

National Endowment for Democracy

**Annual
Report
1995**

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October 1, 1994 —
September 30, 1995

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Last fall in the land of my father's birth, Greece, on Pnyx Hill, where fifth-century Athenians gave birth to democracy, I joined the president of Cyprus, the president of the Hellenic Parliament, an eminent French scholar, and the former president of the former Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, to speak at a conference on the future of democracy on the eve of the twenty-first century.

In my own remarks, I recalled Pericles' famous Funeral Oration, in which the leader of the Athenian democracy declared:

Here each individual is interested not only in his own affairs but in the affairs of the state as well: Even those who are mostly occupied with their own business are extremely well informed on general politics—that is a peculiarity of ours: We do not say that a man who takes no interest in politics is a man who minds his own business; we say that he has no business here at all.

Not surprisingly, the largely Greek audience was shocked when I said that in the November 1994 elections in the United States, only 39 percent of eligible voters bothered to go to the polls. Clearly, many Americans and, it must be said, citizens of other democratic countries, are today alienated from politics, from their political leaders, and from political parties.

Cynicism about politics is, of course, not a new phenomenon in the United States. Over 35 years ago, on June 5, 1960, I greeted the thirty-fourth president of the United States in the Indiana district I represented as a first-term member of Congress. What President Dwight D. Eisenhower told the graduating students at the University of Notre Dame that day is wise counsel for every American as we enter a year of presidential and congressional elections. President Eisenhower spoke then of "the compelling need of all Americans to interest themselves seriously in politics" and warned, "Too many of our ablest citizens draw back, evidently fearful of being sullied in the broiling activity of partisan affairs."

"This must change," Eisenhower added. "We must insist that our educated young men and women—our future leaders—willingly, joyously play a pivotal part in the endless adventure of free government."

Three and a half decades later I believe that those of us fortunate enough to live in the so-called advanced democracies too easily take for granted our system of self-government. Indeed, Americans grown hostile to the give and take of the political process—the broiling activity of partisan affairs—should have been present last spring in Washington, D.C., where some 125 men and women from over 60 countries in which democracy does not yet exist or is struggling to emerge gathered to share their experiences, successes, and difficulties. The occasion was the National Endowment for Democracy's Fifth World Conference on Democracy at which democracy advocates Sergei Kovalev and Elena Bonner of Russia, Monique Mujawamariya of Rwanda, and Sergio Aguayo Quezada of Mexico were honored. Present also was Nobel Laureate Wole Soyinka of Nigeria, who gave an impassioned appeal for democracy in his country.

Members of the board of the National Endowment for Democracy were also privileged this past year to meet another extraordinary figure in the fight for democracy and human rights, Harry Wu. Now

an American citizen, Harry Wu nonetheless continues to work for freedom and accountability in the People's Republic of China.

Listening to the words of such brave democratic activists, I was reinforced in my conviction that President Eisenhower was right to press for greater involvement in the political life of our own country.

Last summer, NED's International Forum for Democratic Studies and the Institute for National Policy Research cosponsored a conference in Taiwan. Leading scholars of politics and democracy, including Robert Dahl of Yale and Samuel P. Huntington of Harvard, joined democratic leaders from around the world for three days of talks in a land that is a promising example of an Asian polity both prosperous and open. Lee Teng-hui, president of the Republic of China (Taiwan), and Yegor Gaidar, former prime minister of the Russian Federation, were among the major speakers.

In Taipei, Professor Huntington declared that the "great third wave of democratization that brought democracy to some 40 countries may be losing its outward dynamic and moving from a phase of expansion to one of consolidation." To forestall a "new reverse wave" that "may be gathering," Huntington asserted, we must now focus on "the consolidation of recent new democracies and the completion of the transitions to democracy under way in many countries."

Indeed, the prospects for extending democracy are far more sobering today than even two years ago, and the challenges formidable. Nonetheless, I believe there is an area where the need to develop, almost ab initio, the institutions and practices of democracy is particularly compelling—the Balkans. The passage from authoritarian to open societies in the postcommunist states has, we all know, been freighted with difficulties. Yet the combination of the recent accords between Greece and the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia and the peace settlement in Bosnia suggests that it is not too early to think of more ways of encouraging democratic institutions and practices in the Balkans.

Neighboring Greece, the liveliest democracy in the region, might well be the place to establish a center to promote democracy in the Balkan states. For an enduring peace in the area will surely depend on, among other factors, the development of free and democratic institutions. The National Endowment for Democracy, perhaps through the International Forum for Democratic Studies, is one among several sources of experience and wisdom for such an initiative.

Yet even as Americans encourage democracy in lands that do not enjoy it, we must renew our commitment to the democratic process here at home. We must practice what we preach!



John Brademas

The year covered by this annual report—1 October 1994 to 30 September 1995 — coincided with a period of transition in American politics marked by an unusual degree of uncertainty and division. The transition is the result of many factors, among them the end of the Cold War, accelerating technological change, and global economic competition. And it has not yet run its course; fundamental questions remain unresolved, principally those having to do with the scope of the American government's responsibilities at home and abroad.

The sharpness of the debate over these issues has made it especially difficult for the Democratic administration and the Republican-controlled Congress to find common ground on national policies. It is noteworthy, therefore, that in this period of unusual partisanship and polarization, the National Endowment for Democracy has continued to attract significant bipartisan support. The breadth of this support can be explained in part by the unique bipartisan and pluralistic structure of the Endowment as represented by its party, business, and labor core institutes. The decisive factor, which also explains the depth and durability of this support, is the nature of the Endowment's mission: Since the founding of our country, Americans have believed that the nation's values and interests are best served by the expansion of democracy and self-government in the world.

To be sure, Americans differ over the means for implementing this national purpose of advancing democracy. Some believe that it is sufficient for the United States to strengthen its own democracy so that we can be a shining example for other countries to learn from and emulate. Others favor far-reaching forms of political, economic, and military intervention to defend democracy abroad against foreign aggression and internal repression. Between these two poles, most Americans hold a wide variety of positions, depending on the particular issue and its relation to American national interests.

The Endowment can appeal to Americans across this spectrum of opinion because it offers a practical and prudent means to advance democracy. It is a low-cost program suited to a period of tight budgets. It utilizes public resources to advance a national purpose, yet is free from the bureaucratic and diplomatic constraints that would limit the ability of a government agency to carry out the Endowment's mission.

In addition to these attributes of efficiency, independence, and flexibility, the Endowment is a symbol of American democratic idealism. As such, it appeals to those who believe in the democratic system and are inspired by the many others around the world who share this belief. This appeal is strengthened by the commonsense pragmatism of the Endowment's approach to its work. Its assistance is based on the self-restraining proposition that nations can achieve democracy only through their own efforts and according to their own culture and historical experience. In other words, the Endowment's aim is not to export or impose democracy but rather to assist those engaged in difficult struggles for freedom. "These people are the natural friends of America, resisting the enemies of freedom," the leaders of Empower America said in a letter supporting NED. "They need our continued solidarity." This is a view that resonates in Congress and with the American people.

The rallying of bipartisan support behind the Endowment was demonstrated many times during the past year. On the occasion of the Fifth World Conference on Democracy, President Bill Clinton reit-

erated that his administration "has strongly supported the work of the NED and its institutes because they reflect America's commitment to those who cherish freedom and democracy." House Speaker Newt Gingrich called NED "the institution that represents the American people's bipartisan commitment to a world in which the principles of democracy prevail." Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole said that "NED continues to enjoy broad bipartisan support in the U.S. Senate because its activities serve America's interests and reflect American ideals." And House Democratic Leader Richard Gephardt pledged his support for "the hard work that freedom requires" and urged that "despite the end of the Cold War, we must continue to help those who are struggling to bring their countries into the community of democracies."

The bipartisan character of this support was also demonstrated by a "Dear Colleague" letter signed by 38 members of Congress, among them Republican leaders Benjamin Gilman, Robert Livingston, Henry Hyde, and Christopher Smith, and Democratic leaders Richard Gephardt, David Bonior, Steny Hoyer, and NED board member Donald Payne. The letter praised NED for being "small, cost-effective, and non-bureaucratic." It also noted that "NED played a key role in the peaceful transitions to democracy in Chile, Poland, and South Africa, and its continuing support for democrats at the grass roots level has won the strong backing of leading democratic figures throughout the world."

This bipartisan support for NED was displayed in microcosm in a letter signed by two key House members from Indiana: Lee Hamilton, the ranking member of the House International Relations Committee, and David McIntosh, the liaison between the House leadership and the Republican freshmen (and a new member of the NED board). The letter called NED's work "absolutely critical if we are to build an effective line of defense against tyrants who work against American interests."

Two other joint statements deserve mention. One was signed by the last seven Secretaries of State: Henry Kissinger, Cyrus Vance, Edmund Muskie, Alexander Haig, George Shultz, James Baker, and Lawrence Eagleburger. The letter praised "NED's strong track record in assisting Solidarity in Poland and other significant democratic movements over the past decade." It also underlined the importance of the Endowment's independence: "We consider the non-governmental character of the NED even more relevant today than it was at NED's founding twelve years ago."

The second joint statement was signed by four former National Security Advisers: Richard Allen, Frank Carlucci, Zbigniew Brzezinski, and Brent Scowcroft. The statement emphasized that the Endowment "operates in situations where direct government involvement is not appropriate. It is an exceptionally effective instrument in today's climate for reaching dedicated groups seeking to counter extreme nationalist and autocratic forces that are responsible for so much conflict and instability. Eliminating this program would be particularly unsettling to our friends around the world, and could be interpreted as a sign of America's disengagement from the vital policy of supporting democracy." It called NED "a critical and cost-effective investment in a more secure America."

Among the most compelling statements of support for the Endowment came from "the natural friends of America," those on the front lines of the struggle for freedom in the world. These are the people whom NED supports, and their work is reflected in the grants that are listed in this annual report. Their statements, addressed to various members of Congress, are moving testimony to how vital NED support is for their struggles. Among the writers was Harry Wu, the Chinese-American human rights activist who had only days before been released from prison by the Chinese government. He wrote that without NED support he "simply could not continue to document and report the truth about China's gulag and how it stands in the way of the development of democracy."

Harry Wu's appreciation of NED's importance is shared by democratic activists from all over the world who have received assistance from the Endowment:

- Elena Bonner, the widow of Andrei Sakharov and a major leader of the Russian human rights movement, wrote that NED "has a clear mission to support democracy and a staff that understands the nature of our problem.... It gets help directly to the right people and doesn't get blocked or diverted by bureaucratic obstructionists."
- Abdumannob Polat, the chairman of the Uzbek Society for Human Rights, wrote that "NED pays significantly more attention than other foundations and institutions in the U.S. and the West to supporting the activity of human rights and democratic activists and groups from Central Asian countries...."
- Kemal Kurspahic, the editor of *Oslobodenje*, praised NED for helping to keep the Sarajevo daily newspaper alive during the siege of the city.
- Sein Win, the prime minister of Burma's elected (but exiled) government, wrote that NED support for broadcasting by the "Democratic Voice of Burma" and for other programs has spurred the growth of the country's democratic movement.
- Kanan Makiya, an Iraqi intellectual, wrote, "Because of what NED has done for Iraq since the Gulf War, it has been possible for Iraqi writers and human rights activists to get their ideas and aspirations into Iraq itself."
- Kim Dae-jung, the Korean democracy leader, noted NED's support for the advocates of liberal values in the "great battle of ideas under way in Asia."
- Femi Falana, the Nigerian human rights activist, emphasized that the Endowment "has made immense contributions to the work of the human rights/prodemocracy movement in Nigeria."
- Rodolfo Gonzalez Gonzalez, recently released from the Cuban gulag, wrote that "Cuban dissidents and prisoners regard [the NED] as a major ally of the island's prodemocracy cause."
- Sergio Aguayo Quezada, a leader of the Civic Alliance, a coalition of more than 400 Mexican non-governmental organizations that came together to promote free and fair elections, called attention to NED's "unique position: it has a close relation with Congress, but it acts independently from government.... The relations we have had with NED... have been characterized by their respect and understanding of our determination to put the main responsibility for the construction of democracy on the shoulders of the Mexican people."
- Francisco Sagasti, the director of AGENDA Peru and former chief of strategic planning at the World Bank, wrote that "Practically since its inception, the Endowment has been considered as the leading institution in the promotion... of democratic values and practices throughout Latin America." Sagasti explained that NED is "indispensable because it performs two unique functions:

"The professional competence of NED staff and the rigorous process of project selection constitute a guarantee for other funding agencies, which frequently complement the resources provided by NED. The Endowment's funding is considered as a 'seal of approval' that ensures both the quality and the impact of

projects to promote democratic governance and the spread of democratic practices. No other institution plays such a crucial role and is able to leverage its relatively modest resources in the way that NED does.

"The autonomy and recognized independence of NED allow it to take risks and to explore new avenues, thus blazing a trail with initiatives that are frequently followed by other agencies that are, by their own nature, forced to be much more conservative. This is particularly the case with regard to the activities of institutions such as USAID, which face limitations that do not apply to NED."

Cumulatively, these and many similar statements make a powerful case for the indispensability of the Endowment at a time when Congress is re-examining all publicly-funded programs. They answer many of the concerns that members of Congress have regarding the NED's effectiveness and continued relevance. But it was left to political scientist Seymour Martin Lipset, one of the most astute observers of American society, to fully capture the significance of the Endowment's work.

He did so in a short essay written soon after the NED's Fifth World Conference, which brought together democratic activists from over 60 countries around the world. Four of these individuals were honored at a concluding Democracy Award dinner: Elena Bonner and Sergio Aguayo Quezada (both mentioned earlier), the former Russian dissident and human rights leader Sergei Kovalev, and Monique Mujawamariya, an uncommonly brave human rights activist from Rwanda. Listening to these remarkable democrats, Lipset was reminded of the time in our country's history, more than a century ago, when the world's leading democratic revolutionaries turned to our American democracy for inspiration and practical support in their struggles. For most of this century, the American model was displaced by pseudo-democratic totalitarian movements. But now, as this century draws to a close, democrats from around the world are once again looking to the United States as the center of the global democratic revolution.

While this is a welcome development, Americans are ambivalent about taking on the responsibility of supporting a worldwide freedom network. There is so much work to be done here at home, and it is not always clear why this should be *our* responsibility. Lipset's answer is compelling: "... the opponents of democracy, whether on the left or right, are anti-American, viewing the United States as the enemy par excellence because it embodies everything they dislike. Freedom's supporters, on the other hand, continue to identify the United States as a model.... The global struggle is no longer linked to nuclear weapons or submarines, but it goes on."

The resources needed to fight this battle are modest, especially when compared to what is at stake. The central issue is whether we will continue to see the democratic cause as our own, whether we will identify with those who march under its banner as they identify with us. It has to do with how we see ourselves as a nation. The existence of the Endowment and the help it gives to democrats abroad show that we remain freedom's friend. In a period of change and uncertainty, it is worth holding fast to such a principle.



Carl Gershman

The National Endowment for Democracy's Fifth World Conference on Democracy brought together leading democratic activists from around the world to address the issues and challenges in the struggle to achieve and maintain democracy.

The biennial conference included discussions of developments in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, Latin America, Eastern and Central Europe, and the New Independent States. Featured speakers included prominent dissidents, scholars, parliamentarians, journalists, and human rights activists. Panelists were joined by participants representing some 100 organizations in over 60 countries around the globe, including China, Cuba, Russia, the former Yugoslavia, the West Bank, and Rwanda.

The Endowment presented its 1995 Democracy Award to four activists selected by the NED board of directors in recognition of their contributions to the cause of democracy. Recipients were: Elena Bonner, chairman of the Andrei Sakharov Foundation, and Sergei Kovalev, human rights commissioner, Russia (joint award); Sergio Aguayo Quezada, co-founder of the Civic Alliance in Mexico; and Monique Mujawamariya, Rwandan human rights activist.

The conference also included a third day of cross-regional networking workshops for international participants, entitled "Building a Global Connection." The sessions were designed to provide an opportunity for participants to access information, exchange ideas, and explore new ways of working together. The first part of the day was dedicated to introducing grantees to the International Forum for Democratic Studies, and specifically its Democracy Resource Center. (Please see page 13 of this report for further information on the Forum's activities.) Later, participants broke into smaller groups for workshops focusing on media, human rights, and civic organizations and education.

The Endowment greatly appreciates the following donors whose support made the conference and related events possible: The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations; The American Federation of Teachers; Marshall Coyne; Edward Donley; Malcolm S. Forbes, Jr.; The Hurford Foundation; Robert Kriebler; Ronald Lauder; Eli Lilly & Company; Daniel Rose; Ross, Dixon & Masback; Service Employees International Union; Deborah Szekely; and The Whitehead Foundation.



Democracy Award Dinner (l to r) Paula Dobriansky, Carl Gershman, Monique Mujawamariya, Elena Bonner, Sergei Kovalev, Sergio Aguayo Quezada, Senator John McCain (R-AZ), and John Brademas.

The International Forum for Democratic Studies was established as a new division within the Endowment in April 1994. The Forum, whose activities are funded primarily by private contributions, already has become a leading center for analyzing and discussing the theory and practice of democratic development worldwide. It also serves as a clearinghouse for information on the varied activities and experiences of groups and institutions working to achieve and maintain democracy around the world. As such, it fills an important institutional void in the field of democratic studies while at the same time supporting and enhancing the Endowment's grants program.

