

2004 ANNUAL REPORT



FREEDOM



HOUSE



MICHAEL GOLDFARB

Mission Statement

Freedom House is an independent non-governmental organization that supports the expansion of freedom in the world. Freedom is possible only in political systems where free expression, association, and belief are guaranteed; the rule of law prevails; the rights of women and minorities are protected; and government is accountable to the people. Freedom ultimately depends on the actions of committed and courageous men and women. We support nonviolent civic initiatives in societies where freedom is denied or under threat and we stand in opposition to ideas and forces that challenge the right of all people to be free. Freedom House functions as a catalyst for freedom through its analysis, advocacy and action.



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Message from the Chairman



R. James Woolsey

Expanding Freedom in the World in an Age of Global Terrorism

Since 1941, Freedom House has been actively engaged in the most important struggles to expand freedom worldwide. Our work—which is anchored by a non-partisan, distinguished Board of Trustees—is just as important today as it was sixty years ago.

Over the last two decades, our lives have become more closely affected by events and trends in other regions of the world. Globalization has yielded many benefits, but it has also made us more vulnerable to new threats including the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and global terrorism. Terrorism threatens the basic fabric of free and democratic societies. Extremists operating with a radical totalitarian ideology based on a twisted interpretation of religion have threatened the basic security of people in diverse regions of the world.

Freedom House strongly believes that promoting freedom and fighting global terrorism are not mutually exclusive. On the contrary—promoting freedom is at the center of the struggle to meet this new threat of global terrorism. The lack of political rights and civil liberties is an important contributing factor behind the recent wave of global terror. Recent studies demonstrate that lack of freedom is a much stronger contributing factor to terrorism than poverty and illiteracy.

Repressive governments around the world continue to crush peaceful and legitimate forms of dissent, allowing no space for democratic debate. While some progress has been made according to Freedom House's annual survey of freedom, there still remain 49 "Not Free" countries. These regimes repress their populations, do not respect basic human rights, and use force to maintain stability. The lack of freedom creates an environment that prevents sustainable development, breeds popular disenchantment, and creates conditions fostering radicalism and extremism, with opportunistic demagogues exploiting their re-

MESSAGE FROM OUR LEADERSHIP

ligion to develop ideologies used to recruit people to commit terrorist acts.

Promoting freedom and democracy is not a silver bullet for addressing the threat of global terrorism, but it is a key component in an overall strategy to bring more stability and prosperity to the world. Freedom House's work in the Middle East and Africa helps to provide support to reformers struggling for change in these regions which have the highest "democracy deficit" in the world.

How we promote freedom is vitally important to the success and sustainability of efforts by those human rights and democracy advocates on the ground that we are working to support. Free societies such as the United States have a special responsibility to adhere to the highest standards of human rights and rule of law while meeting the challenges posed by global terrorists. Earlier this year, members of the Freedom House Board of Trustees called upon President Bush to address the abuses committed by U.S. military and intelligence personnel in Iraq and elsewhere with "bold action" and "systemic reforms" to prevent any recurrence in the future. To do less is to endanger the bold commitment to promoting democracy that this administration has made, and Freedom House has welcomed.

The struggles for freedom in Afghanistan,

Iraq, and Ukraine demonstrate that freedom does not come without risks or costs. The cause of freedom requires constant support.

This annual report illustrates how Freedom House

continues to provide steady—and bipartisan—support for the cause of freedom in the world.

Freedom House's global efforts to

promote freedom are supported by a broad coalition of international human rights defenders and democracy advocates.

As you read this annual report, you will see the unique contribution Freedom House is making to the cause of freedom and democratic advancement.

I hope you will join us and support us in our work.



This annual report illustrates how Freedom House continues to provide steady—and bipartisan—support for the cause of freedom in the world.

Message from the Executive Director



Jennifer Windsor

Freedom House remains at the forefront of a global movement to expand freedom in a turbulent time, which presents new openings and challenges for democracy and human rights advocates.

A uniquely bipartisan organization, Freedom House supports the cause of freedom through advocacy and action, informed by a balanced analysis based on global human rights standards.

Freedom House produces the world's most comprehensive review of the state of liberty in *Freedom in the World*, its annual survey of political rights and civil liberties in 192 countries and 14 related and disputed territories. Freedom House's research and ratings set the standard for reporting on human rights and democratic governance. The Millennium Challenge Account, the new U.S. global development initiative aimed at increasing transparency and respect for human rights, uses Freedom House's ratings to measure whether countries are governing justly.

Freedom House's reports—which include specific analyses of press freedom, religious freedom, women's rights, corruption, and the rule of law—are a vital resource for journalists, government officials, multinational corporations, and teachers, and help to spark debate within countries as to how to ensure democratic progress.

Freedom House does much more than analyze and report on the status of freedom worldwide. It translates this information and analysis into action, using its research to inform programs aimed at supporting human rights defenders and democratic reformers globally in several areas:

- **Working to End Torture and Human Rights Abuses.** Freedom House works with partners around the world to support their efforts to promote respect for fundamental human rights and to end human rights abuses, including torture. Absolute, unchecked power in the hands of the few results in organized repression, a global epidemic which has murdered more than 200 million people in the last century alone. In the past year, Freedom House has advocated for the rights of people

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suffering under some of the world's most repressive regimes, including Cuba, China, North Korea, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Sudan, Uzbekistan, Vietnam, and Zimbabwe.

■ **Supporting Civic Activism for Nonviolent, Democratic Reform.** Freedom House also focuses on countries where democratic transitions remain incomplete and unfinished. Freedom House supported the efforts of civil society organizations to educate and mobilize voters and to monitor this year's crucial elections in Ukraine. In addition, Freedom House has spoken out and alerted the media, government officials, and private corporations to the dangers of backsliding on democracy in Russia. Our office in Mexico supports human rights defenders working for justice and accountability for the ongoing human rights violations that are still committed in a number of Mexican states. In Nigeria, we are training journalists to cover critical human rights issues as this nation attempts to consolidate and strengthen democracy gains. We continue to work in the Balkans with civic groups to move the democratic process forward in this still divided region.

■ **Promoting More Accountable and Transparent Governance.** Good governance is a key ingredient to promoting economic

growth, investment, and integration into the global economy. Freedom House's publications and programs have served as a crucial resource for governments, civil society groups, and political parties seeking to promote sound government practices aimed at eliminating corruption, respecting the rule of law, and responding to the people's needs. This past year, Freedom House launched *Countries at the Crossroads*, a first-of-its-kind survey of democratic governance that offers a comparative tool for assessing government performance in anticorruption efforts, judicial independence, civil liberties, and accountability. In the Balkans and elsewhere, we have supported efforts to make

Good governance is a key ingredient to promoting economic growth, investment, and integration into the global economy. Freedom House's publications and programs have served as a crucial resource for governments, civil society groups, and political parties.

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political campaigns and government practices more transparent to their own citizens.

- **Supporting Press Freedom.** Freedom House recognizes that societies that respect democracy and human rights depend on open debate, freedom of information, and a free press. The 2004 edition of *Freedom of the Press*, our annual report on global press freedom, showed a substantial decline in press freedom as journalists and media outlets faced legal

Freedom House values the importance of face-to-face, people-to-people exchanges for promoting freedom.

harassment, political pressure, and violence. We are also dedicated to increasing the quality of information and the press through our support of an independent printing press in Kyrgyzstan and our work to train journalists in investigative reporting techniques

in countries including Romania, Uzbekistan, and Nigeria.

- **Advancing Women's Freedom.** Over the past year, the world saw important developments and advances in women's rights, including unprecedented female participation in Afghanistan's first free and fair election. Recognizing the special challenges to freedom that women face in the Arab world, Freedom House developed the *Survey of Women's*

Rights in the Middle and North Africa, a special survey report on women's rights in that region. Freedom House sponsored a series of focus groups in Morocco, Egypt, and Kuwait aimed at understanding general public perceptions of and knowledge about women's rights. In Jordan, we have developed a nationwide public awareness program about the problems of family violence and violence against women.

- **Protecting Religious Freedom.** Freedom House's Center for Religious Freedom defends against religious persecution of all groups throughout the world. It is fighting the imposition of harsh Islamic law in the new Iraq and Afghanistan and elsewhere, and is poised to publish a new book which focuses on the impact of extreme sharia in several key Muslim countries including Indonesia, Sudan, Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan. The Center regularly speaks out against persecution of religious minorities in countries including Iraq, China, Eritrea, and Vietnam and recently launched a page on its website to highlight increasing anti-Semitism around the world.

