SOROS FOUNDATIONS NETWORK REPORT



Building Open Societies

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Building Open Societies: Soros Foundations Network 2004 Report

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The Open Society Institute, a private operating and grantmaking foundation, aims to shape public policy to promote democratic governance, human rights, and economic, legal, and social reform. On a local level, OSI implements a range of initiatives to support the rule of law, education, public health, and independent media. At the same time, OSI works to build alliances across borders and continents on issues such as combating corruption and rights abuses.

OSI was created in 1993 by investor and philanthropist George Soros 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 other areas of the world where the transition to democracy is of particular concern. The Soros foundations network encompasses more than 60 countries, including the United States.

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Promoting transparency and accountability

President's Message

Tackling corruption has become an important focus of the Open Society Institute and Soros foundations network in recent years. OSI has been particularly active in promoting transparency for the revenue that governments derive from natural resources and for government budgets.

A significant civil society movement, supported by OSI, has developed to address these issues. In addition, the British government has taken up the cause of resource revenue transparency and has helped to galvanize a process whereby a number of corporations in the extractive industries are beginning to disclose their payments to governments and some of the governments obtaining such payments are disclosing their receipts.

The Soros foundations network's entry into this field began several years ago with support for a London-based organization, Global Witness. Established in 1993, Global Witness pioneered in investigating the connections between the extraction of natural resources, environmental degradation, corruption, human rights abuses, trafficking in weapons, and armed conflict. Initially focusing on Cambodia, Global Witness has also addressed these issues in such countries as Angola, Burma, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and a number of others. It created the international concern with "conflict diamonds," and its work led to the establishment of the "Kimberley Process" to regulate the marketing of diamonds.

OSI'S REVENUE WATCH PROJECTS

In addition to supporting Global Witness's investigations, OSI entered the field operationally by establishing first a project called Caspian Revenue Watch, which focused on a region where natural resources play an important role in state revenues and where OSI's network has a strong presence, and, subsequently, a Revenue Watch project without geographical boundaries to address similar issues arising in a number of other parts of the world. With the conquest of Iraq in 2003 by the United States and its coalition partners, OSI launched an Iraq Revenue Watch project to monitor the use of Iraqi oil revenues and the expenditure of coalition funds. Revenue Watch currently works in Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Mexico, Mongolia, and Peru, as well as Iraq. Projects are planned or under consideration in Algeria, Brazil, East Timor, Egypt, Indonesia, Libya, and Sudan.

In collaboration with Global Witness, OSI took the lead in 2002 in establishing the Publish What You Pay coalition, bringing together a large number of nongovernmental organizations in many countries calling for stock exchanges to require resource extraction companies to disclose all their payments to governments. Global Witness's work in Angola had revealed large discrepancies between such payments and what the government purported to receive, suggesting that the balance had been diverted corruptly. The Angola exposé provided an impetus for the establishment of Publish What You Pay, which has been joined by leading international humanitarian organizations such as Oxfam and Save the Children, UK.

Also in 2002, the British government launched its own effort to address the same issues, the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI). Announced by Prime Minister Tony Blair at a conference in Johannesburg, EITI is managed by Britain's overseas development agency, the Department for International Development. Unlike the Publish What You Pay campaign, which seeks mandatory disclosure of payments by resource extraction companies to governments, EITI promotes voluntary disclosure.

Though the two campaigns pursue different approaches, they both address a phenomenon that has come to be known as "the resource curse": that is, almost all countries that derive the major share of their wealth from natural resources suffer from authoritarian rule; many are disproportionately corrupt; and some—such as Angola—have large sectors of their population living in abject poverty despite the country's oil wealth.

NATURAL RESOURCES AND ARMED CONFLICT

Aside from the obvious importance of making sure that the revenue governments derive from the exploitation of natural resources is available to meet the needs of the population and is not siphoned off into foreign bank accounts maintained by public officials, promoting transparency has a crucial role to play in helping to avoid or find solutions to internal armed conflicts. Worldwide, such conflicts have been a central factor in severe abuses of human rights in the 60 years that have elapsed since the end of World War II. Especially in the decade and a half since the end of the Cold War, the persistence of internal armed conflicts in many parts of Africa and Asia is often attributable to struggles over the riches derived from natural resources.

To cite an example, the two leading conflicts in Indonesia are the war in Irian Jaya at the eastern end of the country on the island of Papua New Guinea and the war in Aceh at the western tip of the country on the island of Sumatra. Both are territories with mineral resources where the local population has resented that the wealth derived from their exploitation is flowing to the elite of Java. The resulting conflicts have taken on an ethnic and religious dimension, but they are rooted in the failure to account transparently and ensure that the income is apportioned in a manner that is perceived as fair, addressing such needs as education and public health. Transparent accounting provides an opportunity to resolve disputes over allocation through peaceful and democratic means rather than at the point of a gun.

The Soros foundations network has also provided support over the past three years to the International Budget Project (IBP). Established by the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, a U.S.-based think tank that the U.S. Programs of OSI has long supported, the IBP collaborates with organizations in many countries that promote budget transparency. Many of these groups are also supported by the OSI network.

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION

Another way that the network has supported the transparency movement is through the work of the Open Society Justice Initiative on freedom of information. The Justice Initiative has been a source of expert advice and assistance to groups in many countries adopting laws and practices in this field. In addition, the Justice Initiative has supported organizations seeking implementation of national freedom of information laws. OSI has also provided support to a number of national chapters of Transparency International and to a newly established London-based organization, Tiri, which has collaborated with Central European University in developing a Public Integrity Education Network.

Though most of the Soros foundations network's efforts have focused on civil society initiatives, in a few cases the network has also provided direct support to governments that are implementing measures dealing with revenue transparency. An example is support for the government of Nigeria's disclosure of oil revenue and the allocation of portions of this revenue to state and local governments. Once known for having one of the world's most corrupt governments, Nigeria has made great strides in the past two years toward fiscal transparency. Other governments taking important steps in this direction include Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan, Ghana, Trinidad and Tobago, Sao Tome, Peru, and East Timor. A number of other governments have entered into discussions with Britain's Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative about steps they can take to improve their practices, and some leading corporations in the extractive industries are also contributing to transparency. BP and Royal Dutch/Shell have been leaders in this field and, more recently, Chevron has been among the industrial giants joining this trend.

The revenue and budget transparency work of the OSI/Soros foundations network is a prominent example of the network's increasing focus on international public policy. Another area in which the network has been a leader has been in the promotion of international justice. We have supported civil society groups working for the establishment and effective operation of the ad hoc international criminal tribunals for ex-Yugoslavia, Rwanda, and Sierra Leone; we are currently engaged in a difficult struggle to bring into being a tribunal for Cambodia where surviving leaders of the Khmer Rouge could be prosecuted; and we have been at the forefront of support for efforts to establish the International Criminal Court. As I write, the network's efforts to secure UN Security Council referral to the ICC of responsibility for prosecuting those who committed crimes against humanity in Darfur, Sudan, have just succeeded.

As in the case of our work on transparency, we are still at a fairly early stage of efforts to establish an effective system of international criminal justice. Though both are long-term efforts, there has recently been substantial headway in these endeavors. The open society cause has suffered a number of setbacks in recent times but, at least with respect to these two important parts of our work, we are making progress.

Aryeh Neier May 2005

OSI Advocacy

OSI and the Soros foundations advocate for policies that advance open society in countries around the world. OSI maintains policy advocacy offices in Brussels, the home of most European Union (EU) institutions, and Washington, D.C. The 2004 annual report describes many advocacy activities by OSI and the Soros foundations network. A few of the policy issues that occupied the Brussels and Washington offices are described on the following pages. European Neighbourhood Policy—The European Union's Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) has the potential to advance democracy in the EU's neighboring countries of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine. OSI advocates for the EU to provide clear and tangible incentives to the neighboring countries, such as access to internal EU markets, and to make incentives conditional on progress in achieving democratic reforms. In Brussels, working with relevant Soros national foundations, local NGOs, and think tanks, OSI contributed to ENP policies emphasizing commitment to the rule of law, good governance, and respect for human rights—and to the monitoring of action plans. OSI–Washington, D.C., worked to encourage U.S. government policies that reinforce these EU initiatives.

Turkey in Europe—The decision whether or not to open EU accession negotiations with Turkey was one of the most intense, controversial debates in the EU in recent years. OSI cosponsored the Independent Commission on Turkey (ICT), which released a balanced report on the challenges and opportunities presented by Turkey's possible membership. The report received considerable attention from the media and policymakers. The European Council voted to start EU accession negotiations with Turkey in October 2005. In Washington, OSI presented the conclusions of the report to key policymakers.

Roma—OSI advocates for EU policy and action to help overcome the poverty and social exclusion of Roma in Europe and for an alignment of EU action with the Decade of Roma Inclusion. The European Commission in 2004 established a high-level Romani task force to coordinate EU initiatives and funding programs for Roma inside and outside the EU. In order for the Roma to make their own case in Brussels, OSI arranged for 10 Romani internships in the European Commission beginning in 2005. On Romani issues, OSI–D.C. works closely with the United States Helsinki Commission, which held a hearing on the situation of the Roma in 2004.

Publish What You Pay Campaign—OSI and the Soros foundations network support the efforts of the Publish What You Pay (PWYP) campaign to make public the payments of extractive industry companies to governments. OSI's affiliate OSI–Brussels in 2004 played a leading role in encouraging the European Parliament and European Council to adopt a provision calling on natural resource companies listed on European stock exchanges to publish their payments to EU governments. OSI's Washington office hosts staff members of Global Witness, a key PWYP coalition partner, and several U.S.-based staff members coordinate activities with the coalition.

HIV/AIDS—OSI–Brussels advocated for significantly improving the European response to the fight against HIV/AIDS by, among other activities, promoting increased funding from European governments for the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria. OSI–D.C. encouraged U.S. support for the Global Fund by educating policymakers on the most effective, scientifically proven ways to combat the coepidemics of HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis.

Cooperative Global Engagement—In recent years, the United States has received criticism for rejecting such efforts at international cooperation as the International Criminal Court and the Kyoto Protocol on global warming. The Cooperative Global Engagement Project of the OSI–D.C. office works to encourage a national debate on the merits of working with other nations on critical issues like international health and justice. The Project has sponsored thousands of "town hall" debates around the nation, organized congressional briefings, published studies, and supported many grassroots organizations working on these issues through a cooperative donors pool it helped to organize.

Defending an Open Society in the United States—In close cooperation with U.S. Programs staff in New York, OSI–D.C. worked to defend civil liberties and educate the public and elected officials about the dangers of infringing fundamental rights in the name of fighting terrorism. OSI–D.C. conducted a sustained dialogue with the Office of Civil Liberties and the Inspector General's office of the Department of Homeland Security. It created Watching Justice, a comprehensive, nonpartisan website, to monitor the activities of the Justice Department. OSI–D.C. also worked to alert the public and policymakers to the urgent need to provide housing and job placement help for persons leaving prison (some 600,000 each year) so that they can make a successful transition back into their communities.

Regions

Middle East

Central Eurasia

South Eastern Europe

Central and Eastern Europe

Russia and Ukraine

Africa

Southeast Asia

Latin America and the Caribbean

Supporting civil society during conflict

Middle East

THE STATE OF OPEN SOCIETY The year was one of poli-

tical stagnation despite considerable turbulence in the Middle East. The region continued to be dominated by events in Iraq where the United States struggled to establish legitimacy for its post-Saddam system of governance in the face of a steadily spreading insurgency, revelations about the U.S. practice of torture, and diminishing international support. The handover of power to an Iraqi interim government and the announcement of parliamentary elections for January 2005 brought little relief to the country; fierce clashes and battles intensified, and kidnapped civilian and military hostages were brutally killed. The actual elections, while hailed by some as a triumph for democracy, did not immediately change conditions in the country.

The Bush administration increased its international drive for democratic reform. The United States and the G8 countries pledged to push for economic and political changes in the Arab world, but many governments in the region announced their own initiatives instead, while questioning the U.S. administration's credibility in light of the Abu Ghraib prison scandal.

The Gulf region witnessed some progress: Qatar developed a new civil society law and implemented a Western-based educational system. Saudi Arabia announced municipal elections for 2005. Bahrain's civil society continued to push for legal reform, despite a few setbacks. In North Africa, Moroccan officials and independent activists worked to implement a new family code that improves the status of women and to establish a reconciliation commission on past prisoner abuse. Algeria and Tunisia held presidential elections, but these were judged to be flawed by international observers.

Following the death of Yasser Arafat near year's end, hopes for renewed Palestinian-Israeli peace talks revived as municipal elections proceeded and presidential and parliamentary elections were announced for 2005.





The Middle East and North Africa Initiatives, together with OSI's network programs, continued to develop activities and grantmaking in the region, focusing

OSI ACTIVITIES AND ACHIEVEMENTS

on the political participation of women, the development of in-

dependent media and freedom of information, and strengthening of the rule of law. It also developed its funding of independent Arab arts and culture and increased its scholarship programs, which included the OSI-FCO Chevening Scholarships and support to law students from the Palestinian Territories in U.S. universities. OSI The Coalition Provisional Authority has launched a last-minute spending spree using Iraq's oil money shortly before it is due to be dissolved.

> In a little noticed move, the CPA is committing billions of dollars to hastily conceived projects on the eve of its completion deadline.⁹⁹

> > Iraqi Fire Sale, OSI Revenue Watch briefing paper, June 2004.

established partnerships with a number of private donors in the region for Palestinian scholarships, and explored further possibilities in arts and culture and women's rights.

OSI developed its advocacy work on Iraq and its Iraq Revenue Watch website in an effort to monitor the use of Iraqi oil revenues. The project, which issued a number of widely cited reports, helped focus attention on the problem of U.S. and Coalition Provisional Authority management of Iraqi oil funds and may have contributed to greater transparency by the former Coalition Provisional Authority. Other efforts in Iraq included a program with the Institute for War and Peace Reporting for training in economic journalism and budget monitoring.

In Egypt, the largest and still most influential Arab country, OSI provided support to research centers working on democratic reform, women's political empowerment and legal aid groups, personal and minority rights activists, and independent culture funds.

OSI continued to support equal rights for the Palestinian Arab minority of Israel. OSI grants went to the minority rights group Adalah; early childhood education groups such as al-Tufula; and the Galilee Society, for improving health services for Palestinian Israelis and the Negev Bedouin community. Within the occupied Palestinian Territories of the West Bank and Gaza, OSI has supported scholarships for Palestinian lawyers and work by the Ramallah-based legal aid organization Al-Haq.

In Iran, OSI's priorities were to decrease tensions between Iran and the outside world, thus allowing for pragmatic political engagement, and to increase cooperative programming inside Iran or with Iranians abroad. OSI also made progress in developing contacts and programs in arts and culture and public health.

OSI worked with the Foundation for Culture and Civil Society in Afghanistan to help create a pluralistic society and develop cultural and civil society organizations. OSI provided grants to Afghan organizations on gender issues, transitional justice and rule of law, and free media.

In Pakistan, OSI is exploring funding possibilities to help develop the microfinance sector and to support women's rights and human rights, poverty reduction efforts, and educational development.

> These are a few highlights from OSI's 2004 activities in the Middle East. For more information, visit OSI's website at www.soros.org/initiatives.

Struggling against rising repression

Central Eurasia



THE STATE OF OPEN SOCIETY Central Asia and

the Caucasus retreated from the creation of open, democratic states in 2004, taking several steps back toward authoritarian rule. Progress in a few isolated areas was largely outweighed by a decline in political and economic freedoms in most of the countries of the region. The ongoing geopolitical concerns of the West, Russia, and other powerful neighbors continued to influence national politics in the countries of Central Asia and the Caucasus.

In Central Asia, a campaign against foreign NGOs highlighted the accelerating deterioration of human rights and political freedoms in Uzbekistan, the United States' primary military ally in the region. The government of Uzbekistan closed the Open Society Institute foundation in Tashkent in April 2004 and threatened Freedom House, Human Rights Watch, and other international NGOs. Reacting to the government's regression, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) curtailed its program in the country. The United States suspended direct aid in July in response to serious human rights violations. A series of bombings and attacks aimed at police posts and the U.S. and Israeli embassies, coupled with violent protests against government policy in the country's Ferghana Valley heartland, left many questioning whether widespread dissatisfaction with President Islam Karimov's repressive tactics was finally on the verge of boiling over.

Kazakhstan, regarded by some as a potential replacement for Uzbekistan as America's chief regional partner, fared only slightly better. Parliamentary elections, in which pro-presidential parties took near-total control of the legislature, were viewed as fraudulent, leading the speaker of the parliament to defect to the opposition's camp. The bombing of the offices of the propresidential party Otan in late November was a surprising act of political violence in one of the most stable corners of the region.





In a forewarning of the turbulent events of early 2005, Kyrgyzstan also saw its share of violence, with unrest in the southern town of Osh that authorities sought to link to Islamic radicals. The fractured opposition made attempts to unite prior to the presidential elections, then scheduled for late 2005. However, the perceived unfairness of the parliamentary elections in February of 2005 sparked a surprising degree of popular unrest in the form of roadblocks, marches, and demonstrations. The opposition rode this surge of protest to power a month later, leading to the flight and eventual resignation of President Askar Akayev and a rapid reorientation of Kyrgyzstan's political landscape.

In Tajikistan, increased pressure on independent newspapers, including a ban on printing that was imposed on some of the most prominent publications, was widely considered to be connected to the parliamentary polls scheduled for February 2005. Several international NGOs came under government pressure that

The perceived unfairness of Kyrgyzstan's parliamentary elections in February 2005 sparked popular unrest that led to the flight and eventual resignation of President Askar Akayev. resembled the early stages of the campaign in Uzbekistan. While Kyrgyzstan, with both a Russian military base and a U.S. base, seems to be trying to straddle the geopolitical divide, Tajikistan is a firm ally of Russia and recently agreed to a permanent base for Russian troops. In addition to military cooperation, the issue of labor migration continued to dominate Russo-

Tajik relations, with the signing of an agreement that would regulate and place restrictions on the flow of migrant workers from Tajikistan to Russia.

Turkmenistan continued to pursue the most repressive and isolationist policies in the entire post-Soviet region. The country went backwards in education and health, and the government showed absolute intolerance for dissent or independent political thought, while pursuing an economic agenda dedicated more to the enrichment of President Saparmurat Niyazov and his cronies than growth and development. A slight relaxation of registration rules for social and religious groups appeared unlikely to produce broader changes in the government's stance toward religious freedom and civil society development.

In the Caucasus, Georgia's new president, Mikhail Saakashvili, earned mixed reviews, embarking on an ambitious program of reform, but simultaneously stirring up conflict with Georgia's autonomous region of Ajara and the separatist regions of South Ossetia and Abkhazia. He also drew criticism for his heavy hand with the



media and determination to push through his reformist agenda at all costs. While an economic blockade and political pressure helped bring Ajara back under Tbilisi's direct control, similar tactics in South Ossetia provoked sporadic fighting and greatly increased tensions.

In Armenia, the political stalemate that began with the widely criticized 2003 elections continued, with opposition members boycotting parliament. The crisis was heightened by demonstrations in April in response to the government's refusal to hold a confidence vote on President Robert Kocharyan that had been recommended by the Constitutional Court after a review of election fraud charges. Police used riot control techniques to break up the demonstrations, and raided the offices of a number of opposition political parties. Both Armenia and Georgia were singled out for assistance reserved for needy but democratizing countries by the U.S. Millennium Challenge Corporation.

After the tumultuous elections of October 2003, Azerbaijan's new president, Ilham Aliyev, son of the previous president, Heydar Aliyev, made few moves to burnish his reformist credentials. A partial explanation may lie in the rumored conflict in the upper echelons of the ruling party between old supporters of the former president and his son's younger allies. On the positive side, an OSI-sponsored coalition of Azerbaijani NGOs joined the government and oil companies in signing an unprecedented agreement to disclose energy revenues under the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative.



The Open Society Institute's participation in Central Asia and the Caucasus began almost 10 years ago as the countries of the region struggled with independence and high expectations of wealth

OSI ACTIVITIES AND ACHIEVEMENTS

from untapped gas and oil resources. OSI's **Central Eurasia Project** (CEP) quickly became

a leader in raising awareness about conditions in the region and stimulating proactive and creative approaches to problems as both a grantmaker and advocate for civil society.

As international involvement in the region and the Middle East expanded so did OSI's presence—in Afghanistan after the war that followed the September 11, 2001, attacks and, two years later, in Iraq after the U.S.-led war toppled Saddam Hussein's government. The need to enhance policy debate became all the more important, especially on key issues such as revenue accountability in Iraq.

In 2001, OSI also established an office in Turkey to help advance reforms prompted by Turkey's application for EU membership. Turkey's bid for EU membership presents a new opportunity for OSI to respond to political change and help develop vital local civil society organizations.



In 2004, OSI's **Revenue Watch** pushed for more democratic accountability in the region's natural resource-rich countries by giving citizens the information, training, networks, and funding to become more effective monitors of government revenues and expenditures. In Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan, Revenue Watch advocated for civil society participation in the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative. In the United States, Revenue Watch and the Publish What You Pay coalition promoted greater U.S. commitment to revenue transparency.

The Central Eurasia Project initiated discussions about how the short-term counterterrorism efforts of the United States complicated the promotion of long-term policy goals in the region, including human rights work and democratization.

CEP aided the regional Soros foundations in addressing the problems of labor migrants, drawing on solutions successfully applied in other parts of the world. Other grants helped highlight the interaction of human rights and environmental abuses in the region's cotton industry. The Budapest-based **Turkmenistan Project** supported civic actors in Turkmenistan, disseminated information about the country, and commissioned investigative reports on human rights violations.

EurasiaNet, the CEP-run online source for regional news and analysis, opened a regional office in Tbilisi, Georgia, to improve coverage of rapidly changing developments in the Caucasus. By the close of 2004, www.eurasianet.org had over 22,000 weekly subscribers, a 20 percent increase from the previous year.

TRANSPARENCY AND ACCOUNTABILITY

In the aftermath of Georgia's "Rose Revolution," which brought democratically elected President Mikhail Saakashvili to power in January 2004, the **Open Society Georgia Foundation** worked on increasing transparency, accountability, and public participation in government. One project established a website for legislative information from parliament that kept civil society groups informed and allowed them to comment on proposed laws.

In Kazahkstan and Azerbaijan, the Soros foundations organized NGO coalitions to call for greater openness regarding oil and gas revenues. The **Open Society Institute Assistance Foundation**–**Azerbaijan** funded a local coalition that helped obtain a commitment from oil companies and the government to increase transparency standards. The **Soros Foundation**–**Kazakhstan** supported an open forum that explored models of efficient civil society control over government revenues.

The **Soros Foundation–Kyrgyzstan** promoted transparency standards and the publication of proposed laws by the media to increase public participation in the legislative process, including in 2004 the development and passage of social services and business regulation laws. The Budget Dialogue project, a joint effort with the Ministry of Finance, supported the training of civil society groups to monitor budgets and participate in their development.

The **Open Society Institute Assistance Foundation–Tajikistan** supported a series of articles by investigative journalists focusing on corruption and transparency in government and public services.

OPEN ELECTIONS

Kazakhstan's 2004 parliamentary elections were marked by significant irregularities. The Soros Foundation–Kazakhstan trained 30 newspaper editors and reporters and organized a competition for stories about election campaigns and democratic practices. Another project promoted political dialogue and communication to make the election process more democratic.
Since OSIAF-Uzbekistan was founded in 1996, the OSI network has spent over \$22 million to aid reform in Uzbekistan, including some \$3.7 million in 2003 on education, public health, arts and culture, and economic and small business support, making it the largest private donor in the country.²

> "Uzbek Government Forces Closure of Local Soros Foundation," OSI statement defending its foundation in Uzbekistan against government attacks, April 18, 2004

To ensure open and fair parliamentary elections in 2005, the Soros Foundation–Kyrgyzstan conducted legal training projects for campaign observers and officials, and a seminar for journalists on the ethics and legal norms of election coverage. With an NGO coalition, the Open Society Institute Assistance Foundation–Azerbaijan worked to increase voter participation in municipal elections. Foundation-supported monitoring of election results revealed a number of deficiencies.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND ACCESS TO JUSTICE

Reforms initiated by the Open Society Institute Assistance Foundation—Tajikistan resulted in the exclusion of capital punishment from the criminal code and a general moratorium on the death penalty. Previously, Tajikistan had among the highest rates of executions per capita in the world. The Foundation provided information for reforms to prevent domestic violence and guarantee rights and protection for victims.