The Forum's activities involve and benefit scholars, policy makers, and activists representing diverse experiences and views. The Forum has initiated four interrelated programs:

- A research and conferences program that, through a combination of international conferences, smaller meetings, and occasional publications, analyzes the practical and theoretical aspects of democracy and democratization;
- A Democracy Resource Center consisting of a library and archives on democracy, a World Wide Web site on the Internet called "DemocracyNet," and a democracy-promotion grants information database;
- Publication of an expanded version of the *Journal of Democracy*, the quarterly journal published for the Endowment by Johns Hopkins University Press; and
- A Visiting Fellows Program that enables a small number of distinguished scholars, journalists, and democratic activists from around the world to spend time in residence at the Forum.

The International Forum is directed by Marc F. Plattner and Larry Diamond, who also coedit the *Journal of Democracy*. The International Forum's programs benefit from the advice and involvement of a Research Council consisting of U.S.-based scholars and other specialists in democracy.

Research and Conferences

Research sponsored by the Forum focuses on issues of democratic transition and consolidation as well as on the common challenges facing both new and established democracies. During the past year, the Forum held major conferences on "Civil-Military Relations and the Consolidation of Democracy" (in Washington, D.C., on 13-14 March, cosponsored with the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies) and "Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies: Trends and Challenges" (in Taipei, Taiwan, on 27-30 August, cosponsored with the Institute for National Policy Research [INPR], Taipei). The Forum published a conference report, *Civil-Military Relations and the Consolidation of Democracy*, and the INPR will publish a report on the conference in Taipei. The Forum will also publish edited volumes stemming from the major conferences held in 1995.

Topics to be addressed in conferences during the coming year include "Democracy in East Asia" (14-15 March 1996, cosponsored with the Japan Institute of International Affairs and the Institute of Public Policy Studies, Thailand) and the problems of political parties and party systems (Fall 1996).

The Forum also sponsors smaller conferences and meetings on timely issues and particular countries or regions. In the past year, the Forum held one-day meetings on "The Prospects for Political Change in China," "Nigeria's Political Crisis: Which Way Forward?," and "Democracy's Future" (to commemorate the fifth anniversary of the *Journal of Democracy*). It cosponsored, with the Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego, a one-day conference on "Mexico: The Challenge of Political Opening" (6 October 1995), and held another on "Stability and Reform in Egypt" (1 December 1995).

The Forum publishes reports stemming from these smaller meetings; in the past year, the Forum published *The Prospects for Political Change in China*, *Nigeria's Political Crisis: Which Way Forward?*, and *Democracy's Future*. Reports stemming from the meetings on Mexico and Egypt will be published early in 1996.

The Forum has planned a number of smaller meetings for 1996 as well: on "Constructing Democracy and Markets: East Asia and Latin America" (in January, cosponsored with the Pacific Council on International Policy); on Taiwan (in April, cosponsored with the Institute for National Policy Research, Taipei); on South Korea (in June, cosponsored with the International Relations Institute, Korea University); and on Russia (in September, cosponsored with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace).

In addition, the Forum sponsors luncheon discussions with leading democratic thinkers and activists. During the past year, the Forum held a series of discussions focused on the Middle East featuring scholars Haleh Esfandiari (on women in Iran), Lahouari Addi (on Algeria), and Kanan Makiya (on Iraq), as well as a discussion with Robert S. Leiken (on democracy in the Western Hemisphere). Leiken, Esfandiari, and Makiya were International Forum visiting fellows at the time. The Forum also planned discussions with Richard Rose (on the Russian elections), Bernard Lewis (on Islam and democracy), and Hyug Baeg Im (on economic globalization and democracy), which took place in October and November 1995; Professor Im was a visiting fellow at the Forum.

Democracy Resource Center

The Democracy Resource Center (DRC) collects, organizes, and disseminates information and analysis produced by and about the wide range of groups and organizations working to strengthen democracy around the world. The DRC seeks to facilitate a genuinely multidirectional flow of information and ideas among developed and developing democracies, grant providers and recipients, and scholars and practitioners.

The DRC has three principal components:

Library and Archives

The library and archives house a collection of books, journals, grantee reports, audio and video cassettes, and other publications on democracy; a unique collection of materials produced by prodemocracy groups worldwide; documentation on the history of the Endowment and programs it has funded; and information on the activities of other democracy-building groups and organizations. These resources have been entered into an electronic catalog.

Internet Access

The DRC has established a World Wide Web site on the Internet called "DemocracyNet" that can be accessed at <http://www.ned.org>. DemocracyNet gives users access to the full text of NED publications, including the International Forum's conference reports; the tables of contents of all issues and other material from the Forum's *Journal of Democracy*; a catalog of Internet resources on democracy; information on the Forum's Visiting Fellows Program; selected grantee publications; the DRC's electronic library catalog; and the DRC's Democracy-Promotion Grants Database. In the future, electronic "discussion groups" on topics related to democracy will also be available.

Democracy-Promotion Grants Database

A database containing information on democracy-promotion grants has been created that permits users to search for information by various fields, including grantee, country, region, year, subject, project abstract, and grantee publications. The database contains information on over 1,700 grants made by NED from 1990 to the present, and information on grants by other organizations will soon be added.



NED's new web site provides easy access to information for democrats around the world.

Visiting Fellows Program

The Forum launched its Visiting Fellows Program in January 1995. The program enables scholars, journalists, and democratic activists to spend from three to ten months in residence at the Forum exploring the theory and practice of democracy. The program is open to applicants of all nationalities and seeks to reflect a wide geographical diversity each year.

The primary goal of the program is to give fellows the time and resources to conduct original research, become familiar with recent literature in their fields of interest, write for publication, assess their own experiences, engage in discussions with scholars and practitioners from other regions, and enhance their knowledge and skills. The results of the program—new information and analysis, deeper insights, improved understanding, and extensive communication—are of benefit not only to the individual fellows but to the wider community of democrats and students of democracy as well.

A secondary goal of the program is to stimulate mutually beneficial interaction among the fellows and other scholars and practitioners of democracy by exposing the fellows to the academic, policy-making, and activist communities in Washington and elsewhere in the United States. The fellows benefit, for instance, from their interaction with the extensive network of scholars, many of them in the Washington, D.C. area, who constitute the Forum's Research Council. The program also fosters productive and enduring ties among the visiting fellows themselves.

The Visiting Fellows Program is small, personalized, and flexible. No more than six fellows will be in residence at the Forum at one time. Every effort is made to adjust the timing and duration of fellowships to meet the needs of the prospective fellows, and the program seeks people from a wide range of nationalities, disciplines, and perspectives.

This year, the following distinguished scholars working on issues related to democracy have been in residence at the Forum:

Haleh Esfandiari (February-May '95), a native of Iran who has been teaching Persian language and literature at Princeton University for the past 15 years, worked on a book entitled "Reconstructed Lives: Women and the Islamic Revolution."

Robert S. Leiken (February-December '95), director of a project entitled "A New Moment in the Americas," worked on a series of articles on democratic development in the Americas.

Kanan Makiya (February-June '95), author of *Republic of Fear* and *Cruelty and Silence*, and director of the Iraq Research and Documentation Project at the Center for Middle East Studies at Harvard University, worked to help create a computerized archive of formerly secret Ba'athist documents seized during the Gulf War, and on the development of an on-line research workstation for this archive.

Hyug Baeg Im (September '95-January '96), associate professor of political science at Ewha Womans University in Seoul, South Korea, worked on "Authoritarian Capitalist Development and Democratization in Korea."

Journal of Democracy

According to *Foreign Affairs* magazine, the *Journal of Democracy* has published some of the best contemporary writing on the subject of modern liberal democracy. During the past year, the *Journal* has maintained that reputation, particularly with the publication in January 1995 of its Fifth Anniversary Issue, which included Harvard scholar Robert Putnam's widely noted article "Bowling Alone." The *Journal* monitors and analyzes democratic movements worldwide and examines the cultural, political, social, and economic factors that affect the institutionalization of democracy. Each issue of the *Journal* also features key documents on democracy, reports on elections abroad, and topical book reviews. Contributors to the *Journal* include both leading scholars and prominent democratic activists from around the world.

In September 1995, the fourth *Journal of Democracy* book, entitled *Economic Reform and Democracy*, was published by Johns Hopkins University Press. The volume includes essays by a distinguished group of writers who examine the relationship between economic reform and political liberalization.

The *Journal* is published quarterly in January, April, July, and October. Contents of the 1995 issues are listed on page 19. Subscriptions are \$28 for one year, or \$61 for institutions. To subscribe, send a check or money order in U.S. funds to: Journals Publishing Division, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2715 N. Charles Street, Baltimore, MD 21218-4319; or call 1-800-548-1784.

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- Abdullahi An-Na'im**, Emory University
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Nancy Bermeo, Princeton University
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Daniel Brumberg, Georgetown University
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Michael Coppedge, University of Notre Dame
Wayne Cornelius, University of California, San Diego
Gerald Curtis, Columbia University
Robert Dahl, Yale University
Francis Deng, Brookings Institution
John B. Dunlop, Hoover Institution
Charles H. Fairbanks, Jr., Johns Hopkins University/SAIS
Mark Falcoff, American Enterprise Institute
Francis Fukuyama, RAND Corporation
Louis W. Goodman, American University
Stephan Haggard, University of California, San Diego
Peter Hakim, Inter-American Dialogue
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Harry Harding, George Washington University
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Jonathan Hartlyn, University of North Carolina
Steve Heydemann, Social Science Research Council
Donald L. Horowitz, Duke University
Samuel P. Huntington, Harvard University
Richard Joseph, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Adrian Karatnycky, Freedom House
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Liang Heng, The Chinese Intellectual
R. William Liddle, Ohio State University
Arend Lijphart, University of California, San Diego
Juan J. Linz, Yale University
Seymour Martin Lipset, George Mason University
Abraham F. Lowenthal, University of Southern California
Scott Mainwaring, University of Notre Dame
Kanan Makiya, Harvard University
Cynthia McClintock, George Washington University
Michael McFaul, Stanford University
Joshua Muravchik, American Enterprise Institute
Andrew J. Nathan, Columbia University
Joan M. Nelson, Overseas Development Council
Guillermo O'Donnell, University of Notre Dame
Martha Brill Olcott, Colgate University
Thomas L. Pangle, University of Toronto
Minxin Pei, Princeton University
Adam Przeworski, New York University
Robert D. Putnam, Harvard University
Peter Reddaway, George Washington University
Pearl Robinson, Tufts University
Robert A. Scalapino, University of California, Berkeley
Philippe Schmitter, Stanford University
Stephen Sestanovich, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
Richard L. Sklar, University of California, Los Angeles
Stephen John Stedman, Johns Hopkins University/SAIS
Nathan Tarcov, University of Chicago
Vladimir Tismaneanu, University of Maryland

Grants issued by the Endowment are grouped below by region preceded by brief examples of results achieved by NED-funded programs in 1995.

Africa

"What we need to do is to stimulate a democratic culture of the kind where individuals not only understand what their rights are and what their obligations are as citizens, but where people can understand the responsibilities of being a democratic citizen."

—Wilmot James, Executive Director, Institute for Democracy in South Africa

"This country is held in bondage today by a regime which thinks it can permanently impose its will on our people and shape Nigeria as it desires, but I ask you to believe me and to accept it as an unshakeable article of faith that in good time, the people will win and rearrange their collective life as they will."

—Chief Anthony Enahoro, Leader of National Democratic Coalition of Nigeria

NED has worked with many groups in Africa that have converted modest grants into programs which have had significant national impact, often in situations involving physical danger.

In Nigeria, where NED is the principal external funder of the country's human rights and democracy movement, grantees have bravely defied the worst wave of repression that nation has ever known to mount campaigns of civic education, legal defense, human rights monitoring, and training. For example, a grant of \$42,000 to the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights (CDHR) enabled that organization to open and equip a new, more secure headquarters and National Resource Centre after a fire-bombing by suspected government agents destroyed the old one. The Committee fielded a ten-person legal defense team in more than 30 political cases, including Campaign for Democracy leaders Beko Ransome-Kuti, Sylvester Odion-Akhaine, and Shehu Sanni, as well as others—among them students, trade unionists, and indigents—arrested by the military regime. CDHR also published more than a thousand copies each of its quarterly newsletter *Victims*, a 50-page annual report on human rights in Nigeria, numerous press releases, and tens of thousands of protest leaflets. According to human rights lawyer Femi Falana of the CDHR, NED has made immense contributions to the work of the prodemocracy movement.

In Liberia, seven grantees are playing a major role in promoting popular awareness of democracy and human rights in the country and pressing for an end to a bloody civil conflict. A grant to the Liberia Watch for Human Rights (awarded in late 1994 for activities conducted in 1995) enabled that organization to rent and equip offices in two cities; hire a staff of 17; produce human rights reports, press releases, radio programs, and posters; hold three workshops on disarmament that attracted nearly a thousand participants; and launch a self-help community program. Liberia Watch has pioneered human rights efforts in cities such as Tubmanburg, where one of its staff was severely beaten as a result of his efforts to organize a conference on disarmament.

NED remains the primary external financial resource for groups working throughout Zaire to support democracy and human rights. A grant to the Friends of Nelson Mandela in remote Kisangani, Zaire, enabled that organization to hold a week-long human rights training workshop for 60 activists and publish a monthly 18-page newsletter, *Liberté*, that included reports on human rights abuses and other regionally significant issues. Large, popular protests were triggered by the beating and torture of one NED grantee by police in Maniema, and a grantee working in tense Lubumbashi has been repeatedly threatened. According to Floribert Chebeya of the "Voice of the Voiceless" in Zaire, support from NED "has allowed us to save lives in Zaire as it sinks further and further into a grave situation of general misery and instability."

In the new and fragile democracy of the Central African Republic (CAR), the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) conducted a seminar on political party organization and ideology with representatives of 12 parties from the CAR and neighboring Congo. The seminar, which was organized in conjunction with the four major political Internationals, was characterized by the African participants as a "major success," according to a U.S. embassy report. The U.S. ambassador stated that "the success of the seminar bodes well for the future of democracy in the CAR."

In Cote d'Ivoire, an Endowment grant enabled the Ivoirian League of Human Rights (LIDHO) to open and equip a new resource center, hire full-time staff, and begin a national program of seminars on human rights and democracy. LIDHO and two other indigenous NED grantees were key members of the *Collectif* of NGOs that sought to mediate between the ruling party and its opposition in an attempt to salvage the Ivoirian national elections in October. The negotiating documents and press releases of this effort were produced using the resource center's facilities. NDI also played an important role within the *Collectif*.

Angola

National Democratic Institute for International Affairs \$136,220
To support the participation of Angolan democrats in NDI programs in Mozambique, Namibia, and South Africa; and to enable them to meet with members of the political and nongovernmental communities.

Burundi

Search for Common Ground \$48,085
To further the nonviolent political process by bringing together Tutsi and Hutu leaders from Burundi and engaging them in dialogue.

Central African Republic

Central African League for Human Rights \$26,000
(*Ligue Centrafricaine des Droits de l'Homme*)
To produce its monthly bulletin *Le Bouclier* (The Shield); and to instruct human rights trainers in four cities.

Chad

Africare \$36,735
To enable the Ligue Tchadienne des Droits de l'Homme to continue its human rights monitoring activities and human rights and civic-education program.

Africare \$14,900
To enable Tchad Non-Violence to hold seminars on conflict resolution and other civic-education topics for the grassroots population.

Congo

Congolese Observatory of Human Rights \$24,000
(*Observatoire Congolais des Droits de l'Homme*)
To publish a quarterly human rights bulletin; to produce two human rights reports; and to conduct a program of seminars and press conferences.

Cote d'Ivoire

Ivoirian League of Human Rights \$36,000
(*Ligue Ivoirienne des Droits de L'Homme*)
To enable this Abidjan-based human rights organization to establish a resource center for the study of human rights; and to launch an extensive program of human rights education, advocacy, and training.

Ethiopia

Ethiopian Congress for Democracy \$25,000
To conduct a series of civic-education training programs to promote a better understanding of the role of local governments and how citizens can create a participatory form of local government.

Ghana

Center for International Private Enterprise \$125,925
To enable the Institute of Economic Affairs to continue its advocacy program aimed at instilling transparency in law making; and to guide politicians and policy makers in their debates on economic and business-related legislation.

Ghana Committee on Human and Peoples' Rights \$20,000
To conduct a training program aimed at creating a cadre of community-based civic educators, facilitated by the Committee's chapters in five provinces.

Kenya

Center for International Private Enterprise \$60,268
To support the Kenya Management Assistance Programme, which helps initiate consensus-building dialogue between the public and private sectors; and to advocate changes in Kenya's legal structure that would support the expansion of entrepreneurial opportunities.

The Greenbelt Movement \$40,000
To continue its program of conflict mediation with elders from the Rift Valley.

Kenya Human Rights Commission \$36,000
To support a program of research, reporting, monitoring, and mobilization on behalf of democratic reform and greater respect for fundamental rights.

National Democratic Institute for International Affairs \$199,082
To expand its work in promoting the participation of women in politics through a multi-faceted technical assistance and training program.

Liberia

Center for Law and Human Rights Education \$60,000

To support its program of human rights education, monitoring, training, and outreach; to enable the legal-aid clinic to provide services for victims of human rights abuses; and to support publication and distribution of the weekly newspaper *Human Rights Review*.

Justice and Peace Commission \$44,000

To support its 30-minute weekly human rights radio program; and to continue its legal-aid program, which works to release those who have been wrongfully imprisoned.

