



*November 6, 2003*

Official Commemoration of the Twentieth Anniversary of the



**National Endowment for Democracy**





1983 Twentieth Anniversary 2003

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Official Commemoration of the  
Twentieth Anniversary  
*of the*  
**National Endowment  
for Democracy**

**Welcoming Remarks**

Vin Weber  
*Chairman, National Endowment for Democracy*

**Remarks by Congressional Leaders**

**Keynote Address**

George W. Bush  
*President of the United States*

**Closing Remarks**

Carl Gershman  
*President, National Endowment for Democracy*

# Twentieth Anniversary Message

In the twenty years since the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) was established, the world has been transformed twice over. First came the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of communism, marking the end of the Cold War and the beginning of a new era of economic globalization and sweeping technological change. Then, with devastating swiftness, the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 overturned the world once again, setting in motion the war against global terrorism and ushering in a new era dominated by concern for homeland security.

Throughout all of these tumultuous changes, one thing that remained constant was the importance of the NED's mission of advancing and strengthening democracy. As events evolved, this mission also became a lodestar for growing numbers of people in the policy community and the broader public. It guided the United States in the steady pursuit of its national interests, and countries around the world increasingly came to view the promotion of democracy as the key to achieving economic development, human security, and enduring peace. As a consequence, democracy promotion became an expanding field of international activity involving public, private, and multilateral institutions.

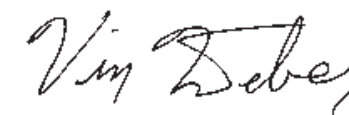
During these years the NED adapted its work to the changing political conditions, looking always to remain at the cutting edge of democratic struggle and to play a catalytic role within an expanding democratic movement. Though an infant organization in the 1980s, when the "third wave" of democratization was gathering strength, the NED was able to engage with the major democratic forces of the period, aiding the Polish Solidarity movement and dissidents in the communist world as well as the peaceful struggles against apartheid in South Africa and against dictatorship in the Philippines, Chile, Nicaragua, and many others countries. In the 1990s the NED expanded its grants program to every part of the world and also launched two far-reaching initiatives: The International Forum for Democratic Studies which publishes the Journal of Democracy and links the democracy research and practitioner communities; and the World Movement for Democracy, which promotes solidarity and cooperation among democratic movements throughout the world. And in the aftermath of 9/11, the NED dramatically expanded its work in the Arab Middle East and in the Muslim world generally, aiding movements pressing for political liberalization, accountable government, economic modernization, increased women's participation, and an end to the political abuse of religion.

Throughout these years, the political support for the NED in the U.S. Congress, and its stature at home and abroad, continued to grow. The NED has many people to thank for this. They include officials in both Republican and Democratic administrations — above all President Ronald Reagan, whose Westminster Address launched the whole effort — who supported the NED and respected its independence; Members of Congress who believed in the NED and fought to defend it when it was a controversial new idea under attack from many quarters; the members of the NED's prestigious and politically balanced Board who have served out of devotion to the NED's mission, providing leadership, credibility, and guidance; the boards and the staffs of the NED's four party, business, and labor core institutes who have developed and implemented global programs, advancing NED's work and standing in scores of countries; and the NED's own staff, who have brought immense expertise and devotion to the work of the NED and who are admired by democratic activists throughout the world.

Ultimately, of course, it is these activists who are most responsible for whatever success the NED has enjoyed. The NED idea and program would not work and find such resonance abroad if there were not people around the world, in vastly different political and economic circumstances, who believe in democracy and who have the courage and will to fight for it. Anyone who thinks that democracy is an idea or system suitable only for people in the West — the United States, Europe, and a few other countries — needs only to

meet some of these activists to appreciate how mistaken this point of view happens to be, and how disrespectful it is of the democratic aspirations of non-Western peoples. The efforts by the NED and others to advance democracy would be futile if there were not a hunger for democracy where it doesn't exist, and a determination among the least powerful in developing countries to use the instruments of democracy to defend their interests and to expand the horizons of human freedom and social justice.

Some of the NED founders — Dante Fascell, Lane Kirkland, Al Shanker, and Louis Martin — are no longer with us. But they and others, such as the late Walt Raymond, left us with an institution that continues to advance their democratic ideals and that embodies in the finest way the American belief in self-government and the dignity of every individual. It is in that spirit that we celebrate a milestone for the NED and affirm our belief in the capacity of people everywhere to achieve the blessings of democracy.



**Vin Weber, Chairman,**  
National Endowment for Democracy



**Carl Gershman, President,**  
National Endowment for Democracy

## Twenty year timeline

The following timeline is an attempt to illustrate a few highlights of the impact of NED and its many grantees over the past two decades. NED and its four core institutes — The American Center for International Labor Solidarity (ACILS) and its predecessor the Free Trade Union Institute (FTUI), the Center for International Private Enterprise (CIPE), the International Republican Institute (IRI) and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) — have assisted literally thousands of grassroots organizations in more than ninety countries. This timeline leaves out many important programs, and cannot adequately convey the long-term commitment that has helped sustain our democratic allies in so many situations. Nonetheless, it does provide a glimpse of NED's efforts to assist all those aspiring to the universal values of freedom and democracy.



**1983**  
**WORLD EVENT**  
**NED EVENT**

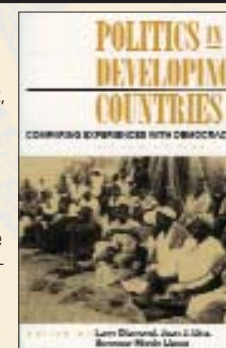
**11/18**—The National Endowment for Democracy is privately incorporated as a not-for-profit organization in Washington, DC.

**11/23**—The National Endowment for Democracy Act becomes law.

**1984**  
**WORLD EVENT**  
**NED EVENT**

**China Perspective, Inc.** publishes the *Chinese Intellectual*, a journal providing a forum for free discussion of issues related to democratic values and the future of China and is the first of many Chinese reform publications to receive NED support.

Professors Seymour Martin Lipset, Larry Diamond and Juan Linz undertake NED's first scholarly research project, *Democracy in Developing Nations*. The two-year study is the first comparative effort to focus on democracy in the Third World in a comprehensive manner, and becomes the catalyst for all of NED's subsequent scholarly activities.

