



**National Endowment
for Democracy**

Supporting freedom around the world

annual report
2014





National Endowment for Democracy

Supporting freedom around the world

Democracy involves the right of the people to freely determine their own destiny. The exercise of this right requires a system that guarantees freedom of expression, belief and association, free and competitive elections, respect for the inalienable rights of individuals and minorities, free communications media, and the rule of law.

– from NED's founding Statement
of Principles and Objectives, 1984

The National Endowment for Democracy (NED) is a private, nonprofit foundation dedicated to the growth and strengthening of democratic institutions around the world. Each year, NED makes more than 1,300 grants to support the projects of non-governmental groups abroad who are working for democratic goals in more than 90 countries.

Since its founding in 1983, the Endowment has remained on the leading edge of democratic struggles everywhere, while evolving into a multifaceted institution that is a hub of activity, resources and intellectual exchange for activists, practitioners and scholars of democracy the world over.



"The Menace of Unreality" (page 102)



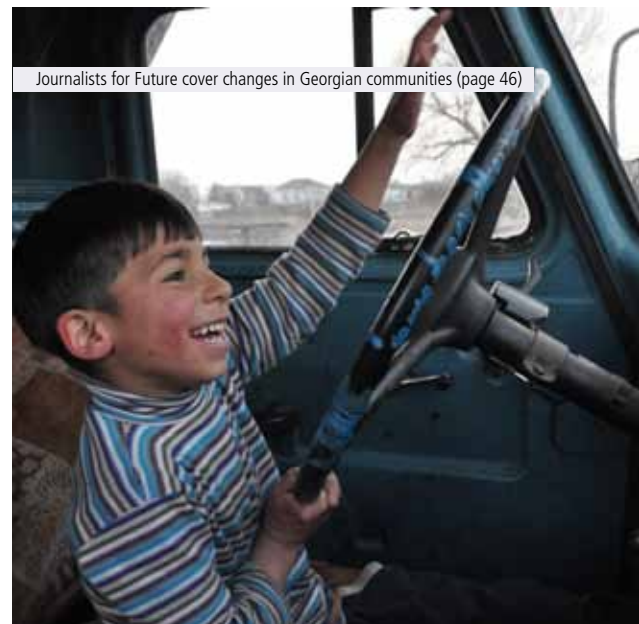
John Richardson (page 9)



IRI policy workshop in Burma (page 32)



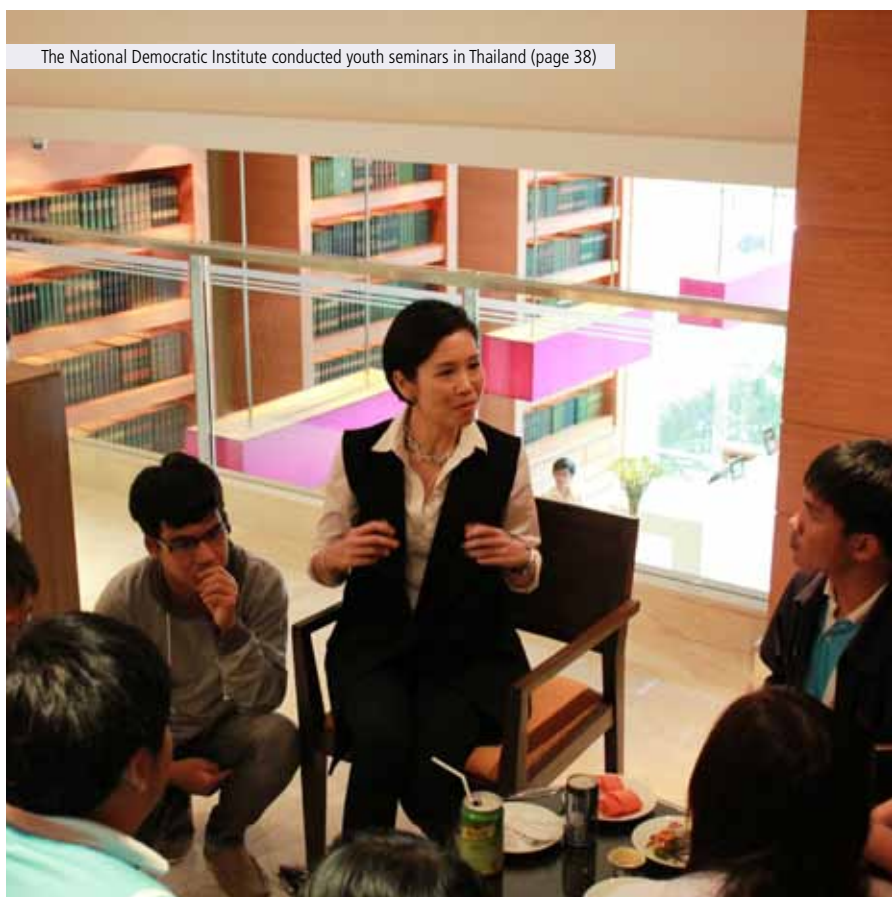
Transparency International - Moldova (page 53)



Journalists for Future cover changes in Georgian communities (page 46)



Terrance Todman (page 9)



The National Democratic Institute conducted youth seminars in Thailand (page 38)

On the Cover: the National Youth Council of Moldova conducted voter education in rural Moldova ahead of parliamentary elections.

From the Chairman

MARTIN FROST

2014 marked another challenging year for freedom and democracy. As measured by Freedom House, nearly twice as many countries suffered declines as registered gains in political rights, civil liberties and other democratic standards.

“What’s wrong with democracy?” blared the headline in the venerated periodical *The Economist*. Similarly, our own *Journal of Democracy*’s 25th anniversary issue asked “Is democracy in decline?” As Marc Plattner, the *Journal*’s founding co-editor, explains:

“There are two aspects to the answer, which although intertwined are in some measure separable. The first deals with what is actually taking place on the ground: How many countries are democratic? Is their number rising or shrinking? What is the situation with respect to such liberal-democratic features as freedom of the press, rule of law, free and fair elections, and the like? The second, more subjective, aspect concerns the standing of democracy in the world: How is it viewed in terms of legitimacy and attractiveness?”

Regarding the first set of questions, democracy continues to face threats from various quarters, ranging from terrorist violence to autocratic interference to internal corruption. But the second set of questions tells a different story.

The year 2014 was also marked by mass protests in which ordinary citizens rose up to demand their basic rights. From Hong Kong to Ukraine to Venezuela, protest movements arose to demonstrate against authorities who deprive them of their most fundamental freedoms.

Dictators from Russia to China increased their pressure on civil society, denying activists the freedom to organize and protest peacefully, and smearing them as malcontented minorities. But on that point, the data prove them wrong.

Take the countries of the so-called Arab Spring, for example, almost all of which, with the notable exception of Tunisia, have reverted to chaos and repression since the 2011 uprisings that captured the world’s attention. According to

the most recent attitude surveys, Arab publics continue to favor democracy overwhelmingly above the alternatives. In all but one country surveyed in the Arab Barometer, three-quarters or more of respondents in surveys conducted from late 2012 to 2014 agree or strongly agree with the statement “A democratic system may have problems, yet it is better than other political systems.”

Similarly, in the Afro-barometer survey conducted in thirty-four countries between 2011 and 2013, seven out of ten Africans prefer democracy to other political regimes. Furthermore, the proportion of deeply committed democrats (i.e., those who also reject authoritarian alternatives) has risen steadily over the past decade.

Similar results were found for Asia and Latin America, although it should be pointed out that the increasing levels of violent crime in the latter region have led to a troublesome but understandable rise in support for authoritarian responses.

What can we learn from this?

The “demand” side of democracy has been relatively unaffected by the democratic recession. And for good reason.

Where citizens are subjected to regimes that are repressive and corrupt, they will inevitably seek the prerogative to choose their leaders and hold them accountable under the rule of law. There is simply no acceptable alternative to liberal democracy as a legitimate source of authority, even in the adulterated form, whether it is “Bolivarian,” “sovereign,” “managed,” or “Confucian.”

On the other hand, the failure of democracy to register significant gains in recent years cannot be attributed solely

NED Chairman Martin Frost addresses a meeting of the NED Board of Directors.

to the staying power of authoritarian systems that survive by crushing their opponents.

Where protest movements of recent years have succeeded in overthrowing dictatorial regimes, they have rarely succeeded in proceeding directly to the next stage of democratic development, putting into place effective institutions that earn the trust of their people by delivering services incorruptibly accordingly to the rule of law. Addressing this problem is one major area where the work of the National Endowment for Democracy and our affiliated core institutes – the Center for International Private Enterprise, the International Republican Institute, the National Democratic Institute, and the Solidarity Center – becomes critical.

As this report makes clear, we work in countries at all stages of development, from dictatorships and authoritarian regimes where freedoms of expression and association are either denied or under threat, to emerging democracies where civil society is trying to make the difficult transition from protest to politics – from expressing grievances on social media and in the streets to responsible decision-making within the councils of government.

One of the most rewarding tasks of my 26-year career in the U.S. House of Representatives was chairing the Frost-Solomon Commission that delivered technical assistance to the new democratically elected parliaments of Central and Eastern Europe following the fall of the Berlin Wall. Little could I have imagined then that 25 years later I would be chairing our country's flagship institution helping small 'd' democrats around the world overcome the obstacles they face in establishing robust democracies.

Among the joys of chairing the Endowment is the opportunity it has given me to work with a board of directors and a professional staff that approach their work in a true spirit of bipartisanship and that enjoy the strong support of Congressional leaders on both sides of the aisle. It is that spirit and support which enables us to partner successfully with many of the world's most courageous democrats who will someday be the leaders of their respective countries.

We trust that you will appreciate the inspiring stories about those featured in the pages that follow. □

From the President

CARL GERSHMAN

2014 is commonly viewed as a very bad year for democracy, which it was. It was a year in which Russia responded to the democratic revolution in Ukraine by annexing Crimea, invading the eastern part of the country, and challenging the world order established after the Cold War. In 2014 China observed the 25th anniversary of the Tiananmen crackdown by keeping Nobel Peace Laureate Liu Xiaobo in prison and tightening repression against human rights defenders and the Tibetan and Uyghur minorities. In countries as diverse as Egypt, Thailand, Turkey, Nigeria, Hungary, Venezuela, and Azerbaijan the trends were all negative, as they were in Burma where the reform process that started in 2011 came to an end, and in the Middle East where the slaughter in Syria continued and the rise of the Islamic State posed an unparalleled new threat to the region and the world.

This is not the first time that the democratic prospect has seemed very bleak. In 1976, on the occasion of the bicentennial of the Declaration of Independence, Daniel Patrick Moynihan wrote that democracy “is where the world was, not where it is going.” Among the developments he was reacting to at the time were the U.S. defeat in Vietnam, the suspension of democracy in India, the imposition of military regimes in many Latin American countries, and the rise of violent African dictators like Idi Amin in Uganda.

Moynihan had no way of knowing that political changes taking place in Portugal and Spain at that very moment were launching an historic process that Samuel Huntington would later call “the third wave” of democratization, when the number of democracies in the world more than doubled and democracy came to be seen as the only legitimate form of government. As these changes began to unfold, the pessimism that Moynihan reflected soon gave way to a heady optimism, with many people assuming that the expansion of democracy would continue inexorably.

But of course we now know that the new optimism was no more grounded in reality than the old pessimism. Many third-wave transitions failed, autocrats became more adept at controlling democratic movements and

advancing their own political agendas internationally, and the countries of the democratic West, which once seemed so triumphant, soon found themselves mired in financial and political crises and unable either to generate popular trust in democratic government or to project with confidence their own democratic values.

Might the current pessimism, therefore, also be excessive? Are we blind to emerging democratic possibilities that are not as apparent as the troubles that now assault us from all sides? No one can know for sure. But there are four reasons for thinking that democracy can yet rebound, perhaps not as dramatically as during the third wave, but with enough momentum to reverse the present sense of democratic decline.

The first of these reasons is that democracy has progressed against great odds in two critically important countries. In Indonesia, the world’s largest Muslim country, Joko Widodo, a reform-minded leader supported by a broad democratic civic movement, defeated a concerted effort by the militaristic old guard to roll back political change. Even more important was the victory of democracy in Tunisia, where the major political forces were able to overcome deep political and social divisions to build a consensus for a democratic constitution and to choose a new leadership in peaceful parliamentary and



presidential elections. Unlike Indonesia, which has great influence in Southeast Asia, Tunisia is a relatively small country. But it is the birthplace of the Arab Spring, and the consolidation of democracy there will create a precedent for democracy in the Middle East, which was by-passed by the third wave. Moreover, not only is Tunisia the first Arab democracy, it also represents an alternative idea in a region that is now dominated ideologically by Islamic radicalism. If it can capture the imagination of intellectuals and young people, the impact of the transition in Tunisia could be far-reaching.

The second reason to be cautiously optimistic about democracy's prospects is that a number of the leading autocracies today face their own severe crises. Russia is now reaping the harvest of its aggression in the form of a collapsing currency, rising inflation, massive capital flight, and shrinking foreign reserves, in addition to significant casualties from the war in Ukraine that the government – fearing a public backlash – has tried to conceal. These problems have now been compounded by the sharp drop in the price of oil and could threaten the survival of Putin's regime. Other oil-based autocracies are also in trouble, notably Nicolas Maduro's populist regime in Venezuela, where the economy began to implode even before the catastrophic fall in oil prices; and the Islamic dictatorship in Iran. Economic troubles in dictatorships are not necessarily a good thing, since the regimes could react by escalating international tensions and increasing repression. But they expose the vulnerability of such regimes, and they can sometimes lead to unexpected political openings.

The third reason is that the United States is beginning to recover from a period of isolationist withdrawal following the difficult wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. There is no way to know for sure if and to what extent the troubles of 2014 are tied to the vacuums created by the U.S. pull-back. But growing popular support for renewed U.S. engagement, as reflected in the bipartisan agreement in the Congress to aid Ukraine, is certainly

a reaction to those troubles. It isn't clear yet if a new consensus will emerge favoring stronger U.S. leadership in the world, which is necessary for democratic progress internationally. But at least that is now a real possibility, and the long-awaited economic recovery after five years of recession is another factor that could bolster American influence abroad.

The fourth and final reason for hope is the sustained struggle of democratic movements in countries throughout the world for political and economic accountability, civic renewal, and democratic rights. The victory last February of the Euromaidan movement in Ukraine produced a harsh Russian reaction. But instead

and strategy, and a new language" after more than five decades of totalitarianism.

Such movements will be heard from in the years ahead since they consist of activists who represent a new force in international politics: realistic in their goals and strategies, tech savvy and informed, and committed to staying the course in the fight for human rights, freedom of expression, and the rule of law. One of them is Rafael Marques de Morais, an Angolan journalist who has been threatened and tortured, and has been on trial for reporting on official corruption and trafficking in blood diamonds. Speaking in memory of some of his slain colleagues, and also on behalf of journalists and

Activists know that they face a long and dangerous struggle, and that even if they succeed in removing a dictatorship, an even more difficult challenge will follow, which is building new institutions, subjecting powerful and corrupt interests to the rule of law, and getting democracy to work and produce real progress for all the people, not just for the elites.

of retreating, the movement continued to push forward. If it succeeds in fighting corruption, reforming the economy, and building a new country based on the rule of law, it will help democracy not just in Ukraine but also in Russia and other countries in the region.

Even in some of the bleakest situations, such movements have shown relentless determination and persistence. The police cleared the streets after the Umbrella Revolution in Hong Kong, but the movement was not defeated. "We will be back," read the banners the protesters unfurled as they prepared to leave. And as *The Economist* wrote, "How long before the youths of Beijing and Shanghai put forth demands of their own?" Such demands are also being put forth by the Cuban Civil Society Open Forum, which declared soon after the announcement on restoring U.S.-Cuban relations that it intended to "expand the role of civil society" and offer the Cuban people "a new narrative, tactics

human rights defenders throughout Africa, he extolled "the courage, the leadership, and the solidarity that are required to bring down the walls of fear, and with them the fear-mongers," and pledged that "No politician, however strong and fearsome, will deter me from doing my job."

Such activists know that they face a long and dangerous struggle, and that even if they succeed in removing a dictatorship, an even more difficult challenge will follow, which is building new institutions, subjecting powerful and corrupt interests to the rule of law, and getting democracy to work and produce real progress for all the people, not just for the elites. The fact that such activists persist in their work, without the benefit of any illusions, is the main reason we can be hopeful about the future. It is critical that we in the established democracies let them know, through meaningful words and actions, that they are not alone. □



2014

The Year at NED

On May 29, 2014, the National Endowment for Democracy presented its annual Democracy Award to two of China's advocates for democracy and human rights, **Liu Xiaobo** and **Xu Zhiyong** – both locked in Chinese prisons because the regime views the power of their ideas as an existential challenge.

House Democratic Leader **Nancy Pelosi** (D-CA) accepted the Award on behalf of Liu Xiaobo, while documentary filmmaker and human rights activist **Hua Ze** received the Democracy Award on Xu Zhiyong's behalf. Her widely read Sohu.com blog posting in January 2011, "The Ordeal of a Fragrant Soul," related her kidnapping by security forces after Liu Xiaobo was awarded the 2010 Nobel Peace Prize. Ms. Ze is now based in the U.S. and is executive director of China Rights in Action.

Among those present to pay tribute at the Capitol Hill ceremony was **Chen Guangcheng**, the "Blind Lawyer" who dramatically escaped China in 2012. The evening marked the first time he "saw" the Democracy Award he received in absentia in 2008 for his work defending human rights in China.

Democracy Service Medal

The Endowment's Board created its Democracy Service Medal in 1999 to recognize individuals who have demonstrated, through personal commitment, their dedication to the advancement of freedom, human rights, and democracy.

The same evening that NED honored Liu Xiaobo and Xu Zhiyong, NED presented the Democracy Service Medal to retiring Congressman **Frank Wolf** (R-VA) for his tireless advocacy for human rights around the world. In addition to speaking out on behalf of victims



of religious and other forms of persecution, Rep. Wolf is the co-chairman, along with Rep. **Jim McGovern** (D-MA), of the Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission, and was one of the driving forces behind the creation of the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom. McGovern, Rep. **Joe Pitts** (R-PA), NED chairman **Martin Frost** and NED vice-chairman **Vin Weber** were on hand to pay tribute.

Lilia Shevtsova Delivers Eleventh Annual Lipset Lecture

The Eleventh Annual Seymour Martin Lipset Lecture on Democracy in the World was held on Oct. 29, 2014, at the Embassy of Canada in Washington, DC, and was delivered by Lilia Shevtsova, Senior Associate at the Carnegie Moscow Center. Dr. Shevtsova's lecture was entitled, "Russia's Political System: The Drama of Decay." Her presentation argued that Russia's form of existence through the personalized power system and its attempts to justify itself by ideological and territorial expansion – the "Russian Matrix" – is beginning to decay, and that the current regime cannot sustain the crumbling status quo for long.