Liberia Human Rights Chapter \$36,000

To expand its grassroots human rights monitoring and education efforts.

Liberia Watch for Human Rights \$25,000

To establish offices and conduct workshops on disarmament and demobilization in five counties.

National Federation of Liberian Women's Organizations \$25,000

To conduct a series of civic-education, leadership, and institution-building workshops for representatives of women's organizations.

Malawi

University of Malawi \$6,683

To publish a book of essays and articles on the impact of democratization on language, literature, journalism, arts, and politics during the transitional years of 1992-94.

Mali

Action Committee for Women and Children's Rights \$55,000

(*Comité d'Action pour les Droits de l'Enfant et de la Femme*)

To support a program of grassroots education, training, and legal defense of women's rights and the role of women in an emerging democracy.

Mozambique

Demos/CoopArtes Editorial \$25,596

To enable *Semanario Demos*, a new independent weekly newspaper, to produce a human rights and civic-education supplement in collaboration with the Liga dos Direitos Humanos (Mozambique Human Rights League).

Namibia

The Foundation for Education in Namibia \$40,000

To support its national civic-education program for secondary school students.

Nigeria

Civil Liberties Organization \$65,750

To support an Education and Expansion Campaign designed to increase its grassroots membership base, educational efforts, and effectiveness in promoting human rights and democracy.

Committee for the Defense of Human Rights \$42,000

To support publication of its quarterly newsletter *Victims* and an annual report on human rights; and to continue its legal-services program and National Resource Centre.

Constitutional Rights Project \$48,850

To strengthen its program of human rights education and monitoring through radio broadcasts, a weekly news column, a newsletter, handbills, and an annual report on human rights.

Human Rights Africa \$30,000

To conduct an extensive public awareness campaign to promote the national identity of a united Nigeria as a democratic alternative to military dictatorship and political instability.

Human Rights Monitor \$35,000

To strengthen its advocacy, training, human rights, and democracy programs.

Institute of Human Rights and Humanitarian Law \$23,713

To expand its "Structural Paralegal Assistance Network" as a means of helping local communities defend themselves against abuse by authorities; and to support a project that includes a monthly newsletter and a *People to People Alert* bulletin.

Legal Research and Resource Development Centre \$18,000

To hold a series of conferences on human rights, democracy, and development in four regions where democratic political development has been neglected; and to produce a conference book, *Democracy, Human-rights, and Development: The Nigerian Experience*.

National Democratic Coalition of Nigeria \$40,000

To build a network of activists both inside and outside Nigeria who will disseminate information to counter the military government's control of the media.

Rwanda**Foundation Internationale Agathe Uwilingiyimana** \$60,000

To produce and distribute a booklet on ethnic conflict; and to assist the Association de Défense des Libertés Publiques and Ligue Rwandaise pour La Promotion et la Défense des Droits de l'Homme in their effort to support human rights monitoring.

Sierra Leone**Free Trade Union Institute** \$94,525

To enable the African American Labor Center to support the efforts of the Sierra Leone Labour Congress to develop a legal and civic-education program that will inform workers of their legal rights, help them understand their government structures, and encourage them to build requisite skills for effective civic participation.

South Africa**Center for International Private Enterprise** \$183,375

To enable the Sunnyside Group to undertake a Small Business Alert program analyzing laws and regulations and their effect on small business development and the economy.

Center for International Private Enterprise \$62,201

To enable the Free Market Foundation of South Africa to conduct outreach activities designed to advocate its position on constitutional and economic reforms to law makers and the National Assembly.

International Republican Institute \$56,000
To support the Free Society Project of the South African Institute of Race Relations, which monitors democratic development and promotes the rule of law, ethics, justice, the concept of limited government, and economic freedom.

National Democratic Institute for International Affairs \$61,149
To support the participation of legislators in NDI parliamentary assistance programs throughout Africa and in other parts of the world.

Sudan

Fund for Peace \$40,000
To support publication of an expanded monthly edition of the *Sudan Democratic Gazette*.

Sudan Human Rights Organization \$24,000
To sustain its program of human rights monitoring and activism, including publishing and disseminating current reports on the human rights situation; and to support training and educational programs for human rights activists.



Training sessions held by the Foundation for Human Rights Initiative in Uganda inform NGO leaders about human rights standards.

Uganda

Foundation for Human Rights Initiative \$45,000
To support activities including publication of a biannual journal, *Human-rights Defender*; and a quarterly newsletter, *Dateline*; and an annual human rights report.

Zaire

Zairian Association for the Defense of Human Rights \$60,000
(*Association Zairoise de Défense des Droits de l'Homme*)

To support its human rights program, which includes publication of three issues of the journal *Périodique des Droits de l'Homme*, and a mobile outreach program that conducts human rights education workshops in villages, workshops on corruption and good governance for local leaders, workshops on the use of international fair-trial standards in Zairian national courts for lawyers and judges, and a series of training sessions for paralegal activists in Kinshasa, Basankusu, Bas-Zaire, and Haut-Zaire.

Center for Human Rights and Humanitarian Law \$24,950
(*Centre des Droits de l'Homme et du Droit Humanitaire*)

To enable this multi-ethnic organization based in the Shaba region to conduct four human rights training workshops.

International Human Rights Law Group \$70,000

To support a program of institution-building and civic-education training in eastern Zaire, in coordination with the Regional Committee of Development NGOs, the League of Human-rights of the Great Lakes Region, and the Civil Society of Goma.

League of Zairian Voters \$25,000
(Ligue des Electeurs)
 To support a program of civic-education and electoral assistance training in western Zaire.

Friends of Nelson Mandela for the Defense of Human Rights \$12,000
(Les Amis de Nelson Mandela)

To support a training, information, and civic-education program, including a monthly newsletter, *Liberté*, and a training seminar on conducting human rights investigations, reporting findings, and providing human rights education.

Voice of the Voiceless \$56,000
(La Voix des Sans Voix)

To support a human rights education, advocacy, and monitoring project, including a quarterly newsletter, *Eveil du Patriote*, and a semiannual publication on human rights; seminars; and sending investigators to regions outside the capital.

Zimbabwe

Column Width, Ltd./
Horizon Magazine \$15,000
 To support continued publication of this independent monthly magazine known for its investigative political reporting.

Regional

African Association of Political Science \$25,000
 To expand its program of public forums on political issues in Cameroon, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Mozambique, Niger, Swaziland, Tanzania, and Zaire, dealing with Africa's transition to democracy and specific local problems.

Africare \$151,800
 To enable GERDDES-Afrique to produce publications on democracy and development in Africa; to train democratic activists, particularly members of national GERDDES chapters; and to promote coordination and networking among democratic activists throughout Africa.

Free Trade Union Institute \$368,578
 To enable the African American Labor Center to develop democracy training curriculum and teaching materials for use in ten African countries.

Fund for Peace \$60,000
 To continue its activities in support of human rights institution-building in the Horn of Africa, including a four-month training consultancy with groups in northern and southern Sudan, Somalia, Somaliland, and Djibouti.

Fund for Peace \$60,156
 To continue its training program in women's rights and conflict resolution in Eritrea and Somalia.

IDASA \$50,000
 To develop a network of NGOs in Southern Africa committed to the promotion of democracy.

International Movement of Democratic Women \$38,906
(Mouvement International des Femmes Démocrates)
 To promote women's political participation throughout Africa, particularly in the West African nations of Benin, Burkina Faso, Ghana, and Mali, through workshops on the role of women in democratization and development.



West African women train to become political leaders.

Media for Development International \$25,000
To conduct focus groups and other research in preparation for a feature film on peacemaking and traditional methods of conflict resolution in Africa.

National Democratic Institute for International Affairs \$117,325
To promote political party development in Francophone Africa by exposing political parties in the region to broader international political movements.

National Democratic Institute for International Affairs \$168,443
In coordination with GERDDES-Afrique, to conduct a forum on election-related disputes in Western Africa, bringing together members of the judiciary, election administrators, and political party representatives to discuss the management and effects of such conflicts on democratization.

Asia

"Quê Me's network of democratic activists in Viet Nam has enabled us to provide swift and reliable information to the international community on the status of human rights violations in Viet Nam, and urge governments and international organizations to pressure the Vietnamese government to make reforms."

—Vo Van Ai, President, Vietnam Committee on Human Rights

"Today, China's greatest challenge is dealing with problems of workers as the country restructures its economy. We believe that if workers can begin to responsibly consult with management that China will have a chance to move peacefully towards a more democratic society."

—Han Dongfang, Editor, China Labor Bulletin

NED's multi-faceted program in China includes support for human rights monitoring and education, publications that provide a forum for the uncensored views of Chinese democrats, work with reformers at the provincial level on electoral reform, symposia on market reform issues, and promotion of international labor rights standards. Recipients of funding include Chinese dissidents and their support groups in the West, among them Harry Wu and the Laogai Research Foundation, Wang Juntao and the China Strategic Institute, and the Hong Kong-based labor activist Han Dongfang. Upon his return to the United States following incarceration in China in the summer of 1995, Harry Wu stated, "Without NED's support, my colleagues and I simply could not continue to document and report the truth about

China's gulag and how it stands in the way of the development of democracy.... In my humble opinion, the money for NED...puts the American people squarely behind those struggling for the cause that America has always represented to others around the world—'the cause of freedom'."

The Hong Kong-based Labour Education and Information Center, which is supported by NED through the Asian American Free Labor Institute, published two reports in its *China Labour Bulletin* that effectively challenged Chinese government propaganda about the role of women in China during the period leading up to the UN Conference on Women held in Beijing. These reports discussed the plight of women workers in various industrial sectors, efforts of government-controlled groups to prevent independent unions, and suggestions for reform. The publications, which received widespread media coverage outside China, were confiscated by security personnel as an attempt was made to distribute them during the Beijing conference.

NED also supported a multi-faceted program in Burma, where the unexpected release of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi brought a glimmer of hope for democratic progress. NED funding (through the National Coalition for Democracy) for the efforts of the National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma (NCGUB) to heighten international awareness of the situation in Burma helped increase pressure for improvements in the human rights situation and for Suu Kyi's release. The International Republican Institute (IRI) provided financial and technical support to the National League for Democracy/Liberated Areas. Despite the pressures imposed by Burma's pervasive internal security, IRI worked with elements of the prodemocracy movement located on the border areas and within Burma to support the exiled democratically-elected government. Through the Asian American Free Labor Institute, vital assistance is being provided to the Federation of Trade Unions of Burma to develop trade union materials, train educators and organizers, and publish a newsletter for workers inside the country and along the Thai-Burmese border. With NED funding, a twice-daily short-wave radio program known as the "Democratic Voice of Burma" became a dependable source of information throughout Burma and was a major source of news and information for Suu Kyi during her years of house arrest. NED support also helped to double the circulation of *The New Era*, a bimonthly Burmese language newspaper covering current conditions in the country and the activities of the prodemocracy movement. Both the "Democratic Voice of Burma" and *The New Era* have become integral parts of the democratic leadership's strategic plan to rally support for a democratic transition. Dr. Sein Win, the elected prime minister of the NCGUB, has recognized NED for its support, noting the critical role the Endowment has played in helping Burma's democratic forces continue their struggle to restore democracy.

IRI has also been active in Mongolia, the one country in Asia that has moved from communism to democracy, helping two democratic parties prepare for the country's second round of parliamentary elections, to be held in 1996. To compete effectively against a ruling parliamentary party that has vastly superior resources, these parties were encouraged to develop national party platforms and a means of communicating them to rural dwellers who make up 80 percent of the population. At a training session held in September for the national leadership and party leaders from each of the 18 provinces and three municipalities, IRI trainers emphasized the need to develop a strategic plan for the ten months prior to the election.

Burma

Associates to Develop

Democratic Burma \$30,000

To continue to publish and distribute *Burma Alert*, a monthly international newsletter about the democracy movement; and to maintain a Burma archive/data center to assist the Burmese democracy movement.

Human Rights for the People of Burma \$115,000

To support the daily broadcast of the "Democratic Voice of Burma" radio program, which is taped in Bangkok and the border areas of Burma and broadcast over shortwave from Oslo, Norway.

International Republican Institute \$110,000

To provide assistance to the Burmese prodemocracy movement in its efforts to pressure the military junta, the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC), to restore democracy in Burma, including support for the Political Defiance Committee, an umbrella organization of 12 ethnic and prodemocracy groups devoted to training Burmese in promoting democratization through nonviolent political action, and for the National League for Democracy/Liberated Areas—Thailand border and western border.

National Coalition for Democracy \$50,000

To enable the exiled Burmese elected representatives, the National Coalition Government of the Union of Burma (NCGUB), to increase pressure on the SLORC to respond to Aung San Suu Kyi's offer of a political dialogue; to advocate measures to strengthen the mandate of the UN Special Rapporteur for Human Rights for Burma; and to support the National Council of the Union

of Burma (NCUB), a coalition of Burma's prodemocracy political parties and ethnic groups, in its efforts to promote solidarity in the liberated and cease-fire areas along Burma's borders.

The New Era Journal \$20,000

To support continued publication of this bimonthly Burmese-language newspaper that provides an alternative source of printed news and information to Burmese living under the SLORC military junta.



The New Era journal provides an information lifeline in Burma.

Nonviolence International \$50,000

To conduct an intensive training program on the India-Burma border to promote the theory of nonviolent political action and to train activists how to enlist support for the democratic cause while operating under difficult conditions; and to provide support for the ongoing activities of the newly established western border component of the Political Defiance Committee.

Cambodia

American Assistance for Cambodia \$25,000

To train Cambodian students and practicing journalists in reporting, writing, editing, exercising news judgment, and libel; and to improve newspaper and newsletter production techniques using desktop-publishing software.

Cambodian Institute of

Human Rights \$59,000

To produce "Public Opinion," a series of weekly television and radio programs that address human rights and democracy issues, and a twice-weekly newspaper column answering questions about the democratic process.

Center for International

Private Enterprise \$65,151

To sponsor a strategic-planning workshop in Phnom Penh for Cambodian business leaders and experts from Asia and the West to explore the role of business organizations in promoting democratization and economic development in Cambodia.

Human Rights Vigilance

of Cambodia \$42,320

To conduct human rights training for provincial police forces in Cambodia.

International Human Rights

Law Group \$5,700

To allow Kem Sokha, one of Cambodia's most outspoken human rights advocates, to travel to the United States for one month.

International Human Rights

Law Group \$90,000

To support the Human Rights Task Force on Cambodia, which carries out on-the-job training and advises human rights organizations on how

to do effective monitoring and investigation, with special emphasis on developing and improving the institutional capacity of women's NGOs.

International Republican

Institute \$309,303

To carry out a program of political party development focusing on provincial leadership training, intra-party communication, training of non-elected parties, party office consultations, and women's political leadership training.

Khmer Institute of Democracy \$45,000

To support its integrated program of civic education, targeting both the general public and government officials and administrators.

Khmer Students Association \$30,000

To continue its multi-faceted program to increase students' exposure to democratic principles, express their views, and take a more active role in their schools and communities.

National Democratic Institute for

International Affairs \$94,089

To conduct a multi-phase program to help develop the organizational capacity of Cambodia's three major political parties during a critical period in the country's troubled democratic transition.

National Democratic Institute

for International Affairs \$169,612

To conduct a six-month program to develop and strengthen Cambodia's political parties in preparation for possible local elections in 1997 and for national elections in 1998.

China

Center for International

Private Enterprise \$116,138

To enable the China Center for Economic Research to organize a lecture series and conference on reform analyzing the progress of China's transition to a market-based economy and new developments in economic reform.

Center for International

Private Enterprise \$67,971

To enable the Chinese Economists Society to organize a symposium highlighting the problems faced by state-run industries and offering ideas on market-based reforms.

Center for International

Private Enterprise \$16,198

To enable the Unirule Institute of Economics to organize biweekly symposia bringing together private entrepreneurs, academics, government officials, and journalists to discuss issues related to China's transition to a market economy, including reform of state-owned enterprises, economic and political globalization, and the development of civil society.

Center for Modern China \$100,000

To support the publication of *Modern China Studies*, a bimonthly Chinese-language periodical; five Chinese-language books in the Center's series on the rule of law for publication and distribution within China; and the *Journal of Contemporary China*, an English-language journal.

The China Strategic Institute \$30,000

To produce a series of studies and policy papers on solving pressing contemporary problems for circulation to selected policy makers in China.

Democratic China Magazine \$65,000

To support continued publication and worldwide distribution of this Chinese-language bimonthly, which provides a forum for the uncensored views of Chinese democrats in exile and in China.

Free Trade Union Institute \$435,753

To enable the Asian American Free Labor Institute to support the work of leading labor activists both inside China and in exile, including the monthly publication of the Chinese-language *China Labour Bulletin*; to cooperate with Hong Kong-based groups to document Chinese labor rights abuses, especially in the region around Hong Kong; to develop informational materials for workers in that area; and to strengthen the Confederation of Trade Unions, a key component of Hong Kong's democracy movement, by helping it upgrade its communications and research capabilities.

Human Rights in China \$140,000

To support its human rights program, which involves a number of integrated activities: producing and distributing in China educational materials (including a twice-monthly radio program) about human rights concepts and practices, providing direct advice and support for victims of human rights abuses who seek redress under the legal system, distributing financial assistance to prisoners' families, gathering information directly from families in China, and releasing timely reports; and to work with international NGOs, the media, governments, and intergovernmental bodies in pressuring the Chinese government to improve its human rights record.

