

# SOROS FOUNDATIONS NETWORK REPORT

## 2007

### COVER PHOTOGRAPHY

Burmese monks, normally the picture of calm and reflection, became symbols of resistance in 2007 when they joined demonstrations against the military government's huge price hikes on fuel and subsequently the regime's violent crackdown on the protestors. Thousands of monks were arrested and jailed. The Democratic Voice of Burma, an Open Society Institute grantee, helped journalists smuggle stories out of Burma. OSI continues to raise international awareness of conditions in Burma and to support organizations seeking to transform Burma from a closed to an open society. *more on page 91*





SOROS FOUNDATIONS NETWORK REPORT  
2007

*Promoting vibrant  
and tolerant democracies  
whose governments are accountable  
to their citizens*



OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE

## **ABOUT THIS REPORT**

The Open Society Institute and the Soros foundations network spent approximately \$440,000,000 in 2007 on improving policy and helping people to live in open, democratic societies. OSI worked on issues ranging from human rights, to access to education, to freedom of information, to public health in a variety of ways. These pages highlight many of the activities and achievements of OSI and the Soros foundations, and describe some of OSI's methods, including advocacy campaigns, court cases, public education, and support for direct services. Five of OSI's priority issues—the TB and HIV epidemics, international justice, Roma, natural resource revenues, and economic development—are profiled in photographs and in stories by OSI Senior Writer Chuck Sudetic. Writer Elizabeth Rubin reports on OSI's support for the immigrants' rights movement in the United States. To learn more about the issues and programs in this report, go to [www.soros.org](http://www.soros.org).

## **SOROS FOUNDATIONS NETWORK REPORT 2007**

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Cover photograph: Burmese monks

Photographer: Mary Kate McKenna

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Fleeing violence after disputed presidential election results, over 10,000 Kikuyu seek refuge in a camp for internally displaced persons in Kenya, February 2008.



# PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

## The Global Struggle for Open Society

“OSI has been deeply concerned with efforts to strengthen African institutions focusing on human rights, African regional courts, and the role of the African Union in addressing electoral disputes such as those that arose in the early part of 2008 in Kenya and Zimbabwe.”

IN THE EARLY years of the Open Society Institute and the Soros foundations network, in the 1980s and the 1990s, our main effort was to take advantage of moments of transition to help set formerly repressive countries on the path to becoming more open societies. In addition, starting in the mid-1990s with the launch of our programs in the United States, we made an effort to address some of the flaws of an open society. We achieved some successes and suffered some failures.

The largest and most obvious failure was the hardening repression in Russia that took place under Vladimir Putin. Today's Russia, of course, cannot be compared to the old Soviet Union. There are no counterparts today to the pervasive use of imprisonment to punish peaceful dissenters; even in Russia's restricted media environment, there is far greater diversity and freedom of expression than in Soviet times; Russians may now travel freely to other countries; today, victims of human rights abuses frequently are vindicated by the European Court of Human Rights. Still, Russia's failure to become a more open society must be counted as the most severe disappointment for the network.

In contrast, however, there have been significant successes. Ten countries where we established foundations have become members of the European Union. In several other countries, the Soros foundations have contributed to developments that make it legitimate and reasonable for these countries also to aspire to EU membership in the foreseeable future. Though the European Union is flawed, it is the best institutional guarantor in its own territory of peace, stability, economic progress, and adherence to open society principles and values that has developed internationally since the end of World War II.

As we approach the end of the first decade of the 21st century, the main focus of the Open Society Institute and the Soros foundations network has shifted. We operate worldwide and we see ourselves engaged in a global struggle for open society. That struggle involves global campaigns and global institutions; also, many times, issues arise in particular countries or regions that become the focus of intense activity by OSI both because of their intrinsic significance in their own locality and because of their global significance. Some aspects of the global struggle for open society are addressed by OSI through our own operating programs. In other cases, we rely primarily on grantmaking to other organizations.

## Global Campaigns

Some of the global campaigns that we have conducted in recent years and that continue today seek to do the following:

- > advocate for increased government transparency, including implementation of national freedom of information laws
- > develop and strengthen international criminal tribunals holding accountable government officials and leaders of antigovernment forces principally responsible for war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide
- > promote transparency and accountability for the revenues that governments derive from the exploitation of natural resources

## **The European Union is the best institutional guarantor in its own territory of peace, stability, economic progress, and adherence to open society principles and values that has developed internationally since the end of World War II.**

- > ensure adequate international funding for the global effort to fight AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria
- > promote a harm reduction approach to the problem of injecting drug use and minimize its impact in spreading HIV
- > make the findings of government-funded scientific and medical research available to all without burdensome financial costs
- > increase the availability of free legal representation to criminal defendants who cannot afford a lawyer and a related effort to reduce pretrial detention
- > protect freedom of the press by strengthening associations of journalists and media defense groups and by establishing a new organization to provide legal representation to journalists facing libel suits and other legal challenges

### **Global Institutions**

Some of the global institutions that are a focus of our work are the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative, the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria, and the International Criminal Court (ICC). A notable feature of these three institutions, all created during this decade, is that they are free-standing. Though the United Nations promoted the establishment of the Global Fund and the ICC, both are independent of the world body. The three institutions are innovative attempts to secure global cooperation in addressing critical

issues: the misuse of public funds, public health, and accountability for atrocious crimes. In the years ahead, it is possible that other such global institutions will emerge, such as an institution that fosters efforts to mitigate climate change and that assists those countries most severely affected.

In addition to our support for global institutions that address important parts of our agenda, the Open Society Institute and the Soros foundations network are attempting to enhance the ability of regional bodies to address issues of concern to us. One recent example is our leadership role in establishing the European Council on Foreign Relations. Its main purpose is to help ensure that the European Union develops and implements policies promoting the values of the EU in relations with other parts of the world, such as Russia and the Middle East.

OSI has been deeply concerned with efforts to strengthen African institutions focusing on human rights, African regional courts, and the role of the African Union in addressing electoral disputes such as those that arose in the early part of 2008 in Kenya and Zimbabwe. Also, we have supported efforts to make the Association of Southeast Asian Nations play a role in its region in protecting human rights; and we have supported organizations that litigate in the European Court of Human Rights and the Inter-American Court of Human Rights because of the important role played by those regional bodies.

### **Expanding Geographical Reach**

Our geographical reach continues to expand. In the last couple of years, we have enlarged the territory served by the Open Society Initiative for East Africa, based in Nairobi, by developing

## **The moral and political power of the United States has declined as it has lost its reputation as a country where human rights are zealously protected.**

programs in Uganda and Tanzania as well as Kenya. The Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa, now in its 11th year, has developed a substantial program focusing on the Democratic Republic of the Congo in addition to its work in the nine countries with which it has been concerned since its inception. The Open Society Initiative for West Africa has substantially increased its engagement in Liberia and Sierra Leone with the emergence of democratic governments in those two war-ravaged countries.

All of these OSI-supported activities in Africa seek to help Africans establish democratic institutions and procedures that strengthen their ability to find solutions to the social, economic, and political problems that have hindered the development of open societies throughout the continent.

We have also established a regional office in Amman, Jordan, to support our expanding work in the Middle East. OSI has taken the lead in establishing an Arab Fund for Arts and Culture, in which we have been joined by donors from Arab countries, to support theater, film, photography, literature, music, and translation in the region. We now operate in some 10 countries of Asia in addition to the countries of Central Asia that were formerly part of the Soviet Union. Most recently, we developed programs in Nepal and expanded our activities in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

### **Declining U.S. Role**

An important factor in our global struggle for open society is the declining role of the United States. America remains the lone global

superpower mainly in its unmatched capacity to engage in conventional military combat. Having recognized this advantage, America's enemies, as in Iraq and Afghanistan, challenge the United States by means of what is now commonly described as asymmetric warfare in which the military might of the United States is substantially reduced through unconventional strategies and tactics. In economic terms, America's power has declined as the relative power of China and India, and the economic significance of energy-exporting countries, has risen. Most important for our purposes, the moral and political power of the United States has also declined as it has lost its reputation as a country where human rights are zealously protected.

The identification of the Open Society Institute as an American organization was a major advantage in our early years. That is no longer the case. While the influence of the United States remains a positive factor in the promotion of open society values at certain times and in certain places, it is now necessary to examine each case individually to assess America's impact. This new environment heightens the need to develop global and regional institutions that are committed to open society values and that are effective allies in the global struggle for open society.

The shift that has taken place in the work of OSI and the Soros foundations network reflects the changed circumstances in which we operate. While our goal of promoting the development of more open societies has remained constant, it is increasingly evident that achieving our goal depends not only on local developments but also on the global context. And so we continue the struggle for open society globally.

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I want to note two particularly significant transitions in the staff of the Open Society Institute. After each serving with OSI for more than a decade, Gara LaMarche left in 2007 to become the president of the Atlantic Philanthropies and Mabel van Oranje left in mid-2008 to become chief executive officer of The Elders, a group of eminent individuals, convened by Nelson Mandela, Graca Machel, and Archbishop Desmond Tutu, to contribute their insight, independent leadership, and integrity to tackle some of the world's most challenging issues. As director of the U.S. Programs, Gara was central in making it possible for OSI to address such issues in the United States as the deficiencies in the country's criminal justice system, racial inequalities, and violations of civil liberties.

As director of international advocacy, Mabel played a comparable role in making it possible for OSI to engage in global campaigns.

OSI is fortunate to have enlisted Ann Beeson, previously associate legal director of the American Civil Liberties Union, to succeed Gara LaMarche. At this writing, we are engaged in a search for a successor for Mabel van Oranje.

We wish Gara and Mabel well in their new assignments and we are pleased that, in both cases, they have taken positions where we will be able to continue to collaborate closely with them in promoting the development of more open societies.

Aryeh Neier  
May 2008

## STRUGGLING WITH TUBERCULOSIS

Multidrug-resistant strains of tuberculosis—which can be difficult and costly to treat—are already infecting about 425,000 people worldwide each year. The disease is advancing across HIV-threatened southern Africa at a rapid rate. Lesotho, a small country of 2 million people, has the world’s fourth-highest reported incidence of TB and the world’s third-highest HIV infection rate. Up to 90 percent of TB patients are also infected with HIV. Ten thousand new TB cases are reported each year, and approximately 10 percent will become drug-resistant. The numbers are high, the suffering immense. OSI has awarded Partners In Health a \$3 million grant to create a model treatment program in Lesotho for people with drug-resistant tuberculosis. On assignment for OSI, Pep Bonet photographed the health care workers and their patients struggling with tuberculosis.









Every Saturday, in villages throughout Lesotho, mourners bury victims of the TB and AIDS epidemics. In little over a decade, life expectancy has dropped by 15 years from 59 to 44.



A doctor examines a patient at the new Botsabelo Hospital in Lesotho. OSI grantee Partners In Health and the Lesotho government opened the hospital in 2007 to treat multidrug-resistant tuberculosis patients who require specialized care that cannot be provided at home.



A new tuberculosis laboratory enhances the capacity of Botsabelo Hospital and the country to detect drug-resistant tuberculosis strains.



The model treatment program created by Partners In Health relies first on a system of home-based care. Botsabelo Hospital backs up home care with acute and intensive care for patients whose health must be improved before they can start treatment for their tuberculosis.



The aim of the model program is to prove that you can treat drug-resistant tuberculosis and save lives even in a poor, predominantly rural country like Lesotho.

## PUBLIC HEALTH PROGRAM

# Rising to the Challenge of the TB and HIV Epidemics

THE DEVASTATING tandem force of two diseases—HIV and tuberculosis—is ravaging some of the world’s most underdeveloped regions, including broad swaths of southern Africa. People infected with both latent tuberculosis and HIV have a much greater chance of progressing to active tuberculosis disease than people who have latent TB but not HIV infection. Active tuberculosis bacteria multiply and destroy tissue in the body; if these bacteria are not discovered and fully treated, they can weaken and kill people. If a full 6-to-12 month treatment regime is not completed properly, the bacteria may mutate into new tuberculosis strains resistant to the most common drugs used to combat the disease. The rise of drug-resistant strains of tuberculosis—some of them potent enough to withstand almost all available treatment methods—already poses a threat to populations across Africa and Eurasia, and especially the millions of people living with HIV. This threat requires urgent attention. Drug-resistant tuberculosis is already undermining progress made in fighting HIV and AIDS. If it goes unchecked, drug-resistant tuberculosis might outstrip the medical profession’s ability to cure it even in areas of the developed world.

### The HIV-Tuberculosis Epidemic

“Our agenda is to address tuberculosis, especially its drug-resistant strains, by promoting the kind of activism that is engaged in the fight against HIV and AIDS,” said Françoise Girard, director of the Open Society Institute’s Public Health Program. “The fight against tuberculosis is currently led by the same experts and doctors who have been dealing with the disease for decades. Clearly more activism is necessary, because the danger the disease now poses is so great.”

“Remember, it was the AIDS activists who said people living with HIV in African villages could adhere to antiretroviral drugs, and should receive treatment,” Girard continued. “Many in the medical and foreign assistance establishments said this would be impossible. It turned out they were wrong. We want to support activists in making tuberculosis diagnosis and treatment a priority the way they did antiretroviral drugs. If we wait for the TB community to get on the case, it is going to take too long, and too many people are going to die.”

Gregg Gonsalves is an HIV activist who has joined the fight against tuberculosis. A 44-year-

old American who came to southern Africa in 2000 to help fight the HIV epidemic, Gonsalves, through the AIDS & Rights Alliance for Southern Africa, has joined with advocates from the Treatment Action Campaign, Partners In Health, and other organizations allied with the Open Society Institute to begin demanding efforts to improve prevention and diagnosis of tuberculosis among people living with HIV. These groups are also working to increase tuberculosis testing for people living with HIV, to prevent and treat drug-resistant tuberculosis, and to integrate HIV and tuberculosis services.

“We’ll mount TB and HIV advocacy efforts to help push these issues forward,” said Gonsalves. “We want people who have HIV and TB to challenge governments and meet with scientists and educate communities to make their own decisions on health care. We want to tell people about the drugs they are not receiving, and then they will start asking questions. We want to mobilize people to demand their rights.”

## **Multidrug-Resistant Tuberculosis**

### **Lesotho**

In the autumn of 2006, George Soros enlisted the Open Society Institute in an urgent effort to slow the progress of multidrug-resistant tuberculosis in southern Africa. In Lesotho, OSI joined forces with the national government and a consortium of nongovernmental organizations, led by Massachusetts-based Partners In Health, to develop a treatment model for multidrug-resistant tuberculosis. The latter half of 2007 saw the opening of a critical component of this model: a special hospital for multidrug-resistant

tuberculosis patients who require acute and intensive care. Prior to this initiative, Lesotho had no capacity to even test patients for this disease. (See page 23)

“People were showing up at clinics, highly contagious and a few days from death, only to be turned away and sent back into the community because there were no beds and no labs,” said Girard. “OSI and its partners are working to prove that you can treat drug-resistant tuberculosis and turn lives around even in a poor, predominantly rural country like Lesotho.”

## **Monitoring and Advocacy**

Advocating for just, inclusive international guidelines and local health policies is an important component of the Open Society Institute’s work in public health. The Open Society Institute supports local communities to document government action or inaction and to use their findings to press governments to do more to combat HIV and tuberculosis. To this end, the foundation has provided funds for advocates in Georgia, Tanzania, Vietnam, and other countries to assess their governments’ response to HIV and tuberculosis coinfection. These advocates worked closely with the Open Society Institute’s Public Health Watch, which developed a monitoring questionnaire based upon a 2004 World Health Organization interim policy on collaborative TB/HIV activities. The results of these studies serve as a fact base for local civil society organizations to call on government and health officials to reduce the numbers of people infected by HIV and tuberculosis by improving the prevention and treatment of these diseases.

## **In many African countries with a lack of coordination between TB and HIV programs, tuberculosis, especially drug-resistant TB, is practically a death sentence for people living with HIV.**

### **Georgia**

The advocates in Georgia discovered that tuberculosis is not just a disease of prisoners and the poor, said research coordinator Tamari Trapaidze, a pediatrician who earned a master's degree in public health in Sweden and who works at the Welfare Foundation. Georgia has a low prevalence of HIV. But the country has a high incidence of tuberculosis, and especially multidrug-resistant tuberculosis. In fact, tiny, mountainous Georgia is one of 45 countries where the World Health Organization (WHO) has registered extensively drug-resistant tuberculosis, which is even more expensive and difficult to treat than multidrug-resistant tuberculosis.

The OSI-funded study revealed that there is an apparent link between the development of drug-resistant tuberculosis in Georgia and the fact that pharmacies in the country sell antibiotics, including an array of first-line and second-line tuberculosis drugs, over the counter without a prescription.

"For many reasons, people in Georgia do not always go to a doctor," said Trapaidze. "They don't go for a cold or the flu. They go to the pharmacy and misuse the drugs and fail to complete the treatment. The disease bacteria develop resistance to drugs. This is happening all over Eastern Europe, not just for tuberculosis, but for other diseases."

The Georgia study also revealed that in too many instances health care workers do not know that tuberculosis patients are failing to complete the treatment regimen, thus facilitating the development of drug-resistant strains of the bacteria. The results also demonstrated that patients, government ministry personnel, and members of parliament, particularly those on the health committee, also need to become aware of the problem and take action.

In Georgia, the Welfare Foundation is one

of just a few nongovernmental organizations focusing on tuberculosis as part of their health agenda. People with tuberculosis and members of their families fear stigmatization. "The stigma associated with tuberculosis in Georgia is as strong as the stigma associated with HIV," said Trapaidze. "People with tuberculosis want to be treated and forget it, because stigmatization affects not only the patient, but the entire family. People believe the disease is inherited by one generation from the next. They believe patients must be isolated and cannot be touched. People shrink away. Nobody wants to say in Tblisi that they have been to Khudadov Street, where the tuberculosis sanatorium is located."

The challenges of stigmatization are compounded by lagging institutional responses. "Health care workers are underpaid and unmotivated. International donors do not fund solutions to the problem. And this is the third year in a row that the government has reduced funding for tuberculosis," said Trapaidze.

### **Tanzania**

As in so many other countries of eastern and southern Africa where there is a lack of coordination between tuberculosis and HIV and AIDS programs, in Tanzania, tuberculosis, especially drug-resistant tuberculosis, is practically a death sentence for people living with HIV.

In Tanzania, the OSI-sponsored monitoring study revealed how little information about tuberculosis was available to the average person. Tuberculosis drugs are free-of-charge, but people infected with the disease do not receive them, due to various barriers to treatment as well as stigma that makes people afraid even to undergo tuberculosis testing. According to research coordinator Jamillah Mwanjisi, of the African Civil Society

Network on Water and Sanitation, health statistics understate the actual prevalence of both HIV and tuberculosis.

“The barriers that prevent people infected with tuberculosis from accessing treatment are the time it takes to travel to and from treatment centers, the cost of transportation, the cost of childcare, and, in the case of too many married women, approval from a husband,” said Mwanjisi. “For many mothers [with TB], the cost of transportation poses a choice: to pay for the ride to the hospital or to feed the family. Women put family health first. And we do not have strategies to address this situation.”

As a result of these barriers to treatment, Tanzania also has a high incidence of people not completing the medical regimen. “This is a prescription for the development of drug-resistant tuberculosis,” said Mwanjisi, who noted there is little government support for tuberculosis sufferers because the country lacks the monitoring and diagnostic tools to generate official data about the prevalence of multidrug-resistant tuberculosis. “The people with multidrug-resistant TB all die,” she said.

### **Vietnam**

Khuat Thi Hai Oanh is a doctor who left the practice of medicine in a tuberculosis hospital in Vietnam to focus on public health. She is now head of the Department for Social Health Studies at the Institute for Social Development Studies, a private, though officially monitored, organization that, with support provided by OSI’s Public Health Program, completed a report on the implementation of the government’s program on HIV and tuberculosis. The report provides an unprecedented view of the barriers to treatment confronting people with these diseases in Vietnam, many of whom are socially marginalized or migrants.

According to WHO, only 3 percent of people

with TB are HIV-positive in Vietnam, but Oanh pointed out that a 2002 surveillance in two provinces suggests that HIV prevalence among TB patients is higher than 10. The prevalence of drug-resistant tuberculosis is unknown because the government lacks the capacity to test for the disease. Initially, about 80 percent of the people with HIV in Vietnam were injecting drug users. Now, about 70 percent of the persons living with HIV acquired the disease through sexual transmission, but only about 4 percent are sex workers.

“It is a mistaken assumption that HIV only affects injecting drug users and sex workers in Vietnam,” said Oanh. “This is a myth propagated by the media, because injecting drugs and sex work are seen, like HIV, as social evils, and they want to scare people away. This fear and misinformation, however, increases the vulnerability to HIV of people who are not associated with drug use or sex work.”

At an OSI-sponsored symposium held during the annual World Conference on Lung Health in Cape Town, South Africa, in November 2007, Oanh described Room Nine of a tuberculosis hospital in Vietnam, the room where the staff shunts injecting drug users and patients who are HIV-positive. Even though the room is not explicitly labeled the HIV ward, Oanh said, everyone knows who is inside. The staff avoids contact with the occupants, and the room goes uncleaned until patients clean it themselves. Room Nine’s patients are issued the older linen and gowns, because the hospital burns the clothing and linens of patients who die and they fully expect the patients in Room Nine to die.

The staff also marks the clothing of patients who are HIV-positive with a small line, so everyone knows who they are. Breaches of confidentiality are commonplace, as the hospital shares informa-

tion on the patients' tuberculosis and HIV status with the provincial health department, and this information inevitably flows back to the patients' home communities. Prisoners in the facilities are chained to beds, sometimes eight in a room, and generally reviled by members of the hospital staff.

All Vietnamese are entitled to free tuberculosis treatment and medication, but the testing fee is \$20 in a country where most people living with HIV and their families live below the poverty line of \$13 per month. Persons living with HIV also frequently pay more for additional tests, because the tuberculosis tests returned by HIV-positive people are often negative as tuberculosis is harder to diagnose among people living with HIV.

Injecting drug users are another group disproportionately infected with HIV and tuberculosis. Drug users who fail to complete detoxification treatment in the community are incarcerated for two years in mandatory rehabilitation centers. The authorities assume that the residents of these centers are all HIV-positive, Oanh said, and half of them actually have tuberculosis. Despite this fact, the centers have no facilities for treating tuberculosis. The inmates have no freedom of movement, so they cannot go to the local hospital to seek treatment. Too often, cases of tuberculosis must become severe before the rehabilitation centers' staff members take inmates to the hospital for treatment. Some families reportedly had to bribe doctors to obtain tuberculosis treatment for family members detained in a drug center. Inmates who have escaped the rehabilitation centers are reluctant to go to hospitals or clinics for tuberculosis treatment because they do not want to be discovered and sent back to confinement.

## Nigeria

The Open Society Institute's Public Health Program works with a wide variety of

organizations to monitor government accountability. One of the foundation's partners is Journalists Against AIDS, a Nigeria-based nongovernmental organization that has worked since 1999 to provide support for journalists, publications, and broadcast stations to disseminate vital facts about AIDS at a time when most of the country's news organizations were sowing fear and hopelessness, and stigmatizing people with the disease. Journalists Against AIDS also conducted an OSI-funded study which focused on monitoring government implementation of tuberculosis policies in Nigeria, including the tracking of resources spent on HIV.

"The goal is to bring civil society and the media together to advocate for the government to undertake steps to improve how it responds to the HIV and tuberculosis problem," said Olayide Akanni of Journalists Against AIDS. "Our aim is to help people living with HIV advocate for themselves."

The Public Health Program and so many of its partners understand that HIV and tuberculosis, and especially drug-resistant tuberculosis, will not be overcome in Africa and other susceptible regions of the world without a targeted and persistent campaign that includes local governments, international donors, and health organizations, and, most urgently of all, local civil society and those with the disease. For this reason, OSI's efforts in eradicating tuberculosis, including its support of the project to attack multidrug-resistant tuberculosis in Lesotho, are designed to develop either models or information that can be applied broadly, across a wide variety of local communities, in a civil society effort to mobilize governments and the international community to respond more effectively and obtain better outcomes.

## Lesotho Hospital: Piloting Treatment for Drug-Resistant TB

The Botsabelo Hospital in Lesotho is a key component of an unprecedented program whose aim is to demonstrate that drug-resistant tuberculosis can be halted using currently available antibiotics before the disease spreads and mutates into strains that are impossible to cure. The challenges are formidable, given the setting of abject poverty, malnutrition, unforgiving terrain, and populations suffering epidemic levels of HIV and tuberculosis coinfection. The Lesotho program stands to inform World Health Organization guidelines as well as policies and programs developed and implemented by government health ministries in southern Africa.

Lesotho has the world's fourth-highest incidence of tuberculosis and the world's third-highest HIV infection rate. The country reports about 10,000 new tuberculosis cases each year, of which about 2,000 are reinfections in persons who have already suffered the disease. Every year an estimated 1,000 new cases are caused by multidrug-resistant strains of the disease. Multidrug-resistant tuberculosis, which is spread through the air, often requires a grueling, daily treatment regime over two years.

Partners In Health is a Massachusetts-based nongovernmental organization that has been working for more than 10 years to improve the treatment of multidrug-resistant tuberculosis in Haiti, Peru, Russia, and elsewhere. With a \$3 million grant from the Open Society Institute and funding from other donors, Partners In Health and the government of Lesotho launched the new program in mid-2007 and opened the Botsabelo Hospital at the end of September.

This renovated leprosy hospital now provides specialized care for multidrug-resistant tuberculosis patients who require acute and intensive care before even starting the treatment. The hospital provides essential back-up to the routine care delivered at patients' homes. Like those being treated in the community, the hospitalized patients are men and women—once robust miners and seamstresses and other hardworking individuals—who have been dragged toward the edge of survival by a disease with which their country could not cope. Without the Botsabelo Hospital, multidrug-resistant tuberculosis would kill these patients within days or weeks.

Beyond the hospital, the program has refurbished Lesotho's central tuberculosis laboratory, which has enhanced the country's capacity to detect drug-resistant tuberculosis strains. The program also hired and trained staff members, including community health workers, to identify possible cases of drug-resistant tuberculosis, to initiate patients on treatment, and to deliver their appropriate medications twice daily for up to two years. Program staff members also implement measures to prevent patients from transmitting the disease to others, and monitor side effects and patient adherence to the treatment regimen.

Patients who are in advanced stages of the disease or who live far from health clinics are provided with outpatient housing and home delivery of medications. Patients also receive supplemental drugs, lab tests, transportation vouchers, and fuel, food, and water so they can continue treatment without neglecting their families. Some tuberculosis medications can be toxic for infants, so nursing mothers receive infant formula. The program provides all treatment and supplemental services free of charge to the patient and family.

## JUDGMENT DAY FOR LEADERS ACCUSED OF ATROCITIES

International courts are calling to account government leaders responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes. The Open Society Justice Initiative is supporting international legal efforts against national leaders accused of mass atrocities in the former Yugoslavia, Cambodia, Sierra Leone, Darfur, and elsewhere.





The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia charged Slobodan Milosevic, far left, with crimes against humanity and genocide for his actions as president of Serbia during the Yugoslav wars in the 1990s. He died in jail of a heart attack in March 2006 before the completion of his trial in The Hague. Above, citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina run to avoid sniper fire during the siege of Sarajevo in 1994.





The mandate of the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia is to try former Khmer Rouge leaders such as Noun Chea, far left, for war crimes during the political party's rule in Cambodia from 1975 to 1979. An estimated 2 million people were executed or died of starvation and forced labor. Above, a Khmer Rouge soldier orders store owners to leave as Phnom Penh fell.

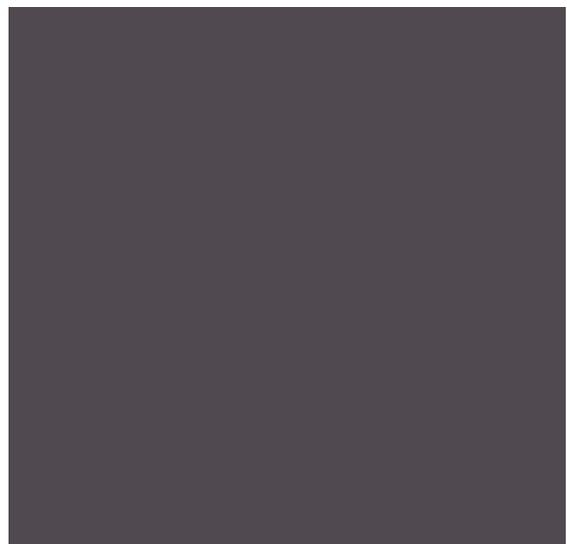


The Special Court for Sierra Leone indicted Liberian President Charles Taylor, right, in 2003 for crimes against humanity. The charges included Taylor's backing of Sierra Leone rebels who committed torture, rape, and other atrocities on civilians. His trial in The Hague began in early 2008. Above, a survivor of rebel torture, at a UN camp for refugees from Sierra Leone.





Fighting in Darfur between government-backed militias and rebel forces, with civilians often the victims, has resulted in an estimated 200,000 deaths from violence and disease, and about 3 million people displaced. The U.S. government has called the situation genocide. The International Criminal Court's investigations will determine if any leaders are held responsible. Above, displaced Sudanese rest under a tree in north Darfur.



## Bringing War Criminals to Justice

**A**T FIRST GLANCE, a Western eye sees a picture book small enough for a child's hand to grasp, a storybook a parent might read aloud to sleepy ears at bedtime. Pastel aquarelles radiate a soothing glow from the pages. Swirling block letters of the Khmer alphabet seem devised to convey tales of mystery and magic. But this is at first glance, and to a Western eye.

A closer look reveals images of a harsh reality, brutal scenes from the killing fields of Cambodia during the late 1970s, and the reason why the Open Society Justice Initiative and its partners underwrote this picture book to support outreach efforts for Cambodia's special court for bringing leaders of genocide to trial. The watercolor on the book's cover shows a witness, a peasant wearing sandals and a traditional Khmer scarf draped across his shoulders; he is standing with an investigator beside an exhumed mass grave and recalls having seen a man with a club crush the skull of a kneeling victim, bound and blindfolded. Inside the cover, Khmer Rouge soldiers abuse Buddhist monks in saffron robes; they lead a column of men and women, bound together with ropes strung around their necks, to an execution ground; they hang one victim by the ankles with

his hands tied behind his back and lower him head first into a barrel of water. A few pages later, there are illustrations of other witnesses coming forward, witnesses making statements to investigators, witnesses appearing before judges and prosecutors and defense attorneys.

These illustrations were designed to make the work of the Cambodian war crimes court comprehensible to the vast majority of Khmers, people who, in so many instances, are illiterate, who have never known the rule of law, who are not versed in the concept of a court or a witness, whose education has not included an examination of Cambodia's genocide, and who stand to benefit from a process that will make them more comfortable discussing the genocide in a public forum, more familiar with how a judicial system works, and more confident that even once-powerful individuals responsible for atrocities can be held accountable for their actions. At one outreach session in October 2007, about 60 Khmer peasants gathered inside a bamboo house on stilts; one man glowered at the pictures in the book: "What use have we for this?" he asked. "We are Buddhists. This world means nothing. And justice for the guilty will be handed down with their next reincarnation."

The Open Society Justice Initiative and numerous partners are engaged on several fronts of the international effort to bring an end to the impunity that has been enjoyed for too long by figures like the leaders of the Khmer Rouge, the militia commanders who ravaged people across the diamond-rich lands of West Africa, the genocidaires of Rwanda, the ethnic cleansers of Yugoslavia, and the warlords of eastern Congo and other resource-rich regions. Such offenses are not local phenomena. Crimes of this magnitude affect everyone. They violate human dignity and fundamental principles of human rights. And national leaders too often lack the willpower, and national courts the authority and fortitude, to prosecute the highest-ranking individuals responsible. International input is required if justice is to trump impunity.

There is no single method for bringing to justice those persons accused of the most serious crimes known to humanity. The United Nations Security Council established the temporary international tribunals for Yugoslavia and Rwanda and, together with the government of Sierra Leone, the Special Court for Sierra Leone. Cambodia's government, together with the United Nations, established the mixed tribunal to try persons accused of leading the genocide carried out by the Khmer Rouge. The International Criminal Court (ICC), the first standing court established to try accused war criminals, is a treaty body, with 105 states party to its founding act, the Rome Statute.

In support of these institutions, the Open Society Institute and the Open Society Justice Initiative have mounted efforts to improve the quality of investigations and judicial decision making; to assist prosecutors in structuring criminal charges; to enhance local participation

and a sense of local ownership of the judicial process; and to promote the prosecution of gender-based crimes like rape and sexual slavery and urge the appointment of more women prosecutors and judges. OSI and the Open Society Justice Initiative have also worked to mobilize state backing for international judicial institutions by calling for more funding, more and better support for investigations, and more help in effecting arrests. They have advocated for the enhancement of domestic law enforcement and judicial capacity so suspected war criminals can be investigated and, if appropriate, indicted and tried locally; and they have worked to empower survivors by making them feel a part of the process and providing them support and protection without creating false expectations.

### **Cambodia**

The war crimes court in Cambodia is the last opportunity to secure justice for victims of the Khmer Rouge regime. Over the years, the Justice Initiative has engaged dozens of international law and international tribunal experts to provide technical assistance in Phnom Penh on a range of issues related to establishment of the court. During the court's start-up phase, the Justice Initiative provided legal and technical training to local nongovernmental organizations and court staff; it had a resident fellow develop an outreach module for use in rural communities; it engaged filmmakers to produce works on the victims of the Khmer Rouge's crimes; it spearheaded efforts to fund the special court and secure the appointment of qualified international prosecutors, judges, administrative officials, and staff at all levels; and it engaged local and international media on the significance of the special war crimes court.

After long delays and troubled negotiations, the special court, despite all of its imperfections, officially launched operations in July 2006. From the beginning, the Justice Initiative called attention to fundamental challenges confronting the court, including concerns about judicial independence and political interference; a failure to adopt internal rules of procedure and evidence; fractures between international and Cambodian judges and staff; an insufficient budget and an overly cautious spending policy; lack of adequate training for judges and other staff; and a threat by Cambodia's government to expel the Justice Initiative from the country in response to its call, in February 2007, for an investigation into corruption allegations of the court's staff. The Justice Initiative, which phased out its technical assistance to the court in 2007, is continuing to monitor the special court's activities.

During November 2007, in Phnom Penh, the Open Society Institute sponsored its fourth colloquium for international prosecutors. The goal of this discussion was to help prosecutors and staff members develop a set of best practices for speedy trials and addressing issues such as witness protection and sexual violence. Following up on this face-to-face gathering, the Justice Initiative is sponsoring, and cofunding, a dedicated website for prosecutors from the various war crimes tribunals and courts to exchange ideas and further develop best practices.

### **Yugoslavia**

In 2007, the Justice Initiative worked to secure state support for the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), helping it secure funding to promote stepped-up efforts to locate the two most notorious persons facing indictment, Radovan Karadžić and Ratko Mladić.

