National Endowment for Democracy

ANNUAL REPORT
1989

National Endowment for Democracy

1989 Annual Report

October 1, 1988 to September 30, 1989

National Endowment for Democracy

1989 Annual Report

October 1, 1988 to September 30, 1989

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Officers and Directors 1

Chairman's Message 3

President's Report 5

"The Democratic Revolution" Conference 9

Fiscal 1989 Programs

Africa 11

Asia 15

Europe and the Soviet Union 19

Latin America and the Caribbean 29

Multiregional 41

Fiscal 1989 Audit 43

Endowment Staff and Consultants 53

OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS

Officers

William E. Brock, Chairman
Charles T. Manatt, Vice Chairman
LeGree Daniels, Secretary
Jay Van Andel, Treasurer
Carl Gershman, President

Board of Directors

Polly Baca
Director, Colorado Hispanic Institute

William E. Brock
Managing Partner, The Brock Group

Zbigniew Brzezinski
Counselor, Center for Strategic and International Studies

LeGree Daniels
Former Assistant Secretary of Education for Civil Rights

Frank J. Fahrenkopf
Partner, Hogan and Hartson

Dante B. Fascell
U.S. House of Representatives

Orrin G. Hatch
U.S. Senate

Lane Kirkland
President, AFL-CIO

Charles T. Manatt
Partner, Manatt, Phelps, Rothenberg and Phillips

John Richardson
Counselor, U.S. Institute of Peace

Olin Robison
President, Middlebury College

Albert Shanker
President, American Federation of Teachers

Sally Shelton-Colby
Professor, Georgetown University

Charles H. Smith, Jr.
Chairman of the Board, SIFCO Industries, Inc.

Jay Van Andel
Chairman of the Board, Amway Corporation

Eddie N. Williams
President, Joint Center for Political Studies

CHAIRMAN'S MESSAGE

The National Endowment for Democracy was created in 1983 by a broad cross-section of national leaders, including President Reagan, who felt the time was right for the United States to reach out to other countries with renewed confidence in our democratic system and values. The Endowment was designed to serve these ends by harnessing mainstream U.S. institutions – the labor movement, our two political parties, the business community, as well as intellectuals and citizen groups – in the effort to strengthen their counterparts in other countries.

At the time of this writing, tumultuous changes are reshaping the world order which has prevailed since World War II, as the forces of freedom break down old ideologies and power structures alike. As we watch in awe the crumbling of the Berlin Wall and all it represents in Eastern Europe, as well as the crumbling of totalitarian regimes throughout the region, we need to bear in mind that the democracy movement is fundamentally a worldwide phenomenon. The movement includes many well-known activists struggling against tyranny in repressive societies. But it also includes a sizable number of not-so-well-known men and women in emerging democracies dedicated to the long-term process of building democratic institutions.

The Endowment is responding effectively to this movement with imaginative programs. After six years of operation, we can point with pride to projects in as many as 75 nations as diverse as Chile, Hungary, South Africa, Pakistan, China, Czechoslovakia and Nicaragua.

Last May, a remarkable group of democratic activists supported by NED gathered in the halls of Congress to share ideas and celebrate "The Democratic Revolution." This conference, sponsored by the Endowment, dramatized the changes in political climate sweeping the globe by highlighting the breadth of the democracy movement. It also enabled democrats from various backgrounds to share mutually educational and inspiring ideas and strategies with which to help renew their struggle back home.

Six months later, a Polish electrician stood before the President of the United States to receive the Medal of Freedom, later spoke to the Congress and the next day received what must have been the warmest, most moving response of the decade from the assembled convention of the AFL-CIO. Nothing could be greater testimony to the dedication and principled persistence of Lane Kirkland and his colleagues than this moment. Yet the presence of Lech Walesa was also testimony to the courage of unsung men and women throughout our world who refuse to cede their humanity to the state. They are winning almost everywhere, and the National Endowment for Democracy is in the frontline of their efforts.

A large measure of NED's success is attributable to the bipartisan support the Endowment has received in the Congress as well as the assistance we have received from members of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy and professional staff of the U.S. Information Agency, the Agency for International Development and the State Department. I would like to take this opportunity to express my appreciation to the members of NED's Board of Directors who have dedicated their time and experience to careful consideration of each of the Endowment's programs. For all others as well who have given selflessly for such a worthy cause, I offer my sincere thanks.

As several of our May conference participants pointed out, there is no inevitability to the final outcome of the recent trend toward democracy. The consolidation of recent democratic gains will require patient work and carefully devised strategies. The National Endowment for Democracy stands ready to help translate these promising gains into long-term realities.

William E. Brock

PRESIDENT'S REPORT

The resurgence of democracy that swept the world during the last decade reached a stunning climax in 1989, a year of unparalleled consequence and promise. In a matter of months, the world witnessed a rush of historic events: mass demonstrations in China and the erection of the Goddess of Democracy statue in Tiananmen Square; an election in Poland swept by Solidarity and eventuating in the Soviet bloc's first non-Communist government; a hero's burial for Imre Nagy, the executed leader of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution; millions linking hands across the Baltics on the fiftieth anniversary of the Hitler-Stalin Pact; throngs rejoicing atop the Berlin Wall after the East German government effectively abolished that notorious symbol of Communist oppression; and the resignation of the Stalinist regime in Czechoslovakia under pressure from hundreds of thousands of demonstrators demanding the restoration of democracy. These were but a few of the images that danced daily before our eyes in a year that also witnessed, among many other remarkable events, the overthrow of the Stroessner dictatorship in Paraguay, the Ceausescu dictatorship in Romania and the Noriega dictatorship in Panama, the most open election in the history of the Soviet Union, the peaceful demise of the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile, the holding of free elections in Namibia, a legal opposition contesting elections for the first time in Taiwan, and the peaceful transfer of power following sharply contested elections in India and Brazil, the Third World's two largest democracies.

To be sure, there were other, contrasting images: the bloody suppression of the democracy movement in China; the use of poison gas against peaceful demonstrators in Soviet Georgia; violent uprisings against democratically elected governments in El Salvador and the Philippines; the violent disruption of opposition election rallies in Nicaragua; the bloody suppression of demonstrations in Romania; and in El Salvador, Colombia, Peru and elsewhere the murder of priests, journalists, politicians and peasants by terrorists and death squads.

These last events reinforce Leszek Kolakowski's warning, issued at the Endowment's May conference on "The Democratic Revolution," that "freedom is always vulnerable and its cause never safe." But they should not be allowed to obscure the central reality, which is that throughout the world millions of people are striving to establish and secure democratic systems based upon peaceful political competition, the rule of law, a free market economy, and respect for basic human rights. The pro-democracy demonstrations in China in 1989, like the demonstrations for democracy in Burma the previous year, should erase any remaining doubts about the appeal of the democratic idea in the non-Western world.

The democratic revolution of the 1980s was the inevitable consequence of the human rights revolution of the 1970s. It was the latter revolution, after all, that spread the view that all individuals have rights that governments must respect. This view, as the Chinese physicist Fang Lizhi has insisted, is the basis of democracy. Nondemocratic governments that violate such rights and rule without the consent of their people lack legitimacy in the contemporary world, a development that reflects a revolution in human consciousness. The most telling evidence for this is the fact that Marxism-Leninism, the last remaining ideological alternative to liberal democracy, is today utterly discredited.

The democratic revolution may also be understood as the product of long-term historical forces. Alexis de Tocqueville wrote *Democracy in America* a century and a half ago in the belief that this revolution was "a providential fact" in the sense that it is "universal, it is lasting, it constantly eludes all human interference, and all events as well as all men contribute to its progress." All the great events of the previous seven hundred years, Tocqueville wrote, have promoted equality of condition, from the Crusades and the English wars which "decimated the nobles and divided their possessions;" to the invention of firearms which equalized vassal and noble on the field of battle, and printing which spread knowledge to all classes; to the discovery of America which opened "a thousand new paths to fortune." In our own time we might add the technological revolution, which has made the benefits of modern consumer culture accessible to all nations; the communications revolution, which has made it discernible to them as well, thereby raising expectations throughout the world; and the revolu-

tion in world trade, which has challenged once-rigid political systems to respond to the discipline of global markets.

This doesn't mean that we can sit back and passively watch the inexorable advance of democracy. The gains made have been achieved at great cost in human life and liberty. The democratic revolution always depends upon the decision of a Lech Walesa to jump over a wall to join his fellow workers and lead a strike; or upon the courage and persistence of an Andrei Sakharov, who has been honored in death, but who was persecuted and driven into internal exile for calling attention to grave ills that now threaten the viability of the Soviet Union.

It was only a little more than a decade ago that democracy seemed to be in retreat before a wave of violent and anti-democratic revolution. But now we have the peaceful, democratic revolution of Solidarity – the refusal to break even a pane of glass, as Lech Walesa said before a joint session of Congress – and the peaceful negotiation of a transition to a democratic system. And we also have Vaclav Havel, a quiet, self-effacing intellectual, in the leadership of a mass democratic movement, saying "We 'dissidents' are only improvised and random spokesmen for this movement. Elections will select proper spokesmen." It is hard to imagine such a revolution producing a Robespierre, let alone a Stalin or a Pol Pot.

The newly liberated countries of Central Europe face the awesome challenge of managing a transition from totalitarianism to democracy. Civil society must be rebuilt, political institutions must be transformed, a market economy must be created, human initiative must be rekindled, and nations whose historic suspicion of one another was compounded by decades of totalitarian isolation, must learn to live together in peace.

The Endowment's role in this new period inevitably will change. Before the recent upheavals, the Endowment focused on supporting the development of enclaves of independent civil society within existing totalitarian systems. By far the most important of these enclaves was the Solidarity trade union in Poland, but they also included independent intellectual, cultural and social initiatives such as samizdat publications, "flying" universities, and independent communications media. Today these initiatives must become part of a dense fabric of viable and representative institutions that parallel those we take for granted in the West, including political parties, professional and business associations, trade unions, educational and media bodies, and civic organizations designed to bring democracy to the local level. The transition may involve great hardship and could be accompanied by painful levels of unemployment and inflation. It is reasonable to believe, however, that the people will be sustained by hope for a better future and by the conviction that at last they are in control of their own destiny. But they must also be sustained through this difficult time by demonstrations of international solidarity in the form of concrete technical and material assistance.

The events in Eastern Europe mark a watershed in the history of modern civilization, but the democratic revolution is global, as is the Endowment's responsibility to respond as effectively as possible to all authentic efforts to build democratic institutions and to strengthen democratic civic values. In Argentina, Brazil, Peru and elsewhere in Latin America the problems of debt, poverty, and violence threaten to reverse some of the historic transitions of the past decade. In these countries, as well as in Paraguay and Chile, which are the latest countries to break through to transition, the need to support those trying to institutionalize democratic practices is greater than ever. The

The democratic revolution is global, as is the Endowment's responsibility to respond as effectively as possible to all authentic efforts to build democratic institutions and to strengthen democratic civic values.

