



**National Endowment
for Democracy**

Supporting freedom around the world

Annual Report 2015





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 1,400 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.



Eighth Global Assembly of the World Movement for Democracy



Human Rights Center "Postup," Ukraine



MARCH, Lebanon



Georgian Institute of Politics, Georgia



Vote Not Fight, Nigeria

On the Cover: Jovenes Contra la Violencia Guatemala holds anti-corruption workshops for young people in Guatemala.

This page: a dynamic cross-section of NED's activities and the work of its grantees.



His Holiness the Dalai Lama at the "Strengthening Democracy in Asia" conference in New Delhi



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annual report
2015



From the Chairman

MARTIN FROST

The year 2015 ended with a series of reports that certainly made gloomy reading for the world's democrats.

Freedom House's *Freedom in the World 2015* survey reported a 10th consecutive year of decline in global freedom; Human Rights Watch's report on 2015 highlighted a global roll-back of human rights and a "great civil society choke-out;" and the Economist Intelligence Unit's Democracy Index concluded that "an increased sense of anxiety and insecurity in the face of diverse perceived risks and threats—economic, political, social and security—is undermining democracy."

All three reports also found that regression and backsliding are also being experienced in Europe. The emergence of "illiberal democracy" conveys the risk that the trends of populism, polarization and paralysis can afflict even liberal democratic states.

Some commentators have suggested that such problems call into question the credibility of democracy assistance on the part of supposedly "dysfunctional" democracies. Such claims not only underline the old adage that the perfect is the enemy of the good – as if only unblemished states or other political actors can provide aid and advice – but also expose a commonly mistaken view of democracy assistance as the attempted export of democratic ideas and institutions rather than the exercise of support and solidarity for indigenous, locally-based, grassroots democrats.

These locally-based, grassroots democrats can be found in every country around the world, driving their own stories and forging their own destinies, and the message that this Annual Report shares is one of our solidarity

with their hard (and often dangerous) work and aspirations. These courageous partners of NED and our affiliated core institutes – the Center for International Private Enterprise, the International Republican Institute, the National Democratic Institute, and the Solidarity Center – include:

- Julieta Montaña, founder of Oficina Jurídica de la Mujer (OJM) in Bolivia, who works with the judiciary to ensure that Law 348, which criminalizes violence against women, is enforced. OJM drafts petitions and press releases to ensure violators are brought to justice.
- Stevan Dojcinovic, Editor-in-Chief of the Crime and Corruption Reporting Network (KRIK), whose team received the prestigious international Award for Investigative Journalism. His year-long investigation exposed how Montenegro's once-untouchable Prime Minister and his family bank were at the center of a corrupt alliance of government, organized crime, and business. The prize, awarded by the Global Network of Investigative

Journalists, honors investigative journalism conducted in a developing or transitioning country, done under threat, duress, or in the direst of conditions.

- Dr. Denis Mukwege, who was the subject of an award-winning, NED-supported film, *The Man Who Mends Women*; his story as a gynecologist

its Democracy Courage Tributes to three remarkable groups of people: Burma's Rohingya minority, Africa's investigative journalists, and Hong Kong's Umbrella Movement. The presence of these brave activists demonstrated that even when democracy is on the defensive, whether domestically or internationally, we all remain committed to the moral imperative of democratic solidarity, not

Democracy is about more than elections. It is a process, not an event. The Endowment's grantees and partners are all too well aware that the true test of democracy is what happens between elections.

taking on the crisis of violence against women in the Democratic Republic of Congo is an astounding one that everyone should know and support.

As these three remarkable individuals illustrate, democracy is about more than elections. It is a process, not an event. The Endowment's grantees and partners are all too well aware that the true test of democracy is what happens between elections, that defending and advancing democracy also entails upholding basic human rights, promoting a political culture of pluralism, tolerance and free expression, nurturing a robust civil society and fostering democratic institutions.

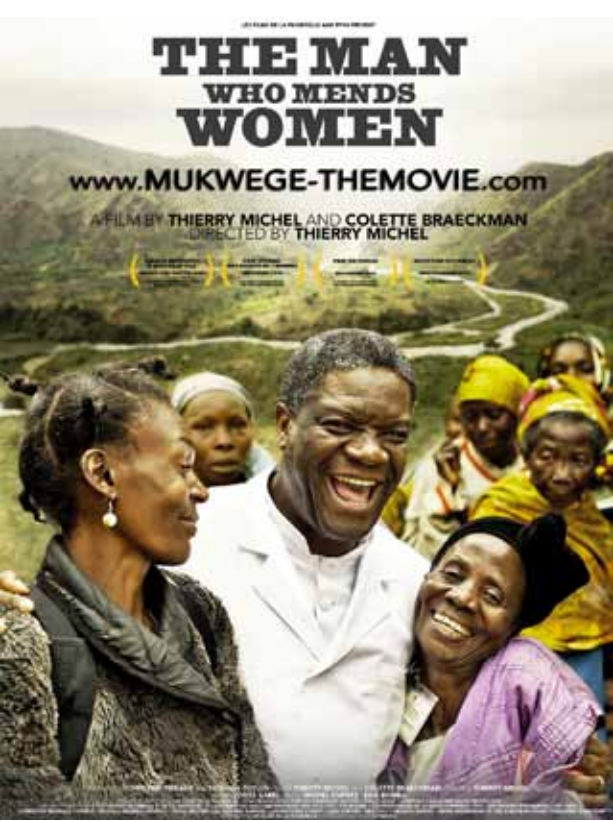
That's why it is important to remind ourselves democracy is a slow, uneven and often frustrating process, even when successful. Advancing democracy means a commitment to the long-term tasks of laying the foundations of democratic institutions. After all, this last year also saw important democratic advances in Nigeria, Burma, and Venezuela which, at least in part, reflected the prior investment and commitment of civil society and other democratic forces.

The World Movement for Democracy's Eighth Assembly in Seoul, Korea, last November presented

least with endangered activists. The testimony of numerous political prisoners and dissidents – some of whom go on to become political leaders and heads of state – confirms that their awareness of international support was a critical factor in maintaining their morale and stamina.

I am humbled and honored to chair an organization that has allowed me to support the work of the world's most courageous democrats. And I am honored to work with NED's board of directors and professional staff, all of whom approach their work in a true spirit of bipartisanship. The growing demand for the Endowment's assistance and solidarity – even from activists in countries where foreign funding can threaten their lives and livelihood – demonstrates the authoritarian curbs on civil society will never be able to repress the basic human striving for respect, autonomy and freedom that gives the global democracy movement its momentum and resilience. ▣

Clockwise from top: Frost chairs a NED board meeting; Crime and Corruption Reporting Network receives the Award for Investigative Journalism; Julieta Montaña, founder of Oficina Jurídica de la Mujer (image courtesy IU Robert H. McKinney School of Law); the film poster for *The Man Who Mends Women*; Democracy Courage Tribute recipients on stage.





From the President

CARL GERSHMAN

It has been said many times that democracy is in retreat around the world, and it is not hard to understand why so many people feel that way.

Resurgent authoritarians in Russia, China, Iran and other countries are expanding their reach and influence. Political space for civil society is shrinking in scores of countries, as states pass repressive NGO laws that tightly regulate groups and cut them off from International support. Democracy is backsliding in important countries like Turkey, Egypt, and Thailand, as well as in new E.U. member states like Hungary and Poland.

It is, therefore, almost counter-intuitive to note that democracy made some important gains in 2015 in a series of critical elections. The first was the startling victory on January 8 of the opposition in ethnically-divided Sri Lanka, where the illiberal and nepotistic President Mahinda Rajapaksa was ousted in a relatively peaceful election that was followed by a surprisingly smooth political transition. Nigeria, also a deeply divided and exceedingly corrupt country, held successful elections the following March that *The Economist* called “a watershed for Africa’s biggest and most populous country.” An incumbent president was defeated for the first time, and the violence that many feared the election might trigger was averted as the result of a massive civic mobilization for peace and electoral integrity.

Other elections in 2015 also represented important advances for democracy. A peaceful and credible presidential election in Cote D’Ivoire on October 28 stabilized the country’s democratic recovery after years of civil war and electoral violence. The vote in Burma on November 8 saw an historic landslide victory by Aung San Suu Kyi’s National League for Democracy and the beginning of a process of negotiated transition with the country’s long-ruling military. An historic election was also held in

Burkina Faso later the same month. It followed a popular democratic uprising in 2014 and led to the election for the first time in the country’s history of a non-incumbent, Roch Marc Christian Kabore, who was also the first president in half a century to take office without launching a coup.

Elections also brought about democratic gains in Argentina and Venezuela, two important Latin American countries that have fueled the rise of illiberal populism in the region. The *New York Times* called Mauricio Macri’s upset victory over a Peronist candidate in Argentina “a stunner that is likely to set in motion a transformational era at home and in the region.” The “transformational” trend picked up momentum two weeks later in Venezuela when the democratic opposition achieved an equally stunning victory in parliamentary elections over a Chavista regime that had brought the country to economic ruin and whose leader, Nicolas Maduro, had threatened “massacre and death” if the ruling party lost.

These gains are encouraging, but they are not sufficiently widespread and sustained to represent a new democratic wave, and they are fragile and could easily be reversed. While illiberal forces and

corrupt interests have suffered setbacks, they still retain the ability to block reform and frustrate any meaningful change. This is especially true in Burma, where the military controls key ministries and has a guaranteed quarter of the seats in parliament, enough to block constitutional reform; and in Venezuela, where the

reports that more people are joining rights-defense activities, information is spreading despite censorship, the fear of repression is waning, and the disillusionment with party corruption is growing. These examples are just the tip of a massive iceberg of civic activism that exists in all regions of the world and that may at this

The leadership of the effort to advance democracy is now coming from the global democracy movement, meaning the people and organizations on the ground in one country after another in the global south and post-communist world who are fighting to defend their rights and human dignity.

Maduro regime remains in power and is already taking steps to reverse the opposition's gains, even if it cannot undo the mandate for change it has received from the people. In Nigeria, the challenge of rooting out corruption and promoting real economic development is formidable, to say the least.

But there are encouraging lessons in these changes that are worth noting at this time of democratic pessimism. The first is that democratic civil-society activists and grassroots social forces, which were chiefly responsible for the electoral gains made in 2015, have impressive resilience and staying power, not just in semi-open autocracies but also in backsliding and repressive authoritarian countries. In Africa they include bloggers in Ethiopia, youth activists and trade unionists in Zimbabwe, investigative journalists in Angola, and human rights defenders and peace activists in Burundi and the Congo where leaders are blocking change through elections. In Russia, where the government has passed harsh laws to control NGOs and democratic leaders like Boris Nemtsov (*see page 50*) have been murdered, activists continue to work fearlessly to expose elite corruption, defend human rights, and offer independent news and information to counter the regime's steady drumbeat of nationalist propaganda. In China, despite the harshest political crackdown since the death of Mao Zedong, a Freedom House study

very moment be preparing the way for new democratic breakthroughs in the future.

This leads to the second lesson, which is that the world's resurgent autocrats do not sit securely on their thrones. They repeatedly warn about the danger of foreign-instigated "colored revolutions." This is actually an implicit admission that what they fear most is the test of a real election that they might lose, knowing that the trigger for a colored revolution would be an attempt to reverse an unacceptable result. The gains made by democrats in the elections of 2015 should only increase that fear. Thus, Russia's President Vladimir Putin has tried to deflect pressure for a real election by engaging in what Leon Aron has called "patriotic mobilization" against alleged enemies in Ukraine and the West. But Russia's deepening economic crisis, exacerbated by the sharp drop in oil prices, and his failure to subdue Ukraine militarily, expose his vulnerability. China's tactic has been to use its economic performance to shore up its legitimacy, but that performance looks much less robust with the economy slowing and after the stock market crashed last summer, leading to a loss of \$4 trillion in share value and the acceleration of capital flight. The Castro regime in Cuba also has reason to worry. In the past it has based its legitimacy on "the revolution" and anti-Americanism. These ideological props no longer work after the normalization of relations with

the United States, and the developments in Argentina and Venezuela make the Cuban dictatorship look increasingly anachronistic.

The third lesson is that with the democratic West absorbed in its own problems, the leadership of the effort to advance democracy is now coming from the global democracy movement, meaning the people and organizations on the ground in one country after another in the global south and post-communist world who are fighting to defend their rights and human dignity. This is not to say that these people don't need the political support and moral solidarity of the world's leading democracies. They do, and no effort should be spared to call for and try to enhance that support from non-governmental organizations and advocates, as well as from parliaments and government leaders and officials. It is simply to recognize that at the present

moment, the energy and determination needed to advance democracy is going to come from the people on the frontlines of democratic struggles.

Their courage will no doubt inspire many people in the advanced democracies, and it is even possible that their example will spark a revival of democratic commitment in the countries where democracy, after many trials, first became rooted. But for now, the leadership of the fight for democracy will have to come from the people who are in that fight. That may not be enough to meet all the challenges we face in our troubled world, but it is where we are today. And after a year when democracy has made some surprising gains, it is even a source of hope. □

[Below & previous spread: Gershman at the Eighth Global Assembly of the World Movement for Democracy.](#)





Rep. Nancy Pelosi



Felipe González being interviewed



2015 Democracy Award Ceremony



Lilian Tintori, Mitzy Capriles, Tamara Sujá



Rep. Ed Royce, Lilian Tintori and daughter, Rep. Eliot Engle

2015

The Year in Review

DEMOCRACY AWARD

On May 14, the National Endowment for Democracy honored the ongoing struggle of political prisoners in Venezuela with the presentation of its annual Democracy Award to Venezuelan opposition leader **Leopoldo López**, Caracas mayor **Antonio Ledezma**, and exiled human rights defender **Tamara Sujú**.

The event was held on Capitol Hill, featuring opening remarks from NED Chairman **Martin Frost**, former Spanish Prime Minister **Felipe González**, House Democratic Leader **Nancy Pelosi**, House Foreign Committee Chairman **Ed Royce**, as well as other leading members of Congress from both sides of the aisle.

Lopez and Ledezma were honored in absentia due to their imprisonment. **Lilian Tintori** and **Mitzy Capriles**, the respective wives of López and Ledezma, accepted the awards on behalf of their husbands, while Venezuelan lawyer and human rights defender Tamara Sujú accepted her award on behalf of the scores of other political prisoners.

“The regime thought that by putting them behind bars, it had succeeded in silencing their calls for a free Venezuela, where the rights of all its citizens are respected by those in authority,” said Frost in his opening remarks. González, who is an advisor to the defense in the trials of López and Ledezma, moved the audience by discussing his own personal experiences growing up in Spain under the rule of Francisco Franco.

“Half of my life I’ve spent in a dictatorship and the other half in a democracy. So I feel that genetically, I’m more prepared to withstand the struggle against a dictatorship than the loss of a democracy that could become a dictatorship. That’s why I’m so concerned,” said González.

The 2015 Democracy Award was also a show of bipartisan support for democracy in Venezuela and around the world, as members of Congress from opposite sides of the aisle stood on the same stage to promote the cause. Republican Congresswoman **Ileana Ros-Lehtinen** joked, “If you see Ileana Ros-Lehtinen and Nancy Pelosi sharing the stage, that tells you what a great organization the NED is, because they don’t stand for any political

parties.” Moments later, Republican Congressman Ed Royce and Democratic Congressman **Eliot Engel** Chairman and Ranking Member, respectively, of the House Foreign Affairs Committee – took the stage together. “We speak with one voice on the Foreign Affairs Committee, and that is the voice of freedom,” Engel declared.

TWELFTH ANNUAL LIPSET LECTURE

The Twelfth Annual Seymour Martin Lipset Lecture on Democracy in the World was held on Oct. 20, 2016, at the Embassy of Canada in Washington, DC, and was delivered by **Andrew J. Nathan**, Class of 1919 Professor of Political Science at Columbia University. Dr. Nathan’s lecture was entitled, “The Puzzle of the Chinese Middle Class.” His lecture centered on the question of whether Chinese citizens will begin to push for democracy as they grow more affluent – or if they will, while increasingly embracing liberal values, still support an authoritarian regime. A transcript of his speech was published in the April 2016 issue of the *Journal of Democracy* (and is available online on the *Journal’s* website).

