


Building Open Societies

The image is a full-page background photograph. It features the silhouettes of two men in the foreground. The man on the left is holding a handheld microphone towards the man on the right, as if conducting an interview or recording a statement. They are positioned against a bright blue sky filled with large, white, fluffy clouds. In the upper left corner, the fronds of a palm tree are visible. In the lower background, there are silhouettes of more palm trees and what appears to be a building or structure. The overall mood is one of openness and communication.

SOROS FOUNDATIONS NETWORK 2003 REPORT

A woman with dark skin is shown from the chest up, wearing a large, wide-brimmed hat with a blue and white pattern. She is also wearing a colorful, patterned dress. She is looking upwards and to the right with a slight smile. In the background, a faint rainbow is visible in a cloudy sky. The overall tone of the image is hopeful and optimistic.

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.

www.soros.org

Building Open Societies

S O R O S F O U N D A T I O N S N E T W O R K
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OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE

400 West 59th Street, New York, NY 10019 USA

www.soros.org

**Building Open Societies:
Soros Foundations Network 2003 Report**

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P R E S I D E N T ' S



M E S S A G E



America's Waning Influence as an Open Society

Two decades have now passed since the establishment of the first Soros foundation outside the United States, the Soros Foundation–Hungary. During most of that period, the foundations network's identity as an American-based institution was a substantial help in furthering our mission of establishing open societies in what had been closed or repressive societies. The United States was seen as a model open society by most persons in the countries of the former Soviet empire where our work was concentrated. The fact that many of the ideas, programs, and institutions we promoted had developed in the United States, and were particularly associated with the United States, was an advantage.

The situation in which we find ourselves today is more complex. The Open Society Institute now operates in many parts of the world where an American identity was never as advantageous as it was in the former Soviet bloc region. More importantly, two factors have arisen since September 11, 2001, that make an American identity a disadvantage in some parts of the world where we are attempting to develop more open societies. One is greatly heightened anti-Americanism. The other is the perception that the United States is itself less of an open society, and more ready to abandon some principles of an open society, than American leaders routinely proclaim.

Anti-Americanism takes a number of forms. To begin with, there is a long-standing resentment against the United States for insisting that its actions may not be constrained by international agreements or international institutions. In the human rights field, the United States took 26 years to ratify the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and no less than 40 years to approve the Genocide Convention of 1948. In both cases ratification was subject to so many reservations, declarations, and exceptions as to largely—but not entirely—negate the legal effect of ratification.

The Bush administration, however, has gone much further in expressing hostility to international agreements than previous administrations. The administration's attitude is exemplified by its campaign against the International Criminal Court (ICC). Ninety-two other governments, most of them democracies with which the United States normally aligns itself,

have ratified the treaty establishing the Court and bound themselves to its authority. Not only has the United States refused to do so, it has championed legislation, adopted by the Congress, that threatens the use of U.S. military force to liberate any American held for trial by the Court. The legislation is widely known as the "Hague Invasion Act."

In addition, the United States has required many countries to sign agreements banning the transfer of Americans to the custody of the Court. Many of the governments signing these agreements are not party to the treaty establishing the Court. Since the ICC lacks jurisdiction over crimes committed on their territory, the agreements are meaningless except as expressions of antagonism to the Court.

The Bush administration also has pressured governments dependent on the United States not to ratify the treaty for the Court. Even before September 11, diplomats from many countries were amazed that the United States had made efforts to undermine the operations of the International Criminal Court its top priority for bilateral relations with their governments. After September 11, rejection of the ICC came a close second to collaboration on the war in Afghanistan and, subsequently, the war in Iraq.

The administration's hostility to the International Criminal Court is hardly exceptional. The denigration of the United Nations during the period prior to the Iraq war, and particularly of the UN inspectors monitoring any attempts by Iraq to build and acquire weapons of mass destruction, was unprecedented in its venom. The fact that the intelli-

gence the United States relied upon was faulty, or that American officials grossly distorted the findings presented to them, or some combination of the two, never produced any apology or concession of error by the Bush administration to those it had targeted with unwarranted scorn. Another noteworthy example of American antagonism to multilateral approaches to solving critical issues is the administration's abrupt withdrawal from the Kyoto agreement on global warming. And the list goes on.

Preemptive war

In September 2002, the Bush administration issued a new national security strategy for the United States, asserting its right to engage in preemptive war at its sole discretion. To many in other parts of the world, this assertion and its quick implementation, in March 2003, in the war on Iraq, manifested American disdain for the entire post-World War II international system. The fact that American might makes other governments powerless to impede American actions does not diminish the anti-Americanism that such actions arouse. If anything, impotence to restrain the world's only superpower probably heightens international hostility.

The other factor that has made it more difficult for an American-based institution to be a global proponent of open society is the perception that the United States has itself turned its back on open society principles since September 11. In this case, the perception in some parts of the world probably goes beyond the reality. While the United States has committed substantial violations of civil liberties in the past three years, many of these abuses are still

being challenged in the American courts and the outcome is not yet clear. Many U.S. rights advocates are hard at work attacking the post–September 11 deprivations of civil liberties in an effort to restore protections. The Open Society Institute has played a leading role in supporting these efforts and directly challenging some violations of civil liberties. In the present circumstances, however, the damage being done goes beyond the impact on rights within the United States. It also contributes to anti-Americanism and sabotages the work of those of us who are engaged in efforts to establish in other parts of the world what once were known as American values and practices.

One reason that the violation of rights within the United States contributes to anti-Americanism internationally is that a greatly disproportionate share of the burden of abuses has fallen on aliens. They include the 650 or so persons held at Guantánamo in a legal black hole, denied the protections of American law, international humanitarian law (that is, the laws of war), or international human rights law. Others are held in similar circumstances at American military bases in various parts of the world. Aliens, primarily from predominantly Muslim countries, are now subject to special procedures for their registration, fingerprinting, and interrogation. Thousands of immigrants face secret arrests, detentions, closed hearings before immigration judges, and—even for many with well-established residences, employment, and family in the United States—secret deportations. These practices have aroused resentment, especially in the immigrants' countries of origin.

Preventive detention, denial of the right to counsel, mistreatment of detainees, the plan to substitute military tribunals for civilian courts, and other violations of civil liberties after September 11 are seen in many countries as proof of American hypocrisy. The United States has regularly denounced such practices when committed by other governments in the face of perceived security threats.

For more than a quarter of a century, the U.S. State Department has published country reports on human rights violations and practices. The Bush State Department has continued to issue country reports condemning rights violations elsewhere even as the administration has initiated and excused such practices in the United States itself. In 2004, release of the report had to be delayed because of the Abu Ghraib prison scandal. The contrast between what the United States preaches to the rest of the world and what it practices itself is not helpful in getting other governments to respect human rights or to respect the United States as an avatar of rights.

Setbacks for open society

Because America has discredited itself in the eyes of many persons in other parts of the world, the causes with which America is associated are also discredited. In those respects, the open society cause has been set back—and so has the work of the Open Society Institute in building open societies.

Again, the situation is not the same in all regions where we operate. America's reputation is still an advantage in the region where OSI's work was long concentrated, the former Soviet bloc.

Having suffered for so long from oppression under the Soviet Union, which publicly proclaimed America the enemy, many people still regard the United States as the liberator and the embodiment of their aspirations.

Today, however, OSI is as engaged in other parts of the world—substantial parts of Africa, Latin America, the Middle East, and Asia—as in the former Soviet bloc. In Asia and the Middle East, we encounter the greatest disadvantage from being seen as an American institution. Anti-Americanism is most pronounced in these regions, and people originating from there have suffered most from violations of civil liberties in the United States. Yet if the global struggle for an open society is to prevail, it is hardly possible for OSI to turn its back on places where it is difficult to promote the open society agenda. We consider the efforts in Asia and the Middle East crucial. Indeed, we expect to step up our activities in these regions in the years ahead.

OSI's activities in Asia began more than a decade ago with the establishment of the Burma Project. Over the years, OSI has been the main source of support for those inside and outside Burma attempting to move the country in a democratic direction. We have also devoted extensive effort to assuring that when a democratic transition does take place, there will be well-qualified Burmese to deal with the country's vast array of problems. Burma probably devotes a smaller portion of its national resources to educating its citizens than any other country in the world. Not only does a greatly disproportionate share of the national wealth go to the armed forces, but Burma's military government

appears to consider an educated citizenry as a threat to its hold on power and, therefore, deliberately avoids expenditures on education.

OSI began working in Indonesia during the Suharto regime, initially by supporting independent media persecuted by the government. After Suharto, we supported the establishment in Indonesia of an independent foundation, Tifa, that is now beginning to attract support from other donors in addition to OSI. Elsewhere in the region, we have supported nongovernmental organizations concerned with such issues as human rights and corruption, and have attempted to promote press freedom in several countries.

China, Afghanistan, and the Middle East

In 1986, George Soros established the second of his foundations outside the United States in China. That foundation had to be closed in 1989 because the principal Chinese official who helped establish it was imprisoned for attempting to prevent the crackdown that followed the Tiananmen Square demonstrations, and because the foundation was thoroughly infiltrated by the Chinese secret police. For many years, OSI stayed out of China. Recently, however, we have supported a number of projects in China, including a training program and back-up services for public defenders, a fellowship program for journalists, and an advocacy program focused on HIV/AIDS. Despite contradictory developments in the country, a number of signs of increased openness encourage us to believe that OSI can play a larger role in years to come.

OSI has established a substantial program in Afghanistan. Our efforts include support of a governmental program to enlist highly qualified Afghans living abroad to return to the country to enter government service, and support for programs concerned with women's rights, education, human rights, and the establishment of independent media. We have also undertaken preliminary efforts in Pakistan that we expect will lead to a funding program focusing on improving public education, women's rights, and economic development through microcredit and the establishment of small and medium-sized business enterprises.

In the Middle East, OSI has established a well-functioning foundation in Turkey and is supporting projects covering a range of issues in Egypt, Lebanon, Israel, Jordan, and the occupied Palestinian territories. In Iran, we are exploring the possibility of assisting efforts to reduce the harmful consequences of the country's huge problem of injecting heroin use and playing a role in intellectual exchanges and scholarships.

Though we are not ready to establish a general funding program in Iraq, we have undertaken a number of activities there. We supported the translation into Arabic of a number of books concerned with the laws of war and arranged for the Arabic edition of a book for journalists, *Crimes of War*, to be published on the Internet on the first day of the Iraq war. We participated with Iraqi jurists in deliberations on transitional justice issues and are ready to be helpful in trials of those charged with the great crimes that were committed during the regime of Saddam Hussein. With the United Nations

Foundation, OSI published a report, *Reconstructing Iraq: A Guide to the Issues*, and, subsequently, established Iraq Revenue Watch, a monitoring project based in the United States with representation in Baghdad. Iraq Revenue Watch, which has become an important source for the media, has published several reports on the expenditures for reconstructing Iraq and the systems for arranging contracts.

In any international political climate, the task of promoting open societies in Asia and the Middle East would be difficult. In the circumstances created by the international and domestic policies of the Bush administration, it is even more daunting. Yet we plan to persist, and we expect OSI's role in these regions to grow. We believe our efforts would achieve greater success if the policies contributing to anti-Americanism and cynicism about America's own commitments to open society values were to be altered.

Aryeh Neier June 2004

REGIONS





MIDDLE EAST

CENTRAL EURASIA

SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE

CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

RUSSIA AND UKRAINE

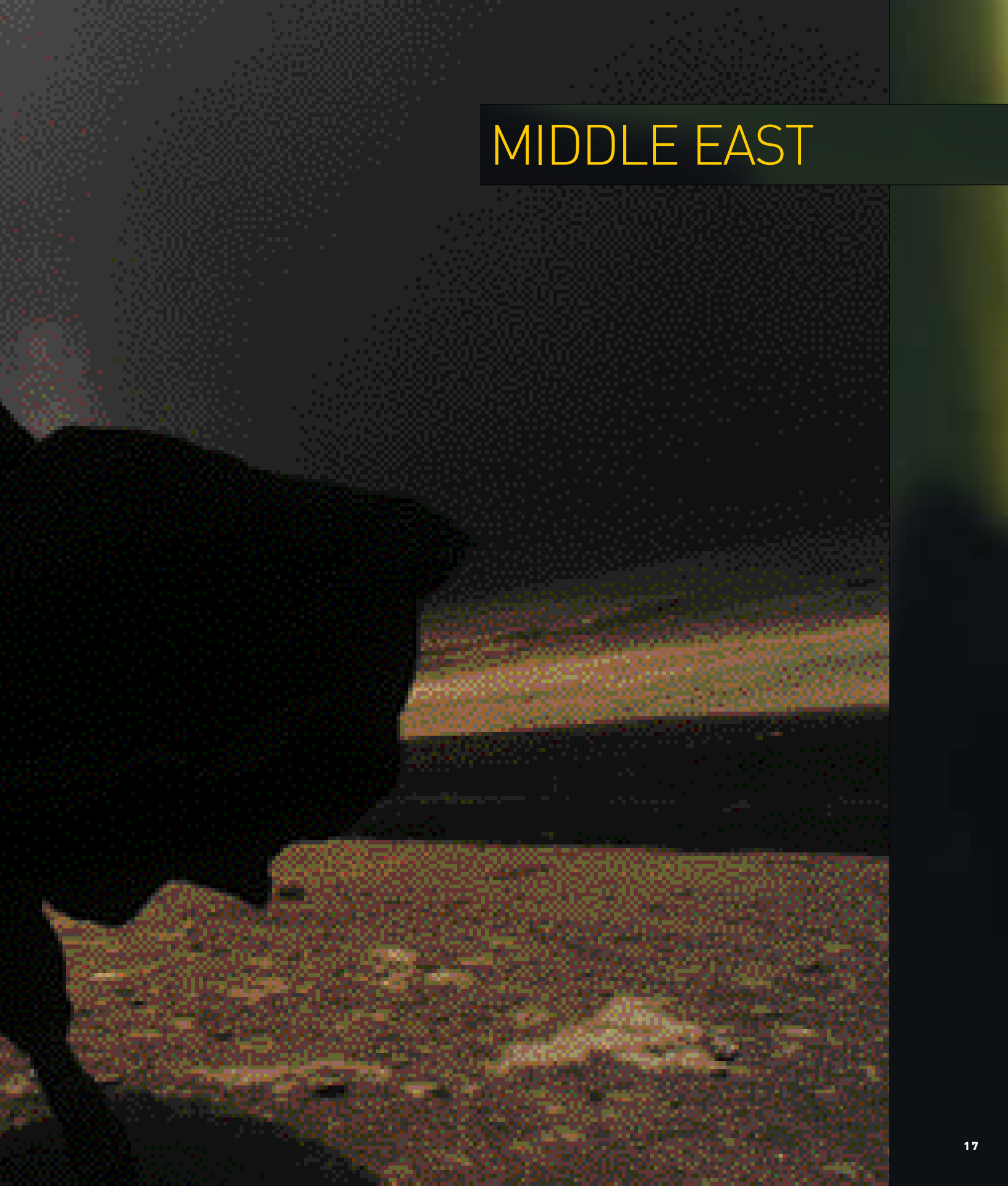
SOUTHEAST ASIA

AFRICA

LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN



MIDDLE EAST



The war in Iraq seized world headlines in 2003 as unrest and attacks on U.S.-led coalition forces continued and Iraqi civilians, soldiers from a variety of countries, and international workers paid a heavy toll in lives damaged and lost. The road to a stable, democratic Iraq looked ever bumpier in the first months of the new year.

Violence shook other parts of the region as well, from explosions in Casablanca, Morocco, to devastating car bombs killing scores and wounding hundreds in Saudi Arabia and Turkey. Unrest in Israel, the West Bank, and the Gaza Strip also continued unabated, overshadowing attempts for a peaceful solution to a decades-old conflict.

Amidst these setbacks for open society, a few encouraging signs emerged: Morocco and Egypt granted new rights to women and improved citizenship laws. Saudi Arabia mentioned elections for the first time in decades. An Iranian lawyer received the Nobel peace prize. And, despite ongoing security concerns, Afghanistan edged forward with a new draft constitution and a slow disarming of local militias.

Civil society, while active in many countries of the region, remained subject to restrictive laws and punitive measures by national governments. The UNDP's *Arab Human Development Report 2003*, the second in a four-part series, cited government repression and weak economies as two key factors contributing to the Arab countries' "growing knowledge gap."

The Open Society Institute and Soros foundations network have been active in the Middle East and other parts of the Muslim world for a number of years. Building on this base, OSI expanded its Middle East and North Africa Initiatives (MENA) in 2003 to meet the new challenges raised by the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the U.S. occupation of Iraq, and other conflicts in the region.

