American print, radio and television media. Participants — among them the Russian First Deputy Prime Minister, the head of the International Monetary Fund negotiating team, and the Chairman of the Russian Central Bank — focused on the state of the Russian private sector, and laid the ground work for increased cooperation among entrepreneurs. CIPE shared the conference findings in the Fall 1992 issue of its journal *Economic Reform Today*, which for the first time was translated into Russian and distributed to over 3,000 Russian readers.
- The Cooperative Societies and Self-Supporting Scientific and Technical Organizations (SPURT), an independent organization made up of cooperatives, enterprise managers and policy makers, is one of the first organizations in **Ukraine** to actively support and promote the transition to a market-based economy (in the former Soviet Union). With CIPE support, SPURT is taking a straightforward practical approach to supporting the privatization process. *Privatization in Ukraine*, SPURT's monthly newsletter, created a stir in Kiev with the publication of the first issue in August. It featured commentary by leading proponents of market economic reform and was distributed in Kiev (in Ukrainian) to 500 policy makers and business people, with CIPE distributing another 500 English language copies in the United States. The high demand for the newsletter indicates that the publication is filling a need for information, and supporting the process of creating property owners with a stake in the transformation to a market-oriented democracy.
- With Endowment support, Interlegal, Moscow has played a leading role in providing legal and organizational support for **Russia's** developing non-profit sector. Among its activities, Interlegal has assisted the Russian Supreme Soviet and the Moscow City Council in the drafting of laws on non-governmental organizations. It also has given free legal advice to more than 30 charities and religious organizations, concerning such practical questions as registration, taxes and fundraising. In a society where individual initiative has long been punished, Interlegal is helping to create the legal structure that will allow concerned citizens to become political and social actors.
- A Endowment grant enabled the Sabre Foundation to undertake a pioneering program of book and journal donations in **Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia**, and to strengthen distribution in **Ukraine**. For more than 70 years, access to

information in these republics was severely restricted, but because of the efforts of groups like the Sabre Foundation, this information vacuum is slowly beginning to close. In a six month period, over 50,000 donated books were distributed throughout Ukraine and over 25,000 books were sent to the Baltic States. Representatives from libraries, universities and other institutions received requested books on a wide variety of subjects, including political science, foreign policy, law, English language teaching, American history, literature, computer science, the environment, and much more. In addition, over 100 Western journals donated subscriptions to six Baltic and Ukrainian libraries, and 36 institutions and libraries received complimentary one-year subscriptions to the *Economist*.

LATIN AMERICA

Continued Endowment support for a growing network of energetic and effective women's organizations throughout Latin America known as Conciencia has enabled them to carry out a wide range of civic education programs for diverse audiences in **Argentina, Peru, Colombia** and several other countries.

- In November 1992, Conciencia Argentina was asked to provide information about its civic educational programs and those of the Panamerican Civic Organization (Conciencia's international outreach affiliate) to the Rio Group, composed of the presidents of 12 Latin American countries, which was then meeting in **Argentina**. Founded in 1982 by 22 women in Buenos Aires, Conciencia Argentina now has 4,300 members, and 37 offices in 14 of Argentina's 22 provinces and the federal district of Buenos Aires. Conciencia has also received inquiries from the governments of Russia and South Africa about its possible role in stimulating similar organizations in those countries.
- Through a broad range of activities, Conciencia Peru seeks to promote more active citizen participation in public life in **Peru** and to impart basic civic education and knowledge of legal rights to key sectors of Peruvian society, with special emphasis on women and children. Since late 1989, Conciencia Peru has distributed 100,000 copies of its voter education brochure, which has an estimated readership of 500,000 voters. Its radio messages on pro-democratic topics have reached some 17 million listeners and its televised messages some 12 million viewers throughout Peru. As the result of a proposal made by Conciencia members at a "Civic Dinner" meeting in December 1990, the Peruvian government has established a National Peace Council which brings together representatives of the country's social and political groups on a regular basis to discuss solutions to pressing national problems.
- During the past year, Conciencia Colombia pilot-tested its fully revised training manual, entitled *Democracy: An Experience to Share with Children*, in 128 pre-schools and elementary schools in **Colombia**. After receiving Conciencia's training, students in the José Asunción Silva school began a campaign to promote respect of students' and teachers' rights, and they organized groups of ten students in each grade to conduct clean-up campaigns within and around their school.

Throughout Central and South America, the economic analyses of pending legislation provided to legislators by CIPE-supported Economic Advisory Programs and their public advocacy efforts have had a direct effect on the outcome of a number of proposed reforms. For example:

- In early 1992, the Confederation of Private Bolivian Businessmen launched its Congressional Analysis Program in **Bolivia**, combining in-house analysis of pending economic legislation with an active, results-oriented approach to advocacy. Business leaders worked closely with a small group of selected legislators representing both government and opposition parties to jointly develop a prioritized list of topics for review based on reform issues likely to head the legislative agenda in upcoming congressional sessions. In a short time, the Confederation succeeded in making impressive advances in its liaison with the Congress, Executive Branch, business community and press, and its recommendations were taken into consideration at the congressional committee level in 75% of the cases. The Confederation also spearheaded the creation of a database of congressional information to increase access to information and facilitate the private sector's advocacy efforts.
- Nicaragua's umbrella business association, the Superior Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP), is helping to transform the economy of **Nicaragua** into a more market-oriented one while strengthening the country's fragile democracy through active involvement in public policy advocacy. COSEP prepares analyses of existing laws and pending proposals and works alongside members of the National Assembly's committees in preparing drafts of legislation. Keenly aware of the importance of public understanding of the issues, COSEP members appear frequently in the media and conduct press conferences, panel discussions and seminars nationwide to articulate the private sector's views on governmental policies. In the case of one proposed tax reform, widespread media coverage contributed to a public outcry in favor of the reforms proposed by COSEP, some of which were ultimately adopted.
- The Paraguayan Foundation for Cooperation and Development expanded its economic analysis program in early 1992 to make a significant contribution at a historic moment in the consolidation of the democratic, market-oriented system in **Paraguay**. During the months in which the Constituent Assembly met, the Foundation prepared twelve issues of the *Constitutional Gazette*, providing updated synopses of the key articles of the economic proposals submitted to the Assembly. The *Gazette* was the only source of reference material available on the Assembly's progress, and copies were distributed to over 300 decision makers inside and outside the Assembly. Many of the delegates to the Assembly expressed an interest in having the Foundation analyze future draft legislation.

Highlights of additional Endowment-supported efforts in Latin America include:

- In August 1991 the Fundación Milenio, a small academic institution specializing in legal and public policy research, assembled a group of noted constitutional scholars from **Bolivia** and the United States to begin work on a preliminary proposal for the reform of Bolivia's 1967 Constitution, adopted under the previous military regime. The Fundación unveiled its completed

draft at a workshop held in Cochabamba in late July 1992 and attended by members of the new Political Commission, a panel of Bolivian political leaders charged with recommending constitutional revisions to the country's constituent assembly. The Fundación's draft document is currently the only comprehensive proposal for reform under consideration by the Commission, making it likely that this text will become the Commission's basic working document.

- With Endowment support, the School of Law of the Catholic University of Chile in conjunction with the National Institute for Citizen Education in the Law (NICEL), undertook an innovative legal and civic education program for young people in **Chile**. With NICEL's assistance, Chilean law students and professors produced lesson plans on such subjects as human rights, alcoholism and drug abuse, and family law. They also developed 15 educational videotapes with accompanying lesson plans focusing on the rights and responsibilities of citizens in a democratic society. The legal advisor to the Chilean Ministry of Education has expressed interest in including the lesson plans and videotapes in the Chilean secondary school curriculum and in juvenile detention facilities. NICEL anticipates that this pilot "street law" program, the first of its kind in Chile, will serve as a model for similar programs throughout Latin America.
- An Endowment grant to the Peruvian Center for International Studies (CEPEI) supported a national seminar addressing the restoration of democracy in **Peru** following the April 5 "self-coup" of Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori. The seminar brought together a group of distinguished Peruvian political and military leaders to discuss the internal and external consequences of the Fujimori coup and offered the first opportunity for an open, comprehensive, and meaningful dialogue among these groups about the crisis facing Peru and the country's return to democracy.
- With funding from the Endowment, IRI provided support to PRODEMOS, a non-partisan civic organization dedicated to the social, economic and political integration of the indigenous population in **Bolivia**. More than 7,000 participants from Bolivia's Aymara and Quechua speaking populations attended a series of democratic education workshops sponsored by PRODEMOS and held in 42 communities throughout Bolivia's arid and densely populated Altiplano region. Bolivia's indigenous groups (more than 60 percent of the population) have, to this point, rarely voted or participated in any way in the electoral process, partially as a result of lack of education, remote locations, and language barriers. In preparation for Bolivia's federal election in June 1993, an illustrated workbook in the Aymara language was created specifically to reach those who have never participated in the democratic process.
- Responding to allegations of irregularities in past elections, civic groups in **Mexico** have increased their efforts to promote electoral reform and monitor the voting process. With Endowment funds, NDI provided technical and financial assistance to two such groups — the Council for Democracy, a nonpartisan institute based in Mexico City, and the Association of Civic Groups for Democracy (*Convergencia*), an umbrella organization of 150 nongovernmental organizations. The civic groups received technical advice on

designing plans for independent vote counts, setting up a communications network, training pollwatchers and implementing a comprehensive review of the voter registries. This assistance enhanced the civic groups' ability to monitor the July 12th elections in Chihuahua and the November 8th elections in Sinaloa, two states where there had been controversy over previous elections. The presence of both groups helped ensure the integrity of the election process and the experience also prepared them for the larger nationwide monitoring effort needed for the 1994 presidential elections.

- In the **Dominican Republic** the American Institute for Free Labor Development assisted the Dominican labor movement in the development and passage of a new labor code. The new law, which replaced an antiquated code dating back to the Trujillo dictatorship, was hammered out in a series of historic meetings between trade union and business leaders.
- The International Coalition for Human Rights in Cuba received Endowment funding for its ongoing program to promote international support for Cuba's democratic opposition groups and to encourage a freer flow of independent information inside Cuba. The Coalition published reports and other literature for distribution within Cuba and among international human rights organizations. These included over 1,000 copies each of publications on human rights, democracy, and electoral processes, and such literature as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the ICHRC's bulletin *Disidentes*. To keep the international community informed about the situation, the ICHRC's Working Committee on Human Rights compiled testimony from numerous Cuban exiles on human rights conditions in Cuba which was presented to the 48th session of the UN Commission on Human Rights in Geneva.

MIDDLE EAST

The space within which genuine political debate and dialogue takes place in the Middle East is slowly being pried open by an increasingly informed and confident populace. The Endowment has responded to this opening by funding a number of initiatives to encourage and enhance such movement in the Arab Middle East, North Africa, Iran and Turkey. For example:

- On September 24-27, 1992, a NED-funded conference sponsored by The Center for Political and International Development Studies in Cairo, **Egypt** provided a forum for an exchange of ideas and views between democrats of different political persuasions from 12 Arab countries. The participants discussed and debated several salient issues and problems related to democratization in the Arab world in general as well as in individual countries, including a particularly frank discussion on the issue of the compatibility of Islam with democracy and human rights. This conference was the first of its kind held in the Arab world without governmental involvement and has set a precedent for similar types of meetings to be held in the future.
- The elections that took place in **Northern Iraq** on May 19, 1992 were a tribute to the democratic aspirations of tens of thousands of Iraqi Kurds. An

Endowment grant enabled the Iraq Foundation to sponsor the visit of a team of Americans to Iraq to witness and assess the conduct and mechanics of and participation in the elections. In its full report on the elections, as well as in several articles written by members of the team that appeared in major US newspapers, the team reported that the elections were carried out in a free and fair manner without any incidents of disorder or violence.

On October 5, 1992, Kuwaitis voted in their first constitutional election since 1985. The election revealed the dramatic political changes which have occurred in **Kuwait** since its liberation from Iraq's brutal occupation and conclusion of the Gulf War. With Endowment funding, IRI sponsored a series of political workshops leading up to the historic elections and fielded a team of political and regional experts to witness the electoral process. Despite the Kuwaiti government's last-minute cancellation of one of the seminars in March, the series of IRI workshops brought together over 300 participants to discuss campaign organization, political planning, election issues and the role of women in the political process.

Fiscal Year 1992 Programs

The following section provides a complete listing of all grants approved by the Endowment Board in fiscal year 1992. The introduction to each regional section assesses the extent to which grants awarded were consistent with the Endowment's program priorities as set forth in the 1992 Priorities Document.

In addition to identifying priority regions or countries of work, the Endowment's FY 1992 Priorities Document for the first time also set target figures for spending within identified areas. The Endowment's Board continues to recognize the importance and advantage of programmatic budgetary flexibility, but determined that a loose target structure would reinforce Endowment activity in areas deemed a priority. Indeed, the target structure proved to be helpful to the Board over the course of the fiscal year in tracking the Endowment's success in meeting the identified priorities.