The Lipset Lecture series, sponsored jointly by NED and the Munk Center for International Affairs at the University of Toronto (where Nathan 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, 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 FORUM ON DEMOCRACY

In 2014, NED launched the Penn Kemble Forum on Democracy with the assistance of a grant from the Foundation for Democratic Education and a distinguished advisory committee of scholars and practitioners. The purpose of the Forum is to promote informed discussion about the nature of democratic development among Washington’s young foreign policy professionals. The Forum convenes monthly to discuss the ideas and realities that drive the world today, and provides additional opportunities for networking, mentorship, and learning. The monthly round table discussions are led by key foreign policy experts, government officials (past and present), democracy practitioners, and civil society experts. In 2015-16, Penn Kemble Fellows met with Ambassador Melanne Verweir, Dr. Francis Fukuyama, Azar Nafisi (*Reading Lolita in Tehran*), and many others.

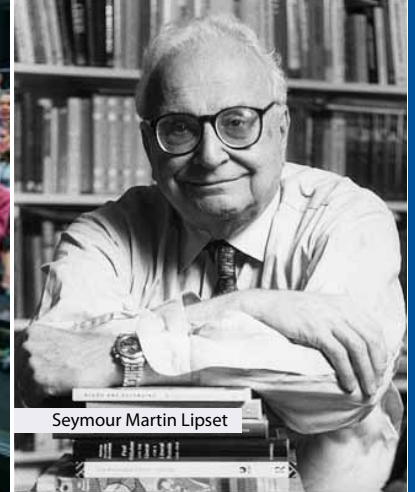
Kemble, who passed away in 2005, was one of the democracy movement’s most committed activists and strategists. The Forum is an opportunity for mentorship, networking, and education for young professionals who share Kemble’s commitment to advancing democracy around the world. The second year’s cohort included young professionals from government, non-profits, and the private sector. To learn more, visit www.ned.org/fellowships/about-the-penn-kemble-fellows.



Andrew J. Nathan



Lipset Lecture



Seymour Martin Lipset



Penn Kemble Fellows with Zainab Bangura



Canadian Embassy, host of the Lipset Lecture



Penn Kemble Democracy Forum Meeting



Penn Kemble Democracy Forum Meeting

In Georgia, the Union of Democratic Meskhs conducted mobile legal consultations in small villages that often lack access to legal services. Lawyers met with members of these communities individually and provided them with legal aid. During this meeting in Small Kondura in Ninotsminda municipality, questions on hereditary law were discussed. On pages 16-17, a lawyer discusses social assistance laws in the village of Mugareti of Akhaltsikhe municipality.





Regional Grants in 2015

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 1,400 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 National Democratic Institute and the International Republican Institute promote pluralism and free and fair elections.



CIPE promotes free markets and economic reform, while the Solidarity Center promotes independent trade unions and workers' rights.

Turn the page for Frequently Asked Questions about the Endowment.

Frequently Asked Questions

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.

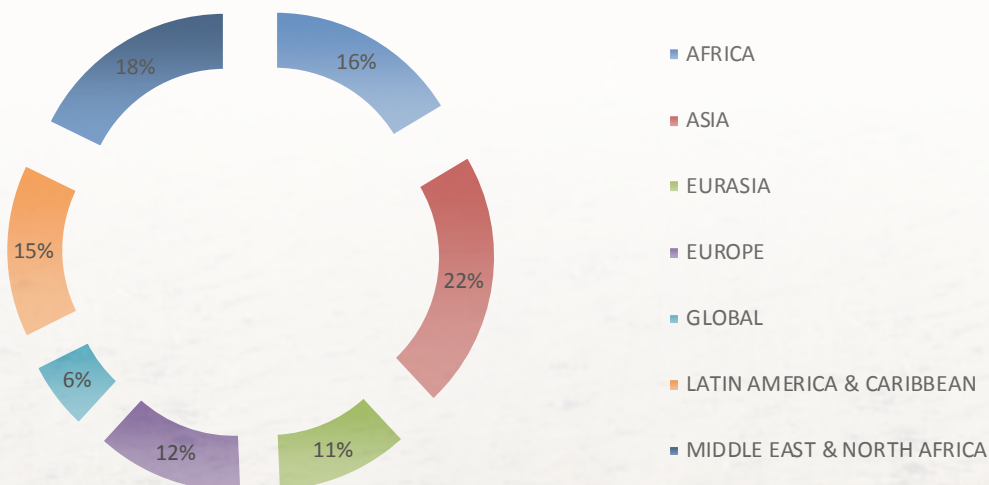
Q: Why are some grants listed by program focus, rather than by name? A: As you read through the grants listings that follow, you will notice that some grants are listed by their program focus, rather than by grantee name. You might also notice that these are always in particularly repressive countries 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: NED 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 would be 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 U.S. Government.

Explore the pages that follow to learn more. [□](#)

Regional Distribution of NED Spending, 2015





Burkina Faso's popular resistance to a coup attempt and subsequent free and fair elections inspired the world. NED grantee **BURKINA24**, an independent media outlet, promoted free and transparent Presidential elections in 2015 through professional national coverage of the electoral campaign and candidates' programs. Burkina24 stimulated national discussion with daily town hall debates and online talk shows, as well as with the delivery of independent news by SMS. Pictured here: voters wait in line during Burkina Faso's Presidential elections (image via Burkina24).



NED Grants in

AFRICA


2015 was a good year for democracy in Africa.

There were democratic elections in Nigeria, Burkina Faso, and Cote d'Ivoire, and according to Freedom House, these three countries along with Liberia were four of the five countries in the world that made the greatest democratic progress in 2015. Freedom House also moved Zimbabwe from its "not-free" category to "partly free" due to progress in civil liberties and greater independence of the courts.

Nigeria's elections were also a huge step forward; despite fears and challenges, Africa's largest country accomplished its first democratic change of power. The elections demonstrated the power of social media and an engaged civil society, as well as the growing maturity of Nigeria's democratic institutions and democratic culture. Elections in Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea, Tanzania and the Central African Republic were all qualified successes as well. Burkina Faso's popular resistance to a coup attempt and subsequent free and fair elections inspired democrats everywhere. In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, protests against the government's efforts to change the constitution stymied the president's hopes for a third term. Civil society in Kenya and Uganda halted government attempts to impose restrictive NGO and media legislation. Journalists strove successfully for more freedom in many countries, and the Zone 9 bloggers were released from prison in Ethiopia. Anti-corruption efforts in Nigeria, Kenya, and Tanzania suggested the possibility for greater accountability and economic reform. Throughout Africa, countries such as Senegal, Ghana, Namibia, and South Africa continue to be democratic and stable. Popular opinion polls still confirm strong support for democracy throughout Africa.

There were setbacks. In Burundi, the president's attempts to run for a third term, precipitating a coup attempt, violence, and flawed elections, have wrecked the country's former democratic promise. Ethiopia's undemocratic election exercise was unsurprising. Likewise, elections in Sudan served as little more than a plebiscite. President Sassou-Nguesso succeeded in changing the constitution of the Republic of Congo to permit a third term bid; and President Kagame chose the same course in Rwanda. Boko Haram, Al Qaeda, and Al Shabab wreaked havoc in the Lake Chad basin, Sahel, and Horn of Africa, respectively. Violence continued in CAR, eastern Congo, Sudan, and South Sudan, despite UN troops and peace agreements.

NED's grantmaking supported triumphs and resisted backsliding. Nigerian partners provided important support to the elections; working to educate voters, test new computerized voting machines, monitor the balloting, and verify the results. They continued to press for greater government accountability and respect for human rights, citizen involvement, and conflict resolution. NED partners in Burkina Faso, including NDI, supported the participation of women and youth in transparent elections. In Cote d'Ivoire,



NED partners promoted peaceful participation in the elections and national reconciliation.

Mali's restored democratic government has struggled to bring security and good governance to the country. NED's 12 Malian partners pressed for greater accountability, transitional justice, and women's political participation. After helping their countries overcome the Ebola epidemic, NED partners in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea returned to their focus on accountability, constitutional reform, and human rights.

NED's two partners in CAR worked with women to promote peace and democracy in the volatile run-up to the elections, while six partners in Cameroon promoted human rights, justice reform, and conflict resolution. NED's four partners in tightly-controlled Rwanda forged greater space for media, youth, and domestic workers.

Burundi's crisis hurt many NED partners but did not stop them from continuing their work, which became more vital than ever. Their advocacy for democracy and peace, and their documentation of the ongoing human rights abuses put them at the center of the crisis; some activists fled into exile or temporarily ceased operations, while others were targeted in attacks. NED held two forums in Washington on civil society's role in the crisis that

featured NED partners and the Burundian embassy.

Ethiopia's constricted political space did not prevent NED partners from defending human rights and engaging in public-private dialogue. NED's single partner working on human rights in Eritrea made valuable contributions to the UN's special report on human rights there, which NED publicized at a public forum in Washington. NED's 14 partners in Somalia expanded radio broadcasting on human rights and strengthened civil society as the nation moves to elections and consolidates its stability. Ten partners in Somaliland advanced the participation of women and youth in political decision-making.

NED's 18 partners in Zimbabwe, as well as IRI, CIPE and the Solidarity Center, continued to promote dialogue, democratic policy, media freedom, women's rights and youth participation. Partners in Swaziland promoted freedom of information and women's rights. NDI worked with the African Union to increase outreach to youth leaders, and IRI trained the first cohort of West African youth leaders in its GenDem program.

The following pages highlight the work of NED partners across the region, and include a list of 2015 grants. To learn more about NED grants and grantees, visit www.NED.org/WhereWeWork □

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO

The dramatic political process unfolding in the Democratic Republic of the Congo made the country NED's top priority in Africa in 2015; NED supported 48 partners there, as well as the **INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE** and the **SOLIDARITY CENTER**. Highlights of the year included a national civil society conference on the elections that was held in Kinshasa and supported through the **EASTERN CONGO INITIATIVE** (ECI); a conference in Washington focusing on the role of the religious community in the election process; and support for **AETA**, the Congolese network of civil society organizations supporting democratic elections. NED also supported an award-winning film, **THE MAN WHO MENDS WOMEN** (film stills pictured here), which tells the story of gynecologist Dr. Denis Mukwege and the crisis of violence against women in the DRC; the government lifted its ban on the film the day it was screened in Washington.



Vote Not Fight

NIGERIA'S 2015 ELECTIONS

For over 20 years, NED has funded dozens of civil society organizations that challenged military dictatorship and helped achieve Nigeria's democratic restoration. But as Nigeria headed to the polls in March 2015, Nigerians and the international community alike were deeply concerned about the potential for a disputed and violent election. Political parties deployed inflammatory language and aggressive tactics to mobilize their supporters and intimidate their competitors. But in 2015, NED-supported civil society activists and their partners guided the first peaceful and democratic alternation of power between parties in Nigeria's history.

In 2015, NED funded **30 civil society groups** to encourage Nigerians to not only register to vote and cast their ballots peacefully, but also to run for office, question candidates, investigate campaign financing, observe the elections, and demand the independence of the Independent National Election Commission (INEC).

NED's long-time youth partner, the **YOUNGSTARS FOUNDATION**, implemented a "Vote Not Fight" campaign starring **the popular Nigerian singer 2Face Idiba** to discourage electoral violence with NDI support funded by USAID. Youngstars tapped into its national young leaders' alumni network, the outgrowth of 10 years of NED support to its core young civil society leadership program, to garner over 25,000 pledges from the public committing themselves to peaceful elections. Similarly, drawing on five years of NED support that fostered a national youth network, **YOUTH INITIATIVE FOR ADVOCACY GROWTH AND ADVANCEMENT** (YIAGA) mobilized **6,400 volunteers** to support INEC's voter education campaigns.

The "Vote Not Fight" campaign reached an estimated **6 million twitter feeds** through the


hashtag **#votenotfight**, gathered **more than 100,000 likes** on the campaign Facebook page and reached approximately 62,874,034 individuals through radio and TV based on listenership figures for the states where the "Vote Not Fight" programs were aired.


Meanwhile, the **INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE** (IRI) built on NED's support to the **NIGERIAN WOMEN TRUST FUND** (WF) to **mobilize women** to participate in the elections. With NED support, WF produced a pseudo-documentary, which civil society organizations and government ministries distributed throughout Nigeria, to encourage women to run for office. IRI further supported WF to monitor women's participation in the elections in Abuja on Election Day.

The long-term core support provided by NED helped these civil society groups achieve these successes. The **concerted, sustained, and collaborative effort** led by Nigerian civil society delivered a credible, peaceful, and ultimately transformative election that has solidified Nigeria's commitment to democracy. □

The National Democratic Institute (NDI) supported NED's long time youth partner, the Youngstars Foundation, to implement a "Vote Not Fight" campaign starring the popular Nigerian singer 2Face Idibia to discourage electoral violence.

**VOTE
NOT
FIGHT**

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 @votenotfight



harmony
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ZIMBABWE

Zambezi News, a satirical comedy program poking fun at the government's rhetoric, is one of the many media projects **MAGAMBA NETWORK** carried out in 2015 to challenge youth to think more critically about politics and current events. Their work was written up in the Zimbabwe *Sunday Times*, which noted that the group is "constantly harassed by the Censorship Board, the Ministry of Information, Home Affairs."

HARARE HOME TRUTHS

A brave bunch of Zimbabweans bring biting satire back to the 'newsroom'. **Lin Sampson** listens in

are unable to bring you the report at this juncture."

"We started in 2011 when we were in the band," says Outspoken. While we were mincing around the stage we would often talk a lot of silly crap and someone suggested we record it and it just worked."

Says Monro: "We shot the first season in 2011 as a faux news show." The show cuts between the newsroom and satirical reports from the underworld featuring a string of *unterwelt* characters like the "Wether" man, who waves vaguely over a map murmuring, "change, change, sometimes hot, sometimes cold". With a president who at the re-opening of parliament read a speech he had read the previous year, material is not short. "Zim-

babwe Broadcasting writes 50% of our script," says Outspoken.

They are constantly harassed by the Censorship Board, the Ministry of Information, Home Affairs. "Just before launching season three, we had the police on the phone asking us where our clearance certificate was. We were, like, it's a comedy show, why do we need clearance?"

"I think we go near the bone," says Monro. "We discuss touchy subjects, but I think we are also in plain sight. We are very transparent, anyone can see us, we are not underground. That helps."

The show was a hit in England and Germany. Do foreigners get the gist? According to Outspoken, the fact that they deal with universal issues — freedom of expression,

corruption, the detachment of the political elite from the people — means the audience gets it.

The future looks exhilarating. "We have just signed a deal with Zambezi Magic, a new channel which is part of DSTV, to broadcast the show." Monro believes the rise of satire all over Africa puts them on the right track.

Although it is a way of knocking some sense into the power elite, the show is a mix of embarrassing schoolboy humour and corny pretensions (the double "m" on Samm never fails to irritate). Despite a few insightful bits, it is too predictable to be fall-over funny, perhaps because, *au fond*, its desire is to be worthy: too many words like "comedy activism" and "citizen journal-

ist" and "helping our people".

When I ask about their backgrounds, Monro says his family came to Zimbabwe in 1896. To farm? I ask, and might have expected the reply: Shrieks of laughter. "They were definitely farmers, they grabbed all the virgin farmland, and made it their own."

I had an idea we had moved on from there, but what really makes Zambezi News punch the shadows is the fact that just by putting on a mildly satirical show, they really do risk being banged up in the rozzar — or worse.

Season four has seen the addition of two female cast members, Joylene Malenga and Lauren Norton, as brave as any of their male counterparts. **LS**

FIVE THINGS TO CATCH

● E-mail event dates to lifestyle@sundaytimes.co.za

RIGHTS ACTION LAB and STUDENTS FOR A FREE TIBET held leadership trainings for emerging young leaders through their intensive, week-long program, the Tibetan School of Leadership & Change.