The Lipset Lecture series, sponsored jointly by NED and the Munk Center for International Affairs at the University of Toronto (where Shevtsova spoke on Oct. 20), is named for one of the great democratic scholars and public intellectuals of the twentieth century, Seymour Martin Lipset. The Lipset Lecture acts as a vehicle for continued cooperation between the United States and Canada in promoting democracy and democratic ideals around the world,



Lilia Shevtsova delivered the 11th Annual Lipset Lecture at the Canadian Embassy in Washington, D.C.

and provides an annual opportunity for influential audiences of both the countries to hear and discuss a declaration on democracy by a prominent intellectual.

Penn Kemble Youth Forum on Democracy

In 2014, NED launched the Penn Kemble Youth Forum on Democracy with the assistance of a grant from the Foundation for Democratic Education and a distinguished advisory committee of scholars and practitioners. Kemble, who passed away in 2005, was one of the democracy movement's most committed activists and strategists. The Forum is an opportunity for mentorship, networking, and education for young professionals who share Kemble's commitment to advancing democracy around the world. The first year's cohort included young professionals from government, non-profits, and the private sector. To learn more, visit www.ned.org/fellowships/about-the-penn-kemble-fellows

John Richardson, Jr.

The National Endowment for Democracy lost a dear friend and champion when John Richardson, Jr, a founding board member who served as NED chairman from 1984-1992, died on Dec. 26, 2015, at the age of 93.

Commenting on the importance of Richardson's guiding hand in the early days of the Endowment, NED president Carl Gershman said, "He was a dear friend, a real mentor who helped bring me along during my early days at NED, and who then encouraged me in the most wise and generous way as the institution developed."

David Lowe, NED Vice President for Government Relations and Public Affairs, recalled a conversation he had in 1989 with NED's founding Chairman, the late Dante

Fascell, who gave credit to John Richardson as being "the real moving force behind NED... but few people knew that because of his modesty."

Richardson's service to NED was part of a lifetime dedicated to his country and the promotion of freedom and international cooperation. After serving as an Army paratrooper in WWII and a career as an investment banker, Richardson turned to international affairs. He served as president of Radio Free Europe from 1961-1969 and then as U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs until 1977. Earlier in his career he chaired the International Rescue Committee and later served as the president of Freedom House and of Youth for Understanding. Richardson received NED's Democracy Service Medal in 2005.

"He was a true gentleman, a man of extraordinary modesty and dignity who had the very deepest devotion to America and the democratic values we hold dear," said Gershman.

Ambassador Terrance Todman

It was with deep sadness that the Board and staff of NED learned of the death of Ambassador Terence Todman, who passed away on August 13, 2014, at the age of 88. Ambassador Todman, who served on the Endowment's Board of Directors for nine years, provided invaluable guidance in his role as the Board expert for NED grantmaking in the Latin America & Caribbean region.

"He was a man of great dignity, a devoted patriot, and a champion of the cause of democracy for all," said NED President Carl Gershman. "He will be sorely missed and long remembered." □

NED Regional Grants in 2014

An Overview


Democracy belongs to no single nation, but rather it is the birthright of every person in every nation.

That's why for 30 years the National Endowment for Democracy has worked in all corners of the globe, supporting democracy activists on six continents and in over 90 countries. NED provides grants each year to non-governmental groups working abroad in the areas of human rights, independent media, the rule of law, civic education and the development of civil society in general. These now total over 1,300 grants per year.

NED also has a special relationship with four U.S. grantees that represent the building blocks of a democratic society. Commonly referred to as NED's "core grantees," these organizations are:

- **The International Republican Institute (IRI)**
- **The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI)**
- **The Solidarity Center**
- **The Center for International Private Enterprise (CIPE)**

NED makes grants to these groups for programs that promote pluralism and free and fair elections (IRI and NDI), free markets and economic reforms (CIPE), and independent trade unions and workers' rights (Solidarity



Anna Yalovkina is a journalist with the Kloop Media Foundation, a NED grantee in the Kyrgyz Republic. Journalists from across the region, like Yalovkina, risked their lives to cover the crisis in Ukraine.

Center). Each program is carefully developed with NED program staff and approved by NED's Board of Directors.

Q: Does NED give grants for work in the U.S.?

A: No, although NED does provide funding to some U.S.-based organizations which carry out programs abroad, it does not provide funding for programs in the United States.

Q: Does NED give grants to individuals?

A: No, NED only gives grants to organizations.

Q: Is NED part of the U.S. Government?

A: No. NED is a private, non-profit, grant-making organization that receives an annual appropriation from the U.S. Congress through the Department of State. Although NED's funding is dependent on the continued support of the White House and Congress, it is NED's independent, bipartisan Board of Directors that controls how the appropriation is spent.

Q: Why are some grants listed by program focus, rather than by name?

A: As you read through the grants listings that follow, you will notice that some grants are listed by their program focus, rather than by grantee name. You might also notice that these are always in particularly repressive countries where their work and/or affiliation with the Endowment puts grantees at greater risk for reprisals. In these

cases, NED staff work with grantees to assess their security and need for protection. However, these grants are still reported and described, albeit without identifying information.

Q: Why is NED necessary? Doesn't the U.S. Government promote democracy abroad?

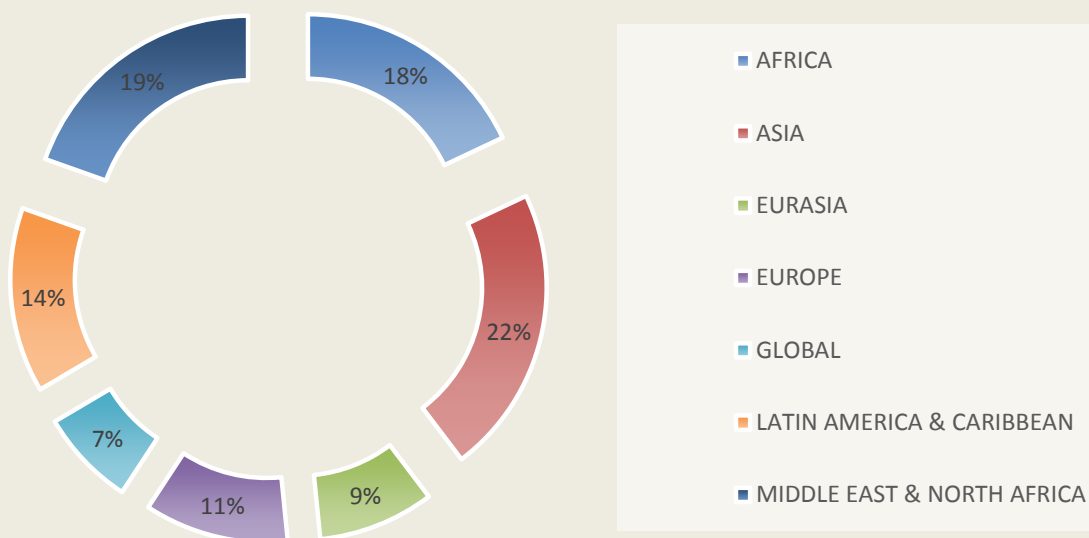
A: As a non-governmental organization, NED is able to work where there are no government-to-government relations and in other environments where diplomatic complications would result from direct government support.

NED also enjoys a comparative advantage in providing assistance during times of rapid political change. Because NED is small and non-bureaucratic, it can be highly responsive to changing circumstances on the ground. NED's independence also allows it to work with many groups abroad that are reluctant to take funds from the U.S. Government.

Finally, NED is able to work with the small, relatively new groups that often typify democratic movements in their earliest phases of development. NED usually provides small grants to these groups and works closely with them until they build the capacity to run larger programs such as those more commonly funded by the US Government.

Explore the pages that follow to learn more.■

Regional Distribution of NED Spending, 2014



NED Grants in

AFRICA

The civil society conference NED organized on Capitol Hill during the US-Africa Leaders' Summit in August 2014 underscored how the demand for democracy in Africa has grown. Human rights, free and fair elections, accountability and transparency, independent media, peace, and a vibrant civil society remain critical issues for which Africans struggle.


NED, its partners, and the Endowment's core institutes also collaborated on many other efforts in Africa in 2014.

In Zimbabwe, for example, NED and its core institutes, along with leaders in government, the political parties, business, labor, and civil society, came together in an event organized by the SAPES Trust to re-engage and chart a democratic way forward. NED held two important meetings in Washington on the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), and NED's partners there made significant contributions to that country's electoral process, as well as human rights and security issues. On the Sahel, NED held a series of meetings with political and civil society leaders on Burkina Faso, Niger, and security issues. NED's program in the Sahel, especially Mali, expanded dramatically in response to the turmoil and tentative democratic restoration there. In Kenya, NED partners convened to strategize and find greater synergies in their work, even as the space for civil society came under threat.

Democracy, however, faced significant challenges in other areas. Violence reversed democratic progress in South Sudan, the Central African Republic, the

Democratic Republic of the Congo and northern Nigeria. NED provided assistance in each of these situations. In the Central African Republic, NED supported Search for Common Ground to broadcast messages on community radio and NDI to assist civil society organizations in promoting peace. In South Sudan, NED supported grassroots peace efforts in Jonglei and Equatoria. SOS Femmes en Danger empowered women in Eastern DRC to fight back against rape, putting attackers in jail. In other conflict environments, NED partners in Cote d'Ivoire sought to reinforce the reconciliation process after that nation's civil war. In Sudan, NED supported marginalized groups from across the country to work more collaboratively, including efforts in the Nuba Mountains and Darfur.

In much of Africa, the fragility of democracy has become apparent, just as the security threat from terrorists, extremists, and criminal networks has increased. Authoritarian regimes in Africa pushed back against the democratic progress made over the last 25 years, passing anti-terrorist or anti-LGBTI laws that threatened political opposition and civil society. However, NED partners deepened grassroots commitment to democracy and human rights and

A photograph of a man with dark hair and a mustache, wearing a dark suit, white shirt, and red tie. He is seated at a conference, looking slightly to his left with a serious expression. The background is blurred, showing other people and a white tablecloth.

The US-Africa Civil Society Conference convened a dynamic cross-section of African leaders to discuss the challenges to good governance, transparency, and free elections.

developed innovative approaches to opening up authoritarian systems. In Zimbabwe, Kenya, Nigeria, and other countries, the Solidarity Center helped trade unions organize informal sector workers and increased awareness of gender issues. In Ethiopia, NED supported the struggle for freedom of the press and association, and CIPE fostered dialogue between the public and private sector. In Rwanda, Human Rights First promoted collaboration between the press and human rights groups. In Uganda and Nigeria NED supported groups struggling for LGBTI rights. NED supported the MakaAngola website and the work of human rights crusader Rafael Marques in Angola.

The Ebola crisis also threatened democratic progress. In Liberia, NED partners such as Liberia Media for Democratic Initiatives and NAYMOTE rose to the challenge, incorporating Ebola awareness efforts into their activities while holding public forums on the political issues at stake. Partners in Sierra Leone advocated for greater transparency in the country's response to the emergency and broadcast civic education messages on community radio.

NED partners also assisted domestic election observation, trained politicians, conducted voter education, and promoted women's and youth participation in politics. NED focused on the quality of leadership emerging from these processes as well, ensuring not only that elections are free and fair and that everybody participates and accepts the results, but also that the elected government respects and advances human rights, freedom of the press, assembly, and association;

and governs with accountability and transparency. NDI supported the launch of a youth political party training school in Southern Africa; the Institute for Research and Democratic Development in Liberia refined its tracking of legislators' performance; and the Nigerian Women Trust Fund produced a video and conducted a media campaign promoting women's participation in the elections. In DRC, IRI worked with women political leaders, several of whom advanced to prominent positions in the government and political parties.

At the end of the year a popular uprising overthrew Burkina Faso's president, Blaise Compaore, sending shock waves throughout Africa. His failed attempt to change the constitution to eliminate term limits and extend his hold on power has changed the calculus of many other African heads of state with a similar agenda.

Youth played a vital role in driving the change in Burkina Faso, and are doing so across Africa, the youngest continent in the world, and NED strengthened its commitment to youth organizations across Africa. In Uganda, Students for Global Democracy and CIPE promoted youth participation; in Nigeria, the Youth Initiative for Advocacy Growth and Advancement worked with the Electoral Commission to involve youth in upcoming elections. Youngstars and the YMCA trained youth leaders, and YOSPIS trained youth and placed them in democratic institutions in the north. In Zimbabwe, the Youth Forum, ZOYP, the Institute for Young Women Development, and Youth Dialogue promoted youth participation. Innovative use of social media was evident in many programs, especially with youth.

Indeed, despite the setbacks, as a new generation rises, opportunities for democratic progress in Africa have never been greater. The following pages highlight the work of NED partners across the region, and include a list of 2014 grants. To learn more about NED grants and grantees, visit www.NED.org/WhereWeWork □

BURKINA FASO

Following the departure of President Blaise Compaoré after a popular uprising in October 2014, [Search for Common Ground](#) used a NED grant to partner with the National Youth Council of Burkina Faso (CNJ-BF) to study tensions and make recommendations for resolving conflict.



NIGERIA

A NED grant allowed the [Nigerian Women Trust Fund](#) to produce and distribute a powerful short film about one woman confronting the barriers of culture and tradition to effect change in her community. In *A New Dawn*, she overcomes intimidation, corruption and harassment to run for public office and win. "We want women to think seriously about why they are needed in decision making and in government," said Ayisha Osori, the Fund's CEO. "It is also a call to create more space for women to be able to run."

The film, which starred prominent Nigerian actresses, was complemented by a media campaign highlighting women's empowerment programs and the benefits of increased women's political participation in the run up to the 2015 general elections.





REGIONAL

The Great Lakes Institute for Strategic Studies worked to assess human rights and the rule of law in relation to treaties signed by member states of the East African Community (EAC), Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi. The Institute established a Regional Reference Study Group on democracy and the rule of law, and developed a methodology and score card to monitor trends in the EAC.

NED continued to support human rights and media initiatives in Eritrea; these initiatives are by necessity based in exile, since Eritrea is arguably one of the most closed and repressive dictatorships anywhere in the world.

ERITREA



DRC

In 2014, NED doubled its budget for the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), making it the largest sustained commitment to any country in Africa in NED's history.

ANGOLA

Maka Angola used NED support to expand MakaAngola.com as both an anti-corruption and a human rights watchdog specializing in investigating and bringing news, in-depth reporting, analysis and informed discussion to Angola. In 2014, Maka Angola's director battled lawsuits from nine Angolan generals for his writings on human rights in the country's diamond mines.

BURUNDI

In September, human rights defender Pierre-Claver Mbonimpa was released from prison after an international and nationwide campaign on his behalf. Mbonimpa is president of NED partner the [Association Burundaise pour la Protection des Droits Humains et des Personnes Detenues](#) (APRODH).



Africa Civil Society Conference

Washington, DC

Taking advantage of the opportunity provided by the U.S.-Africa Leaders' Summit in August 2014, the National Endowment for Democracy partnered with almost a dozen other organizations and initiatives to convene nearly 100 leading democracy and human rights activists from more than 30 African countries. Together, for two days, they addressed the most critical challenges to democracy on the continent and shared their insights and experiences.

During the first day of the conference, the activists divided into six task force working groups, and formulated recommendations regarding human rights, good governance and accountability, elections, the media, conflict and security, and civil society challenges.

The next day, the activists reconvened for a televised public conference, joined by several hundred members of the African diaspora and the American public. The spokesperson for each working group presented its statement to the conference, addressing their recommendations to African governments, the international community and U.S. government, as well as to African civil society.

The working groups proposed concrete actions, including the mobilization of a pan-African network of civil society activists to carry forward the recommendations of the conference. They underscored the intrinsic value of democracy, as well as its importance in providing the right environment for economic development, trade, and security. The attendees also stressed the importance of respect for human rights, good governance, peace, and freedom of speech and assembly. NED president Carl Gershman closed the conference with an appeal for solidarity with the many courageous activists whose lives and freedom are often endangered due to their work.

Although there is still much follow-up work to be done, the conference had an impact almost immediately. It greatly heightened the discussion about democracy and human rights in Africa around the Leaders' Summit; it galvanized a pan-African network of civil society activists; and it produced a plan of action that will serve as a benchmark and blueprint for future democratic efforts across the continent. □

Activist Lorna Dias travelled from Kenya to participate in the Africa Civil Society Conference.



Women LEAD promotes civic and political leadership among young women in Nepal. Through a competitive application process, Women LEAD accepted 30 young women in their last year of high school to participate in an intensive year-long leadership training course. The course strengthens their skills in communications, grassroots organizing, media advocacy, and leadership. Through support and continued engagement, the organization will prepare these young women to become decisionmakers in their communities.





NED Grants in

Asia

In a year marked by democratic recession globally, the trajectory of democracy in Asia presented a picture that was less straightforward. Whereas the governments in China, North Korea, and Vietnam offered few signs of reform on the horizon, South Korea, Japan, and Taiwan continued to offer robust examples of freely elected governments, vibrant economies, and strong civil societies. Moreover, the world's largest democracy, India, and the world's largest Muslim majority country, Indonesia, each held successful and largely peaceful elections.

Burma's transition, touted only a year earlier as a remarkable breakthrough, appeared stalled, while the optimism sparked by Pakistan's historic transfer of power from one elected civilian government to another faded as the country grappled with anti-government protests, critical power shortages, and heightened sectarian violence and general insecurity. Meanwhile in Thailand, political normalcy went into retreat once again after the launch of another coup.

At the same time, student-led protests in Hong Kong called for an open nominations process for the chief executive; despite failing to win government concessions, they demonstrated the challenges that Beijing will face in governing a relatively free and prosperous city undemocratically. And in Sri Lanka, the increasingly authoritarian rule of President Rajapaksa faced an unexpected challenge to its authority as a broad coalition rallied behind former health minister and long-time Rajapaksa ally Maithripala Sirisena in the run-up to elections in January 2015.

In China, President Xi Jinping consolidated his power and continued the crackdown on rights-focused civil society, arresting activists, lawyers,

and journalists. Similarly in Tibet and Xinjiang, the Beijing government showed no signs of lessening its control. NED addressed these challenges by supporting partners to document rights violations, expand and protect rights of all citizens and ethnic groups, advance the free flow of information, promote democratic values, and call for reforms.

In 2014 the UN Human Rights Council Commission of Inquiry on North Korean Human Rights released a ground-breaking report that documented widespread, systematic, and serious human rights violations. The report propelled human rights to the forefront of international concern about North Korea and provided momentum for rights advocates. NED-supported programs capitalized on the report by increasing the free flow of information to break the regime's blockade on information and strengthen international and regional support for human rights and democracy. NED-supported programs also increased awareness of democratic norms and practices, provided training for youth, and encouraged a broader coalition of South Koreans interested in human rights in North Korea.

While Vietnam benefited from improved relations with the West, the human rights situation showed no signs of improvement. Authorities continued to impose harsh punishments for dissent and target human rights defenders and press freedom activists. However, NED support has allowed nascent groups to organize, produce independent information, and network with human rights activists from other ASEAN countries.

