



10
years
of the
Reagan-Fascell
Democracy
Fellows
Program

“For the sake of peace and justice, let us move toward a world in which all people are at last free to determine their own destiny.”

—*Ronald Reagan*

“Like so many other things, democracy has to be nurtured. It has to be cultivated and people have to be given the opportunity to see that it is in their best interests. And so we have come to the conclusion after a long struggle that there must be ways other than with the use of military power, economic tools, and other diplomatic resources, to encourage people to help themselves to the fruits of freedom. This is what the National Endowment for Democracy is all about.”

—*Dante Fascell*



1025 F Street, N.W., Suite 800, Washington, D.C. 20004
202.378.9700 | www.NED.org | fellowships@NED.org
www.ned.org/fellowships/reagan-fascell-democracy-fellows-program

REAGAN-FASCELL

Democracy Fellows Program

10 years



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Learning, networking, and international solidarity



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Building new organizations, publishing books, pushing for change



Regional Impact | 22

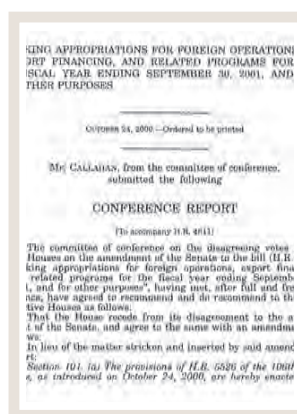
Strengthening democratic institutions and values worldwide



Democrats at Risk | 20

2003	2004
FALL 2003	FALL 2004
Shahin Abbasov (Azerbaijan)	Ilyas Akhmadov (Russia)
Zainab Bangura (Sierra Leone)	Dragan Djuric (Montenegro)
Anahit Bayandur (Armenia)	Abiodun Kolawole (Nigeria)
Anne Mugisha (Uganda)	Chingiz Mammadov (Azerbaijan)
Albino Okeny (Sudan)	James Ngombe (Malawi)
Tomás Pojar (Czech Republic)	Akintola Olaniyani (Nigeria)
Aqil Shah (Pakistan)	Yulia Savchenko (Kyrgyzstan)
Vladimir Tismancanu (U.S.)	Vitali Silitski (Belarus)
Francisco Villagrán (Guatemala)	

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The Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program is an international exchange visitor program based at the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), a private, nonprofit foundation dedicated to the growth and strengthening of democratic institutions around the world. Each year, NED makes more than 1,000 grants to support the projects of non-governmental groups abroad who are working for democratic goals in more than 90 countries.

ON THE COVER, clockwise from left: Artist's rendering of Anne-Stella Fomumbod (Cameroon, Spring 2011); Ronald Reagan and Dante Fascell; Spring 2009 Fellows' visit to U.S. Capitol; Fall 2010 Fellows Arturo Alvarado, Roukaya Kasenally, and Levan Berdzenishvili; the NED Library.

10 years

Tributes

“As a longtime advocate for international democracy assistance with faith in the power of international exchange, I am impressed with the substantial contribution of the Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program over the past ten years. **This Congressionally-funded program represents a tangible way in which the American people show their support for human rights and democracy—person by person—across the spectrum of democratic development, from fledgling democracies to some of the world’s most repressive political environments.**



—Richard Gephardt, *Chairman, Board of Directors, National Endowment for Democracy*



“As chairman of the Board of the National Endowment for Democracy in 2001, it was my privilege to witness the start-up of the Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program.

What began with four fellows arriving just a few weeks after September 11, 2001, has now developed into a strong alumni network of more than 180 democracy activists, journalists, and scholars from over 80 countries around the globe.

The Fellows Program contributes greatly to all aspects of the Endowment’s work, enhancing both its networking and grantmaking capability.”

—Vin Weber, *past Chairman, Board of Directors, NED*

“The Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program is a tribute to the leadership of two great Americans whose combined vision led to the creation of the National Endowment for Democracy: former **President Ronald Reagan**, whose famous Westminster Address in 1982 launched the field of democracy assistance internationally; and the late Democratic **Congressman Dante Fascell**, whose steadfast commitment to the cause of democracy was exemplified by his leading role in the founding of the Endowment.



I consider the program to be at the heart of what NED does best: supporting courageous individuals building democracy on their own terms in their home countries.”

—Carl Gershman, *President, NED*



I have known the Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program from its inception in 2001, when I was asked to chair the Board's new Fellowship Committee, which I did very gladly.

I must say this is one of the most successful programs at the NED. It brings together both scholars and activists and has helped to create a worldwide network of individuals who are in the business of building democratic institutions.

The Reagan-Fascell program enables these individuals to learn from one another, as their shared experiences are often more relevant than those of people living in secure democracies. One of the great things about the program is that after people come to Washington, they stay in touch, and they continue to share experiences down the road. I congratulate everyone who has been associated with the program and look forward to continuing my involvement in the years ahead.

—Francis Fukuyama
Member, NED Board of Directors



It has been a great joy for me to oversee the establishment of the Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program and to watch it grow over the past ten years. I have come to know an extraordinary group of men and women, both scholars and activists, from every corner of the world. Almost all of them have been engaged on the front lines of democratic activism or scholarship, and my colleagues and I have learned an enormous amount from them. But we have also gained something more—direct and personal links with the struggles to achieve and maintain democracy taking place in so many countries across the globe. Reagan-Fascell alumni testify to the benefits that they derive from their residence at NED, but I often think that the Washington community gains even more than the fellows do.

—Marc F. Plattner
Vice-President for Research and Studies, NED



I am proud to have helped to launch the Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program with my NED colleagues. We felt from the beginning, and we still feel, that having the Fellows, with their variety of experiences, intellects, and approaches to democratic development, in residence at the NED—interacting with the superb Grantmaking Program staff, the International Forum for Democratic Studies, and the *Journal of Democracy*—is a wonderfully enriching experience for the entire NED family. The NED is a unique institution in Washington, not only for its longstanding work as a grassroots democracy assistance organization, but also for engaging the world of ideas and research. The work of the International Forum toward uniting theory and practice has been advanced significantly by the Reagan-Fascell Fellows over the past ten years.

—Larry Diamond
Senior Advisor, International Forum for Democratic Studies



L-r: Ibrahim Lipumba (Tanzania), Birtukan Midekssa (Ethiopia), Francis Fukuyama, Marc F. Plattner, Timur Kurbanov (Russia), Aziz Royesh (Afghanistan), and Normando Hernández (Cuba).

NED INTERNATIONAL FORUM FOR DEMOCRATIC STUDIES

10
years

A Decade of Democracy Exchange

Funded by the U.S. Congress and named in honor of NED's principal founders, former president Ronald Reagan and the late congressman Dante Fascell, the **Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program** was established in 2001 to enable democracy practitioners and scholars from around the world to deepen their understanding of democracy and enhance their ability to promote democratic change. This international exchange program hosts democracy activists, human rights advocates, journalists, and others who work on the frontlines of building democracy, bringing fresh insights and perspectives to the Endowment and to Washington, D.C.

The Reagan-Fascell program makes its home at the **International Forum for Democratic Studies**, the research and publications arm of the National Endowment for Democracy. Established in 1994, the Forum has become the preeminent center for analysis of the theory and practice of democratic developments worldwide, publishing the *Journal of Democracy* and providing a rich intellectual setting for international educational exchange.

The Reagan-Fascell program provides **activists and practitioners** with a needed break from their daily routine so that they may reflect on their work, share ideas with counterparts, and reevaluate techniques for building democracy in their country of origin. The program also welcomes **journalists** and **scholars** from emerging and aspiring democracies, and a small number of accomplished scholars from the United States and other established

democracies contribute to the collegial mix. In recent years, the program has developed specialized resources in support of “emergency” candidates and **democrats at risk**, including human rights defenders in need of temporary safe haven and exiled advocates seeking to continue their democracy work while rebuilding their lives in the United States.

The program offers **two five-month sessions per year**: Fall (October 1–February 28) and Spring (March 1–July 31). Awardees are selected through a rigorous evaluation process conducted via an **annual online competition**, in which hundreds of applications are assessed by expert external and internal reviewers, culminating in the selection of finalists by the Endowment's Board of Directors. Projects may address the economic, political, social, legal, or cultural aspects of democratic development and include a range of methodologies and approaches.

Fellows receive vital research support through NED's **Democracy Resource Center and Library**, a



Fellows and staff enjoy a visit to the U.S. Capitol in Washington, D.C. L-r: Antonio Maldonado (Peru), Ronojoy Sen (India), Jessica Ludwig, Siti Nurjanah (Indonesia), Lila Iril (Algeria), Niemat Kuku (Sudan), Zerxes Spencer, Enrique Peruzzotti (Argentina), Anyakwee Nsirimovu (Nigeria), and Ekaterina Osipova (Russia).



leader in the field of knowledge management concerning democracy issues worldwide, and through the assistance of **research associates** who provide research and editorial support for fellowship projects, facilitate outreach, and aid in the preparation of fellows' public presentations.

The Reagan-Fascell program offers a “**democracy curriculum**” to create a stimulating environment that fosters learning and professional growth. Through its calendar of seminars, roundtables, capacity building workshops, field trips, and other activities, the program seeks to: (a)

build knowledge about the work of the Endowment family; (b) provide education concerning the theory and practice of democracy; (c) support outreach for intellectual exchange with the nongovernmental, academic, media, and policy communities; and (d) promote a sense of collegiality within the fellowship cohort. The program also encourages fellows to partake in the rich cultural life of the nation's capital.

As the following pages will show, fellows reflect on their experiences; pursue learning and capacity building; present and publish their ideas; and develop solidarity and

partnerships within a global network of democracy practitioners and scholars. The **impact** of the program may be understood through the testimonials and accomplishments of the alumni showcased in this *Tribute*, including an impressive range of presentations and products, a remarkable number of initiatives and institutions set up after the fellowship period, and a substantial list of books in print. More than anything, our alumni testify to a **growing international community of democracy advocates** whose courage, commitment, and contributions deserve our continued support.

Respite, Reflection...

A Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellowship offers fellows an important opportunity to step back from the field, reflect upon their work, and explore new ideas in a comparative context. For practitioners, scholars, and journalists engaged in a daily struggle for democracy and human rights, the fellowship offers a welcome respite. This period of reflection facilitates the reframing of issues, the exploration of new concepts and techniques, the formulation of strategic plans, and the cultivation of broader perspectives.



“In our countries, we don’t have time to stand back. We always have to respond—there is no time for strategy or a long-term perspective. The Reagan-Fascell program provides added value for our

long-term commitment to our work.”

