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2002

Supporting Democratic Reform • Monitoring Freedom • Advocating Democracy & Human Rights

Freedom House Annual Report 2002



N I E J E
M I T O
J E D N O



Message from the Chairman

Freedom and the expansion of democracy have rarely faced a more complex environment than that occurring in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States. The ensuing international war on terrorism has posed important challenges for established democracies and for those pressing for democratic change in closed societies.

The United States and other democracies have had to grapple with balancing the need to preserve basic freedoms and to treat their diverse populations justly, and the obligation to conduct thoroughgoing efforts to root out terrorist networks and infrastructures.

Moreover, the global war on terrorism has placed new burdens on those seeking to change their closed and repressive political systems. In the early days of the war on terror there was a danger that the United States and other democracies would soft-pedal pressuring repressive regimes to open up their political systems and respect fundamental human rights. Just as worrying was the exploitation by nondemocratic regimes of the global counterterrorism effort as a justification of repressive measures against nonviolent groups.

In this complex context, the role of nongovernmental organizations such as Freedom House assumes increased importance. Nongovernmental voices are an essential part of a liberal democracy's system of checks and balances, the give and take between those in power and those in whose name the powerful act. For Freedom House, which focuses on monitoring, studying, and promoting democratic change, the global war on terrorism creates new opportunities to influence governmental and private sector approaches to the deepening and expansion of democracy around the world.

In the last year, in addition to supporting a broad array of democracy-promotion programs in Africa, Latin America, the Arab world, Central and Eastern Europe, and Central Asia, Freedom House has emerged as an important national voice pressing for maintaining a broad-based commitment to the expansion of democracy and the strengthening of the rule of

law as key features of U.S. foreign policy. Our surveys on the state of political rights and civil liberties and religious freedom, and our advocacy work, have provided an intellectual basis for a consistent democracy agenda. Freedom House's unique nonpartisan board, made up of conservatives, liberals, and moderates, has enabled us to champion the promotion of democracy and human rights on both sides of the political aisle.

In the mid-1990s, Freedom House advanced and promoted the idea of establishing a coalition of democratic states, an idea that achieve fruition with the creation in June 2000 of the Community of Democracies. The second Community of Democracies meeting took place in November 2002 in Seoul, and Freedom House was integrally involved in deliberations about the countries that deserved to be invited on the basis of their respect for civil and political rights. Freedom House also helped plan a concurrent nongovernmental forum.

A joint Freedom House-Council on Foreign Relations Task Force, launched in cooperation with Council President Leslie Gelb, has examined ways in which the world's democracies can cooperate more effectively within the UN system.

In recent years we have championed the idea that developing countries that adhere to democratic practices be given a "democracy premium" of enhanced aid that will help to strengthen the connections between democracy and development.

We have been a key organization raising the issue of the democracy deficit in the Arab world and the urgent need to support democratic forces there. We have launched a range of programs to work with democratic reformers in Central Asia and North Africa. In addition, our Center for Religious Freedom has been hosting a series of congressional dinners with experts in the Islamic world and is conducting a long-term study of extremist interpretations of Sharia (Islamic law), to explore the implications of that trend for preserving and promoting human rights and democracy in those societies in which Sharia is introduced.

Fortunately, there are signs the United States and other democratic governments are listening to the views of civic groups such as Freedom House. The strong U.S. response to the sentencing of Egyptian democratic thinker and activist Saad Eddin Ibrahim and President George W. Bush's pressure on Central Asian leaders to respect fundamental human rights and create some space for free media and human rights groups are important first steps towards a much-needed focus on the democratic deficit in the Arab world.

The administration has worked with the nine other democracies in the steering group of the Community of Democracies to introduce criteria for membership in that emerging international organization. A number of countries have been downgraded from the status of full participants to observers, while others have been entirely excluded from participating in the Community of Democracies process. Such setting of standards deserves applause and encouragement.

While the U.S. record is far from consistent—Russia's brutal prosecution of the war in Chechnya has unfortunately been downplayed by U.S. authorities—there are signs of an increasing acceptance among key policy makers of the idea that the expansion of democracy and the rule of law are crucial in building a just and peaceful world order that can effectively withstand the appeal of terrorist movements and other extremist ideologies.

Freedom House has long been an advocate of the positive link between development and democracy that has been reinforced this year by the UN Development Program and by the Bush administration, which announced the creation of the Millennium Challenge Account, a new development program that will distribute up to \$5 billion annually in foreign assistance to states that "rule justly," invest in their own people, and implement sound economic practices.

These are important steps, but given the threats and challenges that face democracy and freedom today, we must all redouble our efforts to ensure that the democratic momentum of the second half of the last century continues.

With my election as governor of New Mexico, I will be leaving the post of Freedom House chairman at the end of 2002. I am immensely proud of our record of achievement and am proud to continue to serve on the Freedom House board. Above all, I am proud of the nonpartisan structure of Freedom House and the cooperation and spirit of common purpose that enables liberals, centrists, and conservatives to work together in the cause of global democratic change.

I urge you to get to know Freedom House better and to join in supporting a respected, 60-year-old organization at the cutting edge of efforts to promote democracy and freedom throughout the world.



Bill Richardson

Bill Richardson
Chairman of the
Board of Trustees



Message from the President and Executive Director

The past year has created important new challenges and opportunities for Freedom House. Since the tragedy of September 11, 2001, we at Freedom House have worked, through our programs and advocacy efforts, to ensure that democracy, rule of law, and human rights are strengthened as the best way to counter the forces of fanaticism that are willing to use terror against innocent civilians.

Throughout the world, Freedom House programs are aimed at strengthening democratic institutions, supporting reform-oriented civic organizations, developing independent think tanks and nongovernmental organizations, and deepening the skills of local leaders who share a commitment to democracy. Through these activities, we work not only to curb rights violations, but to contribute to a sustainable infrastructure of free institutions, including an uncensored press and a legal system that treats citizens fairly.

We have increased our focus on the Middle East and the Islamic world. Part of our mission is being carried out on the ground, through projects seeking to defend human rights, strengthen civil society, develop a free press, and reform legal systems.

In Uzbekistan, a repressive police state, Freedom House is helping to encourage and train human rights defenders. In Kyrgyzstan, Freedom House is organizing the purchase of a printing press for the publication of uncensored newspapers and books. In Algeria, a country that is just now emerging from a decade of violent civil war and terror, Freedom House is working to advance judicial reform and press freedom. In Morocco, Freedom House is working with local organizations to strengthen the system of human rights monitoring.

In 2002, Freedom House honored Dr. Saad Eddin Ibrahim by presenting him in absentia with the first Bette Bao Lord Award for Writing on Freedom. Dr. Ibrahim has been a leading voice for democracy and religious freedom in his home country, Egypt, and in the Middle East generally for many years. Dr. Ibrahim has been jailed on concocted charges by Egyptian authorities and Freedom House has been working to publicize Dr. Ibrahim's plight.

In addition, Freedom House has focused some of its research on analyzing the roots of autocracy in the Middle East and other troubled regions. Our authoritative research publication, *Freedom in the World*, celebrating its 30th year, took a close look at the factors behind the "freedom deficit" in countries with a Muslim majority. And Freedom House's Center for Religious Freedom has launched a major research project that examines the workings of extreme interpretation of Islamic Sharia law.