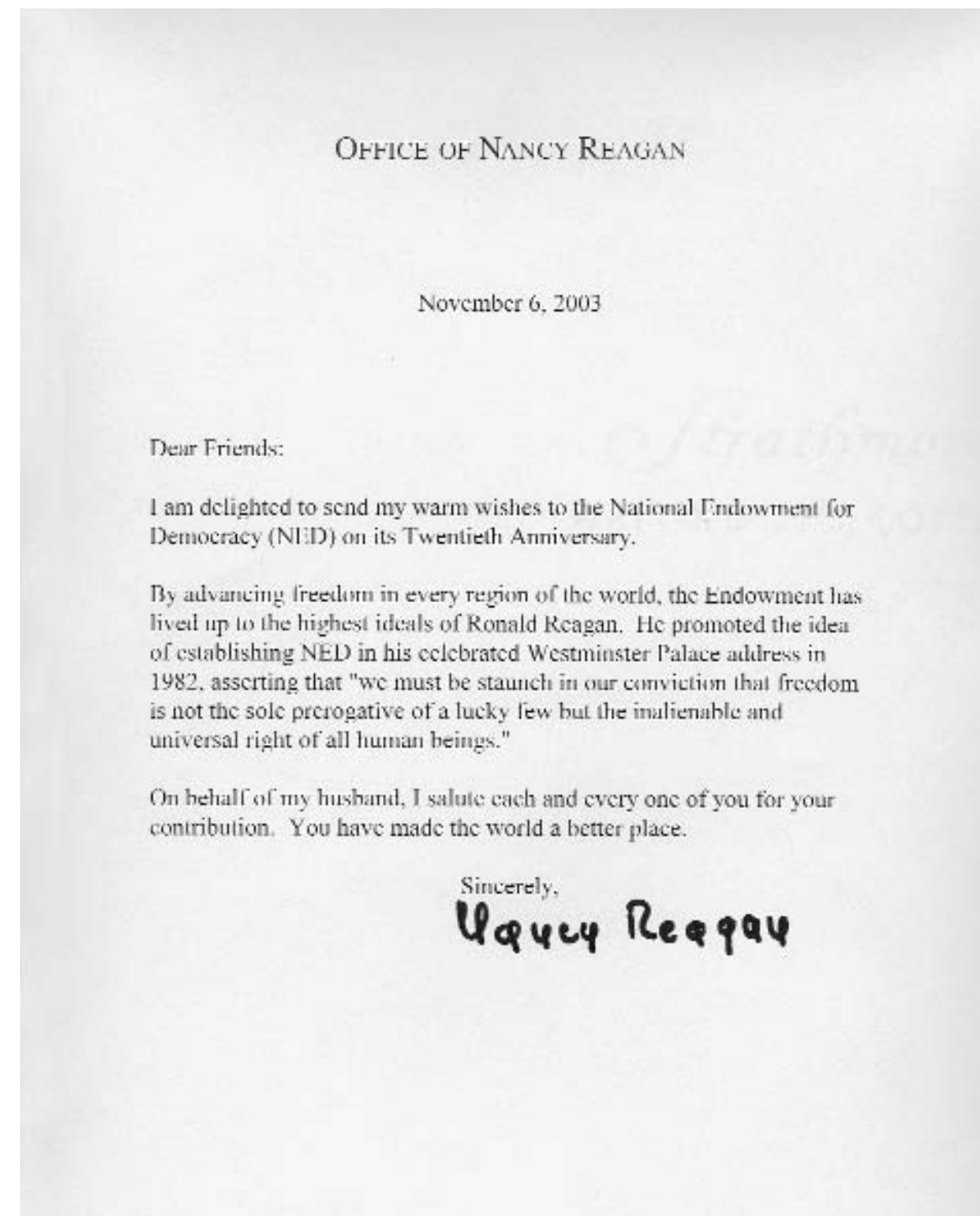
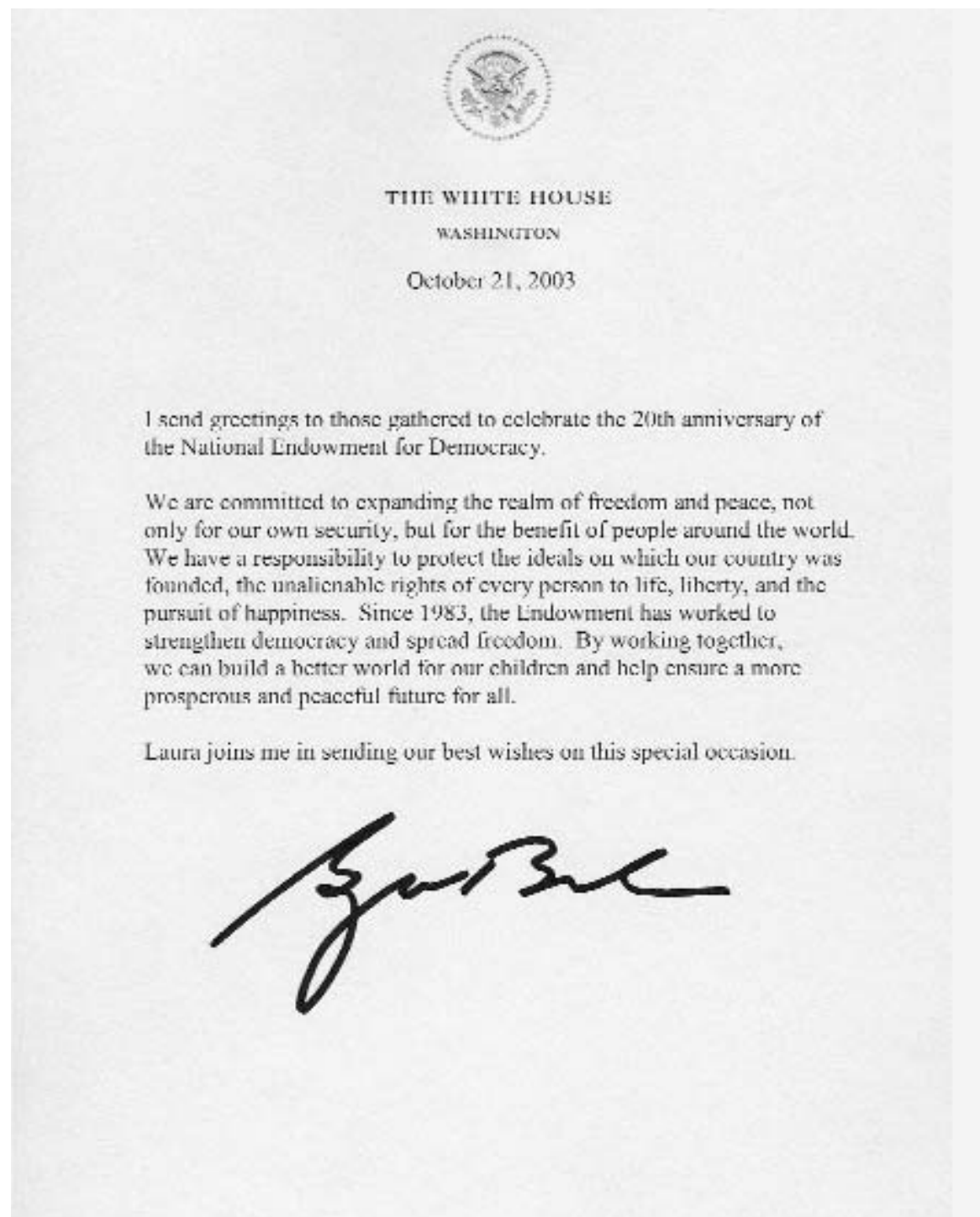


*CIPE and NED have stood with us for 20 years, and their continuing support today allows us to share our successes with other countries in transition.*

—**Hernando de Soto,**  
President, *Institute for Liberty and Democracy*, Lima, Peru

**Centros de Estudios Políticos (CEDEP)**, a nonpartisan Guatemalan think-tank, provides a forum for political and private sector leaders to discuss policy issues, with an aim to promote democracy and solve political and economic problems in Guatemala.