The Endowment's FY 1992 program priorities focused on the cutting edge of democratic development, emphasizing the importance of NED's programmatic commitment to:

Transitional and Emerging Democracies - The aftermath of the democratic revolution of 1989-1991 continues to ripple throughout the world, particularly Central and Eastern Europe, the republics of the former Soviet Union, and many African nations. As one-party states begin the long and tenuous transformation to multi-party democracies, the Endowment is providing support to independent, politically active organizations engaged in broadening democratic participation.

Non-democratic Societies - The Endowment also targeted projects in countries deemed non-democratic, providing "venture capital" to help incipient democratic movements overcome social, cultural, political, and historical obstacles.

In addition to these two programmatic categories, the Endowment increased its focus on consolidating democratic gains, particularly in Latin America. As the coup attempt in Venezuela and the "self-coup" in Peru demonstrated, multi-party democracy requires constant, long-term commitment from a wide variety of groups, including political parties, civic organizations, and the press. Endowment programs in FY 1992 concentrated on educating and informing citizens of their role in a democratic society.

The Endowment also targeted as a priority in FY 1992 programs which seek to ease ethnic tensions within a country or region. Events in the former Yugoslavia graphically demonstrate the tragic consequences of ethnic violence. The Endowment gave priority to specific projects designed to prevent similar eruptions of ethnic violence, particularly among Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, and the numerous Caucasian ethnic groups.

Endowment priorities for FY 1992 were established to avoid duplicating or overlapping other non-Endowment funded democracy programs, reflecting the Board's desire to efficiently target limited program funds while remaining on the cutting edge of democratic development.

Finally, it should be noted that in establishing these priorities for the fiscal year, the Endowment retained its capacity to respond to promising initiatives from a wide range of non-priority countries, a policy the Board regards as particularly relevant when dealing with rapidly changing political situations throughout the world.

Africa

The hope for continued democratic transformation across the continent of Africa has been tempered by the harsh realities inherent in restructuring societies faced with massive economic, social and political problems. Severe economic dislocations caused by drought and recession have put tremendous pressure on nascent democracies in Mali, Namibia, Zambia and the Congo. But even in the face of enormous difficulties, popular support for democratization continues across the continent.

During 1992, the electoral process moved forward in several countries, supported by a growing cadre of African election specialists who provided important training and technical assistance consistent with the continent-wide trend of increased participation of non-governmental actors. This was true even in Angola, Cameroon and Ethiopia, where suspicion and apprehension preceded the casting of ballots. This trend of catalytic activism by civic organizations, independent trade unions, human rights organizations, and advocates of a free press comes at a time when the necessity of strengthening democratic institutions has become a priority. During 1992 the Endowment responded to these critical needs by providing assistance to key institutions essential to ensuring stability and longevity in the unfolding process of democratic transition.

Among the Endowment-funded programs were efforts to assist human rights groups supporting the ideals of democracy in Nigeria, Liberia, Burkina Faso and Zaire. The Endowment also supported: research and discussion aimed at consolidating democracy in Botswana, Senegal, and Namibia; discussion and debate of substantive policy issues, including televised presidential debates for candidates in Ghana and Mali; and training election monitors and observers in Cameroon and Burkina Faso. In Ethiopia and Liberia, countries just emerging from the ravages of civil war, the Endowment supported independent media projects, which, like similar programs in Sudan and Malawi, helped amplify the muffled voices demanding greater democratic freedoms.

South Africa, where the transition to democracy continues to lurch forward, was a major focus for the Endowment in 1992. With funding from the Agency for International Development, NED-supported initiatives empowered civic organizations, provided grassroots civic education and research, and supported training in mediation and reconciliation. Additional NED programs helped strengthen an independent press and provided democratic civic education.

A list of all Endowment grants approved by the NED Board for programs in Africa follows.

ETHIOPIA

America's Development Foundation

\$51,451

On behalf of the Law Faculty of the University of Addis Ababa, to establish an Ethiopian Human Rights and Peace Center that will develop a human rights teaching and training program for students at the university, and for Ethiopian society at large.

Center for Foreign Journalists

\$40,000

To provide technical advice to a variety of Ethiopian publications and to lay the foundation for an indigenous and self-sustainable training center for journalists and publishers in Ethiopia.

Ethiopian Community Development Council, Inc.

\$50,000

To establish a Center for Human Rights and Democracy in Ethiopia to protect, defend and promote human rights and democratic pluralism.

Fund for Peace

\$24,995

In cooperation with the Inter-Africa Group, to hold a series of workshops in Ethiopia with high level government officials, citizens working in the nongovernmental human rights sector and others regarding the establishment of human rights and democratic institutions.

National Democratic Institute

\$25,000

To send a team of international election experts to advise the government of Ethiopia on the country's electoral system and laws, and to address the election structures in advance of anticipated provincial and parliamentary elections.

National Democratic Institute

\$25,000

At the request of Ethiopian President Meles Zenawi, members of the Council of Representatives and political party leaders, to conduct a program designed to strengthen critical aspects of democratic development in Ethiopia, including technical assistance to the election commission and a seminar and consultations on the role of political parties in the election process.

GHANA

Center for International Private Enterprise

\$119,160

To support the Institute for Economic Affairs in Accra, Ghana, in producing a series of reports analyzing economic and business related legislation for distribution to political leaders, policy makers and the media, designed to educate and build support among government

officials and the public on the crucial role of the private sector in democratic development and economic growth.

Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies **\$30,000**

On behalf of the Institute of Economic Affairs of Ghana, to encourage the participation of an informed citizenry in the November 1992 national and local elections through sponsorship of a presidential debate, and a journalism workshop for political reporters.

GUINEA

Delphi International Group **\$24,750**

To enable the Guinean Organization for Human Rights to increase the public understanding of and commitment to human rights and democracy in Guinea through a program of civic education, publication of a monthly bulletin, and seminars.

KENYA

League of Kenya Women Voters **\$24,990**

To support activities including an information sharing network, publication of a booklet on Kenyan women leaders, publication of a non-sectarian voters handbook targeted at women, and development of a reference library with voter education material for young women.

Nairobi Law Monthly **\$45,000**

To support publication and distribution of the independent newspaper *The Nairobi Weekly* (formerly *The Nairobi Law Monthly*), whose articles regularly focus on rule of law, human rights and democracy in Kenya.

LIBERIA

African-American Institute **\$24,600**

To enable Infotech Consultants to continue publication of its weekly newspaper, *The First National Poll*, to raise public awareness and appreciation for the election process underway in Liberia.

African-American Institute **\$15,000**

To enable the Liberian Human Rights Chapter to continue its program to increase public understanding and commitment to human rights through the publication of a human rights newsletter, advocacy, and monitoring activities.

African-American Institute **\$44,000**
On behalf of the Archdiocese of Monrovia, to restore the transmitter of the ELCM Community Radio Station to permit it to resume its civic education programs on democracy and human rights.

Center for the Study of Human Rights at Columbia University **\$51,500**
On behalf of the Liberian Human Rights Education Project, to increase public understanding and commitment to human rights and democracy in Liberia through the establishment of a human rights resource center.

MALAWI

Free Trade Union Institute **\$29,000**
To enable the African-American Labor Center to assist the democratic movement in Malawi.

Washington Office for Democracy in Zambia **\$24,990**
To support continued publication and distribution of the *Malawi Democrat*, a bi-weekly newsletter published by the Interim Committee for a Democratic Alliance, Malawi's only independent source of information.

MALI

Friends of Mali **\$44,000**
On behalf of the Center for the Research and Study of Democracy and Economic and Social Development (CERDES), to support the establishment of an institution for the promotion and maintenance of a democratic society in Mali.

NAMIBIA

Foundation for the Advancement and Support of Education of Namibia **\$24,999**
To support a civic education program, including a national inter-school competition of essays and debates on democracy.

NIGERIA

African-American Institute **\$24,995**
To enable the African Democratic Heritage Foundation to publish a quarterly newsletter and sponsor an annual conference on the elements of a democratic political system in Nigeria.

African-American Institute **\$42,000**

To enable the Constitutional Rights Project in Nigeria to conduct a year-long study monitoring freedom of the press in Nigeria and to initiate a press litigation program to support legal action aimed at limiting press restrictions.

African-American Institute **\$24,950**

On behalf of Human Rights Africa, to support a human rights training program that will prepare a group of activists to teach human rights courses throughout Nigeria.

Congressional Human Rights Foundation **\$24,950**

To strengthen the human rights advocacy program of the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights by establishing a resource center to enhance administration and coordination of the organization's various human rights programs.

International Republican Institute **\$89,000**

To support the Center for Democratic Studies in conducting training sessions for youth activists from throughout Nigeria designed to provide the technical skills and theoretical knowledge necessary for them to participate in their country's transition to civilian and democratic rule.

SENEGAL

Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies **\$42,000**

To enable *Afrique Espoire*, an independent French-language magazine published in Dakar, Senegal, to expand its print run, establish a supplement oriented toward youth and initiate clubs where democracy can be discussed and local civic activities planned.

Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies **\$35,200**

To enable the Center for the Study and Research of Democracy in the Third World (CERDET) to continue its program of research on democracy in Africa.

SIERRA LEONE

Congressional Human Rights Foundation **\$16,500**

To enable the theatre troupe Gbakanda Afrikan Tiata to carry out a civic education program focusing on Sierra Leone's transition to democracy.

Sierra Leone Institute for Policy Studies \$24,950
To support continued publication and distribution within Sierra Leone of its quarterly journal, *The Sierra Leone Review*.

SOUTH AFRICA

African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes \$200,000
To establish a network of training centers at South Africa's historically black universities in order to help develop the capacity of communities to resolve conflicts through peaceful and democratic negotiations. (Agency for International Development (AID) funds.)

Center for International Private Enterprise \$54,000
To enable the African Council of Hawkers and Informal Business, with assistance from Norite Educational Holdings, Ltd., to run a pilot training course for two thousand hawkers (mobile vendors) in the townships.

Center for Policy Studies \$200,000
To conduct a research and civic education program on transition to democracy, focusing on issues such as the nature of South Africa's civil society, dynamics of transition, and the viability of a social contract. (AID funds.)

Community Agency for Social Enquiry \$40,000
In cooperation with nine independent South African publications, to conduct, publish, and disseminate research that will be used to increase the self-sufficiency of the alternative media in South Africa.

Empowering for Reconciliation with Justice \$93,000
To support this church-based initiative in a series of regional training seminars in South Africa for church, political and civic leaders to create a more peaceful climate for the development of democracy, education and economic growth. (AID funds.)

Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa \$300,000
To support the Institute's regional office in Natal province and the launching of a training center for democracy in Johannesburg. (AID funds.)

International Institute for Labor Development and Cooperative Studies \$248,000
To continue its community development program for black South Africans by conducting two month-long training courses. (AID funds.)

Martin Luther King, Jr. - Lithuli Transformation Centre **\$175,000**
To support its grassroots civic education, community action and youth development programs. (AID funds.)

National Democratic Institute **\$114,720**
To support the transition to democracy in South Africa through a civic education project in cooperation with the Center for Development Studies at the University of Western Cape designed to educate local civic and political leaders about democratic elections and build confidence in the electoral process.

South African Institute of Race Relations **\$100,000**
To work with organizations in the black civil society to strengthen their role as an independent force in South Africa. (AID funds.)

Soweto Civic Association **\$200,000**
To strengthen its capacity to engage in negotiations concerning the restructuring of local government in South Africa. (AID funds.)

Umtapo Center **\$100,000**
To support the Information Center of this community-based resource center in Durban in producing a quarterly magazine, maintaining a resource library, conducting youth leadership training workshops and organizing seminars and conferences on democratic themes. (AID funds.)

SUDAN

Fund for Peace **\$24,950**
To provide direct assistance and technical support to Sudanese human rights groups — both inside Sudan and in exile — for documenting abuses, disseminating information, advocacy and developing mechanisms to guarantee human rights observance.

Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies **\$44,000**
To support continued publication of the *Sudan Democratic Gazette*, the leading voice of democratic pluralism in Africa's largest and most racially, religiously and culturally diverse state.

TOGO

National Democratic Institute **\$42,978**
In response to requests by party leaders and government officials, to send an international assessment mission subsequent to June/July

legislative elections and prior to the August presidential polls to evaluate the Togolese electoral process and, as necessary, identify and recommend ways to resolve election-related problems.

ZAIRE

America's Development Foundation **\$40,000**
To enable the Zairian Association in Defense of Human Rights to increase awareness of human rights in Zaire through a program of advocacy, seminars and publications.

ZAMBIA

National Democratic Institute **\$110,000**
To conduct a series of training seminars for leaders and activists of Zambia's democratic political parties, including practical information about party structures, communication, constituent relations and constituent services.

Washington Office for Democracy in Zambia **\$44,000**
To support the Zambian Democratic Institute's civic education program, which includes a major conference, a one-page weekly democracy supplement in two leading newspapers, and broadcast of 52 democratic education programs in five Zambian languages.

ZIMBABWE

International Republican Institute **\$60,000**
To support a series of five workshops in five urban areas to encourage public dialogue and discussion among opposition groups and to inform the public of options open to them in the democratic system.

REGIONAL

America's Development Foundation **\$63,299**
On behalf of the Study and Research Group on Democracy and Economic and Social Development in Africa (GERDDES), to promote democracy throughout West and Central Africa through a series of meetings, training programs and publications.