—**Gilbert Maoundonodji**
Democracy Activist, Chad

“The Reagan-Fascell fellowship gave me a ‘safe space’ in which to gain a deeper understanding of the layers of interests involved in formulating

policies. I used to work quite narrowly on the topic of children’s rights, but the fellowship gave me an opportunity to see our work in a broader context and to plan advocacy strategies, both back home in Kyrgyzstan and within international organizations.”

—**Masha Lisitsyna**
Youth Activist, Kyrgyzstan



“It is important that activists and people working in the field of conflict management and democracy take time out to reflect and share their learning with different institutions and become submerged in reading, research, writing and debates on global issues.”

—**Clayton Lillienfeldt**
HIV Activist, South Africa

“When I was offered the fellowship, it was a gift from heaven, a place to be in Washington, D.C., and to take time for my research.”

—**Safwat Sidqi**
Elections Expert, Iraq

“This program gave me the opportunity to be away from the field for awhile, to regroup, and to think through the issues I deal with on a daily basis. It also allowed me to organize myself for the return back home. I now have a platform to work on and am better prepared to challenge the status quo.”

—**Rafael Marques de Morais**
Journalist and Human Rights Activist, Angola

“This has been one of the most inspiring experiences in my professional life, and it has been truly productive.”

—**Arturo Alvarado**
Scholar, Mexico



(L-r): Luis Ugalde (Mexico) and H. Kwasi Prempeh (Ghana) reflect on their experiences at NED during their farewell reception.

&RESOLVE

This period of exploration often leads fellows to undertake a larger reassessment of their goals and long-term strategies. Whether returning home or continuing their work in exile, they may implement best practices and new action plans. In most cases, fellows make a **deeper commitment to democracy** as a result of their participation in the program, moving forward with a fresh outlook, clearer vision, and strengthened resolve.



"My stay at NED has enriched me in many ways. The resources I have accessed, the assistance I enjoyed, and the collegial environment, which favors the exchange of ideas, enabled me to reflect on

the basic challenges and constraints that have halted democratization and the emergence of a multi-party system in Ethiopia. **I have been able to carry out a significant reassessment while I am away from the day-to-day demands of political leadership.**"

—**Birtukan Midekssa**

Political Party Leader, Ethiopia

"The fellowship increased my knowledge about transitions to democracy in general and developments in Central European countries in particular. After having been a Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow, **I now feel ready to help transform my country from a semi-democracy to a genuine one.**"

—**Mustafa Erdoğan**

Scholar, Turkey

"The main finding of my NED research was that massive economic reform can counter anti-democratic forces. **This cemented my determination to keep pushing for reforms despite stiff resistance.**"

—**Prem Khanal**

Journalist, Nepal



"The fellowship created a community of ideas that helped me to **crystallize a number of key projects and to push for change.** Things are never going to be the same, if I may say."

—**Roukaya Kasenally**

Scholar/Activist, Mauritius

"WE RETURN TO OUR HOME COUNTRIES READY TO MAKE A DIFFERENCE BECAUSE WE BETTER UNDERSTAND OUR VALUE AND OUR MISSION."

—**Tolekan Ismailova, Civil Society Activist, Kyrgyzstan**

Learning & Capacity Building

While in residence, fellows undertake comparative research, explore broader democratic themes, and examine aspects of democratic transition and consolidation. NED's **Democracy Resource Center and Library** collects and disseminates publications produced by a range of groups, organizations, and individuals working to strengthen democracy around the world. The program's "**democracy curriculum**" brings fellows into contact with U.S. experts engaged in democracy research and assistance. The dialogue that ensues deepens fellows' knowledge and expands their capacity for democracy-related work.

"The fellowship gave me a powerful impetus to keep working to transform universities in post-communist countries. NED offered me the best conditions for research work imaginable. I learned much about democratic theory and practice I never would have otherwise, and I began viewing access to education as an inalienable human right. I met many respectable practitioners, myself being merely a theoretician. It was a wonderful intellectual experience."

—**Marek Kwiek**
Scholar, Poland



Carl Gershman (I) and Wan Yanhai (China)



L-r: Anton Burkov (Russia), Arturo Alvarado (Mexico), Roukaya Kasenally (Mauritius), and Levan Berdzenishvili (Georgia).

"My time at NED was crucial in finding a good balance between the policy and academic perspectives in my work."

—**Steven Finkel**
Scholar, United States

"The program has a unique, multi-disciplinary approach, with equal emphasis on the value of practitioners and academics. . . . While I continue to underscore the centrality of human rights in building democratic institutions, I have now moved from the NGO sector to applying human rights principles in private sector enterprises. This personal shift is in part owed to the power of ideas that emerged at NED."

—**Alice Verghese**
Business Consultant, Malaysia

Democracy Curriculum

The Reagan-Fascell program's professional outreach is anchored in its "democracy curriculum," supervised by Melissa Aten-Becnel. Activities include:

- Orientation to the NED and its Core Institutes
- Scholarly and Policy Seminars
- Site Visits and "Democracy Field Trips"
- Media Outreach
- Awards and Academic Lectures
- Capacity-Building Workshops

DEMOCRACY RESOURCE CENTER

NED's Democracy Resource Center (DRC) is Washington's leading center for research on democracy, and includes extensive electronic resources and a specialized library housing some 20,000 works, including books, journals, grantee reports, and other publications on democracy. The DRC's expert staff members assist fellows with their research interests and connect our fellows to other local libraries and external resources as needed.



"The fellowship helped me to learn about civil society's role in the functioning of democratic institutions. When I returned to Azerbaijan, I continued my journalist career but also began to work actively in civil society—first as the deputy chief of party of IREX/USAID Media Support Project and then as project manager of the regional media advancement project of the European Union."

—**Shahin Abbasov**
Journalist, Azerbaijan

"What I believed was a research opportunity also became something very practical. With the support of NED staff, we made changes in access to freedom of information through the Organization of American States that will be useful for organizations working in Latin America."

—**Carlos Ponce**
Activist and Academic, Venezuela

"The fellowship was one of the most fruitful periods of my professional life and career. I received the opportunity to

observe Washington in her public life and visit important administrative institutions...I am still benefitting from this unique opportunity."

—**Grigorij Mesežnikov**
Political Analyst, Slovakia

"Within these five months, I have been exposed to all levels of democratic practice. My perspective on life has changed."

—**Anne-Stella Fomumbod**
Women's Rights Activist, Cameroon

"The Reagan-Fascell fellowship was the first time I was able to access information without restrictions."

—**Rafiah Al-Talei**
Activist, Oman



The Democracy Resource Center is maintained by (l - r) Tim Myers, Anna Yevropina, Allen Overland (Director), Morgan Grimes, and Emily Vaughan. The Center is also available to the wider Washington policy community and provides a unique resource for rigorous research.

Networking, Partnerships...

Dedicated to international exchange, the Reagan-Fascell program encourages its fellows to engage with the **NED family of core institutes** and with the Washington, D.C., community and beyond. Fellows benefit from introductions to the secretariat of the **World Movement for Democracy**, a global network of democrats, and the **Center for International Media Assistance**, housed at the NED. As alumni, fellows also enjoy ongoing opportunities for partnerships and exchange.



“The fellowship was a great opportunity for me to visit many prominent think tanks in Washington, D.C., including **Brookings, Carnegie, Heritage, Stimson**, and many international institutes, such as the National Democratic Institute (NDI), the International Republican Institute (IRI), and the U.S. Institute of Peace (USIP).”

—**Salah Albedry**, *Civil Society Activist, Iraq*

The Endowment's Core Institutes

The NED family includes four U.S. partner organizations that work abroad to foster the growth of political parties, electoral processes and institutions (**National Democratic Institute** and **International Republican Institute**), free markets and business organizations (**Center for International Private Enterprise**), and free trade unions (**Solidarity Center**).



L-r: B. Tsering (Tibet/India), Normando Hernández (Cuba), Sally Blair, Darko Brkan (Bosnia-Herzegovina), Malik Siraj Akbar (Pakistan), Judith February (South Africa), and Aung Moe Zaw (Burma) in front of the White House, Spring 2012.



International Solidarity



"I enjoyed working on the African Democracy Forum (ADF) to encourage support and ongoing promotion of democracy in Africa. Our ongoing liaison is making the ADF an effective network and one of the most vibrant groups in the World Movement to date. This is definitely mobilizing HIV/AIDS activists to work closely with democratic activists."

—Clayton Lillienfeldt
HIV/AIDS Activist, South Africa



The Center for International Media Assistance strengthens support for independent media worldwide. Below, Colombian fellow **Hollman Morris** is joined by Don Podesta (CIMA) and Brandon Yoder (NED).



The World Movement for Democracy is a **global network of democrats**, including activists, academics, policy makers, and funders. It supports democracy practitioners seeking to connect and share ideas within geographic and functional areas of democracy development.



The World Movement hosts **biennial assemblies** to convene these global democracy advocates. The Reagan-Fascell program has hosted alumni gatherings at four of these assemblies: Durban, South Africa (2004), Istanbul, Turkey (2006), Kyiv, Ukraine (2008), and Jakarta, Indonesia (2010).



The **World Youth Movement for Democracy (WYMD)** is a global community of youth and their allies working nonviolently for democracy. Zimbabwean activist Tapera Kapuya (Fall 2007, left) is a founding member. In collaboration with the International Forum for Democratic Studies, the WYMD recently launched the **Hurford Youth Fellows Program**, offering young activists the opportunity to spend three months at NED to develop their leadership skills.



Presentations & Products

For scholars and practitioners alike, NED's International Forum for Democratic Studies offers a vital platform to highlight specialized knowledge from the field and offer new perspectives on a range of local, regional, and international concerns.

Fellows share their insights in various ways—via roundtable discussions, working groups, and public presentations. Leading experts from Washington's nongovernmental, policy, academic, and media communities, including NED's Grantmaking Program staff, core institutes, and the Center for International Media Assistance often serve as discussants at fellows' presentations, offering comparative context.

The Reagan-Fascell program publicizes fellows' messages and recommendations via an electronic publication series and in our annual *Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Newsletters*. Fellowships may culminate in a range of written, digital, and audiovisual materials, including book manuscripts, articles, op-eds, reports, training manuals, toolkits, blogs, and videos.

“There is something special about the NED because it gives you a wide platform and the ability to be heard by relevant audiences.”

—Medha Nanivadekar
Women's Rights Activist, India

Shahin Abbasov (Azerbaijan) speaks on elections in the Caucasus, alongside Anahit Bayandur (Armenia) and Charles Fairbanks (U.S.).



A Sampling of Fellowship Products

Mahboubeh Abbasgholizadeh:

“Islamic Feminism in Iran,” Radio Zamaneh, June 2011.