NED Grants in

ASIA

In 2015, Asia's authoritarian states continued to violate human rights and severely restrict the space for political dissent.

Although no single political narrative defines the region, a number of cross-cutting trends exist. These include the growth of intolerant and extremist forces eroding democratic space; dominant militaries and weak civilian governments; massive state corruption; and dominant- or one-party states. In virtually every country, these trends exist within the context of rapid urbanization and economic integration, marked improvement in human development indicators, and economic development that can potentially transform long-standing political paradigms.

China remained a top priority for the Endowment given the continued lack of political reform and the country's growing influence in the world. The state's crackdown on civil society was aimed at preventing independent organizing and destroying alternative viewpoints. It was reinforced by the passage of draconian national security laws. In response, the Endowment supported grantees raising public awareness of rights, and expanding freedom of information and the rule of law.

The Endowment continued to prioritize ethnic rights programs that focused on the worsening human rights conditions in Tibet and Xinjiang/East Turkestan, and supported initiatives to increase inter-ethnic understanding. The Endowment also supported civic initiatives in Hong Kong to promote democratic reforms.

Two years after the release of the report of the UN Commission of Inquiry on North Korean Human Rights, the situation in the country is unchanged. Nevertheless, the elevation of these issues in the

international community has empowered human rights activists. The Endowment prioritized the efforts of grantees to build the civic skills, leadership capacity, and knowledge of defectors; expand the free flow of information; and mobilize international support.

In November 2015, 25 years after the last national election, the Burmese people again voted overwhelmingly for Aung San Suu Kyi and the National League for Democracy (NLD). Despite serious and troubling aspects of the electoral process, most critically the disenfranchisement of the Rohingya, the results reflect a resounding endorsement of democracy and a refutation of military rule.

Despite the NLD victory, Burma's transition remains fragile as the new government tackles a number of challenges and trends that emerged over the past three years, most immediately, the growth of Buddhist nationalism and the targeting of Muslims. NED concentrated its resources on supporting independent media; addressing ethnic and religious

divisions; expanding human rights and civic education; and enabling civil society and new leaders to develop and expand the level of civic engagement. In addition, the Endowment expanded its support for civil society efforts to work with and strengthen key democratic institutions.

The trajectory of Thailand's return to civilian rule and political normalcy remained far from straightforward. In response to deepening economic woes, growing concern about the junta's plans to remake the political system, and pockets of sustained opposition, the government ratcheted up its suppression of dissent. The Endowment prioritized the need to address immediate challenges, especially the continued deterioration of rights, as well as efforts aimed at building a political culture that respects democratic values.

In Vietnam, rising tensions in the South China Sea and the negotiations surrounding the Trans-Pacific Partnership led the Vietnamese government to reassess its foreign policy and reengage with the international community. An emerging movement of citizen voices gained traction in expressing popular views on these issues, and at the same time championed more broadly the principle of freedom of expression and the value of open discussion of public policy questions. NED continued to provide support for initiatives promoting broader citizen understanding of human rights principles, the free flow of information, religious freedom, and labor rights.

As the term of President Aquino winds down in the Philippines, there is widespread recognition that his policy agenda – focused on transparency, accountability, and citizen participation – sparked a democratic

turnaround. Aquino's initiatives are just the first step in addressing challenges that undermine democratic consolidation, such as endemic corruption, patronage politics, and weak political institutions. NED supported civil society efforts to foster political engagement and sustained citizen participation in politics.

High level political drama unfolded in Malaysia in 2015 as Prime Minister Najib continued to face allegations of corruption and misuse of public funds. With the conviction of opposition leader Anwar Ibrahim on politically motivated charges and the arrests of a number of activists on a variety of charges including sedition, a sense of confusion, fear, and disillusionment spread throughout the political opposition and civil society. Despite these threats, civil society provided independent news and information, challenged intolerance, defended activists and politicians detained on spurious charges, and exposed a massive corruption scandal.

The breakthrough Sri Lankan elections of 2015, which ended the Rajapaksa family's decade-long rule, presented a significant opportunity for a democratic resurgence. The Endowment increased its support for civil society, focusing on partners promoting a reform agenda advancing pluralism and equal protection; encouraging greater civic participation in political processes; and strengthening the rule of law and judicial independence.

The following pages highlight the work of NED partners across the region, and include a list of 2015 grants. To learn more about NED grants and grantees, visit www.NED.org/WhereWeWork □

PAKISTAN

In 2015, many of the significant democratic gains Pakistanis have struggled for since the return of civilian government came under threat. Despite the challenges, important changes have the potential to impact positively democratic development. The re-establishment of local government elections provided an opportunity to improve state performance by making government institutions more accessible and accountable to citizens. The Endowment supported social and political initiatives that increased understanding and acceptance of democratic practices, encouraged citizen participation in politics, and promoted public discourse about democratic norms and values. This page shows an awareness session on bonded labor issues with villagers in Tharparkar held by grantee [DAMAN](#); DAMAN also held advocacy sessions on this issue (top right, opposite). The [CENTER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION](#) protested against extremism and militancy in front of the Punjab Assembly (center right, opposite). And [TECH FOR CHANGE](#) (Code for Pakistan) promoted the development of civic apps at the 2015 Islamabad Hackathon (bottom right, opposite).





In Focus

Educating for Democracy

POLITICAL SCIENCE IN BURMA

A project of former political prisoners, the **YANGON SCHOOL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE** (YSPS) opened its doors in 2011, becoming one of the first institutions in Burma to offer courses on democracy and politics.

Young people flocked to its over-subscribed classes to study the basic principles of democracy and their application in the Burmese context.

Halfway through the decade, the YSPS remains one of the most important forums for open and respectful discussion of the tremendous obstacles to democratic transition, tackling highly sensitive topics like ethnic and minority rights, religious violence, and the role of the military in the economy. Guest lectures by renowned experts such as Larry Diamond of Stanford University draw widespread interest. Workshops on elections management, campaign strategies, and network building provide the technical knowledge needed to run a democracy. And an expanding research program supports the policy deliberations of the new government. Two former directors and 10 former students were elected to Parliament in November 2015.

Expanding steadily with NED support since 2012, YSPS has developed into one of the country's leading centers for civic debate and in-depth study of democracy. NED is proud to stand with the YSPS as it helps the country make up for 50 years of censorship and fear by opening the door to the study of politics in Burma. □

Left, top quadrant: students and classes at the Yangon School of Political Science.

Left, bottom: voters line up during parliamentary elections in November 2015 (image: Oxlaley).

ASIA REGIONAL

In March in New Delhi, the conference “Strengthening Democracy in Asia: Inclusion, Participation, and Rights” brought together civil society organizations, media practitioners, politicians, and other champions of democracy. Featuring His Holiness the Dalai Lama and fellow Nobel Peace Prize winner Kailash Satyarthi, the conference highlighted challenges faced by activists, best practices in addressing them, and ideas for promoting democratic change within society. The event also served as an opportunity to honor the historic work of George Fernandes in support of labor rights in India and democracy and human rights in Tibet and Burma. The conference was jointly organized by the World Movement for Democracy and NED grantees [INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES](#) and the [ASIA DEMOCRACY NETWORK](#).





NED Grants in

EURASIA

Negative trends of the last several years intensified in Eurasia during 2015, making democracy support work both more difficult and urgent.

Closing political space, restrictive norms, rising social tensions, economic crisis, and strained relations with the international community defined the region.

Russia remained a key driver of these regional trends as well as a global leader in the authoritarian resurgence against civil society and democratic norms. Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, and the Kyrgyz Republic prepared or passed laws targeting NGOs and their international partners modeled on Russian legislation. Russia's economic downturn rippled across the entire region at the same time that Moscow moved to more closely bind regional economies through the Eurasian Economic Union. While the extent and nature of authoritarian pushback varied by country, overall a fundamental struggle threatening to undo decades of work by NED and other donors intensified during 2015. The Endowment actively adapted to deteriorating conditions and new restrictions by finding new ways to continue effectively supporting civil society.

The Russian government continued consolidating its authoritarian turn at home while pursuing an aggressive policy abroad. In a chilling signal to dissenters, opposition politician Boris Nemtsov was gunned down in Moscow in February. Partly to honor his legacy, Russia's democratic opposition formed a coalition ahead of regional elections in September, but its candidates were blocked from the ballot everywhere but Kostroma, where the opposition failed

to win any seats in the regional legislature. An ongoing state campaign of harassment, misinformation, and intimidation increased pressure on civil society.

Azerbaijan also consolidated its authoritarian turn, moving to eliminate any criticism of the regime, close international NGOs, restrict basic freedoms, and jail government critics. Despite the release of Leyla and Arif Yunus, more than 90 political prisoners remained behind bars, including leading journalists, human rights activists, and lawyers. NED continued to support activists at risk and advocates for political prisoners, and to work with groups on an individual basis to adapt to changing circumstances.

Georgia remained the region's best example of a transitioning democracy, as it continued to institutionalize democratic reform by introducing direct election of mayors and strengthening the judiciary. But at the same time, bitter and polarizing political disputes threatened to undermine these gains. In anticipation of a wide-open race during the next round of parliamentary elections in 2016, the Endowment prioritized support for national-level legislative reform initiatives, grass roots citizen engagement and media freedom.

Freedom & Democracy Watch is an independent news service that reports on democracy and freedom in the Republic of Georgia. It is published by NED grantee [JOURNALISTS FOR THE FUTURE](#). Apart from reporting on news that concerns democratic development, the website also facilitates discussion among academics, politicians and others, and provides a space for a free exchange of ideas. Pictured here is a demonstration in favor of more women in Parliament, an event that Freedom & Democracy Watch covered.

Armenia's formal accession to the Eurasian Economic Union in January amplified its economic downturn and fueled rising discontent over the country's increasing dependence on Russia at the expense of integration with Europe. When officials announced an electricity price hike in June at the request of the Russian state-controlled monopoly that owns Armenia's electricity grid, tens of thousands took to the streets. The "Electric Yerevan" movement galvanized civil society and exposed the failure of political parties to address key social issues or work effectively with grass roots and youth constituencies. In December, a constitutional referendum to replace Armenia's semi-presidential system of government with a parliamentary system, decried by the opposition as a move by President Sarkisian to retain power, passed amid widespread allegations of electoral fraud. NED expanded its support for vote monitoring programs ahead of the referendum, while continuing to prioritize support for independent media and organizations promoting democratic ideas and values.

In Central Asia, Tajikistan experienced its biggest crisis since the end of the civil war in the 1990s. Faced with acute economic problems, growing social discontent, and fears of violent extremism, the government accelerated its crackdown on any form of dissent or opposition. Parliamentary elections in February denied any representation to the main opposition party, the Islamic Renaissance Party of Tajikistan, in a violation of the peace accord that ended the civil war. Following an alleged coup attempt by a Deputy Minister of Defense in September, the government banned the IRPT, declared it to be a terrorist organization, and arrested over 200 party leaders, activists, and members.

KAZAKHSTAN

In Kazakhstan, early elections deemed neither free nor fair extended President Nazarbayev's 25-year rule in April. The government upped its campaign to weaken civil society by passing a new NGO law, implementing restrictive laws on religious communities and the media, and using bullying tactics and elaborate GONGO schemes to thwart the development of an independent civic sector. NED expanded its support within the limited space left for civil society groups in the regions and among the Kazakh-speaking population. The [ECOLOGICAL SOCIETY "GREEN SALVATION"](#) promotes environmental responsibility and rule of law in Kazakhstan. Green Salvation obtains and analyzes information about environmental hazards, carries out monitoring, provides legal counsel, and helps individuals and community organizations take their cases to domestic and international courts. The organization also leads eco-education field trips (pictured here).

In November, the government adopted a new NGO law severely limiting the ability of independent organizations to operate freely and receive foreign funding. In this context, NED expanded its support to local and regional organizations defending human rights activists and providing legal aid to NGOs under pressure.

The Kyrgyz Republic faced the most profound challenges in its democratic development since the revolution of 2010. Despite successful parliamentary elections in October, which included a robust electoral campaign and saw six parties enter Parliament, many democratic reforms remained in danger of being undone. International NGOs experienced increasing operational problems due to government obstruction, while local NGOs were threatened with restrictive legislation modeled on Russia's "foreign agent law." NED continues to stand with local civil society as it promotes good governance and basic human rights, defends civil society and human rights activists, and fosters regional cooperation against anti-democratic trends.

In the most authoritarian countries of Eurasia, seemingly stagnant conditions limit civil society freedom. Nonetheless, in Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, the 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 2015 grants. To learn more about NED grants and grantees, visit www.NED.org/WhereWeWork □



The Russian newspaper *Kommersant* reported that at the time of Boris Nemtsov's murder, all security cameras in the area were switched off for maintenance. The murder happened the day before Nemtsov was due to lead the opposition march *Vesna* ("Spring"), a street demonstration organized to protest economic conditions in Russia and the war in Ukraine. Tens of thousands of people took to the streets and marched through central Moscow to honor Nemtsov, carrying his portrait and banners that read, "Heroes Don't Die."



In Focus

Death in Moscow

THE ASSASSINATION OF BORIS NEMTSOV

On February 27, 2015, Boris Nemtsov was gunned down as he was crossing Bolshoy Moskvoretsky Bridge, a stone's throw from the Kremlin.

Unlike the journalist Anna Politkovskaya, the human rights defender Natalya Estemirova, the auditor Sergei Magnitsky, and many other martyred critics of Putin's Russia, Boris Nemtsov was a political leader, a former Deputy Prime Minister, and elected Governor who was once considered a possible heir to the reform President Boris Yeltsin. He offered an alternative vision for Russia, one that Putin has systematically assaulted since he took power in 1999 in a restoration of Kremlin and FSB hard-liners.

Looking back over these last 15 years, one can see an inexorable process of the centralization of power in the Kremlin, the repression of human rights and independent journalism, the use of regime propaganda to demonize all opponents and to whip up nationalist hatred, and the projection of harsh military power against alleged internal and foreign enemies, first in Chechnya, then in Georgia, and today in Ukraine. Putin has followed an integrated strategy, using fear of terrorism and foreign enemies as a mobilizing tool to consolidate unchallenged internal control. There is no separation here between conducting foreign wars and repressing internal enemies. Putin is fighting a single war with a single objective—to prop up a system of personalized power, using that power to steal from the people and eliminating every challenge to it.

Nemtsov's liberal vision of a country with human rights, political competition, and the rule of law represented a threat to Putin's system, and his readiness to speak out, to hold demonstrations, and to organize politically took great courage. He also boldly sought to gain international support for Russian democracy. He visited Washington in 2010

to speak in favor of the Magnitsky Act. He came again in 2012 to share information about the enormous corruption taking place in Sochi, his hometown, in connection with preparations for the 2014 Winter Olympics. In the weeks before his murder, he was writing a report on Ukraine charging that Russian troops were fighting alongside separatists in eastern Ukraine, an allegation the Kremlin continues to deny.

The young democratic activist Oleg Kozlovsky wrote: "Boris was a very honest person who stood up for truth in spite of all. I have just returned from the mourning march for Boris. It was a huge, orderly, dignified demonstration of solidarity. Thousands after thousands of Muscovites went to show that they were not scared into silence."

But will they be able to save Russia? All of us have a stake in the answer to that question.

Excerpted from NED President Carl Gershman's article, "Putin's War and the Murder of Boris Nemtsov" as it appeared the *World Affairs Journal* on March 2, 2015





ARMENIA

The **ARMENIAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AND SECURITY AFFAIRS** held a policy seminar on “Challenges to Armenia’s energy security.” Areg Galstyan, Armenia’s Deputy Minister of Energy and Natural Resources, participated in the seminar, which discussed challenges to Armenia’s energy security, Russia’s energy tools of dominance, and perspectives for diversifications of Armenia’s energy policy.