The **Open Society Institute Assistance Foundation–Turkey** supported efforts to introduce legal aid—a novel practice in Turkey—as a crucial activity for groups concerned about protecting the rights of vulnerable populations. The Soros Foundation–Kazakhstan awarded grants to five NGOs that provided free legal aid to indigent clients.

In Kyrgyzstan, the Soros foundation, in cooperation with the Open Society Justice Initiative and the Ministry of Justice, worked to establish a legal aid system. Other human rights projects addressed women's rights, prevention of torture in jails, ensuring fair procedures for prisoners, and protecting the rights of disabled people.

The Open Society Georgia Foundation used the postrevolution period to address lingering problems. A project on the Georgian-Ossetian conflict recommended measures on property restitution, direct negotiations, and balancing autonomy and federal integration. Other Foundation programs trained police academy instructors on when to use force and how to deal with victims.

STRENGTHENING CIVIL SOCIETY

In Armenia, the government's centralization of political power and stifling of discourse led the **Open Society Institute Assistance Foundation–Armenia** to support civil society groups in creating alternative policies and conducting advocacy activities. Its alliance of NGOs, the Partnership for Open Society, initiated debates on

new election laws and opposed the government's attempts to curtail freedom of information laws.

A priority for the Open Society Institute Assistance Foundation-Turkey was providing the public and policymakers in the EU and Turkey with balanced, comprehensive information about Turkey's bid for EU membership. The Foundation helped establish the Independent Commission on Turkey, a group of former European prime ministers, presidents, government ministers, members of parliament, and distinguished scholars. The commission's study, *Turkey in Europe: More than a promise?*, recommended that the EU open accession negotiations with Turkey. It concluded that Turkey's membership would foster open society values in both Turkey and Europe, making the EU more inclusive and stronger in projecting "soft power" in the world.

The **Mongolian Foundation for Open Society** (MFOS) closed in 2004 after establishing several independent NGOs such as the Open Society Forum, the Mongolian Education Alliance, the Art Council of Mongolia, and the Education Advising and Resource Center. The Open Society Forum, the primary successor to MFOS, launched a nonpartisan talk show, established a resource center containing legal texts and economic and political studies, and advocated for, among other legislation, a freedom of information law. The Forum also promoted research on how to incorporate Mongolia's pastoral and nomadic traditions into development policies, land reform, and property privatization.

> These are a few highlights of the 2004 activities of OSI and the Soros foundations in Central Asia and the Caucasus. For more information about the 2004 activities of a particular foundation, visit OSI's website at www.soros.org/about/foundations.

Searching for reconciliation

South Eastern Europe

THE STATE OF OPEN SOCIETY Prospects for joining

the European Union seemed brighter for much of South Eastern Europe after the accession of 10 more countries in 2004. Despite increased hopes, however, progress in the region was uneven. The EU could become a reality for Croatia and even for Macedonia but remains a distant prospect for other countries in the region.

Political events in 2004 made clear the challenges that lie ahead. In Kosovo, violence between Albanians and Serbs in March left some 20 people dead, hundreds injured, and several churches destroyed. The clashes, which took United Nations administrators by surprise, laid bare the instability in Kosovo, whose status remained unresolved. Parliamentary elections, boycotted by Kosovo Serbs, brought in a new government led by Ibrahim Rugova's Democratic League of Kosovo and Ramush Haradinaj's Alliance for the Future of Kosovo. Haradinaj, a former Kosovo Liberation Army commander, was chosen the new prime minister. A few months later, Haradinaj was indicted for war crimes and surrendered to the tribunal in The Hague.

The political situation in Serbia remained a cause for concern despite the victory of Boris Tadic, a moderate democrat, in the presidential elections. In a close race, Tadic defeated Tomislav Nikolic, the leader of the ultranationalist Serbian Radical Party (SRS), but the SRS remains the single most popular party in Serbia. Serbia's progress toward the EU, slowed by the government's failure to cooperate fully with The Hague tribunal, received a boost in early 2005 when a number of Serbian officials and military officers surrendered to the tribunal. Top Serbian war crimes indictees Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic, however, remained at large.

Municipal elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina did not bring real change, with all the main nationalist parties retaining their support among the electorate. Republika Srpska continued to undermine the key federal institutions and refuse to cooperate with The Hague tribunal, prompting High Representative Paddy Ashdown to replace certain officials and close down its ministries of interior and defense.

Lack of cooperation with The Hague tribunal remains an issue in Croatia as well, even though the government has made progress in its quest to join the EU.

The death of Macedonian president Boris Trajkovski in a March plane crash delayed the government's reform agenda, including the decentralization process mandated by the Ohrid Agreement. Undeterred, the Macedonian political leadership and new president (and former prime minister) Branko Crvenkovski filed an application for EU membership that same month. In July, rioting over a proposed redistricting law exposed the lingering ethnic divisions in the country and led to a referendum on territorial reorganization that was defeated. Prime Minister Hari Kostov resigned in November after only five months in the post. The new government, led by Prime Minister Vlado Buckovski, countered initial doubts about its commitment to change and European integration by strongly pursuing reform and engagement with the EU.

The Soros foundations and OSI have worked to develop peaceful, lawful, tolerant, and democratic states in South Eastern Europe since war and conflict devastated the

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region in the 1990s. For much of the decade, the foundations offered the only

alternative vision to repressive state governments fomenting ethnic hostilities.

Funding covered a wide range of open society issues, including the provision of humanitarian aid. During the siege of Sarajevo in 1993, for example, the Soros foundations provided tens of millions of dollars for humanitarian aid and relief efforts, including the construction of gas and electric lines and two water purification plants as well as the distribution of seeds for family vegetable gardens. In Albania, a special OSI initiative enlisted parents in local education reform and the construction and repair of some 80 schools. These same parents protected the schools from looters during the rioting that took place in 1997 after a financial scandal.

The **Fund for an Open Society**—**Serbia**, during the rule of President Slobodan Milosevic, supported civil society organizations and independent media, which helped citizens participate in elections and democratic political activities. The foundation continued to promote democracy and the rule of law in 2004 by helping strengthen Serbia's judiciary so it can prosecute war criminals once The Hague tribunal's work is finished.





THE FUTURE: EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

A special focus for many Soros foundations in South Eastern Europe is integration into Europe. The **Open Society Institute**– **Croatia** in 2004 launched its Open Society Forum project, which will conduct research and evaluate progress in areas such as education, rule of law, ethnic minorities, and economic development and how they affect Croatia's democratization and European integration efforts.

The Foundation Open Society Institute–Macedonia campaigned for effective decentralization to help the country meet EU membership requirements. Other Foundation programs supported national programs and strategies for education, youth, and information technology, as well as a freedom of information law, anticorruption initiatives, and integration efforts aimed at Roma and other groups within Macedonia's multiethnic society. With the Network Arts and Culture Program, the Foundation organized a forum on multiculturalism to explore ways of using art to address ethnic identity issues.

The Fund for an Open Society–Serbia supported efforts to draft a national strategy for joining the EU, which includes harmonizing Serbia's policies to EU criteria and building a national consensus on Serbia's role in Europe.

ETHNIC ISSUES, MINORITIES, ROMA

The **Open Society Foundation for Albania** helped vulnerable and marginalized groups, particularly the Roma, by supporting a new community center for Romani youth and children in the city of Elbasan. OSI–Croatia's pilot project in the town of Beli Manastir serves as a model of integrated Romani education. It provides preschool support, an after-school mentors' program, professional and antibias education for teachers, and education and entrepreneurship classes for Romani parents. In Montenegro, a pilot program in three kindergartens and four primary schools resulted in a 40 percent higher enrollment for Romani pupils.

As part of its efforts to promote ethnic diversity, the **Kosova Foundation for Open Society** focused many of its programs on working with Serbian and other ethnic communities to promote democratic values and public participation.

The Institute for Public Policy (IPP), a spin-off of the **Soros Foundation**– **Moldova**, and other civil society groups concluded that the unresolved conflict between the Moldovan government and Transnistrian separatists could only be settled by demilitarizing the separatist zone, decriminalizing participants, and democratizing the reunited country. IPP helped put problems that Moldova faces, such as fragile civil society institutions, undue Russian influence, poverty, and corruption, on the agendas of American and European institutions.

PUBLIC POLICY DEVELOPMENT

The international community's dominant role in setting the policy agenda in Bosnia and Herzegovina is often used to explain the lack of policy development efforts by the national government, the local academic community, and NGOs. To improve the situation, the **Open Society Fund–Bosnia and Herzegovina** launched a three-year program to encourage a policymaking culture based on information and evidence. The program awarded eight fellowships to conduct research and advocacy. The Fund also piloted its "good local governance" program in five municipalities in an effort to transform local governance structures into modern, transparent systems that provide efficient public services.

The Kosova Foundation for Open Society joined with the United Nations Development Program and Kosovo authorities to improve public administration by helping senior and middle managers learn skills that advance reform efforts and increase accountability. Forum 2015, a partnership between the foundation and a local policy institute, supported discussions of pressing political and social issues, including the electoral system, privatization, and higher education reform. Sixteen foundation fellows wrote policy reform studies on European integration, the country's economy, and minority rights.

EDUCATION REFORM

The Kosova Education Center (KEC), created by the Foundation in 2000, established the Third Millennium School, a private school that will generate revenues to secure KEC's long-term sustainability. In Montenegro, 2004 was marked by the introduction of a new primary education system in 20 pilot schools, the culmination of four years of education reform work by the **Foundation Open Society Institute– Representative Office Montenegro**. **66** If Serbia is to move forward, it needs to overcome its own myopia, pull itself out of its denial, and make a clean break with the nationalist folly of the past 15 years.

> Laura Silber, OSI senior policy advisor, on the election of moderate Boris Tadic as president, *International Herald Tribune* op-ed, July 6, 2004



Education reform came up against a few obstacles. In Serbia, a new government, elected in March, first halted all reforms in education. Pressure by local NGOs and former education officials concerned about reform, as well as extensive media coverage within the country, forced the appointment of a new education minister.

OTHER REFORMS

With support from the Soros Foundation—Moldova, the Institute for Penal Reform worked for alternatives to imprisonment, including community sanctions, probation, and mediation in criminal cases. In the area of judicial reform, the Foundation in Montenegro organized discussions on draft laws dealing with witness protection and court fees, and helped monitor the implementation of the new campaign finance laws. The Women's Program helped persuade five Montenegrin municipalities to establish a network of SOS hotlines and local institutions to help victims of domestic violence. The program also organized a regional conference for NGOs and textbook publishers on gender stereotypes in primary school textbooks.

ELECTIONS AND POLITICS

The Open Society Foundation for Albania pursued its efforts to empower citizens by organizing a "get out the vote" campaign and encouraging mayors elected in 2003 to account for their campaign promises.

In Moldova, despite the verbal commitment of the country's top leaders to advance European principles in order to join the European Union, the governing Communist Party moved to limit freedom of expression and information and curtail judicial independence. Ahead of parliamentary elections in early 2005, the party also intimidated and arrested opposition leaders. To counter this, the Foundation, along with other international donors, supported the creation of a coalition of 193 organizations to ensure free and fair elections.

OSI initiatives and Soros foundations in South Eastern Europe continued to collaborate in 2004 as directors met in Tirana and Dubrovnik to develop projects on relations with the EU, education reform, anticorruption policy, and security and human rights, and to explore the establishment of a regional center to fight organized crime. Each of the foundations has strong programs and advocacy strategies focused on helping to craft government policy. Yet, unless the momentum for political and economic reform necessary for European integration is sustainable, the region risks becoming further alienated from its neighbors and the outside world.

These are a few highlights of the 2004 activities of OSI and the Soros foundations in South Eastern Europe (Bulgaria and Romania appear in the Central and Eastern Europe section). For more information about the 2004 activities of a particular foundation, visit OSI's website at www.soros.org/about/foundations.

Joining the European family

Central and Eastern Europe

THE STATE OF OPEN SOCIETY The Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia joined the European Union in May 2004, completing the arduous transition from communism to open, democratic societies. At the time of accession, these countries were maturing as democracies and had viable market economies. The prospect of EU membership was a principal driving force in establishing guarantees for the rule of law, democratic institutions, economic reforms, media freedom, and respect for human and civil rights. Two other Central and Eastern European countries, Bulgaria and Romania, are a few years and a number of reforms away from joining their neighbors in the EU—though their accession seems all but certain.

> Corruption remains a pernicious problem in the region, permeating public life, including the spheres of law enforcement, justice, health services, and education. While corruption may be high on public agendas, the region has yet to find successful ways to combat it. For OSI, anticorruption is a priority. The Open Society Fund–Prague, for instance, funded an array of projects that analyzed the issue in the Czech Republic, reported on specific instances of corruption, and recommended reforms. The Stefan Batory Foundation in Poland conducted campaigns, research, and monitoring focused on corruption, establishing itself as a leading source for anticorruption policy analysis.

> The status of the Roma, Europe's largest ethnic minority with a population of eight million people, continues to pose vast challenges for old and new EU members as well as countries aspiring to membership. Despite some encouraging developments, Roma still lack adequate access to education, housing, employment, health care, and social services. They are also periodically the victims of violent outbursts



of racism in the region. Riots in Slovakia in the spring of 2004, triggered by social inequalities, underscored the volatility of their situation.

The Decade of Roma Inclusion (2005–2015), supported by the Open Society Institute and the World Bank, and endorsed by Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Macedonia, Romania, Serbia and Montenegro, and Slovakia, is an effort to improve the quality of life for Roma in the region. The Roma Education Fund, established in 2004 at a pledging conference in Paris, received about \$42 million in commitments from donors. The Decade represents an unprecedented partnership on the Romani issue between bilateral and multilateral organizations and private foundations. National governments need to remain committed to make the Decade a success.



Hungary was the first of George Soros's foundations in Central and Eastern Europe, opening in 1984. In the early years, Soros provided photocopiers to

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nongovernmental organizations to encourage the spread of information

and alternative views. The practical use of all forms of "information technology" would later spread in other countries to community radio, independent media, and, of course, the Internet.

During and after the fall of communism, the Soros network of foundations expanded throughout the region. Since then, the Soros foundations and the Open Society Institute have worked to establish stable, open societies, a goal that appeared closer with the acceptance of eight of the region's countries as EU members in 2004. OSI's contribution was significant. The Soros foundations were at the forefront of institutions supporting or directly sponsoring programs that reformed education, legal systems, media, and other areas crucial to open society.

As OSI further reduces its funding in the region, the foundations are focusing their resources on problems that mar even the most advanced open societies: corruption, unfair systems of justice, and the mistreatment of minorities. Addressing these flaws is made easier by the institutions and practices of open society that now exist, from regular, free, and fair elections to a well-developed civil society.

In 2004, the region's Soros foundations, shifting their focus to advocacy and policy work, helped establish a network of policy centers. With OSI's Local Government Initiative, they created the Policy Association for an Open Society (PASOS). Its 22 policy centers advise the region's decision makers and international organizations on issues ranging from human rights to small enterprise development. The Slovenian Peace Institute, funded by OSI, is engaged in drafting strategies for NGOs and supporting projects focused on media, trafficking, citizenship, and marginalized groups.

EUROPEAN UNION

European integration occupied the Soros foundations in Central and Eastern Europe throughout the year. The foundations in the Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and other new EU states supported and advised civil society organizations on the planning, monitoring, and use of EU development aid. A joint project of the **Open Society Fund–Prague** and the Trust for Civil Society in Central and Eastern Europe, for example, supported initiatives that disseminated information about the EU and provided training to help Czech NGOs submit EU project proposals. A project initiated by an **Open Society Fund–Lithuania** grantee and Transparency International–Lithuania monitored the appropriation and use of EU structural funds by the government with the aim of promoting transparency and accountability. Foundation activities in Bulgaria and Romania—two countries still in the accession process—focused on preparing these countries for admission. The **Open Society Institute–Sofia** and the Bulgarian Council of Ministers started a program to increase the capacity of state agencies to absorb EU pre-accession and structural funds by training civil servants and supporting research on European integration issues such as fiscal decentralization.

The **Open Society Foundation–Romania** produced its second country report, which documented the country's lack of progress in securing judicial independence, fighting corruption, respecting press freedoms, and ensuring gender equality. The Foundation's recommendations included establishing indicators for equal pay for equal work and the reform of mental health institutions to secure the human rights and adequate treatment of patients.

EU NEIGHBORS

OSI and the Soros foundations are also helping to transfer the experiences of the new member states to countries hoping to join the EU. OSI's EUMAP monitors the development of human rights and rule of law standards in both member states and candidate countries. The program has published reports and recommendations on media, anticorruption, minority protection, equal opportunities (including for persons with mental disabilities), and judicial independence.

The **Open Estonia Foundation** and the **Stefan Batory Foundation** in Poland initiated programs to empower civil society in neighboring countries aspiring to EU membership. Both foundations supported the sending of observers to the 2004. Ukrainian elections. The Stefan Batory Foundation's visa monitoring project, conducted in cooperation with 11 organizations from Ukraine, Russia, and Belarus, contributed to advocacy efforts that helped minimize inconveniences for visitors from these three countries.

OSI's East East Program served as an important resource for Hungarian NGOs looking to network and build partnerships with other groups in the region. It funded projects between Hungarian NGOs and partners in Albania, Romania, and Slovenia. The **Soros Foundation–Hungary** completed its EU Program by organizing a national conference entitled "Civic Participation and EU Resources 2007–2013."

Can Europe afford not to change its educational practices to become more inclusive? Poor educational outcomes are not only a problem for Roma people, but also for the countries they live in. In an era of declining birth rates, impending labor shortages, and growing demands on citizens, no country can afford to have a substantial part of its population without adequate skills for citizenship and employment.

> Christina McDonald, program manager of OSI's Roma Education Initiative, "The Education of Roma Children," eumap.org feature article, February 6, 2004

CORRUPTION

According to Transparency International (TI), corruption in the Czech Republic worsened during the year. The Open Society Fund—Prague worked with the local TI chapter and two partner NGOs on developing a new law on conflicts of interest in public administration and public procurement issues. The Centre for Public Policy PROVIDUS, established by the **Soros Foundation**—**Latvia** in 2002, has become a leading independent resource on anticorruption and good governance. PROVIDUS contributed to draft legislation on political parties, election campaigns, and conflicts of interest. Parliament commissioned Providus to draft its code of ethics. The Stefan Batory Foundation combated corruption and promoted political accountability with a number of initiatives to improve transparency in municipal governments.

The Open Society Foundation–Romania took measures to ensure that the 2004 general elections ran smoothly. The Foundation sent observers to newly established polling stations outside the country's borders to discourage fraud. It also funded the Coalition for a Clean Parliament to monitor all general election candidates for possible corruption and conflict of interest. The monitoring resulted in the removal of a number of candidates from the ballot by their parties.

The impeachment of Lithuanian President Rolandas Paksas for corruption revealed that negative practices inherited from the Soviet past still hindered the development of democracy. The Open Society Fund–Lithuania supported demands for greater transparency in the impeachment process and public access to information.

GOOD GOVERNANCE

The Open Society Foundation—Romania initiated a number of "election watch" projects, including the Wall of Wishes that involved inviting citizens from eight towns to write their comments about community problems and their expectations of elected officials on a designated wall in a well-used public space. More than 25,000 citizens stopped to read or write messages, and the project attracted significant media attention.

The Open Society Institute—Sofia initiated monitoring of the Sofia Municipal Council, evaluating, among other things, the effectiveness of public resource distribution and the degree of public participation in the decision-making process. In cooperation with the Polish-American Freedom Foundation and Poland's largest daily paper, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, the Stefan Batory Foundation launched Transparent Poland, a national project promoting transparency and accountability standards for municipal government. The Open Estonia Foundation conducted a study on developing effective methods to increase public participation in policymaking. The study's findings prompted the government to develop consultation codes to increase NGO involvement in making policy.

ROMA/MINORITIES

Romani community centers supported by OSI–Sofia served as mediators with local governments on unemployment, education, health care, housing, and access to public services. In cooperation with the Step by Step Association, OSF–Prague developed a multiyear project to strengthen Romani nonprofit organizations.

The **Open Society Foundation**—**Bratislava** organized trainings for Romani NGOs on Slovak and international law, supported staff development programs, and helped establish 10 Romani community centers. In four locations, the Foundation worked to integrate Romani children into local schools.

Soros foundations also sought to help other minorities. A competition sponsored by OSI–Sofia promoted minority media for the Turkish and Armenian communities as well as the Roma. The Soros Foundation–Latvia launched a Latvian and Russian language website to promote diversity and tolerance and close the divide between the two groups.

GENDER EQUALITY

OSF-Prague's Women's Program focused on increasing women's political participation and representation, expanding equal opportunities for women, eliminating gender-based labor discrimination, and ending violence against women. The Gender Program of the Open Estonia Foundation produced a program on genderbased wage discrepancies that generated debate in the media. The Slovak-Czech Women's Fund, a spin-off of the Soros foundations in Slovakia and the Czech Republic, continued working on issues such as violence against women, Romani women's initiatives, reproductive rights, and gender and education.

PUBLIC HEALTH

With an NGO partner, Free Choice, OSF–Bratislava initiated public debate on criminalization of drug use and drug possession issues, prompting the government to reform the penal code. OSI's International Harm Reduction Development program supported the development of Slovakia's first university course on harm reduction, which will serve as a pilot for the region.

OSF-Lithuania formed a coalition of 13 NGOs to advocate for the inclusion of harm reduction practices and the involvement of drug users and people living with HIV/AIDS in decision making about drug programs and public health. The Public Health Program of OSI-Sofia continued to support the development of services for the mentally disabled and conducted a media campaign to raise public awareness about their rights.

STRENGTHENING CIVIL SOCIETY

A basic goal of Soros foundations in the region is finding ways to strengthen civil society so that other groups can carry on the work of effective open society programs. In the three Baltic countries, for example, the OSI-supported Baltic-American Partnership Program gave funding to NGOs working to sustain participatory democracy and civil society and address environmental issues, disabled people, youth, and rural and regional development.

The Soros Foundation–Hungary provided institutional grants to key NGO sector players and, in cooperation with the Business Basics Foundation, awarded low-interest loans to organizations that had secured funding from other sources but had yet to receive the money.

The Soros Foundation–Latvia mobilized opinion leaders to reaffirm the right of civic organizations to freedom of expression and democratic participation in response to moves by influential politicians, business interests, and media under their control to defame civil society groups and question their right to "meddle in politics."

With funding concluding in many areas, OSF–Prague spun off a number of programs as independent nonprofit entities. The Foundation increased its endowment to ensure sustainability.

These are a few highlights of the 2004 activities of OSI and the Soros foundations in Central and Eastern Europe. For more information about the 2004 activities of a particular foundation, visit OSI's website at www.soros.org/about/foundations.

Pursuing free and fair elections

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THE STATE OF OPEN SOCIETY After enduring rampant corruption and authoritarian practices in the public sector for years, hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians demonstrated in 2004 against a fraudulent presidential election and forced a new vote. The winner, Viktor Yushchenko, wants to wrench Ukraine from its post-Soviet stagnation and reorient its political and social policies toward Europe.

Domestic civil society organizations played a defining role in the election, mobilizing the vote, educating election observers, monitoring the voting, conducting exit polls, and protesting the fraudulent results of the November election. The evidence from the monitoring projects and exit polls helped convince Ukraine's Supreme Court that the incumbent administration had committed election fraud and that a new round of voting was necessary.