Fatima Tlisova:

“Journalism and Censorship in the Caucasus: Revisiting Stories Never Told,” nine online video documentaries profiling the lives of journalists under fire in the North Caucasus, Pulitzer Center on Crisis Reporting, Washington, D.C.

Rafael Marques de Morais:

“Zero Tolerance Against (Media Investigating) Corruption,” Angola Notebook, *Global Integrity Report 2010*, May 4, 2011.

Mykola Ryabchuk:

Somehow, Anyhow: Postcommunist Transformation in Ukraine: Between Dysfunctional Democracy and Unconsolidated Authoritarianism (manuscript in Ukrainian).

Roukaya Kasenally:

“Mauritius: Paradise Reconsidered,” *Journal of Democracy*, April 2011.

H. Kwasi Prempeh:

“How (Not) to Write an African Constitution: How Patterns of Constitution-Writing in Africa Reinforce Executive Dominance,” paper presented at a 2011 conference in Pretoria, South Africa.

Anne-Stella Fomumbod:

“Promoting Gender Equality through Grassroots Democracy Education,” a grant proposal approved by the National Endowment for Democracy (2011).

Medha Nanivadekar:

“Size Does Matter: To Implement Women’s Reservation, Increase the Strength of the Lok Sabha,” an op-ed published in the *Times of India*, August 2, 2011.

Levan Berdzenishvili:

“The Colorless Revolutions,” article published in the Georgian newspaper *Droni*, February 8, 2011.

Tomáš Pojar (Czech Republic; center) speaks on aiding dissidents in closed societies, alongside discussants Christopher Sabatini and Brian Joseph (NED).



ALUMNI INITIATIVES & INSTITUTION BUILDING

While considering techniques and best practices for democratic development, fellows often devote their time in residence to exploring new frontiers in their democracy work and repositioning themselves for the future. Inspired by their NED experience, some fellows go on to **launch new initiatives and institutes** back home, expanding existing efforts and leading civil society organizations, social movements, media outlets, and political reform initiatives in new directions.

“When I returned to Nigeria, I established the **International Center for Investigative Reporting** (ICIR) in Abuja. The Center aims to promote transparency and accountability through investigative journalism in the public interest. It also provides trainings, workshops and seminars that foster a tradition of journalistic excellence in Nigeria. Everything I’m doing now I learned during the fellowship period.”

—**Dayo Aiyetan**
Journalist, Nigeria

“In January 2011, I co-founded the **Women and Youth Development Institute of Indonesia** (WYDII) to bolster the participation of women and youth in politics and increase their access to education, economic opportunities, and health care. The Institute focuses on developing the capabilities and potential of women and youth in Indonesia in order to promote a vibrant democracy. I also launched an advocacy campaign to eliminate child marriage in East Java Province.”

—**Siti Nurjanah**
Journalist/Women’s Rights Activist, Indonesia

Mr. Jami Chandio, executive director of the Center for Peace and Civil Society (CPCS) in Sindh, Pakistan, was so inspired by his fellowship experience that he returned home to begin a fellowship program of his own. In 2010, he created the **Benazir Bhutto Democracy Fellowship Program** at CPCS to encourage a deeper understanding and appreciation of democracy among young scholars and practitioners through research, writing, and networking in Pakistan (*website below*). Jami writes that the program is “based on my experiences as a Reagan-Fascell Fellow.” He also established the **Sindh Resource Center** (SRC), which provides free public access to information and organizes interactive dialogues to strengthen the public’s understanding of democratic values and principles.



“The program allowed me to become even more aware of the problem of violence and democracy in Mexico. After the fellowship, I developed a project called **Dialogues for Democracy**, which invites former democratic leaders from different parts of the world to come to Mexico and share their experiences and challenges concerning political violence in their home countries.”

—**Arturo Alvarado**

Scholar, Mexico

“Following my time at the National Endowment for Democracy, I took steps toward launching the online **African Center for Democratic Studies** with former Reagan-Fascell Fellow Migai Akech. This center may serve as a regional think tank that investigates governance and human rights issues in Africa.”

—**Emmanuel Abdulai**

Legal Activist, Sierra Leone

“The Reagan-Fascell fellowship gave me the chance to finally develop my idea of building a network of journalists in my country, taking the first steps to train journalists in the necessary skills to understand the economic, social, and political processes in Peru; to share information; and to make an impact on the policymaking community. My most noteworthy accomplishment since my fellowship was the creation of the **Provincial Network of (Peruvian) Journalists**, which empowers women through trainings and the sustainable networking of 2,500 professional journalists.”

—**Luz Maria**

Helguero (*above, center*)

Journalist, Peru



We salute the other alumni who were inspired by their Reagan-Fascell fellowships to launch new initiatives and institutes. A partial list of these initiatives includes:

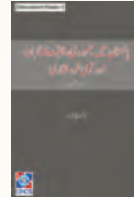
- African Institute for Security Sector Transformation (Birame Diop, Senegal)
- Baltic Center of Human Rights (Ekaterina Osipova, Russia)
- Center for Women in Governance (Miria Matembe, Uganda)
- “Emerging Leaders Group” (Mohammad Ishaq, Afghanistan)
- Enmaa Center for Research and Studies (Salah Albedry, Iraq)
- Gongadze Foundation (Myroslava Gongadze, Ukraine)
- “Journalism in the Crosshairs” (Fatima Tlisova, North Caucasus)
- Maka Angola (Rafael Marques de Morais, Angola)
- Medianalisis (Andrés Cañizález, Venezuela)
- Thinking Classroom Foundation (Thein Lwin, Burma)
- U.S.-based Gulf Forum for Citizenship (Rafiah Al-Talei, Oman)
- Zanan TV (Mahboubah Abbasgholizadeh, Iran)

Alumni Publications

The International Forum for Democratic Studies is proud to have supported the many scholars, journalists, practitioners, and activists who have gone on to publish books, articles, anthologies, reports, and blogs addressing the state of democracy in their country or region of interest. Featured here is a sampling of alumni books.



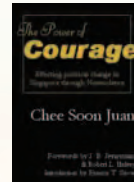
Migai Akech, *Privatization and Democracy in East Africa: The Promise of Administrative Law*, East African Educational Publishers, 2009, 198 pp.



Jami Chandio, *Crisis of Democratic Federalism and National Autonomy in Pakistan* (in Urdu), Center for Peace and Civil Society, 2010, 57 pp.



Ilyas Akhmadov, with Miriam Lansky, *The Chechen Struggle: Independence Won and Lost*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, 288 pp.



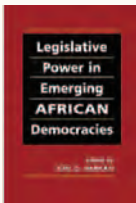
Chee Soon Juan, *The Power of Courage: Effecting Political Change in Singapore through Nonviolence*, Singapore Democrats, 2005, 135 pp.



Dany Ayida, *Contes du Pays de mes Aïeux (Tales of My Ancestral Lands)*, Komla Dany Ayida, 2010, 75 pp.



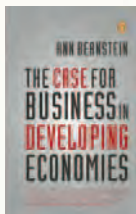
Suvash Darnal, *A Land of Our Own: A Conversation with Dalit Members of Constituent Assembly*, Samata Foundation, 2009, 200 pp.



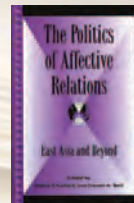
Joel D. Barkan, ed., *Legislative Power in Emerging African Democracies*, Lynne Rienner, 2009, 277 pp.



Thomas Gallagher, *The Illusion of Freedom: Scotland Under Nationalism*, Columbia University Press, 2011, 288 pp.



Ann Bernstein, *The Case for Business in Developing Economies*, Penguin, 2010, 412 pp. Winner of the 2012 Sir Antony Fisher International Memorial Award.



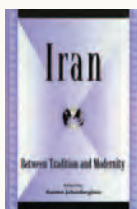
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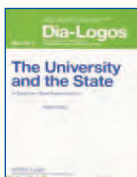
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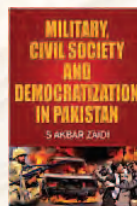
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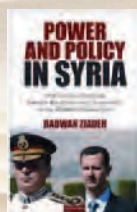
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A GLOBAL COMMUNITY

ALUMNI AROUND THE WORLD

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1. Afghanistan
 2. Algeria
 3. Angola
 4. Argentina
 5. Armenia
 6. Australia
 7. Azerbaijan
 8. Belarus
 9. Bosnia-Herzegovina
 10. Bulgaria
 11. Burma
 12. Cameroon
 13. Canada
 14. Chad
 15. China
 16. Colombia
 17. Costa Rica
 18. Croatia
 19. Cuba
 20. Czech Republic
 21. Ecuador
 22. Egypt
 23. Ethiopia
 24. Gambia
 25. Georgia
 26. Ghana
 27. Guatemala
 28. Guinea
 29. India
 30. Indonesia
 31. Iran
 32. Iraq
 33. Japan
 34. Kazakhstan
 35. Kenya
 36. Kyrgyzstan
 37. Liberia
 38. Malawi
 39. Malaysia
 40. Mauritius
 41. Mexico
 42. Moldova
 43. Mongolia
 44. Montenegro
 45. Morocco
 46. Nepal
 47. Nicaragua
 48. Nigeria
 49. Oman
 50. Pakistan
 51. Paraguay
 52. Peru
 53. Philippines
 54. Poland
 55. Romania
 56. Russia
 57. Senegal
 58. Sierra Leone
 59. Singapore
 60. Slovakia
 61. Sri Lanka
 62. South Africa

OF DEMOCRACY ADVOCATES



- | | | | |
|-----|----------------|-----|----------------------|
| 63. | South Korea | 76. | Venezuela |
| 64. | Sudan | 77. | Vietnam |
| 65. | Syria | 78. | West Bank/Gaza Strip |
| 66. | Tajikistan | 79. | Yemen |
| 67. | Tanzania | 80. | Zambia |
| 68. | Togo | 81. | Zimbabwe |
| 69. | Turkey | | |
| 70. | Turkmenistan | | |
| 71. | Uganda | | |
| 72. | Ukraine | | |
| 73. | United Kingdom | | |
| 74. | United States | | |
| 75. | Uzbekistan | | |

10
years

DEMOCRATS AT RISK

The Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program welcomes journalists, practitioners, and scholars facing heightened risk of political persecution in their home countries. While the majority of our fellows deal with extraordinary challenges on a daily basis, a substantial number face acute personal danger that puts them in need of temporary safe haven or longer-term adjustments for their security.