Central American conflict remains unresolved, though the Nicaraguan elections called for in February 1990 may hold a key to a democratic solution for the region. The Chinese democratic movement, many of whose leaders are now in exile, continues to offer the only hope for China's future, while in the Philippines and Pakistan, among other countries in Asia, fragile democratic gains must be secured. Real change seems more possible in South Africa today than at any previous time, and

throughout black Africa there is a reawakened appreciation of the values of political and economic pluralism. These and so many other problems and opportunities around the world will strain the Endowment's limited resources and challenge it to respond in a timely and imaginative fashion.

In this respect, the Endowment is hopeful that its new *Journal of Democracy*, whose first issue appears in January 1990, will become an important vehicle for the dissemination of democratic ideas and for the development of closer cooperation and a sense of common purpose among democratic activists in all regions of the world.

The events of 1989 have demonstrated the extraordinary power of ideas and values in world affairs. In China, Czechoslovakia and elsewhere, the people took center stage, overturning stale ideologies and authoritarian systems not in the name of some new utopia, but on behalf of the same democratic ideals that inspired our own Founding Fathers. The heroes of this democratic resurgence were students and workers, an electrician in Poland, a playwright in Czechoslovakia, a scientist in the Soviet Union.

Not all were triumphant. Andrei Sakharov left behind a draft constitution which envisioned the transformation of his country into a voluntary union of sovereign republics based on free elections and respect for the rights of all individuals "regardless of race, nationality, sex, age or social position." He died with his political goals unfulfilled and deeply troubled about his country's future. But his stature and moral authority were undiminished and actually grew steadily as events vindicated his unyielding commitment to democratic values. More than any other individual in our time, he had brought his own country and the world to the threshold of a new era of peace based on reason and respect for human rights. He demonstrated what can be accomplished by a single individual devoted to the truth. In so doing, he prevailed even if he didn't triumph. His influence will continue to be felt throughout the world by those striving to establish democratic systems that allow people to live together in peace and liberty.

Carl Gershman

Carl Gershman

SECOND WORLD CONFERENCE CELEBRATES DEMOCRATIC STRIDES

The Democratic Revolution was the theme of the Endowment's second world democratic conference held May 1 and 2, 1989 in Washington, D.C. Participants from more than 40 countries gathered to celebrate recent gains in advancing democratic ideals and to share tactics on how to further the cause of democracy throughout the world. Conference panelists, speakers and other guests included intellectuals, dissidents, human rights activists, journalists, and democratic notables from around the world.

The first day of the conference was devoted to regional panel sessions exploring the quiet but sweeping democratic changes and pressures for change taking place throughout the world. Panels focused on Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, Latin America and the Caribbean, Africa and Asia. Participants agreed that the basic building blocks of democracy – competitive elections, free expression, an independent judiciary, and opportunity for social mobility – are accepted by activists on every continent.

The theme of the second day's panel discussion was "The Idea of Democracy." Participants were upbeat about the worldwide swing toward democracy, but also expressed caution. There was general agreement that while some setbacks are inevitable, the democratic revolution has acheived a momentum which will carry it far into the future.

During a special luncheon ceremony on May 2, the Endowment presented its Democracy Awards to two individuals who have made vital contributions, both individually and as part of larger movements, to the cause of democracy. Monica Jimenez de Barros was recognized for her contributions to the democratic cause in Chile. As founder and director of the Crusade for Citizen Participation she was the catalyst behind the nonpartisan civic movement that registered and mobilized millions of Chileans to participate in the plebiscite of October 5, 1988. She organized over 100,000 volunteers throughout the country who distributed information to voters encouraging their participation in the democratic process at a decisive moment in Chile's history. Jacek Kuron, key advisor to the Polish trade union Solidarity, was recognized for his contributions to Solidarity's struggle and the democratic cause in Poland. Kuron stated that Solidarity's success proves that "the assumption that totalitarianism can be broken only from the outside since there are no internal forces capable fo breaking the system is false. Self-organizing society can overcome totalitarianism from within." Kuron was subsequently elected Minister of Labor in the new Solidarity-led parliament in Poland.

The conference was funded entirely by private contributions. Generous support was received from the AFL-CIO, American Trucking Associations, Amway Corporation, The Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, Mr. Marshall Coyne, William H. Donner Foundation, The Joyce Foundation, Robert Krieble Associates, John M. Olin Foundation, Sarah Scaife Foundation, and SIFCO Industries.

Complete conference proceedings have been published in a book which is available by contacting the Endowment's public information office.

AFRICA

Botswana

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (CIPE), to assist the Botswana Confederation of Commerce, Industry and Manpower (BOCCIM) in its efforts to strengthen and unite the business community's support of Botswana's market-oriented economy through the creation of a national business network. Support is provided for the expansion and reorganization of BOCCIM's secretariat and the creation of four regional offices which offer scholarships, technical assistance and training at the local level.

$120,900

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI), to support a study of the 1989 election campaign by the University of Botswana's Democracy Project. A final report analyzing Botswana's caucus form of primaries and the results of the multi-party general election for parliament and district councils is being prepared by Democracy Project staff and will be distributed throughout the United States and southern Africa.

$ 42,745

Cote d'Ivoire

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to assist the African-American Labor Center in providing direct assistance to the trade union movement of Cote d'Ivoire. Funds are used for labor education programs which reinforce the democratic elements in the labor federation and promote the development of a democratic and representative federation.

$ 35,000

Mozambique

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to allow the African-American Labor Center to bring trade unionists from Mozambique to the United States for training in the basics of democratic trade unionism. The program focuses on the role of unions in a democratic society and the skills they need to play that role.

$ 70,275

Namibia

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI), for a two-part project aimed at supporting free and fair elections and encouraging democratic pluralism through voter education and election monitoring. NDI's grant to the Namibia Peace Plan and Contact Group allowed it to conduct mass voter education programs prior to the November 1989 elections and establish an independent election-monitoring system. A series of workshops and seminars was conducted by political activists to encourage voter participation.

$144,480

Nigeria

THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE, to enable the Nigerian Association of University Women (NAUW) to hold a three-day training workshop aimed at increasing the participation of women in Nigeria's transition to democracy. The workshop will provide training by democratic theoreticians and activists for two to three women from each of Nigeria's twenty-one states, to be followed up by the NAUW's Voter Education Network. Lectures, group discussions and practical sessions will focus on topics such as democratic systems of government, leadership, policy making, political mobilization, and organization building.

$ 27,500

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to enable the African-American Labor Center to provide direct assistance to the Nigeria Labour Congress (NLC), the trade union movement of Nigeria. The funds are used for education programs for affiliated unions.

$ 33,000

Sierra Leone

JOINT CENTER FOR POLITICAL STUDIES, INC., for support to the Sierra Leonean newspaper *For Di People*, for the purchase of a printing press, a plate burner, ink and paper, which will enable it to regularize its bi-weekly publication. Founded in 1983 and based in Freetown, *For Di People* is the most independent news source in Sierra Leone and a vigorous opponent of human rights abuses and official corruption.

$ 38,500

South Africa

Funding of the following programs was made possible by a grant from the U.S. Agency for International Development:

CENTER FOR FOREIGN POLICY OPTIONS, a California-based nonprofit organization, and the Afro-Asian Institute of Histadrut in Israel, to continue their community development program for black South Africans. Twenty community leaders, recruited from a cross section of institutions in the black community and from trade unions throughout South Africa, will travel to Israel for each of two month-long training programs. The program focuses on the role of community institutions in building democracy, allowing each participant to design projects which apply general principles to the specific conditions of their separate organizations in South Africa.

$200,000

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, to allow Lamla, an interracial, inter-denominational conciliation and mediation group in the Western Cape of South Africa to support a wide range of training and mediation activities, including technical support to community organizations, training for field workers, and establishment of a community center. Lamla's grassroots program attempts to instill a sense of democratic values and community responsibility through workshops, small projects, counseling and group interaction.

$ 25,000

UNITED STATES-SOUTH AFRICA LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, to support the Community Leadership Training Program (CLTP) conducted in cooperation with the privately-funded Centre for Continuing Education of the University of the Witswatersrand in Johannesburg, South Africa. The nine-month program consists of courses in leadership and organizational development, communications systems and structures, financial control and budgeting, project development, management and design, and social analysis.

$ 50,000

Sudan

JOINT CENTER FOR POLITICAL STUDIES, INC., to publish a weekly newsletter produced by the editor of the *Sudan Times* newspaper which was banned after the military coup of June 1989. The newsletter serves as an English-language forum for discussion of issues such as the conflict in the south, national reconciliation, democracy, famine and economic reform. Until the press is again free in Sudan, the newsletter will be published in England with information from sources inside Sudan and will be circulated free of charge to former subscribers of the *Sudan Times*.

$ 44,000

Regional

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (CIPE), to assist the Kenya National Chamber of Commerce and Industry in initiating a collaborative project involving government and the business sectors of five African countries: Kenya, Botswana, Mauritius, Tanzania and Zimbabwe. Representatives from the five countries will define the private sector's role in structural adjustment and economic reform and set the agenda for reform by developing specific structural adjustment programs. Support will enable the Kenya National Chamber of Commerce and Industry to establish a secretariat to staff the project in Africa.

$150,000

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to enable the African-American Labor Center to provide assistance to three African regional organizations and the pan-African trade union organization in developing solutions to the serious political and economic problems facing workers on the continent. The Southern Africa Trade Union Coordinating Council (SATUCC) produces documents and statistical research on trends in the region. The Organization of Trade Unions of West Africa (OTUWA) provides assistance to member federations, particularly the federation in Benin. The Organization of Central African Workers (OTAC) works on behalf of trade union unity in Chad and strengthens ties among its member countries. The African-American Labor Center will assist the Organization of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU) to continue its program in support of working women in its affiliated organizations.

$123,725

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to enable the African-American Labor Center to assist the Force Ouvriere, the democratic trade union federation in France, which conducts trade union education in Francophone Africa. The program exposes French-speaking unionists to democratic trade union values.

$ 50,000

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to allow the African-American Labor Center to support the regional office staff in Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire in carrying out assistance programs to the Organization of Trade Unions of West Africa (OTUWA) and the Organization of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU). Direct assistance to Anglophone and Francophone countries in the region and cooperative programs with the Force Ouvriere are also provided. The regional office staff in Abidjan will implement and evaluate program activities in Cote d'Ivoire and Nigeria.

$193,943

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to assist the African-American Labor Center in conducting two trade union leadership seminars in the United States for senior African unionists and to continue to develop model course materials to be used in worker education programs in Africa. The leadership seminar focuses on enhancing the skills of African trade union leaders in areas such as adult education, labor economics, collective bargaining, and financial management.

$180,000

ASIA

Afghanistan

AFGHANISTAN RELIEF COMMITTEE, to continue support for two Pakistan-based Afghan publishing organizations, the Writers Union of Free Afghanistan (WUFA) and the Afghan Information Center (AIC). WUFA, a nonpartisan group of Afghan intellectuals, publishes a quarterly journal *KHPALWAKI* (*Freedom*), as well as translations of books and articles by foreign authors about the Soviet system for distribution in Afghanistan. AIC publishes a monthly English-language bulletin which has become a reliable and vital source of information for the Western media on events in Afghanistan.

$ 45,000

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF AFGHANISTAN, to support the formation of a Lawyers Association of Free Afghanistan (LAFA) based in Peshawar, Pakistan, committed to the rule of law and pluralist democracy, respect for human rights and a central role for the private sector in the rebuilding of Afghanistan. Among LAFA's activities will be codifying Afghan laws, drafting a new constitution, monitoring human rights violations in Afghanistan and promoting human rights.