- **Supporting Global Democratic Networks and Exchanges.** Freedom House values the importance of face-to-face, people-to-people exchanges as a tool for promoting freedom. In the past year, it has continued to sponsor innovative exchange and cross-border learning programs that have provided expertise

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and tangible lessons to advocates in Ukraine, Romania, Uzbekistan, Serbia, and Nigeria. Freedom House has also been closely involved in global advocacy efforts—such as the Community of Democracies process—aimed at making human rights and democracy a higher priority in global politics and American foreign policy. We are working with a group of non-governmental organizations dedicated to creating and strengthening a caucus of democratic nations at the United Nations to make that body's approach to democracy and human rights more effective.

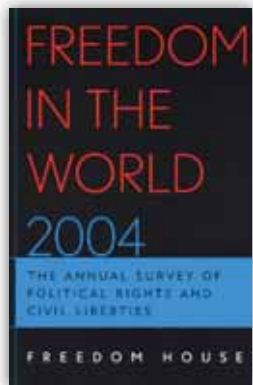
Freedom House is inspired by the conviction that every society should enjoy the liberties we take for granted. New threats to freedom's global expansion have emerged in the new millennium, and Freedom House stands ready to adapt and meet these new challenges just as it has over the decades. Our organization relies on many committed individuals to continue and expand our efforts to promote democracy and freedom. We hope that as you read through this report that you will support the vital work of Freedom House with a generous contribution.



Freedom in the World

The Annual Survey of Political Rights and Civil Liberties, *Freedom in the World*, is the standard-setting work on global trends in democracy. It is used as a primary reference source by international corporations with global interests, by influential policy makers, by the

international media, and by civic activists and human rights defenders around the world. Described as “the Michelin Guide to democracy’s development,” *Freedom in the World* is an invaluable educational tool that can teach tomorrow’s leaders about the world today.



“According to the latest Freedom House survey, the steady march toward political freedom is continuing. It finds that 2.8 billion individuals, representing 44% of the world’s population, now breathe free.”

— Wall Street Journal

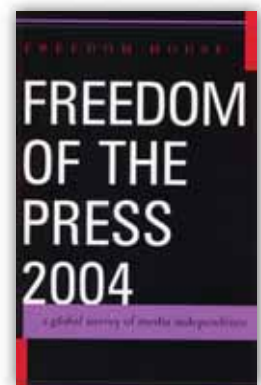
Freedom of the Press

Freedom House’s annual press freedom survey tracks trends in media freedom worldwide. Covering 192 countries and 1 territory, *Freedom of the Press: A Global Survey of Media Independence* analyzes and tracks changes in the conditions of the press over time. Country narratives examine the legal environment for the media, political pressures that influence

reporting, and economic factors that affect access to information. The Survey functions as a crucial source of information and analysis for a diverse set of actors, including journalists, press freedom advocates, democracy activists, policy makers, and non-governmental organizations.

“Freedom of the press declined substantially around the world in 2003, according to a survey released by a pro-democracy nonprofit group.”

— Associated Press



MONITORING FREEDOM

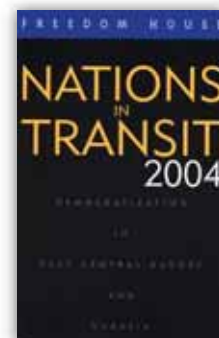
Nations in Transit

Published annually by Freedom House, the *Nations in Transit* survey is recognized as the definitive scorecard on the status of democracy in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. *Nations in Transit*

provides detailed analytical reports on 27 former Communist states and is among the most widely used and cited policy tools in the former Soviet world.

“Russia and other former Soviet countries outside the Baltics lag far behind most of Europe in political reforms, a pro-democracy nonprofit group said in a report.”

— *Moscow Times*



Countries at the Crossroads

This unique survey of governance provides a comparative evaluation of government performance in 60 key countries that are at a critical crossroads in determining their political futures. The project evaluates respect for human rights, adherence to the rule of law, anti-corruption efforts, transparency, and accountability to citizenry. The survey is intended to help international policymakers identify areas of progress, as well as to highlight areas of concern that could be addressed in diplomatic efforts and reform assistance.

The 2005 edition of *Countries at the Crossroads* will examine a set of 30 new countries, distinct from those covered in the first edition. Thus, the project will cover a total of 60 countries in all. The countries to be examined in the 2005 edition are: Algeria, Angola, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Bolivia, Burkina Faso, China, Colombia, Ecuador, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Honduras, Iran, Laos, Libya, Mauritania, Mozambique, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Rwanda, Russia, Swaziland, Syria, Tajikistan, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, and Zambia.



“Recently, Freedom House issued its first report on corruption, calling graft and the weak judicial systems that allow it to flourish ‘major impediments to the development of democracy in transitional societies.’ ”

— *The Atlantic*

MONITORING FREEDOM

Survey of Women's Rights in the Middle East and North Africa

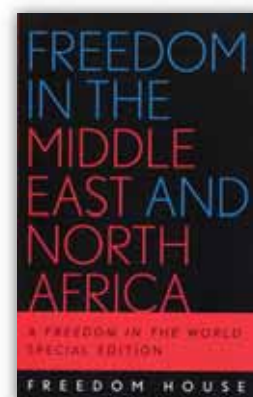
Freedom House has launched a new project to conduct an independent, comprehensive survey on the status of women's freedom in the Middle East and North Africa. The goal of this survey is to facilitate and support national and international efforts to empower women in the Middle East and North Africa region through the comparative evaluation

of women's freedoms in 18 selected countries and territories. The *Survey of Women's Rights*, which is scheduled for release in spring 2005, will provide an overview of women's freedom throughout the Middle East and North Africa; offer recommendations for positive change; and identify critical issues relevant for policymakers, experts, and activists.

Freedom in the Middle East

This Freedom House special edition is a concise and timely report on the state of freedom in eighteen countries of the Middle East and North Africa. Based on the annual *Freedom in the World* survey, this work clearly outlines the quality of political rights and civil liberties over the past decade, as well as key indicators such as religion, freedom of expression, and electoral processes. It is an indispensable reference for the me-

dia, policy makers, academics, and researchers who want to better understand the politics, economies, and societies of this region.



Special Reports

Freedom House also published a range of special reports in 2004, helping to focus attention on a number of important issues.

Under Assault: Ukraine's News Media and the 2004 Presidential Elections, July 2004

