

A close-up portrait of Nyaradzo Mashayamombe, a Black woman with short dreadlocks, looking slightly to the side. She is wearing a green and black patterned top and a necklace with green and orange beads. The background is a blurred outdoor setting with warm lighting.

DEMOCRACY

involves the right of the people
freely to determine their own

DESTINY



National Endowment
for Democracy
Supporting freedom around the world

ANNUAL REPORT 2016

Nyaradzo Mashayamombe, singer, songwriter, democracy activist; Zimbabwe

Democracy involves the right of the people freely to 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 1,700 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.



**National Endowment
for Democracy**

Supporting freedom around the world





In 2016

NED gave

\$155 million

in 1,711 grants

in 90 countries



Lesia Vasylenko of Legal Hundred (Ukraine); see page 45



With NED support, grassroots activists

established international
labor standards in **Iraq**

documented judicial
corruption in **Peru**

hosted civic hackathons
to solve governance
challenges in **Pakistan**

facilitated the peaceful
transition of power in **Gambia**

reformed state pharmaceutical
procurement in **Ukraine**

AND SO MUCH MORE

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The Lviv Media Forum is one of the biggest media events in central eastern Europe; with NED support, 30 journalists from Ukraine participated.

NED Annual Report 2016

TABLE OF CONTENTS

From the
Chairman

1

From the
President

5

The Year
in Review

11

Regional
Grants: Africa

16

Regional
Grants: Asia

24

Regional
Grants: Global

32

Regional
Overview:
Eurasia

36

Regional
Overview:
Europe

44

Regional Overview:
Latin America &
Caribbean

52

Regional Overview:
Middle East &
North Africa

66

Center for
Interational
Media
Assistance

70

Democracy
Resource
Center

74

International
Forum for
Democratic
Studies

76

*Journal of
Democracy*

81

Fellowships

83

World
Movement for
Democracy

90

Complete
Grants
Listings

95

Auditors'
Report

132



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FROM THE CHAIRMAN

JUDY SHELTON

Thirty-five years ago, in the shadow of mutually assured destruction, President Reagan warned against the threat of “totalitarian forces in the world who seek subversion and conflict around the globe.”

His response to that totalitarian threat was a commitment to support democratic advocates, believing that, “[w]e must be staunch in our conviction that freedom is not the sole prerogative of a lucky few, but the inalienable and universal right of all human beings.”

That historic speech before the British Parliament at Westminster in 1982 led to the creation of the Endowment. Like today, the future was clouded by uncertainties, but President Reagan embraced a hope-filled mission of solidarity with those seeking freedom around the world.

Today, we follow in President Reagan’s footsteps. As the new chairman of the National Endowment for Democracy, I am inspired by the valor of NED’s grantees – brave individuals who incur great risks so that people in their countries might live in freedom, as we do in the United States.

Democracy today is under siege by repressive forces around the world. The crisis has many dimensions, including the rise of terrorist movements and growing illiberalism in



ACOTIC, Democratic Republic of Congo



Las 2 Orillas, Colombia



Int'l Society for Fair Elections, Georgia

backsliding democracies. Freedom House's annual survey of political rights and civil liberties counts 11 consecutive years of decline in global democracy. Even former democratic rising stars, like Turkey, Hungary, and the Philippines, are not immune. A now-recognized trend of "resurgent authoritarianism" threatens not only progress toward democracy, but also poses a fundamental challenge to the core principles of peace, security, and human rights.

This startling trend is not confined to specific regions. Scholars Roberto Stefan Foa and Yascha Mounk wrote a much-discussed article on "The Democratic Disconnect" in NED's *Journal of Democracy* last year. They describe in stark detail the "crisis of democratic legitimacy" as citizens have grown skeptical about the value of democracy as a political system, even in nations presumed to be established democracies.

How can the cause of liberal democracy and respect for individual human rights be successfully championed

around the world when the moral validity of self-governance and self-determination is being called into question?

In response to this calamity, and with the support of Congress, NED launched a medium-to-long term strategic fund in 2016 to defend democratic norms, values, and institutions. The fund targets six critical challenges and objectives, which are described in detail by Carl Gershman, NED's president, beginning on page 5 of this report.

NED's strategic fund allows the organization to utilize decades of experience to provide innovative support to democracy advocates around the world. This is a natural extension of the nimble, low-overhead, grassroots-focused model of support that NED pioneered. This model has allowed NED to assist partners effectively in even the most closed and difficult countries. NED dedicates its largest single-country budgets for programs in China, Russia, Pakistan, Afghanistan,

“ [The NED] mandate to support local actors empowers people who share a belief in democratic governance. It recognizes that weak, corrupt, and undemocratic states are inherently dangerous to their citizens and to a world that seeks peace and security. Critically, that does not mean exporting a particular democratic model or imposing solutions. **Democracy takes many forms, and is capable of taking root organically through the work of citizens longing to be free.**



Lviv Media Forum, Ukraine



Interactive Resource Centre, Pakistan



Poynter Institute for Media Studies, Global

Cuba, Iraq, Turkey, and Nigeria. And NED is one of the few entities working in North Korea to break the information blockade, monitor government abuses, and defend basic human rights.

This mandate to support local actors empowers people who share a belief in democratic governance. It recognizes that weak, corrupt, and undemocratic states are inherently dangerous to their citizens and to a world that seeks peace and security. Critically, that does not mean exporting a particular democratic model or imposing solutions. Democracy takes many forms, and is capable of taking root organically through the work of citizens longing to be free.

As President Reagan observed at NED's birth:

"Each nation, each movement will find its own route.... Patience and respect for different political and cultural traditions will be the hallmark of our effort. But the combination of our ideas is healthy. And it's in this spirit that the National Endowment reaches out to people everywhere—and will reach out to those who can make a difference now and to those who will guide the destiny of their people in the future."

Reagan's conviction was deeply heartfelt and based on his faith in moral leadership. He believed that democracy was a gift to be shared with our fellow human beings as "the most deeply honorable form of government ever devised by man." He also recognized that nurturing long-term political partnerships crucially

benefitted from shared support for democracy, upright governance, and human rights.

Democracies are not perfect. But they are more prosperous economically and more stable politically because citizens in democracies have the freedom to pursue entrepreneurial endeavor and to resolve their differences under the rule of law. Look at the map: America's strongest political and economic allies are democracies.

Supporting democracy not only promotes core American values – such as religious freedom and worker rights – but also helps to create a more secure global arena in which the United States can advance its national interests.

I look forward to working closely with the Endowment's exceptionally gifted Board of Directors and its outstanding professional staff, all of whom undertake our important work in the spirit of true bipartisanship – a reflection of the NED family's founding commitment. Together, we will perpetuate Reagan's legacy of embracing the aspiration for freedom that daily inspires courageous democratic activists around the globe.

We trust that you will likewise be inspired by their stories, featured in the pages that follow.

Judy Shelton

Judy Shelton

Chairman, National Endowment for Democracy





FROM THE PRESIDENT

CARL GERSHMAN

The dangers facing democracy continued to mount during 2016 and are now more serious than at any time since NED was founded in 1983. These dangers exist on many levels, including the growing power and assertiveness of authoritarian governments like those in Russia and China, and the rise of illiberalism in countries like Turkey, Hungary, Poland, and the Philippines that were once important emerging democracies. The leading Western democracies have been focused on their own internal challenges, and have not been able to mount a meaningful response to the growing crisis of democracy in the world.

It was in this context that Congress took the significant step of appropriating additional FY 2016 funding for NED above the previous year's level for the purpose of developing a strategic response to what the Congress called "medium and long-term threats" to democracy.

NED's principal task during the last year, therefore, was to analyze the new threats to democracy, work with its core institutes and the NED Board to shape a strategic plan of action, and begin to implement that plan by making "strategic" grants supporting programs to press back against the authoritarian resurgence in the hope of giving new momentum to the global fight for democracy.



IRI Women's Democracy Network, Global



Latin American Youth Network for Democracy, Regional



Post-Conflict Research Center, BiH

Building on work already being done through its ongoing grants programs and research activities, NED was able to quickly identify six key challenges:

- The need to **strengthen democratic unity** in defense of democratic norms and values that are under assault by authoritarian regimes in international institutions as well as in public attitudes;
- The need to **foster ethnic and religious pluralism** to counter the spread of Islamist and other forms of religious and sectarian extremism;

democracies are able to make progress toward democratic consolidation; and

- The need to **combat the rise of kleptocracy** – or “rule by thieves” – which is a new and systemic feature of modern authoritarianism.

Taken together, these challenges pose a more formidable and integrated threat to democracy than anything the world has experienced since the end of the Cold War.

In order to counter this daunting threat, NED's support

“ There is today a more formidable and integrated threat to democracy than anything the world has experienced since the end of the Cold War.

- The need to **help civil-society activists and organizations prevail** against the concerted campaign by authoritarian regimes to repress and control them;
- The need to **defend the integrity of the information space** against efforts by Russia and other authoritarian regimes to use social media and other communications tools to buttress their own power and to divide and demoralize democratic societies;
- The need to **strengthen the capacity for democratic governance** so that new and fragile

for democracy efforts in specific countries now needs to be supplemented by programs that address the new international conditions and offer a more integrated and transnational response to the key strategic challenges.

During the last year, NED began to implement this new approach, which consists of a number of innovative features. One has been to strengthen cooperation among NED's partner institutions and grantees and fostering common approaches to challenges that are multi-dimensional and transnational in their impact.



Young Women's Leadership Program, Nigeria



Civil society meeting, Iraq



International Institute for Race, Equality, and Human Rights

This has been especially relevant in addressing the need to strengthen unity in defense of democratic norms – for example, in countering illiberal trends in Central and Eastern Europe, or in helping coalitions of democrats in Latin America to uphold the principles contained in the Inter-American Democratic Charter of the OAS by building.

NED began to implement this strategy by funding 90 programs across all six strategic categories in 2016. This was in addition to 12 research and networking activities carried out by the NED itself through the World Movement for Democracy, the International Forum for Democratic Studies, and the Center for International Media Assistance.

The Endowment also used new “contingency funds” to make 39 grants, 10 of which supported efforts to assist Russian civil society in urgent need of help because of the exit of many funders from the country, while nine other grants successfully helped to address an unanticipated election crisis in Ghana.

Developing and implementing the strategic and contingency funds have made NED a stronger institution. The funds have provided an important new vehicle for identifying ways to make NED’s overall program more strategic and addressing important gaps across regions and at the global level.

While the additional funding has obviously not been enough to stop Russian or Chinese subversion of the

information space or to curb violent extremism, it has been catalytic in helping NED identify ways to tie programs together across regions, identify ways to stimulate broader international partnerships and coalitions, and take sometimes isolated innovations and scale them up to a level that makes them more effective.

The funds have also given a strategic boost to NED’s regular programs, providing a strategic umbrella for many existing programs and activities, helping to create a broader framework for NED’s work, and strengthening internal cooperation, cohesion, learning, and morale.

As the new funding has shown, Congress is looking to NED to develop imaginative and bold new ways of addressing the challenges facing democracy at a very perilous moment in world history. In 2016, NED took a very important first step in carrying out the awesome responsibility with which it has been entrusted. We have no illusions about the difficulty of the tasks that lie ahead. But we are clear-eyed about our mission, and confident that we can execute it with determination, conviction, and undiminished hope.

Carl Gershman
President, National Endowment for Democracy

From a civil society photo exhibition organized by the International Debate Education Association in Central Asia



Кажется дождь начинается...

FREQUENTLY ASKED QUESTIONS

For over 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.

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

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.

Is NED part of the U.S. Government?

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.

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

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.

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

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.

Who are NED's "core grantees"?

NED 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. The Center for International private Enterprise promotes free markets and economic reform, while the Solidarity Center promotes independent trade unions and workers' rights.





2016 THE YEAR IN REVIEW

This was an eventful year: His Holiness the Dalai Lama visited and inspired young leaders, Tibetan Buddhist Monk Tenzin Delek Rinpoche was honored posthumously with the Democracy Service Medal, a Nobel Prize winner discussed the power of literature, and a legendary Belarusian rock musician and activist gave an impromptu performance accompanied by the Hungarian Ambassador. The 13th Annual Seymour Martin Lipset Lecture on Democracy in the World focused on “the Crisis of Postnationalism,” while the Penn Kemble Forum accepted its third cohort of young professional Fellows. Read on to learn more about what was happening at the NED offices in 2016.

In June, his Holiness the **Dalai Lama** visited the Endowment to engage in a conversation with four dynamic young activists: **Arzu Geybullayeva**, a journalist from Azerbaijan; **Rosa Maria Payá**, of Cuba Decide; **Azaz Elshami**, a Sudanese digital activist; and **Rami Soud**, a Jordanian activist. Their wide-ranging discussion was moderated by **Brian Joseph**, NED Senior Director, Asia.

Left to right: Rami Soud, Arzu Geybullayeva, HH the Dalai Lama, Brian Joseph, Azaz Elshami, and Rosa Maria Payá.



Dianne Feinstein



Peter Roskam



Gershman, Martin Frost, Dr. Lobsang Sangay



András Simonyi

The conversation was joined by Senator **Dianne Feinstein** (D-CA), House Minority Leader **Nancy Pelosi** (D-CA), NED Boardmember and Congressman **Peter Roskam** (R-IL), and award-winning actor **Richard Gere**, Chairman of the International Campaign for Tibet.

Immediately preceding the discussion, NED honored the late Tibetan Buddhist Monk **Tenzin Delek Rinpoche**, a prominent political prisoner who died in a Sichuan prison in 2015, with the presentation of the Democracy Service Medal. As documented by Human Rights Watch, Tenzin Delek's imprisonment in 2002 was the culmination of a decade-long effort by Chinese authorities to curb his efforts to foster Tibetan Buddhism. Tenzin Delek was an inspiration for Tibetans struggling to retain their cultural identity in the face of China's harsh policies.

NED also took advantage of this special occasion to recognize the democratic accomplishments of the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA). The CTA assumed full responsibility for the Tibetan government-in-exile after the Dalai Lama devolved his political authority in 2011. Dr. **Lobsang Sangay**, the democratically elected head of the CTA, was on hand to accept the tribute.

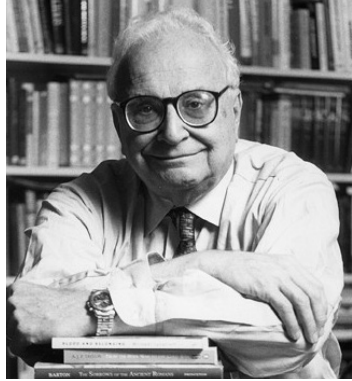
Also in the audience that day was 2015 Nobel Laureate for Literature **Svetlana Alexievich**. She received the literary prize "for her polyphonic writings, a monument to suffering and courage in our time." The next day, she participated in a public conversation at the Endowment with **Leon Wieseltier**, Contributing Editor, *The Atlantic*.

In her books, Alexievich depicts life during and after the Soviet Union through the experience of individuals, using interviews to create a collage of a wide range of

voices. With her "documentary novels", Alexievich, who is a journalist, moves in the boundary between reporting and fiction. Her books criticize political regimes in both the Soviet Union and later Belarus and her central message is that post-communist countries like Belarus will not become free and democratic if the people of these societies cannot free themselves from the destructive Soviet legacy that affects even young people who never lived under communism.

In September, NED welcomed its third cohort of Penn Kemble Forum Fellows. 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 Forum promotes a bipartisan conversation between young foreign policy leaders on the role of democracy and human rights within the context of a broad range of policy questions. The Forum convenes monthly for off-the-record dinner conversations led by foreign policy experts, government officials (past and present), and democracy practitioners. The Forum is named for **Penn Kemble**, whose death in October 2005 robbed the democracy movement of one of its most committed activists and strategists.