In Burma, media restrictions, curbs on other civil liberties, and violence fueled by Buddhist nationalism against the country's Muslim minorities underscored the fragility of the transition. Moreover, the country continued to wrestle with the long-standing challenge of reaching a comprehensive peace agreement with the ethnic nationalities. To address these challenges, NED supported programs that focused on the structural, cultural, religious, and political divisions that undermine national cohesiveness.

Thailand's protracted political conflict was punctuated by another coup, which the military justified as the only way to restore order and create a "genuine" democracy. Although coups are not new in the country's persistent cycle of elections, street protests, and military intervention, the restrictions on political freedoms and civil liberties this time are more severe and sweeping than in the past. With the imposition of martial law, the discarding of the constitution, postponement of elections, and clampdown on dissent, many fear that Thailand's hard-won democratic gains of the past 15 years will be reversed. In this increasingly difficult environment, NED supported programs to protect human rights as well as foster understanding and practice of democratic norms and values.

Troubling developments in Pakistan cast doubts on the extent to which the country has taken advantage of the democratic momentum that resulted from its historic elections in 2013. These included incidents of violent extremism and religious intolerance, attacks against journalists and human rights activists, and



PAKISTAN

Muhammad Ali Shah of the **Pakistan Fisherfolk Forum** addresses reporters at a rally on peasant land rights in front of the Sinjhoro Press Club in Sanghar, Sindh. The Forum's success in organizing Pakistan's fishing communities into a vibrant, non-violent social movement that enjoys substantial social and political influence has endeared the group to the media and civil society.



a large anti-government protest. Even as the protest ended and the democratic system remained in place, the challenges confronting the country were still formidable at year's end. To address these challenges, NED supported partners working to enhance citizen participation in democratic governance, address the rise of militancy, and foster public understanding and discussion of democratic institutions and practices.

In Sri Lanka, the Rajapaksa government continued to undermine democratic institutions, engage in rampant patronage and nepotism, alienate minority communities, restrict civil and political freedoms, and use military personnel to achieve its objectives while ignoring their complicity in a range of human rights abuses. In the lead up to the 2015 elections, many advocates sought to capitalize on events and look for opportunities to advance democratic development. NED's support in Sri Lanka focused on encouraging greater community participation in the political process, promoting democratic governance and accountability, strengthening the rule of law, and protecting human rights.

The following pages highlight the work of NED partners across the region, and include a list of 2014 grants. To learn more about NED grants and grantees, visit www.NED.org/WhereWeWork □



NORTH KOREA

In Feb. 2014, the UN Human Rights Council Commission of Inquiry (COI) on North Korean Human Rights released its final report, which provided abundant evidence of systematic, serious human rights violations in North Korea. In November, the U.N. General Assembly’s human rights committee adopted a resolution calling for the referral of North Korea’s human rights violations to the International Criminal Court.

This was a tremendous victory for NED grantees like the **Citizens’ Alliance for North Korean Human Rights**, which had been working for almost two decades to prompt the international community to take action.



China remained a top priority as NED grantees there faced intensifying political repression.



BURMA

Aung Zaw, founder and editor-in-chief of NED grantee **The Irrawaddy**, was recognized by the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) with its 2014 International Press Freedom Award, the prestigious annual prize for courageous reporting. Burma is NED’s largest country program in Southeast Asia.



MALAYSIA

Operating in a country of continuous and pervasive media controls, web-based **KiniTV** is taking advantage of the open space of the Internet to provide independent and objective news and information to the Malaysian people. As Malaysia becomes ever more connected, KiniTV has met public demand for information and independent news, as well as programs focusing on human rights, open government, and free expression.





NED Grants in Focus

INCITEGov

Philippines

The International Center for Innovation, Transformation and Excellence in Governance (INCITEGov) brings the knowledge and insights of experienced policy experts and former government officials to bear on the most pressing challenges facing the Philippines. Its 10 founding members served in cabinet-level positions in the Gloria Macapagal Arroyo administration until allegations of electoral fraud against the President surfaced. In response, the group collectively resigned and called for her resignation.

In 2006, these former government officials developed the organization's core solution framework, which it calls "connecting the dots between Democratic Politics, Good Governance and Development Outcomes" (PGD). INCITEGov's founders were preoccupied with one central question: "How can Democratic Politics enhance the practice of Good Governance, which is in turn able to mobilize social effort at a scale and for sufficient duration to attain Development Outcomes at a national level?"

Today, INCITEGov serves as an institutional nucleus for a reform-centered democratic movement in the Philippines. INCITEGov is committed to developing and operationalizing a policy agenda that links democratic politics, good governance, and development outcomes in critical reform areas. INCITEGov's membership is composed of reform advocates in business, civil society, communities and political formations, including former cabinet secretaries, former heads of government agencies, and former undersecretaries. NED is proud to support INCITEGov's efforts to promote democratic governance in the Philippines. □

INCITEGov holds numerous trainings on topics ranging from the "Use of Open Data to Strengthen Fiscal Transparency on Procurement" to "Developing the Capacity of Civil Society Organizations to Engage in Local Budgeting and Governance."





Eurasia

Russia's attempts to assert an exclusive sphere of influence over the states that were part of the Soviet Union has become a particularly acute obstacle for efforts to support democracy throughout the Eurasia region. Ukraine's Maidan Revolution, which brought down a corrupt government, was perceived by President Putin and his government as an existential threat to their own hold on power in Russia and influence abroad. The mechanisms of growing Russian assertiveness vary considerably from place to place, but in 2014, Moscow leveraged its influence to bolster authoritarianism everywhere in the region.

In Russia, Vladimir Putin enjoyed record-high approval ratings, while opposition political parties were effectively barred from even local elections, and the government moved unilaterally to designate civil society organizations as "foreign agents." These challenges notwithstanding, Russian civil society has remained resilient as it continues to conduct its work. As the economic crisis developed, the costs of incursion into Ukraine became more apparent to ordinary citizens. Doctors' protests against healthcare budget cuts, the tragic appeals of soldiers' mothers to learn the fate of their sons, and runs on imported consumer goods highlighted the growing sense of instability.

The Endowment has continued to work with grantees to address legal and logistical hurdles and develop individualized strategies to support the vital work of Russian civil society. As the Russian government continues to try to control the narrative, access to accurate information regarding international and local events remains a critical need. In 2014, the Endowment continued expanding its support, prioritizing independent media outlets and human rights organizations.

In Azerbaijan, President Ilham Aliyev has seized the moment of growing international crisis to launch an unprecedented crackdown, closing international NGOs and jailing his domestic critics. There are currently more than 90 political prisoners in Azerbaijan including its best journalists, human rights activists, and lawyers. In Kyrgyzstan, which had been on a positive trajectory, there are attempts to introduce repressive norms now practiced in Russia and to stigmatize the work of NGOs. The expansion of the Eurasian Customs Union provided another vehicle for Russia's authoritarian norms.

Armenia's decision to join the Eurasian Customs Union marks a setback for Armenia's democratic ambitions. With no national elections until 2017, civic activists focused on local elections and issues of social concern including environmental conservation and civic control over the military. The Endowment expanded the number of programs in Armenia in 2014, focusing support on these initiatives, including Ecological Right's efforts to bring accountability to development projects, and Journalist Club Asparz's contributions to the "Army in Reality" transparency initiative.

Kyrgyz journalists photograph local destruction following heavy fighting in Ukraine. [Kloop Media Foundation](#) provides opportunities for journalists from Central Asia to provide accurate reporting about the conflict in Ukraine.

In 2014, Georgia continued to institutionalize democratic reform by introducing direct election of mayors and strengthening the judiciary, remaining the region's best example of a transitioning democracy. NED grantees Georgian Young Lawyers' Association and Public Movement Multinational Georgia undertook significant efforts to monitor the local government elections, helping to ensure that they marked a substantial improvement over previous local government elections. While Russia continues to pose an existential threat to Georgia, the June 2014 signing of an Association Agreement between Georgia and the EU does provide an anchor to Europe.

In Central Asia, Russian influence grew in 2014 and contributed to a worsening environment for civil society. In Tajikistan, President Rakhmon continued to balance demands from both Russia and China in an attempt to maintain power. While Russia's influence was more overt, as demonstrated by the rising prevalence of Russian language media, China continued to invest heavily in infrastructure aimed at gaining Tajikistan's favor in the long-term. In November 2013, Rakhmon won a fourth term as president in elections that were neither free nor fair. Although there was an unexpected degree of civil society interest in the presidential election, the correspondingly intense efforts by the government to suppress civil society, independent media, and political parties ensured a victory for Rakhmon with 83 percent of the vote. However, this victory has not offered the presidential administration any sense of security. It continues to crack down on civil society, media, and political opposition.

The Kyrgyz Republic has made notable progress in its democratic transition since the April 2010 revolution. The new political system is more representative than it has ever been, and a vibrant civil society continues to play a crucial role in

pushing for much needed reforms. These positive developments are moving at a glacial pace, however, which frustrates a population that has yet to see tangible improvements in its standard of living. However, the biggest threat to democratic development remains the external one. Visible Russian influence over the region is on the rise and casts a shadow over the tenuous gains achieved over this short period of time: a draft "foreign agent" law modeled on Russian legislation is one of several restrictive draft laws introduced in parliament in 2014; KyrgyzGas was sold to Gazprom for a symbolic price of \$1 in a deal made behind closed doors with no other bidders; and in January 2015 the country joined the Moscow-initiated Eurasian Customs Union.

The backsliding in Kazakhstan has included show trials against opposition political party leaders, which have resulted in long jail terms and cast a pall on opposition activity. The Kazakh government has employed a combination of bullying tactics and elaborate GONGO schemes to thwart the development of the civic sector and isolate the few independent NGOs. In July 2014, President Nazarbayev signed new criminal and administrative codes under which public associations and civil society groups may incur criminal penalties. Despite these disturbing trends, NED expanded its program in Kazakhstan in 2014 and is focusing on working with new grassroots organizations based in the regions, such as Eco Mangystau and Sana Sezim.

In Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, the most authoritarian countries of the Eurasia region, NED's discretionary program supported human rights, independent media and NGO development. The following pages highlight the work of NED partners across the region, and include a list of 2014 grants. To learn more about NED grants and grantees, visit www.NED.org/WhereWeWork □



KAZAKHSTAN

The Kazakhstan International Bureau of Human Rights held a “Human Rights School” in Oskemen, Kazakhstan. Participants learned about international human rights standards and ways they can effectively defend human rights.



Organizations throughout Eurasia sought to improve the human rights standards in their communities. By bringing principles of international law to the local level, NED grantees helped local activists to become better advocates on behalf of victims of human rights abuses, especially women and national minorities.



ARMENIA

Society Without Violence held two trainings for women human rights defenders. Held in Yerevan and Vanadzor, the trainings helped women develop the skills needed to participate fully in political and civic life. Participants learned strategy and leadership skills, communication and advocacy techniques, and information on the issues facing women in Armenia. The trainings also gave women the opportunity to build networks and relationships which will make their advocacy more effective.



KYRGYZ REPUBLIC

With Endowment support, [Internews Kyrgyzstan](#) worked with local partner Yntymak to produce the weekly television talk show, “Topic of the Week.” NED funding supported the production of 88 talk shows, 44 each in Kyrgyz and Uzbek. Each 30 minute program focused on a political, social, or economic hot topic of relevance to the local population in southern Kyrgyzstan. Topics included problems faced by victims of the June 2010 violence; the challenges of migrants from Uzbekistan; education and health care issues; and the reconstruction of Osh. Internews and Yntymak staff evaluated the volatility of the region on a regular basis and, when deemed safe enough, covered sensitive topics related to interethnic relations and cooperation, reconciliation, and human rights. Every program included a debate by a panel of experts, including local government officials, civil society leaders and activists, business leaders, and other public figures representing a variety of professional expertise and political viewpoints to ensure balance.



GEORGIA



NED Grants in Focus

Studio Monitor

Georgia

Studio Monitor produces investigative documentaries on a range of topics seldom covered by the Georgian media, including government accountability, the judiciary, the business sector, and human rights. Studio Monitor's objective and hard-hitting investigations have demonstrably contributed to the advancement of democracy within Georgia.

Studio Monitor journalists turned heads when they produced a documentary exposing a plot in which several prosecutors and judges collaborated on 11 court cases to ensure a victory for the prosecution each time. The screening of this documentary prompted angry Georgian citizens to demand that the government under the Georgian Dream coalition – which came to power in 2012 with the promise of reform – adhere to its campaign pledges and root out corruption.

In another recent investigation, journalists examined the consequences of a 2005 law that repealed monopoly regulations. The repeal was followed by the emergence of a range of new monopolies – several of which were closely tied to Georgian government ministers. The findings of this documentary investigation were utilized by civil society to advocate for improvements in the law which were enacted in March 2014.

Studio Monitor's documentaries are broadcast by Maestro television company, a cable channel with a national audience; to extend their reach, Studio Monitor also posts its stories on Maestro's website, as well as on its YouTube page and its own website (www.monitori.ge). The documentaries are available in print and online via *Liberali Magazine*, a weekly magazine and another NED grantee.

The organization's reporting – which is detailed, comprehensive, and independent – provides a balanced and objective voice in Georgia's highly-polarized media sector, and in the process strengthens freedom of speech and editorial independence of the Georgian media. NED is proud to stand with Studio Monitor in its work. □

A Studio Monitor cameraman in action.



Belarusian civil society held solidarity actions throughout Minsk in support of Ukraine's Maidan protests.

NED Grants in

Europe

eastern & central

As Europe celebrated 25 years since the ‘Fall of the Wall,’ the countries in which NED grantees are active exhibited two trajectories. Some, like Ukraine, Moldova and Albania, made important strides in reinvigorating their democratic transitions and moving closer to the West. These historic steps towards EU integration committed their governments to further democratization. The Endowment assisted civil society in supporting these countries’ European choice, pushing for greater reforms, and holding officials responsible for the obligations they have taken on. Other countries, such as Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Macedonia, made no democratic progress or actually regressed.

In response, NED supported civil society groups opposing backsliding, assisting democrats at risk, and expanding space for alternative views and voices. The region also faced the common challenges of unaccountable governments, endemic corruption, threats to free media space, and divided societies. These trends and problems were at the forefront of elections held in almost every country in the region during the year.

For Ukraine, 2014 was a dynamic and tumultuous year. Mass protests beginning in late 2013 ultimately led to the fall of the Yanukovych government in February 2014. While the motivation of the Maidan demonstrators varied widely, it found common ground in frustration with a corrupt and imperious government and the failure of the authorities to address a myriad of grievances. One of the new government’s most serious initial short-term internal challenges was to restore public confidence in the political process. Pre-term presidential and parliamentary elections, in May and October respectively, were key first steps in stabilizing the country and legitimizing the government.

NED supported a broad spectrum of initiatives

fostering free and fair elections, including observing the polls at the local and regional levels, monitoring the media environment, disseminating information about candidates and analyses of their platforms, and supporting a national exit poll. NED also assisted initiatives that educated the electorate and defended voters’ rights, with an emphasis on divided or contentious regions. The high voter turnout demonstrated a genuine desire for political renewal. Both the presidential election, which resulted in Petro Poroshenko being elected in the first round, and parliamentary elections met international standards, giving the new government a clear mandate to rule and move ahead with reforms.

In Belarus, Alexander Lukashenka devoted his 20th year in power to avoiding the Ukraine contagion and using conflict there to shore up his popularity and public support for his autocratic system. It was not surprising that the March local elections were the most fraudulent and repressive on record. NED supported an election observation initiative that was the largest civil society campaign of 2014, and human rights groups assisting persecuted activists. A new restrictive media law and the blocking of

websites at the end of the year portended greater repression in the run-up to the fall 2015 presidential election. NED continued to support independent media reporting on the country's political, economic and international challenges.

After signing an EU Association Agreement in June, Moldova held important parliamentary elections in November. NED supported grantees that held politicians accountable, educated the electorate, and mobilized voters. On election day, the Endowment supported a Quick Count and Parallel Voter Tabulation, in addition to an observation mission that covered 1,975 polling stations throughout the country. A second NED focus was on strengthening NGOs and promoting human rights in the breakaway region of Transnistria and autonomous region of Gagauzia.

After tolerating a deteriorating economy, declining social services, and detrimental government performance for almost two decades, the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina rose up in protest in February, demanding political changes and a better quality of life. In the aftermath of violent unrest not seen since the end of the war, as well as unprecedented floods in May, voters had an opportunity to hold politicians accountable for their lack of responsiveness to citizens' real needs in the October presidential and parliamentary elections. Ahead of elections, NED supported projects using new technology and other innovative tools to scrutinize the performance of elected leaders and promote a greater demand for good governance.

In Kosovo, early parliamentary elections were held in June; in their aftermath, however, the country found itself in limbo as major political parties squabbled over forming a new government. The protracted impasse slowed progress on the 2014 normalization agreement with Serbia. The Endowment addressed these challenges by supporting voter education and mobilization initiatives targeting minority communities, with a particular emphasis on youth

and women, and assisting minority media, to send a strong message for integration.

Following another snap parliamentary election in April, the democratic decline in Macedonia accelerated. Disputed polls led to an opposition boycott, relations between the country's two largest ethnic communities deteriorated, and the space for free media shrank. To counter this backsliding, NED supported rare sources of independent news and analysis, as well as watchdog groups addressing key accountability issues. NED grantees addressed growing hate speech and intolerance by engaging youth, and by expanding human rights and civic education programs.

After the ruling coalition in Serbia cemented a comfortable parliamentary majority in early elections in March, nationalist rhetoric enjoyed a resurgence and the censorship of critical media took on new, pernicious forms. Cyberattacks on critical web portals were followed by the cancellation of several outspoken television news magazines and political talk shows. In response, NED continued long-term support to independent media outlets providing high-quality reporting on corruption and youth organizations promoting tolerance through civic education programs.

Albania finally received EU candidate member status in 2014, but persistent challenges to good governance and the rule of law remain. Ahead of the summer 2015 local elections, which will be a bellwether for the country's democratic progress, NED grantees promoted the greater participation of women and youth in the political process. NED also continued supporting watchdog organizations and media outlets tackling the key issues of corruption and conflict of interest.

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BELARUS

Prior to and after local elections in March 2014, NED assisted more than 40 independent newspapers, bulletins and websites in the country to provide national and local news and information on local and national political and economic developments. In an atmosphere in which the authorities repressed pro-democratic candidates and falsified the results, NED supported an election monitoring initiative that was 2014's largest civil society campaign.



MACEDONIA

The [Youth Educational Forum](#)'s online multimedia platform encouraged open debate and promoted democratic values among youth in an increasingly closed and distorted media environment. With political and interethnic tensions on the rise, the Forum's annual ENGAGE conference brought diverse groups from across the country together and helped to foster communication and cooperation among them by sharing experiences in social media and activism.