Through **CIPE**, NED helps the **Instituto Libertad y Democracia (ILD)**, headed by Hernando de Soto, carry out its ground-breaking research on the Peruvian informal sector, which leads to significant deregulation in Peru, later emulated by many other countries.



**1984**  
WORLD EVENT  
NED EVENT

NED supports **Conciencia**, an Argentinean women's organization similar to the US League of Women Voters, in their efforts to prepare the Argentine public for the return to democratic rule. Highly successful, Conciencia goes on to found branches in several other Latin American countries.

The **Free Trade Union Institute (FTUI)** provides direct assistance to the independent Solidarity trade union movement for independent education, publishing, and human rights groups inside **Poland**. This is one of many programs in 1984 assisting Polish democrats — a primary focus of NED's early grants.



The **Andrei Sakharov Institute** studies how to encourage greater openness and pluralism in closed societies, particularly in the Soviet Union.

**1985**  
WORLD EVENT  
NED EVENT

**3/11**—Soviet leader Chernenko dies and is replaced by Mikhail Gorbachev, who initiates a program of reform and liberalization.



**11/19**—Reagan and Gorbachev meet at summit in Geneva. They both agree to step up arms control talks and renew cultural contacts.

NED assists the independent Nicaraguan daily newspaper, **La Prensa**, through the purchase of printing supplies without which the paper would have been forced to stop publication.

**1986**  
WORLD EVENT  
NED EVENT

**2/25**—Opposition leader Corazon Aquino is elected President of the Philippines.

In the **Philippines**, NED supports important efforts by **NDI** and **FTUI** to monitor the February elections, reporting on fraud and intimidation and fielding thousands of election monitors through cooperation with the **Trade Union Congress of the Philippines**. **CIPE** also works to fight corruption and strengthen business associations throughout the country.

**5/1**—Over 5 million black South Africans strike to protest apartheid.

In **Chile**, urgently needed support is provided by NED to a broad range of political and social forces working for a peaceful transition to democracy.

S. Con. Res. 66

Agreed to October 20, 2003

# One Hundred Eighth Congress of the United States of America

AT THE FIRST SESSION

*Began and held at the City of Washington on Tuesday,  
the seventh day of January, two thousand and three*

## Concurrent Resolution

Whereas November 22, 2003, marks the 20th anniversary of the establishment of the National Endowment for Democracy (hereinafter the "Endowment"), a bipartisan nongovernmental institution that promotes democracy around the world;

Whereas through the National Endowment for Democracy Act (22 U.S.C. 4111 et seq.), signed into law by President Ronald Reagan on November 22, 1983, Congress has made possible the funding of the Endowment's worldwide grant programs;

Whereas 2003 also marks the 20th anniversary of the National Republican Institute for International Affairs (which was subsequently renamed the International Republican Institute (IRI)), the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), and the Center for International Private Enterprise (CIPE), all of which joined the Free Trade Union Institute (which was subsequently renamed as the American Center for International Labor Solidarity) to form the four affiliated institutions of the Endowment;

Whereas the Endowment and the affiliated institutes have supported grassroots programs to build democratic institutions, spread democratic values, encourage free market institutions, and promote political parties, worker rights, independent media, human rights, the rule of law, civic education, conflict resolution, political participation by women, and many other essential components of civil society and democratic governance in emerging and transitional democracies, nondemocracies, and war-torn societies;

Whereas the programs carried out or funded by the Endowment have made significant contributions to the efforts of democratic activists to achieve freedom and self-governance around the world;

Whereas the Endowment, through the Journal of Democracy, the International Forum for Democratic Studies, the Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program, and the World Movement for Democracy, has served as a key center of democratic research, exchange, and networking, bringing together thousands of democracy activists, scholars, and practitioners from around the world; and

Whereas the spread of democracy throughout the world, to which the work of the Endowment has contributed significantly, has enhanced the national security interests of the United States and advanced democratic ideals and values throughout the world: Now, therefore, be it

S. Con. Res. 66—2

*Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That Congress—*

(1) commends the National Endowment for Democracy for its major contributions to the strengthening of democracy around the world on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the establishment of the Endowment; and

(2) endeavors to continue to support the vital work of the National Endowment for Democracy.

Attest:

*Secretary of the Senate.*

Attest:

*Clerk of the House of Representatives.*

### Original sponsors of this legislation include U.S. Senators:

Richard Lugar, Joseph R. Biden Jr., Thomas A. Daschle, William Frist, Bob Graham, Chuck Hagel, Orrin Hatch, Jon Kyl, Patrick J. Leahy, Carl Levin, John McCain, Mitch McConnell, Paul Sarbanes, Evan Bayh, and **U.S. Representatives:** Henry Hyde, Doug Bereuter, Howard L. Berman, Benjamin L. Cardin, Steve Chabot, Christopher Cox, Joseph Crowley, Lincoln Diaz-Balart, David Dreier, Eliot L. Engel, Elton Gallegly, Mark Green, Amo Houghton, Patrick J. Kennedy, Jack Kingston, Mark S. Kirk, Tom Lantos, Nita M. Lowey, Gregory W. Meeks, Robert Menendez, Grace F. Napolitano, Donald M. Payne, Joseph R. Pitts, Dana Rohrabacher, Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, Edward R. Royce, Christopher H. Smith, Gary L. Ackerman.

We are pleased to send greetings to the National Endowment for Democracy on the occasion of its 20th Anniversary.

The democracy-building programs carried out by the Endowment and its core Institutes have made significant contributions to the efforts of democratic activists to achieve freedom and self-governance around the world.

We are proud that congressional support has helped fulfill the vision of NED's founders and wish you all continued success.

**Hon. Dennis Hastert**  
**Hon. Nancy Pelosi**

**Hon. William Frist**  
**Hon. Tom Daschle**

### 1987 WORLD EVENT NED EVENT

2/11—New Philippines constitution goes into effect.



NED supports the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (IDASA), a research center that seeks to improve communication and understanding between white and black communities.

*The Sudan Times*, an independent English-language newspaper, uses NED funds to purchase supplies essential to its continued publication.

The International Rescue Committee uses a \$1 million grant, specially appropriated by the US congress, to provide medical supplies, ambulances, medicine, and provides other humanitarian services for the Polish **Solidarity** Movement.

NED convenes its first World Conference in Washington, DC.

The New York based **Center for Democracy**, led by former dissidents conducts programs encouraging democracy in the Soviet Union.

**Charter Seventy-seven Foundation** provides technical assistance to encourage free speech and communication in Czechoslovakia.

### 1988 WORLD EVENT NED EVENT

3/21—Leaders of Nicaragua's Sandinistas and Contra rebels begin implementing a 1987 peace plan.

8/8—Student protests against Burma's dictator are put down by force leaving thousands dead; many more civilians are slain in an ensuing crackdown.

Polish workers strike for three weeks in August, demanding the return of the outlawed Solidarity organization.