On November 16, the Thirteenth Annual Seymour Martin Lipset Lecture on Democracy in the World was held at the Embassy of Canada in Washington, DC, and was delivered by Dr. **Ghia Nodia**, Director, International School of Caucasus Studies, Ilia Chavchavadze State University. Dr. Nodia's lecture was entitled, "the Crisis of Postnationalism." Nodia argued that nationalism paired with democracy makes for a difficult marriage, but any prospect of divorce is wishful thinking. Globalization appears to have only intensified the need



Seymour Martin Lipset



Nancy Pelosi



Svetlana Alexievich



Penn Kemble Fellows

for robust national identity. A transcript of his speech was published in the April 2017 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 Nodia spoke on Jan. 19, 2017), 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.

At the end of the year, NED hosted legendary Belarusian rock musician and activist **Lavon Volski** in conversation with Hungarian Ambassador **András Simonyi** on the role of independent art and culture in the struggle for democracy. The conversation was interspersed with acoustic performances by Mr. Volski of some of his most socially significant songs (the Ambassador joined in for an impromptu jam session). This was a remarkable opportunity to shine the spotlight on the transformative power of independent culture in an authoritarian environment.



Lavon Volski





Former Reagan-Fascell Fellow and political cartoonist Sabir Nazar painting a mural on democratic themes with art students at the Lahore cricket stadium.



NED

Grants

2016

by region

AFRICA

ASIA

Eurasia

Europe

GLOBAL

Latin America
Caribbean

Middle East
North Africa



AFRICA

Grantee VOICES

“Because of the generous support of NED, Malam Darfur was able to achieve reconciliation and peacebuilding between the different communities in the Darfur localities of Malam, Mershing, and eastern Jebel Marra, which were once epicenters of violence and bloodshed.”

**– LUKMAN AHMED
(third from left)**

**DIRECTOR, MALAM DARFUR
PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT**





AFRICA

Across Africa, the struggle for democracy resonates like never before. In 2016, citizens in Ethiopia, Sudan, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Gabon, Congo, Cameroon, Mali, and the Gambia took to the streets to demand democracy and an end to the corruption, poor governance, and repression that have robbed them of their rights and left them impoverished. Elections in South Africa, the Gambia, the Central African Republic, Tanzania, Malawi, and Ghana all clearly reflected the electorate's demand for change. Afrobarometer polling confirms that the great majority of Africans reject authoritarian rule, and NED grantees are focused on supporting this rising democratic spirit through a variety of strategic programs.

In West Africa, NDI and many of NED's partners in [Cote d'Ivoire](#) advanced women's rights; in [Burkina Faso](#), CIPE encouraged the role of the business community in democratic reform, and other NED partners strengthened the participation of youth; in [Guinea](#), NED partners trained women and youth on a range of human rights and political issues. NED partners in [Mali](#) attempted to shore up the fragile peace process there and improve governance; IRI helped to strengthen the parliament. In [Liberia](#), the Solidarity Center supported trade unions to protect labor rights and start mobilizing members for national elections in 2017; other NED partners provided education on the elections

With NED support, the [Leadtots Development Initiative](#) in Nigeria convenes the Ambassador Diane E. Watson Leadership Academy, which brings together Student Union Leaders from across the country. The Academy allows them to share ideas and exchange best practices towards strengthening the activities of their various student bodies. Student Unions are hubs of political leadership development in Nigeria, and Leadtots is able to promote democratic values among student leaders at the early stages of their political development.





NAYMOTE, Nigeria



Women & Law in Southern Africa, Swaziland



Youngstars Foundation, Nigeria



Justice Empowerment Initiative, Nigeria

and the upcoming constitutional referendum. NED's 26 partners in **Nigeria** strove to advance the rights of marginalized communities, strengthen the rule of law, and promote government accountability. CIPE worked with business associations to promote economic reform and fight corruption in the Lagos Port system, and the Solidarity Center helped trade unions contending with the violence of Boko Haram in Borno State.

For well over a decade, the **Democratic Republic of the Congo** has remained NED's top priority in Africa; turn the page to learn more.

NED partners in **Cameroon** campaigned to lower the voting age. In **Equatorial Guinea**, they expanded civil society space. In **Rwanda** they pushed for greater freedom of expression. In **Burundi** they monitored ongoing human rights abuses. In **Angola** and **Congo-Brazzaville** they fought corruption and human rights abuses. NDI assisted civil society organizations in the **Central African Republic** with peace-building.

In the Horn of Africa, NED supported activists in **Ethiopia** struggling to reverse the decline in freedom of assembly and expression, even as a massive popular uprising in the Oromia region was brutally crushed. CIPE engaged with the Ethiopian business community, and the Solidarity Center worked with the trade union confederation to foster dialogue with the government. NED also supported intrepid human rights activists trying to pry open the totalitarian regime of **Eritrea**. In **Somaliland**, NED's partners defended freedom of expression and resisted the country's democratic backsliding. In **Somalia**, NED supported radio stations, think tanks, and civil society organizations to promote democratic values, fight corruption, strengthen local

governance, and inform citizens and policy makers.

NED's 15 partners in **Sudan** promoted national reconciliation, defended human rights, and advanced freedom of speech and assembly. NED held a forum in Washington on Sudan's national dialogue that presented an important civil society report on the process, and also featured remarks from the Sudanese ambassador. Meanwhile, **South Sudan** plummeted further into a nightmare of massacres, atrocities, refugees, and famine. NED's partners there struggled heroically to promote peace, human rights, and democratic norms.

NED's partners in **Kenya** focused on the upcoming elections and newly devolved county government structures. As political space shrank in **Uganda**, NED partners worked to increase political participation and to improve governance in the legislature and local government.

NED intensified its commitment to democratic reform in **Zimbabwe**, supporting 16 partners who trained youth and women on political participation, fought corruption in the mining sector, promoted freedom of expression through satire and other alternative media, and began coordinating new strategies and policies for democratic transition. Partners in **Swaziland** strengthened civil society. At the pan-African level, NDI supported youth leadership in the African Union, IRI continued building its GenDem network of young African political leaders, the Solidarity Center fought corruption, and NED's discretionary partners expanded various networks of human rights and youth activists. To learn more, turn to the Africa Grants section of this report, or visit the NED website at www.NED.org/where-we-work

GHANA

IN FOCUS

Ghana has a reputation as a beacon of democracy on the continent. However, heightened political tensions, doubts about the electoral commission, and concerns about fraud and violence prompted NED to use strategic funds to support the electoral process leading up to the December 2016 presidential and parliamentary elections. The **National Democratic Institute** and the **International Republican Institute** – two of NED’s core institutes – conducted a joint pre-electoral assessment with NED funds addressing these concerns, and both later received outside funding to conduct international observer missions. NED funds also allowed local civil society organizations to conduct election observation, polling, social media monitoring, outreach to youth and women, political debates, media programs, and peace promotion. The **Center for Private Enterprise**, for example, facilitated debates on economic policy during the elections. The elections went smoothly, and NED’s partners clearly reinforced the peaceful, informed, and enthusiastic popular support for the democratic process. The new government has expressed a strong commitment to transparency and democracy. Ghana represents an important victory for democracy in Africa and globally.



GAMBIA

IN FOCUS

The Gambia also held elections in December. The incumbent strongman of 22 years, Yahya Jammeh, unexpectedly lost the presidency. When Jammeh tried to ignore the election results, domestic and international pressure ultimately forced him to step down, allowing the opposition candidate, Adama Barrow, to become president. NED grantees in the Gambia made a real contribution to this victory for democracy. **GAMCOTRAP** mobilized women’s political participation, **Article 19** defended civil society space, and the **Future in Our Hands** and the **Association of Non-Governmental Organizations of the Gambia** provided civic education. (Prison Fellowship, a grantee from 2015 active during 2016, provided vital assistance to political prisoners, who have been released since the elections.) The Director of GAMCOTRAP, Dr. Isatou Touray, spoke at a forum at the Endowment in July, and after the elections was named the Gambia’s new Minister of Commerce and Trade.

ABOVE: The Gambia Committee on Traditional Practices (GAMCOTRAP) works to end female genital mutilation. But the organization does not stop there. With NED support, GAMCOTRAP also promotes the effective participation of women in governance and leadership positions, and encourages better media coverage of women in politics. Pictured here is a young woman at a GAMCOTRAP event.



ACTION AND DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES TO PROTECT WOMEN AND CHILDREN

(AIDPROFEN) is based in Goma in eastern Congo, a place considered by many to be the worst in the world to be a woman. Founded by Congolese journalist [Passy Mubalama](#) (*above*), AIDPROFEN works to advocate for local women and children affected by conflict and violence. AIDPROFEN was instrumental in establishing local Women's Committees (*below*), where women now gather and discuss their rights. These discussions allow women to find solutions to the human rights violations they face, and help them contribute to the establishment of peace in Eastern DRC. With NED support, the organization was instrumental in promoting women's political rights and participation in the North Kivu Province's assembly elections in November.

The **FEDERATION NATIONALE DES ASSOCIATIONS DES PERSONNES VIVANT AVEC HANDICAP DU CONGO** (FENAPHACO)

works to raise awareness of the obstacles to civic participation that marginalized people face in the country. With NED support, FENAPHACO produced a report on the protection of voting rights for women and persons with disabilities in the DRC. FENAPHACO organized advocacy meetings and closely monitored the DRC government's compliance with international standards of treatment of persons with disabilities. The grantee mobilized and prepared thousands of persons with disabilities for the electoral process through public conferences, town hall meetings, and radio and television programs (*below*).



CONGO PEACE NETWORK (CPN) worked extensively to educate the youth of North Kivu about the elections, and fostered their peaceful involvement in the political process. CPN held trainings on civic participation in Masisi, Rutshuru, and Walikale territories, and strengthened the ability of its youth clubs to conduct electoral awareness raising and mentor other youth throughout North Kivu.

DR CONGO

IN FOCUS

For well over a decade, the **DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO** (DRC) has remained NED's top priority in Africa.

As the political process leading to elections has continually stalled, NED's 51 partners throughout the country have maintained intense pressure on political actors to move forward with elections, reduce violence and protect human rights around the process, and ensure that Congolese women, youth, and citizens in general are ready to participate. NED also held a series of meetings in Washington with the Congolese electoral commission, civil society activists, and church leaders to support the political process.

The **ASSOCIATION CONGOLAISE DES TECHNOLOGIES DE L'INFORMATION ET DE LA COMMUNICATION** (ACOTIC) works to maximize citizen participation in national and local elections, and to promote access to relevant legislation. Using NED support, ACOTIC designed and released *MonElection* ("MyElection"), a free mobile app that features Congolese electoral legislation in its entirety. The app can also be used to monitor progress on the implementation of the election timetable. ACOTIC promoted the app through university campus visits, mass e-mails and text messaging, as well as radio and television commercials. In one of ACOTIC's first outreach events, held at the University of Kinsasha (right), 764 students downloaded the mobile app. *MonElection* is available on all mobile app platforms.





WOMAN CROSSING TEAKWOOD BRIDGE, MANDALAY, MYANMAR; by Magdalena Roeseler, Creative Commons license CC BY 2.0



ASIA

Grantee VOICES

“NED was instrumental in connecting Democratic Voice of Burma with other exiled media groups, including the ones from North Korea, so that we could share experiences and lessons-learned with each other.”

– KHIN MAUNG WIN
FOUNDING MEMBER &
DEPUTY EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR,
DEMOCRATIC VOICE OF BURMA





ASIA

Across Asia – a vast and politically diverse region – democratic norms and ideals faced intensified pressure in entrenched authoritarian states and established democracies alike. Governments, including electoral democracies, introduced laws and regulations to control civil society and pursued law and order policies at the expense of fundamental human rights. Extremist groups used violence and intimidation to limit free speech and association, and majoritarian nationalist groups grew in strength and number. The authoritarian states increased their efforts to offer a counterbalance to the establishment of democratic norms in the geopolitics of the region.

Despite these challenges, the region as a whole remains balanced among authoritarian governments, vibrant democracies, and partially free states. In all but the most authoritarian environments, opposition parties, civil society organizations and independent media continue to push back against the authoritarian resurgence.

The Endowment's Asia program concentrated its resources in five key countries: Pakistan, Burma (Myanmar), Thailand, China (including Tibet and Xinjiang), and North Korea. Not only do these five countries each face daunting domestic challenges, but their democratic

Now, Action and Unity for Human Rights (NAUH), a South Korea-based grantee led by North Korean escapees, led a study tour to southeast Asia to learn about the process of democratic transition.



Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism



Search for Common Ground, Nepal



Citizens' Alliance for NK Human Rights



Women Media Centre of Pakistan

prospects also have repercussions for the region as a whole.

In addition to these priority countries, the Endowment invested heavily in efforts to strengthen regional cooperation among the seven leading Asian democracies in defense of democratic norms and values.

In **Pakistan**, Endowment funding for human rights and democracy is increasingly important. The combination of shrinking civil society space, ongoing threats from extremist groups, and the retreat of international support for democratic reform is taking its toll.

Elsewhere in South Asia, the Endowment expanded its work in **Sri Lanka** to capitalize on the 2015 elections that ended a decade of increasingly authoritarian rule. The Endowment concentrated on reinforcing democratic values and ideas, promoting respect for human rights and accountability, and empowering citizens to engage in the democratic process. The Endowment also supported modest programs in **Nepal** and **Bangladesh**.

In Southeast Asia, now one of the least democratic regions in the world, the Endowment expanded its efforts in Thailand, supported robust programs in Burma, and continued to engage in **Vietnam**, **Indonesia**, and **Malaysia**.

In the three years since it seized power, **Thailand's** military has shown little interest in loosening restrictions on civil and political rights or fast

tracking a return to civilian rule. The Endowment's efforts in Thailand have concentrated on monitoring and reporting on civil and political rights abuses, fostering civil engagement and political participation, and bolstering the capacity of civil society groups that represent a diverse range of citizen voices.

Meanwhile, in the **Philippines**, the Duterte administration represents a sharp break from the Aquino administration and its emphasis on good governance. The Endowment focused its work in the Philippines on bolstering key democratic institutions, expanding understanding and appreciation of democratic values among the public, and fostering continued civic engagement. The [Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism](#) used NED support to hold seminars on investigative reporting and campaign spending, which resulted in important, in-depth research and reporting on the 2016 elections.

In **Burma**, democratic development remains in its early stages. Constitutional provisions provide the military with 25 percent of the seats in Parliament, and give it control over other key governmental bodies. Ethnic conflict continues in Shan and Kachin States even as the National League for Democracy government pursues a nationwide peace agreement. Moreover, conditions in Rakhine State – and for the Rohingya in particular – remain alarming and have the potential to ignite violence elsewhere. The Endowment's Burma partners concentrated on expanding civic engagement, improving governance, and establishing an

PAKISTAN

In Pakistan, NED grantees focused on strengthening democratic governance at the provincial and local levels following the devolution of political authority. Grantees worked to ensure the participation of women, youth, and ethnic and religious minorities in public life. **Code for Pakistan** held the Islamabad Civic Hackathon 2016 to promote innovation in public services, and the **Women Media Centre** held workshops to improve the skills of professional women journalists. Other grantees such as the **Centre for Human Rights Education** – which worked to address extremism and political violence – promoted a peaceful, tolerant, and democratic political culture.

CODE FOR PAKISTAN has established itself as the hub of Pakistan's civic technology community, which aims to advance the public good by empowering citizens and making government more accessible, transparent, and efficient. Code for Pakistan organized the 2016 Islamabad Civic Hackathon, which brought together coders, government officials, designers, and civil society groups. Together, they brainstormed solutions to public problems and developed technological solutions, resulting in 25 prototype projects.