Russia, in contrast to the progressive developments in Ukraine, followed a different political trajectory. Bolstered by the overwhelming triumph of his parliamentary allies in 2003 and his own successful re-election in March 2004, Russian president Vladimir Putin proposed to revamp the electoral system, which opponents charged he could already manipulate to his advantage. The parliament easily approved Putin's request to make all Duma seats subject to proportional representation and to allow the president to nominate all regional governors. With the former opposition out of the present parliament, voices of dissent are increasingly scarce.

The situation was hardly better in other areas important to open society. Russia's dwindling independent media organizations continued to face harassment and intimidation. The embezzlement and tax evasion trial of Mikhail Khodorkovsky, the former head of oil giant Yukos, and the forced disintegration of the company scared much of the business community into avoiding any disruption of the prevailing political order. Selective and arbitrary harassment of NGOs continued while the state sought to co-opt civil society actors and institutions into state bodies. The war in Chechnya raged on unimpeded following the massacre in Beslan, where the taking of hostages at a school and the subsequent counterattack by government forces left over 300 dead.

George Soros has a long philanthropic association with Russia. Through his Moscow-based foundation he spent nearly \$1 billion in Russia from 1987 to

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2002 on programs attempting to establish the principles and

practices of open society. The **Open Society Institute–Russia** spearheaded a campaign to bring Internet service to rural areas, helped fill the shelves of local and rural libraries with hundreds of new titles by Russian authors, and promoted initiatives in education that, among other accomplishments, funded the production of new textbooks and helped train teachers and university professors. OSI's International Science Foundation provided approximately \$100 million in salary supplements to Russian scientists to sustain their scientific work and to keep them from emigrating during the transition period in the 1990s.

OSI-Russia spent another \$100 million on public health issues ranging from tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS, to mental disability advocacy, to support for schools of public health. OSI pioneered a project to introduce a successful multi-drug resistant TB treatment model to Russia's prison populations—an approach that has served as a stepping stone to equitable, comprehensive TB treatment elsewhere in Russia and other countries.

OSI support for activities in Russia in 2004 was administered through network programs and other OSI bodies. Eleven former OSI—Russia programs, now functioning as independent organizations, received funding for their work promoting tolerance, strengthening civil society, and maintaining the rule of law. Three regional foundations in Nizhni Novgorod, St. Petersburg, and Novosibirsk also obtained support. Another OSI grantee, the Open Health Institute, helped lead a consortium that disseminated funds in Russia from the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria.

Due to the deteriorating conditions for open society in Russia, OSI will continue to provide sustained support for activities critical to its core mission, in-

George Soros, "Putin's Heavy Hand Could Halt Russia's Rise," *International Herald Tribune* op-ed, June 16, 2004



cluding fostering independent media to broaden access to information and ongoing work with human rights activists.

DEMOCRATIC TRANSFORMATION

In Ukraine, OSI and the **International Renaissance Foundation** (IRF) concentrated on ensuring free and fair elections. IRF supported various umbrella networks and individual civic and human rights NGOs engaged in voter mobilization and election monitoring. Efforts were also made to provide legal protection and counsel to citizen groups and voter associations particularly vulnerable to intimidation and criminal prosecution.

IRF paid particular attention to access to information and independent media issues surrounding the presidential elections. The Foundation initiated and supported the publishing of a news digest that offered expert opinion and analysis of the election process and received wide attention, particularly in the regional press. In addition, IRF supported media trade unions in their attempts to organize journalists to resist government censorship and pressure.

All of these efforts ran up against the departing administration's attempts to control information and interfere with remaining institutional protections. In the end, however, Ukraine's notorious *temniki*, a system of content directives issued by the state to censor the news media, was simply overrun and outflanked by a liberated print and television media, both public and private, during last winter's democratic transformation.

To strengthen advocacy skills, IRF is working on the establishment of a school for public advocacy, which will offer training and resources to civil society leaders organizing advocacy campaigns. To improve equal access to universities, the foundation began a pilot testing center that will increase transparency in the examination process and reduce discrimination based on residency, financial status, and gender. The Foundation launched its European Program to enhance the capacity of civil society organizations to help develop relations between Ukraine and the European Union.

These are a few highlights of the 2004 activities of OSI and the Soros foundations in Russia and Ukraine. For more information about the 2004 activities of a particular foundation, visit OSI's website at www.soros.org/about/foundations.

Addressing sovereignty problems

Africa

THE PARTY AND THE PARTY

THE STATE OF OPEN SOCIETY Questions of sovereignty heightened tensions in 2004. Sudan rejected the intervention of other African states wanting to bring an end to the genocide in Darfur. The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and Rwanda argued over responsibility for the illegal activities of leftover rebel units in the DRC's eastern mineral-rich provinces. Civil society groups in South Africa and elsewhere redefined their relationships with the state to pursue economic justice and government accountability.

> A number of countries held elections: Algeria, Botswana, Ghana, Guinea Bissau, Namibia, Niger, Malawi, Mozambique, and South Africa. Botswana, Ghana, and Mozambique saw peaceful transfers of power, affirming the effectiveness of multiparty systems and legitimate, participatory elections. Independent electoral monitoring and the establishment of continental as well as regional standards aided the development of free and fair elections. The Southern African Development Community (SADC), for example, agreed to a set of principles and guidelines for democratic elections.

> Anticorruption agendas pursued by both states and civil society groups focused on the dangers to legitimacy and sovereignty posed by the illegal and abusive use of public resources. After years of endemic corruption, voters in Malawi elected a new president, economist Bingu wa Mutharika, who vowed to prosecute corrupt officials at the highest level, including his predecessor Bakili Muluzi. Across the continent, civil society groups pressured governments and multinational corporations to act responsibly and protect the rights and resources of all Africans. Campaigns for debt cancellation and transparency and accountability gained momentum through the work of coalitions such as Publish What You Pay, which challenged oil companies to reveal their payments to governments.

> The violence and chaos caused by failing or failed states forced other African governments and institutions such as the African Union to address issues of humanitarian intervention. Questions long trumped by sovereignty were reconsidered: How should other states act when human rights are increasingly



violated in neighboring countries? How should the continent respond to what others call genocide? Creation of the Peace and Security Council, the African Union's "security council," offered new possibilities for addressing these questions.

Conflicts in Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Ivory Coast, Somalia, Sudan, northern Uganda, and Zimbabwe prompted debates over intervention. Policymakers explored established models of intervention such as a state acting with international community support, as in Sierra Leone, and newer approaches such as in Burundi, where South Africa provides security for the peace process. There was renewed talk about the formation of a standing African army, but few ideas about how to end continued low intensity conflict in the province of Cabinda in Angola, as well as in Guinea, Nigeria, and Swaziland.

NEPAD (New Partnership for Africa's Development), Africa's development pact with the West, launched its peer review process with 21 countries signing up for the monitoring of each other's political and economic governance. Leaders are keen to have their countries score well and prove their legitimacy to other nations. African leaders also see NEPAD as a way of bringing their countries together into a stronger collective as they seek to create more balanced relationships with donor governments in the West.

Through debates on debt cancellation, fair trading policies, and labor relations, African government officials hope to reverse their own lack of sovereignty in dealing with the West, a relationship that remains stuck in colonial patterns. George Soros's first efforts in Africa came in 1979 when he provided scholarships to help black students attend the University of Cape Town in apartheid South Africa.

OSI ACTIVITIES AND ACHIEVEMENTS

The year before apartheid finally ended in 1994, he created the

Open Society Foundation for South Africa (OSF–SA) to support the transition process by establishing democratic institutions and practices. The Foundation pioneered support for community radio as a way to promote democratic participation and inform people about important subjects such as HIV prevention. In partnership with the government, OSI also founded and supported Nurcha, a South African NGO that has contributed to the construction of over 160,000 low-cost houses for more than 800,000 people.

OSI's work on the continent expanded in the late 1990s from South Africa to 27 other countries in southern and western Africa. The **Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa** (OSISA) and the **Open Society Initiative for West Africa** (OSIWA) joined the Open Society Foundation for South Africa in supporting programs dealing with independent media, education restructuring, economic and legal reform, peace and reconciliation efforts, and the human, social, and economic consequences of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Currently, OSI is extending its work to east Africa through the establishment of a Kenya initiative.

ELECTIONS

South Africa's democratic transition completed its first decade in 2004 with an overwhelming electoral victory for South Africa's ruling party, the African National Congress. The Open Society Foundation for South Africa supported civil society groups promoting voter participation, particularly among farm workers and the rural poor, who are often marginalized in the electoral process. The Foundation also funded a consortium to monitor voting in the eastern part of the country, where political party violence has marred previous elections.

To combat apathy among young voters, OSF–SA, in partnership with the South African Broadcasting Corporation, funded a TV series called *You Snooze, You Lose.* The series provided opportunities for young people to debate issues and express their feelings of alienation from politics and democracy.

The Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa supported the monitoring of elections in Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique, and Namibia. In Malawi, OSISA also helped increase the skills of civil society groups in analyzing political party campaign platforms.



COMMUNITY RADIO AND MEDIA

The South Africa foundation collected its experiences supporting community radio into a report, Community Voices Over a Decade: OSF-SA and Community Radio, which shows the power of radio to promote democracy, particularly in poor communities long suppressed by the apartheid regime and its unrelenting control of the media. OSISA took advantage of these experiences by partnering with South Africa's Bush Radio, one of the region's oldest and most successful community radio projects. Staff from OSISA-associated radio stations will train at Bush Radio. Both OSF-SA and OSISA collaborated with Gender Links to study the under- and misrepresentation of women in the media and advocate for improvements.

OSF-SA strengthened media freedom with support for the Freedom of Expression Institute, Women's Media Watch, Gender Links, Media Monitoring Project, the Media Institute of Southern Africa, and the Institute for the Advancement of Journalism. It also supported two social documentaries: Mother's House, set in a povertystricken, gang-run neighborhood, documented the lives of three generations of women living in a world dominated by violent patriarchy. Caramel Girl depicted a family's experience of forced removal and the search for history and identity.

Charles Taylor has been charged with war crimes and crimes against humanity by the Special Court for Sierra Leone, an internationalized court brokered by the United Nations. Nigeria cannot permit him to purport to enjoy refugee status or political asylum in Nigeria. If Nigeria is not willing to prosecute Charles Taylor, it must extradite him to the Special Court for Sierra Leone to stand trial on the charges against him.²

> Open Society Justice Initiative, friend of the court brief on Charles Taylor, former president of Liberia, filed with Nigeria's Federal High Court, November 29, 2004
The Open Society Initiative for West Africa supported the training of young documentary filmmakers focusing on social issues such as education and HIV/AIDS. It also worked to provide citizens, especially those in remote rural areas, with access to information and communications technology.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

The South Africa foundation's crime prevention program, which will become an independent institution in 2005, focused on support for rehabilitation and restoration efforts, instead of punitive approaches to crime. OSF–SA also contributed to efforts to increase civil society oversight of police conduct and prison operations. In Nigeria, OSIWA supported an audit of the prisons, resulting in recommendations to address the problem of overcrowding.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEMOCRACY

OSISA designated Angola, Swaziland, and Zimbabwe as "crisis zone" countries requiring increased and sustained attention. With the Mario Soares Foundation, it hosted an advocacy meeting in Portugal, where speakers from Angola's diamondmining Eastern Lunda provinces highlighted human rights abuses and corruption.

OSIWA organized a meeting to familiarize participants with the role of the Economic Community of West African States Court of Justice in protecting the rights of citizens in its 15 member states. OSIWA also sought to make justice more accessible by supporting legal aid and alternative dispute resolution projects in Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Ghana, and Cameroon. These efforts have resulted in a large number of successful court settlements.

The Africa Governance Monitoring and Advocacy Project (AfriMAP), was established in 2004 to monitor African Union (AU) member states' compliance with AU standards for good governance, democracy, human rights, and the rule of law. AfriMAP, working closely with Soros foundations in South Africa, Southern Africa, and West Africa, plans to publish reports in 2005 on the justice sector and rule of law in Ghana, Mozambique, Senegal, and South Africa.

> These are a few highlights of the 2004 activities of OSI and the Soros foundations in Africa. For more information about the 2004 activities of a particular foundation, visit OSI's website at www.soros.org/about/foundations.

Coping with disasters







THE STATE OF OPEN SOCIETY Southeast Asia seemed relatively calm throughout 2004—until the horrifying catastrophe caused by the Indian Ocean tsunami at year's end. The disaster brought unprecedented attention to a region usually receiving little attention from the international media.

Before the tsunami, the economies of Southeast Asian states—many fueled by tourist dollars—were still recovering from the global financial crisis of the late 1990s. During the course of the year, leadership changes took place smoothly in Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore. Civil society throughout the region, however, lost substantial ground to narrow business interests, and, in some countries, democratic development was in danger of being sidelined by popularly elected oligarchs.

There were also trouble spots, but these were eclipsed by the global media spotlight on Iraq. Southern Thailand erupted in religious violence. Indonesia suffered a spate of terrorist bombings. The civil war in Aceh was virtually forgotten until the tsunami devastated the province's northern capital of Banda Aceh. The tragedy refocused global attention, albeit briefly, on the struggle for autonomy in the oil-rich province.

Natural disasters often bring renewed scrutiny to the man-made disasters of the affected region. The tsunami was a reminder that with almost every part of the world accessible to tourism today, calamities are by definition global. Modern technology guarantees the entire world immediate, around-the-clock coverage, no doubt the basis for the massive outpouring of concern and promises of assistance to the tsunami's victims.

Similarly, the tsunami also brought into sharper relief some of the region's ongoing problems: the underreported civil wars in isolated places like Aceh; the vulnerability of children to trafficking, particularly after family deaths and separation during a natural disaster; the plight of migrant workers, such as the mostly undocumented Burmese in Thailand, who survived the tsunami only to face arrest or deportation; and the opportunities for corruption offered by large-scale aid.

In Thailand, the tsunami diverted the public's attention from Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra's strong-arm tactics in addressing a serious crisis in southern Thailand. Through the last half of 2004, over 400 people had been killed in violent clashes between the Thai Army and dissidents in the predominantly Muslim south. In November alone, 80 young Muslim men were killed, suffocated, and their necks broken, after 1,300 peaceful protesters were stripped and jammed into six army trucks and driven for hours to interrogation centers.

Wide criticism of the treatment of dissidents had preoccupied the nation for months. But the intense coverage of Thaksin with tsunami victims by Thai media—effectively owned or controlled by the prime minister, his family, or cronies—boosted his popularity, assuring his re-election in early 2005.

In only a few years, Thailand has gone from a popular democracy to a democratically elected autocracy. Extremely image conscious, the Western-educated Thaksin has won over the Thai electorate—particularly the rural population—by promising inexpensive medical check-ups, huge government grants to villages, and easy loans to farmers. Thailand's once vibrant media and civil society groups, including many that were swayed by Thaksin's rhetoric, have been largely marginalized.

Freedom of expression came under enormous pressure in other parts of the region as well. In the Philippines, 13 journalists were killed, presumably for doing their jobs. *TEMPO*, Indonesia's best known newsweekly, faced criminal libel charges.

Another stark example of the dangerous forces at play in Indonesia's gradual transition to democracy was the apparent murder of Munir Said Thalib, one of the country's foremost human rights advocates. On September 7, the 38-year-old Munir died from an overdose of arsenic aboard a Garuda Airlines flight from Jakarta to Amsterdam. As director of two prominent Indonesian rights organizations, both OSI grantees, Munir made many enemies with his investigations linking senior military officers to human rights abuses. The investigation into his death has dragged on, with no one yet indicted.

Prospects for a speedy and peaceful reconciliation in Burma, already bleak, became even bleaker with shifts in the military power structure. In a nationwide purge, the secretive Burmese junta ousted Gen. Khin Nyunt as prime minister. Khin Nyunt was considered a relative "moderate" and a proponent of dialogue with detained democracy leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. His successor as prime minister is Lt. Gen. Soe Win, commander of the military division that crushed pro-democracy demonstrations in 1988. He also directed two violent attacks against Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and her political party, the National League for Democracy; one, a vicious assault in May 2003, caused many fatalities. Since then Daw Aung San Suu Kyi has been under strict house arrest and virtually incommunicado, without a phone or fax. Diplomats and UN officials are not allowed to visit her. International appeals asking about her safety and security have been ignored by the military regime.

As a result of its limited ability to effect change directly inside the country, OSI's **Burma Project** has sought, for over a decade, to empower Burmese

OSI ACTIVITIES AND ACHIEVEMENTS

and minority ethnic groups living along

the border with India and Thailand, and to enhance international advocacy efforts on Burma policies. The Burma Project has helped increase pressure on the repressive military government while keeping hopes for democracy alive within the country.

Though it may seem premature, the Burma Project is preparing for an eventual transition to democracy in Burma. In addition to strengthening the capacity of Burmese groups at the border, the project is trying to help people inside Burma anticipate the complex challenges of transition. In 2004, OSI funded more cross-border projects, involving Burmese training Burmese, a strategic move to encourage pressure for political change.

Over the past five years, OSI has become active throughout Southeast Asia, recognizing the mutual importance of open society to Burma and its neighbors. There has been some progress, but 2004 brought a measure of backsliding for democracy in the region. OSI's **Southeast Asia Initiative** and the East East Program: Partnership Beyond Borders cohosted a twoday brainstorming session in Thailand with regional partners and advisers to measure the extent of democratic "slippage" in Southeast Asia—and draw comparisons with transitioning democracies in the former Soviet bloc. The consensus was clearly that existing institutions, particularly the media and the courts, must be strengthened.

OSI's network programs have gradually expanded their activities into the region. By 2004, East East, Media, Information, Public Health, the





Around the region there is palpable pressure on the Burmese generals to enter into a genuine and sustained dialogue with the democratic forces of the country—including Burma's ethnic leaders—in an effort to end Burma's long nightmare.⁹

> Maureen Aung-Thwin, director of the Burma Project and Southeast Asia Initiative, "Burma: Plus ça Change," in *Asian Security Handbook: Terrorism and the New Security Environment* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 2005)

Justice Initiative, Scholarships, Revenue Watch, and the Local Government Initiative all had some program presence in the region. The effort has been quite challenging. For example, though the information technology industry is quite advanced in Southeast Asia, the strategic use of this technology to further civil society goals is still limited.

In Indonesia, OSI's main partner, the Tifa Foundation, funded a range of programs in 2004, such as monitoring the presidential elections; coordinating NGO strategy on a parliamentary bill to keep the military out of politics; creating a coalition of migrant worker organizations; developing a variety of anticorruption programs; and helping Muslim women's groups advocate for gender and pluralism perspectives within Islam. Several OSI network programs worked collaboratively with Tifa on media law reform, supporting legal aid centers for the press, and securing help for the newsmagazine *TEMPO* in its defense against multiple defamation lawsuits.

BURMA'S TECHNOLOGY REVOLUTION

Information and communications technology (ICT) is a big part of OSI's work along Burma's border. The ICT revolution of the last decade has affected even isolated Burma, especially its urban centers. Computer shops, computer training centers, and Internet cafes (without live connections to the Internet) are beginning to crowd the streets of major cities in Burma. Urban homes own three times as many satellite dishes as telephone lines.

Since the beginning of the Burma Project, computer training has been a staple among its activities. The Project's computer courses in two refugee camps in northern Thailand spun off in 2004 and are now managed by refugee staff, who also maintain the equipment. A group of young Burmese refugees sent on a six-month computer training course to South India have opened a training center and community Internet cafe in Delhi. They are producing a Burmese language website and CD-ROM on democracy and open society, and are helping to develop another Burmese language website (funded by USAID) on democratic transition and globalization that will include lessons and experiences from countries that have undergone transitions from authoritarian rule.

> These are a few highlights of OSI's 2004 activities in Southeast Asia. For more information, visit OSI's website at www.soros.org/initiatives.

Questioning democracy

entre América entre berbean



THE STATE OF OPEN SOCIETY There was growing

awareness and acknowledgment by the international community during 2004 of the erosion of public support for democratic institutions in Latin America. A major study by the United Nations Development Program found declining support for democracy and a growing willingness to accept nondemocratic governments if they could improve the quality of life.



In Venezuela, President Hugo Chavez won a recall referendum despite allegations that he is systematically weakening democratic institutions, while in Ecuador President Lucio Gutierrez (with the support of a congressional majority) fired the entire Supreme Court. In Bolivia, populist political movements with strong support among the indigenous majority continued to destabilize the government and demand a new constitution.

Haiti once again experienced a violent political transition. Massive civic protests against the growing authoritarianism of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide were met with violence by some of his supporters, escalating into an armed conflict between government supporters and insurgent forces led by ex-members of Haiti's disbanded military. Under circumstances that are still disputed, the United States brokered the departure of Aristide and the establishment of a transitional interim government until new elections can be held in 2005. What little economic and political infrastructure existed in Haiti was largely destroyed during the violence, while two major hurricanes devastated what remained.

The appeal of populist authoritarians is one measure of the growing sense among citizens in the region that democracy has not delivered the goods in terms of improving living standards and providing jobs. Another sign is the success of political parties and candidates who promise to reject the austerity policies demanded by international financial institutions. In 2004, Uruguay joined Brazil and Argentina in electing a "leftist" government promising to make poverty reduction and job creation its number one priority.

Despite the growing awareness of deteriorating support for democracy, however, assistance to Latin America by the international community continues to decline. The Scandinavian countries have begun reducing their presence and their financial assistance, and in 2005 British development assistance will be cut in half (largely because of a shift in aid to reconstruction in Iraq). U.S. president George Bush's FY2005 request to Congress proposed to cut aid to Latin America by 10 percent from FY2004, while continuing to move the focus of U.S. assistance from development to security.

There were worrisome signs that U.S. policies toward the region have become less supportive of efforts to strengthen civilian control over state security organs and incorporate international norms into national law. During 2004, the United States withheld, or threatened to withhold, The international community, which reduced its presence in Haiti several years ago in response to the corruption and mismanagement of the government, must now return to help Haiti recover, restore order and stability, and complete the job of establishing truly democratic values and institutions.²²

Ari Korpivaara, OSI senior writer, *Beyond the Mountains: The Unfinished Business of Haiti*, OSI report, June 2004 assistance from countries that refuse to guarantee immunity to members of the U.S. armed forces accused of violating international human rights or humanitarian law.

The commander-in-chief of the U.S. Southern Command publicly questioned the desirability of separating police and military commands, calling for Latin American military forces to play an important role in the fight against organized crime and other civilian law enforcement activities. In bilateral meetings held during a gathering of the hemisphere's defense ministers, the United States urged that Latin American militaries also be given the lead role in the struggle against terrorism, but most of the larger countries in the region rejected the idea.

During 2004, the Latin America Program (LAP) continued to promote greater transparency and accountability on the part of governments in

OSI ACTIVITIES AND ACHIEVEMENTS

Latin America by strengthening three distinct networks

of civil society organizations in the region: those focusing on promoting greater public access to government information; those seeking to monitor government revenues and expenditures; and those concentrating explicitly on anticorruption campaigns. As part of these efforts, LAP launched the first Revenue Watch projects in Mexico and Peru.

LAP also continued to develop and support projects aimed at promoting civilian control of the police and military and a democratic framework for state security operations. Major projects included support for police reform in Peru and Mexico, support for two regional projects to consolidate civilian control over military forces, and establishment of a regional think tank on community policing strategies.

The Latin America Program and the Organization of American States launched the Inter-American Civil Society Partnership Initiative to support organizations promoting the implementation of democracy and human rights agreements approved at hemispheric summit meetings. LAP also encouraged greater subregional cooperation by governments and civil society to resist efforts by the United States to give Latin American militaries a key role in combating organized crime and delinquency.

In Washington, the Latin America Program worked to assure that the United States and other donors provide much-needed emergency assistance and reconstruction aid to Haiti following the political and natural disasters that devastated the island. LAP also pressed, unsuccessfully, for the international force in Haiti to actively disarm the many armed groups that continue to destabilize the country.