The Justice Initiative also worked with a group of supporters to pressure the Serbian government to stop hiding Karadžić, Mladić, and two other remaining fugitives and hand them over for trial. The Justice Initiative called upon the European Union not to conclude a pre-membership agreement with Serbia until Karadžić and Mladić were in custody.

"It is a glass half empty," said Carla Del Ponte, the ICTY's chief prosecutor. "For the location and arrest of fugitives, we are dependent upon the good will of the international community to apply pressure and upon the good will of the national authorities. Success depends upon the help of the international community."

So far, unfortunately, the state support obtained has been inadequate, for, as so often happens, immediate political and diplomatic interests trump support for justice.

The challenges encountered in the former Yugoslavia have prompted the Justice Initiative to concentrate on identifying and advocating for better ways in which states can provide intelligence on indicted persons; track suspects and secure arrests, including the development of an international intelligence network on fugitive war criminals; and engineer and apply effective sanctions to freeze the assets of fugitives and their supporters and bar them from traveling through or over neighboring states.

### **Rwanda**

A keystone of any effort to further international justice is developing the capacity of states to try, in their home jurisdictions, persons accused of war crimes. The completion strategies of both the Rwanda and Yugoslavia tribunals depend upon the creation of local capacity in Rwanda and the successor states of Yugoslavia to try, in a fair and

**International justice is needed because national leaders too often lack the willpower, and national courts the authority and fortitude, to prosecute the highest-ranking individuals responsible for war crimes.**

impartial way, persons against whom sufficient evidence exists to bring war crimes charges.

In Rwanda, capacity is severely lacking. The 1994 genocide in Rwanda left only a dozen or so attorneys in the country; and tens of thousands of accused genocidaires live in squalid prison conditions awaiting trial. *Gacaca* courts, which were established after the genocide and based on traditional local courts, are expected to process over 50,000 of these defendants, leaving about 7,000 of the higher-ranking and most-notorious accused, including perhaps 20 persons who might be remanded from the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) in Arusha, Tanzania, to face trials in the country's courts.

"Assessment and enhancement of local capacity are crucial to our referral of cases to Rwanda and this is very important to our completion strategy," said Hassan B. Jallow, the ICTR's chief prosecutor. "The ICTR's judges have to make the assessment that the legal system is capable of holding fair trials, and it also requires eliminating the death penalty, since the international tribunal does not have the power to order capital punishment."

The Justice Initiative in 2007 participated in a needs assessment and held advocacy discussions with foreign donors, including national governments, in support of capacity-building efforts to strengthen the ICTR.

### **Sierra Leone**

The Justice Initiative is also supporting the work of the Sierra Leone tribunal, and especially its ongoing trial, in The Hague, of the former president of Liberia, Charles Taylor. The initiative has helped develop a website that will include day-by-day reports on the Taylor trial by international legal professionals, including lawyers from the

Clifford Chance law firm in Amsterdam. This website, [charlestaylortrial.org](http://charlestaylortrial.org), provides people in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and beyond West Africa with reliable, timely information on the trial and the evidence presented. The Justice Initiative has also undertaken assessments of the court's operations and developed projects to focus on ways to ensure that the court's operations will leave a positive legacy in West Africa and elsewhere.

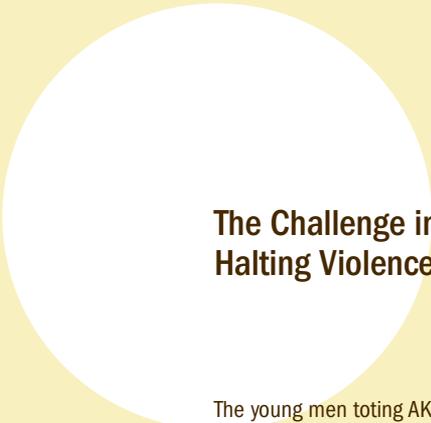
The Justice Initiative has also drafted recommendations on mechanisms the Yugoslavia, Rwanda, and Sierra Leone courts might implement to fulfill ongoing obligations stemming from their current mandates, such as who will try accused perpetrators not arrested until after these courts close their doors, what happens if trial witnesses are threatened or face retaliation after the court or tribunal shuts down, and who will consider new evidence that might be exculpatory for persons serving jail sentences on war crimes convictions. Failure to establish appropriate mechanisms for addressing obligations such as these could result in human rights violations against accused and convicted persons as well as victims and witnesses. It might compromise national-security information provided to the prosecutors. And it would damage the legacy and legitimacy of the courts.

In connection with the ICC in The Hague, the Justice Initiative has undertaken outreach work with persons from Darfur. It has assisted local human rights advocates in gathering and presenting information that the ICC's investigators and lawyers can use as lead material and, perhaps, present as evidence of crimes against humanity. The initiative is also urging both the ICC and the government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to pursue the perpetrators of the

massive gender crimes in eastern regions of the Congo, where government soldiers, members of renegade government military units, and men and boys recruited and press-ganged into a myriad of militias are gang-raping, in some instances repeatedly, untold thousands of women and making sex slaves of some, branding others like cattle, and maiming and mutilating women and girls as young as three years old. Many of the women have found themselves utterly alone while they struggle to cope with the psychological effects of trauma, destitution, unwanted pregnancies and children, HIV/AIDS, and ostracism by their loved ones who have shunned them as “diseased” or “tainted.” The ICC’s most recent indictment on the Congo, related to crimes alleged to have taken place in the Ituri region, included sexual violence

among the charges against the accused. The Justice Initiative is also urging that new indictments, when appropriate, include such charges.

The ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the genocide in Rwanda, the mutilations of children and other horrors of Sierra Leone, and the memories of the Khmer Rouge genocide in Cambodia provided the impetus for the creation of the first international war crimes tribunals since the Nuremberg and Tokyo tribunals after World War II. The Open Society Justice Initiative is committed to assisting these institutions, as well as the International Criminal Court, to fulfill their promise and make individual accountability, not impunity, the norm for the highest-ranking leaders responsible for wholesale violence.



## The Challenge in the Congo: Halting Violence Against Women

The young men toting AK-47s approach villages in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) through lush greenery, covered by the din of the bush. The United Nations says some of these are underpaid soldiers from the DRC's army. Some are members of renegade Mai-Mai militias who oil their bodies before battle. Some have come from Uganda for diamonds and gold and other metals wrenched from the mineral-rich landscape. Some fled Rwanda after wielding machetes during the 1994 genocide and now wear basketball jerseys and call themselves Rastas.

Sometimes the men drag village women from their homes and tie them to trees before gang-raping them. Sometimes they force the women's brothers and husbands and fathers to witness the rapes; and sometimes they kill the brothers and husbands and fathers who turn their eyes away before they kill those who watch until nothing is left to watch. Sometimes they rape the littlest girls—as young as 11 months. Sometimes they hold the women as sex slaves. Many times, the women become pregnant. Sometimes soldiers fight each other to possess the women, and at least one time two soldiers killed a woman to settle their dispute. Sometimes captive women flee the men on one side of the fighting; sometimes they are captured a second time by men on another side, then again gang-raped and tortured. Sometimes they reach a hospital.

Since it began over a decade ago, the war in the eastern DRC has produced one of recorded history's most widespread and soul-destroying spates of violence against women. With each passing year, and despite the presence of the world's largest United Nations peacekeeping force, the rape, maiming, murder, child molestation, enslavement, and abduction for ransom seem only to worsen. Authorities at Panzi hospital in South Kivu province registered 45 cases of rape combined with severe bodily injury in 1999; the number of cases rose to 145 in 2000 and to 580 in 2001; the number reached 3,500 in 2005 and has remained at this level ever since, though many victims are not tallied because they live in remote areas or don't lodge complaints. According to the United Nations, 27,000 sexual assaults were reported during 2006 in South Kivu alone.

The DRC's military, police, and justice system cannot cope with the overall security situation, much less the attacks on women. Few of the perpetrators of the gender crimes are ever brought to justice. Many victims do not approach the police because they fear retaliation by their attackers and lack confidence in the justice system. Many of the victims have found themselves utterly alone while they struggle to cope with their trauma even as they deal with penury, unwanted pregnancies, raising their children (some of them also victims of sexual assault), HIV and AIDS, and ostracism by loved ones who have shunned them as "diseased" or "tainted."

Three OSI programs—the International Women's Program, the Public Health Program, and the Open Society Justice Initiative—are collaborating with their partners in the Congo on efforts to halt the violence against women, to ease their suffering, and to help enhance the capacity of local justice institutions. OSI is urging the International Criminal Court and the DRC's government to pursue perpetrators of these gender crimes. "One proposed project would help the government of the Congo deploy mobile courts to South Kivu and perhaps other districts, courts that would go to the victims, to remote areas where most people have never ridden in a car or ventured far from their home villages," said Kelly Askin, senior legal officer at the Justice Initiative. The project would provide training for women judges and the placement of volunteer judges and lawyers from outside the Congo to assist the three-judge mobile courts as mentors. The enhancement of the capacity of local courts to try individual perpetrators, Askin said, will complement the work of the International Criminal Court, which is designed to bring the highest-ranking leaders to justice.

## MANY FACES OF THE ROMA

For 15 years the Open Society Institute has supported efforts to improve the economic and social inclusion of the Roma in Central and South Eastern Europe. It helped organize, and continues to promote, the Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005–2015, which focuses on the areas of education, employment, health, and housing, calling special attention to the issues of poverty, discrimination, and gender mainstreaming. OSI and the Open Society Archives in 2007 sponsored a Decade of Roma Inclusion photography contest, seeking to combat visual stereotypes associated with Roma and to present Roma people and culture sensitively and artistically. The contest was called Chachipe, which, in the Romany language, means “truth” or “reality.” The images on these pages present a few of the many faces of the Roma and their community. An online exhibition of Chachipe photographs can be seen at [www.romadecade.org](http://www.romadecade.org).





The World of Information  
Tünde Erika Palosi  
Târgu Mureș, Romania



Friends Are Family Too  
Ana Jakimoska  
Topaana, Skopje, Macedonia



Compeer  
Slobodan Simic  
Gaj, Serbia



Football team  
Ivan Petrović  
Vrela Ribnička, Montenegro



Lili  
Eszter Deli  
Gödöllő, Hungary

## DECADE OF ROMA INCLUSION

# Supporting the Roma in Securing Their Rights

THEIR NAMES are Nadir and Toni, Mirka and Ristem, and Asen and Ivan. Each is European. Some are younger than others. Some are more talented and articulate, some more ambitious and driven. A few are blonde with eyes of turquoise, a few raven-haired with chestnut eyes and the almond complexions so many light-skinned northerners long to carry home after winter junkets to southern beaches. And yet, in the minds of many Europeans, young Roma like Nadir, Toni, and the others—no matter how talented and articulate, no matter how ambitious and driven—embody little more than a stereotype: the gypsies, thieves, pickpockets, and beggars; separate and suspect; deceitful and distant.

The abuses that spring from this stereotype have traumatized both the Roma and the communities they have inhabited. Over the centuries, Roma have been enslaved, beaten up, burned out, and bludgeoned off to the next ghetto, and to the next and the next; the Nazis herded Roma into cattle cars and shipped them to the gas chambers with other persecuted groups; communist governments forced them to settle, to assimilate, and even to submit to sterilization.

Since the fall of the Berlin Wall, however, representatives of the continent's 8 to 12 million Roma have asserted themselves as never before. They are mounting organized efforts to claim for their people, as citizens of the new Europe, the rights they should have been enjoying all along. This effort achieved a new plateau in 2005, when nine countries from Central and Eastern Europe endorsed the Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005–2015, an unprecedented initiative, supported by the Open Society Institute, the World Bank, and other international and regional organizations, to defeat discrimination and break the cycle of poverty that too many Roma in Europe suffer.

Now, young Roma like Nadir, Toni, Mirka, Ristem, Asen, and Ivan are working to hold the participating governments to their word, using the signatures on the Decade of Roma Inclusion as leverage in efforts to overcome centuries of alienation, lack of opportunity, and violence.

### Decade Watch

Nadir Redžepi played keyboard and guitar for a professional band in Tetovo, a town in Macedonia,

before he took a cut in income to become a full-time Roma activist. Today, at age 45, he is executive director of the Roma Democratic Development Association. Among other activities, the association joined with DecadeWatch, an organization created by the Open Society Institute and the World Bank, in a project to assess how well government signatories to the Decade of Roma Inclusion were meeting their commitments to improve education, health care, housing, and employment opportunities for Roma.

“For the first time in history, Roma from nine countries worked toward the same goal, and we learned by doing,” Redžepi said. “At first we thought that, since the state had adopted official policies, changes would come automatically. But changes did not come. So we decided to research what government institutions, international organizations, and Roma nongovernmental organizations were doing. We confirmed that in Macedonia and elsewhere state support was weak. Implementation and official policies on the Roma needed instruments and structures.”

Redžepi was present in Sofia, Bulgaria, on June 11, 2007, when George Soros launched DecadeWatch’s assessment report. “We went to the government with the findings and said we needed implementation now,” Redžepi said. “We’ve already seen results in budget lines. We’ve seen structures put in place. Now they are developing an action plan on Roma women and working on a human rights action plan.”

With OSI’s support, a group of young Roma activists, including Toni Tashev, a 35-year-old Roma lawyer who knows firsthand what education is like in a segregated Roma school, formed a nongovernmental organization in Bulgaria, the Regional Policy Development Centre, which promotes legislation and government policies to

overcome discrimination and also participated in DecadeWatch’s monitoring project.

For Tashev, the key revelation from the DecadeWatch’s report was that in all the participating countries there is a significant lack of relevant data to assess government compliance with the commitments made in the initiative. “At the moment, we can only assess the inputs made by national authorities, and not the outcomes,” Tashev said. “In employment, for example, there are no clear data on how many Roma are covered.” In health and housing, improvements are coming only slowly, Tashev added, but in education much more has been achieved.

In addition to supporting DecadeWatch, the Open Society Institute and the World Bank work through the Roma Education Fund to promote equal access to quality education for Roma children. In 2007, the Open Society Institute’s EU Monitoring and Advocacy Program, in collaboration with OSI’s Education Support Program, its Roma Participation Program, and a number of Roma nongovernmental organizations, issued reports on equal access to quality education for Roma in Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, Serbia, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, and Slovakia. The research for the reports assessed how Roma education policies were implemented in these countries, and found significant discrepancies between the research data and the available official statistics.

OSI-backed research in Slovakia, along with a similar study by Amnesty International, led them to issue, in November 2007, an urgent call for the European Union to take action to end Slovakia’s discrimination against Roma children and its systematic violation of the right of Roma children to quality schooling. Researchers discovered that a disproportionate number of Roma children in

## Only a comprehensive approach to lack of access to education, health, and housing will begin to eliminate the discrimination and poverty so many Roma endure.

Slovakia were being placed in schools for children with mental disabilities or segregated into Roma-only schools. The studies also revealed that in some areas of eastern Slovakia all schools were segregated, that Roma children in Slovakia were receiving a lower-quality education than other children, and that majority-Roma schools were overcrowded and staffed, in many instances, by unqualified teachers. As a result, Roma literacy levels have been persistently low, and Roma children had little chance of entering mainstream schools or pursuing higher education.

“The problems that Roma face in Slovakia are so intertwined that only a comprehensive approach to solving all of them at the same time can bring real change,” said one of the researchers who took part in the study, 25-year-old Mirka Hapalova, director of the Slovakia branch of People in Need, a nongovernmental organization that promotes employment of Roma and other marginalized people. “In our interviews, some teachers spoke about the need to change the Roma children, without mentioning the possible need to change the teachers. This kind of one-way perception of the problem often leads to good ideas in theory being spoiled when they are applied in practice.”

### Macedonia

In many communities, getting Roma children into good schools demands something more than persuading government leaders and school officials to allow them to enter. It requires a persistence to convince some Roma parents that education itself is worth the effort of enrolling their children, of ensuring that they attend class, and of making sacrifices—some as basic as obtaining hand-me-down clothing and, despite

the hardship of having no running water at home, making sure the children have bathed—so schoolmates do not subject the Roma pupils to ridicule or worse.

Ristem Muslievski, 33, was a journalist until 2006. Today, as an outreach worker for a Roma organization, the National Roma Centrum, Muslievski moves through the Roma *mahala* of Kumanovo, a town in northern Macedonia, urging parents to enroll their children and keep sending them to school. (Kumanovo’s school officials opened the town’s best schools to Roma students for the first time in 2007.) Many parents have been reluctant. Some told Muslievski that they did not know where the assigned school was located—even though it was a few blocks away—and they feared that their children might get lost on the way or that they might run afoul of bullies.

“We take the most-vulnerable kids—the poorest kids, the kids who don’t know the Macedonian language, the kids whose parents are less enthusiastic—and drive them to school in a van, about 80 of them,” Muslievski said. “Maybe 4 of the 80 would attend classes if we didn’t do this. We have to keep talking to the families. We warn them that there is a fine if they do not send their children to school.”

One first-grader, for instance, a tiny girl with big, piercing eyes named Violeta, disappeared from her classroom in mid-October. Muslievski learned that she was traveling during the weekdays to Tetovo, where she was living in a tent and waiting beside her mother as she begged on the street. “We went to the parents many times,” Muslievski said. “We explained to them what education means.” It was mid-December, before they allowed Violeta to return. By February, she had caught up with her classmates.

## Bulgaria

The twin doors to the Prince Alexander Elementary School, in Plovdiv, Bulgaria, are cut from heavy wood, painted gray, and trimmed in white; and they tower over the heads of the first-graders. It has been three years since they opened to the first Roma children taking part in a desegregation program implemented in dozens of schools in nine Bulgarian cities. The program now involves some 3,000 pupils, about 1 in every 11 of Bulgaria's school-age Roma children.

"People once thought the Roma were incapable of being educated and did not want to be educated," said Donka Panayotova, a 49-year-old school teacher from the town of Vidin, who initiated the desegregation process with the help of OSI in 2000. "We have proven that Roma children can be educated in the mainstream and that their results are much higher than those of the Roma kids who are in segregated schools."

Asen Karagyozov, age 32, works at the Association of Roma Youth in Plovdiv's mahala, Stolipinovo, a drab array of prefab-concrete apartment blocks surrounded by shops, garages, and streets neglected by the city's road crews and garbage collectors. Karagyozov and his father, Anton, founder of one of Bulgaria's first Roma nongovernmental organizations, now help operate a program to bus Roma children accompanied by Roma teaching assistants from Stolipinovo to Prince Alexander and other elementary schools in the city's center. So far, about 200 Roma children participate in the desegregation program in Plovdiv. Another 3,300 attend a segregated school in the mahala.

"No Bulgarian would come here to Stolipinovo to go to school," Karagyozov said. Živka

Bosnakova, the mother of a Roma second-grader, knows why. "I went to that school," she said. "I know my son reads, writes, and knows math better than children going there."

## Czech Republic

In a landmark decision for Roma and members of other ethnic groups across Europe, the European Court of Human Rights ruled in November 2007 that segregating Roma students in "special" schools is a form of unlawful discrimination. The ruling came in a case filed, with OSI's support, nine years earlier on behalf of 18 Roma children from Ostrava who sought legal redress for the practice—widespread in Central and Eastern Europe—of shunting Roma students, regardless of their intellectual abilities, into "special" schools for children with learning disabilities. Research by Ivan Ivanov, who, at the beginning of the trial was a 32-year-old staff attorney at the OSI-sponsored European Roma Rights Centre, showed that Roma pupils in Ostrava were 27 times more likely than similarly situated non-Roma pupils to be placed in "special" schools.

"There was no antidiscrimination legislation in Central and Eastern Europe at the time," said Ivanov. "And those countries weren't part of the European Union then, so the challenges were big. I knew how to approach the Roma to get accurate information from them. They were reluctant. Few of them believed we could succeed. I had to persuade them that the case would have an impact for thousands of Roma children forced to attend schools for the mentally handicapped. Now we can take this decision and present it in each country where there is segregation of Roma children. Segregation is discrimination. Period."

## Roziana's Story: No Identity Since Birth

In all her 24 years, Roziana Zakiri has not learned to read. She cannot write. She does not know how to tell time. And until early autumn 2007, Roziana did not officially exist as a human being in her homeland, Macedonia, or anywhere else on the planet. A house fire consumed the only official paper she had with her name on it: a copy of a form her mother got from the hospital on the day Roziana was born. But Roziana's mother never obtained an official birth certificate or a personal identification card for her daughter.

So Roziana has gone through life without health insurance and social benefits. No certificate vouches for her 10-year marriage to a man, Safet, who is also not recorded on official registers. None of their five children have birth certificates. And when Roziana was in labor with her twins in early 2006, the local hospital sent her away because she had no national health card. Roziana gave birth to a boy and a girl in a crumbling one-room brick house for which she and Safet hold no title, a house that sits on a plot of land about 20 feet by 15 for which they hold no deed.

By tending a farmer's livestock for a month, Safet brings home the equivalent of about \$50 and, occasionally, some milk and cheese. Roziana says that she earns the equivalent of about \$4 a day begging on the streets of Kumanovo, a few miles from Macedonia's border with Serbia.

"We would often start in front of the post office," Roziana said. "The children would sit beside me while I begged. We'd walk back and forth to the center of town. The twins were really small. I would have slings for them, one in the front, one in back."

Asmet Elezovski, founder and manager of the OSI-supported National Roma Centrum, spotted Roziana and her children begging in front of a store.

"She was a new face, so I knew she was not from Kumanovo. After that, I sent a team to check things out. We appealed to her several times to come to us for help. One morning last winter, she showed up at the office very early. Her mother-in-law was seriously ill. Roziana was pregnant with her twins. She was seeking help. We began by trying to get her humanitarian aid and a doctor's examination. Then we asked about her documents, and we found she had none and no way to obtain the money to obtain them."

The field-workers at the National Roma Centrum had seen many complicated registration problems before. But even the officials at the government offices did not know where to begin with Roziana. It took until September 2007 to obtain Roziana's personal identification card. Her five children obtained birth certificates by October, and her eldest daughter, eight-year-old Serdjana, entered the first grade. The authorities assigned a social worker to Roziana's case and obtained welfare benefits for her. But health cards had still not arrived by the New Year. Once they do, Roziana can obtain additional security and protection for her children—she can get them vaccinated.

The Roma population in Central and Eastern Europe is notoriously understated in official statistics, and no one knows how many Roma like Roziana are unregistered. With the support of the Open Society Institute's Roma programs, however, Roma activists like Asmet Elezovski, and his field-workers are integrating these most-alienated of all people into the broader society.

### Scholarships for Tomorrow's Leaders

Each of them is 23 years old. Each has felt the slap of discrimination and the sting of personal loss. Each is the living antithesis of a stereotype. Zina Tenekedzieva speaks French, German, Bulgarian, Turkish, and Romany, the language of the Roma, and has degrees in medicine and social work; her mother died of kidney failure after a long struggle that sapped her family's assets; her father is an ailing former steelworker and professional accordionist. Bulgaria's former national champion in women's judo, Raina Becheva graduated from the national sports academy before losing her Olympic dream to a devastating injury. Rosen Asenov languished in a segregated Roma school until a Bulgarian teacher helped his father, who works in a car-battery factory, and his mother, a teacher, get him transferred to a Bulgarian school. Tenekedzieva, Becheva, and Asenov are the recipients of OSI-sponsored scholarships designed to foster the development of prospective Roma leaders by giving them the opportunity to master the English language.

Each has life experiences that have tempered their ambitions. "I've seen how some people from government institutions mistreat Roma people," Tenekedzieva said. "I was discriminated against by a college professor who did not like the Roma part of me. My sister lost her job because the other workers said she was a gypsy and refused to work with her."

Despite the setbacks and barriers, Tenekedzieva is committed to helping society and her people. "I want a job in some institution, in a municipality or ministry," she said. "I want to work with our people, especially our women, because they need someone to protect them from discrimination."

For Becheva, judo meant freedom and achievement: "Roma girls need to break free. They withdraw into themselves. The environment of the mahala closes in around them. They have choices, but they don't know them. They don't know the possibilities. They get married very young. They have many children very young. They don't go to school. They remain illiterate. Sports are a way to break free. Judo gives you a sense of strength, a way to defend yourself, and something useful to do with your time. So I want to establish a judo club for girls."

Asenov will soon attend the Central European University and hopes to work in a Roma organization or in the European Union in some capacity helping Roma community development. "When I see the children begging on the streets, I see the politics, I see that they are not educated, I see that they have no options. Organized crime selects kids like this," he said. "It is time for us to obtain positions in the government. It is time for us to define our interests and our rights. It is time to improve our position in the broader community. We learn fast. And we will destroy these stereotypes forever."

## LIVING ON THE PIPELINE

Governments in poor countries promise their people that money from the sale of natural resources will improve their lives. But people along the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan (BTC) oil pipeline are worse off, not better. Each day millions of dollars of oil flow through more than 1,700 kilometers of pipes in Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Turkey. Yet houses above the pipeline go without heat or light. Farmers lose their land without compensation. Fishermen along the coast lose their catch as pipeline traffic drives the fish away. Pipeline construction in the mountains causes landslides and destroys homes. The Open Society Institute believes the responsible management of natural resource wealth would diminish such harms. In photographs from her project Pipedreams, Rena Effendi shows what happens when governments overlook the lives of ordinary people in the rush for resource riches.



A fisherman with his nets in Bibi-Heybat, an oil village in Azerbaijan.



A young girl in a wedding party in Djandarsky, opposite the BTC Marneuli pumping station in Georgia. Djandarsky residents complained that they had lost their farmland due to the BTC construction and were never properly compensated.



Yelena Rodina with her granddaughter Lika in Dgwali, Georgia, approximately 800 meters from the BTC pipeline. Rodina, like many others, lost her house to a landslide and received only minimal compensation from the pipeline company.



Eshana Arviladze, 81, on the ground floor of her home, and (above) an abandoned house. Both were damaged by landslides. Village of Dgwali, Georgia.



Aynur Gokchay with her husband Isa at home in Calabas, Turkey. Isa and other villagers never received the jobs promised by a BTC contractor.

## REVENUE WATCH INSTITUTE

# Opening the Books on Natural Resource Revenues

**E**ACH NIGHT for a month, messages appeared on the cell phone of a community activist in one of Indonesia's sprawling urban areas. The messages were consistent, the threat unobvious: "If you want to live in this city, don't talk about budgets." Next came "informal conversations" with the local police, then interrogations, then a traffic incident involving another community activist who was thrown from his motorbike. The incident might have been happenstance. But, after so many warnings, it might have been something else.

It is dangerous work to empower people, to provide them information about malfeasance and the tools they need to collect official documents, to show them how to discover whether government officials, some local, some national, are mismanaging and sometimes skimming massive amounts of public money paid by foreign companies to extract oil, minerals, and other natural resources. In many cases, local people doing the tedious, risky grassroots work have benefitted significantly from support provided by the Open Society Institute and the Revenue Watch Institute, a former OSI program and now a major grantee working to promote transparency and accountability in resource-rich countries.

Ilham Cendekia works for PATTIRO, the Center for Regional Information and Studies, a grantee of the OSI-supported Tifa Foundation in Indonesia and a key local partner of the Revenue Watch Institute. Headquartered in Jakarta, PATTIRO has trained local advocates, including the community activist who received the threatening text messages, to teach people how to demand access to information about budgets, government revenues, and the dispersal of revenues from natural resource extraction, including payments made by huge oil and mining companies. "It takes time to strengthen them and build their confidence," Cendekia said. "We direct them to the local governments, to confront them. We find champions within the government."

Success comes in fits and starts, and the Revenue Watch Institute provides support to capitalize upon it. One cooperative member of Indonesia's parliament passed PATTIRO a copy of a contract between Indonesia's government and an oil company. "We sent the document to Revenue Watch's legal department," Cendekia said, "and used its expert opinion as an advocacy tool and in educational materials. It makes us stronger. It gives us greater credibility."

The importance of PATTIRO and the multitude of other civil society organizations working to bring genuine transparency and accountability to resource-rich countries around the world can hardly be overstated. Behind the massive violence, poverty, and corruption that are ravaging so much of the world—behind the killing, the rape, the maiming, the abduction of children to serve in military units in places like Sierra Leone, Liberia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and so many other countries—lies a driving force: the mismanagement and theft of revenues produced by the extraction of oil, diamonds, metals, and other natural resources bound mostly for the developed world.

In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the cash comes mostly from metals and diamonds. In Equatorial Guinea, Nigeria, Chad, Iraq, and so many other countries, it's oil. Even in relatively peaceful countries like Indonesia, which is recovering from decades of insurgent violence and government repression, mismanagement of revenues from natural-resource extraction can undermine healthy sectors of an economy, and particularly those sectors, like manufacturing and agriculture, that are engines for alleviating poverty and achieving sustained growth; this can produce unemployment, massive public indebtedness, the impoverishment of millions of families, and the severing of the ties that make a country's government one that is of the people and for the people.

The Revenue Watch Institute's mission is to help introduce and strengthen transparency and accountability in resource-rich countries around the globe. The institute helps provide citizens with the information, training, networks, and funding they need to become more effective monitors of government revenues and

expenditures. The Revenue Watch Institute works with and engages not only civil society but also government officials, parliaments, and the private sector in producing and consuming countries around the world, as well as international financial institutions.

Two of the Revenue Watch Institute's main partners are pillars of the campaign for transparency and accountability in resource-rich countries. The first is Publish What You Pay, a coalition of more than 300 local and international nongovernmental organizations from around the world that are working to require oil, gas, and mining companies to disclose the payments they make to governments for the extraction of natural resources and thereby help citizens of resource-rich developing countries hold their governments accountable for the management of these revenues. The second is the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI), a coalition of governments, companies, civil society groups, investors, and international organizations that promotes transparency and accountability by the governments that receive revenues for extraction of natural resources.

## **Publish What You Pay (PWYP)**

Media and letter-writing campaigns by the Publish What You Pay coalition helped produce a breakthrough in 2007, when the International Accounting Standards Board agreed to consider an international reporting standard for payments companies in the extractive industries make to governments. The new standard would require the resource-extracting companies to report payments to governments on a country-by-country rather than a lump-sum basis. This new

**“While the G8 countries pledge strong commitment to transparency and accountability for extractives, they are all too willing to look the other way when competing among each other and with China, India, and others.”**

requirement will allow civil society activists, for example, to compare the companies’ reports of these payments with the respective governments’ reports of revenues. Promulgation of this new standard may take up to five years, but when it is issued, the standard will automatically become law in more than 50 countries, excluding, however, the United States and Canada.

Since early 2007, the Revenue Watch Institute, a U.S. public charity, and Publish What You Pay’s United States coalition focused considerable effort on promoting revenue transparency in Congress. The House of Representatives banking committee chairman agreed to support legislation requiring resource-extraction companies listed in the United States to publish what they pay to governments. The 2007 energy bill urges Congress to adopt domestic and international payment-reporting requirements for extractive companies. The Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) reauthorization bill, passed by the House in 2007, would require OPIC to tie its support for extractive projects to companies and governments adopting transparency measures like EITI or the equivalent. The Revenue Watch Institute is launching an alliance with the Project on Government Oversight, Friends of the Earth, and Taxpayers for Common Sense to promote domestic royalty reform and payments disclosure for oil and gas drilling and mining on federal lands.

The Revenue Watch Institute, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, asset managers, and sovereign and quasi-sovereign debt issuers have also worked to persuade investment rating agencies to factor transparency indicators, like membership in the EITI, into their risk assessments of economies that are highly dependent upon revenues from resource

extraction and thus establish a direct link between governance and the cost of capital.

## **Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI)**

The EITI has campaigned, since its launch in 2002, to improve governance in resource-rich countries primarily by working to convince the governments of these countries to reveal publicly all revenues they collect from natural resource companies for the extraction of oil, gas, and minerals. At the end of 2007, 15 countries in Africa, Asia, Europe, and Latin America had endorsed the EITI, while 7 other countries, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Madagascar, the Republic of the Congo, Sao Tome and Principe, Sierra Leone, and Timor-Leste, appeared poised to be accepted as candidate members. In 2007, the Revenue Watch Institute joined forces with the EITI’s secretariat, the United Kingdom’s Department for International Development (DFID), and the World Bank in an effort to enlist Indonesia in the EITI.

The governments of some countries that have endorsed the EITI have been slow to honor the commitments they made to disclose the revenues received from natural-resource extraction. This has generated concern that some governments are only paying lip service to the principle of transparency in order to achieve other economic and political objectives and that this will undermine the EITI’s credibility. During the summer of 2007, the Revenue Watch Institute mobilized its civil society partners in natural-resource-producing countries and joined forces with the World Bank, DFID, the German federal government’s Gesellschaft für

Technische Zusammenarbeit GmbH, the U.S. State Department, and other stakeholders in an effort to ensure that candidate countries meet a “pre-validation” test, which amounts to the EITI’s first effort to distinguish those countries that are genuinely ready to implement the EITI from those that are not. The result has renewed momentum in several countries.

“This is a global effort to set global standards and introduce a modicum of global governance to protect people from lack of transparency,” said the EITI’s chairman, Peter Eigen. “The stakeholders include hard-nosed oil men, idealistic civil society activists, and a whole range in between them. We’re talking about numbers—big numbers—for some; and ideals for others. The oil men are looking for a positive effect on their companies’ share prices. If you invest a couple of billion to begin development and the country is behaving responsibly rather than erratically, then your share price will go up.”

In August 2007, the Revenue Watch Institute helped organize the first-ever EITI capacity-building workshop for 60 regional civil society organizations from Australia, Cambodia, China, Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, and Timor-Leste. With support from a local Revenue Watch consultant, more than 40 civil society organizations came together in November 2007 to launch an Indonesian PWYP coalition. Similar workshops have helped launch coalitions in Africa and the Andean region. The Revenue Watch Institute is also about to launch pilot projects to assist subnational governments and local civil society organizations in Indonesia to promote the sound management of expected new flows of revenue from oil, gas, and mining that will be passed from the central government in Jakarta to the country’s provinces. Elsewhere, the

Revenue Watch Institute’s network of partners continued in 2007 to demonstrate signs of an increasing willingness to work together on their own initiative to promote the EITI and its goals.

## **New Transparency Partnerships**

Some large natural resource companies have begun engaging the Revenue Watch Institute and its partners on transparency concerns. The Revenue Watch Institute is also partnering with Paul Collier of Oxford University and DFID’s chief economist, Tony Venables, to develop case studies and an applied policy manual for the management and expenditure of natural resource revenues to maximize the impact of windfall profits from commodities upon overall economic development. This manual will be a tool in the Revenue Watch Institute’s efforts to provide technical assistance and is likely to be picked up by other donors.

The Revenue Watch Institute also launched a partnership with the Centre for the Study of Global Governance at the London School of Economics. The center will focus its work on promoting transparency and accountability in the management of natural resources in the countries of the Middle East and North Africa. During 2007, the Revenue Watch Institute helped ensure that Iraq’s draft hydrocarbon law includes language requiring transparency of revenues and contracts.

