ANNUAL REPORT



Mission Statement

Founded in 1941 by Eleanor Roosevelt and others, Freedom House is the oldest non-profit, nongovernmental organization in the United States dedicated to promoting and defending democracy and freedom worldwide. Freedom House supports the global expansion of freedom through its advocacy activities, monitoring and in depth research on the state of freedom, and direct support of democratic reformers throughout the world.

Advocating Democracy and Human Rights: For over six decades, Freedom House has played an important role in identifying the key challenges to the global expansion of democracy, human rights and freedom. Freedom House is committed to advocating a vigorous U.S. engagement in international affairs that promotes human rights and freedom around the world.

Monitoring Freedom: Despite significant recent gains for freedom, hundreds of millions of people around the world continue to endure dictatorship, repression, and the denial of basic rights. To shed light on the obstacles to liberty, Freedom House issues studies, surveys, and reports on the condition of global freedom. Our research is meant to illuminate the nature of democracy, identify its adversaries, and point the way for policies that strengthen and expand democratic freedoms. Freedom House projects are designed to support the framework of rights and freedoms guaranteed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Supporting Democratic Change: The attainment of freedom ultimately depends on the actions of courageous men and women who are committed to the transformation of their societies. But history has repeatedly demonstrated that outside support can play a critical role in the struggle for democratic rights. Freedom House is actively engaged in these struggles, both in countries where dictatorship holds sway and in those societies that are in transition from autocracy to democracy. Freedom House functions as a catalyst for freedom by working to strengthen civil society, promote open government, defend human rights, enhance justice, and facilitate the free flow of information and ideas.





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Message from the Chairman

R. James Woolsey Mares Woology



Can the fundamental values of freedom-in particular basic political rights and civil liberties-be

protected and promoted in a world that is beset by conflict, turmoil, and uncertainty? Throughout its 63-year history, Freedom House has been dedicated to the principle that the answer to that question is: Yes.

We have upheld the banner of human rights, democracy, and civil liberties as a single standard at times of war and peace. We have advanced the view that democracy, freedom, and the rule of law are the best path to establish a stable, secure and just world.

Grave threats to freedom sometimes necessitate the use of force, but the core of Freedom House's approach since 1941 has been to challenge those who threaten freedom with the values and ideas of liberty and to provide direct support to those who are pushing for reform within their countries. While supporting the Allied military effort during World War II, Freedom House believed that Nazism and fascism needed also to be defeated with the values of openness, free speech, and democracy. After the defeat of Hitler, Freedom House was an outspoken advocate of decolonization and the democratic reconstruction of post-World War II Europe and Asia. During the Cold War, Freedom House was active in the U.S., opposing the tactics of Senator Joseph McCarthy even as we recognized the global threat to security and freedom posed by Communism. We pressed for civil rights and the elimination of racial discrimination at home, while

simultaneously documenting and seeking to counter widespread human rights violations by tyrants of all stripes.

At home and abroad, over the years we have worked to promote the spread of democratic values and ideas and to bring about democratic transitions within countries by cooperating with courageous leaders like Russian physicist Andrei Sakharov and the Czech Republic's Vaclav Havel, as well as the many unrecognized but equally courageous democracy activists and human rights advocates in countries around the world. Today, through our offices in Washington and New York, and with over a dozen field offices and programs in Latin America, the Middle East, Africa, East-Central Europe, and Central Asia, Freedom House is on the ground providing support to the people who struggle daily for freedom and human dignity.

Freedom House tracks the ebb and flow of liberty through our landmark global comparative survey. But we also work to help promote nonviolent democratic change around the world and to give democratic activists the tools and support they need to push for democratic progress in their own societies.

We are staunch advocates of a U.S. foreign policy that puts a priority on promoting democratic change and human rights and strengthens new and emerging democracies. We work to advocate that more foreign aid be targeted to expand freedom. We have championed the Community of Democracies, an organization linking states governed by democratically elected leaders. We are committed to



continuing our advocacy work to create a caucus of the democracies at the United Nations.

This record of ideas, advocacy, and partnership with democratic reformers has helped make Freedom House a distinct and sensible voice for democracy and human rights for over a half-century. I believe that Freedom House's history

has prepared us well for the new era in which the security of the world is threatened by global terrorism and the extremist ideologies and repressive states that fuel terrorism.

In the last thirty years, amid war, terror, and strife, we have seen the number of free countries nearly double. Today, free and democratic societies account for nearly half of the world's states. Democratic ideas and

democratic values are gaining adherents among all peoples and all civilizations. However, there are still critical challenges that need to be addressed. The largest freedom gap exists in countries with a majority Muslim population, especially in the Arab world. Fifty percent of all people living in Not Free societies live in China. Even in countries that have made progress, much remains to be done to truly guarantee freedom for all. Freedom House is committed to meeting these challenges and making the most of the opportunities that now exist for the global expansion of freedom.

As you read this annual report, I hope you will see practical, common sense approaches focused on the expansion of freedom. I hope you will see in Freedom House a place where ideals and realism

We have upheld the banner of human rights, democracy, and civil liberties as a single standard at times of war and peace... intersect. I hope you will recognize in us an organization that brings together a broad spectrum of opinion on behalf of the goal of democracy and human rights for everyone. Above all, I hope you will join us and support us in our work.

Message from the Executive Director Jennifer L. Windsor

Jefa Valen



Since 1941, Freedom House's work has been inspired by the exact same conviction: that every society should

enjoy the liberties we take for granted. Our advocacy efforts are focused on encouraging continued attention and priority to issues of freedom in U.S. foreign policy. The research and publications produced by Freedom House provide a unique comparative lens to track the advance or retreat of freedom around the world. And through our programs, Freedom House works to strengthen democratic reformers on the frontlines of pushing for change in their own societies.

Freedom House research findings are increasingly used by media, scholars, policymakers and democratic activists. Indeed, Freedom House surveys now directly impact U.S. government policy and resource allocations. For example, the *Freedom in the World* survey is now utilized in determining Millennium Challenge Account recipients, and the *Nations in Transit* survey is used to set U.S. government strategies towards Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

In 2003, as the official launch of the Millennium Challenge Account neared, Freedom House launched a new project to provide more in-depth information related to governmental commitment to promoting human rights, rule of law, and anticorruption through a new survey called *Countries at the Crossroads*. We hope that the new methodology and survey will be helpful to U.S. policymakers who will utilize its findings to determine future foreign aid priorities and to governments within those potential recipient countries who have requested concrete recommendations for areas of improvement.

In addition to our global surveys, Freedom House also produces specialized reports on and advocates for change in particular countries of concern. For example, Freedom House sent an assessment team to Hong Kong to study the potential negative impacts of a proposed national security law on civil liberties and produced an in-depth report. Since the publication of the report, we have continued to weigh in on the public debate about how and whether Hong Kong should move to a full democratic system. Similarly, Freedom House continues to monitor the state of democracy in both Russia and Ukraine, producing op-eds, articles, and specialized research that documents the threats to freedom in those critical countries.