Another function of the Latin America Program is to provide oversight and liaison services to the Soros foundations in Haiti and Guatemala.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Economic development was a priority for both the **Fundación Soros–Guatemala** and the **Fondation Connaissance et Liberté** (FOKAL). In cooperation with the Soros Economic Development Fund, the Fundación Soros–Guatemala established the Guatemala Rural Investment Trust Fund, which will invest \$3 million in equity in 20 to 25 small and medium-sized rural enterprises in the western part of the country. FOKAL started a feasibility study for a multifaceted water project for which the foundation will seek funding from the World Bank and the European Commission. As in many other poor countries, increasing access to water is crucial to economic development and environmental protection in Haiti. Organizing water distribution in poor urban and rural communities is also an important tool in resolving conflicts and building democracy by providing resources that work for the common good.

FOKAL and Haiti's NGO community operated under adverse conditions for most of 2004, attempting to respond to one crisis after another with scarce resources. The political violence that culminated in the removal of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide from power on February 29, 2004, paralyzed the country in the early months of the year; then in September, Aristide's partisans, demanding his return, triggered a new wave of violence in the capital. Businesses and schools were looted and burned, over 20 policemen were shot or beheaded, and poor neighborhoods were plagued by rapes, killings, and fear. Haiti was also severely affected by the harsh 2004 Caribbean hurricane season, with floods killing over 4,000 people and leaving hundreds of thousands homeless and without means of subsistence.

INFORMATION AND DEBATE

FOKAL continued to develop its Resource Center as a place for obtaining information and debating issues. The center, with its youth library, cybercafe, exhibit hall, training center, auditorium, and countrywide library network, draws thousands of visitors. In collaboration with UNESCO, FOKAL presented an exhibit that featured Haitian paintings and literary creations inspired by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The exhibit was accompanied by a series of debates on human rights featuring political and legal experts, activists, and artists.

After two years of production and marketing, the 60 episodes of the Guatemala foundation's radio soap opera, *The Heiress*, were broadcast on 74 stations from April through June and consistently received strong listening audience ratings. The soap opera stimulated debate on controversial issues ranging from interethnic relations to racial discrimination, labor disputes, land tenure, and political participation. A separate weekly program, also established by the foundation, further explored issues and historical events addressed by the radio novel.

Another media and information effort that had significant results was the Third International Book Fair. Sponsored by the Guatemala foundation, the fair featured 72 booksellers from 24 countries, hosted 138 cultural events, attracted more than 20,000 people, and promoted literacy, critical thinking, and cultural diversity.

The Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) agreed to join the Guatemala foundation in implementing the Access to Justice Program in 2005. SIDA also agreed to consider projects dealing with labor law, agrarian law and property rights, and nontraditional forms of conflict resolution including indigenous law. The total amount of SIDA's contributions will be \$6 million over several years.

> These are a few highlights of the 2004 activities of OSI and the Soros foundations in Latin America and the Caribbean. For more information about the 2004 activities of a particular foundation, visit OSI's website at www.soros.org/about/foundations.

Expenditures: Regions

OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATION FOR ALBANIA

2004 Expenditures	\$3,831,000
Civil Society	254,000
Criminal Justice	66,000
Culture	245,000
East East	59,000
Economic Reform	249,000
Education	420,000
Ethnic Minorities	75,000
Information	280,000
Law	263,000
Public Administration	440,000
Public Health	412,000
Women's Programs	239,000
Youth Programs	338,000
Other Programs	83,000
Administration	408,000

NOTE: The financial information presented above includes \$59,405, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Education, Public Administration, and Ethnic Minorities. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Albania totaling \$1,247,393, principally for the Albanian Educational Development Program; these grants are not included above.

OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE ASSISTANCE FOUNDATION-ARMENIA

2004 Expenditures	\$1,911,000
Civil Society	196,000
Criminal Justice	88,000
Culture	110,000
East East	75,000
Education	303,000
Information	221,000
Law	205,000
Media	225,000
Public Health	170,000
Women's Programs	101,000
Youth Programs	18,000
Administration	199,000

NOTE: The financial information presented above includes \$82,965, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Law, Civil Society, and Education. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Armenia totaling \$676,233, principally in Law, Education, and Civil Society; these grants are not included above.

OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE ASSISTANCE FOUNDATION-AZERBAIJAN

2004 Expenditures	\$2,861,000
Civil Society	569,000
Criminal Justice	20,000
Culture	134,000
East East	122,000
Economic Reform	4,000
Education	444,000
Information	301,000
Law	123,000
Media	125,000
Public Administration	194,000
Public Health	234,000
Women's Programs	181,000
Youth Programs	64,000
Other Programs	15,000
Administration	331,000

NOTE: The financial information presented above includes \$81,544, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Civil Society and Education. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Azerbaijan totaling \$354,383, principally in Education, Public Health, and Civil Society; these grants are not included above.

OPEN SOCIETY FUND-BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

2004 Expenditures	\$3,400,000
Civil Society	452,000
Criminal Justice	113,000
East East	42,000
Education	489,000
Information	2,000
Law	288,000
Media	20,000
Public Administration	331,000
Public Health	9,000
Roma	251,000
Women's Programs	121,000
Youth Programs	490,000
Other Programs	428,000
Administration	364,000

NOTE: The financial information presented above includes \$231,414, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Youth Programs, Public Administration, and Education. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Bosnia and Herzegovina totaling \$475,642, principally in Media, Education, and Public Health; these grants are not included above.

OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE-SOFIA (BULGARIA)

2004 Expenditures	\$4,745,000
Civil Society	1,194,000
Criminal Justice	598,000
Culture	80,000
East East	81,000
Economic Reform	27,000
Education	633,000
Ethnic Minorities	20,000
Information	17,000
Law	335,000
Public Administration	375,000
Public Health	433,000
Roma	179,000
Youth Programs	5,000
Other Programs	150,000
Administration	618,000

NOTE: The financial information presented above includes \$241,683, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Civil Society, Criminal Justice, and Education. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Bulgaria totaling \$4,471,359, principally in Education, Roma, and Economic Reform; these grants are not included above.

OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE-CROATIA

2004 Expenditures	\$1,088,000
Civil Society	91,000
Culture	5,000
East East	48,000
Economic Reform	192,000
Education	269,000
Information	144,000
Law	8,000
Public Health	66,000
Women's Programs	68,000
Youth Programs	10,000
Administration	187,000

NOTE: The financial information presented above includes \$63,427, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Education, Law, and Economic Reform. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Croatia totaling \$1,035,658, principally in Education, Law, and Economic Reform; these grants are not included above.

OPEN SOCIETY FUND-PRAGUE (CZECH REPUBLIC)

2004 Expenditures	\$1,706,000
Civil Society	261,000
Criminal Justice	130,000
East East	150,000
Education	26,000
Ethnic Minorities	63,000
Law	292,000
Public Health	151,000
Roma	134,000
Women's Programs	261,000
Youth Programs	69,000
Administration	169,000

NOTE: The financial information presented above includes \$452,477, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Civil Society, Law, and Youth Programs. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in the Czech Republic totaling \$503,621, principally in Civil Society, Roma, and Public Administration; these grants are not included above.

OPEN ESTONIA FOUNDATION

2004 Expenditures	\$1,352,000
Civil Society	961,000
East East	113,000
Education	5,000
Public Health	31,000
Women's Programs	88,000
Youth Programs	15,000
Administration	139,000

NOTE: The financial information presented above includes \$622,808, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Civil Society. Other Sorossupported organizations made grants in Estonia totaling \$470,001, principally in Public Administration, Education, and Civil Society; these grants are not included above.

OPEN SOCIETY GEORGIA FOUNDATION

2004 Expenditures	\$3,313,000
Civil Society	5,000
Criminal Justice	135,000
Culture	202,000
East East	116,000
Economic Reform	203,000
Education	471,000
Information	300,000
Law	155,000
Media	155,000
Public Administration	239,000
Public Health	320,000
Women's Programs	225,000
Youth Programs	73,000
Other Programs	318,000
Administration	396,000

NOTE: The financial information presented above includes \$41,183, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Education, Economic Reform, and Arts & Culture. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Georgia totaling \$1,332,900, principally in Education, Media, and Civil Society; these grants are not included above.

FUNDACIÓN SOROS-GUATEMALA

2004 Expenditures	\$2,867,000
Civil Society	857,000
Criminal Justice	222,000
Economic Reform	290,000
Law	148,000
Media	383,000
Public Administration	198,000
Administration	769,000

NOTE: The financial information presented above includes \$192,265, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Media, Civil Society, and Economic Reform. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Guatemala totaling \$22,517, principally in Economic Reform; these grants are not included above.

FONDATION CONNAISSANCE ET LIBERTÉ (HAITI)

2004 Expenditures	\$3,136,000
Civil Society	406,000
Culture	307,000
Economic Reform	567,000
Education	474,000
Information	662,000
Women's Programs	130,000
Youth Programs	26,000
Administration	564,000

NOTE: The financial information presented above includes \$88,048, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Arts & Culture, Education, and Civil Society. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Hait totaling \$120,540, principally in Civil Society and Education; these grants are not included above.

SOROS FOUNDATION-HUNGARY

2004 Expenditures	\$2,471,000
Civil Society	1,680,000
Culture	99,000
East East	141,000
Public Health	110,000
Other Programs	6,000
Administration	435,000

NOTE: The financial information presented above includes \$1,092,320, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Civil Society. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Hungary totaling \$1,499,877, principally in Education, Roma, and Civil Society; these grants are not included above.

SOROS FOUNDATION-KAZAKHSTAN

2004 Expenditures	\$5,078,000
Civil Society	633,000
Conference & Travel	117,000
Criminal Justice	11,000
Culture	43,000
East East	92,000
Economic Reform	21,000
Education	516,000
Information	449,000
Law	39,000
Media	453,000
Public Administration	371,000
Public Health	410,000
Women's Programs	61,000
Youth Programs	214,000
Other Programs	360,000
Administration	1,288,000

NOTE: The financial information presented above includes \$497,633, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Youth Programs, Public Health, and Civil Society. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Kazakhstan, totaling \$1,736,691, principally in Education, Media, and Civil Society; these grants are not included above.

KOSOVA FOUNDATION FOR OPEN SOCIETY

2004 Expenditures	\$2,491,000
Culture	32,000
East East	40,000
Education	429,000
Ethnic Minorities	128,000
Information	61,000
Law	110,000
Media	1,000
Public Administration	560,000
Public Health	32,000
Roma	231,000
Women's Programs	157,000
Youth Programs	492,000
Administration	218,000

NOTE: The financial information presented above includes \$253,840, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Youth Programs, Arts & Culture, and Women's Programs. Other Sorossupported organizations made grants in Kosovo, totaling \$1,083,766, principally in Media, Education, and Public Administration; these grants are not included above.

SOROS FOUNDATION-KYRGYZSTAN

2004 Expenditures	\$4,385,000
Civil Society	281,000
Conference & Travel	97,000
Criminal Justice	20,000
Culture	50,000
East East	58,000
Economic Reform	210,000
Education	497,000
Ethnic Minorities	106,000
Information	220,000
Law	440,000
Media	212,000
Public Administration	412,000
Public Health	630,000
Women's Programs	176,000
Youth Programs	464,000
Other Programs	96,000
Administration	416,000

NOTE: The financial information presented above includes \$604,138, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Youth Programs, Public Health, and Education. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Kyrgyzstan, totaling \$1,542,238, principally in Education, Media and Information; these grants are not included above.

SOROS FOUNDATION-LATVIA

2004 Expenditures	\$2,087,000
Civil Society	792,000
Criminal Justice	297,000
Culture	54,000
East East	56,000
Education	56,000
Ethnic Minorities	94,000
Information	3,000
Law	153,000
Public Administration	159,000
Public Health	111,000
Other Programs	77,000
Administration	235,000

NOTE: The financial information presented above includes \$666,748, funded by non-Soros

entities, principally in Civil Society. Other Sorossupported organizations made grants in Latvia, totaling \$843,060, principally in Education, Civil Society, and Public Health; these grants are not included above.

OPEN SOCIETY FUND-LITHUANIA

2004 Expenditures	\$2,856,000
Civil Society	868,000
Criminal Justice	275,000
East East	179,000
Economic Reform	31,000
Education	17,000
Information	279,000
Law	118,000
Public Administration	244,000
Public Health	346,000
Youth Programs	13,000
Administration	486,000

NOTE: The financial information presented above includes \$572,493, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Civil Society. Other Sorossupported organizations made grants in Lithuania, totaling \$248,089, principally in Women's Programs, Education, and Public Health; these grants are not included above.

FOUNDATION OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE-MACEDONIA

INSTITUTE PRACEBOINIA	
2004 Expenditures	\$7,615,000
Civil Society	1,441,000
Criminal Justice	88,000
Culture	556,000
East East	46,000
Economic Reform	537,000
Education	1,770,000
Information	481,000
Law	159,000
Media	555,000
Public Administration	528,000
Public Health	432,000
Roma	1,000
Women's Programs	131,000
Youth Programs	276,000
Other Programs	83,000
Administration	531,000

NOTE: The financial information presented above includes \$2,764,360, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Civil Society, Education, and Arts & Culture. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Macedonia, totaling \$573,857, principally in Education, Roma, and Law, these grants are not included above.

SOROS FOUNDATION-MOLDOVA

2004 Expenditures	\$4,295,000
Civil Society	445,000
Criminal Justice	20,000
Culture	211,000
East East	149,000
Economic Reform	273,000
Education	429,000
Information	491,000
Law	195,000
Media	359,000
Public Administration	203,000
Public Health	834,000
Roma	1,000
Women's Programs	133,000
Youth Programs	109,000
Other Programs	106,000
Administration	337,000

NOTE: The financial information presented above includes \$864,732, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Public Health, Law, and Economic Reform. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Moldova, totaling \$1,118,793, principally in Education, Public Administration, and Economic Reform; these grants are not included above.

MONGOLIAN FOUNDATION FOR OPEN SOCIETY

2004 Expenditures	\$2,797,000
Civil Society	264,000
Criminal Justice	61,000
East East	72,000
Education	550,000
Information	224,000
Law	4,000
Media	106,000
Public Administration	953,000
Public Health	273,000
Women's Programs	25,000
Youth Programs	61,000
Administration	204,000

NOTE: The financial information presented above includes \$52,817, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Education, Public Administration, and Youth Programs. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Mongolia, totaling \$667,585, principally in Education, Women's Programs, and Information; these grants are not included above.

FOUNDATION OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE-REPRESENTATIVE OFFICE MONTENEGRO

2004 Expenditures	\$1,654,000
East East	56,000
Education	678,000
Law	115,000
Public Administration	317,000
Public Health	3,000
Roma	35,000
Women's Programs	63,000
Youth Programs	88,000
Other Programs	48,000
Administration	251,000

NOTE: The financial information presented above includes \$39,049, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Education and Youth Programs. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Montenegro, totaling \$189,365, principally in Education and Media; these grants are not included above.

STEFAN BATORY FOUNDATION (POLAND)

2004 Expenditures	\$7,333,000
Civil Society	3,133,000
Culture	2,000
East East	1,592,000
Education	4,000
Law	453,000
Public Health	281,000
Other Programs	5,000
Administration	1.863.000

NOTE: The financial information presented above includes \$4,551,586, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Civil Society and East East. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Poland, totaling \$2,585,664, principally in Education, Law, and Public Health; these grants are not included above.

OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATION-ROMANIA

2004 Expenditures	\$4,003,000
Civil Society	934,000
Culture	66,000
East East	226,000
Economic Reform	249,000
Education	315,000
Ethnic Minorities	105,000
Information	1,000
Law	160,000
Public Health	341,000
Roma	85,000
Women's Programs	295,000
Youth Programs	195,000
Other Programs	511,000
Administration	520,000

NOTE: The financial information presented above includes \$118,475, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Civil Society. Other Sorossupported organizations made grants in Romania, totaling \$3,665,417, principally in Economic Reform, Education, and Public Administration; these grants are not included above.

OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE-RUSSIA

2004 Expenditures	\$8,468,000
Civil Society	(10,000)
Criminal Justice	(18,000)
Culture	227,000
East East	6,000
Economic Reform	(10,000)
Education	173,000
Information	734,000
Law	327,000
Media	(14,000)
Public Administration	159,000
Public Health	2,594,000
Women's Programs	160,000
Other Programs	1,696,000
Administration	2,277,000

NOTE: The financial information presented above includes \$1,820,867, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Public Health. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Russia, totaling \$7,008,902, principally in Education, Civil Society, and Public Health; these grants are not included above.

FUND FOR AN OPEN SOCIETY-SERBIA

2004 Expenditures	\$3,987,000
Civil Society	122,000
Criminal Justice	6,000
Culture	132,000
East East	83,000
Education	975,000
Ethnic Minorities	20,000
Information	99,000
Law	352,000
Media	437,000
Public Administration	528,000
Public Health	358,000
Roma	124,000
Women's Programs	199,000
Youth Programs	114,000
Other Programs	119,000
Administration	319,000

NOTE: The financial information presented above includes \$35,239, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Ethnic Minorities and Law. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Serbia, totaling \$1,886,993, principally in Education, Public Administration, and Law; these grants are not included above.

OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATION-BRATISLAVA (SLOVAKIA)

2004 Expenditures	\$2,667,000
Civil Society	709,000
Criminal Justice	14,000
East East	58,000
Education	255,000
Information	12,000
Law	153,000
Media	14,000
Public Administration	59,000
Public Health	114,000
Roma	566,000
Women's Programs	167,000
Youth Programs	17,000
Other Programs	107,000
Administration	422,000

NOTE: The financial information presented above includes \$1,044,364, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Civil Society and Roma. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Slovakia, totaling \$859,349, principally in Public Administration, Education, and Economic Reform; these grants are not included above.

OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATION FOR SOUTH AFRICA

2004 Expenditures	\$7,054,000
African Initiatives	235,000
Civil Society	1,961,000
Criminal Justice	713,000
International Programs	5,000
Law	1,513,000
Media	1,750,000
Public Health	129,000
Youth Programs	11,000
Other Programs	(11,000)
Administration	748,000

NOTE: The financial information presented above includes \$16,529, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Administration. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in South Africa, totaling \$1,847,414, principally in Economic Reform, Public Health, and Information; these grants are not included above.

OPEN SOCIETY INITIATIVE FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA

2004 Expenditures	\$18,924,000
Capacity Building	624,000
Civil Society	3,394,000
Economic Reform	770,000
Education	2,474,000
Information	1,276,000
Language	119,000
Media/Education/Civil Society/Information	1,000,000
Media	7,832,000
Public Health	187,000
Other Programs	200,000
Administration	1,048,000

OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE ASSISTANCE FOUNDATION-TAJIKISTAN

2004 Expenditures	\$3,763,000
Civil Society	110,000
Conference & Travel	56,000
Culture	96,000
East East	45,000
Economic Reform	154,000
Education	724,000
Ethnic Minorities	63,000
Information	178,000
Law	226,000
Media	142,000
Public Administration	241,000
Public Health	1,027,000
Women's Programs	165,000
Youth Programs	179,000
Other Programs	17,000
Administration	340,000
Administration	340,000

NOTE: The financial information presented above includes \$989,068, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Public Health, Education, and Youth Programs. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Tajikistan, totaling \$1,527,499, principally in Education; these grants are not included above.

INTERNATIONAL RENAISSANCE FOUNDATION (UKRAINE)

2004 Expenditures	\$8,242,000
Civil Society	913,000
Criminal Justice	286,000
Culture	11,000
East East	329,000
Education	341,000
Information	1,125,000
Law	707,000
Media	1,550,000
Public Health	1,471,000
Roma	111,000
Women's Programs	8,000
Youth Programs	10,000
Other Programs	644,000
Administration	734,000

NOTE: The financial information presented above includes \$1,002,103, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Public Health. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Ukraine, totaling \$2,037,109, principally in Education, Media, and Economic Reform; these grants are not included above.

OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE ASSISTANCE FOUNDATION-UZBEKISTAN

2004 Expenditures	\$869,000
Culture	79,000
East East	5,000
Economic Reform	54,000
Education	76,000
Information	91,000
Law	70,000
Media	30,000
Public Administration	26,000
Public Health	113,000
Women's Programs	21,000
Youth Programs	(144,000)
Other Programs	45,000
Administration	403,000

NOTE: Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Uzbekistan, totaling \$716,155, principally in Education, Youth Programs, and Women's Programs; these grants are not included above.

OPEN SOCIETY INITIATIVE FOR WEST AFRICA

2004 Expenditures	\$11,806,000
Democracy & Good Governance/	
Civil Society	4,670,000
Economic Reform	220,000
Information	1,494,000
Law	2,821,000
Media	539,000
Other Programs	318,000
Administration	1,744,000

NOTE: Good Governance and Democracy includes Civil Society and HIV/AIDS Programs. Law includes Law & Justice and Human Rights program areas. The financial information presented above includes \$59,721, funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Media and Administration.

OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE ASSISTANCE FOUNDATION-TURKEY

2004 Expenditures \$1,883,000

Initiatives

Law, Justice, and Human Rights

Public Health

Education, Information, and Media

Other Initiatives

Ending impunity for mass crimes

Law, Justice, and Human Rights



OVERVIEW From the treatment of prisoners at Guantánamo and Abu Ghraib to large-scale killing in Darfur, international human rights and humanitarian laws were at the center of global politics and public attention in 2004. In the United States, the Bush administration continued to resist efforts by both the U.S. Supreme Court and the United Nations to subject the war on terror to legal constraints, causing dismay and concern at home and abroad.

Throughout the year, international and hybrid tribunals, that is, tribunals jointly sponsored by the UN and national governments, moved forward in their efforts to hold accountable perpetrators of mass crimes. The International Criminal Court (ICC) pursued investigations into serious crimes at the request of the governments in Uganda and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In the Darfur region of Sudan, systematic killing went unabated as the international community deliberated the fine points of the term "genocide." But, in late March 2005, the UN Security Council finally referred the Darfur crisis to the ICC, with the United States, a strong opponent of the ICC, abstaining.

The Special Court for Sierra Leone demonstrated the potential of new, "hybrid" criminal justice models that combine domestic and international elements. With limited resources, the court has indicted 13 individuals from three warring factions who "bear the greatest responsibility" for crimes committed during Sierra Leone's decade-long civil war. The court's promising start, however, has been jeopardized by the absence of former Liberian president Charles Taylor, who, despite his indictment on 17 counts of war crimes and crimes against humanity, remained free under a government grant of asylum in Nigeria.

After prolonged delay, Cambodia's new government ratified a United Nations agreement to establish a hybrid tribunal to try surviving Khmer Rouge leaders. The challenge remained to secure adequate financial resources, attract qualified international and Cambodian staff, and enable sufficient civil society engagement and monitoring to ensure effective prosecutions and fair trials.

Beyond these few, specialized efforts to end impunity for the worst abuses, legal remedies for less exceptional but enduring and pervasive injustices were frequently unavailable or inconsistently applied. In parts of Europe and the former Soviet Union, discrimination and violence against ethnic minorities, women, refugees, and migrants persisted, despite the strengthening of regional norms and growing awareness of the need for improved law enforcement. Throughout Africa and Asia, arbitrary denationalization and de facto statelessness deprived millions of people of their fundamental human rights. From the Ivory Coast to the Congo, the politicization and manipulation of citizenship helped foment marginalization and armed conflict.

The plight of the Roma, who suffer discrimination and poor living conditions throughout Europe, received greater public and policy attention with the launch of the Decade of Roma Inclusion, 2005–2015, with the support of OSI and the World

Bank. The governments of eight Eastern European countries with large Romani populations endorsed the Decade's goals, pledging to ensure Roma equal access to education, housing, employment, and health care.

Women made slow progress in their efforts to achieve equal inclusion in the political, economic, and social lives of their countries. Monitoring revealed gaps in the implementation of equal opportunity laws passed in new EU member countries. In many regions, women's movements continued to develop expertise and strategies to combat gender-based violence, workplace discrimination, and attacks on reproductive rights and marginalized groups such as Romani women.