$ 25,000

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF AFGHANISTAN, to enable the Cultural Council of the Afghan Resistance, based in Islamabad, Pakistan, to establish an independent, nongovernmental Afghan Institute for Policy Studies. The Institute will stimulate and focus Afghan discussion and debate on major public policy issues related to the political reconstruction of Afghanistan and, in the process, encourage the development of a more free, open and pluralistic Afghan society.

$ 66,000

INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE, to support the establishment of a nonpartisan Afghan Women's Center in Peshawar, Pakistan where Afghan women can be trained in health, education, social services and development work.

$ 14,100

Bangladesh

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI), to send a delegation to observe the local elections in Bangladesh and develop a program to encourage participation in the democratic electoral process. Four experts will observe the local elections in March 1990, assessing the administration of the electoral process and determining whether Bengali parties would be interested in working with NDI to develop national democratic electoral systems.

$ 22,200

Cambodia

THE CAMBODIAN DOCUMENTATION COMMISSION, to prepare and publish a plan to establish an indigenous human rights monitoring program in Cambodia and to train Cambodians as human rights specialists, teachers, and organizers. The Commission, a New York-based organization of Cambodians, specialists on Cambodia, human rights advocates, and legal scholars, will publish the plan in English and Khmer for distribution to Cambodian and international human rights groups.

$ 37,000

India

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (CIPE), to assist the Association of Women Entrepreneurs of Karnataka (AWAKE). Established in India in 1983 by a handful of successful women entrepreneurs, AWAKE is developing a resource center and policy research program to assist other women entrepreneurs. Support will enable AWAKE to improve, expand and promote its training and information programs and change the policy environment with respect to the opportunities for women in business.

$ 33,120

THE JAMES F. BYRNES INTERNATIONAL CENTER, University of South Carolina, to enable the Leslie Sawhny Programme of Bombay, India to continue its training programs in participatory democracy. Founded in 1968, this nonpartisan organization conducts training in citizenship, political organization and the principles of democracy for current and potential leaders in Indian civic and political life.

$ 41,500

Korea

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to assist the Federation of Korean Trade Unions (FKTU) and its affiliated unions in increasing their ability to influence government policies. The Federation sponsors programs which disseminate its views on labor law reform and legitimize the participation of unions in the political process.

$ 66,000

Pakistan

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (CIPE), to organize a South Asian Regional Conference on Micro-enterprise and the Informal Sector which was held in Pakistan in December 1989. The goal of the conference was to profile the informal sector phenomenon in specific Asian nations and to prescribe steps necessary to liberate this sector's entrepreneurial energy.

$ 87,450

The People's Republic of China

CHINA PERSPECTIVE, INC., to continue publication of *The Chinese Intellectual (TCI)* and to provide support for Chinese students in the West. Launched with Endowment support in FY 1984, *TCI* is a Chinese-language quarterly journal dedicated to promoting open discussion of democratic values, institutions and issues important to the future of China. Originally targeted at students from the mainland studying in the West, the journal moved its editorial offices from New York to Beijing in 1988 and began distribution in China. At the same time it opened a center in Beijing that hosted discussions on democracy in China. In the wake of the tragic events of June 3-4, 1989 in Tiananmen Square, the editorial offices have been moved back to New York and China Perspective has begun providing support for Chinese students in the West who are currently unable, for political reasons, to return to China.

$222,000

INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF TIBET, to establish an independent Center for Regional Development in Tibet, to be located in the Tibetan Autonomous Region, China. The Center will link Tibetan reformers with the democratic world, encourage greater Tibetan participation in the

development of a market economy and in the political process, provide a forum for Tibetan intellectuals to express themselves and learn about Western thought and promote Tibetan-Chinese dialogue on issues affecting Tibet's future.

$ 25,000

The Philippines

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (CIPE), to assist the Center for Research and Communication (CRC), which will conduct a program of case studies and seminars designed to encourage new strategies for economic growth throughout the Philippine provinces.

$ 29,030

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to assist democratic unions under the umbrella of the Trade Union Congress of the Philippines (TUCP) in becoming the preeminent representatives of Filipino workers. This assistance helps the TUCP and its affiliates increase their ability to recruit members and enhance their capability to communicate with workers and the public at large. In addition, it helps build self-sufficient unions by educating members on the importance of dues collection and by reaching out to independent unions and other democratic groups, including those representing women and youth.

$512,820

FRIENDS OF NAMFREL OF AMERICA FOUNDATION, to enable Kabatid, a nonpartisan Philippine women's organization, to organize a three-day international conference on democratic cultures of Asia for the region's key women civic leaders.

$ 12,500

FRIENDS OF NAMFREL IN AMERICA FOUNDATION, to enable Kabatid to organize new regional chapters and continue its civic education program to disseminate information, provide training in grassroots leadership skills and democratic values and promote good government.

$ 55,000

Taiwan

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI), to send a delegation of four election and country experts to the Republic of China on Taiwan to assess the prospects for free and fair parliamentary elections. The delegation will review administrative procedures and discuss the political climate with political party representatives and governmental and nongovernmental staff who have a role in the electoral process.

$ 52,824

Turkey

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF TURKEY FOUNDATION, to enable the FORUM Corporation of Ankara, Turkey to continue its efforts to strengthen the understanding and practice of democracy in Turkey and to project the Turkish democratic experience to other parts of the Islamic world. FORUM's Turkish-language periodical, *Yeni Forum*, features articles on domestic and international politics, political and economic theory and development, and art, literature, and cultural affairs. FORUM also publishes works on democracy, economics and international affairs, and translations of Western writings and samizdat from communist countries.

$ 50,000

Vietnam

INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRACY IN VIETNAM, to publish and distribute within Vietnam the magazine *Vietnam Moi? (A New Vietnam?)*, a Vietnamese-language publication reporting on Vietnamese politics and culture, as well as developments in other communist countries and the West. The Institute, based in Washington, D.C., also publishes for distribution in Vietnam works by Vietnamese authors which cannot be published there. Established in 1987, the Institute is a nonprofit organization seeking to provide the Vietnamese people with accurate information on issues and events taking place in their country and around the world.

$ 40,000

QUE ME, for continued publication and circulation within Vietnam of the monthly Vietnamese-language journal, *Que Me*, and books relevant to democracy in Vietnam. Published in Paris, *Que Me* contains articles related to the struggle for democracy and the promotion of human rights in Vietnam.

$ 35,000

Regional - Asia

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to assist trade union organizations, generally those affiliated with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), in countries where the AFL-CIO's Asian American Free Labor Institute (AAFLI) does not have a permanent representative, such as Cyprus, Lebanon, Pakistan and Taiwan. Support includes funding for forums on national issues, seminars and individual study tours on labor law, industrial relations, membership services and leadership skills. The program also provides support to the Asean Trade Union Council (ATUC).

$150,000

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to enable AFL-CIO affiliates to develop relationships with unions whose members work in related industries or occupations in Asia, the Middle East and the South Pacific. Programs focus on activities that have a direct impact on trade union rights in Asia, though in some instances more traditional technical assistance is provided. Among the unions receiving support are those that organize health workers in the Philippines and public sector workers in the South Pacific.

$ 60,000

Regional - South Pacific

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to assist new trade union movements in the developing countries of the South Pacific in becoming more effective organizations. Programs help unions develop administrative procedures, recruit new members and learn how to formulate policy positions on national issues as well as on employer-employee relations.

$274,638

EUROPE AND THE SOVIET UNION

Czechoslovakia

CHARTA SEVENTY-SEVEN FOUNDATION of Stockholm, Sweden, to continue and expand its program of technical assistance to independent intellectual and cultural groups in Czechoslovakia. The Foundation is named after the movement established in Prague in 1977 demanding that the Czechoslovak government respect the basic human rights guaranteed in the country's constitution and reaffirmed in the Helsinki Accords. A conference on Central European political culture sponsored by the foundation in Novemeber 1989 in Wroclaw, Poland had a significant impact on the revolutionary events which shortly followed in Czechoslovakia.

$ 27,500

CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIETY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, to assist two organizations in their support of independent publishing, cultural and scholarly activities in Czechoslovakia. The Documentation Center for the Promotion of Independent Czechoslovak Literature in Scheinfeld, West Germany, maintains an archive of samizdat literature and provides assistance to independent scholars and writers in Czechoslovakia. The Jan Hus Educational Foundation fosters contacts and communications among independent scholars and activists in Eastern Europe and the United Kingdom.

$ 87,500

CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIETY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, to provide supplemental support to the Jan Hus Educational Foundation. Activities include exchanges of individuals and independent publications between the countries of Eastern Europe. Assistance is also provided to the Jazz Section in Czechoslovakia to help publish its bulletin.

$ 16,000

FOREIGN POLICY RESEARCH INSTITUTE, to assist the Jan Palach Information Research Trust, a British-registered charity which serves educational and cultural objectives. Responding to the requests of a range of groups and individuals in Czechoslovakia, the Trust sends books and periodicals on a regular basis and helps samizdat publishers to publish original works and translations of foreign books which would otherwise remain unknown in the country.

$ 25,500

INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE, to support independent publications in Czechoslovakia, some seeking to maintain the independent spirit of Czech and Slovak cultural and intellectual thought, others attempting to provide timely reporting of human rights violations, discussion of current events and social and political analysis.

$ 49,000

THE SLOVAK RESEARCH AND STUDIES CENTER, to continue publishing *Nase Snahy* (*Our Trends*), a Slovak-language journal. Published in Elmhurst, New York and distributed in Slovakia, the bi-monthly journal reports on political, economic and cultural issues. Founded in 1964, the periodical deals with problems of recent Slovak history, emphasizing the need to safeguard and strengthen the interaction of the Czech and Slovak nations in their common state, and to encourage and support democratic forces in East Central Europe.

$ 12,000

Hungary

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (CIPE), to assist the Association of Hungarian Entrepreneurs (VOSZ), which was granted independent status in 1988. VOSZ seeks to educate Hungarians about entrepreneurship and the importance of economic growth through a series of television commercials boosting the image of private enterprise.

$ 25,000

FREEDOM HOUSE, to assist an association of Hungarian publishers, including AB Publishing House and the journal *Beszelo*, to spread democratic ideas and strengthen the nascent civil society in Hungary.

$ 16,500

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to develop worker-oriented programs under the auspices of two groups, the Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions (FSZDL) and the Democratic Youth League (FIDESZ). The grant will help develop the infrastructure of FSZDL and expose Hungarian labor leaders to Western methods of organization. It will also allow FIDESZ, which has been extensively involved in worker-related issues, to purchase a computer system to publish its two-page, regularly-issued workers' newsletter in Hungary.

$ 65,400

INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE, to assist a broad range of Hungarian publications which discuss economic, social and political issues and to support the establishment of new publishing initiatives.

$ 51,580

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI), for its survey mission, "Hungary: A Possibility of Pluralism," undertaken to establish contact with the political opposition. The delegation obtained an accurate perspective on the political changes occuring and laid the groundwork for a program of cooperative party-building and democratic development. NDI delegates were accompanied by representatives of the Liberal International, whose worldwide membership offers the independent parties in Hungary the opportunity to become integrated into the international democratic community.