Women's Freedom in Focus: Morocco, March 2004

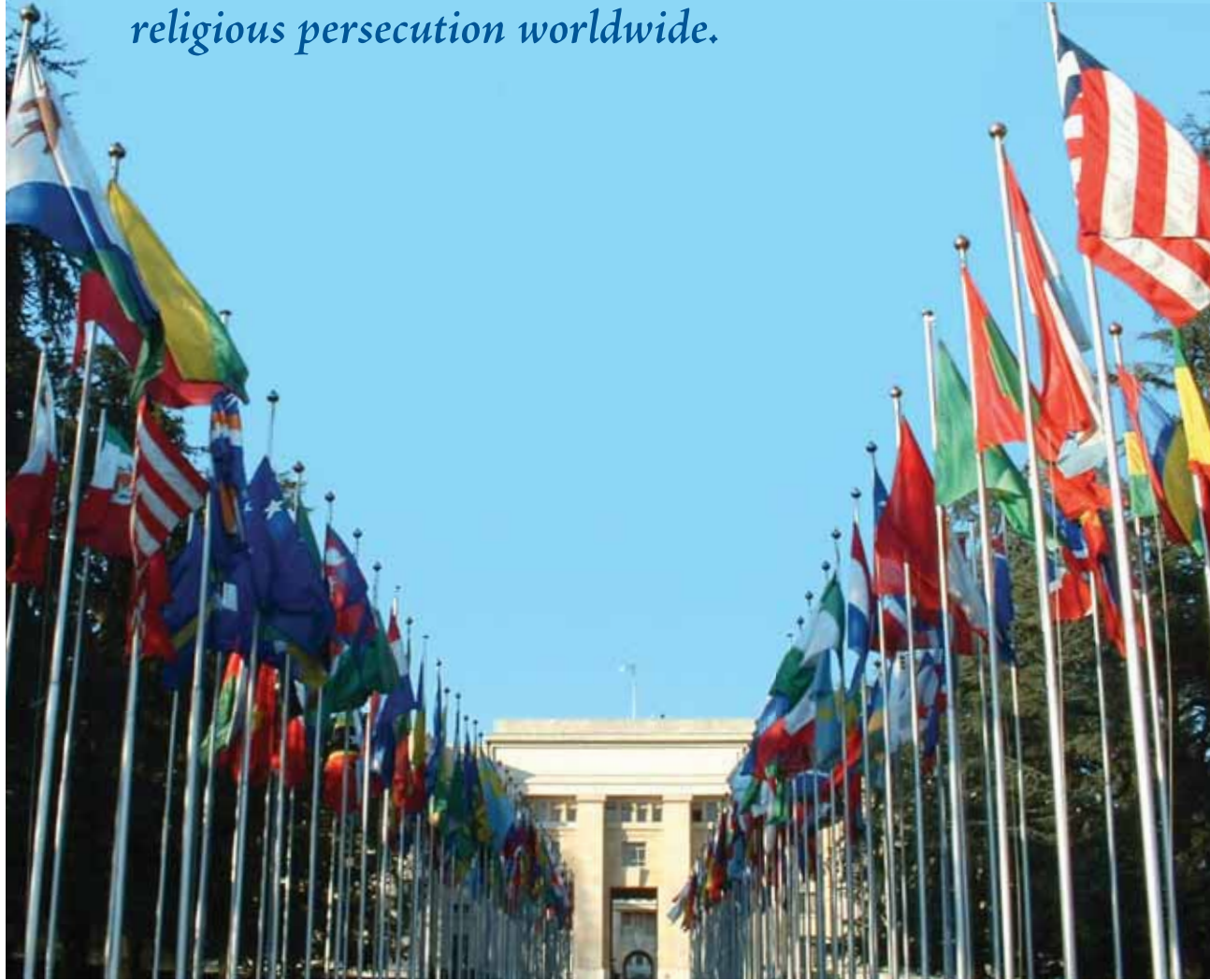
Liberated and Occupied Iraq: New Beginnings and Challenges for Press Freedom, August 2004

Women's Rights in Focus: Egypt, October 2004

ADVOCACY

Freedom House continued in 2004 with its many advocacy efforts to increase attention to key issues in the global advancement of democracy and human rights. And Freedom House's Center for Religious Freedom continued its successful efforts to highlight religious persecution worldwide.

FELICITY AMOS



Promoting a UN Democracy Caucus

Freedom House helped coordinate a coalition of NGOs that lobbied for the creation of a permanent Democracy Caucus at the United Nations. The caucus will help promote the values of democracy and human rights within the UN system and encourage democratic countries to vote together on key resolutions.

In September, the government of Chile—which is to hold the next Community of Democracies meeting in Santiago in April 2005—joined with other key nations to announce the official formation of a UN Democracy Caucus “to ensure timely consultations and consensus building on key issues related to democracy and human rights matters at the United Nations.” While we believe the steps to date are modest, the fact that a coordinating group of 10 UN ambassadors (Chile, U.S., Mexico, South Korea, Poland, Czech Republic, Portugal, Mali, South Africa, and India) is meeting monthly is a major step forward. Diplomats from democratic nations are also meeting regularly to track elections to key UN bodies with an aim of increasing the numerical strength of free and democratic states at the Human Rights Commission and in the NGO Committee of the UN’s Economic and Social Council.

Freedom House’s advocacy efforts were given a boost by the award of a grant from the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor at the U.S. Department of State to build support for the Caucus in Europe and in the developing world. The grant will be implemented by Freedom House in cooperation with the Democracy Coalition Project and the Transnational Radical Party. It aims to promote

greater international support for the UN Democracy Caucus and the broader Community of Democracies (COD) effort through a website, email newsletter, and seminars and meetings in Brussels, Geneva, New York, Washington, and other key cities.

In March, Freedom House sent a delegation to the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva, where it organized a roundtable briefing on the need for the Democracy Caucus. With over 200 people in attendance, the event brought together international NGOs, UN officials, government delegates, and human rights activists. Several UN ambassadors participated, including some from the Community of Democracies

Convening
Group mem-
ber states.
The U.S. head
of delegation,
Richard Wil-
liamson, and
ambassadors
from Poland
and Croatia served as panel participants.

The need now is to encourage leading democratic governments to address freedom and democracy at the United Nations.

The need now is to build domestic support for the caucus in key capitals and encourage leading democratic governments to address key issues related to freedom and democracy at the United Nations. We call upon the Democracy Caucus to take the lead in holding authoritarian governments accountable for the glaring abuses committed against their citizens in violation of the UN’s own human rights principles.

Supporting the Community of Democracies

The Community of Democracies was officially launched in Warsaw, Poland in June 2000, when foreign ministers and other government representatives of 107 democratic and democratizing countries met to discuss how countries could work together to advance democracy around the world. Freedom House Board members were instrumental in initiating the process, writing the initial concept paper and meeting with then Clinton Administration officials for several years before the official launch. In addition, Freedom House organized a parallel non-governmental forum in Poland with the Stefan Batory Foundation.

Freedom House also was active in preparations for the second COD meeting in Seoul, South Korea in November 2002. Governments in the Convening Group partly relied on Freedom House criteria to determine which countries should be invited to the meeting, with a number of countries downgraded

to observer status as a result.

In April 2005, the government of Chile will host the third Community of Democracies meeting in Santiago. Freedom House continues to remain active in a group of international NGOs to ensure that the meeting enhances the efforts of COD members to strengthen democracy. As part of the non-governmental process, meetings are being held in each region to ensure that the views and priorities of civil society and other actors are heard by the governmental participants.

With funding from the U.S. State Department, Freedom House is working to ensure that Arab civil society organizations have a voice at the Community of Democracy. Freedom House, in partnership with the Tunis-based Arab Institute for Human Rights, hosted an Arab NGO preparatory meeting for the 2005 Community of Democracies ministerial meeting in January 2005 in Doha, Qatar.

Assisting the Millennium Challenge Account

In 2002, President Bush announced a new foreign assistance fund, the Millennium Challenge Account (MCA), which will make over \$1 billion available annually for developing countries that “make the right choices for their people,” including ruling justly, investing in their own population, and fostering economic freedom. The selected countries include Armenia, Benin, Bolivia, Cape Verde, Georgia, Ghana, Honduras, Lesotho, Madagascar, Mali, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Senegal, Sri Lanka, and Vanuatu. The Administration is using Freedom

House’s civil liberties and political rights indicators from *Freedom in the World* as one of six criteria to determine whether a country qualifies under the “ruling justly” category. This use of Freedom House data has served to further bolster the credibility of the *Freedom in the World* survey, leading to increased outreach to Freedom House by governments eager for MCA funding. Freedom House will continue to remain active in monitoring the Administration’s approach to implementing the MCA criteria, as well as program design and policy dialogue efforts.

Sudan/Darfur

Freedom House was very active throughout 2004 in raising awareness about the humanitarian crisis in the Darfur region of Sudan. These efforts added to the ongoing work at Freedom House's Center for Religious Freedom, which has long focused on events in Sudan.

In early May, Freedom House, Human Rights Watch, and the Democracy Coalition Project issued a public statement condemning Sudan's candidacy for membership on the UN Human Rights Commission. While Sudan ultimately was re-elected to the Commission, the appeal generated impressive media coverage and served to underscore the necessity for a permanent UN Democracy Caucus to help prevent the election of rights violating regimes to key UN bodies. Soon after, Freedom House and several other NGOs

sent a letter to National Security Advisor Condoleeza Rice requesting stronger U.S. action and leadership on Darfur.

In June, Freedom House issued a public appeal to Secretary of State Colin Powell and UN Secretary General Kofi Annan to pressure the international community into doing much more to put an end to the atrocities in Darfur.

In late September, Freedom House co-signed an open letter to the member states of the UN Security Council demanding they take immediate and decisive action in Darfur.

