



National Endowment
for Democracy

Supporting freedom around the world

ANNUAL REPORT 2012

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, with funding from the U.S. Congress, NED supports more than 1,200 projects of non-governmental groups abroad who are working for democratic goals in more than 90 countries.

On the cover: The Antenna Foundation (AF) in Nepal produces radio programs that provide local perspectives on Nepal's political transition and local governance. AF also trains reporters and producers of local stations in the development of feature stories (which are then incorporated into the radio programs) as well as in the use of the Right to Information Act to further their investigative work.

Below: In 2012, NED worked with the National Democratic Institute (NDI) to support the Women's Discussion Club of Kyrgyzstan, which was launched in 2006 with NDI support. It was one of the first groups in the country to bring together women from a diverse range of backgrounds and political parties to defend the rights and interest of women. NDI honored the Club with its 2012 Madeleine K. Albright Award.

To learn more about the images across the bottom of this and the facing page, continue reading the regional sections of this publication.





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ANNUAL REPORT 2012





FROM THE CHAIRMAN

Richard Gephardt

NED marked the year 2012 with celebrations of three key milestones: the 30th anniversary of President Ronald Reagan’s Westminster speech that helped to launch the idea of a bipartisan institution to advance democracy abroad; the 10th anniversary of the Fellows program named for President Reagan and my former congressional colleague Dante Fascell, who had called for establishment of a NED-like body back in the 1960s; and the 5th anniversary of NED’s Center for International Media Assistance.

In his speech to the British Parliament on June 8, 1982, President Reagan called for the United States to “take actions to support the campaign for democracy.” The following year, the National Endowment for Democracy came into existence, including affiliated institutes of the two major political parties, the business community, and the labor movement’s already operational democracy building institute to make the vision of Fascell and Reagan a reality.

I was proud to be on hand last June in Los Angeles to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the Westminster address by honoring George Shultz and Madeleine Albright, two former Secretaries of State who championed the cause of democracy while providing the Endowment with immeasurable personal support and encouragement. Secretary Shultz played a major role in getting early buy-in from the Congress, and Secretary Albright, a former NED Board member, continues her invaluable involvement as Chair of the NED-affiliated National Democratic Institute (NDI).

I want to thank NED Board member Robert Tuttle and NDI Vice-Chair Marc Nathanson for chairing the event honoring these two great Americans that raised funds for the World Movement for Democracy’s Seventh World Assembly in Lima in October. The L.A. commemoration also featured a conference at the Reagan Presidential Library highlighting the major achievements of three decades of democracy assistance, and a panel at NED held several days later enabled many of our founders to reflect upon how they were able to build a bipartisan coalition to establish the Endowment in the aftermath of the Reagan address.

NED, a privately incorporated entity, has long regarded the U.S. Congress as its partner, a source not only of funding for the grants program, but also of guidance and encouragement. Since the founding of the Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program, members of Congress have met regularly with the activists, journalists, and scholars who have been in residence at the Endowment. The program’s tenth anniversary, celebrated in the Congress last May, recognized more than 180 alumni from over 80 countries who have spent time in Washington engaging with the policy community, sharing ideas with fellow activists, and developing projects that have enriched democracy movements upon their return home.

“This program gave me the opportunity to be away from the field for a while, to regroup, and to think through the issues I deal with on a daily basis,” said Angolan journalist Rafael Marques de Morais, who has courageously exposed government corruption. “It also allowed me to organize myself for the return back home. I now have a platform to work on and am better prepared to challenge the status quo.”

In addition to helping to develop future democratic leaders, the program provides a safe haven for practitioners, journalists, and scholars facing heightened risk of political persecution in their home countries.

Congress also played a central role in the establishment of NED’s Center for International Media Assistance (CIMA), which celebrated its fifth anniversary in 2012. During his tenure as Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator Richard Lugar encouraged the Endowment, already active in

(continued on page 6)



FROM THE PRESIDENT

Carl Gershman



The five-year Strategy Document that the NED Board adopted at the beginning of 2012 opened with the observation that “the coming years will witness a continuing struggle pitting those pressing for greater freedom against an array of forces that are determined to resist democratic change.” This continuing struggle was one of the great challenges that NED and its grantees faced during 2012.

In many ways, of course, this is not a new struggle. Autocratic governments have always harshly repressed dissident and protest movements seeking democratic rights. What has changed, according to the World Movement for Democracy’s updated report on “Defending Civil Society,” is that the standard techniques of dictatorships, such as imprisonment and violent repression, are now being supplemented “by more sophisticated measures, including legal or quasi-legal obstacles.” This was also the subject of an important new book by William J. Dobson that was published in 2012 entitled *The Dictator’s Leaning Curve: Inside the Global Battle for Democracy*.

The measures now being used by autocrats are intended to strangle civil-society organizations by preventing them from registering, carrying out their activities, advocating on issues of public policy, engaging in cross-group communication and cooperation, assembling peacefully to advance their views, and raising the resources they need (including foreign funding) in order to function. Governments have also stepped up efforts to control international democracy-assistance organizations, forcing many of them to shut their offices in a number of countries; and they have carried the battle into cyberspace, using malware, denial-of-service attacks, and other measures to prevent bloggers and democracy activists from accessing the Internet to communicate information and ideas and to organize common actions.

Countries where governments have taken such steps include Russia, which has passed laws requiring NGOs receiving international support to register as “foreign agents;” Ethiopia,

which has closed ten NGOs for alleged violation of its civil-society and charity laws; Sudan, which has also passed a law imposing severe restrictions on NGOs and which has recently closed five human-rights organizations; and Egypt, where security forces raided 17 international democracy-support groups, including NDI and IRI, the NED’s two party institutes.

Repressive measures such as these were not the only obstacles to the advance of democracy that NED grantees faced during the past year. Groups trying to promote transitions in countries like Egypt, Tunisia, Libya and Burma have found it extremely difficult to overcome deeply rooted political, social and economic problems. The sharp divisions that persist in these countries after decades of authoritarian rule, when free exchange of opinion among groups was impossible, have made it hard to foster dialogue or to build modern political parties. With power still highly centralized and democratic practices very weak, groups have met resistance in their efforts to strengthen civil society and accountable government, or to defend human rights and free media. It has not been easy to promote pluralism, liberal values, and the rights of women and minorities in strongly traditionalist cultures. And it has been especially difficult to promote economic reform and the rights of workers and poor people in countries that have yet to make the transition from state and crony capitalism, marked by high levels of corruption, to a transparent and competitive market system.

NED is aware of the formidable challenges faced by activists working to open up dictatorial systems and to promote transitions in countries that are still very far from stable

(continued on page 6)



l-r: the Center for Progressive Young People “Apelsin” (Ukraine); Women Arise for Change Initiative (Nigeria); Centre for Civic Education Pakistan; policeman filming demonstrators in Armenia; Iraqi Human Rights Watch Society (Iraq); Asociación Nacional de la Prensa (Bolivia) highlights violence against journalists; a Civil Rights Defenders rally (Serbia).



(Gephardt, continued from page 4)

providing assistance to independent media through its grants program, to work on strengthening the field of media assistance.

CIMA does this in a number of ways: by organizing working groups and roundtables to investigate important issues in international media development; by commissioning research reports on key topics; and by identifying needs within the field and bringing donors, experts and practitioners together to devise strategies for solutions. For example, last October CIMA brought together representatives from 10 private foundations and 15 government and multilateral institutions for the first such global donors-only meeting to discuss trends in funding media development and initiatives to enhance media effectiveness.

On the occasion of its fifth anniversary, CIMA rolled out the second edition of its seminal report on “Empowering Independent Media” which surveys the field of media assistance, paying particular attention to how the digital revolution is transforming media development.

When I began my service on the Board at NED in the spring of 2004, social media was in its infancy and digital technology was only beginning to revolutionize the way we receive and disseminate information. The so-called “colored revolutions” were in their earliest stages, offering hope to millions across a broad section of Eurasia. The Arab awakening had yet to blossom, but there were tangible signs of hope for the continued spread of democracy to parts of the world that had yet to experience its benefits.

But then a backlash set in, not just in autocratic states that stepped up their harassment of civil society groups, but also in countries where democratic breakthroughs had occurred. Many people in these countries became disillusioned with the slow process of institutional reform and with the economic stagnation that they thought democracy would quickly cure.

As my final term as a Board member of this great institution expires, I nonetheless remain optimistic about the future. We at NED have always contended that democracy is a long-term and continuous struggle. I am particularly encouraged when I think of the young men and women with whom we work day in and day out, some of whom I have had the privilege to meet, who are dedicating their lives to building societies where their children can grow up in dignity and without fear. I am proud to have been associated with an organization—now entering its 30th year—that fulfills the vision of its founders Dante Fascell and President Reagan, providing timely assistance and solidarity to courageous people the world over. I look forward to staying involved. ●

(Gershman, continued from page 5)

democracy and the rule of law. Of the many reasons we remain hopeful that their struggles will ultimately succeed, three seem to stand out. The first is that authoritarian rulers may be resourceful and repressive, but they are fighting a defensive battle against populations that are becoming steadily more informed about their rights and relentlessly more insistent that their dignity be recognized and respected. The second is that democratic transitions, difficult as they are, represent the process by which people take ownership of their society and learn the values and obligations of citizenship. This process of national growth continues even when transitions encounter great obstacles, because the quest for justice and the realization of human potential is unending.