Freedom House welcomed the new commitment by the Bush Administration to more aggressively promote democracy in the Middle East and publicly argued that democratization must be an integral component of any successful counterterrorism effort in that region. This year, we embarked on a new survey on women's freedom in the Middle East and North Africa. In early 2004, we will increase our presence in the region and will open offices in Jordan and Algeria.

In addition to our research and advocacy, Freedom House carries out programs designed to support those in countries who are working for democratic reform, often at great risk to their lives. We continue to work to strengthen civil society throughout Central and Eastern Europe, with a particular focus on Serbia and Ukraine. We are the leading organization in supporting human rights defenders throughout Central Asia, one of the world's most politically repressed regions. In the Middle East, we are

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working to support human rights defenders in Morocco and Algeria and to strengthen women's legal rights in Jordan. In Latin America, we continue to support the beleaguered democratic opposition in Cuba and have embarked

on a human rights program in Mexico. In Africa, Freedom House programs are targeted at making the media more effective in covering human rights issues.

Freedom House has long believed that democratic nations should work together to promote democracy around the world. Last year, a number of significant steps were taken towards realizing that goal. As part of the Community of Democracies process, and at Freedom House's urging, the Foreign Ministers of key democracies held a meeting at the UN General Assembly in September 2003. They endorsed the idea of the formation of a caucus of democracies at the United Nations to strengthen that institution's promotion of democracy. The need for a democracy caucus has also been endorsed by Bush Administration officials and has generated broad Congressional support. A democracy caucus is an important goal of the Community of Democracies, whose next meeting is scheduled to be held in March 2005 in Santiago.

In short, Freedom House continues to gain momentum in its efforts to promote the expansion of freedom. We believe we bring to bear a unique combination of expertise,

> tradition through programs, studies, and campaigns to empower people. We hope this annual report gives you a sense of the kinds of work we are doing and inspires you to do what you can to support future se efforts to help every

experience, and

Freedom House efforts to help every society to enjoy the liberties and freedoms that are their international right.



Supporting Democratic Reform

Supporting Civil Society

Supporting a Peaceful Democratic Alternative in Cuba

Freedom House has been active in providing targeted support to leaders of Cuban civil society since 1995. This effort became both more difficult and more urgent after the Cuban government's



Organizers of the Varela Project petition give the signal for "Liberation." Luis Enrique Ferrer Garcia (far left) is serving a 28-year prison sentence. Jose Daniel Ferrer Garcia (third from left) is serving 25 years. Regis Iglesias Ramirez (right) is serving 18 years. **Photo:** Anonymous

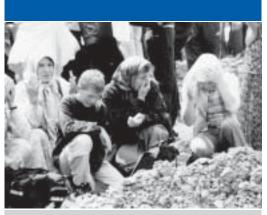
crackdown in March 2003, during which 75 peaceful pro-democracy activists and iournalists were arrested and sentenced to up to 28 years in prison. The crackdown was largely a response to the growing strength of the Varela Project initiative, which demanded political and civil freedoms, the growth of independent journalism on the island, and other civil society reforms. Such initiatives increasingly threatened the Castro regime's claims to legitimacy. While the arrests were a significant setback to Cuba's pro-democracy movement at large, Cuban activists are persevering in their work. Freedom House is continuing to support dissident leaders and families of political prisoners, as well as to help build international support for democratic change in Cuba.

Building a Stable Democratic Future in Serbia

For Serbia, 2003 was a year marked by tragedy and hope. The country's young democracy proved resilient in the face of the assassination of Prime Minister Zoran Djindjic who, in many ways, embodied Serbia's democratic progress. Freedom House remains proud of its partnership with Dr. Djindjic, which began during his days as a staunch opponent of Slobodan Milosevic's destructive nationalism and continued through his successful push for democratic reforms in Serbia.

While many reform efforts continue, others remain stalled, making Freedom House's USAID-funded program to promote Democratic Transition and Reintegration an important tool against the challenges facing the nation.

Freedom House staff in Belgrade supported a variety of initiatives in 2003, including: a nationwide grassroots civic campaign, "Enough Crime!" which responded effectively to denounce Mr. Djindjic's assassination; a 5-year commitment to establish civilian oversight of the Serbian armed forces; advocating freedom of movement between former enemies, which contributed to improved relations in the region; programs promoting civic partnerships between Serbia and Kosovo that presaged a UN-sponsored political dialogue; and work to increase public awareness of systemic regional links between security services, organized crime, corruption, and wartime atrocities.



Loved ones mourn relatives at a mass reburial of victims of the Srebrenica massacre. **Photo:** Mike Staresinic

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Freedom House also continued to strengthen Serbia's NGO sector through grants, technical assistance, training, and timely assignments for American volunteer experts. With the support of the C.S. Mott Foundation, youth and women activists from Serbia demonstrated solidarity with Bosnian survivors of the Srebrenica massacre, drawing widespread Serbian media coverage. The Serbian president for the first time publicly addressed the issue of war crimes as a direct result of Freedom House's "Responsibility for the Future" program.

Human rights groups supported and trained by Freedom House won landmark rulings at the European Court for Serbia's Roma community. Freedom House assistance also set two legal precedents for minority civilians abused by the Yugoslav army.

With Freedom House's facilitation, activists in repressive countries on four continents are connecting with Serbia's democracy advocates to learn best practices from them and to gain insights from their experience in pressing for democratic reform.

Strengthening Cross-Border Approaches in Central and Eastern Europe

Nearly fifteen years after the collapse of communism in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), the Euro-Atlantic community is preparing to expand to the Baltic and Black Seas as democracy and freedom take root where dictatorship once prevailed. But while some countries of the region are beginning to enjoy the fruits of difficult economic transition and are looking forward to European integration, in other states elections remain neither free nor fair, corruption continues to undermine the rule of law, journalists disappear, ethnic divisions threaten regional stability, and economic liberalization results in

political patronage. As the tragic assassination of Serbian Prime Minister Zoran Djindjic in March demonstrated, organized crime occasionally trumps whatever democratic processes might exist in some states.

To bridge this widening regional gap, Freedom House's Regional Networking Project (RNP) supports cross-border collaboration and joint projects between Central and South Eastern European

Patrick Egan, director of Freedom House's Regional Networking Program, addresses the media at a Freedom House conference on the expanding Euro-Atlantic community, held in Budapest in January 2003. **Photo:** Laszlo Tyukodi



NGOs. Freedom House's approach is based on the premise that transitional progress in the region must come from within the former Communist countries themselves, and be led by local nongovernmental civil society organizations.