Displaced in Darfur

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS



Advancing a Democracy Dialogue in Russia

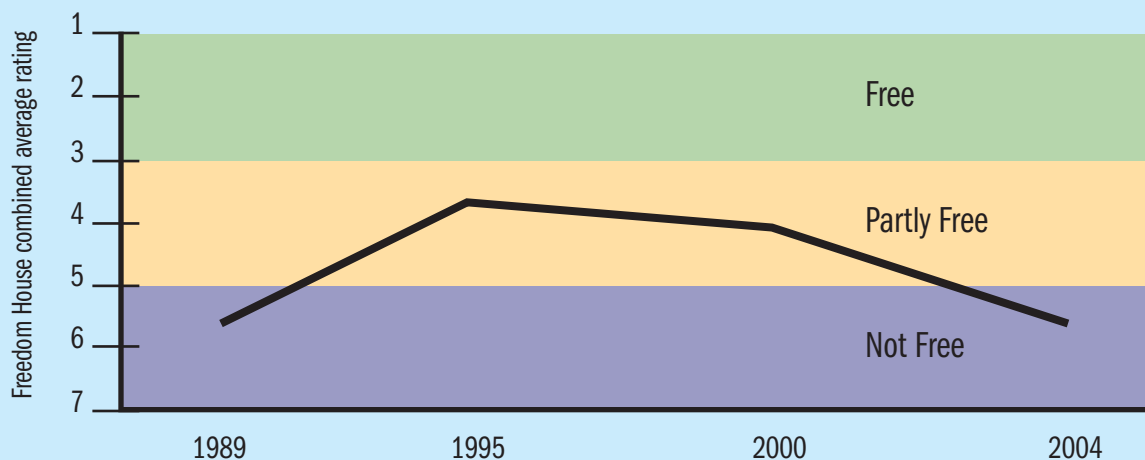
In order to increase awareness of the worrisome democratic backsliding in Russia under President Putin, Freedom House has leveraged its published material and field staff as part of an ongoing advocacy effort. *Freedom in the World* and *Freedom of the Press* have been drawn on consistently by journalists and news analysts covering Russia.

Freedom House has also made available a Russian-language version of the *Nations in Transit* chapter on Russia, which has been used to reach Russian-language journalists and audiences. Freedom House used the NIT report as the basis for organizing a roundtable discussion in Moscow in July to discuss civic responses to neo-authoritarian trends and the challenges and threats to democracy in Russia. Participants included academics, politicians, think tanks representatives,

journalists, and leading civic activists. Together with several of these partners, Freedom House is looking to formalize its advocacy effort with additional resources. We are in the process of approaching several funders for support of Freedom House programming to address the deteriorating conditions for democracy in Russia. This work may include a democracy audit, a multi-year civic advocacy program, and a special report on the crackdown on the news media.

In December, Freedom House downgraded Russia to “Not Free” in its annual *Freedom in the World* survey. The decline of Russia’s rating status generated widespread interest in both the Freedom House assessment and the worrisome state of political rights and civil liberties in Russia.

Freedom in Russia Since the End of the Cold War



Based on *Freedom in the World*, Freedom House’s annual, global survey of political rights and civil liberties. 1 represents the best numerical score, 7 the worst.

Ukraine: Keeping Up the Pressure for Free and Fair Elections

Freedom House was a leading advocate of free and fair elections in Ukraine in 2004 and helped organize crucial civic monitoring of polling stations throughout the country. Ahead of the October vote, Freedom House staff participated in numerous interactions with U.S. government officials, European governments, and the media in an effort to clarify the pivotal importance of Ukraine's presidential election. We also

issued reports and studies that focused attention on a hostile media environment in which coverage was heavily skewed in favor of the government and its allies. Such advocacy included participation in policy roundtables sponsored by U.S. think tanks; lectures at leading universities; and ongoing contacts with journalists from the U.S., Ukraine, and elsewhere who cover that pivotal country.

VITALIY MOROZ

Waving the flags of freedom in Ukraine



Center for Religious Freedom

Sharia Project

Over the past two years, the Center has gained a reputation for expertise in analyzing sharia (Islamic law) from a human rights perspective.

The Center is publishing the forthcoming book *Radical Islam's Rules: The Worldwide Spread of Extreme Sharia Law*, which will focus on the impact of extreme forms of sharia in several key Muslim countries, including Indonesia, Sudan, Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan. It will also examine its impact on U.S. foreign policy.

Center staff devoted a great part of their time to providing information and advice to government officials, think tanks, Members of Congress, and the media on how extreme sharia undercuts basic

freedoms and rights.

On Iraq's political reconstruction, the Center undertook an ultimately successful campaign to minimize the direct role of sharia in the new transitional constitution. As part of this effort, the Center wrote a policy brief for Vice President Cheney on the treatment of sharia in the Iraq and Afghanistan constitutions at the request of the U.S. Senate Republican Policy Committee Chair and helped organize a press conference with Iraqi religious minorities and women's rights representatives. The Center also played a key role in helping Iraqi Christians unify and clarify their message and identify their key concerns.

Sudan Campaign

The work of the Center and its Sudan Coalition have helped to spare the lives of many thousands of south Sudanese—African Christian and non-Muslim people who have been savagely persecuted for resisting forced Islamization by the radical Muslim government in Khartoum.

Publicizing the atrocities in southern Sudan and pressing for policies that would both end them and ensure a just peace with full religious freedom for Sudan's Christians has been a Center priority for the last six years. The Center organized a "Sudan coalition" of churches, religious organizations, and civil rights groups; sponsored rallies, prayer vigils and teach-ins; circulated petitions; issued reports and articles; and launched

an effective stock divestment campaign against Chinese and Canadian oil companies partnered with the Sudanese government. The Center lobbied for the Sudan Peace Act and prompted the U.S. Holocaust Museum, the Catholic Bishops, the Episcopal Church, the Southern Baptists, and the National Association of Evangelicals to decry the bloodshed in Darfur. The Center also joined with members of the Sudan Coalition and other groups in condemning the Khartoum government. Rallies were held outside the Sudanese embassy and Center Director Nina Shea appeared on various news and radio programs in advance of the Congressional vote declaring the Darfur situation genocide.

Other Center Initiatives

China—After the Center appealed in May to U.S. representatives to raise the cases of persecuted Chinese Christians during trade talks with Beijing, China freed two Catholic priests and an evangelical pastor. The Center continues to advocate for the release of all religious prisoners in China.

Eritrea—In July, the Center called on the African Union to press Eritrea to release three prominent pastors and two popular Christian singers who were arrested as part of a two-year government crackdown against evangelical Christians.

Iran—Throughout the summer, the Center called on the Iranian government to respect religious freedom for both religious minorities and Muslim reformists. A new page on the Center's website has been established that details human rights and religious freedom abuses in Iran. (www.freedomhouse.org/religion/country/Iran/Iran%20list.htm)