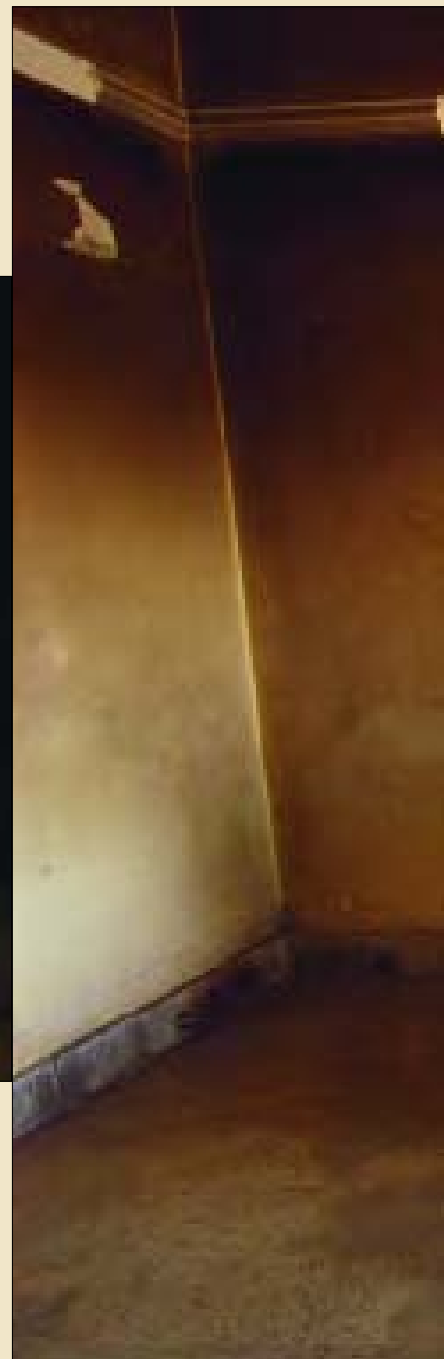
With the war in Iraq and its aftermath dominating world attention, OSI's Revenue Watch program launched a new project, the Iraq Revenue Watch, to monitor the coalition's control of the country's oil economy and ensure public accountability and scrutiny of Iraq's public finances. Through the first quarter of 2004, the Iraq Revenue Watch published five reports calling attention to gaps in spending accountability and recommending improvements. OSI also published *Reconstructing Iraq: A Guide*

to the Issues, and an Arabic edition of *Crimes of War*, which appeared on the Internet on the first day of the war.

The expanded MENA program's grantmaking focused on women's rights, the development of independent media and freedom of information, and the strengthening of the rule of law. OSI organized a conference on Arabic translation of works on pluralism, human rights, secularism, and democracy, and outlined priorities for the media in a meeting with Arab journalists. With the Network Media Program, MENA began a series of extensive consultations on the needs of independent media and explored ways to encourage contemporary Arab art and culture. With OSI's Network Women's Program, MENA made a grant to the Global Fund for Women to increase their grantmaking to grassroots women's groups throughout the region. Two programs administered by the OSI Network Scholarship Programs—the OSI/Chevening Scholarships and the new Palestinian Rule of Law Program, which sponsors advanced law (LL.M.) students from Palestine in U.S. universities—were developed together with MENA staff.

In Iran, MENA continued to seek ways to decrease tension between Tehran and Washington, and to cooperate with Iranians by supporting visiting scholars, promoting arts and cultural exchanges, and convening the U.S. community concerned with improving U.S.-Iran relations.

In Egypt, a country that enjoys relative freedom of expression but is beset by corruption, a weakened economy, and a government that hampers reform, MENA supported a number of NGOs and explored the potential for further engagement. ✱



Iraq

BY **Lynsey Addario**

PAGES 16–17: A woman walks through a plume of smoke searching for her husband, Basra, May 26, 2003.

ABOVE: Another woman stands between rows of bodies discovered in a mass grave south of Baghdad, May 29, 2003. RIGHT: A police clerk fills out a report in the former office of the Republic Party of Basra, May 26, 2003.







LEFT: Smugglers bringing in barrels of oil, Saffiya, March 3, 2003.
ABOVE: Civilians examine a bomb hole in one of Saddam Hussein's
palaces, Mosel, April 18, 2003.





CENTRAL EURASIA

The countries of Central Asia and the **Caucasus** gained prominence in 2003 as allies of the United States in its war against Iraq and vocal supporters of its antiterrorism campaign. This new prominence increased international scrutiny of the countries' dismal human rights records and underscored the troubling bargain at the heart of such alliances.

In November, the resignation of Georgian President Eduard Shevardnadze, forced to step down by popular indignation over rigged elections, jolted the countries of Central Asia and the Caucasus. For a decade, international organizations have routinely decried elections across the region as marred by significant fraud and markedly unequal conditions for challengers to sitting leaders, many of whom are holdovers from Soviet times. Frightened by the possibility of Georgian-style "rose revolutions," some leaders responded by hardening their positions against liberalization in the media, civil society, and politics. In a particularly egregious case, Uzbekistan's President Islam Karimov initiated steps late in 2003 that led to the forced closure of OSI's activities in Uzbekistan.

Progress toward a fully open society was more marked in Turkey. The desire for EU membership brought landmark political reforms limiting the political power of the military and created pressure to resolve the dispute with Greece over Cyprus. Explosions in the heart of Istanbul in November made countering terrorism a priority but did not result in any restrictions on civil liberties.

Elections in the South Caucasus and presidential ballots in Armenia and Azerbaijan were as marred by official manipulation as the vote in Georgia. In Azerbaijan, Ilham Aliyev, the son of longtime ruler Heydar Aliyev, who died in December, used demonstrations against his victory as a pretext to jail dozens of opposition leaders and critical journalists.

The decade-old conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia over Nagorno-Karabakh remained frozen, due largely to the fears of presidential candidates in both countries of being seen as unacceptably soft on the issue. A new government in Georgia, however, began to address separatist conflicts in Abkhazia and South Ossetia.

Progress in constructing the Baku-Tblisi-Ceyhan pipeline, slated for completion in 2005, underscored the increasingly dire economic status of most of the region's people. New corruption lawsuits in the United States implicating Azerbaijan's current and former rulers emphasized the danger of allowing natural resource revenues, which are expected to boom as a result of the pipeline, to remain in the hands of autocratic elites.

Oil wealth and a growing economy did little to advance open society in Kazakhstan. Though President Nursultan Nazarbayev sought greater international recognition in his campaign to become chairman of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in 2009, he rebuffed international criticism of his government for backtracking on human rights and other fundamental OSCE commitments. In January, Kazakhstan jailed journalist Sergei Duvanov, who brought news of the international corruption investigations involving Nazarbayev to Kazakhstan's readers, while in December, the Parliament passed a new media law widely criticized as more repressive than the previous law.

The precarious political balance achieved in Tajikistan's 1997 peace accord seemed shakier after the passage of a controversial constitutional referendum allowing President Emomali Rahmonov to run for another term. The seemingly politically motivated arrest of a deputy chairman of Tajikistan's opposition Islamic Renaissance Party further suggested that the government lacks commitment to the accord that paved the way for the full participation of the opposition in public life.

In Turkmenistan, President Saparmurad Niyazov continued a far-reaching crackdown against all potential opponents in the wake of a 2002 assassination attempt. Basic civil liberties suffered, with the reimposition of an exit visa requirement drastically curtailing opportunities for citizens to travel abroad. Holders of dual Russian-Turkmen citizenship found themselves forced to choose one national affiliation after Turkmenistan unilaterally withdrew from its agreement with Russia.

Uzbekistan took the long-awaited step of making its currency convertible, removing one of the chief obstacles to further economic reform and foreign investment. Halting steps in the economic sphere were not matched in other areas. There were no signs that the government would allow real opposition forces to contest elections in 2004, and deaths in police custody continued, despite renewed commitments by officials to end torture.


Only Kyrgyzstan seemed to counter the trend of leaders installing themselves for life with President Askar Akayev assuring the country that he did not plan to run for another term in 2005. Kyrgyzstan fought to balance the interests of Russia and the United States by allowing both states to operate military bases on its territory.

CENTRAL EURASIA PROJECT

In a region where the intersection of security, democratization, economics, and politics has taken on greater international import, the Central Eurasia

>> Resource Windfalls: What the Revenue Watch

Project (CEP) in 2003 maintained its commitment to enhancing public debate on the region and providing a platform for civil society voices to reach a broad audience. Research and advocacy efforts on key open society issues formed the backbone of CEP activity.



The Revenue Watch program launched a campaign to improve fiscal accountability in countries with abundant natural resources by preparing the report *Caspian Oil Windfalls: Who Will Benefit?* and organizing public meetings in Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan to promote transparency and civil society participation in revenue decisions. The campaign expanded with the creation of the Iraq Revenue Watch, which produced a number of investigative reports focusing on ensuring public accountability during the U.S.-led occupation.

The Central Eurasia Project, working with colleagues from the region, pursued policy efforts to assure fair elections and eliminate the death penalty. It helped bring civil society activists from the Caucasus to the attention of policymakers in Washington and Brussels, and organized a roundtable of anti-death penalty activists at an annual OSCE meeting in Warsaw.

CEP funded training and research by budget monitoring and watchdog groups working in Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan, prompting the creation of Revenue Watch initiatives under the auspices of the local Soros foundations. Support also went to efforts to encourage the development of civil society and better inform international actors on events in Turkmenistan through the Budapest-based Turkmenistan Project.

The main vehicles for furthering CEP's public information mandate remained its website, eurasianet.org, a premier source for news and analysis on the region, and the Open Forum speaker series. Held in New York and Washington, the series continued its geographic and thematic expansion, attracting distinguished speakers from Central Asia, the Caucasus, and the Middle East on topics as varied as Central Asian film, security in Afghanistan, and U.S. policy in Iraq.

CEP also acts as the coordinating center for OSI activity in the region, providing oversight to Soros foundations and enhancing their mutual cooperation both within and outside the foundation network.

OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE ASSISTANCE FOUNDATION–ARMENIA

Presidential and parliamentary elections as well as a referendum on the constitution influenced all aspects of life in Armenia in 2003. The government's increasingly concentrated powers resulted in elections marked by ballot stuffing, interference with the media by the incumbent, suppression of public demonstrations, and administrative intimidation of individuals. The referendum, which would have brought amendments providing judicial independence and human rights guarantees, did not pass. The irregularities and undemocratic nature of the elections prompted the Open Society Institute Assistance Foundation–Armenia (OSIAF–Armenia)

monitors to assure government accountability

to focus most of its efforts on improving the country's democratic processes and institutions.

During the election campaigns, OSIAF–Armenia supported monitoring of media coverage and election financing, which revealed high levels of government interference and deficiencies in the electoral code. The OSCE, the Yerevan Press Club, various political parties, and the Foundation used the monitoring results to recommend reforms.

OSIAF–Armenia initiated the Partnership for Open Society to counter government pressure on the media and suppression of basic civil liberties. The Partnership includes NGOs, donors, members of the Armenian diaspora, and international agencies that support policy research and public debate. As the government pursues changes to meet Council of Europe recommendations, the Partnership will play an increasingly important role in advocacy, research, and public discussion on major reforms.

To protect human rights and promote open society values, OSIAF–Armenia supported the establishment of a Law on Freedom of Information, the reform of the Criminal Code to include trafficking in human beings, and the strengthening of free speech protections for the media. The Foundation and the OSCE continued the Penitentiary Program, which received a Ministry of Justice endorsement for the establishment of a public oversight council over the penitentiary system. OSIAF–Armenia also renewed support for a network of legal centers that provide effective legal aid and help people use the law to protect their rights.

To help Armenia's integration into Europe, the

Foundation developed policies to create compatible standards and prompt significant structural reforms for higher education. OSIAF–Armenia worked with higher education institutions and the Ministry of Education to develop and disseminate education standards and electronic content throughout the school system. An electronic national bibliography, used by growing numbers of scholars and members of the general public, received support from OSIAF–Armenia and the Izmirlian Foundation.

The Foundation raised public awareness about vital issues of democracy through its East East Program, which sponsored debates, TV and radio broadcasts, and publications on topics such as the role of an ombudsman, alternative civil service, street children, mental health, democratic elections, public monitoring of the penitentiary system, and building strong regional links through the Partnership for Peace program.

OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE ASSISTANCE FOUNDATION–AZERBAIJAN

Azerbaijan's 2003 presidential elections highlighted a number of crucial open society issues, such as ensuring smooth transitions of political power and choosing the right economic reforms in anticipation of increasing state oil revenues. The Open Society Institute Assistance Foundation–Azerbaijan (OSIAF–Azerbaijan), working with 30 nongovernmental organizations, helped monitor implementation of election laws, campaign conduct, and

election-day practices. After the elections, the Foundation and an NGO coalition presented the monitoring data in a “lessons learned” report.

OSIAF–Azerbaijan is increasingly involved in efforts to give civil society organizations a role in ensuring the transparent and productive use of the country’s oil wealth. In May, the Foundation hosted an international conference in Baku on transparency and accountability in managing oil revenues. The conference, featuring the Revenue Watch report *Caspian Oil Windfalls: Who Will Benefit?*, attracted the attention of governments, oil companies, and the public, and prompted civil society groups to become more involved in oil revenue issues. The Foundation also worked with the Central Eurasia Project to establish a Public Finance Monitoring Center to conduct research and carry out advocacy on behalf of oil revenue transparency issues.

In a major development for Azerbaijan’s education reform efforts, the World Bank and the Ministry of Education agreed on a four-year secondary school reform loan. As a partner in three subcomponents of this pilot project, the Foundation will provide 6.5 percent of the \$13.5 million total funding and expertise for developing textbook policies, managing school grants competitions, and promoting information and communications technologies.

The Information Program used services from the NATO Virtual Silk Highway Project to provide Internet access to 12,000 people at education and research institutions and other organizations. The Foundation established eight CISCO Academy training centers capable of providing training courses for 70 to 80 students a year.

In order to reduce the health and social problems caused by drug use, OSIAF–Azerbaijan and OSI’s International Harm Reduction Development program completed preparations for a new substitution therapy project to be implemented with the Ministry of Health. The Foundation, also in cooperation with the Ministry of Health, initiated the creation of a public health school that will support reform in public health education and eventually become a disease research and control center.

OSIAF–Azerbaijan also worked with OSI network programs to advance human rights, independent media, local government reform, and access to legal services. The Women’s Program organized 10 Gender Information Centers to conduct research and provide leadership training.

OPEN SOCIETY GEORGIA FOUNDATION

The Open Society Georgia Foundation (OSGF) supported projects promoting free, fair, and democratic elections during a year of historic change in Georgia. The Foundation also pursued activities to increase access to information and technology, strengthen the rule of law, improve public health, and support small businesses.

As Georgia’s 2003 parliamentary elections approached, OSGF launched the Election Support Program, an effort by civil society activists, NGO leaders, international organizations, and intellectuals to ensure fair elections and full media

coverage of the campaigns and voting. Activities included sociological research surveys, press conferences, debates, and exit polls. The election-day turnout was 75 percent, exceeding projections and turnouts for previous elections. The elections, however, were marred by irregularities and government interference, prompting citizens to stage the nonviolent “Rose Revolution” that forced President Shevardnadze to resign in November. In January 2004, Mikhail Saakashvili became president in new elections proclaimed by international observers as democratic, free, and fair.

In other election-related work, the Information Program launched the Elections Support Website, which provided citizens with information about the elections and election procedures. The Media Program worked with regional radio and television stations and with IREX and the Eurasia Foundation to improve election coverage.

A joint project of the Foundation and IREX established a new satellite channel that increased the reliability and quality of Internet service for the Georgian Research and Education Network (GRENA). The Information Program also supported e-Riders, a pilot project that provided five information and communications technology (ICT) consultants to help 40 NGOs implement ICT strategies to enhance their everyday work. The Program intends to expand e-Riders as a model to promote open source software as an alternative to proprietary software.

The Rule of Law Program supported projects to protect human rights, fight corruption, and help implement Georgia’s General Administrative

Code. The Women’s Program helped prevent violence against women and children, and strengthened a regional network against violence. The Public Health Program initiated a number of joint projects in Abkhazia and opened the first hospice in Georgia.

In order to help community-based enterprises succeed, the Economic Development Program piloted microfinance projects in the Samtskhe-Javakheti region. Small and Micro Enterprise Support Centers in this area initially received assistance from other donor sources, but began operating independently in 2003.

OSGF spun off its Social Science Support Program into a new Social Science Center and transformed the Karl Popper Debate Center into a new, independent NGO.

SOROS FOUNDATION–KAZAKHSTAN

Political tensions in Kazakhstan intensified in 2003, despite the country’s strong macroeconomic development. Members of the ruling political elite remain aloof to the needs of citizens and civil society, and public institutions continue to lack transparency and accountability. Deepening political conflicts and suppression of dissent worked to polarize views and prevent consensus about how Kazakhstan can pursue stable, long-term political and economic development.

