

Annual Report 1990

National Endowment for Democracy

Annual Report 1990

National Endowment for Democracy

1990 Annual Report

October 1, 1989 - September 30, 1990

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Officers and Directors	1
Chairman's Message	3
President's Report	5
Journal of Democracy	11
Breakfast Series	13
Fiscal 1990 Programs	
Africa	15
Asia	19
Europe and the Soviet Republics	23
Latin America and the Caribbean	37
Multiregional	47
Fiscal 1990 Audit	49
Endowment Staff and Consultants	61

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

Harry Barnes, Jr.
Executive Director, Critical Languages
& Studies Consortium

William E. Brock
Managing Partner, The Brock Group

Zbigniew Brzezinski
Counselor, Center for Strategic
and International Studies

Henry G. Cisneros
Chairman, Cisneros Asset Management Co.

LeGree Daniels
Governor, Board of Governors,
United States Postal Service

Frank J. Fahrenkopf, Jr.
Hogan & Hartson

Orrin G. Hatch
United States Senate

James Holderman
Vice Chairman, Koger Properties

Lane Kirkland
President, AFL-CIO

Winston Lord
Former Ambassador to China

Charles T. Manatt
Manatt, Phelps, Rothenberg & Phillips

Mark Palmer
President, CEDC Berlin

Susan Kaufman Purcell
Vice President, Americas Society

John Richardson
Counselor, U.S. Institute of Peace

Olin Robison
Royal Institute of International Affairs

Albert Shanker
President, American Federation of Teachers

Sally Shelton-Colby
Georgetown University

Charles H. Smith, Jr.
Chairman, SIFCO Industries

Jay Van Andel
Chairman, Amway Corporation

Eddie N. Williams
President, Joint Center for Political
and Economic Studies

CHAIRMAN'S MESSAGE

In Moscow, a commission puts the finishing touches on a new constitution for the Russian Republic which emphasizes individual rights and the rule of law. In Capetown, leaders from diverse sectors of South African society come together in search of a non-racial democratic alternative to apartheid. In Ankara, a group of democrats convene a series of workshops to see what lessons from the Turkish democratic experience can be applied to other parts of the Islamic World. In Haiti, political parties, unions, and civic organizations work with local groups to help guarantee the integrity of the most significant election in that country's history.

All of these exciting projects received major funding from the National Endowment for Democracy in 1990. And though they represent but a fraction of the scores of projects funded within the past year by the Endowment, the brief descriptions of these four tell us much about the grants program which the NED currently manages:

- It is worldwide in scope, operating in over 50 countries throughout Africa, Asia, Central and Eastern Europe, and Latin America;
- It engages the talents and energies of a broad array of overseas activists who are struggling to create effective democratic institutions within their countries, as well as a dedicated group of men and women within the U.S. who have volunteered their time and skills in order to become engaged in the worldwide movement toward democracy;
- It funds projects in countries at every stage of democratic development, from closed societies to those where authoritarian structures are crumbling; from countries where democracy is a long-term prospect to new democracies where

institutions need to be established and consolidated.

Since NED's inception seven years ago, the world has been transformed dramatically by the global democratic movement. The Endowment's active involvement in this movement has brought it the admiration and goodwill of so many on its front lines. In numerous cases, our grantees were previously unknown activists, frequently working in illegality and persecuted by their respective governments. Now many of them are legislators, cabinet ministers, and even heads of state, and the challenges they face to create stable self-governing structures are every bit as daunting as the ones they faced before.

As one of those who helped conceive and launch this organization, I have taken particular satisfaction in witnessing the growing support for NED among many of those who questioned its purpose when it was created. The Endowment's period of testing, normal for any new institution, is clearly a thing of the past. As we begin to look ahead, we do so secure in the knowledge that a sound philosophical, programmatic and political foundation has been established.

Such a foundation could not have been laid without firm bipartisan support in the Congress, as well as strong encouragement from the White House, the Department of State, the United States Information Agency, and the Agency for International Development. Special thanks go to the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, which has continued to promote the Endowment's mission and work. Finally, I would like to pay tribute to NED's Board of Directors, a truly distinguished body of citizens each of whom has made a significant contribution to carrying out our mandate.

My time in this organization has been deeply moving as we have watched men and women rise to new heights of personal courage in their pursuit of liberty. I am profoundly grateful for the opportunity I, and we, have been given to play a real role in the cause of democracy.

While this is a time for celebration of the new possibilities which have been created for democratic reform, it is clearly not a time for complacency. As President Havel told a packed congressional joint session last February, "as long as people are people, democracy in the full sense of the word will always be no more than an ideal; one may approach it as one would a horizon, in ways that may be better or worse, but it can never be fully attained. In this sense you too are merely approaching democracy. But you have one great advantage: you have been approaching democracy uninterruptedly for more than two hundred years, and your journey toward that horizon has never been disrupted by a totalitarian state."

For so many, the journey toward that distant horizon has just begun. As I step down as Chairman of the National Endowment for Democracy and depart from its Board of Directors, I do so with full confidence that this important organization will continue to help make that journey a safe one for countless people throughout the world.



William E. Brock

PRESIDENT'S REPORT

The present Annual Report deals with the activities of the National Endowment for Democracy during the fiscal year beginning on October 1, 1989, and ending on September 30, 1990. As such, it covers a unique period in world history when momentous events brought unprecedented progress for democracy around the world. These events included the sweeping collapse of Communist regimes in Central Europe, culminating in the fall of Ceausescu in Romania and the subsequent reunification of Germany; the seemingly inexorable disintegration of totalitarianism in the Soviet Union, highlighted by the election of democratic reformers to top offices in Russia and other national republics and in the country's most important cities; the release of Nelson Mandela after more than 27 years of imprisonment in South Africa and the beginning of talks looking toward the replacement of apartheid by a democratic system; dramatic moves in many other authoritarian African countries toward multi-party democracy; the continuation of democratic progress in Latin America, marked by Brazil's first direct presidential vote in 29 years, Chile's first free elections since the military coup in 1973, the removal of the Noriega dictatorship in Panama and the triumph of the democratic opposition coalition in the Nicaraguan elections; the participation for the first time of opposition parties in elections in Taiwan and the promise of parliamentary elections in Nepal following the dissolution of non-party government there and, as never before, the beginning of some democratic momentum in the Middle East, notably in Algeria, Egypt, Tunisia and Jordan.

Despite these hopeful developments, the brief moment of euphoria at the end of 1989 had given way a year later to a somber appreciation of the obstacles to the consolidation of democratic systems. In Central Europe, Poland and the other countries trying to make the transition to market economies experienced unprecedented levels of unemployment and other economic hardships, while previously suppressed national and ethnic divisions rose to the surface. In the Soviet Union, newly ascendant hardline elements threatened to

reverse democratic gains, with force if necessary, as demonstrated in early 1991 in Lithuania. Progress in South Africa was threatened by escalating political and inter-communal violence among black groups; while ethnic, caste and religious violence strained the fragile stability of India, the world's largest democracy. Overwhelming economic and political problems stalled the consolidation of democracy in Nicaragua (much as they had already done in the Philippines, which had experienced its own "people power" revolution four years earlier), while Peru, Argentina, and other emerging Latin democracies continued to struggle with the problems of debt, political and drug-related violence, military insubordination, and endemic poverty. Not least, China and other Asian Communist regimes, along with Cuba, braced themselves to resist the political momentum for change unleashed the previous year in Eastern Europe.

This is the context in which the Endowment carried out the most far-reaching and ambitious set of programs in the history of the organization. Since the NED's core USIA budget increased only marginally from the previous year (from \$15,800,000 to \$16,771,000), the dramatic increase in programming was made possible by special funding provided through the Agency for International Development (AID). These funds were targeted at helping democratic forces take advantage of two historic political openings: the elections conducted throughout Eastern Europe in the wake of Communism's collapse; and the February 25 elections in Nicaragua held pursuant to the Esquipulas Accord for peace in Central America. The Endowment programmed approximately \$10.8 million of AID funds for activities in Eastern Europe and more than \$7 million for activities in Nicaragua. In both instances the Endowment and its business, labor, and party institutes were able to carry out programs efficiently and successfully only because we had previously established a network of relationships and a foundation of trust through years of earlier work with democratic activists in these countries.

In the program summaries that follow, there are brief descriptions of the many programs carried out in Eastern Europe during the first months of 1990 when the countries of the region conducted their historic elections. At a time when other agencies from both the United States and Western Europe were still getting themselves oriented and organized to assist the effort in Eastern Europe, the Endowment was able to provide assistance in five broad program areas:

(1) **Electoral assistance and party training**, including the provision of technical assistance in drafting electoral laws and establishing the basic framework and mechanisms for conducting free and fair elections; training seminars for party leaders and activists on party structure and administration, message development, grassroots organizing and media relations; the organization of nationwide nonpartisan groups committed to educating and motivating the citizenry to participate in elections, including help in designing opinion surveys to assist in this work; the provision to emerging democratic political coalitions and parties of photo equipment, copiers, telefaxes, spare parts for equipment, paper, vans and other infrastructure requirements; and the organization of both assessment teams to make recommendations on election administration and international observer delegations to monitor the elections. Programs in this area were carried out by the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and the National Republican Institute for International Affairs (NRIIA).

(2) **Election technology**, including the provision of electoral commodities (such as ballot paper, ballot boxes and bags, indelible ink, photo-ID badges and photo equipment, etc.) to electoral tribunals and election officials, and technical teams of U.S. and international electoral experts to monitor and assess the technical aspects of the elections.

(3) **Civic education**, including the provision of pamphlets, videos, television and radio spots, workshops, seminars and independent publications — all designed to instill confidence in the electoral process and to mobilize citizens for participation in the process.

(4) **Democratic governance**, including training for newly elected parliamentarians to enhance their ability to carry out their official duties, and the establishment of training centers to prepare newly elected officials to run local government councils and the city administrations.

(5) **Institutional pluralism**, including the provision of equipment and other infrastructure support through the Free Trade Union Institute to independent trade union structures to give workers a voice and representation in the electoral process during a period of massive economic dislocation; and to business associations and economic think-tanks through the Center for International Private Enterprise to help them define policy options and prepare strategies for transition to a market economy.

To describe the general categories of programs conducted with Endowment grants cannot do justice to the many concrete accomplishments during this period. It doesn't take note, for example, of the 10,000 trained volunteers fielded on election day by the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections. Nor does it mention the television production facility established in Romania by Northeastern University, with which Romanian democrats were able to document the officially instigated miners' attack upon peaceful demonstrators in June, thereby deterring further rampages of this kind. It doesn't recognize the tons of newsprint delivered to the independent press in Romania and Bulgaria, the computers and laser printers delivered to the independent newspaper *Lidove Noviny* in Czechoslovakia, or the printing press purchased for *Romania Libera* to enable the paper to establish a printing facility independent of government control. It doesn't enumerate the faxes, video and copying equipment, loudspeakers, printing equipment and low-cost printing techniques provided to the student movements in Bulgaria and Romania, often through the good auspices of their more experienced Polish counterparts; or the 50,000 Polish citizens trained to assume control of some 2,500 local government councils. And it leaves out, of

course, the many creative initiatives that don't fall neatly into the above categories - the provision of technical legal assistance through the American Bar Association and the Columbia University School of Law; the establishment in Warsaw of an Independent Center for International Studies and in Krakow of an academy for entrepreneurs; the organization by the American Federation of Teachers of a "classroom-to-classroom" program in Poland as part of a larger program of Education for Democracy that is being expanded to all of Eastern Europe; assistance for development of independent television and radio throughout the region; and a Fund for Human Rights and Democracy which enables Polish democrats to assist their counterparts throughout the region, including in the Soviet Union.