$ 28,215

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI), to organize several nonpartisan training seminars on the practical mechanics of democratic party organization, civic education and campaign methodology. In September 1989, NDI brought technical experts from Poland, Britain, Chile, Northern Ireland and the United States to Hungary for workshops with 55 leading organizers from five of Hungary's new or revitalized political parties. Topics included party structure and administration, party message development, grass roots organizing, the use of public opinion data, media relations and candidate selection.

$ 46,400

Funding for the following programs was made possible by a grant from the U.S. Agency for International Development:

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (CIPE), to assist the Association of Hungarian Entrepreneurs (VOSZ). (See program description above.)

$ 35,000

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to assist the Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions in its program of education of the new independent workers groups in Hungary.

$ 30,000

INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE, to extend aid to the Association of Young Democrats to publish a bi-weekly youth newspaper, establish a program to provide education in democratic youth culture and develop plans for a radio broadcasting program.

$ 30,000

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI), to sponsor the Alliance of Free Democrats in their efforts to organize the Foundation for a European Hungary. During this transitional period, the Foundation will shape political public opinion in Hungary through publications, seminars, and lectures on democracy. The grant will also enable NDI to develop political training seminars providing outside expert review of the new electoral system, as well as a program to observe and monitor the March 1990 elections.

$ 65,000

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA), to assist the Hungarian Democratic Forum in its education program, in the development of its communications capabilities and in consolidating its organization. NRIIA will also participate in political training seminars and will prepare a program for observing and monitoring the March 1990 elections.

$ 75,000

Northern Ireland

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI), to sponsor the participation of two Americans in the Social Democratic Group's (SDG) third annual youth conference, "Choices for a New Generation," and in an SDG-organized conference on women in Northern Ireland politics.

$ 8,100

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI), to provide administrative and operational support to the Social Democratic Group, Limited (SDGL) of Northern Ireland for its training, research and civic education programs. Established in 1986 with NDI support, the SDGL is affiliated with Northern Ireland's Social Democratic and Labour Party.

$ 35,015

Poland

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (CIPE), to develop a program of assistance to the Krakow Industrial Society (KIS), one of the founders of Economic Action, the Warsaw-based umbrella organization representing Poland's emerging industries. KIS encourages aid to private entrepreneurs, including new business formation, training, and legal assistance. The grant also provides funding for business courses and reading material on various aspects of private enterprise and private sector activities.

$ 19,275

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to sponsor a three-year teacher-training program in Poland in conjunction with Teachers' Solidarity, the education branch of Solidarity. This project will allow the social studies curriculum in Poland to be systematically revised in order to reflect the principles and practices of democracy. The structure of the union will also be strengthened to permit the teachers greater freedom in presenting alternative curricula.

$ 24,000

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to support the independent trade union movement in Poland. Funds are provided to the Brussels-based Coordinating Office of Solidarnosc Abroad to dissemi-

nate information in the West on trade union rights in Poland and assist union activities inside Poland. Support is also provided for the New York-based Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe to translate and publish material on worker and human rights-related issues inside Poland and other East European countries. In addition, assistance is given to others engaged in support work for Solidarity publications in Poland.

$ 435,000

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to administer funds specially appropriated by the U.S. Congress to provide assistance to the independent Polish trade union Solidarity for disseminating information, sustaining union activists and maintaining its administrative infrastructure.

$1,000,000

INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE, to continue its activities in support of democracy in Eastern Europe through assistance to independent publishing houses and self-education and human rights groups in Poland. In 1985, the independent publishing houses in Poland established a Fund for Independent Publishing, including representatives of both the major and smaller houses, overseen by an independent board. The grant provides the consortium with funds for equipment, supplies and personnel.

$ 177,000

INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE, to administer funds specially appropriated by the U.S. Congress to assist the Independent Polish trade union Solidarity in maintaining a social fund established to provide medical assistance and related services to workers and their families. Funds are used to purchase medical supplies and equipment, to support the SOS Coordination Pologne, a Paris-based committee that provides health treatment for Poles, and to establish health care and social services for children of members of Solidarity.

$1,000,000

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI), to sponsor an international conference on "The Role of Parliaments in Developing National Economic Policy." The conference provided Polish parliamentarians an opportunity to learn the means used by legislatures in other countries to consider economic issues and develop national economic policy. Participants included 65 Polish parliamentarians and 11 Western European parliamentarians from across the political spectrum and a five-member U.S. congressional delegation led by Walter Mondale and Howard Baker.

$ 82,678

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA), to provide a grant to the Krakow chapter of Freedom and Peace for the translation and publication of works by modern conservative intellectuals and the eventual production of a quarterly journal of opinion. The group advocates non-violent political activism, individual liberties and involvement in the international environmental movement.

$ 20,000

POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS, to administer seven projects designed to support the democratic movement in Poland:

- the independent Committees for Education, Culture, Academic Research and Health (OKNO), which encourage and support activities independent of the government reflecting the true national culture and spirit of the Polish people;
- the Polish Helsinki Watch Committee, an independent group in Poland which monitors violations of the Helsinki Accords and issues reports on human rights violations in Poland;
- the POLCUL Foundation, established in Paris in 1980, which receives funds to make awards to Polish citizens to help sustain their work and to recognize their contribution to independent culture;
- the Polish-language literary quarterly *Zeszyty Literackie* (*Literary Notebooks*), a highly respected Polish intellectual and literary journal published in Paris and distributed within Poland;
- independent film producers in Poland, enabling them to produce new video films and acquire existing

films for reproduction on video cassettes to be shown by independent organizations throughout Poland;
• the *Uncensored Poland News Bulletin*, a bi-weekly newsletter containing documents, first-hand reports and summaries of events in Poland for use by the media, scholars, and researchers around the world; and
• the Independent Polish Agency (IPA) of Lund, Sweden for its program of support for independent democratic groups, particularly the independent press, in Poland.

$263,000

Funding for the following programs was made possible by a grant from the U.S. Agency for International Development:

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (CIPE), to develop a program of assistance to the Krakow Industrial Society (KIS). (See program description page 21.)

$ 42,500

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, to sponsor the Study Group on Polish Reform, a series of conferences with six leading economists from the United States, Great Britain, Canada, Switzerland, and Poland. The group plans to research and discuss solutions to Poland's most pressing economic problems. Their deliberations will conclude with a published report recommending a plan for Poland's economic reconstruction.

$108,868

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to fund independent video production through the Gdansk Video Center, established in 1981 by Solidarity. The Center continues to add to its valuable video archive of events in recent Polish history, from the period of martial law up to the present. The Center has served as an important source of uncensored information and hopes to expand its activities to the production of full-length films.

$ 30,000

INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE, to assist the Association for Free Speech, which was formed by the Consortium of Independent Publishers, to facilitate the expansion of independent publishing in Poland. The Association will encourage the free and uncensored distribution of books and other literature by sponsoring book clubs, book fairs, and reading rooms and by holding seminars and readings with independent authors.

$ 30,000

POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS, to support the publication of Poland's *Gazeta Wyborcza*, the first independent daily in Eastern Europe. Assistance will enable the newspaper to meet basic technical needs.

$ 55,000

POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS, to support the Foundation in Support of Local Democracy, directed by Senator Jerzy Regulski, Chairman of the Polish Senate Committee on Local Government and Chairman of the Commission for Local Self-Government of the Citizens' Committee. The Foundation will assist in the creation of democratic governmental institutions at the local level, cultivate informed participation in Polish political life and distribute instructional materials and working papers on local affairs.

$ 42,500

Portugal

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to support organizational and educational activities of the Geral Union of Workers (UGT). Forty-five full-time staff divided among UGT's fifteen affiliates are involved in organization, communications, research, and basic training for shop stewards. The project will support a training department for the UGT and for each of its affiliated unions. The educational program will provide instruction on the theory and practice of democratic unionism.

$236,938

Romania

FOREIGN POLICY RESEARCH INSTITUTE, to assist the London-based Michai Eminescu Trust in providing assistance to individuals in Romania conducting independent cultural activities. The Trust supplies material aid as well as books, journals and videos containing information not available in Romania.

$ 15,500

FOREIGN POLICY RESEARCH INSTITUTE, for the continued publication of the Romanian language cultural quarterly, *Agora*. Edited by a group of prominent Romanian emigres, *Agora* seeks to bridge the gulf between intellectuals living inside and outside Romania. The journal includes samizdat works by writers who remain in Romania, as well as by prominent dissidents and emigres outside Romania, and commentary on Western intellectual trends and their impact on Romanian intellectual life.

$ 35,000

Soviet Union

ALLIANCE FOR SELF-DETERMINATION OF ARMENIA, to assist in the publication of two independent journals and a series of books published by the Union for National Self-Determination. One of the journals, *Fatherland*, was originally the Armenian-language version of *Glasnost*, a magazine published in Moscow by a group of human rights activists. These publications discuss ecological and ethnic problems, culture, and politics from an Armenian perspective.

$ 25,000

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF FREE SPEECH ABROAD, to assist the Russian-language literary journal *Syntaxis*, edited and published in Paris by Andrei Sinyavsky. In its ten years of publication, *Syntaxis* has established a reputation in both the East and West for incisive commentary on the Soviet Union. Its editors have fashioned the journal to appeal to reform-minded Soviet intellectuals, providing translations of Soviet samizdat literature as well as relevant Western commentaries on the reform movement in the USSR.

$ 15,000

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF FREE SPEECH ABROAD, to enable *Atheneum*, a Russian-language publishing house located in Paris, to embark upon an unprecedented joint venture with four Soviet institutions. The enterprise is dedicated to restoring previously unpublished official and private archival material and offering a broad analysis of Russian and Soviet culture. Eight to nine volumes will appear each year and will be equally divided between the work of Soviet and Western scholars. They will be sold along with other works in a bookstore in Moscow run by the new venture. The grant will also fund *Minuvsheye*, an historical almanac drawing its material from previously closed archives.

$ 25,100

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF MEMORIAL, to assist the Kiev Memorial Society, a branch of the All-Union USSR Memorial Society, formerly headed by Andrei Sakharov. Technical aid will further the Society's mission of exposing the truth about the Stalinist era and its political and social legacy. The Society will focus primarily on Stalinism in the Ukraine, the Ukraine famine of 1933, and the destruction of the Ukrainian Catholic and Autocephalous Orthodox Churches. It will also explore the persecution of other communities and cultures of the Ukraine, including the Jewish community, during the Stalinist period.

$ 25,000

AMERICANS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN UKRAINE, to assist Ukrainian human rights activists and to support attempts by independent Ukrainian groups in the Soviet Union to retrieve and develop an independent culture. Material assistance is provided to various groups which organize discussions on historical, philosophical, literary and other subjects.

$ 20,000

AMERICAN LATVIAN ASSOCIATION, to assist independent democratic groups in Latvia working to promote human rights and independent culture. Information about Latvian history and culture, Western democratic processes and similar democratic movements in other Soviet bloc countries will be provided. Independent publishing and video production will also be supported.