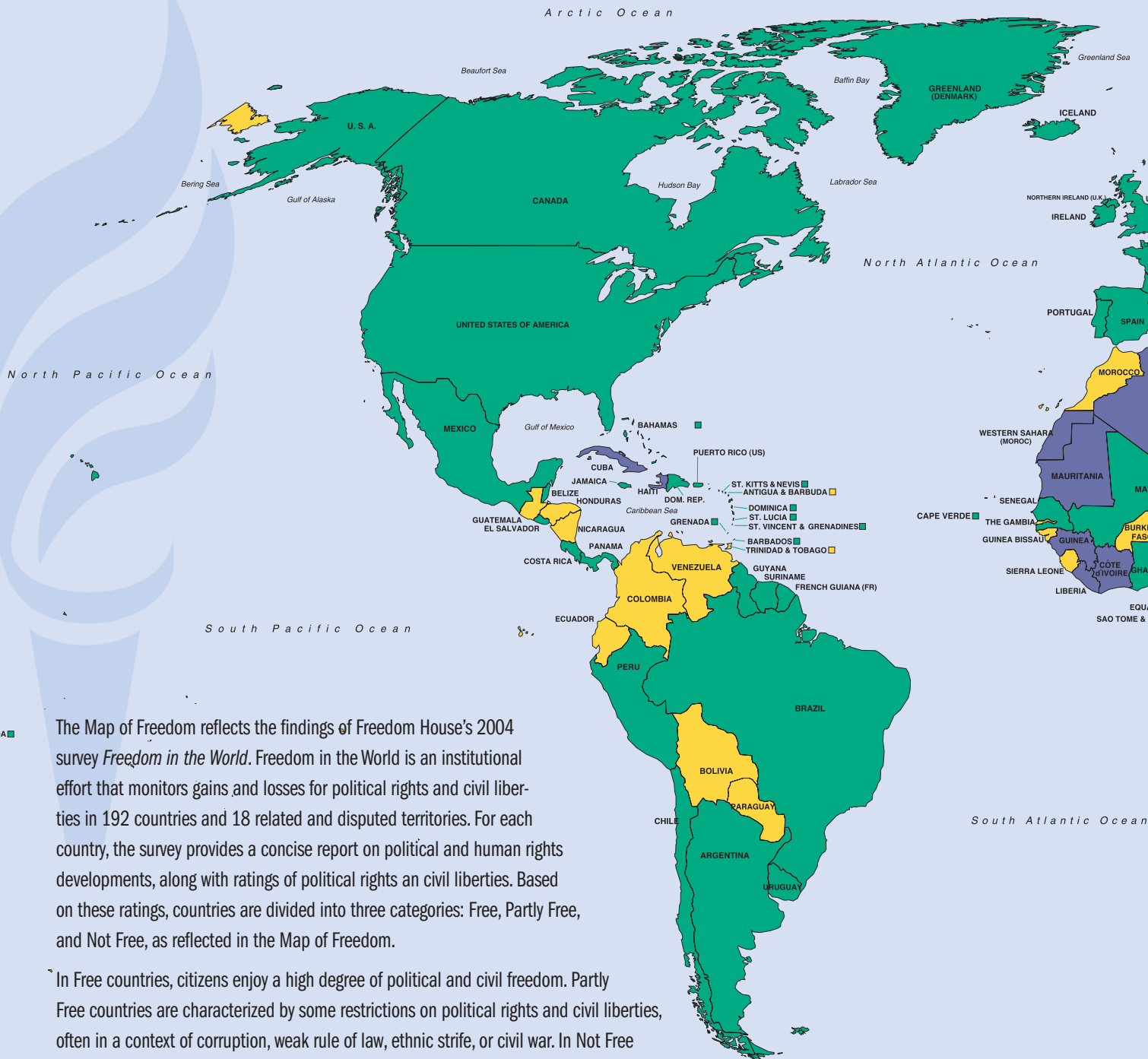
Vietnam—As part of the Center's ongoing project to receive and report on breaking news about the persecution of Hmong Christians, the Center released prisoner lists of "forgotten" Christians and a translation of Vietnam's new Ordinance on Religion with commentary by leading Catholics and Evangelicals in Vietnam.

Anti-Semitism—In August, the Center launched a page on its website to address anti-Semitism around the world. (www.freedomhouse.org/religion/anti-semitism.htm)

Wahhabi Project—The Center received a grant from the Bradley Foundation to initiate a new project on the proliferation of Wahhabi ideology among American Muslims. Working with moderate Muslims and a Beirut-based Arab expert, the Center is working to track, study, publicize, and ultimately stop the hate speech currently spreading in the United States by Saudi-funded Wahhabi mosques and schools. The study examines over 200 hateful publications and pamphlets found in American mosques, many bearing the stamp of the Embassy of Saudi Arabia.

Iraq—Throughout the year, the Center worked to ensure that religious freedom does not fall victim to radical Islamism in post-Saddam Iraq. The Center provided a forum for moderate Muslims and minority Christians in Washington to dialogue together, and advocated on behalf of Iraqi Christians and other religious minorities, in part by encouraging that religious freedom clauses be incorporated into Iraq's new constitution.

MAP OF FREEDOM 2004

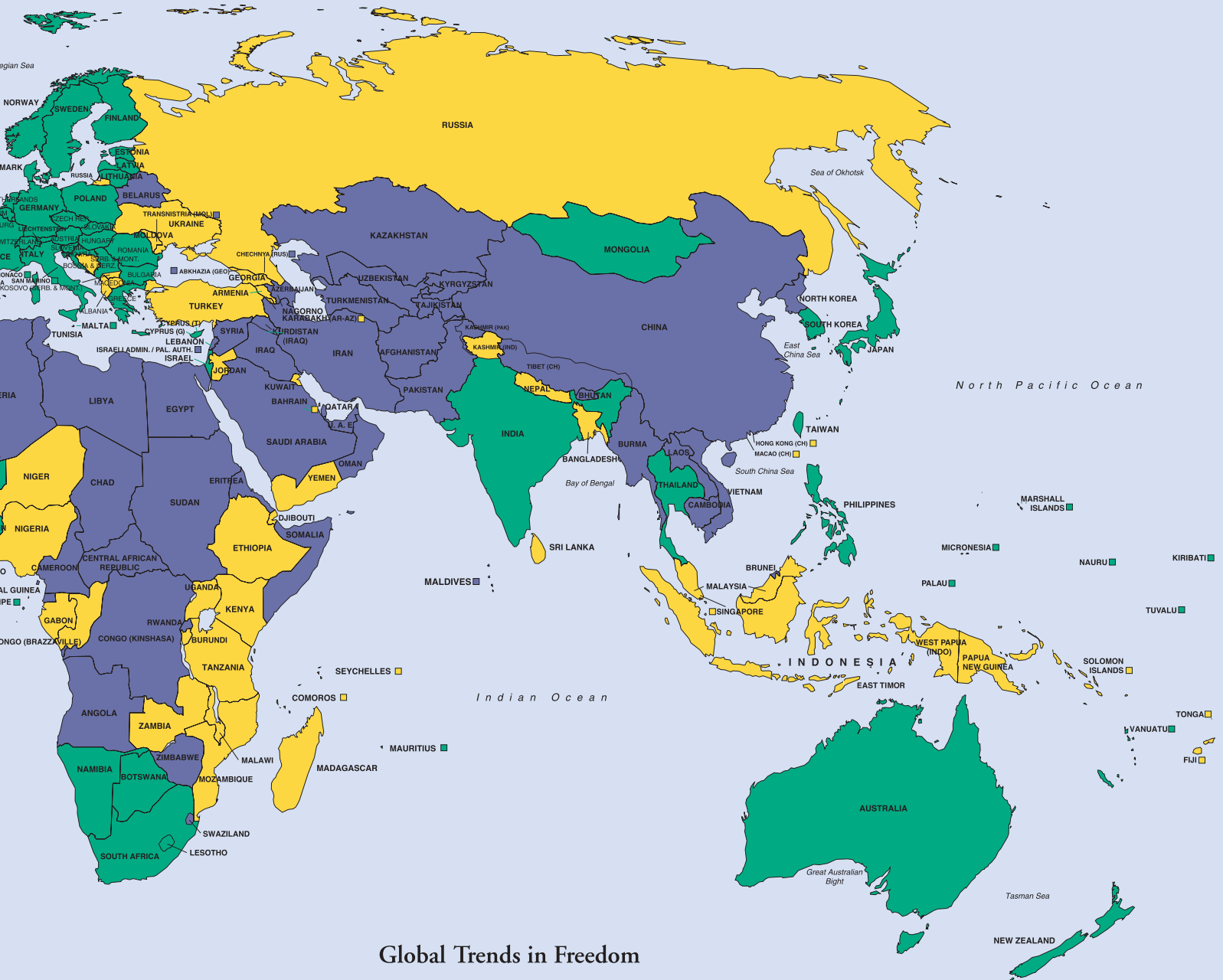


The Map of Freedom reflects the findings of Freedom House's 2004 survey *Freedom in the World*. Freedom in the World is an institutional effort that monitors gains and losses for political rights and civil liberties in 192 countries and 18 related and disputed territories. For each country, the survey provides a concise report on political and human rights developments, along with ratings of political rights and civil liberties. Based on these ratings, countries are divided into three categories: Free, Partly Free, and Not Free, as reflected in the Map of Freedom.

In Free countries, citizens enjoy a high degree of political and civil freedom. Partly Free countries are characterized by some restrictions on political rights and civil liberties, often in a context of corruption, weak rule of law, ethnic strife, or civil war. In Not Free countries, the political process is tightly controlled and basic freedoms are denied.

In 2003, there were 2.78 billion people living in free societies, representing 44 percent of the world's population. There were 1.32 billion people living in Partly Free societies, representing 21 percent of the world's population. There were 2.21 billion people living in Not Free societies, representing 35 percent of the world's population.

MAP OF FREEDOM 2004



Global Trends in Freedom

Year Under Review	1993	1998	2003
Free	72	88	88
Partly Free	53	53	55
Not Free	55	50	49
Total	190	191	192

Freedom House is engaged in the process of democratic change in parts of the world where freedom is under duress or is yet to be consolidated: Central Asia, Central and Eastern Europe, the Middle East, Africa, Latin America, the former Soviet Union, and the Balkans. Working directly with democratic reformers on the front lines in their own countries, Freedom House acts as a catalyst for freedom by strengthening civil society, promoting open government, defending human rights, and facilitating the free flow of information and ideas.