MOLDOVA

While Moldova's transition has made progress since the 2009 "Twitter Revolution," corruption remains an endemic problem. [Transparency International – Moldova](#) is playing a major role in strengthening existing anti-corruption laws and enforcing their implementation. In 2013, TI-Moldova publicly accused the Office of the Prosecutor General (OPG) of violating the conflict of interest law. After a TI-Moldova media campaign, the Commission for National Integrity (CNI) fined the OPG approximately \$500, marking the first time in the history of Moldova's legal system that such a decision had been made. Thanks in large part to TI-Moldova's watchdog role, the CNI has launched investigations into 84 corruption-related cases. To date, the CNI has closed 50 of them, holding accountable 20 mayors and heads of state institutions and companies for violations of the conflict of interest law.

REGIONAL

After devastating floods in May 2014 affected over one million citizens, the regional POINT conference – organized annually by NED grantee [Why Not?](#) to support the use of new technology in promoting government accountability – was quickly refocused to serve as a central information and collection point for relief efforts. Participants used new technologies to raise awareness about the catastrophic event, develop a website to aid flood victims, and collect much-needed food, clothes, and equipment. The artist and activist Zombijana, who paints caricatures inspired by socially-engaged tweets from the region, auctioned off her works at the event and donated the proceeds to flood relief.

'Vote fairly - choose worthy!' Activists from the Coalition of Civic Initiatives distribute information to voters ahead of presidential elections.



NED Grants in Focus

RESPONDING IN UKRAINE

2014 posed a number of unforeseen challenges for NED's Ukrainian partners. The Maidan protests brought about a change in government that set the country back on a pro-democratic and pro-European path. Russia occupied and annexed Crimea and began supporting a separatist conflict in Ukraine's east.

Civic activists from across the country joined the demonstrations in Kyiv, where more than 100 participants were killed and thousands injured, or attended regional efforts. The Youth NGO [Apelsin](#) collected food and medicine for the Maidan in Chernihiv. After taking part in local Maidans in Donetsk and Luhansk, several NED partners had to relocate when targeted by the new separatist authorities. Organizations such as [Nashe Podilya](#) and the [Lion Society](#) reached out to nurture numerous civic initiatives across the country that arose in the wake of the protests.

NED grantees also mobilized to assist the humanitarian crisis resulting from Russia's aggression, which has displaced more than 1.2 million people inside the country. The [Human Rights Center Postup](#), in partnership with 35 NGOs from Luhansk, Donetsk, Crimea and Kyiv, and the [Ukrainian Coalition for Legal Aid](#) (ULAC), which unites 11 organizations from 10 regions, provided legal assistance to over 12,000 internally displaced people (IDPs) over a three-month period.

Postup responded to over 25,000 calls through its emergency hotline and provided humanitarian assistance to 4,000 IDPs in Kyiv and more than 5,000 in the conflict zone.

The [Council of Civil Initiatives](#) in Kyiv and [Educational Human Rights House Chernihiv](#)

assisted more than 2,000 activists and IDPs in developing local projects that strengthen their communities and foster ties with their new hosts in order to overcome mutual stereotypes and encourage unity in the country.

Providing information about IDPs and raising awareness of the issue in society as a whole are crucial to the long-term process of fostering dialogue and reconciliation in the country. Postup published up to 40 articles on IDPs daily on its websites, while ULAC published almost 250 articles for local and national media, produced and aired 40 television and radio spots, and distributed 40,000 leaflets on topics related to IDPs. At the height of the conflict in August 2014, over 600,000 people visited Postup's website each day, donating money, medicines, foodstuffs and clothing that the organization distributed for humanitarian relief.

As 2014 began, none of these NGOs had originally planned or anticipated these initiatives, which were different from the organizations' typical activities. However, NED's flexibility and the organizational skills and capacity of NED's partners allowed them to respond quickly and effectively to urgent and unforeseen needs. The remarkable role played by NED's Ukrainian grantees throughout a trying year reflected their commitment to peaceful democratic change and dedication to their communities. □



An Asylum Access volunteer teaches displaced Colombians about their rights as refugees in Ecuador.

Latin America & the Caribbean


The region encompasses regimes facing diverse democratic challenges and opportunities. Solid democracies such as Costa Rica, Chile and Uruguay coexist with Cuba, the only remaining dictatorship and Haiti, the weakest state in the Western Hemisphere. Latin America also includes countries experiencing authoritarian backsliding such as Bolivia, Ecuador, Nicaragua and Venezuela, and countries showing some of the highest international rates of homicide and crime such as El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Mexico. In the economic sphere, after almost a decade of growth, the region is experiencing the impact of the deceleration of international commodity markets, which is affecting its overall economic and fiscal performance and challenging each country differently.

Within this mixed picture, both progress and setbacks marked the dynamics of the region throughout 2014. Several countries underwent an intense electoral cycle. The reelection trend favored incumbent presidential candidates in Bolivia, Brazil and Colombia, and candidates from the ruling parties in El Salvador and Uruguay; non-incumbent candidates won in Panama and Costa Rica. At the local level, opposition mayoral candidates won in Ecuador's 10 largest cities, including Quito. Across the region, NED partners promoted free and fair elections and contributed to leveling uneven electoral playing fields.

Venezuela's accumulated economic, institutional and political decay continued throughout 2014 and worsened in the last months with the severe drop in international oil prices, fueling acute shortages of basic goods and services and citizen dissatisfaction. The country faced a turbulent period of widespread demonstrations during the first half of 2014 resulting in 43 deaths, massive violations of human rights, significant cases of political imprisonment, and severe

limitations of citizen's civic and political rights. NED supported programs addressing human rights, citizen insecurity, freedom of expression and independent media, strengthening local democratic governance, electoral processes and free markets, among others.


A particularly salient event which marked the end of the year was the restoration of the bilateral diplomatic relationship between the U.S. and Cuba. This decision will generate consequences beyond the bilateral relations and have an impact on the region. NED supported Cuban activists and human rights defenders to present cases of violations of human and civil rights before the United Nations and Inter-American Commission of Human Rights, and to participate in trainings to improve their capacity to document cases and share experiences with counterparts. Programs fostered consensus and cooperation among Cuban democratic players, provided ordinary citizens with access to uncensored information, defended the rights of Afro-Cubans and underrepresented communities, promoted freedom of religion, and encouraged solidarity



NED supported efforts of human rights groups, think-tanks, and civil society networks from the region to establish South-South partnerships with their Cuban counterparts and raise awareness about democracy and human rights conditions in the island.

CUBA

HONDURAS




The *Asociación Comité por la Libre Expresión*, one of the leading press freedom organizations in Honduras, held workshops on freedom of expression.

COLOMBIA



Fundación Cívico Social ProCartagena (FUNCICAR) works to increase the transparency and accountability of legislative and regulatory activities in the National Congress, Department Assemblies, and Councils on the Caribbean coast. In cooperation with the Political Debate Commission of Bolívar, FUNCICAR arranged a discussion with candidates elected for the House and Senate to better understand their proposals and how they seek to address minority groups in legislation. And in coordination with the Electoral Observation Mission, FUNCICAR also observed and reported on election transparency with the help of community leaders and local journalists. FUNCICAR also educates young people about political participation and advocacy.

ARGENTINA



Foro de Periodismo Argentino (FOPEA) raises awareness about freedom of expression violations in Argentina through its monitoring and alert network. FOPEA also draws attention to censorship mechanisms in the country and assists journalists in promoting and defending freedom of expression. In 2014, Argentina's Chamber of Deputies (the lower house of the country's Congress) recognized FOPEA for its role in defending freedom of expression.

in Latin America and globally with Cuba's quest for democracy.

In Haiti, the institutional and political crisis continued to unravel during 2014 due to the inability of its political leadership to pass an electoral law and to call for long overdue elections. The crisis led to institutional gridlock and street protests, paving the way for the dissolution of Parliament and rule by Presidential decree. NED grantees in Haiti encouraged peaceful conflict resolution and inclusive electoral processes, as well as human rights and access to justice, among other issues.

Countries in the Andean region also faced distinct difficulties. Bolivia continued to confront serious challenges to democratic governance, expressed in the concentration of power in the executive branch, heightened political polarization, and limitations on freedom of expression. Ecuador experienced severe democratic decay. The Correa government increased censorship and control of independent media and journalists, used the judicial system to criminalize dissent and imposed limitations on independent civil society organizations. NED grantees in both countries promoted democratic debate on policy issues, and improved citizen oversight of transparency in the use of public resources. In Peru, grantees worked to advance debates and consensus among political parties, as well as promote conflict resolution at the local level, among other initiatives.

Meanwhile, Colombia made significant progress in peace negotiations between the government and the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC), the country's oldest armed guerilla movement. Despite setbacks, the year concluded with meaningful agreements, including the FARC proposing a unilateral cease fire. NED supported programs working to defend the rights of conflict victims, especially women and Afro-Colombian communities, to sustain journalists and freedom of expression, and to enforce implementation of the Victims Law and legislative action to address post-conflict demands.

In Central America, Nicaragua continued on a path of increased authoritarianism, with the elimination of term limits on elected officials, the antagonizing of local and international independent NGOs, and expansive government control of the media. As a result, NED grantees monitored the legislature and defined common strategies to defend democracy, fostered independent media, and raised awareness about constitutional rights. In response to rising crime rates in Guatemala and Honduras, grantees promoted dialogue between citizens and authorities to deal with insecurity and violence prevention, and encouraged youth involvement in citizen security policies.

Mexico continued to face major security challenges associated with drugs, arms, and human trafficking. Among several cases, the kidnapping and disappearance of 43 college students in Guerrero state drew condemnation both domestically and internationally. NED grantees supported judicial and penitentiary reform, as well as access to justice for indigenous communities and victims of human rights violations. Grantees also championed freedom of expression and anti-corruption measures.

In the Southern Cone, Argentina and Paraguay continued to struggle with corruption, the deterioration of democratic institutions, and declining freedom of expression. NED partners in both countries focused on increasing oversight of local and national governments, strengthening the legislative and judicial branches, and defending freedom of expression. Regional partners worked on a broad spectrum of issues, from strengthening workers' rights and unions, to promoting the use of new information technologies among political parties. Programs also addressed the challenges of Afro-Latino communities, strengthening the Inter-American System, and encouraging regional solidarity between democrats facing authoritarian threats.

In the following pages, learn more about democracy activists in Latin America and the Caribbean; this section also lists NED's grantees in the region. ▢

La Silla Vacía

Colombia

Since its launch in March 2009, NED grantee **La Silla Vacía** (The Empty Seat) has developed from a pilot initiative into one of the most consulted media outlets in Colombia. Utilizing an innovative approach that blends journalistic coverage, think tank-style analysis, and interactive tools for users, La Silla Vacía has helped to transform what online media platforms look like in Colombia today.

La Silla Vacía focuses on the stories and events that shape Colombia's political landscape, as well as the elected officials, government representatives and other individuals who influence the country's development, rather than just reporting on daily headlines. Shortly after launching, online readership achieved a broad base of 9.4 million visits from a total of 1.4 million different users. Today, La Silla Vacía ranks fourth nationally, outranked only by *El Tiempo*, *El Espectador* and *Semana* (the country's two most prominent newspapers and weekly magazine, respectively).

In 2012, La Silla Vacía launched an initiative entitled Proyecto Rosa (Project Rosa), documenting the case of Rosa Amelia Hernández, a victim of Colombia's internal armed conflict who became a civil society leader. In 2006, Rosa was evicted and displaced from her land by state police and paramilitaries who stripped her naked, beat her, put a gun in her mouth, and humiliated her. By providing in-depth journalistic coverage of Rosa's case, La Silla Vacía was able to raise awareness of the challenges faced by victims of the conflict and demonstrate the difficulties involved in accessing justice and compensation as established under the Victims' Law.

Due in part to La Silla Vacía's coverage, *Semana Magazine* and the Leadership and Democracy Foundation selected Rosa Amelia Hernández as one of the 10 most influential leaders in Colombia in 2012. Most importantly, Rosa gained official protection from the government, which she had sought for several years. In 2013, La Silla Vacía received the Gabriel García Márquez award for its innovative approach in documenting a victim's case in Proyecto Rosa. La Silla Vacía's platform has had significant impact, serving as a model for the rest of the region and continuing to be the leader in investigative journalism in Colombia. ■

At the first convention of victims at the Armed Conflict Victims' Alliance Forum in Colombia, NED grantee La Silla Vacía reported on the strong protests against the government's handling of peace talks with the FARC.



The Tounissiet Association promotes the civic and political engagement of women in rural areas in Tunisia.



Middle East & North Africa



Over the past year, a series of dramatic setbacks devastated the prospects for progress in most of the countries of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). The rapid spread of the self-proclaimed Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIS), the protracted horrors of the Syrian civil war, the normalization of authoritarianism in Egypt, the continuing conflict between Israel and Gaza, the proxy wars between Iran and Saudi Arabia, and the collapse of state institutions in Libya and Yemen have ravaged the political landscape throughout the region. Security and stability became urgent needs, overriding demands for civic and democratic rights.

Undeterred by these mounting challenges, civil society throughout the region persisted in advocating for rights, dignity and tolerance through increased civic initiatives, newly born civic groups, regional networks, and political organizations. Despite their inexperience and limited capacity, a younger generation has been connecting across borders. The stakes for reformers and democrats throughout the region have reached new highs as they have sought to formulate alternatives to authoritarianism and mobilize a wide range of social sectors, including small businesses, labor and political groups.

In Iraq, the army and security forces failed to stop ISIS from taking several cities in north and western provinces. Out of desperation, Iraq's newly elected government authorized arming street militias to bolster security, opening the door to politicized and sectarian abuse of power on the local level. NED grantees suspended programs in cities that fell to ISIS and relocated others. In safer provinces, programs focused on civil society initiatives, including youth and women, to engage with central and local governments on accountability and responsiveness to citizens' priorities.

In the midst of uncertainties on foreign military withdrawals and despite a protracted presidential electoral dispute, Afghanistan's national unity government provided Afghans with a fresh political dynamic. NED

supported civic groups across the country, with an emphasis on those led by women and youth, independent media and governmental accountability initiatives. Courageous groups advocated democratic ideas and values, the compatibility of Islam and democracy, and rule of law. Programs also engaged community leaders and advocacy groups with local officials on good governance and accountability at the provincial level.

As Egypt turned towards authoritarianism, government officials and state-sponsored media demonized foreign donors, independent NGOs, and the political opposition alike. NED supported civic groups that remained undeterred by the crackdown and carried out programs strengthening local governance and accountability, promoting socio-economic reforms, and cultivating youth leadership and other initiatives in critical sectors, including media, the private sector, and labor.

In Yemen, the fragile interim government had significant representation from independent civil society but could no longer govern large swaths of the country. Despite state weakness, government meltdown, and political turmoil, NED grantees focused on youth-led initiatives on local governance and accountability. At the national level, NED partners inside and outside the transitional process advocated for constitutional and policy reforms on human rights, corruption, accountability, and women's participation.

Syria's civil war intensified with the rise of ISIS, and Libya's transitional government and its democratic process broke down into violent regional conflicts. Still, NED was able to provide assistance to nascent civic groups in both countries to build their capacities, engage youth in local civic projects, and promote human rights and civic values. Human rights and the free flow of communication were also priorities in Iran, given the highly repressive political environment.

Syria's war, the rise of ISIS, and the influx of Syrian refugees put Jordan and Lebanon on a crisis footing amid the escalating risk of severe political instability. This gave Lebanon's dysfunctional government a pretext for postponing its overdue presidential and parliamentary elections and forced civic groups in Jordan to lower their reform expectations. In both countries, despite the shrinking public space, NED partners advocated greater civic oversight over national and local government, promoted investigative journalism, supported alternative

voices and wider national dialogue, and called for socio-economic reform.

Despite the war in Gaza and the stagnation of the peace process in the West Bank, determined civic groups continued to press for democratic governance. NED supported partners advancing civic participation at multiple levels, as well as independent media, citizens' watchdog groups, and rights advocacy.

Turkey's robust economy, civilian government, and record of free and fair elections have not been sufficient to prevent recent backsliding towards authoritarianism. President Erdogan cracked down on dissidents, journalists, judges, and political opponents. NED partners worked to defend and strengthen key pillars of democracy, including independent journalism, rights protection, citizen-state dialogue, and political pluralism.

In the most significant advance of democracy in the region, Tunisia completed its phased transition to a representative government. Tunisia's labor unions and key leaders in the political parties guarded the democratic transition against extremism and authoritarianism. NED increased support to emerging civic groups and initiatives on governance, accountability, decentralization, transitional justice, inclusion of women and youth, public policy analysis and advocacy, and media reforms.

Morocco's reforms also remained substantially on course despite security challenges and increased restrictions. NED partners advocated for more rights and greater government accountability and transparency, and engaged local stakeholders with local officials on citizens' needs and priorities. NED also supported successful Moroccan initiatives to expand regional exchanges and internship programs.

In response to the escalating political violence and sectarian conflicts in the region, NED's regional program expanded support for forums for peaceful dialogue and articulation of civic values. NED also supported human rights advocates and monitors in the Gulf states, Iran, and in other restrictive environments, as well as networks of emerging policy forums and think tanks, anti-corruption initiatives, and youth civic education.

In the following pages, learn more about NED grants and grantees in the Middle East and North Africa; this section also lists NED grantees in the region. □

REGIONAL

With NED support, [Munathara](#) established a network of youth debate coaches throughout the MENA region and enhanced youth participation in public discourse and debate forums. Using a combination of face-to-face training, online technologies and new media, Munathara is carving out a new Arab public sphere that promotes democratic ideas and values such as diversity, tolerance, and learning from different viewpoints. Munathara amplifies young voices by linking top voted online debaters with prominent regional leaders on a live televised debate program that has millions of viewers across the region.



IRAQ

In response to the needs of thousands of internally displaced persons (IDPs), the [Tamkien Center for Participation and Equality](#) in Dhi Qar trained local young women activists to advocate for the rights and needs of IDPs in local refugee camps. This new generation of community advocates met with local officials to discuss citizen concerns and IDP needs. Tamkien campaigned, engaged the community, mobilized women, and secured the cooperation of Dhi Qar provincial council representatives to address many local concerns.

YEMEN

As conflict in Yemen has eroded the government's ability to respond to citizen needs, NED supported local initiatives to amplify citizen voices and advance community priorities. [Attanweer Social Development Foundation](#) in Ibb Province mentored women-led groups, provided training, and supported their advocacy campaigns on women's rights. For example, one initiative focused on easing restrictions on women's ability to obtain passports and identification. The organization facilitated community dialogues among judges, religious leaders, activists, and government officials to arrive at concrete religious and legal solutions for the issue, ultimately resulting in changes to local government procedures and joint campaigns to raise awareness in rural areas.

MARCH

Lebanon

“We got together a bunch of scripts and op-eds from popular TV shows and websites and newspapers in Lebanon, and put them in play-format and submitted them to the [Censorship] Bureau, to see if they’ll ban something that’s already public. They did, completely. And after 90 minutes of back-and-forth, the Bureau chief said it was fully banned.”