The second major area of work during the previous year was in Nicaragua, where the February 25 election offered a unique opportunity for democratic groups to expand their institutional capabilities and the political space available to them, regardless of the results on election day. Grants awarded to the Free Trade Union Institute, the International Foundation for Electoral Systems, and Delphi International enabled civic, youth, trade union and women's organizations in Nicaragua to undertake nonpartisan civic education and training activities, including voter registration, and also enabled independent newspapers and radio stations to enhance public debate and the circulation of ideas and information.

The bulk of Endowment support for the electoral process was carried out through a grant awarded jointly to NDI and NRIIA. Programs were designed to support the long-term development of democratic political parties through training and the provision of infrastructure (including office supplies, equipment and vehicles), as well as to support voter registration, verification and election monitoring activities intended to instill confidence in the electoral process. NDI/NRIIA support to the Institute for Electoral Promotion and Training (IPCE) was used to conduct civic and voter education programs, including the production of print,

radio and television messages covering such topics as the mechanics of voting and the concept of a secret ballot. IPCE volunteers also served as poll-watchers on election day. This support, and especially the presence of international observers throughout the electoral process, succeeded in instilling confidence in the electoral process, as evidenced by the overwhelming turnout of voters on February 25.

The unexpected victory of the democratic opposition in the election created arguably the best opportunity in Nicaraguan history to establish a democratic system. But the country faces daunting problems that are illustrative of the difficulties of many countries attempting to achieve a democratic transition. These include fragile and ineffective political institutions, resistance to reform by entrenched elements of the previous regime, the shallowness of democratic culture at the grassroots level, and an acute economic crisis and crushing foreign debt inherited from the former regime. Ultimately, Nicaraguans must determine their own destiny. But if they are to remain on a democratic course, they will need significant assistance, including private sector support for the development of democratic political institutions and processes that encourage the peaceful resolution of acute conflicts and respect for the rule of law. It is toward this end that the Endowment has been, and will continue to be, engaged in Nicaragua.

The foregoing describes two areas of intensely concentrated activity during the past year. But they represent only a part of the Endowment's activities and an even smaller part of the countries and movements reached by Endowment programs. The Endowment is now significantly engaged in all regions of the world and, to one degree or another, in support of democratic movements in the major struggles where democracy is at issue.

In this regard, there is no democratic struggle more momentous than the one being waged in the Soviet Union by emerging political parties, trade unions, local governments, civic and human rights organizations, independent media groups,

and national democratic movements in the republics. The Endowment has supported programs in all of these areas, especially in the labor field, where the Free Trade Union Institute is assisting new workers organizations through the provision of training programs, equipment, and assistance in the publication of union newsletters and newspapers. Among the other major initiatives are training seminars conducted by NDI for newly elected local government officials from democratic city councils throughout the country; communications assistance to national democratic movements in the Baltic states, the Ukraine and Armenia; assistance to the Memorial human rights organization, to a joint venture in independent publishing, to a new Moscow-based policy institute, to an independent center for political analysis and to a legal organization assisting new democratic groups and promoting dialogue with Western experts on political transition. The Endowment also continues to support a number of Russian-language journals that broaden the range of information and opinion available to intellectuals in the Soviet Union.

During the past year the Endowment has also increased its assistance to Chinese democratic groups, many of which are led by exiled leaders of the June 1989 demonstrations in Tiananmen Square. Several grants were made to the Foundation for Human Rights and Democracy in China, an umbrella organization that encourages coordination and cooperation among the most important of these democratic groups. The grants promoted organizational development and training, provided modest infrastructure support, and allowed the former Chinese dissidents to organize a conference in Berlin where they were able to exchange views and information with their counterparts in newly liberated Eastern Europe. Grants were also provided to establish a Center for Modern China led by the exiled former director of China's preeminent economic research institute; to publish a newsletter about the status of workers' rights in China; and to continue the publication of *The Chinese Intellectual*, the leading journal of Chinese thought. Separate grants for Tibet provided for the establishment of an independent education and cultural center in the Hainan Tibetan Area of

Quinghai Province and for the distribution in Tibet of audio cassettes containing world and Tibetan news.

Elsewhere in Asia, Endowment programs contributed to a broad range of democratic initiatives, among them the establishment of a civic voters' organization in Bangladesh; assistance to exiled Burmese students groups for the publication of magazines and for the distribution of audio cassettes in the country; training and preparation for the establishment of a human rights monitoring organization in Cambodia, as well as support for successful efforts to incorporate strong human rights provisions into the draft political documents for the Cambodian peace settlement; assistance for the establishment of a training center for entrepreneurs in Indonesia and for a program encouraging privatization in Pakistan; continued assistance in the Philippines to both the free trade union movement and to a women's civic organization promoting democratic education and good government; assistance for the publication of democratic literature in Turkey and for the conduct of educational seminars; and support for efforts to promote human rights in Vietnam and to circulate democratic literature there, including a widely publicized 4-point "proposal for democracy" in Vietnam signed by political and intellectual leaders from the United States and the Soviet Union and from both Western and Central Europe.

As already noted, the pressures for a democratic change in Africa increased dramatically with the fall of Communism in Eastern Europe. The Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa was one of the organizations responsible for the breakthrough in that country, and its efforts to build democratic consensus and understanding are now more relevant than ever before. During the next year, the Endowment will expand its programs in South Africa in response to the historic challenge of political transition there. The new opportunities for transition elsewhere in Africa were evident at an historic gathering of democratic activists from all over the continent convened last year with NED support by CER-DET, a Senegalese organization committed to the

study and promotion of democracy. Other Endowment initiatives in Africa included support for new, independent human rights organizations that have emerged in Uganda, Nigeria, Burkina Faso, and Liberia; support through NDI to the electoral process in Senegal and Namibia, and for parliamentary training in Namibia as well; FTUI support for regional networks among labor federations, among many other labor programs in Africa; CIPE cooperation with business associations seeking structural economic reform in Kenya, Botswana, Mauritius, Tanzania and Zimbabwe; and a women's civic education program in Nigeria that has the potential for replication elsewhere in Africa.

As NED programs have expanded throughout the world, Latin America and the Caribbean have remained a major area of Endowment work. A wide-ranging program of assistance was provided to democratic groups in Haiti in preparation for the December elections, which turned out to be the most important ever held in that country. Civic organizations, trade unions, political parties, and the Provisional Electoral Council all received help in their efforts to promote and protect the voting, and a major international observer delegation monitored the election so as to prevent violence and enhance voter confidence in the process.

Throughout Latin America, the network of women's civic organizations maintained a high level of activity, notably in Argentina, where *Conciencia* undertook a nationwide program of educational reform related to the economic crisis, as well as a broad program of civic education prior to a referendum on reform of the provincial constitution of Buenos Aires. In Peru, *Conciencia's* widely publicized poll on women in politics (the first ever conducted in the country) heightened awareness of the steps that need to be taken to increase the participation of women and eliminate discrimination on the political arena. And in Colombia, *Conciencia's* program of democratic education among poor people was carried out by almost 1,000 trained "multipliers," who brought basic literature and audio-visual materials to inhabitants of hundreds urban and rural com-

munities. The many other programs in Latin America included the circulation in Cuba of books and a bulletin on democracy; support for Guatemala's National Reconciliation Commission and its ongoing Assembly of National Dialogue, which included talks between guerrilla factions and CACIF, Guatemala's powerful business association; and CIPE-supported programs in Argentina, Brazil, Mexico and other countries to strengthen educational and legislative advisory efforts to advance privatization.

Accompanying the growth of the Endowment's programs, which is only briefly suggested in this summary, has been a significant effort to strengthen the intellectual underpinnings of the grants program as well as the exchange of views and experiences among the hundreds and thousands of people who are working to build democratic societies. The centerpiece of this effort is the *Journal of Democracy*, a quarterly publication launched in January 1990 which has already established itself as the most important intellectual forum for the discussion of democracy. The *Journal*, which has an independent Editorial Board composed of distinguished political scientists and leading democratic thinkers, has published analyses of political developments in many countries as well as more theoretical discussions on subjects such as the relative merits of parliamentary and presidential systems and the prospects for democracy in the post-Cold War world.

The Endowment also hosted a regular series of breakfast seminars with visiting democratic leaders, including six seminars on the extraordinary changes taking place in the Soviet Union. Many of these same people and others will come together at the Endowment's third biennial conference scheduled for April 15-16, 1991 on the theme of "The Unfinished Revolution." Over time, the Endowment intends to broaden its role as an intellectual as well as a programmatic center of activity. Among other possible initiatives, it hopes to establish a library housing important books and documents on democracy, and to host a fellowship program for democratic activists from abroad.

Just as the world with which the Endowment is dealing is undergoing rapid change and transition, so is the Endowment itself. This Annual Report marks the completion of the Endowment's seventh year of existence. It has been, to say the least, a momentous time, filled with surprising and often thrilling events as well as painful setbacks, which have carried the NED along on a wave of change — as, indeed, they have also carried along our grantees and associates abroad. The Endowment's transition is marked most poignantly by the completion of the Board terms of five founding members: our Chairman William E. Brock, Polly Baca, LeGree Daniels, Albert Shanker, and Charles H. Smith, Jr. All of them have served with distinction, purposefulness, and devotion to the cause of democracy, above all our Chairman, whose leadership will be deeply missed.

During the preceding year, we have also welcomed six new members to the Board who have already added to the quality of our deliberations. They are Harry Barnes, Henry G. Cisneros, James Holderman, Winston Lord, Mark Palmer, and Susan Kaufman Purcell.

All of us, new and old Board members alike, as well as the Endowment staff, which has served with such dedication and high morale, have a keen appreciation of the importance of our mission, the magnitude of our task, and the special obligation we have to those abroad who believe in democracy and who seek to build societies based upon fairness and respect for the dignity of each individual. There is little doubt that they — and we — will face difficulties in the years ahead. The saying that freedom requires endless vigilance is, after all, based upon hard reality. But recent experience has shown that, over time, no system can survive that denies fundamental human aspirations for dignity and a better life. In a world of revolutionary change, that is the single constant and the main reason an attitude of historical optimism about the democratic prospect is not unjustified.



Carl Gershman

JOURNAL OF DEMOCRACY

The Endowment's new quarterly publication, the *Journal of Democracy*, was launched at a reception in Washington, D.C. on January 18, 1990. Devoted to the monitoring and analysis of democratic developments worldwide, the *Journal* addresses the growing demand for an exchange of ideas and experiences regarding democracy. In addition to timely information, thoughtful analysis and the latest scholarship on democracy, each issue of the *Journal* features book reviews, important documents on democracy, reports on elections abroad and notes on democratic developments worldwide. Contributors include leaders of democratic movements abroad as well as distinguished intellectuals, journalists and political scientists from around the world.

Co-editors of the *Journal* are Marc F. Plattner, counselor at the National Endowment for Democracy, and Larry Diamond, senior research fellow at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University. They determine editorial policy in consultation with an independent editorial board composed of distinguished scholars and intellectuals. The *Journal* also has an international advisory committee of eminent democratic thinkers and writers.

Articles from the *Journal* have been excerpted in U.S. publications such as the *Washington Post* and the *Wall Street Journal*, and have been translated and reprinted in Spanish, Portuguese, Greek, German, Polish, Serbo-Croatian, Turkish, Chinese, Hindu, Urdu and Tamil.