Through a USAID-funded program of grants and exchanges targeted at civic activist organizations and policy-oriented think tanks, RNP and Freedom House Budapest work to advance human rights, fortify free and democratic political process, and promote freedom of media and accountability. Freedom House is working to promote an agenda of activism and awareness in the countries located along Europe's expanding borders, where the biggest challenges to democracy remain.

Supporting Policy Research in Ukraine

Since 1993, Freedom House has been working in Ukraine to advance democratic and free market reforms in that country. Over the last four years, Freedom House has focused on

improving the capacity of Ukrainian think tanks to inform and influence public opinion and public policy. Since 1999, Freedom House has supported 170 initiatives by Ukrainian organizations designed to shape policies regulating freedom of the press, taxation, local governance, national security, and the nonprofit sector. Most recently, Freedom House targeted critical issues such as Euro-Atlantic integration, fostering independent media development, and establishing a new tax code for small business. Freedom House Ukraine is now registered as a Ukrainian non-profit organization, enabling it to continue to support policy advocacy and civic activism and to assist NGOs working for free and fair elections as a means to further Ukraine's democratic transformation.

Fostering Civic Linkages between Poland and Ukraine

Freedom House's Poland-America-Ukraine Cooperation Initiative (PAUCI) is a grantgiving program to strengthen the cooperative relationship between Ukraine and Poland and to take advantage of acquired expertise and lessons learned in Poland's successful transition to free market democracy. By helping to expand and deepen ties between Poland and Ukraine, PAUCI seeks not only to accelerate Ukraine's transition toward a robust market economy, but also to create a mechanism for both countries to benefit from shared experiences.

The USAID-funded program, which has offices in both Warsaw and Kyiv, involves a broad range of Polish, American, and Ukrainian stakeholders, including government institutions, nongovernmental organizations, local governments, and other civic actors. Using a competitive grant program as a funding mechanism, PAUCI has provided financial support to more than 140 projects, engaging over 340 partner institutions in Ukraine, Poland and the United States.

As the border between Poland and Ukraine becomes the eastern border of the European Union, the scope and importance of PAUCI increases. Due to the pending accession of Poland to the EU, 2003 saw a substantial number of PAUCI-funded projects promoting European Integration in all spheres of Ukrainian society. Ukrainian think tanks and NGOs are now undertaking activities to improve the general understanding of EU issues throughout Ukraine and generating necessary debate over Ukraine's European integration policies.

PAUCI was also active in 2003 combating the spread of HIV/AIDS in Ukraine, which has reached pandemic levels. PAUCI has implemented public information and educational campaigns for both the general population and high-risk groups in regions not covered by other international and domestic efforts. This new focus area has greatly extended the range of cooperation between Ukrainian and Polish NGOs.

Dispatches From the Field: Afghanistan and Central Asia

In June, Freedom House Senior Researcher Karin Deutsch Karlekar visited Afghanistan to survey the state of political rights and civil liberties there.

"Although most women continue to wear the distinctive blue burqa, they have regained opportunities to attend school and to work," said Karlekar. "One organization has already established a network of women's radio stations."

While UN representatives, international NGOs, and policy organizations stress that an unstable security environment remains the major impediment to reconstruction and development, Karlekar reported that most people in Afghanistan welcome the establishment of a democratic system. "Considerable difficulties lie ahead in preparing for elections and restructuring the judiciary and bureaucracy, but Afghans seem to regard these challenges as certainly preferable to those they faced throughout many years of warfare and tyranny," she said.

Also in June, Freedom House Executive Director Jennifer Windsor and RIGHTS Program Director Lisa Davis traveled to Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan to see firsthand the organization's work in strengthening human rights and freedom of information in those countries. In meetings with government officials, journalists, and human rights defenders, she discussed the deplorable state of political rights and civil liberties in both countries.

In Kyrgyzstan, once one of the most politically progressive countries in the region, the state harasses human rights defenders and brings dubious but crippling libel suits against independent newspapers. In Uzbekistan, torture and killings by police remain a serious issue. Government prohibition of alternative Islamic education and indiscriminate crackdowns on individuals with little or no affiliation with extremist organizations has generated increased sympathy for the radical Islamic group Hizb ut-Tahrir.

Freedom House operates programs in both countries to train human rights defenders in communications and advocacy. In Kyrgyzstan, Freedom House has established the country's first independent printing press, which for the first time will allow for the publication of independent newspapers and books, a major step forward for freedom of expression.

"Upon departing the region," said Windsor, "I left knowing that Freedom House's work is critical in protecting and expanding human rights and civil liberties in a strategically vital region where tolerance and freedom must ultimately come to replace fear and repression."

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Defending Human Rights & Safeguarding Justice

Addressing Human Rights Needs in Kazakhstan and Tajikistan

Although Kazakhstan is gradually liberalizing its laws to meet international human rights standards, political and press freedoms are still suppressed under the rule of President Karimov. Freedom House initiated a one-year training program funded by USAID to assist human rights groups in their professional development and to encourage the formation of new human rights organizations in key regions of this largest Central Asian country. The program will also encourage regional and national networks and alliances and foster closer working relations with international human rights organizations.

Tajikistan, which is recovering from a five-year civil war, restricts its citizens' rights and freedoms in many ways. Within the country, human rights defenders are weak and in need of support. In 2003, Freedom House prepared a comprehensive assistance package for human rights defenders in Tajikistan, which will include training, small grants, and study tours. The initiative will focus on building the professional and advocacy capacities of human rights groups through cooperation and sharing of best practices among Freedom House's offices in Central Asia.

Freedom House will open new offices in Almaty and Dushanbe in early 2004.

Protecting Human Rights Defenders and Stopping Torture in Uzbekistan

For the tenth year in a row, Freedom House rated Uzbekistan as "Not Free," in *Freedom in the World*, its annual global survey of political rights and civil liberties. While the country's laws and constitution enumerate a number of human rights protections, the government continued in 2003 to ignore those rights in practice. Local human rights defenders play a critical role in promoting and protecting the rule of law, but they face numerous logistical, legal, and political obstacles in their monitoring, reporting, and advocacy work.

In 2003, with U.S. Government funding, Freedom House supported the work of human rights defenders through its resource centers in Tashkent and Namangan. The centers provide a safe place for defenders to meet, learn, and carry out their activities. The also offer a wide array of activities including roundtables, press conferences, and training workshops for defenders, enabling them to increase their professional capacity and to build coalitions and networks of Uzbek activists.



Freedom House Executive Director Jennifer Windsor (top row, right) at the Freedom House resource center for human rights defenders in Namangan, Uzbekistan. Photo: Balazs Jarabik

Among Uzbekistan's long list of human rights abuses, torture is particularly pervasive. The government of Islam Karimov is in contravention of international human rights obligations due to inadequate anti-torture legislation, an ineffective judicial system, and a lack of political will to enforce laws protecting human rights. Freedom House received funding in September to begin a program addressing torture in Uzbekistan. The program will assist the new Civic Coalition Against Torture; promote anti-torture legislation; create a network of lawyers, medical doctors, and human rights defenders skilled in documenting torture; and develop a nationwide torture database and annual report.