Its Civic Innovation Fellowship embeds tech professionals within provincial government departments in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa. The Fellows have delivered innovative solutions to improve housing, disaster management, traffic policing, and license issuance. And Code for Pakistan's Civic Innovation Labs, based in several cities across the country, engage with schools, universities, government, and private companies to build a vibrant civic technology ecosystem, where citizens and government work together to solve pressing problems facing local communities.



WOMEN IN STRUGGLE FOR EMPOWERMENT

(WISE, *above*) works to strengthen the leadership and advocacy skills of citizens and elected representatives in Pakistan. WISE conducts trainings for elected councilors, women community leaders, and local dispute resolution bodies. It also convenes seminars and community meetings on local governance and governance reforms.



environment that allows democratic institutions to flourish. The **Yangon School of Political Science** conducted its “Introduction to Political Science” program, with participants from political parties, civil society organizations, media, and government staff in attendance. Other NED grantees worked to address key structural and economic shortcomings that impede democratic consolidation, and to ameliorate ethnic, religious and political divisions.

In **China**, the Chinese Communist Party waged an ideological campaign to eliminate discussion

of constitutionalism, civil society, and liberal democracy from public and academic discourse. See opposite to learn more.

In **North Korea**, Kim Jong Un amassed near absolute authority, but NED grantees forged on; read opposite to learn more.

To learn more about the work of NED grantees across the region, turn to the Asia Grants section in this report, or visit www.NED.org/WhereWeWork.



ABOVE: The **Yangon School of Political Science** was founded in September 2011 by former political prisoners. Its founders share common experiences as grassroots activists and educators and are committed to nurturing a civic ethos in their rapidly changing country. The school offers exposure to comparative perspectives on democratic and economic transitions, with the goal of helping students to better understand the challenges and opportunities facing the country at this critical historical moment. In 2016, the School hosted the launch of the Myanmar Political Science Association. **BELOW:** **Equality Myanmar (EQMM)** held a human rights training in Rakhine State. Over the last fifteen years, EQMM has trained women, university students, monks and pastors, activists, school teachers, and community leaders, building a strong network of human rights trainers and advocates across the country, including its border regions.



CHINA

IN FOCUS

The Chinese Communist Party waged an ideological campaign to expunge discussion of constitutionalism, civil society, and liberal democracy from public and academic discourse. The government also blocked news outlets, censored stories, and cracked down on online activities that presented a challenge to the increasingly coercive environment. Moreover, China's nascent civil society is under ongoing threat: arrests of prominent lawyers and activists continue and the new foreign NGO management law, which took effect on January 1, 2017, will further restrict civil society development. The Endowment responded by working to expand access to independent information, and to strengthen the capacity of civil society organizations to uphold the rule of law and safeguard fundamental human rights. The Endowment also prioritized the protection and promotion of the rights of ethnic minorities and other marginalized communities. The Tibet program concentrated on expanding the free flow of independent and credible information and improving understanding among Chinese – in China and abroad – of Tibet. In 2016, the Endowment honored the late **Tenzin Delek Rinpoche** (*below, center, surrounded by orphans at a school in Nyagqu County in 1999*) with its Democracy Service Medal. Tenzin Delek Rinpoche was a Tibetan Buddhist leader widely known for working to develop social, medical, educational, and religious institutions for Tibetans in eastern Tibet, as an advocate for environmental conservation, and as a mediator between Tibetans and Chinese. He died as a political prisoner in 2015 after languishing for 13 years in prison.



NORTH KOREA

IN FOCUS

In North Korea, Kim Jong Un amassed near absolute authority. While the global community has focused on Kim's military posturing, NED partners have worked to highlight the regime's gross human rights violations and to increase international pressure in support of human rights. NED partners also worked to meet the rising demand for outside news and information inside North Korea, and to improve global understanding of what is happening in the Hermit Kingdom. In 2016, NED grantee **Daily NK** completed a three-year research project utilizing its in-country networks to provide the international community with detailed information on the development of private markets in North Korea. These informal markets are important drivers of social change and opening in North Korea because they enable North Koreans to access information about the outside world and engage in informal market exchanges outside the control of the regime. **Now, Action, and Unity for Human Rights** (NAUH), based in Seoul, has made a significant contribution in stimulating South Korean interest in the lives of North Koreans through its successful public re-creations of these markets. NAUH's first interactive exhibition in downtown Seoul attracted nearly 3,000 people and was covered by two of South Korea's largest media outlets. By focusing on the stories of average people, NAUH's events have helped to break down negative stereotypes of defectors in South Korean society and raise awareness of the realities of North Korean daily life.



REMEMBRANCE CEREMONY; IMAGE COURTESY THE INTERNATIONAL COALITION OF SITES OF CONSCIENCE



GLOBAL

Grantee VOICES

“NED support allows the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience to help societies in countries facing increased repression, transitioning from conflict or emerging from dictatorship to develop memorialization and civic engagement programs.”

**– THE DIRECTORS
INTERNATIONAL COALITION
OF SITES OF CONSCIENCE**





GLOBAL

Global challenges that defined the political landscape in recent years continued to confront democracy and human rights advocates around the world in 2016.

The restrictions aimed at curbing independent voices through criminalization of their work, judicial harassment, and even physical attacks, showed little sign of abating. As governments employed a range of tactics to limit civil society's ability to operate, democracy advocates sought to find creative ways to respond to the threats and stem the tide of deteriorating rights. In countries that had registered progress, meanwhile, democracy advocates faced a different type of challenge: following through on the promises heralded by significant elections and building on the traction gained through fledgling, at times fitful, transition processes.

The Endowment's Global grants aimed to strengthen the impact of democracy advocates' efforts by leveraging the work conducted in multiple regions to address crosscutting challenges. The grants helped to connect activists to one another to learn and share technical expertise, provide solidarity, collaborate on key areas of advocacy regarding democratic standards, and foster the development and implementation of norms to strengthen democracy.

Read the 2016 Global Grants section to learn where NED has focused its resources; to read more about grantees in this section, visit our website at www.NED.org/Regions

Participants consult with one another on a case at a workshop in Indonesia organized by the **Business & Human Rights Resource Centre**.





EURASIA

Grantee VOICES

"As proof of the power of memory, the Russian government recently took over and rewrote the interpretation of Site of Conscience Perm-36, a former labor camp that served as the only Russian museum presenting the history of political repression in that country. In an effort to preserve this history, ICSC is working – with NED support – through select channels to ensure that the stories of Perm-36 are preserved and shared, by bringing together activists and heritage professionals from Sites of Conscience across Russia and Eastern Europe for training on promoting transparent and democratic societies, ultimately serving to support and amplify pro-democracy voices in the region."

– THE DIRECTORS

INTERNATIONAL COALITION OF SITES OF CONSCIENCE

IMAGE FROM PERM-36 © ICSC



National Endowment
for Democracy

Supporting freedom around the world

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И В КАЧЕСТВЕ
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EURASIA

Eurasia saw the trends of the last several years intensify in 2016, making the work of NED grantees both more challenging and urgent. Closing political space, the aggressive spread of illiberal norms, rising social tensions, economic crisis, and strained relations with the international community continued to define events in the region.

All the countries of the region experienced serious economic problems stemming partly from the low price of oil and partly from the ripple effects of Russia's economic troubles. Laborers returning from Russia contribute to political instability in Central Asia; Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan have devalued their currencies; and even the Georgian and Armenian economies have been impacted by the low ruble and low employment in Russia.

Across the region, grantees are bracing for increased repression against civil society, the possibility of civil unrest, or armed conflict. While the extent and nature of authoritarian pushback varied by country, the fundamental struggle intensified in 2016 and threatened to undo decades of work by the Endowment and other donors. Nevertheless, civil society remains strong and committed, and the Endowment actively adapted to deteriorating conditions and new restrictions.

As **Russia** becomes increasingly belligerent internationally, it also grows ever more authoritarian at home. In 2016, the Kremlin continued to introduce even more repressive

Opposite: The Director of the **Women's Progressive Social Union Mutakallim**, Jamal Frontbek kyzy, leads a women's leadership seminar. The organization, founded in 2000, works to unite women of different ethnic groups and to strengthen their civic participation in the southern regions of the Kyrgyz Republic. In addition to studies, strategy development, and information campaigns, the grantee mentored women to participate in local elections.



InterNews, Kyrgyz Republic



Union of Informed Citizens, Armenia



Radio NOR, Georgia



Kakheti Regional Development Foundation, Georgia

legislation in an attempt to close off the last vestiges of free media and an open Internet; to apply even greater pressure on NGOs, lawyers, and activists; and to sever independent organizations from international funding. Nevertheless, independent media outlets, human rights organizations, and civic education programs continue to do important work.

Azerbaijan also consolidated its authoritarian turn, moving to eliminate any criticism of the regime, close

groups coalesce around common goals and strategies on behalf of democratic reform.

The **Kyrgyz Republic** is currently facing the most significant challenges to its continued democratic consolidation since 2010. The most worrying development is the recent passage of controversial amendments to the 2010 constitution. These amendments undermine the independence of the judiciary, remove the primacy of international law

“ **Across the region, grantees are bracing for increased repression against civil society, the possibility of civil unrest, or armed conflict.**

international NGOs, restrict basic freedoms, and jail government critics. The year ended with over 100 political prisoners in the country, including some of its best journalists, human rights activists, and lawyers. Although this unprecedented crackdown has substantially weakened the country's civic sector, civil society continues to advocate for their rights and those of their fellow citizens.

Armenia experienced a volatile 2016, with major public protests in July against the governing elites occurring almost exactly a year after 2015's “Electric Yerevan” protests against hikes in electricity prices. The four-day war with Azerbaijan in the spring exposed the extent to which government corruption threatens Armenia's national security; the issue has galvanized civil society and political activists ahead of the 2017 parliamentary elections. The Endowment continued to prioritize support for programs that help disparate

and the country's international treaty obligations, and strengthen the role of the Prime Minister. They also weaken Parliament's oversight role. The amendments are a blow against the democratic development of the country while the economic situation continues to worsen. Moreover, attacks against civil society and independent media have intensified over the past year. Individual human rights activists have been singled out for invective by the President and targeted by state surveillance, as well as threatened and harassed by non-state actors. The Endowment continues to support 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.

Kazakhstan has continued to restrict the operating environment for civil society by passing several new laws aimed at introducing greater control over its

GEO

IN FOCUS

GEORGIA remains the region's best example of a transitioning democracy.

Despite some reported irregularities, the overwhelming consensus of both domestic and international observers was that the 2016 parliamentary elections were free, fair, and competitive. Georgia's strong civil society has capitalized on political openings to promote the first real democratic reforms since the change in government in 2012. National advocacy organizations have been included in important government initiatives, and have been able to influence the process in key areas.

Nevertheless, many of these reforms have still fallen short of expectations, and concerns about the possibility of backsliding in the future remain.

The Endowment continues to support the strong civil society organizations that are already making valuable contributions to the national reform process of the electoral system, the police, and the judiciary, in addition to supporting grassroots initiatives that provide accurate information and empower local citizens to engage with the government.

RGIA

Founded in Tbilisi in 2009, JUMPSTART GEORGIA (*below*) creates tools, visualizes news, and shares stories to shed light on important social issues. The organization conducts in-depth research by analyzing data and translating it into engaging content. JumpStart has run communications campaigns on topics such as road safety and elections. In 2016, JumpStart worked to encourage public oversight of government spending ahead of the Parliamentary elections. The organization built a user-friendly, publicly available online tool for analyzing Georgian government spending. Based on its own use of this online tool, JumpStart also produced "best practice" examples of data journalism for other Georgian journalists to emulate.



The INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR FAIR ELECTIONS AND DEMOCRACY (ISFED, *left*) works to promote free and fair parliamentary elections in Georgia. In 2016, ISFED recruited and trained 68 long-term observers to monitor the pre-election environment in all electoral districts. ISFED observers documented the work of the election administration, the registration of candidates, the composition of lists of voters, and the use of administrative resources or other attempts to distort the process.

independence. The “Law on Payments” was quietly adopted without advance discussion in August 2016. This law introduced draconian new controls on civil society groups. Following widespread public protest against proposed changes to the land code in the spring, the government cracked down even further on civic activism and freedom of assembly. The government

torture, and even extrajudicial killings. A controversial constitutional referendum in May 2016 removed term limits for President Rakhmon and enshrined him as “leader of the nation.” In this increasingly repressive context, the Endowment continued to stand with civil society.



The International Debate Education Association in Central Asia organized a two-week long International Media Camp under the theme, “Youth as the basis of democratic future” in Issyk-Kul, Kyrgyzstan. Participants came from Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan to learn civic journalism, reportage photography, and debate. They also received training in advocacy techniques. At the end of the workshop, participants prepared their own media projects.

restricted public gatherings and pushed activists into politically motivated judicial trials. Despite these developments, there is nonetheless some limited space left for civil society groups.

Tajikistan continues to face its biggest crisis since the end of the civil war. The economic downturn throughout the region has been particularly acute here, where remittances from Russia are down, social discontent is on the rise, and the fear of returning migrants radicalized in Russia is growing. After banning the country’s main opposition party in September 2015, the government launched an unprecedented crackdown on all forms of dissent and opposition, including arrests of political activists, denial of legal representation, widespread

Turkmenistan and **Uzbekistan** remain among the most authoritarian countries in the world. President Karimov’s death in September 2016 offered nothing but ephemeral hope for meaningful reforms. Shavkhat Mirziyoyev, who was Prime Minister under Karimov, won elections in December that were neither free nor fair. Despite the release of two long-term political prisoners and signs of improved relations with neighboring countries, Mirziyoyev does not appear to be interested in any meaningful reforms. NED’s discretionary program supported human rights, independent media, and NGO development. To learn more about the work of NED grantees across the region, turn to the Eurasia Grants section in this report, or visit www.NED.org/WhereWeWork.

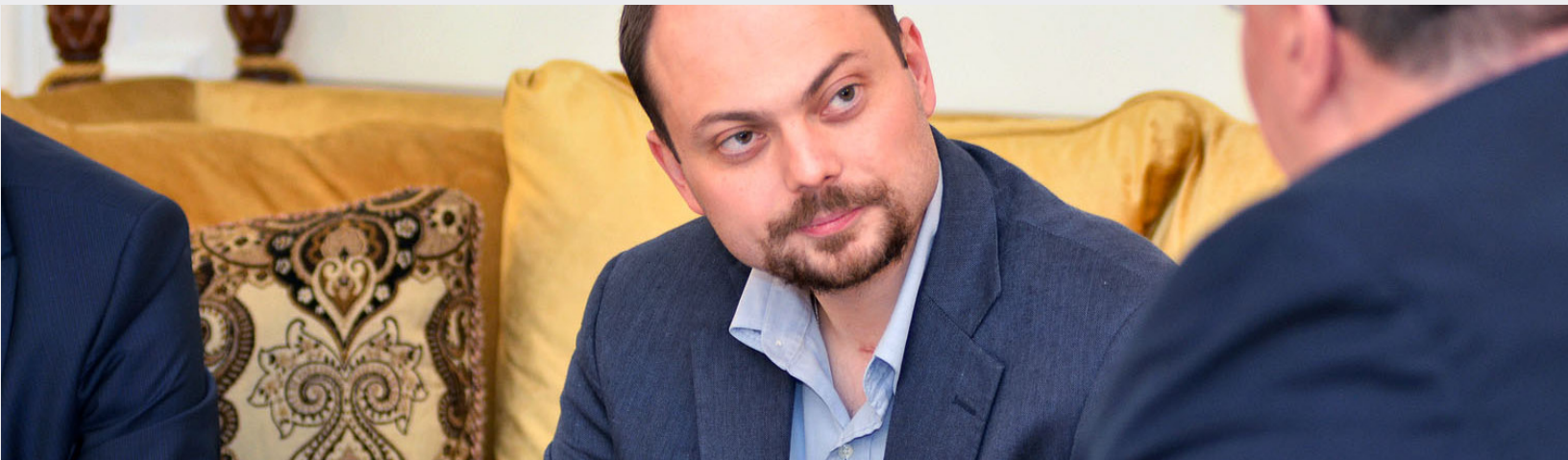
RUSSIA

IN FOCUS

Since Putin's return to the presidency in 2012, assaults on freedom of association and expression have been among the serious human rights abuses in Russia. His regime was badly rattled by the protest movement that was triggered by his return to power, and he has responded by clamping down on any organization or movement operating independently from the government.