“We made efforts in terms of helping overcome the political differences and coming up with a coherent federal structure for the oil industry and also in terms of improving transparency and accountability measures,” said Yahia Said, the Revenue Watch Institute’s Middle

## Peru's Gold Standard: Monitoring Transparency

From Mexico, Venezuela, and Ecuador with their oil fields, to Bolivia with its gas, to Brazil and Peru with their mines, the countries of Central and South America abound in natural resources. And activists throughout the region know that these resources also pose an abundance of risks. There is the risk that corruption and mismanagement of the revenues from exploitation of these resources can undermine healthy branches of national economies; there is the risk that resource extraction may contribute to the creation of unwieldy public debt and income disparities; and there is the risk that the misuse of resource revenues can alienate a people from their government, and, ultimately, fuel political unrest and repression.

Peru could easily have fallen victim to this resource curse. Folded within the Andes of Peru are rich veins of precious metals that brought misfortune to the people of this land even before 1533, when the Inca leader, Atahualpa, tried in vain to save his own life by paying his captor, the conquistador Francisco Pizarro, a ransom of gold and silver. Revenues from mining account today for about half of Peru's export earnings. Peru also has the fifth largest proven natural gas reserves in South America.

One reason why Peru did not run afoul of the resource curse was the country's transparency in the reporting of revenues generated by extraction of natural resources. The Revenue Watch Institute and its partners in Peru recommend that other countries examine Peru's transparency laws, which guarantee the country's citizens access to basic information about oil, gas, and mining revenues, their distribution, and their use.

Peru's performance has much room to improve, however. Activists in the country still lack sufficient information on contracts, corporate income-tax payments, and corporate social contributions, particularly below the national government level. Despite a commitment to the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI), Peru has not taken new steps since 2005 to implement the initiative's reporting requirements. In September 2007, the EITI's board gave Peru the status of candidate country, requiring Peru to demonstrate that it is implementing EITI's principles. Local and regional governments are failing to invest all the transfers they receive from the extraction of natural resources. The effective use of resources has been constrained by the limited capacity to identify and execute productive investment projects.

"We have very good transparency laws and civil society is very active in monitoring and in advocacy to improve the quality of spending, but the picture is far from rosy, and I would not present Peru as an example of how to do things well from the perspective of inclusive and sustainable development," said Carlos Monge, who was the Revenue Watch Institute's regional coordinator in Peru in 2007 and serves as an EITI board member. "Poverty reduction is lagging far behind while income distribution figures are worsening. And mining is generating all kinds of environmental damage and fueling social conflicts." Revenue Watch's subnational capacity building and civil society monitoring projects in Peru may help to improve that performance.

At the end of 2007, the Revenue Watch Institute was working with a network of civil society organizations in Trinidad and Tobago to establish and improve the monitoring of revenue flows from oil and gas exploitation. It was also close to launching projects in Bolivia, Brazil, and Ecuador, and initial meetings were held with local nongovernmental organizations.

East and North Africa director. “The main obstacle is the lack of trust of everyone by everyone. By increasing trust, Revenue Watch can help improve the climate in Iraq.”

## Challenges

In the near term, one of the stiffest challenges facing the Revenue Watch Institute and its partners is to prevent backsliding by the G8 countries on their commitments to press for revenue transparency as a part of their efforts to secure oil, gas, and mineral concessions. During 2007, for example, the European Union failed to mention good governance and transparency in its energy strategy. The United States hinted that it might support Angola, a notorious resource-cursed country, to become vice-chair of the Kimberley Process Certification Scheme, the process developed in 2003 to certify the origin of rough diamonds from sources which are free of conflict.

“There are two forces of resistance to the campaign,” said the Revenue Watch Institute’s director, Karin Lissakers. “One is the competition for resources among the major consuming countries. While the G8 countries pledge strong commitment to transparency and accountability for extractives, they are all too willing to look the other way when they are competing among each other and with China, India, and others. The other challenge is the sentiment in major producing countries that the whole international transparency campaign is just another manifestation of imperialism. This makes

it harder for us to get a handle to draw in Chinese and Indian companies. Big Western companies, whether enthusiastically or not, are on board. But the Chinese and Indian companies are not.”

Alan Detheridge, a former oil company executive who is a member of the Revenue Watch Institute’s advisory board, said good governance, which depends upon transparency and accountability of revenues for natural resources, is in the interests of the natural resource companies because it reduces the risk to the huge investments these companies make in the resource-producing countries.

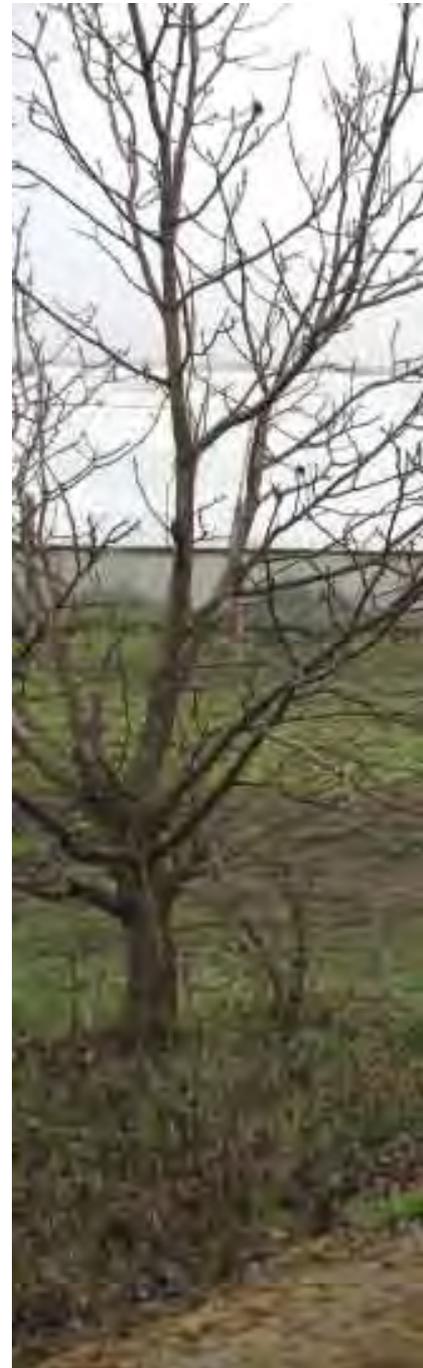
“The oil and gas business is a long-term business,” Detheridge said. “You invest large sums of money exploring for oil and might not be successful in finding it. Even if you do discover oil, it takes a long time before you begin to see the results of that investment in terms of the bottom line. Once you find oil and gas you’re going to be in a country 20 or 30 years. Also, the oil, gas, and minerals businesses are not portable. Once you’ve sunk your investment, you can’t take it out and produce somewhere else. All the capital is exposed.”

“Any responsible company is going to be interested in the use to which the revenues that it generates for the government are put. You have to be interested in good governance, and in doing what you can to help the government and people of a country ensure that revenues from oil and gas are put to good use. If they are not, then the oil companies get linked with bad governments and are accused of colluding with them to deny people their basic rights and their fair share.

“This all takes time.”

## THE FARMER, THE FLORIST, AND THE BLACKSMITH

Moldova is one of dozens of countries around the world where the Open Society Institute and its affiliated organizations are nurturing economic growth to alleviate poverty and strengthen communities. Microinvest, established by the Soros foundation in Moldova and supported by the Soros Economic Development Fund, loans money to small business owners who have the potential to grow and succeed but cannot obtain financial help from regular banks—people like the farmer Gheorghe Bobirke, who has a university degree in agriculture; the florist Maria Durbala, who used to make 35-hour bus trips to buy flowers in Poland; and the blacksmith Fiodor Zeleni, who had an additional obstacle to getting a loan because he is a Roma. OSI's senior writer, Chuck Sudetic, profiles these entrepreneurs and others in photographs and the story that follows.





Farmer Gheorghe Bobirke, left, and his brother Artur used their loan from Microinvest to build an irrigation system that allowed them to increase the number of crops on their farm.



Gheorghe Bobirke says that new technologies make the growing of vegetables more efficient.



Florist Maria Durbala, who once sold flowers in an open-air market, now owns two flower shops and eight greenhouses.



Blacksmith Fiodor Zeleni received a loan to purchase metal and coal for his forge. He is one of four Roma who have received small business loans from Microinvest.

## SOROS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT FUND

# Helping Small Businesses Build Strong Communities

**W**HEN FLAMUR TEMA was a boy, his father owned a bakery in a building that still stands on a stone street in one of Albania's most historic places, the mountainside town of Krujë. This building of time-darkened wood had been in the family for two centuries. Tema had no reason to believe this would change over future generations. Then came 1965. Albania's communist rulers evicted Tema's father from the bakery and confiscated his family's building, just as they were forcing the country's other small merchants from their businesses. Instead of baking bread, Tema's father went to work for the state. He spent his days issuing driver's licenses in Krujë. At the time, the town had only a pair of trucks for delivering milk and bread and three automobiles, the mayor's, the police chief's, and the communist party chairman's. Bread shortages became chronic.

Communist rule collapsed in Albania in 1990. Three bakeries had begun selling bread in Krujë by the time Flamur Tema reclaimed his father's store. So Tema opened a café and struggled for the next nine years before he lost confidence in the profitability of serving coffee by the cup. He now began selling antiques and souvenirs to the growing numbers of tourists attracted to

Krujë by the castle of Albania's greatest hero, Skanderbeg. Tema needed a minuscule sum of capital to expand his business. No bank would loan him money. Financial dealings in Albania were in a state of turmoil at that time. The country had nearly imploded in 1997, when a pyramid investment scheme collapsed and wiped out the savings of thousands of Albanians.

In 1999, Tema turned to the BESA Foundation, a nonprofit microfinance organization that the Soros Economic Development Fund, the Open Society Foundation for Albania, and the World Bank had founded that year. Tema used his first loan to remodel his shop. With a second loan, he filled an entire floor with souvenirs and memorabilia. By 2007, tourists were arriving in greater numbers. Customers were buying carved wooden cradles, rusted pistols, grandfather clocks, marble ashtrays in the shape of military bunkers, and other items. Carpet weavers and other shop owners along Tema's street received loans from BESA, and their businesses thrived. Today, private cars plying Krujë's busiest streets compete for space with tourist buses, delivery vans, and trucks weighed down with construction materials.

## Support for Economic Development

From Albania to Pakistan to Moldova and southward into Africa, the Soros Economic Development Fund, a nonprofit private foundation supported by the Open Society Institute, works to nurture economic growth where it can best help to alleviate poverty and halt the deterioration of communities: among low-income working people with ideas and energy who are disproportionately overlooked by mainstream commercial financial institutions. BESA in Albania, the Tameer Microfinance Bank in Pakistan, and Microinvest in Moldova are but three of the scores of microfinance institutions, cooperatives, banks, and social enterprise projects for which the Soros Economic Development Fund is providing equity, loans, guarantees, and deposits. In some instances, the Soros Economic Development Fund has helped establish these institutions.

The fund has also provided grants to support microfinance-management education at selected business schools, training for industry managers and regulators, and conferences where executives and managers of microfinance organizations have shared ideas and experiences. With scant tangible assets and negligible credit histories, the clients of these institutions have for too long had to rely upon friends, family members, and predatory moneylenders for credit. They have also had insufficient access to savings accounts, insurance products, or money-transfer services, and without them, the poor have had few reliable means of building assets, managing emergencies, and planning for the future.

“Economic problems are inseparable from wider human development concerns

like education, health, and equality before the law,” said Neal DeLaurentis, Soros Economic Development Fund vice president. “The fund’s purpose is to promote access to financial services, develop small business and entrepreneurship, and enhance economic opportunities for vulnerable populations.” The fund approved \$12.2 million in new dispersals in 2007, and has disbursed more than \$55 million since 1998.

### BESA in Albania

BESA had grown by 2007 to employ about 90 loan officers working with about 9,500 active clients across Albania. Its largest outstanding loan was the equivalent of \$37,000; the smallest loan was \$600; and BESA’s at-risk loans constituted less than 1 percent of its \$38 million portfolio, said Altin Musa, BESA’s director of marketing. In addition to antique dealers and carpet weavers in Krujë, BESA provided credit to stonecutters for tools, to shoemakers and seamstresses for machinery, to retailers for purchasing display cases and acquiring inventory, to book publishers and binders for supplies, and to painters for paint, canvas, and other art supplies.

Up the stone street from Flamur Tema’s antique shop, Dallandyshe Tabaku, 38, weaves carpets. She had worked in a plant with 1,700 other carpet weavers before communism’s collapse. “When the factory shut down, I bought one of the looms,” she said, explaining that it cost about \$180. “This was big money back then.” Tabaku obtained one loan from BESA for the cotton warp and dyed woolen weft. This was enough for a beginning. “I’ve made carpets for the Anglican Church and for a Saudi sheik. It is a tradition for women in this region to make

**“If young people don’t have jobs, they will move away. They will risk going abroad illegally to find jobs, lacking information, lacking education, lacking skills.”**

carpets. Without the loan from BESA, I would have had a much more difficult time getting started.”

## **Microinvest in Moldova**

Moldova’s economy practically dissolved after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Thousands of young Moldovans, desperate to survive and thrive, sought new lives by emigrating, and thousands of Moldovan young women fell victim to traffickers. The Soros Economic Development Fund, working with Microinvest, a registered financial institution in the capital city, Chişinău, is assisting Moldovan entrepreneurs, including people who have survived trafficking, to rebuild their lives.

Transforming an existing Soros-supported microfinance organization into Microinvest grew out of the career choice of its present director, 31-year-old Artur Munteanu, who, despite offers of work in England where he went to business school, decided to accept the challenge awaiting him in Moldova. The company was launched in 2003 with funding from the Soros Economic Development Fund and the Soros Foundation–Moldova. Microinvest made its first loan to a man who wanted to refurbish an old bus and begin transporting passengers between Chişinău and the south of Moldova. Now, thousands of loan clients later, Microinvest has a portfolio of \$12.8 million and total assets of \$25 million, Munteanu said.

“We market a specific credit product for young entrepreneurs, for members of the age group that is most exposed to traffickers,” Munteanu said. “If young people don’t have jobs, they will move away. They will risk going abroad illegally to find jobs, lacking information, lacking

education, lacking skills.” This puts some at the mercy of prostitution rings.

“I remember two women clients who had been trafficked,” Munteanu said. “We knew this at the management level, but the loan officers were not informed. They received a loan, the equivalent of \$5,000 at that time, to plant a potato crop. It is not an easy job to plant potatoes. I know they paid the loan back.”

Moldova’s Roma are another group Microinvest is targeting. “Roma face great difficulty obtaining loans anywhere else,” Munteanu said.

## **A Blacksmith Shop**

Fiodor Zeleni, a 42-year-old Roma blacksmith from the outskirts of the town of Orhei, to the north of Chişinău, has taken his second loan from Microinvest, the equivalent of \$3,500 in Moldovan currency, to obtain coal and scrap metal for fashioning farm implements. In a shed behind the fine house he built for his wife and four children, Zeleni has set up an anvil and a forge in an open brick shed with a corrugated-metal roof and a blow-dryer fan that force-feeds oxygen to the flames.

“My father was a blacksmith,” he said. “I have done the same thing since childhood in Soviet times, but I couldn’t get a loan then either. I can sell between 8 and 20 horseshoes and hoes in a day at the town market. Without the loan money, I could do nothing.”

Belief in the profitability of Moldova’s fertile black earth involved a leap of faith for Artur Bobirke, 31, and his brother, Gheorghe, 25. The sons of a nurse and an accountant, neither brother had experience in farming before Gheorghe Bobirke graduated from a Moldovan university with a degree in agriculture and went to work as an intern on a dairy farm in Wisconsin. He

returned home convinced that Moldova's farmers were mired in the obsolescence of a Soviet-era collective farm and that, by applying new ideas, he could make a private farm profitable.

The brothers pooled their savings together with money sent by their sister who is working abroad. They bought a parcel of undeveloped farmland, built five greenhouses for vegetables, and sowed a crop of cabbage in the open fields. Then they bought a wheezing Soviet-era tanker truck and began carrying water to irrigate the fields over the scorching summer. The cost of transporting the water was exorbitant, about \$50 per day. The Bobirkes borrowed the equivalent of \$5,000 from Microinvest to build an irrigation pipe. Over the winter, the brothers built 15 more greenhouses, each of them covered by clear plastic and heated by small wood-burning stoves. Inside, they are growing sweet peppers, tomatoes, cucumbers, and radishes. They sell directly to a stand on the roadside and to the green market in Chişinău, where they pay a daily wage to two people who maintain a stand.

"This year, we are paying \$10 a day for water," Gheorghe Bobirke said. "I can employ three people for a day for what I had been paying for the water."

"I made my choice. I want to be here," he added. "I want to be in my country. I am a boss. My brother is a boss. My sister is a boss. And this year, the return will triple our investment and we will have enough of a yield to export to Russia."

### **Laundry Services**

Soiled towels and napkins were the opportunity 42-year-old Dora Rotari spotted while she was working in Soviet times as an accountant for

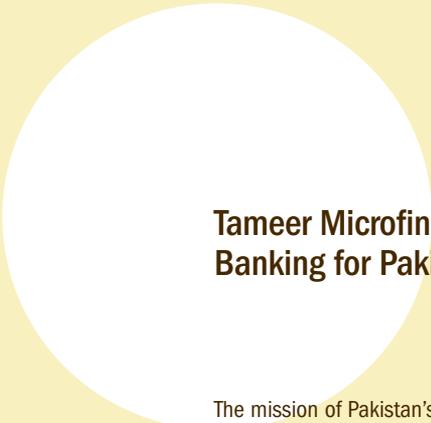
an enterprise involved in hotel and restaurant services. She noticed that the quality of laundry services for restaurants and hotels in Chişinău was miserable. She and her husband invested in two washing machines and a dryer that they installed in a cramped rented room. So much dirty laundry arrived that the business outgrew the rented space in only four months. "The quality is what brought the customers," Rotari said.

In March 2006, they needed a loan for a pressing machine. "Microinvest was the only company working with beginners like us," Rotari said. "The banks presented too many requirements, because they are afraid of taking any risk. I had 20 years of experience in accounting. I couldn't figure out everything they wanted. It would have taken forever."

Today, the Rotaris have 24 washing machines, dryers, and a pressing machine. "We want small washers," she said, "because the customers' laundry has to be kept separate. The towels have to come out white. Colors can't be allowed to fade. We have a five-star hotel as our client, and wash everything from the chef hats to stiff dining-room napkins and the bedding. We work overnight and can turn around 400 kilos of laundry in 24 hours. In three years, we shut down a total of three nights, and those were New Year's Eve and Orthodox Christmas and Easter."

In 2007, the Rotaris signed the papers for a 24-month loan for \$18,000, and by the end of the year, they were seeking a five-year loan of \$240,000 to purchase more space for their laundry.

"We just landed a contract for Chişinău's largest fitness center," Dora Rotari said. "They need us to wash a lot of towels."



## Tameer Microfinance: Banking for Pakistan's Working Poor

The mission of Pakistan's Tameer Microfinance Bank is simple to state: provide a full range of banking services to the country's working poor—not the poorest of the poor, but the shopkeepers, seamstresses, artisans, and other people who are able save the equivalent of \$10 or \$100 a month but who are forced to hide their money inside bed mattresses because bank charges are too high, people who help alleviate poverty by employing the poorest of the poor in small workshops and other tiny enterprises.

Pakistan has about 170 million people, but only 10 million bank accounts, said Shahid Mustafa, Tameer Bank's chief financial officer and cofounder. "This means that 94 percent of the people are not saving and borrowing in the formal economy. Fewer than 2 percent of the people borrow from banks. One way to give people access to banking is to make it cheap."

Fulfilling Tameer's mission is difficult, however, because providing a full range of banking services in Pakistan is expensive. The monthly cost of maintaining each of Tameer's 25 branches is the equivalent of about \$10,000. If a branch performs 10,000 transactions each month, the cost of each transaction is \$1. This is exorbitant, because most of Tameer's depositors have only \$100 in their accounts, most of its loan customers borrow only \$500 to \$1,500, and most transactions total only \$2 to \$3.

Tameer needed to maximize the number of its customers without increasing its investment in new branches.

During 2007, the Soros Economic Development Fund awarded Tameer a grant of \$175,000 to solve this problem by developing capacity in "branchless banking." Tameer used the grant money first to give its bankcard holders access to Pakistan's network of automatic teller machines (ATMs) and then to develop the infrastructure to allow its cardholders to withdraw cash, make deposits and loan payments, and purchase goods through point of sale (POS) card readers at the counters of thousands of retail shops around the country.

"We are making the banking experience the same as buying a pint of milk or bread—buy a dozen eggs and here's my loan payment as well," Mustafa said. "This solution will enable the bank to reach thousands of new borrowers and depositors."

The capacity came on line in late 2007. The number of store-counter machines soon grew to 30. "We are in the process of booking new agents and have issued cards to about 6,000 people," Mustafa said. "You can't just go and leave a machine in a store. You have to evaluate the agent. You are putting your name on a third person's place of business."

Mustafa added that Tameer was close to breaking even and looking to expand. "We want 90,000 customers by the end of 2008 and 250,000 by end of 2009."

"Integrating the Tameer Microfinance Bank into Pakistan's national payments system, via ATMs and the POS network, brings thousands of low-income households into the formal financial system," said Fawzia Naqvi, vice president of the Soros Economic Development Fund. "It helps the Tameer Bank take one more step toward breaking down the financial apartheid which exists in countries such as Pakistan."

# REGIONS

## Europe

A priority of OSI and the Soros foundations in Europe during 2007 was advancing the European Union's accession process along with holding the European Union and its members to the EU's standards and commitments on human rights, minority rights, and equal opportunity. In Albania and Armenia, the foundations monitored elections, the foundation in Poland supported a get-out-the-vote campaign, and the Kosovo foundation researched the backgrounds of candidates. The monitoring of oil revenues in Azerbaijan led to the repair of roads damaged by pipeline construction. In Macedonia and Romania, the foundations worked to improve housing in Roma communities. In Bulgaria, funding went to help Roma youth blog about their lives. In Bosnia and Slovakia, it was school reform.





Standing at the foot of the Topkapi Palace in Turkey, two women look toward the Bosphorus and one of the bridges that spans it, bringing the two parts of Istanbul together.

## EUMAP

In 2007, the EU Monitoring and Advocacy Program (EUMAP), which monitors policies and practices in the areas of human rights and rule of law in Europe, completed a series of reports on the educational opportunities Roma children have in eight Central and Eastern European countries that are participating in the Decade of Roma Inclusion.

The findings clearly indicated that, despite years of official promises, Roma children in too many of these countries do not have access to quality education. Segregated into Roma-only classes or schools, wrongly shunted into special schools for children with intellectual disabilities, crowded into decrepit classrooms, and unmotivated by teachers with low expectations, Roma children face serious challenges to complete even basic education.

The reports were produced in cooperation with two other OSI programs, the Roma Participation Program and the Education Support Program. Using the reports' findings and recommendations, EUMAP undertook an advocacy campaign to raise awareness of the plight of Roma children and improve the situation.

EUMAP also began follow-up monitoring in 10 of the 20 countries covered in its 2005 reports on television in Europe. The new reports will evaluate developments in response to the original reports, which found serious threats in broadcasting to public service values, good gover-

nance, and diversity. In addition, EUMAP began examining the impact of digitalization on television in Europe, including whether or not digital broadcasting will further erode public service values and undermine pluralism and diversity. EUMAP's monitoring and advocacy on television is conducted in coordination with OSI's Media Program.

EUMAP also released a series of overview studies on the discrimination and social and economic disadvantages Muslims suffer in seven European countries. EUMAP began monitoring conditions for Muslims in 11 large Western European cities, examining areas such as education, employment, and political participation.

## Open Society Foundation for Albania

Albania, with its legacy of poverty, isolation, and totalitarian communism, requires significant help if it is to develop the institutions, legal framework, and economic capacity to qualify for admission into the European Union. The Open Society Foundation for Albania is assisting Albania in its efforts to meet these prerequisites. In 2007, the foundation backed efforts to reform the country's election system, enhance freedom of information, fight discrimination, and increase access to the justice system.

The foundation is supporting surveys of voters, representatives of

political parties, election administrators, and civil society activists in an effort to devise election reforms that would best strengthen democracy in Albania; civil society groups and others will use the results to prepare recommendations for officials formulating election reform policies. The foundation also contributed to the introduction of systems to ensure accurate, nonpartisan vote counting. During local elections in 2007, Albanian civil society groups provided real-time information about vote counts and public monitoring of how officials had tallied and finalized voting results.

Access to information is a prerequisite for democratic decision-making. The Open Society Justice Initiative and its local partner, the Centre for Development and Democratization of Institutions, undertook a project that reviewed Albania's freedom of information laws and revealed that lack of awareness and administrative problems have resulted in their inconsistent application. The project aims to increase public awareness about these laws and to develop amendments that will improve their implementation.

The foundation also worked to improve the lives of Albanians with disabilities by undertaking an analysis of existing legislation and assessing the access disabled people have to their government; the foundation also assisted the Tirana Legal Aid Society in its efforts to improve access to the justice system for all Albanians.

## The foundation supported monitoring of Armenia's implementation of commitments it has made in the areas of rule of law and criminal justice.

### Open Society Institute Assistance Foundation—Armenia

The Partnership for Open Society—a coalition of 60 civil society organizations working to protect the public interest, civil liberties, and human rights that received support from the Open Society Institute Assistance Foundation—Armenia in 2007—played a crucial role in disseminating impartial information and ensuring an issue-based debate during the campaign prior to national elections. This information was crucial because the government maintains tight control over the broadcast media. The foundation's media and party finance-monitoring initiatives helped the Partnership for Open Society to substantiate reports of election irregularities and limitations placed upon election observers from the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe. Monitoring of party financing yielded results that were widely used in lawsuits.

The foundation supported monitoring of the implementation of the commitments Armenia has made in the areas of rule of law and criminal justice. These initiatives help to frame action to oppose deterioration of democratic practices. In September 2007, the UN Optional Protocol to the Convention against Torture took effect in Armenia; the foundation and its partners organized a workshop for local stakeholders and invited international experts to initi-

ate a debate on the torture issue; the workshop yielded a draft law that received the support of the country's ombudsman.

Member organizations of the Partnership for Open Society, in close cooperation with local and international partners and several members of parliament, helped thwart passage of government proposed amendments to television and radio broadcasting laws that would have considerably limited freedom of expression and freedom of the press. The Partnership for Open Society also analyzed a new law on official investigations and called attention to sections that might allow violations of a wide spectrum of personal freedoms through surveillance and electronic monitoring.

### Open Society Institute Assistance Foundation—Azerbaijan

Increasing revenues from oil and gas production during 2007 raised concerns in Azerbaijan about good governance and accountability. These issues, as well as concerns over Azerbaijan's compliance with the European Neighbourhood Policy and the country's pending membership in the Council of Europe, demanded active civil society involvement in policy debates and monitoring. The Open Society Institute Assistance Foundation—Azerbaijan played a significant role in helping to foster this engagement.

An evaluation undertaken by the Azerbaijan National Committee for European Integration, a group of 50 civil society leaders, highlighted a number of shortcomings in Azerbaijan's implementation of the democracy and human rights agenda of the European Neighbourhood Policy Action Plan. The report was presented at an international conference organized by the European Commission in Brussels in September.

The OSI-initiated monitoring project of the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan pipeline construction resulted in the establishment of the Civic Response Network, a group of experts that teamed up to expand monitoring for the people directly affected by extractive industries. Three pilot projects by the Civic Response Network succeeded in establishing monitoring posts in the Ganja, Hajigabul, and Salyan regions. In Salyan, the Salyan Oil consortium responded by starting to repair roads that had been damaged during the pipeline's construction. Nongovernmental organizations in Azerbaijan and Georgia experienced in monitoring pipeline construction collaborated in organizing a conference in Baku, at which representatives from Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Mongolia, Russia, and Turkey shared monitoring methodology and approaches in partnerships with government and industry and defined their priorities for possible cooperation in capacity building and advocacy.

The foundation also launched a weekly public policy debate program

## The Bulgarian foundation and its partners tested public attitudes toward Roma integration, discovering that deliberation decreased exclusionary viewpoints.

in cooperation with ANS-TV; supported the Mental Health Institute's signing of an agreement with the Ministry of Education for technical assistance in the deinstitutionalization of disabled persons; established a youth support center in central Baku; and organized a training workshop on health budget transparency for specialized local nongovernmental organizations and journalists.

### Open Society Fund–Bosnia and Herzegovina

Education, corruption, and local governance were the focus of the Open Society Fund–Bosnia and Herzegovina's work in 2007. The foundation supported a coalition of nongovernmental organizations to fight discrimination and segregation in education practices and to facilitate sustainable educational reform based upon tolerance. The coalition also facilitated a nationwide debate on the role of education and the responsibilities of educators in reintegrating society through media campaigns, roundtable discussions with different stakeholders, and interviews with students and parents. The aim of the debate is to generate recommendations for reforms of the educational system and then engage in advocacy with national and local government entities to adopt these recommendations.

In cooperation with Transparency International BiH, the foundation implemented a project to curb

corruption, including proposals for the creation of an anticorruption agency and for changing the country's laws on conflict of interest, financing of political parties, and elections. Government and civil society representatives and experts produced recommendations that were presented to all members of the Parliamentary Assembly.

The foundation initiated and supported the creation of a comprehensive local self-governance development strategy, embodying the key values of quality of life, openness, and a new political culture encouraging the enhancement of civil society. The foundation worked actively for functional and fiscal decentralization.

A regional group of experts created a new model of organization for local self-governance aimed at removing the existing uneven territorial structure and large differences in the degree of urbanization and local capacities. The foundation conducted policy research that resulted in a publication on various models of organization of local self-governance, which prompted the Soros foundation in Serbia to support similar research in that country.

### Open Society Institute–Sofia (Bulgaria)

The Open Society Institute–Sofia focused on promoting reforms in the post-EU accession period by strengthening civic impact on the

formation and implementation of public policies. It sponsored programs on law, public debate, governance and public policies, European policies, and civic participation.

In partnership with the World Bank, the foundation supported a survey of poverty in Bulgaria, which also encompassed analysis of the economic status of Bulgaria's Roma minority. The foundation, partnering with the Center for Liberal Strategies, Bulgarian National Television, and Alfa Research Agency, tested public attitudes toward Roma integration policies. They showed that, after deliberation, participants in the survey were less favorable toward extreme exclusivist measures, revealing the significance of broad public discussion for successful implementation of Roma integration policies.

To enhance knowledge and skills in politics and public administration among Roma youth, the foundation and the National Democratic Institute awarded internships at the National Assembly. To combat negative stereotypes of Roma, the foundation sponsored Roma youth and activists in developing personal Internet blogs for sharing their everyday life, culture, and traditions in cyberspace.

The foundation and the Open Society Justice Initiative have worked to develop and promote public policies to curb and prevent organized crime, establishing RiskMonitor, a specialized not-for-profit organization, to conduct research projects, moni-

toring and evaluating of government and donor policies, and harm and risk assessments. RiskMonitor will also establish and maintain information resources, and disseminate information. The foundation expanded its independent oversight of police custody and discovered evidence of systematic violations of legal procedures for interrogations, limited access of detainees to legal and medical care, unqualified interpreters for foreign detainees, and risk of the spread of infectious diseases in police custody.

At the request of the municipality of Sofia, the foundation gathered a working group of representatives from public institutions and nongovernmental organizations to elaborate a child protection program for 2007 that was approved by the municipal council.

## **Open Society Fund–Prague (Czech Republic)**

In cooperation with several nongovernmental organizations, the Open Society Fund–Prague undertook research to guide legal reform efforts in the Czech Republic. Programs focused on advocacy and litigation to secure access to justice for marginalized groups and a legislative framework for providing people free legal aid and alternative methods of resolving disputes; implementing new principles in police work and securing independent oversight of police performance;

improving freedom of information; and supporting the foundation's strategic partner, the Public Interest Law Association, in piloting new litigation strategies on cases of environmental law and access to justice.

The foundation helped create a network of active anticorruption nongovernmental organizations and, in cooperation with Transparency International, Oživeni, and the think tank GARDE, made recommendations resulting in several new legal provisions aimed at preventing corruption and lack of transparency.

Another foundation priority was promoting women's rights, including equality in the labor market and the political framework for supporting equality in the Czech Republic. *Gender and Education*, the third volume in a series of manuals for teachers and pupils, was published, focusing on the roles of women and men in the public and private spheres. The foundation joined the coalition ProEquality, a leader in creating a platform for ideas, knowledge, and exchange of experience on how to reduce the differences in the treatment of men and women in the labor market.

The foundation supported public debate on health care issues and advocated for reform. Its Migration Program website developed into a reliable and timely source of information on migration in both its Czech and English language versions. Since the program's inception, comparative studies by its partners have supported legislative work and

influenced migration policies and measures adopted to change the status of immigrants.

## **Open Estonia Foundation**

The Open Estonia Foundation and the Network of Estonian Nonprofit Organizations formed a joint platform of civil society organizations and initiated the Manifesto of Estonian Nonprofit Organizations, proposing recommendations to the country's political parties for strengthening civil society in Estonia. The new coalition government added several proposals from the manifesto to its program, including establishing in 2008 the Estonian National Foundation for Civil Society, which will support civil society from the state budget; creating an integrated vision and common principles for public funding of nongovernmental organizations; drafting a modern civic education plan in cooperation with nongovernmental organizations; clarifying the procedure for deducting donations to civil society organizations from taxable income; promoting public awareness of participatory democracy; and contracting public services to nongovernmental organizations.

The local elections in Estonia in 2007 were the first in which the electorate of an entire country could cast its votes over the Internet in a public election. Other countries have expressed interest in Internet voting. The foundation held a training

program in Tallinn for the leaders of Mongolian public institutions (ministries, agencies, and public bodies) responsible for communication and citizen participation as well as implementing e-voting. Participants studied the practical implementation of e-participation initiatives with a special focus on e-voting. In addition, senior representatives from nongovernmental organizations learned to develop a better working relationship with the national policymaking process. As the next step, Estonian experts visited Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia, in March 2008.

The Black Nights Film Festival and the foundation partnered for a special film program and seminar on human rights. The festival screened five documentaries and five feature films in its special program *Ordinary Hell*, which examined human rights violations in Burma, Chechnya, China, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Russia, and Sudan and the situation of the Kurds.

## Open Society Georgia Foundation

The Open Society Georgia Foundation focused on issues of transparency, monitoring public funds, reform of legal aid, election monitoring and information, interethnic dialogue, and consensus building among political actors.

The foundation's e-transparency project focused on the draft Law on Electronic Access to Public Information. The foundation and the

Coalition for Transparency of Public Finances conducted an analysis of an agreement between the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan Pipeline Company and the government of Georgia that prompted the parties to revise and sign the agreement according to the study's recommendations.

The foundation's monitoring of the state health program for persons living below the poverty line revealed that budget allocations were inadequate to support stated policies on poverty reduction and basic rights; the findings contributed to the improvement of the budget formulation cycle and helped prompt higher budget allocations for the 2008 program.

The Open Society Georgia Foundation and the Open Society Justice Initiative continued to assist Georgia's Ministry of Justice efforts to undertake reform of the country's legal aid system. The foundation helped draft and advocate for a legal aid law, which Georgia's parliament adopted in June 2007. The law is among the most progressive in Eastern Europe.