This is how blogger and MARCH executive member Gino Raidy described the efforts of Lebanese NGO MARCH to expose the arbitrary nature of censorship in Lebanon.

In 2014, MARCH demonstrated the weaknesses and loopholes of the existing Lebanese censorship law over and over again, increasing public awareness of its limitations and nurturing an advocacy campaign to have it amended. MARCH is committed to informing the Lebanese public about all censorship related to art and culture in order to hold the government accountable for its actions and decisions.

MARCH also staged plays about its battle with censorship authorities, using satire to address the inconsistencies and absurdities of the Bureau’s work. NED is proud to stand with those defending freedom of expression in Lebanon. □

“As You Wish, Sir,” a play produced by MARCH, criticizes arbitrary government censorship practices in Lebanon.



Global

NED Grants

The Endowment's Global program strengthens the impact of democracy activists around the world by enabling them to share their lessons and insights across borders and beyond their regions. The program connects democracy activists and organizations so that they can learn and share technical expertise, provide solidarity, collaborate on key areas of advocacy, and foster the development and implementation of projects to strengthen democracy.

A leading example is the International Coalition of Historic Site Museums of Conscience, the “only worldwide network dedicated to transforming places that preserve the past into dynamic spaces that promote civic action on today’s struggles for human rights and justice.” The Network includes such institutions as the Kigali Genocide Memorial Center in Rwanda, and the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum in Cambodia. Read the 2014 Grants section opposite to learn where NED has focused its resources; to read more about grantees in this section, visit our website at www.NED.org/where-we-work. □

The Business & Human Rights Resource Centre uses its company response process to encourage companies to address human rights concerns raised by civil society.



Ecuador's President Correa has used a series of laws and decrees to constrain criticism and dissent. In June 2013, the National Assembly passed a restrictive communications law that designates the media as a public service subject to government regulation. Political cartoonist Xavier Bonilla was the first victim of this law following the publication of a cartoon that depicted the house raid of journalist Fernando Villavicencio (*this page*). President Correa called Bonilla, among other things, "an assassin with ink."



The Communication Law



CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL MEDIA ASSISTANCE



in Ecuador

The Center for International Media Assistance (CIMA) raises the visibility and improves the effectiveness of media development around the world.

The Center provides information, builds networks, conducts research, and highlights the indispensable role media play in the creation and development of sustainable democracies. CIMA achieves these goals by producing research, holding public fora to debate issues, and a number of catalyst activities.

Rethinking Media Development

CIMA has reevaluated its core strategy in 2014 to streamline the Center's content, something which has played a crucial role in the format of CIMA's new website. The underlying question: How do we frame media development? CIMA looks at four intersecting issues, which are key to CIMA's strategy, and encompass efforts to improve the capacity and quality of the media sector around the world. These issue areas are: Effectiveness, Sustainability, Funding, and Innovation. The breakdown of these resources can be found at: <http://cima.ned.org/media-development>

Publications

CIMA commissions research reports on key topics in media development and also publishes papers related to its events



CIMA hosted panels on data journalism (left) and Cuban media (right).

and working groups. A major focus this year was updating the format and style of research reports to focus content and reach a broader audience. In 2014, CIMA produced 13 reports, including *The Last Gasp of Empire: Russia's Attempts to Control the Media in the Former Soviet Republics*; and *By the Numbers: Tracing the Statistical Correlation Between Press Freedom and Democracy*. CIMA also entered into a partnership with WAN-IFRA to produce a research series on soft censorship around the world, and commissioned *Measuring the Audience: Why It Matters to Independent News Media and How It Can Contribute to Media Development* in conjunction with the German Forum on Media and Development (FOME) held in Germany. All of CIMA's reports are available for free download at <http://cima.ned.org/publications>.

Events

CIMA organizes panel discussions, working groups, and roundtables featuring practitioners and academics to investigate issues in media development. This year, CIMA engaged with new partners and new formats to reach broader audiences. CIMA held an online webinar with LenCD on "Media's Role in Strengthening Accountability," and a tweetchat with OSCE Representative for Freedom of the Media Dunja Mijatovic on Open Journalism. In all, CIMA held nine events in 2014, including "Fragile States: The Role of Media and Communication;" "How Data Journalism Drives Results in Developing Countries;"

and "Communications Law in Ecuador: When Censoring a Cartoon Becomes a Presidential Priority." Summaries as well as video and audio recordings of CIMA events can be found at <http://cima.ned.org/events>.

Blog

CIMA has produced more than 80 posts since the launch of its blog, The Source, in January 2014. The Source is CIMA's latest outreach tool, highlighting the Center's activities, NED's work in the media sector, and important topics to the media development field.

The blog features guest posts from Chris Walker of the International Forum for Democratic Studies at NED on "Authoritarian Regimes and Internet Censorship;" a first-person account of the protests in Hong Kong; and CIMA Advisory Council members weighed in on freedom of information and press freedom issues. CIMA live-blogged from the annual World Press Freedom Day conference in May 2014, as well as the annual Online News Association conference in September. CIMA launched a podcast series on The Source in late 2014, including "Youth in Media Development;" "Linguistic Diversity in Online Media; Community Radio in Somalia;" and "Investigative Journalism in the Philippines." All of CIMA's blog posts can be found at <http://cima.ned.org/blog>.



Catalyst Activities

In June, CIMA convened a working group to discuss indicators for assessing the impact of media development. Fourteen organizations from around the world were represented and a working draft was completed for presentation for inclusion in the post-2015 development agenda.

CIMA has ramped up its digital engagement strategy in 2014, with a greater focus on social media and

diversifying its audiences in the Global South, who are most affected by media development programs. CIMA's website features country profiles detailing the status of independent media in countries around the world and comparing media freedom indexes. CIMA also still features its weekly mailings: *Media News*, the *Digital Media Mashup*, and a recently added monthly round up of CIMA activities for key stakeholders. Find more information at <http://cima.ned.org/about-cima>. □

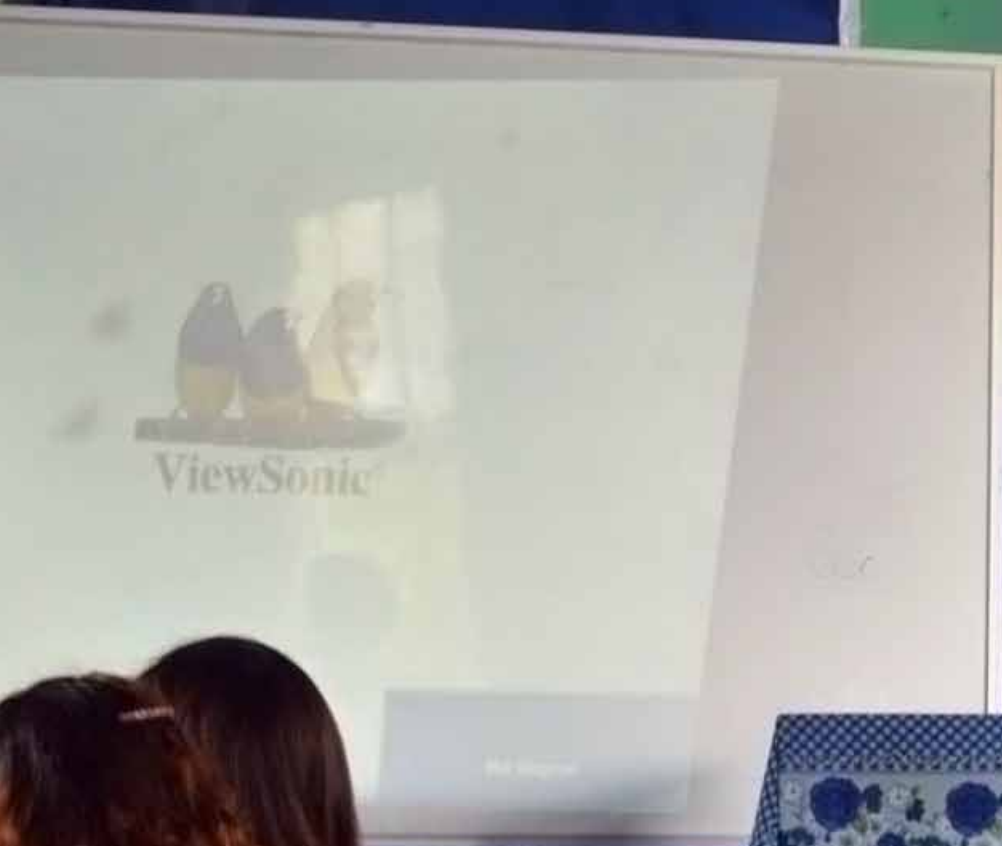
CIMA Advisory Council

The Advisory Council provides CIMA with guidance on topics in media development that need further study, and advises CIMA on how it can assist existing organizations involved in media assistance. Some Advisory Council members lead working groups, panel discussions, provide research support, and assist with outreach for CIMA's activities.

Esther Dyson	Gerald Hyman	Caroline Little	Monroe Price
Stephen Fuzesi, Jr.	Alex Jones	Eric Newton	Adam Schiff
William A. Galston	Shanthi Kalathil	William Orme	Kurt Wimmer
Suzanne Garment	Susan King	Dale Peskin	Richard Winfield
Ellen Hume	Craig LaMay	Adam Clayton Powell III	

CIMA lost a great advocate late in 2014. Mark Helmke, Advisory Council member and longtime senior aide to Senator Richard Lugar (R-IN), died in early November. Helmke, a former journalist, was a prime mover behind the creation of CIMA, helping guide the 2004 legislation that called for CIMA's establishment and placement at NED. He displayed a passion of his own to raise the visibility and improve the effectiveness of media development around the world. He is missed.

Burmese participants in the World Youth Movement for Democracy address their workshop on building solidarity with political prisoners.





WORLD MOVEMENT *for* DEMOCRACY

Initiated by NED in 1999, the World Movement for Democracy is a global network of activists, practitioners, scholars, donors, and others engaged in advancing democracy around the world. The World Movement facilitates information sharing and strategizing to further their work and to leverage the support provided by democracy assistance organizations like NED.

In 2014, the World Movement continued its work to protect civil society rights, including through its Defending Civil Society project and Civic Space Initiative. Affiliated networks, like the World Youth Movement for Democracy, worked with activists around the world, and the World Movement facilitated global information sharing. The World Movement also began preparations for its Eighth Global Assembly to take place in Seoul, Korea, on November 1-4, 2015, under the theme, “Empowering Civil Society for Democracy and Its Renewal.”

Defending Civil Society Project

The World Movement’s Defending Civil Society project, begun in 2007, responds to efforts by governments to restrict the work of democracy and human rights organizations. In collaboration with the International Center for Not-for-Profit Law (ICNL), the World Movement published two editions of its *Defending Civil Society* report as well as an online interactive Toolkit for civil society engagement on NGO law reform. In 2014, the World Movement continued to participate in the Community of Democracies (CD) Working Group on Enabling and Protecting Civil Society, including tracking developments affecting civil society rights and issuing alerts to its international contact group whenever any government puts forward regressive civil society legislation. The World Movement also took part in and facilitated numerous discussions with civil society groups to develop deeper understanding of international and regional norms and standards that protect civil society, and to engage in advocacy work more strategically to address restrictive environments. Information on the Defending Civil Society project can be found at www.defendingcivsociety.org.

The Civic Space Initiative

The World Movement, along with ICNL, Article 19, and CIVICUS, launched the Civic Space Initiative (CSI) in 2012. In 2014, the World Movement helped organize a variety of civil society consultations for the UN Special Rapporteur on freedom of peaceful assembly and of association (UNSR), Maina Kiai of Kenya, who is also a member of the World Movement Steering Committee, and facilitated civil society input into the UNSR's thematic reports to the UN Human Rights Council and the UN General Assembly. In addition, the World Movement produced *I Was Not Alone*, a video about Pakistani women's rights activist Fouzia Saeed. Saeed launched the movement that led to the first legislation in South Asia barring sexual harassment in the workplace. In 2014, the World Movement also worked on the next video in the series, which profiles a civil society leader in Iraq, as well as a full-length film that follows an activist in Burma, both of which were slated for an early 2015 release. *Girl Child*, the first video in the series, was released in 2013 and tells the inspiring story of a young woman in politically troubled Zimbabwe. In addition to being widely disseminated through social media, World Movement participating organizations and networks organized community discussions around the videos. A DVD and online microsite were developed to provide multi-lingual presentations of the videos, as well as interactive versions with embedded questions to guide discussions. The DVD and microsite were also prepared for an early 2015 launch. The CSI is generously supported by the Government of Sweden.

World Movement Networking

In 2014, the World Movement Secretariat continued to work with the following regional and functional networks, among others:

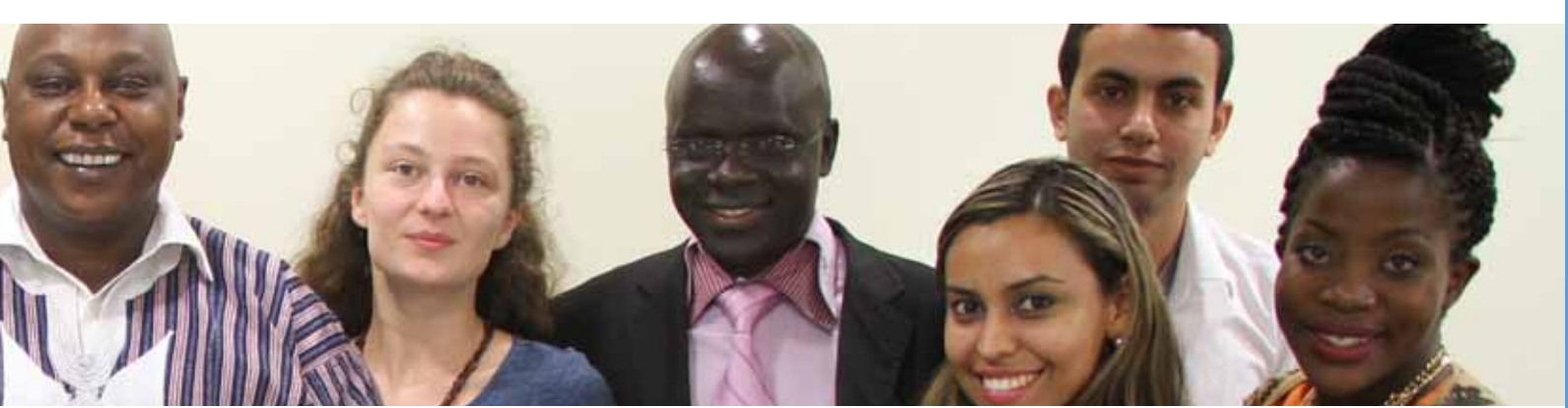
- Latin America and Caribbean Network for Democracy – www.redlad.org
- Asia Democracy Network - <http://adn21.asia/>

- International Women's Democracy Network – www.learningpartnership.org/iwdn
- Network of Democracy Research Institutes – www.ndri.ned.org
- World Youth Movement for Democracy – <http://democratic-youth.net/world-youth-movement-for-democracy/>

Networking Highlights

In 2014, the World Youth Movement for Democracy continued its Hurford Youth Fellowship Program, providing young activists from Jordan, Ukraine, and Serbia with opportunities to conduct research on youth-related topics, develop online resources, and take part in planning and implementing other activities of the Youth Movement during their three-month residencies in NED's offices. The program also hosted a fellow from South Sudan, as it did in 2013, in cooperation with Atlas Corps. In addition, the Youth Network and IRI's Generation Democracy facilitated a global photo and video contest and the winners of the completion were brought to Washington, DC, to meet with UN Special Rapporteur Maina Kiai of Kenya.

The World Youth Movement also worked with the Youth Initiative for Human Rights-Serbia to organize a highly successful seminar in Sarajevo, Bosnia & Herzegovina, that focused on lessons learned from youth participation in democratic transitions. Entitled "What can the world learn from the Balkans: Youth Roles in Democratic Transitions," the workshop brought together 15 youth activists from Burma, Pakistan, Ukraine, and Zimbabwe, along with 10 activists from the Balkans, to discuss critical issues in democratic transitions, such as viable peace, human rights, economic reform, citizenship, identity, and LGBT rights. A video about the workshop can be found on the World Movement's YouTube page: www.youtube.com/user/wmdontheweb



The Latin America and Caribbean Network for Democracy (Redlad) has continued to support human rights defenders, activists, and civil society organizations in the region through engagement with the Democracy and Human Rights Observatory, the Inter-American Human Rights Commission (IAHRC), the OAS, and the UN. In partnership with the World Movement, the Redlad has also been very active in encouraging the OAS to convene a meeting on best practices in securing freedom of association and peaceful assembly as called for in its own resolution on these freedoms adopted in 2012. As part of this effort, the Redlad carried out a series of consultations in the region on best practices, and produced a report bringing together the results of the consultations, in cooperation with the World Movement.

The first discussion about launching a region-wide Asia Democracy Network (ADN) took place at the World Movement's Seventh Assembly in Lima, Peru, in October 2012. Following a number of subsequent planning meetings, the network was officially launched in Seoul, South Korea, in October 2013. In 2014, the ADN worked to promote and advance democratization and democratic governance at all levels of society in Asia, and to build a stronger regional democracy network and movement engaged in international advocacy in the region and beyond.

Information on these and other networks can be found on the World Movement website: www.movedemocracy.org

Global Information Sharing

With nearly 4,500 Facebook fans, 3,000 Twitter followers, and some 5,000 subscribers to its biweekly e-newsletter, *DemocracyNews*, the World Movement continues to develop its online presence, particularly through social media. In 2014, the World Movement used its communication

channels to issue alerts on individuals facing danger in Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Belarus, Cuba, Sudan, Tajikistan, Ukraine, Venezuela, Vietnam, and Yemen. As part of its efforts to develop a new communications strategy, the World Movement undertook a significant update of its web site and launched a new World Movement Blog featuring posts from participants around the world. The web site now also includes a Civic Space Initiative timeline and infographic, providing easily accessible information about the ways in which governments have been closing down civil society space. Defending Civil Society updates provide complementary information, including successful efforts to prevent or reform repressive civil society legislation.

To subscribe to *DemocracyNews*, visit www.movedemocracy.org/news. To view the World Movement Blog, go to www.movedemocracy.org/blog. Find the World Movement on Facebook at www.facebook.com/worldmovementfordemocracy, and on Twitter at <https://twitter.com/MoveDemocracy>.