Russia is worth pursuing while there are Russians willing to stand up for it."

I am humbled and amazed by the courage of these Russian democrats. Last May 26, 2016, just weeks after he spoke in the U.S. Congress at a symposium memorializing his assassinated friend Boris Nemtsov, [Vladimir Kara-Murza](#) (pictured below) suffered a severe poisoning that resulted



As with political oppositionists, many prominent NGO leaders have been targets of a sustained and vicious smear campaign perpetrated by state-media propaganda. In both cases, the result has been to create a climate of hate leading to constant harassment, threats, and attacks. As a result, many NGO leaders and political activists have been forced to leave the country...

[But] there is reason for hope in the continuing struggle of Russian NGOs, which have fought the new repressive laws every step of the way with unyielding determination. I was recently visited by the leader of a major Russian pro-democracy organization, who told me that Russian NGOs and activists can survive Putin's repression. What they cannot survive, he said, is the termination of support by Western governments and private foundations. Ludmilla Alexeeva, the founder of the Moscow Helsinki Group and Russia's most prominent human rights defender, wrote in *The Washington Post* that Russian activists "are fighting for the values that attracted Western aid in the first place....Surely the project of defending freedom in

in multiple organ failure and a coma, and that nearly led to his death. Miraculously he survived – doctors had given him only a five percent chance to live – and he has now returned to Russia to continue his work for freedom, democracy, and human rights.


We must never abandon someone like Vladimir Kara-Murza, and there are many others like him in Russia today who are prepared to defend their dignity and rights in the face of the most murderous and barbaric threats.

If we forget them, our country will lose contact with its roots and values, and the result will be devastating for our national interests and moral identity. So let us do whatever we can to show them that they are not alone, and that they have our full support and solidarity.

[Excerpt of remarks made by NED President Carl Gershman at a meeting of the U.S. Senate Human Rights Caucus on March 2, 2016, on "Human Rights Abuses in Putin's Russia."](#)



MEMORIAL TO THE FALLEN SHIPYARD WORKERS 1970, GDANSK, POLAND, MFA of the Republic of Poland, Creative Commons license CC BY-ND 2.0



EUROPE

Grantee VOICES

"In the '80s, NED brought hope and assistance to democracy activists and human rights defenders in Eastern Europe. In the '90s, NED brought hope by supporting cross-border programs, playing a crucial role in establishing relations between civil society and independent media leaders from Eastern Europe and Central Asia. Today, NED supports us in providing solidarity to partners from Eastern Europe, Central Asia, and Mongolia."

– Krzysztof Stanowski
Former Director, Polish Fund for International Solidarity





EUROPE

Europe's crisis deepened in 2016. Internal and external social, political and economic pressures shook the integrity and threatened the future of the European Union. In the EU and beyond, support for traditional political parties, trade unions, and political institutions declined. The media space became increasingly polluted, fueling polarization and xenophobia. These trends weakened liberal democracy across the region.

In Central Europe, political polarization increased and hard-won foundations of democratic governance were threatened by insular, divisive, and reactionary politics and policies. Compounding the region's specific post-communist and post-conflict challenges were the common problems of corruption and poorly performing state institutions. Across the region, the space for independent media shrank. These difficulties were exploited by Russia, which increased its hard and soft power attempts to destabilize new democracies, reverse transitions, undermine the EU, and divide the U.S. and Europe.

The Endowment's country priorities for the Europe region were those whose transitions are at a critical juncture between progress and backsliding – Ukraine and Moldova – and those whose governments continue to be autocratic, illiberal, or dysfunctional – Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, and Serbia. NED began reengaging with partners in Central and Eastern Europe to defend the democratic consolidation that has taken place since 1989 and counter Russia's attempts to destabilize the region. The

Opposite: **CrimeaSOS** works to protect the rights, freedoms, and interests of internally displaced persons (IDPs) and others who were affected by the armed conflict in eastern Ukraine and Crimea. Here, the CrimeaSOS team is interviewing Mustafa Dzhemilev, a Crimean Tatar leader. With NED support, the grantee produced a 2016 documentary about his life and work. Dzhemilev was a Soviet dissident and spent time in prison and labor camps. Now, because of the Crimean occupation, the Russians have banned him from traveling in Crimea.



Crime and Corruption Reporting Network, Serbia



Ohrid Institute, Macedonia



Post-Conflict Research Center, Bosnia & Herzegovina

Endowment increased its support for regional programs that address challenges common across the region.

Given its importance for the region and the challenges it faces, **Ukraine** remained the Europe section's top priority. Government reform efforts were hampered by low administrative capacity and a weak governing coalition. But civil society remained energized, and NED assisted established organizations and post-Maidan civic groups in pushing for real reform. (Turn the page to learn more.)

In **Belarus**, an economic crisis and Kremlin pressure pushed the government into a balancing act between Russia and the West. President Lukashenko sought to lessen the stigma of "Europe's last dictatorship" by limiting repression, offering Belarus' capital, Minsk, for the ceasefire talks on Ukraine, and allowing two opposition figures to win seats in the September parliamentary elections. Russia continued to exploit Belarus' economic dependence and bombard the country with aggressive propaganda. In response, NED assisted independent sources of information providing an objective viewpoint on the country's political, economic, and international challenges. NED also strengthened the capacity and outreach of civil society groups outside Minsk, and supported organizations monitoring and promoting human rights. Ahead of the elections, NED assisted voter education and mobilization initiatives, as well as monitoring efforts.

Bosnia and Herzegovina continued face governance challenges, and **Moldova's** democratic transition remained in doubt. See opposite page to learn more about both.

After thousands of citizens took to **Macedonia's** streets in 2015 to protest against rampant corruption, an internationally brokered political deal mandated early parliamentary elections. Prior to the early elections, NED grantees, such as the **Ohrid Institute**, promoted a freer and fairer contest while broadening the space for citizen input in political and decision-making processes. NED also

supported long-term programs strengthening interethnic and cross-party dialogue.

Although negotiations with Kosovo moved forward, **Serbia** continued to backslide on media freedom and the rule of law. To counter growing political and financial pressure in the media sphere, NED continued to support investigative journalism and independent media, such as the award-winning **Crime and Corruption Reporting Network**. At the same time, NED supported initiatives advancing transitional justice and promoting historical understanding, particularly among youth.

Divisive political controversies – including opaque, high-level negotiations with Serbia – impeded **Kosovo's** transition, while troubling levels of distrust among ethnic groups limited the political integration of minorities. NED grantees promoted public dialogue on the negotiations; others, such as the **Oral History Initiative**, advanced minority integration through storytelling and education. Support to watchdog initiatives and independent media remained critical to advancing political accountability and curbing corruption.

Although **Albania** made modest progress in adopting long-awaited legislation on judicial reform and decentralization, allegations of widespread corruption continued to impede critical reforms. In this context, NED grantees worked to promote public oversight at the local and central government levels by strengthening independent investigative media and promoting multipartisan dialogue on issues of transparency and accountability. Grantees such as the **Women's Network for Equality in Decision Making** worked with women leaders to improve their presentation and leadership skills

To learn more about the work of NED grantees across the region, turn to the Europe Grants section in this report, or visit www.NED.org/WhereWeWork.

MOLDOVA

IN FOCUS

Moldova's democratic transition remained in doubt. Corruption scandals have eroded public confidence in and support for the government. Following a court ruling that the indirect election of the president was unconstitutional, Moldovans went to the polls for the first time in two decades in October to elect their president. The Endowment supported projects that promoted voter education and mobilization, particularly among youth, first-time voters, and the diaspora. Grantees like **Contact Center** (pictured below) reached voters across the country through discussions, public debates, media spots, posters, banners, and leaflets. Other grantees held candidate debates and town hall meetings, monitored media coverage, and observed the election. NED also supported key Russian-language independent media outlets, and assisted groups promoting the accountability of judges and elected officials and fostering civil society and human rights in Transnistria and Gagauzia.



BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA

IN FOCUS

The complex and inefficient political system in Bosnia and Herzegovina continued to allow politicians to exploit ethnic divisions in pursuit of personal interests and avoid responsibility for failing to implement reforms needed to advance a democratic transition and improve economic prospects. In the absence of a systemic solution, civil society's efforts to counter these practices remained of the utmost importance. NED supported projects monitoring reforms, scrutinizing the performance of elected leaders, and promoting a greater demand for good governance at the grassroots level. NED continued to emphasize support for organizations operating outside the capital, including those bridging the ethnic divide and offering space for multiethnic cooperation amongst youth. The **Post-Conflict Research Center's** award-winning project "Ordinary Heroes" includes "heroes in training" sessions that gather and record stories of rescues during conflict undertaken at great personal risk, under the supervision of professional journalists, photographers, and filmmakers. During one media training held in Sarajevo, young people identified stories in their local communities that promoted reconciliation, tolerance, and moral courage.

Three years after the Maidan, the conventional narrative concerning UKRAINE is one of political and economic failure.

But on closer examination, it is clear that Ukraine is in the midst of a dramatic transformation. There has been a fundamental change in society that has set the stage for deep and lasting reforms. In contrast to the euphoria and lofty rhetoric of the Orange Revolution, Ukrainians came off the Maidan bloodied and bruised, but determined to finally make their country a 'normal' state. This sentiment echoed throughout the country, reaching the farthest regions. It has led to the rebirth of civil society, which is the infrastructure of democracy.



PATIENTS OF UKRAINE played a key role in 2016 in drafting and advocating for the successful passage of legislation that significantly reduced the de-facto control that a national “pharmaceutical mafia” had over licensing and regulation of medications. This control resulted in limited access to crucial medicines, fueled bribery, and fed a black market for drugs. Under the new law, the supply of cheaper and higher quality medicines will increase, benefiting ordinary Ukrainians. *Left, Patients of Ukraine conducted a peaceful demonstration against close ties between government officials and pharmaceutical companies.*

IN FOCUS

UKRAINE

LEGAL HUNDRED is a Maidan initiative founded by lawyer [Lesia Vasylenko](#) (*opposite*) to assist soldiers wounded in the fighting following Russia's invasion of eastern Ukraine. Today, the organization unites over 200 lawyers in nine regional offices who provide legal services to veterans and their families. Legal Hundred also is working closely with the Ministries of Defense and Social Policy to reform existing laws and regulations relating to the military draft, veteran healthcare, and social benefits.

The **LVIV EDUCATION FOUNDATION** carries out community engagement and volunteer exchange programs in Ukraine's war-torn east. The organization is helping to forge the next generation of civil society activists into a more cohesive, tolerant, and national force. In 2016, the NGO organized 15 volunteer camps for 400 youth from different regions across the country. The organization mentored 12 initiative groups from small towns in the Donbas that are establishing community centers for local activists. *Below: the Lviv Education Foundation organized a support group for the children of fallen soldiers.*





LATIN AMERICA, CARIBBEAN

Grantee VOICES

**"NED's presence
and support has
been decisive in
many ways for
the sustainability
of a civil society
constantly under
threat in Ecuador."**

– CÉSAR RICAURTE
(this page, with colleague)
Executive Director,
FUNDAMEDIOS







For Latin America and the Caribbean, 2016 was no ordinary year. The signing of the peace accord between the Colombian government and the FARC and the passing of Cuba's dictator, Fidel Castro, were among the seminal events that will shape the political landscape for years to come.

Significant developments in regional bodies reflected deeper changes in the hemisphere's commitment to democratic governance and principles. Under new leadership, the Organization of American States (OAS) for the first time invoked the Inter-American Democratic Charter against the Venezuelan government for the systematic alteration of the country's constitutional order. The new leadership in the OAS and Mercosur has shown a determination to reassert the organizations' roles as institutional safeguards for democracy and human rights in the Americas.

The region overall, however, continues to face broad challenges. The erosion of democratic institutions stemming from non-democratic governments, corruption, and transnational organized crime is ongoing. In 2016, human rights defenders, environmental and community activists, journalists, and media owners were harassed and even murdered by hostile federal and local governments and criminal actors. In the face of these challenges, NED grantees continued to work fearlessly to advance human rights and improve democratic governance.

Opposite: **Asuntos del Sur** mentors and trains young civil society leaders seeking office or engaged in public service with the goal of promoting innovation and democratic governance across Latin America. In 2016, the organization launched its Political Innovation Academy, based on a digital platform to provide effective online training on 21st century democratic governance.



Dialogo y Movimiento, Mexico



International Institute for Race, Equality, and Human Rights



Jovenes Contra la Violencia, Honduras

After many obstacles and delays, **Haiti** finally held presidential elections. Jovenel Moïse – who was former President Martelly’s handpicked successor – won with more than 50 percent of the vote, averting a run-off. Yet unresolved electoral tensions coupled with weak and fractured civil society and media sectors do not bode well for Haiti’s democratic stability. NED supported programs encouraging the participation and inclusion of youth and women in civic and political spaces, increasing citizen oversight and demand for human rights and the rule of law, and fostering dialogue and conflict mediation as an avenue to resolving political differences.

Support for **Mexico’s** current administration has been weakened by corruption, human rights violations, and failure to halt organized crime, which have stalled the government’s reform agenda. NED grantees worked to assist victims of human rights violations; promote access to information and oversight of government institutions; and foster the political inclusion of vulnerable groups.

Guatemala has regained some stability after an intense period of citizen mobilization and judicial activism in 2015 that resulted in the resignations of numerous government officials. In addition to significant challenges to transparency and accountability, Guatemala struggled with some of the highest homicide and citizen insecurity rates in the region. In 2016, the Endowment supported civil society organizations that promoted government transparency and accountability, citizen oversight of social programs at the national level, and environmental justice in the Petén region of the country.

Honduras also faces extremely high levels of violence, citizen insecurity, and corruption, as well as widespread poverty. NED-funded programs focused on promoting dialogue and consensus building among different political and social actors; engaging youth leadership on conflict prevention; citizen monitoring of the legislative process; access to information; and government transparency.



The Center for Justice and International Law represented the Sarayaku people in a landmark case before the Inter-American Court on Human Rights to protect their property rights.

CUBA

IN FOCUS

Cuba modestly loosened some economic restrictions following Fidel Castro's death but did not adopt similar measures in the political realm. In the months leading up and following to Castro's death, the Cuban regime cracked down on democracy activists, launching a campaign of harassment, assaults, and short-term arbitrary detentions. Noted Cuban artist 'El Sexto' (*below*) for example, was placed in a maximum security prison for two months, which effectively prevented him from participating in Art Basel in Miami, where he had planned exhibitions and performances. But in the face of this repression, NED grantees helped foster greater civil society cohesion and generated increased international awareness about the state of democracy and human rights in Cuba. As Cubans continue to struggle for individual rights and democracy, NED will continue to identify new opportunities and areas of work while maintaining support for longer-term partners.



VENEZUELA

IN FOCUS

Venezuela reached a definitive turning point in its democratic regression when gubernatorial elections and a presidential recall referendum were cancelled. As the country's social and economic conditions continued to unravel, including a worsening humanitarian crisis, the institutional options to address citizen discontent withered. NED supported programs to strengthen the effectiveness, transparency, and visibility of the new National Assembly in channeling tensions through dialogue and communication and reducing ideological polarization. The Endowment also renewed support for programs focused on electoral monitoring, government accountability and transparency, producing independent information, and defending human rights.