Human Rights in China \$25,000
To support its Women's Rights Assessment Project, which provided an objective overview of women's human rights in China and was available at the UN-sponsored NGO Forum and World Conference on Women held in Beijing in September 1995.

Independent Federation of Chinese Students and Scholars \$24,000
To support continued publication of its newsletter, which is distributed to its campus chapters and other student associations and sent out over the Internet.

International Republican Institute \$538,506
To continue to promote electoral and legislative reform in China through local election training programs in Shandong province (the third most populous province in China, with 80 million voters) and through programs encouraging the reform of China's legislative process, the decentralization of legislative authority to the provinces, and the strengthening of independent policy institutes and of the national and provincial congresses.

Laogai Research Foundation \$89,000
To continue its investigations into the *laogai* system of forced labor, incorporating information into a comprehensive Chinese-English database, publishing the annual *Laogai Handbook*, and broadly disseminating information through special reports, speeches, and information provided to the mass media.

Press Freedom Guardian \$40,000
To support continued publication of this Chinese-language biweekly newspaper, which provides a forum for the free exchange of ideas about democratization.

Princeton China Initiative \$55,000
To support its Chinese-language monthly publication, *The Road*; its English-language monthly publication, *China Focus*; and its program of information collection and analysis.

Tendency Quarterly \$20,000
To support publication and distribution costs of this journal containing poetry, prose, social criticism, and political commentary not publishable in government-controlled outlets.

Today Literary Magazine \$20,000
To continue to publish uncensored fiction and literary criticism.

Hong Kong

Hong Kong Human Rights Monitor \$30,000
To focus local and international public attention on areas of Hong Kong law and practice that do not safeguard human rights.

International Republican Institute \$25,000
To conduct an assessment of the 17 September 1995 legislative elections in Hong Kong.

Indonesia

Center for International Private Enterprise \$99,618
To enable the Press Foundation of Asia and the private Indonesian news agency, KNI, to educate and sharpen the reporting skills of economic journalists, particularly those employed by provincial newspapers.

Mongolia

League of Democratic

Mongolian Women \$15,050

To support the expansion of its activities supporting democratic development and respect for human rights, individual freedom, and pluralism, particularly through promotion of public awareness of the role of NGOs and the involvement of women in political life.

Nepal

Free Trade Union Institute \$95,525

To enable the Asian American Free Labor Institute to work with the Nepal Trade Union Congress to conduct labor education programs, assist workers in structuring enterprise-level units, and register its enterprise-level unions with the Ministry of Labor; and to organize programs with Nepali labor lawyers to develop education materials.

National Democratic Institute for International Affairs \$115,339

To conduct a multi-faceted program to strengthen the parliament as a democratic decision-making institution.

Philippines

Center for International Private Enterprise \$92,299

To enable the Center for Research and Communication to strengthen business organizations in three medium-sized municipalities and help them undertake locally-based advocacy activities.

Free Trade Union Institute \$87,440

To enable the Asian American Free Labor Institute to work with the Trade Union Congress of the Philippines to develop training and work programs designed to create stronger trade unions and more effective ways of involving workers in public-policy forums.

Sri Lanka

Free Trade Union Institute \$114,075

To enable the Asian American Free Labor Institute to promote trade union initiatives that have an impact on the lives of women, migrants, and young workers—initiatives that foster a commitment in trade unions to become active participants in civil society.

International Republican Institute \$51,083

To help Sri Lanka's political parties develop effective national campaign strategies and an institutionalized system of conducting nationwide public opinion research.

Thailand

International Republican Institute \$98,235

To work with the Thai Women in Politics Institute to foster political and leadership development for women through a series of political training seminars.

Tibet

International Campaign for Tibet \$25,000

To enhance Chinese knowledge of Tibet by contributing articles about Tibet to newspapers and magazines within China and abroad; to arrange meetings among key opinion makers; and to translate books about Tibet into Chinese.

The Tibet Fund \$38,950
To support its "Tibet Voice" project, which disseminates news and information about democracy inside Tibet and among the exile community of Tibetans in India and Nepal through audio cassettes, videotapes, and booklets.

Vietnam

Association of Vietnamese Overseas \$84,000
To distribute *Quê Me* magazine, which is published six times a year and brings uncensored news and discussion of democratic ideas into Vietnam; to issue mini-bulletins on urgent human rights concerns in Vietnam; and, through its International Buddhist Information Bureau, to focus international attention on Vietnam's widespread repression of Buddhists who call for religious freedom.

Center for International Private Enterprise \$134,553
To enable Dalat University in Vietnam, in conjunction with Georgetown University Center for Intercultural Education Development, to continue its efforts to improve its business education curriculum; to train Vietnamese business teachers in modern management, finance, accounting, and business ethics; and to develop indigenous business case studies for use in establishing similar programs in other Vietnamese universities.

Institute for Democracy in Vietnam \$100,000
To support a series of mini-courses on law and human rights conducted in Vietnam.

Regional

Center for International Private Enterprise \$52,022
To enable the Asian Institute of Management to convene a regional conference in Manila for participants from the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, and Cambodia, designed to make government, business, and the media aware of the importance of a free flow of economic information and the value of an objective and independent media.

Free Trade Union Institute \$799,966
To enable the Asian American Free Labor Institute to conduct a multi-faceted regional effort, including technical training for labor unions and other community organizations in Thailand, and programs to increase women's civil participation through sponsorship of services that promote greater community involvement; to help the exiled Burmese labor movement to intensify its democracy-education and organizing efforts inside Burma; to support union field offices in Thailand and India; to publish the English-language magazine *Dawn*, which covers democracy, labor and human rights, and politics in Burma; and to train democracy-education trainers.

Free Trade Union Institute \$286,006
To enable the Asian American Free Labor Institute to build support for international child-labor standards, to promote implementation and enforcement of national legislation regulating or curtailing the use of child labor, and to facilitate research and promote public awareness of the issue in Asia.

Free Trade Union Institute \$286,002
To enable the Asian American Free Labor Institute to promote the rule of law; to strengthen linkages between unions and other nongovernment organizations in Asia and the Near East; to provide direct assistance to dissidents and nascent worker and human rights organizations; to promote coalition building; and to gather and disseminate information throughout the region.

Free Trade Union Institute \$80,294
To enable the Asian American Free Labor Institute to conduct its union-to-union program in which AFL-CIO affiliates directly assist their counterparts in Bangladesh, South Korea, and Malaysia.

National Democratic Institute for International Affairs \$104,431
To operate a regional program, in cooperation with the Manila-based National Citizen's Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL); and to support Asian civic organizations that monitor elections and governmental performance.



FTUI's program educates children rescued from bonded labor.

National Democratic Institute for International Affairs \$105,824
To support the participation of members of parliament and party leaders from Bangladesh, Cambodia, and Pakistan in National Democratic Institute for International Affairs' programs in other regions of the world.

Central and Eastern Europe

"I think the most important problem for us at this moment is to create cooperation on the local level between countries, not to be closed in our borders. Very often it happens that we try to build democracy only in our countries. We know that this is impossible. We know that it would be very difficult to change our countries, our societies, without Western support, without feeling that there are people outside our countries who support us in this fight."

—Krzysztof Stanowski, Program Director, Foundation for Education for Democracy in Poland

"There is only one newsprint factory in Serbia and the government owns it, and they have priority lists and we are not on that priority list—none of the independent newspapers are. There is no censorship, there is just pressure, and every day there is some kind of surprise for us."

—Gordana Logar, Editor-in-Chief, *Naša Borba* (Serbia)

Mutual suspicions spawned by years of armed conflict have resulted in a lack of cross-border communication between civic organizations and independent media in the republics of the former Yugoslavia. This has led to a growing sense of isolation on the part of prodemocracy groups in the

region. With a NED grant, the U.S.-based Internews Network covered the communications costs for the ZaMir network, an electronic bulletin board system linking independent media and civic organizations in the region. The network has helped bridge the information gap throughout the former Yugoslavia and acts as a *de facto* independent news agency outside state control. The network, unique in the former Yugoslavia, has given independent journalists a voice, helped aid workers in getting relief to isolated enclaves, and enabled human rights activists to quickly spread information on abuses. For example, when Serbian authorities imposed their own director on Belgrade's only independent daily newspaper, *Borba* (now known as *Naša Borba*), the ZaMir network allowed ousted journalists to publicize their side of the story. ZaMir was Sarajevo's only electronic-mail connection to the outside world during the Bosnian capital's long months of siege. In addition, the network provided e-mail access for the first time to 500 users in the Bosnian city of Tuzla.

NED funding has enabled the Free Trade Union Institute to continue its support for *Nezavisnost*, an independent trade union confederation that serves as the cornerstone of the democratic opposition in Serbia-Montenegro. Despite continued harassment in 1995, *Nezavisnost* grew by 10 percent to around 165,000 members, extending its reach into new areas of Serbia, especially Kragujevac, where five new unions and a new branch office were established. In addition to providing legal defense for striking workers and opening a school for trade union education, the Institute provided office space and technical support for *Naša Borba*. Its monthly newspaper achieved its highest circulation (35,000), providing an alternative voice willing to criticize the government's toleration of war crimes and lack of commitment to privatization.

In Romania, the media's lack of, and distortion of, information encourage political extremism and xenophobia. To counter these trends, Academia Catavencu, a Bucharest-based organization dedicated to reforming journalistic practices and fighting extremism and communist-style disinformation in the Romanian media, received NED support to organize a nationwide network of media monitors and to publish a monthly bulletin that displays examples of news distortion in hopes of improving media standards. In 1995, Academia Catavencu analyzed articles in the national and local press that covered the issues of corruption, political parties, and inter-ethnic relations, and found a high degree of manipulation and distortion. *Press Monitor*, a compilation of these analyses, was published and circulated to national press agencies, the Romanian Parliament, political party offices, governmental agencies, and civic organizations. The publication of *Press Monitor* had an immediate and major impact. During the year, selected results contained in the compendium and editorial reactions to the results were printed in 14 national dailies and weeklies with a combined circulation of over 2 million copies. *Press Monitor's* impact has been so great that the leader of the fascist Greater Romania party (Romania mare) sent a letter to the U.S. ambassador urging him to discourage any future cooperation between Academia Catavencu and the National Endowment for Democracy.

Recognizing that the experience of democratic transition and educational reform could be shared across borders, the Foundation for Education for Democracy of Warsaw, Poland, expanded its training program in civic education to reach teachers and NGO representatives in several new areas of the New Independent States. Over 290 representatives from Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, and Central Asia received training at 12 civic-education workshops held in Ukraine (including Crimea), Belarus, Latvia, Lithuania, and Central Asia. Participants benefited from practical seminars and hands-on workshops (designed for each national and professional group) on topics such as methods of teaching civic educa-

tion and democratic leadership for NGO activists. In addition, all participants received brochures in their native languages on subjects such as civic curricula, ethics in politics, democracy in schools, and how to write grant proposals. More than 3,500 brochures have been distributed, which will help local representatives share their training with colleagues and secondary school students. A new series of materials on methods of teaching civics to adults in continuing education classes has been developed in Russian and Latvian.

Working with the Open Society Fund, the Center for International Private Enterprise (CIPE) has developed, tested, and refined a training module for corporate governance and begun training future trainers and corporate directors in postcommunist societies. The Czechoslovak Management Center and the University of Economics in Slovakia have been identified and licensed to translate and continue using the module. Additional local organizations will be identified for site licenses in Poland, Hungary, Russia, and other countries in the region. Each local organization that receives a license will continue the project with its own funding.

With NED funding, the Croatia-based Erasmus Guild and the U.S.-based Center for Strategic & International Studies convened a meeting in Zagreb in February 1995, bringing together representatives of Western organizations working in the former Yugoslavia and civic leaders (including journalists, trade unionists, and human rights activists) from Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia (including Kosovo and Vojvodina), Slovenia, Albania, and Hungary. Among the topics discussed was the role that the region's independent media and civic organizations can play in promoting democratic values, freedom of speech, and respect for human rights. Given the difficulty of communications between like-minded activists living in different republics of the former Yugoslavia, the two-day event was a rare opportunity for democratic activists from the region to meet and exchange information. The conference fostered interaction between indigenous groups and Western funding organizations resulting in concrete proposals for building civil society and strengthening the independent sector in the region.

The Zagreb meeting continued the Endowment's active role in assisting civil society in the region. According to the head of Droit de Parole, a Paris-based organization that ships newsprint and media equipment to the former Yugoslavia, "the grant from NED has been critical to the survival of the independent media in Serbia, Kosovo, and Montenegro."

Albania

American Federation of Teachers \$30,000
In partnership with the Albanian Teachers' Union, to conduct "Introduction to Teaching Democracy" workshops for social studies teachers; and to convene a conference in Tirana bringing together civic-education organizations to discuss strategies for introducing democracy-education programs into schools.

Free Trade Union Institute \$72,464
To provide basic training on principles of democratic trade unionism to independent labor organizations.

Women's Legal Group \$30,000
To enable this NGO, which is dedicated to protecting women's legal rights, to ensure that laws passed by the parliament protect the rights of women and do not contravene international standards on women's issues; and to increase awareness and respect for women's rights.

Bulgaria

Bulgarian Association for

Fair Elections & Civil Rights

\$53,000

To enable its Civic Centers, located in seven key provincial cities, to conduct town meetings and educational seminars, bringing together local authorities, local political party representatives, business and union leaders, journalists, and civic activists.

Center for International

Private Enterprise

\$97,800

To enable the Center for the Study of Democracy to continue its privatization and public outreach program.

Democracy Foundation

\$35,000

To produce publications and conduct seminars and political roundtables to advance knowledge of the basic principles of political and economic reform and encourage greater cooperation among opposition political parties.

Free Trade Union Institute

\$239,883

To enable Podkrepa, Bulgaria's major independent labor confederation, to build a sustainable civic network able to prepare workers and citizens for more active participation in municipal



IRI's program increases voter turnout in Bulgaria.

elections; and to equip workers with a comprehensive understanding of the importance of national trade union elections.

International Republican Institute

\$109,580

To implement a comprehensive get-out-the-vote campaign designed to increase the participation of 18- to 35-year-olds in the October 1995 local elections.

Czech Republic

National Democratic Institute for International Affairs

\$199,386

To continue a project designed to increase civic participation by developing a community organizing model that will be modified and replicated in several communities; and to train NGOs on advocacy at the local and national levels.

Estonia

Jaani Tonisson Institute

\$25,000

To expand its civic-education program by compiling and publishing teacher handbooks and supplementary materials on the rights and responsibilities of citizens in a democracy, the problems of minorities and youth, tolerance, and the transition to a market economy.

National Democratic Institute for International Affairs

\$82,527

To conduct a program promoting public participation in local government.

Hungary

Center for International

Private Enterprise

\$85,575

On behalf of the Small Enterprise Economic Development Foundation, to conduct a comprehensive research and advocacy program designed to address obstacles to women's full participation in the economy, both as employees and employers.

Consortium of Universities

of the Washington Metropolitan Area \$50,000

On behalf of the National Institute for Citizen Education in the Law and the Institute for Legal Assistance and Education in the Law at Eotvos Lorand University, to expand the University's educational program on the rule of law in a democracy.

Free Trade Union Institute \$147,973

To support the Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions in its efforts to unite with other independent labor groups.

International Republican Institute \$26,995

To conduct public opinion polls that will enhance the awareness of prodemocratic parties of voter attitudes, as part of a larger multi-national effort that will integrate polling information into a series of five seminar and interaction programs.

Latvia

Democracy Advancement Center \$50,000

To produce a civic-education textbook for secondary school students focusing on the principles of democracy and the free-market economy; to continue its teacher-training programs; and to conduct voter-education workshops on the rights and responsibilities of citizens.

Lithuania

Free Trade Union Institute \$60,763

To provide support to the independent Lithuanian Workers Union so that it can develop expertise in education, organizing, legal representation, economic strategies, and health and safety issues.

Mershon Center of

Ohio State University \$34,595

To sponsor a civics curriculum workshop to develop civic-education materials and lesson plans focusing on democratic and free-market systems; and to train Lithuanian secondary school teachers in Western teaching methodologies.

Poland

Center for International

Private Enterprise \$55,143

To enable Demoskop, an independent marketing and social research company, to conduct a study to help national chambers of commerce develop long-term strategies that support market-based democracies; and to identify the assistance needed to develop such strategies.

Center for International

Private Enterprise \$99,565

To support a project of the Higher School of Business in Nowy Sacz, Poland, to conduct training conferences on association management and fund raising; to produce research papers on issues of specific concern in the region; to publish and disseminate a newsletter to regional leaders; and to create a special award to highlight successful local initiatives.

Free Trade Union Institute \$180,596

To help develop the capacity of the Solidarity trade union to gain new members; and to provide training in organizing, union leadership, and collective bargaining.

International Republican Institute \$288,098

To support center and center-right political party development and promote increased citizen interest in the fall 1995 presidential elections; and to involve youth groups in a get-out-the-vote effort.

Romania

Academia Catavencu \$30,000

To support its nationwide network of media monitors; to publish a quarterly bulletin, *Press Monitor*, containing examples of news distortion; and to organize roundtable discussions with journalists and citizens aimed at improving media standards and raising the credibility of the media.

Center for International

Private Enterprise \$61,147

To enable the Center for Political Studies and Comparative Analysis to conduct an advocacy and educational program on market reforms for journalists and members of parliament.