The program provides “democrats at risk” with a restorative environment that encourages continued growth and capacity-building. Working closely with Judith Welling and in consultation with Zerxes Spencer, these fellows benefit from specialized support, including guidance on visa and immigration matters; access to social services and counseling; English language and other skill-building courses; and professional development. Unlike others who may return directly home, many “democrats at risk” need assistance in identifying new leadership opportunities that capitalize upon their exceptional experience and expertise. In return, they edu-

cate counterparts in Washington, D.C., about the complex political and personal challenges they face in their home countries. In addition to the annual competition, the program reviews referred “emergency” applications on an ongoing basis. The program has developed close ties with other support organizations, such as Scholars at Risk and Scholar Rescue Fund, and is building a database of resources for democrats at risk.



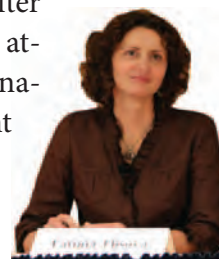
Myroslava Gongadze
Journalist, Ukraine

Myroslava Gongadze (Fall 2001) was forced into exile after the assassination of her journalist husband, Georhiy Gongadze, in 2000. During her fellowship, she advocated for an international investigation into her husband’s murder and subsequently founded the Gongadze Foundation to promote press freedom and the

safety of journalists and activists in Ukraine. Currently a TV anchor with the Voice of America’s Ukraine Service, Myroslava was recently named one of the “top 100 most influential women in Ukraine” by *Focus* magazine.

Fatima Tlisova
Journalist, North Caucasus

Ms. Fatima Tlisova (Spring 2010) is an award-winning investigative journalist who has repeatedly risked her life to shed light on human rights abuses in the North Caucasus region. She came to the United States after having survived attempted assassinations on account of her work. Her fellowship project, “Untold Stories of Journalists in the North Caucasus,” focused on the stories of exiled and assassinated journalists. While at NED, Fatima was offered a position with Voice of America where she now leads the multimedia project, “Journalism in the



Crosshairs,” a platform for Eurasian reporters who are victims of government censorship and persecution.

Birtukan Midekssa

Political Party Leader, Ethiopia

A former federal judge and first woman leader of a political party in Ethiopia, Ms. Birtukan Midekssa (Fall 2011) was sentenced to life in prison in 2005. After 18 months, she was pardoned following a series of high-level negotiations, but in 2008 she was rearrested and remained in prison for almost two more years. At NED she explored future options and will be a 2012–2013 Scholar at Risk fellow at Harvard University.

“I want to thank NED for every brightening smile. You might consider a smile as insignificant, but your friend Birtukan has seen holidays passing when there was no one to smile for her behind prison bars.”

—Birtukan Midekssa



The New York Times

AIDS Activist Leaves China for U.S., Citing Pressure

BEIJING — The founder of a prominent AIDS activist group in Beijing has left China for the United States with his family because of increasing pressure from the government, he and his supporters said Monday.



The activist, Wan Yanhai, his wife and their 4-year-old daughter spent the weekend at the home of a friend in Philadelphia after flying from Hong Kong on Thursday.

In recent months, the group that Mr. Wan led, the *Acting Institute*, had come under increasing scrutiny from tax officials and even the fire department, he said.

“The Chinese government made it impossible for Wan Yanhai to remain in China,” said Kate Krass, the friend in Philadelphia and the director of the *AIDS Policy Project*, which advocates for more research into a cure for AIDS.

Wan Yanhai

Activist, China

One of China’s foremost AIDS activists, LGBT rights advocates, and signatory of Charter ’08 and the Yogyakarta Principles, Wan Yanhai (Fall 2010) came to NED after being forced into temporary exile. The fellowship provided him with the opportunity to constructively regroup, consult with counterparts, and initiate a structured study on political activism in China. Yanhai continues his work on health and human rights issues as a visiting researcher at the Center for Chinese Research at the University of British Columbia.

“Since coming to NED, I have been in better health, with less stress. I have been excited by the exposure to new ideas. My fellowship research has helped me to better understand the Chinese security system...how it harms the people and the government itself.”

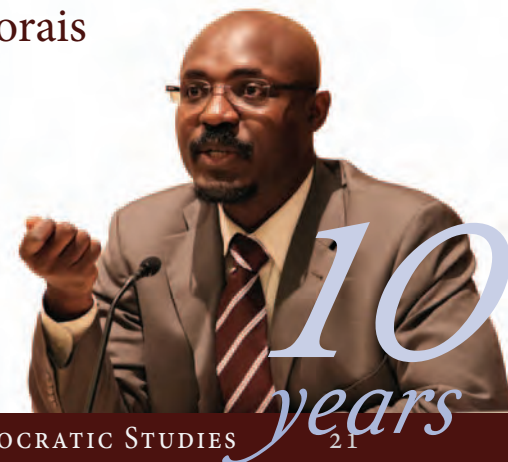
—Wan Yanhai

Rafael Marques de Morais ***Journalist, Angola***

Mr. Rafael Marques de Morais (Spring 2011) exposes corruption and rights abuses in Angola’s resource industries. Founder and director of Maka Angola, an anti-corruption watchdog that promotes rule of law and press freedom, Rafael has faced imprisonment due to his criticism of Angola’s political leadership. During his fellowship, he examined the impact of corruption on the democratization process in Angola. In 2011, he published *Blood Diamond: Corruption and Torture in Angola*, which documents abuses of power in the diamond mining industry. Rafael returned to Angola where he continues his efforts to expose corruption.

“I received the fellowship when I was on the brink of not being able to do my work...”

—Rafael Marques de Morais



Highlights Africa

CAMEROON



Ms. **Anne-Stella Fomumbod** (Spring 2011) is founder of Inter-Faith Vision Foundation-Cameroon, an NGO based in Cameroon's Northwest region that promotes human rights and democracy at the grassroots level. During her fellow-

ship, Stella explored best practices for enhancing women's political engagement and developed her skills in project planning and implementation. **This knowledge inspired her to conceptualize a center on community education for democracy and development, focusing on equal gender participation and democratic reforms in Cameroon.**

"This fellowship is one of the most enriching experiences I have had. It has greatly expanded my perspective on equal gender participation in politics. Thanks to the entire NED family for everything. GOD BLESS THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY!"

—Anne-Stella Fomumbod

SENEGAL

Senegalese Air Force pilot **Colonel Birame Diop** (Fall 2008) is one of Africa's foremost experts on civil-military relations and gender mainstreaming in the security sector. **During his fellowship, he developed partnerships with organizations promoting human security, which allowed him to create the African Institute for Security Sector Transformation (AISST).** AISST works with Senegalese authorities, civil society, international organizations, and the U.S. Department of Defense's Africa Center for Strategic Studies to improve the functioning of the African security sector. AISST has sponsored a program to integrate women into the Senegalese armed forces and train the security sector on U.N. Resolution 1325 concerning violence against women in conflict zones.

Dr. Penda Mbow (Fall 2005, *below left*) is a professor of history at Cheikh Anta Diop University in Dakar. During her fellowship, she observed how U.S. scholars and activists engage politicians to influence policy. Penda utilized this knowledge to strengthen the activities of the Citizen's Movement of Senegal, an advocacy group that promotes civic participation among women and youth. In 2011, she was awarded the John Paul II Peace Prize for her tireless efforts in fostering inter-religious dialogue.

"My commitment to democracy has deepened since my return to Senegal...I can say that my stay at NED has given me more self-esteem about my role, place, and need for freedom."

—Penda Mbow



L-r: Penda Mbow (Senegal), Sally Blair, and former U.S. ambassador to Senegal George Moose.

“Dear Friends, I have had a hectic time traveling all over Africa talking about women’s participation in politics, and so I have been using the experience gained at NED very profitably.”

—Miria Matembe

SIERRA LEONE

Ms. Zainab Bangura (Fall 2003, *below right*) is Sierra Leone’s current Minister of Health and Sanitation and former Minister of Foreign Affairs. During her fellowship, she explored post-conflict reconstruction of democratic institutions. Using Sierra Leone as a case study, **she examined how to reestablish stable democratic order in the wake of partial or complete state collapse.** In 2007, Zainab was named foreign minister largely due to her strong record fighting corruption and promoting government transparency. She has been honored with numerous awards, including NED’s Democracy Award, for her promotion of democracy and human rights in Africa.

UGANDA

Dr. Miria Matembe (Spring 2006) is a renowned women’s rights activist whose advocacy as a parliamentarian and civil society leader has helped bring gender equality to the forefront of Ugandan politics. During her fellowship, Miria explored opportunities to promote women’s political participation. **Upon her return, she established the Center for Women in Governance (CEWIGO), which supports Ugandan women in developing an effective political platform and running for office.**

Ms. Anne Mugisha (Fall 2003) is a lawyer, political activist, and current Deputy Secretary of Regional and International Affairs for the Forum for Democratic Change (FDC), Uganda’s main opposition party. During her fellowship, **she assessed the role of the donor community in democratization and conflict resolution.** After a hiatus period, she returned to Uganda and ran for parliament in the 2011 elections, placing second in her district despite numerous reported election irregularities. In addition to her political work, Anne represents victims of state oppression before Ugandan courts.

SUDAN

Ms. Niemat Kuku (Spring 2009) is a women’s rights advocate and coordinator of the Research Program at the Gender Center for Research and Training in Khartoum, Sudan. **She has spearheaded several initiatives aimed at enhancing the capacities of Sudanese women and promoting gender awareness among the public.** During her fellowship, Niemat developed a framework for prioritizing gender issues in Sudanese politics.

Ms. Zainab Bangura (right) is Sierra Leone’s current Minister of Health and Sanitation and former Minister of Foreign Affairs. During her fellowship, she explored post-conflict reconstruction of democratic institutions.



Highlights

East & Southeast Asia

BURMA

Dr. Thein Lwin (Spring 2007) is a longtime educator of displaced Burmese youth on the Thai-Burma border (*pictured below*). He came to NED as director of the Teacher Training Center for Burmese Teachers based in Chiang Mai, Thailand. During his fellowship, Thein Lwin studied educational reform within the context of political transitions, focusing on the role of classroom-level instruction in facilitating democratic change.

“After completing my fellowship, I set up the Thinking Classroom Foundation to work towards education for democracy. The Foundation provides teacher training to encourage critical thinking and democratic practice within the Burmese community in Thailand. We also set up a learning center for Burmese migrants working in Thailand and critical thinking workshops for young

people working in civil society and political organizations.”

—Dr. Thein Lwin



Dr. Myint Oo (Fall 2009) is a public health practitioner who has spearheaded a country-wide campaign to implement medical ethics in Burma. During his fellowship, Myint Oo investigated the implications of governance on public health. He also *initiated relationships with international NGOs supporting community-based projects*, which he has used to provide access to medical care among Burma’s marginalized populations.