Center for International Private Enterprise **\$47,924**
To conduct a week-long training workshop for executives of chambers of commerce and other business associations representing black entrepreneurs from throughout the African continent.

- Free Trade Union Institute (FTUI)** **\$280,000**
 To allow the African-American Labor Center (AALC) to encourage and assist trade unions in Burkina Faso, Benin, Congo, Ethiopia, and Angola, nations in the throes of transition toward democracy.
- Free Trade Union Institute (FTUI)** **\$100,000**
 To enable the African-American Labor Center to support and strengthen the continent-wide trade union Organization of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU) and the newest of Africa's regional trade union organizations, the Trade Union Confederation of Arab Maghreb Workers (USTMA).
- Free Trade Union Institute (FTUI)** **\$27,000**
 To assist trade unions throughout the continent in improving communications with their membership through publication of in-house newspapers and other materials.
- National Democratic Institute** **\$50,000**
 To organize a week-long training program on election assistance and election monitoring for senior staff from the Organization for African Unity (OAU) and ambassadors accredited to the organization.
- National Democratic Institute** **\$91,462**
 To conduct a series of political party training seminars in West Africa on such issues as party organization, message development and grassroots organizing.
- National Democratic Institute** **\$100,450**
 To convene a regional seminar for women from East African countries to address important political, legal and administrative elements of democratic transitions.
- National Democratic Institute** **\$92,945**
 To co-sponsor, with the Benin-based Study and Research Group on Democracy and Social and Economic Development (GERDDES), seminars in three Francophone countries on developing election observation organizations, educating political party leaders and others about the role of civic organizations, and training trainers of election observers.
- National Democratic Institute** **\$100,000**
 For a two-part program to support democratic development in Kenya and the East Africa region as a whole: a survey mission to assess Kenya's rapidly changing political environment and explore the options for future NDI programs in support of the consolidation of democracy

in Kenya; and a regional election seminar in Nairobi for political party and civic leaders and election officials from throughout East Africa to address important political, institutional, and administrative questions associated with the development of a successful democratic election process.

National Democratic Institute

\$75,000

To conduct a series of workshops and consultations to provide technical advice and electoral assistance to strengthen election processes in Burundi, Rwanda and the Seychelles.

Asia

Broadly speaking, the Endowment gave priority in 1992 to "pre-breakthrough" countries in Asia, which include China and the nations of Indochina. Within this category, China, as the most populous country in the world, was the major priority for the Endowment.

Although the Chinese government remains adamantly opposed to political reform, the last year has seen a *de facto* loss of central political control as the government has implemented economic reforms resulting in greater regional and local autonomy and a surge of private economic initiatives. This has allowed the Endowment to expand its in-country activity, which by necessity had previously been focused on supporting projects taking place outside of China. The area of activity which most benefitted from this increase in social and economic freedom was that of civil society development. Endowment programs included: promoting environmental awareness and activism in China; supporting democratic development in regions of China with a large Tibetan population; supporting legal education for Chinese citizens; and providing legal assistance for victims of political persecution in China. Endowment grants also supported production of ten publications, all of which are distributed inside as well as outside China. The publications focused on the Chinese labor movement, market economics (aimed at the average Chinese reader) democratization movements inside and outside China, the democratic process and the development of pluralistic and civil societies.

Additional NED programs in the region included democracy and human rights education in Laos and Cambodia, publications aimed at disseminating information about democracy and democratization movements, and activities to promote civil society in Vietnam.

Among the more open societies in the region, the Philippines was a priority, with programs focusing on assistance to trade unions, training for economic journalists and support for the Philippine Chamber of Commerce and the Center for Research and Communications in Manila. The Endowment was also active in South Korea, where it worked with trade unions to develop civic education activities and labor law reform. In Thailand, the Endowment supported contact between small and medium businesses in the provinces and national policy makers in the executive and legislative branches in Bangkok, and the development of democratic institutions in Thailand.

Indonesia, a major country in the region and the most populous Muslim nation, remains a tightly controlled authoritarian state. NED priorities for 1992 reflected an emphasis on further development of a NED program there, and grants were awarded to support a program to translate books about democracy into Indonesian and organize discussions timed to coincide with the publication of each book, as well as to support a legal aid program in Indonesia.

A list of all Endowment grants approved by the NED Board for programs in Asia follows.

AFGHANISTAN

American Friends of Afghanistan **\$61,344**

On behalf of the Cultural Council of the Afghan Resistance based in Islamabad, Pakistan, to support activities intended to encourage the adoption of democratic concepts as part of an Afghan solution, particularly through the publication of the quarterly journal, *Afghan Jihad*.

BURMA

American Friends of Democracy in Burma **\$45,000**

To enable the Democratic Alliance of Burma, a 21-member umbrella organization of pro-democratic groups, to provide education and training to Burmese civilians on the theory and application of nonviolent struggle.

Associates to Develop Democratic Burma **\$10,000**

To publish and distribute the monthly newsletter, *Burma Alert*.

CAMBODIA

Cambodian Documentation Commission **\$107,000**

To support the development and distribution of Khmer language human rights education and training materials; human rights education and training programs in Cambodia and in the refugee camps in Thailand; and efforts to engage indigenous Cambodians in human rights education, training, monitoring and advocacy work.

Khmer Conscience **\$22,718**

To support the transfer of the printing and distribution of their eponymous nonpartisan news and opinion magazine from the United States to Cambodia.

CHINA

Center for International Private Enterprise **\$78,600**

To enable the Chinese Economists Society to prepare a series of twelve books for the public on various elements of a market economy.

Center for Modern China **\$73,740**

To support three projects of this independent, nonprofit academic institution: a monthly series of academic papers for distribution

within China; the publication of a series of basic books on democracy; and a comparative study of Chinese, Soviet, and Eastern European reforms.

- Center for Modern China** **\$24,000**
To support a conference on Sino-Tibetan relations, co-sponsored with the Tibet Forum.
- China Perspective, Inc.** **\$130,000**
To support continued publication of *The Chinese Intellectual*, a Chinese-language quarterly magazine which promotes and encourages the evolution of China toward an open democratic society.
- Chinese Alliance for Democracy** **\$45,000**
To support publication and circulation inside China of *China Spring* magazine, a monthly Chinese pro-democratic publication.
- Chinese Democratic Parties' Overseas Center** **\$24,000**
To support publication and distribution of the magazine *Time Herald*, intended to inform members of the non-communist political parties in China about the role and workings of democratic political parties.
- Democracy for China Fund** **\$15,000**
To support a range of activities related to promoting democracy in China, including dissemination of information about democracy and democracy-related current events and assistance to democratically-oriented Chinese organizations in the development of electronic communications facilities.
- Democratic China** **\$50,000**
To support continued publication of this magazine containing articles that promote democracy in mainland China, while also focusing on the process of democratization in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao; and particularly to develop the magazine's already considerable distribution inside China.
- Green China** **\$35,000**
To promote environmental awareness and support for environmentally sensitive policies in China through continued publication of a magazine and other informational materials.
- Human Rights in China** **\$74,140**
To support a Legal Education and Assistance Project that provides legal advice and support for prisoners of conscience and victims of

political persecution in China; produces materials informing Chinese citizens about their rights within Chinese law; and circulates these documents inside the People's Republic of China.

Independent Federation of Chinese Students and Scholars **\$10,000**

To support continued publication of a newsletter distributed to a membership of 43,000 Chinese students with registered chapters on 166 campuses in the United States.

International Fund for the Development of Tibet **\$35,000**

To support its program of democratic development in regions of China with a large Tibetan population (especially Qinghai Province) and the Tibet Autonomous Region.

Laogai Research Foundation **\$82,900**

To create a database to store and track information about the Chinese forced labor (laogai) prison camps, interview former laogai prisoners, and publish and translate materials into Chinese for dissemination inside China.

Princeton China Initiative **\$26,000**

To support the publication of a newsletter, research and dissemination of information about China's democratic development.

HONG KONG

International Republican Institute **\$50,000**

To support an international symposium on the technical aspects of electoral and legal codes in Hong Kong.

INDIA

**James F. Byrnes International Center
of the University of South Carolina** **\$26,500**

To enable the Leslie Sawhny Programme of Bombay, India to continue a program of training in participatory democracy intended to prepare Indian citizens for positions of leadership in education and the public sector.

INDONESIA

Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation **\$54,739**

To support a program to promote knowledge of and respect for basic human rights and the rule of law in Indonesia, and to enable targeted

communities to mobilize, through both litigation and peaceful political means, to redress unfair implementation of current laws.

REPUBLIC OF KOREA

Free Trade Union Institute **\$111,372**

To assist the Federation of Korean Trade Unions in its efforts to contribute to the growth of democracy in Korea by sponsoring civic education activities, publicizing an agenda for labor law reform, and enhancing the unity of the trade union movement.

LAOS

Indochina Resource Action Center **\$41,175**

To enable Lao Democratic Initiatives to carry out a program of civic education, including a series of educational and communication activities through which Laotians overseas can press for democratization inside Laos.

MONGOLIA

International Republican Institute **\$100,000**

To provide organizational training and infrastructure support to strengthen the unified Mongolian opposition movement, enabling it to operate more effective grassroots organizations.

International Republican Institute **\$50,000**

To support a technical training seminar program in advance of the June 1992 elections for representatives of Mongolian political parties on such general concepts of democracy as tolerance of differing political views and movements and the basic representative role of national legislators in a democratic government.

U.S.-Mongolia Business Council **\$23,030**

To provide paper and a desktop publishing facility for use by the Mongolian democratic parties in producing non-campaign-related materials.

NEPAL

Free Trade Union Institute **\$7,000**

To provide technical assistance to the Nepal Trade Union Congress,

enabling it to prepare position papers on three new labor industrial relations laws.

PAKISTAN

National Democratic Institute **\$68,999**
To conduct seminars on electoral reform and the role of political parties in strengthening a polarized political system.

PHILIPPINES

Center for International Private Enterprise **\$69,492**
To enable the Press Foundation of Asia and the Philippine Chamber of Commerce and Industry to train a core group of provincial journalists on the institutions and processes of the private sector and how the market system generates growth and development.

Center for International Private Enterprise **\$108,761**
To support the Philippine Chamber of Commerce and Industry(PCCI) in a business advocacy program to implement its policy agenda contained in the "Free the Market, Free the Enterprise" paper which emerged from the 17th Philippine Business Conference held in October 1991.

Center for International Private Enterprise **\$80,000**
To support the Center for Research and Communication's Economic Advisory Program, which analyzes key economic policies and makes recommendations on macroeconomic reform.

Free Trade Union Institute **\$370,500**
To enable the Asian American Free Labor Institute to provide assistance to trade unions in the Philippines designed to strengthen the role unions play in supporting fragile democratic institutions in that country, including helping them represent more Filipino workers, take part in public policy debates, safeguard the election process, and hold government officials and elected representatives more accountable for their actions.

National Democratic Institute **\$87,246**
To provide a range of technical assistance for the 1992 Philippine presidential elections, including support for the Commission of Elections and the Election '92 unofficial quick count.

THAILAND

Center for International Private Enterprise **\$100,000**

To enable the Institute for Public Policy Studies to establish direct channels of contact between owners of small and medium size businesses in the provinces and national policy makers in the executive and legislative branches in Bangkok.

International Republican Institute **\$50,000**

To conduct an assessment of Thailand's political environment, host a conference in Bangkok for local political leaders, international scholars and experts on political institutionalization, and publish a comprehensive report on the challenges facing Thai democratic institutions.

VIETNAM

Center for International Private Enterprise **\$86,000**

To enable the Institute for Democracy in Vietnam to encourage market-oriented reforms in Vietnam by setting up a Free Market Economy Studies Center at the University of Economy in Ho Chi Minh City and organizing seminars on entrepreneurship in four cities.

Institute for Democracy in Vietnam **\$85,500**

To support a multifaceted program aimed at strengthening democratic forces in Vietnam, including producing publications and radio segments, strengthening pro-democracy organizations inside Vietnam, and providing support for Vietnamese students and workers in the former communist bloc.

Que Me **\$68,000**

To support the publication and distribution of *Que Me* magazine; the training of Vietnamese democratic activists in Europe; and the Democratic Forum project, which seeks to develop civil/political society in Vietnam.

REGIONAL

Free Trade Union Institute **\$333,600**

To enable the Asian-American Free Labor Institute (AAFLI) to provide limited assistance to unions in over ten countries.

Free Trade Union Institute **\$143,800**

To provide assistance to unions in Hong Kong and Taiwan; and to support publication of the monthly English language publication, *China Labor Notes*.

Free Trade Union Institute **\$73,000**

To support assistance by American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) affiliates to their counterparts in Asian countries where democracy is emerging as a form of government or where it is in crisis.

Free Trade Union Institute **\$50,900**

To enable the Asian-American Free Labor Institute (AAFLI) to conduct a variety of activities to publicize the cause of human and worker rights in Asia, including issuing publications on the subject and sponsoring an Asian regional forum for members of Asian trade unions on worker rights.