Latin American Youth Network for Democracy, Regional



Accion Ciudadana, Guatemala



Derecho, Ambiente, y Recursos Naturales, Regional

Nicaragua experienced a significant regression toward authoritarianism in 2016. In anticipation of the November 2016 presidential and legislative elections, the Ortega-controlled Supreme Court stripped the main opposition coalition of legal representation and all opposition parliamentarians were removed from their seats and replaced by government loyalists. Ortega appointed his wife as his vice-presidential running mate, and both competed virtually unopposed and with no international or domestic electoral observation. NED supported initiatives that helped democratic forces defend democratic space in Nicaragua, encouraged greater participation of women and youth, sustained freedom of expression, and promoted civic values.

In **Argentina**, the government achieved a major victory with the September 2016 approval of the country's first access to public information law, which will enhance government accountability and transparency. The new government has pledged to uphold international human rights and democracy standards, and NED partners are optimistic that this is an opportunity to strengthen democratic institutions, including restoring an independent judiciary and the rule of law, promoting transparency, and sustaining democratic efforts throughout the region.

In **Bolivia**, President Evo Morales lost a referendum that would have allowed him to run for a fourth consecutive term. However, the government continued to restrict space for civil society participation, while the economic downturn led to an increase in social protests. NED partners focused on promoting the rights of women and indigenous peoples, media independence, independent socioeconomic analysis, and political engagement among youth.

After 60 years of armed conflict, the **Colombian** government and the FARC reached an agreement for peace. In response to these developments, NED partners began to focus on programs for a post-conflict era, which includes projects to oversee the implementation of transitional justice mechanisms; promote anticorruption initiatives at the local, regional, and national levels, as well as civic education and leadership initiatives targeting Afro-Colombians and indigenous populations. In addition, the Endowment continued to sustain innovative digital platforms promoting investigative journalism to inform citizens about local and national politics.

In **Ecuador**, the administration of President Rafael Correa continued to concentrate power in the executive branch and limit the independence of the legislature and the judiciary. NED supported organizations that monitored violations of human rights and freedom of expression, provided independent news and information, worked to increase the transparency of the judiciary, and promoted government accountability at the local level.

Paraguay continued to face numerous challenges to its democratic development that contributed to low support for democracy and a low level of citizen interest in politics as a whole. NED sustained organizations focused on enhancing transparency and accountability, improving access to justice, fostering youth participation, and promoting the consolidation of the country's emerging civil society.

To learn more about the work of NED grantees across the region, turn to the LAC Grants section in this report, or visit www.NED.org/WhereWeWork.

NED grantee **OJO PÚBLICO** (“Public Eye”) is a Peruvian digital media outlet that uses innovative tools to produce independent investigative journalism and combat corruption. With NED support, Ojo Público combed through public records at the National Office for Privacy and Personal Information in 2016. What they found and documented were the tax returns of Supreme Court justices – some of which listed assets of questionable origin.

In one much-publicized case, Ojo Público reported that one Supreme Court justice held assets that far exceeded what he could have amassed on his salary. He sued Ojo Público, alleging that it had violated his privacy and obtained the information illegally. After months of litigation, Peru’s Court of Appeals ruled against the justice, stating that Ojo Público had acted legally and in good faith.

In order to maintain its independence, Ojo Público does not rely on advertising. Instead, its sustainability is based on a mixed model of support from like-minded organizations, crowdfunding for specific journalistic projects, revenue from trainings and workshops, alliances with universities and research centers, and the committed involvement of its readership. NED is proud to be part of this community of support and to stand with Ojo Público in its pursuit of transparency and the public good.

In 2016, **Peru**’s young democracy experienced a close, contentious election that culminated in Pedro Pablo Kuczynski assuming the presidency. This successful transition aside, Peru continues to struggle with upholding human rights commitments, corruption, and the influence of organized crime. In the face of dwindling confidence in democratic institutions, NED supported grassroots efforts to hold the judicial branch accountable through investigative and independent media. NED provided funding to organizations that promote transparency and accountability, as well as those that foster a culture of conflict resolution through dialogue.



An impressive range of NED grantees in addition to Ojo Público are standing up to corruption in Peru. **CONVOCA** (above) is building a corruption database – a publicly available, easily searchable platform that compiles public records, news articles, and individual profiles on every corruption case and scandal that has taken place in Peru spanning the past four presidential terms. **PROETICA**, which is Transparency International’s chapter in Peru, is coordinating civil society efforts to monitor the Lava Jato corruption scandal, which originated in Brazil but has had a global reach, including spillover into Peru. Proetica is pairing this effort with the strategic litigation of high-profile cases of corruption. Meanwhile, **IDHEPUCP**, a think tank housed within Peru’s prestigious Catholic University, is offering a hybrid training course for journalists and lawyers. The course teaches journalists how to report on and investigate cases of corruption while also teaching lawyers how to lean on the media to generate public pressure on the government to reduce impunity. NED is proud to stand with these grantees as they pursue honest governance in Peru.



MIDDLE EAST, NORTH AFRICA

Grantee VOICES

"NED funding has allowed our association to develop into a sophisticated NGO that is a force on local Tunisian issues and well positioned to respond to social shifts within Tunisian society."

- DIRECTORS
TOUNISSIET, TUNISIA







MENA

In most of the countries of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), prospects for democratic progress and reform were devastated by mounting turmoil, conflict, and terrorism in 2016. Security and stability have become urgent needs, eclipsing the government reform agenda in almost every country.

Civil society throughout MENA – including a wave of newborn civic groups, coalitions, and political organizations – struggled on. Despite their inexperience and limited capacity, a younger generation of organizations remained committed to a long-term vision of reform and renewal. They persisted in their work of formulating alternatives to authoritarianism and mobilizing a wide range of social sectors, including small business and community-based groups.

Afghanistan remained a high NED priority, as the country's nascent civil society faced more challenges and fewer opportunities. In response, NED supported groups promoting national coordination on shared priorities, independent media and free access to information, democratic ideas and values – including the compatibility of Islam and democracy, the rule of law, civic education, and raising awareness of women's rights under Afghan law.

Volunteer groups in Diyala province in Iraq meet to discuss reviving civil society work after the defeat of ISIS.





National grantee meeting, Afghanistan



Vision Institute for Civil Society Studies, Jordan



Nokta Fasje, Lebanon

Despite threats from extremist groups, **Tunisia's** transition proved resilient and its civil society groups remained highly committed to enhancing democratic gains. NED expanded its support to include a wide range of civil society initiatives on good governance, transparency and accountability of public institutions, and pluralism.

Morocco's modest political reforms remained on course. Its newly elected parliament and recent legislation provided civil society groups additional space for advocacy and effective participation in local policy-making. NED expanded its support to civil society, engaging youth in decision-making and the policy process, and creating coalitions to tackle legislative reform and government accountability.

While the **West Bank and Gaza** are challenged by political stagnation and security concerns, NED grantees persisted in their efforts to foster meaningful public demand for political reform and active citizen participation. In **Jordan**, NED grantees have been addressing ethnic and religious cleavages, and building bridges between communities threatened by these divisions.

Lebanon struggled to cope with a million Syrian refugees while addressing public demands to fix endemic corruption and public mismanagement. The Endowment supported independent civic actors as they championed evidence-based monitoring of national and local government, expanded space for independent journalism and alternative voices, and promoted youth leadership in civic and political spheres.

With NED support, human rights defenders from **Iran, Bahrain, and Saudi Arabia** used digital technology to raise awareness, break state monopolies over mass communications, and promote new media organizations, bloggers, and citizen journalists.

Egypt moved aggressively against foreign assistance to independent civil society groups. In March 2016, the government reopened its criminal case targeting foreign organizations and foreign-funded Egyptian NGOs. This further quashed dissent as reform-minded Egyptians feared becoming targets of the state security apparatus. In response, NED extended a lifeline of support to embattled local rights and media groups, and helped to connect local rights groups through regional programs. NED support prioritized efforts to address systemic governance failures and weak local and national institutions.

In **Turkey**, independent media and civil society faced a wholesale rollback of democratic norms and a campaign of reprisals against peaceful dissent. NED increased its support to meet needs focusing on platforms for citizen-state dialogue, anti-discrimination campaigns, and independent journalism.

NED expanded support for initiatives to foster solidarity among civic-minded actors across the region and create opportunities to learn about and apply innovative approaches to tackling governance challenges.

To learn more about the work of NED grantees in individual countries and across the region, turn to the MENA Grants section in this report, or visit www.NED.org/WhereWeWork.

IN FOCUS

Iraqi civil society groups have risen to the challenge of promoting a non-sectarian and democratic vision for governance and civil society. They ran effective campaigns throughout the country, and provided citizens with multiple forums for voicing their concerns and monitoring governance, especially at the local level. Iraq's labor movement scored a major victory after a three-year campaign for labor legislation that meets international standards. With NED and [Solidarity Center](#) support, Iraqi labor unions achieved an enormous breakthrough on February 1, 2016, with the passage of a new labor law. The law provided for important improvements for women workers, improved conditions for collective bargaining, and allowed multiple unions to exist in the same workplace, opening the door for full trade union pluralism in the country.



IN FOCUS

Unremitting violence in Syria have not destroyed the determination of forward-looking community and youth leaders to cultivate democratic values and ideas. NED continued to support inclusive civic and political groups working to organize and advocate for human rights and the rule of law in emerging political forums on the future of Syria. This support allowed NGOs to lead conversations among Syrians on the future of their country, to integrate democratic values into the educational curricula used in Syrian-run schools in Turkey, and to foster an independent media culture among young Syrians training to be journalists. NED grantees also coordinated with other civil society groups to document and report human rights violations committed by all actors in Syria's ongoing civil war. *Below: a Syrian refugee camp in Turkey.*



image © European Union 2016 – European Parliament, creative commons CC BY-NC-ND 2.0

MENA REGION

IN FOCUS



Since 2009, NED has made it a priority to **strengthen emerging independent policy centers in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region**, and support their critical role in identifying local policy solutions to the challenges facing their countries. Today, NED is supporting dozens of such centers across the region to provide evidence-based policy research and analysis, produce policy briefs, convene stakeholders, and advocate for alternative policies on a wide range of issues. Through its MENA regional program, NED is taking a three-pronged approach by supporting initiatives that: 1) strengthen the capacity of nascent think tanks; 2) promote networking and collaboration at the national and regional levels; and 3) develop promising policy analysts and experts.

NED's main partner in strengthening local policy centers is the **Project on Middle East Democracy (POMED)**, a Washington-based think tank founded in 2006. POMED quickly established itself as an important voice, and was soon willing to share its own experience as a relatively new, youth-led policy center with counterparts in the region. Working closely with over a dozen nascent policy forums in Egypt, Iraq, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia, and Yemen, POMED provides tailored, customized technical assistance to enhance its partners' policy analysis, writing, and advocacy abilities.

Over the years, POMED has also produced a series of Arabic-language manuals on policy writing, policy advocacy, think tank management, and policy analysis. These unique resources provide insight into international best practices along with local examples to enrich the region's emerging policy forums.

POMED also convenes an annual regional conference, providing a platform for partners to connect and learn from each other. This cross-country engagement facilitates the exchange of experiences, best practices, and resources.

POMED's partners have shown a qualitative improvement in policy writing, an increase in successful policy advocacy, and advancement in institutional capacity and organizational management. Policy briefs produced by POMED partners are today more succinct, well-structured, and supported by better-documented evidence. Partners have credited POMED's training, feedback, and mentorship with helping them open new doors for influence. POMED-trained policy researchers are emerging as policy experts, and their policy recommendations are evident in draft legislation.

NED has also supported the work of the **Nawat Network**, a recently established network of over 60 nascent policy centers located throughout the region. Nawat emerged out of several NED-funded projects in support of independent policy centers. The Nawat Network fills a need in the region's policy sector by connecting efforts throughout the region, encouraging collaboration, amplifying the voice of the region's independent policy sector, and providing forums for the exchange of resources and information. Though still nascent, Nawat contributes to the professionalization, sustainability, and increased impact of the region's think tanks. It is building the culture of peer review among the region's policy centers in order to strengthen the quality of policy publications and recommendations as well as promote greater collaboration.



In addition to strengthening and linking policy institutions, NED programs support the professional development of policy experts and leaders, particularly in specialized policy areas. With NED support dating back to 2014, the **Arab Centre for Scientific Research and Humane Studies** (ACSRHS) in Morocco created a regional academy to prepare and support a new generation of economic policy leaders. ACSRHS is one of a handful of independent think tanks in the region to develop training capacities geared towards young researchers. Currently in its third year, ACSRHS's academy has succeeded in fostering links between market-oriented economic experts from throughout the region, developing a rich and substantive training program, and connecting beneficiaries to other regional and international experts and opportunities. Program alumni, with ACSRHS support, have gone on to establish their own economic policy centers, or to work directly with policy makers to advocate for and implement economic reform priorities.



Images courtesy of the Arab Center for Scientific Research and Humane Studies. In 2016, the Center convened 40 youth leaders from the MENA region to learn how to effectively engage on economic policy reform issues. The Center led workshops focused on economic policy analysis, advocacy, and the production of policy papers on economic issues.



"WILL THE INTERNET OF THINGS ENHANCE DEMOCRACY OR EMPOWER AUTOCRATS?" A DISCUSSION HELD AT NED IN JANUARY 2016.



The Endowment's DEMOCRACY PROMOTION ACTIVITIES

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL
MEDIA ASSISTANCE

DEMOCRACY RESOURCE CENTER

INTERNATIONAL FORUM FOR
DEMOCRATIC STUDIES

JOURNAL OF DEMOCRACY

REAGAN-FASCELL
DEMOCRACY FELLOWS PROGRAM

WORLD MOVEMENT
FOR DEMOCRACY





With disinformation flooding into the public arena and politics increasingly divided, the struggle for democracy around the world is more closely intertwined than ever with the development of vibrant, high quality news media.

The Center for International Media Assistance (CIMA) provides thought leadership to strengthen media systems and to bolster the essential role that they play in sustaining democracy. To achieve this, CIMA provides knowledge and the platform for discussion needed to improve the effectiveness of support for media development. The Center conducts policy-relevant research on the major issues affecting global media today – in markets, politics and society – and convenes donors, implementers, academics, journalists, and other stakeholders in the media development community to help them act and collaborate strategically. CIMA marked its 10th anniversary in 2016, and its mission has never felt more urgent.

CATALYST ACTIVITIES

In 2016, CIMA continued to focus on the mechanics of fostering an enabling environment for media systems buffeted by a democratic recession and the collapse of traditional business models for journalism. CIMA has generated original research and fostered new institutional partnerships for this critical juncture.

CIMA's work focuses on building a foundation of knowledge for media development donors, implementers, and civil society actors on best practices and solutions for improving media systems. In the process, CIMA consults and works with many NED grantees. Pictured here: the Women Media Centre of Pakistan provided practical media training during a 10-day workshop in Karachi, October 2016.

CIMA is laying the foundations for a better understanding of the sophisticated techniques used by authoritarians to undermine independent media. In 2016, CIMA and Indiana University's School of Global and International Studies (SGIS) announced a partnership for the creation of the Mark Helmke Postdoctoral Scholarship on Global Media, Development, and Democracy. The inaugural Helmke Scholar, Elizabeth Stein, is conducting research that will highlight how the purchase of media outlets by government-aligned oligarchs has undermined transitional democracies.