10/5—Chile's citizens say "NO" in a plebiscite to extend the rule of Augusto Pinochet.

**Scores of independent Chilean** groups and NED's four core institutes use NED support for a massive civic education effort that includes a broad spectrum of think tanks, independent publishing, trade unions, political parties, cooperatives and youth leadership training in advance of the 1988 presidential plebiscite. Technical assistance is also provided for voter registration, and opinion polling.

In **Poland**, the broad **Solidarity** social movement continues to receive NED support for a wide range of activities.



*President Reagan prepares for a trip to Moscow by meeting with Soviet dissidents and, among others, NED President Carl Gershman.*



WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON

October 22, 2003

Congratulations to everyone celebrating the 20th anniversary of the National Endowment for Democracy.

Each of you can be proud of an extraordinary record of accomplishment. In its work to bolster the infrastructure of democracy in countries that lack such traditions, the NED and its affiliates have played an invaluable role in the democratic struggles of its time. From the shipyards at Gdansk to the jungles of Burma to the polling stations of South Africa, Serbia, Nigeria, and Mexico, proponents of democracy have experienced the solidarity of the American people through the help of NED's core institutions: the National Democratic Institute, the International Republican Institute, the Solidarity Center, and the Center for Private Enterprise.

Early in my first term in office and throughout my Presidency, I stood as a steadfast supporter of the NED and its vital mission. Today, the challenges of and opportunities for democracy are still great and perhaps even more urgent. We are fortunate that the Endowment is stronger than ever, and that America can count on its help and guidance as we seek to build a brighter tomorrow for countries around the world.

As you mark this impressive milestone, I join you in extending a special thanks to the chairman of the NED, Vin Weber, and I salute all those who have worked so hard for the good of the organization over the years. Best wishes for a memorable celebration and for much continued success.

*Vin Weber*



JIMMY CARTER

October 21, 2003

To Vin Weber

Congratulations on the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the National Endowment for Democracy. Few organizations have done as much to advance human rights and increase the prospects for democracy in every corner of the world.

NED has supported the work of The Carter Center through the National Democratic Institute with joint election observation missions to Panama, Indonesia, Nigeria, the Dominican Republic, Zambia, and Paraguay. NED is a vital institution for assisting the peaceful expansion of democracy throughout the world. By supporting programs that build political parties, civil society, free markets, and independent unions and protect the rights of individuals, NED and its affiliated institutes have given concrete expression to our country's commitment to a more just, peaceful, and humane world.

Rosalynn joins me in extending our best wishes for continued success.

Sincerely,

*Jimmy Carter*

The Honorable Vin Weber  
Chairman  
National Endowment for Democracy  
1101 15<sup>th</sup> Street, NW, Suite 700  
Washington, DC 20005

1989

WORLD EVENT

5/7—Panamanian voters oust Manuel Noriega in free elections, but Noriega ignores the election results and retains power.

5/14—Argentina elects Carlos Menem president in the first peaceful transfer of power.

6/4—Chinese troops massacre hundreds of prodemocracy protesters in Tiananmen Square.

8/18—Poland ends 40 years of Communist rule when Party candidates are defeated by Solidarity in parliamentary elections.

9/11—Patricio Aylwin elected President of Chile, ending the 26-year rule of Augusto Pinochet.

11/7—The Communist government of East Germany collapses, on November 9, the Berlin Wall falls.

11/17-12/29—The "Velvet Revolution" in Czechoslovakia concludes with the ascension of Vaclav Havel to the presidency.

12/21—Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu falls and on 12/22 is executed with his wife.

Nicaragua ends ten-year civil war and prepares for elections.

1990

WORLD EVENT

1/3—Gen. Manuel Noriega surrenders in Panama.

**Scores of independent groups and NED's four core institutes** conduct a wide range of activities supporting the democratic opposition in **Nicaragua** in preparation for the 1990 elections. The four institutes support business organizations, labor unions and 14 opposition parties to carry out programs of civic education, voter registration, election monitoring and observation, get out the vote drives, policy analysis and independent media.

**The National Civic Crusade for Panama** strengthens its local grassroots network and promotes mass participation in the May elections.

**The Documentation Center for the Promotion of Czechoslovak Literature** in West Germany maintains an archive of samizdat literature and provides assistance to independent scholars and writers in Czechoslovakia.

NED, through the **International Rescue Committee**, provides nearly \$2.5 million to Polish **Solidarity** for a wide range of activities and institutional support.



A July 9, 1988 meeting on the border at Kotlin-Klodzkeij between democratic activists from Poland and Czechoslovakia, including Vaclav Havel and Jacek Kuron. The sign in the background reads, "Crossing Forbidden/state border."

NED launches the *Journal of Democracy*.





**1990**  
WORLD EVENT

1/22—Yugoslav Communists end 45-year rule.

2/7—Soviet Communists relinquish sole power.

2/11—Nelson Mandela released after 27 years in prison.

4/25—Violeta Barrios de Chamorro inaugurated as Nicaraguan president.

5/27—Elections Held in Burma. The National League of Democracy wins 80% of the parliamentary seats; the military regime ignores the results and begins arresting members of the NLD.

5/20—The first post-Communist presidential and parliamentary elections are held in Romania.

7/28—Alberto Fujimori elected president of Peru.

8/2—Iraqi troops invade Kuwait.

10/3—East and West Germany reunited.

12/9—Lech Walesa wins Poland's runoff presidential election.

**1991**  
WORLD EVENT

6/5—South African Parliament repeals apartheid laws.

7/1—Warsaw Pact dissolved.

7/10—Boris N. Yeltsin inaugurated as first freely elected president of Russian Republic.

NED EVENT

The **Civil Liberties Organization** uses NED support to investigate and document **Nigeria's** human rights record.

**Foundation for Human Rights and Democracy in China** collects and disseminates information concerning human rights abuses in China.

The **Association of Social Studies and Research** conducts a mass media voter education and get-out-the-vote campaign in **Guatemala**.

The **Civic Forum** and the **Public Against Violence** educate and engage Czech and Slovak citizens in the political process leading to the national elections.



**Freedom House** provides a printing press to the independent newspaper **Romania Libera**, in **Romania**, and NED helps the Romanian journal **Agora** and the **Group for Social Dialogue** establish a Center for Democratic Studies in Romania.

**USSR Memorial Society**, establishes a database and information network that will systematically document human rights violations in the Soviet Union.

NED EVENT

NED supports **Mouvement Burkinabe des Droits de l'Homme et des Peuples** to promote human rights education and advocacy in Burkina Faso.

In **Yugoslavia**, **Radio B 92**, an independent radio station in Belgrade, purchases a transmitter and other equipment to increase its broadcasting range.



**1991**  
WORLD EVENT

8/18—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev is put under house arrest while he was vacationing in the Crimea. The coup, led by eight high-ranking hard-liners, collapses in less than 72 hours.

9/6—The Soviet Union recognizes the independence of the Baltic States.

12/25—Gorbachev resigns. Soviet Union dissolves.

**1992**  
WORLD EVENT

10/23—Paris Peace Accord signed, ending the civil war in Cambodia.