The *Journal* is funded by subscription income and by private contributions. Major donors have included the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, the William H. Donner Foundation, the Joyce Foundation, the John M. Olin Foundation, Pfizer, Inc., and the Smith Richardson Foundation.

Subscriptions to the *Journal* are \$24 for one year (\$45 for institutions). Two (\$43/\$81) and three year (\$61/\$115) subscriptions are also available. To subscribe to the *Journal*, please send a check made payable to *Journal of Democracy* to: P.O. Box 3000, Dept. JD, Denville, NJ 07834.

Back issues of the *Journal* are available for \$7.50 each, plus \$2.00 for postage (overseas add \$4.00). Send check to *Journal of Democracy*, 1101 Fifteenth Street, N.W., Suite 200, Washington, D.C. 20005, USA. Contents of Volumes 1 - 4 are listed on the following page.

Journal of Democracy Editorial Board

Chinua Achebe
Shaul Bakhash
Naomi Chazan
Charles H. Fairbanks, Jr.
Harry Harding
Samuel P. Huntington
Atul Kohli
Leszek Kolakowski
Leopold Labedz
Liang Heng

Juan J. Linz
Seymour Martin Lipset
Joshua Muravchik
Ergon Ozbudun
Octavio Paz
Susan Kaufman Purcell
Peter Reddaway
Alfred Stepan
Arturo Valenzuela
Ernest J. Wilson III

**CONTENTS OF THE JOURNAL OF
DEMOCRACY, VOLUMES 1-4**

Winter 1990, Vol. 1, No. 1

*The Editors, Why the Journal of Democracy
Tiananmen and Beyond*

- *Wuer Kaixi, After the Massacre*
- *Merle Goldman, China's Great Leap Backward*
- *Thomas B. Gold, The Resurgence of Civil Society
in China*

• *Fang Lizhi, Peering Over the Great Wall*
Roberto Eisenmann, The Struggle Against Noriega
*Leszek Kolakowski, Uncertainties of a Democratic
Age*

Juan Linz, The Perils of Presidentialism

The Crumbling of the Soviet Bloc

- *Jacek Kuron, Overcoming Totalitarianism*
- *János Kis, Poland and Hungary in Transition*
- *Vilém Prečan, The Democratic Revolution*
- *Vladimir Bukovsky, Squaring the Soviet Circle*

Carlos Waisman, The Argentine Paradox

*Dette Pascual, Organizing People Power in the
Philippines*

Books in Review

- *Chudi Uwazerike on "Anthills of the Savannah"*
- *Larry Diamond on "Rethinking Military Politics"*

Spring 1990, Vol. 1, No. 2

Chile After Pinochet

- *Pamela Constable & Arturo Valenzuela,
Democracy Restored*
- *Edgardo Boeninger, Lessons from the Past,
Hopes for the Future*

*Charles H. Fairbanks, Jr., The Suicide of Soviet
Communism*

Paul B. Henze, The Last Empire

Natan Sharansky, The Legacy of Andrei Sakharov

*Alfred Stepan, On the Tasks of a Democratic
Opposition*

Andrew J. Nathan, Is China Ready for Democracy?

*Tun-jen Cheng & Stephan Haggard, Taiwan in
Transition*

Bona Malwal, The Agony of the Sudan

Bolívar Lamounier, Brazil's New Beginning

*Vaclav Havel, People, Your Government Has
Returned to You!*

Ray Ekpu, Nigeria's Embattled Fourth Estate

Books in Review

- *Shaul Bakhash on "Islamic Liberalism"*
- *Susan Kaufman Purcell on "Democracy in the
Americas"*

Summer 1990, Vol. 1, No. 3

*Milan Simecka, The Restoration of Freedom
Nicaragua's Choice*

- *Robert A. Pastor, The Making of a Free
Election*

- *Robert S. Leiken, Old and New Politics
in Managua*

- *Pablo Antonio Cuadra, Reclaiming the Revolution*

Larry Diamond, Three Paradoxes of Democracy

*Wayne A. Cornelius, Mexico: Salinas and PRI at the
Crossroads*

Third World Communism in Crisis

- *Carlos Alberto Montaner, Castro's Last Stand*

- *Vo Van Ai, Reform Runs Aground in Vietnam*

- *Jeffrey Herbst, The Fall of Afro-Marxism*

James Manor, India After the Dynasty

John B. Dunlop, The Return of Russian Nationalism

Ilya Zaslavsky, Pressing for Democracy in the USSR

Books in Review

- *Joshua Muravchik on "Power, the Press
and the Technology of Freedom"*

Fall 1990, Vol. 1, No. 4

*Pierre Hassner, Communism: A Coroner's Inquest
South Africa's Future*

- *Pauline H. Baker, A Turbulent Transition*

- *Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi, Ahmed Gora Ebrahim,
Nelson Mandela, Julian Ogilvie Thompson,*

J.H. van der Merwe, Gerrit Viljoen, Denis Worrall

Visions of Change: A Symposium

Paraguay After Stroessner

- *Charles G. Gillespie, Democratizing a*

One-Party State

- *Humberto Rubin, One Step Away from Democracy*

Robert H. Taylor, Burma's Ambiguous

Breakthrough

Debate — Presidents vs. Parliaments

- *Donald L. Horowitz, Comparing Democratic*

Systems

- *Seymour Martin Lipset, The Centrality of*

Political Culture

- *Juan J. Linz, The Virtues of Parliamentarism*

Johnathon Hartlyn, The Dominican Republic's

Disputed Elections

Chai-Anan Samudavanija, Educating Thai

Democracy

Books in Review

- *Stanislaw Baranczak on "Between East and West:
Writings from 'Kultura'"*

- *Daniel Brumberg on "Associational Life in
Twentieth-Century Egypt"*

BREAKFAST DISCUSSION SERIES FEATURES LEADING DEMOCRATIC ACTIVISTS

The Endowment's breakfast discussion series, featuring leading democratic activists as guest speakers, has become an increasingly important forum for addressing timely issues with those on the front lines of democratic developments around the world. These discussions provide an opportunity for informal remarks and questions and answers with representatives of policy institutes, government, the media and other guests. Featured speakers and topics addressed during the past year included:

October 26, 1989 — Democratic Transition in Poland —

Zbigniew Romaszewski, *member of the Polish Senate and Solidarity's National Executive Committee*

December, 1989 — Democratic Developments in Eastern Europe

Hungary — Miklos Vaserhelyi, *Hungarian journalist*,
Balint Magyar and Miklos Haraszty, *Alliance of Free Democrats*

Czechoslovakia — Dr. Karel Dyba, *Academy of Sciences, Prague*

Poland — Senator Jerzy Regulski, *Undersecretary for Local Government Reform*

January 30, 1990 — Democratic Elections In Hungary —

Jozsef Antall and Geza Jeszensky, *Hungarian Democratic Forum*

April 2, 1990 — Democratic Potential in Nigeria —

Claude Ake and Oyeleye Oyediran, *Nigerian political scientists*
Larry Diamond, *Hoover Institution, Stanford University*

May 8, 1990 — Current Political Situation in the Soviet Union —

Sergei Stankevich, *Deputy Chairman, Moscow City Council*

May 16, 1990 — Popular Movements in the Soviet Union —

Nina Belyeava, *lawyer and founder of Interlegal Research Center, Moscow*

June 12, 1990 — Democratic Movements in Estonia —

Mart Niklus, *human rights activist*

June 21, 1990 — Free Press In Romania —

Petre Bacanu, *editor, Romania Libera* and Doina Cornea,
Romanian opposition leader

July 13, 1990 — Democratic Developments in the Soviet Union —

Ilya Zaslavsky, *Chairman, October District, Moscow*

August 2, 1990 — Democratic Transition in Czechoslovakia —

Alexandr Vondra, *Foreign Policy Advisor to President Vaclav Havel*

August 10, 1990 — Democratic Developments in the Soviet Union —

Oleg Rumjancev, *Secretary of the Constitutional Commission, Russian Republic*

September 11, 1990 — Democratic Developments in the Ukraine —

Mikhailo Horyn, *Chairman, RUKH*

September 28, 1990 — Democratic Transition in South Africa —

Dr. Alexander Boraine and Dr. Nthato Motlana,
Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa

FISCAL YEAR 1990 PROGRAMS

AFRICA

Burkina Faso

AMERICA'S DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION, to assist the Burkina Faso Movement for Human Rights (MBDHB) in strengthening its infrastructure, supporting the publication of a journal on human rights, and sponsoring four training seminars for human rights field workers.

\$18,000

Namibia

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (CIPE), to strengthen the capabilities of the Namibian Chamber of Commerce (NCOCI), established as a vehicle to represent black Namibian business, in preparation for its merger with the Windhoek Chamber of Commerce.

\$13,840

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI), to continue its support for the Namibia Peace Plan Study and Contact group, a private organization established in 1986 to promote implementation of the U.N. Resolution providing the framework for Namibia's transition to an independent state.

\$69,100

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI), to conduct, in cooperation with the National Assembly of the Republic of Namibia, an international seminar on parliamentary procedure and organization for the newly elected members.

\$53,952

Nigeria

AFRICAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE, to enable the Civil Liberties Organization (CLO) of Lagos, Nigeria to produce a quarterly bulletin promoting human rights and civil liberties, compile a report documenting the country's human rights record, and to investigate human rights conditions.

\$37,000

AFRICAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE, to support a conference to be sponsored by Human Rights Africa on the theme "Democracy and the Rights of Man in Nigeria".

\$18,000

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to enable the trade union movement in Nigeria to encourage democratic elements and prepare workers to participate in that country's transition to democracy.

\$35,000

Senegal

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI), to sponsor, at the request of both ruling and opposition parties, an international delegation of electoral experts to make recommendations to improve the electoral system prior to local and national elections.

\$35,365

South Africa

① **CENTER FOR FOREIGN POLICY OPTIONS**, for the Afro-Asian Institute of Histadrut, the Israeli trade union federation, to bring together approximately 20 black community and trade union leaders from South Africa for intensive training in program development, cooperatives, trade unionism, and community organization.

\$200,000

① **JOINT CENTER FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STUDIES**, to support various activities of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (IDASA), including a national conference in Port Elizabeth, an international conference in Zimbabwe and the infrastructure costs of its Natal regional office.

\$230,000

① **MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. CENTER FOR NONVIOLENT SOCIAL CHANGE**, to support the program of its affiliated center based in Soweto, South Africa promoting Dr. King's philosophy of non-violent political action.

\$88,000

MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. CENTER FOR NONVIOLENT SOCIAL CHANGE, to allow the King-Luthuli Transformation Centre (KLTC) of South Africa to cover additional program costs.

\$27,500

Tunisia

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI) AND THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA), to conduct a bipartisan seminar in Tunisia focusing on its transition from a one-party to a multiparty state.

\$50,000

① Funded through the Agency for International Development.

Uganda

JOINT CENTER FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STUDIES, to support the program of the Uganda Human Rights Activists (UHRA) to document human rights abuses and promote understanding of the basic principles of human rights.

\$31,500

Regional

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (CIPE), to enact phase II of a project begun last year to build cooperation between the public and private sectors in developing economic policy reform in Kenya, Botswana, Mauritius, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe.

\$145,075

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to allow the African American Labor Center (AALC) to help three regional trade union organizations in Africa develop approaches to the serious political and economic problems facing workers in their respective regions.

\$132,221

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to enable the AALC to hold three senior trade union leadership seminars in the U.S. and to continue to develop model course materials to be used in worker education programs in Africa.