CIMA has also worked to foster the political will needed to protect media systems through the second in a global series of regional consultations to diagnose the problems facing independent media. The consultation was held in September in Jakarta for the Southeast Asian region. The meeting involved civil society, media watchdog NGOs, academics, media industry representatives, and government officials representing nine countries. The meeting resulted in a three-point action agenda, with a follow-up meeting planned during World Press Freedom Day in Jakarta in 2017.

Finally, CIMA also continues to play a unique role in monitoring trends in international support to media development. In July, CIMA launched a major project to survey media development donors, and in the process, encourage them to distinguish and report their media development funding efforts. The project's goal is to paint a clearer picture of what types of media development activities are the top priorities for each donor, how much money they are putting into media development, and where in the world this work is being done. Taken together, the profiles will give the media development community valuable data to work with and a better sense of the state of funding for the field.

PUBLICATIONS

CIMA produces research reports on key topics in media development and also publishes papers related to its events and working groups. In 2016, CIMA published nine research papers, including *Cuba's Parallel Worlds: Digital Media Crosses the Divide and Rethinking Public Service Broadcasting's Place in International Media Development*.

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*.

CIMA BLOG

CIMA produced more than 65 posts on its blog. 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 "Media Freedom in the New Burma: Defamation, Self-



Censorship, and Implications for Ethnic Minorities" and "The International Community in Ethiopia is Wrong: It Can Do Much More to Protect Ethiopian Journalists and Freedom of Speech" to "Ukraine's Media: In Some Ways, Better Than You Think" and "The Droids You're Looking For: Bots as a Tool for Journalism."

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

EVENTS

CIMA organizes panel discussions, working groups, and roundtables featuring practitioners and academics to investigate issues in media development. This year, CIMA held seven public events, including “**Rethinking Public Service Broadcasting**,” “**Will the Internet of Things Enhance Democracy or Empower Autocrats?**,” and “**Can Digital Media Break Through in Cuba?**” Summaries as well as video and audio recordings of CIMA events can be found at <http://cima.ned.org/events>.

As part of CIMA’s broader effort to bridge the gap between scholars and practitioners of media development, CIMA partnered with the Communication and Media Research Institute (CAMRI) at the University of Westminster in London, to convene a day-long workshop with researchers from across the world to reconsider the intellectual underpinnings of the media development field. Over 60 academics and practitioners attended from 22 countries, representing universities, research centers, and implementing organizations. The workshop identified gaps in knowledge and discussed how to foster greater collaboration between scholars and practitioners.



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 development. 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

Jerry Hyman

Alex Jones

Susan King

Craig LaMay

William Orme

Dale Peskin

Adam Clayton Powell III

Monroe Price

Adam Schiff

Marguerite Sullivan

Richard Winfield



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.

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 RESOURCE CENTER

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.



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 scholarly 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.
- Coordinating the Network of Democracy Research Institutes (NDRI), a global think tank network.

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

The International Forum for Democratic Studies is directed by Shanthi Kalathil. Christopher Walker serves as the NED Vice President overseeing the work of the Forum. 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 Research Council and coedit the *Journal of Democracy*.

Ghia Nodia, Director of the International School of Caucasus Studies at Ilia Chavchavadze State University in Georgia, delivered the thirteenth annual Seymour Martin Lipset Lecture on Democracy in the World.

forum

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 held numerous panels, expert briefings, and book launch events.

COMBATTING MODERN KLEPTOCRACY

In 2016, the Forum organized a series of roundtable discussions and workshops to examine the emergence of transnational kleptocracy and its impact on democracy. This initiative aims to amplify, connect, and elevate the work of civil society activists, journalists, and experts who undertake work on this topic. Roundtable discussions focused on "The Kleptocracy Curse: The Challenge for Civil Society," "Legal Mechanisms to Combat Kleptocracy," and "The Corrosive Impact of the Republic of Congo's Kleptocracy at Home and Abroad."

A two-day workshop, "Combatting Modern Kleptocracy: Developing a Roadmap for Civil Society," held in Berlin, Germany, on September 19-20 and cosponsored by Transparency International, explored the topic in more detail.

DEFENDING THE INTEGRITY OF THE INFORMATION SPACE

The Forum organized a series of roundtable discussions and workshops to explore the democratic response to illiberal forces adept in the manipulation and projection of media power. Roundtable discussion topics included "A Democratic Response to the Subversion of the Information Space" and "Russia's Growing Media Ambitions: How to Respond to the Challenge." A September 22-23 London workshop, cosponsored by the Legatum Institute, examined "The Threat of Disinformation to Democracy: Defending the Integrity of the Media Space."

AUTHORITARIAN "SOFT POWER" IN VULNERABLE DEMOCRACIES

In order to acquire a clearer understanding of the instruments of authoritarian influence in vulnerable democracies, a Forum initiative is focusing on authoritarian efforts to influencing the information space and realm of ideas in four countries: Slovakia, Poland, Argentina, and Peru. This effort is a cross-regional, comparative study of the instruments and methods used by leading authoritarian powers to exercise their own, often malign, forms of "soft power" in two key regions: Central Europe and Latin America. The research effort is being undertaken with several NDRI think tanks members, which are conducting on-the-ground analysis, focusing on the media sphere, academia, and the think tank sector.

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 2016, 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 websites, issues of *Democracy Research News*, and other information on the Network of Democracy Research Institutes are available at www.ndri.ned.org.

AUTHORITARIANISM GOES GLOBAL: THE CHALLENGE TO DEMOCRACY

In April 2016, the Forum published *Authoritarianism Goes Global: The Challenge to Democracy*, an edited volume that examines how leading authoritarian countries – including China, Iran, Russia, Saudi Arabia, and Venezuela – have developed new tools and strategies to contain the spread of democracy and challenge the liberal international political order.

To celebrate the publication, the Forum organized a series of book events in Washington, DC, New York, Berlin, Brussels, London, and Copenhagen.

THIRTEENTH ANNUAL SEYMOUR MARTIN LIPSET LECTURE ON DEMOCRACY IN THE WORLD

Ghia Nodia, Director of the International School of Caucasus Studies at Ilia Chavchavadze State University in Georgia, delivered the thirteenth annual Seymour Martin Lipset Lecture on Democracy in the World on the topic “The Crisis of Postnationalism.” The lecture was held at the Canadian Embassy in Washington, DC, on November 16. An article based on the lecture entitled “The End of the Postnational Illusion” appeared in the April 2017 *Journal of Democracy*.

Former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright discussed “The Legacy of Vaclav Havel and the Future of Democracy.”



FORUM COLLOQUIA

The International Forum for Democratic Studies Colloquium Series in 2016

[“The Anglo-American Tradition of Liberty: A View from Europe”](#) João Carlos Espada, Institute of Political Sciences, Catholic University of Portugal (*October 26*)

[“The Legacy of Vaclav Havel and the Future of Democracy”](#) Madeleine Albright, former U.S. Secretary of State; Ivan Krastev, Centre for Liberal Strategies; Igor Blazevic, One World Film Festival; Fred Hiatt, *Washington Post*; Robert Kagan, Brookings Institution; Leon Wieseltier, Brookings Institution; Larry Diamond, Hoover Institute; Jackson Diehl, *Washington Post* (*October 5*)

[“The Specter Haunting Europe”](#) Ivan Krastev, Centre for Liberal Strategies (*October 4*)

[“The Fractious Path: Pakistan’s Democratic Transition”](#) Raza Rumi, Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow, with comments by Ambassador Robin Raphel, former Assistant Secretary of State for South Asia, and Dr. Marvin Weinbaum, Middle East Institute (*July 21*)

[“Women and Good Governance in Afghanistan: Barriers and Opportunities”](#) Fatema Jafari, Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow (*July 12*)

[“Preparing a New Generation of Women Leaders in Zimbabwe”](#) Nyaradzo Mashayamombe, Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow, with comments by Natalie Kay, National Endowment for Democracy (*July 7*)

[“‘Love and War on the Rooftop,’ The True Story of Militants Turned Theater Actors and Friends”](#) Lea Baroudi, Reagan-Fascell Fellow, with comments by Karen Farrell, National Endowment for Democracy (*June 30*)

[“Democratizing China: Insights from Theory and History”](#) Minxin Pei, Claremont McKenna College, with comments by David Shambaugh, George Washington University, and Geoff Dyer, *Financial Times* (*April 28*)

[“Authoritarianism Goes Global: The Challenge to Democracy”](#) Christopher Walker, National Endowment for Democracy; Fred Hiatt, *Washington Post*; William Dobson, NPR (*April 14*)

[“The Hollowing Out of Democracy: Hungary and Beyond”](#) Balint Magyar, Financial Research Institute, Hungary, with comments by Arch Puddington, Freedom House (*March 1*)

[“Film Screening: The Trials of Spring”](#) HEND Nafea, Visiting Fellow, with comments by Gini Reticker, Film Director, and Michele Dunne, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (*February 16*)

[“Untouchable India: Impunity for Caste Violence”](#) Manoj Mitta, Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow (*February 10*)

[“Consolidating Democracy in Nepal Through Transparent Campaign Finance”](#) Tilak Pathak, Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow, with comments by Ivan Doherty, National Endowment for Democracy (*February 9*)

[“Roma Exclusion: A European Democratic Deficit”](#) Gabor Demszky, Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow, with comments by Nadazhda Mouzykina, National Democratic Institute (*February 3*)

[“Will the Internet of Things Enhance Democracy or Empower Autocrats?”](#) Phil Howard, University of Washington and Oxford University (*January 20*)

[“Freedom of Information as a Catalyst for Liberia’s Democratic Growth”](#) Lamii Kpargoi, Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow, with comments by Gemima Barlow, National Democratic Institute (*January 14*)

JOURNAL OF DEMOCRACY

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

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.



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

In 2016, the *Journal* explored corruption and clientelism through a cluster of articles on “The Quest for Good Governance” (with Alina Mungiu-Pippidi; Alexander Kupatadze; Christian Goebel; and Daniel Buquet and Rafael Piñeiro–January); assessed the challenges that lay ahead for Burma following the November 2015 parliamentary elections that gave Aung San Suu Kyi’s National League for Democracy a huge victory (with Igor Blažević; Min

MUST READ

In July, the *Journal* published a much-discussed article by Roberto Stefan Foa and Yascha Mounk that was ominously entitled “**The Danger of the Deconsolidation.**” It contained some very alarming statistics about the attitudes of young people towards democracy that show that democratic commitment declines with age. Young people, in other words, show less commitment to democracy than their parents and grandparents. For example, only 30 percent of millennials think it’s “essential” to live in a democracy, compared to 72 percent of those born before World War II. In 1995 one in 16 respondents felt that it would be a good thing for the army to rule. Today that figure is one in six. Citing the declining trust in government in the US, Foa and Mounk wrote that democratic breakdown is “extremely unlikely” in a world where citizens fervently support democracy, but that “It is no longer certain...that this is the world we live in” today. –NED President Carl Gershman



Zin; and Bridget Welsh, Kai-Ping Huang, and Yun-han Chu–April); revisited Guillermo O'Donnell's concept of delegative democracy (with Santiago Anria; Catherine M. Conaghan; Frances Hagopian; Juan Pablo Luna; Lindsay R. Mayka; and Alberto Vergara and Aaron Watanabe–July); and scrutinized the rising threat of populism in Europe (with Takis S. Pappas; Timo Lochocki; Dominique Reynié; Joanna Fomina and Jacek Kucharczyk; Sheri Berman; Jacques Rupnik; and Ivan Krastev–October).

Selected essays originally published in the *Journal of Democracy* have been collected into a series of books edited by Marc F. Plattner and Larry Diamond and published by Johns Hopkins University Press. More than two dozen books have been published in the series. *Journal of Democracy* books and articles are used widely in university courses on political science,

international affairs, and sociology. The *Journal's* most recent publication, *Authoritarian Goes Global* (edited by Larry Diamond, Marc F. Plattner, and Christopher Walker; [above, book launch](#)), was released in 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 \$50 per year for individuals and \$175 for institutions. For further pricing information, including for electronic subscriptions, visit the *Journal's* website at www.journalofdemocracy.org. To subscribe, send a check or money order in U.S. dollars to Johns Hopkins University Press, P.O. Box 19966, Baltimore, MD 21211-0966, Tel: 800-548-1784, Fax: 410-516-3866, or visit www.press.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/.

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REAGAN-FASCELL

Democracy Fellows Program



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

Reagan-Fascell fellowships focus on the political, social, economic, legal, or cultural aspects of democratic development and result in a variety of publications and products. 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 offers fellows a collegial environment in which to conduct research and writing, exchange ideas with counterparts, and develop professional relationships within a global network of democracy advocates.

Recognizing the special needs of individuals facing political persecution because of their democracy work, the program also offers emergency fellowships and seeks to collaborate with counterpart organizations to strengthen support networks for these "democrats at risk."



MS. LEA BAROUDI (Lebanon, April–July 2016) is a Lebanese activist working to foster ethnic and religious pluralism against rising extremism through peacebuilding activities that focus on the use of freedom of expression. During her fellowship, she planned for the future of her peacebuilding projects and pursued outreach in DC and beyond. On June 30, 2016, Lea screened her documentary at NED, in a presentation entitled "Love and War on the Rooftop: The True Story of Militants Turned Theater Actors and Friends." The film sparked a lively conversation around the root causes of extremism, as well as what the Lebanese government and the international community can do to build a pluralistic society. After her fellowship, Lea returned to Lebanon to continue her pioneering work in peacebuilding.



Jafari, Mashayamombe, Inzamliyah; bookended by IRI staff

MS. SHAD BEGUM (Pakistan, October 2015–March 2016) is founding director of the Association for Behavior and Knowledge Transformation, an organization working toward the economic and political empowerment of underserved communities in Pakistan. During her fellowship, she laid the groundwork for the establishment of a center for women’s empowerment in the Provincially Administered Tribal Areas of northwest

Pakistan. She also worked on a book recounting her experiences advocating for the rights of women and girls in the country’s tribal belt. On December 9, 2015, she gave a presentation at NED entitled “Women’s Resilience and Resolve in Northwest Pakistan: Championing Change in the Face of Extremism,” in which she offered a roadmap for the realization of women’s rights as citizens. After her fellowship, Shad returned to Pakistan to establish a women’s center and complete work on her book.

DR. GÁBOR DEMSZKY (Hungary, October 2015–April 2016) is a sociologist who has dedicated much of his academic and political career to promoting social inclusion and minority integration in Hungary. From 1990 to 2010, he served as mayor of Budapest and in 2004, he was elected to the European Parliament. During his fellowship, Gábor worked to promote participation in local governance through integration models that treat disenfranchised minorities as active stakeholders rather than mere targets of policy. On February 18, 2016, he delivered a presentation at NED examining the decline of living conditions among marginalized groups in East-Central Europe after the fall of communism. Following his fellowship, he returned to Europe to focus on urban studies and tackle threats to liberal democracy at the national and regional level.



Fellows visited with Cameroonian activist Anne Stella Fomumbod (center)

DR. HENRY HALE (United States, March–July 2016) is professor of political science and international affairs at George Washington University, where he teaches courses on the comparative politics of Russia and Eurasia. During his fellowship, he analyzed polling data to shed light on the dynamics of political legitimacy in post-Soviet Eurasia and to determine the implications of current public opinion for democratic

development in Russia and Ukraine. He authored the article “25 Years after the USSR: What Went Wrong?” (*Journal of Democracy*, July 2016) and the essay “A Change from Change? Paternalism Beyond Putin,” (forthcoming, *Daedalus*, Spring 2017). On June 23, 2016, Henry gave a presentation at NED entitled “Russian Public Opinion after Crimea.” Following his fellowship, he resumed his professorship at George Washington University.