Across the globe, efforts to fight crime and enhance personal security were hampered by poorly skilled police, the absence of civilian oversight, overincarceration, excessive reliance on pretrial detention, and corruption among all actors in the criminal justice system. These problems were compounded by inefficient and underresourced legal aid systems for the indigent accused.

In many countries, reform was hindered by conditions and practices that corrode the rule of law, such as lack of government transparency, corrupt election campaign financing, and harassment of independent media. Freedom of information legislation, adopted in recent years in parts of Europe and Latin America, has yet to take hold in most of Africa and Asia. The range of threats to free expression—from the subtle and legalistic to brute force—persisted in 2004 as governments in many countries used arbitrary or discriminatory regulatory practices, criminal and civil defamation provisions, financial pressure, and violence to silence citizens and independent media.

The Open Society Institute and the Soros foundations have focused on establishing the rule of law, ensuring justice, and protecting human rights since the early

OSI ACTIVITIES AND ACHIEVEMENTS

1990s. These efforts had a major influence on the legal reforms in

Central and Eastern Europe that brought accession countries in line with EU criteria.

Fighting to end discrimination against the Roma and women remains an OSI priority, as does protecting the rights of refugees. For over a decade, OSI has supported early humanitarian responses, humane treatment, and protective laws and policies for the tens of millions of refugees and internally displaced people fleeing armed conflict and economic deprivation.

LITIGATION AND ADVOCACY

The **Open Society Justice Initiative** went to court to remedy breaches of human rights and provided legal advice and assistance on issues of racial discrimination, international criminal justice, and freedom of expression. For example, the Justice Initiative's legal memorandum and advocacy efforts helped secure adoption of a new general recommendation on the rights of noncitizens by the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. And it filed an amicus brief with the Grand Chamber of the European Court of Human Rights, arguing that international law requires states to investigate and punish racial motivation underlying crimes of violence.

Throughout the year, the Justice Initiative spearheaded litigation before the Nigerian High Court challenging the grant of asylum to former Liberian president Charles Taylor and seeking his transfer for prosecution before the UN-backed Special Court of Sierra Leone. Collaborating with human rights advocates in affected countries, the Justice Initiative provided the International Criminal Court with extensive documentation of war crimes and crimes against humanity. In October, the Justice Initiative and the Coalition for International Justice published a report that highlighted problems with international justice processes in East Timor and Indonesia, and recommended that the United Nations appoint a commission of inquiry to explore possible reforms.

In Cambodia, the Justice Initiative supported the creation of a professional, independent, and competent Extraordinary Chambers to try those most responsible for crimes committed under the Khmer Rouge. These efforts included developing standards for judicial nomination and for the treatment of victims and witnesses, and conducting briefings for the government and human rights groups on the experiences of other hybrid and internationalized courts. The Justice Initiative visited the Darfur region of Sudan and organized NGO meetings on Darfur for the UN Special Advisor on the Prevention of Genocide and the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights.

In Africa, the Justice Initiative worked to secure ratifications for the new African Court of Human and Peoples' Rights and launched a project to examine discriminatory laws and practices based on race and/or citizenship status in a dozen African countries. The Justice Initiative also filed a legal challenge with the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights against the government of Cameroon's seizure and shutdown of the independent radio station, Freedom FM. Globally, Justice Initiative projects aimed to promote greater police accountability in Nigeria, Peru, and South Africa; rationalize and reduce pretrial detention in Latvia, Kazakhstan, Mexico, and Ukraine; and broaden access to counsel for indigent defendants in Bulgaria, Kyrgyzstan, Lithuania, and Mongolia.

The Justice Initiative continued its pioneering advocacy of clinical legal education by holding conferences in Mexico City, Abuja, Nigeria, and Dakar, Senegal; it provided technical assistance to university-based clinics in more than 20 countries and trainings for legal clinicians in Ukraine, Romania, South Africa, and Macedonia. The Justice Initiative established five paralegal offices in Sierra Leone.

To raise public awareness and assist in advocacy efforts, the Justice Initiative published a handbook to aid anticorruption NGOs in monitoring electoral campaign financing, a monograph exploding popular myths about pretrial detention in Mexico, and a comparative report on freedom of information in Armenia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Peru, and South Africa. Justice Initiative staff published op-eds in the *International Herald Tribune* and other publications on Cambodia, Charles Taylor, Darfur, and the International Criminal Court.

MORE FUNDING FOR HUMAN RIGHTS WORK

Working in Central and Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, and Mongolia, the **Human Rights and Governance Grants Program** provides support to human rights NGOs, civil society watchdog groups, and public policy centers. The aim is to promote accountability, document and challenge rights violations, and enrich policy debates on issues relating to democratic governance.

Human Rights Program grantees submitted complaints to the UN Human Rights Committee challenging death penalty sentences in Tajikistan; took cases of human rights abuses in Chechnya to the European Court of Human Rights; initiated test cases to combat discrimination against Roma in Bulgaria; and monitored conditions in mental health institutions in Estonia.

The Human Rights Program places particular emphasis on protecting the rights of vulnerable and marginalized groups. In 2004, the Program continued to support Mental Disability Rights International and the Mental Disability Advocacy Center for documenting human rights violations in closed institutions and litigating on behalf of the mentally disabled. Funding for the European Roma Rights Center and domestic Romani advocacy groups helped challenge discrimination through research and advocacy. The Program also supported the development of strategic litigation capacity with grants to Interights and to the Women's Human Rights Institute.

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WOMEN'S EQUALITY AND EMPOWERMENT

The **Network Women's Program** (NWP) works to advance women's human rights, gender equality, and empowerment by supporting groups and activities that promote gender-sensitive policies and practices in Central and Eastern Europe, South Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, and Mongolia.

NWP activities in 2004 focused on promoting equal opportunities in the European Union; supporting women's human rights documentary film efforts; sustaining initiatives to stop gender-based violence; building Romani women's initiatives; developing gender studies and gender-sensitive education; advocating for women's sexual and reproductive rights and health; and establishing women's information and documentation centers.

EONET: Bringing the EU Home, a project developed by NWP in 2004, monitored the status of equal opportunity laws in nine countries and found huge gaps in their implementation. Release of a report on the findings was scheduled to coincide with the first anniversary of these countries' EU accession in spring 2005. As a follow-up to the first Gender Montage documentary film collection released in 2003, NWP, the Institute for Social and Gender Policy in Russia, and 11 Soros foundations or NWP institutional partners launched the second production cycle of documentary and women's advocacy films.

NWP fought violence against women in Central Asia and the Caucasus, conducting a seminar in Tbilisi, Georgia, to help women's NGOs in the region develop skills in running shelters, crisis centers, and programs for batterers. The Program's 16 Days Media Campaign against Gender Violence initiative marked its third year by providing women's groups with new resources for developing media and advocacy campaigns.

Since 1999, the NWP-sponsored Roma Women's Initiative (RWI) has worked to build Romani women's leadership at local, national, and international levels. In 2004, RWI organized a workshop for activists and law students on international instruments for asserting Romani women's rights, supported workshops on gender and development for Romani communities, and created a website and activist directory.

NWP promoted gender studies, including curriculum development and the establishment of networks of scholars, in Central Asia, the Caucasus, South Eastern Europe, and Moldova. Empowering Education, led by the Women's Information and Consultative Center in Ukraine, continued to organize trainings for students, activists, and officials working on women's human rights and gender equality in Afghanistan and nine former Soviet countries.

In collaboration with the Central and Eastern European Women's Network for Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights, NWP advanced international standards for sexual and reproductive health and rights, particularly within the European Union. To increase information exchange, the Program continued to support REWIND NET, a network of women's documentation and information centers from 14 countries in Central and Eastern Europe.

INCLUSION AND JUSTICE FOR THE ROMA

Asserting the rights of Roma to equal protection under the law, empowering them to become active participants in their communities and the larger society, and encouraging governments to fight discrimination are top priorities for the Open Society Institute and the Soros foundations network. 66 Yes, then I dragged my husband to the ambulance.... the tanks were moving. I crossed the street and rushed to the wounded people who were lying there. Two of them I carried and put beside the road.... But the third I failed to save. As I ran towards him, a tank drove into him and crushed him. It happened so close to me that blood spurted in my face. Do you believe, that 12 years passed and I still smell his blood?

> Sona Atayeva, interviewed by Olga Rzayeva about the violent repression of demonstrators in Baku, Azerbaijan, on January 20, 1990. From the Network Women's Program publication, *To Look at Life through Women's Eyes: Women's Oral Histories from the Former Soviet Union*, OSI, 2004

The Decade of Roma Inclusion, 2005–2015. Soros foundations in the eight participating countries of Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Macedonia, Romania, Serbia and Montenegro, and Slovakia provided support for a variety of Decade-related initiatives to fight discrimination and ensure access to education, housing, employment, and health care.

OSI's **Roma Participation Program** (RPP) helped create websites, meetings, and networks to increase Romani involvement in the Decade's work. The Economic and Business Development Program worked with the World Bank to lead a workshop for government officials on employment strategies for the Roma. The Network Public Health Program provided technical assistance for the development of national strategies to address Romani health.

Activism, Monitoring, and Advocacy: In Slovakia, the Open Society Foundation–Bratislava organized legal and fundraising trainings for Romani NGOs, and launched a program to enhance their institutional development. Efforts to develop Romani media in 2004, included support from the Open Society Institute–Sofia's Roma Program for several Romani newspapers and magazines, the TV channel Roma-Vidin, and nationally broadcast radio programs addressing ethnic issues.

A Romanian-Bulgarian delegation of young Romani advocates, funded by RPP, met with members of the European Commission, the European Parliament, and Brussels-based international human rights NGOs, and participated in the OSCE's "Combating Racism, Xenophobia, and Discriminaton" conference. In Romania, RPP collaborated with OSI's EU Monitoring and Advocacy Program and the Resource Center for Roma Communities to publish a report on the local implementation of the national strategy for improving Romani conditions.

OSI's Network Women's Program helped prepare Romani women to engage in local and international advocacy through its Roma Women's Initiative (RWI). RWI's Virginity Project, which conducts surveys to assess attitudes about sexuality and women's roles in Romani communities, met to assess lessons learned from its Macedonian, Hungarian, and Serbian projects, and to plan surveys for Bulgaria, Slovakia, and Ukraine.

The E-Riders program of roving consultants provided technology assistance to over 50 Romani civil society groups in Central and South Eastern Europe. The Network Public Health Program worked with local NGOs and national governments to address the gross differences in health status between Roma and the majority population in Central and Eastern Europe.
Economic Development. OSI's Economic and Business Development Program (EBDP) worked in Central and South Eastern Europe to provide Roma with access to credit through microfinance organizations. In Hungary, the Autonómia Foundation program provided loans to Romani entrepreneurs and, with financial support from OSI, established an independent microlending institution, Mikrohitel. In Macedonia, EBDP and the Council of Europe Development Bank expanded the Horizonti microfinance program, which provides microcredit and training to Romani entrepreneurs. The Center for Economic Development, a rural finance program in Romania, used EBDP support to introduce their village banking project to selected Romani villages.

Desegregation and Equal Access to Education. The Roma Participation Program promoted desegregation and equal access to quality education by supporting pilot desegre-gation and preschool projects and advocacy led by Roma in Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, Serbia, and Slovakia.

The Roma Education Initiative (REI) continued to implement national-level projects in seven Central and South Eastern European countries that provide high quality education in integrated school settings, emphasizing the child-centered, culturally inclusive teaching promoted by OSI. REI also worked to challenge education segregation and promote systemic change by fostering collaboration among parents, communities, Romani NGOs, and local authorities.

In Serbia, with RPP and REI support, the Roma Education Center helped prepare Romani children to attend integrated schools and partnered with other NGOs to draft antidiscrimination measures for the country's national Romani education strategy. In Romania, RPP's desegregation advocacy efforts resulted in the Ministry of Education banning segregation of Romani children within the educational system.

RPP supported desegregation in seven towns across Bulgaria for more than 2,000 schoolchildren. With these students achieving high grades, the desegregation process continued to gain legitimacy and a sense of permanence.

These are a few highlights of OSI's 2004 law, justice, and human rights activities. For more information about the 2004 activities of a particular initiative, visit OSI's website at www.soros.org/initiatives.

Caring for the vulnerable



OVERVIEW Health issues received widespread international attention in 2004, with two events in Southeast Asia providing particularly sobering reminders of the difficulties and inequities that characterize global health care access. In July, reports from the XV International AIDS Conference in Bangkok highlighted worsening HIV/AIDS epidemics in a growing number of countries in Asia and the former Soviet Union and poorer countries in sub-Saharan Africa. This news was followed by the devastating tsunami in the Indian Ocean at the end of December that killed more than 200,000 and injured countless others in a wide swath from Somalia to Indonesia. Many of the affected nations' health care systems were unable to cope with the flood of victims seeking care for their injuries and protection from potential postdisaster diseases such as cholera.

In the midst of so much despair, the international community's response to both catastrophes has proved generous. Tsunami-relief pledges quickly totaled more than \$3 billion, with substantial contributions from multilateral agencies as well as governments and private citizens around the world. In recent years, innovative financing mechanisms such as the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria and the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) have pledged billions of dollars to fight HIV/AIDS.



Both of these HIV/AIDS initiatives face significant obstacles and have been criticized often appropriately—for drawbacks related to structure, priorities, and disbursal delays. Yet their very existence has helped to bring other funders into the effort and pressured important players, such as pharmaceutical companies and recalcitrant governments, to cooperate more fully in efforts to treat and care for those living with HIV/AIDS.

The welcome increase in funding to fight HIV/AIDS and other devastating illnesses, such as malaria and TB, can only be useful if it is coordinated, prioritized, and distributed effectively. In 2005, the **Public Health Program** will launch initiatives designed to improve the effectiveness of aid and to help recipients establish viable monitoring and evaluation procedures. This important yet often neglected part of health advocacy and service provision will be among the Program's main priorities as it expands farther into Africa, Asia, and the Middle East. Increased monitoring and research will also have an invaluable,





positive effect on OSI's existing health-oriented work, including initiatives addressing discrimination against Roma in Central and Eastern Europe, enhancing the rights of those with mental disabilities, fighting TB in Russia, supporting tobacco control, and building capacity across the entire spectrum of public health services.

In the 1990s, the Open Society Institute focused on improving health care in Central and Eastern Europe, primarily by providing training to thousands of health professionals who had been closed off from advances

OSI'S ACTIVITIES AND ACHIEVEMENTS

in their fields. By 2000, the

Network Public Health Program had shifted the focus from improving individual health care to promoting the development of public health policies that increase health equity and the access of vulnerable populations to health and social welfare services.

OSI has played a significant role in fighting tuberculosis and multi-drug resistant tuberculosis (MDR-TB), both in Central and Eastern Europe and globally, by supporting programs that impact policy, mobilize additional resources for TB control, and strengthen the Stop TB Partnership. In Russia, OSI has spent over \$100 million on public health issues, including an MDR-TB treatment model in the country's prisons, HIV/AIDS treatment, mental disability advocacy, and support for schools of public health.

The International Harm Reduction Development (IHRD) program gained recognition for working to curb the spread of HIV/AIDS and other infectious diseases among drug users by supporting health services and promoting human rights and policy reform.

In 2004, as in previous years, OSI supported HIV treatment advocacy in several countries where discrimination against those living with HIV is rampant. In many nations, especially in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, OSI continued to support HIV prevention and treatment efforts among the most vulnerable and stigmatized populations, including injecting drug users (IDUs), sex workers, and men who have sex with men. In upcoming years, OSI's Public Health Program plans to emphasize treatment equity and the need to focus on viable HIV prevention strategies. For instance, substitution therapy, a proven method to reduce HIV transmission risk and demand for illicit drugs among IDUs, remains illegal or largely unavailable in many countries. Similarly, optimal palliative care services for those living with HIV/AIDS are often prohibited or highly restricted. Such situations limit individuals' rights to protect themselves from harm or to obtain access to pain relief.

MONITORING HEALTH POLICIES

The Public Health Program in 2004 established Public Health Watch, a global initiative to encourage public engagement in the development, implementation, and evaluation of health policies. Public Health Watch began monitoring policies to reduce tuberculosis and TB/HIV coinfection in several of the countries most affected by the two diseases: Bangladesh, Brazil, Nigeria, Tanzania, and Thailand. The initiative will publish analytical reports and support targeted advocacy around report findings at the domestic and international levels. The results are expected to lead to monitoring partnerships in other high-burden countries.

HARM REDUCTION

Harm reduction, which seeks to diminish the individual and social harms associated with drug use, especially the risk of HIV infection, employs a range of services, including needle and syringe exchange, substitution treatment, health education, medical referrals, and social care.

In 2004, IHRD continued to work for the implementation of drug policies that prioritize public health over law enforcement. It increased support for advocacy training for drug users, people living with HIV/AIDS, sex workers, and former prisoners so that they could participate in key international meetings, service delivery efforts, and decision-making bodies. IHRD had its most significant success in 2004 in Russia, where personal possession of all drugs was significantly decriminalized as a result of pressure from affected communities and their advocates.

Working beyond its traditional regions of activity, IHRD supported advocacy and training projects in Thailand to help establish the country's first harm reduction programs and, in China, provided a grant to the



Historical disregard for the rights of people particularly vulnerable to infection has, in effect, given HIV/AIDS the upper hand—and the belief that the virus would remain within marginalized populations has proved to be not only heartless but incorrect. From every perspective imaginable, all people should be afforded equal access to treatment with the full support of care providers.⁹

> Introduction, Breaking Down Barriers: Lessons on Providing HIV Treatment to Injection Drug Users, OSI International Harm Reduction Development report, July 2004

Beijing-based Aizhixing Health Education Institute to educate government and medical professionals on harm reduction.

The program sponsored a satellite meeting at the 2004. International AIDS Conference in partnership with the World Health Organization, and published a report about effective treatment models entitled *Breaking Down Barriers: Lessons on Providing HIV Treatment to Injection Drug Users*.

TUBERCULOSIS

The Public Health Program continued its efforts to fight TB by participating in the Stop TB Partnership and the Millennium Development Project and running MDR-TB control programs in the Russian prison system. After conducting a study to assess progress in TB control, the Public Health Program partnered with the New York– based Treatment Action Group to fund small grants to HIV community-based organizations for work on policy and advocacy to address the copandemics. The Public Health Program also intensified its own advocacy efforts around the Global Fund for AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria, and supported efforts to raise awareness in donor countries and increase participation and decision-making opportunities for people living with these diseases.

OSI and the Social Science Research Council developed a program to promote social science perspectives into evidence-based decision making for the implementation of HIV/AIDS programs. With UNAIDS, OSI provided seed funding for the Global Coalition on Women and AIDS to bring more attention to the special burden that AIDS poses to women.

PALLIATIVE CARE

Issues related to adequate pain management and care of the dying remain poorly addressed by national health systems and health care providers. In 2004, the Palliative Care Initiative focused on policy and advocacy projects in Central and Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, and South Africa to integrate palliative care into national health care plans and cancer and AIDS control programs. In addition, the Initiative sponsored education programs on improving end-of-life care for professionals across the region.

In Romania, the Initiative's education efforts prompted lawmakers to begin rewriting the laws and regulations governing drug manufacturing, importation, dispensing, and prescribing practices to make crucial opioid analgesics available for patients at home and in hospitals.

MENTAL HEALTH

The Open Society Mental Health Initiative works to ensure that people with mental disabilities can participate in society and be treated as equal citizens with full respect for their human rights. The program provided funding, training, and technical assistance to NGOs in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. It collaborated with a European consortium to monitor conditions in institutions and the impact of community-based alternatives in both EU member states and accession candidates.

To improve social inclusion, the Initiative and its partners worked to help government officials recognize that the stigma, prejudice, and discrimination faced by people with mental disabilities are deeply rooted and present a major obstacle to achieving positive social change.

ROMANI HEALTH

The Public Health Program worked with local NGOs and national governments to address the persistent differences in health status between Roma and majority populations in targeted countries in Central and Eastern Europe. Six NGOs in Macedonia and Serbia provided Romani communities with information on health and health insurance, documented discriminatory practices in health sectors, and presented findings to national human rights advocates. Grants were also provided to help strengthen the role of Romani health mediators in both countries, as well as in Romania.

The Program was heavily involved in preparation for the Decade of Roma Inclusion, providing technical assistance to national efforts to develop Romani health plans, as specified by the Decade agreement. The Program also sponsored a Roma Health Workshop for representatives from the eight participating governments to discuss national strategies to improve Romani health.

TOBACCO CONTROL

The Tobacco Control Policy Program supported projects in Armenia, Kazakhstan, Romania, Moldova, and Ukraine in an effort to build the capacity of tobacco control advocates and NGOs, with special emphasis on the economics of tobacco control. The Program's projects brought together advocates and professionals from medicine, public health, economics, politics, and the media to create convincing and comprehensive arguments for tobacco control.



SEXUAL HEALTH AND RIGHTS

With technical assistance from the National Abortion Federation and Ipas, an organization working to protect women from unsafe abortions, the Public Health Program completed a four-year initiative that supported institutionalization of the manual vacuum aspiration (MVA) safe abortion technique in seven CEE/fSU countries. One grantee, the Association against Infectious Diseases in Obstetrics and Gynecology of the Republic of Moldova, obtained Ministry of Health support to expand MVA throughout the country.

The Program also combated the growing influence of conservatives in the region to restrict a woman's right to access appropriate health care. In Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Slovakia, the Program worked with organizations such as the Center for Reproductive Rights, Catholics for a Free Choice, the Network of East-West Women, and ASTRA to provide training for activists, lawyers, and medical professionals on media relations and advocacy techniques.

LESBIAN, GAY, BISEXUAL, AND TRANSGENDER HEALTH

The Promoting Health in Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) Communities initiative, launched in 2004, is the first initiative in South Eastern Europe to address the needs and concerns of the region's lesbian, gay, and transgender communities. With LGBT support, eight NGOs from Bulgaria, Croatia, Moldova, Romania, and Serbia will conduct activities to document the health status of individuals and to contribute to national and EU-level health policy debates. The initiative also provided assistance to the International Lesbian and Gay Association to work with local partners and conduct similar research activities in Hungary, Romania, and Moldova.

FELLOWSHIPS AND SEMINARS

To build the capacity of public health professionals and institutions, the Public Health Program sponsored bilateral East-West partnerships in 2004 between public health schools and faculties. The University of Debrecen School of Public Health in Hungary, for example, offered fellowships at the Braun School of Public Health in Jerusalem and the College of Health Sciences at the American University of Armenia. The Public Health Program supported the launch of new teaching programs in Albania, Macedonia, and Ukraine.

The Public Health Program began funding projects in 2004 to increase the content and quality of health journalism in the developing world by, among other



activities, providing training to editors and journalists covering health issues; supporting U.S. fellowships for health editors; and funding in-country fellowships on investigative health reporting.

To promote dialogue and policy development, the Public Health Program sponsored nine seminars on topics related to OSI public health priorities. Continued support for the Salzburg Medical Seminars International, organized by the American Austrian Foundation, provided medical education to more than 600 physicians and health care professionals from 27 CEE/fSU countries.

These are a few highlights of the 2004 activities of OSI in public health. For more information about the 2004 activities of a particular initiative, visit OSI's website at www.soros.org/initiatives.

Learning to live in a democracy

Education, Information, and Media

Education, information, and media are crucial open society issues that OSI and the Soros foundations have pursued from the beginning in an effort to transform closed, state-controlled systems of government.

OSI ACTIVITIES AND ACHIEVEMENTS

For over a decade, OSI has funded every possible type

of education change, from curriculum reform to teacher training to parent involvement to the repair of decrepit school buildings and the construction of new ones. OSI's education initiatives have improved preschool, primary, and secondary education, universities, nonformal learning programs, and education NGOs working to increase quality and equity. Two internationally recognized initiatives, the Step by Step early childhood education program and the Debate Program, are now active in dozens of countries, having already taught millions of Step by Step students and more than 130,000 debate students.