The third reason is the continuing emergence of young leaders of amazing eloquence and democratic commitment who are calling for freedom against great odds and in the most hostile environments. When the Seventh Assembly of the World Movement for Democracy opened in Lima on October 14, it heard a stirring keynote address from Glanis Changachirere, a 22-year old “rebellious girl child” from rural Zimbabwe, who explained why democracy “is not a far-fetched concept that speaks to the elite and socially privileged,” but rather an idea that “signals liberation...for the undermined, disadvantaged, oppressed, unrecognized and minorities.” And when the Assembly closed three days later, Maryam al-Khawaja, the 25-year old daughter of the imprisoned Bahraini human-rights defender Abdulhadi al-Khawaja, explained how she drew inspiration from her father’s view that the first and most important victory of the Arab uprisings lay not in the achievement of regime change or reform, but in “the fact that masses of people tread upon their fears and went out to demand those things,” and that this “victory” called for celebration and not despair.

And then there is the young Pakistani girl Malala Yousafzai who first drew the ire of the Taliban as an 11-year old in 2009 when she posted blogs decrying the horrors of life under Taliban rule and expressing her fervent desire for education. On September 15, 2012, just three weeks before she was shot in the head and nearly killed by Taliban gunman, and still just 14-years old, she was given the Civic Courage Award by the Center for Civic Education, a NED grantee. In her acceptance remarks, she said that “People win their rights only when they struggle to achieve them....What I have learnt from...is that just one voice and one movement is strong enough against the groups which usurp the rights of the people. If they are armed with guns, you have the weapon of the pen and the power of words to defeat them....”

That a young girl, facing a mortal threat, could speak these words sends a message more powerful than the combined forces of repression and violence. The message is that even the mightiest tyrant or the most ruthless fanatic cannot thwart the triumph of the human spirit. It is a message of hope not just for Malala but for all mankind. ●



L-r: Popstar Loreen took time off from the Eurovision Song Contest to visit democracy activists (Azerbaijan); REDLAD activism workshop (Ecuador); Students for a Free Tibet held training seminars.



On September 20, 2012, the National Endowment for Democracy presented its annual Democracy Award to the Democracy Movement of Burma. Famed Burmese democracy activist **Aung San Suu Kyi**, House Democratic Leader **Nancy Pelosi** (D-CA), Sen. **John McCain** (R-AZ), and Rep. **Joe Crowley** (D-NY) were among those present to pay tribute at the ceremony, which was held on Capitol Hill. Four prominent civil society activists accepted the award on behalf of the larger movement: **Hkun Htun Oo**, **Kyaw Thu**, **Aung Din**, and Dr. **Cynthia Maung** (*pictured below*). A fifth, Min Ko Naing, remained in Burma to protest the government’s delay in releasing passports to others in the dissident community.

Suu Kyi, who received the Congressional Gold Medal the day before, expressed her appreciation for the international recognition of others involved in the movement. “To be honored is great, but to honor others is even greater,” she said. “I feel very happy that today I am in a position to honor my fellow countrymen and women.”

Following the presentation to the 2012 winners, Gershman was joined by former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright to honor Aung San Suu Kyi with a long-postponed award of her own. In May 2000, on the 10th anniversary of Burma’s stolen elections that resulted in Aung San Suu Kyi’s long-term house arrest, NED honored Suu Kyi and her party – the National League for Democracy (NLD) – with a beautiful wooden version of the Goddess of Democracy statue. Hand carved by a Nigerian artist just

a year after Nigeria’s democrats had overcome their own stolen elections, the statue was a symbol of democratic solidarity and encouragement. Unable to leave her home in 2000, Suu Kyi finally accepted the award from Albright, who had made the original presentation in 2000.

“Never give up,” declared Albright upon awarding the statue. “Make sure to continue your efforts... This is a very special occasion for all of us to be in the presence of these extremely brave people.”

Gershman added that, “amidst the despair, Burma’s pro-democracy movement offered its people genuine reason for hope. While they endured decades of harassment and oppression, the popular desire for freedom, dignity and democratic change never wavered.”

2012 IN REVIEW



Democracy Service Medal

The Endowment's Board created its Democracy Service Medal in 1999 to recognize individuals who have demonstrated, through personal commitment, their dedication to the advancement of freedom, human rights, and democracy. In 2012, NED presented the Medal to **Madeleine Albright** and **George Shultz**, both former U.S. Secretaries of State who made major contributions to the advancement of democracy both during and after their official careers. The joint presentation was made on June 4, 2012, in Los Angeles, CA, at a privately-funded gala to benefit the World Movement for Democracy.

On June 5, Shultz and Albright participated in a public conference, "Democracy in the World After Thirty Years," co-sponsored by NED, the Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation, and the Pacific Council for International Policy, marking the 30th Anniversary of President Ronald Reagan's historic Westminister Address, which launched the creation of NED (see sidebar). Held at the Reagan Library in Simi Valley, CA, the conference began with a conversation about "Democracy Assistance since the Westminister Address" with Albright and former President of Peru **Alejandro Toledo**, moderated by NED President Carl Gershman. A second

HISTORY IN FOCUS

The Westminister Address, 1982

The Westminister Address was delivered on June 8, 1982, by President Ronald Reagan to the British Parliament, and became one of his most famous and important speeches. The Address, in combination with the long-standing efforts of Congressional Democrat Dante Fascell, launched the creation of the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) and sparked the growth of democracy assistance as a major new field of international cooperation. Thirty years later, the Endowment is flourishing as one of our country's most remarkable bipartisan endeavors – a truly unique institution where Democrats, Republicans, and members of both the labor and business communities have worked together to advance the universal values of freedom, human rights, and democracy in every region of the world.



panel featuring key democracy activists from China, Ethiopia, Tunisia, and Ukraine was moderated by *Journal of Democracy* Co-Editor **Larry Diamond**. That panel, titled “The Struggle Today: From a Whisper to a Roar,” began with an excerpt from the documentary film *From a Whisper to a Roar*, which chronicles recent democratic struggles and was inspired by Diamond’s book *The Spirit of Democracy*.

The conference concluded with a luncheon address by Shultz and a tribute by NED to former California Congressman and SEC Chairman Christopher Cox, who served on NED’s Board of Directors and is a great champion of the struggle for democracy.

Dr. Alfred C. Stepan Delivers Ninth Annual Lipset Lecture

The Ninth Annual Lipset Lecture was delivered on Nov. 13 at the Embassy of Canada in Washington, D.C., by Dr. **Alfred C. Stepan**, the Wallace Sayre Professor of Government at Columbia University. His talk, which was co-authored by his longtime collaborator Juan J. Linz of Yale University, focused on “Democratization Theory and the Arab Spring.” Much of his talk and the lively question-and-answer session that followed focused on how the desire of many Muslims to live in a society based on Islamic law (sharia) can be reconciled with their desire to live under democracy. A revised version Stepan’s lecture was published in the April 2013 *Journal of Democracy* (www.JournalofDemocracy.org).

The Lipset Lecture series, sponsored jointly by NED and the Munk Center for International Affairs at the University of Toronto (where Stepan spoke on Nov. 15), 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.

Opposite: Event Co-Chairs Marc Nathanson (left) and Bob Tuttle (right) joined NED Chairman Richard Gephardt and NED President Carl Gershman to honor former Secretaries of State Madeleine Albright and George Shultz. **This page, top:** Alfred Stepan delivered the Ninth Annual Lipset Lecture at the Canadian Embassy in Washington, DC. **Right:** Aung San Suu Kyi holds the Award NED presented in absentia over a decade earlier. **Below (l-r):** Burmese activist Kyaw Thu; Gershman with past Board member Chris Cox; George Shultz at the Reagan Library.







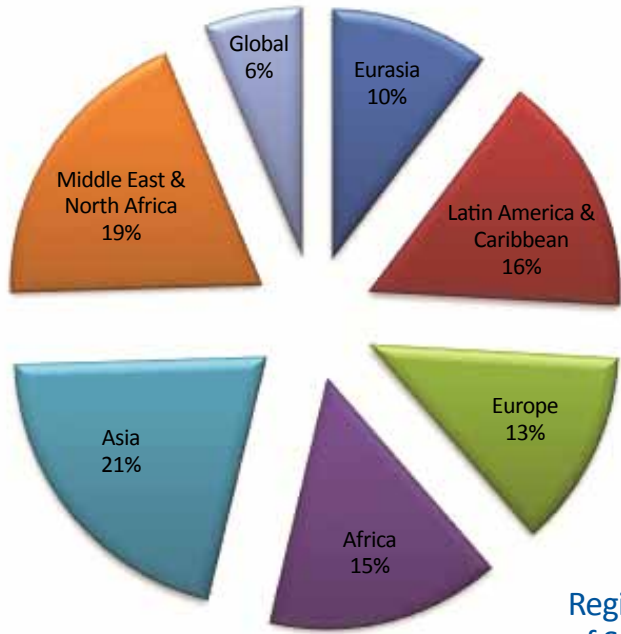
NED REGIONAL PROGRAMS

An Overview

Democracy belongs to no single nation, but rather it is the birthright of every person in every nation. That's why the National Endowment for Democracy works in all corners of the globe, supporting democracy activists on six continents and in 90 countries. NED provides grants each year to non-governmental groups working abroad in the areas of human rights, independent media, the rule of law, civic education and the development of civil society in general. These total over 1,200 grants per year.