CHINA

A leading authority on the study of “deliberative democracy” in China, **Dr. Baogang He** (Spring 2003) used his fellowship to complete *Rural Democracy in China: The Role of Village Elections*, published in 2007 by Palgrave Macmillan and called “essential reading for those concerned with processes of democratic change in China.” After his fellowship, Baogang, who has been based in Australia, organized the first “deliberative” poll in China as well as numerous local forums in Chinese villages, townships, and factories.

“As a Reagan-Fascell Fellow, I have gained first-class support: spiritually, intellectually and materially. With the NED, I have felt wholeheartedly at home.”

—Baogang He



Dr. Kate Zhou (Spring 2008) is associate professor of political science at the University of Hawaii and author of numerous publications focusing on gender, governance and economic development in China. During her fellowship, she completed a book manuscript entitled *China's Long March to Freedom: Grassroots Modernization* (Transaction Publishers, 2009). The book examines the everyday resistance of ordinary Chinese to authoritarian rule and posits that individual freedom and political liberalization in China will emerge from consistent social pressure at the grassroots level. Kate continues to work for Education Advancement Fund International, an NGO she founded in 2002 that promotes education exchange, cultural understanding, and gender equity.

VIETNAM

Mr. Le Quoc Quan (Fall 2006) has long been a voice for religious freedom and political pluralism in Vietnam, first as a student and now as a legal advocate. During his fellowship, Quan considered how civil society might contribute to the democratization of Vietnam. Shortly after he returned home in March 2007, he was arrested and charged under Article 79 of the Criminal Code, which proscribes “activities aimed at overthrowing the Government.” After more than three months in prison, he was released on bail on June 16, 2007, and all charges were subsequently dropped. His release came after sustained pressure from NED and the United States, which included a letter to the President of Vietnam from former secretary of state Madeleine Albright, U.S. senator John McCain, and then-NED chairman Vin Weber. Quan (*pictured right with Sen. McCain*) continues to advocate for change in Vietnam within a highly restrictive environment.

“I am so happy to have been the first Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow from Vietnam to come to NED for my independent study on the role of civil society to promote democracy. It was an excellent and democratic environment for studying. I made good friends who worked tirelessly to bring me out of prison when I was arrested right after returning home. During our five months in the USA, my family experienced many things that we will never forget in our lives.”

—Le Quoc Quan



10
years

Highlights

Eurasia

NORTH CAUCASUS

Mr. Usam Baysaev (Fall 2007) currently serves as coordinator of the Natalya Estemirova Documentation Centre, an NGO monitoring and documenting human rights violations in the North Caucasus and Chechnya. As a staff member of Human Rights Center “Memorial,” he compiled its “Chronicle of Violence,” a daily account of war crimes and human rights violations perpetrated in the war-torn republic. **During his fellowship, Usam worked on a manuscript seeking to dispel popular myths concerning Chechnya and focusing on the human dimension of war.**

RUSSIA

Mr. Anton Burkov (Fall 2010, *facing page, bottom*) is a prominent human rights lawyer who has litigated cases before the European Court of Human Rights. During his fellowship, he assessed the **principles of the European Convention that could contribute to the Russian legal system.** He is currently directing the Moscow-based “I’ve Got Rights” project, a USAID-funded initiative supporting human, social, and civil rights in Russia.

Ms. Elena Gerasimova (Spring 2006, *below*) is director and co-founder of the Center for Social and Labor

Rights (CSLR), an NGO promoting civil and labor rights in Russia. While at NED, Elena conducted a comparative study of U.S. and Russian labor laws. **Her fellowship enabled her to evaluate CSLR’s work, cultivate new perspectives through research and outreach with labor organizations in Washington, D.C., and develop a strategy memorandum for strengthening the center’s activities.**

During her fellowship, **Dr. Ekaterina Osipova** (Spring 2009) studied best practices for combating human trafficking in Russia and the United States. Following her fellowship, she established the **Baltic Center of Human Rights** and is currently working towards the establishment of a legal aid clinic within the law department of Immanuel Kant Baltic State University in Kaliningrad, Russia.

One of Russia’s foremost political analysts, **Mr. Andrei Piontkovsky** (Fall 2005) devoted his fellowship to publishing articles on Russian politics and assessing the implications of U.S. foreign policy for Russia’s democratic development. Since his fellowship, **Andrei has continued to write extensively** on governance and democracy and has authored several bestselling books, including *Another Look into Putin’s Soul* (Hudson Institute, 2006).



Mr. Nikolay Rudenskiy (Fall 2009) is the deputy editor of Grani.Ru (www.grani.ru), an independent online media outlet. During his fellowship, **Nikolay examined the problem of hate speech, with a special focus on the Internet.**



IN MEMORIAM

The Reagan-Fascell program mourns the loss of three alumni from Eurasia:



Mr. Ilko Kucheriv (Ukraine) passed away on May 29, 2010, at the age of 55, after a brief battle with cancer. A respected activist who played a key role in the Orange Revolution, Ilko was director of the Democratic Initiatives Foundation (DIF), a civil society organization he founded in Kyiv in 1992 to support Ukraine's transition to democracy.



Ms. Anahit Bayandur (Armenia) passed away on January 7, 2011, at the age of 71. A prominent activist for peace in the Caucasus, Anahit sought to build bridges to transcend political conflicts in her region. She was awarded the 1992 Olof Palme Prize in recognition of her efforts to promote peace during the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict.



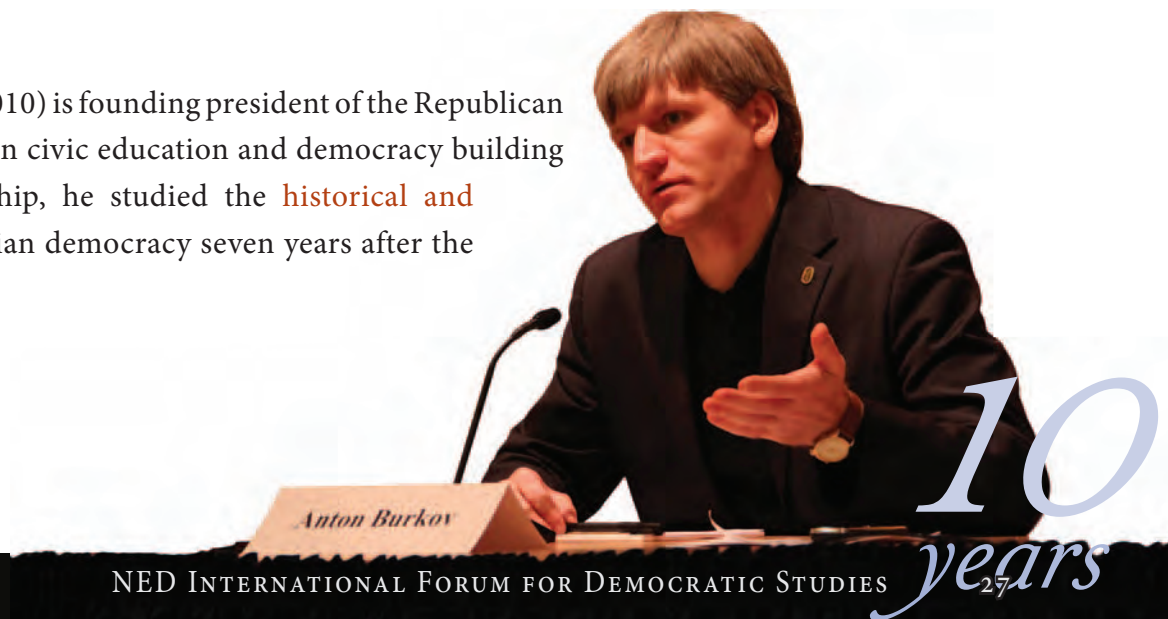
Mr. Vitali Silitski (Belarus) passed away on June 11, 2011, at the age of 38, after an extended battle with cancer. Called "the best political scientist of his generation to emerge from the former Soviet Union," Vitali was a prolific author and leading activist.

AZERBAIJAN

Ms. Leila Alieva (Fall 2007) is founding director of the Center for National and International Studies, a Baku-based think tank that promotes democratic values through independent research and analysis on public policy issues. She devoted her fellowship to **an analysis of the complex relationship between state-building, democracy and the oil sector in Azerbaijan.**

GEORGIA

Dr. Levan Berdzenishvili (Fall 2010) is founding president of the Republican Institute, a think tank focusing on civic education and democracy building in Georgia. During his fellowship, he studied the **historical and cultural challenges** facing Georgian democracy seven years after the Rose Revolution.



Highlights Latin America & the Caribbean

CUBA

Independent journalist **Mr. Normando Hernández** (Spring 2012, *next page*) was one of seventy-five prisoners of conscience imprisoned during Cuba's infamous "Black Spring" in 2003. He came to NED following his negotiated exile to Spain and grant of humanitarian parole in the U.S. During his fellowship, he has examined the Cuban communications monopoly and considered strategies by which independent journalists may combat totalitarianism.

COLOMBIA



Mr. Hollman Morris (Fall 2011) is an award-winning journalist who has documented human rights abuses in Colombia's internal conflict. During his fellowship, he explored cases of intimidation by Colombia's now-disbanded intelligence agency and gave several talks in Washington, D.C. At the end of his fellowship, Hollman was appointed manager of Bogotá's public television station Canal Capital.

ECUADOR

Mr. Raul Gangotena (Spring 2005, *below*) is currently serving as Ambassador of Ecuador to Australia. He was previously ambassador to the United States (2003–2005) and chief of staff to President Sixto Duran Ballen in 1996. Among his many leadership positions in the private sector, Raul is founding member of the Indigenous Enterprise Corporation of Ecuador and also served as executive director of the Quito Chamber of Commerce (2001–2003). During his fellowship, Raul examined Ecuador's success in sustaining democracy, paying particular attention to the political inclusion of Afro-Latino and indigenous peoples.

PERU

Mr. Antonio Maldonado (Spring 2009) has dedicated his legal career to fighting human rights violations and corruption in Latin America. From 2004



to 2006, he was the lead prosecutor in criminal investigations of former president Alberto Fujimori and his administration. During his fellowship, Antonio worked on a manuscript detailing Fujimori's successful extradition, as a vehicle for sharing best practices. Currently, Antonio is human rights advisor to the United Nations in Honduras.

National Endowment
for Democracy
Supporting freedom around the world



Raul Gangotena (standing) speaks on his fellowship topic, "Inclusion and Democracy in Ecuador," while former NED Board member Mr. Terence Todman listens.