Begum, Fellowships Senior Director Sally Blair, Caxton, Bastola, NED Vice-President Christopher Walker, Smith, Demszy, Inzamliah, Jafari

MS. IZZAH INZAMLIYAH (Indonesia, March–July 2016) is a program officer with the Solidarity Center in Jakarta, where she designs and facilitates workshops for local unions. During her fellowship, she conducted research and participated in capacity building workshops aimed at promoting strategic organizing among unions in Indonesia’s garment factories. On June 2, 2016, Izzah gave a presentation at NED entitled “Strengthening Indonesian Democracy Through Union Organizing: A Draft Manual for Union Organizers.” At the event, she presented a draft training manual to experts and colleagues and received valuable feedback, including ways to better engage female garment factory union members. Following her fellowship, she returned to Jakarta to continue her work with the Solidarity Center and to create a version of her manual in Bahasa Indonesia.



Back: Jafari, Bastola, NED staff Elise Alexander and Marlena Papavaritis, Nafea, Mashayamombe, Inzamliah; Front: Mengesha, Begum

MRS. FATEMA JAFARI (Afghanistan, March–July 2016) is a women’s rights advocate and public official recently reelected to the Provincial Council of Herat, where she serves on a number of committees related to women’s issues in Afghanistan. During her fellowship, she advocated for Afghan women’s political participation and worked on a book of memoirs documenting her personal and professional quest for gender equality. On July 12, 2016, she gave a presentation at NED entitled “Women and Good Governance in Afghanistan: Barriers and Opportunities,” in which she recommended that the international community maintain its commitment to democracy in Afghanistan, particularly through continued support for women. Following her time at NED, Fatema began a Greenberg World Fellowship at Yale University and worked on an English translation of her memoirs.

MR. LAMII KPARGOI (Liberia, October 2015–February 2016) is a civil society activist, journalist, and lawyer, who currently serves as officer in charge of the Liberia Media Center. He has authored a number of publications on the media, including IREX’s Liberia Media Sustainability Index. During his fellowship, he produced several publications and pursued outreach concerning access to information and freedom of expression in Africa, with a particular focus on Liberia. On January 14, 2016, he delivered a presentation at NED entitled “Freedom of Information as a Catalyst for Liberia’s Democratic Growth.” Following his fellowship, Lamii returned to Liberia to redouble his efforts to implement higher legislative standards for the country’s Freedom of Information Act and to work with Volunteers for Change to make Liberia’s electoral process more issue-focused.

MS. NYARADZO MASHAYAMOMBE (Zimbabwe, March–September 2016) is founding director of Tag a Life International Trust, an advocacy organization for girls’ and young women’s rights in Zimbabwe. She is also a professional singer and songwriter. During her fellowship, she explored best practices for empowering youth, especially girls and young women. She published a CIMA blog post entitled “Empowering Girls Online: ICTs and Young Women in Zimbabwe,” and an essay on the low political participation of Zimbabwean women (*Journal of Democracy*, January 2017). On July 7, 2016, she gave a NED presentation entitled “Preparing a New Generation of Women Leaders in Zimbabwe,” in which she explored the need for early investment in leadership programs. Following her fellowship, Nyari returned to Zimbabwe to continue her advocacy work.



Mengesha, Mitta, Begum

MR. MANOJ MITTA (India, October 2015–February 2016) is a New Delhi–based journalist focusing on law, human rights, and public policy. He has served as a senior editor at two of India’s leading newspapers, the *Times of India* and the *Indian Express*. During his fellowship, Manoj spoke to regional experts, young professionals, and university students at American University, Georgetown University, and the University of Wisconsin to bring international attention to endemic mass violence and human rights abuses in India. On February 10, 2016, Manoj delivered a presentation at NED entitled “Untouchable India: Impunity for Caste Violence,” in which he outlined how Indian courts have denied justice to the many victims of increased violence stemming from the abolition of untouchability. After his fellowship, Manoj returned to India to continue research for his book on impunity for caste violence.

MS. HEND NAFEA (Egypt, August 2016–February 2017) is a women’s rights advocate who has served as manager of the Human Rights Defenders Program at the Hisham Mubarak Law Center, in Cairo. During her residential fellowship leading up to her Reagan-Fascell Fellowship, Hend hosted screenings of “Trials of Spring,” a documentary film chronicling the Egyptian revolution and Hend’s experience as an activist on the front lines. In August 2016, Hend began a seven-month Reagan-Fascell fellowship.

MR. TILAK PATHAK (Nepal, October 2015–February 2016) is an op-ed editor and analyst at *Kantipur Daily*, Nepal’s largest Nepali-language daily newspaper. He is also chair of the Center for Media Research, a Kathmandu-based think tank that conducts research and training related to media. During his fellowship, Tilak visited human rights organizations to discuss methods adopted by civil society activists and journalists to track “dark money” in politics. He also worked on a number of publications concerning campaign finance reform in Nepal, including an article for *Studies of Nepalese History and*

Society and policy papers for the Alliance for Social Dialogue. On February 9, 2016, Tilak gave a presentation entitled “Consolidating Democracy in Nepal through Transparent Campaign Finance,” in which he examined the threat that opaque campaign finance poses to young democracies such as Nepal. Following his fellowship, he returned to Nepal to continue his media work.

MR. RAZA RUMI ([Pakistan](#), June–August 2016) is a leading Pakistani journalist and policy analyst who is currently a writer in residence at Ithaca College. He serves as a consulting editor of the *Friday Times*, Pakistan’s foremost liberal weekly paper, and as a columnist for Pakistan’s *Express Tribune*. An acclaimed writer, he is the author of two books, *The Fractious Path: Pakistan’s Democratic Transition* (2016) and *Delhi by Heart: Impressions of a Pakistani Traveler* (2013). During his fellowship, Raza worked on a book manuscript exploring the 2007 Lawyers’ Movement in the context of Pakistan’s democratic development. On August 18, 2016, he gave a presentation entitled “Understanding the Lawyers’ Movement in Pakistan and Its Implications for Democracy,” which explored how the Lawyers’ Movement evolved from a small, urban social movement to a breeding ground for Islamic extremism. Following his fellowship, he returned to upstate New York to teach at Ithaca College and Cornell University.



MR. ELIE SMITH ([Cameroon](#), January–October 2016) is a Cameroonian journalist, reporter, and translator who has worked with a number of Central African and French media outlets, including Télésud, France 24, and Radio France International. During his fellowship, he examined the influence of social media on democratic development in Central Africa and wrote articles on this and related topics for the *Washington Post*, the Center for International Media Assistance, and Democracy Digest. On June 14, 2016, Elie gave a presentation at NED entitled “Social Media and Support for Free Speech and Democracy in Central Africa,” in which he discussed the array of tactics traditionally employed by Central African leaders to suppress freedom of expression and underscored the potential of social media to evade such repression. After his fellowship, Elie returned to Africa to continue his investigative journalism.

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.

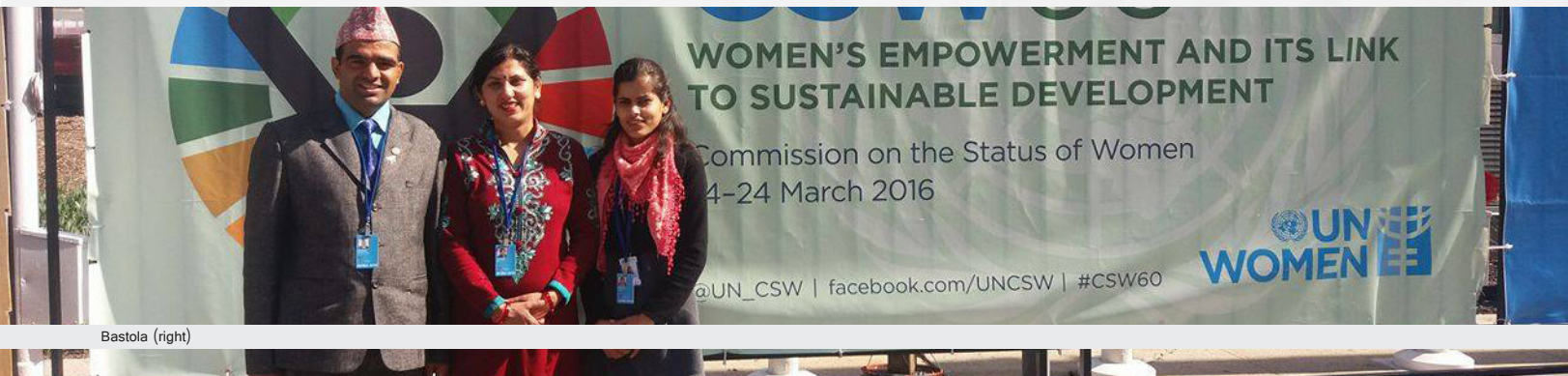
DR. ART KAUFMAN ([United States](#), April 2016–March 2017) served most recently as senior director of the World Movement for Democracy, a global network of democracy and human rights advocates, which has its secretariat at NED. During his nonresidential fellowship, Art conducted research exploring how the experience of the U.S. founding may relate to contemporary efforts to establish and consolidate democracy around the world.

MS. SIMEGNISH MENGESHA ([Ethiopia](#), December 2015–July 2016) is a journalist, media consultant, and translator. She recently served as Director of the Ethiopian Environmental Journalists Association. In 2005, she covered the political unrest following Ethiopia’s national elections that year. In 2012, she was part of the team that produced the award-winning documentary “Too Young to Wed.” She is currently pursuing her Masters in Foreign Service, with a concentration in Global Politics and Security, at Georgetown University.

HURFORD YOUTH FELLOWS PROGRAM

In 2015–2016, 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. GOMA DEVI BASTOLA (Nepal, February–May 2016) is president of the Rural Women's Network in Nepal, where she works to promote human rights and social justice for rural women and youth. During her fellowship, she focused on how civil society can work to make girls' education a priority in rural communities. Ms. Bastola has since been a panelist at several international events on this topic including the Gender 360 Summit and the UN's 60th Commission on the Status of Women (CSW 60).



Bastola (right)

MR. ATEKI SETA CAXTON (Cameroon, February–May 2016) is executive director of the Network for Solidarity, Empowerment, and Transformation for All in Cameroon, where he works to empower youth and promote peace and democracy. During his fellowship, he focused on the role of technology and social media in engaging youth in politics. Upon returning to Cameroon, Mr. Caxton mobilized online campaigns, engaged with members of Parliament, and lobbied for the reduction of the legal voting age from 20 to 18 in the 2018 general elections in Cameroon.

MR. MAKOI POPIOCO (Philippines, August–December 2015) is a Filipino journalist who has been at the frontlines of disaster reporting for the award-winning GMA Network. During his fellowship, he worked on a new media campaign focused on investigating and mapping data on instances of corruption, mismanagement, and human rights abuses following disasters. He returned to journalism in the Philippines following his fellowship.



Kaufman, Popioco



Rumi



Kpargoi, Smith, Caxton

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Initiated by NED 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 to promote democracy. The World Movement facilitates information sharing and strategy development to bolster democratic movements and leverage support provided by democracy assistance organizations such as NED.

Guided by its Steering Committee's statement, *A Call for Democratic Renewal*, the World Movement creates new opportunities for activists to share common struggles and explore new ways to combat non-democratic forces in their home countries.

SUPPORTING DEMOCRACY NETWORKS

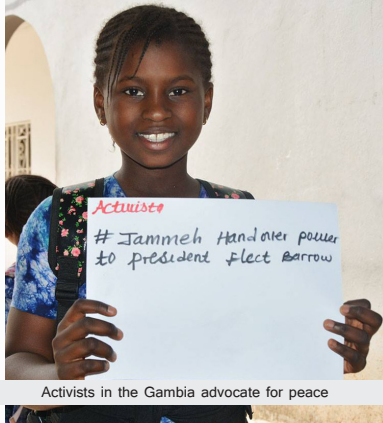
The World Movement helps strengthen pro-democracy networks and facilitates opportunities for them to connect across regions, exchange best practices, and support one another in their efforts to defend freedom.

In April 2016, Red Latinoamericana y del Caribe para la Democracia (RedLad) and Red Latinoamericana Jóvenes por la Democracia (JuventudLAC) worked with the World Movement to facilitate solidarity events for political prisoners at CIVICUS's Civil Society Week. In June 2016, the World Movement continued to collaborate with these networks on the "Speak Up for Venezuela Campaign," which called upon members of the Organization of American States (OAS)

Goma Devi Bastola (center) of Nepal was in residence as a Hurford Youth Fellow at the NED offices in Washington, DC, in 2016.



Latin American Youth Network for Democracy leaders with OAS SG



Activists in the Gambia advocate for peace



Tanzania



International Civil Society Week

to address the humanitarian and democratic crisis in Venezuela by invoking the Inter-American Democratic Charter (IADC). The IADC preserves democratic order in and amongst OAS member states, which include Venezuela, and requires members to take action when democratic institutions are threatened in the region.

In coordination with the World Youth Movement for Democracy, we hosted democracy activists [Goma](#) [Devi](#) [Bastola](#)

UNSR CONSULTATIONS

To protect international democratic norms and principles threatened by authoritarian regimes today, the World Movement identified civil society groups who provided input for the thematic reports produced by Mr. [Maina Kiai \(below, right\)](#), the [UN Special Rapporteur on the rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and of association \(UNSR\)](#). Over the past year, the World Movement helped organize numerous consultations with the UNSR for [more than 3,000 civil society activists](#) at the global, regional, and national levels. Civil society activists around the world rely on these consultations as a platform for support from the UNSR, and the strong precedents that UNSR reports set for freedom, democracy, and human rights.



RIGHT TO ACCESS RESOURCES

Activists continue to fight government efforts to impose restrictions on civil society’s right to access domestic and foreign donor funding. Such restrictions limit their ability to pursue their missions and in some circumstances threaten their existence. In October 2016, the World Movement debuted [an interactive infographic](#) on the “[Right to Access Resources](#),” which describes actions governments have taken to limit this right, highlights international laws guaranteeing this right, and suggests strategies for activists. Additionally, the World Movement facilitated a series of discussions with civil society activists in Africa and South Asia to assess their knowledge of international norms guaranteeing access to resources and enhance their understanding of how they can protect it.



WALKING A FINE LINE

In June 2016, the World Movement collaborated with the Free Funeral Service Society to screen the latest addition to the “Faces of Civil Society” film series, *Walking a Fine Line*, in Yangon and Mandalay, Burma. The screenings drew large crowds, and brought together prominent Burmese leaders such as Chief Minister of Mandalay Zaw Myint Mang, writer Ko Lay, Chairman of the National League for Democracy U Tin Oo, and prominent Student Movement leader and former political prisoner Min Ko Naing. The film tells the story of *Kyaw Thu* (*below, center*), an actor-turned-activist, who established the Free Funeral Society to help poor communities afford funerals and how that grew into a platform for citizens mobilized around pressing social issues.



GLOBAL INFORMATION SHARING

The World Movement’s bi-weekly newsletter, *DemocracyNews*, is a platform for World Movement participants to learn more about one another, and promote awareness about their initiatives, research, and various efforts to defend freedom. It is the **go-to source** for the latest reports on issues affecting global democracy and human rights. In addition, The World Movement’s *DemocracyAlerts* spotlight at-risk activists across the network who experience state-sponsored harassment and arbitrary arrests. In 2016, the World Movement

issued alerts for activists in Egypt, Sudan, Bahrain, Cuba, Hong Kong, South Sudan, and Zimbabwe.

To subscribe to *DemocracyNews* and *DemocracyAlerts* from the World Movement please visit www.movedemocracy.org/get-involved.

Find the World Movement on Facebook at www.facebook.com/worldmovementfordemocracy and on Twitter at www.twitter.com/MoveDemocracy.