The Soros Foundation–Kazakhstan responded to the growing political problems by focusing on the

promotion of democratization and the development of civil society. The Public Policy Research Center (PPRC), part of the Foundation's Public Policy Program, organized an international conference on transparency, accountability, and public oversight in the distribution of oil revenues. The event, which helped launch the OSI publication *Caspian Oil Windfalls: Who Will Benefit?*, attracted government officials, natural resource industry executives, and representatives from international organizations and NGOs. The Foundation followed up the conference by establishing the Kazakhstan Revenue Watch project to help ensure that revenues from the country's natural resources are managed transparently and for the public's benefit.

The PPRC and Kazakh National University hosted the first session of the Soros Open Forum, featuring Nobel-prize laureate Joseph E. Stiglitz on how states like Kazakhstan could avoid the "resource curse" of corruption, instability, violence, and underdevelopment that often afflicts poor countries with vast natural resources. Soros Open Forums examine significant social and political issues and disseminate recommendations to the government, NGOs, and the media.

The Media Support Program also focused on transparency issues, organizing a workshop on how reporters can gain access to and analyze information on oil revenues. The Program promoted freedom of speech through support for the International Foundation for Protection of Freedom of Speech (Adil Soz) and the National Association for Independent Broadcasters, which monitored free speech violations, organized workshops, and

provided legal defense for journalists.

The Public Policy Program provided public policy analysis and local government development training to over 450 NGO and government staff. The Information Program continued to advance the use of information and communications technologies. Internet classes conducted in 37 schools provided 60 hours of instruction per month and helped give more than 30,000 students Internet access.

The Juvenile Justice project launched two pilot activities that helped police, investigators, prosecutors, judges, and lawyers establish a system of juvenile justice consistent with the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. The Legal Reform Program supported legal education, free access to justice, and the monitoring of legislation for consistency with international regulations and standards.

SOROS FOUNDATION-KYRGYZSTAN

Several notable events in 2003 affected social and political development in Kyrgyzstan. In January, a constitutional referendum finalized a six-month reform process that furthered democratization by redistributing power between the president and Parliament. These reforms are partly the result of roundtable talks between the government and the opposition that began after the deaths of several people protesting against the prosecution of a local politician in southern Kyrgyzstan in 2002. As the 2005 presidential and parliamentary

the foundation hooked up to the Internet in Kazakhstan

elections approached, various groups formed new political parties and started to develop procedures to ensure the transparency of the elections.

The Soros Foundation–Kyrgyzstan responded to the country’s shifting political and economic trends by address key policy questions through its programs in law, policy development, public administration, media, education, and public health.

The Law Program focused on legal reform, particularly for Kyrgyzstan’s penitentiary system. It cooperated with the Ministry of Justice to provide legal aid and drug addiction treatment to prisoners. Efforts aimed at prison populations included support for training administrators in new, more humanistic approaches to working with prisoners, increasing NGO access to prisons, and advocating for alternatives to imprisonment. The Health Program sought to decrease the spread of infectious diseases by developing links between prisons and public health systems.

The Foundation supported increased access to information and communications technologies, development of the tourism sector, and reform of the vocational training sector. It worked with business, government, and donors to establish the Economic Policy Institute–Bishkek Consensus. The Economic Reform Program provided grants to projects that strengthened markets and the business sector. One project produced an analysis adopted by state agencies to improve tourism.

The Public Administration Program, in cooperation with OSI’s Local Government and Public Service Reform Initiative, promoted strategic planning procedures that increased community partici-

pation in six small towns and several dozen local governments.

The Media Support Program provided grants and training for media outlets and journalists. The new Radio Frequency Licensing Procedures for Electronic Media, a joint project with the Media Association, will promote policies that increase the transparency and accessibility of the broadcast frequency licensing process.

The NGO Support Program helped NGOs in rural areas, including a center in Naryn that specializes in the socialization and development of physically disabled children. The Program also assisted NGOs in developing partnership projects to strengthen civil society’s role in promoting human rights, government accountability, and social development.

Improving primary education and teaching skills was the main focus of Participation, Education Achievement and Knowledge Strengthening (PEAKS), a USAID-funded project of OSI, the Soros Foundation–Kyrgyzstan, the Academy for Educational Development, and other partners. In 2003, PEAKS continued teacher trainings on inclusive education, school development, and social partnership, conducted by trainers from the Step by Step and Reading and Writing for Critical Thinking programs.

A new Drug Demand Reduction Program (DDRP) complemented the Foundation’s ongoing Harm Reduction Program. With USAID funding and several implementing partners, DDRP aims to establish a number of rehabilitation centers and increase the role of acupuncture and psychotherapy in treating drug addiction.



MONGOLIAN FOUNDATION FOR OPEN SOCIETY

The Mongolian Foundation for Open Society (MFOS) strengthened government institutions as public interest in democratic politics and the development of an open society continued to grow in 2003. The Foundation focused on public policy, education, public health, governance, information and media, women's rights, and criminal justice and legal reform.

The Foundation's centerpiece program, the Open Society Forum (OSF), elaborates policy alternatives and engages the public to debate on them. OSF organized discussions on topics such as campaign financing, media coverage of elections, NGOs and the law, and ethical norms for politicians. Its guidebooks promoted public participation while providing information on land privatization, access to information, taxation, the budget, and legislative processes. OSF launched the Policy Fellowship Program, selecting nine fellows to conduct research on governance and social and economic development policy. In 2004, the Foundation plans to close and will be succeeded by the OSF as a locally registered NGO funded by OSI and other donors.

The Education Program supported innovative approaches to curricula development and teaching for educators and critical thinking and problem-solving skills for students. The Ministry of Education made civics, law, and English-language content developed by MFOS part of the country's standard curriculum. MFOS trained a task force reviewing education standards and development

and, with assistance from the government and the Asian Development Bank, continued a model education quality assurance project.

In public health, MFOS evaluated the current public health curricula, with a focus on improving postgraduate training, and funded 25 health professionals and policymakers to attend either OSI's Public Health Programs' Salzburg Seminars or regional conferences.

The Local Governance Program attracted more than 60 government officers and local trainers to three training workshops on writing effective public policy papers. Other workshops, in cooperation with the UNDP and the OECD, presented techniques for improving government/citizen relations to participants from the Parliamentary Secretariat, the president's office, government agencies, and NGOs.

Working with the NGO MIDAS, the Information Program prompted public discussions about information and communications technology policies, and supported a working group that made recommendations based on the public meetings.

The Media Program provided technical assistance to improve journalists' professional standards, strengthened the curricula at journalism schools and universities, and disseminated an analysis of freedom of expression laws to members of Parliament, government officials, NGOs, and the general public. Trainers from groups such as the International Center for Journalists provided professional training at local radio stations.

Working with the Minnesota Phoenix Domestic Violence Coalition, the Women's Program provided technical expertise for developing a domestic vio-

lence bill. The Program sponsored a working group visit to Malaysia to learn about its domestic violence law, and helped send other Mongolian gender specialists to regional workshops and conferences.

A National Forum on Access to Justice, organized by the Foundation, led to the creation of a working group authorized by the Minister of Justice and Home Affairs to help reform legal aid for socially vulnerable and disadvantaged groups. MFOS adapted Open Society Justice Initiative police training modules for use in Mongolia. Dutch police trainers and officers from the Royal Thai police introduced Mongolian officers to public relations and tourism policing. MFOS also worked with partners to expand a victim care project in the Sukhbaatar district of Ulaanbaatar.

OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE ASSISTANCE FOUNDATION-TAJIKISTAN

Improvements in Tajikistan's security and stability over the last two years have been offset by a dire economic situation. Widespread poverty continues to fuel drug trafficking and provides a potential breeding ground for organized crime. Aid to Tajikistan has increased but could be strengthened by better coordination and longer-term planning. Although a controversial referendum gave the president the right to run for two more terms, many in Tajikistan's government remain open to new ideas and committed to moving the country away from its troubled past. With the right mixture of government

policy and international assistance, a positive shift is feasible.

The Open Society Institute Assistance Foundation–Tajikistan (OSIAF–Tajikistan) has continued to influence policymaking in a few key areas. For instance, in 2003, the Foundation's Law Program, which had been pressing for a moratorium on the death penalty, counted among its successes the abolition of the death penalty for women. Subsequently, in April 2004, the government announced a general moratorium on the death penalty.

In addition, the Foundation has addressed the plight of Tajik labor migrants by supporting the establishment of consultation centers at major exit points in the country; disseminating information on the rights of migrants; helping the major Tajik organization in Moscow document abuses and otherwise assist migrants; and exploring opportunities for further cooperation with Tajik diaspora groups. In collaboration with other Soros foundations in the region, the Tajikistan foundation began an examination of various policy aspects of labor migration, with final research results due in 2004.

As part of OSI's Local Government and Public Service Reform Initiative, the Foundation completed the initial stage of a government-approved partnership strategy for NGOs and local authorities to involve citizens in decision making and foster public dialogue.

The National Minorities Program launched a quarterly magazine to address the problems faced by national minorities. The Network Women's Program developed materials and training for

Afghan refugee teachers and provided support for a documentary film about women, drug trafficking, and prison.

The Ministry of Education approved the Education Initiative's methodology manual and a textbook on world history. The English Language Program (ELP) assisted the Ministry of Education in developing proposals for improving the teaching and learning of Russian and English. With support from ELP and the British Council, OSIAF–Tajikistan collaborated with international NGOs to conduct a study of English-language teaching in the country. The Scholarship Program administered 16 scholarships within Tajikistan and 41 for master's degrees abroad.

The Step by Step Program, funded by OSI and USAID to promote child-centered teaching and education, added 10 schools and 8 kindergartens and provided training in Step by Step methodology to 80 primary school and kindergarten teachers.

USAID funding helped the Foundation foster collaboration with NGOs and government AIDS centers to expand harm reduction to penitentiaries and most of Tajikistan.

The Foundation helped develop recommendations for legislation and policy on the rights of the mentally disabled. At the Information Program's urging, the government and NGOs drafted a long-term strategy for ICT development. The Foundation's access to information project expanded to four large cities and 13 regions in Tajikistan.

OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE ASSISTANCE FOUNDATION–TURKEY

Despite a war in neighboring Iraq and terrorist bombings in Istanbul, Turkey remained committed to improving its democratic institutions and passing crucial EU-related reforms. Helping the country realize its EU membership aspirations continued to be a major priority for the Open Society Institute Assistance Foundation–Turkey (OSIAF–Turkey). The Foundation also provided support for education, economic development, arts and culture, women’s rights, media, and NGO development.

OSIAF–Turkey supported a study at Bogazici University analyzing future employment in Turkey and migration into Europe and research at Bilgi University on the Turkish diaspora in Europe. Both projects aim to address anxieties about integration and further immigration of Turks to Europe. The translation of EUMAP reports into Turkish helped provide comparative information on the reform processes in Central and Eastern Europe. OSIAF–Turkey plans to work with European and Turkish institutions to alleviate anxieties and promote the many opportunities and benefits of EU membership for Turkey and the EU.

The Education Reform Initiative concentrated on curriculum reform, gender parity, and preschool education. OSIAF–Turkey also supported the Mother and Child Education Foundation’s work in adult literacy and early childhood education in disadvantaged parts of the country.

A pioneering microcredit program in Diyarbakir, which served impoverished families,

achieved a 100 percent repayment rate, galvanizing political support for microfinance and the development of relevant laws and regulations in this nascent field.

In arts and culture, OSIAF–Turkey supported a highly acclaimed arts exhibition of contemporary works by young artists and the European Film Festival’s tour through six Anatolian cities.

OSIAF–Turkey helped create a new Women’s Fund to remedy the lack of adequate funding for work on gender issues. The Foundation supported an International Women’s Film Festival and a tour of festival documentaries organized by an Ankara NGO, Flying Broom. To change community attitudes to so-called “honor crimes,” OSIAF–Turkey funded KA-MER, an NGO offering counseling and support services to women in southeastern Turkey.

Together with the Aydin Dogan Foundation, the Foundation jointly supported a new training program in journalism introduced by the International Press Institute of Turkey.

The Foundation funded an update of the *NGO Directory*, which contains 4,000 entries. OSIAF–Turkey also helped create the country’s first NGO Training Center in Istanbul, which trained 35 NGO activists on eight different issues in 2003.

OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE ASSISTANCE FOUNDATION–UZBEKISTAN

Misguided policies intensified Uzbekistan’s continuing economic crisis in 2003. The country’s impover-

ished population has become increasingly disenchanted with the current political regime, which relies more and more on repressive measures to maintain power.

The Open Society Institute Assistance Foundation–Uzbekistan (OSIAF–Uzbekistan) responded to these difficult circumstances by prioritizing advocacy and policy initiatives focusing on governance, law, small and medium enterprises (SMEs), gender, education, and information technology.

The Foundation worked with the national bar association to train students, lawyers and legal professionals through a continuous system of legal education from high school to postuniversity levels. A monthly series of interdisciplinary seminars on economic policy issues covered tax policy, administrative reform, the pension system, and corporate ethics for businesspeople and policymakers. With support from OSI, a group of lawyers created a website offering timely information and comments about new economic decrees and regulations to help SMEs, as well as professional online consultation for entrepreneurs.

The Gender Program supported the publication of a textbook and teaching materials for a new course on gender at several universities. It established two community clubs for women in Namangan with a focus on providing microcredit and developing new forms of leadership skills. A new Foundation program will enable these clubs and similar ones in other regions to provide new roles and opportunities for women by training them to be social workers.

In order to mobilize intellectuals and professionals for social change, the Foundation continued to support alternatives in the higher education system. OSIAF–Uzbekistan helped introduce innovative courses in subjects such as social anthropology and social work. Foundation support for a visiting scholars program brought 14 academics to Uzbekistan to deliver lectures and seminars.

The Internet Program helped reduce Uzbekistan's geographic and political isolation. A joint project of OSI, UNDP, and NATO to provide universities and NGOs with access to the Internet expanded into eight more provinces in 2003.

In April 2004, the government of Uzbekistan shut down OSIAF–Uzbekistan by revoking its registration. This decision came after international organizations working in the country had to re-register and comply with a high degree of government control over their activities. Please see www.soros.org/newsroom for further information. *



SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE



European Union membership finally and clearly emerged as the universal aspiration for South Eastern Europe in 2003. At the June EU–Western Balkans Summit in Thessaloniki, Greece, the EU and the countries of the region declared that the future of the Western Balkans is within the European Union. A few weeks later, the EU reaffirmed its commitment to police missions in Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, the fight against organized crime and corruption, and cooperation in economic and security policies. In return, the EU requested cooperation in these endeavors as well as the beginning of direct dialogue between government leaders in Serbia and Kosovo. These symbolic advances, however, were offset by several significant events during the course of the year.

The assassination of the pro-Western Serbian Prime Minister Zoran Djindjic in March shocked the entire world and sparked a war on organized crime and corruption that virtually paralyzed the country with a two-month state of emergency. The political situation worsened as Serbia stumbled through a series of invalid presidential elections, as well as parliamentary elections in December, in which the Serbian Radical Party claimed victory.

In Croatia, the year in politics was dominated by preelection campaigns aimed at voters dissatisfied with the reform programs implemented by the Social Democratic Party, which had held power since the death of Franjo Tudjman and the defeat of his ultranationalist Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) party in 1999–2000. In November, the HDZ reemerged and won the elections as a reformed, right-wing party with an extremist past. What approach the HDZ takes to the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia and EU-oriented reforms will provide a good public indicator of how much it really has changed.

The Macedonian/Albanian coalition government in Macedonia made progress in implementing the Ohrid Agreement and setting the country on the course of reform. The police began making efforts to recruit a more ethnically diverse force, and officials began using the Albanian language more widely on state documents, including passports.

In both Kosovo and Bosnia and Herzegovina, the international com-

munity's appointees generated much of the press. Harri Holkeri, the new head of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), emphasized "standards before status" (eight important issues that Kosovo needs to fulfill before talks about the country's future status can even begin) and the importance of commencing dialogue between Serbia and Kosovo. The media in Bosnia and Herzegovina and abroad accused High Representative Paddy Ashdown of authoritarian methods of government, blaming him and his office for impeding democratic progress. Many international organizations pressed for changes to the 1995 Dayton Agreement (the official constitution of the country), which is seen as a major hurdle to reform.

OSI initiatives and Soros foundations in the Balkans continued to collaborate, with directors meeting in Belgrade and Skopje to develop projects on anticorruption, education, labor migration, minority rights, media, and neglected academic disciplines. Without further development of individuals and institutions capable of devising and implementing the economic and political reforms necessary for EU membership, the region's aspirations for integration with Europe could face further setbacks and delays.

OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATION FOR ALBANIA

The Open Society Foundation for Albania (OSFA) fostered openness, transparency, and accountability

throughout Albanian society in 2003. The Foundation helped institutions become more open to public scrutiny in accordance with Albania's obligations under the EU's Stabilization and Association Agreement. OSFA also worked at the grassroots level to strengthen civil society's capacity to generate policy alternatives and promote open society through monitoring and advocacy.

To enhance transparency in government, OSFA and the Center for Parliamentary Studies launched a joint initiative to increase participation by the public and legal professionals in drafting legislation. A major focus was implementation of Albania's Freedom of Information Act. The government responded by improving communications, releasing more information about its activities, including the development of future policies.

The Foundation supported citizen information offices in Pogradec, Shkodra, and Tirana. The offices provided information about the workings of the local government, solicited citizen input about municipal projects, and helped citizens pursue government monitoring and evaluation activities. In Tirana, OSFA established a Citizen's Legal Aid Office to assist people encountering administrative problems.

At the national level, the Foundation worked to increase transparency and accountability by supporting projects monitoring government performance against indicators in the National Strategy for Social and Economic Development.

OSFA also supported efforts to monitor Albania's NGO sector. Promoting and ensuring transparency and good governance within NGOs is critical to the credibility of civil society. With OSFA

assistance, NGOs agreed to implement best practices for preventing corruption.

OSFA shared lessons learned in fighting corruption with Soros foundations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, and Macedonia. A joint project, led by Central European University, studied donor assistance to anticorruption efforts. It concluded that, despite huge investments, corruption and fraud continue to be widespread in most transitional countries, including Albania. The project will continue in 2004 with public discussions and advocacy based on the research results.

The OSI Education Program for South East European countries provided education policy assistance as OSFA developed a network of education NGOs to conduct an education spending and reform campaign directed at the public and decision makers. The Friends of Education club, which recruited a number of public figures, helped make the campaign effective. Training of journalists resulted in the publication of a supplement on education in Albania's largest daily paper. The education campaign culminated in the first-ever meeting between civil society representatives and education stakeholders and parliamentarians. The government increased the 2004 education budget by \$7 million.

OPEN SOCIETY FUND–BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Eight years after it was devastated by war, Bosnia and Herzegovina still faces serious political, social,

and economic challenges. The fragmented and contentious groups that lead the country lack the will or the capacity to assume more responsibility for the future. The Open Society Fund–Bosnia and Herzegovina (OSF–BH) is responding to the country's stagnation by supporting civic groups and institutions that can revitalize public discussion of Bosnia and Herzegovina's future. In 2003, OSF–BH promoted change by supporting initiatives on education and humanitarian law and projects for youth, Roma, and women.

The Education Program further developed a model of change in the secondary schools in the Tuzla district, combining policy reform with classroom and community development. With the Slovenian School for Principals, OSF–BH launched an education management master's degree program for 17 principals and ministry officials to improve skills and promote democratic leadership in education reform.

In the aftermath of a war marked by ethnic cleansing, the war crimes trials are extremely important to Bosnia and Herzegovina. OSF–BH and the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) Outreach Program undertook joint activities, including a seminar on the Role of the Witnesses in War Crimes Trials. The Fund also organized a study visit to the ICTY, the International Criminal Court, and the International Court of Justice for academics and graduating law students. OSF–BH supported a documentary on the impact of the ICTY trials on reconciliation and daily life in the towns of Prijedor, Ahmici, and Konjic.

The Youth Program's efforts resulted in dozens of policy changes, including the creation of a Youth

and nurses learned at OSI seminars in Croatia

Department within the Ministry of Culture and Sport; the establishment of youth advisory boards in several municipalities; and the development of the country's first youth budget. OSF-BH assumed the chair of the Youth Policy Working Group within the international community's Institution Building Task Force in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Working Group's six meetings with 25 international organizations helped increase information sharing and coordination of international aid for youth programs.

The Roma Program evaluated its progress after three years of increasing support, concluding that the "Romani third sector" has become stronger and more visible. OSF-BH funded a project that, in pursuing ecological goals, benefited the entire community while reducing anti-Romani stereotypes and prejudice.

OSF-BH established the Women and Society Center to develop civil society's capacity to research, analyze, and monitor gender equality and to advocate for better policies. The center will provide training for gender research and strategic planning, produce guides for campaigns against gender-based violence, and help the government implement the national Law on Gender Equity.

OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE-CROATIA

Croatia and OSI-Croatia experienced substantial changes in 2003. The country started official accession process negotiations with the EU. Parliamentary elections in November resulted in a

new government with a slim majority in Parliament. While the elections indicate that Croatians are seeking change, public opinion polls suggest they are tired of politicians' promises and less willing to continue making sacrifices that bring few short-term rewards. In this context, OSI-Croatia spent much of the year reconsidering its strategy and performance over the last three years when the foundation was often the government's lead partner in pursuing policy reforms supported by the public, the World Bank, and the EU.

OSI-Croatia continued to work for these reforms by supporting the CEPOR-SME Policy Center, which published a report analyzing the low levels of entrepreneurial activity in Croatia and designed a training program for small and medium enterprises with high growth potential. The Center for Educational Research and Development led the development of four education reform projects. The Croatian Law Center helped develop the foundation's Decentralization of Public Administration Project, which will be implemented by the government to address issues such as local government elections, social service reforms, and regulation of government employees.

Public health projects included Public Health Capacity Building, a collaboration with the Ministry of Health implemented at the Andrija Stampar School of Public Health in Zagreb. The project aims to convert existing master's programs into a modular format, in line with European credit system standards and the Bologna Declaration. To improve tuberculosis control, OSI-Croatia organized nine seminars on diagnostics attended by 400 doctors and nurses.





Freedom of Movement Train

BY **Hélène Caux**

In Kosovo, a train carrying Serbs, Roma, and Albanians represented movement in the right direction.

FACING PAGE, TOP: NATO soldiers guarding the train, a Serbian woman waving goodbye to her family. BOTTOM: Passengers standing inside a second-class carriage. BELOW: A Serbian man anxiously looking out the train's window.



OSI–Croatia supported civil society development programs that helped empower marginalized groups such as women, youth, and Roma. The foundation organized trainings for teachers working in schools with Romani children and supported Romani NGOs working on education issues. The foundation continued support for the Women’s Information and Documentation Centers’ Network–REWIND NET, a regional resource network that compiles information about gender equality for national, regional, and global advocacy efforts.

In an organizational restructuring at the end of the year, OSI–Croatia selected a new executive director and five-member board, and established the Open Society Forum, which will help develop a new strategy that more effectively combines the foundation’s policy, monitoring, and advocacy activities. The Forum promises to attract a wide circle of intellectuals and activists who can help improve the foundation’s efforts to develop democratic institutions and culture in Croatia.

KOSOVA FOUNDATION FOR OPEN SOCIETY

The Kosova Foundation for Open Society (KFOS) spent much of the year helping develop the skills of local decision makers so they can effectively participate in transferring governance responsibilities from the international community to local institutions.

The Foundation initiated the creation of Forum 2015, a coalition of three prominent Kosovar institutions: KFOS; RIINVEST, an economic and public policy think tank; and Kosovo Action for Civic Initiative (KACI), a media and public policy monitoring organization. Forum 2015 brought together reform-minded professionals and intellectuals to define strategies and policies on democracy, development, and European integration. A public opinion survey conducted by the coalition revealed that 92.6 percent of people surveyed support EU/NATO integration.

As education policy evolves in Kosovo, KFOS is working to promote a common understanding of what constitutes good teaching and school management. The Foundation funded training by the Step by Step, Reading and Writing for Critical Thinking, and School Administration programs. These programs, implemented by the Kosovo Education Center (KEC), a local NGO established by KFOS, have reached more than 10 percent of Kosovo’s teachers. In September, KEC transferred the operation of five didactic centers created by KFOS and Austrian and Swiss donors to the government’s teacher-training system.

KFOS cofunded a World Bank project to improve participation in education, particularly among girls and minority groups. KEC agreed to carry out the project’s \$4 million technical assistance component through a contract with the Ministry of Education. The three-year project provides small grants to more than half of Kosovo’s 800 primary and secondary schools.

The Kosovo Institute of Public Administration,

established within a joint KFOS/UNDP program, completed a training needs assessment and started hiring local professionals to train civil servants.

Municipalities Online, another KFOS/UNDP program, expanded to five additional municipalities, including Kosovo's capital, Pristina. The program improved municipal public services as well as transparency through information technology. Municipalities Online also worked with local NGOs to organize open forums in which the business community and civil society urged local decision makers to build more efficient, democratic institutions.

The KFOS Fellowship Program assisted young Kosovar professionals pursuing research and advanced degrees abroad and then applying their skills at home. In 2003, the Program helped seven Kosovar professionals get appointed to decision-making positions in four Kosovo ministries, including the prime minister's office.

Minority integration was another KFOS priority. Working with local authorities, the Foundation established community centers that, among other efforts, help minority youth find local education and employment opportunities. The program targeted six communities, including two settled by Serbs (Gracanica and Strpce) and one settled by Bosnians and Gorans (Recan). In addition, KFOS addressed the lack of formal education of the Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptians. The Foundation and the Ministry of Education develop multicultural education policies to integrate these minority children into mainstream education.

FOUNDATION OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE–MACEDONIA

To advance internal stability and EU integration, the Foundation Open Society Institute–Macedonia (FOSIM) focused on accelerating reforms; fighting corruption; assisting government decentralization; and promoting democratization and open governance. The Foundation's efforts helped establish an unprecedented level of cooperation between the country's new government and civil society.

FOSIM supported public administration reform by concluding a cooperation agreement with the government's General Secretariat to jointly implement the Strengthening Central Level Policy Making Process project in three ministries. The Foundation also cooperated with the Ministry of Justice to support penal reform by promoting the introduction of alternative sentencing. The Ministry of Transport and Communication took steps to adopt a new law on broadcasting drafted by NGOs and the media community.

To combat corruption, the Foundation assisted the State Anticorruption Commission in creating a national anticorruption strategy. FOSIM's survey of 2,000 university students revealed corruption in enrollment practices, examinations, and scholarships. The public outcry resulted in the Ministry of Education and Science creating an anticorruption office and telephone hotline for reporting corruption cases.

FOSIM pursued education reform by helping draft a national development program. Its proposed activity plans, reform structure, and draft protocol

>> **Fear and Prejudice:** What Macedonians discussed

for cooperation were adopted by the government and the Ministry of Education and Science.

Enough Is Enough, an NGO coalition supported by FOSIM, worked to ensure enforcement of Macedonia's Law on Disarmament, which calls for the voluntary surrender of illegal arms and weapons. Enough Is Enough activists participated as observers at disarmament activities and conducted a public awareness campaign highlighting the risks of carrying illegal weapons.

The Foundation signed a protocol for cooperation with the Ministry of Culture to develop pilot strategies for the development of local management at six community cultural centers. After three years of assisting local initiatives, the Living Heritage Program—a joint endeavor of FOSIM and the King Baudouin Foundation—was offered to the Ministry of Culture as a model for cultural community development.

The Foundation pursued public health reform by working with the Ministry of Health and the medical faculty at Skopje University to organize a public health management conference and establish the School of Public Health.

FOSIM and the Ministry of Local Self-Government, with support from the World Bank and OSI, organized a national conference on open government attended by 98 government officials, diplomats, donors, mayors, members of parliament, and NGO activists.

To advance the rights of women, the Foundation supported a seminar on “Domestic Violence: Reality or Myth,” attended by 40 law enforcement officials. FOSIM also provided support to the Euro Balkan

Institute to establish a Curriculum Development Center in Gender Studies in partnership with Skopje University.

The Macedonian prime minister addressed a forum on “cultural decontamination,” at which participants discussed ways to reduce fear, prejudice, hatred, and interethnic violence. The forum prompted public debate on nationalistic myths and ethnocultural divisions in Macedonia.

SOROS FOUNDATION—MOLDOVA

The priorities of the Soros Foundation—Moldova (SFM) included promoting democratic values, enhancing access to information, encouraging civil society in rural areas, and supporting the growth of private enterprise. In particular, SFM focused on promoting open society values through activities and programs in rural Moldova.

The Foundation's 22 Access to Information and Training Community Centers in rural areas offered Internet access and information technology training courses. SFM also supported the Improving Services for Public Library Users in Rural Areas Program. The Program's 19 projects helped libraries diversify their services by reaching socially vulnerable children and by offering timely and relevant economic, business, legal, and human rights information.

In cooperation with the Independent Journalism Center and APEL Broadcasting Association, the Local Radio Development Program provided free legal and technical assistance to four

at a forum on “cultural decontamination”

groups planning to open radio stations, and awarded grants to four existing radio stations to purchase modern equipment. It conducted two training courses for 52 professional local radio journalists and prospective journalism students.

The Community Development Program selected 41 projects to help people in rural communities participate in local decision making. The Local Economic Development Program will finance 10 economic infrastructure microprojects and provide 30 entrepreneurs with business development credit.

The Rural Economic Development Program supported rural private businesses through investment grants to Moldovan farmers. The grants are provided by the Private Farmers' Assistance Program, which is implemented by the East West Management Institute and cofunded by USAID. The program has helped extend agricultural services to more than 3,000 farmers.

Encouraging rural women to develop their own businesses and create new jobs for their communities was another priority of the Rural Economic Development Program. This initiative, also supported by the International Fund for Agricultural Development, will use a mix of investment grants, networking activities, and specialized entrepreneur training to stimulate employment opportunities for young women and keep them from migrating.

FOUNDATION OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE–REPRESENTATIVE OFFICE MONTENEGRO

The Foundation Open Society Institute–Representative Office Montenegro (FOSI–ROM) worked to strengthen and enhance the development of human resources, the rule of law, and the protection of vulnerable groups by promoting educational, judicial, and public administration reform and advancing the rights of Roma and women.

In education, FOSI–ROM supported a series of donor information meetings and a major donor event organized by the Ministry of Education and Science that secured a first-time commitment to education reform in Montenegro from the World Bank. The Foundation and the State Textbooks Publishing Agency cohosted an international conference for representatives of education publishers and ministries from 16 countries. The Foundation also provided expertise in curriculum reform, textbook publishing, and institution building.

FOSI–ROM supported judicial reform through the Montenegrin Judicial Training Center and worked with the government to make judicial practice in criminal matters conform to EU standards. FOSI–ROM sponsored independent research on the legislative reform process, promoted alternatives to imprisonment, and raised public awareness about penitentiary reform. The Foundation worked with the Center for Monitoring, a local NGO, to draft a law on political party financing and prepare for its implementation after its expected passage in 2004.

Through the Public Administration and Local Government Program, FOSI-ROM supported implementation of new local government legislation and skills training for civil servants and NGO activists. The Foundation raised awareness about reform processes among donors and international agencies and increased public understanding of EU structures and standards.

Working with the government and UNDP, FOSI-ROM established the Capacity Development Program (CDP) to complement the government's strategies for public administration, education, and judicial reform. CDP is the first Foundation-related program in which the government is a partner, financial contributor, and beneficiary.

The Roma Program organized the human and financial resources needed to implement the Roma Education Initiative in Montenegro. The Montenegrin Ministry of Education is cooperating in this effort to increase the number of Romani children in mainstream schools (only 1,006 Romani children attend public educational institutions) and improve the quality of education offered to Romani children. The Foundation also sponsored projects on Roma rights and public awareness of the problems faced by Montenegro's Romani population.

The Women's Program worked on establishing mechanisms for cooperation among professionals, NGOs, and state institutions to help local efforts to prevent domestic violence. The government adopted the National Plan for the Prevention of Domestic Violence in 2003, and FOSI-ROM conducted seminars to introduce the plan to the public. The Women's Program and Roma Program jointly sup-

ported projects to facilitate the integration of Romani women into mainstream society.

At the request of the National Curriculum Council, researchers and activists from women's NGOs analyzed new curricula proposals and recommended changes to increase gender sensitivity. Research on gender stereotypes, supported by the Women's Program, concluded that Montenegrin textbooks, with very few exceptions, strongly reflected the larger society's patriarchal values. With the Swedish organization Kvinna till Kvinna, the Foundation supported the creation of an alternative women's studies program conducted by the NGO Anima from Kotor.

FUND FOR AN OPEN SOCIETY-SERBIA

Dramatic political developments in 2003 slowed but did not halt reform. On March 12, Prime Minister Zoran Djindjic was assassinated just as his government was preparing for a showdown with organized crime, which had flourished since the wars of the 1990s. The new government declared a state of emergency as it intensified the fight against organized crime and strengthened related institutional and legal frameworks.

Yet the crackdown on organized crime also resulted in setbacks to open society, including restrictions on human rights such as freedom of expression and information; legal changes that limited judicial independence and the right to a fair trial; and questionable judicial and media appointments.