$ 25,000

CENTER FOR DEMOCRACY IN THE USSR, to assist the Crimean Tatar movement for human and national rights in the USSR by producing the first major study of the movement and compiling a bibliography of the extensive literature on the situation of the Crimean Tatars. The study and related documents and materials will be published in Russian and Tatar-language editions for distribution in the USSR.

$ 20,000

CENTER FOR DEMOCRACY IN THE USSR, to fund a May 1989 meeting among many of the independent groups and movements, especially among the national minorities, that have emerged in the Soviet Union in the past two years. Leaders of these groups, which adhere to principles of democracy, pluralism, tolerance for other nationalities and a moderate approach to solving the Soviet Union's political and economic problems, discussed common concerns and planned future activity.

$ 30,000

CENTER FOR DEMOCRACY IN THE USSR, to continue its broad program of technical assistance to independent groups and publications which monitor and publicize the abuse of human and civil rights in the Soviet Union. More sophisticated and comprehensive computer and communications systems will be provided in order to ensure accurate and thorough coverage of events and to meet the demand for unbiased reporting on the West. The Center will continue to prepare the English-language version of the Moscow-based magazine *Glasnost*.

$145,000

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to provide funding for two projects designed to aid the trade union movement in the Soviet Union. The grant will enable the Center for Democracy to provide assistance to independent trade unionists who are active in Uzbekistan and the Krasnodar territory of the Soviet Union. It will also allow trade unionists in the Soviet Union to purchase computer equipment needed for the preparation of publications on worker rights, occupational health and safety and other workplace issues.

$ 9,000

FREEDOM OF COMMUNICATIONS, to continue its efforts to improve postal communications between the Soviet Union and the West by preparing reports on Soviet compliance with international postal regulations, publicizing Soviet violations of international postal regulations and publishing advice to mailers. The group also conducts test mailings to the Soviet Union and surveys mailers in the U.S. to determine the nature and the extent of Soviet efforts to interfere with communications between citizens of the two countries.

$ 40,000

JOINT BALTIC AMERICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE, to assist the Sweden-based Relief Centre for Estonian Prisoners of Conscience in the USSR. The Centre provides support for human rights activists and the independent press in Soviet Estonia to strengthen democratic ideas and reestablish an independent culture.

$ 25,000

LITHUANIAN CATHOLIC RELIGIOUS AID, to support independent democratic movements inside Lithuania. The program, which includes direct material assistance to independent publishers, will increase the flow of ideas and information between Lithuania and the West.

$ 35,000

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI), to conduct a systematic review of the administrative and legal procedures relating to the March 1989 elections to the Congress of People's Deputies. Due to unforeseen circumstances, the study was not completed prior to the elections, and most of the funds originally earmarked for this project were reprogrammed to other projects in Eastern Europe.

$ 4,089

TIME AND WE PUBLISHING HOUSE, INC., to publish the Russian-language bi-monthly *Time and We*, a journal of politics, culture, history and religion. The editors plan to increase their print run in order to reach a wider readership, especially within the Soviet Union, where official tolerance for the journal is enabling it to provide influential readers with new ideas for bringing democratic change to the USSR.

$ 25,000

TWENTIETH CENTURY HUMAN RIGHTS RESEARCH FOUNDATION, to assist human rights activists and independent groups in Soviet Ukraine in their attempts to build civil society. Material support will be given to publish and distribute the documents of these groups as well as for other publications that promote the aims and ideals of the Helsinki process.

$ 20,000

WORLD WITHOUT WAR COUNCIL, INC., to assist the VISA Project, which seeks to facilitate visits between family members from the USSR and the United States by bringing about public pressure on the Soviets to liberalize travel policies. Potential travelers and hosts are given information on visa procedures and advised on possible difficulties they may encounter in the Soviet bureaucracy.

$ 20,000

Yugoslavia

INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE, for the continued publication and distribution inside Yugoslavia of the London-based monthly *Nasa Rec* (*Our Word*). This Serbo-Croat newspaper publishes statements, discussions, petitions and protests of Yugoslav dissidents and civil rights activists.

$ 15,000

HARVARD RUSSIAN STUDIES CENTER, to assist in the production of a collection of essays in Serbo-Croatian on Serbian nationalism and its impact on the prospects for democratic development in Yugoslavia.

$ 20,000

Regional

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to produce a manual and accompanying video explaining basic printing techniques for independent publishers in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The material will be produced in Russian, Ukrainian, and Czech versions. Emigre groups well-acquainted with dissident movements in these countries will serve as the conduit for the information and technology to ensure the widest possible distribution. Materials written by fellow Eastern European independent trade unionists detailing their activities will also be disseminated.

$ 21,000

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA), to assist the Democratic Youth Community of Europe to initiate the formation of regular and permanent contact between independent youth organizations in Western and Eastern Europe, as well as institutional cooperation between young Europeans and U.S. political leaders.

$ 25,000

POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS, to enable the Multinational Fund for Friendship and Cooperation in Central and Eastern Europe to foster independent trans-national cooperation among Eastern European countries, based on the principles of the two organizations which established the fund, New Coalition and Polish-Czechoslovak Solidarity. A multi-national board of directors will oversee a wide variety of multilateral initiatives, including intellectual centers, journals and publishing houses, trade union groups, political parties and youth organizations.

$ 27,000

PROBLEMS OF EASTERN EUROPE, INC., to publish the Russian language journal, *Problems of Eastern Europe*, which contains analyses of current developments based particularly on the experiences of dissidents and democratic reformers.

$ 25,000

LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

Argentina

AMERICAN COUNCIL OF YOUNG POLITICAL LEADERS, to assist the University Foundation of the Rio de la Plata (FURP) in sponsoring a two-week leadership training program. The program brings regional youth leaders to Buenos Aires to meet with key political, labor, business, media and education leaders and study Argentina's federal structure.

$ 25,000

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (CIPE), to assist the Mediterranean Foundation's Institute for Economic Studies of Latin American and Argentine Reality (IEERAL) in continuing its economic advisory service for Argentine legislators. The Institute distributes legislative analyses of economic issues to legislators, journalists, business associations and advocacy groups in an effort to strengthen the Congress's policy-making role within a democratic Argentina and promote market-oriented economic policy.

$100,000

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (CIPE), to enable the Action for Private Initiative Foundation to develop a curriculum of ten seminars for high school and university students on market economics and democratic governance and processes. The seminars, which will be introduced into 40 high schools and eight universities throughout Argentina, will stress the importance of private enterprise for economic recovery and the reinforcement of democratic processes.

$ 60,000

DELPHI INTERNATIONAL, to provide continued assistance to Conciencia, a nonpartisan Argentine women's organization, to conduct activities designed to prepare Argentine citizens for the 1989 presidential elections and to underscore the role of the citizen in a democratic society. The funds will also be used to coordinate activities among other Latin American women's groups devoted to providing civic education and promoting citizen participation in their respective countries.

$129,300

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI), to conduct a two-part program encouraging Argentina's military and civilian political leaders to develop mechanisms to integrate the armed forces into civilian society. NDI sponsored a week-long workshop in Washington, D.C. in April for six Argentine political and military leaders on U.S. management of civil-military relations. In July, a conference in Montevideo, Uruguay brought together legislators, political and military leaders, and civil-military experts from Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, Israel, Spain, Paraguay, and the United States to explore the role of the military in a democratic government.

$ 93,730

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA), to support the Institute for Market Economics (IESM) of Argentina in advancing democracy through the advocacy of individual rights, constitutional order and private enterprise. Through publications, seminars, and youth essay contests, the IESM actively engages political leaders, government leaders and the general public.

$ 88,000

Bolivia

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA), to assist the Bolivian Foundation for Democratic Training and Research (FUNDEMOS), a public policy research institution devoted to Bolivian democratic development and the application of free market solutions to economic problems. FUNDEMOS will continue to conduct a series of democratic educational seminars and leadership programs for a broad segment of Bolivian society.

$ 88,000

Brazil

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to support the Brazilian General Confederation of Labor in its nationwide union organizing campaign. The program also supports activities designed to ensure that the interests of workers are taken into account in national decision-making.

$157,800

Chile

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (CIPE), to assist the Foundation of Economics and Administration of the Catholic University of Chile (FEAPUC). FEAPUC educates students entering the work force on the importance of a free enterprise system in fostering economic growth and supporting stable democracies. FEAPUC has designed a course on free market economics taught at the National Foundation for Labor Education commercial schools. An annual seminar for teachers of the course is also planned.

$ 60,470

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (CIPE), for support to the Chamber of Production and Commerce of Concepcion to organize a series of seminars throughout Chile to demonstrate to the business community the importance of good relations with labor.

$ 83,730

DELPHI INTERNATIONAL, to assist Education for Citizen Participation (PARTICIPA) in conducting a series of national and regional candidate forums prior to the December 1989 presidential and congressional elections. In addition, PARTICIPA will work with the School of Social Work of the Catholic University of Chile to assist Chile's major political parties in developing social policies that are responsive to the nation's current needs.

$ 40,000

DELPHI INTERNATIONAL, to assist the Committee for Free Elections (CEL), a group of prominent Chileans from a broad range of political backgrounds in providing a nonpartisan forum for the debate of salient issues in Chile during the transition to democratic government. In addition, the CEL worked with Chile's electoral service to produce and distribute a poll watcher's training manual in preparation for the December 1989 elections.

$ 25,000

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to fund labor education courses in Chile conducted by the Democratic Workers' Central (CDT) and democratic unions which are members of the Single Workers' Central (CUT) in Chile. Political education through various training seminars will be an important component of the unions' activities as the nation works toward return to representative government.

$ 112,000

FREEDOM HOUSE, to assist Editorial Andante in sponsoring a series of public forums on key issues related to the December 1989 Chilean presidential and congressional elections. Transcripts of the proceedings will be published by Editorial Andante and distributed by a major independent newsweekly.

$ 47,300

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY and the Catholic University of Chile, to co-sponsor a conference in August 1989 on "Options for Democratic Development in Chile," aimed at strengthening the process of peaceful democratic transition. The conference, which constituted the final phase of a two-part project, focused on the relationship between institutional forms of governance and democratic stability in Chile.

$ 25,000

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY, to assist two prominent Chilean public-policy centers, the Center for Public Studies (CEP) and the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO), in conducting a series of structured discussions between foreign and Chilean democratic activists. These discussions will focus on Chile's transition to democracy and will seek to reinforce the commitment to the democratic system of elements on both the right and the left of the political spectrum.

$ 44,000

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI), to support a public opinion survey project of a consortium of Chilean research institutes. The consortium gathered information on the Chilean public's attitudes toward democracy and plans to conduct an international seminar on the role of public opinion polls in a democratic society.

$ 99,757

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI), to assist the Committee for Free Elections (CEL) in its efforts to promote debate and consensus on key legislative, administrative, electoral and constitutional reforms as a means of ensuring free and fair elections and a peaceful transition to democratic government.

$ 25,000

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA), to support the Center for Public Studies (CEP) in Chile for its public opinion surveys. The publication of the results of various polls has provided vital information about the political attitudes and expectations of the Chilean electorate. Results of CEP's surveys are used by decision makers from all sectors of the political spectrum and are helping to facilitate Chile's transition to democracy.