Central and Eastern Europe

During 1992, the northern tier countries of Central and Eastern Europe — Poland, Hungary and the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic (CSFR) — remained a priority region for the Endowment. Each of these countries — despite impressive gains — experienced unforeseen social, political or economic setbacks in 1992 that have undermined the region's democratic transition.

Although Poland was the first country in the region to achieve a democratic breakthrough, its transition continues to be hindered by political instability and economic uncertainty. Endowment priorities for Poland — strengthening democratic values within society and the political process and assisting groups that encourage pluralism — were met through programs promoting non-partisan civic education, the growth of civil society, educational curriculum reform, and ethics and good government. Additional efforts focused on consolidating the transition to a market economy through a series of programs promoting privatization, accelerated economic reform and private sector development; strengthening Polish political party organizations at the grass-roots level; and transforming Polish trade unionism.

Hungary has emerged as the most prosperous and stable country in the northern tier. Nevertheless, it continues to experience problems with developing a democratic culture and coming to grips with the country's difficult past. In 1992, NED supported efforts to strengthen democratic values within Hungarian society; promote the development of a pluralistic Hungarian trade union movement; and assist political parties within the Hungarian Parliament.

During 1992, the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic (CSFR) experienced episodes of nationalism and political polarization, the culmination of which was the agreement to divide the country at the end of the year. In this atmosphere, the Endowment's focus on promoting the democratic values of tolerance and pluralism in Czechoslovak society and politics gained additional importance. NED-funded programs included the development of democratic education materials, an oral history project on Czech and Slovak relations, a public survey of national attitudes, the promotion of volunteerism and grass-roots civil society, assisting private voluntary business organizations in supporting the CSFR's ongoing economic reforms, bettering relations between management and labor, and strengthening political party organizations at the grass-roots level.

The transition to democracy in the southern tier of Eastern Europe — Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, the republics of the former Yugoslavia — has been slower, more arduous and more unsteady.

Romania's transition has been particularly difficult. Despite a good showing in the February 1992 local elections, the democratic opposition did not do as well as expected in the presidential and parliamentary elections held in September. The economic reform process in Romania has proceeded more slowly than in other countries of the region. The rise of groups advocating neo-fascism threaten the development of good

relations between minority ethnic groups and the Romanian majority. In 1992, NED worked to counter these negative trends by supporting human rights organizations promoting inter-ethnic reconciliation, a non-governmental center providing unbiased public opinion information, and training programs for entrepreneurs and independent trade unions. The Endowment also approved funding for a seminar series focusing on the fundamentals of democracy which will promote increased coordination and cooperation between Romanian democrats in the post-electoral period.

Among the southern-tier countries, only Bulgaria has had a relatively smooth transition to democracy. However, obstacles to reform were apparent during 1992, with resistance to change still prevalent in rural areas and the political situation marked by increasing turmoil. During this period NED funding helped strengthen the independent trade union movement in Bulgaria and launched a legislative advocacy program for economic reform and privatization.

The war on the territory of the former Yugoslavia and the sanctions placed on Serbia and Montenegro have hindered Endowment activity in that region. Despite these impediments, the Endowment approved funding in 1992 for the creation of a Belgrade-based umbrella organization of civic groups working for a peaceful resolution of the armed conflict.

The Baltic States, which regained their independence in 1991, continued to rebuild their democratic and free market systems in 1992. The transition in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia has, however, been challenged by continued occupation by Russian soldiers, acrimonious relations with minority populations, and economic dependence on Russia. To foster the growth of non-governmental organizations, promote civic education and improve ethnic and minority rights, NED approved programs supporting a democratic development center, conferences on economic reform and ethics in government, an educational database, independent trade unionism, and local government and democracy training.

A list of all Endowment grants approved by the NED Board for programs in Central and Eastern Europe follows.

ALBANIA

Free Trade Union Institute \$100,500

To respond to requests for basic assistance from the new, democratic Confederation of Independent Trade Unions of Albania, with an emphasis on support for communications, supplies and equipment and training seminars.

BULGARIA

Center for International Private Enterprise \$36,000

To enable the Center for the Study of Democracy to continue its research and advocacy program to support policy recommendations on privatization and small business development in Bulgaria.

Center for International Private Enterprise **\$90,000**

To enable the Applied Research and Communication Fund in Bulgaria to conduct research into the current status of privatization of broadcast and telecommunications industry in Bulgaria and to develop a program designed to convince policy makers and the public of the benefits of accelerated privatization of this industry.

Center for the Study of Democracy (Sofia) **\$39,700**

To support the purchase of computer and telecommunications equipment for the "Crucial Books for Democracy" program that provides Bulgarian language translations of fundamental texts of Western political and economic thought. (AID funds.)

Free Trade Union Institute **\$160,000**

To support union administration training programs and four trade union leadership education projects for local and regional union leaders from the Confederation of Labour, Podkrepa.

CZECH AND SLOVAK FEDERAL REPUBLIC (CSFR)

Association for Independent Social Analysis **\$19,300**

To enable this Prague-based association to conduct a survey in advance of the June 1992 elections on Czech and Slovak attitudes toward political parties, participation in the electoral process, democratically-elected government, and economic and social reform.

Center for International Private Enterprise **\$74,010**

To enable the Center for Economic Research and Graduate Education to organize discussion panels on privatization issues, publish and circulate the discussion transcripts and resulting policy recommendations, and publish a bi-monthly *Privatization Newsletter* which documents the problems and progress of the CSFR's privatization program.

Center for International Private Enterprise **\$60,580**

To enable the Association of Slovak Entrepreneurs to restructure and strengthen its organization and build membership by developing new services and undertaking a more effective and coordinated legislative advocacy program.

Czechoslovak Society of Arts and Sciences **\$5,000**

To publish a Czech-language version of the book *On All Fronts*:

Czechoslovaks in World War II, which provides objective information about Czechs and Slovaks who fought for democracy and independence.

Free Trade Union Institute (FTUI) \$50,000

To conduct a pilot project to improve the cooperation between workers and management in the production process, thereby increasing productivity and the likelihood of an enterprise surviving the transition to a market economy.

Hofstra University \$31,500

To assist the Olomouc-based Palacky University Law School to promote legal reform in the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic by creating and producing teaching materials to train new judges and public officials on the rule of law in a democratic society.

Jan Hus Educational Foundation \$30,000

To continue and expand its networking and publications programs which promote the revival of independent educational and cultural activities and institutions in the CSFR.

Milan Simecka Foundation \$10,000

In conjunction with the Civic Institute of Bratislava, to support an oral history education program designed to examine and explain the current state of relations between Czechs and Slovaks.

National Democratic Institute \$74,000

To organize party-building workshops on improving party organizations and on the mechanisms of grassroots organization and communications.

Points of Light Foundation \$27,500

To support the Prague-based Places in the Heart Foundation in its efforts to involve private citizens in civic activities and affect changes at the grass-roots level throughout the CSFR.

ESTONIA

National Forum Foundation \$16,852

To establish an international manpower and resource database in Tallin, Estonia to link international resources in educational exchange, consulting services, and the distribution of supplies and technology with potential recipients of assistance in Estonia.

HUNGARY

Beszelo **\$24,480**

To enable this Hungarian weekly journal to select, translate and publish a series of articles from the Journal of Democracy.

Committee for Danubian Research **\$35,000**

To support the Institute of the History of the 1956 Revolution in Budapest and its "Teaching the Lessons of 1956 for Democracy" project, which informs secondary school and university students about participatory democracy, local autonomy, and opposition to totalitarianism.

Free Trade Union Institute **\$420,000**

To provide assistance to the Democratic League of Free Trade Unions and the Hungarian Workers Council, including support for infrastructure, publication of a newspaper and three organizing seminars.

National Democratic Institute **\$90,000**

To provide parliamentary assistance through a series of symposia on the functioning of effective democratic legislatures for the parliamentary parties represented in Hungary's National Assembly.

LATVIA

American Latvian Association **\$20,000**

In cooperation with the Latvian Popular Front, to establish a Democratic Development Center in Riga, Latvia, that will offer aid and technical assistance to non-governmental groups and institutions in Latvia which are working to build a democratic and pluralistic society.

Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe **\$45,000**

To assist noted democratic journalists in Latvia in establishing a center in Riga, the country's capital, that will promote the idea, development and functions of a non-partisan, non-nationalistic and independent Latvian press.

POLAND

American Committee for Aid to Poland **\$50,000**

To continue to promote the democratic transition in Poland by fostering the development of independent civil society and community-

based activities through an extensive network of contacts and close working relationships with Polish and American organizations.

Center for International Private Enterprise **\$78,800**

To enable the Polish Chamber of Commerce to carry out a research and advocacy project to represent the private sector viewpoint on issues critical to the development of a democratic society.

Center for International Private Enterprise **\$107,850**

To support the Gdansk Institute for Market Economics, a non-governmental economic research institute, in a research and advocacy project designed to promote the acceleration of economic reforms in Poland, in particular the privatization of state-owned small and medium enterprises.

Center for International Private Enterprise **\$50,250**

To develop a training workshop for executives from business associations throughout Poland on strengthening organizational capabilities, increasing membership, and advocating private enterprise development.

Center for International Private Enterprise **\$25,000**

To enable the Warsaw-based Stefan Batory Foundation to conduct a training program for regional journalists in Poland focusing on topics relating to the economic reform process and the consolidation of Poland's democratic institutions.

Central Connecticut State University **\$24,874**

To conduct a two-week training workshop in Wroclaw, Poland on "Responsive Democratic Government and the Ethical Public Administrator: Building Trust in a Civil Society" for the post-1989 generation of public officials serving the region of Lower Silesia.

Free Trade Union Institute **\$100,000**

To support the Coordinating Office Abroad of NSZZ Solidarnosc in Brussels, Belgium in assisting Solidarnosc to reorganize and strengthen its structures (industrial and regional) in order to function more efficiently and to work with European trade unions and multilateral organizations such as the International Labor Organization (ILO) and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU).

International Republican Institute **\$50,000**

To support grassroots political party development workshops in eight cities throughout Poland.

League of Women Voters Education Fund **\$24,775**

In cooperation with the Warsaw-based Foundation in Support of Local Democracy, to assist emerging women leaders in Poland to explore a range of techniques for promoting nonpartisan civic education and grassroots citizen participation in the political process.

Mershon Center of Ohio State University **\$74,990**

In cooperation with the Warsaw-based Central Center for Teacher Training, to support the second phase of its "Education for Democratic Citizenship in Poland" program, establishing "Centers for Civic and Economic Education" to conduct primary and secondary teacher training activities and support the implementation of new democratic civics courses.

Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America **\$5,000**

To publish the book Letters from the Underground, a collection of correspondence on the nature of a democratic Poland between underground leadership in Warsaw and the Polish Government-in-Exile in London during the years 1940-45.

ROMANIA

Center for International Private Enterprise **\$94,000**

To support the International Center for Entrepreneurial Studies' program to educate Romanian entrepreneurs about their responsibilities and role in public policy formulation, including conducting 53 entrepreneurship courses throughout Romania and publication of a newsletter.

Foreign Policy Research Institute **\$35,000**

To support continued publication and distribution of Agora, a Romanian-language quarterly journal of culture and politics.

Independent Center for Public Opinion Research **\$24,500**

To carry out a series of monthly nation-wide public opinion surveys in Romania designed to provide the political opposition and the independent media with a powerful tool in promoting further democratization in Romania.

Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe **\$96,460**

To enable the Humanitas Foundation in Romania to organize a Seminar on Democracy, including sessions in the areas of privatization, governance, civic education, and the independent media organized by the Endowment's four core institutes and other U.S. groups with expertise in complementary areas.

Free Trade Union Institute **\$150,000**

To sponsor trade union education programs for rank and file members and local leaders from the developing democratic trade unions of Romania, provide basic infrastructure support, develop a civic education program around the country, and develop, print and distribute trade union educational materials.

YUGOSLAVIA

Congressional Human Rights Foundation **\$55,879**

To support the Center for Civil Society in Belgrade, an umbrella organization for civic groups in Serbia which are working toward a peaceful resolution of the armed conflict in the former Yugoslav federation. (AID funds.)

Free Trade Union Institute **\$45,900**

To provide basic training and infrastructure assistance for emerging independent labor unions in the various republics of Yugoslavia.

REGIONAL

Center for International Private Enterprise **\$92,425**

To undertake a joint Corporate Governance Program with the SOROS Foundation at the Central European University in Prague to support the training of corporate directors from Poland, Hungary and the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic.

Charter 77 Foundation **\$24,995**

To support a conference on Justice in Times of Transition, bringing together East/Central European policy-makers, human-rights law experts, and journalists to discuss the complex issue of "transitional justice" to facilitate greater understanding of this issue and promote public debate and policy formation.

Free Trade Union Institute **\$200,000**

To assist the newly independent democratic trade union movements in Central and Eastern Europe to play a major role in the democratization process and policy debates over economic programs, the privatization process, and other issues affecting their members by providing support for the publication of newspapers, newsletters, pamphlets, flyers, educational booklets, and other materials.

Free Trade Union Institute **\$75,308**

To promote the visibility and acceptance of internationally accepted worker rights standards, as defined by international bodies such as the

International Labor Organization (ILO), and to afford protection to worker activists throughout Central and Eastern Europe.