Peruvian President Fujimori dissolves Peruvian Congress, suspends the constitution.

1/15—The Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia ceases to exist. Slovenia and Croatia gain independence.



NED EVENT

The **Popular Movement of Ukraine (Rukh)** purchases equipment to establish an independent publishing facility.

**FTUI** provides essential support for the newly emerging independent trade unions throughout former Soviet Union.

The **Soweto Civic Association** organizes the residents of Soweto to engage in negotiations for the restructuring of local government in **South Africa**.

The **Democratic Alliance of Burma**, an umbrella organization of pro-democratic groups, provides education and training to Burmese citizens on theory and application of nonviolent struggle.

NED makes its first grant to Harry Wu's **Laogai Research Foundation** to create a database to store and track information about Chinese forced labor (laogai) prison camps, interview former prisoners, and publish and translate materials into Chinese for dissemination in **China**.



3/1—After a majority of Muslim and Croatian communities vote for Bosnian independence, Bosnian Serb snipers fire on civilians.

3/3—Bosnia and Herzegovina secede from Yugoslavia.

The **Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe** establishes **Centers for Pluralism in Poland, Hungary, Czech and Slovak Federal Republics, Bulgaria, Romania, and Ukraine**, providing forums for communication and open debate of ideas.



**1993**  
WORLD EVENT

1/1—Czechoslovakia divides and establishes the Slovak Republic and Czech Republic.

1/26—Vaclav Havel elected Czech president.

11/18—South Africa adopts majority rule constitution.

9/9—Yitzhak Rabin and Yasir Arafat meet in Washington to sign the Oslo Accords.



NED EVENT

The **Democratic Voice of Burma (DVB)**, a radio program taped in Bangkok and the border areas of Burma, is broadcast from Norway, under the direction of the National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma and the Democratic Alliance of Burma.

**CIPE** establishes a business information center in **Egypt**, disseminating its materials to opinion leaders.

NED support enables the newspaper **Svaboda**, one of the few independent sources of information in **Belarus**, to expand publication.

**NDI and IRI** organize foreign and local election observers in the first major post-Soviet election in Russia (the April Referendum).

The **Ibn Khaldoun Center for Development Studies**, headed by Egyptian intellectual **Saad Eddin Ibrahim**, publishes its newsletter **Civil Society**, addressing democratic development in the Arab world.

**1994**  
WORLD EVENT

1/5–6—Serbs' heavy weapons pound Sarajevo.

4/6—Rwandan genocide of Tutsis by Hutus begins; at least 500,000 slaughtered in 100 days.

4/29—Nelson Mandela elected president, after South Africa holds first interracial national election.

12/11—Russians attack secessionist Republic of Chechnya.

NED EVENT

NED establishes its research arm, the **International Forum for Democratic Studies**.

NED supports the reestablishment of the **Association Rwandaise pour la Defense des Droits de la Personne et des Libertes Publiques**, which conducts inquiries into genocide in **Rwanda**, documents human rights abuses, and develops strategies to encourage repatriation, greater human rights protection, and fair conduct of the war crimes tribunal.

The **Civic Alliance**, a coalition of over 400 civic associations in **Mexico**, conducts an extensive election monitoring program for the August 1994 presidential election.

**Bosnia's** most important daily independent newspaper, **Oslobodjenje**, continues printing in Sarajevo through the purchase of newsprint and oil to run its generator and Sarajevo's only independent radio station, **Radio Zid**, continues broadcast news and information with NED support.

**CIPE** works with the **Chinese Economist Society** to strengthen public understanding of market-economy societies by publishing a series of 14 books.





THE PRIME MINISTER



10 DOWNING STREET  
LONDON SW1A 2AA



PRIME MINISTER  
CANBERRA

TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF  
THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY

For the last 20 years the National Endowment for Democracy has played an important role in supporting and sustaining people's aspiration for freedom. It should feel proud of the work it has undertaken, often in the most challenging regions of the world, to promote democracy and the concept of a civil society. The Endowment has proved itself to be a practical source of assistance for those who are struggling to foster and strengthen democratic institutions in their own nations.

In accordance with the values it promotes, the National Endowment for Democracy has never sought to dictate a single model or process – it recognises and appreciates that viable democracies evolve according to indigenous needs and traditions. Democracies can, and should, reflect the diversity of political cultures. But all democracies have a common foundation – a system which guarantees the right of the people to determine their own destiny. The Endowment has played an important role in promoting and encouraging the building blocks which underpin that right: free and competitive elections, a free and robust media, and the rule of law.

Australia too is committed to the promotion of democracy, good governance and human rights. Indeed our commitment is reflected in Australia's aid and development policies and has inspired Australia's own democracy promotion body, the Centre for Democratic Institutions. Like the National Endowment for Democracy, the Centre has followed the principled, non-partisan, approach which has become the touchstone for democracy promotion efforts across the globe.

On behalf of the Australian Government, it gives me much pleasure to offer our warm congratulations on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the establishment of the National Endowment for Democracy. We have every confidence that it will continue to be a force for good in an often chaotic and dangerous world.

(John Howard)

On the occasion of your twentieth anniversary, I send my heartiest congratulations to the National Endowment for Democracy. You have provided invaluable material, technical and moral support to democracy activists in many countries. I offer my hopes that you will continue to play your important role in many parts of the world in the months and years to come.

**1995**  
WORLD EVENT

Elections held in Peru, Argentina, Guatemala, Haiti, and Venezuela.

**10/5**—Warring parties sign a ceasefire in Bosnia.

**11/10**—Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other minority rights advocates are executed in Nigeria.

**12/14**—Combatants sign Dayton Peace Accord on Bosnia-Herzegovina.

**1996**  
WORLD EVENT

**5/27**—Russian President Yeltsin meets with Chechen rebels for the first time and negotiates a cease-fire.



**10/13**—Ethnic violence breaks out in Zairian refugee camps; thousands of refugees from Rwanda and Burundi abandon camps.

**12/29**—Guatemala and leaders of Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union sign a peace accord that ends a 36-year civil war.

**1997**  
WORLD EVENT

**2/4**—After at first contesting the results, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic recognizes opposition victories in the November 1996 elections.

**5/25**—A military coup in Sierra Leone replaces President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah with Major Johnny Paul Koromah.

NED EVENT

The **Khmer Student Association's** multifaceted program increases student exposure to democratic principles in **Cambodia**.

**Transparencia** works for a fair and a transparent presidential election in **Peru**.

A NED grant enables the leading Russian Human rights newspaper, **Express Chronicle**, to resume publication, providing important independent coverage of the war in **Chechnya**.

NED EVENT

**Campaign for Democracy** strengthens its organizational structures, and conducts a massive civic education program through press conferences, leaflets, and its newspaper **Democracy Echo** in **Nigeria**.

The independent Burmese newspaper **New Era Journal** provides extensive and accurate information about **Burma's** democracy movement. The paper is published by exiled journalists and editors and smuggled into the country.

**Sisterhood is Global Institute** completes the first phase of a project to produce a manual for use in women's human rights education in the Muslim world.