Consortium of Universities

of the Washington Metropolitan Area \$55,035

On behalf of the National Institute for Citizen Education in the Law, working in cooperation with the Romanian Independent Society for Human Rights, to create a civic and legal education curriculum for local high schools.

Foundation for Pluralism \$35,000

To organize the third School for Young Political Leaders to promote communication and dialogue among young political activists from local party organizations across the political spectrum in Romania.

Free Trade Union Institute \$166,945

To provide basic organizational assistance and education for democratic trade unions on the local and regional level, including seminars in collective bargaining and other union skills for the rank-and-file, a leadership skills workshop for federation leaders, and publication and distribution of union-related materials.

International Republican Institute \$104,765

To conduct a get-out-the-vote program to increase the participation of 18- to 35-year-olds in the 1996 local and national elections.

Lawyer's Association for

the Defense of Human Rights \$20,000

To monitor and document human rights violations; to provide legal advice to victims of human rights abuses; to educate lawyers on the fundamentals of human rights law; and to exert pressure on political leaders to create a legislative framework that respects civil liberties.

Slovakia

Center for International

Private Enterprise \$97,800

To enable the Center for Economic Development to promote transparency and fairness in the government's privatization process by educating policy makers and the public.

Center for International

Private Enterprise \$52,445

To enable the Entrepreneur Association of Slovakia to educate policy makers, business leaders, and the general public regarding necessary free-market economic reforms.

Jan Hus Educational Foundation \$12,450

To establish a branch office in the eastern city of Kosice that will assist prodemocratic activists and groups by offering resources and training, provide access to international networks, help local organizations arrange NGO training courses, and promote new prodemocracy initiatives.

Milan Simecka Foundation \$30,000
To continue its program introducing human rights and citizenship education into the basic curriculum of Slovak primary and secondary schools through a series of local teacher-training workshops.

National Democratic Institute for International Affairs \$99,997
To conduct a civic-participation program designed to promote citizen activism in local political affairs by strengthening local civic organizations.

Permanent Committee of the Civic Institute Bratislava \$30,000
To conduct a program that includes support for a network of grassroots civic clubs and a series of local meetings throughout Slovakia on issues related to the country's democratic transition.

Former Yugoslavia

Anti-War Campaign of Croatia (Croatia) \$30,000
To establish a Legal Advisory Bureau in Zagreb, enabling individuals to report human rights abuses and seek assistance in countering violations.

BETA News Agency (Serbia/Montenegro) \$20,000
To enable this Serbia-based independent news agency to continue producing high-quality, unbiased information on important developments in the region.

Council for the Defense of Human Rights & Freedoms (Serbia/Montenegro) \$25,000
To monitor the human rights situation in Kosovo and disseminate information on human rights abuses to the international community; to develop

and strengthen its network of branch offices; to publish a monthly information bulletin; and to organize lectures and workshops on human rights for local activists.

Croatian Democracy Project (Bosnia) \$50,000
To establish local centers in two communities in central Bosnia that will promote inter-ethnic reconciliation between Muslims and Croats through education, communication, and conflict resolution.

Freedom of Speech (Serbia/Montenegro) \$150,922
(*Droit de Parole*)

To help ensure the survival of independent media outlets in Serbia, Montenegro, and Kosovo by organizing the delivery of material assistance to meet their most pressing needs.

Free Trade Union Institute (Serbia/Montenegro, Croatia) \$371,652
To support the United Branch Union "Nezavisnost" in Serbia, enabling it to continue daily operation of its headquarters and three branch offices, provide technical assistance to workers in organizing, provide legal defense for workers fired for trade union activities, publish a monthly newspaper and periodic materials on policy issues, cooperate with other democratic opposition groups in community action and biweekly roundtable discussions, and implement an "Outreach and Education Program" for trade unions in Croatia.

Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia (Serbia/Montenegro) \$45,000
To establish a Legal Aid Office in Belgrade for individuals to report human rights abuses and seek legal assistance in countering human rights violations.

**Search for Common Ground
(Macedonia)**

\$100,000

To continue a comprehensive program to defuse potential inter-ethnic conflict in Macedonia by working closely with local NGOs to foster the mechanisms and institutions that contribute to peaceful resolution of conflicts; to initiate a series of training workshops and roundtables aimed at building an indigenous capacity for conflict management; and to design programs that will produce a conflict-resolution framework consistent with local values and needs.

Studio 99 (Bosnia)

\$35,000

To enable this independent radio and television station in Sarajevo to continue broadcasting unbiased news and information.

Regional

Brownson Institute

\$13,600

To support its Summer Institute on "The Free Society" in Krakow, Poland, where future leaders from the former Soviet bloc participate in a three-week program focusing on the social, political, economic, and moral foundations of democratic and free-market systems.

European Journalism Network

\$45,000

To provide assistance to student newspapers in Albania, Bulgaria, and Croatia; to support the development of a student newspaper in Romania; and to promote contacts and communication among student journalists to cultivate regional cooperation in the Balkans.

Free Trade Union Institute

\$25,000

To enable the Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe to continue its English-language communications and publishing endeavors, including the quarterly journal, *Uncaptive Minds*.

Free Trade Union Institute

\$123,419

To develop fundamental human rights guidelines to help democratic labor organizations in Eastern Europe bring their respective national legislation into conformity with internationally-recognized labor standards.

**Institute for Democracy
in Eastern Europe**

\$250,000

To support its "Centers for Pluralism" program, which is helping to rebuild civil society by facilitating cooperation among democracy-building organizations throughout the region.

Points of Light Foundation

\$44,494

To enable the Places in the Heart Foundation to expand its Grassroots Democracy Project in the Czech Republic and Slovakia; and to develop a model of volunteerism and civic activism for use in other communities in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

U.S. Baltic Foundation

\$75,000

To expand and strengthen its Baltic-based Municipal Training Centers and other grassroots democratic institutions designed to foster inter-ethnic and inter-Baltic cooperation in local government.

Inter-Regional

Eastern Archives Foundation

\$70,000

To continue its "Common Ground" project, in cooperation with the Memorial Societies of Russia and Ukraine; and to locate and publicize archival materials on the abuse and repression of former communist regimes in the region.

**Foundation for Education
for Democracy**

\$121,784

To expand its grassroots democratic training in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union by conducting workshops on civic education, leadership training, conflict resolution, and train-the-trainer skills in Ukraine, Belarus, the Baltic States, and Central Asia; and to produce a series of brochures on these subjects in the languages of these countries.

Free Trade Union Institute

\$386,554

To assist independent trade union activities in Lithuania and Belarus, including seminars on trade union negotiating, women's issues, organizing, and other specialized topics; and to cover the operation of the Free Trade Union Institute's Warsaw Office, which plans and implements all the institute's programs in Lithuania and Belarus, and provides ongoing advice and counsel to union leaders in both countries to help integrate them into the international labor movement.

**The Institute for
Southeastern Studies**

\$20,000

To conduct a series of civic-education programs that promote ethnic, religious, and national tolerance among Poles and Ukrainians.

**International Center for
Democratic Development**

\$33,000

To convene an international conference, "From Communism to Democracy: Opportunities and Dangers," to analyze post-1989 democratic change in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

**National Democratic Institute
for International Affairs**

\$99,620

In cooperation with the Society for Democratic Culture of Albania, the Bulgarian Association for Fair Elections and Civil Rights, the Association for Civic Initiative of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, the Pro-democracy Association of Romania, and the Committee of Voters of Ukraine, to conduct a three-phase strategic-planning program to sustain these citizens' associations.

Polish-Czech-Slovak

Solidarity Foundation

\$62,000

To conduct a series of desktop-publishing training workshops in Warsaw for activists from Ukraine, Belarus, the Baltic states, and Central Asia; and to provide equipment to workshop participants.

New Independent States

"In Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and Tajikistan people have no (or strongly restricted) rights of free information, expression, media, political, and public activity. Their governments are extremely intolerant to any activity which involves or supports their dissidents living either in the country or in exile."

—Abdumannob Polat, Director, Union of Councils' Central Asian Human Rights
Information and Monitoring Network

"There's still a lot to be done in Ukraine. It is a fallacy to think that in the post-Cold War era the process of democracy is over. Nostalgia for the old Soviet times is still alive in the society, and many people still do not trust or understand the new."

—Viacheslav Pikhovshek, Deputy Director, Ukrainian Center for Independent Political Research

Russia's transition to democracy will largely depend on the extent to which young people are educated about the benefits of living in an open society. With NED funding through the Jamestown Foundation, the Youth Center for Human Rights and Legal Culture has been working in secondary schools and training teachers to introduce democratic values to a new generation of Russian citizens. The Center has introduced a new human rights curriculum into Russian secondary schools. In role-playing scenarios developed for the classroom, students are confronted with important human rights issues (rule of law, punishment of crime, right to privacy, freedom of movement, and freedom of religion) in an active, creative format. During the past year, 25 Moscow schools participated in this program. The Center conducted teacher seminars in provincial cities, thereby expanding its outreach and increasing the number of schools that utilize its methods.

For the past seven years, the most important publication of the Russian human rights community has been *Express Chronicle*, a weekly newspaper that publishes articles on human rights issues generally unavailable in the commercial Russian press. Because of a lack of funds and the difficulties of running a nonprofit newspaper in Russia, *Express Chronicle* was forced temporarily to suspend its operations last year. A grant from NED enabled the newspaper to resume publication and continue its valuable coverage of human rights. Among other subjects, it covered the war in Chechnya, the refugee problem, prison conditions, security services, alternative military service, corruption, and the development of human rights organizations in the provinces. In addition, *Express Chronicle* printed distinguished jurists' commentaries on new laws so that the broader significance of the legislation could be understood. *Express Chronicle* remains one of the few publications in the country that reliably and objectively analyzes the human rights situation.

Four years after the breakup of the USSR, the people of Belarus have not yet decided whether they want to preserve the republic's independence or seek political unification with the Russian Federation. In the meantime, NED has continued to promote the development of their civil society. Through a 1994 grant, CIPE continued to work with Belarus's leading pro-market economic-policy center, the Independent Institute of Socio-Economic and Political Research, and another 1994 grant allowed the Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe (IDEE) Warsaw to conduct a small grants project for NGOs in Belarus. It made awards to 16 groups, including a students' association, a women's trade union organization, and an independent publishing house. Based on the success of that program, IDEE Warsaw was awarded a grant to conduct a similar project for local newspapers in Belarus. The Endowment provided additional support for the Belarusian press by awarding a grant to the country's leading prodemocracy newspaper, *Svaboda*.

Democratic trade unions have continued to play an important role in Belarus despite the fact it has emerged as one of the least reformed of the ex-Soviet countries, both politically and economically. The Free Trade Union Institute (FTUI) has provided assistance to these unions, whose combined memberships have increased more than 25 percent over the past two years. FTUI's program has included education in leadership development, negotiation skills, and privatization; train-the-trainer seminars; subsidies for union-run programs providing legal services and economic information; and the facilitation of linkages between unionists and their counterparts in other countries. These alliances proved critical in August, when the Lukashenka regime used the pretext of a strike by transit workers in Minsk to arrest several key union leaders. The resulting outcry from abroad contributed significantly to their release and the prevention of further repression.

While the state-sponsored Chamber of Commerce in Ukraine has failed to reorganize in order to service the emerging private sector effectively, a dynamic group of young entrepreneurs associated with the Rukh democratic movement has begun to offer private businesses access to business information not controlled by the state apparatus. With assistance from CIPE, the association has created a network of 14 business centers, created a database of existing firms, compiled existing laws and regulations related to establishing and running a firm, and developed materials on market access to link private firms with potential foreign customers. In the past, such information was limited to individuals with ties to the regime and the *nomenklatura*.

The restrictive political environments and scarcity of genuine institutions of civil society in the Central Asian republics underlined the importance of NED's assistance in the development of civic-education teaching methods and textbooks in Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. In each country, funding was provided for a civic-education center that includes a small library and serves as a hub for Central Asian educators interested in the subject. The centers also brought together experts from Russia, Poland, and the United States to share their insights on how best to promote civic consciousness. Although each center generally held two training seminars per month, the demand from teachers for more information exceeded the centers' capacities. Educators in dozens of high schools and several universities in the three republics as well as local authorities in several districts of Tashkent, Uzbekistan, have actively cooperated in introducing civics in schools. According to the chairman of the Uzbek Society for Human Rights, "the work of the NED in Central Asia is extremely important, because it works closely with the real human rights and democratic activists from the region."

Perhaps the most visible and influential organizations wholly independent of the state in Central Asia have been the democratic trade unions of Kazakhstan, most prominently the Independent Trade Union Center of Kazakhstan (ITUCK). The development of independent trade unions is important in Kazakhstan as elsewhere in the New Independent States both because they defend workers' social rights far more aggressively than state-sponsored unions, and because they can mobilize broad segments of the public. With NED funding, the Free Trade Union Institute continued its technical and material support for ITUCK's 11 offices across Kazakhstan. ITUCK has succeeded in several court cases to force managers of state enterprises to pay long-overdue wages and provide other promised benefits. ITUCK also initiated legislation, which was eventually adopted, that ensured its representation alongside official unions in concluding labor agreements at state-run enterprises.

NED supported the creation and operation of the Azerbaijan Foundation for the Development of Democracy (AFDD), the leading nongovernmental organization devoted to fostering dialogue among the country's political forces and to providing independent policy analysis and recommendations. In the polarized climate of Azerbaijan, where an authoritarian government severely restricts political opposition, the foundation tried to add constructive discussion to the political debate. In 1995, the AFDD presented recommendations on the election law and the country's privatization program to the media and parliament. The foundation provided training for dozens of activists from a wide spectrum of parties, working with the National Democratic Institute in the period prior to the country's 12 November 1995 parliamentary elections. Several major parties asked the foundation to help develop their platforms. The AFDD also produced an influential weekly newspaper, *Cag* (Time).

Armenia

Center for International Private Enterprise

\$91,688

On behalf of Technical Assistance for the Republic of Armenia (TARA), to provide consultations and organizational advice to businesses and associations such as the All Armenia Women's Union; to mobilize and train advocacy groups; to remove obstacles to private sector development; and to advise small-scale entrepreneurs on business plans.

Azerbaijan

Azerbaijan Foundation for the Development of Democracy

\$45,000

To promote democratic values and engage the government in constructive debate on political and economic reforms in the country through public discussions of key political and economic issues, and through courses on political science,

economics, and history for university students and young activists from various political parties; to develop civic-education materials and programming for radio and television; and to publish a weekly newspaper providing an open forum for a wide variety of political parties to present their views.

Azerbaijan Foundation for the Development of Democracy

\$50,000

To enable *Azadlyq* and *Ayna/Zerkalo*, the two leading independent political newspapers, to devote from one-third to one-half of their space to election issues during the months prior to the 12 November 1995 parliamentary elections.

Free Trade Union Institute

\$77,520

To conduct a series of trade union seminars designed to strengthen the negotiating skills and deepen the understanding of democratic trade unionism among trade union activists; and to translate materials on collective bargaining, union democracy, and other union-related subjects into Azeri.

National Democratic Institute for International Affairs

\$115,748

To provide training to political parties and domestic election monitors in advance of parliamentary elections in November 1995; and to initiate programming with the new legislature after elections.

Belarus

Free Trade Union Institute

\$152,443

To support the Congress of Democratic Trade Unions of Belarus, a service organization that provides critical support services, including legal assistance, economic analysis, and health and safety inspections to democratic trade unions.



Grantee struggles for press freedom in Azerbaijan.

**Institute for Democracy
in Eastern Europe** \$40,000
To conduct a training course and small grants
program to increase the professional and man-
agement skills of independent Belarusian news-
papers and press agencies.

Svaboda \$50,020
To enable this leading independent newspaper to
establish five regional bureaus; to expand publi-
cation to three times per week.

Georgia

**Caucasian Institute for Peace,
Democracy and Development** \$55,000
To continue its research, publishing, and educa-
tion programs, including a series of seminars and
workshops considering solutions to the prob-
lems of the democratic transition in Georgia and
the Caucasus region; and to produce television
programs to expose broad audiences to the
democratic experience in other countries and dis-
cussion of Georgia's development.

Kazakhstan

Almaty Helsinki Committee \$24,856
To continue advocacy work for human rights; to
publish a quarterly bulletin on human rights that
will inform the public and government officials
of international human and civil rights norms; to
analyze the correspondence of Kazakhstani legis-
lation to such norms; and to monitor the coun-
try's human rights record.

ARKOR Foundation \$30,000
To establish an Inter-ethnic Relations Monitoring
Center; and to provide an open forum for politi-
cal parties, government officials, and others to
discuss inter-ethnic issues and formulate policy
recommendations on how to ameliorate tensions.

Free Trade Union Institute \$329,565
To support the Independent Trade Union Center
of Kazakhstan and its network in ten oblasts; and
to conduct training to strengthen democratic
workers' organizations.

**Kazakhstan-American Bureau on
Human Rights & Rule of Law** \$22,000
To broadcast a weekly television program to edu-
cate the population about their rights; and to
increase circulation of its human rights bulletin.

Kyrgyzstan

Res Publica \$15,400
To support continued publication of this inde-
pendent weekly newspaper.

Moldova

Basa-Press \$25,000
To continue to provide timely and objective
information on political, cultural, and economic
developments; to open branch offices in three
regions to increase the quality and depth of its
news coverage; and to promote information
sharing at the local level.

Russia

**Center for International
Private Enterprise** \$119,752
To enable the Institute of State and Law to study
current legislation affecting state farms; to
engage in public advocacy before parliament;
and to publish studies and policy recommenda-
tions for use by private farmers' associations,
legal scholars, and others.