VENEZUELA

Mr. Andrés Cañizález (Spring 2010) is currently a professor of journalism and academic director for the Universidad Católica Andres Bello's Program for Advanced Studies in Freedom of Expression and the Right to Information. During his fellowship, Andrés traced the relationship between journalism and political power during the Chávez era. In 2010, he was recognized by the International Catholic Union of the Press and the Embassy of Canada in Caracas "for his outstanding rigor in analyzing the situation of freedom of expression in Venezuela."



"After my fellowship, I took charge of institutional development at my university in the area of social communication. I am also founding an NGO, Medianalisis, to study media and its dedication to democracy and development."

—Andrés Cañizález

Dr. Carlos Ponce (Spring 2011) is founder and director of the Justice and Development Consortium, serves on the Steering Committee of the World Movement for Democracy, and is general coordinator of the Latin American and Caribbean Network for Democracy. During his fellowship, Carlos brought together civil society practitioners and representatives of the U.S. Permanent Mission to the Organization of American States (OAS) to discuss a resolution promoting freedom of assembly in the Americas, which was passed in June 2011.



"The program is just extraordinary. NED has an excellent team of experts with a true commitment to democracy. The fellowship helped me to improve some of my skills...I now have a blog, a Twitter account, and greater access to new technologies."

—Carlos Ponce

Independent journalist **Normando Hernández** (second from right) was one of 75 prisoners of conscience imprisoned during Cuba's infamous 2003 "Black Spring."

L-r: Former Cuban political prisoner Basilio Guzmán, Congressman Albio Sires (D-NJ), Congressman David Rivera (R-FL), Normando Hernández, and Congressman Christopher H. Smith (R-NJ), chairman of the Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, and Human Rights.



Highlights & Middle East North Africa

IRAQ

Mr. Safwat Rashid Sidqi (Fall 2007) joined the Reagan-Fascell program after serving as election commissioner with Iraq's Independent Electoral Commission. During his fellowship, he worked on a manuscript concerning Iraq's prospects for national reconciliation through democratic governance. He later advised the Sudan National Electoral Commission and was appointed to the Afghan Electoral Complaint Commission, where he played an instrumental role in overseeing the 2010 elections.

Mr. Salah Albedry (Fall 2009) is founding director of the Enmaa Center for Research and Studies (ECRS), which raises public awareness of civil society's contribution to democratization in Iraq and stimulates debate on public policy issues. During his fellowship, Salah examined best practices of U.S.-based think tanks and considered their potential application to nascent research centers in Iraq.

"After I returned to Iraq, my colleagues and I established a new think tank, the Enmaa Center for Research and Studies [pictured opposite]."

—Salah Albedry



L-r: Radwan Ziadeh, Ali Afshari, and Larry Diamond at the World Movement for Democracy's 2008 Global Assembly in Kyiv, Ukraine.

IRAN

Dr. Mehrangiz Kar (Fall 2001) is an internationally renowned human rights attorney and writer from Iran. A recipient of NED's Democracy Award in 2002 for her outstanding activism in women's rights, she used her fellowship to integrate democratic practices into recommendations for legal reform. Since then, Mehrangiz has turned her attention to Iranian constitutionalism and human rights.

Ms. Mahboubeh Abbasgholizadeh (Fall 2010) is a women's rights activist, journalist, and filmmaker from Iran who developed a strategic framework identifying common ground between Iran's Green Movement and Women's Movement.

She applied this research by establishing Zanan TV (www.ZananTV.org), an on-line television channel that promotes gender equality in Iran and provides "an alternative space to discuss women's issues and engage in dialogue with other movements."



SYRIA

Mr. Radwan Ziadeh (Fall 2009) is one of Syria's best-known democracy activists in exile and a key spokesperson for the Syrian National Council (SNC). He is founder and director of the Damascus Center for Human Rights Studies and co-founder and executive director of the Syrian Center for Political and Strategic Studies (SCPSS) in Washington D.C. During his fellowship, Radwan examined effective strategies for political reform in Syria and received the Middle East Studies Association's 2009 Academic Freedom Award.

OMAN

Mr. Mohamed Al-Yahyai (Spring 2004) is a journalist and project director of Gulf Press Freedom Center, an independent NGO promoting media freedom and democratic values through journalist training programs. During his fellowship, Mohamed studied the role of the Internet in informing public attitudes towards democracy and its potential to accelerate political reforms in Arab Gulf states. He currently hosts Alhurra TV's weekly program, "Eye on Democracy," highlighting challenges to democracy in the MENA region.

"In 2004, NED welcomed me to undertake a project focused on the Internet as a tool for democracy in the Arab Gulf. When you look at what has happened, such efforts have played a crucial role in recent world events."

—Mohamed Al-Yahyai

Ms. Rafiah Al-Talei (Fall 2006) is a journalist for Middle East Broadcasting Networks (MBN), where she supports democratic values by high-

lighting issues seldom freely discussed in the region. During her fellowship, Rafiah identified strategies for enhancing Omani women's political participation and later co-founded the U.S.-based Gulf Forum for Citizenship, where she currently serves as program director.

YEMEN



Journalist **Ms. Rahma Hugaiera** (Spring 2007) focused her fellowship on the political empowerment of women in the Arab Gulf. During the 2011 Yemeni uprising, her organization, Media Women Forum, played a critical role in monitoring and documenting attacks against peaceful demonstrators and other human rights abuses.

Mr. Hafez Al-Bukari (Fall 2006) is a veteran journalist who used his fellowship to examine best practices for monitoring freedom of expression in the Arab world. Upon his return to Sana'a, Hafez resumed his leadership of the Yemen Polling Center, recognized in 2010 by Gallup International as the best public opinion research institution in the MENA region.



Highlights Middle East & South Asia

REGIONAL IMPACT

AFGHANISTAN

Mr. Mohammad Ishaq (Spring 2010) is deputy director of the Afghan Institute of Learning (AIL), where he empowers Afghans, particularly women and children, through community partnerships. During his fellowship, Mohammad examined best practices in democracy promotion through civic education. Upon returning home, he established the “emerging leaders group” at AIL, which brings together representatives of different ideological backgrounds to discuss political issues.



“Supporting democracy without education is useless. I worked in the field of education in my community before my fellowship, but being at NED and visiting different U.S.-based schools caused me to accelerate my efforts for change. My struggle is greater than before, and I constantly encourage my people to keep moving forward and take practical steps towards democracy. This is not easy work, but I take the risk.”

—Mohammad Ishaq

Mr. Aziz Royesh (Fall 2011) is a founding director of the Kabul-based Marefat High School and an inspirational leader in civic education in Afghanistan. His curriculum

on human rights, gender equality, and civic education has enriched the lives of thousands of Afghan students from the poorest sections of Kabul. During his fellowship, Mr. Royesh wrote a memoir of his work in education and spoke to U.S. audiences on the importance of remaining committed to strengthening Afghan civil society through 2014 and beyond.



“The connection between the fellows is so important. Ten years ago I did not have even one single friend to listen to my words, but now I can say that I have hundreds with whom I can connect.”

—Aziz Royesh

PAKISTAN, INDIA, NEPAL

Mr. Zahid Ebrahim (Spring 2010) is an advocate of the Supreme Court of Pakistan who drew international attention to the lawyer’s movement that facilitated Pakistan’s return to democratic rule in 2008. During his fellowship, Zahid



chronicled the pro-democracy movement undertaken by lawyers, judges, and the media in Pakistan and analyzed prospects for a lasting partnership between these groups to sustain democratic order.

“I carry back with me a deeper understanding of issues and perspectives that will be useful in my work in Pakistan.” —Aasiya Riaz



Ms. Aasiya Riaz (Spring 2006) is co-director of the Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency (PILDAT). During her fellowship, she studied the impact of think tanks on the democratic process in America and conducted research on U.S. civil-military relations. Since her fellowship, Aasiya continues to expand PILDAT’s activities and regularly comments on Pakistan’s public policy and democracy issues in print, television, and online media.

Dr. Medha Nanivadekar (Spring 2011) is a proponent of women’s equal representation in politics. During her fellowship, she examined women’s quotas worldwide in order to devise

effective strategies for negotiating equal gender quotas in the Indian parliament. She returned to India to galvanize support for her “win-win formula” and to develop an international alliance for equal gender representation in parliaments.

Women’s rights activist **Dr. B. Tsering** (Spring 2012) is a member of the Tibetan Parlia-



ment-in-Exile in Dharamsala, India. Until recently, she served as president of the Tibetan Women’s Association, empowering Tibetan women in exile by organizing leadership programs, educating the international community, and participating in political campaigns for the freedom of Tibet. In an effort

to deepen democratic practices within the Tibetan exile community, Tsering has utilized her fellowship to develop proposals for more effectively implementing the Central Tibetan Administration’s Women’s Empowerment Policy.



IN MEMORIAM

Suvash Darnal (Nepal, *right*), 31, was killed in a highway accident outside Washington, D.C., on August 15, 2011. An outspoken voice for the Dalits of Nepal, Suvash co-founded the Jagaran Media Center in 2000 to build awareness concerning marginalized groups and to train Dalit youth as journalists. In 2008, he founded the Samata Foundation, a Kathmandu-based NGO dedicated to the political inclusion and socioeconomic emancipation of marginalized communities in Nepal.

Alumni

of the Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program through the years...