Strengthening Human Rights Defenders in Kyrgyzstan

Previously regarded as an island of democracy in an otherwise repressive Central Asia, Kyrgyzstan is now experiencing an erosion of political rights and civil liberties. In 2003, human rights defenders and journalists were assaulted, the judiciary moved further away from independence, and widespread corruption continued to paralyze the economy.

Throughout the year, Freedom House continued to provide technical support and training on human rights monitoring, reporting, and advocacy. Human rights defenders were therefore able to present concrete recommendations to the Kyrgyz government on how to improve the country's human rights record.

Freedom House also provided small grants to civic groups engaged in human rights projects and initiatives. In cooperation with the National Democratic Institute (NDI), Freedom House is distributing information on international human rights instruments to local rights defenders. Freedom House also conducted a study tour in Serbia for Kyrgyz human rights defenders to facilitate cross-region exchange that will focus on successful strategies for coalition building, lobbying, and monitoring.

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Freedom House staff (left) meet with Victims of Torture program counterparts at the Center for Border Studies and the Promotion of Human Rights in Reynosa, Mexico. **Photo:** Scott Charlesworth

Supporting Human Rights Progress in Mexico

Together with the American Bar Association, Freedom House in September opened an office in Mexico City to begin an intensive program on rule of law and human rights. The USAID-funded program builds upon a two-year project on alternative dispute resolution. Freedom House will support human rights monitoring and documentation, advocacy, legal defense, and indigenous rights for defenders. In addition, Freedom House will specifically focus on the issue of torture. It will seek to improve the quality and supply of treatment options for torture victims, strengthen the capacity for identification and documentation of torture, and assist human right defenders in providing effective legal advice and representation for victims.

Furthering Human Rights and Freedom of Information in Morocco

Freedom House in 2003 continued its work in Morocco to improve human rights protections there. Early in the vear, Freedom House conducted a "training of trainers" program for Moroccan human rights activists, who then conducted human rights training and recruiting sessions for several hundred Moroccan law students. The program led to the creation of human rights clubs at several Moroccan universities. In July, in cooperation with the National Democratic Institute, Freedom House implemented a workshop on access to information, illustrating how freedom of information legislation can be used to curb human rights abuses. In the fall, Freedom House worked with the American Bar Association to train Moroccan judges and prosecutors on new human rights protections in the Moroccan penal procedure code.

Reconciling the Past in Algeria

Although Algeria's civil conflict has abated significantly, more than 7,000 people remain missing as a result of the violence that occurred in the 1990s. In addition to problems with the judiciary, fragmented civil society, and restricted independent press, Algerians of all political persuasions state that until the issue of the missing is resolved, true national reconciliation will not be possible. In 2003, Freedom House supported Algerian efforts by bringing a diverse group of civil society activists, journalists, and government officials to the United States and Bosnia for a threeweek study tour on the issue of forced disappearances. The United States portion of the tour introduced



Panelists urged reform of Algeria's defamation laws at a Freedom Housesponsored conference on media freedom, Algiers, December 2003. **Photo:** Farida Hellal

participants to political, legal, and scientific mechanisms that have been employed by other governments and NGOs to address disappearances, while the Bosnia portion served as an intensive case study of how the problem was addressed in one particular post-conflict society. Programs to enhance the capacity of Algerian civil society and independent media included conferences on freedom of expression, training in investigative reporting, and organizational capacity building.

Promoting Women's Legal Rights in Jordan

In the last several years, Jordan has taken important steps to promote women's rights, including establishing a women's quota in the National Assembly and enacting legislation allowing women to obtain their own passports and to initiate divorces. However, violence against women remains widespread and prevents women from participating as full members in Jordanian society. In December, Freedom House began a oneyear program to support Jordanian efforts to reduce violence against women and honor killings. Freedom House will open an office in Amman in early 2004 and plans to work with Jordanian organizations in conducting grassroots public awareness campaigns, journalist training, legal reform efforts, and research.

Promoting Free & Professional Media

Strengthening Independent Media in Nigeria

After four decades of dictatorial military rule. Nigeria faces profound challenges to its four-year-old democracy, including rampant corruption, ethnic- and religious-based conflict, ongoing human rights abuses, and poor economic conditions. Though Nigeria has a vibrant press and a long history of courageous reporting under adverse conditions, media within Nigeria often lack objectivity when reporting on political reform and other sensitive issues. Freedom House initiated a targeted program to train journalists in investigative reporting techniques to better report on key issues in Nigeria's democratic transition. In 2003, ten Nigerian journalists interned in U.S.

"Now I will return to Nigeria a better journalist, and I hope to transfer the knowledge... to my organization. I learned to write stories that connect with readers, touch their fundamental concerns, and engender their excitement. I have learned to exploit all the angles and perspective in a story without losing sight of the need to present events in a factual and balanced manner. This will immensely enhance the cause of democracy in our country."

> - Isma'ila Lere, News Editor, Daily Trust, Abuja, Nigeria

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media organizations via the Freedom House Visiting Fellows Program. U.S. hosts included the *Seattle Times*, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, WBNS-TV (Columbus), and WHYY-FM (Philadelphia).

Freedom House will continue its work in Nigeria with the media and will open an office in Abuja in 2004.

Assisting Independent Journalists in Uzbekistan

Since Uzbekistan gained independence in 1991, the government of President Islam Karimov has substantially impeded the development of a free press. Though the constitution guarantees freedom of expression and bans censorship, media do not enjoy these rights in practice. Critical journalists frequently experience harassment, death threats, and physical violence. In February, eight journalists were detained, arrested or sentenced by the government. Still, a small number of journalists and media managers strive to work independently. Freedom House is supporting these individuals through a project launched in October that helps them to develop reporting and media management skills. The project includes in-country workshops run out of Freedom House's Tashkent office, along with counterpart training in the United States through Freedom House's Visiting Fellows Program.



Kyrgyzstan's new independent press in action. **Photo:** Mike Stone

Supporting Media Freedom in Kyrgyszstan

Freedom House marked a historic first for Central Asia in 2003 when it opened the first ever independent printing press in Kyrgyzstan. The new facility has improved the prospects for press freedom in a part of the world where censorship and intimidation of the media are common.

The initiative was supported by the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor of the U.S. State Department and the Open Society Institute. The new printing press, which officially opened on November 14, 2003, provides an alternative, competitively priced, modern printing facility for independent publishers in Kyrgyzstan and elsewhere in Central Asia.