We have also stepped up our advocacy efforts on behalf of an engaged U.S. foreign policy that places the promotion of freedom at the center of international initiatives. Key policy makers have shown a recognition that the expansion of liberty is crucial to the defeat of terrorism and the spread of economic prosperity. We were pleased to learn that the Administration will use the analysis incorporated in Freedom House surveys as a source in determining participation in the new Millennium Challenge Account, a new initiative that will provide billions of dollars in new development assistance to poor countries that meet certain standards, including those concerning respect for political rights and civil liberties.

Freedom House has remained involved in the Community of Democracies, a project of biennial ministerial meetings of more than 100 democracies that was launched in 2000 in significant measure as a result of Freedom House advocacy efforts.

Freedom House and the Council on Foreign Relations this year established a nonpartisan task force to examine the functioning of the United Nations and America's role in that body. The task force report stressed that the United States should establish a coalition with other like-minded democracies to advance the key goals of supporting democracy and advancing human rights.

In the coming year, Freedom House will continue its advocacy of the expansion of freedom and will continue to focus its energies on those parts of the world where freedom's advocates face their most difficult challenges. We have learned the bitter lesson that the forces of tyranny and

political extremism in some parts of the world can have devastating repercussions for the freedom and security of people everywhere. The challenges in the struggle for freedom are immense. We are confident, however, that with our roster of programs Freedom House is well positioned to make important contributions to the further expansion of political rights and civil liberties around the world.



Adrian Karatnycky

Adrian Karatnycky
President



Jennifer Windsor

Jennifer Windsor
Executive Director

Freedom House 2002 Global Highlights



SLOVAKIA

FH get-out-the-vote campaign helps generate record voter turnout in national elections



MEXICO

FH project helps develop alternative dispute resolution programs throughout the country



KYRGYZSTAN

FH trains human rights defenders and helps to establish independent printing press



MOROCCO

Parliament adopts new penal procedure code based in part on FH recommendations



UZBEKISTAN

FH opens Tashkent office to train human rights defenders



NIGERIA

FH launches journalist-training workshops



RUSSIA

FH trains Russian journalists in reporting on ethnic minority issues in the Baltics



Supporting Civil Society

Global Support for Civic Resistance

In January 2002, Freedom House and the International Center on Nonviolent Conflict held a workshop on the expansion of global support for nonviolent movements. The seminar drew from the theoretical knowledge and experience of more than 35 participants, including scholars, past and current practitioners from around the globe, and experts from the U.S. government and international nongovernmental organizations. Participants examined lessons from past international action, new opportunities for international involvement, ways in which outside assistance can help movements mute repression, the need for outside training and material resources, and ways in which movements can cultivate international aid. Freedom House has sponsored follow-up training events focusing on specific lessons learned from the experiences of Serb activists, which can serve as models for nonviolent strategies in conflict settings in Africa and other regions.

Cuban Democracy Project (CDP)

Cuba's pro-democracy movement reached a milestone in 2002 when Todos Unidos, a coalition of dissident groups, gathered more than 10,000 signatures in support of a referendum on a broad political-reform program, known as the Varela Project. The petition's success is a sign of the pro-democracy movement's growing maturity and organizational capacity. In 2002 Freedom House's Cuban Democracy Project (CDP) provided targeted support to a number of pro-democracy initiatives in Cuba. The CDP worked closely with democracy advocates and nongovernmental organizations in Europe and Latin America to help bring their experience, skills, and resources to the aid of activists and organizations throughout the island. In addition, the CDP delivered books to Cuba's independent libraries, conducted civic education workshops with community-based organizations in Cuba, and provided material assistance to dissidents and independent journalists.

Poland-America-Ukraine Cooperation Initiative (PAUCI)

Freedom House's Poland-America-Ukraine Cooperation Initiative (PAUCI) applies the best aspects of Poland's

successful transition to democracy to the situation in Ukraine. PAUCI is a trilateral initiative involving 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 80 projects engaging nearly 200 partner institutions. As the border between Poland and Ukraine becomes the eastern border of the European Union, the scope and importance of PAUCI will increase as an effective mechanism for building linkages, strengthening civil society, and ensuring lasting reform and economic growth in Ukraine.

In 2002, PAUCI saw a considerable increase in projects promoting economic cooperation and commercial ties between Polish and Ukrainian businesses and institutions. Business-to-business exchanges supported the practical application of Polish management and technical expertise in Ukrainian media companies, food processing plants, and tourism businesses. Chambers of commerce conducted trade missions focusing on specific sectors or geographical regions. Partnerships of independent think tanks carried out projects designed to influence tax policy and improve the overall environment for small business development.

In the coming years PAUCI will be institutionalized as a sustainable mechanism for supporting cross-border cooperation involving Ukraine, Poland, and neighboring countries.

Partnership for Reform in Ukraine (PRU)

Freedom House's Partnership for Reform in Ukraine (PRU) program assists Ukrainian think tanks in developing and promoting public policies that advance democratic and free market reforms. The PRU places particular emphasis on improving the capacity of think tanks to inform and influence public opinion and public policy. The program also links Ukrainian think tanks with counterpart organizations throughout Central and Eastern Europe—especially in Poland—and in the United States. Over the last four years, the PRU has supported 120 projects designed to shape policies regulating freedom of the press, taxation, local governance, national security, and the nonprofit sector. In 2002 the PRU focused its efforts on stimulating citizen involvement in elections (election regulations, media monitoring, campaign finance, election observation, and voter education) and funded research on civic activism and the state of civil society.

Regional Networking Project for Central and Eastern Europe (RNP)

While many countries of Central and Eastern Europe are beginning to enjoy the fruits of a long struggle with post-Communist transition, reform has yet to take hold in other corners of the region. Stability in the Visegrad group and the Baltic States continues to attract foreign investment and encourage steady economic growth. The Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland have taken their seats on the North Atlantic Council, and the promise of further NATO and European Union enlargement offers the genuine prospect of European integration to many more. Mass civic movements in Slovakia in 1998, Croatia in 1999, and Serbia in 2000 inspired record voter participation and brought dramatic political change through the power of the ballot. Meanwhile, many parts of the region are still plagued by the heritage of the old regimes. Government corruption continues to undermine the rule of law, elections are neither free nor fair, journalists disappear, and ethnic divisions threaten regional stability.

To overcome this mixed picture of change, Freedom House's Regional Networking Project (RNP) supports cross-border collaboration and joint projects between Central and Eastern European nongovernmental organizations. The RNP operates on the premise that transitional progress in the region must come from within the former Communist countries themselves, particularly among nongovernmental civil society organizations.

Through a subgrant program targeted at civic activist organizations and policy-oriented think tanks—supplemented by cross-border exchanges, U.S.-based training, and American volunteers—the RNP encourages initiatives led by nongovernmental organizations that join civic activism and policy advocacy efforts across borders. Program priorities include enhancing regional security and stability; advancing human rights; furthering economic reforms; and developing youth engagement in regional policy issues.

In 2002, Freedom House secured funding for four more years of regional networking. The next phase of the program will advance the transition in the nations of the former Soviet Union and encourage cooperation among Central and Eastern European countries and Russia.

Democratic Transition and Reintegration in Serbia

Emerging successfully from a decade of war, isolation, dictatorship and repression, Serbia has entered an era of dynamic civic, social, and institutional development. According to Freedom House's latest comparative survey of Eastern and Central Europe, *Nations in Transit 2002*, Serbia has achieved the most significant improvement in democratization, rule of law, and economic liberalization of any of the 27 former Communist countries. Beyond monitoring developments in Serbia, Freedom House has maintained a commitment to the country's democratic development over the last six years, during which the country has transformed itself into a developing democracy.