**FTUI** supports **Nezavisnost**, an independent trade union confederation that is a cornerstone of democratic opposition in Serbia-Montenegro.

NED EVENT

The **Press Union of Liberia** prepares journalists for July elections.

**NDI** monitors the development of **Hong Kong's** "postreversion" election process.



The occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the National Endowment for Democracy inspires me to a short personal reflection.

At the time when the endowment was established we in Prague were living deep beyond the Iron Curtain. I remember very well how important the moral and material support from democratic countries was for Charter 77 or for the Polish Solidarity movement. Without it our ability to resist the communist regime would certainly have been diminished.

This year fourteen years will have passed since the fall of the Berlin Wall, the victory of the velvet revolution in Czechoslovakia, and the electoral victory of the Solidarity movement in Poland. Our society embarked on the complicated path of transformation. Even in this period the variety of grants and transferred know-how provided essential support to our young democracy.

I therefore believe that my personal experience attests to the necessity of organizations such as the National Endowment for Democracy. What I have in mind is especially the support of dissidents, journalists, and freethinking students in societies that still remain closed (e.g., North Korea, Vietnam, Turkmenistan, Byelorussia, Syria, or Zimbabwe), but also the support of countries that are already transforming from totalitarian and authoritarian to democratic.

I welcome the fact that the National Endowment for Democracy today supports not only the post-communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe, but it provides

hope also for the opposition elsewhere in the world. The support of brave people such as my friend Aung San Suu Kyi in Burma or Oswaldo Payá Sardiñas in Cuba, the strengthening of democratic forces in Afghanistan, Iraq, and the Middle East — all these efforts are absolutely essential for the spread of freedom and democracy, as well as stability and prosperity in the present-day world. It is also for these reasons that the National Endowment for Democracy deservedly symbolizes the American commitment to support freedom and democracy in the world.

I congratulate you on the twentieth anniversary of the establishment of your organization and thank you for all the good that you have already accomplished for democracy around the world, and, as I believe, you will still accomplish.

Thank you!  
**Václav Havel**

“The National Endowment for Democracy furthers the goals of your great nation and has provided moral and substantive support for oppressed peoples everywhere. Its unique independent mission has brought information and hope to people committed to peace and freedom, including the Tibetans. I sincerely hope that this institution will continue to receive support, because America’s real strength comes not from its status as a “superpower” but from the ideals and principles on which it was founded.”

**His Holiness the Dalai Lama**

I am delighted to extend my good wishes to the National Endowment for Democracy on the auspicious occasion of its 20th anniversary. We in Taiwan have been pleased to be associated with NED and hold it in the highest esteem for the important work it has done to promote democracy around the world. I fully expect that the excellent cooperative relationship between the NED and the new Taiwan Foundation for Democracy will continue to flourish long into the future.

**Chen Shui-bian, President  
Republic of China on Taiwan**

Today, Mali knows a calm democratic life, an active civil society, and a dynamic private sector, and has undergone an exemplary decentralization process.

All of these accomplishments have benefited from the active contributions of NED and CIPE since 1991.

I would like to thank them and present my best wishes on this occasion of their 20th anniversary.

Signed,  
**Amadou Toumani Toure  
President of the Republic of Mali**

In Hong Kong and elsewhere in Asia and around the world, the struggle to establish or preserve democracy, political freedom and the rule of law is far from being won. But NED has played an important role in supporting Hong Kong’s quest for democracy. By supporting key human rights organizations, which work for the development of democracy and the preservation of the rule of law and human rights in Hong Kong, the Endowment’s work has had a profoundly important effect at a critical time. The National Endowment for Democracy is indeed indispensable in a world where democracy and freedom are not entrenched and where — to cite the example of Hong Kong — even deep-rooted human rights can be wiped out by fiat.

**Martin Lee, Leader  
Democratic Party of Hong Kong**

On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the National Endowment for Democracy and the Center for International Private Enterprise, please allow me to address to you my warmest congratulations for a constant, efficient, and generous activity in support of democracy worldwide. My congratulations are even more sincere as I have directly seen the relentless efforts of the NED over the last 13 years in supporting and consolidating democratic institutions and practices in Romania. They have offered new roads and set a remarkable example of assuming all our relevant responsibilities in the reconstruction of the civil society and in creating a free and democratic Romania.

**Emil Constantinescu  
President of Romania, 1996-2000**

**1997  
WORLD EVENT  
NED EVENT**

**7/1**—The United Kingdom hands over sovereignty of Hong Kong to the People’s Republic of China.

**7/19**—Charles Taylor is elected President of Liberia.



**1998  
WORLD EVENT  
NED EVENT**

**5/21**—Indonesian dictator Suharto steps down after 32 years in power.

**12/29**—Leaders of the Khmer Rouge apologize for the genocide in Cambodia that claimed over 1 million in the 1970s.



In response to civil war in the **Democratic Republic of Congo**, **Associacion pour la Defense des Droits de l’Homme (AZADHO)** conducts a national program of human rights advocacy, monitoring, and education.

AZADHO leader *Guillame Ngefa Atondoka*.

**Rally for Youth Action** involves young **Algerians** in activities focused on democracy and human rights.

Through grants to NGOs and its four institutes, NED supports the successful democratic movement in **Slovakia’s** Parliamentary and local elections. In particular, NED assists the **Civic Campaign ’98 (OK’98)**, a non partisan, independent initiative of more than 100 NGOs that is credited with boosting voter turnout to record levels.

The **Museum of Political Repression and Totalitarianism** in Russia expands its public education program concerning the history of the **Perm-36** gulag camp.

The **Center for a Free Cuba** provides emergency humanitarian assistance to the families of political prisoners and democracy activists who are under government attack, while the quarterly journal **Encuentro**, is a vehicle for outside ideas and information to reach Cuba. These two programs are part of a wide-ranging effort to support human rights, independent media and democracy on the island.



**1999  
WORLD EVENT  
NED EVENT**

**2/4**—Hugo Chávez Frías is elected President of Venezuela.

**2/27**—Olusegun Obasanjo becomes Nigeria’s first elected president since 1983.

**3/24**—Serbia’s ethnic cleansing of Albanians in Kosovo prompts an 11-week bombing campaign by NATO in Serbia.



The **Citizen’s Alliance to Help Political Prisoners in North Korea** organizes the first international conference on human rights abuses in **North Korea**.

The Inaugural Assembly of the **World Movement for Democracy** convenes in New Delhi, India.



For much of the past two decades, I have observed closely or participated directly in the work of the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) and its affiliated institutes — as a founding vice chair of the National Democratic Institute, as a board member of NED, as ambassador and secretary of state, and now as chairman of NDI. With this history in mind, it is deeply gratifying for me to congratulate you on NED's twentieth anniversary.

The world has changed so much during NED's brief existence, and the Endowment has contributed immeasurably to that change. The people of Serbia deserve credit for ousting Slobodan Milosevic and ushering in democracy but the NED family of institutions provided essential, timely and history-making support. The same is true in so many parts of the world including Poland, Chile, Mexico, Nigeria and my own native land of Czechoslovakia. Today, the work continues as NED is reaching out to democrats who are struggling against tremendous odds working in the harshest environments, in Burma, Congo, Cuba, Iraq and Afghanistan.