The Media Support Center Foundation, a Kyrgyz non-profit organization, is operating the printing facility, and is headed by a broad-based board of directors, including former U.S. National Security Adviser Anthony Lake, Kyrgyz Foreign Minister Askar Aitmatov, and other distinguished individuals from the U.S., Central Asia and Europe. U.S. Senator John McCain (R-AZ) directs the foundation.

Promoting Open & Transparent Governance

Improving Communications in Macedonia

Communications officials from Central and Eastern Europe are often poorly trained, under funded, and understaffed. An eighteen-month Freedom House training initiative launched in February 2002 helped improve the communications skills of local- and national-level officials through on-theground workshops and targeted assistance, as well as U.S. and Hungarybased training. In 2003, a Freedom House-sponsored volunteer expert assisted local and national Macedonian government officials in creating the first ever Macedonian Association of Government Communicators. The Association is aimed at improving the professionalism, status, and networking of public relations officials in Macedonia.

Strengthening Local and National Government in Romania

For Magdalena Nicoara, eight weeks working with city governments in Cleveland and Cincinnati enabled her to bring the power of public hearings to her work in the Urban Management Department in Timisoara, Romania. For Julia Patacki, working with the U.S. Congress and Massachusetts State Senate inspired her to move from parliamentary staff member to elected Member of Parliament. These are but two of more than 80 local and national officials trained in management, "During my internship I actually made the decision to change my professional career due to a change of my views and way of thinking. I found out that I have the power and the courage to get into active political life, as a more effective way to contribute to my country's transformation. That, in my opinion, is the highest achievement of my American experience."

> – **Julia Patacki**, member, Chambre of Deputies, Bucharest, Romania

communications, and public relations through Freedom House's Romanian Government Transition Support Program (RGTS), which came to a successful close in 2003, as Romania continues its transition to democracy on firmer ground.

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Tapping U.S. Expertise

The American Volunteers for International Development (AVID) Program

Freedom House's American Volunteers for International Development (AVID) Program advances the political, economic, and social transition of emerging democracies by transferring "how-to" technical and managerial skills to NGOs, government institutions, and media organizations. Qualified American professionals volunteer their services and spend three to twelve months directly assisting host organizations abroad. Since 1992, more than 175 AVID volunteers have served in Central and Eastern Europe, the Former Soviet Union, and Southeast Asia. Former Czech President Vaclav Havel serves as honorary chairman of the AVID program.

In 2003, Freedom House provided AVID support to 19 organizations in Albania, Kosovo, Macedonia, Serbia, and Ukraine. AVID volunteers trained NGO staff on strategic planning, advised government agencies on international legal standards, helped establish Macedonia's first professional association of government communicators, and designed training modules developing the management skills of Ukrainian business owners.

The Visiting Fellows Program (VFP)

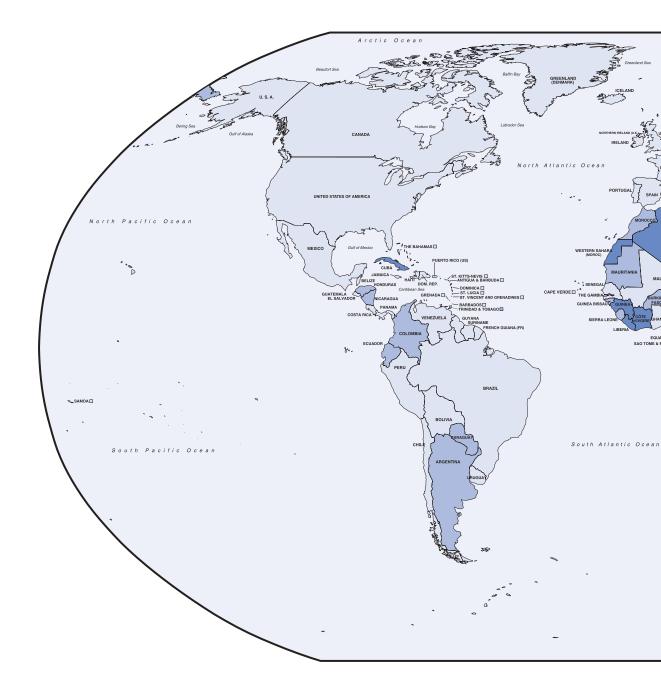
For 13 years, Freedom House's Visiting Fellows Program has brought advocates of democratic reform to the United States to work side-by-side with their counterparts in media, government, and civil society. During four-week professional internships, the VFP program helps equip participants with the tools to help develop a democratic infrastructure in their own countries. Launched in 1990, the program has sponsored 700 promising young leaders from Central and Eastern Europe, the Former Soviet Union, and North and Sub-Saharan Africa. Past Visiting Fellows now work as government ministers, ambassadors, mayors, prominent civic leaders, human rights activists, and editors-in-chief of leading media organizations.

Fall 2003 Visiting Fellows from Nigeria and Serbia and staff at the Freedom House New York office. **Photo:** Michael Goldfarb

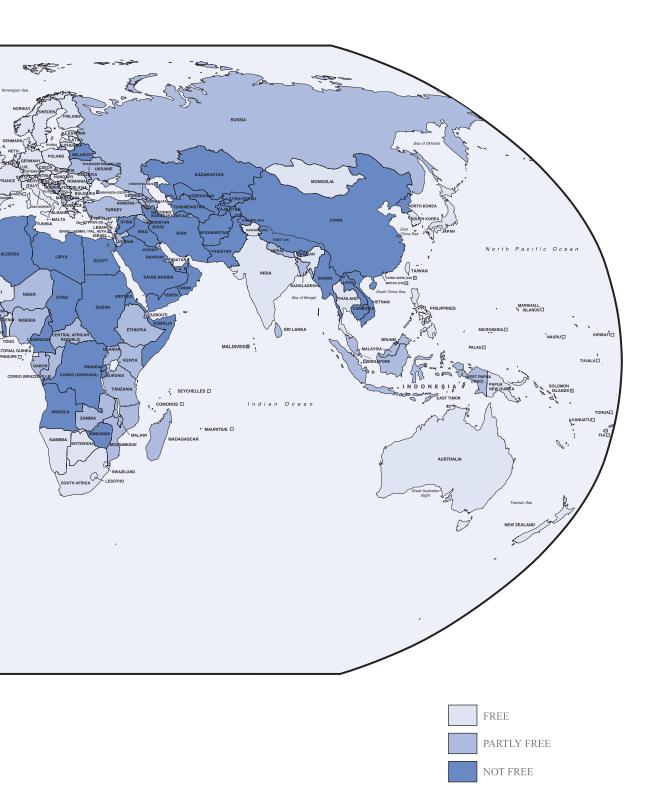


In July 2003, former Visiting Fellow Ranko Krivokapic was elected speaker of Montenegro's parliament. As a 2000 Visiting Fellow, Mr. Krivokapic spent several weeks in the Office of U.S. Representative Bill Young (R-FL), chairman of the House Appropriations Committee. "It was an amazing experience," he said, "and maybe the most successful two months for me and my country in the 12 years of my political career."