Supported by the foundation, four Georgian nongovernmental organizations experienced in monitoring and observing elections—the Georgian Young Lawyers Association, the International Society for Fair Elections and Democracy, Transparency International Georgia, and New Generation New Initiative—coordinated their election-related activities. The foundation assisted them in launching a media center to provide timely and reliable information about the

2008 presidential elections, advise voters on election procedures, and collect information on violations in the election process.

The foundation's Integration and Civic Education Program promoted consensus building among key political actors. Focus groups and interviews with the leaders of every major political party showed that key players consider the political process a zero-sum game with no place for consensus and cooperation. The study, advocating consensus and cooperation strategies in politics, was presented to representatives of nongovernmental organizations and the media. It stimulated intense debate on all major Georgian television channels, with the active participation of foundation staff members.

## Kosovo Foundation for Open Society

The Kosovo Foundation for Open Society's primary goal was to initiate and support processes aimed at leading Kosovo toward statehood. The foundation advocated for a more open, transparent, and participatory policymaking process.

The November 2007 elections took place at an important moment in Kosovo's move toward statehood. The foundation's initiative, Civil Platform 2007, worked to educate voters on the principles of voting for individual candidates and to assist citizen groups, watchdog and monitoring organizations, advocacy

## The Georgia foundation's monitoring found inadequate budget allocations for poverty reduction, resulting in more money in the 2008 budget.

groups, and think tanks in the post-election phase by measuring the actions of the newly elected government against pre-election promises and citizens' expectations.

The foundation gathered a coalition of civil society organizations, Civil Society for a Clean Parliament, which researched the backgrounds of the parliamentary candidates of Kosovo's six largest political parties in order to probe their possible involvement in illegal activities. The preliminary and final reports of the researchers were communicated initially to the political parties, while the list of candidates suspected of being unfit to serve in parliament was launched at a press conference 13 days before the election. During the last three days of the election campaign, the coalition distributed 50,000 brochures with the names of unfit candidates, covering all major areas in Kosovo.

In response to the government's plan to construct a new 2100-megawatt power plant, Forum 2015, a joint initiative of the foundation and RIINVEST Institute, conducted a detailed study and presented its research in an open roundtable discussion to members of government institutions, political parties, civil society, local authorities, businesses, and the international community. The report highlights 13 issues that render the project unwise, unsafe, and unsustainable; it suggests that the plant would exacerbate existing environmental problems. The report stimulated numerous advocacy

initiatives, all calling for new alternatives to resolving the energy crisis in Kosovo while applying the principles of democratic governance.

### Soros Foundation–Latvia

The Soros Foundation–Latvia gave priority to legal advocacy for people with mental disabilities and for environmental issues as well as to promoting diversity and the legal status of civil society organizations. The foundation and its partners brought a number of strategic litigation cases that strengthened protections for the rights of people with mental disabilities. One Constitutional Court ruling required a court to approve any decision on involuntary hospitalization and treatment of a person at a psychiatric hospital.

The foundation supported educational and empowerment initiatives for people accessing mental health care services and for medical and social care personnel; community-based mental health care services; and employment and professional rehabilitation for users of mental health care services.

Success in several lawsuits that the foundation brought in cooperation with Transparency International Latvia not only halted illegal construction work in protected natural environments but also set a precedent for ensuring that laws are interpreted and enforced properly. The foundation supported aware-

ness-raising activities and advocated on behalf of legislative proposals to remove biases against same-sex partnerships and counter a rising wave of politically and religiously inspired homophobia.

The foundation, the Baltic-American Partnership Fund, and several nongovernmental organizations campaigned successfully to increase public funding of civic activities and to resist attempts to diminish the independence of the Society Integration Fund, the main administrator of European Union funding for civil society organizations. The foundation held a number of public events with distinguished international guest lecturers on human rights and the European future, which enlivened public discourse and inspired Latvian activists. The foundation's Wider Europe Initiative focused on promoting European values and reforms in Eastern Europe, particularly in Georgia and Moldova.

### Foundation Open Society Institute–Macedonia

The foundation focused on programs aimed at improving housing for Roma, access to information, and social inclusion for people with mental disabilities. To improve the housing conditions of Roma in Macedonia, the foundation held an East East: Partnership Beyond Borders Program regional workshop in Skopje to exchange experience, opportunities, and know-how on

## **A survey undertaken by the foundation in Macedonia showed that most citizens had been refused access to information held by public authorities.**

microfinance housing solutions for Roma; and formed a housing fund to disburse subloans through Foundation Horizonti for Roma housing reconstruction/renovation.

A survey undertaken by the foundation showed that most citizens had been refused access to information; several public authorities do not provide any information; and the government responds more slowly or ignores requests for information it considers sensitive. Currently 19 cases are before the Administrative Court challenging the decisions of the Information Commission. Foundation cases have led to significant jurisprudence, such as the decision by the Information Commission to include political party financing under the Free Access Law.

The foundation has intensified its efforts to promote the social inclusion of persons with intellectual disabilities. In November 2007, the foundation and the Open Society Mental Health Initiative sponsored a photo exhibition in Skopje by Croatian photographer Damir Fabijanic, *Life—All Inclusive*, portraying Croatia's experience including people with intellectual disabilities in the community. In Macedonia, a public opinion survey indicated that the majority of Macedonians are prejudiced against most marginalized groups.

To facilitate the deinstitutionalization of disabled people, the foundation and the Mental Health Initiative will sign a Memorandum of Understanding with the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy. The program aims

to initiate a human rights-based approach to intellectually disabled persons by improving the quality of services and of life for those currently in a long-term-stay residential institution.

### **Soros Foundation—Moldova**

The Soros Foundation—Moldova's advocacy led to the adoption of a legal aid law in 2007, setting the framework for a new legal aid system in the country and establishing the first public defender's offices. Despite their legal independence since 2002, the chief broadcast channels and mainstream media remain dominated by the governing Communist Party; the foundation promoted genuine public service values by providing expert technical assistance in the development of policies, regulations, and procedures and monitoring their implementation.

The foundation's European Initiatives Program drafted a report on the implementation of the EU—Moldova Action Plan. Developed by representatives of the country's best-known civil society organizations, the report was discussed at a roundtable meeting with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration.

The Moldova-Romania-Ukraine Trilateral Initiative undertook a project implemented by the NGO INRECO-Moldova in partnership with Euroregional entities from Timisoara, Romania, and Reni, Ukraine. It

worked to build the capacity of NGOs and other civil society actors to strengthen civic support for democracy in Moldova and Ukraine based on Romania's experience.

The foundation backed projects to promote small entrepreneurs, women, Roma, local decision-making processes, and the right of assembly. An initiative on the Framework Convention on Tobacco Control originated within an advocacy project of the Young and Free Training Resource Centre. With foundation support, the project focused on promoting, implementing, and monitoring tobacco control policies; its efforts resulted in the ratification of the convention by the Moldovan parliament in May 2007.

The foundation and the Ministry of Health held a roundtable on methadone maintenance therapy with an international expert. Representatives from government ministries, health care and penal institutions, NGOs, the WHO, and the PCU AIDS/TB Program participated. Following the roundtable, a six-month action plan was developed based on the expert's recommendations.

### **Foundation Open Society Institute—Representative Office Montenegro**

The foundation worked to increase the capacity of nongovernmental organizations and the mass media to participate in formulating public

policies related to the European Union integration process.

The foundation undertook a broad public campaign to increase the transparency of the drafting of the new constitution. A series of roundtables and public discussions that brought together representatives of civil society, academia, government, and parliament resulted in comprehensive proposals for the protection of human rights, sustainable development, and the judiciary within the new constitution and subordinate legislation.

The foundation backed maintaining the quality of the education reform process and increasing stakeholders' ownership; strengthening human and institutional capacities of major implementing agencies in education, with an emphasis on civic education; and the transparency of the education reform process. The foundation promoted civil society advocacy for efficient service delivery at the local level and organized trainings for civil servants on rules and procedures for complying with EU standards; it also offered instruction in democratic leadership for young politicians.

The foundation worked to raise the level of knowledge about European Union integration among university students, civil society, civil servants, and representatives of parliamentary parties. It supported the monitoring of governmental transparency and accountability in areas of free access to information and political party financing; the implementation of standards related to minority

rights; and capacity building for the judiciary for application of human and minority rights standards.

### **Stefan Batory Foundation (Poland)**

The Stefan Batory Foundation (Poland) focused on enhancing the role of civil society, promoting the rule of law and transparency in public life, and fostering international cooperation and solidarity. The foundation put special emphasis on improving the capacity of civil society organizations, especially those involved in advocacy and policy formation, and assisted organizations working to increase opportunities for disadvantaged groups.

Together with the Polish Confederation of Private Employers Lewiatan and the Civic Development Forum, the foundation launched a get-out-the-vote campaign before the October 2007 parliamentary elections. The campaign targeted young people whose participation in elections had been about 20 percent lower than that of older age groups. As a result, participation of young people in local elections was triple that of 2005 and for the first time exceeded 50 percent.

The foundation gave support to 14 civil society projects monitoring public institutions and institutions of public trust to help raise the standards and increase the transparency of their operations. It monitored the parliamentary debate on selected bills aimed at preventing corruption.

It also supported organizations and institutions providing free legal counseling, as well as nongovernmental organizations working to increase access to legal aid and justice, curtail discriminatory regulations and practices, and strengthen transparency and efficiency in the justice system. Grants were made to 14 projects providing specialized legal counseling to at-risk groups or groups suffering social discrimination, using and promoting mediation as well as analyzing the practice of pretrial detention by Polish courts.

In the international arena, the foundation promoted the openness of the European Union toward the countries of Eastern Europe, backed civic initiatives in Belarus and Ukraine, and promoted cross-border cooperation among the representatives of civil society from the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. The foundation continued advocacy to ease restrictive EU visa policies.

### **Soros Foundation Romania**

The Soros Foundation Romania concentrated on supporting community development and the Roma, and sustainable development and effective management of natural resources. The Integrated Community Development Program continued building the capacity of local nongovernmental organizations and increased the visibility of six Roma communities that are the

focus of pilot programs receiving funds from the Romanian Social Development Fund, the PHARE education program, the LEADER program, and the National Strategy for Improving Roma Living Conditions. The results—obtained with a small amount of money and significant local involvement—justified the replication of this approach in other communities.

A local housing team (an architect and two sociologists) formed in 2007 to design solutions for segregated Roma communities and to implement several pilot housing projects that could be replicated elsewhere. The foundation also established a partnership with Habitat for Humanity Romania for joint programs in 2008.

The foundation's Migration and Development Program continued in 2007 and produced studies on how the migration of Romanians for work abroad impacts the children left behind and the country's domestic labor market. One study estimated that 115,000 Romanian high school students had at least one parent working abroad. The research concluded by proposing that social services, including special counseling, help with school work, and organized free-time activities, need to be developed and provided to children whose parents are temporarily working outside the country.

Another study, launched at the end of 2007, analyzed the effect of worker migration on Romania's labor market and economy. The study sug-

gests that if present trends continue, important sectors of the Romanian economy such as construction, textiles, and tourism will face major labor shortages within the next 10-15 years. The studies have helped prioritize migration issues for the foundation and its efforts to develop policies to reduce the negative social and economic impacts of labor migration.

## **Fund for an Open Society–Serbia**

The Fund for an Open Society–Serbia concentrated much of its attention on advocacy for the development of pro-Europe public policies in Serbia as well as on improving implementation of the rule of law, enhancing good governance and accountability, enhancing respect for individual human rights, improving the position of minorities, particularly Roma, encouraging a constructive approach in negotiations on Kosovo's status, and promoting Serbia's full cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia.

A three-year project developed by the foundation and implemented in cooperation with the Teachers' Association of Serbia brought the issue of inclusive education to a priority position on the education agenda. The project helped develop a concept of inclusive education that favors mainstreaming children with disabilities. It has spawned a

network of organizations promoting and implementing the concept of inclusive education.

The foundation continued to monitor the government's efforts to prepare Serbia for entry into the European Union, including public policies, the effectiveness of their implementation, and the results achieved. The project focuses on the capacities of public and local self-governing authorities, the judiciary, and independent regulatory bodies. The project also examines issues such as human and minority rights; anticorruption and antimonopoly policies; transparency and public integrity; civil control of police and armed forces; education and research conducive to a knowledge-based society; and forms of regional and European cooperation.

The project's monitoring reports have been assessed favorably by domestic and international experts and high officials; their recommendations and policy suggestions have drawn praise from both officials and the civil sector. The report for 2006-2007 influenced the content of the EU Commission report on Serbia for 2007, with a number of recommendations put into practice. Numerous recommendations prompted local and foreign civil society organizations to develop their own similar projects.

The foundation awarded several dozen grants to youth organization initiatives aimed at prompting the state to address the needs of youth, resulting in the founding of a new government Ministry of Youth and

## The foundation continued to monitor the government's efforts to prepare Serbia for entry into the European Union.

Sport. Advocacy activities run by these youth organizations convinced the new ministry to begin defining national youth policy through workshops and focus groups.

### Open Society Foundation–Bratislava (Slovakia)

In cooperation with the Institute for Public Affairs, the Open Society Foundation–Bratislava organized an international seminar on key elements of populist politics that might threaten liberal democracy in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Four case studies, presented by experts from Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia, identified difficulties with the current development of liberal democracy in the region and the rise of populist movements.

For Slovakia's upcoming reform of its school curriculum, the foundation initiated roundtable discussions involving civil society organizations on new approaches to multicultural education. A group of academics and representatives from nongovernmental organizations elaborated a pedagogical plan to introduce a multicultural approach to education to primary and secondary schools.

The foundation gathered legal experts to assess the current legal framework for civil society organizations. In December 2007, the Ministry of Interior opened a proposed new bill on guilds to the comment

process. The draft bill would supersede the current law on civic associations from 1990, under which more than 90 percent of nongovernmental organizations in Slovakia are registered. Experts and activists assert that the proposed bill contains articles that limit fundamental citizen freedoms protected by the Slovak constitution.

The foundation launched a long-term project to discourage extremism through educating secondary school teachers and students. The foundation provided support and methodological assistance to a group of nongovernmental organizations providing harm reduction services, assisting them in their response to new, retroactive, restrictive, and discriminatory government rules that have effectively rendered them ineligible to obtain public funding. The new rules, for example, require that needle exchange programs seek a certificate with the Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs and Family, which can take several months. Left without financial support, these organizations were forced to reduce their services significantly.

### Open Society Institute Assistance Foundation–Turkey

Turkey's accession to the European Union remained a central focus for the Open Society Institute Assistance Foundation–Turkey in 2007. The foundation entered the public

debate about accession in 2004 by supporting the establishment of the Independent Commission on Turkey. The commission, made up of distinguished European policymakers, issued a report to provide support for the launch of membership negotiations between the European Union and Turkey. Commission members continue to visit Turkey and contribute to the policy discussions about the benefits and challenges of EU membership.

To complement the commission's activities, the foundation in 2007 established the EU Turkey Working Group. The group brings together senior academics, public intellectuals, and policy experts to facilitate constructive discourse on Turkey's inclusion in EU enlargement. The working group's members act as policy debate "umpires" by providing public commentary and policy analyses that help ensure that the accession process and public perceptions of Turkey in Europe are informed, objective, and fair. The working group also helps maintain positive European interest in Turkey and promotes reform within the country. Before the European Leaders Summit in December, working group members signed a declaration, distributed on the Open Democracy website, that strongly refuted French President Sarkozy's claim that "Turkey is not European."

The foundation advanced health and human rights issues by supporting organizations that worked to improve services for people living with

## The foundation in Ukraine supported efforts by public authorities and nongovernmental organizations to define standards for protecting human rights in patient care.

HIV and AIDS and for groups seeking to improve conditions for the Roma.

Inadequate HIV prevention services and resources in Turkey indicate that the country will soon face a dramatic increase in the number of HIV cases. The foundation responded by supporting the Positive Living Association, a group of people living with HIV and AIDS who, together with relatives, friends, doctors, and activists, are building networks to advocate for better HIV treatment and services.

The Promoting Roma Rights in Turkey Project, a collaboration of the Helsinki Citizens' Assembly–Turkey and the European Roma Rights Centre, which had been scheduled to run from May 2005 through May 2007, was extended until May 2008. OSI–Turkey provided one-seventh of the total cost for a two-year period.

### International Renaissance Foundation (Ukraine)

Human rights—for persons living with disabilities, for persons caught in the criminal justice system, for patients in the health care and mental health systems—were a central focus of the International Renaissance Foundation (Ukraine) in 2007. In September, the foundation, in support of the National Assembly of People with Disabilities, a Ukrainian nongovernmental organization, launched a campaign for ratification of the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with

Disabilities. As a result, Ukraine's president authorized the signing of the convention. The foundation will continue to support the campaign until the national parliament ratifies the convention and will then support monitoring its implementation.

The foundation supported and promoted a paper on criminal justice reform that called for reforming the entire criminal justice system. The paper gained the approval of the president and a presidential advisory body, the National Commission on Strengthening Democracy and Asserting the Rule of Law.

In public health, the foundation supported the formulation, by public authorities and nongovernmental organizations, of a Ministry of Health draft order defining standards for protecting human rights in patient care, including the rights of psychiatric patients. The foundation is working to create an interdepartmental working group to review Ukrainian legislation on psychiatric aid, develop draft legislation amending current law, hold a broad public discussion of the drafts, and increase legislative support for the amendments.

In harm reduction, the foundation focused on substitution treatment and emphasized the positive role those persons affected by drugs and HIV and AIDS can play in advocacy efforts. Joining forces to promote substitution therapy were a nongovernmental organization, the Drop-in Center, two groups of substitution-therapy clients, billboard companies, and advertising agencies. A special

interactive and user-friendly website will be dedicated to substitution therapy in Ukraine, permitting site visitors to ask questions of specialists.

The foundation and OSI's Education Support Program collaborated to promote better education for children with disabilities by addressing the problem of stereotypes.

### Other Support in Europe

A number of Soros foundations have closed in recent years, usually after making significant progress in establishing open society in their countries. OSI maintains a presence in many of these countries. The entries below describe some of the activities OSI supports in countries where Soros foundations no longer exist.

#### Croatia

The Soros foundation in Croatia concluded operations in June 2006, yet OSI continues to support activities in the country through a number of its programs, including the Mental Health Initiative, the East East: Partnership Beyond Borders Program, and the Human Rights and Governance Grants Program, as well as through the Decade of Roma Inclusion.

Activities in Croatia are overseen by the OSI Croatian Advisory Committee, which advises senior OSI management on political and social issues in the country, and provides

feedback on network activities and priorities. The committee also promotes open society principles and practices by organizing occasional OSI conferences in Croatia.

### **Hungary**

The Hungarian Soros foundation brought its activities to a close in 2007, archiving foundation documents (together with the Open Society Archives) and program results. The foundation also concluded its long-standing institutional grant program funded by the Trust for Civil Society in Central and Eastern Europe, and used evaluations and documentation from its core Roma programs to create a special website about lessons learned.

### **Lithuania**

Since the Open Society Fund–Lithuania ended its grantmaking in 2006, OSI has administered a small legacy fund to support organizations focusing on civil society, the rule of law, democracy promotion, and citizen participation. In 2007, the Civil Society Institute in Vilnius was the primary beneficiary of this fund. The institute supported efforts to challenge social exclusion and promote public debate on political and social issues. Several OSI programs pursued partnerships and supported projects that addressed HIV and TB, sex worker issues, and women's rights in Lithuania and the region.

### **Russia**

OSI worked in Russia in 2007 through its New York–based Russia Project, supporting civil society and human rights groups, access to information efforts, regional organizations, civil society networks, and public debate and discussion initiatives. In addition to established organizations such as the Moscow Helsinki Group and Memorial International, the Russia Project provided support to the regional Committees of Soldiers' Mothers, the Nizhny Novgorod Committee Against Torture, and Agora, a Kazan-based regional organization specializing in human rights litigation.

The Russia Project also funded youth-oriented initiatives such as the Youth Human Rights Movement and groups like SOVA and the Anti-Discrimination Centre "Memorial" that addressed issues like xenophobia and other forms of discrimination.

The Russia Project maintained joint funding relationships with OSI programs such as the Human Rights and Governance Grants Program, the Media Program, the Information Program, the International Women's Program, the Open Society Justice Initiative, and the Public Health Program.

### **Slovenia**

OSI continues to work in Slovenia primarily through its institutional partner, the Peace Institute, which focuses on policy engagement and works to develop relationships with

government agencies, academic institutions, and NGOs in Slovenia, the European Union, and elsewhere. It partnered in 2007 with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to improve EU cultural policies focusing on the Western Balkans, and worked with the government's ombudsman's office to monitor state correctional institutions. The institute also supported women's NGOs and antidiscrimination efforts, and helped defend citizenship and residency rights at the European Court of Human Rights. The East East: Partnership Beyond Borders Program promoted regional and transregional cooperation through academic and professional exchanges.

# REGIONS

## Asia

From the steppes of Central Asia to the farthest tip of Indonesia, the programs of OSI and the Soros foundations in Asia supported a multitude of initiatives that encourage local, ground-up participation in promoting economic development, democracy, the rule of law, eradication of corruption, and protection of human and civil rights, especially for members of vulnerable groups, like women in Afghanistan and sex workers from Central Asia in Russia and other countries. The Central Eurasia Project's activities in 2007 included combating discrimination against migrant laborers and the practice of forced child labor in the cotton industry. The Burma Project continued to support media efforts inside and outside the country to report on the brutal military dictatorship.





Kenji Nagai, a Japanese videographer working for APF, lies mortally wounded after Burmese police and military opened fire on demonstrators in Yangon on September 27, 2007. This image, showing the repressive military government's attacks on demonstrators and the media, won a Pulitzer Prize for breaking news photography.

## Central Eurasia Project

Covering Central Asia and the southern Caucasus, the Central Eurasia Project supports initiatives that help raise awareness among policymakers and the public about issues in the region involving human rights, economic development, and democratic governance. A number of initiatives also focus on the neighboring countries of Afghanistan and Pakistan. During 2007, the project focused on promoting policies and initiatives to protect the rights of labor migrants, helping activists address human rights violations occurring in the region's cotton economy, and ensuring that relations between the international community and Turkmenistan are preconditioned on significant improvements in human rights.

Driven by poverty and no significant opportunity for employment, labor migrants from Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyzstan arrive in Russia, Kazakhstan, and other neighboring states where they endure violations of their human rights, extortion by corrupt police officers, mistreatment by employers, and racially motivated violence by gang members and others.

The Central Eurasia Project helped address these problems by working with local organizations in the Russian cities of Moscow, Saratov, and Yekaterinburg. A grantee in Moscow provided essential services to labor migrants and acted as a source of timely information

and analysis for policymakers and local and international media. In Saratov, advocates worked to stop the extortion and harassment of arriving migrants by corrupt police officers. In Yekaterinburg, grantees documented unregulated and discretionary practices by local immigration authorities.

On a broader level, the project partnered with Human Rights Watch to launch a three-year research and advocacy initiative on labor migration in the former Soviet Union. The initiative is undertaking an exhaustive analysis of migration laws, monitoring the enforcement of these laws, and documenting human rights violations against migrants; it will offer recommendations to authorities on what practices and aspects of the laws need to be changed. The report will also present examples of legal actions and policies that have successfully advanced the rights of migrant laborers in Russia.

In Uzbekistan, the Central Eurasia Project continued to work on addressing the issues of forced child labor in the cotton industry. The government exploits underaged workers by requiring schoolchildren to work seven days a week in cotton fields for two to three months each year, without proper nutrition and health care. The project has been supporting the Environmental Justice Foundation, which raised awareness of the issue among the general public and retailers. A number of European companies such as Tesco and Marks & Spencer have placed a ban on

all products using cotton sourced from Uzbekistan.

## Turkmenistan

The death, in late 2006, of President Saparmurat Niyazov, Turkmenistan's authoritarian leader for more than two decades, prompted OSI to develop responses to the evolving political situation and the rise of Niyazov's successor, Gurbanguly Berdimukhamedov. While monitoring developments in the wake of Niyazov's death, OSI provided analyses for policymakers and other stakeholders, identified openings for civil society to develop its influence, and collaborated with international initiatives to promote human rights.

To further broad-based economic development and reform, OSI worked to bring governments, civil society groups, and corporations together to develop policies and practices that encourage revenue transparency and environmental protection in the natural resource extraction industries. The Central Eurasia Project collaborated with the newly created Turkmenistan Energy Coalition and sponsored independent research on environmental degradation. The project also encouraged more openness for Turkmenistan by promoting socially responsible trade with Europe.

## Pakistan

Central Eurasia Project activities in Pakistan focused on deepening the project's commitment to education reform by strengthening and expanding its existing programs.

## **A number of European companies such as Tesco and Marks & Spencer have placed a ban on all products using cotton sourced from Uzbekistan.**

A coalition of nongovernmental organizations, led by the Society for the Advancement of Education and OSI's Education Support Program, published *Education in Pakistan: What Works & Why* to help anchor the Campaign for Quality Education, a coalition of civil society organizations working to improve Pakistan's education sector. Priority activities for the campaign include working with OSI's Reading and Writing for Critical Thinking program to help teacher training and development, improving school governance, and developing public-private partnerships.

### **Afghanistan**

In Afghanistan, the Open Society Institute brought together human rights organizations to develop a strategic plan for engaging civil society in the development and administration of the country's transitional justice processes. OSI also worked with a civil society and human rights network to carry out a mapping project that identified organizations with the capacity to conduct human rights and transitional justice work. This research helped establish a countrywide network for amplifying the voices of war victims and providing them with counseling services. OSI also supported Dari and Pashto translations of *Crimes of War*, which will be used to train Afghan journalists, lawyers, and human rights activists in international human rights law.

Clinical legal education also remained a priority in 2007. In addition to ongoing support for clinic internships for Herat legal students, OSI enabled faculty from the legal and Islamic law departments of Herat University to receive training in clinical legal education in Turkey and South Africa. Organizations supported by OSI used legal aid programs to address domestic violence against women, conduct advocacy campaigns, and establish family guidance centers and shelters. In partnership with the University of Ottawa, OSI initiated an exchange program to provide women journalists from Afghan universities access to graduate-level courses at the University of Ottawa.

### **Soros Foundation–Kazakhstan**

The Soros Foundation–Kazakhstan and its partners provided a series of trainings in budget systems, encouraged public involvement in the budgeting process, and held public hearings and debates on socially oriented budgeting. Kazakhstan Revenue Watch led a coalition of nongovernmental organizations in a campaign to strengthen government compliance with the basic criteria of the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI).

The coalition issued a report that faulted the government for failing to engage all extractive companies in EITI implementation, not providing

financial support to the process, and limiting revenue transparency requirements to the minimum EITI criteria. Following the report's release, the government invited the coalition to a meeting dedicated to the EITI issue chaired by the prime minister. As result, the prime minister took EITI implementation under his personal control. Kazakhstan Revenue Watch and the NGO coalition will continue monitoring EITI implementation and promote increasing revenue transparency.

The foundation advocated for the rights of underprivileged defendants and litigants to legal aid. It informed state authorities, lawyers, and human rights activists on international standards and the best national models of free legal aid. With government justice stakeholders, the foundation advocated successfully for the rights of children under 18 in confrontation with the law, exposing and remedying human rights violations in 485 juvenile cases. The Ministry of Justice adopted the model introduced by the foundation and its partners, and the government invited a group of governmental and nongovernmental stakeholders led by the foundation to draft a concept paper and a national action plan for creating a juvenile justice system.

The foundation also continued to support independent media and nongovernmental organizations of journalists. One foundation-initiated project helped prevent forced subscription to the official press. Striving to stimulate competition in the

## **A demonstration organized by the Kyrgyzstan foundation against a bill decriminalizing polygamy helped convince parliament not to pass the measure.**

print media market, orient the mass media toward the real needs of readers, and strengthen the economic freedoms of citizens in choosing sources of information, civil society activists have opened an intensive public discussion that earlier was prohibited.

### **Soros Foundation–Kyrgyzstan**

The Soros Foundation–Kyrgyzstan helped organize public discussions and expert meetings on promoting draft laws to reform the country's free legal aid system, establishing civilian oversight of the police, and developing the national program aimed at protecting the rights of labor migrants. The foundation initiated a broad informational campaign to increase voter turnout and stimulate voter awareness of the country's new election code.

The foundation launched an information campaign to guarantee a transparent selection process for potential members of the supervisory board of the National Television and Radio Corporation. The foundation then provided a detailed explanation of the law on the supervisory board and public broadcasting standards and also applied advocacy techniques in drafting and promoting a Journalists' Code of Ethics.

The foundation mounted a demonstration in front of the parliament building in March 2007 against a bill decriminalizing polygamy. The parlia-

ment subsequently did not pass the measure. An advocacy campaign to increase women's political participation included a meeting of parliamentary leaders, representatives of the presidential administration, international and national experts in election legislation, and representatives of international development agencies. Regional women's organizations sent messages to the deputies from their specific districts.

During the holiday recess when deputies traveled to their regions, women's organizations met with them, presented information leaflets, and organized question-and-answer sessions. The foundation also assisted women's organizations in publishing articles about women's representation in newspapers and on information agency websites. These efforts resulted in the introduction of special provisions to the revised election code requiring the inclusion of women candidates on all party lists.

### **Open Society Forum (Mongolia)**

In Mongolia, which has abundant mineral wealth but limited financial resources and a government inexperienced in managing this promising sector, debates over how best to structure the sector dominated the political, economic, and social agenda. The first ever EITI report in Mongolia was a significant development. The report, with the participation of

the OSI-supported Open Society Forum, found an unexplained gap of \$25 million between company payments and government receipts. Its major significance, however, was to offer a consultative, inclusive, and transparent approach to managing the sector. It stimulated further debate about applying these standards of transparency to other aspects of the sector, such as the licensing, negotiation, and terms of investment contracts.

The government budget in 2007 increased to unprecedented levels, both in absolute and relative terms, thanks to a fast growing economy and high commodity prices. The Open Society Forum focused on transparency and accountability in fiscal policies and budget execution. Improvements in disclosing information about the executive budget now allow citizens to obtain copies of budget proposals, including on the Internet, before approval by the legislature, giving them time to provide comments directly to the parliament.

To improve the transparency of political elections in Mongolia, the Open Society Forum, in collaboration with local NGOs and partners, assessed current legal and institutional frameworks and helped organize a National Forum on Election Transparency, which produced recommendations for reforms. As a result, the election law was amended to require early disclosure of voter registrations. The government formed a task force to consolidate voter registration nationally and to

make the list available on the Internet three months ahead of the June 2008 parliamentary election so that contesting political parties, and the public, can check for inaccuracies.

Pilot legal aid centers established and run by the Open Society Forum and the Open Society Justice Initiative for the past two years have demonstrated their effectiveness in providing legal aid to indigent people. The government aims to replicate these pilot centers in each aimag and district in Ulaanbaatar. UNDP has provided \$200,000 toward establishing the 30 centers.

## **Open Society Institute Assistance Foundation–Tajikistan**

The government of Tajikistan implemented new laws in 2007 that required NGOs to reregister with the government. The Open Society Institute Assistance Foundation–Tajikistan succeeded in reregistering in November, but the overall effect of the laws was to slow the development of civil society by reducing the number of officially registered NGOs from over 3,000 to slightly more than 1,000. Despite this challenge, the foundation remained committed to fostering the development of civil society by supporting reform efforts in law, migration, media, economic development, local governance, education, and arts and culture.

Among the foundation's many efforts in 2007 were the following:

Working with NATO, UNDP, and a Tajik organization, the Civil Initiative on Internet Policy, the foundation implemented a school Internet project that connected 55 secondary schools with 11 research institutes through one educational network.

The foundation helped establish the country's first professional association of journalism teachers to develop courses on journalism ethics, media management, and the relationship between law and journalism.

The foundation fostered economic development by promoting public discussion of a third party arbitration law adopted at the end of 2007. A microfinance bank supported by the foundation provided funding for business plans from young people, students, and women in rural areas.

To improve higher education in Tajikistan, the foundation worked with OSI's Higher Education Support Program, the UNDP, and the Ministry of Education on projects that aimed to improve the nation's university entrance exam system, helped to secure government support for higher education reform strategies, and worked to increase student involvement in reform and education development.

One of the foundation's arts and culture projects strengthened creative links between Tajikistan and Afghanistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan, by creating a film resource center in Dushanbe that young filmmakers from the five countries can use to produce and edit films.

## **Burma Project**

In September and October 2007, people across the world and inside Burma watched, read, and heard about popular protests in Burma and how the government responded with a brutal military crackdown. Journalists inside Burma, 40 of them supported by an OSI grantee, Democratic Voice of Burma (DVB), formed networks that smuggled stories and images to international media outlets, including footage of the brutal killing of a Japanese journalist. Despite significant government repression, DVB remains the only Burmese language satellite channel sending TV and radio broadcasts from the region into Burma, and many Burmese use shortwave radios or satellite radios to listen to DVB's daily programming.

The relationship between natural resources and repression in Burma remained significant in 2007. The country's substantial natural gas and oil reserves continued to facilitate media repression and human rights abuses by providing revenues for the military regime. The recently discovered Shwe gas fields in the Bay of Bengal are likely to become one of the military's newest and largest sources of foreign currency.

Arakan Oil Watch, an OSI grantee and leading member of the SHWE Gas Movement, worked to ensure that a construction project to transport gas from the Shwe fields to India via Burma will not result in exploitation and human rights

## **In Cambodia, OSI funded a project that created a Khmer language women's web portal covering information relating to women's issues and rights.**

abuses similar to those suffered by Burmese living near previous pipeline projects in eastern Burma. Foreign oil companies were successfully held accountable for those abuses by OSI grantee, EarthRights International, whose efforts were depicted in the 2007 award-winning documentary film, *Total Denial*.

### **Southeast Asia Initiative**

#### **Thailand**

The Southeast Asia Initiative has responded to the increasing deterioration of democracy and press freedoms in Thailand by supporting independent media organizations such as the Prachdharma News Network (PNN). PNN works to create information about under-reported issues by helping communities produce grassroots news using websites, newsletters, and CDs for broadcast on community radio stations. With a grant from OSI, PNN trained 40 youth from northern Thailand to work as community journalists writing articles on natural resource use, gender issues, and human rights.

#### **Malaysia**

The Southeast Asia Initiative worked to increase access to justice for indigenous populations in Malaysia by supporting community legal clinics and educational programs that allow these communities to challenge exploitative government and private sector land-use policies.

The Sarawak Dayak Iban Association, an OSI grantee representing the indigenous Iban community in the Malaysian state of Sarawak, established a pilot mobile legal clinic project that provides free paralegal services to villages in seven districts. As a result, indigenous villages and their leaders negotiated several peaceful solutions to land conflicts with private companies.

#### **Cambodia**

The lack of access to human rights information in Cambodia, especially in Khmer, the official language, adds to the problems of promoting human rights, particularly among women's groups. The Southeast Asia Initiative and OSI's Information Program funded Women Empowerment for Social Change, a project of the Cambodian NGO Open Institute, that created a Khmer language women's web portal covering all news and information related to women's issues and rights. The project also organized electronic forums for civil society and women's groups, gender education courses, and six instructor trainings across the country in information and communications technology.