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

-  THE INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE (IRI)
-  THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (NDI)
-  THE SOLIDARITY CENTER
-  THE CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL PRIVATE ENTERPRISE (CIPE)



Regional Distribution of Spending, 2012

NED makes grants to these groups for programs that promote pluralism and free and fair elections (IRI and NDI), free markets and economic reforms (CIPE), and independent trade unions (Solidarity Center). Each program is carefully developed with NED program staff and approved by NED's board of directors.

Frequently Asked Questions

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

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



Q: Does NED give grants to individuals?

A: No, NED only gives grants to organizations.

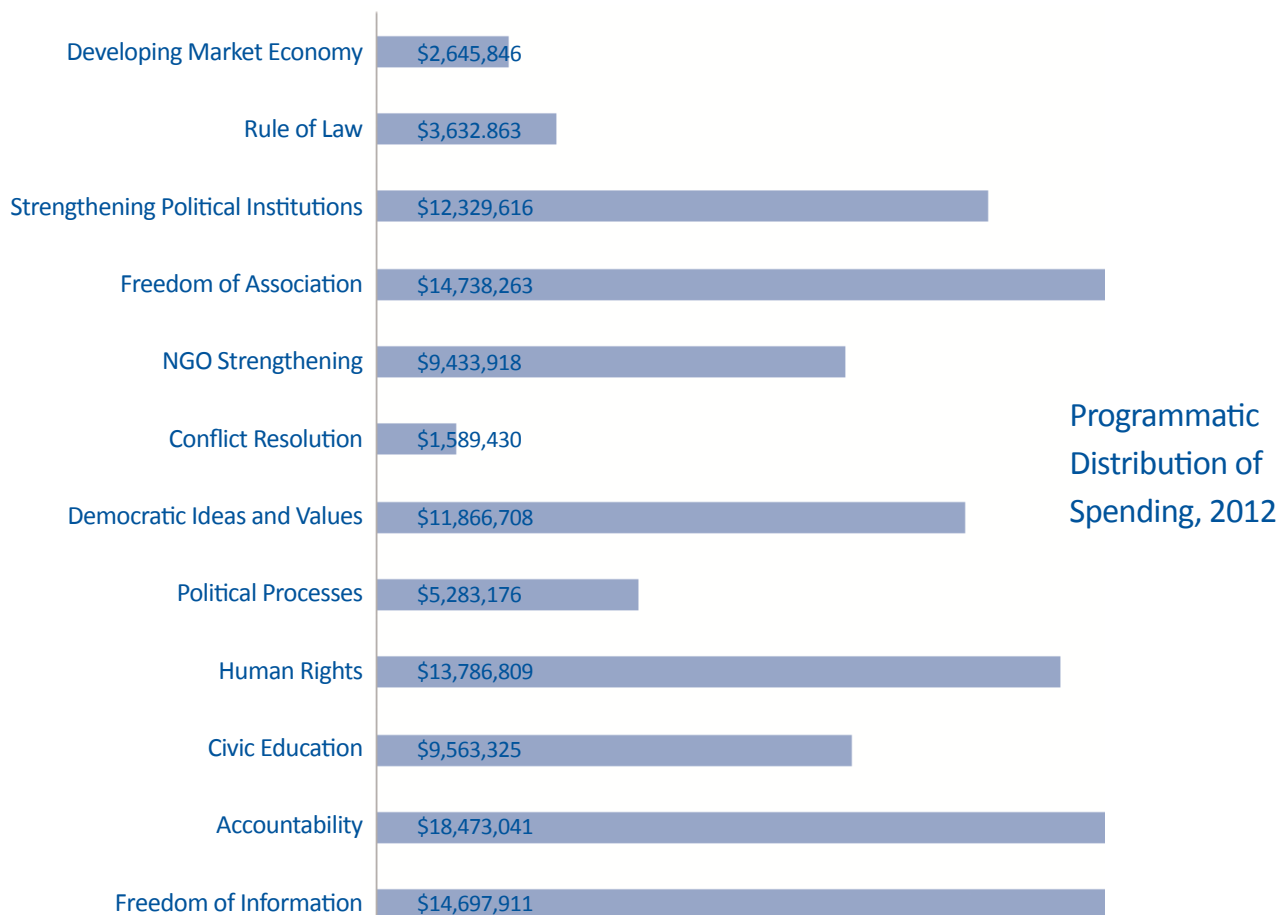
Q: Is NED part of the U.S. Government?

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

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

A: As you read through the grants listings that follow, you will notice that some grants are listed by their program focus, rather than by grantee name. You might also notice that these are always in particularly repressive countries where their work and/or affiliation with the Endowment puts grantees at greater risk for reprisals. In these cases, NED staff work with grantees to assess their security and need for protection. However, these grants are still reported and described, albeit without identifying information.

Explore the pages that follow to learn more.



I-r: Activist Glanis Changachirere (Zimbabwe) at the World Movement's 7th Assembly; Iraqi Human Rights Watch Society discusses human rights with police officers; IRI supports smart government initiatives (Guatemala); NDI supported elections observers across Africa; the Solidarity Center worked with the Tunisian General Federation of Labor; CIPE supported the Collective Action Against Corruption conference in Thailand.





WORLD MOVEMENT *for* DEMOCRACY

Confronting the Challenges to Democracy in the 21st Century

WWW.WMD.ORG

Initiated by NED in 1999, the World Movement for Democracy is a global network of activists, practitioners, scholars, donors, and others engaged in advancing democracy around the world. Through networking regionally and around areas of democracy work, global assemblies, and special projects, the World Movement facilitates sharing of information and strategies to help enhance the work of its participants and leverage the support provided by democracy assistance organizations like NED.

The year 2012 was an active one for the World Movement. The Defending Civil Society project, which addresses the global trend of increasingly restrictive environments for civil society, launched a toolkit on legal reform to provide practical knowledge for activists to meet the challenge. The new Hurford Youth Fellowship Program helped young activists become global civil society leaders. Through the Seventh Assembly, the World Movement re-energized democracy movements around the world by focusing on the importance of political, social, and economic inclusion. In addition, a new Civic Space Initiative will enhance the public space for citizens to engage in political processes.

The Seventh Assembly

The World Movement held its Seventh Assembly in Lima, Peru, on October 14-17, 2012, under the theme of “Democracy for All: Ensuring Political, Social, and Economic Inclusion.” More than 435 participants from around the world attended panel discussions, workshops, technology training sessions, and networking and information sharing activities. The Assembly also focused on youth engagement and empowerment, defending civil society, building democracy movements, and making democracy sustainable. Participants also met to discuss challenges within their respective regions and the benefits of cross-border solidarity and activism.

The Assembly opened with welcoming remarks from the Rt. Hon. Kim Campbell, former prime minister of Canada and chair of the World Movement Steering Committee, and concluded

with the World Movement’s Democracy Courage Tributes. These were presented at the John B. Hurford Memorial Dinner to the Human Rights Defenders in Bahrain, the Advocates for the Rights of Sexual Minorities Worldwide, and the Pro-Democracy Movement in Cuba. These movements were recognized for their courageous work in particularly difficult circumstances and often outside the spotlight of world attention.

A final report on the Assembly has been published on the World Movement’s website (www.wmd.org/assemblies/seventh-assembly). It is also available in hard copy upon request; write to world@ned.org.

Defending Civil Society Project

The World Movement’s Defending Civil Society project, begun in 2007, responds to efforts by governments to restrict the space in which democracy and human rights organizations carry out their work. In partnership with the International Center for Not-for-Profit Law (ICNL), the World Movement published the second edition of its *Defending Civil Society* report in 2012, in addition to an online interactive Toolkit for engaging in NGO law reform, both of which are at www.defendingcivilsociety.org.

The Civic Space Initiative

In 2012, the World Movement began a new project, the Civic Space Initiative, which seeks to protect and expand civic space by fostering an enabling legal environment for civil



society organizations. In addition to facilitating civil society consultations with the UN Special Rapporteur on freedom of association and assembly, the World Movement will produce short and full-length videos profiling civil society activists from selected countries. The video project is designed to help inform broader publics about the work of civil society organizations in their countries, and the important roles they play in building democracy and protecting human rights.

World Movement Networking

In 2012, the World Movement Secretariat staff continued to work with participants on the development of the following regional and functional networks affiliated with the World Movement:

- African Democracy Forum – www.africandemocracyforum.org
- Latin America and Caribbean Network for Democracy – www.redlad.org
- International Women’s Democracy Network – www.learningpartnership.org/iwdn
- Network of Democracy Research Institutes – www.ndri.ned.org
- World Youth Movement for Democracy – www.wymdonline.org

Networking Highlights: In 2012, the **World Youth Movement for Democracy** (WYMD) established the **Hurford Youth Fellowship Program** to provide three young activists (18-30 years) with opportunities each year to conduct research on youth-related topics, develop online resources, and take part in planning and implementing other activities of the Youth Movement during their three-month residencies in NED’s offices. The fellowship program, carried out in cooperation with

NED’s Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program, is generously supported by the Hurford Foundation. The first Fellows were Desta Hailu (Ethiopia), S. Aaron Weah-Weah (Liberia), and Saba Ismail (Pakistan).

In 2012, the **Latin America and Caribbean Network for Democracy** (Redlad) worked diligently to strengthen the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) by participating in a special working group organized by the Organization of American States (OAS) and liaising with international human rights experts and government representatives to the OAS to gain their support for the IACHR. The Network also issued a statement backing the Inter-American Democratic Charter, which garnered support and signatures from notable world leaders, including former Presidents Alejandro Toledo of Peru, Vicente Fox of Mexico, Oswaldo Hurtado of Ecuador, and Fernando Henrique Cardoso of Brazil.