Freedom House sponsored three non-partisan elections-related grant activities to motivate citizens to vote and monitor the process in the first truly free and fair elections in Serbian history.
Photo by Mike Staresinic

Freedom House regional grants and exchanges continued to help Serbia's new government, civil society, and media leaders embrace the challenges posed by transition. Working with many partners—from grassroots nongovernmental organizations to the offices of the prime minister and president—Freedom House helped Serbia achieve many firsts in 2002: the first significant improvement in freedom of movement between the former enemies Croatia and Yugoslavia; the first new political partnerships between Serbia and Kosovo since the 1999 war; and development of a robust, networked civic sector that is tackling needed reforms. As Serbia continues its



I Supporting Democratic Reform ...Continued

commitment to democratic reform and strives for inclusion in the European Union, Freedom House will remain actively engaged with its Serb partners.

Slovakia's Elections

Parliamentary elections in Slovakia in September 2002 represented a watershed moment in the country's short history of independence. With help from Freedom House, Slovak voters turned out in force to demonstrate their commitment to democracy and the principles and values of NATO and the European Union.



Slovak campaign poster reads "It Matters To Us"

Freedom House awarded more than \$1 million to 42 leading Slovak nongovernmental organizations to support non-partisan election-related projects, including get-out-the-vote and voter-education efforts, research and polling for message development, and monitoring of media and political party behavior. Two national media campaigns – "It Matters to Us" and "Save Your Voice (Vote) for September" – received international recognition.

Freedom House also helped secure free prime-time airtime for a series of more than 30 TV and radio spots on all national and regional stations, and heavily discounted print ads in all the country's major news publications.

The campaigns kicked off in earnest in June and July, culminating in September with a series of high-profile concerts, rallies, TV and radio spots, and discussion programs that helped voters to make educated decisions among 26 parties running for seats in the Slovak parliament.

Get out the vote volunteers at work in Slovakia.
Photo by Jennifer Windsor



In the end, the electorate returned to power a pro-reform, pro-Western coalition under Prime Minister Mikulas Dzurinda, who helped secure Slovakia's invitation to join NATO and the European Union.

Defending Human Rights and Safeguarding Justice

RIGHTS Consortium

Since 1999, Freedom House's Rule-of-Law Initiative/Global Human Rights Training and Support (RIGHTS) Consortium has promoted human rights and the rule of law by strengthening the efforts of nongovernmental organizations, media outlets, legal professionals, and governments to improve judicial institutions and legal frameworks. In consultation with U.S. Agency for International Development and with the U.S. State Department, the program responds rapidly to emerging rule-of-law and human rights challenges with a flexible array of program tools tailored to indigenous conditions. Freedom House leads the Consortium, which also includes the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs and the American Bar Association.

The RIGHTS Consortium has also developed technical tools to assess country compliance with international treaties on civil, political, and women's rights; a software system and procedure for collecting and analyzing war crimes documentation; and training manuals on human rights monitoring, documentation, and reporting. Freedom House is currently developing the Human Rights Defenders (HRDs) Assessment tool, which will help in the design of programs that assist HRDs.

In 2002, the RIGHTS program was active in a range of countries in North Africa, Central Asia, Southeast Asia, Latin America, the Balkans, and the Baltics.

Activities Overview

Algeria

While brutal violence in Algeria has eased somewhat since the government's 1998 "Civil Harmony" initiative, rule-of-law and human rights violations continue to be of great concern. Freedom House, in partnership with the American Bar Association and the International Center for Journalists, continued its work in 2002 with nongovernmental organizations, legal professionals, judges, and independent media to promote judicial reform, freedom of the press, and accurate and professional reporting on human rights and rule-of-law issues. The project combines U.S.-based internships and study tours with on-site training of journalists, lawyers, judges, victims' rights groups, and human rights activists. Participants are now more actively engaged in the advocacy of judicial reform and victims rights including those of the disappeared. Private media still confront stricter penal sanctions for "insulting" government officials, but reporting on human rights violations has increased, a practice once considered taboo.

Kyrgyzstan

In Kyrgyzstan's early stages of transition, President Askar Akayev promoted political and economic liberalization with great enthusiasm, and the international community regarded him as one of Central Asia's more liberal leaders. Recently, however, he has turned increasingly to authoritarian measures in the face of economic collapse, social unrest, and a growing domestic opposition. While human rights defenders in Kyrgyzstan are among the most developed in Central Asia, this repressive environment has limited their opportunities for professional development and advocacy. As a result, Freedom House began working with Kyrgyz human rights activists in 2002 to strengthen and further develop their skills in monitoring and reporting on specific violations, as well to help them develop advocacy and protection strategies.

Mexico

Following the election of Vicente Fox and the effective return of meaningful democracy to Mexico, the RIGHTS Consortium partners (Freedom House and the American Bar Association) spearheaded an initiative in 2001 to strengthen alternative dispute-resolution (ADR) programs throughout the country. Many Mexicans cannot afford legal representation; thus, courts are inaccessible to a vast segment of society. Alternative dispute resolution offers a viable solution.

In 2002, to further promote ADR programs in Mexico, the RIGHTS program formed a local stakeholder advisory committee and hosted two strategic planning meetings. In June the RIGHTS program also convened a new commission on mediation, where ADR experts made informed decisions about the future of mediation in 11 Mexican states. In 2003, RIGHTS will continue to support Mexican stakeholders' ADR objectives through an integrated program of local and U.S.-based assistance. Freedom House is establishing new relations with Mexican human rights organizations to collaborate on upcoming criminal reform initiatives and new public policies aimed at improving human rights protections.

Morocco

Human rights in Morocco have improved significantly since the accession of King Mohammed VI in 1999, but intermittent crackdowns on human rights activists persist, and certain laws do not yet comport with international human rights standards. Throughout 2002 Freedom House's Rabat-based assistance program for Moroccan human rights organizations trained local monitors and trainers in observing, documenting, and reporting human rights violations. In partnership with the American Bar Association (ABA), Freedom House assisted in the reform process of Morocco's penal procedure code, sending a team of international criminal-procedure experts to Morocco in the spring to conduct roundtables with the Moroccan Bar Association, various nongovernmental organizations, and members of parliament on proposed amendments to the code. In July, the Moroccan parliament adopted a new penal procedure code that includes 70 percent of the recommendations generated by the Freedom House-ABA roundtables.

Uzbekistan

After a brief period that seemed to promise political openings, Uzbekistan now ranks as one of the most repressive regimes among the Newly Independent States. While Uzbekistan's laws and constitution enumerate a number of civil liberties, the government often cites "state stability" concerns as a defense to violating those rights. Local human rights defenders play a critical role in promoting the rule of law, but they have faced numerous logistical, legal, and political obstacles in their monitoring, reporting, and advocacy work.



I Supporting Democratic Reform ...Continued

Through the RIGHTS Consortium, Freedom House supports Uzbek human rights groups in strengthening their organizational structures and building upon their knowledge and skills. This helps them to address current obstacles and to map strategies for improving the local environment for human rights defenders. To better carry out its work, Freedom House in 2002 opened a human rights resource center in the Uzbek capital, Tashkent, and will open two additional centers in the outlying regions of Uzbekistan in 2003.