Днів Нехтування Правами Перес



HUMAN RIGHTS CENTER “POSTUP,” originally based in Luhansk, Ukraine, cooperates with 35 NGOs from Luhansk, Donetsk, Kyiv and Crimea that constitute the Vostok SOS initiative. During and after the 2014 Maidan protests, the Center conducted investigations and spotlighted human rights violations in eastern Ukraine and Crimea. The organization was forced to relocate to Kyiv due to the conflict, where it provides ongoing assistance to IDPs and advocates for human rights reform.

NED Grants in

Europe

eastern & central

2015 was a difficult year for Europe.

Beset by political, economic and social discord, the continent was more divided than at any time since the Wall came down. Political extremism, financial woes, terrorism, and a refugee crisis shook the European Union's solidarity. The democracies of Central Europe suffered setbacks as far-right movements, nationalism and intolerance grew. The Eastern Partnership states that had inked Association Agreements in 2014 were slow to enact needed reforms, leading to growing political instability. In Southeastern Europe, transitions either stagnated or regressed.

Compounding the region's specific post-communist and post-conflict challenges are the common problems of corruption, weak institutions, and political polarization. These difficulties are being exploited by Russia and other authoritarian forces to discredit liberal democracy and thwart any turn to the West in the region.

In response, the Endowment increased the scope of its support to the region. To address democratic decline, NED helped civil society to foster greater accountability of governments and politicians. NED reengaged with past partners to defend the gains made in Central Europe since 1989 and boosted support to civil society groups in Eastern and Southeastern Europe that promoted reforms and defended space for alternative views.

Ukraine struggled to carry out reforms during the year after the Maidan protests and election of a new government. While the Poroshenko government adopted important new laws, the pace and scope of change disappointed many. In response, NED's partners promoted a reform agenda and facilitated dialogue between the government and society.

Corruption remained the single most important internal challenge to restoring the country to the path of democracy. NED assisted organizations increasing transparency and accountability at the regional and central government levels by advocating for changes to the regulatory framework, creating tools to take advantage of new transparency measures, and promoting civic engagement to ensure the implementation of reforms.

Ukraine also grappled with external threats. Russian aggression has led to death of more than 10,000 and displacement of 1.5 million people. However, the government often lacked the capacity to address some of the longer-term dangers caused by this damage to the country's social fabric. As a result, NED supported projects that assisted IDPs in integrating into new communities and veterans in rejoining civilian life. The Endowment increased its support for groups working to promote social cohesion across regions.

Belarus held a presidential election in October 2015 that reasserted Alexander Lukashenka's hold on power. A splintered opposition failed to position

itself as a viable alternative. However, the country's economic crisis and government's desire to be more independent from the Kremlin pushed Lukashenka to reduce repression and seek Western support. At the same time, Russia increased its pressure, bombarding Belarus with propaganda. NED responded by supporting independent sources of information providing an objective viewpoint on the country's political, economic and international challenges. Taking advantage of the relaxation, NED strengthened the capacity of civil society organizations.

Moldova's democratic transition deteriorated in 2015. The slow pace of reforms and high-profile corruption scandals discredited the governing coalition and increased political instability. As Moldovans took to the streets to demand more decisive steps to fight corruption, NED supported partners that monitored public procurement, fostered the transparency of local budgets, scrutinized the assets and performance of judges, and conducted journalism investigations into corruption. A second focus was to strengthen civil society and promote human rights in the country's regions, including Transnistria and Gagauzia.

As Bosnia and Herzegovina marked the 20th anniversary of peace, meaningful progress towards a more functional and stable state remained elusive. The international community offered a new plan to revive the country's stalled reforms, and NED support to analytical and accountability organizations helped civil society to contribute to the reform process. Important watchdog work also took place outside of Sarajevo, where NED assisted organizations operating in difficult environments and receiving little or no other support.

SERBIA

While Serbia has made significant progress toward democratic consolidation, it has regressed in key areas. A chief area of concern is the shrinking media environment. NED grantees were targeted, but remained committed to providing fora for critical thinking and open discussion. Pictured here, the **VOJVODINA CIVIC CENTER** held open-air debates on human rights issues rarely discussed in pro-government media. The Center worked to raise awareness about human rights abuses perpetuated in Vojvodina during the 1990s by producing a multiyear, multimedia project documenting "Untold Stories." This project in 2015 focused on peace movements and civic resistance opposing the conflicts.

Macedonia's democratic deficits made international headlines as the country spiraled into political crisis and citizens protested against corruption. An EU-brokered political deal mandated early parliamentary elections and the investigation of allegations of high-level misconduct. NED grantees promoted civic participation to overcome deep political polarization, and the vulnerability of ethnic communities to political exploitation.

Opposition protests and a parliamentary blockade in Kosovo stalled the moderate progress made in implementing the 2013 Brussels Agreement. Citizens expressed growing discontent with the lack of accountability in the country's political structures. In response, NED supported watchdog and advocacy initiatives that monitored institutional performance and fostered reform, with a focus on and fighting corruption at the local and central government levels.

In Albania, local elections in June 2015 demonstrated the country's democratic progress. However, lingering challenges related to good governance and public accountability remain. NED grantees included watchdog organizations and investigative media that fostered accountability at the local and central government levels, particularly by using new media to monitor government performance and amplify the demand for more responsible and responsive political leaders.

The following pages highlight the work of NED partners across the region, and include a list of 2015 grants. To learn more about NED grants and grantees, visit www.NED.org/WhereWeWork □



CHANGING THE CULTURE

ACCOUNTABILITY THROUGH FACT-CHECKING

In many young democracies, fact-checking organizations have taken the lead in pushing for political accountability and changes in political cultures that allow officials to hide their poor performance or misuse of public office behind populist rhetoric.

Media outlets and NGOs recognize the power of fact-checking and promise-tracking tools that were pioneered in the United States and have seen impressive growth around the world over the last several years. According to Duke University, 75 such sites currently exist in countries from Argentina to Serbia, and from South Korea to South Africa.

The Endowment has played a lead role in developing, supporting and expanding these sites in the Europe region. Today, every country in Southeast Europe has a fact-checking site, as do Ukraine and Moldova.

The **POYNTER INSTITUTE** is using NED assistance to facilitate a global network of fact-checkers that is a crucial source of support and innovation for new and old fact-checking sites alike. Since 2014, its annual fact-checking summits have created opportunities for NED grantees to come together, share knowledge and experiences, and refine new ideas. The **CENTER FOR RESEARCH, ACCOUNTABILITY AND TRANSPARENCY** (CRTA) in Serbia, which pioneered the Western Balkan region's first fact-checking site, was inspired by members in the network to expand to television and now has a weekly fact-checking segment on a leading station that broadcasts across the region.

As activists and journalists increasingly use new media to foster better standards of

democratic governance and hold politicians and officials more accountable to the public, NED is facilitating additional opportunities for fact-checking watchdog groups to share best practices and leverage each other's specific expertise and comparative advantages. The annual **POINT - POLITICAL ACCOUNTABILITY AND NEW TECHNOLOGIES CONFERENCE** (pictured here) in Sarajevo continues to be the region's premier annual gathering of local and global activists who employ new technologies in their work. Run by Bosnia's fact-checking organization **WHY NOT?**, the conference brings together an average of 250 participants and features over 50 presentations highlighting innovative ways of using new technologies to enhance the work of civil society.

Most importantly, the NED-supported event forges new partnerships between organizations which had no previous opportunity to meet, as well as generates innovative ideas for regional and single-country projects. To date, the conference's networking and sharing of ideas have generated at least five new initiatives, of which the most prominent was the regionalization of the fact-checking sites and their sustained cooperation. Vigorous accountability mechanisms are an essential ingredient of effective democratic governance. NED is proud to stand with the work of these grantees in their efforts towards political accountability. ▣





NED Grants in

& Latin America the Caribbean

In 2015, Latin America witnessed important developments that changed the region.


The U.S. restored diplomatic relations with Cuba. The Colombian government reached an accord with the FARC on transitional justice and disarmament and agreed to end the armed conflict in 2016. In May 2015, Luis Almagro was unanimously elected as the OAS Secretary General; shortly thereafter, he reaffirmed the Organization's role as a safeguard for democracy and human rights in the Americas.

In Guatemala and Brazil, major corruption scandals erupted that had transnational implications. In Guatemala, the former vice-president, former president, and numerous cabinet members were forced to resign after a UN-appointed anti-impunity commission uncovered a vast criminal scheme in which taxes and customs revenues were illegally diverted. This case generated widespread outrage and mass citizen mobilizations. The corruption scandal coincided with Guatemala's elections, and Jimmy Morales, a political outsider who ran on an anti-corruption platform, ultimately won the presidency. In this changing environment, the Endowment continued to support civil society organizations to promote government transparency and accountability, such as Acción Ciudadana, which promotes transparency in the government procurement system. And with 70 percent of the

population under age 35, NED will also continue supporting organizations that bring youth into the civil society sector, such as Por Una Vida Digna, which works to incorporate youth perspectives on crime prevention into the political platforms of electoral candidates.

Brazilian authorities also discovered a massive corruption scheme involving the country's state-owned oil company, a leading political party, and a transnational construction company. In both the Guatemalan and Brazilian corruption scandals, independent judiciaries and media as well as politically active citizenries contributed to the prosecution of high-ranking officials – a significant departure from the region's customary impunity. NED grantee Instituto de Defensa Legal took part in this process as it supported anti-

In Peru, [ASOCIACIÓN DE PERIODISMO DE INVESTIGACIÓN OJO PÚBLICO](#) gathers information about the wealth and declared assets of senior judges and members of the Supreme Court. The organization publishes its findings and conducts trainings for civil society and journalists on investigative journalism as a tool for combatting corruption. Documents related to corruption cases are delivered by the organization on a daily basis to Peru's Department of Justice.



corruption efforts in several countries, including Brazil, to produce country-level assessments and recommendations for combatting corruption.

In Argentina and Venezuela, NED grantees played key roles to promote free and fair elections. In Argentina, grantee Fundación la Voz Publica provided fact-checking of presidential campaign coverage, candidates' radio spots, and of the October 2015 presidential debate. The Centro de Implementación de Políticas Públicas para la Equidad y el Crecimiento encouraged presidential candidates to participate in an issue-based debate in the lead-up to elections. Mauricio Macri won Argentina's presidential election, an outcome that symbolized the end of the Kirchner-imposed, populist and authoritarian political model.

In Venezuela, legislative elections in December 2015 gave the political opposition a super majority in the National Assembly for the first time in 18 years of Chavista rule. A strong opposition presence in the legislative branch may help reverse Venezuela's devastatingly antidemocratic government.

In both countries, new administrations will have to guide their respective societies through major institutional, economic, and fiscal adjustments to reverse authoritarian legacies. NED-supported efforts focused on government accountability and transparency. NED also continued to support ongoing initiatives on investigative journalism, reducing ideological polarization, defending journalists, and training and promoting emerging democratic actors.

Regionally, developments signal a decline in support for the populist and authoritarian models that plagued the region at the beginning of the 21st century, and a corresponding increase in legitimacy for democracy.

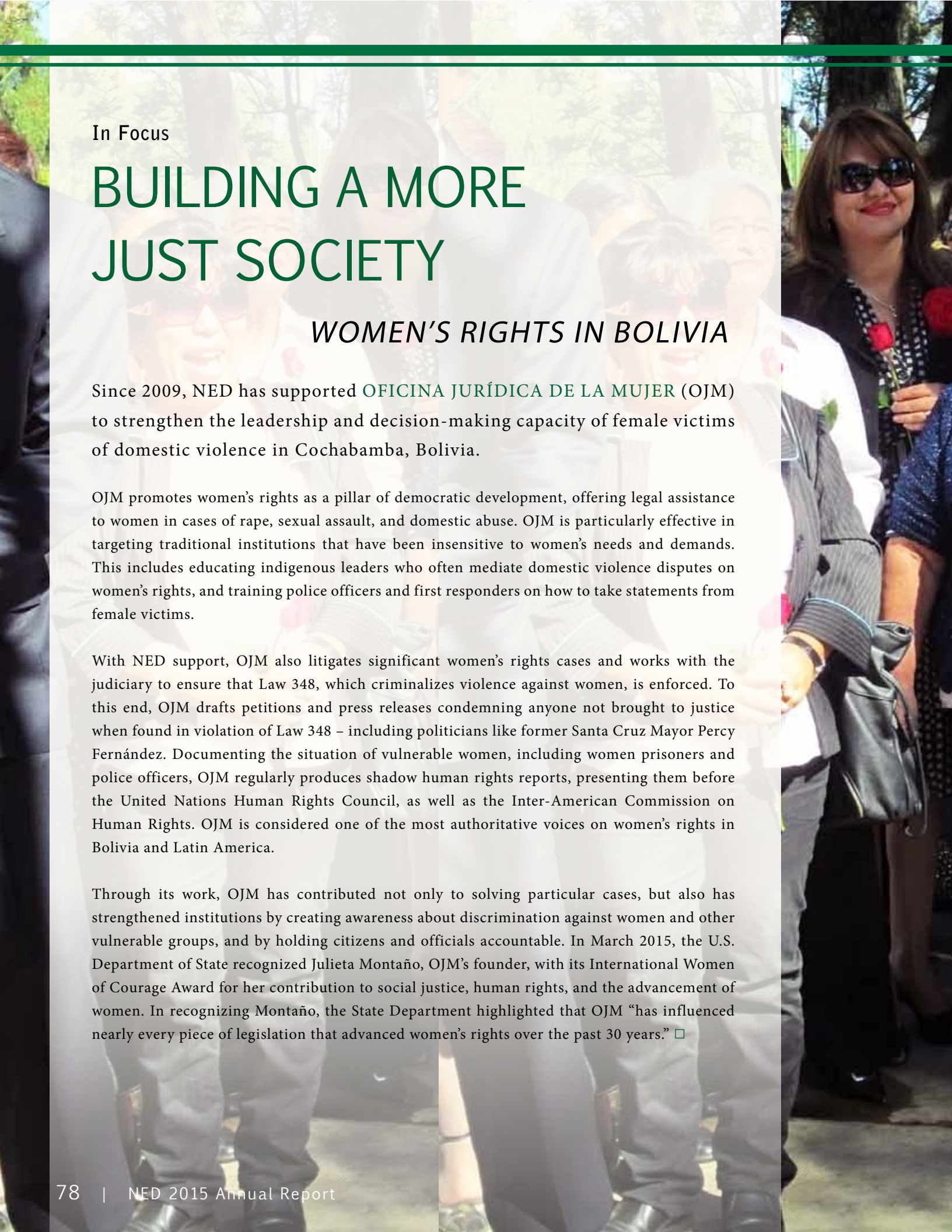
Unfortunately, these positive developments coincide with an economic recession that may impact the capacity of these countries to provide access to basic public goods and services. In response, NED grantees worked to support democracy and strengthen institutions across the region. Forum 2000 Foundation engaged democratic actors region-wide, organizing a two-day conference in San José, Costa Rica, to analyze and respond more strategically to new democratic challenges in Latin America.

Throughout Latin America, the elusiveness of justice often leads to public disenchantment and distrust of government institutions, particularly among marginalized populations. In response, NED grantees have taken on emerging, complex questions of mitigating tensions among disparate legal traditions. This process has allowed them to frame indigenous rights in democratic terms and include the rights and perspectives of all players in development projects. Mexico's Centro Profesional Indígena de Asesoría, Defensa y Traducción, for example, includes indigenous leaders from Oaxaca in its public policy formulation process, successfully securing the participation of key indigenous leaders and communities in meetings with civil servants to discuss the possibilities and challenges posed by judicial pluralism. This formal collaboration is unprecedented in Mexico, particularly in the context of judicial reform, which has largely overlooked the role of indigenous peoples' legal systems in providing justice.

The following pages offer more detail about democracy activists in Latin America and the Caribbean; this section also lists NED's grantees in the region. To learn more about NED grants and grantees, visit www.NED.org/WhereWeWork □

In Ecuador, youth leaders participate in a team-building exercise ahead of their communications workshop.