$120,000

Colombia

RESEARCH FOUNDATION OF THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK, to assist the Department of Political Science of the University of Los Andes in its continuing efforts to strengthen democracy in Colombia. National sectoral forums will bring together a diverse range of political and civic leaders to discuss the problems confronting Colombia's democratic institutions.

$ 50,000

RESOURCES FOR ACTION, INC., to enable Conciencia, a private, nonpartisan women's organization, to strengthen its internal structure, upgrade its documentation and information center on democracy, and continue democratic training and leadership programs. The grant will also allow Conciencia to design a mass media campaign to enhance citizen awareness of civic responsibility and participation and to create new chapters throughout Colombia.

$ 50,000

Costa Rica

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA), to assist the Costa Rican Association for the Defense Liberty and Democracy, an educational and training foundation, to carry out programs of legislative research and conduct seminars on Central American issues.

$ 88,000

Cuba

CUBAN AMERICAN NATIONAL FOUNDATION, for continued assistance to the International Coalition for Human Rights in Cuba for its efforts to broaden public awareness of human rights violations there. Endowment support will be used to expand and strengthen the Coalition's network of citizen's committees in Europe and Latin America, continue its publications, enhance the coordination of activities among its existing committees and continue the work begun in 1988 with the United Nations Human Rights Commission.

$110,000

CUBAN AMERICAN NATIONAL FOUNDATION, to support an American counterpart to the Havana-based Cuban Committee for Human Rights in its efforts to compile, reproduce, and broadly disseminate human rights information and ideas inside Cuba and abroad.

$ 20,000

Dominica

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA), to allow the Freedom in Democracy Committee in Dominica to continue its program to promote democratic values through citizen participation in a series of seminars, lectures, publications and community development projects.

$ 54,500

Dominican Republic

DELPHI INTERNATIONAL to assist the Dominican Association of Women Voters (ADOMUVI), a private, nonprofit organization patterned after the U.S. League of Women Voters, in conducting a civic and electoral educational campaign designed to familiarize the population with the voting process. Training will be provided to women throughout the country to work at the election tables during the May 1990 national elections.

$ 40,000

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to provide support to the National Confederation of Dominican Workers (CNTD) for a program of seminars, publications and organizing. CNTD plans 14 seminars on political development for its affiliates. Training will be supplemented by publication of the confederation's monthly newspaper.

$ 36,000

Ecuador

RESOURCES FOR ACTION, to assist the Vicente Rocafuerte Foundation, a nonpartisan, non-profit organization located in Guayaquil, in providing civic education and organizational support to democratically-oriented community groups in that city's poor urban areas.

$ 33,000

Guatemala

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY, to assist the Atanasio Tzul Institute, a nonpartisan Guatemalan institution established in 1988, in conducting a series of seminars and conferences for representatives of the political, social and economic sectors of Guatemalan society on the basic elements of a democratic system, the Guatemalan Constitution and the human and civil rights it guarantees.

$ 40,000

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY, to assist the National Reconciliation Commission of Guatemala, a non-governmental institution created in 1987 in compliance with the Esquipulas II peace accords, to initiate and monitor the process of national reconciliation in Guatemala. The Commission will support the plenary sessions and working groups of the Permanent Assembly for National Dialogue, a neutral, nonpartisan forum created to promote dialogue among the various sectors of Guatemalan society. In addition, the Commission will produce publications on the progress of the national reconciliation efforts, emphasizing those areas in which concensus has been reached among competing sectors.

$ 60,000

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to extend assistance to the political education committee of the Guatemalan Confederation of Labor Unity (CUSG) to continue organizing seminars for union leadership and the rank-and-file. The seminars focus on democratic values and worker participation in the political process.

$ 32,000

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA), to support the Center for Social Economic Studies (CEES), a Guatemalan research and educational organization. CEES promotes free market economics and democratic values within business, educational and political circles. It also conducts research and analyzes policy for the legislative branch.

$ 36,000

Haiti

AMERICA'S DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION, to assist the Haitian International Institute for Research and Development (IHRED) in promoting democratic values and processes and encouraging cooperation and dialogue among private sector groups committed to democracy in Haiti. The program consists of a series of national and regional forums in Haiti's major cities focusing on issues related to the attempt to revive the electoral process and restore constitutional rule.

$ 99,000

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to help Haitian workers become aware of their rights and how to defend them. The project subsidizes the administrative costs of the Federation of Trade Unions and the Independent General Organization of Haitian Workers and assists in maintaining their offices in Port-au-Prince. Both organizations plan to issue publications, use commercial media to inform members of their rights, and conduct seminars to develop a group of instructors to conduct labor training courses at the local level throughout the country.

$ 64,000

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI), for a research project and party-building seminar. The research project will produce an in-depth analysis of the structure, objectives, procedures, activities, and future plans of the key actors in Haiti's transition process. A follow-up seminar based on the research results will be held to help strengthen the role of political parties in Haiti's transition to civilian government.

$ 46,229

Honduras

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to provide support to the Confederation of Honduran Workers (CGTH) to conduct training and organizing activities. Assistance to the CGTH will help democratic labor to continue its participation in nonpartisan political education.

$ 36,000

Mexico

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (CIPE), to assist the Mexican Entrepreneurial Development Program (DESEM) in carrying out its "University Impact" program, which seeks to increase Mexican university students' understanding of private enterprise. DESEM, in cooperation with the Technological Institute of Monterrey, one of Mexico's leading private universities, will sponsor a course on private enterprise and entrepreneurial activity covering practical instruction on how businesses are formed, how they operate and their importance to economic growth and democratic development in Mexico.

$ 40,000

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA), to support the activities of the Institute for Democracy, Solidarity and Social Peace (DEMOS PAZ), an organization devoted to fostering democratic development and pluralistic institution building in Mexico. The project is designed to increase popular understanding of human rights, citizen responsibilities, political participation and international cooperation.

$ 48,000

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA), to convene a conference in Mexico on democratic development. Participants at the July 1989 conference included leaders of Latin American political parties, representatives of research foundations, European and North American political experts, journalists and others. Topics of discussion included the development of democratic language, the use of public opinion surveys and consolidation of democracy in Latin America.

$ 50,000

Nicaragua

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (CIPE), to enable the Superior Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP), the umbrella organization representing the six major private sector business organizations in Nicaragua, to step up its monitoring and analysis of the economic and regulatory conditions in the country. The funds will allow COSEP to keep the issues of sound economic policies, fiscal responsibility and respect for personal property before the public.

$100,000

Funding for the following programs was made possible by the special appropriations made by the U.S. Congress in October 1988 and June 1989 "for the promotion of democracy in Nicaragua."

AMERICA'S DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION, to assist the Centro de Asesoría para la Democracia (CAD), a private, nonpartisan Central American institution based in Costa Rica, in conducting a civic education and training program designed to improve communications among the organizations of the Nicaraguan democratic opposition and to promote regional solidarity for the nonviolent struggle for democracy in Nicaragua.

$247,500

CENTER FOR DEMOCRACY, to conduct a comprehensive election monitoring and observation project in Nicaragua for the period leading up to and including the February 1990 elections.

$ 75,000

DELPHI INTERNATIONAL, to assist the Coordinadora Democratica Nicaraguense (CDN), a coalition of trade unions, business associations and political parties in Nicaragua, in strengthening its institutional base and continuing its public outreach activities aimed at promoting a democratic future for Nicaragua.

$ 22,000

DELPHI INTERNATIONAL, to assist *La Prensa*, an independent newspaper in Nicaragua, with the hard currency costs of imported supplies, replacement parts, equipment and staff training needed for the paper's continued publication.

$470,000

DELPHI INTERNATIONAL, to assist four Nicaraguan independent radio stations with the hard currency costs of purchasing and shipping urgently needed replacement parts, supplies and equipment.

$ 95,000

DELPHI INTERNATIONAL, to support nonpartisan democratic civic education activities designed to promote the participation of Nicaraguan women in the electoral process.

$ 55,000

DELPHI INTERNATIONAL, to support nonpartisan democratic civic education activities designed to promote the participation of Nicaraguan youth in the political life of Nicaragua.

$ 55,000

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to organize a series of information and education programs designed to assist Nicaraguan trade unionists in developing their organizing skills and ties of solidarity with other trade union organizations in the hemisphere.

$397,345

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to provide assistance to Nicaragua's affiliated agrarian unions and cooperatives to enable their members to plant and harvest in 1989.

$ 80,207

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to assist Nicaragua's independent labor movement in mobilizing workers and their families for full participation in the electoral process and to strengthen the ability of democratic trade unions to support human rights and workers' rights.

$415,000

FREEDOM HOUSE, to support the publication and distribution of *El Pez y la Serpiente*, a Spanish-language cultural magazine of poems, short stories, and scholarly works by independent Nicaraguan writers. In addition, a book of literary works by Nicaraguan authors will be published. These publications will enlarge the limited possibilities that exist for independent thought in Nicaragua today.

$ 25,000

INTER-AMERICAN BAR FOUNDATION, to co-sponsor with the Independent Nicaraguan Bar Foundation and other appropriate bar organizations an international seminar in Managua on the Nicaraguan electoral process.

$ 38,808

INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTORAL SYSTEMS, to provide assistance to the Nicaraguan democratic civic movement formed to promote voter registration and participation through civic education activities and training at the grass-roots level.

$340,000

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI), to assist the efforts of Nicaraguan democrats to promote free and fair elections. In July 1989, NDI sponsored a seminar in Managua on electoral participation with leaders of the 14 political parties that make up the civic opposition coalition. The grant was also used to support the Institute for Electoral Promotion and Training, an electoral training institute created to promote participation and instill confidence in the electoral process.

$290,140

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI)\ NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA), to conduct a joint project to assist Nicaraguan democrats in carrying out programs to encourage participation and instill confidence in the electoral process and promote free and fair elections. Activities include voter registration, civic education, election-monitoring, get-out-the-vote drives, and training of poll watchers.

$450,000

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA), to enable two conservative educational institutes in Nicaragua to undertake civic education projects designed to promote an understanding of democratic principles among political activists and youth leaders and provide instruction in job skill development.

$ 85,000

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA), to sponsor an international electoral training seminar for Nicaraguan political leaders and to bring international youth organization representatives to Nicaragua for a fact-finding visit.

$107,000

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA), to cover the partial costs of installing a fully-equipped television production facility in Nicaragua and to produce a series of news and information programs for broadcast on Nicaraguan television.

$252,000

Panama

AMERICA'S DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION, to assist the National Civic Crusade for Panama in strengthening its local grassroots network and in promoting mass participation in the May 1989 elections. The grant will also enable the Crusade to broaden its membership within Panama and its support in Latin America, as well as provide reliable information to the Panamanian people on current events and the requirements for a transition to democracy.

$ 99,000

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI), to carry out a series of seminars and workshops for Panamanian political parties and democratic activists. Led by Venezuelan, Chilean, and U.S. electoral experts, the seminars are designed to assist the efforts of

Panamanian political party leaders and civic activists in bringing about peaceful democratic change. Assistance also enabled the political parties and civic groups to conduct civic education programs and to establish an independent election-monitoring system for the May 1989 elections.

$ 99,665

Paraguay

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (CIPE), for support to the Paraguayan Foundation for Cooperation and Development to enable it to continue promoting the integration of the informal sector into Paraguay's formal economy and consolidating the microenterprise segment of the economy into a united advocate for private enterprise. The Foundation will establish a chamber of microenterprise to serve as a voluntary organization representing small business.