Promoting Free and Professional Media

Kyrgyzstan

President Askar Akayev increased suppression of independent media in 2002, using the state-owned printing press to censor and periodically refuse the printing of opposition newspapers. In response, Freedom House mobilized support for independent media by establishing the Media Support Center, a project supported by the U.S. State Department and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. The Center will house an independent printing press that will produce professional, uncensored newspapers and other publications. The Center is scheduled to open for business in 2003.

Strengthening Independent Media in Nigeria

After four decades of dictatorial military rule, Nigeria faces profound challenges to consolidating its three-year-old democracy. To assist this process, Freedom House launched the Strengthening Independent Media in Nigeria Project in September 2002. The project trains select journalists to better report on issues currently hampering Nigeria's democratic transition, including corruption, ethnic and religious conflict, and the need for political and economic reform. The project combines U.S.-counterpart training through Freedom House's ongoing Visiting Fellows program with workshops to be held in Nigeria.

Russian Journalists Program (RJP)

In April Freedom House launched the Russian Journalist Program (RJP) to generate greater awareness of ethnic Russian minorities in Estonia and Latvia. Russians have not enjoyed full citizenship rights in these former Soviet republics since they became independent. By providing journalists with the opportunity to closely observe and better understand the various integration programs conducted by national and local governments and nongovernmental organizations, Freedom House has worked to keep Russian journalists, and by extension Russian citizens, better informed of the situation of their ethnic brethren living in the Baltics. During the year, Freedom House brought 22 Russian journalists to Estonia and Latvia on study visits that included meetings with representatives of nongovernmental organizations, government officials, journalists, and educational leaders involved in minority integration issues. Participants reported that their impressions of the lives of Russians living in the Baltics were substantially expanded and enriched as a result of the program. All believed that opportunities for exchanges between the countries should be increased. As one participant noted, "In Russia, there is very little objective information about processes that are taking place in the Baltic countries, which is why the opportunity to see everything with one's own eyes is quite useful."

Promoting Open and Transparent Governance

Macedonia

Through a Freedom House training initiative launched in February, local and national Macedonian government officials are improving their skills in communicating with the press and the public. In the wake of recent ethnic violence, the election of a newly elected governing coalition, and the passage of a new law on local governance, communication between citizens and government officials at all levels is more critical than ever to maintaining stability in the country.

Following a round of workshops in April, eight government representatives at local and national levels came to the United States for an intensive two-week training program that provided them with practical and innovative ways to improve public outreach and press relations. Training continued with a

Activities Overview



Participants in Macedonian Government Communications Study Tour.
Photo by Yael Fuchs

second round of workshops and a study tour to Hungary, where participants learned about their Hungarian counterparts' successes and failures in the post-Communist period. Training will continue through early next year for eight local and national government officials.

Romanian Government Transition Support Project (RGTS)

The Romanian Government Transition Support (RGTS) project assists the Romanian government by strengthening its management, communications, and media relations capabilities. In addition to organizational and technical training, this program places a high priority on linking new

members of the Romanian government with their professional counterparts in the United States and Central Europe. RGTS is conducted through U.S.-based internship training and by the dispatch of American volunteer professionals to Romania. In 2002, Freedom House hosted nine local and national Romanian government officials through its Visiting Fellows program. Freedom House also provided expert assistance to the offices of the prime minister, the Regional Envoy of the Stability Pact, and a member of parliament through its American Volunteers for International Development (AVID) program.

Tapping American Expertise

The American Volunteers for International Development (AVID) Program

The 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 nongovernmental organizations, government institutions, and media organizations. Qualified American professionals volunteer their services and spend 3 to 12 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. Czech President Vaclav Havel serves as AVID's honorary chairman.



Yugoslav president Vojislav Kostunica presents FH AVID participant Steven Katich with a book on Serbian history. Katich worked for one month in the president's office.
Photo courtesy of Steven Katich

" I think one of the most important things that I acquired during my internship was the fact that I understood how important the role played by the NGO sector is and how fruitful it is for the society, especially for a society in transition. "

Iona Bivolaru, negotiating expert at Romania's Ministry of European Integration and Winter 2002 Visiting Fellow



I Supporting Democratic Reform ...Continued

In 2002, fifteen AVID volunteers were sent to Bulgaria, Romania, Ukraine, and Yugoslavia. AVID experts advised top government officials on media relations, trained the staff of NGOs in strategic planning and public relations techniques, and assisted journalists in learning to cover economic transition issues. Also in 2002, the Albanian National Training and Technical Assistance Resource Center adopted advocacy techniques provided by AVID volunteers in 2001 to conduct a new advocacy-training project for nongovernmental organizations in Montenegro.

“We are all so pleased with his presence here. He is everything we need in one person: experienced, knowledgeable, supportive, patient.”

Zdenka Milivojevic, director, Agency for Applied Political, Sociological and Marketing Research, Belgrade, Yugoslavia, on AVID 2002 volunteer Leonard Klein

The Visiting Fellows Program (VFP)

The Freedom House Visiting Fellows Program helps make it possible for advocates of democratic reform from overseas to work side by side with American counterparts in media, government, civil society, and business. During 6-to-10 week internships in the United States, the program seeks to equip participants with the tools to develop democratic infrastructures. Launched in 1990, the program has sponsored more than 650 promising young leaders from Central and Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, and North Africa. Past Visiting Fellows are now government ministers, ambassadors, mayors, prominent civic leaders, human rights activists, and editors in chief of leading media organizations.



First Lady Laura Bush presents the National Endowment for Democracy's Annual Democracy Award to Freedom House Visiting Fellow Nadjat Bouda of Algeria.
Photo by Adam Donahue/Mattox Photography

In 2002, Freedom House sponsored 61 individuals from Albania, Algeria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Romania, Ukraine, and Yugoslavia through the Visiting Fellows Program and other U.S.-based training initiatives. In 2003, Freedom House will welcome its first Visiting Fellows from Sub-Saharan Africa.

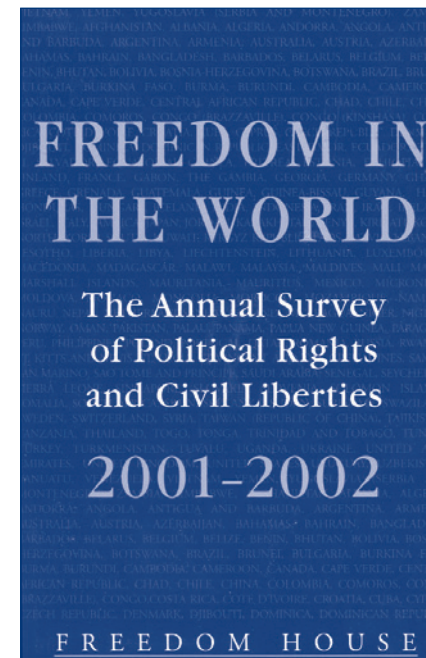
“This internship helped me to see that things we are trying to accomplish are possible and people are doing them.”

Dalida Demirovic, Summer 2002 Visiting Fellow, Center for Civic Initiatives, Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina, on her assignment with the Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana

II Monitoring Freedom

Freedom in the World

Published as a comprehensive monograph each year since 1978, *Freedom in the World*, the flagship Freedom House survey, is the only annual comparative assessment of global political rights and civil liberties. Its 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 political rights and civil liberties worldwide. Press accounts of the survey 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.