\$215,970

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to support the Anglophone and Francophone programs of the African-American Labor Center's (AALC) regional office in Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire, to sponsor cooperative programs with Force Ouvriere in French-speaking Africa and assistance programs through the Organization of Trade Unions of West Africa (OTUWA) and the Organization of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU), and to provide direct assistance to trade union movements in the region, with special emphasis on Nigeria.

\$220,927

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to enable the Force Ouvriere to expose unions in Francophone Africa to democratic ideas and values.

\$60,000

JOINT CENTER FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STUDIES, to enable the Center for the Study and Research of Pluralist Democracy in the Third World (CERDET) to conduct seminars on democratic themes, publish its journal, carry out its research program and cover part of its infrastructure costs.

\$40,000

JOINT CENTER FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STUDIES, to enable CERDET to hold an international conference in Dakar, bringing together leading democrats from Africa, Europe and the U.S. to assess the progress and prospects for democracy in Africa.

\$98,000

ASIA

Afghanistan

AFGHANISTAN RELIEF COMMITTEE, to support the publications and related work of the Writers Union of Free Afghanistan (WUFA) and the Afghan Information Center (AIC), two Pakistan-based Afghan organizations.

\$50,000

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF AFGHANISTAN, to enable the Cultural Council of the Afghan Resistance (CCAR) of Islamabad, Pakistan to conduct the first program activities of its newly established independent, non governmental Afghan Institute for Policy Studies and to publish a quarterly journal.

\$75,300

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF AFGHANISTAN, to support the Lawyers Association of Free Afghanistan's work on behalf of the rule of law, human rights and pluralism in a post-war Afghanistan.

\$13,750

Bangladesh

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI), to assist in the creation of a broad-based civic voters' organization.

\$60,820

Burma

CONGRESSIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS FOUNDATION, to strengthen the democracy movement in Burma by assisting two magazines edited by Burmese students in Bangkok, Thailand, and producing audio cassettes of freedom songs on democracy and news about Burma to be distributed inside the country.

\$52,000

Cambodia

CAMBODIAN DOCUMENTATION CENTER, for the second phase of its human rights education project for Cambodia.

\$37,000

China

CENTER FOR MODERN CHINA, to initiate a program of research by scholars and experts on contemporary issues related to China.

\$50,000

CHINA PERSPECTIVE, INC., to publish the Chinese-language quarterly *The Chinese Intellectual*, to provide modest support for key reformers conducting research in the U.S., and to assist three Chinese student organizations in the U.S. which publish books and newsletters and hold conferences on Chinese political, economic and cultural reforms.

\$150,000

FOUNDATION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEMOCRACY IN CHINA, to sponsor a conference to coordinate fund-raising and program activities for United States-based Chinese pro-democracy groups.

\$45,858

FOUNDATION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEMOCRACY IN CHINA, to enable the Foundation for a Democratic China to bring together representatives of the democratic movements of China and Eastern Europe at a conference in Berlin to establish a coordinating mechanism for the exchange of information.

\$45,000

FOUNDATION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEMOCRACY IN CHINA, to enable its constituent organizations to implement a multi-faceted program designed to develop and disseminate information concerning human rights abuses in China.

\$63,500

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to fund 12 issues of *China Labor Notes*, a newsletter produced by the Asian-American Free Labor Institute (AAFLI) to keep trade union organizations around the world informed on the status of workers' rights in China.

\$20,892

India

JAMES F. BYRNES INTERNATIONAL CENTER OF THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA, to support the educational program of the Leslie Sawhny Programme (LSP) of Bombay, India, in preparing Indian citizens for positions of leadership in educational and public sector activities.

\$42,000

Indonesia

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (CIPE), to enable the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of South Sulawesi (KADIN), to set up a training center for potential entrepreneurs as a model for the region.

\$86,319

Korea

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to provide assistance to the Federation of Korean Trade Unions (FKTU) and affiliated institutions to meet the challenge of democratic transition in South Korea.

\$56,000

Nepal

CONGRESSIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS FOUNDATION, to implement a human rights education program in Nepal.

\$8,000

Pakistan

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (CIPE), to enable the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Lahore, Pakistan (CCCI) to develop and implement a strategy of privatization.

\$135,560

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to strengthen Pakistani trade unions through support for technical education programs for union officers, research on economic issues of concern to workers, and union-sponsored membership services.

\$82,329

Philippines

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to support the Trade Union Congress of the Philippines in helping Filipino workers achieve a democratic voice in their country by organizing new workers and becoming the principal advocate for workers' rights and economic equity.

\$416,708

FRIENDS OF KABATID, for assistance to KABATID, a nonpartisan Philippine women's organization, to continue its program of civic education through dissemination of information, training in grassroots leadership skills and democratic values, and promotion of good government.

\$45,000

Tibet

INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF TIBET, to support a recently established center in Quinghai Province of the Hainan Tibetan Autonomous region which will promote reform in the Hainan Tibetan Area and contribute to the development of its culture, education, economy, science, and technology.

\$25,000

TIBET FUND, to produce audio cassettes that will bring world and Tibetan news into rural communities in Tibet.

\$21,500

Turkey

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF TURKEY FOUNDATION, to assist the Forum Corporation of Ankara to strengthen the understanding and practice of democracy in Turkey and to expose other parts of the Islamic world to the Turkish democratic experience.

\$50,000

Vietnam

INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRACY IN VIETNAM, to continue publishing and distributing in Vietnam its magazine *Vietnam Moi?* (A New Vietnam?) and other literature that supports freedom and democracy.

\$35,000

QUE ME, to enable this nonprofit human rights organization based in Paris to publish its monthly Vietnamese-language magazine *Que Me*, four books, a minimagazine and materials directed to users of fax machines in Vietnam.

\$35,000

Regional

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to promote cooperation between AFL-CIO affiliates and unions whose members work in related industries or occupations in Asia, the Middle East and the South Pacific.

\$60,000

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to enable the Asian-American Free Labor Institute (AAFLI) to conduct, sponsor and promote research on important worker rights issues in cooperation with indigenous trade unions, worker support groups and universities.

\$25,376

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to enable AAFLI to work in countries, including Lebanon, Cyprus, Taiwan, Malaysia, and Hong Kong, where either political conditions or the Institute's budget limitations prevent the initiation of a comprehensive set of activities overseen by a full-time representative.

\$119,373

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to assist the leaders of South Pacific trade unions to expand the membership and representational services of their organizations.

\$164,162

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA), to enable an assessment team to travel to Burma, Nepal and Hong Kong to begin developing contacts with indigenous democratic groups.

\$36,325

EUROPE and the SOVIET REPUBLICS

Baltic States

AMERICAN LATVIAN ASSOCIATION, for renewed assistance to democratic movements and the independent press in Latvia.

\$ 30,000

ESTONIAN-AMERICAN NATIONAL COUNCIL, to help democratic activists in Estonia establish a central information exchange network in Tallin, which will improve communications between Estonia and the rest of the Soviet Union and help provide Western newspapers with more accurate information on developments in Estonia.

\$ 10,000

JOINT BALTIC AMERICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE, to enable the Stockholm-based Relief Center for Estonian Prisoners of Conscience to provide literature and technical assistance to independent groups and publishers in Estonia.

\$ 25,000

LITHUANIAN CATHOLIC RELIGIOUS AID, to provide technical equipment to a broad range of democratic groups in Lithuania.

\$ 35,000

Bulgaria

① FREEDOM HOUSE, to provide newsprint to *Demokratzia*, the independent newspaper of Bulgaria's Union of Democratic Forces, to allow it to increase its size and circulation for the period leading up to the national elections.

\$232,695

① FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to provide material and technical support to Bulgaria's independent trade union movement Podkrepa.

\$276,190

① FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to help Podkrepa organize a voter education campaign for the local elections.

\$ 51,024

① INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE, to provide infrastructure support to the Federation of Independent Student Associations of Bulgaria to improve its outreach capacity in preparation for the national elections.

\$100,000

① Funded through the Agency for International Development.

① **INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTORAL SYSTEMS**, to send a team to assess Bulgaria's pre-electoral needs, identify commodities needed to guarantee fair elections, and assemble a delegation to observe the national elections.

\$130,500

① **NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI)**, to conduct a comprehensive program of election related-assistance, including sponsorship of seminars in grassroots organizing and civic education and the organization of both an assessment team to make recommendations on election administration and a delegation to monitor national elections.

\$299,126

① **NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI)**, to assist the Bulgarian Association for Free Elections (BAFE) in conducting civic education and election monitoring programs for the national elections.

\$182,024

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA), to provide infrastructure support and party training to the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF).

\$75,000

① **NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA)**, to provide material and technical support to the UDF.

\$441,563

① **NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA)**, to conduct an international election observation team for Bulgaria's elections.

\$111,431

① **NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA)**, to provide post-electoral assistance for the UDF's party building program.

\$98,532

① **NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA)**, to provide post-electoral assistance to help organize the new parliament.

\$86,577

Czech and Slovak Federal Republic

CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIETY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, to the Jan Hus Educational Foundation for its seminar program which furthers contacts between Czechoslovakia and Western academic specialists.

\$15,000

CZECHOSLOVAK SOCIETY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, to the West German-based Documentation Center for the Promotion of Independent Czechoslovak Literature to expand the dissemination of independent cultural and educational materials within Czechoslovakia.

\$37,500

① Funded through the Agency for International Development.

FREEDOM HOUSE, to help *Lidove Noviny*, the Republic's premier independent daily newspaper, reach its circulation goal of 500,000.

\$20,000

① **FREEDOM HOUSE**, to provide newsprint to *Lidove Noviny*, allowing it to continue printing during the period leading up to the national elections.

\$140,000

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to provide support for the democratic strike committees in Czechoslovakia.

\$10,000

① **FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI)**, to provide assistance to the democratic worker organizations in Czechoslovakia in support of their efforts to build a new, independent trade union movement.

\$100,000

INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE, to provide infrastructure support to Civic Forum, the democratic movement committed to a peaceful transition to a pluralist system in Czechoslovakia.

\$81,000

① **INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE**, to enable Civic Forum to educate and involve the public in the political process in preparation for national elections.

\$290,000

① **INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE**, to provide organizational and publishing support for the Public Against Violence, the democratic civic movement in Slovakia.

\$180,000

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI), to organize a multipartisan training seminar for Czech and Slovak party leaders on the methods of democratic party organization, civic education and campaign techniques.

\$53,792

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI), to convene an international group of experts to advise the new Czech and Slovak leadership in the drafting of a new election law.

\$11,079

① **NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI)**, to conduct national and regional training workshops on voter education and participation, provide advice on election laws and regulations and support a public opinion survey.

\$172,512

① **NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA)**, to conduct national and regional training workshops on the electoral process and provide limited infrastructure support to a range of political parties.

\$42,060

① Funded through the Agency for International Development.

① **NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA)**, to coordinate an international observation delegation to monitor the national elections.

\$32,402

Hungary

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (CIPE), to enable the Institute for Industrial Economics (IIE) to conduct an in-depth analysis of Hungarian small and medium enterprises and develop recommendations on policies that would promote growth.

\$118,000

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), for educational and training assistance to the Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions (FSDZL).

\$30,000

① **FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI)**, to provide core infrastructure support to the Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions (FSDZL).

\$230,000

① **FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI)**, to support the organizing activities of FSDZL, including a two-tiered program of union building and civic education.