2001
2002

FALL 2001

Myroslava Gongadze (Ukraine)
Chaihark Hahm (South Korea)
Ramin Jahanbegloo (Iran)
Mehrangiz Kar (Iran)

SPRING 2002

Charlie Hughes (Sierra Leone)
Ivliane Khaindrava (Georgia)
Yuriy Krynytskyy (Ukraine)
Ndubisi Obiorah (Nigeria)

Ana Julia Ramos (Colombia)
Vladimir Solonari (Moldova)
Moethee Zun (Burma)

2002
2003

FALL 2002

Steven Finkel (United States)
Tolekan Ismailova (Kyrgyzstan)
Richard Joseph (United States)
Marek Kwiek (Poland)
Clayton Lillienfeldt (South Africa)

Ahmed Subhy Mansour (Egypt)
Benedict Sannoh (Liberia)
Nyamosor Tuya (Mongolia)

SPRING 2003

Herbert Boh (Cameroon)

Ceslav Ciobanu (Moldova)
Mustafa Erdogan (Turkey)
Olga Gyárfášová (Slovakia)
Baogang He (China/Australia)
Luz María Helguero (Peru)
Schu Sugawara (Japan)

2003
2004

FALL 2003

Shahin Abbasov (Azerbaijan)
Zainab Bangura (Sierra Leone)
Anahit Bayandur (Armenia)
Anne Mugisha (Uganda)
Albino Okeny (Sudan)
Tomás Pojar (Czech Republic)

Aqil Shah (Pakistan)
Vladimir Tismaneanu (U.S.)
Francisco Villagrán (Guatemala)

SPRING 2004

Mohamed Al-Yahyai (Oman)
Chee Soon Juan (Singapore)
Oleksandr Fisun (Ukraine)

Oleksandr Fisun (Ukraine)
Lyudmila Georgieva (Bulgaria)
Maria Lisitsyna (Kyrgyzstan)
Enkhtuya Oidov (Mongolia)
Fidaa Shehadaa (West Bank/Gaza)
Muborak Tashpulatova (Uzbekistan)

2004
2005

FALL 2004

Ilyas Akhmadov (Russia)
Dragan Djuric (Montenegro)
Abiodun Kolawole (Nigeria)
Chingiz Mammadov (Azerbaijan)
James Ng'ombe (Malawi)

Akintola Olaniyan (Nigeria)
Yulia Savchenko (Kyrgyzstan)
Vitali Silitski (Belarus)

SPRING 2005

Fatima Ahmedova (Tajikistan)
Andrew Finkel (U.S./Turkey)

Raul Gangotena (Ecuador)
Hoon Jaung (South Korea)
Guobiao Jiao (China)
Robert Mattes (U.S./South Africa)
Michael McFaul (United States)
Roland Rich (Australia)

2005
2006

FALL 2005

Joel Barkan (United States)
Hossein Bashiriyeh (Iran)
Ann Bernstein (South Africa)
Doğu Ergil (Turkey)
Charles Fairbanks (United States)

Penda Mbow (Senegal)
Alina Mungiu-Pippidi (Romania)
Siamak Namazi (Iran)
Andrei Piontkovsky (Russia)

SPRING 2006

Dany Ayida (Togo)

Elena Gerasimova (Russia)
Guillermo Jorge (Argentina)
Miria Matembe (Uganda)
Grigorij Mesežnikov (Slovakia)
Vandita Mishra (India)
Aasiya Riaz (Pakistan)
Judy Tin-May Thein (Burma)



L-r: Thein Lwin (Burma), Jose Luis Gascon (Philippines), Nigina Bakhrieva (Tajikistan), and Jaime Ordóñez (Costa Rica) at the 2010 World Movement for Democracy Assembly in Jakarta, Indonesia.

2006
2007

FALL 2006

Ali Afshari (Iran)
Hafez Al-Bukari (Yemen)
Rafiah Al-Talei (Oman)
Michael Boda (Canada/U.S.)
Krzysztof Jasiewicz (Poland/U.S.)
John Kolie (Liberia)

Ilko Kucheriv (Ukraine)
Olga Nicolenco (Moldova)
Le Quoc Quan (Vietnam)
SPRING 2007
Diego Abente-Brun (Paraguay)
Khapta Akhmedova (Russia)

Nigina Bakhrieva (Tajikistan)
Jose Luis Gascon (Philippines)
Rahma Hugaira (Yemen)
Bernadeta Killian (Tanzania)
Thein Lwin (Burma)
Raushan Nauryzbayeva (Kazakhstan)
Jaime Ordóñez (Costa Rica)

2007
2008

FALL 2007

Leila Alieva (Azerbaijan)
Tihana Bartulac-Blanc (Croatia)
Usam Baysaev (Russia)
Fariba Davoodi (Iran)
Angelo Izama (Uganda)

Tapera Kapuya (Zimbabwe)
Prem Khanal (Nepal)
Safwat Rashid Sidqi (Iraq)
SPRING 2008
Giorgi Areshidze (Georgia)
Thomas Gallagher (U.K.)

David Hawk (United States)
Eddie Jarwolo (Liberia)
Okechukwu Nwanguma (Nigeria)
Atef Saadawy (Egypt)
Alice Verghese (Malaysia)
Syed Akbar Zaidi (Pakistan)
Kate Zhou (China/United States)

2008
2009

FALL 2008

Jami Chandio (Pakistan)
Suvash Darnal (Nepal)
Rajesh Dev (India)
Birame Diop (Senegal)
Frederic Loua (Guinea)

Ihor Lylo (Ukraine)
Sharon Wolchik (United States)
SPRING 2009
Lila Iril (Algeria)
Niemat Kuku (Sudan)
Antonio Maldonado (Peru)

Gilbert Maoundonodji (Chad)
Anyakwee Nsirimov (Nigeria)
Siti Nurjanah (Indonesia)
Ekaterina Osipova (Russia)
Enrique Peruzzotti (Argentina)
Ronojoy Sen (India)
Omar Afifi Soliman (Egypt)

2009
2010

FALL 2009

Emmanuel Abdulai (Sierra Leone)
Migai Akech (Kenya)
Salah Albedry (Iraq)
Sangsoo Kim (South Korea)
Peter Novotny (Slovakia)
Myint Oo (Burma)

Nikolay Rudenskiy (Russia)
Radwan Ziadeh (Syria)
SPRING 2010
Andrés Cañizález (Venezuela)
Jimmy Dube (Zimbabwe)
Zahid Ebrahim (Pakistan)

Mohammad Ishaq (Afghanistan)
Alagi Jallow (Gambia)
Maria Martin (Guatemala/U.S.)
Rosemary Mwakitwange (Tanzania)
Benjamin Reilly (Australia)
Fatima Tlisova (Russia)
Farid Tuhbatullin (Turkmenistan)

2010
2011

FALL 2010

Mahboubah Abbasgholizadeh (Iran)
Dayo Aiyetan (Nigeria)
Arturo Alvarado (Mexico)
Levan Berdzenishvili (Georgia)
Anton Burkov (Russia)

Roukaya Kasenally (Mauritius)
Wan Yanhai (China)
SPRING 2011
Anne-Stella Fomumbod (Cameroon)
Rafael Marques de Morais (Angola)
Medha Nanivadekar (India)

Carlos Ponce (Venezuela)
H. Kwasi Prempeh (Ghana/U.S.)
Mykola Ryabchuk (Ukraine)
Luis Ugalde (Mexico)

2011
2012

FALL 2011

Hikmet Hadjy-zadeh (Azerbaijan)
Tamirlan Kurbanov (Russia)
Ibrahim Lipumba (Tanzania)
Birtukan Midekssa (Ethiopia)
Hollman Morris (Colombia)
Azizullah Royesh (Afghanistan)

SPRING 2012

Malik Siraj Akbar (Pakistan)

Mokhtar Benabdallaoui (Morocco)
Darko Brkan (Bosnia-Herzegovina)
Judith February (South Africa)
Normando Hernández (Cuba)
Nadira Isaeva (Russia)
Abril Perez (Nicaragua)
Tsveta Petrova (United States)
B. Tsering (Tibet/India)
Aung Moe Zaw (Burma)

Michael McFaul (U.S.) and Vandita Mishra (India) at the World Movement for Democracy's 2008 Global Assembly in Kyiv, Ukraine.



FROM THE ARCHIVES

From the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Bill, 2001, 106th Congress, 2d Session, Report 106-720:

“The Committee directs that, of the funds allocated to the Human Rights and Democracy Fund, \$1,000,000 should be provided to support the Reagan/Fascell Democracy Fellows Program of the National Endowment for Democracy to enable activists, scholars, journalists, and practitioners from around the world to help make contributions to the strengthening of democracy in their respective countries. This program was authorized in section 104(a)(2)(B) of H.R. 3427 as enacted into law as part of Public Law 106-113.”

Letters from Mrs. Nancy Reagan and Mrs. Jeanne-Marie Fascell, sent on the occasion of the Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program’s inaugural reception on Capitol Hill on March 14, 2002:

PUBLIC LAW 106-113—NOV. 29, 1999 113 STAT. 1501

Public Law 106-113
106th Congress

An Act

Making consolidated appropriations for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2000, and for other purposes.

Nov. 29, 1999
[H.R. 3194]

Re it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of America in Congress assembled, That the printed, out of any money in the Treasury ed, for the several departments, agencies, rganizational units of the Government for for other purposes, namely:

106th Congress
2d Session

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

REPORT
106-957

MAKING APPROPRIATIONS FOR FOREIGN OPERATIONS, EXPORT FINANCING, AND RELATED PROGRAMS FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDING SEPTEMBER 30, 2001, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES

October 24, 2000.—Ordered to be printed

Mrs. CALLAHAN, from the committee of conferees, submitted the following

CONFERENCE REPORT

(To accompany H.R. 4811)

The committee of conferees on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 4811) "making appropriations for foreign operations, export financing, and related programs for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2001, and for other purposes", having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate, and agree to the same with an amendment, as follows:

In lieu of the matter stricken and inserted by said amendment, insert:

Section 101. (a) The provisions of H.R. 5520 of the 106th Congress, as introduced on October 24, 2000, are hereby enacted into law.

DIVISION A

COLUMBIA APPROPRIATIONS

FISCAL YEAR 2000 APPROPRIATIONS

FEDERAL FUNDS

VT FOR RESIDENT TUITION SUPPORT

nt to the District of Columbia for a program e Mayor for District of Columbia resident o the enactment of authorizing legislation ngress, \$17,000,000, to remain available . That such funds may be used on behalf lumbia residents to pay an amount based even in-State and out-of-State tuition at ther education, usable at both public and gher education: *Provided further*, That the may be prioritized on the basis of a resi- d such other factors as may be authorized: f the authorized program is a nationwide r expend up to \$17,000,000: *Provided fur-* zed program is for a limited number of spend up to \$11,000,000: *Provided further*, umbia may expend funds other than the is heading, including local tax revenues port such program.

INCENTIVES FOR ADOPTION OF CHILDREN

ent to the District of Columbia to create e adoption of children in the District of em, \$5,000,000: *Provided*, That such funds ntil September 30, 2001 and shall be used

OFFICE OF NANCY REAGAN

March 14, 2002

Dear Friends,

I am delighted to send my warm wishes to all of you gathered at the launching of the Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program of the National Endowment for Democracy (NED). I wish we could be there to celebrate with you, but I hope you understand that it is not possible, so I have asked our dear friend, Congressman Christopher Cox, to represent us at today's luncheon.

The advancement of democracy will always stand as an important part of my husband's eight years at The White House. It is an honor to have his name associated with such a vital program that is not only non-partisan and non-government, but one that promotes the cause of democracy throughout the world. Already, the NED has democracy-building programs in over 100 countries; and how exciting that the first Fellows are from Ukraine, South Korea and Iran.

On behalf of my husband, I wish you the greatest success with this program and send our best wishes for a wonderful event.