$ 95,000

FREEDOM HOUSE, to assist Radio Nanduti, an independent news service both within Paraguay and abroad, in maintaining its broadcast capabilities. This assistance will enable Radio Nanduti to purchase a new AM transmitter, continue broadcasting on its FM station and maintain its operational infrastructure.

$ 86,900

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI), to assist the Center for Democratic Studies (CED), a non-partisan institute based in Asuncion, in its program to promote civic education and democratic development.

$ 45,000

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI, to support the Paraguayan Institute for Geopolitical and International Studies (IPEGEI), a nonpartisan social science institute located in Asuncion, in providing a forum for the discussion of ideas relating to Paraguay's transition to democracy.

$ 16,500

Funding for the following programs was made possible by a grant from the U.S. Agency for International Development:

DELPHI INTERNATIONAL, to assist Women for Democracy (MPLD) in producing a series of civic education messages aimed at preparing Paraguayan citizens for the May 1989 elections. The messages were broadcast on Paraguayan radio and published in local newspapers.

$ 66,000

DELPHI INTERNATIONAL, to support the Paraguayan Center for Sociological Studies (CPES) in conducting an intensive civic education campaign aimed at increasing awareness of and participation in the May 1989 elections among the rural sections of Paraguay.

$ 27,500

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to provide year-long assistance to the Workers' Inter-Union Movement (MIT) to strengthen Paraguay's free trade union movement and to monitor workers' rights.

$ 92,668

FREEDOM HOUSE, to enable Radio Nanduti to continue its activities, including the publication of books, production of a monthly compendium of news events in Paraguay and maintenance of a press file that also serves as an historical archive.

$ 41,000

INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTORAL SYSTEMS (IFES), to provide more than 11,000 bottles of indelible ink for use during the May 1989 balloting.

$ 32,832

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI), to assist the Center for Democratic Studies (CED) in its program to promote civic education leading up to the May 1989 elections. Activities included poll-watcher training seminars, a mass media civic education campaign, a public opinion poll and the establishment of a "quick count" system. In addition, funds were used to finance the election-monitoring activities of an international observer delegation.

$131,500

NORTHEAST CATHOLIC HISPANIC CENTER, to assist the Comite de Iglesias, a Church-affiliated human rights organization, in conducting civic education courses and monitoring human rights violations.

$ 30,000

NORTHEAST CATHOLIC HISPANIC CENTER, to assist Radio Caritas, a Catholic Church-affiliated radio station, in conducting a year-long civic education program consisting of "free forum" interviews, the production and distribution of radio programs on the electoral process and a training seminar for journalists sponsored in cooperation with the Catholic University of Asuncion.

$ 40,000

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI, to assist the Paraguayan Institute for Geopolitical and International Studies (IPEGEI), a nonpartisan social science institute located in Asuncion, in conducting a series of poll-watcher training classes for representatives of Paraguay's registered political parties. Funding also supported production of five television and 15 radio spots encouraging voter participation in the May 1989 elections.

$ 38,500

Peru

CAPACITAS INTERNATIONAL, to provide renewed assistance to Conciencia, a private nonpartisan women's organization, for its democratic civic education program. The grant will enable Conciencia to create additional chapters throughout Peru and strengthen its internal structure.

$ 44,000

CAPACITAS INTERNATIONAL, to assist the Peruvian Center for International Studies (CEPEI) in conducting a seminar and a series of roundtables on the role of the military in a democratic Peru. These efforts will continue the dialogue previously begun by CEPEI between civilian and military leaders to strengthen Peru's prospects for a stable democratic future.

$ 33,000

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (CIPE), to assist the Institute for Liberty and Democracy (ILD) in expanding its program advocating the peaceful evolution of Peru from a mercantilist state to a modern, participatory democracy with a market economy open to all. Established in 1980, the ILD program seeks to stimulate public debate and generate positive change of the legal and institutional structure in Peru by developing new legislative and regulatory proposals and acting as regulatory watchdog to ensure that laws are implemented and economic rights protected.

$280,000

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to support the political education and labor training program of the Confederation of Peruvian Workers (CPT). The CPT will engage the part-time services of newspaper correspondents to ensure adequate coverage of its activities and its position on key political and economic issues. Union members also will be trained in political ideologies, trade union activity and the fundamentals of democracy.

$ 25,000

Uruguay

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (CIPE), to assist the Center for the Study of Economic and Social Affairs (CERES) in conducting a program using recent research on the economy to advocate market-oriented changes in Uruguay's economic policies. In addition, a symposium will be held for business representatives, political leaders, journalists, top-level public administrators and other private sector research organizations, following which CERES will publish a series of conference reports and legislative proposals.

$ 65,140

DELPHI INTERNATIONAL, to assist Encuentro, a Uruguayan women's organization, in conducting civic education activities including a public information campaign on themes related to the November 1989 elections, programs on civic leadership training and political participation and workshops on civic education in primary schools and private high schools.

$ 30,000

Regional

CARIBBEAN PUBLISHING AND BROADCASTING ASSOCIATION to support its year-round training program for Eastern Caribbean print media designed to strengthen the professional level and effectiveness of newspapers in the region. The Association provides a forum for Caribbean journalists to share ideas and promote their mutual interest in a free press.

$ 45,000

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (CIPE), to support the Latin American Association of Business Organization Executives (ALEOE), based in Mexico City. Formed by the first graduating class of the CIPE-sponsored Latin American Institute for Organization Management, ALEOE was created to take over the management of the Institute from the U.S. Chamber of Commerce's Center for Leadership Development, which created and managed the program for four years. The Institute, which conducts an annual training course in Costa Rica for business organization executives, seeks to strengthen the role of voluntary business organizations in the political and economic sectors of their respective countries.

$ 60,000

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to provide program support for the Service Employees International Union and the Bricklayers and Allied Craftsmen International Union to enable them to cooperate with respective international trade secretariats in their work with trade unions throughout Latin America and the Caribbean.

$112,000

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to provide funds for U.S.-trained instructors and educational materials for regional trade union courses on political economy. An education manual on trade issues will be completed, and an older manual on democracy in developing countries will be revised and updated.

$ 74,400

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to continue the exchange activities of U.S. trade unionists to Central and South America. Delegations of six to eight trade unionists will travel to Latin America to learn and report on the situation and lend U.S. labor support to workers in the region.

$189,040

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to enable the Inter-American Committee on Human and Trade Union Rights to monitor worker rights violations and take appropriate action. The committee is

sponsored by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and its hemispheric affiliate, the Inter-American Workers' Organization (ORIT). The funds will support a staff coordinator in ORIT's Mexico City headquarters as well as information centers in various countries. The project produces a monthly newsletter, *Update*, which is distributed to confederation affiliates throughout the international human rights community.

$ 92,000

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to support activities designed to strengthen democratic trade unionism in the French-speaking Caribbean in cooperation with the French democratic trade union, Force Ouvriere (FO), and to help insure the survival of independent unions in the French-speaking Caribbean nations.

$ 32,000

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to provide assistance to nonpartisan committees on political education in the democratic labor federations in Guatemala, Honduras, Panama and the Dominican Republic. The committees are working to raise the political consciousness of union members through educational conferences, training seminars and public forums.

$ 35,000

FREEDOM HOUSE to provide assistance to Libro Libre, a nonprofit association based in Costa Rica, to continue its program of dissemination of democratic thought in Central America. Through the publication of books and magazines and the organization of seminars and lectures, Libro Libre serves as a catalyst for the spread of democratic values in the region.

$215,000

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA), to support the activities of the Jamaica-based Secretariat of the Caribbean Democratic Union (CDU), an organization of ten moderate and conservative democratic political parties in the English-speaking Caribbean. The CDU hosts seminars on democracy and political participation, publishes a quarterly newsletter and is building a data base of issues pertaining to the Caribbean Basin.

$175,705

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA), to assist the Central American Academy, a cooperative effort of four political foundations in Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua dedicated to strengthening democratic principles in Central America. Regional training seminars on topics such as institution building, communications and party building are offered by the Academy to intermediate and grass roots civic groups along with a broad spectrum of rural inhabitants.

$136,000

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA), to assist the Colombia-based Inter-American Forum of the Simon Bolivar Foundation in its program of exchanges and the dissemination of literature on democratic development among moderate and conservative democratic political parties in Latin America. These activities help to build stronger democratic institutions through improved communications, organization and public opinion surveys.

$ 88,000

MULTIREGIONAL

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (CIPE), to conduct an in-depth survey of economic reforms in key developing countries. The survey will identify the extent to which these countries are moving toward reform programs capable of generating economic growth and provide guidance on the strategy of reform.

$ 93,700

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (CIPE), for continued publication and international distribution of English, Spanish and French editions of the quarterly *Journal of Economic Growth*. The *Journal* advocates free market/limited government principles and includes information on international business conditions, country economic performance and economic growth indicators.

$225,000

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (CIPE), to conduct a conference in Washington, D.C. on market-oriented reforms. The conference, which was held in February 1989, was addressed by specialists in privatization, deregulation, foreign assistance, structural adjustment and conditionality, fiscal, monetary, and trade policy, and the global economic environment. The participants included approximately 100 U.S. Agency for International Development, State Department, World Bank, International Monetary Fund, congressional and think tank staff. A report is forthcoming on the proceedings of the conference and the follow-up research on the questions raised.

$ 28,372

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (CIPE), to monitor and evaluate the progress and results of CIPE grants and to develop new projects.

$ 26,080

FREEDOM HOUSE, to continue and expand the Exchange program, a network of democratic opinion leaders in the developing and developed world launched in 1984 with Endowment support. The network currently consists of over 400 individuals in 50 countries who circulate materials from Exchange mailings and share with others on the circuit writings on democratic themes.

$ 60,000

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to continue the International Trade Secretariats program begun by the American Federation of Teachers. The project monitors teachers' rights and academic freedom in dictatorial countries in cooperation with the AFT's international trade secretariat, the International Federation of Free Teachers Unions. The project coordinator will monitor activities in four countries with various forms of dictatorship.

$ 50,000

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to assist the AFL-CIO in expanding the circulation of mainstream democratic thought throughout the world by distributing editorial features to newspaper editors, especially in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean. The service sends three or four 750-word opinion pieces each week to a growing number of newspapers (currently about 220).

$100,000

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), for a special program fund enabling it to meet urgent requests for trade union assistance and supplement existing programs as necessary.

$ 73,323

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI), to assist the International Institute for Women's Political Leadership with the formulation of its program activities and operational structure, including the arrangements for research facilities at Radcliffe College, Harvard University.

$ 54,936

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI), for program development in the areas of party-building workshops, electoral systems and election observation, civic education and research and conferences.

$ 80,000

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA), to assist the International Institute for Women's Political Leadership in its international program of political education and leadership training for women in established and emerging democracies.

$ 20,000

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA), for research and program development activities, including the sponsorship of forums, publication of materials and academic research into contemporary issues of democratic development.