SET THEM FREE CAMPAIGN

The World Movement’s **Set Them Free Campaign** builds solidarity for individuals who are unjustly imprisoned for challenging laws that restrict freedom of expression and for promoting human rights in their countries. The campaign encourages representatives from established democracies and intergovernmental organizations to stand up for imprisoned activists around the world. Throughout 2016, the World Movement celebrated the release of prisoners from Azerbaijan, Bahrain, and Venezuela, although many more activists remain imprisoned. Join the movement by participating in the campaign at www.helpsetthemfree.org.

GRANTS

NED 2016 GRANT LISTINGS

The following pages detail the more than 1,700 grants NED issued in 2016. These grants supported the projects of non-governmental groups working for democratic goals in more than 90 countries.

NED focuses many of its resources on communist and authoritarian countries such as China, North Korea, Cuba, Serbia, and Sudan. NED maintains a long-term, flexible approach that takes advantage of any realistic opportunity to advance democratic ideals, defend human rights, and encourage the development of civil society.

In new and developing democracies, NED focuses its support on two objectives: strengthening the institutions and procedures of electoral democracy to ensure free and fair elections; and encouraging the gradual consolidation of liberal democracy by measures that strengthen the rule of law, protect individual liberties, and foster social pluralism. NED takes a long-term approach, supporting groups who will work to establish a functioning market economy, independent trade unions, and a free press as well as institutions that promote political accountability, economic transparency, responsible corporate governance, and civilian control over the military.

Turn the page to learn more about these grants; for further insight, visit www.NED.org/Regions.

In 2016, NED made more than 1700 grants in over 90 countries. To explore a full list of current projects supported by NED, visit our Regions page:

<https://www.ned.org/regions/>

To explore older grants (2014-2016), visit our searchable grants database:

<https://www.ned.org/transparency>



Page 28



Page 41



Page 56



Page 87



Page 22

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 National Endowment for Democracy as of September 30, 2016, and the changes in its 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 Endowment's 2015 financial statements, and we have expressed an unmodified opinion on those audited financial statements in our report dated January 29, 2016. In our opinion, the summarized comparative information presented herein as of and for the year ended September 30, 2015, 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 February 9, 2017, 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.

RSM US LLP

Washington, D.C.
February 9, 2017

National Endowment for Democracy

Balance Sheet

September 30, 2016

(With Comparative Totals for 2015)

Assets	2016	2015
Cash and cash equivalents	\$14,141,852	\$2,591,799
Investments	1,043,104	940,904
Grants receivables	105,960,032	97,538,336
Other receivables	76,378	109,924
Prepaid and other assets	890,326	1,902,214
Property and equipment, net	912,236	1,457,002
Total assets	\$123,023,928	\$104,540,179

Liabilities and Net Assets

Liabilities		
Accounts payable and accrued liabilities	\$1,566,693	\$1,891,428
Grants payable	116,878,139	97,775,720
Refundable advances - due to DOS	214,444	202,720
Deferred revenue - non-federal grants	31,000	10,965
Deferred rent and lease incentives	1,430,128	1,674,350
Total liabilities	\$120,120,404	\$101,555,183

Commitments and Contingencies (Notes 8 and 10)

Net Assets		
Unrestricted	\$2,529,931	\$2,319,887
Temporarily restricted	373,593	665,109
Total net assets	2,903,524	2,984,996
Total liabilities and net assets	\$123,023,928	\$104,540,179

See Notes to Financial Statements.

National Endowment for Democracy

Statement of Activities

Year ended September 30, 2016

(With Comparative Totals for 2015)

	2016			2015
	Unrestricted	Temporarily Restricted	Total	Total
Support and revenue:				
Grant revenue - U.S. Government	\$179,694,372	\$ -	\$179,694,372	\$153,240,265
Grant revenue - other sources	573,397	223,700	797,097	943,755
Democracy award revenue	-	25,000	25,000	86,500
Global assembly revenue	233,655	100,000	333,655	260,883
Contributions	7,181	25,000	32,181	131,877
Other revenue, investment, and misc. income	457,626	-	457,626	468,254
Net assets released from restriction	665,216	(665,216)	-	-
Total support and revenue	181,631,447	(291,516)	181,339,931	155,131,534
Expenses:				
Program services:				
Federal grants programs	151,040,557	-	151,040,557	126,404,130
Other activities - federal	4,944,997	-	4,944,997	4,268,153
Other activities - non-federal	1,497,976	-	1,497,976	1,075,865
Total program services	157,483,530	-	157,483,530	131,748,148
Supporting services:				
Management and general	23,937,873	-	23,937,873	22,866,523
Total supporting services	23,937,873	-	23,937,873	22,866,523
Total expenses	181,421,403	-	181,421,403	154,614,671
Change in net assets	210,044	(291,516)	(81,472)	516,863
Net assets:				
Beginning	2,319,887	665,109	2,984,996	2,468,133
Ending	\$2,529,931	\$373,593	\$2,903,524	\$2,984,996

See Notes to financial statements.

National Endowment for Democracy

Statement of Cash Flows

Year ended September 30, 2016

(With Comparative Totals for 2015)

	2016	2015
Cash Flows from Operating Activities:		
Change in net assets	\$ (81,472)	\$516,863
Adjustments to reconcile changes in net assets to net cash provided by operating activities:		
Depreciation and amortization	668,123	712,449
Unrealized (gain) loss on investments	(67,081)	35,924
Changes in assets and liabilities:		
(Increase) decrease in:		
Grants receivable	(8,421,696)	3,108,815
Other receivables	33,546	(176)
Prepaid expenses	1,011,888	(1,192,314)
Increase (decrease) in:		
Accounts payable and accrued liabilities	(324,735)	450,371
Grants payable	19,102,419	(1,309,918)
Refundable advances - due to DOS	11,724	(70,218)
Deferred revenue, non-federal grants	20,035	(248,755)
Deferred rent and lease incentives	(244,222)	(252,348)
Net cash provided by operating activities	11,708,529	1,750,693
Cash Flows From Investing activities:		
Purchases of investments	(35,119)	(33,416)
Purchases of property and equipment	(123,357)	(446,450)
Net cash used in investing activities	(158,476)	(479,866)
Net increase in cash and cash equivalents	11,550,053	1,270,827
Cash and Cash Equivalents:		
Beginning	2,591,799	1,320,972
Ending	\$14,141,852	\$2,591,799

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 non-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 (DOS) consolidated. Accordingly, the Endowment receives funding for its annual Congressional Appropriation and other special federal funding from the DOS.

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, 2016.

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 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 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, 2016.

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

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

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

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

Refundable advances – due to DOS: Amount represents funds returned to the Endowment by grantees for grants that have been deobligated. 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 is 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, 2016.

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, 2016.

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 2013.

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, 2015, from which the summarized information was derived.

Recent accounting pronouncements: In May 2015, the Financial Accounting Standards Board (FASB) issued Accounting Standards Update (ASU) No. 2015-07, *Fair Value Measurement (Topic 820); Disclosures for Investments in Certain Entities That Calculate Net Asset Value Per Share (or Its Equivalent)*. This ASU removes the requirement to categorize within the fair value hierarchy all investments for which fair value is measured using the net asset value per share practical expedient. The amendments

also remove the requirement to make certain disclosures for all investments that are eligible to be measured at fair value using the net asset value per share practical expedient. Rather, those disclosures are limited to investments for which the entity has elected to measure the fair value using that practical expedient. This ASU is effective for the Endowment for the fiscal year beginning October 1, 2017. The Endowment should apply the amendments retrospectively to all periods presented. The Endowment adopted this pronouncement for the year ended September 30, 2016.

In January 2016, the FASB issued ASU No. 2016-01, *Financial Instruments – Overall (Subtopic 825-10): Recognition and Measurement of Financial Assets and Financial Liabilities*, which updates certain aspects of recognition, measurement, presentation and disclosure of financial instruments. ASU 2016-01 will be effective for the Endowment for fiscal years beginning after December 15, 2017. The Endowment does not believe the adoption of the new financial instruments standard will have a material impact on its financial statements.

In February 2016, the FASB issued ASU No. 2016-02, *Leases (Topic 842)*. The guidance in this ASU supersedes the leasing guidance in Topic 840, *Leases*. Under the new guidance, lessees are required to recognize lease assets and lease liabilities on the balance sheet for all leases with terms longer than 12 months. Leases will be classified as either finance or operating, with classification affecting the pattern of expense recognition in the income statement. The new standard is effective for fiscal years beginning after December 15, 2019, including interim periods within those fiscal years. A modified retrospective transition approach is required for lessees for capital and operating leases existing at, or entered into after, the beginning of the earliest comparative period presented in the financial statements, with certain practical expedients available. The Endowment is currently evaluating the impact of the pending adoption of the new standard on the financial statements.

In August 2016, the FASB issued ASU No. 2016-14, *Not-for-Profit Entities (Topic 958): Presentation of Financial Statements of Not-for-Profit Entities*. The amendments in this ASU make improvements to the information provided in financial statements and accompanying notes of nonprofit entities. The amendments set forth the FASB's improvements to net asset classification requirements and the information presented about a nonprofit entity's liquidity, financial performance, and cash flows. The ASU will be effective for fiscal years beginning after December 15, 2017. Earlier application is permitted. The changes in this ASU should generally be applied on a retrospective basis in the year that the ASU is first applied. Management is currently evaluating the impact of this ASU on the financial statements.

Subsequent Events: Subsequent events have been evaluated through February 9, 2016, which is the date the financial statements were available to be issued. This review and evaluation revealed no new material event or transaction that would require an additional adjustment to or disclosure in the accompanying financial statements.

NOTE 2. INVESTMENTS AND FAIR VALUE MEASUREMENTS

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

The Fair Value Measurement 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, 2016.

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 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 related accumulated depreciation and amortization at September 30, 2016, consist of the following:

Asset Category	Estimated Lives	Cost	Accumulated Depreciation	Net	Depreciation
Leasehold improvements	5 – 10 years	\$5,130,201	\$4,673,132	\$457,069	\$415,789
Furniture and fixtures	4 – 10 years	548,724	385,618	163,106	58,463
Office equipment	3 – 5 years	367,096	290,493	76,603	56,450
Computer equipment and software	3 years	1,031,791	816,333	215,458	137,421
		\$7,077,812	\$6,165,576	\$912,236	\$668,123

NOTE 4. GRANT REVENUE - U.S. GOVERNMENT

Federal awards received during the fiscal year ended September 30, 2016, are as follow:

Fiscal Year 2016 Congressional Annual Appropriations received from DOS	<u>\$170,000,000</u>
Other new grants and supplemental funding received from DOS during the year:	
Cuba 2016: Advancing Democratic Rights, Political Pluralism, and Independent Civil Society in Cuba	6,187,500
Europe 2012: Promoting Democracy and Strengthening the Development of Civil Society in the Region	1,108,910
Eurasia 2014: Grantmaking Program Promoting Democracy in Eurasia Region, Georgia, and the Kyrgyz Republic	4,148,515
Burma 2016: Grantmaking Program to Promote Democracy in Burma	3,465,347
Total new grants and supplemental funding	<u>14,910,272</u>
Total awards received during the year	<u>\$184,910,272</u>
Federal grant revenue recognized during the fiscal year:	
Grants obligated, net of deobligations	\$150,986,520
Democracy promotion activities	4,944,997
Other grant-related expenses	23,762,855
	<u>\$179,694,372</u>

National Endowment For Democracy
Notes To Financial Statements

NOTE 5. PROGRAM SERVICES EXPENSES

Program services expenses for the year ended September 30, 2016, represent the following activities:

Federal grant programs	\$ 151,040,557
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Other democracy promotion activities – federal:	
International Forum:	
Journal of Democracy	524,620
Research and conferences	108,545
Management and support	550,758
Reagan-Fascell Fellowship Program	1,166,789
Colloquia	29,461
Democracy Resource Center	391,181
World Movement for Democracy	1,150,308
Center for International Media Assistance	717,777
Other Democracy Promotion Activities	305,558
	<hr/>
	4,944,997
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Other democracy promotion activities – non-federal	
International Forum:	
Journal of Democracy	1,081
Research and conferences	10,000
Other activities	37,373
Management and support	15,349
World Movement for Democracy	
WMD 8th Global Assembly	1,162,918
Civic Space Initiative	261,152
Other activities	44,025
Center for International Media Assistance	17,056
Other Endowment events and development	(50,978)
	<hr/>
	1,497,976
	<hr/>
	\$ 157,483,530
	<hr/>

NOTE 6. TEMPORARILY RESTRICTED NET ASSETS

Changes in temporarily restricted net assets by purpose during the year ended September 30, 2016, are as follows:

	Balance at Sept. 30, 2015	Additions	Releases	Balance at Sept. 30, 2016
World Movement for Democracy:				
Assessing Democracy Assistance	\$ 198,687	\$ -	\$ (198,687)	\$ -
WMD Assembly	307,334	100,000	(307,334)	100,000
Hurford Youth Fellowship Program	66,815	75,000	(73,117)	68,698
International Forum:				
SRF	12,737	128,700	(39,375)	102,062
Penn Kemble Youth Forum on Democracy	78,506	-	(9,397)	69,109
CIMA:				
Helmke Scholar Program	1,030	-	-	1,030
OSF/OSI Budapest - Media Donor Survey	-	20,000	(20,000)	-
Other:				
Democracy Award	-	25,000	-	25,000
NED Service Medal Awards	-	25,000	(17,306)	7,694
	<u>\$ 665,109</u>	<u>\$ 373,700</u>	<u>\$ (665,216)</u>	<u>\$ 373,593</u>

Net assets were released from donor restrictions by incurring expenses satisfying the restricted purposes specified by donors during the year ended September 30, 2016.

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. No funds were withdrawn from the letter of credit during the year ended September 30, 2016.

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.

NOTE 8. OPERATING LEASE (continued)

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

2017	\$3,850,196
2018	3,946,451
2019	4,045,112
2020	4,146,241
2021	2,098,714
	<hr/>
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	\$18,086,714

Rent expense, including the Endowment's share of common building costs, was \$3,693,470 for the year ended September 30, 2016.

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, 2016, were \$1,338,825.

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, 2016, 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, 2016, 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.

PSM US LLP

Washington, D.C.
February 9, 2017

**National Endowment For Democracy
Supplementary Information**

**Schedule of Functional Expenses
Year ended September 30, 2016
(With Comparative Totals for 2015)**

	Program Services				Supporting Services			
	Other Democracy Promotion Activities					Total Supporting Services		
	Federal Grant Programs	Federal	Non-Federal	Total Program Services	Management and General		2016	2015
Grants to others	\$ 150,986,520	\$ -	\$ (123,735)	\$ 150,862,785	\$ -	\$ -	\$ 150,862,785	\$ 126,353,101
Salaries, wages, and benefits	-	3,092,500	95,483	3,187,983	16,393,573	16,393,573	19,581,556	18,678,951
Occupancy and Equipment	-	22,657	-	22,657	5,047,666	5,047,666	5,070,323	4,840,606
Professional fees	54,037	748,194	111,909	914,140	520,757	520,757	1,434,897	1,568,636
Travel and transportation	-	747,750	480,400	1,228,150	937,961	937,961	2,166,111	1,826,320
Conferences and meetings	-	171,852	837,635	1,009,487	63,681	63,681	1,073,168	337,900
Communications	-	33,064	17,678	50,742	378,912	378,912	429,654	395,948
Insurance	-	17,170	10,077	27,247	95,100	95,100	122,347	111,222
Printing and Publications	-	100,634	26,286	126,920	63,025	63,025	189,945	96,487
Other	-	11,176	42,243	53,419	437,198	437,198	490,617	405,500
	\$ 151,040,557	\$ 4,944,997	\$ 1,497,976	\$ 157,483,530	\$ 23,937,873	\$ 23,937,873	\$ 181,421,403	\$ 154,614,671