#### **Regional**

In November 2007, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) adopted a charter, creating the region's first human rights body. The Southeast Asia Initiative gave the South East Asian Committee for Advocacy a grant for a project to help inform people about the

charter's impact on their lives and inform governments about the concerns of their constituents. The project has also helped civil society representatives initiate advocacy campaigns on issues such as human rights, security, migration and labor, and conditions faced by Asia's urban poor, a group that has been largely overlooked by ASEAN.

### **China and Nepal**

The Open Society Institute has expanded its efforts in Asia in a number of countries. In Nepal, OSI continued to support the country's transition to a more open society, establishing a new board of civil society representatives, the Alliance for Social Dialogue, to help guide future strategy. For several years, OSI has provided small amounts of funding for initiatives in China to support the growing field of legal aid and public interest litigation, environmental initiatives, and the work of HIV and AIDS practitioners. The largest grants in 2007 went to International Bridges to Justice to support training for criminal defenders and to the Natural Resources Defense Council to promote public participation by Chinese environmental NGOs. OSI's Public Health, Justice Initiative, and Debate programs also are working with Chinese colleagues to promote harm reduction methods to treat drug users, clinical legal education, and university debate programs.

# Middle East and North Africa

OSI's Middle East and North Africa Initiative in 2007 continued promoting human rights, women's empowerment, education, and arts and culture in the Arab region.

In the field of human rights, this was accomplished through support for the monitoring of human rights violations; advocacy at the local, regional, and international levels; and improving public awareness of rights.

In Algeria, OSI supported the Collective of the Families of the Disappeared, an organization that advocates on behalf of the families of persons who disappeared in the country during the turmoil of the 1990s. The organization, which brought international attention to the issue by submitting a report to the United Nations Human Rights Committee, continues to provide psychological assistance to families of victims and to press for the establishment of an independent truth and justice commission.

The Middle East Initiative supported the Kayan Feminist Organization, the only organization

that provides legal services in an accessible and supportive manner to Palestinian women in Israel. Kayan promotes women's rights by raising awareness of the law, especially the prohibitions on domestic violence, as well as personal status issues and employment rights.

In Egypt, OSI funded the Center for Egyptian Women's Legal Assistance to conduct research, undertake advocacy efforts, and build coalitions to combat violence against women. The center, which has formed a coalition of 65 nongovernmental organizations in southern Egypt, is one of the few organizations speaking out about incest, honor crimes, forced marriage, and deprivation of inheritance. It is encouraging the media, judiciary, and religious authorities to pay attention to these largely taboo topics.

The Middle East Initiative sponsored a first-of-its-kind regional workshop on Best Practices in Shelters and Services for Abused Women in Amman, Jordan. The workshop was conducted by Karama, a regional Arab network that strengthens ef-

forts to end violence against women, promotes regional cooperation, and breaks down the isolation Arab women's organizations have suffered as they worked to combat domestic violence. Karama is a major partner of OSI's International Women's Program as well as the Middle East Initiative.

With significant technical assistance from OSI's debate and early childhood programs, the Middle East Initiative continued to support the development of a wide-reaching and locally sustainable debate program among Palestinian youth in Israel in partnership with local nongovernmental organizations. The critical thinking, research, and rhetorical skills honed through debate are contributing to a more vibrant, open, and empowered Palestinian community.

The Arab Fund for Arts and Culture, an organization to which OSI has contributed significant financial and technical assistance, began providing support to artistic projects in the Arab region that cultivate creativity, independent thought, and regional exchange.

# REGIONS

## Africa

The Open Society Institute and the Soros foundations in Africa promoted efforts by civil society to improve electoral processes, introduce constitutional reforms, fight against corruption, and advocate on behalf of legal aid and safeguarding human rights, especially for vulnerable groups. Grantees and partners sponsored initiatives to monitor revenues from natural resource extraction and make these revenues more transparent and management of these revenues more accountable and effective. The Africa foundations also worked to enhance the leadership skills of women and young people, to eradicate stigma and discrimination in government responses to HIV and AIDS, and to promote community radio stations, media diversity, and press freedom.





Teenagers in Shende Village, Ethiopia, watch skits put on by two community reproductive health groups trying to discourage early marriage and other harmful practices.

## Africa Governance Monitoring and Advocacy Project (AfriMAP)

AfriMAP monitors compliance of member states of the African Union with standards of good governance, democracy, human rights, and the rule of law under African Union and United Nations treaties. At the 8th African Union Summit in January 2007, AfriMAP and the Open Society Initiative for West Africa launched two reports on Ghana, one on political participation and democracy, the other on justice and the rule of law. The reports recommended reforms needed to consolidate Ghana's democratic progress. AfriMAP and the Open Society Foundation for South Africa also launched two reports—on political participation and democracy, and effective public service—about conditions in South Africa.

More than half of the African Union's 53 member states have signed up to the African Peer Review Mechanism, a voluntary process that commits a government in a given country to conduct "self-assessment" reports on the state of governance. To complement the official reports, AfriMAP commissioned and published critiques of the African Peer Review Mechanism in Ghana, Kenya, Mauritius, and Rwanda. The critiques, compiled by local researchers, placed particular emphasis on the quality of civil society participation. The launches of the reports were attended by officials of the

respective governments and of the African Peer Review Mechanism for the respective countries as well as by representatives of civil society organizations.

A report commissioned by AfriMAP Oxfam GB, and the African Network on Debt and Development concluded that there is little involvement of civil society in African Union decision making. This report, *Towards a People-Driven African Union: Current Obstacles and New Opportunities*, was launched to coincide with the African Union Summit in Addis Ababa in January 2007, and updated in November.

AfriMAP promoted civil society participation in the debate on creation of an overarching African Union government; African heads of state engaged in a debate on this issue when they met in Accra, Ghana, in July. AfriMAP commissioned papers on the African Union government proposal and was the major sponsor of two forums to discuss the question. The two events provided civil society input to the debate, calling for an audit of the African Union Commission and its institutions. The final audit report incorporated the bulk of the recommendations from the AfriMAP report.

A 12-country survey of public service broadcasting in Africa is being carried out by AfriMAP and OSI's Media Program, working through OSI's four Africa-based foundations. The survey will examine issues of impartiality, independence, and quality in public service broadcasting

and make recommendations for better regulation of the sector, especially as these countries' broadcast media upgrade to digital technology. The final report is expected in early 2009.

## Open Society Foundation for South Africa

Government control of mass media helped support the architecture of apartheid in South Africa. During 2007, many media analysts and commentators warned of threats to media freedom. In particular, the ability of the South African Broadcasting Corporation to carry out its mandate to broadcast in the public interest came under renewed threat when the public broadcaster embarked on a campaign to blacklist political commentators critical of the ruling party government. The South African Broadcasting Corporation also refused to air a documentary on President Thabo Mbeki, maintaining that the film was controversial and portrayed the president in a negative light. Through a grant provided by the Open Society Foundation for South Africa, the Mbeki documentary was shown in a number of alternative venues throughout the country, despite threats of litigation to stop the screenings.

With media freedom under threat, much of the foundation's advocacy and campaigning directly

## With media freedom under threat, much of the South Africa foundation's advocacy and campaigning directly supported independent voices and analysis.

supported independent voices and analysis. The foundation supported the Freedom of Expression Institute in its work as a watchdog over the media, and in particular over the public broadcaster. The institute made submissions to parliament regarding the appointment of a new board for the South African Broadcasting Corporation to replace one that has been criticized as serving the interests of the ruling party.

In 2007, the foundation launched a book, *Meeting Their Mandates? A Critical Analysis of South African Media Statutory Bodies*, which analyzed the degree to which media statutory bodies in South Africa were fulfilling their mandates, contributing to media diversity, and enhancing access to media and information and communications technology. The aim of the book was to spearhead a public debate on the independence of South Africa's media as well as issues of access to media for a diverse range of voices.

### Open Society Initiative for East Africa

East Africa is a region where democratic development is both moving forward and encountering setbacks. The Open Society Initiative for East Africa (OSIEA), responding to political change, worked to foster democratic development in Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda by prioritizing four key areas of activity: governance and accountability, justice and

human rights, media and access to information, and regional initiatives.

Corruption remains a major challenge. The initiative partnered with the Africa Centre for Open Governance and the Media Analysis and Research Services Organization to increase transparency and the role of civil society groups in holding public institutions accountable. OSIEA helped community groups in Kenya monitor government budgets, and environmental organizations in Uganda improve the country's natural resource use policies.

OSIEA supported work to defend and promote the human rights of marginalized and disadvantaged communities. It funded efforts focusing on the issues of citizenship and statelessness, particularly among groups such as ethnic Somali Kenyans and Kenyan Nubians, and provided support to the Muslim Human Rights Forum in Kenya to protect people swept up in the arrests, secret detentions, torture, and disappearances conducted by the Kenyan government against people accused of having links to al Qaeda.

To address rampant sexual violence against women and girls, OSIEA supported a women's coalition that sought to hold the government responsible for implementing a new sexual offenses law through the training of police, lawyers, and administrative personnel. In partnership with the Zanzibar Female Lawyers Association, the initiative helped improve the justice system's response to violations of women's

rights and documented legal provisions that discriminated against women.

With OSIEA funding, the Human Rights Network (Hurinet) worked to popularize Uganda's Access to Information Act—one of the first in Africa—and to strengthen implementation of the law. To promote democracy and good governance, an OSIEA/AfriMAP project in 2007 examined the African Peer Review Mechanism process in Kenya, conducting audits of the justice sector, democracy and political participation, and effective public service delivery. The research will be published in 2008.

The HIV epidemic remains an unprecedented public health emergency in the region, thriving on stigma and human rights abuses. A report by OSIEA and the Law and Health Initiative of OSI's Public Health Program documented how lack of access to legal services exacerbates the HIV crisis in Kenya. With OSIEA support, 10 hospitals in Kenya now integrate legal services into their HIV treatment, and legal assistance programs are being introduced into post-rape care centers and domestic violence programs in Uganda.

**In Nigeria, where elections in 2007 were criticized as undemocratic, the West Africa foundation supported a broad alliance for electoral reform.**

## **Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa**

The Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa (OSISA) commissioned a research and advocacy project on making spending more effective in fighting HIV and AIDS across the region. The Centre for AIDS Development, Research and Evaluation examined civil society access to AIDS funding in Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, and Zambia. The research revealed that 70 percent of the civil society organizations surveyed did not provide their volunteers with any financial or in-kind compensation. The activities least funded by donors were policy, advocacy, and research. Most notably, the research found that a small percentage of the organizations surveyed were accessing the most readily available resources. In 2005, 89 percent of all spending was undertaken by the top 20 percent of these organizations, compared with less than 1 percent by the organizations in the bottom 20 percent.

OSISA also focused on the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, TB and Malaria, providing support to nongovernmental organizations concerned with implementation and governance issues in Zimbabwe and Botswana as well as Namibia and Swaziland. With OSI's Public Health Program, the initiative supported women's rights coalitions in submitting Global Fund proposals as part of the seventh round of funding.

In 2007, OSISA continued working through its project, the Southern Africa Resource Watch, and with local partners in Botswana, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Zambia, and Zimbabwe to improve transparency and accountability in connection with revenue flows from natural resource extraction. The Southern Africa Resource Watch supported efforts to persuade governments in Zambia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo to renegotiate mining contracts, and examined how key mineral and oil extraction has been managed and how revenues have been utilized in southern Africa.

The Angola office organized a visit to Brazil to acquaint opposition members of parliament with mechanisms and systems that promote the monitoring and transparency of national budgets. The members of parliament have since formed a group within the national parliament to promote transparency. In partnership with the Revenue Watch Institute, the initiative sent four journalists and civil society activists to Brazil for internships to build capacity for investigative work.

When the repressive government of Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe cracked down on peaceful protestors on March 11, 2007, OSISA responded to the crisis with advocacy interventions, and channeled additional resources to the Zimbabwe program. It developed a dynamic Crisis Engagement Fund, which helped

support a meeting of OSI's leadership with human rights defenders from Zimbabwe, leading to the creation of the Human Rights Defenders Trust.

## **Open Society Initiative for West Africa**

Central to the Open Society Initiative for West Africa (OSIWA) in 2007 were the West Africa Public Interest Litigation Center and the West Africa Resource Watch Institute. The Nigeria-based West Africa Public Interest Litigation Center promotes the rule of law and access to justice for citizens of the region. It initiates and backs efforts to hold public officials and private entities accountable for actions contrary to the public interest, provides support for advocacy for law reform and for lawyers in the region who take legal action on human rights violations, issues of public interest, and constitutional cases in national and other courts. To promote transparency in resource management, OSIWA established the West Africa Resource Watch Institute, based in Dakar, Senegal. The institute trains civil society partners on how to monitor the revenue flows in the natural resource extraction industries and to advocate for improved transparency and accountability in the management of these revenues.

Nigeria, the most powerful nation in West Africa, held presidential elections in 2007 that were widely

criticized as undemocratic and unfair. The initiative responded by continuing its effective work with civil society to restore credibility to the Nigerian electoral process. Previous efforts by the Alliance for Credible Elections, a civil society coalition group supported by the initiative, helped rally popular support for the 2006 defeat of a draft constitu-

tional amendment that would have given the president three four-year terms. In 2007, the alliance called for credible elections on a unified platform—a first in the nation's history. The foundation assembled the Nigeria Labour Congress, the Manufacturers Association of Nigeria, the Nigerian Bar Association, Muslim and Christian faith-based groups,

motorcycle clubs, market women, and other groups to advocate for fair elections and the rule of law. By the end of the year, the alliance was the hub of civil society's engagement in electoral reform across the nation.

The initiative also promoted national reconstruction efforts such as Liberia's Truth and Reconciliation Commission.



In a tidal swamp, where hundreds of poor Haitians live in Cap Haitien, boys crawl through the muddy water looking for small fish and other food.



# REGIONS

## Latin America and the Caribbean

In Latin America and the Caribbean, where confidence in elected officials remains low, the Open Society Institute worked to help civil society strengthen democratic institutions and values. The Latin America Program supported organizations that helped fight corruption in Guatemala and improved the management of revenues from Mexico's national oil company. The Guatemala foundation sought to improve HIV prevention and environmental justice, and defended the rights of women factory workers. In Haiti, amid a stagnant economy and destructive political forces, the foundation partnered with the government and businesses on plans for a national park in Port-au-Prince and water facilities in a village on the north coast.

## Latin America Program

The Latin America Program works to improve public access to government-held information, enhance citizen oversight of government policies, and increase civil society's role in strengthening the capacity and democratic responsibilities of public institutions such as the military, the police, the judiciary, and human rights bodies. The program also supports organizations that advocate for improved policies within Latin American countries and at the regional level, and funds grantees in the United States that advocate for changes in U.S. policy toward the region.

An OSI grantee, the Argentine Forensic Anthropology Team—Equipo Argentino de Antropología Forense (EAAF), launched a massive public campaign to collect blood samples from families of the disappeared in Latin America. The samples will be processed in a soon-to-be-completed DNA laboratory, the first of its kind in the region. EAAF's cofounder, Mercedes Doretti, received a 2007 MacArthur Award in recognition of this important work.

Another grantee, the Washington Office on Latin America, helped win U.S. support for Guatemala's International Commission Against Impunity by underscoring its importance in the fight against corruption, organized crime, and impunity in Guatemala.

In Mexico, OSI and the Revenue Watch Institute sponsored a study by Fundar and the Asociación Ecológica

Santo Tomás that indicated the state of Tabasco was not managing revenues from the national oil company, PEMEX, in a transparent manner. Six weeks after the report, Mexico's legislature introduced measures calling for an audit of PEMEX's resource distribution. In addition, PEMEX announced new guidelines to strengthen transparency and accountability at the state level.

In Peru, a country rich in mineral resources, federal law stipulates that half of the income taxes paid by mining companies to the central government should go to the communities and regions directly affected by the mining. With support from the Latin America Program and the Revenue Watch Institute, Grupo Propuesta Ciudadana (GPC), a group of 11 NGOs throughout Peru, has worked hard to assert civic oversight of these funds. GPC research and advocacy has persuaded the government and mining companies to begin cooperating with citizen monitoring efforts, and there are indications that tax collection has improved.

## Fundación Soros–Guatemala

HIV prevention and environmental justice were two priorities for the Fundación Soros–Guatemala in 2007. The foundation supported a program that informs young people about HIV and AIDS in Huehuetenango, Quetzaltenango, Petén, Chimaltenango, Zacapa, and

Guatemala City. The project seeks to stop HIV from spreading, promote respect for the human rights of those living with HIV, generate solidarity, diminish stigma, and influence related public policy. The information campaign includes radio spots in Spanish and indigenous languages, the distribution of promotional materials to young people in public places, and workshops in schools for teachers and graduating students.

The foundation supported a project by Fundación Defensores de la Naturaleza to develop participatory tools and strengthen the capacities of communities and municipalities to protect and manage the watershed forests of the Motagua-Polochic system. The project promotes social organization in communities and improves community–local government relations. The methodology incorporates the communities' cultural principles and values to encourage forest conservation.

The Centro de Acción Legal Ambiental y Social de Guatemala implemented another foundation-supported project to establish legal environmental precedents through litigation, promote public participation through the media, and bring about administrative and judicial reforms that benefit environmental justice.

The Centro de Estudios y Apoyo al Desarrollo Local (CEADEL), funded by the foundation and the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, is defending the rights of working women—mainly indigenous—in textile and food sup-

## The foundation in Haiti is helping the government create a national park in a Port-au-Prince neighborhood severely damaged by urban violence.

ply factories in the San Lucas–Chimaltenango area. These tax-exempt factories, which represent well-known international companies, violate Guatemalan labor laws by, for example, failing to pay the minimum wage and using child labor. Working with the National Labor Committee, a New York–based organization, CEADEL conducted campaigns in the United States to persuade the international companies whose products are made in Guatemala to get the factories to comply with national and international labor laws.

### **Fondation Connaissance et Liberté (Haiti)**

Fondation Connaissance et Liberté (FOKAL) continued to develop local and international alliances around its approach to restoring peace and rebuilding the country through urban development, democratic debate, the environment, and arts and culture. FOKAL signed a management contract with the Haitian government for the

creation of a national park equipped with social and cultural services and the first botanical garden in Haiti. Martissant Park will be located in the middle of a highly populated Port-au-Prince neighborhood that has been severely damaged by urban violence. In 2008, FOKAL, working with three European NGOs and EU funding, will also launch an urban revitalization project in the neighborhood surrounding the park.

Throughout 2007, FOKAL implemented a contract with Royal Caribbean International cruise lines for a water facilities and social engineering project in the village of Labadie on the north coast of Haiti. FOKAL also participated in discussions with the Ministry of Tourism for the reinforcement of such activities in the Labadie vicinity. FOKAL is the primary nongovernmental partner of the Brazilian NGO Viva Rio in the urban revitalization project of Bel Air, a historic neighborhood of Port-au-Prince, also severely damaged by urban gang wars.

With the financial support of the

European Union and the collaboration of OSI's Network Debate Program, FOKAL organized many youth debates throughout the country. Young debaters also benefited from a collaborative initiative between FOKAL and the Canadian human rights institution, Rights & Democracy. The debaters visited Canada to exchange views and develop discussion groups with young Canadians interested in the democratic process in their country and elsewhere.

In 2007, the Bibliothèque Monique Calixte (BMC), a library and Internet center housed in FOKAL's Resource Center in Port-au-Prince, served as the training site for the more than 40 community libraries supported by FOKAL. The BMC, with approximately 6,000 active young readers from the city's impoverished urban neighborhoods, hosts writers, musicians, and painters in a variety of highly attended events. An affiliated association in Paris holds fundraising events and supports training and educational trips for young Haitian librarians.

# INITIATIVES

## Justice and Governance

The protection of human rights is a priority for the Open Society Institute and the Soros foundations network. A number of programs sought to strengthen the rule of law globally and nationally, open up government decision making to public scrutiny, and eliminate discrimination against women and Roma and other minorities. These programs helped win significant legal victories in 2007, from a school desegregation case involving Roma in the Czech Republic to a reproductive rights case in Poland. OSI organized the training of lawyers in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan on litigating cases challenging the use of torture by police to obtain confessions, sponsored an antidiscrimination campaign in Romania that included messages from star soccer players, and moved to protect the rights of women and girls living in countries marked by armed conflict.





Residents of Aker Camp, an informal settlement in Port Harcourt, Nigeria, mourn the loss of their homes after the military set fire to the entire neighborhood in reprisal for the killing of a soldier.

## Open Society Justice Initiative

The Open Society Justice Initiative works to protect human rights, promote the rule of law, and develop legal capacity for open societies. The Justice Initiative uses litigation, legal advocacy, technical assistance, and the dissemination of knowledge to secure advances in the following priority areas: national criminal justice reform, international justice, freedom of information and expression, anticorruption, and equality and citizenship. The Justice Initiative engages in significant activities across the world, with a number of notable 2007 developments in Africa, Asia, and Central and Eastern Europe.

The war crimes trial of former Liberian President Charles Taylor is a signal moment for international justice and especially for people in West Africa who suffered most from his misdeeds. Taylor stands charged by the Special Court for Sierra Leone with 11 counts of war crimes, crimes against humanity, and serious violations of international law related to the conflict in Sierra Leone. Over the last few years the Justice Initiative has provided significant assistance to local and international efforts to bring Taylor to justice. The trial was transferred to The Hague—a world away from most of Taylor’s victims—due to concerns about the political destabilization a trial in Sierra Leone might cause. To bring news and information about the trial

to West Africans and others, the Justice Initiative helped create [charles-taylortrial.org](http://charles-taylortrial.org), offering daily updates from the courtroom as well as expert analysis and information crucial to understanding the trial proceedings.

A law passed by the Mauritanian National Assembly in 2007 explicitly outlaws slavery and related practices, such as the sexual exploitation of female slaves, and provides up to 10 years in prison as the punishment for slave owners. Although slavery is widely practiced in the country, previous governments denied its existence. The Justice Initiative provided advice and expertise in antidiscrimination law to a coalition of Mauritanian NGOs that consulted with the government on the bill.

As a proponent of international justice—including in particular international and internationalized processes for prosecuting high-level perpetrators of genocide, crimes against humanity, and other atrocities—the Justice Initiative has been a long-time supporter of the establishment and implementation of the Khmer Rouge Tribunal. The Justice Initiative has provided training for the court’s judges and other staff and pushed the court to improve its practices in areas such as victims’ services, outreach, and administration. In 2007, the Justice Initiative reported allegations that the court’s personnel were required to provide salary kickbacks, resulting in a UN investigation and, eventually, greater transparency at the court.

The Justice Initiative organized trainings for lawyers from Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan on how to overcome the challenges of litigating torture cases. Torture is widely used in Central Asia to obtain confessions and other statements admitted as evidence in criminal proceedings. The trainings focused on legal challenges in domestic courts and international bodies to prompt states in the region to comply with their international obligations to prevent, investigate, and punish torture.

Parliaments in Moldova and Georgia took important steps toward improving access to justice by approving new legal aid laws guaranteeing qualified legal assistance for all poor defendants. The laws, developed and drafted by the Justice Initiative and Soros foundations and legal NGOs in Moldova and Georgia, are part of broader efforts to improve each country’s justice system.

In a landmark decision for minorities across Europe, the Grand Chamber of the European Court of Human Rights ruled that segregating Roma students into special schools is a form of unlawful discrimination that violates fundamental human rights. The ruling came in *D.H. and Others v. the Czech Republic*, an eight-year case in which 18 Roma children challenged the practice of shunting Roma students—regardless of their intellectual abilities—into “special” schools for children with learning disabilities. The Justice Initiative advised the plaintiffs and worked with an OSI grantee, the European Roma

## OSI provided expertise on antidiscrimination law to Mauritanian NGOs in their successful effort to outlaw slavery in a country where previous governments denied its existence.

Rights Centre, and local counsel to argue the case.

The Justice Initiative submitted comments to the European Court of Human Rights highlighting the plight of thousands of residents of Slovenia who were unjustly “erased” from the government’s registry of citizens in 1996. The 11 long-term residents in *Makuc and Others v. Slovenia* were stripped of their legal status after Slovenia’s secession from Yugoslavia, and left with no meaningful options for obtaining Slovene citizenship. After the dissolution of Yugoslavia and the emergence of an independent Slovenia, the new state adopted laws allowing residents to apply for Slovene citizenship. However, the citizenship application process was cumbersome and the government did not publicize it effectively. As a result, thousands of legal residents of Slovenia did not apply. In 1996, the Slovene government literally erased the names of 18,305 residents from its register of citizens. Since then, these “erased” citizens have been denied social services including health care and schooling, and some have been rendered stateless.

### Human Rights and Governance Grants Program

The Human Rights and Governance Grants Program is the principle grantmaking effort of the Open Society Institute focusing on human

rights, accountability, and rule of law promotion in Central and Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, and Mongolia. The program provides direct support to advocacy NGOs that use monitoring, litigation, and domestic and international advocacy to hold governments accountable for respecting fundamental human rights and combating corruption.

The program also partners with Soros foundations and other OSI programs to achieve common objectives in advancing human rights and the rule of law, develop new projects, and build networks among human rights and legal advocacy groups.

Program grantees such as the Center for Reproductive Rights, Interights, and the Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights in Poland provided support and advocacy in 2007 that led to a major victory for women’s rights. The European Court of Human Rights ruled that the government of Poland had denied a woman her right to privacy by preventing her from having an abortion, despite doctors’ warnings that the pregnancy posed a threat to her health. The birth rendered the woman partially blind and unable to work. The court determined that Poland had breached the woman’s right to privacy as defined by the European Convention for Human Rights and awarded her damages.

Green Alternative, another grantee, won an important case for freedom of information and privatization accountability in Georgia. The Tbilisi City Court decided against the

Ministry of Economic Development, requiring the agency to declassify documents related to the transfer of shares of a state-owned enterprise and provide Green Alternative with a copy of the privatization agreement.

In *Baysayeva v. Russia*—a case brought before the European Court of Human Rights by the grantee Russian Justice Initiative—the court handed down a strongly worded decision condemning the disappearances of people detained by Russian forces in Chechnya. The court ordered Russia to pay compensation for moral damages and also to take steps to properly investigate disappearances. The court’s recognition of the problem of disappearances can set a precedent for the way future cases are handled in Chechnya.

The human rights community achieved a significant victory in September 2007 when Kazakhstan signed the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Optional Protocol to the Convention against Torture. Advocacy by OSI partners, the Kazakhstan International Bureau for Human Rights and Rule of Law, the Almaty Helsinki Committee, and the Charter for Human Rights, played a strong role in winning the government’s decision to ratify. The protocols will substantially strengthen human rights protections and remedies for violations.

## An antidiscrimination campaign in Romania included a television series and live half-time messages from professional soccer players about the dangers of racism and discrimination.

### Local Government and Public Service Reform Initiative

The Local Government and Public Service Reform Initiative (LGI) promotes democratic and effective local and regional governance and advances the role of policy analysis in public affairs. Working with civil society partners, LGI supports governmental reform by monitoring and assessing how governments perform and by providing them with analytical and technical support.

LGI and the OSI-supported Revenue Watch Institute began working in 2007 to ensure that regions and communities experiencing vast increases in wealth from rising commodity prices for natural resources such as oil, gas, and minerals will use that wealth in transparent and strategic ways to improve public services and reduce poverty. LGI and the Revenue Watch Institute started promoting participatory development planning and local, national, and international initiatives like the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative in Indonesia and Peru. They aim to follow and help guide the “money” from the time it leaves the ground as a commodity until it arrives in national coffers, is transferred to local governments, and then re-invested for local needs and services.

A coalition of OSI programs coordinated by LGI was established to ensure that European Union funding is used effectively to help the Roma communities in Central

and Eastern Europe. The coalition seeks to engage local governments and communities in Eastern Europe in connecting EU-funded social and economic opportunities with the Decade of Roma Inclusion and in using EU funding for Roma inclusion targets in public education, public health, employment, housing, and infrastructure. LGI will share and disseminate best practices, and advocate in Brussels for a better use of EU funding for the Decade of Roma Inclusion.

LGI teamed up with OSI’s Roma Initiatives Office to enhance the policy writing and advocacy skills of Roma NGO leaders engaged in the Decade Watch’s monitoring of decade activities. In Macedonia, Roma NGO leaders prepared a policy brief that outlined ways for the government to reduce its dependence on donors when implementing programs. In Bulgaria, Roma advocates used a policy brief to generate support to create a resource center for elected Roma officials. LGI plans to expand this advocacy capacity building throughout Central and South Eastern Europe.

In Bulgaria, Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine, LGI advocated for education finance reform, which has often been overlooked by other donors interested in improving fiscal transparency and educational services. LGI aims to assist finance and education ministries in devolving financing and management decisions to municipal governments and individual schools. Education is one

of the largest budget lines in most of the region’s countries, yet centralized control of budgets makes it nearly impossible for schools to manage staff and resources according to real local needs. Central control also results in citizens feeling disconnected from their children’s educational systems and having less oversight over how schools are managed. As LGI helps bring education financing and administration to the municipal or school level, it works with communities and local governments to preempt corruption and inefficiency by establishing municipal transparency and accountability measures.

### Roma Programs

OSI, the largest nongovernmental supporter of Roma-related initiatives in Central, Eastern, and South Eastern Europe, has provided some \$100 million since 1993 to increase the capacity of the Roma to act effectively for themselves, to advocate for systemic change in government and EU policies affecting Roma, to challenge the negative image of Roma, and to make the Decade of Roma Inclusion a success. In 2007, OSI Roma programs, such as the Roma Initiatives Office and the Roma Participation Program, and Soros foundations worked to empower Roma communities and change attitudes among the public and policymakers in areas ranging

from arts and culture to public health to education and economic development.

Chachipe (“truth” or “reality” in Romany), an online international photography contest organized by OSI and the Open Society Archives under the Decade of Roma Inclusion, sought photos by both professional and amateur photographers that defied traditional prejudiced images of Roma and portrayed Roma as equal and active members in society. Nearly 300 photographers from 18 countries submitted some 2,200 images to the contest. All contest photographs are available on the Chachipe website (<http://photo.romadecade.org>). The photos were also exhibited in Budapest and will travel to several European cities in 2008.

Another project supported by OSI brought Roma artists to the Venice Biennale contemporary art exhibition for the first time. The Roma pavilion, sponsored by OSI, the Allianz Kulturstiftung, and the European Cultural Foundation, featured *Paradise Lost*, an exhibition of works by 16 contemporary Roma artists representing eight European countries. The pavilion’s presence at the biennale exposed Roma artists to a wider audience and demonstrated the vital cultural and political contributions that Roma can make to Europe.

Roma women in Hungary are three times as likely to die from breast cancer as non-Roma women. OSI addressed this crisis by organiz-

ing a public information campaign designed by local organizations and Roma artists to raise awareness about breast cancer and improve Roma women’s access to screening and early detection services. The Roma Participation Program and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee worked with leading Hungarian cancer organizations on the campaign, which included conferences and “Open Health Day” events providing breast scanning and information about breast cancer and healthy living.

Tuberculosis is another health crisis facing Roma communities throughout Europe. Two OSI initiatives, the Roma Health Project and Public Health Watch, collaborated with the World Lung Foundation, the International Union Against Tuberculosis and Lung Disease, and the World Health Organization to make the TB emergency in Roma communities a political priority. The Roma Health Project supported an international seminar on TB and social exclusion, published a policy report, and helped organize a meeting for civil society representatives, increasing awareness of Roma TB issues among policymakers and international health organizations.

An award-winning antidiscrimination campaign in Romania sponsored by the Roma Initiatives Office and the Roma Participation Program integrated the first national-level policy report by Roma researchers, a television series examining relations between Roma communities and

the majority population, and TV and live half-time messages from professional soccer players about the dangers of racism and discrimination. As part of the soccer campaign, led by OSI Roma Initiatives fellow Valeriu Nicolae and largely funded by national and international soccer associations, Romania’s president named Bănel Nicolită, a popular player of Roma origin, as the ambassador against racism and violence in Romania.

A polling project cofunded by OSI–Sofia demonstrated that information and discussion about Roma integration in Bulgaria can change public opinion. The project initially surveyed 1,344 people on issues involving Roma and housing, crime, and education. From this group, pollsters selected 250 respondents to consider proposals from political parties, the government, and non-governmental organizations and then attend a two-day meeting. After the meeting, the participants showed increased tolerance toward Roma and lower acceptance of exclusionary policies.

For the 2007 elections, the Kosovo Foundation for Open Society helped NGOs produce a booklet promoting the Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities’ expectations on issues such as political participation, education, and the return of refugees. OSI organized a microfinance workshop in Skopje, conducted by OSI’s East East: Partnership Beyond Borders Program, to help Roma communities in Mace-

donia pursue housing development. The workshop, which was the first time that stakeholders in the region integrated Roma, housing, and microcredit issues, resulted in the establishment of a Roma housing fund in Macedonia.

Legal efforts to advance Roma rights had a major breakthrough in 2007. After eight years of litigation, the European Court of Human Rights ruled that racial segregation of Roma in education is a violation of fundamental human rights. The case, *D.H. and Others v. Czech Republic*, was brought by the European Roma Rights Centre, an OSI grantee.

To foster reading and creative writing in Roma communities in Bulgaria, the Next Page Foundation, an OSI Information Program grantee, worked with 12 partners in four countries to implement the “Our Stories” project. The project involved children in the creation of books, provided communities with access to age and culturally appropriate materials, and organized mentoring activities between communities and 40 authors, artists, and educators.

## International Women’s Program

The International Women’s Program aims to promote, protect, and guarantee the rights of women and girls living in countries marked by armed conflict, unstable governments, lack of the rule of law, poor public health, and economic

inequity. The program also advances women’s rights and gender equality in law and practice, and works to increase women’s participation in the democratic process.

Promoting justice with a focus on gender issues and women’s rights in societies making democratic transitions was a major priority for the International Women’s Program in 2007. Working individually as well as in cooperation with the Open Society Justice Initiative, the program supported groups such as the Women’s Initiatives for Gender Justice, which provided gender training to more than 100 legal counsel and staff from the International Criminal Court and African women activists working with the International Criminal Court.

The program assisted local groups in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, such as Ajedi-Ka and Solidarité Féminine pour la Paix et le Développement Intégral, that provided medical, legal, and educational assistance to demobilized girl soldiers and pursued justice for survivors of sexual violence. In Europe, the program helped Medica Mondiale in Bosnia and Herzegovina produce a best practices manual for how to treat victims of sexual violence based on the NGO’s work during the wars in the former Yugoslavia.

In Asia, the International Women’s Program supported the first efforts to document the Khmer Rouge’s treatment of women from Cambodia’s Cham Muslim minority. Filipina women supported by the pro-

gram attended the first international conference on Japan’s use of sexual slavery in World War II; activists, attorneys, scholars, and survivors discussed how to get Japan to officially acknowledge that its army engaged in sexual trafficking.

In Latin America, the program supported a Peruvian human rights group that gathered evidence and documented cases of sexual violence, an issue that has been largely unaddressed by the country’s truth and reconciliation process.