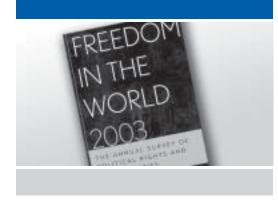
Map of Freedom 2003







Monitoring Freedom



Freedom in the World

Freedom in the World, the flagship Freedom House survey, is the only annual comparative assessment of global political rights and civil liberties. The survey's ratings and narrative reports on 192 countries assist policy makers, the media, and international organizations in monitoring trends in democracy and tracking increases and decreases in freedom worldwide. Press accounts of its findings appear annually in hundreds of influential newspapers and magazines in the United States and abroad and form the basis of numerous radio and television reports.

"While there are many sources of economic data, good political data is hard to find. Freedom House's survey is an exception. For anyone concerned with the state of freedom, or simply with the state of the world, Freedom in the World is an indispensable guide."

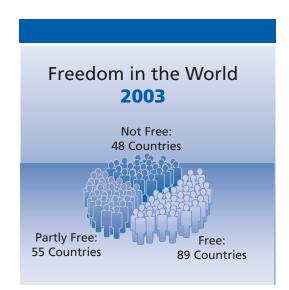
> – **Fareed Zakaria**, Newsweek

The latest study, *Freedom in the World 2003*, documenting events in 2002, highlighted freedom's worldwide progress despite threats of global terrorism. Notable improvements were made in parts of the world where terrorism has posed a direct danger, including in majority Muslim and Arab countries. Senegal entered the ranks of the Free, while Bahrain moved from Not

Free to Partly Free. Progress was also registered in majority Muslim Afghanistan and Turkey.

Among other findings of *Freedom in the World 2003*:

- The number of countries rated Free has more than doubled since 1972. The highest-ever proportion of the world's population is living in freedom today.
- There were 121 electoral democracies in the world at the end of 2002, which represent over 60 percent of the world's 192 countries. This represents a significant increase over the 40 percent of countries considered to be electoral democracies in 1987. However, only 89 of today's 121 electoral democracies are considered to be Free, maintaining an environment in which there is broad respect for human rights and stable rule of law. The remaining democracies fail to provide systematic protection for all basic civil liberties and are considered to be Partly Free.
- Democracy is associated with prosperity. In 2002, the GDP of Free countries stood at \$26.8 trillion, while the GDP of Not Free countries was \$1.7 trillion.



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Freedom of the Press

Freedom House's survey Freedom of the Press, conducted annually since 1979, is a comprehensive examination of press liberty worldwide. Every year, Freedom House ranks the level of press freedom in each country on a comparative, numerical basis, and provides an overview of the main developments of the year. The degree to which a country permits the free flow of information determines its ranking as Free, Partly Free, or Not Free.

The 2003 survey found that press freedom suffered notable worldwide deterioration in 2002, due in part to political and armed conflicts and increased government-backed restrictions on independent media outlets.



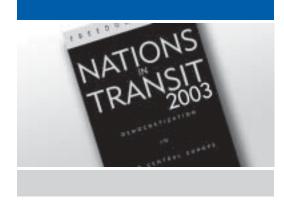
The study revealed worrisome signs that media do not enjoy protections from government interference in some of the world's more fragile democracies and transitional societies. Restrictive legislation and politicized judiciaries still prevail in some of these countries, such as Russia, where the government of Vladimir Putin has clamped down on independent media.



"All over the world, governments are developing sophisticated methods to muzzle honest reporters and intimidate their editors. Through this invaluable survey, Freedom House shines the spotlight on the adversaries of press freedom, explains their techniques, and alerts the public to acts of repression."

– **Mara Liasson**, national political correspondent, National Public Radio

Of the countries and territories surveyed in the 2003 report, 41 percent (78 countries) were rated Free, with no significant restrictions on the news media; 24 percent (47 countries) were rated Partly Free, characterized by some media restrictions; and 35 percent (68 countries) were rated Not Free, with state control or other obstacles to a free press.



Nations in Transit

Tremendous political, economic, and social transformations have occurred in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union since 1989. Nations in Transit (NIT), a detailed annual research report produced by Freedom House, is the only comprehensive, comparative, and multidimensional study of reform in the former Soviet sphere. NIT tracks key indicators of reform: democratic elections, a vital civil society, independent media, decentralized governance, rule of law, and corruption. It has proved indispensable for policy makers in strategically targeting of U.S.funding democracy and governance programs in the former communist bloc. It also has been described as "a source of support and strength for agents of democratic change and politicaleconomic reformers" in the countries under study.

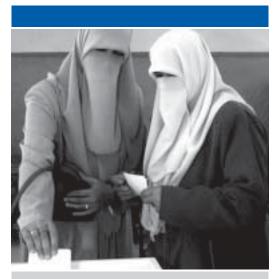
"An essential tool for those concerned with the future of democratizing East Central Europe and the newly independent states of the Soviet Union . . . comprehensive and reliable."

> – **Zbigniew Brzezinksi**, former U.S. National Security Advisor

The results of Nations in Transit 2003 provide considerable evidence that democratic consolidation continues in a vast region that knew few freedoms just a decade ago. Overall, gains outnumbered setbacks in 2002, the year covered by the study, but these were largely confined to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. In the case of the 12 non-Baltic states of the former Soviet Union (the Commonwealth of Independent States, or CIS), the survey continued to note a worrisome level of antidemocratic practice and insufficient commitment by national leaders to reverse negative trends.

A key finding of the 2003 study was the revelation of a significant deterioration of rights and freedoms in Russia under President Vladimir Putin. The survey showed that Russia has lost considerable ground in its protection of basic political rights and civil liberties over the last seven years. Despite showing some improvements in 2002, Russia has experienced an overall decline since 1997 in most key areas tracked, including electoral processes; civil society; independent media; governance; and constitutional, legislative, and judicial frameworks.

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Jordanian women vote in parliamentary elections on June 17, 2003. **Photo:** AP/Wide World

Countries at the Crossroads

Freedom House initiated a new study in 2003 analyzing thirty countries at critical junctures in their political development. The Countries at the Crossroads survey examines how these states perform in the areas of civil liberties, rule of law, corruption, transparency, and accountability. The new survey provides a comparative evaluation of government performance in some of the weakest performing countries in Freedom House's annual Freedom in the World survey. Unlike Freedom in the World, Countries at the Crossroads focuses on government performance and is intended to assist the U.S. State Department and international policymakers in identifying areas of concern and progress that could be made through diplomatic and reform assistance efforts to strengthen democratic governance.

Survey of Women's Freedom

In 2003, Freedom House undertook an independent, comprehensive survey on the status of women's freedom in the Middle East and North Africa.