The **International Women’s Democracy Network** (IWDN) worked to expand its outreach and online presence. It launched a re-designed website on International Women’s Day and enhanced its communications with network members in 2012 through Facebook and Twitter.

Information on these and other networking initiatives can be found on the World Movement website: www.wmd.org.

To subscribe to the World Movement’s bi-weekly electronic newsletter, DemocracyNews, visit www.wmd.org/news. Find the World Movement on Facebook at www.facebook.com/worldmovementfordemocracy, and on Twitter at @DemocracyTweetz.

Below, l-r: winners of the WYMD photo competition - first image “Democracy in Action,” by Ankit Agrawal (India); second image “Building a Movement,” by Stevie Harison (Indonesia); and third, “Igniting Change,” by Majda Lovrenovic (Bosnia and Herzegovina); the Seventh Assembly logo; World Movement participants shared their work at the Democracy Fair; WMD Steering Committee members Antoine Bernard (left), Carlos Ponce (back), and NED president Carl Gershman (right) with Courage Tribute Recipients (l-r) Veronica Ferrari (Peru), Maryam Al-Khawaja (Bahrain), and Regis Iglesias (Cuba); panel session participants at the Seventh Assembly.



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More journalists were killed around the world in 2012 than in any other year since 1995. In this dangerous environment, the Center for International Media Assistance (CIMA) at the National Endowment for Democracy worked to strengthen the support, raise the visibility, and improve the effectiveness of independent media development throughout the world. The Center provides information, builds networks, conducts research, and highlights the indispensable role independent media play in the creation and development of sustainable democracies. CIMA works to achieve these goals through discussions, original reports, and catalyst activities.

Discussions

CIMA organizes panel discussions, working groups, and roundtables featuring practitioners and academics to investigate important issues in international media. CIMA held 12 public events in 2012 on topics including *Clear and Present Danger: Attempts to Change Internet Governance* and *Media Law Reform 2.0: Advancing Press Freedom and Independent Media Around the World*. Summaries as well as video and audio recordings of CIMA events can be found at <http://cima.ned.org/events>.

Reports

CIMA commissions research reports on key topics in media development and also publishes papers summarizing some of its events and working groups.

The Center published 13 reports in 2012, including *Calling the Shots: How Ownership Structures Affect the Independence of News Media*; *Is There a Link Between Media and Good Governance?* and *Dangerous Work: Violence Against Mexico's Journalists and Lessons from Colombia*. The launch event for *Empowering Independent Media* (see sidebar) is pictured here (l-r: Thomas Melia, Sarah Mendelson, Barbara Haig,



Marguerite Sullivan, Marius Dragomir, David Sasaki, David Kaplan). These and the rest of CIMA's reports are available for free download at <http://cima.ned.org/publications>.

Catalyst Activities

In October, CIMA was the lead organizer of the first global donors-only meeting on media assistance at the Pocantico Conference Center of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund in New York. It was attended by representatives from 25 major donor organizations, who discussed their funding activities in media development. The meeting participants agreed that the rapid growth and changes in the field of media development require new practices in the community, including enhancing information-sharing mechanisms to improve coordination and opportunities for collaboration within the donor community.

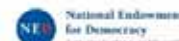
CIMA also maintains a comprehensive bibliographic database of media assistance resources with more than 1,300 items. On its website, CIMA has posted country profiles detailing the status of independent media in countries around the world and comparing media freedom indexes. These can be accessed at <http://cima.ned.org/>. CIMA also gathers articles from numerous news sources on developments in media (traditional and digital) and distributes them via a *Media News* mailing and a weekly *Digital Media Mash Up*. Sign up for these and other CIMA mailings, and follow CIMA on Facebook and Twitter, at <http://cima.ned.org/about-cima/follow-cima>.



EMPOWERING INDEPENDENT MEDIA

*U.S. Efforts to Foster
a Free Press and
an Open Internet
Around the World*

SECOND EDITION: 2012



CIMA released the second edition of its report, *Empowering Independent Media: U.S. Efforts to Foster a Free Press and an Open Internet Around the World*, at an event marking World Press Freedom Day on May 1, 2012. David E. Kaplan, an investigative journalist and media consultant, edited the report. *Empowering Independent Media* finds that U.S. international efforts to bolster independent media and an open Internet have had significant impact yet are challenged by too little funding, growth in online censorship and surveillance, and rising attacks on journalists. Drawing on original research as well as CIMA's earlier reports, it examines seven core areas of media development: funding, digital media, sustainability, media law, safety of journalists, education, and monitoring and evaluation. The report makes several recommendations to strengthen independent media around the world, including: increasing funding; improving coordination among donors and implementers; building the capacity of citizen journalists; embedding digital media and project evaluation into all programs; and putting greater emphasis on business skills, the legal environment, community radio, and investigative journalism.



DEMOCRACY RESOURCE CENTER

at the National Endowment for Democracy

The Democracy Resource Center (DRC) collects, organizes, and disseminates information and analysis produced by and about the wide range of groups and organizations working to strengthen democracy abroad.

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

Library and Archives

The library and archives house a collection of more than 20,000 books, journals, grantee reports, DVDs and CD-ROMs, and other publications on democracy. The DRC provides a unique collection of materials produced by prodemocracy groups worldwide, documentation on the history of the Endowment and programs it has funded, and information on the activities of other democracy-building groups and organizations.

Online Resources

Internet resources created and maintained by the DRC include:

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

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

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

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

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



forum

International Forum for Democratic Studies

The International Forum for Democratic Studies was established as a division within the Endowment in April 1994. Since then the Forum has emerged as a leading center for analyzing and discussing the theory and practice of democratic development. Through its publications, conferences, and academic networking, the Forum also supports and enhances the Endowment's grants program and the World Movement for Democracy.

The Forum's activities, many of which are funded by private contributions, involve and benefit scholars, policy makers, and activists representing diverse experiences and views. The Forum carries out three interrelated programs: a Research and Conferences Program; the quarterly publication of the *Journal of Democracy* and related books; and a Fellowship Program, comprising the Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program and a small Visiting Fellows Program.

Research and Conferences Program

Forum research focuses on issues of democratic transition and consolidation as well as on the common challenges facing both new and established democracies. Each year the Forum convenes meetings ranging from international conferences to smaller seminars, lectures, and colloquia in Washington, D.C. In the past year the Forum sponsored two workshops at the World Movement for Democracy's Global Assembly in Lima, Peru, continued work on its "translating research into policy" project, and organized numerous book launches and panel and roundtable discussions.

Network of Democracy Research Institutes

The Forum administers the Network of Democracy Research Institutes (NDRI), an international association of research centers that study democracy, democratization, and related topics in comparative politics and international affairs. At the close of 2012 the NDRI consisted of 81 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. Links to the websites of member institutions, issues of *Democracy Research News*, and other information about the Network of Democracy Research Institutes are available at www.ndri.ned.org.

The Forum also serves as the secretariat for the Comparative Democratization section of the American Political Science Association, for which it publishes an

The Forum's "Enhancing the Policy Impact of Democracy Research" workshop at the Seventh Global Assembly of the World Movement for Democracy.



electronic newsletter, maintains a website, and helps to promote collaboration among U.S.-based and foreign democracy scholars.

Workshops at the World Movement for Democracy's Seventh Global Assembly

In April, the Forum organized two workshops at the Seventh Assembly of the World Movement for Democracy in Lima, Peru: "Money and Politics: Combatting Electoral Corruption," a topical workshop that featured presentations by Filipe Heusser (Ciudadano Inteligente); Aurelio Concheso (Transparencia Venezuela); Boris Begovic (Center for Liberal Democratic Studies); and William Sweeney (IFES); and "Enhancing the Policy Impact of Democracy Research," which included presentations by Gabriel Salvia (Center for the Development and Opening of Latin America); Martin Butora (Institute for Public Affairs); and Tanya Hamada (INCITEGov).

Book Launch: *Liberation Technology: Instruments of Freedom or Tools of Repression?*

In September, the Forum organized a panel discussion to celebrate the publication of a *Journal of Democracy* book entitled *Liberation Technology: Social Media and the Struggle for Democracy* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012). Panelists included Daniel Calingaert (Freedom House); Rebecca Mackinnon (New America Foundation); Xiao Qiang (University of California-Berkeley); Rafal Rohozinski (SecDev Group); Larry Diamond (Stanford University); and Marc F. Plattner (NED).

Book Launch: *Poverty, Inequality and Democracy*

In February, the Forum sponsored a book launch to celebrate the *Journal of Democracy* book entitled *Poverty, Inequality, and Democracy* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012) that featured contributors Francis Fukuyama (Stanford University); Peter Lewis (Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies); Mitchell Orenstein (Northeastern University); and Marc F. Plattner (NED). Participants discussed the relationships between poverty, inequality, and democracy in Latin America, Africa, and postcommunist Europe.

Panel Discussion: *Constitution-Making, Electoral Design, and the Arab Spring*

In March, the Forum sponsored a presentation on "Constitution-Making, Electoral Design, and

the Arab Spring," featuring Andrew Reynolds (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill) and John Carey (Dartmouth College). Donald L. Horowitz (Duke University) provided comments. Participants examined the difficult challenges the countries of the Arab Spring face in drafting and approving new constitutions and designing electoral systems that will foster both fairness and stability. Professors Reynolds and Carey's remarks were based on their articles that appeared in the October 2011 and January 2012 issues of the *Journal of Democracy*.