The Fund for an Open Society–Serbia responded to the year’s tragic political violence and unease by joining with local civil society organizations and the international community to pressure the new government to reconsider the postassassination policies and practices that threaten open society and human rights. The Fund also joined the international community in demanding implementation of already agreed-upon reforms.

Working with the Council for the Reform of the Judiciary, the Fund produced a comprehensive strategy for judicial reform. The Fund focused on improving the profession’s code of ethics and helping judges and prosecutors act more independently. More than 1,000 judges and prosecutors—about a third of the judiciary—participated in various activities supported or organized by the Fund. With training supported by the Fund, 16 domestic NGOs began monitoring trials related to organized crime and war crimes, as well as several significant district court cases. The Fund also supported court-reporting training for journalists.

A three-year education reform effort involving 500 domestic and foreign experts ended in 2003. More than 30,000 individuals participated in public discussions organized by the program. The government approved a new legal framework for regulating and reforming education with the goal of establishing decentralized, democratized, and child-centered schools.

In higher education, the Fund supported activities related to transfer of credits, quality control, and faculty accreditation. The English Language Program concluded its work after reforming

preservice teacher training at universities, introducing mentoring concepts, and establishing professional teachers’ associations.

With various NGO partners, the Fund helped increase the public communication efforts of the ministries of education and health, support training for public servants involved with the European Union, and develop new national defense and security strategies.

The Fund launched a regional initiative with several prominent NGOs from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, and Serbia, bringing together politicians to discuss models for facing the past and achieving justice. Programs for the Roma focused on NGO capacity building, developing young Romani leaders, improving Romani children’s access to quality education, and preparing for Decade of Roma Inclusion activities and initiatives. The Public Health Program, established in 2003 to improve the health of vulnerable groups, will seek to influence public health policies, strengthen the management and financing capacity of health care institutions, and initiate WHO-compatible antituberculosis policies. *





CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

A

fter years of intense preparations,

eight Central and Eastern European countries joined the European Union in May 2004. All of these countries—the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia—have completed long journeys from closed societies to liberal democracies. Two other countries in the region—Bulgaria and Romania—hope to accede in 2007 pending the completion of their transitions.

EU accession has been a major force in establishing guarantees of democracy, rule of law, human rights, the protection of minorities, and functioning market economies—conditions that were absent from daily life for decades before the collapse of communism.

Enlargement will bring about changes in the EU's external relations, particularly with neighboring countries to the east and south. The new states, once similarly positioned to their neighbors, will have a unique ability to voice the concerns of those who remain outside the Union.

The Soros foundations network in 2003 continued to promote open society values and reform efforts in the accession countries in such areas as public administration, the rule of law, and human rights. OSI sponsored initiatives for equal access and opportunities for vulnerable populations. The Soros network also put increased emphasis on generating systemic changes, influencing public policies, and strengthening advocacy capacities.

OSI's EU Monitoring and Advocacy Program (EUMAP) expanded its mission to monitor compliance with international human rights and rule of law standards in all EU member states (see page 158). OSI-Brussels helped persuade the European Parliament to establish a fund for watchdog groups and independent think tanks in the accession states.

In Hungary, the Soros Foundation launched a new policy center to shape the way the public understands and practices democracy. Similar activities took place across the region through a network of think tanks developed by OSI's Local Government and Public Service Reform Initiative.

In Bulgaria, the Open Society Foundation-Sofia implemented a project aimed at educating the general public about the importance of the civil sector and demonstrated how such initiatives affect the lives of ordinary citizens.

Slovenia, where 90 percent of the population supported inclusion in the EU, has made a strong transition to democracy. Yet the country still faces civil society concerns about the independence of the media and the legal rights of ethnic and religious minorities. The Peace Institute, a policy research NGO and major OSI grantee, is addressing such issues, which could be classified as common “deficiencies” in the region’s newly opened societies.

Many Soros foundations focused on helping the region’s large numbers of Roma who suffer discrimination, poor public services, and lack of educational opportunities. The foundations worked with national governments and local communities on programs to promote the self-reliance of the Roma. The emphasis in Hungary was on improved pedagogy, media awareness, and cultural promotion, and in Slovakia, on strengthening Romani NGOs to improve relations with local authorities.

The World Bank and OSI organized a conference in Budapest focusing on the “Decade of Roma Inclusion” plan. Prime ministers from old and new EU countries affirmed their support for the plan’s promotion of radical changes in education, employment, and health policies for Romani communities. Implementing the reforms will be a long, challenging process requiring strong national commitments.

Corruption is another serious, lingering issue in the acceding countries—and a key issue for the Soros foundations. Laws against corruption exist throughout the region, but implementation and enforcement lag. The Open Society Fund–Prague and the Czech chapter of Transparency International created a comprehensive, multiyear anticorruption

program. The Open Society Justice Initiative operated projects to monitor political party financing in Latvia and Slovakia.

As most large international donors identify new priorities and start to move away from the region, the environment for civil society in Central and Eastern Europe will undergo fundamental change in coming years. Soros foundations in EU accession states are focusing on shaping public policy and diversifying their funding base through grants from other donors. OSI will gradually decrease its investment in the region but remain committed to programs and activities for vulnerable populations and issues not fully addressed by EU funding and policies.

OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE–SOFIA (BULGARIA)

The foundation changed its name from the Open Society Foundation–Sofia to the Open Society Institute–Sofia (OSI–Sofia) and began to transform itself into a public policy institute. Its priority areas included European integration and regional cooperation, public life and civic participation, democracy and the rule of law, education, Romani integration, and public health.

The Civic Convention Project fostered public debate about the future of Europe and promoted political consensus for constitutional amendments on the balance of power among the branches of government and legal requirements for EU acces-

>> 250 Police Officers: Who received

sion. OSI–Sofia established Bulgaria’s first Donors’ Forum to coordinate donors and improve third sector performance.

The European Integration and Regional Stability Program supported partnerships between civil society organizations and governmental institutions to help officials improve their capacity for managing EU accession related funds. The Bridge between Civilizations Project organized a conference that brought together library workers from Iranian and Bulgarian national libraries to promote understanding and the sharing of experience.

The Legal Program supported two probation centers in provincial cities and brought together juvenile offender officers, human rights activists, and parents to share ideas about preventing and dealing with criminal behavior among children. The European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia, an independent body of the European Union, selected OSI–Sofia and the Bulgarian Helsinki Committee to compile information about Bulgaria and draft surveys for a European database on organizations dealing with racism and discrimination issues.

The Legal Program promoted transparency and accountability in Bulgaria’s judicial system and law enforcement institutions. Its activities included introducing alternatives to imprisonment, improving access to justice, and reforming the juvenile justice system. With Legal Program support, 17 local NGO projects trained 250 neighborhood police officers, established six local commissions for public order and safety, and worked with the Bulgarian Helsinki Committee to improve civilian oversight of

the police. The foundation also supported a pilot public defender’s office, a community policing model, probation centers, and the training of judges in international juvenile justice standards.

The Public Administration and Local Government Program helped local officials and civil servants develop the skills and awareness to provide equal access to social services for marginalized groups and geographically isolated communities. The European Models for Development Project provided training to 390 municipal and regional experts on planning, programming, monitoring, and evaluating EU structural funds projects.

The Education Program pursued education reform in cooperation with Bulgarian universities and the Ministry of Education and Science. The foundation monitored the government’s education modernization project, prompting official reconsideration of the government’s reform strategy. The foundation supported equal education opportunities for 1,100 Romani children and youth from nursery school through secondary education.

OSI–Sofia’s Roma Program worked to strengthen the network of Roma Community Centers to mediate between Romani communities and local governments. A joint initiative with OSI’s Local Government and Public Service Reform Initiative supported NGO projects to address unemployment in municipalities with predominantly Romani populations. OSI–Sofia and the National Council on Ethnic and Demographic Issues started ETHNOS (www.ethnos.bg), a new web portal project, to offer up-to-date information about ethnic minorities in Bulgaria.



training in Bulgaria to improve community relations

Priorities for the Public Health Program included health policy reform, palliative care, harm reduction, mental health, and Romani health. The Institute organized a public hearing on proposed changes to narcotics legislation that highlighted public misperceptions about drug users and “decriminalization” versus “legalization.”

OPEN SOCIETY FUND–PRAGUE (CZECH REPUBLIC)

The Open Society Fund–Prague (OSF–Prague) addressed problematic issues raised by the European Union accession process by continuing to mobilize and develop the nongovernmental sector through programs strengthening the rule of law, human rights, good governance, and cultural policies and institutions.

A rule of law project brought together members of the Czech Republic’s Union of Judges, the Ministry of Justice, and NGOs to develop mediation as an alternative for dispute resolution in civil cases. The Access to Information Program monitored the application of the country’s Freedom of Information Act, challenged abuses by state agencies, and prepared comments on freedom of information decisions. The Program’s innovative public award system allowed citizens to rate various government agencies as either “open” or “closed” based on their compliance with the Freedom of Information Act. The Ministry of Justice received the 2003 “closed” award, prompting extensive media coverage and

public discussion. OSF–Prague also supported initiatives on legal education and judicial and police reform as well as anticorruption programs focusing on public procurement processes, conflict of interest in public administration, and misapplication of public resources in the security services.

The Fund supported a number of programs addressing the isolation and marginalization of the Roma. One such program, School for Everyone, promotes multicultural education in 10 schools. In collaboration with three local NGOs, the Multicultural Center, the People in Need Association, and the Refugee Counseling Center, OSF–Prague continued the Migration Program to conduct research, monitor legislation, and raise awareness of migration issues.

The Women’s Program and local NGOs developed multiyear activities on political representation, equal opportunities, and violence against women. A coalition of NGOs prepared a domestic violence awareness campaign for TV and major newspapers. OSF–Prague also worked to establish a Slovak–Czech Women’s Fund to mobilize financing for projects in both countries.

The Public Health Program worked to improve traditional systems in both palliative care and mental health care. OSF–Prague established coalitions of NGOs to advocate for new laws and better practices. Initial results of a research project indicated that almost 100 percent of people in the cases surveyed had a strong desire to die at home, yet most died in a hospital. These findings will inform proposals for changes to the palliative and mental health care systems.

The Good Governance Program helped members of professional groups, representatives of NGOs, and citizens without party affiliation develop independent, informal political issue platforms. The Program also supported efforts by policy institutes and civil society to shape public policy. The Fund promoted the passage of a tax incentive for giving to NGOs. The Fund also supported advocacy organizations engaged in monitoring abuses of power by public authorities and projects working to enforce new legislation that opens the political system to greater public participation.

Efforts to strengthen civil society included the development of the ProCulture Center, which worked with the Ministry of Culture on improving public funding for culture.

OPEN ESTONIA FOUNDATION

Estonia's transition era came to a close in 2003 as voters endorsed the country's accession to the European Union and signaled their belief in the EU as the best means to secure economic sustainability and security. Deciding about the EU also prompted widespread public debate on a number of other issues such as participatory democracy, equal opportunities, and parental benefits.

Yet Estonia continues to face a number of significant challenges. Corruption appears to be getting worse according to Transparency International's corruption perception index, which gave Estonia a decreased rating in 2003. Although economic indi-

cators continued to show progress, the United Nations Development Program's Human Development Report 2003 indicated that Estonia's rapid economic growth has not helped to reduce its still high levels of social inequality.

While many public and private institutions are more democratic and open, they are still perceived by most Estonians as distant and inaccessible. The year was also marked by rising social and economic tensions and Estonia's first major, nationwide strike of public sector employees since the end of communism.

The Open Estonia Foundation (OEF) focused on European integration, development of civil society and participatory democracy, and promoting equal opportunities for women and men.

With European Movement Estonia, the Jaan Tõnisson Institute, and the Women's Studies and Resource Centre, OEF initiated the Estonian Civil Society Contact Group for the Convention on the Future of Europe. The Contact Group's proposed amendment to the draft article on participatory democracy demanding guarantees for dialogue with civil society groups was approved. The Contact Group also organized a conference of civil society representatives and government officials from Estonia and Europe. Participants discussed the importance of civil participation in European governance and the Convention's contributions to a more citizen-friendly Europe. The conference helped emphasize the need for Estonian NGOs to be involved in the various stages of EU policymaking at both the national and European levels.

The Estonian Parliament did not approve the

Bill of Equal Rights in 2003, due to differences of opinion that emerged during a heated nationwide debate about equal rights and opportunities in Estonia. OEF continued to foster the debate by organizing roundtables and seminars for women's NGOs, disseminating information, working together with the Internet forum Themis to collect and forward proposals to the Parliament's Constitutional Committee, and assisting in the professionalization of women's NGOs. In December, the Ministry of Social Affairs presented a rewritten Bill of Equal Rights to the government.

OEF continued to work with the Baltic-American Partnership Program (BAPP) to increase public understanding of civil society and governance. BAPP supported the production of a monthly supplement highlighting the services and activities of Estonian NGOs and helping foster public discussion among citizens, journalists, and policymakers about the role of civil society groups in participatory democracy.

SOROS FOUNDATION–HUNGARY

The Soros Foundation–Hungary (SFH) pursued its organizational transition in 2003 by phasing out project grants and launching an institutional grants program to promote the sustainability and independence of Hungarian civil society. The Foundation also established two new organizations to preserve and further the open society values that the Foundation has pursued for over two decades.

The Foundation assisted organizations that

provide Roma with legal assistance and investigate discrimination and rights violations against the Roma. In one case that concluded in 2003, a Romani man successfully sued a right-wing Hungarian daily newspaper for an article that violated his civil rights. The paper had to print a public apology and pay damages.

The Foundation's Roma Media Program organized trainings for five Romani media organizations to help them achieve sustainability. Participants in the trainings on improving fundraising, communication, and financial and strategic planning skills included three Internet organizations, the Roma Press Centre, and Radio C, Hungary's only Romani community radio station run by Roma.

SFH, with cofinancing from the Open Society Justice Initiative, supported human rights NGOs dealing with legal issues affecting Roma, gays and lesbians, the disabled, migrants, and other marginalized minority groups. Anticorruption grants for investigative journalism resulted in a series of articles analyzing the privatization of the Hungarian economy and improprieties and political favoritism at Hungarian Public Television.

SFH helped Hungarian NGOs prepare for EU accession, supporting a network of NGOs providing EU information and grant advice. With European Citizen Action Service, SFH organized a study trip for NGO representatives to Brussels to learn about EU institutions and nonprofit umbrella organizations at the EU level.

In order to consolidate and further the Foundation's past activities promoting open society, SFH founded two organizations, the Eötvös Károly

>> Public Investigation: What the foundation

Institute of Public Policy (EKI) and the Summa Artium Public Benefit Company.

EKI promotes policy research and analysis and fosters public discussion concerning good governance. In 2003, EKI hosted a conference on the constitutional issues relating to EU accession and cohosted a conference on the preparedness of Hungary's judiciary system for postaccession legal change. EKI also hosted a public roundtable discussion on discrimination against the Roma.

The Summa Artium Public Benefit Company encourages risk-taking and innovation in the field of arts and culture, with the mission of increasing corporate and private sponsorship.

SFH's new Institutional Grant Program awarded three-year grants to five NGOs focusing on either environmental issues, community building, policy research, or assisting the disabled. The Program aims to help secure the long-term sustainability of key Hungarian not-for-profit organizations, and to strengthen the independence of the civil sector. In 2003, its budget was quadrupled through a three-year grant from the Trust for Civil Society in Central and Eastern Europe.

SOROS FOUNDATION-LATVIA

The Soros Foundation-Latvia (SFL) continued to undergo institutional change in 2003, positioning its programs more effectively to meet the challenges of European Union accession and serve as a watchdog for threats to open society.

The Foundation consolidated the policy and advocacy expertise of several initiatives into the new Centre for Public Policy Providus. Throughout 2003, the Foundation worked to develop Providus as an independent policy institute capable of attracting resources from diverse funders to advance open society. Providus brought together and focused expertise in three areas: criminal justice, good governance, and education policy. The public policy Internet portal www.politika.lv, housed at Providus, received recognition at the 4th World Forum on e-democracy in Paris for having made a significant impact on politics and the Internet. The Public Policy Fellowship Program, another Providus program, focused on police accountability, sustainable development, economic policy, and freedom of expression in the media.

SFL launched the Europe Initiative to increase the capacity of NGOs to influence decisions related to the European Union. The Initiative encourages NGOs to work in partnership with the government to build networks oriented toward the EU in Brussels, and to attract EU funding for NGO efforts advancing open society. Partners in 2003 included the Baltic-American Partnership Program, the Latvian NGO Center, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The Foundation continued to develop strategic partnerships in human rights, antidiscrimination, and anticorruption. In its third year of operation, the Mental Disability Advocacy Program, implemented by the Latvian Centre for Human Rights and Ethnic Studies, advocated for deinstitutionalization and the development of community-based services such as group homes and support groups. Its work on the


in Lithuania demanded into the presidential scandal

rights of the mentally disabled included helping revise the draft law on psychiatric assistance and organizing training seminars on advocacy. The Patients' Rights Office of Latvia, an independent NGO supported by the Foundation, shaped and promoted comprehensive patients' rights legislation—and convened a public forum to discuss the new draft law.