Free Trade Union Institute **\$25,000**

To support the Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe in its program to provide financial and material assistance to a wide variety of independent initiatives in Eastern Europe, including its English-language publication and communications programs.

Free Trade Union Institute **\$164,000**

In cooperation with the International Affairs Department of the American Federation of Teachers, to support the development of independent teacher organizations and other pluralistic institutions in the field of education by providing basic democratic skills training for local and national leaders of free trade unions.

Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe **\$200,000**

To foster political pluralism in East Central Europe by establishing Centers for Pluralism in Poland, Hungary, the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, Bulgaria, Romania, Lithuania and Ukraine which will provide a forum for discussion and encourage communication between people with differing social and political views.

Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe **\$495,000**

For a multi-faceted program of support for grassroots groups, civic organizations and independent media in Central and Eastern Europe. (AID funds.)

National Democratic Institute **\$16,558**

To participate in the organization of a conference on women's leadership in business and politics bringing together high-level women public figures from Western Europe and the United States with their counterparts in Central and Eastern Europe.

National Democratic Institute **\$14,000**

To support the organization of a party development seminar for social democratic political parties in Central and Eastern Europe.

National Democratic Institute **\$68,000**

In cooperation with the Budapest-based Democracy After Communism Foundation, to sponsor a regional workshop designed to empower young democrats with the ability to organize interest groups that promote citizen awareness about the rights of the ethnic and national minorities in democratic societies.

National Democratic Institute **\$50,000**

To further strengthen the Democracy After Communism Foundation's regional network of young political leaders and to organize regional symposia on the role of women in the political process in post-communist societies.

Partners for Democratic Change **\$50,000**

To establish local and regional conciliation commissions in Poland, Hungary, the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, and Bulgaria to promote inter-ethnic understanding through education, dialogue and conflict resolution.

Polish-Czechoslovak Solidarity Foundation **\$30,000**

To continue its programs promoting civic and cultural initiatives that foster transborder cooperation in East Central Europe, especially in Poland and the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic (CSFR).

U.S.-Baltic Foundation **\$60,240**

To support a Baltic Municipal Training Center at a Baltic university to provide training in local government and democracy; and to conduct a seminar on public and private sector ethics in democratic, free market societies to be attended by leaders in government, business, and the media.

Successor States to the Soviet Union

The successor states to the Soviet Union were countries of high priority for the Endowment in 1992. Indeed, this past year revealed just how difficult the transition from authoritarianism to democracy will be. Ethnic disputes, extreme nationalism, economic chaos, political deadlock, and outright civil war all threatened the fledgling institutions of civil society that emerged in the wake of the Soviet Union's collapse. Within this uncertain environment, the Endowment continued to play a very active role, promoting a wide variety of democratic initiatives.

On a general level, the Endowment continued to build upon its previous work in the region, supporting trade unions, independent publications, emerging political parties, pro-market entrepreneurs and non-governmental organizations. In addition, the Endowment provided technical assistance - computers, communications equipment, printing presses - to numerous groups throughout the former Soviet Union.

The emergence of fifteen new countries, however, necessitated that the Endowment take into account the uneven pace of democratic change in each republic. As outlined in the priorities document for 1992, much of the Endowment's attention focused on Russia and Ukraine. The Endowment sponsored projects in both countries encouraging the development of entrepreneurs and economic reform as well as efforts to promote political change. In Russia, programs included establishment of a legal aid center for non-government organizations, local government training programs, and efforts to accelerate the privatization process. In Ukraine, a special institute was created to provide parliamentary deputies with access to up-to-date information, and training courses and consulting services were provided for entrepreneurs and political party and local government officials.

The Endowment has continued to follow developments in the other republics, supporting trade unions in Kazakhstan and establishing the first independent Central Asian newspaper in Kyrgyzstan.

A list of all Endowment grants approved by the NED Board for programs in the successor states to the Soviet Union follows.

ARMENIA

National Peace Foundation

\$15,450

On behalf of the Armenian Women's Council, to support the development of a women's political caucus in the Republic of Armenia to promote and encourage participation in politics by women leaders and citizens in general.

RUSSIA

(Additional programs in Russia are listed under the regional heading at the end of this section.)

American Foreign Policy Council **\$24,990**

To support a parliamentary exchange program to bring thirty-six Russian parliament staffers to the United States for three months to study how parliaments and governments work in the United States.

Center for International Private Enterprise **\$50,000**

To enable the Commonwealth Foundation of Yekanterinburg to conduct a program seeking changes in laws and regulations which will accelerate the privatization process in the Urals.

Center for International Private Enterprise **\$40,000**

To enable the Moscow Public Committee of Russian Reforms to develop policy recommendations and provide practical assistance to small entrepreneurs seeking to privatize assets such as flats and small shops.

Center for International Private Enterprise **\$60,000**

To support the Confederation of Associations of Entrepreneurs in Russia which will provide in-depth background information on Russian firms as well as up to date legal and regulatory information.

Center for International Private Enterprise **\$25,000**

To convene a seminar entitled "Who Is the Russian Entrepreneur?" to address the nature of the Russian private entrepreneur and promote support for the entrepreneur as a prerequisite for a successful transition to and consolidation of a market economy.

Freedom House **\$51,500**

To complete the initial phase of setting up a Sakharov Archive which will preserve the important documents, papers and letters that relate to Sakharov's life as well as conduct conferences and lectures on human rights and other issues championed by Sakharov.

Interlegal U.S.A. **\$55,783**

To support Interlegal Moscow in its efforts to promote the growth of a

civil society in Russia and other republics of the former Soviet Union, including providing legal assistance to non-governmental organizations, charities, voluntary organizations and citizens groups.

National Democratic Institute **\$76,176**

To bring a group of key organizers from a wide spectrum of political parties of the Russian Federation to the United States to help them acquire organizational skills through participation in the U.S. electoral process.

Problems of Eastern Europe **\$50,600**

To support publication of *The European*, a Russian-language weekly published in Moscow, which serves as a forum for discussion and analysis of the free market and the underlying principles that form the basis of Western democracy.

Problems of Eastern Europe **\$39,820**

To enable the Moscow-based journal *Twentieth Century and Peace* to translate and publish in Russian selected articles from the *Journal of Democracy*, along with additional materials prepared by Russian authors.

UKRAINE

(Additional programs in Ukraine are listed under the regional heading at the end of this section.)

Center for International Private Enterprise **\$69,315**

To support The Brokerage Project, a limited liability company established in 1991 as a subsidiary of Ukraine for Free Market Economics based in Kiev, in preparing basic texts and curricula for training commodity brokers, and to support the development of viable stock exchanges that will play a key role in mass privatization.

Center for International Private Enterprise **\$88,110**

To support the SPURT Association, an independent organization made up of cooperatives, enterprise managers, and policy makers, in promoting the transition to a market-based democracy in Ukraine.

Center for International Private Enterprise **\$70,000**

To assist the Lviv Institute of Management in developing a "Business Support Center" to address develop market data and research and provide training courses and consulting services for entrepreneurs.

Smoloskyp, Inc. **\$32,500**

To enable the Writers Union of Ukraine to translate into Ukrainian The Democracy Reader, a collection of speeches, documents, and essays on democracy, and to publish a collection of Ukrainian documents which deal with Ukraine's democratic heritage.

The International Foundation **\$30,000**

To support the installation in Kiev of a local computer "host" center for the international telecommunications network GlasNet, thus enabling users to send and receive electronic mail ("e-mail") messages to and from other former republics and overseas.

Union of Councils for Soviet Jews **\$24,990**

To establish a human rights/public advocacy bureau in Kiev which will gather information and publish reports on the human rights situation in Ukraine and teach grassroots advocacy technique to nongovernmental organizations.

U.S.-Ukraine Foundation **\$96,123**

To support the establishment of the Democracy Institute of Ukraine to provide the informational and human resources needed by the democratic bloc of deputies (Narodna Rada) in the Ukrainian parliament.

U.S.-Ukraine Foundation **\$24,900**

To enable the Association of Ukrainian Lawyers to conduct a workshop in Kiev to analyze and review the draft Ukrainian constitution and provide recommendations on its improvement.

REGIONAL

Central Asian Foundation **\$57,000**

To enable the FORUM Corporation of Ankara, Turkey to hold a conference in Baku, Azerbaijan, bringing together democratic groups and activists from the Turkic republics of the former Soviet Union to discuss and formulate strategies for democratization and introduction of a free market economy throughout the region.

Center for International Private Enterprise **\$58,350**

To support 1/6 of the World Limited, a business and market economics oriented quarterly journal, which focuses on the transition to democracy, a market economy and small business development.

**Center for International Private Enterprise
and the National Democratic Institute** **\$150,000**

To conduct a joint conference in the Baltic States on the politics of economic reform, focusing on the tasks of economic restructuring in the midst of a political transition, alternative economic reform models, and the political skills necessary to develop a consensus on the economic policy/message.

 **Foreign Policy Research Institute** **\$44,475**

To establish an all-Central Asian independent printing facility in Kyrgyzstan which will produce a weekly newspaper in Russian and Kyrgyz to be distributed throughout Central Asia.

Foundation for Education for Democracy **\$23,080**

To carry out civic education courses in the former Soviet Union, utilizing Polish experience and skills gained through a decade of democracy-building to help advance the democratic transitions taking place in the former republics of the Soviet Union.

Free Congress Foundation **\$28,780**

To organize a conference in Moscow to bring police officials and law-enforcement experts from the United States together with their counterparts to discuss the challenges to and options for reforming the local law enforcement system in the former Soviet Union.

Free Trade Union Institute **\$226,660**

To assist democratic worker organizations in Belarus, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia by providing infrastructure assistance and focusing on education and training for trade union leaders at the local and regional levels; as well as to support the operation of FTUI's Warsaw office.

Free Trade Union Institute **\$980,200**

To assist interregional trade unions and other democratic worker organizations in the former Soviet Union, and to conduct education and training programs with an interregional focus.

Free Trade Union Institute **\$440,040**

To assist democratic worker organizations in Russia and Kazakhstan; to conduct fact finding and needs assessment missions in the Central Asian states of Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan; and to support the operation of FTUI's Moscow office.

- Free Trade Union Institute** **\$353,100**
 To assist democratic worker organizations in Ukraine, focusing on education and training for trade union leaders at the local and regional levels; to fund the operations of FTUI's Kiev office; and identify democratic worker groups, establish initial contacts and assess needs in Moldova, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia.
- Freedom House** **\$38,500**
 To support expanded publication and distribution of Express Chronicle, an independent Russian language newspaper published in Moscow and edited by veteran human rights activist Aleksandr Podrabinek.
- Freedom House** **\$23,100**
 To support Panorama, an independent publishing and research group in Moscow, in compiling, publishing and distributing a database of the biographies and current political activities of leading politicians in the republics of the former Soviet Union.
- Georgetown University** **\$40,000**
 To support the Committee on the Study of Belarus, Lithuania, Poland and Ukraine in its project to revise history textbooks currently being used to instruct elementary and secondary schools in three former Soviet republics and Poland.
- International Research and Exchange Board** **\$42,945**
 To support the expansion of GlasNet, an international telecommunications network which links nonprofit, non-governmental organizations in the former Soviet Union and enables them to communicate with each other and with their counterpart organizations abroad.
- International Republican Institute** **\$230,000**
 To conduct civic education and political training seminars in Russia, Ukraine and Kazakhstan.
- National Democratic Institute** **\$23,750**
 To support staff representatives in Moscow responsible for coordinating NDI's activities.
- National Forum Foundation** **\$70,000**
 To support its on-going Internship Program, which offers highly qualified young leaders from Belarus, Russia and Ukraine the

opportunity to work in the fields of government, business, or media in the United States.

- National Forum Foundation** **\$75,000**
To support the American Volunteers for International Development (AVID) program, which sends qualified American professionals to work side-by-side with their counterparts in Russia and Ukraine for extended periods of time, in order to provide their host organizations with technical and managerial assistance in the areas of governance, journalism, business management, English language and computer training.
- Polish-Czechoslovak Solidarity Foundation** **\$64,500**
To provide training and infrastructure support for the publishing activities of independent organizations in the republics of the former Soviet Union, including Ukraine, Belarus, Russia and the Baltic states.
- Problems of Eastern Europe** **\$35,500**
To support continued publication of this independent Russian-language political and economic journal published in the United States and distributed throughout the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.
- Sabre Foundation** **\$50,000**
To send donated books to Russia and Ukraine to be distributed to libraries and other academic institutions, emerging business centers, and parliamentary libraries.
- Time and We Publishing House** **\$10,000**
To continue publication of the Russian-language quarterly journal, Time and We, which is distributed in the former Soviet Union as well as in other countries around the world.
- Union of Councils for Soviet Jews** **\$14,000**
To enable the Moscow Helsinki Group to continue a series of conferences on the rule of law which seek to educate human rights groups from various republics of the former Soviet Union on legal issues.
- Union of Councils for Soviet Jews** **\$19,000**
To enable the Moscow-based Independent Publishing Company to continue its publication of books on fascism, anti-Semitism, and Russian chauvinism.