The International Forum for Democratic Studies colloquium series featured a range of topics including:

"New Authoritarians and the Challenge to Democracy," with William J. Dobson, Slate, and Joshua Stacher, Kent State University (December)

"Signs of a Maturing Democracy: Passing Pro-Women Legislation in Pakistan," with Fouzia Saeed, International Forum for Democratic Studies (December)

"An Inside Job: Indonesia's Path to Constitutional Democracy," with Donald L. Horowitz, Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow (November)

"Iron Curtain: The Crushing of Eastern Europe, 1945–56," with Anne Applebaum, Legatum Institute (November)

"In Mistrust We Trust: Can Transparency Revive Democracy?" with Ivan Krastev, Center for Liberal Democratic Studies (Bulgaria) (November)

"The Next Generation in Russia, Ukraine, and Azerbaijan: Youth, Politics, Identity, and Culture," with Nadia Diuk, National Endowment for Democracy (June)

"Ethiopia, the International Community, and Democracy," with the Forum and NED Africa Program staff (May)

"Prospects for Change in North Korea under Kim Jong-Un," a roundtable discussion (January)

Visit www.ned.org/research for a full list.

Since its first appearance in 1990, the *Journal of Democracy* has established itself

JOURNAL OF DEMOCRACY

Press. *Journal of Democracy* books and articles are used widely in university courses

as a leading voice in discussions of the problems and prospects of democracy around the world. In addition to publishing articles on every inhabited region of the world, the Journal features reviews of important books on democracy, reports on recent elections, excerpts from speeches by leading democrats and democratic dissidents, and news about the activities of prodemocracy groups worldwide. While maintaining the highest scholarly standards, it is written and edited for the general reader as well. The *Journal* is a truly global publication, attracting both authors and readers from all over the world.

In 2012, the Fernando Henrique Cardoso Institute (São Paulo) and the Edelstein Center for Social Research (Rio de Janeiro) launched the *Journal of Democracy: Edição em Português*, a semi-annual online publication containing Portuguese translations of *Journal* articles.

Selected essays originally published in the *Journal of Democracy* have been collected over the years into a series of more than two dozen books edited by Marc F. Plattner and Larry Diamond and published by the Johns Hopkins University

Press. *Journal of Democracy* books and articles are used widely in university courses on political science, international affairs, and sociology. The newest volumes in the series, *Poverty, Inequality, and Democracy* (edited by Francis Fukuyama, Larry Diamond, and Marc F. Plattner) and *Liberation Technology: Social Media and the Struggle for Democracy*, were published in 2012. For the complete list of *Journal* books, please visit www.journalofdemocracy.org.

The *Journal of Democracy* is published quarterly by the Johns Hopkins University Press in January, April, July, and October. Subscriptions are \$40 per year for individuals and \$155 for institutions. Subscribers in Canada and Mexico add \$11.60 for postage; those outside North America add \$16.40 for air freight. For further pricing information, including online subscriptions, please visit www.journalofdemocracy.org.

To subscribe, send a check or money order in U.S. dollars to The Johns Hopkins University Press, Journals Division, 2715 N. Charles Street, Baltimore, MD 21218-4363, Tel: 800-548-1784, Fax: 410-516-6968, or visit www.press.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/.



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REAGAN-FASCELL

Democracy Fellows Program

Named in honor of NED's principal founders, former President Ronald Reagan and the late U.S. Congressman Dante Fascell (D-FL), the Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program enables democratic activists, practitioners, scholars, and journalists from around the world to deepen their understanding of democracy and enhance their ability to promote democratic change. Funded by the U.S. Congress, the program is based at the International Forum for Democratic Studies in Washington, D.C. Reagan-Fascell fellowships typically last five months and focus on the political, social, economic, legal, or cultural aspects of democratic development.

In 2011–2012, the Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program hosted leading democratic activists,

journalists, and scholars from a wide range of countries, including Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Burma, Cuba, Colombia, Ethiopia, Morocco, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Russia, South Africa, Tanzania, Tibet/India, and the U.S.

On May 17, 2012, the Reagan-Fascell program celebrated its tenth anniversary with a reception at the U.S. Capitol. The event featured remarks by members of Congress David Dreier (R-CA), Gregory Meeks (D-NY), and Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL), as well as testimonials from former fellows Myroslava Gongadze (Ukraine), Normando Hernández (Cuba), Birtukan Midekssa (Ethiopia), and Radwan Ziadeh (Syria). Visit the NED website at www.NED.org to learn more about the program's remarkable first decade, and continue reading for snapshots of the 2011-2012 Fellows.



Mr. Malik Siraj Akbar (Pakistan, March-Sept. 2012) is an award-winning journalist who has risked his life covering enforced disappearances, extrajudicial killings, assaults on journalists, and other human rights violations, particularly in his native Balochistan. During his fellowship, Akbar conducted a study on the threats faced by defenders of democracy in Pakistan and gave a presentation at NED entitled "Threats to Defenders of Democracy in Balochistan," in May. He is the recipient of a 2012 Hellman-Hammett grant from Human Rights Watch for his courage in highlighting human rights violations in Balochistan while facing political persecution.

activities, and impact of Islamist political parties in the Arab world. His op-ed, "How to Stop Syria's Warring Factions Tearing the Country Apart," appeared in the April 24, 2012, issue of *The Guardian*. In July, he gave a presentation at NED entitled "Democratic Transition in the Middle East: Between Authoritarianism and Islamism."



Mr. Darko Brkan (Bosnia-Herzegovina, March-July 2012) is founding president of Zašto ne (Why Not), a Sarajevo-based nongovernmental organization that promotes civic activism, government accountability, and the use of digital media in deepening democracy in Bosnia-Herzegovina. During his fellowship, Brkan explored how information technologies, online tools, and new media can be used to promote democracy and transparency, collecting insights for later use in a toolkit for citizen activism in Bosnia-Herzegovina and beyond. His May presentation at NED was entitled "Creating a Civic Constituency in Bosnia and Herzegovina."



Dr. Mokhtar Benabdallaoui (Morocco, March-July 2012) is professor of Islamic studies and director of the Doctoral Center for Studies in Politics and Religion at Hassan II University in Casablanca, Morocco, and founding director of the Casablanca-based Center for Humanities Studies and Research. During his fellowship, he studied the evolution,

Left: Fellows at the 10th anniversary reception at the U.S. Capitol. Right: Congressman David Dreier joined others in paying tribute to the program.





Ms. Judith February (South Africa, March–July 2012) is director of democracy and governance at the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), South Africa’s statutory research council, which conducts research on all aspects of human development. During her fellowship, February wrote a paper outlining recommendations for reforming South Africa’s political party funding framework in order to promote transparency and accountability. In June, she gave a presentation at NED entitled “The Toxic Mix: Money, Power, and Politics in South Africa.”



Mr. Hikmet Hadjy-zadeh (Azerbaijan, Oct. 2011–Feb. 2012) is co-founder and president of the Far Centre for Economic and Political Research, a Baku-based think tank that conducts research on economic and political reform, press and religious freedoms, rule of law, and democracy building in Azerbaijan. He has served as Azerbaijan’s ambassador to Russia, as a journalist and political party leader. During his fellowship, Hadjy-zadeh examined the political and social elements of pseudo-democratic regimes, using Azerbaijan as his primary case study. In January, he gave a presentation at NED entitled “What Is To Be Done with Pseudo-Democracies: The Case of Azerbaijan.”



Mr. Normando Hernández (Cuba, Feb.–June 2012) is an independent journalist who has dedicated his career to providing alternative news sources in Cuba. During his fellowship, he laid the groundwork for the Cuban Institute for Freedom of Expression and the Press, a Miami-based NGO supporting independent citizen journalists in Cuba. His NED presentation in June was entitled “Promoting Citizen Journalism: Opportunities for Change in Cuba.”



Dr. Tamirlan Kurbanov (Russia, Oct. 2011–Feb. 2012) is a program officer at NDI’s Moscow office. During his fellowship, Dr. Kurbanov interviewed youth activists and organizations in order to explore effective methods of promoting civic engagement among American youth that can be applied in Russia. Kurbanov compiled his findings into case studies and a set of resources that will form the basis for a “democracy curriculum” for Russian youth. His December 2011 presentation at NED was entitled “Youth Activism in Russia: Can a New Generation Make a Difference?”



Dr. Ibrahim Lipumba (Tanzania, Oct. 2011–Feb. 2012) has served since 1999 as national chairman of the Civic United Front (CUF),

a liberal political party in Tanzania with strong support in Zanzibar. Before he entered party politics, Lipumba was a professor of economics at the University of Dar es Salaam (1983–1996) and a Fulbright Visiting Professor at the Center for Development Economics at Williams College (1993–1995). During his fellowship, Lipumba worked on a blueprint containing policy recommendations for consolidating democracy and alleviating poverty in Tanzania. In December 2011, he gave a presentation at NED entitled “From *Ujamaa* to *Demokrasia*: Reflections on 50 Years of Independence in Tanzania and the Way Forward.”



Ms. Birtukan Midekssa (Ethiopia, Oct. 2011–July 2012) is a former federal judge and leader of the pro-democracy opposition movement in Ethiopia. She was sentenced to life in prison in 2005 after her party won an unprecedented number of seats in parliamentary elections. Pardoned in 2007, she went on to found and chair the Unity for Democracy and Justice Party. During her fellowship, Midekssa studied the narrowing of political space and the weakening of Ethiopia’s democratic opposition, and explored ways to strengthen opposition parties. Her February presentation at NED was entitled “Building Democratic Opposition Parties in Ethiopia: Reflections from the Ground.”