“An essential source, Freedom in the World works from the assumption that freedom is a universal value, not reserved for the rich.”

Francis Fukuyama, professor of International Political Economy, Johns Hopkins University

“Freedom in the World is an indispensable reference.”

Samuel P. Huntington, professor, Harvard University

The latest study, *Freedom in the World 2001-2002*, highlighted the substantial democracy deficit in the Islamic world, especially in its Arabic core. According to the survey:

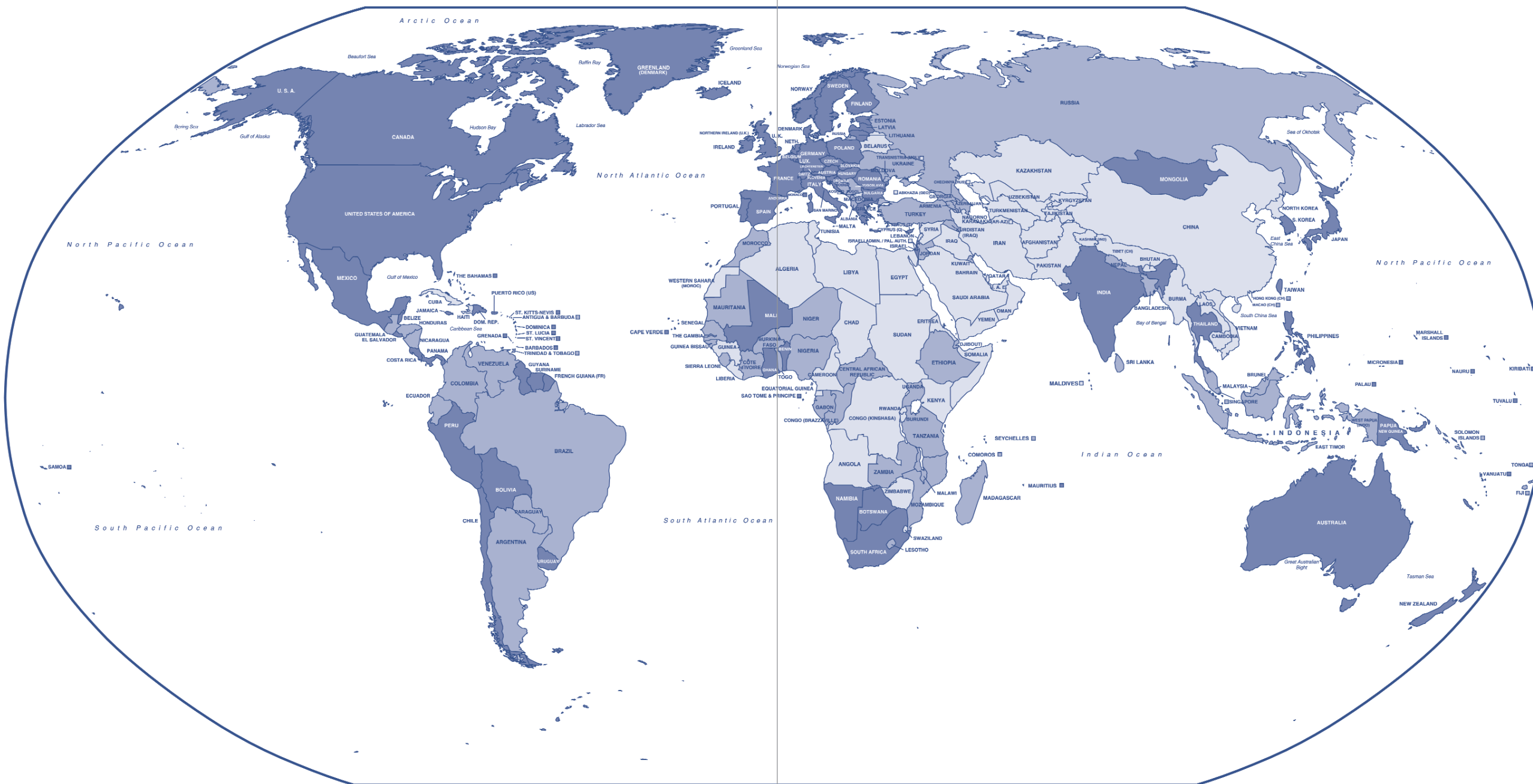
- While 121 of the world's 192 countries are electoral democracies, only 11 of the 47 nations (23 percent) with an Islamic majority have democratically elected governments. By contrast, the non-Islamic world, which consists of 145 states, 110 are electoral democracies (75 percent). None of the 16 Arab states of the Middle East and North Africa is a democracy.
- There exists a dramatic freedom deficit between majority Islamic countries and the rest of the world. Of the states with an Islamic majority, only one, Mali, is rated Free. Eighteen are rated Partly Free, and 28 are considered Not Free. By contrast, in the non-Islamic world, 84 countries are Free, 41 are Partly Free, and 20 are Not Free.
- The gap in freedom has only widened over the last 20 years. While every other region of the world has registered significant gains for democracy and freedom, the countries of the Islamic world have experienced a significant increase in repression.

The analysis, however, does not imply an inherent incompatibility between the Islamic world and democratic values. Democratically constituted governments, such as those in Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Nigeria, and Turkey, govern countries with large Muslim populations. Indeed, the majority of the world's Muslims live in electoral democracies.



II Monitoring Freedom

Map of Freedom 2002



- FREE
- PARTLY FREE
- NOT FREE

The Map of Freedom reflects the findings of Freedom House's 2001-2002 survey *Freedom in the World*. *Freedom in the World* is an annual institutional effort that monitors the gains and losses for political rights and civil liberties in 192 nations and 17 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.

TRACKING DEMOCRACY

Year	Electoral Democracies
1992	91
1997	118
2002	121

GLOBAL TRENDS IN FREEDOM

Year	Free	Partly Free	Not Free
1992	76	65	42
1997	79	59	53
2002	85	59	48

In 2002, there are 2.501 billion people living in Free societies, representing 40.79 percent of the world's population. There are 1.463 billion people living in Partly Free societies, representing 23.86 percent of the world's population. There are 2.167 billion people living in Not Free societies, representing 35.35 percent of the world's population.

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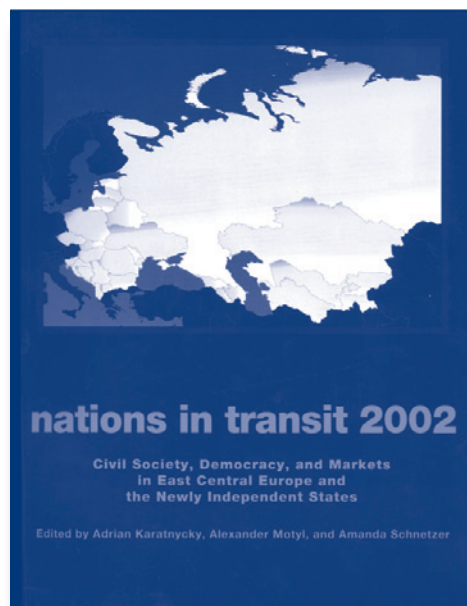
Data from *Freedom in the World* can be accessed at our website: www.freedomhouse.org



II Monitoring Freedom ...Continued

Nations in Transit

The last dozen years have seen tremendous political, economic, and social upheavals in the former Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern and Central Europe. *Nations in Transit (NIT)*, a detailed annual research report, is the only comprehensive, comparative, and multidimensional study of reform in those countries. It tracks key indicators of reform, including democratic elections, a vital civil society, independent media, decentralized governance, the rule of law, the lack of corruption, and free market economics. *NIT* assists policy makers in gauging the impact of U.S.-funded democracy and governance programs in the region.