Anticorruption efforts by Transparency International–Latvia (Delna) focused on corrupt practices in the courts, monitored selected cases, and tracked local government progress toward greater budgetary transparency, access to information, and public participation.

OPEN SOCIETY FUND–LITHUANIA

The presidential election, formation of new local government agencies, and the referendum on EU membership worked to polarize Lithuanian society in 2003. General political and economic divisions deepened between large cities and the rest of the country, with populist ideas gaining greater popularity due to ineffective social and regional policies and government corruption.



An executive branch scandal raised questions of presidential susceptibility to outside influences and breaches of national security. Over 400 organizations and individuals signed a statement by the Open Society Fund–Lithuania (OSFL) demanding that an investigation into the scandal be conducted

openly, publicly, and objectively. The Fund submitted the statement to the president, Parliament, and the government.

Within this climate of growing polarization, the Open Society Fund–Lithuania implemented model projects and provided expertise on EU accession issues, civic activities in rural communities, citizen participation in regional policy, public health reform, and civil rights, especially for marginalized groups.

OSFL initiated a sociological study on the presidential election. Politicians, political scientists, journalists, scholars, and intellectuals discussed low voter turnout, the various demographic profiles of Lithuanian voters, election financing, and the crisis in political parties and their programs. The study's results indicating that populist and radical appeals remain effective election strategies promoted widespread discussion in the media and society. Among the study's top recommendations was a call for a comprehensive information campaign about Lithuania's EU referendum, especially outside major cities.

In order to increase citizen participation in policy development, OSFL helped prepare training materials on information management and the use of public consultation technologies for dialogue with citizens. The Ministry of Social Security and Labor, for example, used online consultations to facilitate public discussion about social security system reform. An OSFL competition selected eight municipalities to implement model e-democracy projects. The Fund tested a model for encouraging small communities to use information and communications technology as a civic participation tool in 15 villages. Another Internet project linked 50 rural





communities, helping them share best practices and discuss community development issues.

The Fund awarded 28 grants to promote partnerships between municipalities, NGOs, and communities. The partnerships seek to improve municipal development planning and local decision making; effectively assimilate EU funding; and enhance the administrative capacity and accountability of local governments.

To support public health policy, OSFL organized capacity building seminars in 10 Lithuanian counties, working with a group of specialists and experts from the National Health Council and Kaunas University of Medicine. The information and ideas generated by the seminars led to the development of regional and national public health strategies. The Fund supported projects that evaluated national mental health programs for the Ministry of Health and Parliament. New mental health policies and initiatives included a government-approved suicide prevention program.

OSFL efforts to support marginalized communities included a social services project in the Ignalina region, funded by the European Community ACCESS 2000 program and conducted jointly with the Waterside Development Trust (a British-Irish NGO) and Junior Achievement–Lithuania. The project's services included alcoholism prevention and treatment, support to families that have experienced violence, activities to integrate young people in community life, and training for the police and social workers.

OSFL continued to work with the Baltic-American Partnership Program (BAPP) to develop a

more favorable environment for NGOs and to strengthen their institutional capacity and sustainability. BAPP's community philanthropy project promoted local giving and individual participation.

STEFAN BATORY FOUNDATION (POLAND)

In 2003, Poland signed the EU accession treaty. In the lead-up to the signing, the Stefan Batory Foundation joined NGOs in mobilizing voters, some 59 percent of whom voted in favor of accession. Poland became a full-fledged EU member with other accession countries in May 2004.

As an EU member, Poland will use structural funds to develop and implement a range of programs that advance social and economic development by creating new jobs, fighting unemployment and social exclusion, building roads, equipping schools with computers, protecting the environment, and enhancing the growth of small and medium enterprises. The Stefan Batory Foundation assisted the process by organizing a network of EU development experts and making them available to NGOs to advise on planning, monitoring, and utilizing structural funds.

Looking beyond EU borders, the Foundation continued to support initiatives aimed at bridging East and West and preventing the rise of a new Iron Curtain on Poland's eastern border. In cooperation with the Helsinki Human Rights Foundation and several local organizations, the Stefan Batory

Foundation monitored border crossings and produced a report used by the Polish customs agency's internal communications to improve service. The Foundation also worked with 11 organizations from Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine to conduct a study on the processing of visas at Polish consulates.

In other international initiatives, the Foundation focused on strengthening efforts in Belarus and Ukraine to pursue social and political reforms in line with EU standards, and involve new member states in determining future EU policies on the East. The Foundation and the Polish Foreign Ministry organized an international conference, EU Enlargement and Neighbourhood Policy, for 400 politicians and leaders from EU countries and institutions, new member states, and future EU eastern neighbors.

The Foundation published *Belarus: Scenarios of Reforms*, a summary of seminars and workshops, and research on Polish-Ukrainian relations and Ukrainian society's attitudes toward the EU. The XIII Economic Forum in Krynica awarded the Stefan Batory Foundation its annual prize for the Central and Eastern European NGO that most effectively contributes to civil society.

The Foundation conducted surveys that examined how parliamentarians and local politicians fulfilled their election campaign promises about fighting corruption. The first survey showed that most parties had introduced legislation on corruption. Parliament passed laws giving police more power to fight corruption and criminalized various forms of corruption in elections, business, and sports.

The Foundation launched a new debate series,

How to Democratize Democracy, and conducted 12 regional debates on corruption and transparency in public life. To improve the Polish judiciary, the Foundation and the Association of Judges, Justitia, organized training workshops on best court practices and media relations for 150 judges. The Foundation also supported a series of articles on efficient courts in the daily newspaper *Rzeczpospolita*.

Parliament passed a new Law on Public Charity and Volunteerism promoted by the Foundation that facilitates more cooperation and partnerships between NGOs and public administration agencies. The Foundation participated in the Donors Forum to bring about tax regulations favorable to the growth of civil society and, with funding from the Trust for Civil Society in CEE, launched a four-year program strengthening the nonprofit sector's funding base.

OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATION-ROMANIA

After 13 years of uneven, but generally positive democratic transition, Romania endured some significant setbacks in 2003. The government introduced and enforced a number of regulations limiting freedom of speech and association while providing benefits to well-connected insiders within a state and economy marked by increasing levels of corruption.

These setbacks prompted the Open Society Foundation-Romania to rethink its mandate. Since

2000, the Foundation has been the main source of support, both financial and institutional, for the Soros Open Network (SON) in Romania, which consists of 13 independent organizations. In 2003, the Foundation continued many of these activities, but also undertook a larger watchdog and advocacy role, concentrating on corruption, conflict of interest, human rights, and NGO regulation.

To lead its new watchdog and advocacy activities, the Foundation launched the Open Society Campaigns, which provides grants and fosters networking among advocacy and public policy organizations and watchdog NGOs. One component of the program worked to engage NGOs and political parties in a campaign to rescind a new ordinance infringing upon freedom of association rights by requiring NGOs to seek ministerial approval before registering. The Foundation also produced analyses of the new penal code and commented upon new anticorruption legislation. The Open Society Campaigns program awarded seven advocacy grants for work related to discrimination, minority rights, public funds, and corruption. The Campaign's Two Percent Initiative, which brought together NGOs and political parties, was effective in changing fiscal regulations so citizens could direct a percentage of their taxes to an NGO of their choice. Parliament, however, reduced the amount from 2 percent to 1 percent.

In addition to Open Society Campaign activities to fight corruption, the Foundation and the Centre for Legal Resources, a SON member, conducted a study on conflicts of interest and public integrity. The foundation's Open Society Caravans project

then brought these issues and results to the public through a series of 10 debates in cities around the country.

OSF Fellowships, another new program, provided grants to NGOs so they could hire 14 graduates from the Foundation's scholarship programs to carry out policy research and advocacy. The program established a website and organized regular meetings between fellows and other scholarship program graduates.

The Foundation continued to support research assessing Romania's readiness for EU membership through the Rural Eurobarometer, a project jointly funded with the EU delegation in Romania. The project measured knowledge about the EU, its agricultural policies, and the funds it may provide Romania, as well as the civic attitudes of Romanians in rural areas. The Map of EU Accession Actors and Issues, another joint project of the Foundation and Romania's EU delegation, provided a qualitative analysis of attitudes about the EU held by opinion leaders such as journalists, clergy, labor leaders, and local and national government representatives.

OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATION—BRATISLAVA (SLOVAKIA)

The Open Society Foundation—Bratislava (OSF—Bratislava) continued to develop and implement projects to advance open society in 2003 while pursuing structural and program changes to transform the Foundation into an institution that

delivers operational activities and provides targeted but limited grants.

Building on its 2002 efforts to help funding for NGOs through tax deduction legislation, OSF–Bratislava launched new cooperative initiatives between NGOs and businesses. The Joint Investment Project, with initial funding of \$240,000 from OSF–Bratislava, the Jan Hus Educational Foundation, and the Children of Slovakia Foundation, will help NGOs work with Tatra Asset Management and Raiffeisen Bank to appreciate their financial assets and invest future proceeds in NGO development. The project, which also received support from the Trust for Civil Society in Central and Eastern Europe, had accumulated close to \$3 million for NGO development by the end of 2003.

The Education Reform Support Project's studies on education financing helped the Ministry of Education establish new education regulations. The Foundation established a Center for Education Policy to promote education reform and policy development. Working with Matej Bel University in Slovakia and the School of Social Work at Columbia University in New York, OSF–Bratislava helped develop new university courses and curricula on overlooked issues like harm reduction.

The Foundation expanded the Roma Information and Counseling Centers Network to include four additional Romani NGOs. The network promoted human rights by providing Romani communities with legal counseling as well as training for Romani municipal council members to improve relations between the Roma and state and local authorities. OSF–Bratislava and the German

Education and Training Agency (GET) won a PHARE tender to provide technical assistance for establishing community centers in the Slovak Republic.

The OSI Women's Programs in Slovakia and the Czech Republic launched a unique initiative to sustain grant-giving and operational programs, and to enhance the financial sustainability of future projects on women and gender. This initiative will develop into an international NGO, the Slovak-Czech Women's Fund, which will support the growth of the women's movement in both countries.

The Foundation also launched the Development of Policy Capacity among Civil Servants program, which provides government employees with the professional skills needed for working with the EU.

OSF–Bratislava developed Good Governance and NGO Capacity Building as major program frameworks for future activities. Good Governance projects will strengthen the state administration's capacity to develop and implement policies, enhance citizen participation in decision-making processes, and increase transparency in policymaking processes. NGO Capacity Building projects will promote sustainability and transparency in the third sector by creating mechanisms for new legal, financial, and ethical principles, and by monitoring provisions within the existing system. ✱



RUSSIA AND UKRAINE



Establishing vibrant open societies in Russia and Ukraine continues to be a daunting challenge. Ukraine remained inhospitable to fundamental changes as President Leonid Kuchma's regime in 2003 offered little more than lip service to questions of human rights and independent media. Russians, meanwhile, witnessed the clearest illustration of the recentralization of power in their country's post-Soviet history.

In Ukraine, the government sought control of the flow of information and discouraged reform in the rule of law. The country is plagued by poor governance and marked by corruption, ranking 111th out of 133 countries on Transparency International's annual corruption perception index. As a result of these steps backward, Ukraine has become increasingly alienated from European and international institutions.

In public health, Ukraine has the highest rate of HIV infection in Europe and systematic, comprehensive health care reform continues to elude the government. Positive developments, however, did occur in the area of harm reduction policy and treatment. The International Renaissance Foundation and OSI supported a methadone pilot project and effective advocacy and policy work by the All-Ukrainian Harm Reduction Association, which helped make harm reduction an integral part of the government's HIV/AIDS strategy.

In human rights, the Foundation played an instrumental role in supporting an unprecedented umbrella association of nationwide human rights organizations. The group's initial work focused on torture, police brutality, freedom of information, and freedom of association.

Media freedom and access to information in Ukraine remained extremely limited. The Foundation provided support for a new journalists' union, public radio, regional library portals, and the *Weekly Mirror* newspaper, the only bona fide alternative print news source.

The dangerous erosion of rights in Russia was obscured by the media focus on the jailing of businessman and philanthropist Mikhail Khodorkovsky and the December parliamentary elections that gave President Vladimir Putin a two-third's majority in the Duma. Ongoing strife and human rights abuses continued largely unabated in Chechnya; the only remaining nonstate television channel was taken off the air;

principles of transparency, accountability, and the rule of law remained vulnerable to abuse; and, despite its unswerving commitment to free market institutions, the Russian government seems to be developing a “managed capitalism” system in which the state, with ever-increasing control and authority, directs the affairs of the economy and society.

Efforts to pursue reform continue to be undermined by the overwhelming popularity of President Putin, whose approval rating remained over 70 percent as he pursued reelection in 2004. One source of Putin’s appeal has been his use of windfalls from resource extraction revenues to provide pensioners and state workers with paychecks on time. External demands for reform of Russian institutions have been hampered by the U.S.-led “war on terrorism” and its focus on countries south and east of Russia.

In this unpromising climate for open society, OSI–Russia ceased operating as a foundation, spinning off many of its programs into new independent entities (see OSI–Russia entry). The OSI network remains committed to identifying opportunities for promoting civil society in Russia in areas such as independent media, human rights, and legal reform.

OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE–RUSSIA

After 15 years of promoting open society, the Open Society Institute–Russia closed its doors in 2003. Over the years, the foundation had significant success in working with the Russian federal government and local governments to implement many

large-scale programs in culture, civil society development, education, information technology, and health care. In the coming years, OSI will maintain its presence in Russia in a variety of ways, including continued funding into 2005 for the programs listed below.

OSI–Russia worked to solidify its legacy in 2003 by establishing 12 independent nonprofit organizations, based on OSI activities, that will continue to implement key programs.

In 2003, the Pushkin Library, a nonprofit foundation supported by OSI–Russia, continued to support the Library as a Local Community Center Program and the Reading Program. These programs aim to enhance the role of libraries in the social and cultural life of society and to boost people’s interest in books and reading. The Pushkin Library provided support to the publishing sector, helped libraries expand their information technology and acquire new literature, and raised funds from a variety of sources including federal and regional governments.

Jurix, an independent organization supported by OSI–Russia, implemented programs that helped provide students and lawyers with information and training in areas such as judicial defense strategies, the role of lawyers within an open society, and the use of education and information to pursue justice.

The Cultural Policy Institute worked in partnership with the Ministry of Culture and the Council of Europe on two long-term projects to develop creative industries and foster cooperation between businesses and cultural institutions.

By the end of 2003, OSI–Russia’s Development

of Education in Russia program, part of OSI's Higher Education Program megaproject, had completed cooperation projects with 52 chairs in the humanities at 24 universities and educational centers. The program also established 24 regional educational resource centers, and, in 2003 alone, supported lectures in 50 regional universities by young teachers who had authored interdisciplinary courses.

With Central European University, the megaproject organized an international conference in Moscow on the "History of Empires: Comparative Approaches in Teaching and Research" with scholars from Austria, Hungary, Japan, Poland, Turkey, and the United States. The megaproject also launched the Educational Cooperation Panorama website, which presents the project's results and showcases educational systems in 27 Russian regions. At the end of 2003, OSI transferred its education programs to the New Eurasia Foundation, which will continue implementing OSI's secondary and higher education activities.

Other programs active in Russia in 2003 included the Civil Society Program, which supported democratic development in 40 regions and helped organize regional discussions to foster the development of charity organizations. OSI's East East Program organized 13 international seminars, conferences, and workshops and awarded grants to some 200 individuals for research and exchange visits to Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Development Strategies of Small Towns, a project of the Small Towns of Russia Program, involved 73 municipalities in Russia and

promoted similar projects in former Soviet countries such as Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan.

INTERNATIONAL RENAISSANCE FOUNDATION (UKRAINE)

The main task of the International Renaissance Foundation (IRF) in 2003 was to provide support to Ukraine's reinvigorated and growing civil society. Since the 2002 elections, Ukrainian NGOs have been increasingly involved in issue and policy advocacy, building coalitions, monitoring government decisions and agencies, promoting anticorruption measures, and working for the public interest at all levels of government. In 2003, IRF achieved significant results in areas such as law and justice, media, civil society development, information, and education.

To advance rule of law, IRF initiated the creation of a network of organizations working for human rights protection, aiming to maximize their influence on decisions made by state authorities. The Foundation helped organize a public council to provide expertise and advocacy within the parliamentary Committee for Human Rights, National Minorities, and Interethnic Relations.