The International Women’s Program also focused on promoting the rights of women facing multiple forms of discrimination. The program supported the efforts of the Johannesburg-based Forum for the Empowerment of Women to protect black lesbians and develop nationwide advocacy campaigns to advance their rights. In Cambodia, the program provided funding to the Working Group for Weapons Reduction, an NGO that challenges discrimination based on gender and physical disabilities caused by landmines that litter the country, particularly in poor, rural areas. In Nepal, the program supported the Feminist Dalit Organization, an NGO that advances the rights of Dalit women, who belong to an “untouchable” caste and face triple discrimination on the basis of gender, class, and caste.

To advance women’s rights at the regional level, the International Women’s Program sustained networks such as V-Day Karama (which means “dignity” in Arabic), consist-

## **OSI supported groups in the Democratic Republic of the Congo that provided assistance to demobilized girl soldiers and pursued justice for survivors of sexual violence.**

ing of NGOs from nine Middle Eastern countries. With support from the program and OSI's Middle East and North Africa Initiative, Karama members from Egypt, Morocco, and Tunisia formed a delegation at the 51st Session of the UN Commission on the Status of Women and addressed the UN General Assembly. Karama members in Jordan created a coal-

ition that submitted the country's first CEDAW shadow report and carried out advocacy work around its recommendations.

In Central and Eastern Europe, the Women's Program supported reproductive health and rights by funding the ASTRA (The Federation for Women and Family Planning) youth network that works to develop

a new generation of reproductive rights and health issues activists. The network developed recommendations on sex education for health and education ministers in Central and Eastern European countries, highlighting the damaging effects of abstinence-only based sex education and ineffective HIV and AIDS prevention programs.



Drug users return used needles and select clean ones in a needle exchange van operated by OSI grantee Humanitarian Action in St. Petersburg, Russia.



# INITIATIVES

## Public Health

In public health, OSI promotes policies based upon social inclusion, human rights, justice, and scientific evidence, empowering socially marginalized groups to participate in the creation of such policies. It launched an initiative to support efforts that would increase access to essential medicines for the treatment of neglected diseases in developing countries. It organized or participated in major conferences and workshops on harm reduction, media coverage of health, pediatric palliative care, drug-resistant TB, and sex workers' rights. OSI's call for a greater focus on human rights in the global AIDS crisis has been endorsed by more than 250 organizations. In mental health, OSI helped secure alternatives to institutionalization in a number of countries, including Azerbaijan, where the government agreed to a community-based pilot project.

## Public Health Program

Unique in the donor community for its ability to move cutting-edge issues in the field of public health, OSI's Public Health Program promotes policies based upon social inclusion, human rights, justice, and scientific evidence. The Public Health Program works with civil society organizations to engage socially marginalized groups in shaping public health policies, particularly those related to HIV and AIDS, and advocates for greater government accountability and transparency.

In its efforts to establish stronger civil society advocacy, the program has stepped up its investment in leadership development and capacity building, and increased core support for national and regional organizations such as the Eurasian Harm Reduction Network; the Botswana Network on Ethics, Law and AIDS; and the African Palliative Care Association. It sponsored a conference in Cape Town in 2007 on critical health and human rights issues, including HIV and AIDS, patient care, harm reduction, palliative care, sexual health, and minority health. Rule of law and public health coordinators from more than 25 Soros foundations attended workshops for collaborative advocacy and grantmaking.

### Access to Essential Medicines Initiative

According to the World Health Organization, 30 percent of the world's population—estimated

at between 1.3 and 2.1 billion people—lack access to essential medicines. In 2007, the Public Health Program launched its Access to Essential Medicines Initiative to support efforts to increase access to drugs to treat neglected diseases in developing countries, especially for marginalized populations.

The initiative promotes civil society engagement in work that focuses on three key areas: monitoring and ensuring transparency of the pharmaceutical industry, fostering models of drug innovation that protect public health, and supporting fair and efficient mechanisms to ensure availability of medicines. The grant program includes technical assistance in such areas as organizational development and media skills.

### Health Budget Monitoring and Advocacy Project

National health budgets are telling indicators of the priority and commitment of a government's response to health issues such as HIV and TB. The Health Budget Monitoring and Advocacy Project supports civil society participation in tracking and analyzing national and local resources for HIV and AIDS and other health issues. The project works to promote transparency of public funding, increase access to key health information, strengthen participation of marginalized populations in health policy debates, and increase the effectiveness, equity, and impact of health expenditures.

The monitoring project is engaged, for example, in a budget analysis of Kyrgyzstan's mental health system. OSI and the Bishkek-based advocacy organization, Mental Health and Society, are calling for reform of Kyrgyzstan's mental health system—favoring a shift in funds away from large institutions, which can perpetuate human rights abuses, and into community-based mental health services. The project provided technical assistance and support to train advocates on health budget monitoring in Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan, and Ukraine, and supported a number of advocacy campaigns in Africa, including in Ethiopia, Kenya, and Malawi.

### Health Media Initiative

The Health Media Initiative works to increase public awareness of health issues, especially health issues involving stigmatization and marginalized populations. The initiative focuses on building the capacity of health-related nongovernmental organizations to utilize media and communicate effectively with the public. The initiative also seeks to build the capacity of media professionals to report responsibly on health issues.

OSI held a regional workshop in Johannesburg for journalists and advocates from throughout eastern and southern Africa. The initiative also worked toward improving HIV and AIDS reporting in China. OSI supported the Wuhan University School of Journalism and Communication to

## An OSI report underscored the crucial need for increasing the access of women drug users to integrated harm reduction services, drug treatment, and sexual and reproductive health care.

conduct a month-long training program for 20 mid-career Chinese journalists.

### International Harm Reduction Development Program

The International Harm Reduction Development Program (IHRD) is dedicated to reducing HIV and other harms related to injecting drug use and advocates for policies that reduce discrimination against illicit drug users. In 2007, IHRD worked to improve the quality and accessibility of needle exchange programs; ensure the provision of effective drug addiction treatment, including methadone and buprenorphine treatment; provide access to antiretroviral medicines for injecting drug users living with HIV, including prisoners; end law enforcement policies and practices that impede HIV prevention and health promotion; improve women's access to harm reduction services; and mobilize people who use drugs and those living with HIV to protect their health and human rights. An IHRD conference in Bangkok brought together harm reduction advocates and health and legal experts, including former police officers, from more than 20 countries to develop strategies for HIV prevention services to work effectively with law enforcement.

The IHRD report *Women, Harm Reduction, and HIV* underscored the crucial need for increasing the access of women drug users to inte-

grated harm reduction services, drug treatment, and sexual and reproductive health care, and to ensure their reproductive rights. IHRD sponsored a panel discussion on women and harm reduction at the international Women Deliver conference in London. IHRD and its partners helped bring progress in drug policies and health practices in many countries, including China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Ukraine.

### International Palliative Care Initiative

The International Palliative Care Initiative (IPCI) works in resource-poor countries to integrate palliative care into national health care plans and policies, delivery systems, and professional and public education. IPCI convened multiple seminars and trainings in 2007 as part of its ongoing commitment to health care leadership development. The initiative held its first seminar on pediatric palliative care in Salzburg, Austria, bringing together physicians and health care practitioners from every region of the world to discuss pressing issues on end-of-life care for children. IPCI also convened a two-day pediatric palliative care course in Tbilisi, Georgia, for 40 regional health care professionals. The initiative was particularly active in Africa in 2007, supporting the production of manuals for palliative care professionals and legal advocates, and workshops on access to essential pain medication.

### Law and Health Initiative

The Law and Health Initiative (LAHI) collaborates with other Public Health projects to further their goals through litigation, law reform, legal services, and human rights documentation and advocacy. In 2007, LAHI developed a range of tools to support health and human rights advocacy throughout the Soros network. Chief among these tools was a comprehensive resource guide that includes fact sheets, jurisprudence, and case studies on six priority areas of health and human rights. LAHI also worked with Soros foundations in Armenia, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan, Macedonia, and Ukraine to develop a series of practitioner guides for lawyers interested in taking patients' rights cases.

LAHI and the Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa provided unrestricted support and technical assistance to six AIDS and human rights organizations in southern Africa. LAHI also launched a joint initiative with the Open Society Initiative for East Africa to expand access to legal services for people living with and affected by HIV and AIDS in eastern Africa. An accompanying report found that rampant human rights abuses were fueling Kenya's HIV epidemic, and urged the Kenyan government to make legal services a centerpiece of its AIDS response.

As one of the few donor-funded projects dedicated to health and human rights, LAHI has taken a leading role in advocating for human rights-based responses to HIV and

## OSI brought sex worker activists and health and human rights advocates to Cambodia to discuss responses to human rights abuses committed in the name of “rescuing sex workers.”

AIDS before governmental and multilateral bodies. Advocacy included pressuring UNAIDS and the World Health Organization to include strong protection for informed consent, counseling, and confidentiality in their new guidelines on HIV testing.

In advance of World AIDS Day, LAHI and an international coalition of leading AIDS organizations issued a ten-point declaration, *Human Rights and HIV/AIDS: Now More Than Ever*, and called for a greater focus on human rights in the global AIDS response. The declaration focuses on stigmatized groups who are at highest risk of HIV, including people who use drugs, sex workers, incarcerated persons, women and girls, and men who have sex with men. The declaration has been endorsed by more than 250 organizations worldwide.

### Mental Health Initiative

The Open Society Mental Health Initiative aims to ensure that people with mental disabilities are able to live as equal citizens in the community and to participate in society with full respect for their human rights. The initiative’s activities focus on ending the unjustified and inappropriate institutionalization of people with mental disabilities by advocating for the closure of institutions and the development of community-based alternatives.

In 2007, the Mental Health Initiative helped secure alternatives to institutionalization in a number

of countries in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. In Azerbaijan, it joined with the Ministry of Education to create a pilot project to replace institutional care for children with a community-based system. The project is focused on closing one large institution and relocating children and staff to community settings. In Kyrgyzstan, the Mental Health Initiative joined with Habitat for Humanity to provide decent housing and support services to Kyrgyz families with mentally ill or disabled relatives.

### Public Health Watch

Public Health Watch works to ensure that affected communities—including socially marginalized populations—are full and equal partners in developing and implementing TB and HIV policies.

Drug-resistant TB, found in 28 countries, is a growing danger for people who are HIV-positive. In advance of the WHO Euro Ministerial Forum on TB in Europe, Public Health Watch and the Roma Health Project of the Public Health Program prepared an “Offer of Partnership” between civil society representatives and European leaders, and stressed the importance of addressing underlying determinants, such as poverty and stigma, that fuel the TB epidemic. Public Health Watch also convened several sessions on TB and HIV for the World Lung Conference held in South Africa. At the conference, Public Health Watch coorganized a “Time for Change” satellite session, which was the be-

ginning of a much-needed dialogue on developing alternative, community-based approaches to treating and preventing drug-resistant TB in southern Africa.

The Public Health Watch report series, *Civil Society Perspectives on HIV/AIDS Policy*, documents how stigma and discrimination against marginalized groups can affect national HIV and AIDS policies. The series looks at both developed and developing countries, including Nicaragua, Senegal, Ukraine, the United States, and Vietnam.

### Roma Health Project

The Roma Health Project supports civil society groups to promote equal access to health services for Roma communities. In 2007, the project and the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria released a report outlining how Roma NGOs can develop and implement Global Fund projects to better address Roma health concerns.

The Roma Health Project raised awareness on how socioeconomic difficulties that disproportionately affect Roma can lead to higher risk for contracting HIV, TB, and other diseases. It collaborated with the International Harm Reduction Development Program to produce training seminars and resources focused specifically on health outreach for Roma drug users. The project supported the European Roma Rights Centre to produce a report on discrimination against Roma women in Serbia, which was submitted to the

UN Committee on Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW).

In conjunction with the Health Media Initiative and OSI's Media Program, the Roma Health Project cofunded a number of media centers in Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Macedonia, Romania, and Serbia, and supported investigative journalism on Roma access to health care.

### **Sexual Health and Rights Project**

The Sexual Health and Rights Project (SHARP) works to ensure that people who are stigmatized because of their sexual practices, real or perceived

sexual orientation, or gender identity, have access to quality health and social services and can effectively advocate for their rights.

In 2007, SHARP provided financial and technical support to create much-needed resources to help advance sexual health and rights. SHARP also supported the Sex Workers Project of the Urban Justice Center to develop and release a multilanguage toolkit on sex work issues for journalists, activists, and the general public.

Through a series of workshops and regional meetings, SHARP promoted the full participation of

sex workers in developing and implementing policies and services that impact their health and rights.

SHARP brought sex worker activists and health and human rights advocates from around the world to Phnom Penh, Cambodia, where they discussed responses to human rights abuses committed in the name of "rescuing sex workers." Working with the Law and Health Initiative, SHARP held a human rights training in Thailand for sex worker organizations to help them better understand their rights in the face of routine abuse by police and health care workers.

# INITIATIVES

## Education, Information, and Media

OSI's education programs attempt to reduce global education disparities, reform education in the humanities and social sciences, empower youth by teaching them critical thinking skills, and provide access to education for marginalized children. Among other activities, OSI released reports warning that most Roma children continue to face disadvantages in every aspect of education; an OSI-supported scholar became a senior advisor to Kosovo's education minister; and early childhood programs expanded into the Middle East, Africa, and Asia. At a conference in Cape Town, OSI helped expand the idea of open access to publicly funded information to include educational and legal materials. OSI supported efforts to overcome attacks on freedom of the press, assisting media organizations in Indonesia, South Africa, and elsewhere.





Georgian journalists cover a political meeting in front of the parliament.

## Education Support Program

The Education Support Program (ESP) made significant progress in advancing educational justice in 2007 by working to reduce global education disparities and promoting access to education for marginalized children. The program began to expand beyond postsocialist countries in the Caucasus, Central Asia, Europe, and Mongolia, and into Africa, the Middle East, South Asia, and Turkey.

A core activity in 2007 was supporting initiatives and research to improve the chances of children with special education needs—those who suffer from disabilities, learning difficulties, or are socially disadvantaged. In Mongolia, for example, the Education Support Program and other international partners launched a project to provide educational opportunities for deaf and hard-of-hearing children, teenagers, and adults. In Europe, the program released reports on equal access to quality education for Roma populations in the eight Decade of Roma Inclusion countries, warning that most Roma children continue to face disadvantages in every aspect of their education.

In Serbia, the Education Support Program concluded a two-year program focusing on children with disabilities that established an education network, published an inclusive education practices guide for teachers, and launched a follow-

up multicultural education project. In Western Europe, it launched a new initiative to examine the educational disadvantages faced by migrant and minority groups.

A grant to the Global Campaign for Education allowed the group to prepare three years of research on schools in 178 countries for publication as an advocacy tool. As part of a new three-year project examining education inclusion and quality in eight countries in South Eastern Europe, the program will conduct research to help determine disparities across the region and formulate initiatives to address them. Working with the Network of Education Policy Centers, the program conducted research and monitoring on school dropouts in Albania, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Mongolia, Slovakia, and Tajikistan; published a study examining how private tutoring has affected education in nine postsocialist countries with high-stakes testing systems; and launched a project investigating the impact and transparency of financial donations from parents to public schools in Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Moldova, Slovakia, and Tajikistan.

The program's Reading and Writing for Critical Thinking project supported training for 60 primary and secondary school teachers and 25 higher education teachers, expanding its activities in Africa, Central Asia, Latin America, the Middle East, Southeast Asia, Turkey, and Ukraine. The Mongolian Education Alliance, an NGO established

with OSI funding, received World Bank financing to provide training to 3,300 teachers in rural schools and increase access to reading materials for 104,000 primary school students.

A project implemented by the Education Support Program and the International Renaissance Foundation (Ukraine) received a \$5 million grant from the U.S. government to expand its work in making the country's higher education exams fair and transparent. In Pakistan, the program supported a two-year study to disseminate and publicize best practice examples from the country's education system.

## International Higher Education Support Program

The International Higher Education Support Program (HESP) promotes the advancement of higher education within the humanities and social sciences in Central, Eastern, and South Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, and Mongolia. HESP provides financial and technical assistance to a network of institutions, ranging from undergraduate universities to doctoral programs and centers for advanced study. The program also works closely with Central European University, OSI's Scholarship Programs, and Soros foundations to fund and implement a variety of programs for students, academics, and education professionals.

## Since the late 1980s, OSI has supported scholars with innovative ideas who have contributed to their countries in fields ranging from human rights to macroeconomics.

HESP launched the Research Initiative for China in 2007 to provide two-year fellowships for doctoral students and young academics based in the Inner Mongolia and the autonomous Xinjiang Uygur regions of China. The fellowships focus on developing teaching and learning about the cultures and societies of national minority groups in each region. Building upon its previous effort to give Afghan women access to higher education, HESP pledged to support three more entering classes of 10 undergraduate female students from Afghanistan to study at the American University of Central Asia in Kyrgyzstan. HESP has provided support for some 40 Afghan students, both men and women.

In Russia, HESP pledged important financial support for endowment campaigns at the European University at St. Petersburg and Smolny College at St. Petersburg State University. HESP pledged up to \$5 million per institution in matching funds for the general endowments, which are expected to cover student scholarships and faculty development.

### Network Scholarship Programs

Network Scholarship Programs fund the participation of students, scholars, and professionals from Eastern and South Eastern Europe, Eurasia, Mongolia, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia in competitive academic

programs outside of their home countries. Scholarship programs work to revitalize and reform the teaching of the social sciences and humanities, provide professional training in fields unavailable or underrepresented at institutions in scholars' home countries, and assist outstanding students from a range of backgrounds to pursue their studies in alternative academic and cultural environments. Since the late 1980s, the program has supported scholars with innovative ideas who have made substantial contributions to their countries in fields ranging from education to human rights to macroeconomics.

The following are highlights from among the many achievements of program scholars in 2007:

After earning a PhD in economics at Staffordshire University, Avdullah Hoti was appointed as a senior advisor to Kosovo's minister of education, science, and technology. Hoti persuaded the minister to direct 5 percent of the University of Pristina's self-generated revenues to research. He also convinced the university to hire a vice dean for research in each of its academic faculties, as well as a vice rector for research. Hoti's promotion of research in the university helped facilitate the adoption of European financing systems that give students at Kosovo universities opportunities to study abroad. Hoti also prepared a paper on Kosovo higher education that the government is using to advance its membership in the Bologna Process,

an EU higher education initiative that aims to create common European higher education standards by 2010.

Elnura Gurbanova, an Azeri alumna of a joint OSI/German Academic Exchange Service scholarship program, worked with other Azeris educated overseas to prompt the government in Azerbaijan to channel a portion of the country's oil revenues into scholarships for study abroad. As a result, the government announced in 2007 that it plans to fund upwards of 15,000 scholarships over the next seven years. The program will be administered with help from Fuad Ahmadov, a Scholarship Program faculty fellow currently at Columbia University.

Munir Nuseibah, an alumnus of the Palestinian Rule of Law Program, worked in 2007 as a lecturer at the Al-Quds Human Rights Clinic in Palestine. The clinic, the first accredited program of its kind in the Arab world, documents human rights violations in the Palestinian territories and teaches undergraduate law students. Nuseibah, who received his LLM from the American University's Washington College of Law, taught a course that connects students to practitioners so that they can learn from real human rights cases. The clinic bolsters this learning by having students provide supervised free legal services to the public.

**The U.S. National Institutes of Health, the world's largest funder of scientific research, mandated that all journal publications resulting from NIH-funded research should be available to the public.**

## **Network Debate Program**

The OSI Network Debate Program, which operates in 40 countries, empowers youth by teaching them how to engage in critical, reasoned discussions examining issues important to their lives and communities. Debate helps young people become active citizens who can influence public life and promote open society ideals.

Working with its international spin-off, the International Debate Education Association, the program improved and promoted [idebate.org](http://idebate.org), which provides free debate and educational resources to help debaters meet, exchange ideas, and build community. One website project is the Debatepedia wiki, which allows debaters, students, and citizens to create an encyclopedia of debates, pro and con arguments, supporting evidence, and the positions of the key politicians, organizations, and leaders involved in important debates. The Debate Program also worked with IDEBATE Press to publish debate books for teachers, students, coaches, and debaters from middle school through lower college, as well as debate societies.

The program's broad range of activities in 2007 included international debate tournaments in Italy and the Czech Republic, the European Youth Speak project to encourage young people to discuss the European Union's role in their lives, and continuing work with Roma

youth in Central and Eastern Europe to promote interethnic tolerance and awareness and understanding of issues important to Roma communities. With support from the U.S. Department of State, the Debate Program worked with local schools and civil society groups in Uganda and Rwanda to organize debates promoting nonviolent change and critical thinking.

In Burma, the program worked with the American Center to support the Myanmar Debate Society, which held public debates on contemporary issues, attracting hundreds of people; organized workshops for debate trainers; and produced a Burmese-language instructional film. Public interest in debate remains strong in Burma despite acts of government intimidation against the debating society.

The Youth Citizen Journalism project, developed by the Debate Program and two other OSI programs, the Middle East and North Africa Initiative and the Moving Walls International Photography Exhibition, organized journalism and photography projects in Egypt, Lebanon, and Palestine. By training young people with accessible, affordable equipment and pairing them with professional journalists and photographers as mentors and teachers, the project allows young people to quickly document and advocate for issues that are important to them. Project activities in 2007 included photography training for girls in the West Bank and a workshop series for young

journalists at a bilingual newspaper in Ramallah.

In mid-2008, the Open Society Institute Youth Initiative, a new program, took over the Debate Program's activities and expanded the focus to encourage a broader range of youth-led projects to promote open society values.

## **Early Childhood Program**

OSI has maintained a strong commitment to early childhood care and education because scientific research has repeatedly shown that early childhood interventions can help at-risk children overcome the effects of social disadvantage. The aims of the Early Childhood Program reflect OSI's mission to promote social justice by supporting activities that expand access to quality early childhood development, with special attention to minorities, children with disabilities, and children living in poverty.

The Early Childhood Program helped Roma and other minority communities achieve a major education antidiscrimination success by cooperating with the Open Society Justice Initiative's efforts at the European Court of Human Rights to hold governments accountable for unjust placement of Roma children in inappropriate "special schools." The Early Childhood Program was instrumental in consolidating information about culturally appropriate

educational testing and early tracking for presentation to the court.

The Early Childhood Program's Step by Step initiative continued to build its institutional strength in 2007. Step by Step, started in 1994 in Central and Eastern Europe, introduced a child-centered approach and community engagement into the rigid, teacher-centered education systems of the communist era. Step by Step has grown to include working to develop national early childhood NGOs and institutions, formally evaluating pilot projects, and supporting advocacy to reform early childhood policies. The initiative is implemented through the Open Society Foundation in London, the International Step by Step Association, and Step by Step NGOs located in 29 countries. Step by Step continues to diversify its funding base, with OSI providing less than 20 percent of the funding for national NGOs implementing the program. The bulk of Step by Step funding currently comes from national and local governments, the European Union, the World Bank, UNICEF, USAID, and the sale of educational services and publications.

The Early Childhood Program in 2007 extended its technical expertise to the Middle East, Africa, and Asia, promoting long-term systemic change that involves children, their families, and a wide group of education, health, and social service providers. The program intends to use single country initiatives to also formulate regional strategies.

Projects launched in 2007 included the establishment of post-graduate programs in child development at the Institute of Educational Development at BRAC University in Bangladesh, and technical support for analysis and the development of policies for young children by the Ministry of Education in Liberia.

## Information Program

The Information Program works to increase public access to knowledge, facilitate communication among civil society groups, and protect civil liberties and the freedom to communicate in the digital environment. The program gives particular attention to the information needs of disadvantaged groups and less developed parts of the world.

There is a growing awareness around the world that global intellectual property rules are unbalanced and at odds with the public interest, creating barriers to scientific and medical information in places where it is most needed. For example, bilateral trade agreements between developed and developing countries often deny the poorer countries the same fair use rights that are enshrined in the laws of richer countries. The program addressed this issue in 2007 by supporting the Access to Knowledge advocacy coalition in its successful efforts to get the UN World Intellectual Property Organization to adopt a new development agenda that aims

to make intellectual property rules more responsive to the needs of poorer countries. The program also supported projects to devise reforms and alternative approaches to copyright in Brazil, Kenya, Macedonia, Serbia, and South Africa.

The Open Access Initiative, a multiyear Information Program advocacy effort to make access to scholarly information more equitable and affordable across the globe, helped prompt significant change at the U.S. National Institutes of Health. The agency, the world's largest funder of scientific research, responded to open access advocates by mandating that all journal publications resulting from NIH-funded research should be available to the public. Many other research funding agencies around the world are expected to adopt similar policies.

The idea of open access to publicly funded information is being expanded to educational and legal materials. Together with the Shuttleworth Foundation, the Information Program initiated the development and launch of the Cape Town Open Education Declaration, the founding statement for efforts to allow textbooks and other educational materials to be freely translated and adapted around the world. The program advanced open access to legal materials in Africa through a project that made case law from 18 southern African countries freely available online.

To increase access to publications on business, science and tech-

## In South Africa, OSI supported a court case that resulted in a decision establishing the public's right to know through media coverage of trials.

nology, the social sciences, and the humanities, the program continued to support Electronic Information for Libraries (EIFL), a global consortium of libraries in transition and developing countries. EIFL provides low-cost access to thousands of premium journals through a consortium of more than 3,000 libraries in over 50 countries that serve about 5 million students, teachers, researchers, and citizens.

Helping civil society groups use information technology, program grantees brought together organizations in Africa that use mobile phones for monitoring and advocacy for the purpose of developing toolkits for civil society. In Ukraine, a program-supported blogcamp brought together several hundred bloggers and youth activists from across the Commonwealth of Independent States. The public affairs website Transitions Online worked with NewEurasia.net to promote citizen journalism among youth and civil society organizations in Central Asia. The Tactical Technology Collective used program support to produce *Visualizing Information for Advocacy: An Introduction to Information Design*, a handbook on using design tools and techniques to make data more transparent and accessible in advocacy campaigning.

The program also supported work on monitoring and circumventing Internet censorship worldwide by groups such as the OpenNet Initiative, and the drafting of a code of conduct for major IT companies

providing search, email, and blogging services to protect users rights, especially in repressive countries. The program also sustained a network of electronic privacy activists across Europe, and pursued policy advocacy in Eastern Africa to ensure access to major new Internet infrastructure in the region.

### Media Program

As part of its mission to defend and advance media freedom across the globe, the Media Program supported efforts to overcome attacks on freedom of the press by helping train lawyers to defend journalists and media organizations and submit cases to international tribunals. The program collaborated with the Open Society Justice Initiative and the Soros foundations to establish media lawyers' networks in Southeast Asia, Africa, Russia, and Ukraine.

The Media Program also supported numerous individual cases. In the Philippines, the program provided support to a class action suit by journalists and media organizations against the secretary of justice and senior police officials for their illegal detention in attempting to cover up an alleged coup attempt. The program and its partners brought together a coalition of NGOs and media organizations to submit an amicus brief in the *H.M. Suharto v. TIME Inc. Asia et al.* defamation case in the Indonesian Supreme Court,

which concerned a \$128.59 million award against *Time Asia* for a story detailing former President Suharto's financial interests. In South Africa, the Freedom of Expression Institute, a legal NGO supported by the program, challenged government efforts to try in secret two individuals for smuggling nuclear materials, by restraining media coverage of the court proceedings; the court's ruling became South Africa's first major legal precedent in favor of the public's right to know through the media and reinforced the concept of open justice.

The Media Program supported press freedom monitoring and advocacy by funding groups such as the International Freedom of Expression Exchange (IFEX), a network of 80 press freedom organizations. IFEX campaigns highlighted the deterioration of press freedom in countries such as Burma, Gambia, and Tunisia. To increase collaborative monitoring and advocacy efforts, the program convened a meeting that brought international press freedom organizations together with practitioners and advocates from organizations across Latin America. The meeting has led to progress on more coordinated monitoring efforts between many of the groups present and joint efforts in advocacy for freedom of expression.

To help develop and strengthen national independent media networks, the program assisted organizations like Pajhwok Afghan News, a national news and photography

agency in Afghanistan that provides daily coverage of efforts to rebuild the country amidst ongoing conflict. In Nepal, Communications Corner, a media venture supported by the program, used the Internet to link local radio stations across the country in the lead-up to the 2008 elections. In Peru, the broadcasting service Red TV worked to democratize and decentralize public information by building a national network of local TV stations. The Media Program also strengthened an independent national TV and radio network in Moldova.

Because investigative journalism plays a key role in keeping the public informed and powerful economic and political players accountable, the program supported international conferences and exchanges for investigative journalists and investigative journalism networks and organizations in Brazil, Chile, the Philippines, and South Eastern Europe.

The Media Program sought to influence European attitudes toward Roma by continuing its support to a coproduction fund for Roma and non-Roma journalists to jointly produce stories for mainstream and Roma

radio and TV stations. In Africa, the program engaged in media donor and aid policy in Africa, working to ensure African inclusion and leadership in key European and U.S. media policy and donor initiatives, and encouraging international support for an Africa-driven media development agenda.

*Television Across Europe*, a 2005 report analyzing Europe's public service broadcasting produced by the Media Program and EUMAP, continued to influence EU debates and policies, including amendments to Italy's 2007 media legislation.

# Other Programs

## Arts and Culture Network Program

The Arts and Culture Network Program worked in the Caucasus, Inner Asia, Central and Eastern Europe, and the Balkans to develop, empower, and build the capacity of organizations and individuals promoting cultural exchange, understanding, and tolerance through the arts.

The Arts and Culture Network Program continued its partnership with the European Cultural Foundation (ECF) in 2007 to support the exchange of artists and cultural managers between Europe and the Caucasus. The program also continued funding the ECF's Balkan Incentive Fund for Culture to support collaborative artistic and cultural initiatives across Europe to help prepare the cultural ground for South Eastern European states acceding to the European Union. In Central Asia, the program supported matching funds grants with the Dutch organization Hivos for museum and cinema development and for the second Central Asia Pavilion at the 52nd Venice Biennale, which featured young media artists presenting video works emphasizing the

imagery and musicality of the Central Asian states.

As part of the International Human Rights Documentary Film festival, a program grantee, One World Kyrgyzstan, screened films about women, Islam, and children, followed by discussions, in Bishkek, Osh, and Jalalabad. The Central Asian School of Performing Arts provided training in acting, directing, dancing, and singing to talented young people from Central Asia, selected in an open competition. The Armenian Jewish Music & Poetry Festival introduced the public to the contemporary music and poetry of Jewish composers and authors to help create a respectful and tolerant view toward people from different nationalities and cultures residing in Armenia.

In Central and Eastern Europe and the Balkans, the Arts and Culture Network Program carried out two major activities in 2007: the Roma Mentoring Project and the First Roma Pavilion at the 52nd Venice Biennale.

The Roma Mentor Project brought Roma painters, musicians, media stars, and other cultural professionals together with ethnically mixed children and youth groups at schools

and community centers to develop the children's awareness and knowledge about Roma culture.

The First Roma Pavilion at the Venice Biennale, a groundbreaking effort initiated by OSI with support from the ECF, the Allianz Kulturstiftung, and Pro Helvetia, marked the arrival of Roma contemporary culture on the international stage. The pavilion, featuring the works of 16 contemporary Roma artists, challenged the exotic "Gypsy" stereotype. While the pavilion was open, the program organized concerts by Roma musicians, roundtable discussions, and a video installation of racist, anti-Roma films and advertisements.

## East East: Partnership Beyond Borders Program

Through a combination of grants and initiatives, the East East: Partnership Beyond Borders Program uses exchanges to foster collaboration among civil society organizations in more than one country and promote practical responses to social, economic, and cultural issues. The program works with individuals and groups in Central Asia, Central and Eastern Europe, Mongolia, and

## The First Roma Pavilion at the Venice Biennale, a groundbreaking effort initiated by OSI, marked the arrival of Roma contemporary culture on the international stage.

Turkey, and has institutional partners in Croatia, Russia, and Slovenia. A special subprogram arranges exchanges among groups within the European Union and neighboring states to share experiences and expertise regarding EU integration. East East supported over 300 initiatives in 2007, including exchanges addressing issues such as election monitoring, public interest law, and microfinance.

Independent election monitors and experts from the former Soviet Union came together in Kyiv in October to share methodologies and evaluate monitoring of recent elections in Kazakhstan, Ukraine, and other postcommunist societies. The exchange, organized by the Moscow Center of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the International Renaissance Foundation in Kyiv, resulted in participants developing new collaborative initiatives to improve election analysis and monitoring.

Human rights and public interest law were strengthened in Mongolia through an exchange supported by the Open Society Forum in Mongolia. The exchange in March allowed Mongolian public interest lawyers and NGO staff members to learn new skills and share experiences with their counterparts in Hungary and Slovakia. Participants came away from the exchange with fresh ideas about increasing international collaboration to further social justice.

Working with the Open Society Institute–Macedonia, the program

brought together experts, nongovernmental organizations, and microfinance housing practitioners from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Hungary, Macedonia, Romania, Serbia, and Slovakia in Skopje to increase awareness about the use of microfinance to build housing for the Roma in South Eastern Europe.

NGO representatives, journalists, activists, and scholars from Czech Republic, Georgia, Germany, Moldova, Poland, Slovakia, and Ukraine used exchanges facilitated by the Stefan Batory Foundation in Poland to increase cooperation on energy issues and recommend EU policies that reflect the public interest.

### International Policy Fellowships

The International Policy Fellowships program concluded nearly a decade of activities at the end of 2007. A successor initiative, the Open Society Fellowship, was launched in February 2008 and will continue OSI's commitment to supporting the development of public policy that advances civil society and democratic reform. In addition to many publications produced by individual fellows, the International Policy Fellowship Program and a team of fellows produced two books that received critical praise: *Islam and Tolerance in Wider Europe*, published by the program, and *Political Finance and Corruption in Eastern Europe*, coedited by fellow

Daniel Smilov, featuring five chapters by fellows. In the program's final year of operation, the fellows completed projects that included the launch of a new think tank in Afghanistan and initiatives for Roma women.

Fellow Ahmad Idrees Rahmani led a team of local and international specialists that conducted field research in Afghanistan and drafted the country's five-year plan for subnational governance. Rahmani, together with several Afghan colleagues, also launched a new think tank in Kabul, the Afghanistan Center for Research and Policy Studies. The center will provide economic development policy analysis to legislators and cabinet ministers and submit papers to the international donor community.

With support from the European Roma Rights Centre and the Vojvodina Secretariat for Labour, Employment, and Gender Equality of Serbia, fellow Tatjana Peric organized a regional conference for Roma women in Serbia; the conference stressed the need to include Roma women in international action plans to fight gender discrimination and in all Decade of Roma Inclusion decision making and to secure gender equality principles in Decade planning.

Working with other NGOs and OSI programs and foundations, fellow Raluca Maria Popa organized a workshop in Bucharest to assist local NGOs and Roma organizations in accessing EU structural funds for gender equality and social inclusion programs.

## Documentary Photography Project

The Documentary Photography Project looks at the nexus between photography and advocacy. Through exhibits, workshops, grantmaking, and public programs, the project explores how photography can shape public perception and effect social change. The Moving Walls exhibition series aims to visually represent the transitional condition of open societies and the promotion and maintenance of democratic values. It is an artistic interpretation of obstacles—such as political oppression, economic instability, and racism—and the struggles to tear those barriers down.