In Focus

BUILDING A MORE JUST SOCIETY

WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN BOLIVIA

Since 2009, NED has supported **OFICINA JURÍDICA DE LA MUJER (OJM)** to strengthen the leadership and decision-making capacity of female victims of domestic violence in Cochabamba, Bolivia.

OJM promotes women's rights as a pillar of democratic development, offering legal assistance to women in cases of rape, sexual assault, and domestic abuse. OJM is particularly effective in targeting traditional institutions that have been insensitive to women's needs and demands. This includes educating indigenous leaders who often mediate domestic violence disputes on women's rights, and training police officers and first responders on how to take statements from female victims.

With NED support, OJM also litigates significant women's rights cases and works with the judiciary to ensure that Law 348, which criminalizes violence against women, is enforced. To this end, OJM drafts petitions and press releases condemning anyone not brought to justice when found in violation of Law 348 – including politicians like former Santa Cruz Mayor Percy Fernández. Documenting the situation of vulnerable women, including women prisoners and police officers, OJM regularly produces shadow human rights reports, presenting them before the United Nations Human Rights Council, as well as the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights. OJM is considered one of the most authoritative voices on women's rights in Bolivia and Latin America.

Through its work, OJM has contributed not only to solving particular cases, but also has strengthened institutions by creating awareness about discrimination against women and other vulnerable groups, and by holding citizens and officials accountable. In March 2015, the U.S. Department of State recognized Julieta Montaña, OJM's founder, with its International Women of Courage Award for her contribution to social justice, human rights, and the advancement of women. In recognizing Montaña, the State Department highlighted that OJM “has influenced nearly every piece of legislation that advanced women's rights over the past 30 years.” □









NED Grants in the

Middle East & North Africa

Throughout the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), societies and governments struggled to contain the spread of radicalization, wars, violence, and terrorism to the detriment of civil society.

Civil society struggled to preserve its independence and influence in the midst of communal conflicts, worsening economies, deteriorating public services, and energized radical and illiberal movements. Cities in Yemen, Iraq, Syria, and Libya became lawless, fell to militias, or were flooded by internally displaced families. Regional instability and power vacuums drew global and regional powers into open-ended armed conflict affecting millions.

As violence increased, nearly one million refugees crossed the Mediterranean in a desperate search for humanitarian refuge in Europe. The self-proclaimed Islamic State (IS) extended its terror beyond MENA countries and reached European capitals. Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Iran and other authoritarian governments cracked down on dissidents, curtailed public space, and restricted fundamental freedoms.

In view of the tougher and complex MENA environments, NED supported a series of regional and national meetings for civil society to plan, strategize and prioritize their goals. Throughout the region, NED supported civic groups advocating accountability at local and national levels, groups campaigning for legislative reforms, and forums to engage elected officials. In particular, NED strengthened policy forums and resource centers on democratic transitions, supported civic education

platforms reflecting peaceful Muslim values, and promoted investigative journalism.

Iraq's drop in oil income and national street protests against the lack of government services forced the Iraqi prime minister to reallocate public spending and commit to a cabinet reshuffle. These reform attempts, however, were stymied by the country's fraught ethnic, sectarian, and partisan power-sharing formula. Iraq's war efforts against IS and the troubling influence of irregular militias have also limited the scope of lasting reforms. NED expanded its support to build the capacities of a new generation of youth leaders, media centers, and think tanks.

As Egypt's security deteriorated, the government expanded its crackdown on liberal and secular activists as well as independent media. A few brave civic groups continued to push for political

NAHNOO engages diverse groups of Lebanese youth to bridge sectarian and political divides through youth empowerment and civic engagement.

pluralism and free society, and NED supported civil society initiatives to consolidate and protect civic space, inform and influence policymakers, and advocate for responsive governance. NED also strengthened democratic actors in several critical sectors, including media, human rights, the private sector, and labor.

Morocco continued making steady progress towards democratization, enacting a new legislative framework that provides new opportunities for civil society to mobilize local stakeholders and engage local governments on citizens' needs. NED expanded its support to civil society to advocate for civic rights, promote government accountability, and participate in setting the legislative agenda. NED continued its support for human rights and press freedom, policy forums, and initiatives engaging youth and women in decision-making processes.

Afghanistan's fragile unity government struggled to act on its ambitious reform and anti-corruption agenda while confronting a multi-faceted insurgency and a dramatically contracting economy. The prospect of talks with the Taliban propelled civil society and women's groups to launch national campaigns to protect their rights. Independent media groups continued to provide critical oversight as watchdogs for governmental accountability. NED supported a wide range of civic initiatives, including a national coordination meeting between media groups, youth, and women. CIPE helped business leaders develop coalitions on provincial and national business plans

and build oversight mechanisms. NED also supported policy forums and think tanks that raised the quality of policy debate in Kabul.

Turkey's democratic progress suffered additional setbacks with increased media restrictions, violence in the Kurdish region, and polarized politics. NED supported platforms for citizen-state dialogue, anti-discrimination campaigns, and defenders of independent journalism. Through its youth and women's political academies and opinion polls, IRI assisted youth and women to engage with Turkish political parties. NDI supported the Checks and Balances Network, which promotes government accountability.

Iran, Algeria, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, and other authoritarian states maintained political stability through repression and gross violations of human rights. Nonetheless, civic and human rights activists maintained extensive networks, exposed human rights violations, and extended solidarity and support to embattled local human rights groups. NED supported online and in-field networks of human rights activists to inspire one another, share literature and resources, and provide solidarity. NED also supported such networks in countries in conflict in Yemen, Syria, and Libya.


The following pages highlight the work of NED partners across the region, and include a list of 2015 grants. To learn more about NED grants and grantees, visit www.NED.org/WhereWeWork □

TUNISIA

Despite attacks against foreign tourists, Tunisia's economy and democratic system proved resilient. Civil society, political parties, labor, and government closed ranks in national solidarity and celebration of their nascent democracy. NED expanded its support for Tunisia's diverse and dynamic civil society, including good governance, decentralization, human rights, transitional justice, inclusion of women and youth, policy analysis and advocacy, media reforms, labor, and business associations. This page: [WASABI](#) led two-day advocacy workshops in several governorates for 180 youth; opposite, from top: the [ASSOCIATION FOR CITIZENSHIP AND NORTHWEST DEVELOPMENT](#) held trainings on public oversight mechanisms; the [SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND EMPOWERMENT CENTER](#) held a workshop on Islamic references to peace and pluralism; and the [FREE WOMAN ASSOCIATION](#) held capacity building and strategic planning workshops.







In Focus

MAKING HISTORY

A PIONEER IN JORDAN'S POLITICAL LIFE

With NED support, the [COMMUNITY MEDIA NETWORK](#) (CMN) has regularly brought Members of Parliament (MPs) and their constituents together for open, town-hall style meetings for the first time in Jordan's history. These forums provide a rare public opportunity for citizens to raise governance concerns directly with their elected representatives.

While elections have been held since 1989, Jordan's parliament has struggled to define itself as an independent legislative institution. The CMN has leveraged NED support for a series of projects that each broke new ground in holding the Jordanian parliament accountable to the voting public. CMN initially designed a website that gathered information – otherwise inaccessible to the public – on the backgrounds and voting records of MPs. In response to public interest, the group's programming evolved to include a weekly radio program, and then well-attended town hall meetings that draw the MPs into direct interaction with their constituents. These town hall meetings often raise critical topics facing a kingdom that struggles to maintain stability in the center of a turbulent region.

Because CMN is primarily a media outlet, the group's parliamentary monitoring and engagement work is widely circulated. In addition to reaching its radio audience, as well as a live audience of hundreds, CMN makes its programs available online; feedback indicates a robust audience among both MPs and the general public. As Jordan's most consistent parliamentary watchdog, CMN was a pioneer and remains a leader in facilitating interaction between MPs and their constituents on a regular basis. This makes it a unique contributor to political life in Jordan. □

Pictured here: Amman, Jordan (image by Edgardo W. Olivera, Creative Commons)





AFGHANISTAN

AFGHANS FOR PROGRESSIVE THINKING (APT) works to promote discussion forums among Afghan youth and to strengthen university students' critical thinking and public speaking skills. In 2015, APT organized introductory debate workshops, conducted in Dari, at 15 universities; held English-language debate workshops for existing university-based debate clubs; conducted promotional exhibition debates in three cities; and organized seven debate tournaments. Pictured here are participants from the Youth and Peace Debate Tournament held in Balkh in northern Afghanistan.

Global

NED Grants

Throughout the world, the challenges to democracy serve as a reminder that the global trajectory of democratic change is far from straightforward.

For the ninth consecutive year, Freedom House recorded serious declines in the level of democracy worldwide. While bright spots emerged in some parts of the world in the past year—elections in Nigeria and Sri Lanka being two encouraging examples—such advances have been few and far between compared with the experiences of those countries facing a spectrum of troubling developments, ranging from stalled reforms, destabilizing conflicts, the tightening of autocrats' powers, and the rise of anti-democratic state and non-state forces. Yet even as these obstacles continue to be immense, the commitment of advocates to push for democracy remains just as formidable.

The Endowment's Global program aims to strengthen the impact of democracy advocates' efforts by leveraging the work of organizations based in multiple regions to address crosscutting challenges. The program connects them to one another to learn and share technical expertise, provide solidarity, collaborate on key areas of advocacy, and foster the development and implementation of norms to strengthen democracy.

Read the 2015 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 **WOMEN'S DEMOCRACY NETWORK** is an initiative of the International Republican Institute to increase women's political participation, leadership and representation in elected office in countries throughout the world.



CIMA

THE INTERNATIONAL MEDIA ASSOCIATION

World Press Freedom Day 2015





CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL MEDIA ASSISTANCE

The Center for International Media Assistance (CIMA) is a research and knowledge platform that aims to improve 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 convenes donors, implementers, academics, journalists and other stakeholders in the media development community. The center coordinates working groups and discussions and commissions reports and commentary on issues critical to the field.

Catalyst Activities

Much of CIMA's work in 2015 focused on building political will for supporting independent news media and creating a favorable legal, regulatory, and business environment for media to flourish around the world.

In November, CIMA helped to organize a pan-Latin America conference in Bogota, Colombia, the first in a global series of regional consultations to diagnose the problems facing independent media. The conference, conducted in cooperation with Deutsche Welle Akademie, the special rapporteur for freedom of expression at the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, UNESCO, and several other partners, brought together more than 130 representatives of civil society and media watchdog NGOs, broadcast regulators, academics, media industry representatives, government officials, and others in the media and development sectors from all over Latin America.



CIMA held panel on “Politics and Rethinking Media Development” in September.

In connection with this body of work, CIMA published *The Politics of Media Development*, which argues that the media development community must rethink its approaches to public sector engagement in efforts to improve the environment for media systems in emerging and fragile democracies.

CIMA also worked with external partners to successfully press for inclusion of media indicators in the Sustainable Development Goals agenda at the United Nations. This is important in order to ensure that media development is given due consideration in overseas development assistance budgets.

Publications

CIMA produces research reports on key topics in media development and also publishes papers related to its events and working groups. In 2015, CIMA published 15 research papers, including *Captured News Media; The Case of Turkey* and *Watchdogs Under Watch: Media in the Age of Cyber Surveillance*.

The Center also introduced a new form of briefing paper called “Insights.” These are shorter reports that allow the authors more voice, based on their expertise, with the goal of making the information more accessible. The first two published were *Environmental Reporting and Media Development*:

Equipping Journalists with the Training and Tools to Cover a Critical Beat and *Global Journalism Education: A Missed Opportunity for Media Development?*

CIMA continued its cooperation with the World Association of Newspapers and News Publishers (WAN-IFRA) in research about indirect censorship via governments’ manipulation of advertising budgets to influence the news media, publishing reports centered on Serbia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Mexico, and Hungary.

All of CIMA’s reports are available for free download at <http://cima.ned.org/publications>. CIMA also still features its weekly mailings: Media News and the Digital Media Mashup.

Events

CIMA organizes panel discussions, working groups, and roundtables featuring practitioners and academics to investigate issues in media development. This year, CIMA held nine public events, including “Measuring The Audience: Why It Matters to Independent News Media” and “Non-Profit Journalism Centers: A Model for Export?”

In connection with World Press Freedom Day 2015, CIMA and the NED’s Africa program staff held

CIMA

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL MEDIA ASSISTANCE

INSIGHTS



CIMA's new briefing series, launched in 2015, is called "Insights."

an all-day event, "Journalism On the Offensive in Africa," before a large audience and with widespread following on social media. Featured participants included Congresswoman Karen Bass; Ambassador Princeton Lyman; Maini Kiai, the UN Special Rapporteur on the rights of freedom of assembly and association; and journalists from Ethiopia, Burundi, The Gambia, Sudan, DRC, Zimbabwe, and Nigeria.

Summaries as well as video and audio recordings of CIMA events can be found at <http://cima.ned.org/events>.

Blog

CIMA produced more than 85 posts on its blog, The Source. The blog highlights the center's activities, NED's work in the media sector, and important topics to the media development field. It features guest posts from foreign journalists and others interested in the field of media development. The posts ranged in topics from "The Self-Defeating Censorship of Xi Jinping" and "Violence Against Saudi Arabian Blogger" to "Challenging Media Ownership by Brazilian Politicians" and "Making the Case for Media's Impact on Democracy."

All of CIMA's blog posts can be found at <http://cima.ned.org/blog>.

The 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

Stephen Fuzesi, Jr.

William A. Galston

Suzanne Garment

Ellen Hume

Gerald Hyman

Alex Jones

Shanthi Kalathil

Susan King

Craig LaMay

Caroline Little

William Orme

Dale Peskin

Adam Clayton Powell III

Monroe Price

Adam Schiff

Marguerite Sullivan

Richard Winfield





Initiated by the Endowment in 1999, the World Movement for Democracy is a global network of democrats, including activists, practitioners, scholars, policy makers, and funders, who collaborate, convene, and cooperate in the promotion of democracy. The World Movement facilitates information sharing and developing strategies for bolstering democratic movements and leveraging the support provided by democracy assistance organizations like NED.

The World Movement's ongoing projects, including the Civic Space Initiative, Defending Civil Society, and World Youth Movement for Democracy (WYMD), were reinforced by the launch of the Set Them Free campaign and the convening of the Eighth Global Assembly in Seoul, Korea. In 2015, the World Movement has continued to build on its foundational role as a connector for democrats and support them in their fight against shrinking democratic political spaces across the world. United by this overarching goal, our activities create opportunities for activists to share common struggles and develop solutions to combat non-democratic forces in their home countries.

Steering Committee Statement - "A Call for Democratic Renewal"

In 2015, the Steering Committee of the World Movement for Democracy issued a public statement, "A Call for Democratic Renewal." In the document, the Committee identified four core dimensions on which the international democratic community needs to focus their work: defending civil society against resurgent authoritarianism, protecting cyberspace as a medium of free expression, preparing for successful democratic transitions, and strengthening global democratic norms. The statement's recommendations have been integrated into the Secretariat's action plan and will continue to inform the Secretariat's future activities. To read the statement, please visit www.movedemocracy.org.

The Prime Minister of the Republic of Korea, Hwang Kyo-ahn, gave the keynote address at the Eighth Global Assembly, which was held in Seoul in November.



The World Movement's Steering Committee.

Eighth Global Assembly

The Eighth Global Assembly was held on November 1-4, 2015 in Seoul, South Korea under the theme “Empowering Civil Society for Democracy and Its Renewal,” which was drawn from the Steering Committee statement. More than 400 democracy activists and practitioners from over 100 countries participated in more than 50 sessions in which they shared expertise, strategized, and agreed on key recommendations regarding the global challenge of closing democratic space and resurgent authoritarianism.

The World Movement's Courage Tribute Awards were awarded to advocates for the Rohingya People, investigative journalists in Africa, and the Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong, for working in particularly difficult circumstances outside of the spotlight of the world's attention. In the aftermath of the Assembly, the World Movement will continue building and strengthening international solidarity through robust engagement with participants, more active social media communications, and modest but targeted initiatives.