Sincerely,

Nancy Reagan

National Endowment for Democracy
1101 Fifteenth Street, N.W.
Suite 700
Washington, D.C. 20005

Jeanne-Marie Fascell

Carl Gershman, President
National Endowment for Democracy
1101 - 15th Street Northwest
Suite 700
Washington D.C. 20005

Dear Carl:

What a wonderful honor! Our family is very pleased that the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) has decided to name a prestigious scholarship program in honor of Congressman Dante B. Fascell and President Ronald Reagan. Regrettably, it is not possible for me to join you personally for the festivities formally inaugurating the program.

In a career with many achievements, my husband, Dante, was especially proud of the role he played in authoring and enacting legislation leading to the establishment of the NED. He viewed the NED as a vital component of American foreign policy and an embodiment of the ideals of liberty and democratic government essential to our relations with the people's of the world.

It is appropriate that both Ronald Reagan's and Dante Fascell's names be linked in this scholarship program. Dante had long fought for legislation to establish a NED type program. It was only after President Reagan's speech to the British Parliament and the support that the speech inspired, that Dante's efforts resulted in success. Many others also deserve credit, including the then leaders of the Democratic and Republican parties, the AFL-CIO and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. Dante was keenly aware of the fact that without the strong and enthusiastic support of President Reagan there would never have been a NED. But Dante would be honored to have his name associated with Ronald Reagan's for many other reasons. While Dante was not always in agreement with President Reagan, they shared a deep and profound dedication to the founding principles of our republic, to the importance of working to strengthen democracy everywhere and to the very real threat to our way of life presented by communism. Both were committed optimists; both could look far into the future and work for programs like NED to embrace the unknown ahead.

For many years before NED's creation, Dante was often frustrated with America's seeming inability to work openly and effectively with those who shared our commitment to democratic values and human rights. In his view, America lacked effective tools to help people struggling for freedom behind the then "iron curtain" and those opposing tyrannical governments elsewhere, some of which we counted as allies. It was his search for a way to work with those struggling for freedom that led Dante to work to establish the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and NED. I can assure you that he derived great satisfaction from his work as Chair of CSCE and especially for the many achievements of NED and its associated institutes.

BEHIND THE SCENES

The International Forum for Democratic Studies wishes to thank the many individuals who have contributed in various ways to the work of the Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program over the past ten years.

We are grateful to NED's Board of Directors, particularly Fellowship Committee members Frank Fukuyama, Stephen Sestanovich, and former board member Suzi Garment, president Carl Gershman, deputy to the president Barbara Haig, vice president for government relations and public affairs David Lowe, chief operating officer Bill Leonard, and especially Forum director Marc F. Plattner and senior advisor Larry Diamond for their stewardship and support. As part of our "democracy curriculum," Art Kaufman of the World Movement for Democracy and CIMA's Marguerite Sullivan meet with every cohort, and Nicolette Aftimos and Rebekah Usatin lead capacity-building workshops on a regular basis. The heart and soul of the Endowment—the Grant-

making Program staff led by Nadia Diuk, Louisa Greve, and Georges Fauriol—create the collegial home known as the "NED family," as do the staff of the Endowment's core institutes, particularly CIPE's John Sullivan and Jean Rodgers, IRI's Tom Garrett, NDI's Ken Wollack, and Solidarity Center's Mark Hankin, who give so generously of their time. Fellows benefit enormously from NED's Democracy Resource Center, run by Allen Overland, Tim Myers, Morgan Grimes, Anna Yevropina, and Emily Vaughan. IT and Office Services staff are the backbone of the institution, providing constant support for information technology, office setup, and events. Special thanks go to director of public affairs Jane Riley Jacobsen and her talented team—

Jean Schindler, Suzanne Levine-Gallo, and Mike Crump—for their help in producing our tenth anniversary materials. In particular, we are grateful to Jean Schindler for her extraordinary work in designing this *Tribute*.

Finally, we wish to recognize the contributions of former staff members Diego Abente-Brun, Maria Angelica Fleetwood, Geoffrey King, Satoko Okamoto, and Joseph Tucker; and former research associates Alex Bloom, Elizabeth Callender, Natalie Chang, Michelle Engmann, Eric Kramon, Nawal Mustafa, Jeffrey Smith, Justin Snyder, Corey Sobel, David Szakonyi, Sonja Uwimana, Ryan White, and Nathaniel Young.

Team Reagan-Fascell. L-r: (front row): NED president Carl Gershman, manager Zerk Spencer, senior director Sally Blair, and Forum director Marc F. Plattner; (back row): research associates Chris Thureau and Sarah Bouchat, program assistant Ragan Updegraff, assistant program officer Jessica Ludwig, senior research and conferences officer Melissa Aten-Becnel, program officer Judith Welling, and research associates Ryan Doherty and Yohanan Assefa.





REAGAN-FASCELL REAGAN-FASCELL REAGAN-FASCELL REAGAN-FASCELL REAGAN-FASCELL
Democracy Fellows Program Democracy Fellows Program Democracy Fellows Program Democracy Fellows Program Democracy Fellows Program

MAHBOUBEH ABBASGHOLIZADEH | SHAHIN ABBASOV | EMMANUEL ABDULAI | DIEGO ABENTE-BRUN | ALI AFSHARI |
FATIMA AHMEDOVA | DAYO AIYETAN | MALIK SIRAJ AKBAR | MIGAI AKECH | ILYAS AKHMADOV | KHAPTA AKHMEDOVA
| SALAH ALBEDRY | HAFEZ AL-BUKARI | LEILA ALIEVA | RAFIAH AL-TALEI | ARTURO ALVARADO | MOHAMED AL-
YAHYAI | GIORGI ARESHIDZE | DANY AYIDA | NIGINA BAKHRIEVA | ZAINAB BANGURA | JOEL BARKAN | TIHANA
BARTULAC-BLANC | HOSSEIN BASHIRIYEH | ANAHIT BAYANDUR | USAM BAYSAEV | MOKHTAR BENABDALLAOUI |
LEVAN BERDZENISHVILI | ANN BERNSTEIN | MICHAEL BODA | HERBERT BOH | DARKO BRKAN | ANTON BURKOV |
ANDRÉS CAÑIZÁLEZ | JAMI CHANDIO | CHEE SOON JUAN | CESLAV CIOBANU | SUVASH DARNAL | FARIBA DAVOODI
| RAJESH DEV | BIRAME DIOP | DRAGAN DJURIC | JIMMY DUBE | ZAHID EBRAHIM | MUSTAFA ERDOGAN | DOGU
ERGIL | CHARLES FAIRBANKS | JUDITH FEBRUARY | ANDREW FINKEL | STEVEN FINKEL | OLEKSANDR FISUN |
ANNE-STELLA FOMUMBOD | THOMAS GALLAGHER | RAUL GANGOTENA | JOSE LUIS GASCON | LYUDMILA GEORGIEVA |
ELENA GERASIMOVA | MYROSLAVA GONGADZE | OL'GA GYÁRFÁŠOVÁ | HIKMET HADJY-ZADEH | CHAIHARK HAHM |
DAVID HAWK | BAOGANG HE | LUZ MARÍA HELGUERO | NORMANDO HERNÁNDEZ | RAHMA HUGAIRA | CHARLIE
HUGHES | LILA IRIL | NADIRA ISAEVA | MOHAMMAD ISHAQ | TOLEKAN ISMAILOVA | ANGELO IZAMA | RAMIN
JAHANBEGLOO | ALAGI JALLOW | EDDIE JARWOLO | KRZYSZTOF JASIEWICZ | HOON JAUNG | GUOBIAO JIAO |
GUILLERMO JORGE | RICHARD JOSEPH | TAPERA KAPUYA | MEHRANGIZ KAR | ROUKAYA KASENALLY | IVLIANE
KHAINDRAVA | PREM KHANAL | BERNADETA KILLIAN | SANGSOO KIM | ABIODUN KOLAWOLE | JOHN KOLLIE
| YURIY KRYNYTSKY | ILKO KUCHERIV | NIEMAT KUKU | TAMIRLAN KURBANOV | MAREK KWIEK | CLAYTON
LILLIENFELDT | IBRAHIM LIPUMBA | MARIA LISITSYNA | FREDERIC LOUA | THEIN LWIN | IHOR LYLO | ANTONIO
MALDONADO | CHINGIZ MAMMADOV | AHMED SUBHY MANSOUR | GILBERT MAOUNDONODJI | RAFAEL MARQUES DE
MORAIS | MARIA MARTIN | MIRIA MATEMBE | ROBERT MATTES | PENDA MBOW | MICHAEL MCFaul | GRIGORI
MESEZNIKOV | BIRTUKAN MIDEKSSA | VANDITA MISHRA | HOLLMAN MORRIS | ANNE MUGISHA | ALINA MUNGIU-
PIPPIDI | ROSEMARY MWAKITWANGE | SIAMAK NAMAZI | MEDHA NANIVADEKAR | RAUSHAN NAURYZBAYEVA |
JAMES NG'OMBE | OLGA NICOLENCO | PETER NOVOTNY | ANYAKWEE NSIRIMOVU | SITI NURJANAH | OKECHUKWU
NWANGUMA | NDUBISI OBIORAH | ENKHTUYA ODOV | ALBINO OKENY | AKINTOLA OLANIYAN | MYINT OO |
JAIME ORDÓÑEZ | EKATERINA OSIPOVA | ABRIL PEREZ | ENRIQUE PERUZZOTTI | TSVETA PETROVA | ANDREI
PIONTKOVSKY | TOMAS POJAR | CARLOS PONCE | H. KWASI PREMPEH | LE QUOC QUAN | ANA JULIA RAMOS
| BENJAMIN REILLY | AASIYA RIAZ | ROLAND RICH | AZIZULLAH ROYESH | NIKOLAY RUDENSKIY | MYKOLA
RYABCHUK | ATEF SAADAWY | BENEDICT SANNOH | YULIA SAVCHENKO | RONOJOY SEN | AQIL SHAH | FIDAA
SHEHADAA | SAFWAT RASHID SIDQI | VITALI SILITSKI | OMAR AFIFI SOLIMAN | VLADIMIR SOLONARI | SCHU
SUGAWARA | MUBORAK TASHPULATOVA | JUDY TIN-MAY THEIN | VLADIMIR TISMANEANU | FATIMA TLISOVA | B.
TSEHING | FARID TUHBATULLIN | NYAMOSOR TUYA | LUIS UGALDE | ALICE VERGHESI | FRANCISCO VILLAGRAN
DE LEON | WAN YAN HAI | SHARON WOLCHIK | S. AKBAR ZAIDI | AUNG MOE ZAW | KATE ZHOU | RADWAN
ZIADDEH | MOETHEE ZUN

Democracy Fellows Program