Center for International**Private Enterprise** \$94,316

To enable the Center for Political Technology to engage in research and advocacy on the role of business associations.

Educated Choices**Heighten Opportunity** \$54,840

To implement a curriculum and conduct seminars on citizen rights and responsibilities in a democracy for students and teachers in Ekaterinburg, Tomsk, Omsk, and Chita.

Express Chronicle \$75,400

To support this leading human rights newspaper, which publishes draft laws, legal analysis, and articles on human rights issues not covered in the commercial Russian press.

Free Trade Union Institute \$830,250

To strengthen the organizing and leadership skills of democratic trade union activists so they can reach potential members and represent current members more effectively; to support the operation of the Free Trade Union Institute's liaison offices in St. Petersburg, Yaroslavl, and one other major industrial center; and to provide small sub-grants for the purchase of office and communications equipment for democratic trade unions.

Free Trade Union Institute \$240,000

To support the continued publication of *Delo*, the independent Russian trade union newspaper.

Glasnost Defense Foundation \$44,000

To publish five books on issues of importance to journalists and state officials who deal with journalists, including a book on violations of journalists' rights during the military campaign in Chechnya, a guidebook of key information for journalists reporting from conflict zones, an

annual report of all violations of journalists' rights throughout the former Soviet Union, an anthology of legislation concerning media issues, and an anthology of proposed codes of ethics for media agencies.

The Glasnost Public Foundation \$53,170

To continue to review the intelligence services' activities; to conduct roundtable discussions on current legislation affecting the intelligence community and the changing relationship between the security services and Russian society; to provide legal assistance in cases involving the violation of human rights by the security services; and to update its data bank on the KGB and its successor institutions.

Human Rights Foundation**for a Civil Society** \$60,000

To support the establishment of the Civil Society Foundation, which provides small grants to local organizations.

Independent Publishing House \$45,000

To enable this leading publisher of materials on the dangers of Russian nationalism and extremist ideologies to publish and distribute three books on these subjects.

Jamestown Foundation \$88,000

To enable the Globe Independent Press Syndicate to improve the access of provincial newspapers to information through the expansion of its syndication service.

Jamestown Foundation \$31,360

To enable the Nizhnii Tagil Human Rights Library to continue to educate the city's local population about their basic civil and human rights.

Jamestown Foundation \$31,610
To enable the Renewal Foundation to operate its human rights library in Ekaterinburg; to open a branch library in Perm; to create a legal aid bureau to review local civil rights violations; to conduct two courses on human rights and the dissident movement in local universities; and to sponsor the third annual "Sakharov Readings" conference for prodemocracy activists in the Urals region.

Jamestown Foundation \$58,743
To enable the Youth Center for Human Rights and Legal Culture to develop curricula and classroom plans to help teach primary and secondary school students the basic principles, values, and practices of a democratic society.

Moscow Human-rights Research \$54,770
To provide organizational support to, and promote greater interaction and cooperation among, regional human rights groups.

Moscow School of Political Studies \$53,400
To publish an alumni newsletter, four volumes of lectures, and materials on democracy for students, alumni, and members of the new political establishment.

National Peace Foundation \$53,600
In cooperation with the Alliance of Russian Women's Organizations, to conduct a series of election seminars in the Ural, Dorn, and Chuvash regions dealing with running campaigns; and to encourage Russian women to participate in the upcoming national elections.

Panorama \$40,000
To research, analyze, and publish comprehensive reports on the December 1995 parliamentary and the June 1996 presidential elections.

Russian Center for Citizenship Education \$50,000
To conduct civic forums in Voronezh, Astrakhan, Tomsk, and Kirov, analyzing national problems and teaching participants to become more active citizens.

St. Petersburg STRATEGY Center \$40,000
To analyze the third sector in St. Petersburg; and to conduct a series of workshops and a conference on NGO development.

Twentieth Century and Peace \$48,500
To publish six issues of a journal on democracy entitled *Limits of Power*.

Tajikistan

Glasnost Defense Foundation \$50,000
To enable the newspaper *Charoghi Ruz* ("Light of Day") to provide independent reporting on political events, particularly the progress of reconciliation talks between the government and the opposition.

Turkmenistan

Dashkhovuz Ecological Club \$15,000
To increase information available on a local level; to establish a system to deliver print media from Russia and other former Soviet republics; and to create a Dashkhovuz Public Information Center to house publications and other materials.

Turkmen Ili Journal \$30,000
To support the publication of this monthly journal containing political and economic analyses.

Ukraine

Center for International

Private Enterprise \$116,843

In cooperation with the American Foreign Policy Council, to bring experts on the economic transformation of centralized economies to Kiev to work with the leadership of Ukraine's prodemocracy think tanks; to address members of the government and parliament on the difficulties of implementing market reforms; and to bring leaders together to discuss problems of economic reform.

Center for International

Private Enterprise \$101,419

To work with the Association of Entrepreneurs to organize visits to privatizing enterprises to provide independent endorsement of the legitimacy of the privatization process; and, if necessary, to alert the public and parliament of violations of privatization norms.

Foundation for Democratic Education \$33,710

To enable the Youth Alternative organization, an offshoot of the Ukrainian Students League, to select, train, and place legislative interns on the staffs of parliament members.



University students learn about democracy firsthand working for members of the Ukrainian parliament.

Free Trade Union Institute \$704,916

To enable democratic trade unions to represent effectively their members' interests during this unsettling period of economic transition; and to support publication of the trade union newspaper *Mist*.

Regional Democratic

Media Foundation \$51,006

To provide material support and technical training to more than 50 independent, prodemocratic newspapers in eastern and southern Ukraine; and to publish and distribute a series of civic-education brochures.

Smoloskyp \$41,395

To conduct regional seminars for 17- to 33-year-olds on basic civil liberties and a democratic society.

Ukrainian Center for

Independent Political Research \$82,000

To support its public affairs television program *P'yatyi Kut* ("Fifth Corner"), which focuses on issues relating to democratic and free-market transition; to continue providing information and analysis on the current situation of women; to encourage the formation of new women's associations; and to publish a yearbook, *Democracy in Ukraine, 1994-1995*, assessing the transition to democracy.

Uzbekistan

National Democratic Institute for International Affairs

\$64,484

To encourage dialogue among the Uzbek democratic opposition, and between the opposition and the government; to bring together political activists in an effort to better coordinate activities and agree on a common strategy and program; and to encourage the government to recognize opposition forces.

Regional

Free Congress Research and Education Foundation

\$34,230

To select, train, and place legislative interns on the staffs of members of the Belarusian and Moldovan parliaments.

National Forum Foundation

\$100,000

To support its American Volunteers for International Development program, which sends qualified Americans to work in organizations in the successor states to teach local residents the practical skills and knowledge that help build democratic institutions.

Peace Research Center of Kyrgyzstan

\$97,750

To develop a civic-education curriculum; and to support and coordinate similar, autonomous efforts by civic-education centers in Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan.

Union of Councils

\$75,000

To support the work of its Central Asian Human Rights Information and Monitoring Network, particularly in Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan, including publication and distribution of biweekly information bulletins.

Latin America and the Caribbean

"The constitution of 1991 greatly enhances the scope of citizens to participate in local decisions, to supervise government actions, and allows the establishment of a balance between the power of the state and the exercise of citizens' rights. Conciencia Colombia has a fertile ground to work in generating the educational and political changes required for the practice of tolerance, political pluralism, and acceptance of democratic values."

—Clara Cecilia Fonnegra, Executive Director, Fundación Conciencia Colombia

"I believe that any possible internal solution in Cuba shall be found through the civil struggle undertaken by the Cuban human rights movement. This very human rights movement has planted seeds that have sprouted on behalf of humanity."

—Rodolfo Gonzalez Gonzalez, Member, Cuban Committee for Human Rights

In 1995, NED's program in Latin America and the Caribbean was designed to support long-term efforts to guarantee free and fair elections, promote public accountability among elected and public officials, and foster democratic culture by educating citizens about their rights and responsibilities in a democratic society.

The overall trend toward stronger democratic institutions and mechanisms for citizen participation continued, with Cuba as the most notable exception. But even in Cuba there was a strengthening of numerous civil society organizations with their incorporation into Concilio Cubano, an unprecedented alliance of Cuban nongovernmental organizations. Independent worker groups in Cuba have overcome the determined efforts of the regime to eliminate them, partly through the assistance of the American Institute for Free Labor Development, which provided them with the means of communicating with one another and the outside world. These groups established contact with prominent labor organizations in Latin America and Europe, successfully publicized workers' rights violations through international labor bodies, and helped obtain the release of prominent political prisoners.

Important elections were held in Peru, Argentina, Guatemala, Mexico, Haiti, and Venezuela, giving NED the opportunity to support broad civil society participation in the electoral process. In April, Peru carried out its first presidential election since President Fujimori's controversial *auto golpe* of 1992, and returned to the polls in November to elect municipal officials. The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs and the Endowment's discretionary program provided assistance to Transparency, a nonpartisan civil society organization, enabling the group to mobilize nearly 10,000 citizens to monitor pre-electoral activities and observe the elections. In the Dominican Republic, the Endowment's early support enabled Citizen Participation, a nonpartisan coalition, to begin organizing a national citizens' network to promote impartiality and transparency in the May 1996 electoral process.

In Venezuela, the Endowment responded quickly as a series of economic and political challenges threatened the stability of the country's 35-year-old democracy. NED funded programs seeking to restore public confidence in democratic mechanisms and institutions by involving people in democratic reform at the municipal level and by teaching citizens to identify and combat corruption throughout society. Fearing that widespread frustration would result in unprecedented abstention in the December state and municipal elections, NED supported School of Neighbors in its effort to convince voters of the importance of these elections in strengthening Venezuela's weak democracy. The International Republican Institute supported Fundación Pensamiento y Acción's program to examine and strengthen democratic culture in Venezuela.

In Brazil, the Center for International Private Enterprise worked with the Atlantic Institute to provide advice to Brazilian legislators on issues of economic reform and give the business community an opportunity to become involved in public-policy debate. The American Institute for Free Labor Development strengthened the role of the labor movement in the debate over economic restructuring and integration. Endowment assistance was also given to the Center for the Promotion of Marginalized Populations for a program to defend the rights of women and children through legal advocacy, legislative reform efforts, educational programs, and cultural activities.

Throughout the region, NED supported projects focusing on women as participants in the democratic political process. Assistance was provided to the Center for Research and Promotion of Women in Nicaragua, (through Resources for Action) Conciencia in Nicaragua and Fundación Conciencia in Colombia, Women for Democracy, and Women in the Struggle for Democracy in Mexico for programs to inform women of their rights and responsibilities in a democratic system and to encourage them to become activists for democratic change. The executive director of Fundación Conciencia Colombia has described NED's support of civic groups in the country as "crucial to the success of our medium and long-term projects... fostering democratic awareness and contributing to the search for peaceful coexistence of the Colombian people."

Argentina

Citizen Power \$85,220 (*Poder Ciudadano*)

To develop a program of citizen participation to contribute to the eradication of corruption and generate more efficient public services.

Bolivia

PROCESS Educational Services \$64,000 (*PROCESO Servicios Educativos*)

To support a pilot training program to educate young leaders on their role as civil society leaders under the new municipal structure of governance.

Center for International

Private Enterprise \$120,416

To enable the Atlantic Institute to carry out an economic advisory and advocacy program for Brazilian legislators.

Center for International

Private Enterprise \$97,800

To enable the Liberal Institute of Rio de Janeiro to analyze how government policies, practices, and structures create high costs in government procurement, regulation, and the legal system.

Center for the Promotion of Marginalized Populations \$62,200

(*Centro de Articulação de Populações
Marginalizadas*)

To expand the legal department's ability to provide comprehensive legal advocacy and human rights education.

Free Trade Union Institute \$118,017

To enable the American Institute for Free Labor Development to strengthen the positions of the trade union movement on issues including economic restructuring and integration; and to communicate those positions to the public.

Colombia

Resources for Action \$77,000

To enable Fundación Conciencia Colombia to continue its civic-education program, helping community leaders establish four new civic leagues and consolidate the six groups established in 1994; to conduct civic-education workshops in zones of heavy guerrilla influence; and to sponsor seminars on basic democratic values and civic participation for students and new voters.

S.O.S. Colombia Corporation:

Up with Citizens \$55,000

(*S.O.S. Corporación Colombia: Viva La Ciudadanía*)

To support its Schools for Democratic Leadership, to educate leaders on political reform and regional development while fostering legislative reform.

Support Association for the Integral Development of the Community \$57,255

(*Asociación de Apoyo para el
Desarrollo Integral de la Comunidad*)

To promote democratic and human rights education and training in two rural regions of the Cundinamarca Department.

Cuba

Center for Cuban Democracy \$55,000
(*Centro de la Democracia Cubana*)

To publish and distribute its quarterly newsletter, *Un Solo Pueblo*; to maintain a presence at international human rights conferences and meetings of international political leaders; and to establish direct communications with Cuban government officials to press for democratic reforms.

Cuban Committee for Human Rights \$55,000
(*Comité Cubano Pro Derechos Humanos*)

To support efforts to advance human rights and democracy in Cuba through the dissemination of information on human rights conditions and the initiatives of democratic activists on the island, including publication of the bimonthly magazine *Siglo XXI* ("Twenty-first Century").

Freedom House \$70,000

To support advocacy efforts, including expanding contacts with the human rights movement on the island; to engage in appeals and campaigns designed to focus international attention on the persecution of human rights activists; to print and distribute copies of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights inside Cuba; and to provide humanitarian assistance to human rights groups and families of political prisoners.

Free Trade Union Institute \$261,69

To enable the American Institute for Free Labor Development to strengthen independent union groups improving communications among workers and their own constituencies; to promote international campaigns to protest the continued confinement of political prisoners; to report violations to human rights organizations; to interview knowledgeable individuals and

recently-arrived Cubans on the current situation; and to disseminate information on worker rights violations.

Information Bureau of the Human Rights Movement in Cuba \$70,000
(*Buró de Información del Movimiento Cubano de Derechos Humanos*)

To maintain telephone contact with dissident groups inside Cuba; and to produce and disseminate information on the human rights situation through radio programs, faxes, and a quarterly bulletin.

Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe \$45,000

To send prodemocracy activists from Central and Eastern Europe to Cuba to share experiences with members of various dissident groups.

International Republican Institute \$254,114

To prepare a comprehensive report on opposition leaders and groups; to provide humanitarian assistance to activists; to convene roundtable discussions; to publish a newsletter for activists; and to provide support for Freedom House's human rights advocacy program in Cuba.

International Republican Institute \$7,557

To enable the Cuban Revolutionary Democratic Directorate to disseminate information on the struggle for democracy in Cuba among young social and political leaders in Latin America and Spain.

Universal Dissident of Puerto Rico \$55,200
(*Disidente Universal de Puerto Rico*)

To support continued publication of *El Disidente*, a monthly news digest on Cuba focusing on political and economic issues and prospects for peaceful democratic change.

Dominican Republic

Citizen Participation \$75,000 (Participación Ciudadana)

To promote the impartiality and transparency of the electoral process for the May 1996 presidential elections, organizing civil society groups and individuals to work with the Central Electoral Junta to adopt needed reforms; and to identify, recruit, organize, train, and send observers to municipalities on election day.

National Democratic Institute for International Affairs \$75,385

To provide technical assistance to Participación Ciudadana to conduct a series of activities to support an open and transparent electoral process in the Dominican Republic, including a nationwide electoral observation effort and a parallel vote tabulation for the May 1996 elections.

Ecuador

Center for Research on Law and Society \$82,500 (Centro sobre Derecho y Sociedad)

To continue to introduce alternative mechanisms for conflict resolution for individuals with limited resources.

Esquel Group Foundation-Ecuador \$60,000 (Fundación Grupo Esquel-Ecuador)

To sponsor debates on issues pertaining to a more democratic and participatory society.

Guatemala

Institute for Investigation and Political Training \$60,000 (Instituto de Investigación y Autoformación Política)

To continue its high school civic-education program; and to train high school teachers from southern regions to conduct "National Issue Forums" on violence, the peace process, and civic participation of women.

International Republican Institute \$80,000

To work with the Asociación de Poder Local to mobilize citizen participation in the 1995 elections; and to enable the Instituto Prodemocracia y Desarrollo to collaborate with political parties to conduct high-profile congressional forums.

Myrna Mack Foundation \$84,260 (Fundación Myrna Mack)

To support a legal education project for indigenous groups in the western highlands, including training workshops on human rights and the law for community leaders.



Community leaders learn to defend human rights in Guatemala.

Guyana

**National Democratic Institute
for International Affairs** \$90,496
To support a program providing technical assistance to local officials on government management and democratic accountability.

Haiti

**Center for International
Private Enterprise** \$79,463
On behalf of the Center for Private Enterprise and Democracy, to design an economic advisory program to educate legislators on reform issues; and to involve the private sector in policy advocacy.

**National Democratic Institute
for International Affairs** \$98,880
To support efforts to facilitate dialogue between the Haitian Provisional Electoral Council and recognized political parties; and to coordinate preparations for the June 4 legislative and local elections.

Mexico

Civic Alliance \$105,000
(*Alianza Cívica*)
To enable this coalition of Mexican civic organizations to continue state and municipal electoral observation efforts; to promote national electoral reform; to promote wider civic participation through education programs; and to implement a pilot program to monitor the performance and accountability of public officials.