Latin America and the Caribbean

Although virtually every country in Latin America and the Caribbean now has an elected civilian government, democracy remains vulnerable throughout the hemisphere. During 1992 the Endowment sought to strengthen the region's new democracies and to promote breakthrough democratic transitions among the remaining authoritarian holdouts, notably Cuba. NED funded programs to promote and defend workers' rights, to advance free-market reform, to strengthen democratic political parties and defend the integrity of the vote, and to foster civic awareness and participation among women, youth, indigenous populations, and other marginalized sectors.

In Mexico, the Endowment funded several projects to foster citizen understanding of democratic principles and participation in civic affairs and to defend the integrity of state-level elections.

In Central America the Endowment supported a range of democratic organizations, including youth and women's associations, labor unions, business associations, and broad-based civic movements. In Guatemala, the Endowment funded an independent labor union, a series of leadership training seminars, and the ongoing peace negotiations between the government and the leftist guerrillas. In El Salvador, the Endowment supported an economic advisory program for legislators and a project to promote consensus and tolerance among diverse social, economic, and political sectors. In Nicaragua, the NED began a three-year, USAID-funded program of support for grassroots civic organizations and independent news media, as well as efforts to develop a civic education curriculum for Nicaraguan schools and to improve civil-military relations.

In Colombia, the Endowment funded a comparative study of democratic governance and a political leadership and party-building project. In Ecuador, it supported an economic advisory program and a project to promote the use of legal mechanisms for arbitration and mediation among the indigenous population. In Peru, Endowment support enabled one of the country's premier research institutions to sponsor several seminars to strengthen civil-military relations in the wake of the April 1992 coup, and in Paraguay it funded efforts to train local officials in municipal administration and to strengthen the role of labor in the country's economic and political development. In each of these countries, as well as in Argentina, the Endowment supported the efforts of independent women's civic organizations to train future political leaders and disseminate voter information.

In Brazil the Endowment supported a wide-ranging organizational and training program sponsored by the country's principal labor confederation, as well as a legislative advisory program to encourage economic and constitutional reform. In Bolivia the NED funded a constitutional reform project and a series of civic education and voter information classes for the indigenous community, and in Chile it supported political education and training programs for labor union members and municipal officials, as well as a legal education program for young people.

In Cuba, the Endowment supported a wide range of projects to foster peaceful democratic change in Latin America's sole remaining closed society. Endowment grantees sought to generate a freer flow of information both into and from Cuba, and to mobilize international support for democratic activists inside the island.

A list of all Endowment grants approved by the NED Board for programs in Latin America and the Caribbean follows.

ARGENTINA

Center for International Private Enterprise **\$76,000**

To enable the Institute of Economic Studies in Argentina to continue its economic analysis program for the Argentine Congress to inform legislators of the costs and benefits of proposed legislation in an effort to carry out those changes necessary to modernize the Argentine economy.

Delphi International Group **\$110,000**

To support Conciencia Argentina's ongoing projects for strengthening democratic political culture in Argentina, including efforts to promote economic education and citizen involvement in community affairs, disseminate voter information, continue leadership training for non-governmental organizations, expand Conciencia's work into the southern provinces of Argentina, and foster the creation of similar organizations in other Latin American countries.

BOLIVIA

Center for Latin American Studies, Georgetown University **\$33,600**

To enable the Fundacion Milenio to continue its project to promote informed discussion of constitutional reform in Bolivia by means of promoting its new draft constitution, providing technical assistance to Bolivian officials charged with constitutional reform, and holding public forums to discuss the implications of possible reforms and promote consensus among key political sectors.

International Republican Institute **\$80,000**

To support PRODEMOS, a non-governmental organization based in La Paz which offers democratic education classes in rural and urban areas nationwide, and its educational workshops taught in Spanish, Quechua and Aymara, designed to encourage voter registration and informed community participation.

BRAZIL

Center for International Private Enterprise **\$119,770**

To support the Liberal Institute of Rio de Janeiro's legislative advisory program, which encourages constitutional reforms and economic policies consistent with the principles of private enterprise and participatory democracy.

Free Trade Union Institute **\$160,000**

To provide assistance for the democracy program of Brazil's General Confederation of Labor (CGT), with emphasis on union organizing, leadership development and training, and increased participation by trade unions in local, state and federal elections.

CHILE

Free Trade Union Institute **\$50,000**

To support the political education program of Chile's democratic labor movement, focusing on consolidating the place of democratic labor, as represented by the Unitary Confederation of Chilean Workers, in the country's newly restored democratic political processes.

International Republican Institute **\$103,000**

To enable the Fundación Jaime Guzmán and the Instituto Libertad to carry out a series of training programs designed to strengthen municipal governance in Chile.

Consortium of Universities of the Washington Metropolitan Area **\$56,000**

To enable the National Institute for Citizen Education in the Law, in conjunction with the Department of Professional Practice and Legal Assistance of the School of Law of the Catholic University of Chile, to carry out a legal education program for high school students and teachers, law school students, and disaffected teenagers.

COLOMBIA

Resources for Action **\$90,000**

To support Conciencia Colombia in its democratic civic education and leadership training programs for women, youth, and former guerrillas returning to civilian life.

Research Foundation of the State University of New York **\$55,000**

To enable the University of the Andes in Bogota, Colombia to conduct a comparative study of democratic governance in Colombia, with reference to the experience of its Andean neighbors, including an international conference on democracy in the Andean countries, and three forums in Colombian provincial capitals.

CUBA

Center for Cuban Democracy **\$55,000**

To support the publication and distribution in Cuba, Latin America, and Europe of a quarterly newsletter, *Un Solo Pueblo* and an international campaign for a plebiscite in Cuba.

Cuban American National Foundation **\$10,750**

To enable the International Coalition for Human Rights in Cuba (ICHRC) and the Association for Continental Peace (ASOPAZCO) to publish and distribute inside Cuba *Disidentes*, an independent publication of ideas and information on democracy.

Disidente Universal **\$15,000**

To support continued publication of *El Disidente*, a monthly news digest of reprints of articles and editorials on Cuba appearing in the international press and distributed inside Cuba among the *nomenklatura*, the democratic opposition, and the general population.

Free Trade Union Institute **\$150,000**

To allow the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) to build relationships with workers inside Cuba who wish to have the freedom to organize their own unions and to assist Cuban workers to enlist the support of free trade unionists in the U.S. and around the world.

Information Bureau of the Human Rights Movement in Cuba **\$30,000**

To support the activities of this human rights organization which serves as a clearinghouse on information about the status of human rights and the activities of democratic opposition groups inside Cuba, specifically to support costs incurred in maintaining daily contact with Cuban opposition groups and in disseminating information on human rights violations and Cuban opposition activities to international organizations such as Amnesty International, the Interamerican Commission on Human Rights, and the United Nations.

International Coalition for Human Rights in Cuba (ICHRC) \$100,000

To promote international support for the democratic cause in Cuba and to encourage a freer flow of independent information inside Cuba, including support for the ICHRC's Working Committee on Human Rights which compiles testimony for presentation to the UN Commission on Human Rights in Geneva; the network of European and Latin American committees and efforts to disseminate accurate and timely information about political and economic conditions in Cuba; the international activities of the Association for Continental Peace (ASOPAZCO); and publication of reports for distribution inside Cuba and to international human rights organizations.

International Republican Institute \$75,000

In cooperation with Freedom House, to support the distribution of democratic education materials throughout Cuba, increased contacts with democratic activists in Cuba, and two seminars on fostering democratic civil society.

International Republican Institute \$20,346

To support the Institute of Political Science of the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile to conduct an international conference on human rights in Cuba, bringing together representatives from Cuban exile organizations and the numerous human rights movements inside and outside the island of Cuba to discuss the human rights situation there, to exchange information, and encourage the democratic opposition within Cuba.

Of Human Rights \$10,230

To support the publication of the first issue of *Joven Cubano*, an independent magazine of political commentary produced by Cuban youth and democratic activists inside Cuba.

Puebla Institute \$66,000

To support the pro-democracy activities of the U.S. representative of the Havana-based Youth Coordinator of Democratic Associations (COJADE), including publication of *Joven Cubano*, an independent monthly magazine of political commentary written by Cuban youth and democratic activists inside Cuba; internal distribution of pro-democracy audio and videocassettes; and humanitarian support.

Puebla Institute \$55,000

To enable the Cuban Committee for Human Rights to advance the cause of human rights and democracy in Cuba through the publication and international dissemination of information on the human rights situation as well as other political developments inside Cuba.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Free Trade Union Institute **\$40,000**

To support a program of political education for member unions of the National Confederation of Dominican Workers designed to broaden the participation of workers and their families in the nation's democratic processes.

International Republican Institute **\$45,000**

To support a series of leadership training workshops conducted by the Social Republican Party of the Dominican Republic (PASORE) designed to increase the effective participation of young activists in a democratic nation.

ECUADOR

Center for International Private Enterprise **\$75,000**

To enable the National Association of Businessmen to provide legislators with recommendations regarding pending legislation that affects major socioeconomic problems and offer concrete proposals for reform that will advance the consolidation of market forces in Ecuador.

National Institute for Dispute Resolution **\$49,500**

To support a project of the Center for Research on Law and Society to promote the use among Ecuador's indigenous population of arbitration and mediation as means of conflict resolution.

Resources for Action **\$40,000**

To support Conciencia Ecuador's civic education programs, which seek to stimulate among Ecuadorans (especially pre-school children, students, women, and the indigenous population) an understanding of democratic principles and values, a sense of civic responsibility, and a willingness to participate in public affairs.

EL SALVADOR

Center for International Private Enterprise **\$90,000**

To enable the National Association of Private Enterprise to carry out an economic advisory service program, offer recommendations for the improvement of economic policies already in place, and conduct two seminars for legislators on the legislative decision-making process.

Institute for Central American Studies **\$65,000**

To support a project of the Institute for Latin American Studies

promoting dialogue on national issues among diverse political, economic, and social sectors of Salvadoran society, including a public opinion survey measuring the levels of political tolerance among Salvadoran citizens; seminars aimed at promoting a culture of political tolerance and social reconstruction; a monthly socio-political analysis radio program; and publication of a series of books on the research results and seminar proceedings.

GRENADA

International Republican Institute **\$22,000**
To support grassroots civic education programs administered by the Grenada Civic Awareness Organization (GCAO) designed to educate citizens on their civic responsibilities and encourage their participation in a wide variety of political and community activities.

GUATEMALA

Free Trade Union Institute **\$40,000**
To support the evolution of a stable democratic society in Guatemala by strengthening the free trade union movement and increasing citizen participation in the nation's decision-making processes.

International Republican Institute **\$56,850**
To support the Academy for Liberty and Justice in conducting a series of democratic education and political leadership seminars for politically disenfranchised Guatemalans in 350 municipalities throughout the country.

National Reconciliation Commission **\$60,000**
To continue its efforts to promote dialogue among key sectors of Guatemalan society and to mediate between the Guatemalan government and the guerrillas of the National Revolutionary Guatemalan Union (URNG) in ongoing peace negotiations.

MEXICO

International Republican Institute **\$110,000**
To support DEMOS PAZ, a non-partisan civic association, to foster the civic-political development of Mexican citizens through a comprehensive program of opinion polls, courses, seminars, critical analyses and publications designed to strengthen national commitment to and understanding of democratic processes.

National Democratic Institute **\$84,625**

To support domestic election monitoring efforts in Mexico by providing technical and financial assistance to civic groups observing the November 8, 1992 gubernatorial elections in the northwestern state of Sinaloa.

National Democratic Institute **\$72,154**

To assist political parties and civic organizations in Mexico in efforts to increase confidence and participation in the electoral process; including support for an independent vote count in the state of Chihuahua; a seminar on domestic election observation; and assistance to two prominent civic groups, the Council for Democracy and the Association of Civic Groups for Democracy.

Resources for Action **\$60,000**

To enable the Council for Democracy, a private association devoted to encouraging and monitoring political reform in Mexico, to expand its program of publications, forums, election observation, and electoral quick-counts.

Resources for Action **\$55,000**

To support the Frente Cívico Potosino's newly established civic training school, which offers a variety of courses on civil and human rights, basic civic education, leadership skills, and women's participation in public affairs.

NICARAGUA

America's Development Foundation **\$80,000**

To support the Nicaraguan Development Institute (INDE) and the Nicaraguan Development Foundation (FUNDE) in their efforts to strengthen the worker cooperatives and professional associations belonging to INDE/FUNDE and to promote popular understanding of democratic values and norms by means of workshops, lectures, and multimedia promotional materials. (AID funds.)

American Federation of Teachers **\$550,000**

To support the first year of a program to develop a civic education curriculum for use in Nicaraguan public schools and to train a corps of master teachers of civic education. (AID funds.)

Center for International Private Enterprise **\$92,800**

To enable the Superior Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP) to provide legislators, public and private sector leaders, academics and the media with analyses of pending economic legislation and to

undertake a public awareness campaign to bring the issues and the private sector's position to the public's attention.

Delphi International Group **\$50,000**

To enable Radio Dario to purchase urgently needed replacement parts, supplies and equipment. (AID funds.)

Delphi International Group **\$80,000**

To enable the Center for Youth Formation (CEFOJ) to continue its ongoing civic education programs to promote democratic values and civic participation among Nicaraguan youth. (AID funds.)