$ 52,000

Deloitte
Haskins + Sells

Suite 350
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004-2505
(202) 879-5600
ITT Telex: 4995732

INDEPENDENT AUDITORS' REPORT

National Endowment for Democracy:

We have audited the accompanying balance sheets of the National Endowment for Democracy (the Endowment) as of September 30, 1989 and 1988 and the related statements of revenues and expenses and changes in fund balance and of cash flows for the years then ended. These financial statements are the responsibility of the Endowment's management. Our responsibility is to express an opinion on these financial statements based on our audits.

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

In our opinion, such financial statements present fairly, in all material respects, the financial position of the Endowment at September 30, 1989 and 1988 and the results of its operations and its cash flows for the years then ended in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles.

Deloitte Haskins + Sells

November 29, 1989

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY

BALANCE SHEETS, SEPTEMBER 30, 1989 AND 1988

	NOTES	1989	1988
ASSETS			
CURRENT ASSETS:			
Cash	11	$ 2,199,902	$ 1,447,596
Grants receivable (including restricted grants: 1989, $2,783,092; 1988, $751,419)	2,4	10,985,668	9,589,035
Pledges receivable	2,6	255,000	
Prepaid and other assets		15,502	27,724
Total current assets		13,456,072	11,064,355
PROPERTY, NET	2,3	212,298	230,258
TOTAL		$13,668,370	$11,294,613
LIABILITIES AND FUND BALANCE			
CURRENT LIABILITIES:			
Accounts payable and accrued liabilities	12	$ 209,553	$ 103,365
Grants payable	2,5	10,015,454	10,234,921
Deferred revenue - USAID	6	2,786,187	673,423
Other deferred revenue	6	410,446	
Current obligations under capital lease and notes payable	8	16,696	17,820
Total current liabilities		13,438,336	11,029,529
CAPITAL LEASE OBLIGATIONS AND NOTES PAYABLE - long-term portion	8	50,975	67,671
FUND BALANCE		179,059	197,413
TOTAL		$13,668,370	$11,294,613

See notes to financial statements.

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY

STATEMENTS OF REVENUES AND EXPENSES AND CHANGES IN FUND BALANCE
FOR THE YEARS ENDED SEPTEMBER 30, 1989 AND 1988

	NOTES	1989	1988
REVENUES			
Grant revenue	1,2	$20,937,195	$20,316,673
Contributions		164,703	31,800
Total revenues		21,101,898	20,348,473
EXPENSES			
Program grants	1,2,7	19,485,128	18,977,840
Salaries, wages and benefits	10	899,719	821,154
Professional fees		78,606	58,602
Occupancy	8	145,454	121,923
Consultants		65,436	65,163
Communications		116,630	92,773
Travel and transportation		121,359	72,434
Supplies and equipment		35,846	29,406
Insurance		23,218	21,627
Depreciation and amortization	2	63,578	55,597
Conference and meetings		40,758	22,516
Other		10,988	11,303
Periodical - production and marketing		33,532	
Total expenses		21,120,252	20,350,338
DEFICIENCY OF REVENUES OVER EXPENSES		(18,354)	(1,865)
FUND BALANCE, BEGINNING OF YEAR		197,413	199,278
FUND BALANCE, END OF YEAR		$ 179,059	$ 197,413

See notes to financial statements.

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY

STATEMENTS OF CASH FLOWS
FOR THE YEARS ENDED SEPTEMBER 30, 1989 AND 1988

	1989	1988
CASH FLOWS FROM OPERATING ACTIVITIES:		
Deficiency of revenue over expenses	$ (18,354)	$ (1,865)
Adjustments to reconcile deficiency of revenue over expenses to net cash provided by operating activities:		
Depreciation and amortization	63,578	55,597
Changes in assets and liabilities:		
Grants receivable	(1,396,633)	2,203,395
Pledges receivable	(255,000)	
Prepaid and other assets	12,222	1,282
Accounts payable	106,188	1,500
Grants payable	(219,467)	195,410
Deferred revenue - USAID	2,112,764	(940,895)
Other deferred revenue	410,446	
Net cash provided by operating activities	815,744	1,514,424
CASH FLOWS FROM INVESTING ACTIVITIES:		
Purchase of property	(45,618)	(81,440)
Disposal of property		11,409
Net cash used in investing activities	(45,618)	(70,031)
CASH FLOWS FROM FINANCING ACTIVITIES:		
Principal payments under capital lease obligations and notes payable	(17,820)	(27,511)
Net cash used in financing activities	(17,820)	(27,511)
Net change in cash	752,306	1,416,882
CASH AT BEGINNING OF YEAR	1,447,596	30,714
CASH AT END OF YEAR	$2,199,902	$1,447,596

See notes to financial statements.

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY

NOTES TO FINANCIAL STATEMENTS
FOR THE YEARS ENDED SEPTEMBER 30, 1989 AND 1988

1. ORGANIZATION

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

2. SUMMARY OF SIGNIFICANT ACCOUNTING POLICIES

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

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

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

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

Property and Equipment - Property and equipment are carried at cost and are depreciated or amortized on the straight-line method over their estimated service lives or the terms of the lease, as applicable, ranging from 3 to 10 years.

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

3. PROPERTY

Property less accumulated depreciation and amortization as of September 30, 1989 and 1988, is as follows:

	1989	1988
Furniture and equipment	$ 263,794	$219,771
Equipment under capital lease	110,219	110,219
Total	374,013	329,990
Less accumulated depreciation and amortization	(161,715)	(99,732)
Property, net	$ 212,298	$230,258

4. GRANTS RECEIVABLE

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

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

5. GRANTS PAYABLE

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

6. DEFERRED REVENUE

Deferred grant revenue

The following schedule summarizes the changes in deferred grant revenue from USAID for the years ended September 30, 1989 and 1988:

	1989	1988
Balances, beginning of year	$ 673,423	$ 1,614,318
Grants awarded to the Endowment	7,250,000	500,000
Obligations incurred by the Endowment	(5,137,236)	(1,440,895)
Balances, end of year	$ 2,786,187	$ 673,423

The balances at year end consist of the following amounts:

	1989	1988
Restricted for use in:		
South Africa	$ 751,187	$673,423
Nicaragua	1,450,000	
Poland	330,000	
Hungary	255,000	
Balance, end of year	$2,786,187	$673,423

The deferred grant revenue at September 30, 1989 will be recognized as revenue when the Endowment incurs valid obligations in accordance with the purposes set forth in the grant agreements.

Other deferred revenue

In fiscal year 1989, the Endowment commenced work to produce and publish a quarterly periodical to be entitled the Journal of Democracy. No issues of the periodical have yet been published. The Endowment has received support to fund the periodical from a number of private sources. Commitments for future support of the publication are recorded as pledges receivable. Contributions restricted for support of the publication are deferred and recognized as revenue in the period in which expenses related to the publication are incurred.

Also included in other deferred revenue at September 30, 1989 is a contribution of approximately $20,000 for support of a general internship program in fiscal year 1990.

The following schedule summarizes the changes in other deferred revenue:

Pledges and cash contributions received in fiscal year 1989	$469,488
Less: Expenses incurred	(59,042)
Balance at September 30, 1989	$410,446

7. RELATED PARTIES

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

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

8. COMMITMENTS

Minimum future payments under capital leases of equipment as of September 30, 1989 are as follows:

Year ending September 30,	
1990	$24,616
1991	22,218
1992	22,218
1993	18,516
Total minimum lease payments	87,568
Less amounts representing interest	19,897
Total obligations	67,671
Less current portion of obligations	16,696
Long-term obligations	$50,975

The Endowment has noncancelable operating leases for office space and equipment. The lease for office space includes a provision for rent escalations to compensate for increases in operating costs. Lease expense was approximately $147,000 and $122,000 for the years ended September 30, 1989 and 1988, respectively. The approximate minimum future lease payments through the end of the lease terms are as follows:

Year ending September 30,	
1990	$175,000
1991	175,000
1992	58,000
Total	$408,000

9. INCOME TAXES

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

10. RETIREMENT PLAN

The Endowment has a defined contribution annuity plan for all its employees under which the Endowment contributes a percentage of eligible employees' annual earnings to individually owned tax-deferred annuity contracts. The Endowment's contribution to the plan is based on 10% of an eligible employee's annual

earnings. Costs of the plan for the years ended September 30, 1989 and 1988 were approximately $58,138 and $44,645, respectively.

11. RESTRICTED CASH

The cash balances at September 30, 1989 and 1988 include approximately $1,869,000 and $1,260,000 of restricted cash from USAID appropriations for use as specified in grant agreements with USAID. In addition, the cash balance at September 30, 1989 includes approximately $135,000 of restricted cash for production and publication of the Journal of Democracy.

12. TRANSFERS TO USIA AND USAID

Commencing in fiscal year 1987, the U.S. Government established a policy whereby recipients of federal funds are required to deposit grant funds in interest bearing accounts. Interest earned in excess of $100 per fiscal year must be remitted back to the U.S. Government. Total interest earned in fiscal year 1989 and 1988 was approximately $144,000 and $90,000, respectively. Interest earned has been netted against transfers of interest to USIA and USAID for financial statement purposes. Interest payable to USIA and USAID at September 30, 1989 and 1988 of $47,971 and $27,580, respectively, is included in the balance of accounts payable and accrued liabilities in the accompanying financial statements.

STAFF AND CONSULTANTS

Office of the President

Carl Gershman, President
David Lowe, Executive Assistant to the President
Margaret A. Ferry, Public Information Officer
Kim McBee, Freedom of Information Act Officer
Marna White, Secretary to the President
Linda Rotblatt, Staff Assistant
Elizabeth Kafer, Receptionist

Program Section

Marc Plattner, Counselor
Barbara E. Haig, Director of Program
Adelina Reyes-Gavilan, Senior Program Officer for Latin America
Nadia Diuk, Senior Program Officer for Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union
Kate Kauffman, Program Officer for South America
Dave Peterson, Program Officer for Africa
Silvia Gonzalez, Assistant Program Officer for Latin America
Yale Richmond, Consultant, Asia
Sarah K. Schneewind, Program Administrator
Julianne Johnson, Program Assistant
Zarmina Ali, Program Secretary
Julia Fuller, Intern
Debra Liang, Assistant to the Counselor

Finance Section

Joseph Cooper, Jr., Director of Finance and Administration
Tresa A. Bass, Grants Officer
Diane Merchant, Internal Auditor
Kae Guthrie, Office Administrator
Rosa Delmy Canales, Accountant
Larry Rosemond, Systems Administrator
Mazie Taylor, Finance Assistant
Pat Owens, Finance Secretary

Journal of Democracy

Peter Pavilionis, Managing Editor
Philip J. Costopoulos, Associate Editor
Gary Rosen, Assistant Editor

Corporation Counsel

Ross, Dixon and Masback

January, 1990

The **National Endowment for Democracy**, a private organization incorporated in the District of Columbia, was created in 1983 and has received an annual appropriation from the U.S. Congress since 1984. Through its worldwide grants program, the Endowment assists those abroad who are working for democratic goals. Governed by a bipartisan Board of Directors, the Endowment is a tax-exempt, nonprofit corporation as defined in Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code.

For further information, please contact:

Public Information Officer
National Endowment for Democracy
1101 Fifteenth Street, N.W.
Suite 203
Washington, D.C. 20005

Telephone: (202)293-9072
Fax: (202)223-6042