To see videos and session summaries of the Assembly, please visit www.movedemocracy.org/eighth-assembly.

Civic Space Initiative

To help facilitate the development of norms protecting democratic political space, the World Movement organized a series of consultations between civil society and the UN Special Rapporteur (UNSR) on the rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and of association. These consultations contributed to the drafting process for UNSR reports to the United Nations, including thematic reports to the UN General Assembly and UN Human Rights Council. The World Movement also worked with the UNSR to organize regional meetings in Asia, Africa, and Latin America to solicit updated information relevant to UNSR's mandate and disseminate UNSR reports widely among civil society groups and other stakeholders in the regions.

As negative narratives on civil society and democracy activists have been increasingly widespread, the World Movement sought to highlight the courageous work of democracy activists. In 2015, the World Movement rounded out its Faces of Civil Society film series with the launch of two new films—*Fatima* and *Walking a Fine Line*. In *Fatima*, Fatima Al Bahadly shared her story of providing alternatives to a challenging reality in Iraq's war-torn southern city of Basra. In *Walking a Fine Line*, a Burmese movie actor turned activist recounted his remarkable story of using his celebrity status to mobilize his fellow citizens around pressing social issues. The World Movement facilitated multiple screenings and discussions, which engaged thousands of citizens in Nigeria, Zimbabwe, the Philippines, Burma, and various cities in the Middle East and North Africa. *Walking a Fine Line* has been also broadcast through a Burmese independent satellite TV channel, reaching out to nearly 10 million people.

The “Set Them Free” campaign launched in May 2015, seeking to raise awareness for democracy activists who have been unjustly imprisoned by their governments for defending and promoting fundamental freedoms and equality for all. At the end of 2015, we celebrated the release of prisoners from Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Ethiopia, Venezuela, and Vietnam amongst others, although many more activists remain imprisoned. We invite you to join us by participating in the campaign at www.helpsetthemfree.org.

The Civic Space Initiative (CSI) is a joint initiative of ARTICLE 19, CIVICUS: World Alliance for Citizen Participation, International Center for Not-for-Profit Law, and the World Movement for Democracy. Support for the CSI is provided by the Government of Sweden.



The World Youth Movement led a digital campaign in support of Nigeria's "Vote Not Fight" initiative.

World Youth Movement for Democracy

The World Movement's youth network, World Youth Movement for Democracy (WYMD), is committed to empowering the next generation of democracy leaders through its fellowship program. In 2015, WYMD hosted Hurford Youth Fellows from Afghanistan, Kyrgyzstan, and the Philippines. Mohammad Sayed (Afghanistan) focused on using accountability and transparency to promote democracy and good governance; Saadat Baigazieva (Kyrgyzstan) explored ways to build strong inclusive youth-led movements through issue-based partnerships; and Makoi Popioco's (Philippines) fellowship centered on the role of youth in protecting their rights in times of natural disaster and in combating corruption in humanitarian operations. All fellows facilitated global online discussions on key democracy issues, engaged in strategic meetings with leaders of democracy promotion organizations, conducted research, organized and lead presentations, and produced educational materials and resources to develop the World Youth Movement.

Youth activists in Liberia, Chile, Iraq, Tunisia, Bolivia, Panama, Bosnia, Mexico, and Pakistan celebrated World Youth Day for Democracy (October 18) together by organizing various events focusing on the role of youth leadership in strengthening democratic values. To further build a dynamic platform for information sharing, international solidarity, and cross border collaboration, WYMD organized and participated in an African regional conference in Dakar, Senegal in March 2015. The meeting brought together local democracy youth activists to discuss the path forward for emerging African democracy movements and the importance of developing effective and sensible partnership between civil society and political actors in advancing democratic reforms. Follow-up discussions amongst youth activists in Africa are scheduled to take place in 2016.

The Hurford Youth Fellowship Program is generously supported by the Hurford Foundation.

Global Information Sharing

The World Movement's biweekly e-newsletter, *DemocracyNews*, is a platform to share updates from democracy activists around the world. *DemocracyNews* is also the go-to source for the latest reports on issues affecting global democracy and human rights. In addition, special issues of DemocracyAlerts are sent out to spotlight issues and build solidarity with activists who are experiencing government harassment or arrests. In the past year, the World Movement issued alerts for activists in Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Belarus, Cuba, Egypt, Sudan, Tajikistan, Ukraine, and Yemen.

Visit MoveDemocracy.org to subscribe to *DemocracyNews*. Find the World Movement on Facebook at www.Facebook.com/WorldMovementforDemocracy and on Twitter at www.twitter.com/MoveDemocracy.

World Movement Networks

In 2015, the World Movement Secretariat continued to work with the following regional and functional networks, among others:

- African Democracy Forum - www.AfricaDemocracyForum.org
- Asia Democracy Network - www.adn21.asia/
- Latin America and Caribbean Network for Democracy - www.redlad.org
- Latin-American Youth Network for Democracy - www.juventudlac.org
- Network of Democracy Research Institutes - www.ndri.ned.org
- World Youth Movement for Democracy - www.democratic-youth.net/world-youth-movement-for-democracy/. □



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. 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. Marc F. Plattner and Larry Diamond serve as co-chairs of the Forum’s International Research Council and coedit the *Journal of Democracy*.

Dr. Lilia Shevtsova (*left*) spoke on “The Authoritarian Resurgence: China, Russia, Saudi Arabia, and Venezuela” in April 2015.



“The Authoritarian Resurgence: China, Russia, Saudi Arabia, and Venezuela” in April 2015.

Research and Conferences Program

The Forum’s research and analysis focus on issues of democratic transition and consolidation as well as the common challenges facing both new and established democracies. Each year the Forum convenes an extensive number of 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 concluded a series of roundtables and public events carried over from the previous year on the theme of “Resurgent Authoritarianism” and held numerous panels, expert briefings, and book launch events.

Network of Democracy Research Institutes

The Forum administers 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 2015, the Network consisted of 82 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 on Resurgent Authoritarians

In 2015, the Forum concluded its roundtable series on “Resurgent Authoritarianism,” which examined 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, which started in 2014, addressed five countries (China, Iran, Russia, Saudi Arabia, and Venezuela) individually, but also analyzed the 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 have been published in the *Journal of Democracy* and compiled into an edited volume entitled *Authoritarianism Goes Global: The Challenge to Democracy*, published by the Johns Hopkins University Press. In addition to these roundtable sessions, the Forum organized several public events on this topic and launched www.resurgentdictatorship.com, a microsite showcasing findings from the project.



Reagan-Fascell Fellow Altay Goyushov (center) on “The Crackdown on Independent Voices in Azerbaijan.”

Transitions Lecture Series

In conjunction with the Legatum Institute and *World Affairs*, the International Forum for Democratic Studies held a lecture series exploring the role of economic reform in the success of democratic development. In 2015, the series included three events detailing the interplay between economic reform and democratic development in Brazil, India, and Mexico, respectively.

25th Anniversary of the *Journal of Democracy*

In 2015, the *Journal of Democracy* celebrated its 25th anniversary. To commemorate this milestone, the *Journal* held a panel discussion on the question, “Is Democracy in Decline?” The panel featured distinguished democracy experts whose essays were also published in the *Journal*’s 25th anniversary issue. Panelists presented differing opinions on the question of democracy in decline within the debate about the future of democracy.

Twelfth Annual Seymour Martin Lipset Lecture on Democracy in the World

Andrew J. Nathan, Class of 1919 Professor of Political Science, Columbia University, delivered the twelfth annual Seymour Martin Lipset Lecture on Democracy in the World on the topic “The Puzzle of the Chinese Middle Class” at the Canadian Embassy in Washington, D.C. on October 20. An article based on the lecture, entitled “The Puzzle of the Chinese Middle Class,” was published in the April 2016 issue of the *Journal of Democracy*.

“Stifling the Public Sphere: Media and Civil Society in Egypt, Russia, and Vietnam”

Civil society and independent media play crucial roles in effective public policy-making and for improving public discourse. But in authoritarian regimes such as Egypt, Russia, and Vietnam—countries aspiring to modernization through rapidly growing Internet access—repression of civil society and the media is not just severe, but getting worse. These regimes’ political priorities compel them to crack down systematically on the very institutions that are essential for meaningful reform and economic progress. In this report, three experts assessed the shape and trajectory of civil society and the media, the restrictions that are placed on them, and how these constraints are holding each country back. Zachary Abuza (National War College) contributed the chapter on Vietnam; Sherif Mansour (Committee to Protect Journalists) contributed the chapter on Egypt; and Maria Snegovaya (Vedomosti) contributed the chapter on Russia.

The International Forum for Democratic Studies colloquium series included the following speakers and topics in 2015:

- “Women’s Resilience and Resolve in Northwest Pakistan: Championing Change in the Face of Extremism,” Shad Begum, Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow (December 9)
- “The Global Assault on Civil Society” Anne Applebaum, Legatum Institute; Michele Dunne, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace;



“The Rise of the World’s Poorest Countries,” October 2015.

- Louisa Greve, National Endowment for Democracy; and Douglas Rutzen, International Center for Not-for-Profit Law (November 17)
- “In Mistrust We Trust: Can Transparency Revive Democracy?” Ivan Krastev, Center for Liberal Democratic Studies (November 14)
- “The Rise of the World’s Poorest Countries” Steve Radelet, Georgetown University, with comments by Richard Messick, Global Anticorruption Blog (October 26)
- “Democracy Promotion and the Democracy Recession” Larry Diamond, *Journal of Democracy*; Thomas Carothers, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; Louisa Greve, National Endowment for Democracy; and Peter Lewis, Johns Hopkins University (September 18)
- “The Global Campaign Against Democratic Norms” Alexander Cooley, Columbia University; Steven Heydemann, U.S. Institute of Peace; Ronald Diebert, The Citizen Lab; and Christopher Sabatini, Latin America Goes Global (July 15)
- “Why Human Rights Matter in Policy Toward North Korea” Yoshihiro Makin, International Forum for Democratic Studies Visiting Fellow, with comments by Bruce Klingner, The Heritage Foundation (July 13)
- “Strengthening Democracy in Bangladesh Through Women’s Empowerment in Trade Unions” Lily Gomes, Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow, with comments by Tim Ryan, Solidarity Center (June 30)
- “The Threat of Religious Extremism to Women’s Participation in the Muslim World” Farahnaz Ispahani, Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow, with comments by Nina Shea, The Hudson Institute (June 25)
- “Too Scared to Post: Freedom of Expression under Ethiopia’s Anti-Terrorism Legislation” Simegnish (Lily) Y. Mengesha, Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow, with comments by Yohana Assefa, National Endowment for Democracy (June 23)
- “Election Observation in the Digital Era: Challenges and Opportunities for West Africa” Tidiani Togola, Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow, with comments by Sophia Moestrup, National Democratic Institute (June 10)
- “Rising to the Challenge: Mexico’s Push for Deeper Reform” Carlos Elizonda, Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (May 7)
- “Azerbaijan: A Test Case for Democratic Solidarity” Emin Milli, Meydan TV; Kenan Aliyev, RFE/RL’s Azerbaijani Service; and Thomas de Waal, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (May 7)
- “In the Shadows of Democracy: LGBTIQ Rights in Uganda” Pepe Julian Onziema, Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow (April 30)
- “The Authoritarian Resurgence: China, Russia, Saudi Arabia, and Venezuela” Javier Corrales, Amherst College; Andrew J. Nathan, Columbia University; Lilia Shevtsova, Brookings Institution; and Frederic Wehrey, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (April 23)



“Election Observation: How Authoritarian Regimes Muddy the Waters,” February 2015.

- “Hate Crime and Hate Speech Legislation in Russia: Lessons from Europe” Alexander Verkhovsky, SOVA Center for Information Analysis; and Dmitry Dubrovsky, Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow (April 21)
- “India 2015: Towards Economic Transformation” Rajiv Kumar, Centre for Policy Research; Carl Gershman, National Endowment for Democracy (April 16)
- “Finding What Works: Building Reform Coalitions in Brazil” Marcus Melo, Federal University of Pernambuco (February 26)
- “A Constitution for A Multinational Democratic State-Nation: The Case of Ethiopia” Negaso Gidada Solan, Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow (February 24)
- “Election Observation: How Authoritarian Regimes Muddy the Waters” Patrick Merloe, National Democratic Institute; Jan Surotchak, International Republican Institute; and Thomas O. Melia, United States Department of State (February 18)
- “Women in Saudi Arabia: A Feather in the Wind” Maliha AlShehab, Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow, with comments by Ali All-Ahmed, Institute for Gulf Affairs (February 12)
- “Challenges to Stability in Tajikistan: Parliamentary Elections in the Context of Political Islam and Russia’s Economic Crisis” Umed Babakhanov, Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow, with comments by David Abramson, United States Department of State, and Miriam Lansky, National Endowment for Democracy
- “Celebrating 25 Years of the *Journal of Democracy*: Is Democracy in Decline?” Alina Mungiu-Pippidi, Hertie School of Governance; Thomas Carothers, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; Lucan Way, University of Toronto; Steven Levitsky, Harvard University; Larry Diamond, Stanford University; Marc F. Plattner, National Endowment for Democracy (January 29)
- “Afghanistan’s Struggle for Democracy: The Need for Electoral Reform” Tabish Forugh, Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow, with comments by Scott Smith, U.S. Institute of Peace (January 27)
- “Burma 2015: The Make or Break Moment for Democratization” Zin Mar Aung, Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow, with comments by John Knaus, National Endowment for Democracy (January 22)
- “How Civil Society Engagement Can Strengthen Democracy in Zimbabwe” Arthur Gwagwa, Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow, with comments by Jeffrey Smith, Robert F. Kennedy Center for Justice and Human Rights (January 13)
- “The Crackdown on Independent Voices in Azerbaijan” Altay Goyushov, Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow; Kenan Aliyev, RFE/RL’s Azerbaijani Service; Audrey Altstadt, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars Fellow; Catherine Cosman, U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom; and Thomas O. Melia, United States Department of State, with comments by Miriam Lansky, National Endowment for Democracy (January 12).



JOURNAL OF DEMOCRACY

In 2015, the *Journal of Democracy* celebrated its 25th anniversary. To mark the occasion, the January 2015 edition featured a debate among some of the *Journal's* most prominent contributing authors exploring the question, “Is Democracy in Decline?”

Since its first appearance in 1990, the *Journal* 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 2015, the *Journal* presented an evaluation of contrasting perspectives on the status of democracy, with various authors advancing arguments for democracy's resilience, transition, and decline (with

Marc F. Plattner; Francis Fukuyama; Robert Kagan; Larry Diamond; Philippe C. Schmitter; Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way; and Thomas Carothers—January); assessed the roots behind the “public outrage” that led to the emergence of Hong Kong's Umbrella Movement (with Michael C. Davis and Victoria Tin-bor Hui—April); analyzed the new “tools, practices, and institutions” being manipulated by authoritarian governments in an effort to erode existing norms of the liberal international political order (with Alexander Cooley; Ron Deibert; and Patrick Merloe—July); and scrutinized the political landscape of Arab Spring countries in the aftermath of the uprisings (with Michele Dunne; Michael Robbins; Marc Lynch; Kasper Ly Netterstrøm; Charles Kurzman and Didem Türkoğlu; and Mieczysław P. Boduszyński, Kristin Fabbe, and Christopher Lamont—October).