Eighth Assembly

During 2014, the World Movement began preparations for its Eighth Global Assembly, which will take place on November 1-4, 2015 in Seoul, South Korea. The Assembly, which will be held under the theme of "Empowering Civil Society for Democracy and Its Renewal," will bring together some 450 participants from more than 100 countries in all global regions. The Assembly will feature multiple workshop sessions, panel discussions, regional meetings, and the presentation of the World Movement's Democracy Courage Tributes at the John B. Hurford Memorial Dinner sponsored by the Hurford Foundation. The World Movement is partnering on the Assembly with the Seoul-based secretariat of the Asia Democracy Network (described above). A final report on the Assembly will be published following its conclusion. □

Hannah Thoburn of the Foreign Policy Institute was a panelist at the Forum's discussion on "The Menace of Unreality: How the Kremlin Weaponizes Information, Culture, and Money."





forum

International Forum for Democratic Studies

The International Forum for Democratic Studies at the National Endowment for Democracy is a leading center for research, discussion, thought, and analysis on the theory and practice of democracy around the world. Established in 1994, the Forum strives to bridge the gap between academic research and the practice of democracy through several initiatives:

- Publishing the *Journal of Democracy*, the leading academic journal on democratization.
- Organizing research initiatives, conferences, and roundtables to explore critical themes for democratic development.
- Hosting fellowship programs for international democracy activists, journalists, and scholars.
- Conducting the “Democracy Ideas” interview series with leading thinkers on democracy who share their insights on topics such as the ways in which democracy can work more effectively, the challenges of democratic transition, and the growing authoritarian pushback against democratic development.
- Coordinating the Network of Democracy Research Institutes (NDRI), a global think tank network.

The Forum also supports and enhances the Endowment’s grants program and the World Movement for Democracy.

The International Forum for Democratic Studies is directed by Christopher Walker. Marc F. Plattner and Larry Diamond serve as cochairmen of the Forum’s International Research Council and coedit the *Journal of Democracy*. The Forum’s programs benefit from the advice and involvement of a Research Council consisting of scholars and other specialists on democracy from around the world.



Research and Conferences Program

Forum research and analysis focuses on issues of democratic transition and consolidation as well as on the common challenges facing both new and established democracies. Each year the Forum convenes meetings ranging from international conferences to smaller seminars, lectures, and colloquia in Washington, D.C. Among its other efforts over the past year, the Forum organized a series of roundtables and public events on the theme “Resurgent Authoritarians” and held numerous panels, briefings, and book launch events.

Network of Democracy Research Institutes

The Forum coordinates the Network of Democracy Research Institutes (NDRI), an international network of think tanks that study democracy, democratization, and related topics in comparative politics and international affairs. At the close of 2014, the Network consisted of 83 members, including independent institutions, university-based study centers, and research programs affiliated with other organizations. The Forum publishes *Democracy Research News*, an electronic newsletter that highlights new publications and conferences sponsored by Network members, and regularly distributes articles and reports on democracy to members through its *Worth Reading* series. Profiles of member institutions, links to their Web sites, issues of *Democracy Research News*, and other information on the Network of Democracy Research Institutes are available at www.ndri.ned.org.

The Forum also serves as the secretariat for the Comparative Democratization section of the American Political Science Association, for which it publishes an electronic newsletter, maintains a website, and helps to promote collaboration among U.S.-based and foreign democracy scholars.

Roundtable Series:

Resurgent Authoritarians

In January 2014, the Forum initiated a roundtable series on “Resurgent Authoritarians” that examines the evolving methods and strategies of leading authoritarian states at the forefront of an effort to establish global “counternorms” to rules-based, democratic standards. The project addresses five countries (China, Iran, Russia, Saudi Arabia, and Venezuela) individually but also analyzes larger trends and patterns relating to authoritarian cooperation and innovation, including the emergence of authoritarian counternorms, authoritarian subversion of election monitoring, the suppression of civil society, the growing reach of authoritarian international broadcasting, and authoritarian efforts to influence the Internet. Articles based on the presentations will be published first in the *Journal of Democracy* and subsequently in an edited volume on the topic. In addition to these ten roundtable sessions, the Forum is organizing several public events on this topic and will launch a microsite in 2015 to disseminate findings from this project.

Conference on the Legacy of Jan Nowak-Jezioranski

In December, the Forum and the Embassy of Poland organized a half-day conference on “Poland’s Future Challenges and the Legacy of Jan Nowak-Jezioranski.” Jezioranski was a Polish journalist, writer, and politician; after WWII, he worked as the head of the Polish section of Radio Free Europe, and later as a security advisor to the U.S. presidents Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter. The event featured introductory remarks by Carl Gershman (NED) and Ambassador Ryszard Schnepf (Embassy of Poland); an opening presentation by Zbigniew Brzezinski (Center for Strategic and International Studies); a panel on “Poland’s Future: New Threats to Security and



Lipset Lecture

Democracy in Europe” that featured remarks by Daniel Fried (U.S. Department of State), Paula Dobriansky (World Affairs Councils of America), Peter Pomerantsev (Author and TV Producer), Andrew Nagorski (Polish-American Freedom Foundation), and Nadia Diuk (NED). The event concluded with remarks by Andrzej Siezieniewski (Polish Radio).

Conference Celebrating the 25th Anniversary of the Velvet Revolution

In November, the Forum and the Embassy of the Czech Republic organized a half-day conference to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Velvet Revolution. The event, entitled “25 Years after the Velvet Revolution: The Continuing Struggle for a Europe Whole and Free.” The meeting featured three panels: “From Charter 77 to the Maidan: Empowering the Powerless” with remarks by Karel von Schwarzenberg (Chamber of Deputies of the Parliament of the Czech Republic), Madeleine Albright (Albright Stonebridge Group), and Carl Gershman (NED); “Ukraine and the Future of Democracy in Europe” with remarks by Martin Palous (Vaclav Havel Library), Jackson Diehl (The Washington Post), Nadia Diuk (NED), Leon Wieseltier (The New Republic), Jacques Rupnik (Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques), and Christopher Walker (NED); and “The Role of NGOs in Aiding Democracy Across Borders” with remarks by Simon Panek (People in Need Foundation), Jakub Klepal (Forum 2000), Rodger Potocki (NED), Ivana Cvetkovic Bajrovic (NED), Rosa Maria Paya (Coordinating Council, Cuba’s Christian Democratic Movement), Jiri Kozak (CEVRO-Liberal Conservative Academy), and Barbara Haig (NED).

Eleventh Annual Seymour Martin Lipset Lecture on Democracy in the World

Lilia Shevtsova, non-resident senior fellow, Brookings

Institution, delivered the eleventh annual Seymour Martin Lipset Lecture on Democracy in the World on the topic “Russia’s Political System: The Drama of Decay” at the Canadian Embassy in Washington, D.C. on October 29.

An article based on the lecture, entitled “Russia’s Political System: Imperialism and Decay,” was published in the January 2015 issue of the *Journal of Democracy*.

Journal of Democracy Book Launches

In April, the Forum organized two events to celebrate the publication of *Journal of Democracy* books. On April 25, an event was organized to mark the publication of *Democratization and Authoritarianism in the Arab World* (edited by Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner); it featured presentations by contributing authors Daniel Brumberg (Georgetown University), Hillel Fradkin (Hudson Institute), and Tarek Masoud (Harvard University). On April 10, the Forum celebrated the publication of *Will China Democratize?* (edited by Andrew J. Nathan, Larry Diamond, and Marc F. Plattner) with an event featuring contributors Louisa Greve (NED), Andrew J. Nathan (Columbia University), and Minxin Pei (Claremont McKenna College). Both volumes were published by Johns Hopkins University Press.

The Forum also held a series of colloquia on a diverse range of topics, including:

- “Ebola’s Impact on Women and Children in Sierra Leone: Why Accountability Matters” N’yella Maya Rogers, Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow, with comments by Kamissa Camara, NED (December 15)
- “Implementing Human Rights as a Path to Democracy in Vietnam” Dr. Cu Huy Ha Vu, Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow, with comments by Zachary Abuza,



Independent Scholar (December 11)

- “The Menace of Unreality: How the Kremlin Weaponizes Information, Culture, and Money” Michael Weiss, The Interpreter; Peter Pomerantsev, Journalist and Author; and Hannah Thoburn, Foreign Policy Initiative (November 13)
- “Is Democracy Possible in Russia?” Lilia Shevtsova, Carnegie Moscow Center; Leon Aron, American Enterprise Institute; Denis Volkov, Levada Center, with comments by Leonid Gozman, Union of Right Forces; and Miriam Lansky, NED (October 30)
- “The Governance Agenda and Democratic Development” Francis Fukuyama, Stanford University (October 6)
- “From Internal Displacement to Inclusive Democracy: The Afro-Colombian Experience” Marino Córdoba, Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow, with comments by Zakiya Carr Johnson, U.S. Department of State (September 23)
- “Saudi Arabia: Opposing Democracy at Home and Abroad” Bernard Haykel, Princeton University; Karen Elliott-House, Author; and Jean-François Seznec, Georgetown University (September 22)
- “Ukraine, Georgia and Moldova: How Corruption Threatens the Eastern Partnership” Oliver Bullough, Journalist and Author; Peter Pomerantsev, Journalist and Author; Vladimir Soloviev, Kommersant Moldova; and Olga Khvostunova, Institute of Modern Russia, cosponsored by the Legatum Institute and the Institute of Modern Russia (July 28)
- “Resisting Extremism through Media: Claiming a Space for Political Cartoons in Pakistan” Sabir Nazar,

Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow, with comments by Brian Joseph, NED (July 23)

- “Ukraine: The Maidan and Beyond” Anders Åslund, Peterson Institute for International Economics; Nadia Diuk, NED; Serhiy Kudelia, Baylor University; and Lucan Way, University of Toronto (July 14)
- “Ethiopia’s Democratic Transition: One Step Forward, Two Steps Back” Merera Gudina Jefe, Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow, with comments by Eric Robinson, NED (July 10)
- “The Rise and Fall of Constitutionalism in Hungary,” Gábor Halmai, Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow, with comments by Christopher Walker, NED (July 8)
- “More Equality, More Democracy: The Case of Brazil,” Maria Clara R. M. do Prado, Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow, with comments by Paulo Sotero, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars (June 26)
- “How to Bring a Dictator to Justice: The Hissen Habré Trial” Delphine Djiraibe, Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow, with comments by Dave Peterson, NED (June 19)
- “Democracy Works Launch: The Democratic Alternative from the South” Ann Bernstein, Centre for Development and Enterprise, Johannesburg; Simon Schwartzman, Instituto de Estudos do Trabalho e Sociedade; and Eswaran Sridharan, University of Pennsylvania Institute for the Advanced Study of India, cosponsored with the Legatum Institute (May 19)
- “African State Legislatures & Democratic Development: Nigeria, Kenya, Ethiopia & South Africa” Carl LeVan, American University, and Joseph Fashagba, Landmark University, with comments by Shaheen



Mozaffar, Bridgewater State University, cosponsored by American University and the American Political Science Association (May 26)

- “Now I Know Who My Comrades Are: Voices from the Internet Underground” Emily Parker (*left*), New America Foundation, with comments by Christian Caryl, Editor, Democracy Lab, cosponsored with CIMA (March 20)
- “Promoting Democracy through the Performing Arts in Pakistan: The Story of the Ajoka Theatre Group” Shahid Nadeem, Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow (February 18)
- “Ukraine’s Lessons Learned: From the Orange Revolution to the Euromaidan” Sergii Leshchenko, Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow, with comments by Nadia Diuk, NED, and Matthew Kaminski, Wall Street Journal (February 12)
- “Strengthening Democratic Practices in Bangladesh: Empowering Workers in Export Processing Zones” A.K.M. Nasim, Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow, with comments by Tim Ryan, Solidarity Center (February 11)
- “Y’en a Marre: Youth and Social Engagement in Senegal” Thiat (Mr. Cheikh Oumar Toure), Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow (January 30)
- “Breaking the News: The Role of Authoritarian State-Run Media” Robert Orttung, The George Washington University; Christopher Walker, NED; Anne-Marie Brady, University of Canterbury; Golnaz Esfandiari, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty; and Sarah Oates, University of Maryland, cosponsored and held at The George Washington University (January 28)
- “Zimbabwe’s Military and the Prospects for Democratic

Reform” Charles Mangongera, Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow, with comments by Eric Robinson, NED (January 15)

- “Ukraine: Democracy in Danger?” The Honorable Martin Frost, NED; Serhiy Kudelia, Baylor University; Steven Pifer, Brookings Institution; and Nadia Diuk, NED (April 9).
- “Working with Sharks: A Pakistani Woman’s Story of Countering Sexual Harassment at the United Nations:” Fouzia Saeed, Mehergarh, with comments by Jerry McClelland, University of Minnesota (April 2).
- “The Devil in History: Communism, Fascism, and Some Lessons of the Twentieth Century:” Vladimir Tismaneanu, University of Maryland, with comments by Michael Allen, NED (February 27).
- “Enemies of the State: Pussy Riot and the New Russian Protest Rock:” Artem Troitsky, Moscow State University, cosponsored with and held at The George Washington University (February 19).
- “China at the Tipping Point:” Andrew J. Nathan, Columbia University; Louisa Greve, NED; Maochun Yu, U.S. Naval Academy (February 7).

Pictured top left: “Poland’s Future Challenges and the Legacy of Jan Nowak-Jezioranski.” Forum conference in December; top right: Conference Celebrating the 25th Anniversary of the Velvet Revolution in November.



JOURNAL OF DEMOCRACY

Since its first appearance in 1990, the *Journal of Democracy* has established itself as a leading voice in discussions of the problems and prospects of democracy around the world. The *Journal* explores in depth every aspect of the establishment, consolidation, and maintenance of democracy, including political institutions, parties and elections, civil society, ethnic conflict, economic reform, public opinion, the role of the media, federalism, and constitutionalism. It covers not only practical political matters but also questions of democratic theory and culture.

In addition to publishing articles on every inhabited region of the world, the *Journal* features reviews of important books on democracy, reports on recent elections, excerpts from speeches by leading democrats and democratic dissidents, and news about the activities of prodemocracy groups worldwide. The *Journal's* authors include eminent social scientists and historians, statesmen and leaders of democratic movements, and renowned intellectuals. While maintaining the highest scholarly standards, it is written and edited for the general reader as well. The *Journal* is a truly global publication, attracting both authors and readers from all over the world.

In 2014, the *Journal* took stock of democratic progress in Central and Eastern Europe on the twenty-fifth anniversary of 1989 (with Alina Mungiu-Pippidi; Venelin I. Ganey; Grzegorz Ekiert and Jan Kubik; and Vladimir Tismaneanu; January); assessed the characteristics of “democratic parliamentary monarchies” (Alfred Stepan; Juan J. Linz; and Juli F. Minoves; April); analyzed the 2013–14 crisis in Ukraine (Lilia Shevtsova; Ånders Aslund; Lucan Way; Serhiy Kudelia; Nadia Diuk; Olga Onuch; Sergii Leshchenko; and Anton Shekhovstov and Andreas Umland; July); and explored India’s watershed general election (Eswaran Sridharan; Ashutosh Varshney; Rajiv Kumar; and Sumit Ganguly; October).

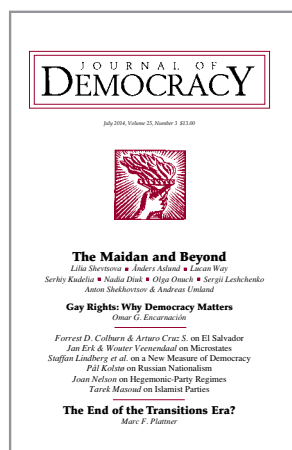
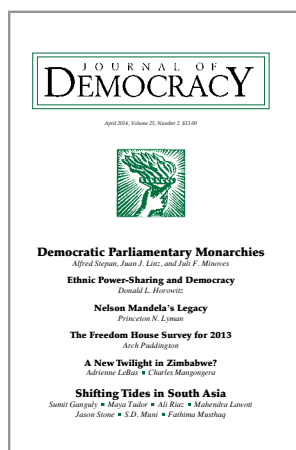
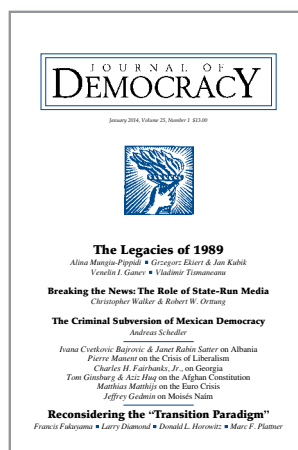
The 2014 issues also included a discussion among Larry Diamond, Francis Fukuyama, Donald L. Horowitz, and Marc F. Plattner on the relevance of the “transition paradigm” in the world today (January); an article by Omar G. Encarnacion on the effect of democracy on gay rights (July); and an analysis by Ivan Krastev on the proliferation of protest movements around the world (October).

Selected essays originally published in the *Journal of Democracy* have been collected into a series of books edited by Marc F. Plattner and Larry Diamond and published by Johns Hopkins University Press. More than two dozen books have been published in the series. *Journal of Democracy* books and articles are used widely in university courses on political science, international affairs, and sociology. One book was released in 2014: *Democratization and Authoritarianism in the Arab World* (edited by Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner). For a complete list of *Journal* books, please visit www.JournalofDemocracy.org.

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Named in honor of NED’s principal founders, former president Ronald Reagan and the late U.S. congressman Dante Fascell (D-FL), the Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program offers practitioners, scholars, and journalists from around the world the opportunity to spend five months in residence at NED’s International Forum for Democratic Studies in order to undertake independent research and outreach on democratic challenges worldwide.

The Forum provides a collegial environment in which to research and write, exchange ideas, and develop professional relationships within a global network of democracy advocates. Recognizing the special needs of individuals facing political persecution for their democracy work, the program offers emergency fellowships and collaborates with counterpart organizations, including Freedom House and Scholars at Risk, to strengthen support networks for these “democrats at risk.”

1. Mr. Jitman Basnet (Nepal, July 2013–Feb. 2014) is a human rights lawyer and journalist who has been working in the field of transitional justice and peace building in Nepal for fifteen years. In 2002, he was kidnapped by Maoist rebels, and in 2004, he was arrested by the

Nepali army and tortured in secret custody, an experience documented in his memoir, *258 Dark Days*. During his fellowship, Jitman published articles in English- and Nepali-language newspapers on political corruption, the failed constituent assembly, and impunity for perpetrators of violence. In Dec. 2013, he delivered a presentation at NED entitled “Nepal’s Crisis and Journey toward Peace and Democracy.”

2. Mr. Marino Córdoba (Colombia, May–Sept. 2014) is founding president of the Bogotá-based National Association of Displaced Afro-Colombians (AFRODES), which advocates for the rights of Afro-descendent peoples internally displaced in Colombia as a result of armed conflict. After surviving five assassination

attempts, he was forced to flee to the U.S. in 2002, where he laid the groundwork for AFRODES USA. In 2012, he returned to Colombia and was elected AFRODES president. During his fellowship, Marino examined ways to deepen the political participation of Afro-Colombians. In Sept. 2014, he gave a talk at NED entitled “From Internal Displacement to Inclusive Democracy: The Afro-Colombian Experience.”

3. Ms. Delphine Djiraibe (Chad, March–July 2014) is a human rights lawyer at the Public Interest Law Center in N’djamena who serves on the international team of lawyers prosecuting the Hissen Habré case in Senegal. During her fellowship, she explored issues of transitional justice and researched pro bono mechanisms to improve equal access to legal services in Chad. In June 2014, she gave a presentation at NED entitled, “How to Bring a Dictator to Justice: The Hissen Habré Trial,” in which she provided recommendations for African countries to hold perpetrators of human rights violations accountable.