In 2007, the project presented

Moving Walls at OSI offices and cultural and educational institutions in New York, Washington, D.C., and Baltimore. In addition, the project, in partnership with OSI's Middle East and North Africa Initiative, presented an international tour of Moving Walls at cultural venues in Aleppo, Beirut, Cairo, and Damascus. This traveling exhibit consists of a core exhibition of seven past Moving Walls photographers shown alongside one to two local photographers selected for each venue. Two workshops are held in conjunction with the exhibition: a master class for local photographers and a youth media photography workshop (run by OSI's Network Debate Program) that uses Moving Walls in the curriculum.

Distribution grants are awarded

to support partnerships between individual documentary photographers and NGOs or other organizations. Projects must propose new and innovative models for disseminating and exhibiting photography that are designed to engage audiences and stimulate positive social change. In 2007, grants were awarded to Breaking the Silence, Wendy Ewald, Leora Kahn, Tim Matsui, and Jonathan Torgovnik. Production grants are awarded, on occasion, to support organizations that run their own grantmaking programs for the creation of new bodies of work. Production grants were awarded to The Aftermath Project and the W. Eugene Smith Grant in Humanistic Photography.



A church destroyed by Hurricane Katrina is still abandoned two years later. Lower Ninth Ward, New Orleans, Louisiana, 2007. The photograph by Stanley Greene appears on OSI's site for *Katrina: An Unnatural Disaster*, along with the work of three dozen print and radio journalists, photographers, filmmakers, and youth media organizations who received Open Society Institute Katrina Media Fellowships. *Katrina: An Unnatural Disaster* was named the best nonprofit website of the year in the 12th Annual Webby Awards.



When the city of Chicago closed the Juan Diego Workers' Center, immigrant workers were forced to return to the street to look for work.



## United States

The Open Society Institute in the United States sought to repair democracy with support for groups working to secure immigrants' rights, increase the fairness of elections, and mobilize young people. It promoted criminal justice reforms to reduce incarceration rates and end racial profiling, felony disenfranchisement, and capital punishment. Among the year's achievements: The U.S. Supreme Court and the U.S. Sentencing Commission both made rulings that will reduce the racially discriminatory disparities between sentences for powder cocaine and crack cocaine. Starting on the next page, writer Elizabeth Rubin reports on anti-immigrant policies and hostility in America and how OSI grantees are fighting back. A description of U.S. Programs' activities in 2007 follows her story.

## U.S. PROGRAMS

# Protecting Immigrants' Rights Against Government-led Attacks

**T**HE YOUNG MOTHER has no name on the YouTube video. She speaks deliberately, in Spanish, sometimes in tears, but mostly with disbelief as she recounts her ordeal at the Michael Bianco garment factory in New Bedford, Massachusetts. She'd worked there for two years, most recently manufacturing backpacks for the U.S. military. Then suddenly on the morning of March 6, her world was ripped apart. Coast Guard helicopters swarmed in overhead. Three hundred federal agents stormed the plant, rounding up men and women like cattle. The agents from the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement have acquired such a reputation for gratuitous brutality they're now known as ICE men. The young mother recalls how the ICE men were throwing men to the floor, hitting them in the face, cursing them. They grabbed her too. She told them she had no one to leave her sick daughter with. They didn't care. Soon she was on a plane with no idea where she was headed. The ICE men put chains on her waist. They tied her hands and feet. They threw bags of food to her and the other workers "like we were dogs," but gave them no help if they didn't manage to catch the bags and gave them no time to eat.

In Texas they were detained in appalling conditions and humiliated by the ICE agents.

Some of the women were still breastfeeding young children they left behind. Men watched as female agents forced milk out of the women's breasts to see if they were lying. They made crude jokes about getting oreo cookies to have with the "cow's milk." "It was so ugly," said the young mother. All she could think about was how to contact her sick daughter. She had no money, no phone, and the guards refused to allow her to speak to a lawyer. After several days, she was finally given a break to call home. Her daughter, who was being treated for stomach problems, was deteriorating and threatening to kill herself.

Back in New Bedford, confusion and fear swept through immigrant households. Children and relatives had no idea where their family members were or when or if they'd return. Families would not be able to pay their rent, their food and phone bills. The actions of the federal government were generating a veritable humanitarian crisis.

### **A Disastrous Year for Immigrants**

What occurred in New Bedford was no isolated incident. The year 2007 was a disastrous one for immigrants. Federal immigration agents fanned

out across the country storming factories, meat-packing plants, rounding up undocumented workers, terrorizing their families and communities. Hundreds of people trying to enter the United States died in the desert as border enforcement strategies funneled them into longer, more dangerous routes. In corners of Arizona, Oklahoma, New York, and Pennsylvania local police stopped drivers who looked Mexican and demanded papers, denied businesses licenses if they hired illegal workers, threatened landlords if they rented to illegal immigrants. In Oklahoma, according to Hispanic business groups, life for undocumented workers became so miserable that some 25,000 packed up and left, victims of what a few advocates cynically named the “starve them out strategy.” The federal government, advocates say, deported an unprecedented 250,000 immigrants in 2007.

On the legislative side, the comprehensive immigration reform bill, which was in the making for three years and had the backing of senators John McCain and Edward M. Kennedy, as well as the White House, was killed on the floor of Congress. The only federal legislation that managed to pass in the last two years was authorization for a 700-mile-long fence along the border with Mexico. On the other hand, state governments introduced some 1,400 widely diverging pieces of immigration-related legislation in the first half of 2007.

Government hostility toward immigrants and the failure of comprehensive immigration reform have made the work of NGOs even more important. The Open Society Institute has funded a wide range of organizations tackling the entire spectrum of immigration issues. OSI-funded activists are brainstorming how to reframe the immigration debate and deflate the anti-

immigrant movement, as well as responding to the daily legal, advocacy, and humanitarian needs of immigrants in America. They include faith-based Christian organizations, African-American civil rights advocates, small-town immigrant aid workers, and national policymakers.

Take what happened in New Bedford. The response of the Massachusetts Immigrant and Refugee Advocacy organization (MIRA) shows what a crucial impact OSI-funded groups are having. MIRA is a regional partner to three OSI grantees—the Center for Community Change, an immigrant advocacy group, the Catholic Legal Immigration Network (CLINIC), and the Four Freedoms Fund, a funding collaborative that supports local organizations. On the morning of March 6, MIRA in Boston received a tip that the raid was coming. MIRA called the Center for Community Change, whose director, Deepak Bhargava, sent an organizer to work with MIRA’s staff to provide services to the families and engage the Massachusetts political establishment. Pro bono lawyers, including attorneys from the CLINIC, took on the cases of the detained. A church basement was converted to take in donations for families. State senators, the mayor, the governor, senators Kennedy and John F. Kerry, convened in the church to hear the stories of families.

## **The Crying Child**

By mobilizing such a speedy response, MIRA and the Center for Community Change gave victims a public platform, raised money for the families, and ensured that the raid became a major national story and rallying cry for immigrants’ rights. A photograph of the big, teary eyes of two-year-old

**“Immigrants are hard workers, strong family values people. We don’t regard these people as ‘them.’ They are brothers and sisters.”**

Tomasa Mendez, whose father was whisked away and flown to some unknown detention center, became a symbol of how immigrants are treated in the United States.

MIRA posted the testimony of the young mother on YouTube—and of Senator Kennedy venting his fury at a press conference in New Bedford. Kennedy said that America needs workers such as the ones caught in the raid but not employers like Michael Bianco, who was fining the workers \$20 if they were three minutes late or talked to another worker or took too long in the bathroom. He lambasted the U.S. Army for contracting its work out to an exploitative employer. He praised the legal service offices working on the case and promised not to abandon the families.

Bhargava’s organization wants to help build up more MIRAs to do the same kind of work around the country. He is pushing for nonpartisan voter registration, focusing on 15 states, providing technical assistance to find, register, and mobilize immigrants to vote in November. But as Bhargava pointed out, “Without immigration reform those families in New Bedford and elsewhere will continue to face deportation proceedings.” Of the 361 arrested that day in New Bedford, 160 have been deported, 12 left voluntarily, 181 more are facing deportation.

Lawyers with the Catholic Legal Immigration Network stepped in to assist those facing deportation. Donald Kerwin, executive director of CLINIC, is also involved in an immigration program run by the American Bar Association in Texas, which mobilized its attorneys to help workers like that young mother who were flown down to the detention facility in Texas.

## **Exploitation, Ignorance, and Racism**

What happened in New Bedford has made clear to everyone the consequences of a status quo immigration policy—out-of-control ICE men, employers exploiting undocumented laborers, U.S. military relying on cheap labor. Such scenarios are mirrored across the country in grotesque ways. In the wake of Hurricane Katrina, clean-up crews were needed and the city had to supplement its workforce with undocumented laborers. Meanwhile, the hurricane swept through many private prisons in Louisiana holding immigrant detainees. Their records were lost. Many of the detainees were evacuated from the prisons and dumped on the highways. CLINIC provided pro bono counsel for immigrant detainees, and education on immigrant rights to clean-up crews.

In addition to providing legal help, Kerwin is trying to change the way Americans think about immigrants. In speaking to audiences around the country, he delivers a straightforward message: “Immigrants are hard workers, strong family values people. We don’t regard these people as ‘them.’ They are brothers and sisters. If you have a right to support your family and you can’t in your country, you have a duty to leave your country so you can. Rights carry duties. People are forced to risk their lives to come here, and even though they’re needed, they become illegal and are treated very poorly.” To solve this problem, CLINIC has launched a naturalization and public education campaign to urge immigrants to move into citizenship and escape the legal nightmare.

“We are up against a well-organized lobby that doesn’t have practical answers to the challenges we are facing,” said Kerwin, referring to the anti-immigration movement. “They say, ‘We

are talking about Western culture, Christian religion, and we're worried about people who don't come from Europe.' To us that is profoundly anti-American." It leads to the gutting of family-based immigration and denying children who've never known any other country, the birthright citizenship that guarantees their rights. "We say there are core moral principles here like, 'Welcoming the stranger.'"

FAIR, one of the more pernicious organizations in America, does not recognize that principle. FAIR, which stands for the Federation for American Immigration Reform, presents itself as a mainstream, moderate organization, and a go-to source for immigration information for the media. In fact it's the opposite. It's a bastion of misinformation, racism, xenophobia, and scare tactics. Fortunately OSI is funding the important work of the Center for New Community and its executive director, David Ostendorf, who has been tracking the rise of anti-immigrant activity in the racist movement and the post-9/11 "nativist" movement. Ostendorf's center began noticing FAIR during the uprisings against day laborers in Suffolk County, Long Island. FAIR staged them. "A FAIR organizer was going to black churches trying to rouse anti-immigrant sentiment," said Ostendorf. "This is one of the most serious nativist movements this country has seen in a century. It has a lot of money, power, strength, people, and influence in Congress, state houses, and increasingly at the municipal level. FAIR is the lynch pin with a budget of \$5 million annually, and staff all over the country."

Ostendorf and his staff have concentrated on debunking FAIR's "fair" façade by outing their sources of funding. They revealed that FAIR took \$1.2 million from the Pioneer Fund, a eugenics and race science foundation that

reaches back to the 1930s. They have revealed ties to the population control movement and the white nationalist movement. Just before the Iowa caucuses FAIR, which has numerous front organizations, brought some 22 talk radio show hosts to Des Moines to influence voters. Ostendorf and others organized a counterattack with civil rights, religious, and labor leaders under the rubric of the Campaign For a United America. "It's become a pitched battle between FAIR and us," he said.

## Back to Immigration Reform

Frank Sharry, the former executive director of the National Immigration Forum, invested a lot of energy in comprehensive immigration reform. He was instrumental in bringing together McCain and Kennedy. Reflecting back on the death of the bill, he recognizes that strategic mistakes were made. A lot of it had to do with timing and elections. He's now gearing up for an offensive to counter the xenophobic onslaught against Hispanics, Middle Easterners, Asians, Africans. "The key is to reframe the immigration debate and convince politicians on both sides that it's in their interest to pass immigration legislation," he said. "We are starting an immigration war room. America's Voice will be standing up to xenophobia directed at undocumented immigrants in the United States." Sharry heads this new organization.

As Demetri Papademetriou of the Migration Policy Initiative, a policy think tank partially funded by OSI, asked, "Why is the U.S. government incapable of adjusting its immigration legislation to keep up with the times?" The last overhaul was in the mid-1960s. "We have massive

arguments about things at the margins and all we come up with is a temporary solution. This is not how to do business on something that defines and redefines who we are as a nation. That is what immigration is all about: constantly changing who we are as a nation.”

Whether it is welfare, education, or industrial policy, immigration shapes these policies. “The policy answer remains the same: comprehensive immigration reform,” Papademetriou said. “You have to play chess and move in four or five different directions. Come up with standards for people to work toward legal status. You have to create a system of additional visas so people who need to be here and unified with their families can do so and employers who need workers can find them legally. You have to ask something of these employers, you have to ask them to pay insurance and extra wages.” Papademetriou wants to put together a standing commission on labor and immigration for the administration to then put before Congress. What’s most unique about the Migration Policy Initiative is its global reach. They are getting immigration out of its parochial clothes and seeing it for what it is—part of a global mass movement of people. They’re brainstorming with advocates in Germany, Ireland, Spain, and elsewhere, who are confronting huge immigrant populations.

While the work of such big-thinking groups is essential, immigration reform is a long way off. In the meantime, places like Fernando Garcia’s Border Network for Human Rights in El Paso, an OSI grantee, are filling the federal vacuum, and

changing people’s lives incrementally. Their tactic is to place immigrants’ struggles in the larger struggle for human rights in America. “Agents think immigrants are the enemy or criminals and shoot at them.” Every day Garcia was getting three to four complaints about agents with no search warrants busting into people’s homes demanding documents. He brought together the sheriff, border patrol police, and immigrant activists to talk about rights. It worked. Reports of illegal entry have dropped considerably.

“The border patrol is being more sensible because they saw a community was watching what they were doing,” he said. Garcia is doing on a practical level what Sharry wants to do on the political level—changing the calculus so that politicians are afraid to be seen as anti-immigrant. In El Paso, people running for sheriff now pledge that they will no longer stop drivers for traffic violations and ask questions about their legal status. In the past those local police would call the border patrol to pick up someone with a minor traffic violation, said Garcia. Now they’re promising they will not use local patrols to enforce federal immigration policy. “That was a major local change,” Garcia said.

What is emerging from the shards of the immigration debate is a concerted effort on the part of national and local actors to rebrand the immigration story. It’s a story not of aliens and terrorists infecting America but of hard-working men and women, of parents and children, who reached the shores of America looking for a better life, just like every generation before them.



## Global Migration: Working to Reduce the Negative Effects

War and intercommunal violence, poverty and a lack of employment and educational opportunities, and the irrepressible human instinct to overcome adversity and thrive have driven about 200 million people—half of them women, and many of them with children—to depart their homelands and seek new lives elsewhere.

Millions of Iraqis have fled to Jordan, Syria, and other countries. People from West Africa are undertaking a trek of thousands of kilometers through parched landscapes in order to reach the Mediterranean seacoast and find boats to drop them near the coastline of Europe. Men and women from Central Asia spend days in buses, running a gauntlet of police checkpoints, to make the journey to Russia so they can work in the underground economy.

This massive movement of humanity has produced positive effects for the migrants, their families, and the economies of the countries of origin and destination. But for many migrants, the passage is traumatizing or even fatal. Migrants have turned up dead inside the holds of oil tankers in West Africa; bodies of migrants wash ashore in Spain; migrants have been killed in Russia and South Africa. Worker migration in Southern Africa has spread drug-resistant tuberculosis and HIV. Gangs and police officers have set upon migrants, including migrant Roma, beating them and burning them out of their settlements.

Migrant women from Moldova, Ukraine, Southeast Asia and the Indian subcontinent have fallen prey to human traffickers who have seized their passports and identification papers, and forced them to become sex slaves in places like Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, The Netherlands, and the United States. Efforts to stem migration, even by the United States and the European Union countries, have resulted in human rights abuses, violation of the rights of asylum seekers, and the descent of too many migrants into the limbo of statelessness. Migration has produced brain drain in the migrants' home countries.

The Open Society Institute and the Soros foundations have worked for years to mitigate the negative effects of massive global migration. The Open Society Initiative for West Africa has helped develop advocacy campaigns and awareness programs aimed at dampening the adverse consequences of migration. Numerous OSI entities, including the Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa, have launched programs to reduce xenophobia and draw attention to deadly attacks on foreign workers.

OSI foundations have sponsored social science research and analysis of the brain drain in Pakistan, Romania, and other countries. Through OSI's East East: Partnership Beyond Borders Program, Soros foundations have joined to support cross-border initiatives related to migration. A recent initiative proposed by the Soros Foundation—Moldova, the Soros Foundation—Romania, and the International Renaissance Foundation in Ukraine provided support for two projects, one of them dealing with legislation related to border control, refugees, and asylum seekers, and the other encompassing a broader analysis of migration flows from East to West.

EUMAP is conducting a research project focusing on select neighborhoods in 11 cities in the European Union with significant Muslim populations. The study is examining the way municipal and national authorities address the challenges related to integration in European cities, how municipal and city councils deal with social, political, and economic challenges, and to what extent the needs and participation of Muslims are considered in key decision making.

# U.S. Programs

The Open Society Institute's U.S. Programs supports individuals and organizations that nurture the development of a more open society, a society that allows all people to participate actively and equitably in political, economic, and cultural life; encourages diverse opinions and critical debate; protects fundamental human rights, dignity, and the rule of law; and promotes broadly shared prosperity and human security. U.S. Programs also has the flexibility to rapidly respond to unanticipated developments and strategic opportunities, and to support research and development on emerging issues.

U.S. Programs in 2007 embarked on an ambitious plan to develop a range of new funding initiatives that will build on current work and introduce new strategies to address the formidable challenges facing open society in the United States. A new Transparency and Integrity Fund will unite under one umbrella OSI's past support for advocacy on the independence of the judiciary and the media, election systems reform, and the depoliticization of government science policy. The fund will include support for restoring integrity in key executive agencies, revitalizing Congress's

oversight role, building the capacity of independent oversight (or watchdog) organizations, and addressing the impact of the growing privatization of government functions.

The new Democracy and Power Fund will expand on OSI's successful efforts to mobilize youth, immigrants, and communities of color. It will provide capacity-building support to organizations that are engaging critical constituencies, nurturing new leaders, and generating new ideas and innovative solutions to address threats to democracy.

In addition to these long-term funding initiatives, U.S. Programs is embarking on two special cross-program campaigns that will provide expanded resources to address urgent threats to democracy and human rights: a Campaign for Black Male Achievement and a Campaign to Restore Human Rights and Promote a Progressive National Security Policy.

These new funds and campaigns will complement ongoing work within U.S. Programs. OSI's work on criminal justice and equality has long been and remains a core priority of U.S. Programs and will continue through a Criminal Justice Fund and the Equality and Opportunity Fund.

## Repairing Democracy

Across the nation, voter participation has declined over the past 20 years, ranking the United States 20th out of 21 established democracies in participation rates. This reality to a great extent reflects how many Latinos, African Americans and other people of color, new Americans, and low-income and young voters are disproportionately refraining from taking part in elections. OSI grantees are working to ensure that as many of these citizens as possible exercise their right to participate in the democratic process.

Following the failure of policymakers to secure fair and comprehensive immigration reform legislation in 2007, immigrants' rights advocates stepped up their engagement efforts among their diverse constituencies. The We Are America Alliance, an unprecedented collaboration of community-based, immigrants' rights, and faith-based organizations, and other OSI grantees, including the Arab American Institute Foundation, Democracia U.S.A., and Asian and Pacific Islander American Vote, are galvanizing the immigrants' rights community to work for the full engagement of new Americans in the

## Following the failure of immigration reform legislation, advocates stepped up efforts to mobilize their diverse constituencies to continue participating in the democratic process.

democratic process in 2008 and beyond.

OSI recognizes that efforts to engage all Americans in the democratic process will be effective only with the repair of the United States' failing election system. Indiana's law concerning voter-ID requirements is the most restrictive identification law in America. Now that it has been upheld by the Supreme Court in *Crawford v. Marion County Election Board*, the law threatens to exclude many eligible voters from participating in the election process and is likely to lead other states to enact similar laws that suppress access to the franchise.

The Brennan Center for Justice, along with other OSI grantees the Advancement Project, the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, Demos, and Project Vote, are monitoring these developments and working at the grassroots level with individual advocates, community leaders, and elections officials to help guarantee full participation and the free and fair conduct of elections.

OSI grantees in 2007 played an important role in engaging and mobilizing young people through grantmaking and convenings. In November, 5,500 young activists from across the nation gathered at the University of Maryland in College Park for "Power Shift 2007," a conference designed to stimulate the effort to fight global warming. Organized by OSI grantee Campus Climate Challenge, a partnership of

more than 40 leading youth, racial justice, environmental, and other social justice organizations, and with the help of Americans for Informed Democracy, Campus Progress, Camp Wellstone, the Ruckus Society, and Young People For, the conference's participants shared experiences and strategized about efforts for action in their home states, communities, and schools.

### Supporting a Fair Justice System for All

U.S. Programs has been a leader in the fight for equal justice and to end the nation's overreliance on incarceration and harsh punishment. OSI supports a range of criminal justice reforms to end racial profiling, felony disfranchisement, and capital punishment and to promote sentencing alternatives and progressive reentry policies and practices. Support for justice reinvestment provides a practical strategy for safely shifting the nation's massive investment in prisons toward the rebuilding of schools, health care facilities, parks, and other public institutions in neighborhoods devastated by high levels of incarceration. OSI grantees also work to eradicate structural racism in law and public policies, to restore due process protections for noncitizens, and to advance the rights of women and lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people.

Several milestones for this work in 2007 included the following:

#### Crack/Powder Cocaine Sentencing Disparities

For more than 20 years, federal sentencing laws have applied much tougher sentences for crack cocaine offenses than powder cocaine offenses. Distribution of just 5 grams of crack carries the same mandatory minimum five-year federal prison sentence as distribution of 500 grams of powder cocaine. This sentencing disparity between crack and powder cocaine results in African Americans spending substantially more time in federal prisons for drug offenses than whites; while they make up 82 percent of the defendants sentenced for crack offenses, African Americans comprise only 33 percent of all crack users.

The Open Society Institute—Washington, D.C., led a coalition of grantees, including The Sentencing Project, the American Civil Liberties Union, Break the Chains, Drug Policy Alliance, and Families Against Mandatory Minimums, that worked to draw media and public attention to this disparity. In May, the U.S. Sentencing Commission proposed an amendment to the federal sentencing guidelines to reduce sentencing ranges for offenses related to crack cocaine. In December, the Sentencing Commission voted unanimously to make the crack amendment retroactive—applying it to prisoners sentenced before Novem-

ber 1, 2007. Sentences could be reduced by an average of 27 months for approximately 19,500 federal prisoners over a 30-year period.

With the same group of grantees submitting amicus briefs, the United States Supreme Court ruled in *Kimbrough v. United States* that judges may, at their discretion, depart from federal sentencing guidelines in cases involving crack cocaine.

### **New Jersey Death Penalty**

On December 17, 2007, Governor Jon Corzine of New Jersey made history by signing the first state law repealing a death penalty law since 1976. This decision was in part based upon policy recommendations presented by the bipartisan New Jersey Death Penalty Study Commission and endorsed by the County Prosecutors' Association of New Jersey.

A set of OSI grantees, led by Equal Justice USA, has been engaged since 2001 in the campaign to abolish the death penalty in New Jersey and provided critical support in the creation of the commission. Other OSI grantees presented testimony before the commission, including Murder Victims' Families for Reconciliation, the Innocence Project, and New Yorkers Against the Death Penalty.

The historic decision in New Jersey capped off an eventful year in the effort to end the death penalty in the United States. The United States Supreme Court brought executions to a halt with its decision to review

a case presenting the question of whether Kentucky's lethal-injection protocol violates the Constitution because it imposes unnecessary pain and suffering. The number of executions dropped to its lowest number in more than a decade.

### **School Integration**

On June 28, 2007, the United States Supreme Court's 5-4 decision in *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1*, and *McFarland v. Jefferson County Board of Education* limited the explicit use of race as a means to integrate public schools. As a result of the ruling, hundreds of school districts across the country must review their voluntary integration plans. Challenges to these plans have already emerged. Some school districts are unable to address the legal challenges and meet their diversity goals without significant support from organizations and individuals with integration expertise. U.S. Programs supported the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, the Charles Hamilton Houston Institute for Race & Justice at Harvard Law School, the Civil Rights Project at the University of California Los Angeles, The Opportunity Agenda, and the Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity at Ohio State University. They form part of a growing network of organizations working directly with school districts to promote diversity and halt the erosion of civil rights in school systems.

### **Justice Reinvestment in Wichita, Kansas**

The Council of State Governments, an OSI grantee is spearheading Justice Reinvestment, a national bipartisan initiative to downsize state prisons and reinvest savings to revitalize communities to which most people return after prison. The council provides nonpartisan research and technical assistance to state policymakers and criminal justice officials. For example, the Kansas legislature, with overwhelming bipartisan support, enacted comprehensive legislation that will enable the state to avert projected prison population growth, saving the state \$80 million in prison spending over the next five years alone. Instead, Kansas will reinvest \$7 million in drug and alcohol treatment and make targeted reinvestments to revitalize communities, focusing initially on Central Northeast Wichita, a neighborhood to which a disproportionate number of people leaving state prison return.

### **OSI-Baltimore**

OSI-Baltimore was established in 1998 as OSI's laboratory for social change. Its aim is to use a place-based philanthropy strategy to understand and address some of the biggest challenges facing Baltimore and other urban centers in the United States.

Building on OSI-Baltimore's three-

**OSI grantees working to abolish the death penalty applauded New Jersey's decision to become the first state to repeal a death penalty law since 1976.**

year effort in grantmaking and public education to raise awareness about the harm incurred by excessive use of suspension and expulsion, the Baltimore City Public School System in 2007 completed a new version of its school discipline code that is expected to provide many more positive behavior interventions. The earlier code allowed principals to suspend children for over 30 offense categories, including truancy, dress-code violations, and minor disagreements. Further bolstering

OSI's efforts to reduce the number of suspensions, the school system's new chief executive, after reviewing the data, embraced the philosophy that suspensions should be used as a tool of last resort and that every effort should be used to keep children attached to school.

In response to a fundraising challenge by George Soros to engage the Baltimore community in its work, OSI-Baltimore has successfully raised funds totaling over \$10 million from venture capitalists, civic leaders, es-

tablished foundations, and individuals toward a \$20 million goal.

**OSI-D.C.**

The Open Society Institute—Washington, D.C., works to promote a just and open society in the United States and to encourage U.S. policies that support democracy, human rights, and the rule of law abroad. For more about the work of the OSI-D.C. office, go to page 146.



A Shell oil pipeline runs through a small village in Bayelsa State, Nigeria, where pollution has destroyed most of the fishing the residents depended on for their living.



## Open Society Institute

The Open Society Institute (OSI) works to build vibrant and tolerant democracies whose governments are accountable to their citizens. Open societies are characterized by the rule of law; respect for human rights, minorities, and a diversity of opinions; democratically elected governments; market economies in which business and government are separate; and a civil society that helps keep government power in check. To achieve its mission, OSI seeks to shape public policies that assure greater fairness in political, legal, and economic systems and safeguard fundamental rights. On a local level, OSI implements a range of initiatives to advance justice, education, public health, and independent media. At the same time, OSI builds alliances across borders and continents on issues such as corruption and freedom of information. OSI places a high priority on protecting and improving the lives of marginalized people and communities.

Investor and philanthropist George Soros in 1993 created OSI as a private operating and grantmaking foundation to support his foundations in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Those foundations were established, starting in 1984, to help countries make the transition from communism. OSI has expanded the activities of the Soros foundations network to encompass the United States and more than 60 countries in Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Each Soros foundation relies on the expertise of boards composed of eminent citizens who determine individual agendas based on local priorities.

OSI's manner of working on issues around the world is to monitor a situation and advocate for improvements while building human, institutional, and governmental capacity for strengthening open society approaches to these issues.

OSI and the Soros foundations have given away over \$6 billion to build open, democratic societies, including approximately \$440 million in 2007. The OSI offices are described below.

## **Open Society Institute (New York)**

The Open Society Institute's office in New York is the headquarters for both OSI and the Soros foundations network. It provides the other OSI offices, affiliated organizations, and Soros foundations with

administrative, financial, and technical support. It is also the hub of communications for the entire network and the main grant-giving center. OSI's offices in Brussels, Budapest, London, Paris, and Washington, D.C., are described on the following pages. Their activities, like the activities described throughout this report, reflect the programmatic priorities and strategic planning of OSI's New York directors and staff.

The Open Society Institute administers a number of large initiatives from New York. These include the Open Society Justice Initiative, the Public Health Program, the Central Eurasia Project/Middle East and North Africa Initiative, the Burma Project/Southeast Asia Initiative, the Scholarship Programs, the International Women's Program, and the Open Society Fellowship, which began in early 2008.

The New York office operates programs in the United States that focus on, among other things, criminal justice and equality, and the strengthening of democracy and government transparency. The office is home to independent organizations that spun off from OSI programs, such as the Revenue Watch Institute, or that absorbed other OSI programs, such as the Soros Economic Development Fund. OSI in New York also supports a number of civil society activities in Russia.

In January 2008, OSI launched the Global Drug Policy Program to advocate a more balanced approach

in international drug policy with a greater focus on human rights.

## **Open Society Institute–Brussels**

The Open Society Institute–Brussels represents the Soros foundations network to partners in western Europe. The office facilitates collaboration between the network and various European Union institutions, the Council of Europe, and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, as well as bilateral donors and nongovernmental organizations. OSI-Brussels assists the Soros foundations network with its effort to increase collaboration with donors, and informs partner organizations about the network's mission, activities, and methods. In addition, OSI-Brussels works to influence EU policies and raise awareness in European institutions, governments, and opinion-making circles about issues of concern to the network.

In 2007, the office worked on antidiscrimination issues, advocating for an EU Roma policy aligned with the Decade of Roma Inclusion and pressing for a European standard against ethnic profiling by law enforcement. It hosted a Roma Initiatives fellow who served as the coordinator of the EU Roma Policy Coalition consisting of a range of Roma and antidiscrimination NGOs.

OSI-Brussels also called for an upgraded European Neighbourhood

Policy (ENP) as an effective driver for open societies in countries to the east and south of the EU; facilitated input into the European Commission's annual monitoring reports on reform progress in candidate, potential candidate, and ENP countries. The office advocated for greater EU involvement in conflict zones of countries to its east, and urged the European Union to maintain its conditionality toward Serbia regarding full cooperation with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia.

Regional strategies—outside the borders of the European Union—were also an important part of the office's work. OSI-Brussels advocated for an EU Central Asia strategy based on the principal values of the European Union, provided recommendations on governance and revenue transparency for the EU Africa strategy, and pressed the G8 to support resource revenue transparency and good governance in initiatives in Africa. The office urged reform of EU financial regulations to reduce the red tape involved in funding NGOs; called for an increase in the EU contribution to the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria; and pushed a Common European Energy Policy based on a switch to a low carbon economic model.

The office also organized many formal and informal meetings and debates in Brussels involving network offices, grantees, civil society leaders, representatives of European institutions, policy centers, and other

western European partners on issues such as intercultural dialogue, Muslims in Europe, Roma, rule of law, and revenue transparency in the extractives industries. The office also assisted with the creation of the European Council on Foreign Relations.

### **Open Society Institute–Budapest**

Initiatives based at OSI-Budapest include the Arts and Culture Network Program, the EU Monitoring and Advocacy Program, the International Higher Education Support Program, the Human Rights and Governance Grants Program, the Local Government and Public Service Reform Initiative, and the Think Tank Fund.

The Roma Initiatives Office at OSI-Budapest guides and coordinates OSI programs and grantmaking that seek to improve the situation of the Roma in Central and Eastern Europe, with a special emphasis on the Decade of Roma Inclusion. In late 2007, the office merged with the Roma Participation Program, a Budapest-based grants program that supports Roma activism.

OSI-Budapest is located in the Central European University complex, and its programs often share resources with CEU, which was founded by George Soros and continues to be supported by OSI.

### **Open Society Foundation–London**

The Open Society Foundation–London is an independent U.K. charity that houses various OSI initiatives described elsewhere in this report, including the East East: Partnership Beyond Borders Program, the Media Program, the Information Program, the Early Childhood Program, and the Scholarship Programs. The international advocacy director of the Soros foundations network is also located in the London office. In 2007, the office expanded with the addition of EUMAP's Cities Monitoring Project: Muslims in Europe, the Mental Health Initiative, and staff of the Open Society Justice Initiative and the Central Eurasia Project.

The office also facilitates collaboration between the Soros foundations network and partners in the United Kingdom, including the British government and London-based NGOs. It assists the Soros foundations network with building donor partnerships and serves as a channel for information and contacts. The office also develops coalitions with long-term NGO partners and raises awareness in U.K. policy circles about issues of concern to the Soros foundations network.

In 2007, the Open Society Foundation–London hosted a series of OSI visitors and meetings on a variety of topics including how the foundations in Central and Eastern Europe are responding to new politi-

cal developments in the region and how the Soros foundations network may have a greater impact on international drug policy.

In close collaboration with OSI's advocacy offices in Addis Ababa, Brussels, New York, and Washington, D.C., the international advocacy director developed and engaged in various international policy activities, including campaigns related to continued European support for the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria; adherence of conditions set by the European Union in relation to Serbia's progression toward EU membership; international accountability for the Uzbek government on the issue of forced child labor in the country's cotton industry; support for civil society partners in crisis-affected countries such as Burma, Kenya, and Pakistan; and the drafting of the Council of Europe's Treaty on Access to Official Documents.

The Open Society Foundation–London also houses two OSI grantees: Publish What You Pay and the European Council on Foreign Relations. The Publish What You Pay coalition seeks to help citizens of resource-rich developing countries hold their governments accountable for the management of revenues from the oil, gas, and mining industries. Launched in 2007, the European Council on Foreign Relations promotes a more integrated European foreign policy in support of shared European interests and values.

## **Open Society Institute–Paris**

The Open Society Institute–Paris serves as a liaison and resource office for the Open Society Institute and the Soros foundations network. It also acts as the OSI board liaison office, helping Soros foundations implement appropriate board rotation procedures. OSI-Paris in 2007 assisted with foundation board rotations in Albania, Georgia, Guatemala, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Macedonia, Moldova, Mongolia, Montenegro, Nepal, Serbia, Tajikistan, and Turkey. OSI-Paris is also part of OSI's Conflict of Interest Evaluation Committee.

Previously, OSI-Paris worked closely with the Uzbekistan Committee, created by OSI in 2004 as a result of the forced closure of the Soros foundation in Uzbekistan. The committee guided all network activity in that country. At the end of 2007, management of activities in Uzbekistan was streamlined under the Central Eurasia Project.