Delphi International Group **\$44,000**

To support Conciencia-Nicaragua (formerly Movimiento de Mujeres Nicaragüenses) and its civic education programs focusing primarily on the promotion of grassroots political participation among women, youth and workers. (AID funds.)

International Foundation for Electoral Systems **\$10,300**

To cover costs associated with Via Civica's programs to train civic leaders at the local level, to conduct civic education and disseminate public information about civic issues.

International Republican Institute **\$180,000**

To support the civic education activities of Grupo Fundemos, a multipartisan educational foundation, including public issue forums and debates, public opinion surveys, and efforts to modernize the political party system. (AID funds.)

National Democratic Institute **\$138,134**

To organize a civil military relations program to promote civilian oversight and experience in security affairs. (AID funds.)

Telenica, S.A. (Channel 8) **\$52,500**

To enable Nicaragua's first private independent television station to purchase production equipment that will enable it to broadcast news and public affairs programs. (AID funds.)

PANAMA

America's Development Foundation **\$75,000**

To enable the Center for Democracy, a project of the National Civic

Crusade Foundation of Panama, to conduct training workshops and a national civic education campaign.

PARAGUAY

Center for International Private Enterprise **\$65,000**

To support efforts of the Paraguayan Foundation for Cooperation and Development to increase the participation of the private sector in public policy advocacy through the broad dissemination of economic advisory reports and an extensive multimedia public awareness campaign designed to influence the adoption of market-oriented policies.

Delphi International Group **\$60,000**

To support Mujeres por la Democracia (Paraguayan Women for Democracy) and its civic education, leadership training, and public information programs, which seek to foster greater political understanding and participation among Paraguayan youth and women, particularly in rural areas.

Free Trade Union Institute **\$20,000**

To strengthen the role of democratic labor in the institutional, civic and political life of the Paraguayan nation and to help establish the Unitary Confederation of Workers as a force for stable democracy.

National Democratic Institute **\$46,800**

To support the Center for Democratic Studies, a nonpartisan civic organization based in Asuncion, in conducting a series of municipal governance seminars for local officials designed to improve their capacity to administer services in their communities and increase citizen participation in government.

PERU

Delphi International Group **\$40,000**

To support Conciencia Peru's program to foster active citizen participation in public life (particularly in upcoming municipal and provincial elections), and to impart basic civic education to key sectors of Peruvian society, with special emphasis on women and youth.

Peruvian Center for International Studies **\$60,000**

To support a series of seminars and workshops and publication of related papers on the role of the military in a democratic Peru.

URUGUAY

Center for International Private Enterprise **\$46,568**

To enable the Center for the Study of Economic and Social Affairs to carry out the third year of its economic analysis program on government size and economic growth, which promotes principles of private enterprise and market-oriented economic growth.

REGIONAL

America's Fund for Independent Universities **\$40,000**

To promote private sector support for higher education on Latin America by documenting the need for tax deductibility for contributions to private educational institutions.

Center for International Private Enterprise **\$124,482**

To support independent research organizations in Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay in efforts to provide the region's key decision makers, public and private sector leaders, and the general public with a sound understanding of MERCOSUR (the prospective Southern Cone common market).

Free Trade Union Institute **\$339,722**

To enhance the ability of trade unions in Latin America and the Caribbean to collect and distribute information about human and trade union rights so as to help those whose rights have been violated and prevent violations in the future.

Free Trade Union Institute **\$100,000**

To enable the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) to conduct its union-to-union program aimed at developing stronger professional and fraternal ties among AFL-CIO democratic labor unions in the Western Hemisphere and the international free trade union movement as represented by the International Trade Secretariat.

International Republican Institute **\$65,150**

To enable the Fundacion Simon Bolivar in Colombia to convene an international symposium, "Political Parties, Leadership and Political Development in Democratic Consolidation: An Agenda for the 1990s," bringing together political party activists from 15 Latin American countries to assist in clearly defining practical solutions to the obstacles to institutionalized democracy.

International Republican Institute **\$110,000**

To support the Fundacion America para la Capacitacion Politica in a region-wide program working with democratic political parties to increase political modernization and economic liberalization in South America.

Inter-American Dialogue of the Aspen Institute **\$40,000**

To support the "Democratic Governance in the Americas" project, intended to generate up-to-date and well-informed analysis of the state of democratic governance in Latin America and the Caribbean; to provide a forum at which scholars and practitioners of democratic governance can exchange ideas and information on the establishment, consolidation, deepening and reinforcement of democracy in the Americas; and to study the role of national and international actors in promoting and strengthening democratic transitions.

National Democratic Institute **\$13,505**

In cooperation with the International Republican Institute, to support a regional conference organized by Participa, a Chilean nonpartisan civic education organization, and the International Institute for Women's Political Leadership, designed to increase the participation of women in Latin American politics.

The Middle East

The Middle East, which covers the Arab Middle East, North Africa, Iran and Turkey, became a priority region for the Endowment in 1992. The growing democratic opening in the region led the Endowment to seek new initiatives and expand its programs by establishing contacts with democratic groups throughout the region. This increased focus resulted in a doubling of total program expenditures in the region in 1992.

Endowment funds supported regional publishing programs, efforts to promote human rights and democratic concepts in Iran and Iraq, an expanded program for Turkey which included a regional conference on constitution-making for the Central Asian republics of the former Soviet Union, and a survey of the political and institutional environment in the Yemen Arab Republic, which will provide baseline analysis and recommendations for electoral improvements.

An Endowment grant also supported an historic conference in Cairo, Egypt on democratic challenges in the Arab World, marking the first time such a gathering was covered in an Arab country. The conference included an extended session addressing the issue of Islamic fundamentalism, the state and democratic development.

A list of all Endowment grants approved by the NED Board for programs in the Middle East follows.

IRAN

Iran Teachers Association **\$60,620**

To support continued publication of the cultural and political journal Mehregan dedicated to the promotion of open discourse and the concepts of human rights, freedom and democracy among Iranians living abroad and inside Iran.

IRAQ

Free Iraq Foundation **\$56,920**

To support the efforts of this non-partisan, non-ethnic foundation based in the United States to promote the concept of liberal democracy in Iraq among Iraqis living both abroad and inside the country.

Organization of Human Rights in Iraq **\$45,000**

To support the establishment of an office in the Kurdish area of Northern Iraq, and a liaison office in Washington, D.C. responsible for documenting and exposing human rights violations in Iraq and bringing them to the attention of Iraqis and the international community.

KUWAIT

International Republican Institute **\$150,000**
To support a series of five management and technical training seminars, to be held prior to the October 1992 National Assembly elections, on democratic principles, political and campaign processes, and responsible governance for democratic activists, candidates and parliamentarians in Kuwait.

TURKEY

American Turkish Foundation **\$50,000**
To enable the FORUM Corporation of Ankara, Turkey to continue its efforts to strengthen the understanding and practice of democracy in Turkey, and to expose other parts of the Islamic world to the Turkish democratic experience through publication and distribution of the journal Yeni Forum, a series of lectures and seminars, and a paperback book publishing program.

YEMEN

International Republican Institute **\$20,000**
To conduct a survey of the pre-election political and institutional environment in the Yemen Arab Republic and make recommendations for electoral improvements in advance of the November 1992 elections.

REGIONAL

**Foundation on Democratization and Political
Change in the Middle East** **\$71,593**
To support the Center for Political and Development Studies of Cairo, Egypt in conducting a five-day conference on democratic development in the Arab World.

**Foundation on Democratization and Political
Change in the Middle East** **\$69,850**
To enable the Dar Al Saqi Publishing House to continue translation and publication of major works in Arab and Western political thought relating to democracy, tolerance and pluralism.

Multi-regional

- Center for International Private Enterprise** **\$40,000**
To publish and distribute internationally the book Private Solutions to Public Problems, which documents the successful privatization process in Chile.
- Center for International Private Enterprise** **\$286,813**
To support the publication of Economic Reform Today, a journal which provides concrete tools and insights for policy makers and opinion leaders in developing countries to assist them in the transition to market-oriented democracies.
- Center for International Private Enterprise** **\$109,763**
To cover costs of developing, monitoring and evaluating programs.
- East-West Education Development Foundation** **\$220,000**
To support a program to provide computer equipment donated by U.S. manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers to non-governmental organizations abroad; manage the flow of donated equipment and insure that the equipment is operable when it is received at the designated sites.
- Free Trade Union Institute** **\$230,000**
To enable the African-American Labor Center to continue its leadership training programs focusing on trade union participation in the electoral process, voter registration, and labor law and the democratic process in Francophone, Anglophone and Maghreb countries.
- Free Trade Union Institute** **\$140,000**
To enable Interco Press to circulate editorial features to newspapers and magazines in Eastern Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America and the Caribbean.
- International Republican Institute** **\$125,000**
For research and program development.

National Democratic Institute	\$101,971
To conduct a workshop for leaders of 15-20 civic groups from different countries to examine the function of civic organizations in post-election settings.	
National Democratic Institute	\$44,250
To develop and publish two handbooks on election monitoring and political party organizing that can be used to enhance the effectiveness of NDI's programs throughout the world.	
National Democratic Institute	\$125,000
For research and program development.	
Turkish Democracy Foundation	\$40,000
To hold an international symposium in Turkey on "Constitution-Making as an Instrument of Democratic Transition" for representatives from the republics of the former Soviet Union.	

The total of the program grant amounts listed on pages 32-82 of this report may differ from the program grant amounts shown in the fiscal 1992 financial statements on pages 83-93. This is a result of the fact that the amounts listed on pages 32-82 exclude certain grantee administrative expenses and that all programs approved by the NED Board in fiscal 1992 have been included even though some of the related grant agreements were not executed until fiscal 1993.



INDEPENDENT AUDITORS' REPORT

To the Board of Directors of
National Endowment for Democracy
Washington, D.C.

We have audited the accompanying balance sheets of National Endowment for Democracy (the Endowment) as of September 30, 1992 and 1991, and the related statements of revenues and expenses and changes in fund balance and of cash flows for the years then ended. These financial statements are the responsibility of the Endowment's management. Our responsibility is to express an opinion on these financial statements based on our audits.

We conducted our audits in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards and Government Auditing Standards, issued by the Comptroller General of the United States. Those standards require that we plan and perform the audits to obtain reasonable assurance about whether the financial statements are free of material misstatement. An audit includes examining, on a test basis, evidence supporting the amounts and disclosures in the financial statements. An audit also includes assessing the accounting principles used and significant estimates made by management, as well as evaluating the overall financial statement presentation. We believe that our audits provide a reasonable basis for our opinion.

In our opinion, such financial statements present fairly, in all material respects, the financial position of the Endowment as of September 30, 1992 and 1991, and the results of its operations and its cash flows for the years then ended in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles.

Our audit was made for the purpose of forming an opinion on the basic financial statements taken as a whole. The accompanying schedule of expenses by program for the year ended September 30, 1992 is presented for the purpose of additional analysis and is not a required part of the basic financial statements. This supplemental information is the responsibility of the Endowment's management. Such supplemental information has been subjected to the auditing procedures applied in our audit of the basic financial statements and, in our opinion, is fairly stated in all material respects when considered in relation to the basic financial statements taken as a whole.

Deloitte & Touche

December 4, 1992

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY

BALANCE SHEETS

SEPTEMBER 30, 1992 AND 1991

ASSETS	1992	1991
CURRENT ASSETS:		
Cash (Note 10)	\$ 539,204	\$ 1,742,507
Grants receivable (including restricted grants - 1992, \$ 5,316,620; 1991, \$3,308,946) (Note 3)	24,328,688	18,990,474
Prepaid and other assets	41,537	49,442
Total current assets	24,909,429	20,782,423
PROPERTY, NET (Note 2)	217,194	175,760
TOTAL ASSETS	\$25,126,623	\$20,958,183
LIABILITIES AND FUND BALANCE		
CURRENT LIABILITIES:		
Accounts payable and accrued liabilities (Note 11)	\$ 836,605	\$ 280,340
Grants payable (Note 4)	21,728,688	19,017,450
Deferred grant revenue - government agencies (Note 5)	2,134,454	1,184,160
Other deferred revenue (Note 5)	150,865	239,108
Current obligations under capital lease and notes payable (Note 7)	26,554	26,080
Total current liabilities	24,877,166	20,747,138
CAPITAL LEASE OBLIGATIONS AND NOTES PAYABLE - LONG-TERM PORTION (Note 7)	5,324	32,077
TOTAL LIABILITIES	24,882,490	20,779,215
FUND BALANCE	244,133	178,968
TOTAL LIABILITIES AND FUND BALANCE	\$25,126,623	\$20,958,183

See notes to financial statements.