Connecting Reformers in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union

Central European countries have generally succeeded in securing democratic reforms and practices, while democratization for their neighbors to the south and east has been fraught with difficulties. Disillusionment with political actors and institutions has resulted in growing public apathy even as corruption continues to undermine the rule of law, elections are too often neither free nor fair, journalists disappear, economies sputter with inefficiency and lack of capital, and post-conflict regions struggle to put in place the basic frameworks of func-

tioning states. Freedom House's experience over the last decade in connecting advocates in Central and Eastern Europe has clearly shown that this is one of the most effective methods to overcome these obstacles. In its ninth year, Freedom House's Regional Networking Project continues to link civic activists in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union to address ongoing challenges to democracy and to support the transfer of experience of Central Europe to the south and east through the funding of cross-border democratic initiatives.

Advancing Free and Fair Elections in Ukraine

VITALIY MOROZ

Genuinely contested elections are a fundamental indicator of a country's commitment to democracy. Yet Ukraine's presidential elections in October and the runoff in November were conducted in a highly charged atmosphere that allowed considerable opportunity for distortions and falsification. By-elections earlier in 2004 provided a sneak preview of the scope and scale of the challenges, which included violence in polling stations, manipulation of voter lists, abuse of mobile ballot boxes, last minute protocol changes, and intimidation of judges. To counter these trends and assure genuine electoral contests, Freedom House—in partnership with the National Democratic Institute and the International Republican Institute—is conducting the “Civic Participation in Elections in Ukraine,” project, a three-year initiative to ensure active citizen participation in and oversight of the 2004 presidential and the 2006 parliamentary elections. With support from this program, 26 Ukrainian NGOs have come together for the first time in a nationwide coalition called project Znayu (“I Know”) to conduct a national voter education campaign. The program also supports local civic monitoring and voter mobilization efforts, as well as a mission of 1000 international civic election observers from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union to monitor the second round of presidential elections.



People power on the streets of Kyiv

Supporting Civic Efforts to Share Poland's Experience with Ukraine

As the border between Poland and Ukraine becomes the eastern border of the European Union, the importance of sharing Poland's transition experience with its eastern neighbor becomes increasingly relevant. Freedom House's "Poland-America-Ukraine Cooperation Initiative" (PAUCI) program provides financial and networking assistance to take advantage of acquired expertise and lessons learned in Poland's successful transition to a free market democracy. Since Freedom House began managing the program in 2000, PAUCI has achieved tremendous success in creating cooperative initiatives between Polish and Ukrainian NGOs in five key areas: increasing public awareness and understanding of the implications of European Integration, combating the spread of HIV/AIDS through awareness and education, improving local governance, defining better macroeconomic policy strategies, and improving small business development. To date, PAUCI has awarded partner-



PRZEMYSŁAW JARON

Polish and Ukrainian participants in the Europe Parade in Kyiv

ship grants to more than 400 Polish and Ukrainian partner organizations—totaling over \$4.2 million in assistance.

Strengthening Independent Policy Voices in Ukraine

While Ukraine continues to lag behind its western neighbors in implementing needed political and economic reforms, the strength and effectiveness of independent civic voices pushing for reform is critical. Since 1999, Freedom House has helped build a core network of independent policy institutes to influence Ukraine's reform process. While a number of professional and influential organizations now exist, Freedom House is still working to strengthen linkages

between these public policy groups and grassroots NGOs in Ukraine to increase their capacity to influence the political, economic, and social transformations needed in Ukraine. The program provides financial assistance for policy initiatives between established think tanks and grass roots NGOs, as well as the training of local civic activists at well-established, mainly Kyiv-based, policy institutes.

Fostering Democracy's Advocates in Cuba

Following a massive crackdown on pro-democracy activists and independent journalists in 2003, the Cuban regime has maintained low-intensity repression of civil society advocates and the relatives of political prisoners. Nonetheless, Cuban activists persevere in their work. The Varela Project steadily continued its collection of signatures—reportedly totaling in excess of 30,000 names—and the network of independent journalists continued to recover after the toll suffered during the crackdown. Freedom House continues its efforts to assist Cuba's democracy activists by provid-

ing training and education, material support, and personal and institutional links to counterparts from abroad, as well as through international advocacy initiatives to raise awareness and support of Cuba's struggling democracy movement. In July and September, Freedom House co-sponsored two exhibits in Italy of pictures by renowned Italian photographer Oliviero Toscani of the 75 Cuban activists arrested in 2003, entitled "Forbidden to Think: the Faces of Repression in Cuba." The exhibit also traveled to Spain and England.

Mobilizing Civil Society for a Democratic Serbia

While democratic progress in Serbia since the 2000 revolution has been significant, weak and corrupt institutions, the overall lack of rule of law, and governmental infighting continue to prevent Serbia from fully consolidating its democracy and its integration within Europe. Freedom House's program in Serbia combines financial support with technical assistance and training to build the country's civil society capacity and to encourage further reform in key areas such as regional reintegration, human rights, investment in youth, and reconciliation.

In July, Freedom House and the MTV Foundation supported a major initiative to halt human trafficking in women and children at the annual EXIT Festival in Novi Sad. EXIT, a youth-based NGO, organizes the annual music festival to involve young people in combating Serbia's legacy of nationalism, xenophobia, and war with messages of openness and tolerance. EXIT 2004 attracted 200,000 youth, making it Southeast

Europe's largest social and cultural event of the year. MTV produced a one-hour documentary about the festival, focusing on the "Stop Human Trafficking" campaign.

In September, the Presidents of Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Croatia met together for the first time at a Freedom House-sponsored conference in Zagreb honoring the achievement of the Igman Initiative—an umbrella association of NGOs established with funding from Freedom House to promote regional dialogue and normalization of relations in the Dayton Triangle. All three state TV outlets covered the event, and some 30 regional, international, and domestic media reported on the conference and the issues of reconciliation and stabilization efforts. More than 140 NGOs participated in the event.



Promoting Reconciliation and Human Rights in Algeria

As Algeria continues to grapple with its legacy of civic unrest and violence, Freedom House continues its work to strengthen the capacity of and promote cooperation among human rights organizations and victims rights groups in that country. The Algerian government has shown signs that it wants to turn the page on this history of violence, with the establishment in September 2003 of an ad hoc committee responsible for documenting cases of disappearances at the hands of state security forces. Nonetheless, Algerian human rights and victims' rights organizations remain skeptical about the government's desire to seek truth and justice, and they remain divided

among themselves. To meet these challenges, Freedom House sponsored a workshop in September on human rights documentation and data collection hosted by the Algerian League for Human Rights. It brought together 25 participants from 16 different organizations, including those focused on disappearances. Freedom House also provides financial assistance to NGOs to provide training in psychosocial assistance for members of victims' rights groups and to support discussion groups among women and youth, bringing together victims of terrorism and families of the disappeared.

Combating Family Violence in Jordan

COURTESY PRINCESS BASMA YOUTH RESOURCE CENTER

Despite the significant legal and cultural obstacles to eradicate violence against women, Jordanian non-governmental organizations are actively engaged in prevention and advocacy efforts. Freedom House's "Program to Prevent Family Violence" supports local efforts through a two-pronged approach to increase public awareness of and support for the prevention of family violence while improving the legal and institutional mechanisms available to prevent and punish violence against women. Freedom House is working to engage new target groups such as youth, women in local government, community groups, media representatives, and religious leaders through media advocacy training and the support of awareness campaigns tied to the annual global campaign, "16 Days of Activism against Gender Violence." Freedom House is also supporting the production of a docudrama and a dramatic feature film highlighting the many forms of discrimination faced by women.