4. Mr. Gábor Halmai (Hungary, April–Aug. 2014) is professor of law at Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest, where he teaches courses on international human rights and comparative constitutional law. He is the founding director of the Hungarian Human Rights Information and Documentation Centre and editor-in-chief of its human rights quarterly, *Fundamentum*. During his fellowship, Gábor researched the role of constitutional culture in democracies and wrote a paper on “The Rise of Illiberal Democracy in Hungary.” In July 2014, he gave a presentation at NED entitled “The Rise and Fall of Liberal Constitutionalism in Hungary,” which explored explanations for the recent backsliding of democracy in Hungary.

5. Mr. Myo Aung Htwe (Burma, Oct. 2013–Feb. 2014) is a former prisoner of conscience currently serving as director of the board at the Yangon School of Political Science. A student union member who participated in the 1988 uprisings, Myo was arrested at the age of 17, convicted of high treason, and sentenced to death in 1991. Upon his release 18 years later, he established the Cultural Impact Studies Club, which promotes trust-building among Burma’s ethnic groups. During his fellowship, Myo explored the role of student unions as a vehicle for promoting democratic values in Burma. In Feb. 2014, he delivered a presentation at NED entitled “The Rise

of the Student Union Movement in Burma: Efforts to Strengthen Democratic Practice.”

6. Dr. Merera Gudina Jefe (Ethiopia, March–Aug. 2014) is associate professor of political science and international relations at Addis Ababa University. A former member of the Ethiopian parliament, he now leads two opposition groups, the Oromo Federalist Congress and the Ethiopian Federal Democratic Unity Forum. During his fellowship, Merera explored opposition politics, political polarization, and the role of the diaspora in facilitating democratization in Ethiopia. In July 2014, he gave a presentation at NED entitled “Ethiopia’s Democratic Transition: One Step Forward, Two Steps Back.”

7. Mr. Renato Lanfranchi (Brazil, Nov. 2013–April 2014) is a human rights activist working in Brazil since 1991. For the past five years, he has served as coordinator of the Oscar Romero Centre for Human Rights, an NGO based in Paraíba. During his fellowship, Renato conducted extensive research on participatory mechanisms, including budget monitoring, with relevance for Brazil. In Feb. 2014, Renato gave a presentation at NED entitled “Building Inclusive Democracy in Brazil: Civil Society’s Advances and Challenges,” in which he offered recommendations to the democracy assistance community on how best to support grassroots civil society efforts in Brazil.

8. Mr. Sergii Leshchenko (Ukraine, Oct. 2013–Feb. 2014) is a Kyiv-based investigative journalist, blogger, and press freedom advocate who helped to launch the “Stop Censorship!” movement in 2010 in defense of free speech in Ukraine. Since 2000, he has worked for *Ukrainska Pravda*, an online newspaper, where he specializes in anti-corruption investigations and other political reporting. In Feb. 2014, he gave a presentation at NED entitled “Ukraine’s Lessons Learned: From the Orange Revolution to the Euromaidan.”

9. Mr. Charles Mangongera (Zimbabwe, Oct. 2013–Feb. 2014) is director of policy and research at the Movement for Democratic Change, a national, pro-democracy political party in Zimbabwe. During his fellowship, Charles explored the role of the military in supplanting Zimbabwe’s democratic transition. In Jan. 2014, he gave a presentation at NED entitled “Zimbabwe’s Military and the Prospects for Democratic Reform,” which investigated the entrenchment of the military in key policy-making



institutions and posited several future scenarios.

10. Mr. Shahid Nadeem (Pakistan, Oct. 2013–Feb. 2014) is an acclaimed playwright who has been at the forefront of the campaign for human rights and justice in Pakistan since the 1960s. As executive director and chair of Ajoka Theatre, Pakistan’s leading theater company, he has written, directed, and produced plays on a wide range of human rights themes, including corruption, gender violence, minority rights, and resistance to terrorism. Shahid used his fellowship to explore the potential for Sufi theater to promote the spiritual message of Sufi Islam as a nonviolent alternative to extremism in Pakistan. In Feb. 2014, he gave a presentation at NED entitled “Promoting Democracy through the Performing Arts in Pakistan: Towards a Sufi Theater.”

11. Mr. A. K. M. Nasim (Bangladesh, Oct. 2013–Feb. 2014) is a senior legal counselor with the Dhaka office of the Solidarity Center. An experienced labor lawyer, he provides legal counseling and representation in industrial disputes to the workers and unions in Bangladesh’s Export Processing Zones (EPZs), as well as in Labor Courts and the Labor Appellate Tribunal. During his fellowship, Nasim conducted interviews with experts on Bangladesh’s labor unions and EPZ authorities and developed guidelines for strengthening democratic practices in the formation and functioning of workers’ welfare associations. In Feb. 2014, he gave a presentation at NED entitled “Strengthening Democratic Practices in Bangladesh: Empowering Workers in Export Processing Zones.”

12. Mr. Sabir Nazar (Pakistan, March–Aug. 2014) is an editorial cartoonist with the *Express Tribune*, Pakistan’s first internationally affiliated newspaper, partnered with the *International Herald Tribune*, and the *Friday Times*,

Pakistan’s first independent weekly paper. Over the course of his career, he has produced over 5,000 illustrations, depicting a broad spectrum of political events and social issues, including human rights violations and sectarian strife. In July 2014, he gave a presentation at NED entitled “Resisting Extremism through Media: Claiming a Space for Political Cartoons in Pakistan,” which highlighted key challenges in the field of cartooning. In its first-ever BuzzFeed post, the International Forum for Democratic Studies highlighted Sabir’s cartoons, which illustrate the challenges facing journalists in Pakistan.

13. Ms. Ekaterine Popkhadze (Georgia, March–July 2014) recently served as executive director of the Georgian Young Lawyers’ Association, a leading Tbilisi-based civil society organization dedicated to protecting human rights and strengthening the rule of law in Georgia. During her fellowship, she conducted a comparative analysis of the judicial systems in the United States and Georgia, drawing relevant lessons from the U.S. system. In June 2014, she delivered a presentation at NED entitled “Judicial Independence: A Linchpin for Georgian Democracy,” which examined recent changes in Georgia’s judicial system and provided recommendations to the Georgian government and democracy assistance community.

14. Ms. Maria Clara R. M. do Prado (Brazil, March–July 2014) is a journalist covering social, economic, and financial issues across Brazil. She currently serves as a columnist for Brazil’s major economic newspaper, *Valor Econômico*. During her fellowship, she explored how distributive economic policies have led to the emergence of a new middle class in Brazil and investigated how this development may foster a more inclusive democracy. In June 2014, she gave a presentation at NED entitled “More Equality, More Democracy: The Case of Brazil.”



15. Thiat (Senegal, Oct. 2013–Feb. 2014) is a hip hop artist and member of Keur Gui Crew, a West African hip hop group known for its hard-hitting lyrics denouncing corruption and bad governance. In 2011, he and his band helped to launch Y'en a Marre, a movement for political reform and public engagement among Senegalese youth. In Jan. 2014, he gave a presentation at NED entitled “Y'en a Marre: Youth and Social Engagement in Senegal,” which encouraged youth to advocate for social change by aspiring to become a “new type” of African citizen.

16. Ms. Guozhen Xiao (China, March–Sept. 2014) is a leading human rights lawyer, most recently with the Beijing-based Huahuang Law Firm, where she handled sensitive cases, representing civil rights activists, petitioners, and prisoners of conscience targeted by the Chinese authorities. She is also a key organizer of the New Citizens' Movement, a network of civil rights activists working towards the country's transition to constitutionalism. Her human rights work forced her to flee China in 2013 and seek asylum in the United States, where she is now based. In July 2014, she gave a roundtable presentation at NED entitled “The New Citizens' Movement: Toward a Democratic Future for China.”

Hurford Youth Fellows Program

In 2013–2014, the International Forum for Democratic Studies continued its partnership with the World Movement for Democracy in hosting the Hurford Youth Fellows Program, an exchange initiative that builds the leadership skills and organizational talents of emerging democracy leaders from around the world. Along with Atlas Corps, the Forum, the World Movement, and the Africa Program hosted NED's first two Atlas Corps–Hurford Youth Fellows from South Sudan.

Mr. Alimure Ali (South Sudan, May–Oct. 2014) has worked in the Juba office of the National Democratic Institute. During his fellowship, he contributed to the planning of the World Movement for Democracy's 2015 Global Assembly and supported NED's grant-making programs in Africa.

Mr. William Lukudu (South Sudan, Sept. 2013–Feb. 2014,) has five years of experience working on civil society development and election monitoring in South Sudan. During his fellowship, he served as researcher for the World Movement's Defending Civil Society project. He also provided programmatic support to NED's grant-making program in South Sudan.

Ms. Anita Mitic (Serbia, Sept.–Dec. 2013) is an activist with the Youth Initiative for Human Rights, which encourages youth participation in the democratization of the former Yugoslavia. As a Hurford Youth Fellow, she examined youth efforts to confront fascism and racism, and identified best practices for youth working toward democracy and human rights.

Ms. Anna Tovstukha (Ukraine, Jan.–April 2014) is vice coordinator of the Center for Social Partnership, which promotes cooperation between civil society and local government for the betterment of society. During her fellowship, Anna focused on the influence of youth over state decision-making processes.

Ms. Margarita Valdes (El Salvador, June–Sept. 2013) is a social media and youth activist who works at the Fundación DT (Democracy, Transparency and Justice Foundation) in San Salvador. During her fellowship, she held a series of online discussions on the role of civil society in combating corruption.

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Charles H. Fairbanks, Jr. <i>Hudson Institute</i>	Johan Lagerkvist <i>Sweden Institute of International Affairs</i>	Arch Puddington <i>Freedom House</i>	Sean Yom <i>Temple University</i>
Abdou Filali-Ansary <i>Institute for the Study of Muslim Civilisations (United Kingdom)</i>	Steven Levitsky <i>Harvard University</i>	Robert Putnam <i>Harvard University</i>	Jan Zielonka <i>Oxford University</i>

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 abroad.

The DRC consists of a library and an archive that holds over 20,000 works in 60 languages collected from NED grantees and other sources that can be searched via an online catalog. The DRC also maintains several online resources, many of which are accessible on the NED website.

Library and Archives

The library and archives house a collection of more than 20,000 books, journals, grantee reports, DVDs, and other publications on democracy. The DRC provides 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.

Online Resources

Internet resources created and maintained by the DRC include:

- *Online Catalog:* The DRC's online catalog, WorldCat Discovery, is a single search that connects users to all of the library's books, articles, DVDs, and more. WorldCat lets anyone build and share lists, contribute reviews, find library items on a mobile phone, or use WorldCat apps in

Facebook. Through WorldCat the Democracy Resource Center is connected to a network of 72,000 libraries from 170 different countries and territories. Visit the catalog: ned.worldcat.org

- *International Democratic Development Database:* This database contains information on more than 100 philanthropic organizations that provide grants, fellowships, and awards for groups working in the area of international democratic development.

- *Democracy Research Guide:* The guide includes suggested books, journals, websites and organizations on democracy promotion and related topics. The Democracy Research Guide also includes a three-step research tutorial for developing a structured research project.

- *NDRI Digital Library:* The NDRI Digital Library on Democracy (DLD) features 4,000 full-text publications produced by Network of Democracy Research Institute (NDRI) member institutions. This online library provides scholars, activists, and others interested in democracy promotion and related issues with access to an online repository of materials, many produced by new think tanks in developing and transitional countries.



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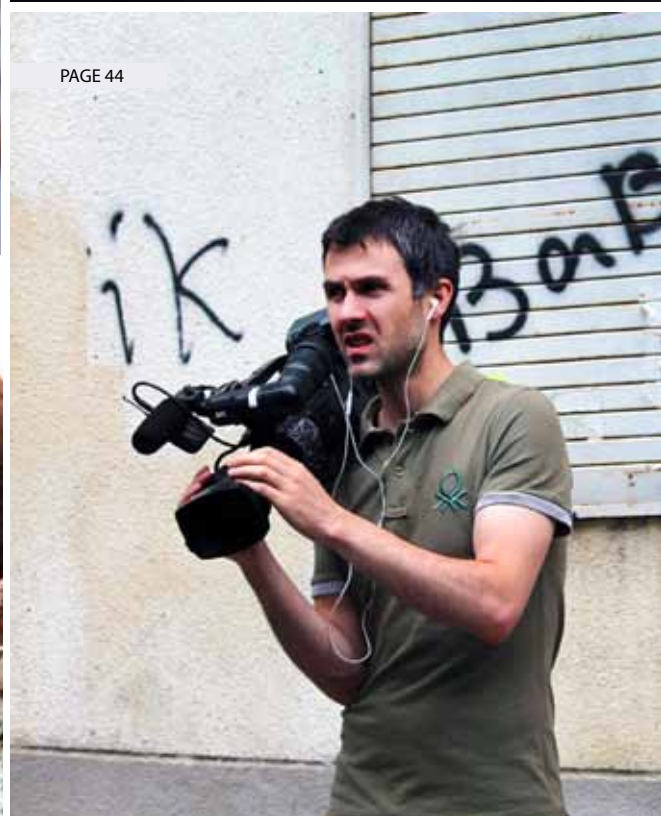
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To explore a full list of current projects supported by NED, visit our Regions page:
<https://www.ned.org/regions/>

To explore older grants, visit our searchable grants database:
<https://www.ned.org/transparency>



Report of the Independent Auditors

National Endowment for Democracy

We have audited the accompanying financial statements of National Endowment for Democracy (the Endowment) which comprise the balance sheet as of September 30, 2014, and the related statements of activities and cash flows for the year then ended and the related notes to the financial statements.

Management's Responsibility for the Financial Statements

Management is responsible for the preparation and fair presentation of these financial statements in accordance with accounting principles generally accepted in the United States of America; this includes the design, implementation, and maintenance of internal control relevant to the preparation and fair presentation of financial statements that are free from material misstatement, whether due to fraud or error.

Auditor's Responsibility

Our responsibility is to express an opinion on these financial statements based on our audit. We conducted our audits in accordance with auditing standards generally accepted in the United States of America and the standards applicable to financial audits contained in *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 from material misstatement.

An audit involves performing procedures to obtain audit evidence about the amounts and disclosures in the financial statements. The procedures selected depend on the auditor's judgment, including the assessment of the risks of material misstatement of the financial statements, whether due to fraud or error. In making those risk assessments, the auditor considers internal control relevant to the entity's preparation and fair presentation of the financial statements in order to design audit procedures that are appropriate in the circumstances, but not for the purpose of expressing an opinion on the effectiveness of the entity's internal control. Accordingly, we express no such opinion. An audit also includes evaluating the appropriateness of accounting policies used and the reasonableness of significant accounting estimates made by management, as well as evaluating the overall presentation of the financial statements.

We believe that the audit evidence we have obtained is sufficient and appropriate to provide a basis for our audit opinion.

Opinion

In our opinion, the financial statements referred to above present fairly, in all material respects, the financial position of the National Endowment for Democracy as of September 30, 2014, and the changes in net assets and its cash flows for the year then ended in accordance with accounting principles generally accepted in the United States of America.

Report on Summarized Comparative Information

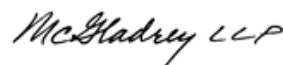
We have previously audited the National Endowment for Democracy's (the Endowment) 2013 financial statements, and we have expressed an unmodified opinion on those audited financial statements in our report dated January 24, 2014. In our opinion, the summarized comparative information presented herein as of and for the year ended September 30, 2013, is consistent, in all material respects, with the audited financial statements from which it has been derived.

Report on Supplementary Information

Our audit was conducted for the purpose of forming an opinion on the financial statements as a whole. The accompanying supplementary information is presented for purposes of additional analysis and is not part of the financial statements. Such information is the responsibility of management and was derived from and relates directly to the underlying accounting and other records used to prepare the financial statements. The information has been subjected to the auditing procedures applied in the audits of the financial statements and certain additional procedures, including comparing and reconciling such information directly to the underlying accounting and other records used to prepare the financial statements or to the financial statements themselves, and other additional procedures in accordance with auditing standards generally accepted in the United States of America. In our opinion, the information is fairly stated in all material respects in relation to the financial statements as a whole.

Other Reporting Required by Government Auditing Standards

In accordance with *Government Auditing Standards*, we have also issued our report dated January 15, 2015, on our consideration of the Endowment's internal control over financial reporting and on our tests of its compliance with certain provisions of laws, regulations, contracts and grant agreements and other matters. The purpose of that report is to describe the scope of our testing of internal control over financial reporting and compliance and the results of that testing, and not to provide an opinion on internal control over financial reporting or on compliance. That report is an integral part of an audit performed in accordance with *Government Auditing Standards* in considering the Endowment's internal control over financial reporting and compliance.



Washington, District of Columbia
January 15, 2015

National Endowment for Democracy

Balance Sheet

September 30, 2014

(With Comparative Totals for 2013)

Assets	2014	2013
Cash and cash equivalents	\$1,320,972	\$15,991,756
Investments	943,412	856,586
Grants receivables	100,647,151	70,270,414
Other receivables	109,748	67,948
Prepaid and other assets	709,900	618,561
Property and equipment, net	1,723,001	2,146,097
Total assets	\$105,454,184	\$89,951,362
Liabilities and Net Assets		
Liabilities		
Accounts payable and accrued liabilities	\$1,441,057	\$1,356,637
Grants Payable	99,085,638	84,642,282
Refundable advances - due to DOS	272,938	122,594
Deferred revenue - non-federal grants	259,720	301,198
Deferred rent and lease incentives	1,926,698	2,031,802
Total liabilities	\$102,986,051	\$88,454,513
Commitments and Contingencies (Notes 8 and 10)		
Net Assets		
Unrestricted	\$1,958,594	\$1,222,602
Temporarily restricted	509,539	274,247
Total net assets	2,468,133	1,496,849
Total liabilities and net assets	\$105,454,184	\$89,951,362

See Notes to Financial Statements.

National Endowment for Democracy

Statement of Activities

Year ended September 30, 2014

(With Comparative Totals for 2013)

	2014			2013 Total
	Unrestricted	Temporarily Restricted	Total	
Support and revenue:				
Grant revenue - government agencies	\$153,360,180	\$ -	\$153,360,180	\$132,238,458
Other grants and contributions	1,438,867	358,518	1,797,385	1,537,370
Other revenue, interest, and misc. income	633,491	-	633,491	288,112
Net assets released from restriction	123,226	(123,226)	-	-
Total support and revenue	155,555,764	235,292	155,791,056	134,063,940
Expenses:				
Program services:				
Federal grants programs	129,405,941	-	129,405,941	107,978,990
Other activities - federal	3,688,058	-	3,688,058	4,627,437
Other activities - non-federal	1,084,825	-	1,084,825	1,331,566
Total program services	134,178,824	-	134,178,824	113,937,993
Supporting services:				
Management and general	20,613,400	-	20,613,400	20,782,073
Fundraising	27,548	-	27,548	16,043
Total supporting services	20,640,948	-	20,640,948	20,798,116
Total expenses	154,819,772	-	154,819,772	134,736,109
Change in net assets	735,992	235,292	971,284	(672,169)
Net assets:				
Beginning	1,222,602	274,247	1,496,849	2,169,018
Ending	\$1,958,594	\$509,539	\$2,468,133	\$1,496,849

See Notes to Financial Statements.