\$150,000

① **FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI)**, to support the pre-election civic education efforts of FSDZL to improve voter participation in parliamentary elections.

\$107,000

① **NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI)**, to support party training and technical assistance for public opinion surveys, and to arrange for an observation delegation to monitor national elections in conjunction with the National Republican Institute for International Affairs.

\$118,216

① **NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI)**, to conduct a series of consultations and seminars with Hungary's newly elected parliamentarians to enhance their ability to carry out their official duties.

\$136,745

① **NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA)**, to promote democratic pluralism and help assure a smooth transition to democracy by providing material aid to democratic political parties, conducting voter surveys, and arranging for an observation delegation to monitor national elections in conjunction with the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs.

\$157,500

① Funded through the Agency for International Development.

① **NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA)**, to provide support to democratic political parties in Hungary.

\$50,000

① **NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA)**, to provide support to the Hungarian National Electoral Commission.

\$30,000

Poland

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (CIPE), to assist the Polish Council of Economic Societies (PCES) in its program of advocating legislative actions to encourage the transition to a market economy and improving legislative decision making on economic issues.

\$77,900

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (CIPE), to assist the Krakow Industrial Society's (KIS) efforts to begin publication of a daily independent newspaper in Poland that will cultivate understanding of the role of private enterprise in economic and democratic development, encourage new business formation, and provide timely business information to entrepreneurs.

\$122,265

① **CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (CIPE)**, to enable the Polish Chamber of Commerce and Industry to produce an analysis of the Polish private sector, which will be used to identify specific policies deemed necessary for the development of a vital business sector.

\$113,280

CENTER FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, to enable the Independent Center for International Studies, a Warsaw-based foreign policy research institute, to support civic initiatives that foster regional cooperation in Central and Eastern Europe.

\$40,000

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to enable the Service Employees International Union to build a cooperative training program with Poland's still-developing health care union.

\$93,704

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to assist the Brussels-based "Coordinating Office of Solidarnosc Abroad", the Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe and others engaged in support work inside Poland.

\$340,000

① **FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI)**, to support the Foundation for Education for Democracy, a private foundation associated with Teachers Solidarity, in introducing democratic concepts and institutional reforms to Polish schools.

\$40,000

① Funded through the Agency for International Development.

① **FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI)**, to assist Rural Solidarity in Poland in obtaining the equipment necessary to publish its weekly newspaper.

\$45,000

② **FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI)**, to support Solidarity's national headquarters, regional offices and its Center for Social and Vocational Studies; to assist Solidarity with its publishing programs and educational and self-help programs.

\$1,493,550

① **FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI)**, to assist the Economic Foundation of NSZZ Solidarnosc in Poland, which supports economic reform and provides individual and collective economic support to members of Solidarity who are struggling to endure the hardships caused by the transition to a market-oriented economy.

\$75,000

① **INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE**, to establish a Fund for Free Press and Publishing, to enable formerly underground publishers in Poland to transfer their activities to a legal and above-ground mode of operation.

\$100,000

② **INTERNATIONAL RESCUE COMMITTEE**, to provide medical and diagnostic equipment and urgently needed pharmaceuticals for a program of the Solidarity Social Fund.

\$995,700

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI), to sponsor a training visit to the U.S. by senior staff administrators of the Polish Parliament.

\$17,296

③ **NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI)**, to convene a training seminar for the developing Polish political parties.

\$57,447

① **POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS**, to enable the Polish Citizens' Committees movement to provide the Warsaw office and local committees with the technical resources required to conduct their program of civic education in preparation for local elections.

\$700,000

① **POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS**, to be distributed as follows: \$15,000 to the Paris-based POLCUL foundation to sustain the work of individuals in Poland in defense of democracy, human rights and independent culture; \$24,000 to the Paris-based journal *Zeszyty Literackie*, a Polish language quarterly promoting East European literature and social thought; and \$20,000 to *Uncensored Poland News Bulletin*, a bi-weekly publication which publishes first-hand reports on events in Poland and documents from the democracy movement.

\$59,000

① Funded through the Agency for International Development.

② Funded through a special congressional appropriation.

③ Partially funded through the Agency for International Development.

① **RUTGERS UNIVERSITY**, to assist the Warsaw-based Foundation in Support of Local Democracy in helping to establish a network of regional training centers to prepare Polish citizens for local elections and participation in local government.

\$275,000

Portugal

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to enable the General Union of Workers (UGT), the leading democratic labor federation in Portugal, to maintain organizing and educational activities.

\$270,938

Romania

① **CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (CIPE)**, to enable the Romanian Marketing Association to introduce free-market ideas, along with practical business training, to the economic and political community through a series of seminars.

\$43,611

① **CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (CIPE)**, to provide technical advice to private sector groups and government officials on critical economic issues affecting Romania's transition to a market economy.

\$59,340

FOREIGN POLICY RESEARCH INSTITUTE, to explore the possibility of transferring the operations of the independent Romanian journal *Agora* from the U.S. to Bucharest in order to expand its political scope and circulation within the country, and for continued production of the publication.

\$17,000

① **FOREIGN POLICY RESEARCH INSTITUTE**, to support the journal *Agora* and the Bucharest-based Group for Social Dialogue, and to establish a Center for Democratic Studies in Romania.

\$100,000

① **FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI)**, to assist independent Romanian worker organizations, including *FRATIA*, to begin to develop the capability to represent workers' interests and aspirations, with special emphasis on political participation and institution building.

\$217,354

① **FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI)**, to enable *FRATIA* to develop the publishing capabilities needed to produce a newspaper to reach its members.

\$79,366

① Funded through the Agency for International Development.

① **FREEDOM HOUSE**, to enable the Romanian independent newspaper, *Romania Libera*, to purchase urgently needed newsprint and technical equipment to increase its print run for the pre-electoral period.
\$172,705

④ **FREEDOM HOUSE**, for the purchase of a printing press to enable the editors of *Romania Libera* to establish a printing facility independent of government control.
\$350,000

① **INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE**, to provide technical assistance and infrastructure support to the student groups in Romania working to mobilize voters for the national elections.
\$100,000

① **INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTORAL SYSTEMS**, to send a team to assess Romania's pre-electoral needs, identify commodities needed to guarantee fair elections, and assemble a delegation to observe the national elections.
\$130,600

INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTORAL SYSTEMS, to send a pre-election assessment team to Romania.
\$11,375

① **NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI)**, to assist in the development of a national civic education program and provide technical advice on electoral law reforms.
\$436,999

① **NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA)**, to provide technical training and infrastructure support to a wide range of democratic political parties.
\$70,000

① **NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA)**, to coordinate an international election observation team to monitor the national elections.
\$62,500

① **NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA)**, to provide post-electoral leadership seminars for new and young party leaders.
\$67,500

① **NORTHEASTERN UNIVERSITY**, to fund a television production facility to provide independent programming for the one existing T.V. channel, as well as broadcasting equipment for radio stations run by student groups throughout the country.
\$173,200

- ① Funded through the Agency for International Development.
- ④ Funded through the Fund for Independent Media, administered by the United States Information Agency.

Soviet Union

ALLIANCE FOR THE SELF-DETERMINATION OF ARMENIA, to support the publication of two independent journals in Armenia which strengthen that Republic's democratic political culture.
\$25,000

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY COUNCIL, to enable the democratically elected governing council of Moscow's October district to establish a public policy institute to conduct research and offer policy options on a variety of issues related to the future of the country.
\$25,000

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF FREE SPEECH ABROAD, to enable the Atheneum publishing house in Paris to publish three additional volumes this year of the Russian-language historical almanac *Minuvsheye*.
\$32,500

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF FREE SPEECH ABROAD, to enable the Paris-based Russian-language publisher Atheneum to continue its program to establish a joint venture in uncensored publishing and historical research in the Soviet Union.
\$25,000

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF FREE SPEECH ABROAD, to assist in the publication of the Paris-based Russian-language journal *Syntaxis*.
\$30,000

CENTER FOR DEMOCRACY IN THE U.S.S.R., to continue its multifaceted program of support to independent groups and publications in the Soviet Union, including support for an expanded English-language version of the journal *Glasnost*, the provision of material and technical assistance to independent publishers, the continuation of efforts to collect and disseminate information on human rights abuses, and a program of technical assistance for the Georgian democratic movement.
\$170,000

CENTER FOR DEMOCRACY IN THE U.S.S.R., to provide material assistance and to continue the collection and publication of materials produced by the Crimean Tatar movement.
\$20,000

CENTER FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, to sponsor a seminar on "Democracy in the Soviet Union" held in Moscow in cooperation with Interlegal, an independent non-profit organization based in Moscow which promotes the growth of civil society in the Soviet Union.
\$55,205

CONGRESSIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS FOUNDATION, to enable the U.S.S.R. Memorial Society to establish a database and independent information network which will systematically document human rights violations in the Soviet Union and provide a network for communication between the regional Memorial Groups.
\$65,000

FREE CONGRESS RESEARCH AND EDUCATION FOUNDATION, to assist the Moscow-based Initiatives Foundation in creating an information system and communications network which will promote the spread of democratic ideas in the Soviet Union.

\$40,000

FREEDOM HOUSE, to enable the European Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Foundation of London (EUCEF) to provide publishing and communications equipment to democratic groups in the Ukraine.

\$77,400

FREEDOM HOUSE, to provide technical assistance for the Constitutional Commission of the Russian Republic.

\$15,000

FREEDOM HOUSE, to provide infrastructure support to the Social-Judicial Board, an independent group of lawyers based in Moscow which provides legal advice and services to groups and individuals seeking to defend and exercise their rights.

\$15,000

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to support workers in the Soviet Republics and the Baltic States through provision of training programs, equipment, and assistance in developing the capacity to publish independent newsletters, journals and newspapers.

\$349,826

HOOVER INSTITUTION, to provide infrastructure support and to sponsor a program of activities for the Center for Applied Political Studies in Moscow, an independent organization that analyzes electoral and political trends in the Soviet Union.

\$52,800

INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE, to assist the publication *Kontinent*, a Paris-based Russian-language journal published by Soviet emigres in the West and circulated inside the Soviet Union.

\$25,000

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI), to conduct international seminars and technical consultations to focus on the ways in which the transition to pluralism and free markets is affecting the city governments of Moscow, Kiev and Leningrad, and to sponsor Soviet participation at an NDI conference in Yugoslavia on "Building Democratic Institutions in Multi-national Societies."

\$164,976

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA), to conduct two fact-finding missions to the Soviet Union to establish contacts with the country's emerging political leaders at the national and local levels and to evaluate the evolving political environment.

\$50,000

PROBLEMS OF EASTERN EUROPE, to enable *Panorama*, a twice monthly independent newspaper published in Moscow, to purchase desktop publishing equipment needed to increase its print run, improve the quality of its printing, and expand its circulation in the Soviet Union.