"Violence against women hurts us all"



Assisting Mexican Activists in Defending Human Rights and Preventing Torture

Despite the government's strong statements about improving the human rights situation in Mexico, human rights violations by both state and non-state actors continue to be a fundamental problem for far too many of Mexico's citizens. Freedom House's support to human rights defenders and NGOs involved in the treatment and prevention of torture in Mexico have helped them make significant contributions in a variety of areas. A program to place legal interns with human rights NGOs in Oaxaca and Guerrero has increased the capacity of NGOs to take on cases and has helped with legal strategies for prosecution in these states where torture and other human rights abuses are rampant. Freedom House's efforts to increase networking and cooperation among human rights NGOs achieved special success on June 26, 2004, the International Day against Torture, when 12 civil society groups from the states of Tamaulipas, Nuevo Leon, Chihuahua, and Sinaloa established the Northern Network of NGOs. At the same time, Freedom House sub-grants to important NGOs such as Christian Ac-

tion for the Abolition of Torture, the Center for Border Studies and the Promotion of Human Rights, and Citizens in Support of Human Rights are allowing for meaningful work to be done on the issue of torture in Mexico. The Center for Border Studies and the Promotion of Human Rights has begun to computerize its large document collection of human rights cases and has begun to offer more comprehensive treatment for torture victims. Citizens in Support of Human Rights is beginning a prison-monitoring program in the state of Nuevo Leon that will hopefully shed light on the common use of torture in prisons. Christian Action for the Abolition of Torture, through financing from Freedom House, has been able to expand its services to victims in Oaxaca and Chiapas, while continuing to serve Mexico City.

KENDRA ZAHARESCU

Rebeca Rodríguez, Mexican Human Rights Defender

"I oversee complaints of human rights violations at the Center for Border Studies and the Promotion of Human Rights in Reynosa, Mexico. The training I received from Freedom House has made my job documenting abuses much easier—I have increased both my speed and effectiveness in searching for human rights violators and tracking and evaluating my various cases."



Mobilizing Human Rights Defenders in Kyrgyzstan

While human rights defenders (HRDs) in Kyrgyzstan are among the most developed in Central Asia, harassment and intimidation by the government have hampered their effectiveness to date. Over the past two years, Freedom House has worked to counter this problem by creating a viable network of a core group of human rights defenders to engage in targeted advocacy and to demand legal redress in cases of torture. Advocacy campaigns supported by Freedom House's program contributed to a drop

in lawsuits by Kyrgyz government officials against journalists and media outlets from about 25 in 2003 to zero in 2004. Public assemblies, which last year resulted in arrests and beatings, were held in 2004 essentially without incident. Moreover, the work of Kyrgyz human rights defenders has led to improved conditions in mental health and military detention facilities. Advocacy articles on the arrest of demonstrators in April led to the overturning of a case against an arrested activist.

AZIZA ABDURASULOVA



Strengthening a Network of Human Rights Defenders in Kazakhstan

The Kazakh government, under the now fourteen-year rule of President Nazarbayev, systematically harasses independent media and political opponents. Under such conditions, Kazakh human rights defenders enjoy limited space and few resources to operate. Most activists are based in Almaty and Astana, leaving a large part of the country out of their reach. To help address this situation, Freedom House's project in Kazakhstan trains human rights defenders and builds relationships and networks throughout the broader Kazakh hu-

man rights community as well as with human rights defenders in other Central Asian countries.

In September, Freedom House offered its hallmark course, "Human Rights: A Practical Application," to approximately 25 human rights defenders. The course provided participants with a hands-on application of international human rights standards and up-to-date methods of monitoring, reporting, and advocacy. With Freedom House assistance, human rights defenders have been allowed access to prisons and are using their improved skills to monitor and assess prison conditions in Pavlodar, Karaganda, Kostanai, and Almaty. Freedom House also organized a seminar on the media's rights and responsibilities for the September parliamentary elections and helped local media NGOs lobby President Nazarbayev to reject a controversial and repressive draft media law in April.



Kyrgyz citizens appeal for their rights

Fostering Human Rights Defense and Dialogue in Uzbekistan

MICHAEL GOLDFARB

According to Freedom House's annual global survey of political rights and civil liberties, *Freedom in the World*, Uzbekistan ranked as one of the most repressive regimes in the world in 2004. In this difficult working environment, Freedom House works to improve the human rights situation in Uzbekistan through a number of initiatives to improve the capacity and effectiveness of local human rights defenders. Freedom House has established resource and information centers in Tashkent, Namangan and Samarkand that offer the geographically diverse human rights community access to materials and books on human rights as well as technical equipment such as computers, copiers, and the Internet. Freedom House staff work in collaboration with international and local trainers to increase the professional capacity of a core group of local HRDs, which has become a rapid response group on documenting and defending emerging cases of abuse. Freedom House has created a Civic Coalition Against Torture to advocate for specific legislative changes, institutional reform, and improved access to places of detention in order to prevent instances of grave human rights abuses and torture. Freedom House has also established a dialogue between human rights defenders and the Uzbek government, providing training to both groups on their respective roles in preventing human rights abuses and on how to communicate with one another. This dialogue has resulted in increased access to prisons for Freedom House staff and local human rights defenders.

Under watch in the Uzbek capital, Tashkent



Supporting Human Rights in Tajikistan and Turkmenistan

Turkmenistan, as one of the world's most repressive and closed regimes, has demonstrated the least forward development in human rights of any former Soviet state. In Tajikistan, human rights defenders operate in a hostile and strictly controlled environment, with limited means and capacity to address the multitude of human rights violations prevalent in this post-conflict country. The goal of Freedom House programs in both nations is to support and strengthen the work of HRDs in protecting and promoting human rights, including press freedom; to

encourage cooperation between human rights organizations on both domestic and regional levels; and to expose HRDs to practices in post-totalitarian and post-conflict countries in Eastern Europe. Freedom House opened an office in Dushanbe in the summer and began to support HRDs through training and small grants to build their capacity in the fall. In Turkmenistan, Freedom House will build the capacity of HRDs in these areas through trainings and exchanges that will take place outside the country.

Creating More Effective Human Rights Advocates in Ukraine

Ukraine is now a signatory to a number of international conventions on human rights and has been a member of the Council of Europe since 1995. However, serious problems in many areas of civil and human rights remain. Virtually all the country's senior judicial and law-enforcement officials were educated under the Soviet system and continue Soviet-era practices like reaching verdicts based on instructions from political leaders. In order to help Ukrainian human rights organizations overcome their limita-

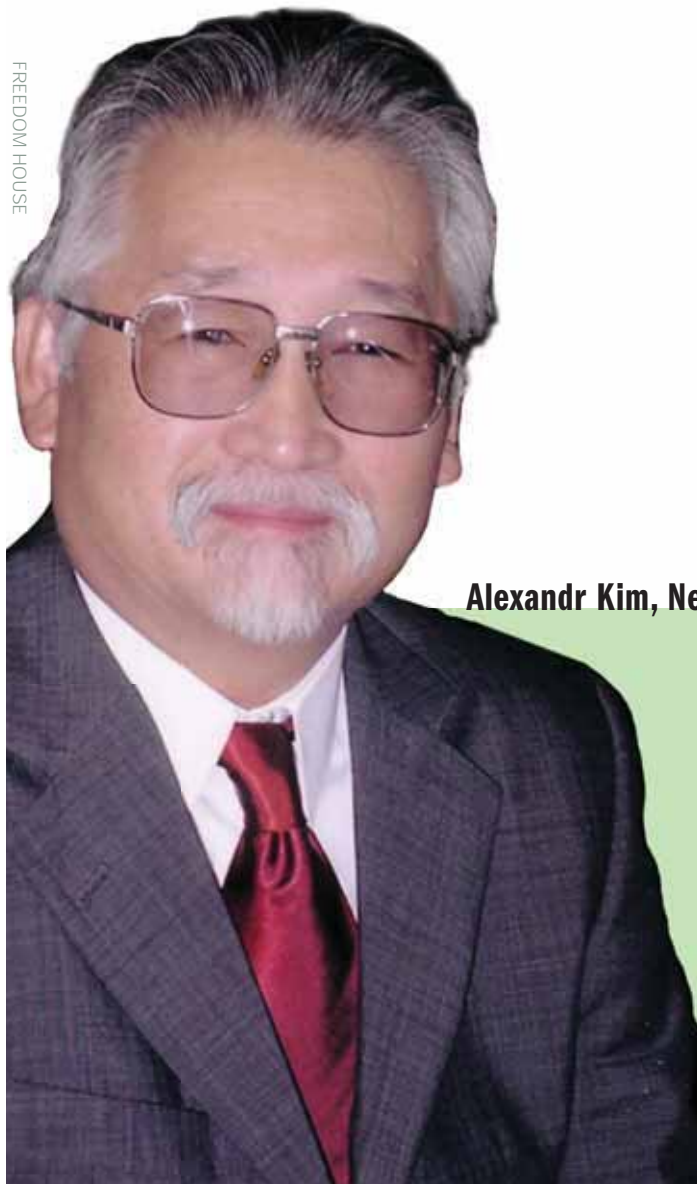
tions and develop into a more effective force for democratic reform, Freedom House Ukraine has organized a program of roundtable discussions for human rights activists and officials and a program of training for NGO leaders. By combining these activities with publications and civic education activities, Freedom House Ukraine is raising both the level of public awareness of human rights and the capacity of human rights organizations to be effective advocates for change.