“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 Brzezinski, former National Security Advisor to President Jimmy Carter

Nations in Transit 2002 shows a strong correlation between political openness and economic reform throughout the post-Communist world. The experience of Central and East European countries such as the Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia proves that good government and economic development go hand in hand. As European Union leaders ponder eastward expansion to these and other countries, they can have confidence in the values and institutions of these candidate states.

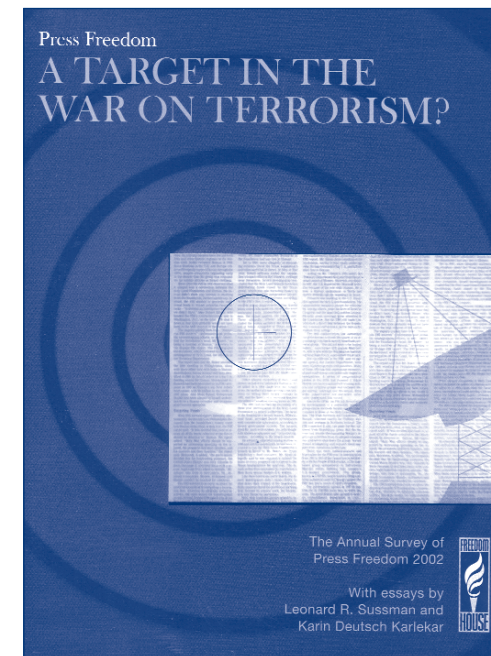
At the same time, *Nations in Transit 2002* reveals that the worst conditions for economic and political freedom persist in Central Asia, a region that has been a source of terrorist groups linked to al-Qaeda.

The study underscores the importance of growing U.S. engagement in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan, but suggests that continued aid will prove more effective if linked more directly to initiatives aimed at improving respect for human rights, good government, freedom of expression, and the rule of law.

The report recommends the United States use its foreign aid resources to strengthen independent civic life in Central Asia and forge new political openings in these largely authoritarian states. The leverage of continued aid and strategic cooperation should be employed to push them toward meaningful reform.

Survey of Press Freedom

Freedom House's *Annual Survey of Press Freedom*, conducted since 1979, is a comprehensive examination of press liberty worldwide. Every year, we rank the level of press freedom in each country on a comparative, numerical basis, as well as providing 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.

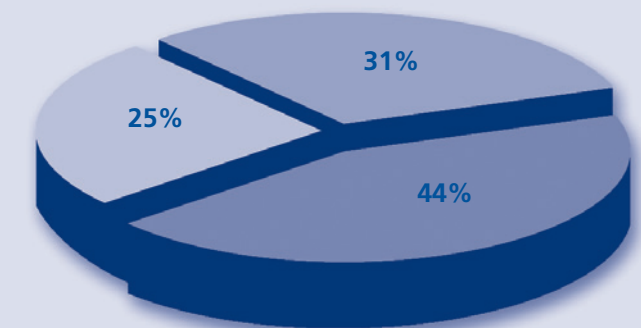
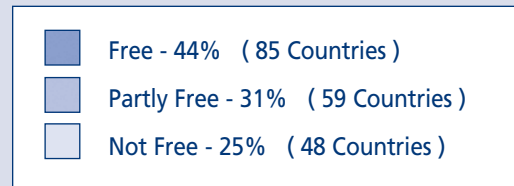


The 2002 survey found that the challenge posed by the terrorist attacks on September 11 and the resulting war on terrorism did not lead to major setbacks in press freedom in 2001. While some countries enacted restrictive press rules, press freedom on balance remained relatively intact throughout the world.

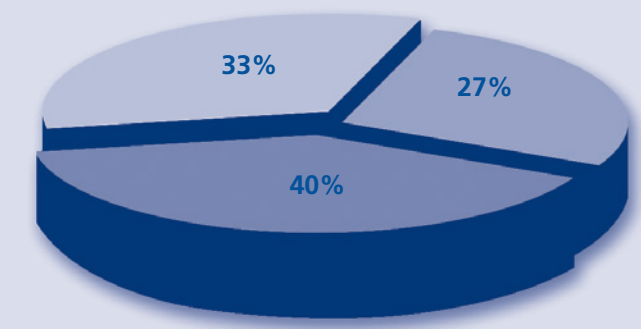
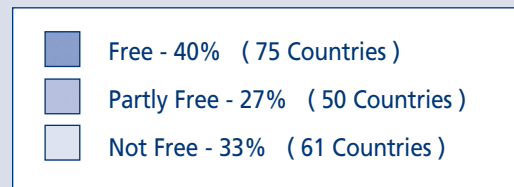
Out of 186 countries surveyed, 75 (40 percent, representing 22 percent of these countries' population) are considered Free, with no significant restrictions on the news media; 50 countries (27 percent, representing 40 percent of the countries' population) are rated Partly Free and are characterized by some media restrictions; and 61 countries (33 percent, representing 38 percent of the countries' population) are rated Not Free and are characterized by state control or other obstacles to a free press.

The 2002 survey was dedicated to the memory and spirit of Daniel Pearl, the American *Wall Street Journal* reporter brutally murdered in January 2002 by Islamic radicals in Pakistan.

Freedom in the World 2002 192 Countries Surveyed



Press Freedom in the World 2002 186 Countries Surveyed



III Advocating Democracy and Human Rights

Center For Religious Freedom

Freedom House's Center for Religious Freedom seeks to stop religious repression worldwide by documenting, analyzing, and publicizing religious persecution; mobilizing public support in defense of those imprisoned, tortured, or killed for religious reasons; and persuading policy and opinion makers to elevate religious freedom concerns in U.S. foreign policy.

Through high-level meetings with domestic and foreign government officials, congressional testimony, public awareness campaigns, media appearances, and articles in major newspapers and magazines, the Center's staff advocated on behalf of persecuted religious minorities in a range of countries, including China, France, Pakistan, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Turkey, and Vietnam. Coverage of the Center's efforts appeared during the year on Al-Jazeera, Vatican Radio, and PBS, as well as in the *Washington Post*, the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, and the *Weekly Standard*, CNN, Fox News, VOA, BBC, and Reuters, in addition to dozens of other newspapers, magazines and radio programs.

Responding to Religious Discrimination and Extremism

Extreme Sharia and Human Rights

Western awareness of Sharia (Islamic law) has been limited almost exclusively to women's dress codes and draconian punishments such as amputation and stoning. American policy makers have also been slow to address the destabilizing effects of the more extreme forms of Sharia, which have appeared recently in Africa and Asia, and which threaten to replace vulnerable democratic governments, such as Nigeria's, with Taliban-style regimes. Extreme Sharia's effects on democracy and human rights are pronounced, and the Center remained active in 2002 to raise domestic understanding of extremist tendencies and to increase awareness of their threat to American interests abroad.

In the summer the Center organized a conference in Washington, D.C., to launch a major new project documenting the rapid worldwide spread of a starkly repressive version of Sharia. The conference, most of whose panelists were Muslim, addressed the effects of this "extreme Sharia" in Indonesia, Iran, Nigeria, and Saudi Arabia, and its repressive effects on religious minorities, women, and due process of law.