\$16,500

PROBLEMS OF EASTERN EUROPE, to support the publication of a Russian-language journal of opinion and commentary published in the West and circulated inside the Soviet Union.
\$25,000

SMOLOSKYP, INC., to enable the Writers' Union of the Ukraine to establish an independent printing facility to be used by a broad range of democratic, independent groups in the republic.
\$65,000

TIME AND WE, to assist in the publication of a Russian- language journal of culture and current affairs published by Soviet emigres in the West and circulated inside the Soviet Union.
\$25,000

WORLD WITHOUT WAR COUNCIL, to assist the VISA (Visits International for Soviets and Americans) project, which facilitates personal contacts and the free exchange of information and ideas between people living in the West and the Soviet Union.
\$30,000

Yugoslavia

CONGRESSIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS FOUNDATION, to establish a Human Rights Legal Defense Fund in Yugoslavia.
\$20,000

① **CONGRESSIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS FOUNDATION**, to sponsor a conference on human rights and pluralism in Yugoslavia.
\$61,900

INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE, to provide assistance to *Nasa Rec*, a Serbo-Croatian monthly journal published in London.
\$7,500

① **NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**, to sponsor a conference for leading opinion makers in Yugoslavia on democratic political structures in multinational societies.
\$92,549

① **NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA)**, to coordinate an international observation team to monitor the election process in Slovenia and Croatia.
\$32,832

① **NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA)**, to assess and address the needs of the democratic opposition in Yugoslavia.
\$42,168

① Funded through the Agency for International Development.

Regional

① **AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION**, to develop and implement a program of technical legal assistance on behalf of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

\$399,949

① **CENTER FOR DEMOCRACY**, to develop and implement a "Library of Democracy", consisting of key materials on democracy to be distributed to a target list of organizations in Central and Eastern Europe.

\$75,000

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (CIPE), to provide the most promising new business associations in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary with technical assistance in building effective business organizations.

\$26,821

① **COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF LAW**, to conduct a series of workshops in Central and Eastern Europe to assist public officials, legal scholars, and judges in confronting legal problems associated with the transition from totalitarian to democratic rule.

\$100,000

CONGRESSIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS FOUNDATION, to co-sponsor in Leningrad with the Polish Human Rights Foundation an International Conference on Human Rights.

\$25,000

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to work in cooperation with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) to assist new independent trade unions in Central and Eastern Europe to develop institutional strength and expertise.

\$204,136

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), for regional program development and implementation in Eastern Europe.

\$60,000

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to establish worker rights resource centers located in Warsaw and Budapest for the collection, analysis, and dissemination of information related to the status and protection of worker rights in evolving democracies, with particular emphasis on Poland and Hungary.

\$48,322

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to enable the AFL-CIO to send trade unionists with expertise in a variety of technical and specialized areas to assist unions in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, and Romania.

\$50,000

① Funded through the Agency for International Development.

④ Funded through the Fund for Independent Media, administered by the United States Information Agency.

- ① **FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI)**, to translate basic trade union documents and manuals for emerging workers organizations in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Romania.
\$50,000
- ① **FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI)**, to conduct a series of seminars on democracy and free trade-unionism with the independent teachers unions in Poland and Hungary, and to introduce teachers in these countries to more democratic pedagogical methods.
\$49,000
- ④ **INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE**, to meet the urgent needs, including equipment and supplies, of a number of independent newspapers and journals in Central and Eastern Europe.
\$150,000
- ④ **INTERNATIONAL MEDIA FUND**, to establish a media development program to be directed by a board of distinguished leaders in American journalism and public affairs which will become a clearing-house for advice and assistance to media projects in the region, particularly those in the broadcast field.
\$325,000
- ④ **INTERNEWS NETWORK**, to undertake a program of material and technical assistance to local radio broadcasters in Central and Eastern Europe.
\$125,000
- NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI)**, to hold a conference in conjunction with the inaugural meeting of the Central and Eastern European Union of Christian Democrats focusing on the issue of ethnic minorities in the region.
\$28,128
- NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI)**, to support publication and distribution of a comprehensive analysis of the first elections held throughout Central and Eastern Europe in the post-communist era.
\$46,545
- NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA)**, to address the development needs of the democratic opposition groups and forces in the pre-electoral period in Eastern Europe.
\$50,000
- POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS**, to enable the Fund for Human Rights and Democracy in Poland to support the activities of organizations and individuals promoting democracy and human rights in Poland, the Ukraine, Bulgaria, the former East Germany and Romania.
\$100,000

① Funded through the Agency for International Development.

④ Funded through the Fund for Independent Media, administered by the United States Information Agency.

① **PRIVATE AGENCIES COLLABORATING TOGETHER**, to establish a clearinghouse for assistance and contributions from a broad spectrum of U.S. public and private sector organizations for the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

\$269,534

④ **TRANS-ATLANTIC DIALOGUE ON EUROPEAN BROADCASTING**, to provide a program of consultation on network management issues and advice on the drafting of media legislation in Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia.

\$50,000

① Funded through the Agency for International Development.

④ Funded through the Fund for Independent Media, administered by the United States Information Agency.

LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

Argentina

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (CIPE), to enable the Latin American Economic Research Foundation (FIEL), an Argentine nonpartisan research organization, to examine existing public services and design privatization and deregulation programs for three local governments.
\$100,000

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (CIPE), to enable Argentina's Institute of Economic Studies of the Latin American and Argentine Reality (IEERAL) to contribute to informed public debate and objective decision-making by producing and distributing nonpartisan analysis of newly proposed economic legislation.
\$100,000

DELPHI INTERNATIONAL, for continuing support of *Conciencia*, an Argentine nonpartisan women's organization, focusing this year's activities on training programs to foster civic participation at the local level and to promote democracy as a means of achieving peaceful solutions in times of crisis.
\$104,500

DELPHI INTERNATIONAL, to support a four-day seminar in Buenos Aires organized by the International Institute for Women Political Leaders (IIWPL) in conjunction with *Conciencia* focusing on techniques for strengthening the leadership capabilities of mid-level female political leaders and elected officials from the Southern Cone countries.
\$5,000

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA), to support the Foundation for Liberty and Democracy (LID), a new Argentine political foundation devoted to the promotion of Argentine democratic development, in its program of publications and leadership training seminars.
\$88,000

RESOURCES FOR ACTION, INC., to assist the University Foundation of the Rio de la Plata (FURP), in sponsoring a two-week youth leadership training program which brings regional youth leaders to Buenos Aires to study Argentina's federal structure and to meet with key political, labor, business, media and education leaders.
\$25,000

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, to conduct a series of democratic educational seminars and leadership programs for representatives of a broad spectrum of Bolivian society.
\$75,000

Brazil

CAPACITAS INTERNATIONAL, to enable Consciencia, a Sao Paulo-based nonpartisan women's group, to conduct civic education activities preparing Brazilian citizens for the 1990 gubernatorial and legislative elections, and to develop its organizational and administrative structure and expand its membership and geographic outreach.

\$25,000

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (CIPE), to enable the Liberal Institute of Rio de Janeiro (ILRJ) to contribute to informed public debate and objective decision-making by producing and distributing nonpartisan analysis of newly proposed economic legislation, which also helps to strengthen the Congress' policy-making role in a democratic Brazil.

\$206,122

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

\$127,000

Chile

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (CIPE), to enable the Latin American Institute of Doctrine and Social Studies (ILADES) to provide an economic advisory service for Chilean legislators and distribute legislative analyses of economic issues to journalists, business associations and advocacy groups in an effort to strengthen the Congress' policy-making role in a democratic Chile.

\$120,000

EDITORIAL ANDANTE, to allow this Santiago-based publishing house to publish and distribute a series of policy papers on major political, social and economic issues facing Chile.

\$30,000

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to fund labor education courses in Chile conducted by the Democratic Central of Workers (CDT) and democratic unions which are members of the newly formed Single Central of Workers (CUT).

\$114,000

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA), to conduct a party-building program for political leaders of the democratic center and center-right in Chile, including training in communications, organizational development, constituent and grassroots outreach.

\$53,000

Colombia

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA), to enable the Simon Bolivar Foundation (FSB) of Colombia to continue its Inter-American Forum, a research and conference project designed to promote dialogue and coordination among center and center-right parties of Latin America.

\$45,000

RESOURCES FOR ACTION, INC., to enable Conciencia, a private, nonpartisan organization, to expand its regional chapters, strengthen its civic education program for children and adults, and promote citizen participation in the political life of the country.

\$67,842

Cuba

CUBAN AMERICAN NATIONAL FOUNDATION, to enable the Madrid-based International Coalition for Human Rights in Cuba to prepare important human rights documentation for the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, support the Coalition's growing network of European and Latin American citizen committees, produce publications on the human rights situation based on information received from inside the island, and maintain the Coalition's central coordinating office in Madrid.

\$100,000

CUBAN AMERICAN NATIONAL FOUNDATION, to support the U.S. 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.

\$30,000

FREEDOM HOUSE, to produce and distribute inside Cuba copies of writings by prominent Eastern European and Western democratic activists and scholars.

\$30,000

PUEBLA INSTITUTE, to enable the Cuban Committee for Human Rights (CCHR) to continue to focus international attention on Cuba's political, social and economic realities by sending a delegation of Cuban human rights activists to meet with a broad spectrum of individuals in the Soviet Union to discuss political developments in Cuba.

\$20,000

Dominican Republic

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to provide support to the National Confederation of Dominican Workers (CNTD) for a program of seminars, publications, and organizing designed to increase the political awareness of workers.

\$40,000

Ecuador

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (CIPE), to assist Ecuador's National Association of Entrepreneurs (ANDE) in producing analyses of legislative issues, distributing them to decision makers, businessmen, academics and the media, and presenting them in a bi-monthly television program.

\$98,550

RESOURCES FOR ACTION, INC., to support *Conciencia*, a Guayaquil-based nonpartisan women's group, to carry out civic education and training activities designed to encourage Ecuadoran citizens' democratic commitment and participation at the local and national levels.

\$20,000

RESOURCES FOR ACTION, INC., to assist the Vicente Rocafuerte Foundation in providing civic education and organizational support to democratically-oriented community groups in poor urban areas of Guayaquil.

\$33,000

El Salvador

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (CIPE), to enable the National Association for Private Enterprise (ANEP) to provide an economic advisory service for Salvadoran legislators and distribute legislative analyses of economic issues to journalists, business associations and advocacy groups in an effort to strengthen the Congress' policy-making role.

\$75,000

Grenada

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA), to support the Grenada Civic Awareness Organization in strengthening and consolidating democracy through civic education and community development.

\$28,000

Guatemala

THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY, to enable the Association of Social Studies and Research (ASIES), to carry out a mass media voter education campaign, to conduct a get-out-the-vote campaign in 20 Guatemalan municipalities, and publish civic education materials for the rural population in preparation for the November elections.

\$ 60,000

THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY, to enable the Center for Political Studies (CEDEP) a nonpartisan, public policy institute, to conduct a get-out-the-vote campaign, carry out three leadership training workshops for women and youth, sponsor a national forum to discuss key issues relating to the political development of Guatemala, and publish two bulletins designed to serve as an "open forum" for competing sectors to examine issues of national interest.

\$80,000

THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY, to support a nine-month training course sponsored by the nonpartisan Center for Strategic Studies on National Stability (Centro ESTNA) to expose leading representatives of the country's political, social, economic and military sectors to alternative points of view regarding the resolution of national problems.

\$22,000

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to provide 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.

\$40,000

NATIONAL RECONCILIATION COMMISSION, a neutral nongovernmental institution created in 1987 in compliance with the Esquipulas II accords, for continued support of its efforts to promote dialogue among the key sectors of Guatemalan society in a Permanent Assembly of National Dialogue.

\$60,000

Haiti

AMERICA'S DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION, to provide core institutional support for the Haitian International Institute for Research and Development (IHRED) and assistance for its forums which bring together leading representatives of the diverse democratic sectors in the country to address issues fundamental to the future of Haitian democracy.

\$50,000

① **AMERICA'S DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION**, to assist five civic groups helping to prepare Haitians for the national election: the Haitian Institute for Research and Development, the Human Development Resource Center, the Association of Journalists, the Haitian Center for Human Rights (CHADEL), and Celebration 2004.