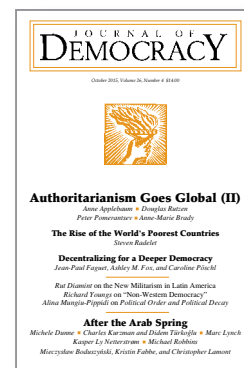
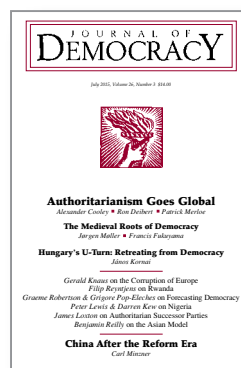
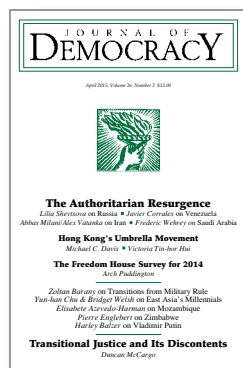
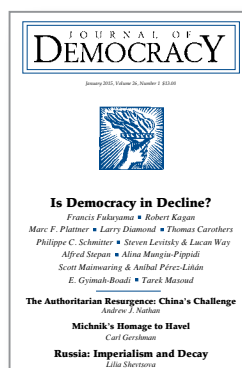
The 2015 issues also included assessments of the state of democracy in India, the Middle East, postcommunist Europe, Africa, and Latin America (January); a cluster of essays on the global authoritarian resurgence (April); an article by Gerald Knaus on the relationship between the Council of Europe and the autocratic regime of Azerbaijan's President Ilham Aliyev (July); and an analysis by Steven Radelet on the enormous strides made in economic and political development over the past two decades (October).

Journal co-founder Marc F. Plattner at the 25th Anniversary Celebration. See page 119 for more celebration photos.

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. *Democracy in Decline?* (edited by Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner) was released in 2015, followed by *Authoritarianism Goes Global: The Challenge to Democracy* (edited by Larry Diamond, Marc F. Plattner, and Christopher Walker) in early 2016. For the complete list of *Journal of Democracy* books, please visit www.journalofdemocracy.org.

The *Journal of Democracy* is published quarterly by Johns Hopkins University Press in January, April, July, and October. Subscriptions are \$45 per year for individuals and \$170 for institutions. Subscribers in Canada and Mexico add \$12.20 for postage; those outside North America add \$16.40 for air freight. For further pricing information, including online subscriptions, please visit our website at www.journalofdemocracy.org.

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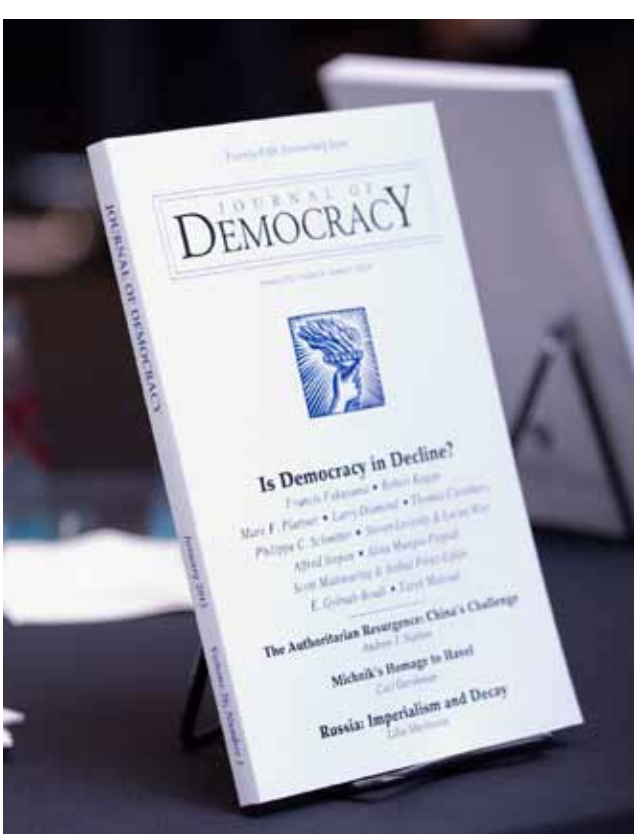
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REAGAN-FASCELL

Democracy Fellows Program

Named in honor of former U.S. President Ronald Reagan and the late Congressman Dante Fascell (D-FL), whose bipartisan vision led to NED's creation, 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.

In cooperation with NED's Democracy Resource Center, the Center for International Media Assistance, the secretariat of the World Movement for Democracy, and the NED family of core institutes, 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. Ms. Maliha AlShehab (Saudi Arabia, Oct. 2014–Feb. 2015) is a writer and outspoken advocate for women's rights in Saudi Arabia. Between 2006 and 2010, she was a columnist for *Al Watan*, a leading Saudi newspaper, and is the author of the bestselling book *Saudi Woman: Image and Voice* (2010). During her fellowship, she explored ways of bringing an end to discrimination against women in Saudi Arabia and providing them with opportunities to contribute meaningfully to civil society. In Feb. 2015, she gave a presentation at NED entitled "**Saudi Women: A Feather in the Wind**," in which she explored the ramifications of the guardianship system and called for its reform.

2. Ms. Zin Mar Aung (Burma, Oct. 2014–Feb. 2015) is co-founder of RAINFALL, a Yangon-based organization that empowers women in Burma through human-rights trainings and awareness-

building. During her fellowship, Zin Mar Aung developed training materials for women's political empowerment in Burma. She encouraged support for reform among the Burmese diaspora in the U.S. and gave interviews with FOX News, VOA, and PRI. In Jan. 2015, she delivered a presentation at NED entitled "**Burma 2015: The Make or Break Moment for Democratization**," in which she examined the twin challenges of the military and ultra-nationalism in Burma.

3. Mr. Umed Babakhanov (Tajikistan, Oct. 2014–Feb. 2015) is founder and editor-in-chief of *Asia Plus*, a leading independent media outlet operating in Tajikistan since 1995. In 2012, he launched "For a Tolerant Tajikistan," an initiative that fosters greater understanding between secular state institutions and the Muslim community through discussions on the role of Islam in society. During his fellowship, Umed

Fellows took time to visit and reflect on "Turquoise Mountain: Artists Transforming Afghanistan," an exhibit at the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery in Washington, DC.

traced the evolution of political Islam in Tajikistan. In Feb. 2015, he delivered a NED presentation ahead of Tajikistan's March 2015 elections entitled **"Challenges to Stability in Tajikistan: Parliamentary Elections in the Context of Political Islam and Russia's Economic Crisis."**

4. Prof. Rut Diamint (Argentina, March–July 2015) is professor of political science at Torcuato Di Tella University and researcher at the National Council of Scientific and Technological Research in Buenos Aires. During her fellowship, she studied the defense policies of key Latin American countries in order to identify regional security trends. In June 2015, Rut delivered a presentation at NED entitled **"How the Military is Eroding Democratic Institutions in Latin America,"** in which she discussed new methods by which Latin American militaries are reasserting power.

5. Dr. Dmitry Dubrovsky (Russia, Jan.–June 2015) recently served as associate professor of political science at St. Petersburg State University. An expert on human rights in Russia, he focuses primarily on issues relating to xenophobia, ultra-right nationalism, hate crimes, and hate speech as they relate to freedom of conscience and freedom of speech. During his fellowship, he explored ways to strengthen the role of expert communities in Russian civil rights litigation, with a focus on homophobia and recent legislation. In April 2015, he gave a presentation at NED entitled **"Hate Crime and Hate Speech Legislation in Russia: Lessons from Europe,"** with former Reagan-Fascell Fellow Alexander Verkhovsky.

6. Mr. Tabish Forugh (Afghanistan, Oct. 2014–Feb. 2015) served most recently as chief of staff at the Independent Election Commission of Afghanistan, where he worked to promote electoral education and build trust with citizens. During his fellowship, he examined the institutional and technical deficiencies of Afghanistan's electoral system and provided recommendations for forthcoming elections. He participated in Afghanistan working groups and conferred with experts at Democracy International, IRI, and NDI. In Jan. 2015, he gave a presentation at

NED entitled **"Afghanistan's Struggle for Democracy: The Need for Electoral Reform."**

7. Ms. Lily Gomes (Bangladesh, March–July 2015) is a senior program officer with the Solidarity Center in Dhaka, where she produces publications on workers' rights and conducts trainings on gender equality, women's leadership, fire safety, and trade union management. During her fellowship, she developed a gender policy guideline for advancing women's leadership among trade unions. In June 2015, she delivered a presentation at NED entitled **"Strengthening Democracy in Bangladesh through Women's Empowerment in Trade Unions."**

8. Dr. Altay Goyushov (Azerbaijan, Oct. 2014–April 2015) is professor of Turkic history at Baku State University. He is also one of the leaders of the "Republican Alternative" movement, which promotes liberal democratic concepts and values. During his fellowship, he published articles in *Foreign Policy* and *openDemocracy*, in addition to speaking at Harvard University and on Voice of America. In Feb. 2015, Altay delivered a presentation at NED entitled **"Revitalizing Secularism in Azerbaijan: Lessons Learned from the First Azerbaijani Republic."**

9. Mr. Arthur Gwagwa (Zimbabwe, Oct. 2014–Feb. 2015) is a human rights attorney who has served as head of the Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum, based in London. Previously, he was among the first lawyers to offer pro bono representation to victims of rights violations through the Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights network. During his fellowship, he drafted a policy document on building democracy in Zimbabwe. In Jan. 2015, he delivered a presentation at NED entitled **"How Civil Society Engagement Can Strengthen Democracy in Zimbabwe,"** in which he assessed the state of Zimbabwean civil society and charted a path forward.

10. Dr. Gubad Ibadoghlu (Azerbaijan, March–Aug. 2015) is senior analyst for social and economic studies at the Economic Research Center, a Baku-based NGO that promotes economic development and good governance. He also serves on the board



Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows (1-17) and Visiting Fellows (18-20).

of the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI). During his fellowship, Gubad explored the relationship between natural resources and regime type in Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, and Russia. In July 2015, he gave a presentation at NED entitled *“The Political Economy of Natural Resources in the Caspian Sea Region: Challenges for Transitions to Democracy.”*

11. Ms. Farahnaz Ispahani (Pakistan, March–July 2015) has been a leading voice for women and religious minorities in Pakistan for the past 25 years, first as a

journalist, then as a member of Pakistan’s National Assembly, and most recently as a scholar based in the United States. During her fellowship, Farahnaz spoke out against violence towards religious minorities in Pakistan. In June 2015, she delivered a presentation at NED entitled *“The Threat of Religious Extremism to Women’s Participation in the Muslim World,”* in which she focused her analysis on the emerging challenge of ISIS.

12. Ms. Simegnish “Lily” Mengesha (Ethiopia, March–Dec. 2015) is a journalist who served most

recently as director of the Ethiopian Environment Journalists Association. During her fellowship, she examined the impact of Ethiopia's anti-terrorism law on social media. In recognition of her work on freedom of expression, she was invited to meet with President Barack Obama on World Press Freedom Day. In June 2015, she delivered a presentation at NED entitled **"Too Scared to Post: Freedom of Expression Under Ethiopia's Anti-Terrorism Legislation."**

13. Mr. Pepe Julian Onziema (Uganda, March–July 2015) is program director at Sexual Minorities Uganda (SMUG), an advocacy network that supports lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and intersex (LGBTI) rights organizations across Uganda. During his fellowship, Pepe explored ways to increase citizen awareness of the Ugandan Constitution and Bill of Rights. In April 2015, he delivered a presentation at NED entitled **"In the Shadows of Democracy: LGBTIQ Rights in Uganda,"** which laid out the history of the movement in Uganda and analyzed the recent rise in homophobia and transphobia.

14. Ms. N'yella Rogers (Sierra Leone, Oct. 2014–Feb. 2015) is a human rights lawyer currently based in Cape Town, South Africa. Recognizing that online media can lower barriers to citizen engagement, N'yella devoted her fellowship to exploring the use of technology to address corruption in Sierra Leone. In Dec. 2014, she delivered a presentation at NED entitled **"Ebola's Impact on Women and Children in Sierra Leone: Why Accountability Matters,"** in which she highlighted the deleterious effects of corruption on the mismanaged epidemic.

15. Dr. Negaso Solan (Ethiopia, Oct. 2014–Feb. 2015) is an esteemed statesman who has served as president of Ethiopia (1995–2001), member of the House of People's Representatives (2005–2010), and most recently, as chair of the United for Democracy and Justice Party, one of Ethiopia's main opposition parties (2012–2013). During his fellowship, he worked on an article addressing the role of a democratic constitution in settling controversies relating to Ethiopia's ethnic federalist system and exchanged ideas on the topic with area experts at the annual conference of the African Studies Association. In Feb.

2015, he delivered a presentation at NED entitled **"A Constitution for a Multiethnic State-Nation: The Case of Ethiopia,"** in which he charted the history of Ethiopia's many ethnic groups and the prospect for greater democratization through constitutional change.

16. Mr. Tidiani Togola (Mali, March–July 2015) is an ICT specialist at the Réseau D'Appui au Processus Electoral au Mali and technical director of the National Agency for Telehealth and Medical Informatics in Mali. During his fellowship, he explored the potential of information and communication technologies to facilitate the practice of electoral observation in Francophone West Africa, with a focus on developing a web platform for use in nonpartisan electoral monitoring. In June 2015, Tidiani delivered a presentation at NED entitled **"Election Observation in the Digital Era: Challenges and Opportunities for West Africa."**

17. Dr. Cu Huy Ha Vu (Vietnam, July–Dec. 2014) is a leading Vietnamese constitutional scholar and legal advocate. Through a law firm established with his wife Nguyen Thi Duong Ha, Vu has challenged the ruling Communist Party's monopoly over power and has encouraged citizens to stand up against the government's unlawful acts. During his fellowship, he assessed the state of Vietnam's democracy movement and the vital importance of promoting human rights in the country. In Dec. 2014, he delivered a presentation at NED entitled **"Implementing Human Rights as a Path to Democracy in Vietnam,"** in which he analyzed the repressive laws that the Communist Party uses to maintain power.

VISITING FELLOWS PROGRAM

In addition to the Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program, the International Forum for Democratic Studies hosts a small Visiting Fellows Program for scholars and practitioners with outside funding who wish to be affiliated with the Forum.

18. Dr. Leonid Gozman (Russia, Oct. 2014–Feb. 2015) is president of the Union of Right Forces and former co-chairman of the Right Cause Party (2008–2011). During his fellowship, he explored



Hurford Fellows Saadat Baigazieva (left) and Mohammad Sayed Madadi (right) with Reagan-Fascell Fellow Pepe Julian Onziema.

social entrepreneurship as a means for deepening civic engagement and democratic development in Russia. In Jan. 2015, he delivered a presentation at NED entitled “**Russia After Crimea: A Brave New World**,” in which he offered his perspectives on recent political developments in Russia.

19. Mr. Yoshihiro Makino (Japan, March–July 2015) is senior international correspondent for the Asahi Shimbun, a leading Japanese media outlet. During his fellowship, he conducted an in-depth analysis of the human rights situation in North Korea and met with leading specialists, diplomats, and activists to explore avenues of support for human rights in North Korea. In July 2015, he gave a presentation at NED entitled “**Why Human Rights Matter in Policy towards North Korea**.”

20. Mr. Raza Rumi (Pakistan, March–Aug. 2015) is a leading Pakistani journalist and policy analyst who serves as editor of the *Friday Times*, Pakistan’s foremost liberal weekly paper. During his fellowship, he explored the effect of rising extremism on Pakistan’s democratic development.

HURFORD YOUTH FELLOWS PROGRAM

In 2014–2015, 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 seeks to build the leadership skills, enhance the organizational talents, and harness the potential of emerging democracy leaders from around the world.

Ms. Saadat Baigazieva (Kyrgyzstan, Feb.–May 2015) is youth activism coordinator at Bishkek Feminist Collective SQ, an organization that promotes feminist values, social inclusion, and greater awareness of human rights in Kyrgyzstan. During her fellowship, Saadat organized online discussions on diversity within youth movements.

Mr. Mohammad Sayed Madadi (Afghanistan, Feb.–May 2015) is co-founder and deputy director of the Youth Empowerment Organization, a Kabul-based civil society organization. During his fellowship, he organized online discussions on developing community-based mechanisms to involve citizens—women and youth in particular—in local governance.

Mr. Rami Soud (Jordan, Aug.–Dec. 2014) is vice president and director of international relations at the HIKAYA Center for Civil Society Development in Amman. During his fellowship, he organized online discussions on youth movements and explored how youth can best contribute to building democracy in their countries. □

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Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow Simegnish “Lily” Mengesha (center) spoke at the CIMA panel on World Press Freedom Day.