Nigeria Report

In March the Center released a major report documenting the brutal and destabilizing effects of the growth of extreme Sharia law in Nigeria. The 100-page report, entitled *The Talibanization of Nigeria: Sharia Law and Religious Freedom*, found profound violations of human rights and religious freedom, which undermine Nigeria's democratization process. The report warned that if left unchecked, the further spread of extreme Sharia could provoke widespread interreligious conflict and transform Nigeria, Africa's largest nation, into a center of radical Islamism linked to foreign radical groups and governments. Currently, 12 of Nigeria's 36 states have adopted or intend to adopt Sharia. The report proposed policy guidelines to the U.S. and Nigerian governments to prevent this pivotal African nation from sliding into lawlessness and terror. The report based on a Center fact-finding mission to Nigeria in 2001 led by Senior Fellow Dr. Paul Marshall. Dr. Marshall has also published articles in the *Washington Post* and the *Weekly Standard*.



Some states in Nigeria now have "hisbah" vigilantes who enforce sharia and mete out immediate punishments. This is the sign of a "hisbah" office in Zamfara state.

Photo by Paul Marshall

Activities Overview

Radical Islam and the American Response

In conjunction with Senator Sam Brownback of Kansas, the Center held a series of private dinner seminars on radical Islam and the proper U.S. policy response. Speakers included Professor Habib Malik of Lebanon, who addressed radical Islam in the Middle East, Professor Ruud Peters of Amsterdam, who spoke on the spread of extreme Sharia in Nigeria, Professor Peter Riddell of London, who addressed Islamism in Indonesia, and Professor Reza Afshari of New York, who spoke on Iran.

Symposium on South Asia

In July, the Center cosponsored a symposium on South Asia organized by the Policy Institute for Religion and State. The conference, held in the Capitol and attended by more than 500 participants, including senators and representatives, featured academics from the United States and South Asia, and representatives of nongovernmental organizations and religious groups who addressed religious freedom, security, and economic affairs. Among the speakers was the Shankaracharya of Puri, one of Hinduism's four highest-ranking leaders, who denounced extremist Hindu violence against Muslims and Christians in India. Center Director Nina Shea chaired the panel on religious freedom.

Uncovering Religious Persecution

Religious Persecution in Sudan and North Korea

In May, the Center cosponsored a Washington, D.C. gathering of more than 100 Christian leaders for a summit on Sudan and North Korea, two of the worst violators of religious liberty in the world.

Senator Sam Brownback of Kansas and Congressmen Frank Wolf of Virginia, Spencer Bachus of Alabama, and Joseph Pitts of Pennsylvania attended the summit, expressing their solidarity with the anti-persecution movement. A White House representative read a statement from President Bush. The summit culminated with the adoption of a statement of conscience, an endorsement of the enactment of the Sudan Peace Act, and a call for increased aid to the persecuted people of North Korea.

Secret Chinese Government Documents

On February 11, the Center released a report analyzing seven never-before-seen, top-secret Chinese government documents detailing an official crackdown against large, unregistered Christian churches and other religious groups in China. The release of the documents, which provided further proof of Beijing's efforts to restrict the practices of religious minorities, received extensive global media coverage. The Center called on President Bush to speak forcefully and publicly in support of religious freedom in China, which he did in his February 21 speech at Beijing University.

Community of Democracies

Freedom House has remained actively involved in the Community of Democracies effort. The second meeting of foreign ministers was held in mid-November 2002 in Seoul. Along with other U.S. organizations, Freedom House worked on the preparations of the meeting, including recommending which countries should be invited to the meeting on the basis of their record of democratic governance. In addition, on September 10, Freedom House hosted a panel discussion in Washington, D.C., on the Community of Democracies, attended by the foreign minister of Poland, Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz, as well as by the Korean deputy minister for Policy Planning and International Organizations Chang-Beom Cho. Freedom House has also been a lead member of the international organizing committee for the affiliated nongovernmental forum, held concurrently in Seoul, where Chairman Emeritus Bette Bao Lord delivered opening remarks. Freedom House supported the forum's panel, "Media and Democracy."

Freedom House and the United Nations

As an accredited nongovernmental organization at the United Nations, Freedom House actively participates in official UN conferences and meetings. In October 2002, together with the Council on Foreign Relations, Freedom House presented "Enhancing U.S. Leadership at the United Nations," a groundbreaking study on U.S. relations with the United Nations.



III Advocating Democracy and Human Rights ...Continued



Freedom House President Adrian Karatnycky discusses the task force's findings with congressman David Dreier and former Congressman Lee Hamilton.
Photo by Kaveh Sardari

The result of a bipartisan task force chaired by Congressman David Dreier (R-CA) and former Congressman Lee Hamilton (D-IN), the study recommends that the United States adopt an agenda of promoting better cooperation among democratic UN member states, more vigorous human rights initiatives, and more rigorous counterterrorism efforts. The United Nations Task Force also made it clear that a precondition for making the United Nations truly effective is to reduce the leverage of a minority of repressive regimes, which skillfully blocks many American objectives.

The report also proposes a series of specific U.S.-led initiatives at the United Nations, including the institutionalization of a "democracy caucus" as a forum for building cooperation on issues of human rights and democracy. Such an initiative can strengthen UN credibility, enhance American leadership within the body, and bring greater effectiveness to UN counterterrorism efforts.

As part of its regular participation in UN meetings, Freedom House attended the UN Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR) in Geneva in April. Included in its delegation was Brian Atwood, a Freedom House trustee and former administrator of the United States Agency for International Development. On behalf of Freedom House, Mr. Atwood met with delegations to lobby for draft resolutions on rights violations in Chechnya, Cuba, and Zimbabwe. Human rights defenders from Algeria, Chechnya, Cuba, Russia, Uzbekistan, and Zimbabwe were also included in the Freedom House delegation and they called attention to violations in their countries through meetings with UN Special Rapporteurs.

Such advocacy does not go unchallenged. In first half of 2002, China, Cuba, and Sudan and continued to attack Freedom House's UN accreditation. The three countries filed complaints against Freedom House in response to our speaking out against their human rights records at the UNCHR and in public briefings in the United States.

However, in May, the two-year campaign to deprive Freedom House of its UN accreditation finally ended, with our credentials intact. Intervention by the United States and democratic countries from Africa, Latin America, and Europe thwarted the attempt to silence us.

Millenium Challenge Account

Freedom House was actively engaged in 2002 with Bush administration officials as they developed the criteria for a new foreign aid fund, the Millennium Challenge Account, which will increase foreign assistance levels by \$10 billion by 2006. Along with other organizations involved with democracy, human rights, and economic and political development, Freedom House wrote to President Bush to suggest democracy-based criteria for the account, including freedom of expression and association, freedom from torture and arbitrary arrest, and the right to choose representatives through free and fair elections. In a *New York Times* op-ed piece published on July 19, Freedom House Executive Director Jennifer Windsor argued that the United States should "not subsidize regimes that violate universally accepted principles of political rights and civil liberties." Freedom House indicators of political rights and civil liberties, used in the annual *Freedom in the World* survey, are likely to be used to establish minimum thresholds that countries have to meet to qualify as account recipients. Elucidating connections between sustainable economic growth and development on the one hand and democracy on the other has been a regular feature of Freedom House's past work.