Independent Printing Press Marks its First Year of Operations in Kyrgyzstan

In November 2003, Freedom House opened the first independent printing press in Central Asia. In its first year of operation, the Media Support Center Foundation—a Kyrgyz NGO established to run the

printing press—has attracted more than 70 customers and now is billing more than \$60,000 per month. The Foundation's clients include most independent or opposition newspapers in Northern Kyrgyzstan, including the country's two largest Kyrgyz-language newspapers. The foundation is currently operating at a break-even basis or with little operating loss. With the arrival of expected equipment, management expects to attract up to 20 large-press-run commercial newspapers from neighboring Kazakhstan, which would allow the organization to turn a profit. As a result of the high-quality printing, many of the independent papers have been able to increase their press runs due to higher single-copy street sales. Freedom House is also conducting the first scientific nationwide market research study of the reading habits of the Kyrgyz population. Results are expected in early 2005.

FREEDOM HOUSE



Alexandr Kim, Newspaper Editor and Kyrgyz Printing Press Client

“Freedom House’s new printing press in Kyrgyzstan has significantly improved my country’s press freedom situation. Our editorial staff can bear witness to the impact of the Freedom House printing press. In the past we suffered through repeated refusals to print our newspaper, as well as outright seizure of the paper at the hands of the state-owned printing house. The cessation of the state’s printing monopoly has resulted in substantially less government influence on newspaper policy.”

Improving Human Rights Reporting in Nigeria

As home to one-quarter of all Africans, Nigeria has the potential to become a model of democratic transition in Western Africa. While the country has made tremendous progress despite just a brief history of democracy after four decades of dictatorial military rule, it struggles with ongoing ethnic- and religious-based conflict; human rights abuses by both state and non-state actors; and extreme, corruption-induced poverty. Nigeria's journalists have played a key role in introducing democracy to Nigeria, but they are ill-equipped to cover the sensitive human rights issues that continue to plague the country. During an assessment mission to three states and the federal capital in Abuja in July, Freedom House found that journalists suffer from a fundamental lack of education on human rights/conflict reporting; most journalism is dominated by event-based reporting that lacks analysis and context and often exacerbates the conflicts and stereotypes that lead to human rights abuses. Following the assessment mission, Freedom House opened

an office in Lagos and made preparations to begin the first stage of its program to increase the quality and quantity of human rights reporting. The eighteen-month program will consist of training human rights organizations to conduct monitoring of human rights reporting in Plateau and Rivers State and will be followed by a multi-staged training of journalists in those states to improve their reporting skills.

DAPO OLORUNYOMI



Participants in Freedom House's human rights reporting program in Nigeria

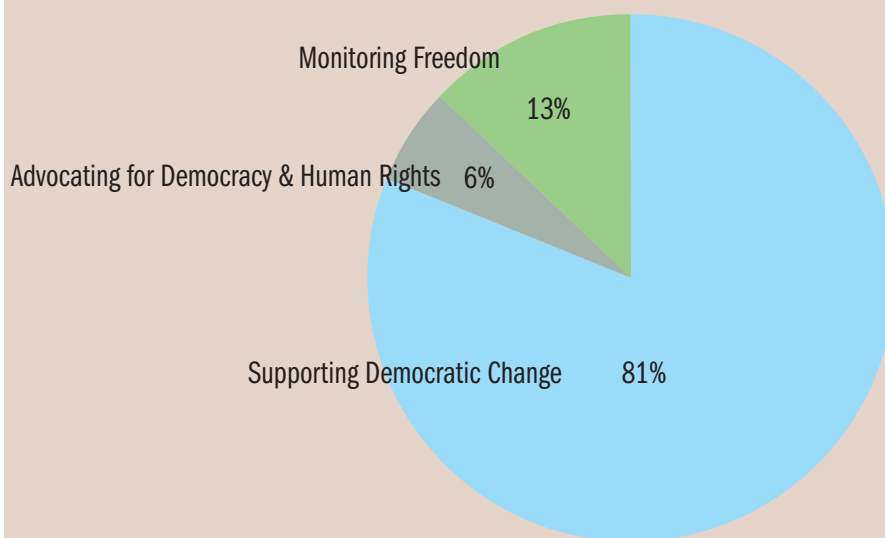
Increasing Local Media Sustainability in Romania

Studies show that in Romania, local media organizations generally face economic difficulties that undermine their ability to produce independent reporting and editorials. With weak access to diverse funding sources, local media organizations often must depend on a small number of economic or political interest groups who view media outlets as instruments for advancing their own business or political agendas. Freedom House is working to support the economic sustainability of the independent local press in Romania in order to provide Romanian citizens with

better access to information. Freedom House is co-funding (with beneficiaries) an audit and a national audience survey for 18 competitively-selected local media outlets, which will help local newspapers to attract nationwide advertising. Freedom House also provides training on management and advertising sales and distribution and is helping to establish an Association of Local Press Editors, which will bring together independent local outlets to help bolster the status of an independent local press in Romania.

The work of Freedom House has affected the lives of tens of thousands of people worldwide. To continue our efforts we are reaching out to individuals, corporations, and private foundations who share the same commitment to freedom.

Freedom House 2004 Activities



FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

Freedom House FY2004 Income Statement

Combining Statements of Activities and Changes in Net Assets for Freedom House, Inc. and its Affiliates
Period Ending June 30, 2004

	Freedom House, Inc.	Willkie Memorial of Freedom House, Inc.	Freedom House of Ukraine	Combined
Revenue and Support:				
Grants				
Government	\$12,768,691	\$-	\$-	\$12,768,691
Private	1,462,700	-	62,500	1,525,200
Contributions	882,657	-	-	882,657
In-kind contributions	3,607,570	-	-	3,607,570
Investment income	24,106	513,060	-	537,166
Other income	204,411	-	-	204,411
Total Revenue and support	18,950,135	513,060	62,500	19,525,695
Expenses:				
Program services	16,517,807	-	13,648	16,531,455
Supporting services:				
Management and general	2,151,885	-	-	2,151,885
Fund-raising	127,500	-	-	127,500
Total expenses	18,797,192	0	13,648	18,810,840
Change in net assets	152,943	513,060	48,852	714,855
Net Assets:				
Beginning	1,807,970	3,274,045	-	5,082,015
Ending	\$1,960,913	\$3,787,105	\$48,852	\$5,796,870

FINANCIAL STATEMENTS

Freedom House FY2004 Balance Sheet

Combining Balance Sheets for Freedom House, Inc. and its Affiliates
Period Ending June 30, 2004

	Freedom House, Inc.	Willkie Memorial of Freedom House, Inc.	Freedom House of Ukraine	Combined
ASSETS				
Current Assets				
Cash and cash equivalents	\$2,404,230	\$-	\$48,852	\$2,453,082
Investments	210,701	3,787,105		3,997,806
Receivables	1,806,265	-		1,806,265
Prepaid expenses	25,753	-		25,753
Furniture and equipment, net	121,427			121,427
Security Deposits	77,706	-		77,706
	<u>\$4,646,082</u>	<u>\$3,787,105</u>	<u>\$48,852</u>	<u>\$8,482,039</u>
LIABILITIES AND NET ASSETS				
Current Liabilities				
Accounts payable and accrued expenses	\$800,837	\$-	\$-	\$800,837
Refundable advances	1,762,652	-	-	1,762,652
Deposits payable	25,681	-	-	25,681
Deferred rent	95,999	-	-	95,999
	<u>2,685,169</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>2,685,169</u>
Net Assets				
Unrestricted	1,953,857	3,787,105	48,852	5,789,814
Temporarily restricted	7,056			7,056
	<u>1,960,913</u>	<u>3,787,105</u>	<u>48,852</u>	<u>5,796,870</u>
	<u>\$4,646,082</u>	<u>\$3,787,105</u>	<u>\$48,852</u>	<u>\$8,482,039</u>

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MICHAEL GOLDFARB



A safe place for locals: Freedom House's resource center in Namangan, Uzbekistan.

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FREEDOM



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