Free Trade Union Institute \$176,400
To enable the American Institute for Free Labor Development to provide Mexican unions with the information training and data to lodge complaints effectively under the procedures in the NAFTA labor side-agreement and ILO conventions.

International Republican Institute \$211,420
To promote public demand for more professional news coverage and analysis, coordinated by the umbrella organization Centro Cívico de Solidaridad and its member organizations.

Mexican Citizens' Presence \$26,500
(*Presencia Ciudadana Mexicana*)
To support its Citizen Participation pilot program targeting citizens in political wards and universities in the Federal District of Mexico City; to help create neighborhood networks; and to train members to carry out civic-education and voter promotion campaigns prior to the 12 November 1995 citizen council elections.



Civic Alliance seminar is part of a campaign to improve Mexico's electoral process.

Mexican Commission for Defense and Promotion of Human Rights \$50,000

(Comisión Mexicana de Defensa y Promoción de los Derechos Humanos)

To support a legal defense program that will keep detailed records of denunciations and results; and to investigate and document human rights violations, and disseminate the information to national and international human rights organizations.

Resources for Action \$81,163

On behalf of the San Luis Potosí-based Frente Cívico Potosino, to support its School for Civic Training, which offers courses on democracy and elections, civil and human rights, and basic civic-education and leadership skills for a broad spectrum of citizens.

Women in the Struggle for Democracy \$44,000
(Mujeres en Lucha por la Democracia)

To support its "Women as Agents of Change" program, which mobilizes women to increase their participation in public decision making, and run for elected office.

Nicaragua

American Federation of Teachers (AID funds) \$109,096

To continue follow-up activities for secondary school civics teachers to implement the new Education for Democracy civics curriculum; and to transform the Center for Education for Democracy into an independent, nonpartisan, nongovernmental organization.

Center for International Private Enterprise \$80,685

To enable the Superior Council of Private Enterprise to continue its legislative advisory program for the Nicaraguan National Assembly, providing officials with cost-benefit and legal analyses of pending economic legislation.

Center for Research and Promotion of Women (AID funds) \$40,000

(Centro de Investigación y Acción de la Mujer)

To train community leaders as human rights promoters and trainers; to strengthen the leadership abilities of local women; and to encourage respect for individual rights in the general community.

Foundation for the Development of León (AID funds) \$44,043

(Fundación para el Desarrollo de León)

To support its civic-education program for community leaders.

International Republican Institute \$90,000

To work with the Nicaraguan Small and Medium Business Association to devise strategies to protect businesses and educate the community on the importance of the organization; and to expand the citizen movement Hagamos Democracia.

International Republican Institute \$106,018

To conduct a program with Hagamos Democracia for voting-age youth in preparation for the 1996 local and municipal elections, including the development of a voter-education manual, a pre-electoral candidate questionnaire, mayoral debates, and other voter-education programs.

**National Democratic Institute for
International Affairs (AID funds) \$139,774**

To continue to strengthen civilian control of the military, including a working group on civil-military relations to build civilian expertise in defense issues; and to strengthen the Nicaraguan National Assembly's ability to draft defense legislation and oversee the military.

Resources for Action (AID funds) \$88,123

To enable Conciencia Nicaragua to continue civic-education programs for women and community leaders, focusing on the upcoming elections and grassroots political participation.

Paraguay

Free Trade Union Institute \$18,900

To enable the American Institute for Free Labor Development to improve the organizational and collective bargaining skills of unions and federations affiliated with the Unified Confederation of Workers.

**National Democratic Institute for
International Affairs \$159,701**

In cooperation with the Asunción-based Center for Democratic Studies, to bring Latin American civic leaders together to develop new strategies for engaging citizens in the political process.

Women for Democracy \$73,700
(Mujeres por la Democracia)

To increase group participation in the political process, particularly women in rural communities.

Peru

**National Coordinating Committee
for Human Rights \$55,000**

(Coordinadora Nacional de Derechos Humanos)

To publish six issues of a bulletin on human rights issues.

**National Democratic Institute for
International Affairs \$78,117**

To provide Transparencia, a nonpartisan civic organization, with technical and financial assistance to conduct national and provincial voter-education workshops in preparation for the November 1995 municipal elections.

Transparency \$150,000
(Transparencia)

To encourage a fair and transparent electoral process for the April 1995 presidential elections, including recruiting and training volunteers to monitor voting, particularly in rural areas under the emergency control of military forces.

Transparency \$50,000
(Transparencia)

To consolidate its national network of volunteers and to utilize it to carry out pre-electoral voter education; and to train and organize observers for the November 1995 municipal elections.

Venezuela

**Center for International
Private Enterprise \$26,895**

To enable the Center for the Dissemination of Economic Information to provide basic economic training for journalists so that they analyze and report economic conditions and policy options more effectively.

**Center for the Service of
Popular Action** \$49,585

(Centro al Servicio de la Acción Popular)

To analyze the relationships between civil society and local and municipal governments to strengthen cooperation and civic involvement.

**Civil Association for Social
Development (New Dawn)** \$40,000

*(Asociación Civil para el Desarrollo Social
(Nuevo Amanecer))*

To help neighborhood associations and parish committees stimulate participation in local governance and strengthen democracy in the city of Maracaibo.

Group for a Better Quality of Life \$55,100

(Agrupación Pro-Calidad de la Vida)

To support its national campaign to educate citizens and public officials about corruption.

International Republican Institute \$109,567

In coordination with Fundación Pensamiento y Acción, to convene a symposium of experts to analyze the causes for Venezuela's fragile democratic culture.

**National Democratic Institute
for International Affairs** \$75,352

To work with the Escuela de Vecinos to train domestic election observers and to conduct a parallel vote tabulation for the December 1995 elections in Venezuela.

School of Neighbors \$32,000

(Escuela de Vecinos)

To support an electoral information campaign to counter widespread apathy and stimulate wider participation in the December 1995 elections.

Regional

**Center for International
Private Enterprise** \$100,245

To enable the Federation of Private Sector Entities of Central America and Panama to publish *Integración en Marcha*, a bimonthly magazine on regional economic integration themes and legislation; and to hold a seminar for representatives from regional decision-making bodies, a seminar for journalists, and two workshops for the presidents of the commissions of the Central American Parliament.

Free Trade Union Institute \$11,844

To enable the American Institute for Free Labor Development to produce a special report on the human and trade union rights situation in the Central American maquila industry.

Free Trade Union Institute \$432,797

To enable the American Institute for Free Labor Development to train Latin American trade unionists to compile accurate information on rights violations; to conduct studies of worker rights practices; to support victims of repression; and to compile a database on labor laws in Latin American nations involved in regional free trade arrangements.

International Republican Institute \$95,000

In cooperation with Fundación América para la Capacitación Política, to address the challenge of local empowerment to democratic systems in South America.

**National Democratic Institute
for International Affairs** \$14,511

To help strengthen civil society in Latin America by facilitating an exchange of information and expertise among civic groups.

Middle East

"We have just distributed one thousand copies of our first newsletter, Islam 21, and judging from the overwhelming positive response which we have received for this initiative,... we are confident that we have handled the highly sensitive issue of modernizing Islamic thoughts in a pragmatic way, an approach without which it would be difficult to promote civil liberties and democratic values in the Muslim world."

—Laith Kubba, Director, The International Forum for Islamic Dialogue

"Friendship between the Iraqi people and the United States will be enduring if it is based on shared values and common understandings."

—Rend Rahim Francke, Director, The Iraq Foundation

The Palestinian Center for Democracy and Elections (PCDE), which was launched in the autumn of 1994 with NED support provided through Nonviolence International, has worked to help prepare Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza for democratic governance. The Center's initial workshop brought together Palestinian political factions to ensure that democratic principles would be included in party platforms. The Center distributed computers to democratic leaders, enabling them to spread their messages more efficiently. The Center is now regarded as a resource center for parties and has assisted three of them in launching their programs. PCDE has organized town meetings throughout the region, including remote villages in the areas around Hebron and Ramallah. These gatherings have exposed many people to the democratic process of discussion and debate, helping to promote grassroots civil society activity, and providing a forum for leaders to hear from the population on issues of concern. PCDE cooperated with the Jerusalem Film Institute (another NED grantee) in the production of the first Palestinian talk show on elections, and organized a poster competition for children in the middle and high schools to select the best drawing embodying the idea of democracy.

In Lebanon, a nation struggling to institute lasting peace after years of violence and civil strife, the Lebanese Foundation for Permanent Civil Peace (LFPCP) has used Endowment funds to introduce citizens to the ideas of human rights, peace, democracy, and citizenship. Hoping to instill a profound respect for democratic values in a new generation, LFPCP has published two volumes of a three-volume work entitled *Citizens for Tomorrow*, which has been adopted for use by several schools and youth organizations. LFPCP's audience increased greatly when the Lebanese National Service incorporated the textbook into its curricula for new recruits. After training tens of thousands of young soldiers with the new material, LFPCP received a special commendation from the National Army's commander-in-chief for this contribution to civic education. The Ministry of Immigration trained its employees with *Citizens for Tomorrow*, and excerpts from the texts have been broadcast on Radio Lebanon, the national radio station.

NED support of the Free Iraq Foundation and the Iraqi Research and Documentation Project has made it possible to get thousands of pamphlets into the country, containing ideas that have long been denied to the populace—ideas on democracy, tolerance, secularism, and human rights—to foster the building of a new order in Iraq. According to Kanan Makiya, Iraqi author of *Republic of Fear*, "none of this would have been possible without the backing of the National Endowment for Democracy. In short, the work of the NED affects millions of Arab lives."

To achieve meaningful democracy in the Arab Middle East, the Endowment has funded women's organizations throughout the region. The Women's Union of Jordan, created with NED funding in November 1994, has become a critical organization in increasing the legal literacy and political participation of women in Jordan. Through its chapters and centers throughout the country, the Women's Union has educated hundreds of women about their rights under Jordanian law. In Morocco, the Democratic Association of Moroccan Women's eight-day summer course on women's issues at the University of Rabat has helped counter discriminatory practices and discourse against women that have been exacerbated by Islamic extremist rhetoric. The seminars, which educated a core group of leaders on women's rights, received extensive national and international media coverage, and participants requested similar events in the future. Course participants are now acting as multipliers in their own organizations and communities, and continue to meet regularly to exchange information. In the West Bank and Gaza, NED assistance to the Women's Affairs Technical Committee (WATC) has helped promote the role of women in building the various institutions of a democratic Palestinian Authority. The WATC conducted intensive training sessions on communications, negotiation, mobilization, and organizational skills for over 40 women from the West Bank and Gaza; these women are currently acting as multipliers in their villages and towns. Through these three projects, NED is enabling women in more traditional societies to challenge their respective nations to become true democracies for all citizens.

Afghanistan

International Rescue Committee \$24,000

To enable the Peshawar-based Afghan Information Center to publish a quarterly magazine, *Afghanistan*, dedicated to the promotion of open discourse and the concept of democracy, conciliation, and human rights among Afghans living there and abroad.

Writer's Union of Free Afghanistan \$24,000

To advance the principles of human rights, democracy, participation, and pluralism by publishing and distributing booklets on these issues in Pashto and Dari.

Egypt

Center for International Private Enterprise

\$56,584

To enable the Egyptian Center for Economic Studies to organize a training program on economic-policy issues and reporting techniques for journalists from leading print and broadcast media.

Iran

The Foundation for Democracy in Iran

\$50,000

To document, monitor, and publish reports on human rights conditions.

Iraq

The Free Iraq Foundation \$115,000
To promote the concept of liberal democracy among Iraqis living inside the country and abroad.

Iraqi Research and Documentation Project \$30,000
To support ongoing efforts to create a comprehensive, accessible, computerized multimedia database system on the government and politics of modern Iraq.

Jordan

Al-Urdun Al-Jadid Research Center \$30,000
To strengthen its institutional capacity; and to continue publishing works on civil society and political life in the country.

Middle East Marketing and Research Consultants \$25,000
To assist the Center for Strategic Studies of Jordan University in surveying attitudes toward the parliament elected in November 1993.

National Democratic Institute for International Affairs \$88,627
To organize an international study mission to Jordan for the July 1995 municipal elections.

National Democratic Institute for International Affairs \$72,722
To support the long-term institutional development of the New Jordan Research Center in Amman.

The Women's Union in Jordan \$50,000
To strengthen its institutional capacity; and to carry out a program of legal education for Jordanian women.

Kuwait

International Republican Institute \$102,710
To support its parliamentary assistance program; to hold additional seminars outside the parliament to provide information to civil society on the concepts of the separation of powers and the rule of law.

Lebanon

Center for International Private Enterprise \$18,338
On behalf of the Lebanese Center for Policy Studies, to undertake a research and advocacy program to generate dialogue and build consensus among public and private sector leaders on the country's economic future.

International Peace Research Association \$40,000
To support the final phase of its project to train Lebanese trainers in conflict resolution, human rights, peace, and democracy.

Lebanese Foundation for Permanent Civil Peace \$40,000
To support the final year of a three-year project to produce written and audio-visual teaching materials based on research on issues of human rights, democracy, and peace.

National Democratic Institute for International Affairs \$89,953
To support a pilot program working with Lebanese civic organizations to support an open and transparent parliamentary electoral process in August 1996.

Rene Moawad Foundation \$40,000
To support its Center on Research and Education on Democracy, which aims to establish an open forum for dialogue and to educate the Lebanese people about their rights and obligations.

Morocco

Democratic Association of Moroccan Women \$40,000
(*L'Association de Femme Democratique du Maroc*)
To conduct a course on youth and citizenship as part of its "Summer University" project.



Course in Morocco trains leaders in women's rights and democracy.

International Republican Institute \$97,037
To improve the research and staff capabilities of the Moroccan parliament; to strengthen citizen involvement in civic affairs; and to explore the possibility of establishing an independent, policy-oriented research organization at Ifrane University.

Turkey

International Republican Institute \$170,173
To continue its civic-education programs in Turkey, including assistance to the Strategic Research Foundation, a nonprofit, nongovernmental organization based in Ankara.

International Republican Institute \$79,571
To work in conjunction with the Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation to increase responsiveness and accountability in local government.

Strategic Research Foundation \$20,000
To convene a conference bringing together representatives of different segments of Turkish society to discuss democracy and identity.

Women Living Under Muslim Law \$40,000
On behalf of Women for Women's Human Rights, to implement a legal literacy program in Istanbul for women who have migrated from the east and southeast regions.

West Bank/Gaza

Center for International Private Enterprise \$119,805
To enable the Israel-Palestine Center for Research and Information to continue its Business Law Initiative, addressing issues related to the creation of a legal infrastructure to encourage private sector development and economic cooperation.

Israeli Center for International Cooperation \$50,000
To hold a two-week training workshop for Palestinians involved in social and human development.

**The Jerusalem Fund/Center
for Policy Analysis on Palestine** \$35,000
Together with the Center for Palestine Research and Studies based in Nablus, West Bank, to carry out teacher-training workshops in democracy education.

**The Jerusalem Fund/Center
for Policy Analysis on Palestine** \$30,000
Together with the Center for Palestine Research and Studies based in Nablus, West Bank, to produce a teaching manual/workbook for secondary school teachers; and to introduce issues of democracy and human rights in the classroom.

**National Democratic Institute
for International Affairs** \$107,856
To support a program on democratic elections in the West Bank and Gaza, including two international pre-election missions and a report assessing the pre-election political environment.

Nonviolence International \$70,000
To carry out its "Palestinian Center for Democracy and Elections" project, which aims to reorganize and restructure Palestinian political movements.



Electoral law is debated at a West Bank forum sponsored by Nonviolence International.

**Palestinian Center for
Human Rights Education** \$35,000
To continue human rights education through a series of training workshops.

**Panorama Center for the Dissemination
of Alternative Information** \$40,000
To support its "Pluralism in Action" project, which brings leading figures from all major Palestinian factions to secondary schools for weekly roundtable debates attended by students.

Search for Common Ground \$50,000
On behalf of the Gaza Community Mental Health Program and other Palestinian organizations, to train conflict-resolution trainers.

Women's Affairs Technical Committee \$40,000
To create a women's network that will bring women from different political backgrounds together to promote their role in Palestinian society and politics.

Regional

Free Trade Union Institute \$75,096
To enable the African American Labor Center to conduct programs in cooperation with the Union Syndicale des Travailleurs du Maghreb Arabe, including training seminars on collective bargaining and coalition-building, grassroots organizing, negotiation skills, the role of women in unions, the role of trade union women in development, and basic leadership and communication skills for elected union officers.

Free Trade Union Institute \$314,940
To enable the Asian American Free Labor Institute to support a national conference; to create a cadre of democracy trainers to explain the role of trade unions in democratic society to union members in Jordan; and to train union leaders in the West Bank and Gaza in mediation and political compromise.

The Foundation on Democratization and Political Change in the Middle East \$70,000
To launch the second part of its "U.S.-Arab Relations" program with a conference on political change in the Arab world and its effect on U.S.-Arab relations.

IBN Khaldoun Center for Developmental Studies \$50,000
To monitor, document, analyze, and disseminate information on the evolution of civil society and democratization in the Arab world; and to publish its monthly newsletter, *Civil Society*, in Arabic and English.

Prologues \$50,000
To enable this independent, nonprofit literary journal based in Casablanca, Morocco, to organize public debates on religion and democracy among theologians, philosophers, historians, social scientists, and lawyers.