In cooperation with the Ukrainian and Crimean parliaments, IRF conducted effective monitoring and public hearings on anticorruption law compliance and the human rights of Crimean Tatars and Roma. The Foundation supported the establishment of the Judicial Policy Analysis Center to address judicial reform in Ukraine and help implement the

European Court of Human Rights norms and decisions. IRF also supported the development of a national strategy for penitentiary reform.

The Media Program brought together more than 50 NGOs to form a new public council within the parliamentary Committee for Freedom of Speech and Information. The council helped NGOs participate in the development of democratic laws on television and radio broadcasting, censorship, and a national broadcasting council. The Foundation continued to support public radio to provide citizens with objective and balanced information about events in the country and abroad. The Media Program also supported the creation of independent media trade unions to challenge government efforts to control the media.

IRF's Enhancement of Civil Society Development program initiated the creation of three public councils affiliated with parliamentary committees. The councils will help civil society groups and NGOs participate in the legislative process. The Foundation also supported trainings for regional policy institutes conducted by leading NGO experts.

The Information Program helped form the Coalition and Forum of Non-Governmental Organizations in the telecommunications industry and information technology sector. The Forum sought to increase cooperative efforts to improve the legal regulation of information policy and new information technologies. At the World Summit on Information Society in Geneva, coalition members presented Ukraine's national report, which recommended establishing a Consultative Council on Information Society Development within Ukraine's

Cabinet of Ministers. IRF also established a new Civic Internet Portal (www.civicua.org) in 2003, which quickly became one of the country's most respected and popular resources for NGO information.

In education, IRF continued to support the creation of a testing center to help ensure equal access to high quality education. The center, supported by the Ministry of Education and Science, fits into the ministry's plans for reducing corruption in the education sector by creating a new national system for external testing in high schools. In 2003, 31 universities across Ukraine participated in the project and accepted students based on these external testing results. *





SOUTHEAST ASIA

Asia in 2003 experienced a significant shift in regional power dynamics that was little noticed in the Iraq-obsessed West. China, fast overtaking the United States as the region's biggest trading partner, is now regarded less as a threat and more as an opportunity by the countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) as they recover from recent global financial crises. With the retirement of Malaysia's Mahathir Mohamad, an outspoken and often caustic spokesman for the region, Thaksin Shinawatra, the ambitious prime minister of Thailand, moved to fill the power vacuum.

Thailand, once considered one of the most open societies in the region with a relatively independent media and numerous NGOs championing the rights of the poor and powerless, is undergoing rapid and regressive change. Under Thaksin, a billionaire telecommunications tycoon turned politician, civil society organizations and the once independent press have become increasingly timid and intimidated. Thaksin maintains control, either directly or through proxies, over most of the mainstream media and advertising in the country. He has placed close relatives in key government positions. Vowing to wipe out drug trafficking, he condoned an extrajudicial killing campaign in which over 2,000 alleged drug traffickers were "eliminated." Nevertheless, Thaksin remains hugely popular with the Thai electorate.

In Indonesia, the region's biggest democracy and home to the world's largest number of Muslims, the success of leaders like Thaksin has been carefully observed by media moguls and formerly reviled generals who plan to run in the country's first direct elections for president in 2004.

The prospects for the development of democracy and political change of any kind in Burma remain bleak. The Burmese junta's vicious, physical attack in May 2003 on democracy leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and her touring convoy of National League for Democracy members stunned the world. The attack, universally condemned, inadvertently may have created some movement in the long-standing political impasse. The U.S. Congress, for example, passed strong, targeted sanctions against the regime and junta-related businesses.

ASEAN leaders also condemned the attack and called for the release of Suu Kyi, who was taken into custody "for her safety." The junta went on an aggressive damage control campaign. General Khin Nyunt, elevated to

prime minister, promoted a seven-point “Roadmap to Democracy.” Thaksin became the chief lobbyist for the Burmese regime and helped to silence ASEAN critics. Thaksin appears to have succeeded in his efforts to sideline UN envoy Razali Ismail and assume the role of de facto mediator between the Burmese junta and the international community.

These shifts in power and the ebb and flow of democratic development make Southeast Asia a unique challenge for the promotion of open society values. The region’s emerging democracies, countries in which OSI works, are grappling with electoral, legal, media, and constitutional law reforms. They also face major transnational problems such as refugees, human and drug trafficking, HIV/AIDS, environmental degradation, corruption, and human rights abuses linked to state-owned industries.

Combined with government repression, these challenges put civic organizations under siege; in some countries they are practically invisible. Yet Southeast Asia’s civil society is generally robust. The fact that Hong Kong authorities decided against imposing new security laws in the face of public demonstrations suggests that China’s new leadership is more willing to accommodate the activities and demands of civil society organizations.

BURMA PROJECT/SOUTHEAST ASIA INITIATIVE

The fall of Indonesia’s General Suharto in 1998, after more than three decades of autocratic rule,

prompted OSI to establish one of the country’s first indigenous foundations, Tifa, in 2000. Tifa went through a restructuring and selection of new board members and staff in 2003. It reemerged to face many of the challenges to the country’s still rocky democratic transition: rampant corruption, threats to independent media, national elections, and the military’s campaign of killings and “disappearances” in Aceh since the imposition of martial law in May 2003.

Tifa focused its efforts on NGO capacity building, local governance, civil society and democracy, human rights, and media. It supported preparations for the 2004 elections and the promotion of tolerance and solidarity among Indonesia’s various religions. For example, Tifa’s Civil Society and Democracy program funded organizations trying to ensure a fair and peaceful election process in conflict areas by providing voter education to disenfranchised groups, including women and the disabled.

Tifa helped call attention to important issues in the province of Aceh by supporting three documentaries: *Abrakadabra* promotes peaceful dialogue, *Lahir di Aceh* focuses on children, and *Bade Tan Reuda* spotlights the hardships of women in the province. As the first film to raise awareness about the plight of women in the Aceh conflict areas, *Bade Tan Reuda* received special acclaim and first place in the short documentary competition at the Jakarta International Film Festival.

OSI also continued to fund programs outside Tifa’s mandate, including an Internet database on ecology for high school students in Yogyakarta, a campaign for pluralism and tolerance in the South

AIDS in Asia

BY John Stanmeyer

PAGES 76–77: Coffins line the entryway of an AIDS hospice, Lop Buri, Thailand. LEFT: Teenage sex workers and a client, Phnom Penh, Cambodia. RIGHT: Chained drug addicts at the Masjid Nurul Alam, Jakarta, Indonesia. FACING PAGE, TOP: Boy playing with the coffin of his mother, who died of AIDS, Chiang Mai, Thailand. PAGE 82: A class on HIV prevention, Manila, the Philippines.







Sulawesi Muslim community, and efforts in Solo to increase public input into Indonesia's draft law on water resources.

For 10 years, OSI's Burma Project has supported

the education and training of Burmese living near the country's borders and other efforts to empower Burmese and border ethnic groups in India and Thailand. The Project has also funded local media

and less visible activities, such as regional and international advocacy efforts on Burma policy.

The Burma Project in 2003 funded the Salween News Network (SNN) for its work with ethnic groups in Thailand and along the Thai-Burma border. SNN helped produce quality news and information about Burma in the Thai language.

In response to the growing number of ethnic refugees in Delhi, OSI's Southeast Asia Initiative increased activities in India. The Community Resource Center in Delhi, which OSI helped establish several years ago, received funding to provide English language and computer classes.

The Southeast Asia Initiative also increased its collaboration with OSI network programs. With the Network Public Health Programs, the Initiative supported the development of a public health master's degree program at Mahidol University in Bangkok. In cooperation with the Economic and Business Development Program, it gave a grant to the Trickle Up Program to support microcredit projects.

Working with the Open Society Justice Initiative, the Southeast Asia Initiative supported local organizations engaging in legal reform. And, in conjunction with the Network Media Program, the Initiative provided training for journalists on election coverage and reporting techniques.

In Cambodia, the Southeast Asia Initiative and OSI's Information Program supported an innovative experiment called Digital Divide Data (DDD), which offers training in Internet technology and English for hard-to-employ citizens (landmine victims, trafficked women, and lepers). DDD's effective activities prompted the launch of a subsidiary in Vientiane, Laos.

The Southeast Asia Initiative's most significant collaboration was the Southeast Asia: Partnership Beyond Borders project with OSI's East East Program. The project links Central Europeans and Central Asians involved in civil society development with their counterparts in Southeast Asia. In 2003, Partnership Beyond Borders supported cross-border programs in the Mekong Sub-Region (Burma, Laos, Cambodia, southern China), helped local communities respond to rapid change and pursue development, and strengthened local efforts to protect the rights of vulnerable and marginalized communities.

The third meeting of the ASEAN People's Assembly, a conference funded by OSI since its inception, included a panel on transparency and accountability in the use of natural resource revenues. It featured discussions of OSI's Revenue Watch program and the Publish What You Pay campaign. The Southeast Asia Initiative engaged in other finance and development-related activities through its support for the Bank Information Center (BIC). BIC tries to improve the transparency of development projects and their benefits to society by increasing community involvement in the decisions of lending institutions such as the Asian Development Bank.

The Southeast Asia Fellows Program began its third year of participating in development policies by training staff at regional NGOs, international organizations, and other groups concerned with participatory sustainable development. The Program emphasizes shared learning and collaboration among people from diverse and sometimes divided cultures. *



An aerial photograph of a vast desert landscape. The foreground and middle ground are dominated by sand dunes with distinct, wavy, and parallel ridges, likely formed by wind. The dunes are light-colored, possibly white or very light tan. In the upper portion of the image, a dark, dense line of trees or shrubs stretches across the horizon, providing a stark contrast to the sandy terrain. The sky is not visible, suggesting the horizon line is very low.

AFRICA

Some African countries in 2003 were marked by dictatorships, human rights violations, and humanitarian emergencies. Other countries, however, made progress toward peace and democratic governance. Continental policy frameworks moved swiftly in the direction of accountability and good governance, following the merger of the Organization of African Unity into the African Union and the advance of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD).

After years of stalling on the HIV/AIDS crisis, the government of South Africa directed the Health Ministry to make antiretroviral therapy available to the public sector as soon as possible. The decision ended massive non-violent protests by advocacy groups such as the Treatment Action Campaign. In Southern Africa, the debilitating combination of HIV and hunger continued to claim many lives in Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. In West Africa, the year saw repeated warnings of a rise in HIV incidence rates from donor organizations, NGOs, and even the regional body, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).

Politically motivated violence and human rights abuses plagued those living in Angola, Equatorial Guinea, the Ivory Coast, Liberia, and Zimbabwe. However, the cessation of combat in Liberia and the removal of President Charles Taylor offered a ray of hope. Angola came further away from the war mentality that seized the nation for decades as the possibility of elections in 2005 appeared to increase.

Soros foundations and OSI initiatives in Africa worked to refute the stereotype of Africa as a hopeless continent wrought with chaos, violence, poverty, and degradation. OSI focused on working with communities and countries to develop African solutions to African challenges. The three foundations—Open Society Foundation for South Africa, Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa, and Open Society Initiative for West Africa—assisted in developing national and regional policies and grassroots advocacy efforts to help communities meet their immediate needs.

The foundations responded to the crises with creative solutions and worked to expand the space for open, informed dialogue. Programs brought education opportunities to rural areas, young girls, and marginalized communities throughout South Africa and Southern Africa.

Initiatives that fostered constitutional reform were active in Angola and Swaziland. In South Africa, the foundation championed criminal justice reform and positive change in the country's HIV/AIDS policies.

West African programs assisted community broadcasters in Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, and Sierra Leone in providing listeners with independent news and community health bulletins and offering opportunities to speak about their experiences during recent conflicts.

OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATION FOR SOUTH AFRICA

The Open Society Foundation for South Africa (OSF-SA) marked its 10th anniversary by continuing to contribute to South Africa's deepening commitment and involvement within a global community of democratic nations. OSF-SA concentrated on support for criminal justice and legal reforms, human rights, and independent media. All of these focus areas involved components that sought to inform and influence public policy and contribute in real ways to good practice in these respective areas.

The Foundation supported the Consortium on Violence against Women, which monitored implementation of the Domestic Violence Act; the Women's Legal Centre; and the Children's Institute for research-based children's rights advocacy. OSF-SA and the National Department of Education initiated a project on school safety that focused on girls who are vulnerable to violence perpetrated by

teachers and peers. A Foundation-funded conference, the South African Crime Prevention Report, reviewed South Africa's progress and identified future challenges, including diversion and offender reintegration, gender-based violence prevention, and the role of government in the prevention of crimes against young people.

The Foundation continued its support to the Constitutional Litigation Unit, based at the Legal Resources Centre, which has helped define, protect, and promote constitutional rights and to use the Constitution to address issues like access to anti-retrovirals, children's right to shelter, eviction of homeless people off state property, and children's access to social security.

The Human Rights Program supported the Public Service Accountability Monitor (PSAM) and the Open Democracy Centre to monitor and promote enforcement of South Africa's Access to Information Act and the Protected Disclosures Act, which extends rights and protections to whistleblowers. Tracking, monitoring, and "naming and shaming" by PSAM in the Eastern Cape resulted in more disciplinary action against officials and fewer unqualified audit reports by the auditor general.

A grant to a trade union-affiliated think tank initiated a review of the government's current poverty eradication strategy, which should help civil society organizations address the deepening pockets of poverty in South Africa. Another Foundation grantee, the Black Sash, prompted public debate on the merits of extending the social security net through a universal grant to poor households, which make up about a third of South Africa's population.

>> **Peace and Reconciliation: What OSISA**

After a decade of working to establish community radio, the Media Program broadened its support to include programming and content development, lobbying, and advocacy. South Africa's more than 100 community radio stations use new technologies and connectivity to share information and foster public participation. Foundation support to independent media included training for journalists on issues such as labor law and violence against women. With Foundation funds, the Freedom of Expression Institute has played a key role in mobilizing partners to challenge threats to free expression.

HIV/AIDS continues to threaten to reverse many of South Africa's recent gains through its devastating impact on the economy, the labor force, the education system, and South Africans least able to afford drugs and medical services. OSF-SA supported the efforts of Justice Africa to create an Africa-wide initiative of governments and civil society on the impact of HIV/AIDS on issues such as governance, democracy, peace, and food security. The Foundation also supported efforts to improve the content of HIV/AIDS programming on community radio, a critical medium for mobilizing communities to take action against the epidemic.

OPEN SOCIETY INITIATIVE FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA

A new civil society of active and engaged citizens is slowly but steadily emerging in Southern Africa. Yet this development continued to be challenged in 2003


by the region's deteriorating social, economic, and political conditions as Swaziland's HIV infection rate escalated, Zambia's human development rating declined, and Zimbabwe sank further into crisis.

The Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa (OSISA) responded to the region's opportunities and contradictions by supporting efforts to promote the rule of law and good governance, postconflict development and reconciliation, education, information technology, and media freedoms.

OSISA worked with the International Bar Association (IBA) to coordinate teams of prominent jurists to assess the rule of law in Angola and in Swaziland. The Initiative helped build the capacities of the Swaziland bar association and presented the expanded project as a model for other countries. OSISA worked with national bar associations on strategic planning in Malawi and Mozambique and continued to assist the Law Society of Zimbabwe on legal advocacy issues.

In an effort to vitalize Angola's sluggish peace process, an OSISA conference examined strategies for making the promises of the April 2002 peace agreement become a reality for Angolan citizens. The government showed little inclination to implement the agreement as it postponed its donors' conference, refused to commit to a road map for elections, and thwarted Radio Ecclesia's efforts to expand its broadcast range. OSISA also furthered the peace process with a book on advocacy issues concerning Angola and support to Radio Ecclesia for the restoration of damaged broadcasting equipment. OSISA worked with Angolan civil society groups from Luanda and Benguela-Lobito to develop opportunities for promot-

promoted in supporting civil society in Angola



ing peace and reconciliation. OSISA's Luanda office issued a report on continued government human rights abuses in the oil-rich enclave of Cabinda.

Creating and expanding girls' opportunities for education continued to be a priority. In partnership with the Forum for African Women Educationalists, OSISA initiated a capacity-building program to increase the ability of the Forum's national chapters to advocate for girls' education. In Angola, Malawi, Mozambique, and Zambia, OSISA encouraged and enabled communities to participate in primary education.

OSISA published a resource book on laws that govern Internet content for use by NGO and community-based organizations throughout Southern Africa. OSISA and UNDP's office in Swaziland commissioned a report on the status and prospects of e-governance in Swaziland. An innovative partnership between OSISA and Ungana Afrika placed e-Riders, consultants who help NGOs with their information technology needs, with organizations for six months of on-site training and skills development.