\$189,000

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to enhance the awareness of workers' rights and the means of defending them among Haiti's workers, and to encourage active labor participation in the national election.

\$40,000

① **FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI)**, to coordinate and direct a program with democratic labor unions encouraging voter participation in the national election through voter registration projects, public service media announcements and monitoring efforts.

\$219,500

① **NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI)**, to support development of a multi-partisan civic and voter organization, party training, pre-election monitoring by international teams from the region, and an international delegation to observe the national election.

\$330,963

① **NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA)**, to support Haiti's Provisional Electoral Council and the broad spectrum of recognized political parties, and to mount an international observation mission for the election.

\$360,537

PUEBLA INSTITUTE, to enable the Episcopal Conference of Haiti to sponsor three non-sectarian civic education programs broadcast by Radio Soleil.

\$44,000

① Funded through the Agency for International Development.

Mexico

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (CIPE), to enable Mexico's leading confederation of business organizations, **CONCANACO**, to improve the capabilities of individual chambers of Commerce in their advocacy efforts on behalf of the private sector.

\$111,506

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 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, to increase popular understanding of human rights, civic responsibilities, political participation, and international cooperation.

\$88,000

Nicaragua

① **AMERICA'S DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION**, to assist the Center for Democratic Assistance (**CAD**), a private, nonpartisan Central American institution based in Costa Rica, in conducting a civic education and training program for Nicaraguan community leaders, teachers, women and youth groups, professional organizations, and cooperatives, designed to promote support for the democratic process, encourage consensus among competing interests, and increase effective citizen participation on the local and national levels.

\$75,000

CREATIVE ASSOCIATES INTERNATIONAL, to assist the Nicaraguan Institute of Municipal Administration (**INAM**), a Nicaraguan institute dedicated to municipal development, in sponsoring a conference in Managua on municipal administration for the country's 143 newly-elected mayors.

\$50,000

① **DELPHI INTERNATIONAL**, to assist Nicaragua's independent media outlets — *La Prensa*, Radio Corporacion, Radio Dario and Radio San Cristobal — with the hard currency costs of imported supplies, replacement parts, and equipment needed for their continued operation.

\$175,000

① **DELPHI INTERNATIONAL**, to support the efforts of the Youth Training Center (**CEFOJ**), a nonpartisan Nicaraguan youth movement, in promoting political participation and providing democratic civic education to a broad spectrum of youth through seminars, public forums, and civic education materials.

\$40,000

② **DELPHI INTERNATIONAL**, to provide assistance necessary to cover the hard currency costs of the purchase of a transmitter, antenna, and other urgently needed equipment that would allow Radio Corporacion to resume broadcasting following an attack which forced it to close down its operations.

\$235,000

① Funded through the Agency for International Development.

② Funded through a special congressional appropriation.

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to assist Nicaragua's Confederation of Labor Unity (CUS) in organizing workers and in strengthening their ability to support workers' rights.

\$73,000

① **FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI)**, to assist Nicaragua's independent labor movement, the Confederation of Labor Unity (CUS), in mobilizing workers and their families to participate in and monitor the electoral process.

\$493,013

① **INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTORAL SYSTEMS**, to provide assistance to Via Civica, a nonpartisan democratic civic movement in Nicaragua formed to promote citizen participation in the political process, for its program of grass-roots voter education and training activities.

\$27,769

① **INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTORAL SYSTEMS**, to support the post-election nonpartisan civic education activities of Via Civica.

\$153,000

① **NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI) AND THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA)**, for a joint program to promote the long-term development of political parties in Nicaragua and to provide civic and voter education aimed at encouraging participation and instilling confidence in the electoral process through support for the following institutions;

- *Union Nacional Opositora (UNO)*: for necessary infrastructure (such as vehicles and office equipment) to enable it to carry out normal political party activities so as to ensure the establishment and development of viable political parties regardless of the outcome of the elections;
- *Institute for Electoral Promotion and Training (IPCE)*: for nonpartisan activities to encourage participation in the elections and promote confidence in the electoral process, including verification of the voter registration lists, pollwatching and monitoring programs, and civic and voter education programs; and
- *International Democratic Union (IDU)*: to send an international delegation to monitor the national elections which was formally invited by the Nicaraguan Supreme Electoral Council.

\$6,254,753

Panama

AMERICA'S DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION, to assist the National Civic Crusade in its broad-based civic education and training program designed to help facilitate Panama's democratic transition.

\$90,000

① Funded through the Agency for International Development.

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, to organize a series of consultations between international experts and Panamanian civilian and military leaders focused on restructuring the military into a civilian-led police force.

\$74,923

Paraguay

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE, to enable the Paraguayan Foundation for Cooperation and Development to analyze economic legislation at the national level and to advocate specific legislation encouraging the growth of a domestic open market economy.

\$80,000

DELPHI INTERNATIONAL, to assist Women for Democracy (MPLD), a nonpartisan women's civic action group, in its grassroots civic and voter education activities.

\$40,000

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to support Paraguay's Central Workers Unity Confederation (CUT) in its nationwide union organizing campaign.

\$23,000

HELEN KELLOGG INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, to support a two-day international conference co-sponsored with the Inter-American Dialogue on the transition to democracy in Paraguay.

\$12,000

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI), to assist the Asuncion-based Center for Democratic Studies (CED) in sponsoring a civic education program to increase grassroots participation in the political process.

\$64,310

RADIO NANDUTI, to purchase essential equipment necessary to enable this independent media outlet in Paraguay to reestablish its position as the country's preeminent source of news.

\$40,000

RESOURCES FOR ACTION, INC., to support the Center for Democratic Studies (CED) in its three-tiered civic education and training program to prepare Paraguayans for municipal elections.

\$27,500

Peru

CAPACITAS INTERNATIONAL, to enable the Peruvian Center for International Studies (CEPEI) to conduct a series of seminars and publish related papers on the role of the military in a democratic Peru.

\$33,000

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE, to assist the Apoyo Institute in producing monthly bulletins assessing the economic impact of legislation on private sector development.

\$90,000

Uruguay

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE, to assist the Center for the Study of Economic and Social Affairs (CERES) in providing an economic advisory service for legislators and other sectors of Uruguayan society.

\$51,800

Regional

CARIBBEAN PUBLISHING AND BROADCASTING ASSOCIATION, to support its secretariat and training and counseling services for a variety of small newspapers and media organizations in the region.

\$45,000

ETHICS AND PUBLIC POLICY CENTER, to enable Libro Libre, a nonprofit association based in Costa Rica which serves as a catalyst for the spread of democratic values in Latin America, to continue its program of publications, lectures, and seminars.

\$215,000

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to enable the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) to monitor human and trade union rights in Latin America in 1990 through its program of support for in-country trade union human rights offices, training monitors, and the compilation and distribution of human rights reports.

\$284,650

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).

\$20,000

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

\$112,000

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA), to provide assistance to 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.

\$113,700

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA), to enable the Caribbean Democrat Union (CDU), an organization of ten moderate and conservative democratic political parties in the English-speaking Caribbean, to restructure the organization and expand its geographic reach to other countries of the region.

\$22,300

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA), to assist the Caribbean Democrat Union (CDU) in a broad-based program to address the growing social and cultural problems of the region as they relate to democratic development, consolidation and stability.
\$95,000

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA), to assist the Eastern Caribbean Institute for Democracy in its efforts to develop and strengthen democratic institutions throughout the Caribbean through a series of regional and national conferences on democratic development.
\$34,200

MULTIREGIONAL

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (CIPE), for research, program development and project monitoring.

\$99,870

FREEDOM HOUSE, to support the "Exchange" program, an established two-way channel for published and republishable documents on issues related to democracy.

\$30,000

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), to provide assistance to the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) in a joint program with the AFT's International Trade Secretariat, IFFTU, to monitor teachers' rights and the academic freedom of educators in dictatorial countries.

\$50,000

FREE TRADE UNION INSTITUTE (FTUI), for assistance to INTERCO PRESS, an international press service which enhances and expands the circulation of mainstream democratic thought to a broad spectrum of newspaper readers throughout the world.

\$120,000

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI), for research and program development.

\$186,995

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NRIIA), for research and program development.

\$100,000

The total of the program grant amounts listed on pages 15 - 47 of this report may differ from the program grant amounts shown in the fiscal 1990 financial statements on pages 51 - 60. This is a result of the fact that the amounts listed on pages 15 - 47 exclude certain grantee administrative expenses and that all programs approved by the NED Board in fiscal 1990 have been included even though some of the related grant agreements were not executed until fiscal 1991.

**Deloitte &
Touche**



NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY

Financial Statements for the Years
Ended September 30, 1990 and 1989
and Independent Auditors' Report



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, 1990 and 1989 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 and the supplemental schedule discussed below 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, 1990 and 1989 and the results of its operations and its cash flows for the years then ended in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles.

Our audits were made for the purpose of forming an opinion on the basic financial statements taken as a whole. The supplemental schedule of expenses by program is presented for purposes of additional analysis and is not a required part of the basic financial statements. Such supplemental schedule has been subjected to the auditing procedures applied in our audits of the basic financial statements and, in our opinion, is fairly stated in all material respects when considered in relation to the basic financial statements taken as a whole.

December 7, 1990

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY

BALANCE SHEETS, SEPTEMBER 30, 1990 AND 1989

<u>ASSETS</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>1989</u>
CURRENT ASSETS:		
Cash (Note 10)	\$ 688,608	\$ 2,199,902
Grants receivable (including restricted grants: 1990 \$7,455,703; 1989, \$2,783,092) (Notes 1 and 3)	17,149,094	10,985,668
Pledges receivable (Notes 1 and 5)	100,000	255,000
Prepaid and other assets	<u>15,298</u>	<u>15,502</u>
Total current assets	17,953,000	13,456,072
PROPERTY, NET (NOTES 1 AND 2)	<u>177,322</u>	<u>212,298</u>
TOTAL	<u>\$18,130,322</u>	<u>\$13,668,370</u>
 <u>LIABILITIES AND FUND BALANCE</u>		
CURRENT LIABILITIES:		
Accounts payable and accrued liabilities (Note 11)	\$ 173,388	\$ 209,553
Grants payable (Notes 1, and 4)	15,158,458	10,015,454
Deferred grant revenue - government agencies (Note 5)	2,372,211	2,786,187
Other deferred revenue (Note 5)	212,645	410,446
Current obligations under capital lease and notes payable (Note 7)	<u>17,754</u>	<u>16,696</u>
Total current liabilities	<u>17,934,456</u>	<u>13,438,336</u>
CAPITAL LEASE OBLIGATIONS AND NOTES PAYABLE - long-term portion (Note 7)	<u>40,133</u>	<u>50,975</u>
FUND BALANCE	<u>155,733</u>	<u>179,059</u>
TOTAL	<u>\$18,130,322</u>	<u>\$13,668,370</u>

See notes to financial statements.