The goal of the Survey of Women's Freedom, to be published in December 2004, is to facilitate and support national and international efforts to empower women in the Middle East and North Africa through a comparative evaluation of women's freedoms in Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Oman, Palestine (both Palestinian Authority areas and Israeli-administered territories), Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, and Yemen.

The survey will assess women's freedom in each country by analyzing women's equality of status and access to justice, personal status and personal security rights, economic rights, political rights, and social and cultural rights. Country ratings and comparative evaluations will be presented through a set of numerical scores, analytical narrative reports, and vital statistics, making the report a crucial resource for policymakers, experts, and activists.

Advocating Democracy & Human Rights

Freedom House advocacy efforts in 2003 were geared toward influencing U.S. policy to promote democracy globally, encouraging greater democratic cooperation at the United Nations, and drawing attention—through op-eds, appeals, and press releases—to specific instances of abuse in a range of countries, from Algeria to Uzbekistan, and Ukraine to Hong Kong.

Freedom House and the United Nations

The United Nations Commission on Human Rights (CHR) is designed to be a key forum for substantive discussion of human rights abuses. Unfortunately, many of the world's worst human rights violating regimes enjoy membership on the commission, substantially eroding its ability to meaningfully examine and investigate violations. Libya's chairmanship of the 2003 CHR cast an even darker shadow over the commission's reputation as a credible international human rights mechanism.



Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, Freedom House Senior Scholar Adrian Karatnycky, and founder of the Transnational Radical Party Marco Panella, speak at a Freedom House briefing at the United Nations in Geneva. **Photo:** Michael Goldfarb

Both in spite of and because of these problems, Freedom House maintains a strong presence at the CHR, highlighting human rights abuses, pressuring commission members to act responsibly, and providing access to this forum for human rights defenders from around the world.

For the CHR's 59th session in 2003, Freedom House brought eighteen delegates to Geneva. Among them were human rights defenders from Algeria, Cuba, Kyrgyzstan, Morocco, Uzbekistan, and Chechnya. Freedom House also remained very active throughout the year lobbying for the creation of a permanent UN democracy caucus, making the case that only the UN's democratic member states can challenge the growing influence at the world body of dictatorial and tyrannical regimes. In June, Freedom House assembled an informal NGO working group to develop strategies for implementing such a caucus.

Some of the group's recommendations including a requirement that the US State Department work toward the establishment of a UN Democracy Caucus—were included in House Resolution 1950, legislation which has passed the U.S. House of Representatives.

In September, democracy and human rights at the United Nations got a muchneeded boost. At the request of the NGO working group, the foreign ministers of the ten countries that make up the convening group of the Community of Democracies process met at the UN General Assembly to discuss efforts to strengthen democracy at the UN. While they pledged to continue in their efforts, Freedom House is committed to maintaining pressure on them to finally create a democracy group at the UN premised on strict adherence to the rule of law and respect for human rights.

Democracy Gains at the United Nations

Global backing for the promotion of democracy and human rights got a much-needed boost at the United Nations in September. At a meeting scheduled around the UN General Assembly, the foreign ministers of ten democratic countries met to discuss efforts to strengthen cooperation among democracies at the world body.

The ministers represented countries that make up the Convening Group of the Community of Democracies (COD). Freedom House has consistently called upon members of the COD to honor their pledge to create a democracy caucus at the United Nations to effectively counter coordinated efforts by closed and repressive regimes that wield great influence in key UN bodies.

The COD was launched in Warsaw, Poland in June 2000 when foreign ministers and other government representatives of 107 democratic and democratizing countries met to discuss strategies to expand and reinforce freedom around the world. Freedom House was an active supporter of the creation of the COD and helped organize a parallel non-governmental forum in Warsaw.

After meeting in Seoul, Korea in November 2002, the COD is scheduled to meet next in Santiago, Chile in 2005.

In June 2003, Freedom House assembled an informal NGO working group to develop strategies for establishing a permanent UN democracy caucus. Participating organizations include: Human Rights Watch, International League for Human Rights, the American Bar Association, the Council for a Community of Democracies, the Open Society Institute's Democracy Coalition Project, the Campaign for UN Reform, and the United Nations Association-USA.

In August, the NGO working group, in a letter signed by over two-dozen eminent persons and NGO leaders, appealed to the foreign ministers of the COD convening group to meet at the General Assembly and to commit to the creation of a UN Democracy Caucus premised on strict adherence to democracy, the rule of law, and respect for human rights.

The letter elicited the endorsement of U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell, who indicated the U.S. was committed to the establishment of a democracy caucus at the UN.

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Millennium Challenge Account

In 2003 Freedom House led a coalition of human rights, democracy, and development NGOs to convince the Bush Administration that explicit political and civil rights criteria should be used to determine country eligibility for the Millennium Challenge Account (MCA). The Administration subsequently announced that Freedom House's civil liberties and political rights indicators would be used as part of the criteria to select countries for the \$1 billion that will be made available in 2004. As a result of the connection between Freedom House surveys and the MCA, Freedom House has seen renewed interest in its ratings process and has met with government representatives from a number of countries to discuss ways they can improve their performance on key issues of political reform. Freedom House also received funding from the State Department Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor to design a new, more in-depth methodology that would focus on government performance, and that would provide a more detailed analysis of reform efforts in key areas, including rule of law and corruption. Freedom House will work in 2004 to have the new methodology integrated into the country selection process for future MCA funding.

Center for Religious Freedom

Promoting Religious Freedom in the Greater Middle East

In 2003, Freedom House's Center for Religious Freedom remained actively engaged in promoting freedom of religion in the Middle East, with a special focus on Irag. Iragi Christian leaders reported that Christian business owners have been targeted, threatened, and in several cases killed. Women have been pressured to wear Islamic dress, mosque loudspeakers have broadcast intimidating propaganda, and some city buses have displayed signs reading "Muslims Only." In early July, the Center's Senior Fellow, Paul Marshall, conducted a fact-finding mission in Irag to gather information about problems facing Iraq's ancient Christian community.



Paul Marshall meeting with Fr. Nimat Benyamin of the Assyrian Orthodox Church in Baghdad July, 2003. **Photo:** courtesy Paul Marshall

The Center has taken the lead in championing individual religious freedom for Muslims in a number of countries throughout the Islamic world. In many societies, including Afghanistan, Muslims face severe repression under blasphemy laws for political dissent. In Senate hearings on the political reconstruction of Iraq, the Center urged the U.S. not to shy away from asserting the right to religious freedom. Throughout the year, the Center explained the importance of insisting on religious freedom in Irag to the White House, the Pentagon and Congress and worked on specific measures to protect such freedoms. For example, Center

Director Nina Shea met with President Bush to discuss religious freedom in Iraq and Afghanistan. The Center also provided specific constitutional drafting recommendations in personal meetings with the U.S. envoy to Afghanistan and with Afghanistan's foreign minister.