The Belarus Project, operated by OSI-Paris since 1997 when the OSI foundation in that country was forced to close, continued in 2007 to support the development of open society in Belarus by enhancing civic culture and supporting work that provides immediate benefits to Belarusian society and prepares the country for a democratic future. The Belarus Project worked to create and protect citizen-controlled “civic spaces” and offered support to independent media.

## **Open Society Institute–Washington, D.C.**

The Open Society Institute–Washington, D.C., works to promote a just and open society in the United States and to encourage U.S. policies that support democracy, human rights, and the rule of law abroad.

In 2007, OSI-D.C. was involved in debates over the proper balance between security and the freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution and international law, including the proper treatment of detainees, prohibitions on torture, and constitutional limits on surveillance. The Bush Administration's refusal to disavow certain forms of torture such as waterboarding, sleep deprivation, and stress positions, and its defense of abusive interrogation techniques emphasized the need to educate policymakers on U.S. legal obligations and how the administration's position damages U.S. credibility throughout the world.

The office also worked to encourage a robust public debate on the proper limits of surveillance in a free society and continued its efforts to support strong and independent inspector general offices and civil rights oversight at various agencies. As reports of problems at the U.S. Department of Justice mounted—including the hiring and firing of attorneys along partisan lines—OSI-D.C. brought together a range of organizations to share strategies and ideas for promoting the importance of a Justice Depart-

ment free from politicization in all its functions.

Because OSI is active in many parts of the world, it engages the U.S. government on a wide variety of issues, ranging from encouraging constructive U.S. support for democratic change in Liberia, highlighting human rights abuses in Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan, raising the importance of supporting civil society organizations in Afghanistan, and opposing repression in Zimbabwe and other countries.

OSI-D.C. supported efforts to promote transparency in the distribution of natural resource revenues, and supported U.S. financial and banking sanctions against the Burmese regime, putting pressure on the leaders' lifestyles without hurting ordinary Burmese citizens. The office and an international network of partners worked to make the UN's new Human Rights Council a more credible and effective body in part by encouraging democratic countries with strong human rights records to run for membership.

OSI-D.C. engaged policymakers and the nongovernmental community in discussing the appropriate role for the U.S. government in promoting democracy abroad and on the practices and standards of the Millennium Challenge Corporation. The office collaborated with OSI's Public Health Program to highlight the AIDS epidemic and to increase awareness of regions—like the former Soviet Union—where some of the world's fastest growth rates for the epidemic

are fueled primarily by injecting drug use.

OSI-D.C. worked on several African advocacy efforts. The office hosted a two-day meeting for OSI's Africa staff members resulting in the creation of an African Advocacy Group. After Kenya's election crisis exploded in the final days of 2007, the group sent high-level missions to African and Western power centers to argue for international intervention and a negotiated settlement.

OSI-D.C.'s domestic policy staff worked with a broad coalition on the challenges of reintegrating formerly incarcerated people into society. It engaged in advocacy on the injustices caused by the mandatory minimum sentences and racially disparate impact of penalties for the use of crack and powder cocaine—a 100:1 disparity which, over the last 20 years, has contributed more than any other law to the racial disparity in U.S. incarceration rates. The office is leading an effort to bring together advocates and experts working on different parts of the “cycle” of poverty, including underfunded schools and inadequate housing, which contribute to incarceration.

OSI-D.C. oversaw the second year of the D.C. Community Grants Initiative, which issues grants to nonprofit groups working in Washington, D.C. in the areas of youth leadership and development, strengthening working poor families, and HIV treatment and prevention.

The Open Society Policy Center—a nonpartisan public policy orga-

nization established under 501(c)(4) of the U.S. Internal Revenue Code, which is funded by George Soros and operated separately from OSI—engages in advocacy on U.S. and international issues including criminal justice reform, human rights, and civil liberties. For more information, visit [www.opensocietypolicycenter.org](http://www.opensocietypolicycenter.org).

## **Chairman's, Presidential, and Institutional Grants**

In addition to supporting the network's foundations and initiatives, OSI makes funds available to a variety of organizations, especially in the fields of human rights and anticorruption. Many of these grantees form close partnerships with OSI and are considered an integral part of the efforts of the OSI and Soros foundations network.

Chairman's and presidential grants totaled over \$13 million in 2007. Funding was committed or went to, among others, the following: \$225,000 over two years to the Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative, based in New Delhi, India, to promote human rights across commonwealth countries; \$170,000 to the National Institute of Military Justice for their work to advance the fair administration of military justice and foster improved public understanding of the military justice system; and \$250,000 to the International Center for Transitional Justice for their work helping countries deal with

war crimes and mass human rights abuses committed during conflict or authoritarian regimes.

Large institutional grants were also given to longtime OSI grantees Human Rights Watch (\$1 million), the American Civil Liberties Union Foundation (\$1 million), and the International Crisis Group (\$2 million).

In the field of anticorruption, Global Witness received 576,000 British pounds for exposing the link between exploitation of natural resources and human rights abuses, conflict, and corruption; the International Budget Project received \$600,000 for their work on civil society monitoring of public budgets; and Tiri received \$1 million for their work developing curricula in corruption for public administration students and addressing corruption in postconflict situations. In addition, the Soros Humanitarian Foundation gave a second installment of \$10 million to the Millennium Promise Alliance in 2007 toward its five-year \$50 million commitment to the Millennium Villages initiative to address the problem of extreme poverty in Africa.

## OSI Ombudsman

The OSI ombudsman addresses complaints from within and outside the Soros foundations network about acts or practices that appear to constitute abuses of authority by Soros foundations, by OSI-Budapest, or by those parts of OSI in New York that serve the network.

The ombudsman investigates the complaints she receives at her discretion, and reports her findings to the OSI-Budapest board as she considers appropriate. Where necessary, OSI supports the work of the ombudsman by providing her with investigative assistance. Matters that can be dealt with by other grievance mechanisms within OSI are referred to those mechanisms for resolution.

The ombudsman does not deal with employee grievances or with disagreements about the merits of a grant or programming decision. Rather, the chief concern of the ombudsman position is to investigate accusations of rudeness, negligence, dishonesty, violation of procedures, or other abuses dealing with grant applicants, other parts of the network, partner organizations, or the general public.

The position of OSI ombudsman is held by Irena Veisaite, who, in the past, has served both as the chair of the Open Society Fund–Lithuania board and as a member of the OSI-Budapest board. The ombudsman may be contacted at:

Irena Veisaite  
OSI Ombudsman  
J. Basanavicius 16/5 - 49,  
LT-03224  
Vilnius, Lithuania  
TEL: 370 265 21 29  
EMAIL: irena@osf.lt

## Application Information

OSI programs and initiatives award grants, scholarships, and fellowships on a regular basis throughout the year. The types of funding and eligibility requirements differ for each initiative. Potential applicants should consult the Grants, Scholarships, and Fellowships section of the OSI website, [www.soros.org](http://www.soros.org), to determine their eligibility and access appropriate application guidelines.

The Soros foundations award grants principally to local organizations and individuals. Some foundations also award grants to foreign organizations working in partnership with local groups. Potential grant applicants should contact individual foundations about their application procedures. Contact information for the Soros foundations can be found on the OSI website or in the directory at the end of this report.

# Partnerships

## Donor Partners

Partnerships with other donors contribute significantly to the work of the Open Society Institute and the Soros foundations network. In some instances, these partnerships involve explicit agreements with other donors to share costs. At other times, they take place informally when another donor determines to support a project OSI has initiated or, conversely, when we build upon another donor's initiative. In some cases, other donors contribute directly to one of the Soros foundations in support of a particular project.

Our donor partners include the following:

> *International organizations* such as the World Bank, the World Health Organization (WHO), UNAIDS, UNICEF, UNESCO/International Institute for Educational Planning, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the European Union, the Council of Europe, the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria, the European Commission, and

the Asian Development Bank. OSI's collaboration with UNDP is especially extensive, and includes a formal Memorandum of Understanding between the two institutions and numerous joint funding projects.

> *National government aid agencies*, including the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the United States Department of State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, the United States Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, Britain's Department for International Development (DFID) and Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO), the French Centre National des Oeuvres Universitaires et Scolaires (CNOUS), the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs Matra Programme, the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs FRESTA Programme, the German Foreign Ministry and Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), and a number of

Austrian government agencies, including the ministries of education and foreign affairs, that operate bilaterally.

> *National governments* in several countries, including Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the United States, that cofund programs sponsored by Soros foundations in those countries, especially in education.

> *American private foundations* such as the United Nations Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, the Annie E. Casey Foundation, the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, the American Austrian Foundation, Freedom Forum, the Pew Charitable Trusts, the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, the JEHT Foundation, the Atlantic Philanthropies, the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation, the Irene Diamond Fund, the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Lilly Endowment, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, the Nathan Cummings Foundation,

the Schumann Center for Media and Democracy, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Surdna Foundation, the Tides Foundation, and the German Marshall Fund.

> *European private foundations* such as AVINA, the Robert Bosch Foundation, the King Baudouin Foundation, the Sigrid Rausing Trust, the Oak Foundation, the European Cultural Foundation, and some of the German political party-affiliated foundations.

> *European and North American institutions* that administer assistance funds obtained from their governments, such as the Swedish Helsinki Committee for Human Rights, Press Now (Netherlands), Novib (Netherlands), International Media Support (Denmark), the British Council, Norwegian People's Aid, Medienhilfe (Switzerland), Freedom House (U.S.), IREX (U.S.), the National Endowment for Democracy (U.S.), the Eurasia Foundation (U.S.), the Nazi Persecutee Relief Fund (U.S., France, Britain), Norwegian and Danish Burma Committees, Olof Palme International Center (Sweden), the Remembrance, Responsibility and Future Foundation (Germany), Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Germany), Rights and Democracy (Canada), International Republican Institute (U.S.), and the Asia Foundation (U.S.).

> *Institutions of higher learning* such as the Central European University in Budapest, an internationally recognized institution of post-graduate education in social sciences and humanities established and supported by George Soros and OSI; Columbia University in New York City; the American University in Bulgaria; the Moscow School of Social and Economic Sciences; the National Institute of Development Administration in Thailand; the Economics Education and Research Consortium in Kyiv; and the City University of New York.

OSI also is a donor and partner of the Baltic-American Partnership Fund and the Trust for Civil Society in Central and Eastern Europe.

The Open Society Institute and the Soros foundations are deeply grateful to all our funding partners and thank them for their role in building open societies and for the trust in the Soros foundations reflected by their support.

## NGO Partners

Another form of partnership is also of enormous importance to the Soros foundations: the relationships with grantees that have developed into alliances in pursuing crucial parts of the open society agenda.

These partners include, but are not limited to the following:

> *American Civil Liberties Union Foundation* for championing the rights of Americans, and the *Leadership Conference on Civil Rights Education Fund* for its defense of civil rights and civil liberties in the United States

> *Arab Fund for Arts and Culture* for empowering contemporary artists and facilitating cultural exchanges in literature, film-making, performing, and visual arts in the Arab region

> *Baacha Khan Trust* for educational programs that provide under-privileged people in Pakistan with knowledge, skills, and critical thinking

> *William J. Brennan Jr. Center for Justice* for its intellectual leadership in devising legal approaches to issues of civil liberties and democracy in the United States

- > *Campaign for Youth Justice* for its work to end the U.S. practice of trying, sentencing, and incarcerating children under the age of 18 in the adult criminal justice system, and the *National Juvenile Defender Center* for its efforts to improve access to counsel and quality of representation for children in juvenile and criminal proceedings nationwide
- > *Center on Budget and Policy Priorities* for its expertise on budget and tax policy questions in the United States, and also for its International Budget Project, which promotes budget transparency and accountability in transition countries
- > *Center for American Progress* for its efforts to strengthen progressive voices among young people, to increase the impact and visibility of the progressive faith movement, and to improve the U.S. response to Afghanistan
- > *Center for Community Change* for its efforts to give low-income people a voice in American democracy, and the *American Institute for Social Justice* for providing staff and leadership training, technical assistance, research, and strategy support on issues relevant to this group
- > *Center for Educational Development BILIM–Central Asia* for its work supporting educational advising services in Eurasia and promoting international educational opportunities
- > *Center for Global Development* for efforts to reduce global poverty and inequality by assisting the newly democratic Liberian government, the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria, and the reform process in Latin America
- > *Center for Public Interest Research* for its support of student-directed civic and political engagement programs
- > *Centro Edelstein de Pesquisas Sociais* for strengthening democratic governance in Latin America and promoting the region's voice in international forums
- > *Committee to Protect Journalists and Article 19* for their work defending and upholding freedom of expression
- > *Council of State Governments* for providing state legislators and policymakers in the United States with resources to establish effective public policies and government programs, and the *Progressive States Network* for connecting progressive state legislators around common principles and developing campaigns on these issues
- > *Democracy Coalition Project* for working to strengthen the intergovernmental Community of Democracies process as a mechanism for democratic change
- > *Drug Policy Alliance* for its promotion of an alternative drug policy in the United States
- > *Earth Institute* at Columbia University for its Millennium Villages initiative, which seeks to lift some of the least developed villages in Africa out of poverty
- > *Earth Island Institute* for its work to educate 18- to 35-year-olds in the United States and Canada about the climate crisis
- > *Economic Policy Institute* for economic research in the United States to improve the well-being of low-income families and empowering international research institutions
- > *Equal Justice Society* for its work to advance racial justice in the United States, with a focus on judicial nominations and limitations on civil rights claims
- > *European Roma Rights Centre* for its defense of the rights of a minority that is severely persecuted in many countries, and the *Roma Education Fund*

- for its efforts to close the gap in educational outcomes between Roma and non-Roma populations
- > *Global Fund for Women* for its advocacy on human rights for women around the world
  - > *Global Witness* for its investigations of the connections between resource exploitation, corruption, the arms trade, and severe abuses of human rights
  - > *Heartland Human Care Services* for programs addressing U.S. immigration policy, and a series of documentaries on immigration reform legislation
  - > *Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights* in Poland for its human rights training efforts in Central Asia and Russia, as well as in Poland
  - > *Human Rights Watch* for its leadership in protecting civil and political rights worldwide
  - > *Institute on Medicine as a Profession* for promoting professionalism in U.S. medicine
  - > *International Bridges to Justice* for ensuring basic legal rights in China, Vietnam, and Cambodia, and affecting long-term change in criminal justice systems
  - > *International Center for Transitional Justice* for its assistance to transitional countries wishing to pursue accountability for mass atrocity or human rights abuses under previous regimes
  - > *International Crisis Group* for its research and advocacy in addressing armed conflicts and other crises in international relations
  - > *International Step by Step Association* for fostering democratic principles and promoting parent and community involvement in early childhood education, especially among minority ethnic and linguistic groups
  - > *International Women's Health Coalition*, *Center for Reproductive Rights*, and *Planned Parenthood Federation of America*, for their work protecting and expanding reproductive health advocacy and services around the world
  - > *Justice at Stake Campaign* for its efforts to keep the U.S. courts fair and impartial
  - > *Mayor's Fund to Advance New York City* for helping to reduce poverty in New York City and stabilize neighborhoods affected by the subprime mortgage crisis
  - > *Médecins Sans Frontières*, *AIDS Foundation East-West*, *Doctors of the World*, and *Partners In Health* for their efforts in addressing crucial public health emergencies that are often connected to abuses of human rights
  - > *Media Development Loan Fund* and the *Southern Africa Media Development Fund* for their role in assisting independent media to develop as self-sustaining businesses
  - > *Memorial Human Rights Center* for monitoring and working to remedy human rights violations in the North Caucasus, particularly in Chechnya and Ingushetia
  - > *Mental Disability Rights International* and *Mental Disability Advocacy Center Foundation* for their protection of the rights of the mentally disabled
  - > *National Council for Civil Liberties (Liberty)* in the U.K. for promoting democratic participation, justice, openness, the right to dissent, and respect for diversity
  - > *National Senior Citizens Law Center* for its research and advocacy on constitutional and statutory issues affecting the aged in America

- > *New America Foundation* in the United States for its efforts to oppose privatization of public airways, ensure nuclear security, and foster a new social contract among workers, employers, and the government
- > *New York Times Neediest Cases Fund* for its financial support of uninsured responders who performed rescue, recovery, and clean-up work after the September 11, 2001, attack on the World Trade Center
- > *Nurcha* for helping build hundreds of thousands of low-cost houses in South Africa
- > *Peace Institute* in Slovenia for its efforts to promote open society principles and practices
- > *Penal Reform International* for its worldwide efforts to reduce incarceration and protect the rights of prison inmates
- > *Project Syndicate* for providing diverse commentaries to over 240 newspapers worldwide
- > *Project Vote/Voting for America* for registering voters in the United States and analyzing election law
- > *Proteus Fund* for its support of organizations working to advance social justice and the common good in the United States
- > *Public Interest Law Initiative* for advancing human rights around the world by stimulating public interest advocacy
- > *Public Interest Projects* for its U.S. work to strengthen affirmative action, human rights, immigrants' rights, and nonpartisan civic engagement
- > *Revenue Watch Institute* for its leading role in promoting the responsible management of oil, gas, and mineral resources for the public good, and *Tiri* for providing civil society representatives with evidence-based training on these industries
- > *Sentencing Project* for leading efforts in the United States to reduce excessive imprisonment
- > *Society of American Law Teachers* for working to make the legal profession more progressive and inclusive, and extending legal representation to underserved individuals and communities
- > *Southern Center for Human Rights* for its work to protect the human rights of the poor, people of color, and the disadvantaged in criminal courts and prison systems in the American South, and the *Equal Justice Initiative of Alabama* for providing legal assistance to disadvantaged people in the region
- > *Tides Center* for its support of forward-thinking activists and organizations
- > Local chapters of *Transparency International* for their work with Soros foundations on anticorruption measures
- > *TESEV (Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation)* for contributing to further democratization and better governance in Turkey through policy-oriented research and training
- > *Vera Institute of Justice* for its innovative efforts to pursue criminal justice reform programs in such countries as Russia, South Africa, and the United States
- > And a great many others

The pages of this and previous annual reports also mention numerous independent organizations that were created by OSI or that spun off from OSI or Soros foundation programs. All of these institutions obtain support from many donors. In many cases, the funding OSI provides is only a small fraction of their total revenue. The support they obtain from multiple donors enhances their independence and, of course, helps to ensure their long-term survival as institutions that can help to build open societies.



A boy and his horse, Mexico.



# Expenditures

## Open Society Foundation for Albania

2007 EXPENDITURES	\$1,791,000
Civil Society	461,000
East East	131,000
Education	85,000
European Union Programs	162,000
Human Rights	1,000
Information	7,000
Law	74,000
Public Administration	364,000
Public Health	4,000
Youth Programs	7,000
Other Programs	321,000
Administration	190,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$64,985, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Education. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Albania totaling \$987,189 principally in Education, Public Administration and Transparency and Accountability.

## Open Society Institute Assistance Foundation-Armenia

2007 EXPENDITURES	\$2,312,000
Civil Society	497,000
Culture	251,000
East East	79,000
Education	271,000
Human Rights	102,000
Information	137,000
Law	146,000
Media	236,000
Public Health	235,000
Women's Programs	80,000
Administration	278,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$225,001, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Civil Society. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Armenia totaling \$1,092,001 principally in Education, Public Administration and Human Rights.

## Open Society Institute Assistance Foundation-Azerbaijan

2007 EXPENDITURES	\$3,773,000
Central Administration	13,000
Civil Society	867,000
Culture	164,000
East East	129,000
Education	162,000
European Union Programs	99,000
Grants	2,000
Information	70,000
International Programs	20,000
Law	135,000
Media	193,000
Public Administration	272,000
Public Health	1,007,000
Women's Programs	174,000
Youth Programs	15,000
Administration	451,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$1,011,076, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Public Health and Civil Society. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Azerbaijan totaling \$1,572,836 principally in Education and Public Health.

## Open Society Fund-Bosnia and Herzegovina

2007 EXPENDITURES	\$3,110,000
Civil Society	275,000
East East	212,000
Education	446,000
Human Rights	195,000
Law	329,000
Public Administration	374,000
Roma	342,000
Women's Programs	25,000
Youth Programs	184,000
Other Programs	345,000
Administration	383,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$38,040, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Administration and Education. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Bosnia totaling \$799,482 principally in Education and Public Administration.

### Open Society Institute–Sofia (Bulgaria)

2007 EXPENDITURES	\$2,142,000
Civil Society	460,000
East East	138,000
Education	122,000
European Union Programs	109,000
Information	3,000
Law	313,000
Media	1,000
Public Administration	336,000
Public Health	84,000
Roma	183,000
Youth Programs	13,000
Administration	380,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$330,052, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Civil Society. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Bulgaria totaling \$2,613,138 principally in Education, Human Rights and Roma.

### Open Society Fund–Prague (Czech Republic)

2007 EXPENDITURES	\$1,739,000
Civil Society	203,000
East East	287,000
Education	116,000
Ethnic Minorities	35,000
European Union Programs	112,000
Human Rights	35,000
Law	404,000
Public Health	60,000
Roma	55,000
Women's Programs	167,000
Youth Programs	61,000
Other Programs	5,000
Administration	199,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$549,247, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Civil Society and European Union Programs. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in the Czech Republic totaling \$971,762 principally in Roma, Economic Reform and Public Health.

### Open Society Initiative for East Africa

2007 EXPENDITURES	\$3,613,000
African Initiatives	255,000
Law	718,000
Media	801,000
Administration	756,000
Public Health	104,000
Transparency and Accountability	979,000

Note: The financial information above includes \$2,400 funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Public Health.

### Open Estonia Foundation

2007 EXPENDITURES	\$1,769,000
Civil Society	867,000
East East	198,000
Education	16,000
European Union Programs	406,000
Women's Programs	98,000
Youth Programs	10,000
Administration	174,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$838,955, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Civil Society and European Union Programs. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Estonia totaling \$106,046 principally in Education and Public Administration.

### Open Society Georgia Foundation

2007 EXPENDITURES	\$4,190,000
Civil Society	466,000
Culture	92,000
East East	244,000
Economic Reform	361,000
Education	222,000
European Union Programs	11,000
Grants	1,000
Information	70,000
International Programs	196,000
Law	392,000
Media	204,000
Public Administration	355,000
Public Health	685,000
Transparency and Accountability	148,000
Women's Programs	161,000
Youth Programs	39,000
Other Programs	15,000
Administration	528,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$353,641, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Public Health. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Georgia totaling \$2,878,302 principally in Education and Public Administration.

### Fundación Soros–Guatemala

2007 EXPENDITURES	\$4,287,000
Civil Society	858,000
Economic Reform	10,000
Human Rights	49,000
Law	2,804,000
Media	14,000
Public Administration	117,000
Other Programs	63,000
Administration	420,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$2,073,775, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Law. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Guatemala totaling \$220,138 principally in Civil Society and Women's Programs.

### Fondation Connaissance et Liberté (Haiti)

2007 EXPENDITURES	\$2,408,000
Civil Society	587,000
Culture	223,000
Economic Reform	296,000
Education	203,000
Grants	69,000
Information	502,000
Women's Programs	74,000
Youth Programs	55,000
Other Programs	16,000
Administration	383,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$578,302, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Civil Society. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Haiti totaling \$295,099 principally in Civil Society and Economic Reform.

### Soros Foundation Hungary

2007 EXPENDITURES	\$289,000
Public Administration	38,000
Administration	251,000

Note: Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Hungary totaling \$2,070,463 principally in Roma and Culture.

### Soros Foundation–Kazakhstan

2007 EXPENDITURES	\$3,186,000
Civil Society	216,000
Conference and Travel	1,000
Culture	172,000
East East	220,000
Economic Reform	450,000
Education	115,000
Information	28,000
Law	330,000
Media	623,000
Public Administration	1,000
Public Health	315,000
Transparency and Accountability	150,000
Administration	567,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$51,589, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Media and Administration. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Kazakhstan totaling \$2,161,104 principally in Education, Human Rights and Civil Society.

### Kosovo Foundation for Open Society

2007 EXPENDITURES	\$2,438,000
Civil Society	286,000
East East	125,000
Education	82,000
Ethnic Minorities	511,000
European Union Programs	931,000
Public Administration	136,000
Public Health	121,000
Roma	17,000
Women's Programs	29,000
Administration	200,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$26,750, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in European Union Programs and Ethnic Minorities. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Kosovo totaling \$792,846 principally in Education and Media.

### Soros Foundation–Kyrgyzstan

2007 EXPENDITURES	\$3,896,000
Education	537,000
Youth Programs	115,000
East East	86,000
Conference and Travel	56,000
Information	139,000
Public Health	732,000
Economic Reform	166,000
Culture	190,000
Media	203,000
Public Administration	357,000
Law	493,000
Ethnic Minorities	71,000
Women's Programs	72,000
Civil Society	263,000
Administration	416,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$779,733, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Public Health, Law and Youth Programs. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Kyrgyzstan totaling \$2,550,196 principally in Education and Public Health.

### Soros Foundation–Latvia

2007 EXPENDITURES	\$1,853,000
Civil Society	822,000
East East	116,000
Education	3,000
European Union Programs	187,000
Law	198,000
Public Administration	254,000
Public Health	42,000
Youth Programs	1,000
Administration	230,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$468,751, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Civil Society. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Latvia totaling \$290,365 principally in Transparency and Accountability.

### Open Society Fund–Lithuania

2007 EXPENDITURES	\$1,546,000
Civil Society	558,000
East East	173,000
Education	23,000
Grants	8,000
Law	51,000
Public Health	258,000
Administration	475,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$781,563, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Civil Society. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Lithuania totaling \$222,407 principally in Public Health, Public Administration and Human Rights.

### Foundation Open Society Institute–Macedonia

2007 EXPENDITURES	\$7,229,000
Civil Society	1,434,000
East East	217,000
Economic Reform	358,000
Education	2,804,000
European Union Programs	451,000
Human Rights	100,000
Information	148,000
Law	271,000
Media	260,000
Public Administration	267,000
Public Health	114,000
Roma	25,000
Women's Programs	42,000
Youth Programs	30,000
Other Programs	140,000
Administration	568,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$3,826,932, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Education and Civil Society. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Macedonia totaling \$2,299,050 principally in Education and Roma.

### Soros Foundation–Moldova

2007 EXPENDITURES	\$4,149,000
Civil Society	565,000
Culture	38,000
East East	232,000
Education	191,000
European Union Programs	307,000
Information	195,000
Law	591,000
Media	527,000
Public Administration	391,000
Public Health	725,000
Roma	14,000
Women's Programs	9,000
Youth Programs	70,000
Other Programs	1,000
Administration	293,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$1,106,072 funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Public Health and Civil Society. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Moldova totaling \$1,615,536 principally in Education, Public Administration and Human Rights.

### Open Society Forum (Mongolia)

2007 EXPENDITURES	\$1,180,000
East East	53,000
Education	40,000
Law	11,000
Media	60,000
Public Administration	1,011,000
Youth Programs	5,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$28,335 funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Public Administration. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Mongolia totaling \$846,392 principally in Education and Culture.

### Foundation Open Society Institute–Representative Office Montenegro

2007 EXPENDITURES	\$1,657,000
Civil Society	44,000
East East	109,000
Economic Reform	220,000
Education	311,000
European Union Programs	185,000
Grants	7,000
Law	181,000
Public Administration	199,000
Roma	78,000
Women's Programs	59,000
Administration	264,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$8,050, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Education and Economic Reform. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Montenegro totaling \$734,997 principally in Education, Roma and Media.

### Stefan Batory Foundation (Poland)

2007 EXPENDITURES	\$5,699,000
Civil Society	1,034,000
East East	2,503,000
Law	1,052,000
Public Health	206,000
Administration	904,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$2,490,220 funded by non-Soros entities, principally in East East. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Poland totaling \$1,696,372 principally in Education, Public Health and Human Rights.

### Soros Foundation Romania

2007 EXPENDITURES	\$3,555,000
Civil Society	561,000
East East	271,000
Education	107,000
Public Administration	677,000
Roma	492,000
Women's Programs	14,000
Youth Programs	5,000
Other Programs	872,000
Administration	556,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$399,542 funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Other Programs. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Romania totaling \$2,588,329 principally in Education, Public Health and Roma.

### Russia Project

2007 EXPENDITURES	\$6,472,000
Civil Society	5,249,000
Education	670,000
Law	1,000
Public Health	182,000
Women's Programs	27,000
Administration	397,000

Note: Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Russia totaling \$9,989,839 principally in Education, Public Health and Human Rights.

### Fund for an Open Society-Serbia

2007 EXPENDITURES	\$4,212,000
Education	582,000
Youth Programs	110,000
East East	208,000
Information	149,000
Public Health	277,000
Media	643,000
Public Administration	364,000
Law	633,000
Roma	330,000
Civil Society	154,000
European Union Programs	357,000
Other Programs	2,000
Administration	407,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$117,222 funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Roma. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Serbia totaling \$2,323,275 principally in Education, Roma and Human Rights.

### Open Society Foundation-Bratislava (Slovakia)

2007 EXPENDITURES	\$1,985,000
Civil Society	239,000
East East	195,000
Education	121,000
Law	92,000
Media	111,000
Public Administration	68,000
Public Health	175,000
Roma	508,000
Women's Programs	56,000
Youth Programs	30,000
Other Programs	39,000
Administration	351,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$370,923 funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Roma. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Slovakia totaling \$774,110 principally in Roma, Public Administration and Human Rights.

### Open Society Foundation for South Africa

2007 EXPENDITURES	\$7,452,000
Civil Society	1,001,000
Economic Reform	965,000
Human Rights	480,000
Information	297,000
Law	2,700,000
Media	974,000
Public Health	233,000
Other Programs	148,000
Administration	654,000

Note: Other Soros-supported organizations made grants South Africa totaling \$930,187 principally in Public Health and Economic Reform.

### Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa

2007 EXPENDITURES	\$12,367,000
African Initiatives	163,000
Civil Society	1,673,000
Economic Reform	2,816,000
Education	1,020,000
Human Rights	1,176,000
Information	365,000
Media	1,376,000
Public Health	1,537,000
Transparency and Accountability	190,000
Women's Programs	351,000
Administration	1,700,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$2,400 funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Public Health.

### Open Society Institute Assistance Foundation-Tajikistan

2007 EXPENDITURES	\$3,875,000
Civil Society	144,000
Conference and Travel	67,000
Culture	141,000
East East	112,000
Economic Reform	83,000
Education	644,000
Information	330,000
Law	272,000
Media	132,000
Public Administration	227,000
Public Health	834,000
Women's Programs	198,000
Youth Programs	164,000
Administration	527,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$827,035 funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Public Health and Youth Programs. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Tajikistan totaling \$810,023 principally in Education.

### Open Society Institute Assistance Foundation-Turkey

2007 EXPENDITURES	\$2,300,000
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Note: Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Turkey totaling \$307,374 principally in Education and Human Rights.

### International Renaissance Foundation (Ukraine)

2007 EXPENDITURES	\$7,809,000
Civil Society	687,000
East East	457,000
Education	276,000
European Union Programs	597,000
Information	363,000
Law	1,420,000
Media	1,029,000
Public Administration	575,000
Public Health	754,000
Roma	93,000
Youth Programs	7,000
Other Programs	814,000
Administration	737,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$865,701 funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Media, Law and Information. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Ukraine totaling \$3,413,698 principally in Education, Public Health and Law.

### Open Society Initiative for West Africa

2007 EXPENDITURES	\$13,991,000
African Initiatives	151,000
Civil Society	4,075,000
Economic Reform	1,246,000
Education	50,000
Grants	587,000
Human Rights	1,427,000
Information	777,000
Law	825,000
Media	945,000
Public Administration	777,000
Public Health	828,000
Transparency and Accountability	134,000
Youth Programs	29,000
Administration	2,140,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$16,430 funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Public Health.

### International Initiatives

OSI-Paris Belarus Support	1,377,000
Burma Project/Indonesia/Southeast Asia Initiative	9,326,000
Central Eurasia/Middle East Projects	14,636,000
China Grants	3,781,000
Latin America Regional Initiatives	9,417,000
Project Syndicate	2,358,000
Other African Initiatives	4,379,000
Other International	13,001,000
<b>Total International Initiatives</b>	<b>\$58,277,000</b>

### Network Programs

Children and Youth Programs	6,565,000
Culture Programs	2,502,000
East East: Partnership Beyond Borders	5,236,000
EU Monitoring and Advocacy Program	1,300,000
Information Program	5,249,000
Institute for Educational Policy	4,058,000
International Policy Fellowships	833,000
International Higher Education Support Program	20,801,000
International Women's Program	3,904,000
Local Government Initiative	8,859,000
Media Program	10,044,000
Open Society Justice Initiative	11,978,000
Public Health Program	25,813,000
Roma Participation Program	8,178,000
Scholarship Programs	14,494,000
<b>Total Network Programs</b>	<b>\$129,814,000</b>

Note: Open Society Justice Initiative expenditures include \$80,560 that has been spent through the Open Society Institute-Sofia (Bulgaria). Public Health expenditures above exclude a returned grant in the amount of \$445,428.

### U.S. Programs

U.S. Justice Fund	28,296,000
Strategic Opportunities Fund	11,760,000
Special Chairman's Fund	23,522,000
OSI-Washington, D.C.	2,623,000
OSI-Baltimore	4,282,000
Other U.S. Initiatives	7,432,000
<b>Total U.S. Programs</b>	<b>\$77,915,000</b>

Note: The Strategic Opportunities Fund included grants related to media policy and investigative journalism (\$3,450,000); politicization of science-based policymaking (\$640,000); and the subprime mortgage crisis (\$414,000). The Special Chairman's Fund included grants related to judicial independence and nominations (\$5,587,000); civic engagement (\$4,860,000); economic and social policy (\$3,975,000); progressive legal infrastructure (\$2,950,000); youth activism and leadership development (\$2,865,000); and global warming (\$1,110,000). Other U.S. Initiatives included grants related to drug policy reform (\$4,000,000) and cooperative global engagement (\$1,000,000); and other programs. OSI-Baltimore expenditures include \$1,795,000 in third-party funds raised from outside donors.

### Soros Foundations Network

Soros Foundations	128,179,000
Network Programs	129,814,000
International Initiatives	58,277,000
U.S. Programs	77,915,000
All Other Organization, Programs, and Costs	76,411,000
Interorganization Elimination	(29,718,000)
<b>Total Soros Foundations Network Expenditures</b>	<b>\$440,878,000</b>

This report describes charitable activities undertaken by OSI and other U.S.-based organizations in accordance with regulations applicable to 501(c)(3) organizations. It also describes activities carried out and funded by the Open Society Policy Center, a 501(c)(4) organization, or foreign entities financed by non-U.S.-sourced funding.



A man draws an electrical line to his home from the only power line running through El Pacifico, an informal settlement on the outskirts of Medellín, Colombia.



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Chuck Sudetic, OSI senior writer, wrote five of the feature stories in this report: “Rising to the Challenge of the TB and HIV Epidemics” (page 18), “Bringing War Criminals to Justice” (page 32), “Supporting the Roma in Securing Their Rights” (page 44), “Opening the Books on Natural Resource Revenues” (page 56), and “Helping Small Businesses Build Strong Communities” (page 67). Journalist and writer Elizabeth Rubin wrote the story “Protecting Immigrants’ Rights Against Government-led Attacks” (page 132).

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