Mr. Hollman Morris (Colombia, Aug. 2011–Feb. 2012) is an acclaimed investigative journalist who has covered cases of human rights abuse and helped bring accountability for such crimes in Colombia. Along with Juan José Lozano, he is the co-director of the 2010 documentary *Impunity* and recipient of the 2011 Nuremberg International Human Rights Award. During his fellowship, he advocated for the protection of human rights in Colombia and justice for victims of illegal surveillance and smear campaigns. His February presentation at NED was entitled “Intercepting Democracy: Colombia’s Intelligence Service vs. Civil Liberties.”



Ms. Abril Pérez (Nicaragua, March–July 2012) is an election observation expert with the Grupo Cívico Ética y Transparencia, Nicaragua’s preeminent election-monitoring NGO, where she has worked on a wide range of projects. During her fellowship, Pérez examined the experiences of election observers in countries with official restrictions on election observation. In her June presentation at NED, entitled “Is Effective Election Observation Possible in Politically Restrictive Environments? Perspectives from Nicaragua,” she shared lessons learned from her experiences

and presented her analysis of the use of measurable indicators of election fraud as a tool for election monitors.



Dr. Tsveta Petrova (United States, May–Aug. 2012) was a 2011–2012 postdoctoral fellow at the Harriman Institute at Columbia University. She received her Ph.D. in political science from Cornell University in 2011. During her fellowship, Petrova completed a book-length manuscript examining democracy promotion efforts in new third-wave democracies. The manuscript builds on her dissertation, which examined the successful transitions of some eastern European Union countries from recipients of democracy support to democracy promoters. In July, she gave a presentation at NED entitled “From Recipients to Donors: The New Role of East Europeans in Democracy Promotion.”



Mr. Azizullah Royesh (Afghanistan, Nov. 2011–April 2012) is the founding director of the Kabul-based Marefat High School, where he teaches courses on civic education, humanism, Quranic interpretation, Dari, and English. He has been an advocate of democratic change for the past twenty years. During his fellowship, Royesh wrote his memoir, *Let Me Breathe: A Glimpse Across Three Decades of Political Change in Afghanistan*. His March presentation at NED was entitled “Civic Education for Democratic Change in Afghanistan: The Story of the Kabul-based Marefat High School.”



Dr. B. Tsering (Tibet/India, March–July 2012) is a women’s rights activist currently serving as a member of the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile in Dharamsala, India. From 2003 to 2009, she served for two consecutive terms as president of the Tibetan Women’s Association. During her fellowship, Tsering developed proposals for implementing the Central Tibetan Administration’s Women Empowerment Policy through an independent Women’s Commission. Her June presentation at NED was entitled “Empowering Tibetan Women in Exile: Reflections and Recommendations.”



Mr. Aung Moe Zaw (Burma, March–July 2012) is chairperson of the Democratic Party for a New Society (DPNS), a Burmese political party affiliated with the broader democracy movement, for which he has worked as a presidium member for almost a decade. During his fellowship, Aung Moe Zaw researched the impact of foreign democracy aid in Burma through interviews with donors, grantees, and other stakeholders, and developed recommendations concerning international support for

democracy in Burma. In June, he gave a presentation at NED entitled “Personal Reflections on 20 Years of Democracy Assistance in Burma.”

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.



Ms. Mahboubeh Abbasgholizadeh (Iran, Aug.–Dec. 2011), who was a Reagan-Fascell Fellow from January to July 2011, is a women’s rights activist, journalist, and filmmaker. As a Visiting Fellow, she continued to advocate for the incorporation of gender perspectives in Iran’s democratic dialogue and conducted a study of how advances in information and communication technologies apply to crossborder democracy development.



Mr. Danail Danov (Bulgaria, Nov.–Dec. 2011) is executive director of the Communications and Human Resources Development Centre, based in Sofia. During his fellowship, hosted in conjunction with NED’s Center for International Media Assistance, he examined how U.S. democracy has coped with the challenges posed by digitization of media, including the impact of Internet content regulations on freedom of speech and civil society development. His findings helped him identify appropriate solutions for application in Bulgaria.



Mr. Marek Svoboda (Czech Republic, June–July 2012) is director of the Center for Democracy and Human Rights at the People In Need Foundation in Prague. During his fellowship, hosted in conjunction with the World Movement for Democracy, he pursued research on trends and practices in international democracy assistance, taking advantage of the Democracy Resource Center’s extensive archive of resources on the subject. On July 6, 2012, he led a roundtable at NED on democracy support programs in semi-authoritarian countries.

HURFORD YOUTH FELLOWS PROGRAM

In 2012, the World Youth Movement for Democracy partnered with the International Forum for Democratic Studies in launching the Hurford Youth Fellows Program, funded by the Hurford Foundation. For further information, see the World Movement section of this report.

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Report of Independent Auditors

The Board of Directors
National Endowment for Democracy
Washington, DC

We have audited the accompanying balance sheet of National Endowment for Democracy (the Endowment) as of September 30, 2012, and the related statements of activities and cash flows for the year then ended. These financial statements are the responsibility of the Endowment's management. Our responsibility is to express an opinion on these financial statements based on our audit. The prior year summarized comparative information has been derived from the Endowment's 2011 financial statements and, in our report dated June 28, 2012, we expressed an unqualified opinion on those statements.

We conducted our audit in accordance with auditing standards generally accepted in the United States of America and the standards applicable to financial audits contained in *Government Auditing Standards*, issued by the Comptroller General of the United States. Those standards require that we plan and perform the audit to obtain reasonable assurance about whether the financial statements are free of material misstatement. An audit includes consideration of internal control over financial reporting as a basis for designing audit procedures that are appropriate in the circumstances, but not for the purpose of expressing an opinion on the effectiveness of the Endowment's internal control over financial reporting. Accordingly, we express no such opinion. An audit also includes examining, on a test basis, evidence supporting the amounts and disclosures in the financial statements, assessing the accounting principles used and significant estimates made by management, as well as evaluating the overall financial statement presentation. We believe that our audit provides a reasonable basis for our opinion.

In our opinion, the financial statements referred to above present fairly, in all material respects, the financial position of the Endowment as of September 30, 2012, and the change in its net assets and its cash flows for the year then ended in conformity with accounting principles generally accepted in the United States of America.

In accordance with *Government Auditing Standards*, we have also issued our report, dated January 11, 2013, 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 the internal control over financial reporting or on compliance. That report is an integral part of an audit performed in accordance with *Government Auditing Standards* and should be considered in assessing the results of our audit.



Vienna, Virginia
January 11, 2013

Balance Sheet
September 30, 2012
(With Comparative Totals For 2011)

Assets	2012	2011
Cash and Cash Equivalents	\$ 9,159,287	\$ 3,346,819
Investments	752,280	651,304
Grants Receivables	86,105,790	88,961,980
Other Receivables	155,990	121,958
Prepaid and Other Assets	926,847	284,955
Property and Equipment, net	2,799,296	3,329,003
Total assets	\$99,899,490	\$96,696,019
Liabilities And Net Assets		
Liabilities		
Accounts payable and accrued liabilities	\$ 1,777,454	\$ 1,775,961
Grants payable	92,260,042	89,463,720
Refundable advances – due to DOS	1,701,176	1,617,799
Deferred rent	1,991,800	1,711,033
Total liabilities	97,730,472	94,568,513
Commitments And Contingencies		
Net Assets		
Unrestricted	1,661,078	1,120,606
Temporarily restricted	507,940	1,006,900
Total net assets	2,169,018	2,127,506
 Total liabilities and net assets	 \$99,899,490	 \$96,696,019

See Notes To Financial Statements.

Statement Of Activities
Year Ended September 30, 2012
(With Comparative Totals For 2011)

	2012			2011 Total
	Unrestricted	Temporarily Restricted	Total	
Support and revenue:				
Grant revenue – government agencies	\$140,475,007	\$ -	\$140,475,007	\$134,943,294
Other grants and contributions	206,443	980,366	1,186,809	570,183
Other revenue, interest, and miscellaneous income	431,235	-	431,235	224,407
Net assets released from restriction – satisfaction of program restrictions	1,479,326	(1,479,326)	-	-
Total support and revenue	142,592,011	(498,960)	142,093,051	135,737,884
Expenses:				
Program services:				
Federal grants programs	116,261,829	-	116,261,829	113,013,151
Other activities – federal	4,263,664	-	4,263,664	4,130,297
Other activities – non-federal	831,188	-	831,188	511,016
Total program services	121,356,681	-	121,356,681	117,654,464
Supporting services:				
Management and general	20,543,524	-	20,543,524	17,919,267
Fundraising	151,334	-	151,334	-
Total supporting services	20,694,858	-	20,694,858	17,919,267
Total expenses	142,051,539	-	142,051,539	135,573,731
Change in net assets	540,472	(498,960)	41,512	164,153
Net assets:				
Beginning	1,120,606	1,006,900	2,127,506	1,963,353
Ending	\$ 1,661,078	\$ 507,940	\$ 2,169,018	\$ 2,127,506

See Notes To Financial Statements.