Extensive OSI scholarship programs have helped support individual students from every network country. Other programs have provided local and international training of educators, as well as technical and policy support for systemic education reform and cross-border collaboration.

Central European University, founded by George Soros in 1991, has become an international center of research and policy analysis that promotes the principles of open, democratic societies while preparing its graduates to serve their countries as scholars and leaders. Soros gave CEU, which has educated nearly 5,000 mostly scholarship students, a \$250 million endowment in 2001.

OSI assumed a leadership role in providing civil society with greater access to electronic communications, especially during the early years of transition in Central and Eastern Europe. The Media Program has helped independent media survive repression and conflicts, such as the wars in the former Yugoslavia, and supported community radio in Africa as a way to educate and involve people in democratic decision making.

Education

The goal of the **Network Children and Youth Programs** is to bring innovative approaches to existing educational structures that affect the development of



children and adolescents. The priority programs are Step by Step, Debate, and Reading and Writing for Critical Thinking, all three of which emphasize democratic principles and promote the development of the individual child's full potential.

Reading and Writing for Critical Thinking in 2004 helped teachers change classroom practices at all grade levels and in most school subjects in order to promote active inquiry, student-initiated learning, opinion formation, problemsolving, cooperative learning, and democratic participation. The project trained teachers and teacher educators in 25 countries, and worked closely with staff at teacher training universities and retraining institutes, as well as at ministries and education agencies.

DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES IN SCHOOL

The **Step by Step** program, working in preschools and primary schools, promoted child-centered teaching methods and community and family involvement, and equal access for children of minority families, children with disabilities, Roma and refugees, and families living in poverty. The Program encouraged children to develop critical thinking skills and make their own choices in order to teach them democratic principles and practices.

Step by Step celebrated its 10th anniversary in 2004 with a multicountry research project on the effectiveness of its methodology and a conference entitled "Decade of Change: Stepping into the Future." In the last 10 years, Step by Step organizations trained over 150,000 teachers and specialists in 30 countries, serving over a million children and their families. The International Step by Step Association links over 220,000 early childhood professionals into an advocacy network, promoting Step by Step's philosophy, training, and technical assistance internationally. In addition to OSI, Step by Step partners include local governments, national ministries, teacher training institutions, and international organizations, including the European Union, USAID, the World Bank, and UNICEF.

FREE AND OPEN DISCUSSION

Participants in the **Network Debate Program** in secondary schools and universities examined issues affecting their lives and communities, in the process learning that free and open discussion is essential to the establishment and preservation of open societies. Since 1995, more than 100,000 secondary students, 30,000 university students, and 20,000 teachers have participated in the Debate Program, which is active in 36 countries.

In 2004, the Debate Program, which publishes debate resource books and materials, continued to expand, with new programs starting in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, China, Israel, Rwanda, South Africa, and Zimbabwe. It also continued to work with Romani leaders throughout Central and South Eastern Europe; developed a guide to be translated into Farsi on organizing radio debates and forums in Afghanistan; and conducted trainings on advocacy and election campaigns with Iraqi students in Jordan.

The 2004 International Youth Forum, held in Estonia, debated the resolution: "It is better to focus on a harm reduction strategy than a law enforcement strategy when dealing with drug abuse." To develop sustainable program activities in each country, the International Debate Education Association helps with fundraising, organizing events, and developing further international contacts.

EDUCATION SUPPORT

The **Education Support Program** (ESP) furthered open society values in education, including accountability in governance and management and equal access for minorities and at-risk youth. With Soros foundations spinning off their education programs, ESP has played an increasing role in initiating and establishing partnerships and networks.

In 2004, ESP provided direct support to education programs in Central Asian and South Eastern European countries and in Georgia, Russia, and Ukraine. ESP also began exploratory discussions on possible partnerships in Pakistan.

In South Eastern Europe, ESP oversaw the editing of the book *Learning to Change: The Experience of Transforming Education in South East Europe*, a collection of first-person stories by education specialists about the changes in education during 15 years of armed conflict, political transition, and increasing openness. The book will be published in 2005 by Central European University Press.

ESP organized a fact-finding mission on transparency and corruption in Central Asia with the International Institute for Education Planning/UNESCO; conducted research on improving the public communication of education reform issues with the South East Europe Education Cooperation Network; and, with the Network of Education Policy Centers, launched two monitoring initiatives in 2004, one on early dropouts and the other on private tutoring.

RE:FINE (Resourcing Education Fund for Innovations and Networking), a grant fund established by ESP in 2004, provided eight grants to institutions for projects that further open society goals in education. ESP and OSI's Children and Youth Programs continued to implement the Roma Education Initiative, which, among other activities, funded programs for equal access to quality education in Bulgaria, Hungary, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, Slovakia, and Slovenia.

The International Higher Education Support Program (HESP) promoted the advancement of higher education within the humanities and social sciences in Central and Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, and Mongolia. Institutions supported by HESP have progressive leadership, transparent governance, and an innovative educational agenda, and engage professionals open to progressive teaching and learning methodologies.

In 2004, HESP worked to make its network institutions sustainable and to establish them and Central European University as resources for strengthening state universities. It launched the Academic Fellowship Program to help selected university departments become platforms for innovation and reform, and to promote the return, retention, and professional development of young, promising academics in these departments.

HESP continued to promote gender studies as an academic discipline in Central and Eastern Europe; help schools of social work in the Caucasus and Central Asia deliver quality, cost-effective programs; and provide support to Roma for university studies.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE

The **English Language Program** (ELP), which includes the Soros Professional English Language Teaching program (SPELT), helped the countries of the Soros foundations network prepare individuals and groups for a world in which English is increasingly necessary for international communication in professional and academic fields.

In 2004, the Program continued its scheduled process of concluding or spinning off its activities as independent organizations. ELP activities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Georgia, and Uzbekistan concluded in 2004, and the entire program is scheduled for completion at the end of the 2004–2005 academic year.

An academic summer school in Kyrgyzstan, sponsored for a second year with OSI's Scholarship Programs, improved scholarship recipients' writing skills before beginning studies at English language universities.





Democratic process in education is also high on the agenda, though progress is neither swift nor straightforward. A large gap still exists between the rhetoric of democracy and the reality of behavior inherited from a past in which the authority of the school leader and teacher was rarely questioned.⁹

> Introduction, Learning to Change: The Experience of Transforming Education in South East Europe, editor: Terrice Bassler, director, OSI's Education Support Program in Ljubljana, CEU Press, to be published in 2005

Cooperation depends on communication. Babel's confusion of tongues illustrates what modern man often fails to realize: the real divisions among men are not racial or physical or geographic, but linguistic.... I am eager to learn as many languages as necessary to understand other cultures and ways of thinking.²?

> Natasha Velikodnaya, Kyrgyzstan, Soros Supplementary Grant recipient, "The Tower of Babel," *ScholarForum*, the journal of OSI's Network Scholarship Programs, fall 2004

Working with a U.S. State Department senior fellow at Azerbaijan University, a SPELT trainer designed and taught a new academic writing and reading curriculum to about 50 teachers. Teacher training efforts in Tajikistan received state support with two state retraining institutes hosting English language teacher training courses run by 15 local trainers.

The School for International Training's summer master's program accepted two ELP-trained teachers from Haiti, where ELP used U.S. State Department funding to organize its third consecutive TESOL methodology course. FocusEd, an international association of quality, nonprofit language schools established by ELP's network of over 20 Soros English/foreign language schools, began work on its elearning program for use in multinational English language education and training courses.

SCHOLARSHIPS AND FELLOWSHIPS

The **Network Scholarship Programs** mobilized international resources to support fellowships, scholarships, and related activities that empower students and scholars to improve the social, political, and intellectual environments of their home communities.

To foster a shared sense of community and build academic and professional networks among program participants, the Scholarship Programs produced a biannual journal (*ScholarForum*), held orientations, and organized intensive preacademic summer programs, annual mid-year conferences, and alumni gatherings. A 2004 conference in the northern Thai city of Chiang Mai, for example, brought together grantees of the Supplementary Grant Program–Burma. Almost 80 Burmese students and alumni representing eight different ethnicities shared their academic and work experiences in business administration, gender and development, public health, human rights, engineering, and economics.

In addition to organizing events to develop bonds between its fellows and alumni, the Scholarship Programs also continued its unique approach to international academic exchange through its Pre-Academic Summer Program. Designed by the Scholarship Programs and the Soros Professional English Language Teaching program, the summer program provides intensive four-week advanced academic language training for grantees preparing to study in the United States or the United Kingdom. In 2004, 64 students and faculty participated in trainings held in Issyk-Kul, Kyrgyzstan.

THE OPEN SOCIETY UNIVERSITY

Central European University continued to pursue its mission of contributing to the development of open societies, not only in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, but also in other emerging democracies worldwide, by promoting academic excellence—including high level research—and civic commitment.

Education authorities in the United States and Hungary furthered CEU's international recognition as the U.S. Middle States Commission on Higher Education granted accreditation to the University and the Hungarian Parliament adopted legislation recognizing CEU as a private Hungarian university.

During the 2004–2005 academic year, CEU received applications from a record 91 countries and enrolled 967 students from more than 64 nations. Approximately 60 percent are enrolled in master's degree programs, with the remainder entering doctoral study programs.

Information and Media

ACCESS TO INFORMATION

The **Information Program** in 2004 enhanced access to information resources and tools for key open society constituencies and disadvantaged groups, primarily in less developed parts of the world. It also used information and communications technology to bolster global networks among civil society groups, and to promote democracy, civic engagement, and government transparency through effective monitoring, analysis, and advocacy on open society issues.

The Program funded iLaw Eurasia, a major training event on Internet and telecommunications policy for civil society and government decision makers from 18 countries in Eastern Europe and Central Asia, and supported projects to protect communications and data privacy in Southern Africa and South Eastern Europe. With OSI support, the American Civil Liberties Union, Privacy International, and Statewatch launched a monitoring project to examine how "policy laundering"—the practice of using international policy forums to push policies that could never win direct approval through regular domestic policy processes—affects privacy and civil liberties.

The Program pursued reform of inequitable intellectual property (IP) rules and support for new open frameworks for the production of information-based public



goods. Grantees included IP Watch, the first global watchdog initiative to uncover private sector influence on intellectual property rights policymaking. The Electronic Information for Libraries project, with Program support, provides libraries in almost 50 countries with low-cost access to thousands of premium business, social sciences, humanities, science, and technology journals.

The Program provided technology support to NGOs through training programs and its pioneering E-Riders, roving technology consultants who worked with hundreds of civil society organizations in South Eastern Europe, Central Asia, and Southern Africa. With the Next Page Foundation, the Program provided grants for the translation into Eastern European languages of several hundred books on issues such as Islam and politics, globalization, and human rights.

PROFESSIONAL AND INDEPENDENT MEDIA

Support for more equitable media freedom standards remained the focus of the **Network Media Program**, with support for the implementation of new media laws an increasingly important priority.

In 2004, the Media Program assisted the Southeast European Network for Professionalization of the Media, which studied media ownership trends in 18 countries and plans advocacy efforts to combat the increased monopolization of ownership. With the EU Monitoring and Advocacy Program (EUMAP), the Program continued work on a project examining the transformation of state media into public service media in South Eastern Europe. The project assesses the regulations and policies established to secure the independence of TV in over 20 countries across Europe. In Southeast Asia, the Program provided support for information efforts on defamation laws and other measures used to imprison and intimidate journalists, while in the Middle East it helped build the capacity of local groups to monitor and combat media freedom violations. The Program also helped develop self-regulatory bodies, such as a media trade union in Ukraine, and assisted efforts to train and educate journalists and media professionals in South Eastern Europe, the Caucasus, Russia, Mongolia, Afghanistan, Cambodia, Indonesia, Liberia, Mexico, Peru, and Thailand.

ARCHIVES AND PUBLISHING

The **Open Society Archives** (OSA) in 2004 digitalized its collection of background reports of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, the records of several human rights organizations, the photo archive of the Hungarian Soros foundation, and the records of Soros foundations in Latvia and Serbia. OSA shared its professional expertise and resources by providing training programs on the development and maintenance of professional archive facilities for NGOs in several different countries. Public events sponsored by OSA in 2004 included a human rights documentary film festival, an exhibit reconstructing two official Hungarian Auschwitz exhibitions organized during communist rule, and an exhibit called "Divide" on the physical barrier built by the Israeli government to prevent uncontrolled access by Palestinians.

Central European University Press continued to publish titles that reflect the values and intellectual strength of the university, addressing topics such as the philosophy and practices of an open society, legal studies, nationalism, human rights, conflict resolution, open media, gender studies, economics, medieval studies, literature, and international relations. New titles published in 2004 included *Against Their Will* by Pavel Polian, a comprehensive survey of forced population movements during the Soviet regime, and *The Demise of Yugoslavia*, a personal account by Croatian president Stipe Mesic. CEU Press also used its distribution channels to bring a growing number of OSI and Soros network publications to a wider readership.

These are a few highlights of the 2004 activities of OSI in education, information, and media. For more information about the 2004 activities of a particular initiative, visit OSI's website at www.soros.org/initiatives.

Nurturing creativity and leadership

Other // Initiatives

ARTS AND CULTURE

The **Arts and Culture Network Program** worked in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan to foster cross-border cooperation and intercultural dialogue. The Program provided funding on a competitive basis to 48 artistic and/or cultural collaborations among individuals and organizations from three or more countries.

The Arts and Culture Network Program started two long-term initiatives for the Caucasus and Central Asia called the Cultural Policy Compendium and Intercultural Dialogue. The Cultural Policy Compendium initiative will sponsor analyses of national cultural policies to provide the basis for new policies to guide cultural development.

Other initiatives and events supported by the Program included the ninth International Festival of Contemporary Music "Ilkhom-XX" and the Central Asian Theater Meeting, both held in Tashkent, Uzbekistan. The Program also supported the compilation of DVD collections of Central Asian documentaries and feature films from the Soviet postcommunist periods, and provided support for cultural professionals in Turkmenistan to participate in events, workshops, and seminars.

CROSS-BORDER PARTNERSHIPS

The **East East Program: Partnership Beyond Borders** supported 200 international exchanges that enabled civil society actors to build and strengthen resources and expertise; share best practices and lessons learned; collaborate on innovative solutions to common challenges; and create or strengthen international advocacy coalitions.

The Program helped Soros foundations in Poland and Moldova promote relations between civil society groups in new EU member states and neighboring non-EU countries. In Ukraine, the Program and the International Renaissance Foundation piloted an initiative to analyze transparency in government expenditures and to promote civil society participation in government decision making. The East East Program supported exchanges to help modernize police training and protect the victims of domestic violence in Mongolia.

The Program's institutional partner in Slovenia, the Peace Institute, began an initiative to empower minorities in the media in multicultural societies, and continued its work on migration and citizenship issues and the greater inclusion of marginalized groups. Efforts in Turkey increased international collaboration for Turkish civil society organizations; one program conducted a comparative analysis of political and social transformation in Spain and Turkey.

The Southeast Asia: Beyond Borders Program, a collaboration between the East East Program and OSI's Southeast Asia Initiative, worked on an approach to development in the Mekong subregion that engaged local communities, and a program to enhance the leadership skills of young people working against human trafficking.

MONITORING HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE RULE OF LAW IN EUROPE

The **EU Monitoring and Advocacy Program** (EUMAP), which monitors the development of human rights and rule of law standards and policies in Europe, has published reports on minority protection, corruption and anticorruption policies, and judicial independence and capacity. Its reports have increased civil society participation in articulating the EU's common democratic values and advanced compliance with human rights standards.

In 2004, EUMAP produced a series of four policy papers on the situation of Muslims in the UK, looking at employment, education, the criminal justice system, and equality and community cohesion. The papers were presented to UK government representatives, leaders of the Muslim community, and human rights activists with recommendations for improving government policies toward the Muslim community. It also produced a report on local-level implementation of the Romanian government's strategy for Roma.

EUMAP carried out two Europe-focused monitoring projects: Access to Education and Employment for People with Intellectual Disabilities, and TV Across Europe: Regulation, Policy, and Independence. Both projects cover new EU member states from Central and Eastern Europe, several older EU member states, and aspiring EU states such as Croatia and Romania.

EUMAP collaborated with OSI's Mental Health Initiative on the Access to Education and Employment for People with Intellectual Disabilities project and with the Network Media Program on the TV Across Europe project, which examines the political and economic forces that influence European broadcast media systems. Both projects will produce reports in 2005, followed by advocacy campaigns in the countries monitored and across the European Union. An upcoming project focuses on Romani communities in the eight countries included in the Decade of Roma Inclusion. A report will assess the situation and needs of Romani children in the education system.

POLICY FELLOWSHIPS

The **International Policy Fellows** (IPF) program, which supports policy research by open society leaders in network countries and elsewhere, has funded some 40-50 fellowships per year since the program's inception in 1998. The program counters "brain drain" by providing policy researchers and advocates with resources and networks that allow them to remain in their home countries.

Policy fellow Fauzia Yazdani's groundbreaking 2004, study on the impact of Pakistan's new 33 percent quota for women in local government paved the way for national policies promoting increased political participation for women at local levels. Yazdani's research was used by UNDP to develop new programs and helped her become a featured local government expert on BBC World Radio.

In Tatarstan, Russia, fellow Irina Morenko's research involving interviews with 40 Muslim clerics and journalists prompted the republic's Religious Affairs Council, Muslim Spiritual Administration, and Union of Journalists to pursue initiatives to minimize the negative stereotyping of Muslims and Islam in Russia's local and national media.

Judit Takacs presented her fellowship research and recommendations on sexual orientation antidiscrimination and equal treatment policies in Hungary to a European Commission special committee. Fellow Pavel Barsa's extensive research on migration issues provided a framework for the Czech Republic's first comprehensive set of immigration and integration policies. Research on Ukraine's iron and steel industry by Vlad Mykhnenko influenced institutions involved in economic reform and the investment decisions of a leading Scandinavian banking group and a Turkish trading company.

Former IPF fellows also made significant contributions to policy. Alumna Mihai Surdu's research on Romani desegregation helped shape 2004 legislation in Romania that outlawed segregation. Research on public administration reform in Slovakia by alumna Katarina Staronova was used by the UNDP and the World Bank for administration reform and financing programs in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia.



66 The anticorruption movement is at a crossroads. After an initial period of largely focusing on awareness raising, recipient governments and donors must now concentrate on the crucial implementation stage. The commitment to fight corruption must go beyond the pledges on paper. It must be worked into the day-to-day practices of the state, in its interactions with citizens and business.⁹⁹

> Petra Kovács and Martin Tisné, editors, "Anticorruption at the Crossroads," *Local Government Brief*, policy journal of OSI's Local Government and Public Service Reform Initiative, spring 2004

ENTREPRENEURS AND SMALL BUSINESSES

A major problem encountered by entrepreneurs and small businesses in transitional and developing economies is a lack of access to credit due to overly constrictive banking sectors and limited management experience. The **Economic and Business Development Program** (EBDP) has helped eliminate these barriers by supporting lending programs that cater to the economically active poor—entrepreneurs who work in the informal economy or who wish to start or expand small businesses but have few tangible assets.

In 2004, EBDP supported or established lending programs in more than 20 countries, primarily through the Soros Economic Development Fund (SEDF), an independent nonprofit foundation. SEDF provided loans, guarantees, and equity investments in lending programs with strong social missions.

To develop the microfinance industry as a whole, EBDP promoted better information sharing among microfinance institutions through the Microfinance Information Exchange and supported an Emergency Liquidity Facility to assist microfinance institutions threatened by natural disasters.

Large-scale training projects supported by EBDP included a new business incubation center for Romani entrepreneurs in Sliven, Bulgaria, and a regional retraining program for military servicemen in the Balkans. In Panama, the Program supported the delivery of financial advisory services to low-income clients and, in Hungary, provided job training for disadvantaged groups.

To nurture future business development, the Program assisted the University of Osijek in Croatia in the expansion of its graduate program in entrepreneurship, and provided help, through the Microfinance Management Institute, for the development of microfinance management curricula in MBA programs in India, Costa Rica, the Philippines, and South Africa.

Project IDEAS (Innovations in Developing Enterprise Assistance), a social venture capital fund established by EBDP in partnership with the International Finance Corporation, provided seed capital to innovative small businesses, including a polymer-recycling business in the Republic of Georgia and a publisher of legal document templates for small businesses in Senegal.

SCIENCE EDUCATION

The **International Soros Science Education Program** (ISSEP), celebrating its 10th year, continued to support excellence in scientific education in the Russian Federation and the Republic of Georgia. It awarded \$2.6 million from the Moscow



and St. Petersburg city governments to outstanding professors, associate professors, undergraduate and graduate students, and high school teachers. The Open Society Institute also provided \$2.3 million to support Soros Emeritus Professors. In Georgia, ISSEP organized seminars on contemporary science and a competition among young scientists for individual grants. Over the past decade, ISSEP activities in Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Georgia have resulted in the publication of 670 scientific articles in various journals and newspapers.

GOOD GOVERNANCE

Helping establish good governance in countries and regions undergoing political and economic transition remained a priority in 2004 for the Local Government and Public Service Reform Initiative (LGI). The Fiscal Decentralization Initiative, jointly funded by LGI and USAID, organized conferences on property taxation and equalization in South Eastern Europe, the reform of intergovernmental fiscal relations in Armenia and Georgia, and the role of local government associations in Central Asia and in South Eastern Europe.

LGI established the Policy Association for an Open Society, consisting of 23 policy centers, to promote good governance and open society. Another LGI initiative, the Local Government Information Network, added Serbia and Montenegro to its network; its online, multilingual library of more than 6,500 local government policy-related documents registered 320,000 visits and 18,000 downloads.

In Romania, LGI's Managing Multiethnic Communities Program collaborated with the Partners for Local Development Foundation to train 24 instructors from 18 countries on how to use a new curriculum to teach local officials diversity management techniques. In partnership with the World Bank, LGI continued to support the DELTA program, which has fostered local economic development plans in 17 municipalities in Kosovo and Albania. LGI launched two new fellowship projects to help ensure the free movement of people, goods, services, and capital, and to monitor municipal finances.

Working in countries outside of CEE/fSU, LGI helped organize a network in Indonesia to share information on decentralization issues.

These are a few highlights of the 2004 activities of OSI's other initiatives. For more information about the 2004 activities of a particular initiative, visit OSI's website at www.soros.org/initiatives.
Expenditures: Initiatives

INTERNATIONAL INITIATIVES

OSI–Paris Belarus Support	\$1,039,000
Balkan Policy Group	79,000
Burma Project	2,152,000
Southeast Asia Project	1,468,000
Indonesia Initiative	477,000
Central Eurasia Project	3,375,000
Middle East Projects	4,340,000
China Grants	754,000
Latin America Regional Initiatives	4,901,000
Project Syndicate	1,349,000
Other International	5,111,000

TOTAL INTERNATIONAL INITIATIVES

\$25,046,000

NETWORK PROGRAMS

Arts and Culture Network Program	\$502,000
Children and Youth Programs	8,741,000
East East Program	3,219,000
Economic and Business Development Program	4,774,000
Education Support Program	3,490,000
English Language Program	799,000
EU Monitoring and Advocacy Program	1,106,000
Information Program	11,427,000
International Policy Fellowships	977,000
International Higher Education Support Program	15,432,000
Local Government and Public Service Reform Initiative	7,620,000
Media Program	9,424,000
Open Society Justice Initiative	13,162,000
Public Health Program	16,323,000
Roma Participation Program	2,125,000
Scholarship Programs*	16,511,000
Women's Program	5,252,000

TOTAL NETWORK PROGRAMS

\$120,885,000

* The Network Scholarship Program reflects third party activity for the Palestinian Rule of Law Project totaling \$59,817. Of this amount, \$57,067 has been applied to accrued tuition and \$2,750 to tuition expense.