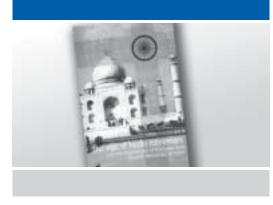
Promoting Peace and Justice in Sudan

Sudan has been a major focus of the Center's work since 1998. The Center continues to coordinate the inter-faith religious movement that was credited by the Washington Post with putting Sudan on the foreign policy agenda of the Bush administration. Congress acknowledged the Center's leading role in making Sudan a U.S. priority in a resolution on July 16, 2003 (H.Res. 194). In March, the Center was able to verify through different sources within Sudan that slave raids in Bahr el Ghazal stopped over a year earlier. This extraordinary development took place in an area where 90 percent of the regime's slave raids had occurred. In the spring, the Center organized the public release of the names of 10.000 slaves captured from Sudan's southern Christian homelands who remain unaccounted for. The Center continues to coordinate a large coalition of religious groups and human rights organizations that has successfully pressed for U.S. involvement in Sudan's peace process.

Defending Religious Equality in India

In October 2003, the Center released a detailed report on the recent upsurge of religious persecution in India. It revealed that India's religious minorities including Catholics, Protestants, and Muslims—are subject to growing discrimination and violent attack by extremist Hindu groups. These groups are

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a major influence on the governing party, the BJP, and threaten India's long tradition of religious tolerance. The most important of the extremist Hindu groups is the RSS, a paramilitary organization believed to have 15 million members whose goal is Hindu domination of India. Together with allied groups, the RSS engages in violence and hate campaigns against religious minorities.

Tracking Extremist Islam in Nigeria

The Center continued to monitor the growth of extreme Sharia law in Nigeria following publication of its 2002 report, *The Talibanization of Nigeria*. Senior Fellow Paul Marshall briefed the Director of African Affairs in UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan's office on the Center's concerns about extremist Sharia in Nigeria. He also published a series of articles discussing the grave regional and international dangers posed by the growth of radical Islam in Africa.

Monitoring Repression in Vietnam

Several times during the year, the Center released new information documenting incidents of government persecution of minority Hmong Christians in Vietnam. Center sources smuggled and translated petitions detailing how the Vietnamese government routinely denies Hmong Christians their right to individual religious freedom, including the right to change their beliefs, as guaranteed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Nina Shea testified before the House Caucus on Vietnam regarding religious persecution in that country. Several media outlets covered the Center's work on behalf of Vietnam's persecuted religious minorities, including the Associated Press, USA Radio, Christianity Today, and the Ottawa Citizen.

Fiscal Year 2003 Contributors

Contributors \$10,000 and over

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Contributors \$5,000 - \$10,000

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Freedom House and Affiliate Combining Balance Sheets

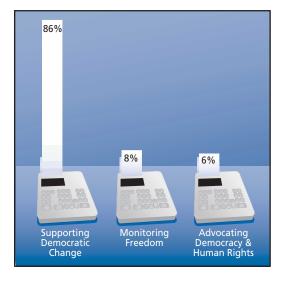
June 30, 2003

	Freedom	Willkie Memorial of	
ASSETS	House, Inc.	Freedom House, Inc.	Combined
Current Assets			
Cash and cash equivalents	\$1,996,643	-	\$1,996,643
Receivables	1,664,192	-	1,664,192
Prepaid expenses	37,188	-	37,188
Total Current Assets	\$3,698,023	-	\$3,698,023
Investments	\$205,124	\$3,274,045	\$3,479,169
Furniture and equipment, net	135,415	-	135,415
Security deposits	59,851	-	59,851
Total Assets	\$4,098,413	\$3,274,045	\$7,372,458
LIABILITIES AND NET ASSETS			
Current Liabilities			
Accounts payable and accrued expenses	\$746,676	-	\$746,676
Refundable advances	1,392,555	-	1,392,555
Deferred rent - current portion	29,532	-	29,532
Total Current Liabilities	\$2,168,763	-	\$2,168,763
Long-Term Liabilities			
Deferred rent	\$95,999	-	\$95,999
Deposits payable	25,681	-	25,681
Capital lease obligations, net of current portion	-	-	-
Total Long-Term Liabilities	\$121,680	-	\$121,680
Total Liabilities	\$2,290,443	-	\$2,290,443
Net Assets	\$1,807,970	\$3,274,045	\$5,082,015
	\$4,098,413	\$3,274,045	\$7,372,458

Combining Statements of Activities and Changes in Net Assets

Year Ended June 30, 2003

	Freedom	Willkie Memorial of	
ASSETS	House, Inc.	Freedom House, Inc.	Combined
Revenue and Support:			
Grants			
Government	\$11,043,836	-	\$11,043,836
Private	2,022,122	-	2,022,122
Contributions	283,093	-	283,093
In-kind contributions	3,939,499	-	3,939,499
Investment income	29,483	(86,099)	(56,616)
Other income	196,659	-	196,659
Total Revenue and support	\$17,514,692	\$(86,099)	\$17,428,593
Expenses:			
Program services	\$15,116,699	-	\$15,116,699
Supporting services:			
Management and general	1,978,911	-	1,978,911
Fund-raising	68,408	-	68,408
Total expenses	\$17,164,018	-	\$17,164,018
Change in net assets	\$350,674	\$(86,099)	\$264,575
Net Assets:			
Beginning	\$1,457,296	\$3,360,144	\$4,817,440
Ending	\$1,807,970	\$3,274,045	\$5,082,015



Supporting Democratic Change

Cuban Democracy Project Democratic Transition and Reintegration & Responsibility for the Future Human Rights in Mexico Human Rights Promotion in Morocco Kyrgyz Printing Press Project Macedonian Government Communication Training Program Mediation in Mexico: Building Capacity and Effectiveness Moroccan Penal Procedure Code Reform Partnership for Civil Society Program in Serbia Partnership for Reform in Ukraine Poland America Ukraine Cooperative Initiative **Regional Networking Project** Romania Government Transition Support Program Rule of Law Initiative / Global Human Rights Training and Support Russian Journalists Project Slovak Election Activities Strengthening Rule of Law and Human Rights in Algeria Strengthening Human Rights Defenders in Uzbekistan Strengthening Media in Nigeria Project Support for Human Rights in Krygystan The American Volunteers for International Development Program The Visiting Fellows Program **Monitoring Freedom** Freedom in the World

Freedom in the World Nations in Transit Countries at the Crossroads Freedom of the Press Survey of Women's Freedom in Middle East and North Africa

Advocating for Democracy and Human Rights

American Committee for Peace in Chechnya Center for Religious Freedom Community of Democracies Task Force on the U.S. Role in the United Nations

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