The Endowment was founded on a simple principle: that democracy is inseparable from human dignity and peace. It has been dedicated to building a true community of democracies in which free peoples help and learn from each other, while promoting the ideals to which our citizens and societies aspire. Nothing could be more in keeping with

American ideals or more consistent with the best interests of the United States.

As NED reaches its 20th birthday, its leadership and staff can be deeply satisfied with all it has accomplished. But I know you are focused far more urgently on the hard jobs that remain to be done. I salute all who have contributed to your success, and look forward to working with you as you strive to build on that record in years to come. I wish you all the best.

Sincerely,  
**Madeleine K. Albright**, Chairman  
*National Democratic Institute for International Affairs*



For two the past two decades, support from the National Endowment for Democracy has enabled the International Republican Institute to further its mission of educating people, parties, and governments on the values and practices of democracy. We are delighted to be an integral part of the NED family, and look forward to future collaboration in advancing freedom and democracy.

**Senator John McCain**, Chairman  
*International Republican Institute*



From its conception twenty years ago, the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) recognized that political freedom and economic freedom are mutually reinforcing. That message is even more vital in today's world where political repression and economic isolation are robbing a generation of hope and fueling terrorism. NED's pioneering vision and comprehensive global view have been critical factors in its many successes over two decades. The Center for International Private Enterprise is proud to be a key part of the Endowment's historic, path-breaking programs.

**Thomas J. Donohue**  
President and CEO,  
*U.S. Chamber of Commerce*  
President, *Center for International Private Enterprise*






On behalf of the thirteen million working women and men of the AFL-CIO, I congratulate the National Endowment for Democracy for the important successes of its first twenty years. As one of its founding organizations, the AFL-CIO is proud to have participated with the Endowment in the promotion of democracy around the world. We deeply appreciate the support our Solidarity Center has received to strengthen democratic trade unionism — one of the building blocks of democracy.

The victories we leave behind pale in comparison to the challenges before us. Today, even with the spread of democracy that we celebrate, two-fifths of the world's people are not free to determine their own destiny. Despite the increased efforts to create a world under law, basic human rights are trampled in too many countries. And now the threat of global terrorism places a shroud on the security of people here and across the world.

These profound challenges to our core values require that the United States work within the communities of nations, and the growing number of more stable and democratic nations in particular, in pursuit of common cause. Accordingly, the role of the Endowment is now more vital than ever. The AFL-CIO takes this opportunity to reaffirm our support for the important work done by the NED. For our part, we will continue to promote a more democratic and just world in which all workers and their families live in peace and security, have a voice in their own future, and a fair share of the prosperity they create.

**John J. Sweeney**, President  
*AFL-CIO*



<p><b>1999</b> <b>WORLD EVENT</b></p> <p><b>5/27</b>—International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia in The Hague indicts Slobodan Milosevic.</p> <p><b>8/31</b>—People of East Timor vote for independence from Indonesia.</p> <p><b>12/13</b>—Boris Yeltsin resigns as President of Russia, and is replaced by Vladimir Putin.</p>	<p><b>2000</b> <b>WORLD EVENT</b></p> <p><b>7/2</b>—Vicente Fox is elected President of Mexico, ending seven decades of single-party rule.</p> <p><b>9/25</b>—Yugoslav opposition claims victory in national elections; incumbent Slobodan Milosevic denies results. On <b>10/5</b> Milosevic leaves power after a nationwide uprising. On <b>10/7</b> Vojislav Kostunica sworn in as president.</p> <p><b>11/17</b>—Alberto Fujimori is removed from office as president of Peru.</p> <p><b>3/15</b>—The long-simmering resentment of Macedonia's ethnic Albanians erupts into violence.</p> <p><b>6/29</b>—Former Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic is delivered to UN tribunal in The Hague.</p> <p><b>9/11</b>—Over 3,000 killed in terrorist attacks at the World Trade Center, The Pentagon, and in rural Pennsylvania.</p> <p><b>12/9</b>—Taliban regime in Afghanistan collapses.</p>	<p><b>2001</b> <b>WORLD EVENT</b></p> <p><b>3/26</b>—In Russia, Vladimir Putin is elected president.</p>	<p><b>2001</b> <b>WORLD EVENT</b></p> <p><b>3/15</b>—The long-simmering resentment of Macedonia's ethnic Albanians erupts into violence.</p> <p><b>6/29</b>—Former Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic is delivered to UN tribunal in The Hague.</p> <p><b>9/11</b>—Over 3,000 killed in terrorist attacks at the World Trade Center, The Pentagon, and in rural Pennsylvania.</p> <p><b>12/9</b>—Taliban regime in Afghanistan collapses.</p>
<p><b>NED EVENT</b></p> <p>Both before and after the 11-week NATO bombing campaign in <b>Serbia</b>, NED provides <b>emergency assistance to the democratic opposition</b> through all four of its core institutes, as well as through direct grants supporting independent media, campaigns for civic change and support for grass-roots NGOs throughout Serbia.</p>	<p><b>NED EVENT</b></p> <p>Thirteen NED-funded groups in <b>Nigeria</b> join together with 40 other NGOs to form the <b>Transition Monitoring Group (TMG)</b> in 1998. TMG mobilizes 11,000 observers for Nigeria's historic February 27 presidential election. On May 25, NED presents its annual Democracy Award to Clement Nwankwo, a leader of the TMG and a long-time NED grantee.</p> 	<p><b>NED EVENT</b></p> <p>The Second Assembly of the <b>World Movement for Democracy</b> convenes more than 400 democracy activists, practitioners and scholars in São Paulo, Brazil.</p> <p>The <b>Otpor</b> Student Movement promotes civic activism at the local level in <b>Serbia</b> and mounts a hugely successful Get-Out-the-Vote campaign. September 2000 election posters and buttons produced by Otpor proclaim "He is finished!" and "it's time"</p>	<p><b>NED EVENT</b></p> <p><b>Mexico</b> is NED's top priority for Latin America. With both direct assistance and grants to <b>NDI, IRI</b> and <b>ACILS</b>, the Endowment provides critical assistance to civic groups, including <b>Civic Alliance</b>, to help ensure a free and fair process in the landmark presidential election that brings an end to 71 years of single-party rule.</p> 
<p><b>NED EVENT</b></p> <p>NED launches <b>Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellowship Program</b>.</p>	<p><b>NED EVENT</b></p> <p>The <b>Center for Documentation and Advocacy</b> publishes and distributes the <b>South Sudan Post</b> throughout Sudan and abroad.</p> 	<p><b>NED EVENT</b></p> <p><b>The Badliys Cultural Center</b> trains teachers in 96 primary schools and 200 Imams in local mosques on human rights in <b>Iraq</b>.</p> <p><b>IRI</b> and <b>NDI</b> carry out groundbreaking civic education programs in <b>East Timor</b> in preparation for the constitution making process and formal independence in 2002.</p>	

In November 2003, the National Endowment for Democracy will be celebrating its 20th anniversary.