Guy Allen Overland, 1960 – 2015



The year 2015 marked the untimely passing of Guy Allen Overland, the Democracy Resource Center’s founding librarian and director.

Known to his colleagues as “Allen,” he began his career at NED in 1994, when he joined the staff of NED’s newly established International Forum for Democratic Studies to create a small library on democracy to house books, journals, pamphlets, documents, and other publications on democracy-related themes. That small library would grow to nearly 20,000 titles, including online, digital content. Allen took great pride in the collection he built and the services his library would provide throughout his 19 years as director, and he found tremendous satisfaction in helping each person who walked through its doors.

In a moving ceremony held in the Democracy Resource Center on June 5, 2015, the Endowment recognized Allen’s professional legacy by officially naming the collection he developed *The Allen Overland Collection*.

Though at the time of his death Allen was the Supervisory Librarian for the Research Library and Archives of the Export-Import Bank, he will be remembered first and foremost as a part of the NED family. While he is missed by his friends and colleagues, Allen’s memory lives on in his “small library on democracy.” □

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 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: The Allen Overland Collection

Named in honor of the DRC's founding librarian and director Allen Overland, the library's Allen Overland Collection & Archives houses 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 and features works by many of the prominent thinkers within the field of democracy and democracy assistance.

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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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, 2015, 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, 2015, 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) 2014 financial statements, and we have expressed an unmodified opinion on those audited financial statements in our report dated January 15, 2015. In our opinion, the summarized comparative information presented herein as of and for the year ended September 30, 2014, is consistent, in all material respects, with the audited financial statements from which it has been derived.

Other Reporting Required by Government Auditing Standards

In accordance with *Government Auditing Standards*, we have also issued our report dated January 29, 2016, 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.

PSM US LLP

Washington, D.C.
January 29, 2016

National Endowment for Democracy

Balance Sheet

September 30, 2015

(With Comparative Totals for 2014)

Assets	2015	2014
Cash and cash equivalents	\$2,591,799	\$1,320,972
Investments	940,904	943,412
Grants receivables	97,538,336	100,647,151
Other receivables	109,924	109,748
Prepaid and other assets	1,902,214	709,900
Property and equipment, net	1,457,002	1,723,001
Total assets	\$104,540,179	\$105,454,184

Liabilities and Net Assets

Liabilities		
Accounts payable and accrued liabilities	\$1,891,428	\$1,441,057
Grants Payable	97,775,720	99,085,638
Refundable advances - due to DOS	202,720	272,938
Deferred revenue - non-federal grants	10,965	259,720
Deferred rent and lease incentives	1,674,350	1,926,698
Total liabilities	\$101,555,183	\$102,986,051

Commitments and Contingencies (Notes 8 and 10)

Net Assets		
Unrestricted	\$2,319,887	\$1,958,594
Temporarily restricted	665,109	509,539
Total net assets	2,984,996	2,468,133
Total liabilities and net assets	\$104,540,179	\$105,454,184

See Notes to Financial Statements.

National Endowment for Democracy

Statement of Activities

Year ended September 30, 2015

(With Comparative Totals for 2014)

	2015			2014
	Unrestricted	Temporarily Restricted	Total	Total
Support and revenue:				
Grant revenue - government agencies	\$153,240,265	\$ -	\$153,240,265	\$153,360,180
Grant revenue - other sources	863,755	80,000	943,755	1,182,067
Democracy award revenue	86,500	-	86,500	112,500
Global assembly revenue	-	260,883	260,883	-
Contributions	130,847	1,030	131,877	502,818
Other revenue, interest, and misc. income	468,254	-	468,254	633,491
Net assets released from restriction	186,343	(186,343)	-	-
Total support and revenue	154,975,964	155,570	155,131,534	155,791,056
Expenses:				
Program services:				
Federal grants programs	126,404,130	-	126,404,130	129,405,941
Other activities - federal	4,268,153	-	4,268,153	3,688,058
Other activities - non-federal	1,075,865	-	1,075,865	1,084,825
Total program services	131,748,148	-	131,748,148	134,178,824
Supporting services:				
Management and general	22,866,523	-	22,866,523	20,613,400
Fundraising	-	-	-	27,548
Total supporting services	22,866,523	-	22,866,523	20,640,948
Total expenses	154,614,671	-	154,614,671	154,819,772
Change in net assets	361,293	155,570	516,863	971,284
Net assets:				
Beginning	1,958,594	509,539	2,468,133	1,496,849
Ending	\$2,319,887	\$665,109	\$2,984,996	\$2,468,133

See Notes to Financial Statements.

National Endowment for Democracy

Statement of Cash Flows

Year ended September 30, 2014

(With Comparative Totals for 2013)

	2015	2014
Cash Flows from Operating Activities		
Change in net assets	\$516,863	\$971,284
Adjustments to reconcile changes in net assets to net cash provided by (used in) operating activities:		
Depreciation and amortization	712,449	663,931
Unrealized loss (gain) on Investments	35,924	(63,826)
Changes in assets and liabilities:		
(Increase) decrease in:		
Grants receivable	3,108,815	(30,376,737)
Other receivables	(176)	(41,800)
Prepaid expenses	(1,192,314)	(91,339)
Increase (decrease) in:		
Accounts payable and accrued liabilities	450,371	84,420
Grants payable	(1,309,918)	14,443,356
Refundable advances - due to DOS	(70,218)	150,344
Deferred revenue - non-federal grants	(248,755)	(41,478)
Deferred rent and lease incentives	(252,348)	(105,104)
Net cash provided by (used in) operating activities	1,750,693	(14,406,949)
Cash Flows From Investing Activities		
Purchases of investments	(33,416)	(23,000)
Purchases of property and equipment	(446,450)	(240,835)
Net cash used in investing activities	(479,866)	(263,835)
Net (decrease) increase in cash and cash equivalents	1,270,827	(14,670,784)
Cash and Cash Equivalents		
Beginning	1,320,972	15,991,756
Ending	<u>\$2,591,799</u>	<u>\$1,320,972</u>

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, 2015.

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. Investments are carried at fair value.

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 grants to the various organizations, a receivable from the Department of State (DOS) and a related grant payable is recorded. In order for the Endowment to subsequently disburse payments for program grants, democracy promotion activities and general and administrative costs, funding draw requests are submitted directly by the Endowment in the government's electronic payment management system against active authorizations made available by DOS under each specific award. When cash advances 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, 2015.

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

National Endowment For Democracy Notes To Financial Statements

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

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 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 de-obligated. Funds are in turn either repaid to DOS, or otherwise applied against the grants receivable balance and used to fund new grantee funding requests as appropriate.

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, 2015.

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. The Endowment treats all contributions with donor restrictions that are satisfied within the same fiscal

year as unrestricted activities for purposes of financial statement presentation.

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, 2015.

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 2012.

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, 2014, summarized comparative information have been reclassified to conform to the September 30, 2015, 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 29, 2016, which is the date the financial statements were available to be issued.

National Endowment For Democracy Notes To Financial Statements

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, 2015.

The Endowment's investments are mainly comprised of mutual funds consisting of 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, 2015, consist of the following:

Asset Category	Estimated Lives	Cost	Accumulated Depreciation	Net	Depreciation
Leasehold improvements	2 – 10 years	\$5,092,452	\$4,257,343	\$835,109	\$510,360
Furniture and fixtures	3 – 7 years	876,556	561,198	318,358	78,367
Computer equipment and software	3 – 5 years	982,447	678,912	303,535	123,722
		\$6,954,455	\$5,497,453	\$1,457,002	\$712,449

Deprecation and amortization expense for the year ended September 30, 2015, was \$712,449.

NOTE 4. GRANT REVENUE - U.S. GOVERNMENT

Federal awards received during the fiscal year ended September 30, 2015, are as follow:

Fiscal Year 2015 Congressional Annual Appropriations received from DOS	<u>\$135,000,000</u>
Other new grants and supplemental funding received from DOS during the year:	
Cuba 2015: Advancing Democratic Rights, Political Pluralism, and Independent Civil Society in Cuba	7,425,742
Europe 2012: Promoting Democracy and Strengthening the Development of Civil Society in the Region	2,381,189
Burma 2012: Grantmaking Program to Promote Democracy in Burma	3,468,320
Total new grants and supplemental funding	<u>13,275,251</u>
Total awards received during the year	<u>\$148,275,251</u>

National Endowment For Democracy
Notes To Financial Statements

Federal grant revenue recognized during the fiscal year:

Grants obligated, net of deobligations	\$126,353,101
Democracy promotion activities	4,268,153
Other grant-related expenses	22,619,011
	<u>\$153,240,265</u>

NOTE 5. PROGRAM SERVICES EXPENSES

Program services expenses for the year ended September 30, 2015, represent the following activities:

Federal grant programs	<u>\$ 126,404,130</u>
------------------------	-----------------------

Other democracy promotion activities – federal:

International Forum:

Journal of Democracy	460,452
Research and conferences	213,713
Management and support	517,972
Reagan-Fascell Fellowship Program	1,067,279
Colloquia	30,754
Democracy Resource Center	402,183
World Movement for Democracy	861,205
Center for International Media Assistance	714,595
	<u>4,268,153</u>

Other democracy promotion activities – non-federal

International Forum:

Journal of Democracy	15,264
Research and conferences	10,503
Other activities	41,474
Management and support	9,540
World Movement for Democracy	
SIDA/ICNL - Defending Civil Society	806,693
Other activities	111,835
Other Endowment events and development	80,556
	<u>1,075,865</u>
	<u>\$ 131,748,148</u>

NOTE 6. TEMPORARILY RESTRICTED NET ASSETS

Changes in temporarily restricted net assets by purpose during the year ended September 30, 2015, are as follows:

	Balance at Sept. 30, 2014	Additions	Releases	Balance at Sept. 30, 2015
World Movement for Democracy:				
Assessing Democracy Assistance	\$ 237,772	\$ -	\$ (39,085)	\$ 198,687
WMD Assembly	122,077	260,883	(75,626)	307,334
Hurford Youth Fellowship Program	-	80,000	(13,185)	66,815
International Forum:				
SRF	40,000	-	(27,263)	12,737
OSF	21,372	-	(21,372)	-
Penn Kemble Youth Forum on Democracy	88,318	-	(9,812)	78,506
CIMA:				
Helmke Scholar Program	-	1,030	-	1,030
	<u>\$ 509,539</u>	<u>\$ 341,913</u>	<u>\$ (186,343)</u>	<u>\$ 665,109</u>

Net assets were released from donor restrictions by incurring expenses satisfying the restricted purposes specified by donors during the year ended September 30, 2015.

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 National Endowment for Democracy 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,	
2016	\$3,720,522
2017	3,850,196
2018	3,946,451
2019	4,045,112
2020	4,146,241
2021	2,098,714
	<u>\$21,807,236</u>

Rent expense was \$3,605,174 for the year ended September 30, 2015.

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 percent of an eligible employee's annual earnings after the first year of employment. Employer contributions to the plan for the year ended September 30, 2015, were \$1,259,645.

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 audits.

NOTE 11. CONCENTRATIONS OF REVENUE

During the year ended September 30, 2015, 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, 2015, and have issued our report thereon which contains an unmodified opinion on those financial statements. See pages 1 to 2. 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 29, 2016

Schedule of Functional Expenses
Year ended September 30, 2015
(With Comparative Totals for 2014)

	Program Services				Supporting Services			
	Other Democracy Promotion Activities							
	Federal Grant Programs	Federal	Non-Federal	Total Program Services	Management and General	Total Supporting Services	2015	2014
Grants to Others	\$ 126,353,101	\$ -	\$ -	\$ 126,353,101	\$ -	\$ -	\$ 126,353,101	\$ 129,446,461
Salaries, wages and benefits	-	3,113,554	114,632	3,228,186	15,450,765	15,450,765	18,678,951	16,651,476
Occupancy and Equipment	-	400	9,681	10,081	4,830,525	4,830,525	4,840,606	4,446,488
Professional fees	51,029	729,618	89,342	869,989	685,941	685,941	1,555,930	1,361,007
Travel and transportation	-	270,554	613,532	884,086	942,234	942,234	1,826,320	1,321,442
Conferences and meetings	-	54,657	211,287	265,944	31,882	31,882	297,826	615,567
Communications	-	41,447	4,045	45,492	350,456	350,456	395,948	349,452
Insurance	-	10,534	15,962	26,496	84,726	84,726	111,222	100,129
Printing and Publications	-	38,194	7,026	45,220	63,973	63,973	109,193	116,618
Other	-	9,195	10,358	19,553	426,021	426,021	445,574	411,132
	\$ 126,404,130	\$ 4,268,153	\$ 1,075,865	\$ 131,748,148	\$ 22,866,523	\$ 22,866,523	\$ 154,614,671	\$ 154,819,772



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Thank You

The Endowment warmly thanks the
following for their generous support in 2015

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Robert Zoellick

The images opposite represent a dynamic cross-section of NED's activities and the work of its grantees; to learn more, read this report, and visit [www. NED.org](http://www.NED.org).



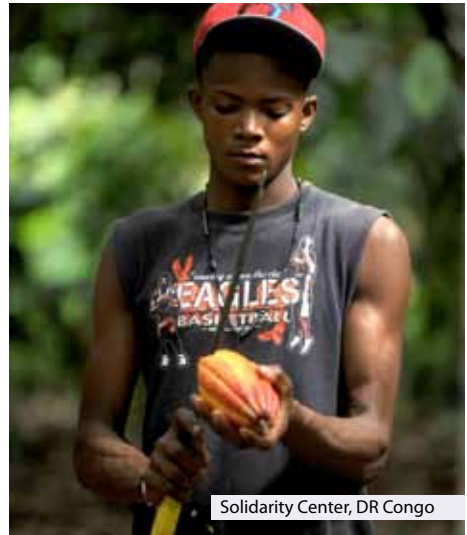
Coalition of Cherkassy Youth NGOs, Ukraine



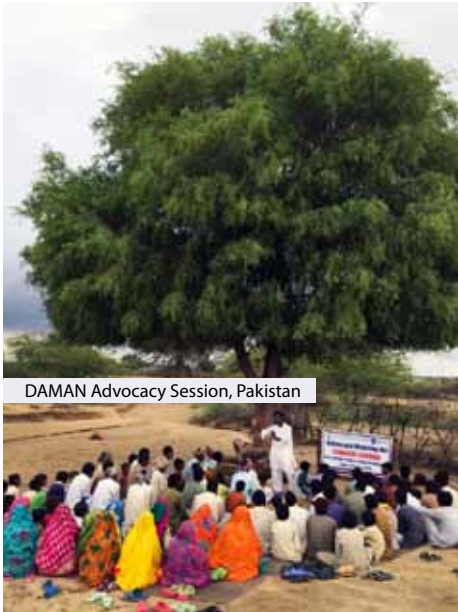
World Movement Eighth Global Assembly



La Silla Vacía, Colombia



Solidarity Center, DR Congo



DAMAN Advocacy Session, Pakistan



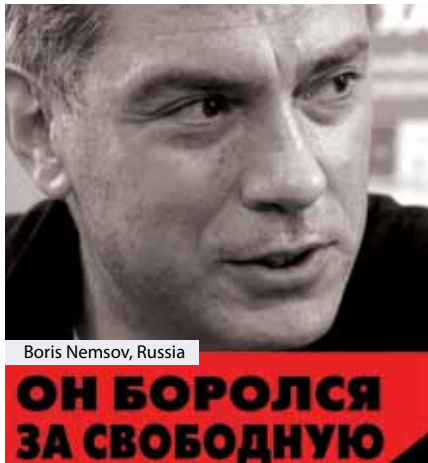
Wasasbi, Tunisia



Center for International Private Enterprise, Papua New Guinea



Penn Kemble Youth Forum on Democracy



Boris Nemsov, Russia



Elections in Sri Lanka



Center for International Media Assistance