National Endowment for Democracy

Statement of Cash Flows

Year ended September 30, 2014

(With Comparative Totals for 2013)

	2014	2013
Cash Flows from Operating Activities		
Change in net assets	\$971,284	\$(672,169)
Adjustments to reconcile changes in net assets to net cash (used in) provided by operating activities:		
Depreciation and amortization	663,931	723,271
Realized and unrealized gain	(63,826)	(72,101)
Changes in assets and liabilities:		
(Increase) decrease in:		
Grants receivable	(30,376,737)	15,835,376
Other receivables	(41,800)	88,042
Prepaid expenses	(91,339)	367,871
Increase (decrease) in:		
Accounts payable and accrued liabilities	84,420	(420,818)
Grants payable	14,443,356	(7,617,760)
Refundable advances - due to DOS	150,344	(1,578,582)
Deferred revenue - non-federal grants	(41,478)	301,198
Deferred rent	(105,104)	(19,582)
Net cash (used in) provided by operating activities	(14,406,949)	6,934,746
Cash Flows From Investing Activities		
Purchases of investments	(23,000)	(32,205)
Purchases of property and equipment	(240,835)	(70,072)
Net cash used in investing activities	(263,835)	(102,277)
Net (decrease) increase in cash and cash equivalents	(14,670,784)	6,832,469
Cash and Cash Equivalents		
Beginning	15,991,756	9,159,287
Ending	\$1,320,972	\$15,991,756

See Notes to Financial Statements.

NOTE 1. NATURE OF ACTIVITIES AND SIGNIFICANT ACCOUNTING POLICIES

Nature of activities: The National Endowment for Democracy (the Endowment) is a not-for-profit organization headquartered in Washington, D.C. The establishment of the Endowment in 1983 was followed by the National Endowment for Democracy Act (the Act) of the United States Congress which authorized the terms by which the Endowment could receive an annual appropriation from Congress in the form of a grant awarded through the United States Information Agency (USIA). The purpose of the Endowment is to encourage free and democratic institutions throughout the world through activities that promote individual rights and freedoms. The Endowment awards grants to organizations with programs consistent with its objectives. On October 1, 1999, USIA and the U.S. Department of State (USDOS) consolidated. Accordingly, the Endowment receives funding for its annual Congressional Appropriation and other special federal funding from the USDOS.

A summary of the Endowment's significant accounting policies follows:

Basis of accounting: The financial statements are prepared on the accrual basis of accounting, whereby revenue is recognized when earned and expenses are recognized when incurred. The Endowment reports to the U.S. Government on the basis of obligations incurred and cash expenditures made.

Basis of presentation: The Endowment is required to report information regarding its financial position and activities according to three classes of net assets: unrestricted net assets, temporarily restricted net assets, and permanently restricted net assets. There were no permanently restricted net assets at September 30, 2014.

Unrestricted net assets – Contributions and other inflows of assets whose use is not subject to donor-imposed stipulations.

Temporarily restricted net assets – Contributions and other inflows of assets whose use is subject to donor-imposed stipulations that either expire by the passage of time or will be met by actions of NED pursuant to those stipulations, such as usage for specific programs.

Cash and cash equivalents: For purposes of reporting cash flows, the Endowment considers all highly liquid investments purchased with a maturity of three months or less to be cash equivalents.

Financial risk: The Endowment maintains its cash in bank

deposit accounts which, at times, may exceed federally insured limits. The Endowment has not experienced any losses in such accounts. The Endowment believes it is not exposed to any significant financial risk on cash and cash equivalents.

The Endowment invests in mutual funds. Such investments are exposed to various risks such as market and credit. Due to the level of risk associated with such investments and the level of uncertainty related to change in the value of such investments, it is at least reasonably possible that changes in risks in the near term could materially affect investment balances and the amounts reported in the financial statements.

Investments: The Endowment's investments consist entirely of mutual funds and are reflected at fair market value. To adjust the carrying value of these investments, the change in fair market value is included as a component of investment income in the statement of activities and changes in net assets.

Fair value of financial instruments: The carrying amounts of the Endowment's financial instruments, including cash and cash equivalents, receivables, accounts payable and accrued expenses, approximate fair value because of the short maturity of these instruments.

Property and equipment: Property and equipment are stated at cost, net of accumulated depreciation. Depreciation is computed using the straight-line methods over the estimated useful lives of the related assets, which range from three to ten years. The Endowment capitalizes all property and equipment purchased with a cost of \$5,000 or more.

Valuation of long-lived assets: The Endowment accounts for the valuation of long-lived assets by reviewing such assets for impairment whenever events or changes in circumstances indicate that the carrying amount of an asset may not be recoverable. Recoverability of long-lived assets is measured by a comparison of the carrying amount of the asset to future undiscounted net cash flows expected to be generated by the assets. If such assets are considered to be impaired, the impairment to be recognized is measured by the amount by which the carrying amount of the assets exceeds the estimated fair value of the assets. Assets to be disposed of are reportable at the lower of the carrying amount or fair value, less costs to sell.

Grants receivable: Grants receivables are due from the Department of State (DOS) and represent unreimbursed funds obligated by the Endowment to other organizations and administrative costs incurred by the Endowment. When the Endowment incurs expenses and obligates

National Endowment For Democracy Notes To Financial Statements

Note 1. Nature Of Activities And Significant Accounting Policies (Continued)

grants to the various organizations, a receivable from the Department of State (DOS) and a related grant payable is recorded. 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. When payments are received from the awarding agency, the receivable is reduced. Management does not obligate any grants until the funding is approved and thus determined that there is no need for provision for doubtful accounts at September 30, 2014.

Grants payables: Grants payable represent the undisbursed balances of funds obligated to the Endowment's grantees. Grantee organizations are entitled to collect funds as needed in accordance with the terms of the grant agreement.

Refundable advances – due to DOS: Amount represents funds returned to the Endowment by grantees for grants that have been deobligated.

Support and revenue: The Endowment receives grants from DOS and private grantors for various purposes. Grants received from DOS specify the periods in which monies are to be expended. Additionally, certain government grants restrict the use of funds for programs in specific countries. Revenue from government grants is recognized as earned in the year in which the Endowment obligates the funds for the intended purpose that is set forth in the grant agreement and for administrative expenses incurred. Revenue from private grantors are recognized as earned in the year received.

Agreements with DOS 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 grant audits. There was no provision for such disallowance for the year ended September 30, 2014.

Contributions: The Endowment reports gifts of cash and other assets as restricted support if they are received with donor stipulations that limit the use of the donated assets. When a donor restriction expires (that is, when a stipulated time restriction ends or purpose restriction is accomplished), temporarily restricted net assets are reclassified in the statement of activities as net assets released from restrictions. Income on these net assets is classified as temporarily restricted or unrestricted, in accordance with the donor's stipulation.

Use of estimates: The preparation of financial statements in conformity with accounting principles generally accepted in the United States of America requires

management to make estimates and assumptions that affect the reported amounts of assets and liabilities and disclosure of contingent assets and liabilities at the date of the financial statements, and the reported amounts of revenue and expenses during the reporting period. Actual results could differ from those estimates.

Income taxes: The Endowment is generally exempt from federal income taxes under the provisions of Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code. In addition, the Endowment qualifies for charitable contributions deductions and has been classified as an organization that is not a private foundation. Income which is not related to exempt purposes, less applicable deductions, is subject to federal and state corporate income taxes. There was no net tax liability for unrelated business income tax for the year ended September 30, 2014.

Management has evaluated the Endowment's tax positions and has concluded that the Endowment has taken no uncertain tax positions that require adjustment to the financial statements to comply with the provisions of the accounting standard on accounting for uncertainty in income taxes, which addresses the determination of whether tax benefits claimed or expected to be claimed on a tax return should be recorded in the financial statements. The Endowment files tax returns in the U.S. federal jurisdictions. Generally, the Endowment is no longer subject to U.S. federal or state and local income tax examinations by tax authorities for years before 2011.

Prior year information: The financial statements include certain prior year summarized comparative information in total but not by net asset class. Such information does not include sufficient detail to constitute a presentation in conformity with GAAP. Accordingly, such information should be read in conjunction with the Endowment's financial statements for the year ended September 30, 2014, from which the summarized information was derived.

Reclassifications: Certain items in the September 30, 2013, summarized comparative information have been reclassified to conform to the September 30, 2014, financial statement presentation. The reclassifications had no effect on the previously reported change in net assets or net assets.

Subsequent events: Subsequent events have been evaluated through January 15, 2015, which is the date the financial statements were available to be issued. This review and evaluation revealed no new material event or transaction that would require an additional adjustment to or disclosure in the accompanying financial statements.

NOTE 2. INVESTMENTS AND FAIR VALUE MEASUREMENTS

The Endowment's investments are measured at fair value and consist entirely of amounts invested in mutual funds.

The Fair Value Topic of the FASB Codification (the Codification) defines fair value as the price that would be received to sell an asset or paid to transfer a liability in an orderly transaction between market participants at the measurement date and sets out a fair value hierarchy. The fair value hierarchy gives the highest priority to quoted prices in active markets for identical assets or liabilities (Level 1) and the lowest priority to unobservable inputs (Level 3). Inputs are broadly defined as assumptions market participants would use in pricing an asset or liability. The three levels of the fair value hierarchy are described below:

Level 1 – Quoted market prices in active markets for identical assets or liabilities

Level 2 – Observable market-based inputs or

unobservable inputs corroborated by market data
Level 3 – Unobservable inputs that are not corroborated by market data

In determining the appropriate levels, the Endowment performs a detailed analysis of the assets and liabilities that are subject to accounting for fair value measurements. At each reporting period all assets and liabilities for which the fair value measurement is based on significant unobservable inputs are classified as Level 3. There were no Level 3 inputs for any assets or liabilities held by the Endowment at September 30, 2014.

The Endowment's investments consist of mutual funds consisting of mainly corporate and U.S. government bonds. The Endowment had no unfunded commitments to these investments. The Endowment is permitted to make redemptions at any time and amount. The fair values of these investments have been estimated using net asset value (NAV) per share of the investment that is the quoted market price in the active market; therefore, these investments are considered a Level 1 item.

NOTE 3. PROPERTY AND EQUIPMENT

Property and equipment and accumulated depreciation at September 30, 2014, consist of the following:

Asset Category	Estimated Lives	Cost	Accumulated Depreciation	Net
Leasehold improvements	2 – 10 years	\$5,039,539	\$3,746,981	\$1,292,558
Furniture and fixtures	3 – 7 years	652,545	482,830	169,715
Computer equipment and software	3 – 5 years	838,808	578,080	260,728
		\$6,530,892	\$4,807,891	\$1,723,001

Depreciation and amortization expense for the year ended September 30, 2014, was \$663,931.

NOTE 4. GRANT REVENUE - GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

Grant revenue for the year ended September 30, 2014, consists of the following:

Total appropriations received from the U.S. Department of State	<u>\$135,000,000</u>
Grants awarded/amended during the year	<u>\$129,405,941</u>
Revenue recognized	
Grants obligated, net of deobligations	\$129,405,941
Democracy promotion activities	3,688,058
Other grant-related expenses	20,266,181
	<u>\$153,360,180</u>

National Endowment For Democracy
Notes To Financial Statements

NOTE 5. EXPENSES

Program expenses for the year ended September 30, 2014, represent the following activities:

Federal grant programs	\$ 129,405,941
Other activities - federal	
International Forum:	
Journal of Democracy	413,034
Research and conferences	180,683
Management and support	459,082
Reagan-Fascell Fellowship Program	990,647
Colloquia	21,280
Democracy Resource Center	383,880
World Movement for Democracy	635,598
Center for International Media Assistance	603,854
	<u>3,688,058</u>
Other activities - non-federal	
International Forum:	
Journal of Democracy	27,041
Research and conferences	14,049
Other activities	13,487
Management and support	6,102
World Movement for Democracy	
SIDA/ICNL - Defending Civil Society	863,451
Other activities	71,235
NED events and development	89,460
	<u>1,084,825</u>
	<u>\$ 134,178,824</u>

NOTE 6. TEMPORARILY RESTRICTED NET ASSETS

Changes in temporarily restricted net assets by purpose during the year ended September 30, 2014, are as follows:

	Balance at Sept. 30, 2013	Additions	Releases	Balance at Sept. 30, 2014
World Movement for Democracy:				
Canada Defending Civil Society	\$ 32,728	\$ -	\$ (32,728)	\$ -
Assessing Democracy Assistance	110,566	194,900	(67,694)	237,772
SIDA/ICNL	261	-	(261)	-
WMD Assembly	123,702	100	(1,725)	122,077
International Forum:				
SRF		40,000	-	40,000
OS		35,000	(13,828)	21,372
Penn Kemble Youth Forum on Democracy		88,318	-	88,318
Canada DFAIT	1,824	-	(1,824)	-
Landsbergis Event	5,166	-	(5,166)	-
	<u>\$ 274,247</u>	<u>\$ 358,518</u>	<u>\$ (123,226)</u>	<u>\$ 509,539</u>

Net assets were released from donor restrictions by incurring expenses satisfying the restricted purposes specified by donors during the year ended September 30, 2014.

NOTE 7. RELATED PARTIES

The Endowment awards grants to various organizations to be used for programs that the Board of Directors determines are consistent with the purposes of the NED Act. Some of the organizations that submit proposals and are awarded funds have members of their Boards 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 a voting on such grant. The provision does not prevent any director from supplying factual information that the Board requests.

NOTE 8. OPERATING LEASE

The Endowment has a standby letter of credit in the amount of \$188,661 from a commercial bank. The letter of credit represents the security deposit for the Endowment's noncancelable operating lease for office space.

The Endowment has a noncancelable operating lease that was amended on October 31, 2010, to include additional space and an extension of the lease term to March 31, 2021. The lease for office space includes a provision for rent escalations. The lease expense is recognized on a straight-line basis ratably over the term of the lease. The difference between the straight-line expense and the required lease payment is reflected as deferred rent and lease incentive in the accompanying balance sheet.

Future minimum rental payments required under the lease are as follows:

Years Ending September 30,	
2015	\$3,594,010
2016	3,720,522
2017	3,850,196
2018	3,946,451
2019	4,045,112
2020—2021	6,244,956
	<u>\$25,401,247</u>

Rent expense was \$3,470,155 for the year ended September 30, 2014.

NOTE 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 after the first year of employment. Employer contributions to the plan for the year ended September 30, 2014, were \$1,177,073.

NOTE 10. CONTINGENCY

Federal awards: The Endowment participates in a number of federally-assisted grant programs, which are subject to financial and compliance audits by the federal government or its representative. Management obtains a separate audit on these federal programs and does not anticipate significant adjustments as a result of such an audit.

NOTE 11. CONCENTRATIONS OF REVENUE

During the year ended September 30, 2014, substantially all of the Endowment's revenue related to appropriations and grants from the U.S. Government.

INDEPENDENT AUDITOR'S REPORT ON THE SUPPLEMENTARY INFORMATION

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

We have audited the financial statements of The National Endowment for Democracy as of and for the year ended September 30, 2014, and have issued our report thereon which contains an unmodified opinion on those financial statements. Our audit was conducted for the purpose of forming an opinion on the financial statements as a whole.

The supplementary information is presented for purposes of additional analysis and is not a required part of the financial statements. Such information is the responsibility of management and was derived from and relates directly to the underlying accounting and other records used to prepare the financial statements. The information has been subjected to the auditing procedures applied in the audit of the financial statements and certain additional procedures, including comparing and reconciling such information directly to the underlying accounting and other records used to prepare the financial statements or to the financial statements themselves, and other additional procedures in accordance with auditing standards generally accepted in the United States of America. In our opinion, the information is fairly stated in all material respects in relation to the financial statements as a whole.



Washington, District of Columbia
January 15, 2015

National Endowment For Democracy
Supplementary Information

Schedule of Functional Expenses
Year ended September 30, 2014
(With Comparative Totals for 2013)

	Program Services				Supporting Services				2014	2013
	Federal Grant	Other Activities-	Other Activities-	Total Program	Management		Total Supporting			
	Programs	Federal	Non-Federal	Services	and General	Fundraising	Services			
Grants to Others	\$ 129,405,941	\$ -	\$ 40,520	\$ 129,446,461	\$ -	\$ -	\$ -	\$ 129,446,461	\$ 108,719,718	
Salaries, wages and benefits	-	2,795,813	77,778	2,873,591	13,774,564	3,322	13,777,886	16,651,477	16,260,143	
Occupancy	-	-	-	-	3,475,878	-	3,475,878	3,475,878	3,255,535	
Professional fees	-	579,065	115,318	694,383	983,084	7,888	990,972	1,685,355	1,972,441	
Travel and transportation	-	195,709	332,521	528,230	793,072	140	793,212	1,321,442	2,211,299	
Depreciation and amortization	-	-	-	-	663,931	-	663,931	663,931	723,271	
Conferences and meetings	-	31,042	489,821	520,863	101,741	16,013	117,754	638,617	622,449	
Communications	-	41,718	15,619	57,337	264,816	-	264,816	322,153	283,953	
Other	-	5,340	6,571	11,911	255,588	185	255,773	267,684	279,225	
Supplies and equipment	-	953	448	1,401	162,110	-	162,110	163,511	169,248	
Insurance	-	-	-	-	100,129	-	100,129	100,129	86,704	
Subscriptions and Periodicals	-	38,418	6,229	44,647	38,487	-	38,487	83,134	152,123	
	\$ 129,405,941	\$ 3,688,058	\$ 1,084,825	\$ 134,178,824	\$ 20,613,400	\$ 27,548	\$ 20,640,948	\$ 154,819,772	\$ 134,736,109	



NED Board of Directors

Officers

Martin Frost
Chairman

Robert Tuttle
Treasurer

Vin Weber
Vice Chairman

Marilyn Carlson Nelson
Secretary

Carl Gershman
President

Directors

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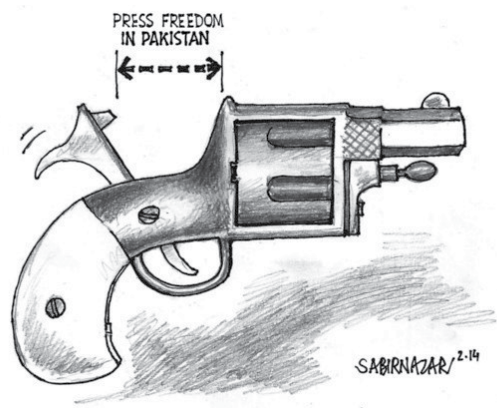
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