Sisterhood Is Global Institute \$70,000
To carry out the first of a two-phase project to produce a manual for women's human rights education in the Muslim world.

Westbourne Publishers \$56,400
To enable the Dar al-Saqi publishing house to translate into Arabic and publish important Arab and Western works on democracy, toleration, and pluralism.

Westbourne Publishers \$85,000
To enable the Dar al-Saqi publishing house to print an Arabic-language journal, *Abwab*, which focuses on democracy in the Arab world.

Multi-Regional and Miscellaneous

American Federation of Teachers Education Foundation \$130,000
To expand its project to strengthen civic-education programs in newly democratizing countries around the world by helping civic educators implement teacher-training programs and develop civic-education curricula; to disseminate a guide, developed under a previous Endowment grant, for reforming and improving civic education; and to expand a global database of individuals and organizations involved in education for democracy and a library of materials on the teaching of democracy.

Center for International Private Enterprise \$251,061
To support the continued publication of the quarterly journal, *Economic Reform Today*, which provides practical information on developing the necessary economic and political structures necessary for democratic development.

Center for International Private Enterprise \$416,317
To conduct an institution-building program for national and provincial chambers of commerce and industry, trade associations, and employers' organizations in various regions of the world,

including South Africa, Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Macedonia, and Romania, and the Maghreb countries of Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria, and Mauritania; and to develop a standardized handbook of business association training materials.

East West Education

Development Foundation \$260,000

To provide recycled computer equipment donated by corporations and individuals in the United States to democratic, nongovernmental organizations in Eastern Europe, the New Independent States, Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America.

Free Trade Union Institute \$176,490

To enable Interco Press to continue worldwide distribution of editorial and feature articles to free and democratic newspapers, magazines, and electronic media outlets in the New Independent States, Central and Eastern Europe, Western Europe, Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean.

Foundation for a Civil Society \$25,000

To support an international conference in Belfast in June 1995 on "Reconciliation and Community: The Future of Peace in Northern Ireland."

International Center for Global

Communications Foundation \$39,848

To produce segments highlighting the achievements of inspirational human rights leaders around the world for the weekly global news-magazine, *Rights and Wrongs: Human Rights Television*.

International Human Rights

Law Group \$114,000

To recruit four International Legal Fellows, from Eastern Europe, Africa, Asia, and Latin America, respectively, who will spend one year learning to lead more effective programs promoting the rule of law and to use international fora and legal mechanisms to protect human rights.

National Democratic Institute

for International Affairs \$99,972

To continue its political party training work, designed to strengthen parties and the practice of politics in Northern Ireland.

National Democratic Institute

for International Affairs \$86,738

To compile materials on democratic governance programs; and to develop parliamentary training modules for legislators in emerging democracies.

National Democratic Institute

for International Affairs \$30,000

To develop training materials on democratic electoral processes applicable to transitional countries.

**INDEPENDENT AUDITORS' REPORT**

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

We have audited the accompanying balance sheets of National Endowment for Democracy (the Endowment) as of September 30, 1995 and 1994, and the related statements of revenues and expenses and changes in fund balance and of cash flows for the years then ended. These financial statements are the responsibility of the management of the Endowment. Our responsibility is to express an opinion on these financial statements based on our audits.

We conducted our audits in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards and *Government Auditing Standards*, issued by the Comptroller General of the United States. Those standards require that we plan and perform the 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 as of September 30, 1995 and 1994, and the results of its operations and its cash flows for the years then ended in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles.

In accordance with *Government Auditing Standards*, we have also issued a report dated December 1, 1995, on our consideration of the Endowment's internal control structure and a report dated December 1, 1995, on its compliance with laws and regulations.

Our audit was made for the purpose of forming an opinion on the financial statements taken as a whole. The accompanying supplementary schedule of expenses by program for the year ended September 30, 1995, which is also the responsibility of the management of the Endowment, is presented for the purpose of additional analysis and is not a required part of the financial statements of the Endowment. Such supplementary information has been subjected to the auditing procedures applied in our audit of the financial statements and, in our opinion, is fairly stated in all material respects when considered in relation to the financial statements taken as a whole.

Deloitte & Touche LLP
December 1, 1995

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY

BALANCE SHEETS

SEPTEMBER 30, 1995 AND 1994

ASSETS	1995	1994
CURRENT ASSETS:		
Cash (Note 10)	\$ 933,466	\$ 294,910
Grants receivable (including restricted grants - 1995, \$1,874,493; 1994, \$3,643,400) (Note 3)	28,866,328	28,159,739
Prepaid and other assets	<u>16,005</u>	<u>15,808</u>
Total current assets	29,815,799	28,470,457
PROPERTY, NET (Note 2)	<u>378,268</u>	<u>403,603</u>
TOTAL ASSETS	<u>\$30,194,067</u>	<u>\$28,874,060</u>
LIABILITIES AND FUND BALANCE		
CURRENT LIABILITIES:		
Accounts payable and accrued liabilities (Note 11)	\$ 834,244	\$ 1,239,385
Grants payable (Note 4)	26,946,239	23,776,514
Deferred grant revenue - government agencies (Note 5)	1,548,878	3,266,441
Other deferred revenue (Note 5)	66,000	142,209
Current obligations under capital lease (Note 7)	<u>26,624</u>	<u>24,862</u>
Total current liabilities	29,421,985	28,449,411
CAPITAL LEASE OBLIGATIONS LONG-TERM PORTION (Note 7)	<u>55,351</u>	<u>81,975</u>
Total liabilities	29,477,336	28,531,386
FUND BALANCE	<u>716,731</u>	<u>342,674</u>
TOTAL LIABILITIES AND FUND BALANCE	<u>\$30,194,067</u>	<u>\$28,874,060</u>

See notes to financial statements.

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY

STATEMENTS OF REVENUES AND EXPENSES AND CHANGES IN FUND BALANCE YEARS ENDED SEPTEMBER 30, 1995 AND 1994

	1995	1994
REVENUES (Note 5):		
Grant revenue - government agencies	\$36,450,376	\$34,932,546
Other grants and contributions	769,274	113,414
Other revenue	45,117	20,403
Total revenues	<u>37,264,767</u>	<u>35,066,363</u>
EXPENSES:		
Program grants (Note 6)	31,747,261	30,647,184
Salaries, wages, and benefits (Note 9)	3,168,174	2,754,419
Professional fees	333,273	364,739
Occupancy (Note 7)	461,601	365,718
Consultants	64,603	36,368
Communications	248,500	226,098
Travel and transportation	379,745	174,653
Supplies and equipment	106,827	170,678
Insurance	27,769	25,239
Depreciation and amortization	132,169	96,600
Conferences and meetings	152,916	72,224
Other	38,578	47,651
Periodical - production	10,026	12,257
Periodical - marketing	19,268	10,963
Total expenses	<u>36,890,710</u>	<u>35,004,791</u>
EXCESS OF REVENUES OVER EXPENSES	374,057	61,572
FUND BALANCE, BEGINNING OF YEAR	<u>342,674</u>	<u>281,102</u>
FUND BALANCE, END OF YEAR	<u>\$ 716,731</u>	<u>\$ 342,674</u>

See notes to financial statements.

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY

STATEMENTS OF CASH FLOWS

YEARS ENDED SEPTEMBER 30, 1995 AND 1994

	1995	1994
CASH FLOWS FROM OPERATING ACTIVITIES:		
Excess of revenues over expenses	\$ 374,057	\$ 61,572
Adjustments to reconcile excess of revenues over expenses to net cash provided by (used in) operating activities:		
Depreciation and amortization	132,169	96,600
Changes in assets and liabilities:		
Grants receivable	(706,589)	(1,962,303)
Prepaid and other assets	(197)	15,148
Accounts payable and accrued liabilities	(405,141)	137,838
Grants payable	3,169,725	391,805
Deferred grant revenue - government agencies	(1,717,563)	843,197
Other deferred revenue	(76,209)	32,429
Net cash provided by (used in) operating activities	<u>770,252</u>	<u>(383,714)</u>
CASH FLOWS USED IN INVESTING ACTIVITIES -		
Purchase of property	<u>(106,834)</u>	<u>(145,025)</u>
CASH FLOWS USED IN FINANCING ACTIVITIES -		
Principal payments under capital lease obligations	<u>(24,862)</u>	<u>(23,115)</u>
INCREASE (DECREASE) IN CASH	638,556	(551,854)
CASH, BEGINNING OF YEAR	<u>294,910</u>	<u>846,764</u>
CASH, END OF YEAR	<u>\$ 933,466</u>	<u>\$ 294,910</u>

SUPPLEMENTAL DISCLOSURES OF CASH FLOW INFORMATION:

During the year ended September 30, 1994, the Endowment entered into capital leases to acquire equipment in the amount of \$7,637.

See notes to financial statements.

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY

NOTES TO FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

YEARS ENDED SEPTEMBER 30, 1995 AND 1994

1. ORGANIZATION AND ACCOUNTING POLICIES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. PROPERTY

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

	1995	1994
Furniture and equipment	\$ 789,822	\$ 682,988
Equipment under capital lease	<u>135,492</u>	<u>135,492</u>
Total	925,314	818,480
Less accumulated depreciation and amortization	<u>(547,046)</u>	<u>(414,877)</u>
Property, net	<u>\$ 378,268</u>	<u>\$ 403,603</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, 1995 and 1994:

	Deferred Grant Revenue, Beginning of Year	Add Deferred Revenue Adjustment	Add: Grants Awarded	Less: Grants Obligated	Deferred Grant Revenue, End of Year
USAID Grants:					
South Africa	\$ 313,520	\$ (248,702)	\$ -	\$ 64,818	\$ -
Nicaragua	612,618	-	1,000,000	670,880	941,738
Central and East Europe	18,485	(18,485)	-	-	-
Total USAID	944,623	(267,187)	1,000,000	735,698	941,738
USIA Grants:					
Primary Funding	2,321,818	-	34,000,000	35,714,678	607,140
Total USIA	2,321,818	-	34,000,000	35,714,678	607,140
Total, Fiscal Year 1995	\$ 3,266,441	\$ (267,187)	\$ 35,000,000	\$ 36,450,376	\$ 1,548,878
Total, Fiscal Year 1994	\$ 2,423,244	\$ 29,690	\$ 35,746,053	\$ 34,932,546	\$ 3,266,441

The deferred grant revenue at September 30, 1995, will be recognized as revenue when the Endowment incurs valid obligations in accordance with the purposes set forth in the grant agreements. Deferred revenue adjustment represents changes in the funding status of the grant.

Other Deferred Revenue - The Endowment produces and publishes a quarterly periodical entitled the *Journal of Democracy* (the Journal). In addition, the Endowment has established a center called the International Forum for Democratic Studies (the Forum) which has initiated three interrelated programs: a Democracy Resource Center, research and conferences, and publication of an expanded version of the Journal. The Endowment has received support to fund the activities of both the Journal and the Forum from a number of private sources. Commitments for future support of these activities are recorded as pledges receivable. Contributions restricted for support of the Journal and the Forum are deferred and recognized as revenue in the period in which expenses related to the activities are incurred.

The following schedule summarizes the changes in other deferred revenue:

	Deferred Revenue, Beginning of Year	Add: Cash and Pledges Receivable	Less: Amounts Recognized as Revenue	Deferred Revenue, End of Year
Restricted support - Journal of Democracy	\$ 84,846	\$ 92,500	\$ 177,346	\$ -
Restricted support - International Forum	34,143	211,085	179,228	66,000
Democracy Resource Center	-	290,000	290,000	-
Restricted support - Program intern	<u>23,220</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>23,220</u>	<u>-</u>
Total, Fiscal Year 1995	<u>\$ 142,209</u>	<u>\$ 593,585</u>	<u>\$ 669,794</u>	<u>\$ 66,000</u>
Total, Fiscal Year 1994	<u>\$ 109,780</u>	<u>\$ 203,690</u>	<u>\$ 171,261</u>	<u>\$ 142,209</u>

6. RELATED PARTIES

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

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

7. COMMITMENTS

Minimum future payments under capital leases for equipment as of September 30, 1995, are as follows:

Year Ending September 30,

1996	\$ 31,422
1997	31,422
1998	<u>27,639</u>
Total minimum lease payments	90,483
Less amounts representing interest	<u>(8,508)</u>
Total obligations	81,975
Less current portion of obligations	<u>(26,624)</u>
Long-term obligations	<u>\$ 55,351</u>

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

1996	\$ 452,309
1997	452,309
1998	452,309
1999	<u>263,847</u>
Total	<u>\$ 1,620,774</u>

Lease expense was approximately \$462,000 and \$366,000 for the years ended September 30, 1995 and 1994, respectively.

8. INCOME TAXES

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

9. RETIREMENT PLAN

The Endowment has a defined contribution annuity plan for all of its employees, under which the Endowment contributes a percentage of eligible employees' annual earnings to individually owned tax-deferred annuity contracts. The Endowment's contribution to the plan is based on 10% of an eligible employee's annual earnings. Costs of the plan for the years ended September 30, 1995 and 1994, were approximately \$177,300 and \$159,900, respectively.

10. RESTRICTED CASH

The cash balances at September 30, 1995 and 1994, include approximately \$61,000 and \$11,700, respectively, of restricted cash from USAID appropriations for use as specified in grant agreements with USAID. In addition, the cash balances at September 30, 1995 and 1994, include approximately \$134,000 and \$99,200, respectively, of restricted cash for production and publication of the *Journal of Democracy* and approximately \$293,000 and \$19,900, respectively, for activities of the International Forum for Democratic Studies.

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 \$250 per fiscal year must be remitted back to the U.S. Government. Total interest earned in fiscal year 1995 and 1994 was approximately \$60,604 and \$74,629, 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, 1995 and 1994, of \$19,297 and \$16,291, respectively, is included in the balance of accounts payable and accrued liabilities in the accompanying financial statements.

12. ADOPTION OF NEW STATEMENTS OF FINANCIAL ACCOUNTING STANDARDS

The Endowment has not completed the process of evaluating the impact that will result from adopting Statements of Financial Accounting Standard No. 116, "Accounting for Contributions Received and Contributions Made," and No. 117, "Financial Statements of Not-for-Profit Organizations." The Endowment is therefore unable to disclose the impact that adopting Statements of Financial Accounting Standards 116 and 117 will have on its financial position and results of operations when such statements are adopted. The statements are effective for the Endowment's fiscal year ending September 30, 1996.

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NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY

SCHEDULE OF EXPENSES BY PROGRAM YEAR ENDED SEPTEMBER 30, 1995

	USIA	AID	Other	Total
Program grants	\$31,193,129	\$ 554,132	\$ -	\$31,747,261
Salaries, wages, and benefits	2,895,615	116,564	155,995	3,168,174
Professional fees	293,352	17,303	22,618	333,273
Occupancy	393,040	11,161	57,400	461,601
Consultants	36,606	-	27,997	64,603
Communications	223,875	9,839	14,786	248,500
Travel and transportation	349,726	16,443	13,576	379,745
Supplies and equipment	78,231	3,623	24,973	106,827
Insurance	27,389	-	380	27,769
Depreciation and amortization	132,169	-	-	132,169
Conferences and meetings	53,532	-	99,384	152,916
Other	32,157	3,949	2,472	38,578
Periodical - production	7,874	-	2,152	10,026
Periodical - marketing	13,511	2,684	3,073	19,268
TOTAL	\$35,730,206	\$ 735,698	\$ 424,806	\$36,890,710

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Carol Defty, Program Coordination and Evaluation Officer

Chris French, Program Assistant

Rebecca Boucher, Program Assistant

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Paul McCarthy, Program Officer, Central and Eastern Europe

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Lillian Pubillones Nolan, Senior Program

Officer, Latin America and the Caribbean

Kimberli Brown, Program Officer, Latin America and the Caribbean

Katy Mudge, Assistant Program Officer, Latin America and the Caribbean

Shaha Aliriza, Senior Program Officer, Middle East

Sophie Claudet, Intern, Middle East

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Vinuta Chennareddy, Internal Auditor

David Kane, Audit Associate

Tresa A. Moulton, Grants Officer

Michael Kavanagh, Associate Grants Officer, Africa

Nicolette Madanat, Grants Administrator, Asia and the Middle East

Lynn Miller Gibson, Grants Administrator

Kristanne Cornell, Grants Administrator, Latin America

Nancy Herzog, Assistant Grants Administrator

Jason Osborn, Grants Secretary

International Forum for Democratic Studies

Marc F. Plattner, Codirector, International
Forum; Coeditor, *Journal of Democracy*
Larry Diamond, Codirector, International
Forum; Coeditor, *Journal of Democracy*
Art Kaufman, Senior Program Officer
Debra Liang-Fenton, Conferences and
Publications Coordinator

Philip J. Costopoulos, Senior Editor, *Journal of
Democracy*
Annette Theuring, Managing Editor, *Journal of
Democracy*
Miriam Kramer, Production Editor, *Journal of
Democracy*
Zerxes Spencer, Assistant Editor, *Journal of
Democracy*
Guy Allen Overland, Librarian
Kristina Lively, Assistant Librarian
Juliet Wilson, Receptionist/Secretary

The total of the program grant amounts listed on pages 21–67 of this report may differ from the program grant amounts shown in the fiscal 1995 financial statements on pages 68–78. The amounts listed on pages 21–67 exclude certain grantee administrative expenses. All programs approved by the NED board in fiscal year 1995 have been included, although some of the related grant agreements were not executed until fiscal 1996.

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.

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