J.S. Programs



U.S. Justice Fund

Documentary Photography Project

Fellowships

OSI-Baltimore

Youth Initiatives

THE CONTINUING SIGNIFICANCE OF RACENo conversationin the United States—or anywhere in the world, for that matter,
since skin color seems to be a universal indicator of status—is as
charged and complex as the one about race. It is, among other
things, quite personal—what MacArthur Fellow Danielle Allen
calls "racial distrust" is deeply ingrained, and every person brings
to these matters his or her sense of pride, principle, and hurt.
The consequences of past and continuing discrimination affect
virtually every matter that OSI deals with, for there can be no truly
open society where access and opportunities are limited by race.

To borrow a phrase from President George W. Bush, America's original democracy was an "ownership society." What was owned were African people, brought here against their will, forced into labor, and denied outright the most basic rights of political participation—of personhood—for the first American century, and denied them through violence and every manner of law and political chicanery for most of the second. Today, when polling stations in minority districts in nearly every city in the United States have waiting lines 5 and 10 times longer than in white neighborhoods, when only 1 out of 100 senators and none of 50 state governors are black, when one-third of African-American men in at least three Southern states are permanently barred from voting by "felon disenfranchisement" provisions that have their origins in Jim Crow laws designed to block freed slaves from voting, the continuing significance of race still impairs the health of American democracy.

The bitter legacy of slavery, segregation, and Jim Crow also lives on in the justice system. The prisons and death rows are filled with people of color in gross disproportion to their numbers in the population. A person convicted of murder is 12 times more likely to be sentenced to death, for example, if the victim was white than if he or she was black.



So it's not by accident that across the country, most of the 630,000 people leaving prison each year return to a handful of distressed minority neighborhoods and face so many barriers to reentry that two-thirds are returned to prison within three years.

These disparities are at least as stark in parts of the nation, like South Dakota, where there are high concentrations of Native Americans. Indeed, 4 of the 10 highest poverty counties in the United States are sites of Indian reservations.

In addition, immigration policies and enforcement practices are infused with racial and ethnic bias—Muslim, Arab, and South Asian people were targeted in mass

questioning and roundups after September 11, and they remain disproportionately represented on "no-fly" lists. As the American Civil Liberties Union, a key OSI grantee, pointed out, so many Pakistanis have left the United States, either through deportation or voluntarily, that the population of Brooklyn's "Little Pakistan" has been reduced by 25 to 50 percent.

Nearly all of OSI's youth-related work deals with the barriers that young people of color face in the United States. OSI has supported the development of urban debate leagues in 14 cities. Youth media ventures like Youth Radio and WNYC's Radio Rookies, both OSI grantees, counter negative images of minority youth by creating opportunities for them to tell their own stories. OSI's work with the Carnegie Corporation and the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation to create new, smaller high schools recognizes that all too many large city high schools are dysfunctional places with astronomical dropout rates—virtual conveyor belts for the criminal justice system. As Microsoft founder Bill Gates puts it, "In district after district, wealthy white kids are taught Algebra II while low-income minority kids are taught to balance a checkbook." President Bush might call this the "soft bigotry of low expectations," but there is nothing soft about the consequences.

OSI has worked for almost eight years in Baltimore, a majority African-American city with a strong network of community organizations and local philanthropies that needs support in dealing with the interconnected blights of drug dependency and crime, intensified by a lack of youth and employment opportunities.

Finally, racial disparities exist in death and dying as well. Black people—for myriad reasons ranging from grossly unequal access to health care to a disproportionate risk of violent death in poorly policed neighborhoods—cannot expect to live as long as whites do. And as OSI's Project on Death in America has pointed out, when blacks are suffering from pain or terminal illness, they are less likely than whites to get proper palliative care.

Race still plays a powerful role in determining access to justice and opportunity—and to participation in democracy. No effort to address these core open society issues can ignore this reality. As a result, OSI has increased its commitment to racial justice work through its U.S. Justice Fund. Justice Harry Blackmun's words must still guide us: "In order to get beyond racism, we must first take account of race. There is no other way."

Gara LaMarche Vice President and Director of U.S. Programs

U.S. Programs: A Decade of Activities and Achievements

Since its inception in 1996, U.S. Programs has supported efforts to strengthen domestic human rights, guarantee access to justice, and ensure the inclusion of everyone in the democratic process. It has made a significant impact in fields as diverse and far-ranging as criminal justice reform, judicial reform, reproductive rights, palliative care, and after-school programming.

U.S. Programs has spent \$738 million in grants and programs across the United States. A few highlights include over \$50 million to combat unfair treatment and discrimination against legal immigrants in the United States; \$45 million to transform end-of-life care by establishing palliative care programs to allow people to die with dignity and without pain; and \$11.5 million to support debate programs that help students improve grades and succeed in school. In addition, OSI committed \$125 million when, in 1998, it established The After-School Corporation, now the largest provider of after-school programs in New York City.

U.S. JUSTICE FUND

Although the United States aspires to the ideal of an open society, discrimination, political ideology, and an overreliance on market forces have denied fair treatment and equal protection and opportunity to many members of society. Disempowered because of their race, ethnicity, poverty, gender, sexual orientation, and immigration status, these individuals and communities often are disenfranchised by the very system that is supposed to protect their fundamental human rights and equal access to economic opportunity, political participation, and social services.

To build an open society that is fair and accountable to all of its members, OSI's U.S. Justice Fund focuses its grantmaking, educational, and advocacy activities on securing equal justice and seeking an end to overreliance on incarceration.

Securing Equal Justice: OSI seeks to secure procedural and substantive justice by developing criminal and civil justice systems that are accessible and impartial, protect fundamental human rights, prohibit arbitrary and discriminatory government action, and remove barriers that prevent individuals from participating fully in the economic, social, and political life of the community. The U.S. Justice Fund believes that government must act in a transparent manner and respect the constitutional role of the courts as a check on legislative and executive abuse. It seeks to increase the ability of individuals and communities to participate in policymaking that affects the delivery of justice, including the allocation of public resources.

Seeking an End to Overreliance on Incarceration: OSI seeks to document the causes of overincarceration, including discriminatory practices, which create and maintain a permanent underclass defined largely by race and income. The U.S. Justice Fund supports efforts to identify and adopt alternatives to incarceration and to irrational sentencing and parole policies. It encourages the reallocation of public monies to support the successful reintegration of people returning from prison and the economic and social development of communities deeply affected by incarceration patterns.

CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL POLICY

Threats to judicial independence escalated in 2004. When a Massachusetts court, following developments in Canada and Europe, ruled that same-sex couples have an equal right to marry, right-wing politicians and interest groups launched vociferous

attacks against "activist judges." Members of Congress introduced punitive legislation to limit the jurisdiction of federal courts. Some threatened retribution against judges who look to foreign or international legal developments in deciding human rights cases. At the same time, interest groups poured a record amount of money into election contests for state supreme courts to seek ideologically "friendly" judiciaries.

In response, OSI's Constitutional and Legal Policy program expanded its grantmaking initiative to protect the fairness and impartiality of the nation's courts. The Justice at Stake Campaign—a coalition of organizations working to educate Americans about threats to the fairness and integrity of the courts—partnered with two leading gay rights organizations, the Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund and the Human Rights Campaign, to raise public awareness about the judiciary's constitutional responsibility to protect the rights of all Americans. The American Constitution Society for Law and Policy (ACS), a national organization of law students, law professors, practicing lawyers, and others seeking to foster a progressive vision of American law, organized a series of "teach-in" events at over 100 campus and lawyer chapters on the role of ideology in judicial selection. And the Center for Investigative Reporting launched the Courting Influence Project to place stories in the media examining how special interests and ideology influence the selection of judges.

The program also provided support to organizations working to articulate a progressive, humane vision of the law, part of an ongoing attempt to challenge the strategic efforts of conservative legal groups and think tanks. It made grants to ACS and the Yale Law School to convene thinkers interested in developing a vision of constitutional democracy for the 21st century.

GIDEON PROJECT

In the 1963 case of *Gideon v. Wainwright*, the Supreme Court declared that equal justice could not be achieved as long as poor people accused of crimes had no lawyer to represent them. Four decades later, this noble ideal has yet to be realized. In many jurisdictions in the United States, poor defendants are never appointed an attorney to represent them. When lawyers are appointed, too often they are overwhelmed, underresourced, poorly compensated, or simply incompetent. Equal justice eludes not only the poor; it also eludes people of color. The police routinely target people on the basis of their race and ethnicity, and African-Americans disproportionately

We must ensure that there is helpnot just prison—for drug-dependent people as they attempt to become productive members of society. If we don't, our poorest communities will continue to be destabilized by large numbers of returning ex-prisoners, still addicted and without skills, good health, and connections in the community to help them succeed. ²²

Diana Morris, OSI–Baltimore director, *Baltimore Sun* op-ed, January 20, 2004

receive harsher sentences, including the death penalty. Though scores of innocent people have been exonerated while awaiting execution, the death penalty continues to be unfairly applied and administered. The Gideon Project's focus is to seek remedies for these ills and, in doing so, to move toward achieving the fair administration of criminal justice for all Americans.

In 2004, funding to improve indigent defense services included a grant to the Brennan Center for Justice to develop a network of defender offices that provide high quality representation in criminal and juvenile cases and work with the communities of their clients. The Louisiana Justice Coalition received support to conduct research, public education, and coalition building activities for indigent defense reform in Louisiana. With OSI's Immigrants' Rights program, the Gideon Project funded the Immigrant Legal Resource Center to ensure that indigent noncitizen defendants are provided effective criminal defense counsel to minimize the immigration consequences of their criminal dispositions.

The Gideon Project also continued to fund organizations working toward the reform and abolition of the death penalty. In 2004, the Gideon Project awarded grants to People of Faith Against the Death Penalty to educate North Carolina citizens about the need for a death penalty moratorium in that state. A grant to Columbia University to support research documenting jury trends in juvenile death sentencing contributed to the victory in *Roper v. Simmons*, the March 2005 Supreme Court decision that holds the death penalty unconstitutional for juvenile offenders who were under the age of 18 when they committed their crimes.

The Gideon Project supported the Southern Center for Human Rights to protect the human rights of the poor, people of color, and the disadvantaged in the criminal courts and prison systems in the South in both the death penalty and indigent defense realms; the Equal Justice Initiative of Alabama for policy reform in the administration of justice and for legal representation for indigent defendants, death row prisoners, and others charged with serious crimes and denied fair and just treatment; and the National Juvenile Defender Center for its work to abolish the juvenile death penalty and improve the quality of representation for children in juvenile and criminal proceedings.

PROGRAM ON PRISON EXPANSION AND SENTENCING REFORM

OSI's Program on Prison Expansion and Sentencing Reform challenges the sentencing and incarceration policies that, in the past three decades, have led to unprecedented increases in incarceration rates and the severity of criminal punishment, as well as growing racial and class disparities in both areas.

In early 2004, OSI funded the work of the American Bar Association (ABA) Justice Kennedy Commission, formed as a result of Supreme Court Justice Anthony M. Kennedy's address at the ABA's annual meeting in 2003. Justice Kennedy questioned the fairness and effectiveness of the U.S. criminal justice system, expressing concern about the increasing number of people incarcerated, the disproportionate incarceration of people of color, the cost and length of incarceration, and mandatory minimum sentences. The commission held hearings throughout the country to gather information about corrections and punishment, and in August 2004, the ABA adopted the commission's recommendations, which called for repealing mandatory minimum sentences, restoring guided discretion to sentencing judges, and implementing alternatives to incarceration.

Consistent with Justice Kennedy's observations and the commission's recommendations, OSI supports efforts to stem prison growth and "tough on crime" criminal justice policies. In 2004, OSI funded Families to Amend California's Three Strikes to raise public awareness of the law's contribution to dramatic increases in California's prison population without any meaningful effect on the crime rate. OSI renewed its support of Families Against Mandatory Minimums, which challenges excessive penalties imposed by mandatory sentencing; the W. Haywood Burns Institute, which works to reduce the overrepresentation of youth of color in the juvenile justice system; and Grassroots Leadership, which seeks to abolish forprofit private prisons.

Recognizing the central role the war on drugs has played in increasing the scale of incarceration in the United States, OSI provided start-up funding to Break the Chains, which seeks to build a national movement against punitive drug policies within communities of color. OSI also supported the Southern Rural Development Initiative's work to coordinate a campaign to convert the scandal-ridden juvenile prison in Tallulah, Louisiana, into a community college.

THE AFTER PRISON INITIATIVE

The year saw the emergence of prisoner reentry on the national stage. In his State of the Union Address, President Bush, declaring the Unites States the "country of second chances," voiced a commitment to the ideal that people who have served their time deserve a fair opportunity to resettle in the free world. Soon after, Congress introduced the Second Chance Act of 2004, a bipartisan bill aimed at eliminating many of the inequities suffered by people returning from prison. These developments were due in great part to the work of The After Prison Initiative grantees, which confronted the reentry crisis, addressing the issues of economic disinvestment, political disenfranchisement, and civic isolation that threaten open society.

A grant to the Council of State Governments enabled the organization to help states across the country build bipartisan consensus around more effective crosssector responses to the reentry challenge. The organization's Re-Entry Policy Council report guides states and the federal government on how to reorient criminal justice, housing, health, and employment sectors to finance and establish successful reintegration.

Grants to the Columbia University Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation and the JFA Institute support the work of the Justice Mapping Center, which uses computer mapping to reveal how unprecedented migration between prisons and home is undermining the capacity of families, communities, and government to cope with reentry. Justice maps helped prompt Connecticut lawmakers to enact policies that would reduce the state's overuse of prisons, with savings to be reinvested in the stability and safety of high-resettlement neighborhoods.

In 2004, grantees demonstrated how political disenfranchisement and other civil barriers contribute to the marginalization of people trying to reestablish themselves after prison. The Legal Action Center's 50-state *Report on State Legal Barriers Facing People with Criminal Records* pinpointed extensive housing, employment, and other legal restrictions erected over the years that inhibit people's ability to succeed after prison.

Other grantees focused on restrictions on voting rights and access to higher education. The Right to Vote Campaign litigated and advocated for restoring voting rights to people who have served time. The Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law educated thousands of minority people with criminal records about exercising their voting rights. In New York, a grant to the Bard Prison Initiative supported a unique approach to higher education—for students on campus and in prison—that stresses civic education for democratic participation and accountability. The reentry crisis has aroused an increasingly broad and bipartisan cadre of individuals, community institutions, and government agencies. Reentry is causing society to rethink crime and punishment, and to demand a system that is accountable for achieving sustainable, equitable justice, preserving families, and restoring safe communities.

IMMIGRANTS' RIGHTS

The security measures spawned by the war against terrorism have not only compromised due process of law and chipped away at human rights and civil liberties in the United States, but disproportionately affected immigrants and detainees. OSI supports a number of organizations challenging these post-September 11 measures while advocating national security and immigration reforms more responsive to human rights and civil liberties.

Organizations like the National Immigration Forum, the Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services, and the National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium have worked with a broad coalition of civil and immigrant rights advocates, faith-based groups, and unions on comprehensive immigration policies that are fair and equitable.

Other groups have responded to the rise in arrests, detentions, and deportations of immigrants. The Immigrant Legal Resource Center is combating the treatment of civil immigration violations as criminal offenses and addressing the harsh consequences of criminal convictions. In many cases, lawful permanent residents are subjected to mandatory detention and deportation due to minor criminal charges. Heartland Alliance, Human Rights First, and the Catholic Legal Immigration Network are all working to ensure due process, access to counsel, and humane conditions for immigrants in detention and those facing deportation.

The National Immigration Law Center, the National Council of La Raza, and other grantees are fighting proposals to use state and local police to enforce federal immigration laws. Law enforcement officials have also objected that proposals to investigate and arrest people for civil immigration violations would be a poor use of police resources and jeopardize public safety by discouraging reports of crimes.



Experienced observers of conditions in U.S. prisons are quick to recognize that the Abu Ghraib photos reek of the cruel but usual methods of control used by many U.S. prison personnel.⁹⁹

> Soros Justice Fellow Judith Greene, "Examining Our Harsh Prison Culture," *Ideas for an Open Society*, U.S. Programs publication, October 2004

LESBIAN, GAY, BISEXUAL, AND TRANSGENDER RIGHTS

OSI has provided support to a number of organizations working to protect and expand the rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people. In 2004, Massachusetts became the first state to allow same-sex couples to marry. OSI supported Gay & Lesbian Advocates & Defenders, the legal organization responsible for that breakthrough victory, and Freedom to Marry, a national advocacy group coordinating efforts to secure marriage equality nationwide. OSI also contributed to the launch of the Civil Marriage Collaborative, a program of the Proteus Fund, which raised \$1.3 million for organizations leading marriage equality efforts in nine states. OSI funded organizations working to safeguard the rights of transgendered people, including the Sylvia Rivera Law Project, based in New York, and the Transgender Law Center, based in San Francisco.

RACIAL JUSTICE INITIATIVE

The Racial Justice Initiative, established in 2004, seeks to advance social and civil opportunities for low-income communities of color to participate fully in society by eliminating the structural barriers that perpetuate exclusion and unfair treatment. It supports national and local organizations that use a racial justice analysis to defend the rights of marginalized communities of color. The Public Justice Center launched a national campaign to defend the rights of low-income communities. The Native American Rights Fund promotes racial justice and economic equity for historically disenfranchised tribal communities. The Center for Social Inclusion supports community groups working to dismantle structural racism through applied research and advocacy. PolicyLink assists people of color to effectively address issues that systemically prevent communities from achieving economic and social equity.

DOCUMENTARY PHOTOGRAPHY PROJECT

The Documentary Photography Project, a new OSI program that supports photographers in the areas of production and distribution, made several grants in 2004, including a grant to the FiftyCrows International Fund for Documentary Photography to support four emerging photographers working in Central Asia and the Caucasus. The Project also funded the Photographs by Iraqi Civilians exhibition, organized jointly by PixelPress and the Daylight Community Arts Foundation, and underwrote a panel hosted by the International Center of Photography in conjunction with their exhibition, Inconvenient Evidence: Iraqi Prison Photographs from Abu Ghraib.

The Project grows out of OSI's long history of supporting documentary photographers—most notably through the Moving Walls exhibitions—in its exploration of social justice and human rights issues. The aim is to use photography to stimulate broad public discussion and effect social change.

Moving Walls, documentary photography exhibitions organized by OSI, is

exhibited at OSI's offices in New York City and Washington, D.C., a college or nonprofit gallery space in Baltimore, and the Columbia University School of Social Work. Since its inception in 1997, the show has featured the work of over 50 photographers.

The ninth exhibition opened in June 2004, shortly after the release of the horrific images from the Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq—an event that prompted worldwide recognition of the power of documentary photography to shape "I don't want readers to necessarily dwell on how I did it. In documentary photojournalism, I believe the subject, not the photographer, should be the number one author of the photo."

-Don Bartletti

events. Six photographers were featured in the exhibition, including Don Bartletti and Sean Hemmerle. Bartletti, a Pulitzer Prize—winning photographer from the *Los Angeles Times*, recorded the journey of a boy traveling from Honduras to North Carolina in search of his mother, as part of a larger story on the massive migration of undocumented immigrants from Latin America to the United States each year; Hemmerle's landscapes of a war-ravaged Iraq, taken in the fall of 2003, present an eerie scene of destruction devoid of people.

FELLOWSHIPS

THE COMMUNITY FELLOWSHIPS PROGRAM

OSI established the Community Fellowships Program to support individuals creating innovative social justice projects that serve traditionally underresourced neighborhoods and communities in Baltimore, Maryland, and New York City. It promotes new leadership and community-based solutions, fosters civic participation within low-income communities, and empowers those most affected by failing public policies.

In Baltimore, for example, the Program funded Samuel A. Epps to work with the Maryland Justice Coalition and the Justice Policy Institute on a collaborative educational campaign to reduce Baltimore's prison population by expanding aftercare and promoting treatment instead of incarceration. As a result of the coalition's efforts, policymakers established the Drug Treatment Diversion Program in May of 2004. Steven D. Rubin partnered with Advocates for Survivors of Torture and Trauma to establish Healing Images, a program that combines photography and art therapy to heal and empower the victims of torture.

In New York City, Flor Bermudez created the Esperanza del Barrio Project, which uses grassroots organizing and legal representation to protect the economic opportunities of Mexican and Latina immigrant street vendors and their families in East Harlem. The project has been influential in reforming laws and policies regulating employment eligibility for lowincome immigrant workers. Zeinab M. Eyega created the Sauti Yetu Center for African Women, which strives to link the resources of public health officials, educators, and policymakers to respond to the public health crisis of African women in New York City.

SOROS ADVOCACY FELLOWSHIP FOR PHYSICIANS

The Soros Advocacy Fellowship for Physicians was an initiative of the Medicine as a Profession (MAP) program. From 1999 to 2004, MAP fostered a commitment to professionalism within medicine, supporting efforts to improve the quality of and access to health care in the United States. OSI's commitment to medical professionalism will continue through its support of the Institute on Medicine as a Profession (IMAP) at the Columbia College of Physicians and Surgeons.





In 2004, the fellowship program selected four fellows whose projects included promoting child-abuse prevention services in Rochester; providing access to methadone maintenance in prisons in Rhode Island; facilitating access to health care for residents of the Rio Grande Valley in South Texas; and supporting the health care needs of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender youth in Philadelphia. Starting in 2005, the program also became part of IMAP.

SOROS JUSTICE FELLOWSHIPS

The Soros Justice Fellowships support lawyers, community activists, academics, journalists, and filmmakers seeking to draw attention to and redress the effects of overly punitive incarceration policies in the United States. In 2004, OSI funded a total of 18 senior fellows, advocacy fellows, and media fellows.

The Soros Justice Media Fellows included Emily Bazelon, who published articles on sentencing reform in the *Boston Globe, Washington Post, New York Times*, and *Legal Affairs* magazine; David Feige, who produced a series of commentaries for NPR's Morning Edition on the everyday injustices faced by low-income people caught in the criminal justice system and wrote articles for the *LA Times* and *Slate* magazine; and Leslie Neale, who screened her documentary film *Juvies*, which tells the stories of young people serving long prison sentences in adult correctional facilities, at schools across the country. There have been 37 media fellows since 1998.

The Soros Justice Advocacy Fellows included Melissa Bradley, who integrates employment programs for former prisoners into mainstream economic development plans; Andrea Keilen, who conducted research and public and policymaker education to expose problems of prosecutorial misconduct in the Texas criminal justice system; and Alexander Lee, who provides alternative sentencing and mitigation services to transgender and gender variant people incarcerated in California. Since 1997, the program has supported 88 advocacy fellows.

The Soros Justice Senior Fellows included Kerry Cook, a wrongfully convicted (and exonerated) death row prisoner who wrote a book about his experience; Maurice Emsellem, who educated labor unions about the negative impact of overreaching employment screenings for criminal records on low-wage workers; and Margaret Love, who conducted research on state and federal mechanisms for restoring rights to former prisoners and advocated for the elimination of unfair barriers to successful reintegration into the community. The program has supported 56 senior fellows since 1997.

OSI-BALTIMORE

The Baltimore office provides OSI with an opportunity to identify, support, and publicize successful approaches to addressing the social and economic justice issues that plague U.S. cities. Confronting high levels of drug addiction, crime, and unemployment, Baltimore city government acknowledges its responsibility to combat poverty and discrimination and has welcomed joint public-private efforts, including contributions from OSI, to change harmful or ineffective policies and implement promising initiatives. Working in an interdisciplinary fashion, OSI–Baltimore has provided grants and technical assistance in the fields of criminal justice, drug addiction treatment, workforce and economic development, education and youth development, and community justice. It has also launched a high school urban debate league.

In a city of 620,000, where half of the students in neighborhood schools drop out before graduation, 60,000 residents are said to be drug dependent, and 56 percent of the African-American men are involved in the criminal justice system, OSI-Baltimore recognized that small initiatives or model programs would have limited impact. Instead, it concentrated on building partnerships and engaging large bureaucratic systems in a deliberate process of change. The work is unfinished, but promising.