This will be an opportunity to tell you how significant NED's activities are in the promotion of democracy across the world.

The men and women who work for this foundation work untiringly in the support of fundamental values that are the basis of our societies and that have never been more topical than at present.

It seems appropriate to congratulate the entire team at NED, notably Carl Gershman, for the tremendous work they have continually accomplished over the last twenty years, for liberty and human rights, even when sometimes conditions were difficult.

This is also a time for the Robert Schuman Foundation to emphasise how vital the close links are that were established between the two institutions several years ago.

For the last few years we have jointly taken part in some very important events with one goal in mind: to work

towards the essential strengthening of a network of institutions and foundations that strive to face the challenges made on democracy at this the start of the 21st century.

Our task is a common one, we share the same values across the Atlantic Ocean and yet in spite of the immense progress that we might have achieved this task is still far from being completed.

Our effort will never be sufficient to vanquish the last pockets of resistance. NED will be one of our main spearheads.

The Robert Schuman Foundation would like to reiterate the esteem and admiration it holds for this foundation and simultaneously say how much we enjoy working together with NED.

Above all we would like to wish a very HAPPY BIRTHDAY!

**Jean-Dominique GIULIANI**, Chairman  
*Robert Schuman Foundation*  
Paris, France

Congratulations to the National Endowment for Democracy on reaching your twentieth anniversary. We are happy to join with many others in celebrating this important landmark, and we congratulate you on it.

In its still short life the NED has accumulated an impressive catalogue of support for those working for democracy in many countries in the world. You have been at the leading edge of the movement we share: you have not only developed an impressive range of services but provided a model on which others have been pleased to draw in seeking to advance the cause of democracy and freedom. We have reason to be grateful for your work, just as do those many agencies and peoples you have supported.

We look forward to continuing to work in close association with you as your third, our second, decade unfolds. My colleagues join me in sending you our very best wishes.

Yours sincerely

**David French**, Chief Executive  
*Westminster Foundation for Democracy*  
London, England

In 1984 the Center for International Private Enterprise and the National Endowment for Democracy offered early support to pioneering reforms in Peru. Recognizing the link between participation in economic society and democratic society, NED and CIPE buttressed the Institute for Liberty and Democracy's efforts to give the poor legal title to their property and the tools to release the wealth locked up in those assets. Economic reform begat political stability as the hope of a better future presented the people of Peru with a credible alternative to the Communist insurgency and undercut popular support of the Shining Path terrorist movement. CIPE and NED have stood with us for 20 years, and their continuing support today allows us to share our successes with other countries in transition.

**Hernando de Soto**, President  
*Institute for Liberty and Democracy*  
Lima, Peru



**2001**  
WORLD EVENT

**NED EVENT** **Za Prava Cheloveka** organizes the first All Russian Emergency Congress in Defense of Human Rights in **Russia**.

In the **Congo (DRC)**, NED supports **28 independent groups** working to promote human rights, independent media, rule of law and to impact the Inter-Congolese dialogue. The seminar pictured here, organized by **Voice of the Voiceless**, trains local human rights activists.

**2002**  
WORLD EVENT

**NED EVENT**

The quarterly journal of the **Network for North Korean Democracy and Human Rights**, *Keys*, includes commentaries, interviews, articles written by North Korean experts, testimony from North Korean defectors. Published in three languages, the journal addresses democratization and human rights issues in **North Korea**.

**3/31**—Ukraine holds elections for the Parliament.  
**5/20**—East Timor becomes an independent nation.  
**12/30**—Peaceful parliamentary and presidential elections in Kenya bring an end to the 30 year rule of Kenyan dictator Daniel Arap Moi and his KANU party. Mwai Kibaki is new president.



**NDI** carries out the third phase of an ambitious 18-month program for political parties in Kenya, emphasizing coalition building and deterrence of political violence in preparation for the historic presidential and parliamentary elections in **Kenya**.

In the prelude to **Slovakia's** pivotal parliamentary elections, **MEMO98** and the **Pontis Foundation** conducted powerful get-out-the-vote campaigns, including creative and humorous television and radio spots, billboards, posters, postcards, and T-shirts, including this postcard which says "Save your voice for September."

**2003**  
WORLD EVENT

**NED EVENT**

**1/9**—North Korea withdraws from the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty.  
**3/20**—Troops from United States and 3 other countries invade Iraq.  
**4/9**—US forces seize control of Baghdad, ending the regime of Saddam Hussein.  
**8/2**—The United Nations authorizes an international peacekeeping force for Liberia.

**CIPE** helps to establish and strengthen business associations inside **Afghanistan** to ensure a more sustained and diversified effort to build democracy and market economy.

**ACILS** supports the **Hong Kong Confederation of Trade Unions'** efforts to protest and draw international attention to the dangers of imminent anti-subversion legislation. Widespread protests in Hong Kong lead the Chinese to withdraw the legislation.



Two NDI staff members survey a mass grave in Iraq.



**NED** along with **NDI**, **IRI** and **CIPE** begins to give assistance to a wide range of emerging NGOs in liberated **Iraq**. Longtime NED grantees in Northern Iraq expand their activities to the south.

# Directors of the National Endowment for Democracy

## Current board members

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Madeline K. Albright	1991–1993	Lane Kirkland	1983–1992
Polly Baca	1983–1991	Henry A. Kissinger	1985–1989
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John Brademas	1992–2001	Winston Lord	1990–1993
William E. Brock	1983–1991	Richard G. Lugar	1992–2001
Zbigniew Brzezinski	1988–1997	Connie Mack	1997–2001
Henry Cisneros	1990–1993	Charles T. Manatt	1984–1993
Lynn Cutler	1993–1997	Louis Martin	1983–1988
LeGree Daniels	1983–1991	David McIntosh	1995–1998
Paula J. Dobriansky	1993–2001	Walter F. Mondale	1985–1987
Edward Donley	1991–2000	Edmund Muskie	1987–1988
Jennifer Dunn	1998–2000	Mark Palmer	1990–1999
Frank Fahrenkopf	1983–1992	Donald M. Payne	1994–2003
Dante Fascell	1983–1990	Susan Kaufman Purcell	1990–1999
M. Steve Forbes	1994–1999	John Richardson	1983–1992
David Gergen	1992–1993	Olin Robison	1984–1992
Orrin G. Hatch	1984–1991	Albert Shanker	1984–1991
Antonia Hernandez	1993–2002	Sally Shelton–Colby	1993–1992
James Holderman	1990–1991	Charles H. Smith	1983–1991
Steny Hoyer	1993–1994	Stephen Solarz	1992–2001
John Hurford	1997–2000	Julia Taft	1994–1998
Fred Ikle	1992–2001	Jay Van Andel	1984–1993
James A. Joseph	1991–1996	Eddie N. Williams	1988–1995
John T. Joyce	1991–1997	Paul Wolfowitz	1994–2001
Thomas Kean	1991–2000	Ken Young	1993–1996



**National Endowment  
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*Supporting freedom around the world*

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