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY

STATEMENTS OF REVENUES AND EXPENSES AND CHANGES IN FUND BALANCE YEARS ENDED SEPTEMBER 30, 1992 AND 1991

	1992	1991
REVENUES (Note 5):		
Grant revenue - government agencies	\$30,034,606	\$28,824,962
Other grants and contributions	159,594	210,824
Other revenue	<u>9,748</u>	<u>45,025</u>
Total revenues	<u>30,203,948</u>	<u>29,080,811</u>
EXPENSES:		
Program grants (Note 6)	27,223,119	26,621,896
Salaries, wages, and benefits (Note 9)	1,768,007	1,408,910
Professional fees	132,525	84,037
Occupancy (Note 7)	308,645	268,626
Consultants	60,014	29,922
Communications	157,275	147,497
Travel and transportation	187,281	191,062
Supplies and equipment	68,142	75,681
Insurance	28,043	15,762
Depreciation and amortization	61,564	63,656
Conferences and meetings	56,872	95,046
Other	69,637	8,379
Periodical - production	12,484	38,864
Periodical - marketing	<u>5,175</u>	<u>8,238</u>
Total expenses	<u>30,138,783</u>	<u>29,057,576</u>
EXCESS OF REVENUES OVER EXPENSES	65,165	23,235
FUND BALANCE, BEGINNING OF YEAR	<u>178,968</u>	<u>155,733</u>
FUND BALANCE, END OF YEAR	<u>\$ 244,133</u>	<u>\$ 178,968</u>

See notes to financial statements.

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY

STATEMENTS OF CASH FLOWS YEARS ENDED SEPTEMBER 30, 1992 AND 1991

	1992	1991
CASH FLOWS FROM OPERATING ACTIVITIES:		
Excess of revenues over expenses	\$ 65,165	\$ 23,235
Adjustments to reconcile excess of revenues over expenses to net cash (used in) provided by operating activities:		
Depreciation and amortization	61,564	63,656
Changes in assets and liabilities:		
Grants receivable	(5,338,214)	(1,841,380)
Pledges receivable		100,000
Prepaid and other assets	7,905	(34,144)
Accounts payable and accrued liabilities	556,265	106,952
Grants payable	2,711,238	3,858,992
Deferred grant revenue - government agencies	950,294	(1,188,051)
Other deferred revenue	(88,243)	26,463
Net cash (used in) provided by operating activities	<u>(1,074,026)</u>	<u>1,115,723</u>
CASH FLOWS FROM INVESTING ACTIVITIES -		
Purchase of property	<u>(102,998)</u>	<u>(42,369)</u>
Net cash used in investing activities	<u>(102,998)</u>	<u>(42,369)</u>
CASH FLOWS FROM FINANCING ACTIVITIES -		
Principal payments under capital lease obligations and notes payable	<u>(26,279)</u>	<u>(19,455)</u>
Net cash used in financing activities	<u>(26,279)</u>	<u>(19,455)</u>
(DECREASE) INCREASE IN CASH	(1,203,303)	1,053,899
CASH, BEGINNING OF YEAR	<u>1,742,507</u>	<u>688,608</u>
CASH, END OF YEAR	<u>\$ 539,204</u>	<u>\$ 1,742,507</u>

Supplemental Disclosures of Cash Flow Information:

During the year ended September 30, 1991, the Endowment entered into a capital lease to acquire equipment in the amount of \$19,725.

See notes to financial statements.

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY

NOTES TO FINANCIAL STATEMENTS YEARS ENDED SEPTEMBER 30, 1992 AND 1991

1. ORGANIZATION AND ACCOUNTING POLICIES

Organization - The National Endowment for Democracy (the Endowment) is a private, not-for-profit organization headquartered in Washington, D.C. The Endowment was established coincident to a grant awarded by the United States Information Agency (USIA) as mandated by the National Endowment for Democracy Act (the Act) of the United States Congress. The Endowment also receives funding from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). The purpose of the Endowment is to encourage free and democratic institutions throughout the world through activities which promote individual rights and freedoms. The Endowment awards grants to organizations with programs consistent with its objectives.

Basis of Presentation - The accounts of the Endowment are maintained and the financial statements have been prepared on the accrual basis of accounting. The Endowment reports to the U.S. Government on the basis of obligations incurred and cash expenditures made.

Revenue Recognition - Grants received from government agencies specify the periods in which monies are to be expended. Additionally, certain government grants restrict the use of funds for programs in specific countries. Revenues from government grants are recognized as earned in the year in which the granting organization indicates the funds are intended for use, provided the Endowment incurs valid obligations which are in accordance with the purposes set forth in the grant agreement. Funds granted in excess of valid obligations incurred are recorded as deferred revenue.

Agreements with USIA and USAID provide for the subsequent audit of costs funded under the grant agreements. It is the policy of the Endowment to provide for cost disallowances based upon its experience in previous contract audits.

Grants received from sources other than government agencies are recognized as revenue in the period in which expenditures are incurred for the purposes specified by the contributor.

Program Grants - The Endowment records as expense the full amount of a program grant at the time an agreement committing funds to the grantee is signed. A corresponding grant payable is recorded at that time.

Property and Equipment - Property and equipment which are not part of direct program costs are carried at cost and are depreciated or amortized on the straight-line method over their estimated service lives or the terms of the lease, as applicable, ranging from three to ten years.

Grants and Pledges Receivable - At the time a grant agreement is awarded/signed, a receivable and deferred revenue are recorded. When payments are received, the receivable is reduced. The deferred revenue is recognized as revenue in accordance with the Endowment's revenue recognition policy.

2. PROPERTY

Property less accumulated depreciation and amortization as of September 30 is as follows:

	1992	1991
Furniture and equipment	\$ 460,889	\$ 357,891
Equipment under capital lease	<u>111,125</u>	<u>111,125</u>
Total	572,014	469,016
Less accumulated depreciation and amortization	<u>(354,820)</u>	<u>(293,256)</u>
Property, net	<u><u>\$ 217,194</u></u>	<u><u>\$ 175,760</u></u>

3. GRANTS RECEIVABLE

Grants receivable are from the U.S. Government and represent balances of Federal Reserve Letters of Credit and direct funding established by USIA and USAID grant agreements.

The Endowment collects U.S. Government funds by filing requests for direct funding and by presenting payment vouchers against letters of credit when it disburses cash for program grants and administrative costs.

4. GRANTS PAYABLE

Grants payable represent the undisbursed balances of funds obligated to the Endowment's grantees. Grantee organizations are entitled to collect grant funds as needed by presenting requests for funds to the Endowment.

5. DEFERRED REVENUE

Deferred Grant Revenue - The following schedule summarizes the changes in deferred grant revenue from agencies of the U.S. Government for the years ended September 30, 1992 and 1991:

	Deferred Grant Revenue, Beginning of the Year	Add: Grants Awarded	Less: Grants Obligated	Deferred Grant Revenue, End of Year
USAID Grants:				
South Africa	\$ 1,027,143	\$ 1,170,000	\$ 1,303,202	\$ 893,941
Nicaragua		1,700,000	1,124,183	575,817
Central and East Europe	<u>157,017</u>	<u>614,900</u>	<u>675,471</u>	<u>96,446</u>
Total USAID	<u>1,184,160</u>	<u>3,484,900</u>	<u>3,102,856</u>	<u>1,566,204</u>
USIA Grants:				
Primary Funding	<u> </u>	<u>27,500,000</u>	<u>26,931,750</u>	<u>568,250</u>
Total USIA	<u> </u>	<u>27,500,000</u>	<u>26,931,750</u>	<u>568,250</u>
Total, Fiscal Year 1992	<u>\$ 1,184,160</u>	<u>\$ 30,984,900</u>	<u>\$ 30,034,606</u>	<u>\$ 2,134,454</u>
Total, Fiscal Year 1991	<u>\$ 2,372,211</u>	<u>\$ 27,636,911</u>	<u>\$ 28,824,962</u>	<u>\$ 1,184,160</u>

The deferred grant revenue at September 30, 1992, will be recognized as revenue when the Endowment incurs valid obligations in accordance with the purposes set forth in the grant agreements.

Other Deferred Revenue - The Endowment produces and publishes a quarterly periodical entitled the Journal of Democracy. The Endowment has received support to fund the operating deficiency of the periodical from a number of private sources. Commitments for future support of the publication are recorded as pledges receivable. Contributions restricted for support of the periodical are deferred and recognized as revenue in the period in which expenses related to the publication are incurred in excess of subscription revenue recognized.

The Endowment defers the recognition of subscription income associated with the Journal of Democracy in accordance with its revenue recognition policy. The unearned portion of subscription income is included in other deferred revenue at September 30, 1992.

The following schedule summarizes the changes in other deferred revenue:

	Deferred Revenue, Beginning of the Year	Add: Cash and Pledges Received	Less: Amounts Recognized as Revenue	Less: Adjustments	Deferred Revenue, End of Year
Restricted support - Journal of Democracy	\$ 239,108	\$ 44,247	\$ 155,065	\$	\$ 128,290
Restricted support - Program intern		22,575			22,575
Deferred sub- scription income - Journal of Democracy	_____	<u>10,000</u>	_____	<u>10,000</u>	_____
Total, Fiscal Year 1992	<u>\$ 239,108</u>	<u>\$ 76,822</u>	<u>\$ 155,065</u>	<u>\$ 10,000</u>	<u>\$ 150,865</u>
Total, Fiscal Year 1991	<u>\$ 212,645</u>	<u>\$ 99,060</u>	<u>\$ 72,597</u>	<u>\$</u>	<u>\$ 239,108</u>

6. RELATED PARTIES

The Endowment awards grants to various organizations to be used for programs which the Board of Directors determines are consistent with the purposes of the Act. Some of the organizations which submit proposals and are awarded funds have members of their Board of Directors represented on the Board of Directors of the Endowment.

Article VI, Section V, of the Endowment's bylaws provides that any Board member who is an officer or director of an organization seeking to receive grants from the Endowment must abstain from considering and voting on such grant. This provision shall not prevent any director from supplying factual information that the Board requests.

7. COMMITMENTS

Minimum future payments under capital leases for equipment as of September 30, 1992, are as follows:

Year Ending September 30,	
1993	\$ 29,600
1994	5,334
1995	<u>564</u>
Total minimum lease payments	35,498
Less amounts representing interest	<u>(3,620)</u>
Total obligations	31,878
Less current portion of obligations	<u>(26,554)</u>
Long-term obligations	<u>\$ 5,324</u>

The Endowment has noncancelable operating leases for office space and equipment. The lease for office space includes a provision for rent escalations to compensate for increases in operating costs. Future minimum lease payments expire as follows for the years ending September 30:

1993	\$ 302,548
1994	302,548
1995	302,548
1996	302,548
1997 and thereafter	<u>781,582</u>
Total	<u>\$ 1,991,774</u>

Lease expense was approximately \$309,000 and \$269,000 for the years ended September 30, 1992 and 1991, respectively.

8. INCOME TAXES

The Endowment is exempt from Federal income taxes under Section 501(c)(3) of the U.S. Internal Revenue Code and has been classified as an organization that is not a private foundation under Section 509(a).

9. RETIREMENT PLAN

The Endowment has a defined contribution annuity plan for all of its employees, under which the Endowment contributes a percentage of eligible employees' annual earnings to individually owned tax-deferred annuity contracts. The Endowment's contribution to the plan is based on 10% of an eligible employee's annual earnings. Costs of the plan for the years ended September 30, 1992 and 1991, were approximately \$108,500 and \$90,600, respectively.

10. RESTRICTED CASH

The cash balances at September 30, 1992 and 1991, include approximately \$206,300 and \$1,268,000, respectively, of restricted cash from USAID appropriations for use as specified in grant agreements with USAID. In addition, the cash balances at September 30, 1992 and 1991, include approximately \$113,000 and \$207,000, respectively, of restricted cash for production and publication of the Journal of Democracy.

11. TRANSFERS TO USIA AND USAID

Commencing in fiscal year 1987, the U.S. Government established a policy whereby recipients of federal funds are required to deposit grant funds in interest-bearing accounts. Interest earned in excess of \$100 per fiscal year must be remitted back to the U.S. Government. Total interest earned in fiscal year 1992 and 1991 was approximately \$143,400 and \$339,500, respectively. Interest earned has been netted against transfers of interest to USIA and USAID for financial statement purposes. Interest payable to USIA and USAID at September 30, 1992 and 1991, of \$17,332 and \$39,344, respectively, is included in the balance of accounts payable and accrued liabilities in the accompanying financial statements.

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NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY

SCHEDULE OF EXPENSES BY PROGRAM YEAR ENDED SEPTEMBER 30, 1992

	USIA	AID	Journal of Democracy	Other	Total
Program grants	\$ 24,356,749	\$ 2,866,370	\$ 32,410	\$ 7,565	\$ 27,223,119
Salaries, wages, and benefits	1,593,977	134,055	4,821	10,069	1,768,007
Professional fees	115,776	1,859	12,222	2,700	132,525
Occupancy	293,723		896	3,369	308,645
Consultants	49,218	6,531	6,016	3,787	60,014
Communications	136,189	11,283	405	22,298	157,275
Travel and transportation	136,011	28,567	2,923	247	187,281
Supplies and equipment	64,949	23	171		68,142
Insurance	27,872				28,043
Depreciation and amortization	61,564				61,564
Conferences and meetings	20,853	478	25	35,516	56,872
Other	13,664	53,690	212	2,071	69,637
Periodical - production			4,740	7,744	12,484
Periodical - marketing			5,175		5,175
TOTAL.	\$ 26,870,545	\$ 3,102,856	\$ 70,016	\$ 95,366	\$ 30,138,783