The Baltimore office has organized a consortium of local hospitals—a key employer in the region—to launch a collaborative program to recruit, train, and advance low-income city residents as skilled health care workers. The Job Opportunities Task Force, bolstered by OSI support and technical assistance, has become the leading policy organization to use research and advocacy to secure economic opportunity for low-income workers.

In 2004, OSI-Baltimore continued to support the expansion of the public drug addiction treatment system to reach a greater proportion of the addicted population. Four local hospitals developed programs to improve health and drug addiction treatment for heroin-addicted patients transitioning from their facilities to the community. Other grants enabled federally qualified community health centers to expand their drug addiction treatment capacity through the use of buprenorphine, a newly approved medication for heroin addiction. OSI-Baltimore continued to support the grassroots Maryland Justice Coalition resulting in a successful "Campaign for Treatment Not Incarceration," which increased funding for drug addiction treatment and supported diversion and treatment in lieu of incarceration. Other grants encouraged public and private agencies to offer employment training services to people who were previously incarcerated to help them reenter the community successfully.

Other initiatives replaced large, ineffective neighborhood high schools with small, supportive, rigorous learning communities—including four new schools—that have bolstered attendance and lowered rates of suspension and expulsion. OSI provided lead funding for an after-school partnership that uses certified teachers to link the curriculum to the school day and community organizations to provide enrichment activities. OSI—Baltimore has also grown the Baltimore Urban Debate League from 8 to 26 squads, serving virtually every high school in the city. An impressive 80 percent of graduates are admitted to college.

The Baltimore office also provides support to remove the formal barriers that block opportunity because of poverty, race, and ethnicity. Support to CASA of Maryland provides protection to Baltimore's growing Latino community, particularly in the workforce. Support to the Public Justice Center offers appellate review of court cases that affect large groups of people who are poor or of color. Recognizing the importance of legal representation for the most vulnerable, the center is also seeking to insure the right to counsel in key civil cases.

YOUTH INITIATIVES

Young people have often borne the brunt of excessively punitive policies framed as measures to protect and safeguard individuals and communities. They are particularly at risk of being stopped and searched, arrested and subsequently incarcerated, and generally harassed, even inside their own schools, by overeager police.

Youth Initiatives helps young people, especially those from low-income and minority communities, access legitimate outlets for expressing their concerns and perspectives. It brings young people into the democratic process



Sometimes you are an agent of change in communities that want to keep things the same. The fight is a big one—against classism, against poverty, against racism, and about empowering people to have a voice in their own communities.²²

> Rebecca Yenawine, Baltimore Community Fellow, Individuals Making a Difference: Baltimore Community Fellowships Program, OSI report, 2004

by giving them a role in the issues that affect their lives. It also seeks to inform the public about the complexities of young people's lives.

One program strategy is to support youth media projects that allow young people to tell their own stories and counter the negative images seen on a daily basis in the press. Over the years, grantees have received prestigious awards for their youth-produced documentaries. In 2004, Manhattan Neighborhood Network, a Youth Initiatives grantee, developed an innovative youth media summer health partnership between their Youth Channel, on cable access television, and New York City's Health and Hospitals Corporation. This project trained high school immigrant youth in video production, enabling them to produce a short educational documentary on hospital health services in the city's neighborhoods for use as an outreach tool by municipal hospitals.

Formal policy debate training is another strategy that OSI supports to develop young people's critical thinking and analytical skills, which are so vital to their democratic participation. Youth Initiatives supports urban debate programs in cities around the country that are often developed as partnerships between school districts and universities. Over the years, 15 urban debate leagues have been sponsored in Washington, D.C., Kansas City, Baltimore, Chicago, New York, Atlanta, the San Francisco Bay Area, Los Angeles, Providence, and Seattle.

An OSI-sponsored research study, released in 2004, indicated that debate improves student performance in reading, diminishes high-risk behavior, and improves student success and attitudes toward higher education. The study also showed that debate as a co-curricular or "out of school time" activity enhances academic achievement, particularly in urban public high schools that have the lowest outcomes for their students.

To further advance opportunities for youth, OSI funds school reform initiatives and after-school programs. In partnership with the Carnegie Corporation and the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, OSI funded the New Century High School Initiative to create a large number of small high schools in New York City. Each foundation contributed \$10 million over five years. New Visions for Public Schools, the grantee organization overseeing the project, is working with the Department of Education, staff from the school chancellor's office, the Council of Supervisors and Administrators—the trade union for school principals—and the United Federation of Teachers, as well as with students and parents. In the first four years of the initiative, 75 New Century high schools were created across New York City.

The After-School Corporation (TASC), another OSI grantee, was initiated in 1998 to ensure universal after-school programs for all children and families by the year 2010. To date, TASC has leveraged more than \$375 million in public and private funding to support after-school activities. In 2004, TASC supported 279 after-school programs in New York, serving approximately 55,000 students. OSI also provided funding for technical assistance support and professional development for after-school staff.

Expenditures: U.S. Programs

U.S. Justice Fund	\$25,247,000
NYC Community Fellows	767,000
OSI–Baltimore	5,146,000
Youth Initiatives	2,149,000
After-School Program	22,831,000
OSI–Washington, D.C.	2,593,000
Medicine as a Profession	1,356,000
Other U.S. Initiatives	21,895,000

TOTAL U.S. PROGRAMS \$81,984,000

NOTE: Other U.S. Initiatives include: drug policy reform (\$5,000,000); documentary photography (\$250,000); strategic opportunities such as judicial nominations, budget and tax policy, nonpartisan voter engagement, and journalism and media policy (\$14,000,000); and other U.S. programs and communications (\$2,500,000). Amounts are approximate.



Open Society Institute



The Open Society Institute, a private operating and grantmaking foundation based in New York City, is the center of the Soros foundations network. OSI and the network promote open society by seeking to shape government policy and supporting education, media, public health, human rights, and women's rights, as well as social, legal, and economic reform.

The goal is to transform closed societies into open ones and to protect and expand the values of existing open societies. 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 thriving civil societies.

Investor and philanthropist George Soros, founder and chairman of the Open Society Institute and the Soros foundations network, began establishing foundations in Central and Eastern Europe before the collapse of communism. Today Soros foundations and OSI programs operate in more than 60 countries throughout the world.

The Soros foundations are autonomous institutions established in particular countries or regions to initiate or support open society activities. A local board of directors, in consultation with Soros and OSI boards and advisors, determines the priorities and specific activities of each Soros foundation.

To varying degrees, all of the Soros foundations participate in network programs. OSI's network programs address specific issues or areas—public health, media, and early childhood education, for example—on a network-wide basis. OSI also has a number of international initiatives as well as programs in the United States. Descriptions of the foundations, programs, and initiatives—and their 2004 activities—can be found throughout the pages of this report.

OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE (NEW YORK)

The Open Society Institute in New York and the Open Society Institute–Budapest each administer a number of initiatives and assist the other organizations and foundations in the Soros foundations network with administrative, financial, and technical support. Certain programs are administered from both New York and Budapest.

The initiatives administered by OSI in New York include the Children and Youth Programs, the Economic and Business Development Program, the English Language Program, the Open Society Justice Initiative, the Public Health Program, the Scholarship Programs, and the Women's Program.

OSI also operates the Central Eurasia Project/Middle East and North Africa Initiatives, the Burma Project/Southeast Asia Initiative, and a number of programs in the United States.

After a long absence from China, OSI is beginning to examine opportunities for funding, focusing initially on professionalism as a way to secure space independent of government and promote open society. In 2004, approximately \$500,000 was used to fund training for journalists, public defenders, and HIV/AIDS practitioners.

OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE-BUDAPEST

Initiatives based at OSI–Budapest include the Arts and Culture Network Program, the Education Support Program, the EU Monitoring and Advocacy Program, the International Higher Education Support Program, the Human Rights and Governance Grants Program, and the Local Government and Public Service Reform Initiative. The Budapest office, together with the CEU Center for Policy Studies, supports the International Policy Fellowships program.

OSI–Budapest also operates programs that seek to improve the situation of the Roma in Central and Eastern Europe: the Roma Culture Initiative, the Roma Memorial University Scholarship Program, and the Roma Participation Program.

OSI–Budapest is located in the Central European University complex, and its programs often share resources with CEU.

OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE-BRUSSELS

The Open Society Institute–Brussels facilitates collaboration between the Soros foundations network and the various institutions of the European Union, Council of Europe, and OSCE, as well as bilateral donors and nongovernmental organizations. 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 2004, the activities of the office included: supporting advocacy efforts from across the network to promote human rights, democracy, and civil society within the new European Neighbourhood Policy; advocating for specific EU funding for civil society organizations in the new EU member states; promoting the case for strong EU support to the Decade of Roma Inclusion and ensuring that the EU develops adequate policies and funding to address the situation of Roma in the enlarged EU; supporting the work of the Independent Commission on Turkey to promote a more balanced debate in the EU on Turkey's possible membership; improving the European response to the fight against HIV/AIDS; leading the Publish What You Pay coalition's advocacy activities on EU financial services legislation; and advocating increased political and financial commitment from the EU to the Western Balkans.

The office organized discussions and debates in Brussels and other EU capitals involving network offices, grantees, civil society leaders, representatives of the European institutions, and other West European partners, and set up meetings with EU officials for Soros foundations colleagues. OSI–Brussels hosted short-term fellows from the Soros foundations network to build understanding and capacity in working with the European institutions, and assisted many national foundations, network programs, and grantees with their building of donor partnerships.

OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATION-LONDON

The Open Society Foundation–London houses various network programs and OSIsupported initiatives, including the East East Program: Partnership Beyond Borders, the Network Media Program, the Information Program, AfriMAP, and the coordinator of the Publish What You Pay coalition. The office helps facilitate collaboration between the Soros foundations network and OSI's partners in the United Kingdom, including the British government and London-based NGOs. It assists the Soros foundations and OSI network programs in building donor partnerships, develops coalitions with OSI's long-term NGO partners, and raises awareness in UK policy circles about issues of concern to the network. In close collaboration with OSI–Brussels, the London-based director of EU affairs also engages in a variety of policy activities related to the European Union.

OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE-PARIS

OSI–Paris is a liaison and resource office for the Soros foundations network. Since May 2001, it has acted as OSI's board liaison office, helping all national foundations to implement appropriate board rotation procedures. The Paris office also runs the Belarus Project, which was initiated in 1997 when the Belarus Soros Foundation was forced to close. The Project continues to support the development of open society in Belarus by enhancing civic culture and support activities that immediately benefit Belarusian society while preparing the country for a future democratic transition.

As a result of the forced closure of the Soros foundation in Uzbekistan in 2004, OSI created an Uzbekistan Committee to review and guide all network activity in Uzbekistan. The Committee will operate in a similar fashion to the Belarus Project.

OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE–WASHINGTON, D.C. (OSI–D.C.)

The Open Society Institute–Washington, D.C., supports the OSI mission in three major ways: by encouraging responsible United States cooperation with other nations on matters that require a global response, such as the environment and disease; by helping to protect an open society in the United States by defending civil liberties and encouraging fair and responsible criminal justice policies; and by representing in Washington the many parts of the Open Society Institute, including the Soros foundations network and OSI programs.

In 2004, OSI–D.C.'s Cooperative Global Engagement Project organized debates on the advantages of collaborating with other countries on critical international issues. With U.S. Programs, the Washington office worked at educating the public and elected officials about the dangers of infringing fundamental rights in the name of fighting terrorism. OSI–D.C. supported the work of the Public Health Program and its grantees on HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis.

OSI–D.C. also hosts the Latin America Program and provides a home for a number of OSI grantees, including Penal Reform International, the Freedom Investment Project, the Democracy Coalition Project, and the Center for National Security Studies. It will establish a fellows program to host staff from other parts of the Soros foundations network for short periods in order to cooperate closely on joint advocacy activities.

The Open Society Policy Center (OSPC), a 501(c)(4) social welfare organization also located in Washington, D.C., and funded by after-tax dollars, engages in policy advocacy on U.S. and international issues. OSPC takes positions on legislation before the Congress and, in some instances, on nominations sent to the Senate. OSPC hosts the Justice Roundtable, a consortium of organizations working to promote constructive criminal justice policies. In 2004, it published *Tulia: The Tip of the Drug War Iceberg* to highlight the tremendous problems inherent in federally funded joint drug task forces, such as the one in Tulia, Texas, which led to the arrest of nearly half of the adult African-American population on perjured testimony. OSPC also played a leading role in helping to develop legislation to address the plight of former prisoners reentering society.

CHAIRMAN'S AND PRESIDENTIAL 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 OSI/Soros Network.

Chairman's and Presidential Grants totaled approximately \$13 million in 2004. Funding was committed or went to, among others: \$1 million to the William J. Clinton Presidential Foundation, for an international initiative on HIV/AIDS to reduce drug prices and build capacity of government health care sectors; \$500,000 to the DATA Foundation, for educating the U.S. public about the issues of debt relief, aid, trade reform, and disease in Africa and the world's poorest countries; and \$250,000 to the International Bar Association to create midlevel career fellowships at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. Large institutional grants of \$1 million and \$2.5 million, respectively, were also given to longtime OSI partners Human Rights Watch and the International Crisis Group.

In the field of anticorruption, Global Witness received \$737,000 for exposing the link between exploitation of natural resources and human rights abuses, conflict, and corruption; Tiri received \$427,000 for improving governance, access to information, and learning for effective corruption control in both public and private institutions; the International Budget Project of the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities received \$500,000 to increase transparency in government accounting; and the Vera Institute of Justice received \$473,000 for establishing the Center on Organized Crime in the Balkans and for supporting the Altus Global Alliance to improve public safety and justice through research, reform, and NGO activism.

An endowment grant of \$6 million was also made to the Iris Foundation for the benefit of the Bard Graduate Center for Studies in the Decorative Arts.

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 the national 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:

Open Society Fund–Lithuania, Didzioji Str. 5, Vilnius, Lithuania 01128 TEL: 370 5 268 55 11 FAX: 370 5 268 55 12 EMAIL: irena@osf.lt

APPLICATION INFORMATION

OSI programs and initiatives award grants, scholarships, and fellowships on a regular basis throughout the year. The type 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, 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.

2004 EXPENDITURES

The Soros foundations network's expenditures totaled \$408 million in 2004. Some of these funds were contributed by George Soros out of current income while other funds were derived from charitable entities established by the Soros family. Some organizations in the network also received funds from the U.S. government (particularly for scholarships) and from other donors, which are included in the relevant organization's expenditures as reported here. The Soros foundations network's total expenditures are summarized on the next page.

Soros foundations. The 2004 expenditures for the Soros foundations appear at the end of the regional reports section. Each Soros foundation has a chart outlining its expenditures in various categories. Payments made by the Open Society Institute in New York, the Open Society Institute–Budapest, or other entities on behalf of the Soros foundations for network programs or other activities are included in these charts.

Network programs and international initiatives. The initiatives section contains expenditures for each of the network programs and international initiatives. The expenditures include money spent by individual Soros foundations as well as by the Open Society Institute or the Open Society Institute–Budapest.

The goal of presenting the data in this manner is to show the total amount of money expended in a particular country or region, as well as the total amount spent on a particular program. The resulting duplication of amounts is reflected as an interorganizational elimination in the chart below. In addition, other Sorossponsored organizations made grants in some countries outside the framework of the Soros foundations or network programs. These are noted in expenditure charts dealing with the country in question.

Expenditures: Soros Foundations Network

Soros Foundations	\$148,060,000
Network Programs	120,885,000
International Initiatives	25,046,000
U.S. Programs	81,984,000
All Other Organizations, Programs, and Costs	64,300,000
Interorganizational Elimination	(32,179,000)
TOTAL EXPENDITURES	\$408,095,000

PARTNERSHIPS

DONOR PARTNERS

As OSI and the Soros foundations network evolve and expand their global agenda, partnerships with other donors are becoming ever more significant in making possible the work described in this annual report. 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:

International organizations such as the World Bank, the World Health Organization (WHO), UNAIDS, UNICEF, UNESCO/International Institute for Education Planning, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the Council of Europe, the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria, the European Commission, and the Asia 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), the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), the Dutch MATRA Programme, the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs FRESTA Programme, the German Foreign Ministry, and a number of Austrian government agencies, including the ministries of education and foreign affairs, that operate bilaterally;

National governments in several countries 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, Atlantic Philanthropies, the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation, the Irene Diamond Fund, the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Lilly Foundation, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, the Nathan Cummings Foundation, the Schumann Foundation, 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 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), Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Germany), Rights and Democracy (Canada), International Republican Institute (U.S.), and the Asia Foundation (U.S.).

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:

International Crisis Group for its research and advocacy in addressing armed conflicts and other crises in international relations;

Human Rights Watch for its leadership in protecting civil and political rights worldwide;

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;

European Roma Rights Center for its defense of the rights of a minority that is severely persecuted in many countries;

Media Development Loan Fund and the Southern Africa Media Development Fund for their role in assisting independent media to develop as self-sustaining businesses;

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;

Global Witness for its investigations of the connections between resource exploitation, corruption, the arms trade, and severe abuses of human rights;

Center for Public Integrity for promoting transparency in government and exposing corruption;

DATA Foundation for raising awareness about various crises swamping Africa, such as insurmountable debt and the spread of AIDS;

Democracy Coalition Project for working to strengthen the intergovernmental Community of Democracies process as a mechanism for democratic change;

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;

Committee to Protect Journalists and *Article 19* for their work defending and upholding freedom of expression;

Center for Community Change for its efforts to give low-income people a voice in American democracy;

No Peace Without Justice for its support of the International Criminal Court, and its efforts to end female genital mutilation;

Global Fund for Women for its advocacy on human rights for women around the world;

International Center for Transitional Justice for its assistance to transition countries wishing to pursue accountability for mass atrocity or human rights abuse under previous regimes;

Justice at Stake Campaign for its efforts to keep the U.S. courts fair and impartial;

Local chapters of *Transparency International* for their work with Soros foundations on anticorruption measures;

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;

Brennan Center for Justice for its intellectual leadership in devising legal approaches to issues of civil liberties and democracy in the United States;

Mental Disability Rights International, the Hamlet Trust, and the Mental Disability Advocacy Center for their protection of the rights of the mentally disabled;

Penal Reform International for its worldwide efforts to reduce incarceration and protect the rights of prison inmates;

Sentencing Project for leading efforts in the United States to reduce excessive imprisonment;

International Women's Health Coalition, the Center for Reproductive Rights, and Planned Parenthood Federation of America, for their work protecting and expanding reproductive health advocacy and services around the world;

Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights in Poland for its human rights training efforts in Central Asia and Russia, as well as in Poland;

Project Syndicate for providing diverse commentaries to over 240 newspapers worldwide;

Nurcha for helping build hundreds of thousands of low-cost houses in South Africa;

Drug Policy Alliance for its promotion of an alternative drug policy in the United States;

Institute on Medicine as a Profession for promoting professionalism in U.S. medicine;

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.



The most current and complete directory and

Directory

OSI-related information can be found on the

OSI website www.soros.org

SOROS FOUNDATIONS

Open Society Foundation for Albania

Rruga Pjeter Bogdani Pallati 23/1 Tirana, Albania TEL: (355 42) 34, 621, 34, 223, 35 856 FAX: (355 42) 35 855 EMAIL: soros-al@osfa.soros.al EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Capajev Gjokutaj WEBSITE: www.soros.al BOARD: Edmond Leka (*Chair*), Albert Brojka, Diana Culi, Ariana Fullani, Artan Hajdari, Remzi Lani, Bardhyl Minxhozi, Genc Ruli

OSI Assistance Foundation-Armenia

ı Pushkin St., Apt. 2 Yerevan 375010, Armenia TEL: (374, 10) 541 719, 542 119, 543 901 FAX: (374, 10) 542 119, 543 901, 541 719 EMAIL: office@osi.am, mlarisa@osi.am EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Larisa Minasyan WEBSITE: www.eurasianet.org/ resource/armenia BOARD: Boris Navasardyan (*Chair*), Lucig Danielian, Marina Janoyan, Lana Karlova, Vigen Sargsyan, Samvel Shoukurian

OSI Assistance Foundation–Azerbaijan

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Open Society Fund-Bosnia and Herzegovina

Marsala Tita 19/III 71 000 Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina TEL: (387 33) 444 488 FAX: (387 33) 444 488 EMAIL: osf@soros.org.ba EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Dobrila Govedarica WEBSITE: www.soros.org.ba BOARD: Senka Nozica (*Chair*), Ivan Lovrenovic, Edin Muftic, Zarko Papic, Sevima Sali-Terzic, Miodrag Zivanovic, Edin Zubcevic

Open Society Institute-Sofia (Bulgaria)

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Open Society Institute-Croatia

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Open Society Fund-Prague (Czech Republic)

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Open Estonia Foundation

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Open Society Georgia Foundation

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Fundación Soros-Guatemala

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Fondation Connaissance et Liberté (Haiti)

143 Avenue Christophe Port-au-Prince, Haiti ALTERNATE MAILING ADDRESS: P.O. Box 2720 Port-au-Prince, Haiti TEL: (509) 224 5421, 224 1509, 224 5963, 224 6039 FAX: (509) 224 1507 EMAIL: mpierrelouis@fokal.org EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Michele D. Pierre-Louis WEBSITE: www.fokal.org BOARD: Inette Durandis (Chair), Daniel Henrys (Vice Chair), Abner Septembre (Secretary), Daniel Magloire, Nicole Magloire, Vertus Saint-Louis, Patrick Vilaire

Soros Foundation–Hungary

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Soros Foundation-Kazakhstan

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Kosova Foundation for Open Society

Ulpiana, Villa No.13 38 000 Pristina, Kosovo TEL: (381 38) 542 157, 542 158, 542 159, 542 160, 542 161 FAX: (381 38) 542 157, 542 158, 542 159, 542 160, 542 161 EMAIL: office@kfos.org EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Luan Shllaku BOARD: Argjentina Grazhdani (*Chair*), Eqrem Basha, Afrim Blyta, Venera Hajrullahu, Snezana Karadjic, Blerim Shala, Jeta Xhara

Soros Foundation-Kyrgyzstan

55A, Logvinenko St. Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan 720040 TEL: (996 312) 66 34 75, 66 34 95, 66 42 40, 66 43 06, 66 43 46 FAX: (996 312) 66 34 48 EMAIL: office@soros.kg EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Medet Tiulegenov WEBSITE: www.soros.kg BOARD: Svetlana Bashtovenko (*Chair*), Atyrkul Alisheva, Irina Kemple, Aktan Arym Kubat, Kuban Mambetaliev, Tolondu Toichubaev, Emil Umetaliev

Soros Foundation-Latvia

Alberta 13 Riga, Latvia 1010 TEL: (371) 7039 241 FAX: (371) 7039 242, 7039 243, 7039 244 EMAIL: sfl@sfl.lv EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Andris Aukmanis WEBSITE: www.sfl.lv BOARD: Sarmite Elerte (*Chair*), Guntars Catlaks, Edvards Kusners, Janis Loze, Ilmars Mezs, Inita Paulovica, Irina Pigozne

Open Society Fund–Lithuania

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Open Society Institute–Macedonia

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Soros Foundation-Moldova

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Open Society Forum (Mongolia)

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Foundation Open Society Institute–Representative Office Montenegro

Njegoseva 26 81 000 Podgorica, Montenegro, Serbia and Montenegro TEL: 381 81 665 099, 381 81 665 011 FAX: 381 81 225 088 EMAIL: montenegro@osim.cg.yu DIRECTOR: Sanja Elezovic WEBSITE: www.osim.cg.yu BOARD: Kazimir Zivko Pregl (Chair), Rade Bojovic, Bozena Jelusic, Boro Kontic, Snezana Nikcevic, Vjera Begovic Radovic, Milan Vukcevic

Stefan Batory Foundation (Poland)

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Open Society Foundation–Romania

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Fund for an Open Society-Serbia

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Open Society Foundation-Bratislava (Slovakia)

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Open Society Foundation for South Africa

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of the ultimate truth.??

- George Soros



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