Statement Of Cash Flows
Year Ended September 30, 2012
(With Comparative Totals For 2011)

	2012	2011
Cash Flows From Operating Activities		
Change in net assets	\$ 41,512	\$ 164,153
Adjustments to reconcile change in net assets to net cash provided by operating activities:		
Depreciation	712,069	695,564
Realized and unrealized gain	(100,976)	(951)
Gain on sale of property and equipment	(5,240)	-
Changes in assets and liabilities:		
(Increase) decrease in:		
Grants receivable	2,856,190	3,602,540
Other receivables	(34,032)	131,277
Prepaid expenses	(641,892)	(151,271)
Increase (decrease) in:		
Accounts payable and accrued liabilities	1,493	52,826
Grants payable	2,796,322	(2,045,368)
Deferred rent	280,767	(1,036,325)
Refundable advances – Due to DOS	83,377	523,618
Net cash provided by operating activities	5,989,590	1,936,063
Cash Flows From Investing Activities		
Purchases of property and equipment	(177,122)	(1,028,546)
Net cash used in investing activities	(177,122)	(1,028,546)
Net increase in cash and cash equivalents	5,812,468	907,517
Cash And Cash Equivalents		
Beginning	3,346,819	2,439,302
Ending	<u>\$9,159,287</u>	<u>\$3,346,819</u>

See Notes To Financial Statements.

NOTE 1. NATURE OF ACTIVITIES AND SIGNIFICANT ACCOUNTING POLICIES

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

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

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

Basis of presentation: The Endowment is required to report information regarding its financial position and activities according to three classes of net assets: unrestricted net assets, temporarily restricted net assets, and permanently restricted net assets. There were no permanently restricted net assets at September 30, 2012.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Grants receivable: Grants receivables are due from the Department of State (DOS) and represent funds obligated by the Endowment to other organizations and administrative costs incurred by the Endowment. When the Endowment incurs expenses and obligates grants to the various organizations, a receivable from the Department of State (DOS) and a related grant payable is recorded. The Endowment collects U.S. government funds by filing requests for

direct funding and by presenting payment vouchers against letters of credit when it disburses cash for program grants and administrative costs. When payments are received from the awarding agency, the receivable is reduced. Management does not obligate any grants until the funding is approved and thus determined that there is no need for provision for doubtful accounts at September 30, 2012.

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 plus indirect rate amount that was charged.

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.

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, 2012.

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 and change in net assets as net assets released from restrictions. Income on these net assets is classified as temporarily restricted or unrestricted, in accordance with the donor's stipulation.

Use of estimates: The preparation of financial statements in conformity with accounting principles generally accepted in the United States of America requires management to make estimates and assumptions that affect the reported amounts of assets and liabilities and disclosure of contingent assets and liabilities at the date of the financial statements, and the reported amounts of revenue and expenses during the reporting period. Actual results could differ from those estimates.

Income taxes: The Endowment is generally exempt from federal income taxes under the provisions of Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code. In addition, the Endowment

qualifies for charitable contributions deductions and has been classified as an organization that is not a private foundation. Income which is not related to exempt purposes, less applicable deductions, is subject to federal and state corporate income taxes. There was no net tax liability for unrelated business income tax for the year ended September 30, 2012.

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 2009.

Reclassifications: Certain items in the September 30, 2011, financial statements have been reclassified to conform to the September 30, 2012, financial statement presentation. The reclassifications had no effect on the previously reported change in net assets.

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 accounting principles generally accepted in the United States of America. Accordingly, such information should be read in conjunction with the Endowment's financial statements for the year ended September 30, 2011, from which the summarized information was derived.

Subsequent events: Subsequent events have been evaluated through January 11, 2013, which is the date the financial statements were available to be issued. This review and evaluation revealed no new material event or transaction that would require an additional adjustment to or disclosure in the accompanying financial statements.

NOTE 2. INVESTMENTS AND FAIR VALUE MEASUREMENTS

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

The Fair Value Topic of the FASB Codification (the Codification) defines fair value as the price that would be received to sell an asset or paid to transfer a liability in an orderly transaction between market participants at the measurement date and sets out a fair value hierarchy. The fair value hierarchy gives the highest priority to quoted prices in active markets for identical assets or liabilities (Level 1) and the lowest priority to

unobservable inputs (Level 3). Inputs are broadly defined as assumptions market participants would use in pricing an asset or liability. The three levels of the fair value hierarchy are described below:

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

Level 2 – Observable market-based inputs or unobservable inputs corroborated by market data

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

In determining the appropriate levels, the Endowment performs a detailed analysis of the assets and li-

abilities 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, 2012.

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

NOTE 3. PROPERTY AND EQUIPMENT

Property and equipment and accumulated depreciation at September 30, 2012, consist of the following:

Asset category	Estimated Lives	Cost	Accumulated Depreciation	Net	Depreciation
Leasehold improvements	2 – 10 years	\$5,039,539	\$2,727,994	\$2,311,545	\$507,973
Furniture and fixtures	3 – 7 years	631,455	339,139	292,316	83,941
Computer equipment and software	3 – 5 years	887,702	692,267	195,435	120,155
		<u>\$6,558,696</u>	<u>\$3,759,400</u>	<u>\$2,799,296</u>	<u>\$712,069</u>

Depreciation expense for the year ended September 30, 2012, was \$712,069.

NOTE 4. GRANT REVENUE – GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

Grant revenue for the year ended September 30, 2012, consists of the following:

	2012	2011
Total appropriations received from the U.S. Department of State	<u>\$117,764,000</u>	\$117,764,000
Grants awarded/amended during the year	<u>\$116,261,829</u>	\$ 18,907,183
Revenue recognized		
Grants obligated, net of deobligations	\$116,261,829	\$113,013,151
Other grant-related expenses	<u>24,213,178</u>	21,930,143
	<u>\$140,475,007</u>	<u>\$134,943,294</u>

NOTE 5. EXPENSES

Program expenses for the year ended September 30, 2012, represent the following activities:

	2012	2011
Federal grant programs	\$116,261,829	\$113,013,151
Other activities – federal:		
International Forum:		
<i>Journal of Democracy</i>	423,292	411,580
Research and conferences	154,836	193,119
Management and support	439,177	370,008
Reagan/Fascell Fellowship Program	1,106,485	1,063,812
Democracy Resource Center	482,023	496,703
World Movement for Democracy	750,613	722,345
Center for International Media Assistance	907,238	872,730
	4,263,664	4,130,297
Other activities – non-federal:		
International Forum:		
Management and support	17,007	5,112
<i>Journal of Democracy</i>	52,162	71,941
Research and conferences	10,606	42,459
Assessing Democracy Assistance	-	70,575
World Movement for Democracy – Defending Civil Society	325,009	
World Movement for Democracy	361,613	192,568
NED events and development	64,791	69,863
	831,188	511,016
	\$ 121,356,681	\$117,654,464

NOTE 6. TEMPORARILY RESTRICTED NET ASSETS

Temporarily restricted net assets are available for the following purposes at September 30, 2012:

	Balance at September 30, 2011	Additions	Releases	Balance at September 30, 2012
NED events and development	\$ 611,491	\$ -	\$ (611,491)	\$ -
World Movement for Democracy:				
Canada Def. Civ. Soc.	247,819	-	(236,423)	11,396
Assessing Dem. Assist.	3,464	184,850	(80,737)	107,577
SIDA	134,395	124,167	(256,612)	1,950
International Forum:				
<i>Journal of democracy</i>	3,059	57,772	(60,831)	-
Visiting Fellows Program	551	31,780	(32,331)	-
Korea Foundation	5,019	-	129	5,148
7th Assembly Youth Exchange	1,102	381,094	(8,427)	373,769
Boadman Foundation	-	50,000	(50,000)	-
DFAIT	-	150,703	(142,603)	8,100
	\$1,006,900	\$980,366	\$ (1,479,326)	\$507,940

Net assets were released from donor restrictions by incurring expenses satisfying the restricted purposes specified by donors during the year ended September 30, 2012.

NOTE 7. RELATED PARTIES

The Endowment awards grants to various organizations to be used for programs that the Board of Directors determines are consistent with the purposes of the NED Act. Some of the organizations that submit proposals and are awarded funds have members of their Boards of Directors represented on the Board of Directors of the Endowment. Article VI, Section V of the Endowment's bylaws provides that any Board member who is an officer or director of an organization seeking to receive grants from the Endowment must abstain from considering a voting on such grant. The provision does not prevent any director from supplying factual information that the Board requests.

NOTE 8. OPERATING LEASE

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

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

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

Years Ending September 30,	
2013	\$ 3,420,829
2014	3,506,351
2015	3,594,010
2016	3,720,522
2017	3,850,196
2018 – 2021	14,236,520
	<u>\$32,328,428</u>

Rent expense was \$3,438,255 for the year ended September 30, 2012.

NOTE 9. RETIREMENT PLAN

The Endowment has a defined contribution annuity plan for all of its employees, under which the Endowment contributes a percentage of eligible employees' annual earnings to individually-owned tax-deferred annuity contracts. The Endowment's contribution to the plan is based on 10% of an eligible employee's annual earnings. Employer contributions to the plan for the year ended September 30, 2012, were \$1,099,709.

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 does not anticipate significant adjustments as a result of such an audit.

NOTE 11. CONCENTRATIONS OF REVENUE

During the years ended September 30, 2012, substantially all of the Endowment's revenue related to 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.

Our 2012 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.

The prior year summarized comparative information has been derived from the Endowment's 2011 financial statements and, in our report dated June 28, 2012, we expressed an unqualified opinion on those statements.

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "McGladrey LLP".