Democracy and Development

Democracy matters to development. A growing cohort of donors, nongovernmental organizations, and governments has learned over the last 40 years that politics can support or sabotage the social and economic improvements that many countries need to better the lives of their own citizens. Freedom House has regularly pointed out the positive relationship. In its most recent *Freedom in the World* survey, Freedom House has analyzed democracy trends and found that as a general principle, economic growth is accelerated in an environment of political freedom. This year, the UN Development Program released an unprecedented set of findings in its Human Development Report, arguing that "political freedom and the ability to participate in the life of one's community are capabilities that are as important for human development as being able to read and write and being in good health."

"Political freedom and the ability to participate in the life of one's community are capabilities that are as important for human development as being able to read and write and being in good health."

UN Development Program's Human Development Report

The UNDP report convincingly rebuts years of excuses from dictators who claim that for their countries, political rights and civil liberties are a luxury that can only be enjoyed after economic prosperity and development are achieved. The past prevailing wisdom was that the prerequisite for such prosperity was authoritarianism, not democracy. The report boldly states the opposite: Democracy is essential to human

development – "It is the only political regime compatible with human development in its deepest sense, because in democracy, political power is authorized and controlled by the people over whom it is exercised." The report echoes the words of Nobel Peace Prize winner Amartya Sen, who has maintained that democracy is essential to the preservation and protection of human dignity, arguably the goal of any development effort.

Freedom House has been a strong supporter of the newly announced Millennium Challenge Account, which will increase the core assistance the United States provides to developing countries by 50 percent over the next three years. Funds will be directed to those countries that meet three criteria: They are committed to ruling justly, investing in their own people, and putting in place sound economic policies. Freedom House led an initiative by the larger democracy and human rights community to encourage the Bush Administration to ensure that the criteria selected to measure whether a country was "ruled justly" included the full panoply of civil and political rights. The White House announced in December 2002 that Freedom House survey data will be used as part of the evaluation process.



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V Financial Reports - Fiscal Year 2002

Combined Balance Sheet

(as of June 30, 2002)

Assets	
Current Assets	
Cash and cash equivalents	\$ 2,725,546
Receivables	1,258,087
Prepaid expenses	24,300
Total Current Assets	\$ 4,007,933
Investments	3,562,220
Furniture and Equipment	73,155
Security Deposits	55,273
Total Assets	\$ 7,698,581
Liabilities and Net Assets	
Current Liabilities	
Accounts payable and accrued expenses	\$ 347,903
Capital lease obligation-current position	2,506
Refundable advances	2,349,988
Deferred rent--current portion	29,532
Total Current Liabilities	\$ 2,729,929
Long-Term Liabilities	
Deferred rent	125,531
Deposits payable	25,681
Total Long-Term Liabilities	\$ 151,212
Total Liabilities	\$ 2,881,141
Net Assets	
Unrestricted	4,650,773
Temporarily restricted	166,667
Total Net Assets	\$ 4,817,440
Total Liabilities and Net Assets	\$ 7,698,581

Combined Statement of Activities and Changes in Net Assets

(as of June 30, 2002)

Revenue and Support	
Grants	\$ 9,763,409
In-kind Contributions	3,307,376
Contributions	409,512
Investment Income	319,713
Other Income	210,737
Total Revenue and Support	\$ 14,010,747
Expenses	
Program Services	\$ 11,836,921
Supporting Services	
Management and General	1,644,884
Fundraising	44,063
Total Expenses	\$ 13,525,868
Change In Net Assets	\$ 484,879



Freedom House FY02 Activities

Supporting Democratic Change

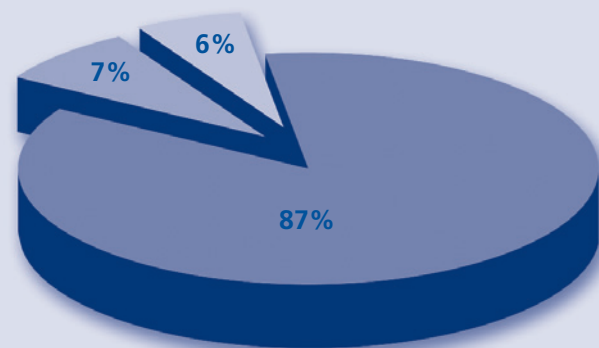
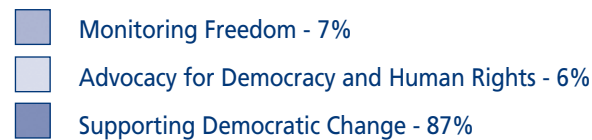
- Strengthening Rule of Law and Human Rights in Algeria
- Regional Networking Project
- Cuban Democracy Project
- Support for Human Rights in Krygyzstan
- Kyrgyz Printing Press Project
- Macedonian Government Communication Training Program
- Mediation in Mexico: Building Capacity and Effectiveness
- Human Rights Promotion in Morocco
- Moroccan Penal Procedure Code Reform
- Strengthening Media in Nigeria Project
- Romania Government Transition Support Program
- Russian Journalists Project
- Reintegration and Leadership Development in Serbia
- Partnership for Civil Society Program in Serbia
- Building Democracy in Serbia
- Slovak Election Activities
- Building Democracy in Belarus
- Partnership for Reform in Ukraine
- Poland America Ukraine Cooperative Initiative
- Strengthening Human Rights Defenders in Uzbekistan
- The Visiting Fellows Program
- The American Volunteers for International Development Program
- Rule of Law Initiative / Global Human Rights Training and Support
- East Timor Human Rights Support Program
- Latvia Naturalization Program
- Bosnia and Herzegovina Business and Local Governance Program

Monitoring Freedom

- Nations in Transit
- Freedom in the World
- Survey of Press Freedom

Advocating for Democracy & Human Rights

- Center for Religious Freedom
- Community of Democracies
- Promoting Peace in Chechnya
- Task Force on the U.S. Role in the United Nations
- Labor in a Global Era Project

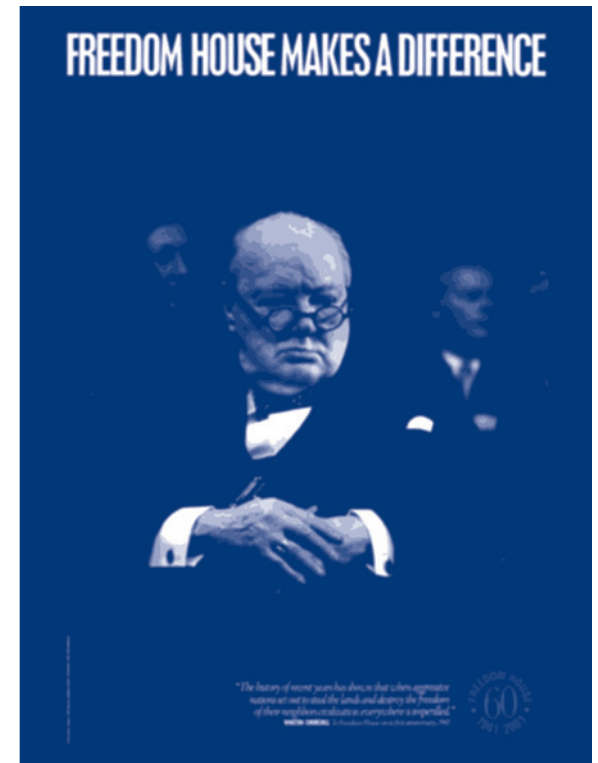


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