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY

STATEMENTS OF REVENUES AND EXPENSES AND CHANGES IN FUND BALANCE
YEARS ENDED SEPTEMBER 30, 1990 AND 1989

	<u>1990</u>	<u>1989</u>
REVENUES (Notes 1 and 5)		
Grant revenue - government agencies	\$39,027,216	\$20,937,195
Other grants and contributions	232,246	164,703
Other revenue	<u>27,708</u>	<u>5,353</u>
Total revenues	<u>39,287,170</u>	<u>21,107,251</u>
EXPENSES		
Program grants (Notes 1 and 6)	37,293,039	19,485,128
Salaries, wages and benefits (Note 9)	1,213,215	899,719
Professional fees	65,708	78,606
Occupancy (Note 7)	198,284	145,454
Consultants	45,185	65,436
Communications	124,893	116,630
Travel and transportation	112,979	121,359
Supplies and equipment	44,295	35,846
Insurance	13,823	23,218
Depreciation and amortization (Note 1)	74,079	63,578
Conference and meetings	22,507	40,758
Other	8,394	16,341
Periodical - production	36,626	3,360
Periodical - marketing	<u>57,469</u>	<u>30,172</u>
Total expenses	<u>39,310,496</u>	<u>21,125,605</u>
DEFICIENCY OF REVENUES OVER EXPENSES	(23,326)	(18,354)
FUND BALANCE, BEGINNING OF YEAR	<u>179,059</u>	<u>197,413</u>
FUND BALANCE, END OF YEAR	<u>\$ 155,733</u>	<u>\$ 179,059</u>

See notes to financial statements.

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY

STATEMENTS OF CASH FLOWS YEARS ENDED SEPTEMBER 30, 1990 AND 1989

	<u>1990</u>	<u>1989</u>
CASH FLOWS FROM OPERATING ACTIVITIES:		
Deficiency of revenue over expenses	\$ (23,326)	\$ (18,354)
Adjustments to reconcile deficiency of revenue over expenses to net cash provided by (used in) operating activities:		
Depreciation and amortization	74,079	63,578
Changes in assets and liabilities:		
Grants receivable	(6,163,426)	(1,396,633)
Pledges receivable	155,000	(255,000)
Prepaid and other assets	204	12,222
Accounts payable and accrued liabilities	(36,165)	106,188
Grants payable	5,143,004	(219,467)
Deferred grant revenue - government agencies	(413,976)	2,112,764
Other deferred revenue	<u>(197,801)</u>	<u>410,446</u>
Net cash provided by (used in) operating activities	<u>(1,462,407)</u>	<u>815,744</u>
CASH FLOWS FROM INVESTING ACTIVITIES:		
Purchase of property	<u>(32,703)</u>	<u>(45,618)</u>
Net cash used in investing activities	<u>(32,703)</u>	<u>(45,618)</u>
CASH FLOWS FROM FINANCING ACTIVITIES:		
Principal payments under capital lease obligations and notes payable	<u>(16,184)</u>	<u>(17,820)</u>
Net cash used in financing activities	<u>(16,184)</u>	<u>(17,820)</u>
NET CHANGE IN CASH	(1,511,294)	752,306
CASH AT BEGINNING OF YEAR	<u>2,199,902</u>	<u>1,447,596</u>
CASH AT END OF YEAR	<u>\$ 688,608</u>	<u>\$2,199,902</u>

Supplemental disclosure of non-cash financing activities:

During the year ended September 30, 1990, the Endowment entered into a capital lease to acquire equipment in the amount of \$6,400.

See notes to financial statements.

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY

NOTES TO FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

YEARS ENDED SEPTEMBER 30, 1990 AND 1989

1. ORGANIZATION AND ACCOUNTING POLICIES

Basis of Presentation - 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.

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.

Subscription income is recognized ratably over the subscribers' subscription period based on actual delivery of the periodical.

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.

Reclassifications - Certain reclassifications have been made to the 1989 amounts in order to be comparable with the presentation of the 1990 amounts.

2. PROPERTY

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

	<u>1990</u>	<u>1989</u>
Furniture and equipment	\$ 315,522	\$ 263,794
Equipment under capital lease	<u>91,400</u>	<u>110,219</u>
Total	406,922	374,013
Less accumulated depreciation and amortization	<u>(229,600)</u>	<u>(161,715)</u>
Property, net	<u>\$ 177,322</u>	<u>\$ 212,298</u>

3. GRANTS RECEIVABLE

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

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

4. GRANTS PAYABLE

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

5. DEFERRED REVENUE

Deferred grant revenue - The following schedule summarizes the changes in deferred grant revenue from agencies of the U.S. Government for the years ended September 30, 1990 and 1989:

	Deferred Grant Revenue Beginning of the Year	Add Grants Awarded to the Endowment During the Year	Less: Grants Obligated by the Endowment During the Year	Deferred Grant Revenue End of Year
USAID Grants:				
South Africa	\$ 751,187	\$ 635,000	\$ 825,124	\$ 561,063
Nicaragua	1,450,000	7,670,000	8,740,905	379,095
Poland	330,000	995,700	1,321,243	4,457
Hungary	255,000		247,198	7,802
Central and East Europe		10,441,540	9,471,246	970,294
Haiti		1,100,000	850,500	249,500
Total USAID	<u>2,786,187</u>	<u>20,842,240</u>	<u>21,456,216</u>	<u>2,172,211</u>
USIA Grants:				
Primary Funding		16,771,000	16,771,000	
Central and East Europe		1,000,000	800,000	200,000
Total USIA		<u>17,771,000</u>	<u>17,571,000</u>	<u>200,000</u>
Total, Fiscal Year 1990	<u>\$2,786,187</u>	<u>\$38,613,240</u>	<u>\$39,027,216</u>	<u>\$2,372,211</u>
Total, Fiscal Year 1989	<u>\$ 673,423</u>	<u>\$23,049,959</u>	<u>\$20,937,195</u>	<u>\$2,786,187</u>

The deferred grant revenue at September 30, 1990 will be recognized as revenue when the Endowment incurs valid obligations in accordance with the purposes set forth in the grant agreements.

Other deferred revenue

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

The Endowment defers the recognition of subscription income associated with the Journal of Democracy in accordance with its revenue recognition policy. The unearned portion of subscription income is included in other deferred revenue at September 30, 1990.

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:

	Deferred Revenue at Beginning of the Year	Add: Cash and Pledges Received During the Year	Less: Amounts Recognized as Revenue	Deferred Revenue at End of the Year
Internship program	\$ 20,128	\$	\$ 20,128	\$
Restricted Support - Journal of Democracy	390,318	2,500	189,936	202,882
Deferred Subscription Income - Journal of Democracy	_____	<u>24,931</u>	<u>15,168</u>	<u>9,763</u>
Total, Fiscal Year 1990	<u>\$410,446</u>	<u>\$ 27,431</u>	<u>\$225,232</u>	<u>\$212,645</u>
Total, Fiscal Year 1989	<u>\$ _____</u>	<u>\$469,488</u>	<u>\$ 59,042</u>	<u>\$410,446</u>

6. RELATED PARTIES

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

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

7. COMMITMENTS

Minimum future payments under capital leases for equipment as of September 30, 1990 are as follows:

Year ending September 30.

1991	\$25,488
1992	25,488
1993	<u>22,315</u>
Total minimum lease payments	73,291
Less amounts representing interest	<u>15,404</u>
Total obligations	57,887
Less current portion of obligations	<u>17,754</u>
Long-term obligations	<u>\$40,133</u>

The Endowment has noncancelable operating leases for office space and equipment. The lease for office space includes a provision for rent escalations to compensate for increases in operating costs. Lease expense was approximately \$201,000 and \$147,000 for the years ended September 30, 1990 and 1989, respectively. On December 6, 1990, the Endowment amended its existing office lease to provide for additional space. The amendment is effective February 1, 1991. The additional lease payments under the amendment have been included in the future minimum lease payment schedule. The approximate minimum future lease payments through the end of the lease terms are as follows:

Year ending September 30,

1991	\$224,000
1992	<u>83,000</u>
Total	<u>\$307,000</u>

8. INCOME TAXES

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

9. RETIREMENT PLAN

The Endowment has a defined contribution annuity plan for all 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, 1990 and 1989 were approximately \$60,000 and \$58,000 respectively.

10. RESTRICTED CASH

The cash balances at September 30, 1990 and 1989 include approximately \$332,000 and \$1,869,000, respectively, of restricted cash from USAID appropriations for use as specified in grant agreements with USAID. In addition, the cash balances, at September 30, 1990 and 1989 include approximately \$117,000 and \$135,000 of restricted cash for production and publication of the Journal of Democracy.

11. TRANSFERS TO USIA AND USAID

Commencing in fiscal year 1987, the U.S. Government established a policy whereby recipients of federal funds are required to deposit grant funds in interest bearing accounts. Interest earned in excess of \$100 per fiscal year must be remitted back to the U.S. Government. Total interest earned in fiscal year 1990 and 1989 was approximately \$187,000 and \$144,000, 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, 1990 and 1989 of \$47,508 and \$47,971, respectively, is included in the balance of accounts payable and accrued liabilities in the accompanying financial statements.

* * * * *

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY

SUPPLEMENTAL SCHEDULE OF EXPENSES BY PROGRAM
YEAR ENDED SEPTEMBER 30, 1990

	<u>USIA</u>	<u>AID</u>	<u>Journal of Democracy</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
Program grants	\$16,138,130	\$21,154,909	\$ 79,709		\$37,293,039
Salaries, wages, and benefits	895,278	238,228	274		1,213,215
Professional fees	54,984	1,444		\$ 9,006	65,708
Occupancy	185,235		13,049		198,284
Consultants	39,628	4,057	1,500		45,185
Communications	109,438	5,011	8,595	1,849	124,893
Travel and transportation	62,408	45,325	3,966	1,280	112,979
Supplies and equipment	40,937	70	3,288		44,295
Insurance	13,823				13,823
Depreciation and amortization	69,074	1,251	3,754		74,079
Conference and meetings	11,733	859	615	9,300	22,507
Other	5,356	107	815	2,116	8,394
Periodical - production			36,626		36,626
Periodical - marketing			57,469		57,469
Total	<u>\$17,626,024</u>	<u>\$21,451,261</u>	<u>\$209,660</u>	<u>\$23,551</u>	<u>\$39,310,496</u>

See notes to 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
Peter R. Kosciwicz, Freedom of Information Act Officer
Connie Edson, Executive Secretary
D. Scott Day, Staff Assistant
Diana Burbano, Receptionist

Program Section

Marc Plattner, Counselor
Barbara Haig, Director of Program
Dave Peterson, Program Officer, Africa
Matthew Chanoff, Program Officer, Asia
Nadia Diuk, Senior Program Officer, Eastern Europe
and the Soviet Union
Yale Richmond, Program Officer, Soviet Union
Rodger Potocki, Program Officer, Eastern Europe
Julia Fuller, Assistant Program Officer, Eastern Europe
and the Soviet Union
Paul McCarthy, Intern, Soviet Union
Adelina Reyes-Gavilan, Senior Program Officer, Latin America
Silvia Gonzalez, Assistant Program Officer, Latin America
Michael Kavanagh, Program Administrator
Zarmina Ali, Assistant to Program Administrator
Linda Rotblatt, Program Assistant
Elizabeth Kafer, Program Secretary
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
Rodney Moore, Offices Services Assistant

Journal of Democracy

Peter Pavilionis, Managing Editor
Philip J. Costopoulos, Associate Editor
Juliet Johnson, Intern/Assistant Editor

Corporation Counsel

Ross, Dixon & Masback

January, 1991

The **National Endowment for Democracy** is a private nonprofit organization created in 1983 to strengthen democratic institutions around the world through nongovernmental efforts. Through its worldwide grant program, the Endowment assists those abroad who are working for democratic goals. The Endowment, which receives an annual appropriation from the U.S. Congress, is a tax exempt organization as defined in Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code.

For further information, please contact:

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

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