Vienna, Virginia
January 11, 2013

Schedule Of Other Activities And Supporting Services
Year Ended September 30, 2012
(With Comparative Totals For 2011)

	Program Services			Supporting Services			2012	2011
	Federal Programs	Other Programs	Total Program Services	Management And General	Fundraising	Total Supporting Services		
Salaries, wages and benefits	\$3,010,411	\$ 38,556	\$3,048,967	\$12,890,483	\$ 9,711	\$12,900,194	\$15,949,161	\$15,483,783
Occupancy	-	-	-	3,442,261	-	3,442,261	3,442,261	1,725,804
Professional fees	790,443	168,180	958,623	1,177,885	37,366	1,215,251	2,173,874	1,734,014
Travel and transportation	23,365	189,640	413,005	1,008,346	21,200	1,029,546	1,442,551	1,423,617
Depreciation and amortization	-	-	-	706,830	-	706,830	706,830	848,780
Programs	-	189,974	189,974	328,087	-	328,087	518,061	-
Conferences and meetings	66,967	230,161	297,128	56,146	82,274	138,420	435,548	343,918
Supplies and equipment	1,290	-	1,290	231,376	-	231,376	232,666	398,576
Communications	32,877	-	32,877	243,559	-	243,559	276,436	206,885
Periodicals	90,275	8,394	98,669	84,000	-	84,000	182,669	79,590
Insurance	-	-	-	73,430	-	73,430	73,430	66,205
Other	48,036	6,283	54,319	301,121	783	301,904	356,223	249,408
	\$4,263,664	\$ 831,188	\$5,094,852	\$20,543,524	\$151,334	\$20,694,858	\$25,789,710	\$22,560,580

Expenses as presented above exclude expenses for program grants from the U.S. Department of State (USDOS) in the total amount of \$116,261,829 for the year ended September 30, 2012.

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National Endowment for Democracy

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Judy Shelton
Vice-Chair

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Robert Tuttle
Treasurer

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Stephen Sestanovich

Anne-Marie Slaughter

Ellen Tauscher

Vin Weber

George Weigel

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President

Zarina Nashir
Executive Assistant to the President

Barbara Haig
Deputy to the President for Policy & Strategy

Ragan Updegraff
Special Assistant to the Deputy for Policy & Strategy

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Assistant to the Vice President

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Director, Public Affairs

Kelly Dougherty
Director, Congressional Relations

Michael Allen
Special Assistant to the Vice President
Editor, Democracy Digest

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Web & Multimedia
Communications Manager

Jean Schindler
Publications Officer

Scott Shigeoka
Public Affairs Coordinator

Chris Gauthier
Multimedia Communications Assistant

World Movement for Democracy

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Senior Director

Ryota Jonen
Senior Manager

Cecilia Andersen
Project Manager

Dana O'Leary
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Project Assistant

Mariam Ispahany
Project Assistant

Christopher Thurau
Project Assistant

Center for International Media Assistance

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Senior Director

Don Podesta
Center Manager and Editor

Anthony Abate
Project Coordinator - Digital

Rosemary D'Amour
Project Coordinator - Research

Valerie Popper
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Doug Kush
Accounting Manager

Ray Navarro
Finance Manager

Theresa Shegog
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Tony Beaubien
Accounts Payable Specialist

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Naomi Pizarro
Human Resources Manager

Darryll Joyner
Senior Benefits Administrator

Lindlee Frasier
Office Administrator

Office Services

Mark Fields
Office Services Assistant



Daniel Summers
Office Services Assistant

Knowledge Management & IT

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Senior Director

Shannon Schreiner
Senior IT Manager

James Mosley
Senior Systems Engineer

Chris French
Senior IT Help Desk Analyst

John Maestros
Senior Network and Security Engineer

Jonathan Peter
Systems Administrator

Democracy Resource Center

Allen Overland
Director

Tim Myers
Senior Librarian

Morgan Grimes
Electronic Resources Librarian

Anna Yevropina
Archivist/Librarian

Emily Vaughan
Library Assistant

PROGRAMS: EUROPE, EURASIA, AFRICA, & LATIN AMERICA

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Vice President

Volodymyr Kozoriz
Senior Program Budget Officer

Gina Lentine
Assistant to the Vice Presidents

Africa

Dave Peterson
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Joshua Marks
Senior Program Officer

Eric Robinson
Senior Program Officer

Kamissa Camara
Program Officer

Sonja Uwimana
Program Officer

Yohanan Assefa
Assistant Program Officer

Rudy Massamba
Assistant Program Officer

Christopher O'Connor
Assistant Program Officer

Amanda Phaneuf Vragovich
Assistant Program Officer

Natalie Kay
Program Assistant

Elizabeth Marcotte
Program Assistant

Latin America & the Caribbean Region

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Fabiola Cordova
Senior Program Officer

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Program Officer

Aimel Rios Wong
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Program Assistant

Melissa Nolan
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Assistant Program Officer

Olga Litvin
Assistant Program Officer

Benjamin Morano
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Janet Rabin Satter
Assistant Program Officer

Yuriy Didula
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Russia & Eurasia Region

Miriam Lansky
Director

Spaska Gatzinska
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Martha Beard
Program Officer

Elsbeth Suthers
Program Officer

Dylan Myles-Primakoff
Assistant Program Officer

Kate Resta
Assistant Program Officer

Sarah Lillibridge
Program Assistant

Ryan Prinz
Program Assistant

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Vice President

Asia Region & Global

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John Knaus
Senior Program Officer

Wilson Lee
Senior Program Officer

Samlanchith Chanthavong
Senior Program Officer

Louisa Chiang
Senior Program Officer

Lynn Lee
Senior Program Officer

Sinchang Chiu
Program Officer

Mona Dave
Program Officer

Aung Maw Zin
Program Officer

David Angeles
Assistant Program Officer

Tenzin Palkyi
Assistant Program Officer

Amanda Watson
Program Assistant

Middle East and North Africa Region

Laith Kubba
Senior Director

Rahman Aljebouri
Senior Program Officer

Karen Farrell
Senior Program Officer

Richard Kraemer
Senior Program Officer

Hamid Arsalan Abrahimpour
Program Officer

Fatima Hadji
Program Officer

Tatjana Sharif-San Luis
Program Officer

Hanane Zelouani Idrissi
Assistant Program Officer



Geoffrey King
Assistant Program Officer
Rama Halaseh
Assistant Program Officer
Line Zouhour Adi
Program Assistant

**PROGRAMS; PLANNING, GRANTS
MANAGEMENT, COMPLIANCE & EVALUATION**

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Vice President

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Lindsay Demidovich
Manager
Christopher Ragonese
Manager
Frank Conatser
Senior Grants Administrator
Mauna Dosso
Senior Grants Administrator
Bashar Hilbawi
Senior Grants Administrator
Andriy Yuzvenko
Senior Grants Administrator
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Grants Administrator
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Grants Administrator
Rula Jamous
Grants Administrator
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Regis Saxton
Grants Administrator
Hamida Shadi
Grants Administrator
Mariama Souare
Grants Administrator
Maria Kim
Grants Assistant
Renee Rosser
Grants Assistant
Alicia Wondoloski
Grants Assistant

Grantmaking Resource Center

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Images starting p. 109, l-r: NED Chairman Richard Gephardt and President Carl Gershman flank retiring Board member Terence Todman; Reagan-Fascell Tenth Anniversary Panel; speaker at the World Movement's Seventh Global Assembly; a Tibet Translation and Research House seminar; Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions General Secretary Japhet Moyo; West Bank grantees work on improving their communication skills; Reagan-Fascell Fellows learn to use the U.S. Library of Congress in Washington, D.C.; EastBook reports on emerging democracies in eastern Europe and the Caucasus; a journalist for La Silla Vacía interviews victims of Colombia's internal armed conflict; voters with a Cherkasy CVU newspaper in Ukraine.





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Bottom opposite: The team of the MakeDox Human Rights Film Festival (Macedonia) on opening night. **Below:** In a workshop in Villa María del Triunfo, Peru, Reflexion Democratica trains participants in internet use and social networks. The goal is to strengthen the communication and advocacy skills of grassroots women's organizations to interact with congress and influence the legislature.

Back cover: 1. Poster holding voters accountable for selling their votes during Ukraine's October 2012 parliamentary elections, produced by Coalition of Cherkasy Youth Non-Governmental Organization "Moloda Cherkaschyna;" 2. The participants in CIPE's ChamberL.I.N.K.S. program meet with CIPE Executive Director John D. Sullivan and CIPE Global staff. 3. Three women who participated in NDI's Women's Candidate Academy in Honduras practice public speaking. 4. Amaka Biachi, Executive Director of CHEAD, leads a civil servants demonstration in Abia, Nigeria. 5. The Legal Network for Truthful Elections in the Philippines leads workshops on the voter registration process for voters. 6. The Attanweer Social Development Foundation in Yemen advocates on behalf of rape victims and demands fair trials. 7. During a workshop in Nairobi, organized by the International Coalition of Historic Site Museums of Conscience, a survivor of the Nyayo House Detention Center creates a body map – a life-size representation of a person's body on which he or she depicts experiences of trauma or conflict. In addition to being therapeutic for survivors, body maps are used to publicly remember state violence and advocate for victim's rights.



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200 грн від кандидата ÷
5 років повноважень =
10 коп. на день!

І ТИ ПРОДАСИ СВІЙ ГОЛОС???

Друк: СТД Горобінь - Нічмаз, 2009 рр.



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