Support and management training provided by OSISA's Media Program prevented the closure of *The Chronicle*, an independent newspaper in Malawi. The publication was under pressure from restrictive media laws, an advertising boycott by the state, and the loss of equipment following a libel suit. OSISA assisted the World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters (AMARC), which works to build alliances among the continent's community radio stations. Working through the OSISA-Gender Links program, researchers produced a groundbreaking analysis of women's partici-

pation and portrayal in Southern African media with the aim of inspiring public action against all forms of gender discrimination and violence.

OPEN SOCIETY INITIATIVE FOR WEST AFRICA


After decades of conflicts that hindered development and progress, West Africa was marked by encouraging signs of peace in 2003. The region's longest running civil war ended in Liberia. Sierra Leone continued to consolidate its democratic transition. And what could have become a prolonged civil war in the Ivory Coast and a coup d'état that threatened democratic development and the rule of law in Guinea were both contained in a timely fashion.

A democratic culture is taking root in the region as all governments conduct periodic elections that are relatively free and fair. The Economic Community of West African States, civil society organizations, and other institutions are playing a positive role in upholding democracy and the rule of law.

Yet the region also continues to be marked by substantial poverty and a lack of transparency and accountability in governance. The Open Society Initiative for West Africa (OSIWA) worked to consolidate and expand positive gains in governance, media, accountability and the rule of law, access to justice, respect for human rights (particularly those of women and youth), and the development of initiatives and national policies to combat HIV/AIDS.

The Democracy and Governance Program





assisted elected governments hampered by a lack of resources and skills. In Benin, OSIWA supported programs that enhanced the political skills and capacity of 77 newly elected mayors and local councillors. In Ghana, it worked to strengthen the consensus building and oversight skills of parliamentary subcommittees. OSIWA helped reverse the marginalization of local communities by translating the NEPAD framework documents into six West African languages and preparing 11 regional workshops to discuss NEPAD-related issues such as local governance, agriculture, regional infrastructure development, and access to markets. In Nigeria, OSIWA collaborated with a network of NGOs to address the issues of election-related violence during the last presidential elections.

To encourage public participation, OSIWA supported two Nigerian NGOs—the Centre for Constitutional Governance and the Social and Economic Rights Action Centre—to build the budget literacy and monitoring skills of communities in six southwestern states and the Niger Delta.

OSIWA worked to improve dispute resolution procedures in Nigeria. It funded the Legal Resources Centre in Ghana, ENVARTS in Mali, and the Lawyers Center for Legal Assistance in Sierra Leone to offer free representation to pretrial detainees, assistance for the social reintegration of released detainees, and help in decongesting detention centers. It supported similar organizations in Cameroon, Nigeria, and Senegal to provide legal aid and citizenship advice to the poor.

The HIV/AIDS Program supported efforts to make HIV/AIDS reporting part of mainstream jour-

nalism training in Cameroon, Niger, and Sierra Leone. With OSIWA support, the Associacao dos Amigos da Crianca in Guinea-Bissau produced the first HIV/AIDS radio drama that targeted the Fula-speaking population. OSIWA also worked with partners in Guinea-Bissau to help draft the government's first national HIV/AIDS policy.

The Media Program worked to develop and strengthen community-based media institutions such as the Community Radio Networks in Sierra Leone and Guinea-Bissau. OSIWA also worked with Africa Consultants International to train young women as community radio journalists in Senegal. In Cameroon, Liberia, Niger, and Senegal, OSIWA provided universities and journalism institutes with digital media equipment and specialized courses on ethics and how to cover elections, HIV/AIDS, human rights, gender issues, and politics. In collaboration with the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, OSIWA encouraged women journalists to go into technology and media reporting.

OSIWA supported the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa in preserving and creating access to key database and research resources. *



LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN



The inability of democratically elected governments in Latin America to produce jobs and improve standards of living led to increased political instability and doubts about the efficacy of democracy during 2003. According to the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America, at the end of the year more than 225 million Latin Americans lived below the poverty line—an increase from 200 million a decade earlier. A Latinobarometro poll found that a majority of Latin Americans still believed in democracy as the most desirable political system, yet their numbers had declined by 10 percent from a year earlier.

While support for democracy has eroded, popular support for the “neoliberal” economic model followed by most Latin American countries over the past decade has all but vanished. Brazil and Argentina elected new governments that promised to reject the “Washington Consensus” policies demanded by international financial institutions, while violent demonstrations against the Bolivian president’s economic policies forced him to resign.

Neoliberal policies were not the only cause of political discontent, however. Weak government institutions, poor political leadership, and widespread distrust of politicians and political institutions combined to undermine support for democratic processes. In Peru, for example, despite a relatively strong economy (compared with many neighboring countries), corruption scandals and failure to deliver on political promises reduced President Alejandro Toledo’s popularity rating to single digits. In Mexico, President Vicente Fox’s administration has been hurt by his inability to convert personal popularity into effective government policies in the face of a divided congress.

Dissatisfaction with democracy’s failures in Latin America has sometimes fed the appeal of “authoritarian populists” who promise order in place of the complex negotiations and compromises implicit in democratic governance. Yet in 2003 there were several instances where populist authoritarian alternatives were soundly rejected. In Guatemala, the governing party ran an ex-dictator for president who was overwhelmingly rejected at the ballot box. And in Haiti, resentment at the increasingly

authoritarian and corrupt practices of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide's government led to popular protests and the emergence of shadowy armed resistance groups that in early 2004 forced him from office.

The interaction of poor economic performance, weak government institutions, ineffective political leadership, and widespread popular distrust in Latin America creates a vicious circle that fosters instability and makes it difficult to establish social institutions reflecting open society principles. The Open Society Institute addresses the region's complex interrelationships by sponsoring specific programs at the country level, building regional coalitions to address problems shared by a number of countries, and supporting advocacy directed at international actors and institutions whose policies can help or hinder progress toward creating more effective open societies.

LATIN AMERICA PROGRAM

The Latin America Program (LAP), launched in 2002, coordinates OSI's grantmaking activities in the region, serves as a liaison for the Soros foundations in Guatemala and Haiti, and carries out policy analysis and advocacy in Washington, D.C. The LAP draws heavily on the expertise and resources of other OSI programs, including the Open Society Justice Initiative, the Network Media Program, and the Revenue Watch, as well as grantee programs such as the International Budget Project. It also

collaborates with local and regional organizations that share its goals and objectives.

The Program focused on these principal thematic areas in 2003:

PROMOTING INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR

OPEN SOCIETY GOALS The LAP fostered multilateral and cooperative approaches to security threats in the hemisphere through support for policies that strengthen democratic institutions and protect civil liberties and human rights. These activities included: supporting a stronger role for the United Nations and the Organization of American States in shaping security policies in the region; encouraging subregional efforts by democratically elected civilian governments to develop cooperative strategies aimed at preventing terrorist threats while protecting the rights of citizens; and promoting policy debates in Washington about the need to balance U.S. security concerns in Latin America with continued support for democratic institutions and values.

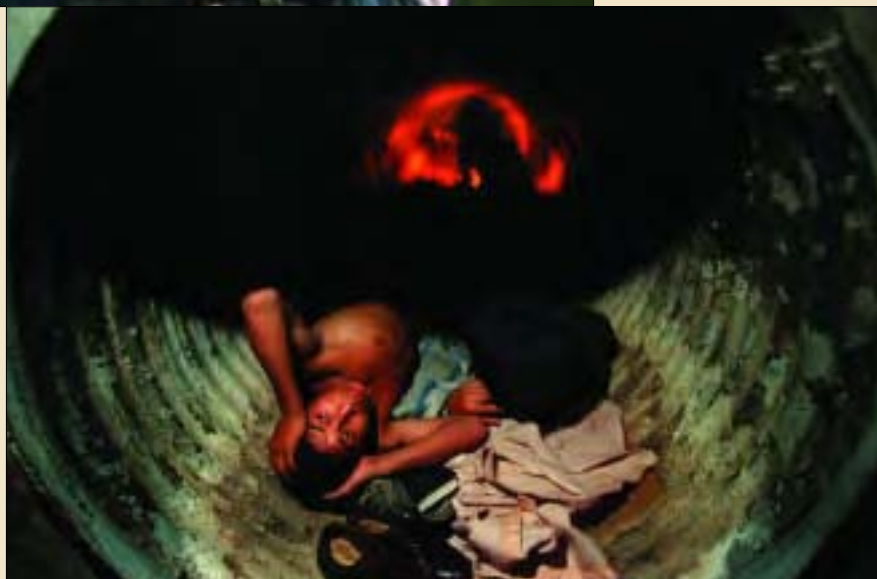
STRENGTHENING THE RULE OF LAW Expanded grantmaking supported civil society efforts (especially in Mexico and Peru) aimed at ensuring greater government transparency and accountability. These efforts included promotion of freedom of information laws, monitoring government revenues and expenditures, promoting greater legislative oversight of government budgets, and anticorruption campaigns by journalists and citizen watchdog groups. The LAP also provided technical assistance to improve civilian expertise on security matters, supported civil society monitoring and engagement



Bound to El Norte

BY Don Bartletti

Each year thousands of children from Central America and Mexico stow away on freight trains in an attempt to reach the United States, often to reunite with parents. ABOVE: Vultures and children compete for scraps at the Tegucigalpa landfill, Honduras. FACING PAGE, TOP: A Honduran teenager jumping on a freight train, Veracruz, Mexico. FACING PAGE, BOTTOM: Hiding inside a pipe under a highway on the Mexican side of the border with Texas, Nuevo Laredo, Tamaulipas, Mexico. PAGE 98: A Honduran boy imagines his future from the top of a speeding freight.





with police reform efforts in Peru and Mexico, and funded the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Peru to establish accountability for past human rights abuses.

HARMONIZING ECONOMIC POLICYMAKING WITH OPEN SOCIETY VALUES The LAP's policy work included activities aimed at examining the impact of "Washington Consensus" economic policies on the consolidation of democracy in Latin America. Specific activities included support for policy research into the impact of these policies on democratic governance, ensuring that Latin American voices were included in Washington, D.C., policy debates about alternatives to the "Washington Consensus," and encouraging the development of policies that better support the consolidation of democratic regimes while maintaining sound fiscal discipline.

FUNDACIÓN SOROS–GUATEMALA

Guatemala held turbulent presidential elections in which voters rejected a former dictator and chose Oscar Berger, a businessman and former mayor of Guatemala City. Both before and after the elections, the Fundación Soros–Guatemala (FSG) supported activities to increase citizen participation in the political process. FSG also pursued organizational changes to increase its emphasis on regional initiatives and building civil society's capacity to influence decision makers and institutions.

Prior to the November elections, Moloj, an indigenous association sponsored by FSG, provided political training to 30 percent of the Mayan women candidates running in national and local elections. For the elections, FSG also supported efforts to increase critical thinking and political participation by Guatemalan citizens. FSG continued its 2002 study using 50 focus groups and six national polls to assess what motivates and attracts Guatemalan voters and how much faith they have in democracy and democratic institutions. The study focused attention on government programs, anticipated credibility problems faced by electoral authorities, and conveyed citizens' lack of satisfaction with the media's role in the electoral process. FSG shared its study results with MINUGUA (the UN Verification Mission), political parties, the private sector, electoral authorities, and the media.

To increase its regional activities and presence, FSG, after numerous consultations with Central American organizations, developed a subregional program for rural investments, public policy, and justice. FSG negotiated the establishment of a pilot Central American rural investment fund that will invest in small and medium-sized enterprises with monies provided by the Soros Economic Development Fund. FSG also began discussions with the Inter-American Development Bank and Honduran officials about finding regional sponsors for the Rural Productivity Prize, an annual award given by FSG and the World Bank to economically sustainable rural development projects that improve people's lives.

FSG and OSI's Latin America Program (LAP), in

>> Aristide: Who fled the presidency

collaboration with the International Center for Sustainable Human Development in Costa Rica and the UNDP-Nicaragua, helped develop regional responses to corruption by holding a conference on the Nicaraguan government's anticorruption strategy. Participants included Nicaraguan government officials and legislators and representatives from the international community, civil society, and the private sector. FSG also worked with Transparency International and the LAP to conduct technical assistance meetings with the international organizations, NGOs, academics, and institutions charged with implementing the anticorruption strategy. The experience in Nicaragua helped shape the focus of the Regional Public Policy Initiative, which will launch similar transparency and anticorruption activities across Central America between 2004 and 2006.

FSG completed production of a 60-chapter radio soap opera, *The Heiress*, designed to raise civic awareness among women. With sponsorship from 16 local firms, the radio soap opera will air twice a day for over three months on 64 radio stations in 2004. The Fundación, with support from the Canadian aid agency CECI-FDD, also developed a companion program designed to generate debate on the issues raised in the soap opera.

FSG awarded a second grant to the National Council on Reading to develop methodologies that promote critical thinking and democratic participation within the classroom. The Ministry of Education's Department of Bilingual Education requested that these methods be adapted to the curriculum proposed by the National Program on Educational Reform.

In collaboration with businesses, local NGOs, and international donors, FSG supported preparations for Guatemala's First International Book Fair. The July 2004 event will include book exhibits from major publishing houses in Central and Latin America, and feature Umberto Eco as guest of honor.

FONDATION CONNAISSANCE ET LIBERTÉ (HAITI)

Public protests against the Aristide government grew steadily throughout 2003, with teachers, students, artists, women's groups, political parties, and civil society organizations joining forces in massive street demonstrations to demand Aristide's resignation. Armed opponents of the government replaced protesters in early 2004, overrunning much of the country and finally forcing Aristide to leave the presidency and the country. The destruction and chaos after months of fighting have made the work of the Fondation Connaissance et Liberté (FOKAL) in building open society in the Western Hemisphere's poorest country even more difficult. Yet the change in government also renews hope for the future.

In 2003, despite Haiti's deteriorating social, political, and economic situation, FOKAL sought to sustain open society values by supporting activities focusing on education and access to information, the commemoration of Haiti's bicentennial in 2004, violence against women, and increasing the

of Haiti, leaving behind chaos and hope

Fondation's relationships with regional and international organizations.

FOKAL in July inaugurated its new Resource Center with library facilities that are used by about 200 young adults each day. The Center, which also houses FOKAL's offices, is a vital space for hosting conferences, exhibits, and debates. In 2003, a conference by a group of writers and artists launched the first international theater festival in Haiti, and a two-month exhibit on Caribbean writer and political activist Aimé Césaire attracted thousands of viewers. The Center's cultural events, covering a wide range of subjects, brought together various groups to advocate for change.

Following a visit from the director of OSI's English Language Program, the Soros Professional English Language Teaching Program opened an English Center in the northern region of Cap-Haïtien. The English Center serves the 400 members of the northern association of teachers of English working in all Cap-Haïtien high schools and colleges.

To reinforce its exit strategy for the Site Development Program, a rural assistance initiative to educate and empower communities, FOKAL worked with OSI to prepare a report that would attract additional funding from international agencies and private donors to support rural site development, Step by Step schools, and community libraries.

FOKAL continued to participate in events leading up to and commemorating Haiti's bicentennial in 2004. The Fondation sponsored the creation of a new ballet, *Toussaint Louverture: Freedom's Challenges*,

by Haitian choreographer Jeanguy Saintus, which premiered in Haiti in November 2003. FOKAL, along with Haitian and international publishers and authors, supported a Haitian book stand at the 2003 international book fair in Montreal. FOKAL's executive director and program coordinator presented information about the foundation at the fair's various conferences, roundtables, and media events.

To help fight violence against women, FOKAL developed its funding partnership with the Canadian International Development Agency's Gender Equity Fund to support the development of CONAP, a coalition of Haitian feminist organizations. The coalition works to establish women's shelters; conducts studies on violence against women; and advocates for laws to further protect women from rape and domestic violence.

A French civil society delegation headed by philosopher Régis Debray met with the Fondation's executive director and university students, teachers, peasant leaders, and feminist activists at FOKAL's Resource Center. Discussions focused on Haiti's political situation, civil society development, and hopes for greater cooperation between Haitian and French civil society groups. ✱

**OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATION FOR
ALBANIA**

2003 Expenditures	\$4,990,000
Arts & Culture	317,000
Civil Society	258,000
East East	36,000
Economic Reform	257,000
Education	504,000
Ethnic Minorities	171,000
Information	464,000
Law	484,000
Media	90,000
Public Administration	350,000
Public Health	398,000
Women's Programs	210,000
Youth Programs	578,000
Other Programs	465,000
Administration	408,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$126,321 funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Ethnic Minorities. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Albania totaling \$2,732,290, principally for the Albanian Educational Development Program; these grants are not included above.

**OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE ASSISTANCE
FOUNDATION-ARMENIA**

2003 Expenditures	\$1,707,000
Arts & Culture	110,000
Civil Society	186,000
Criminal Justice	32,000
East East	95,000
Education	254,000
Information	323,000
Law	81,000
Media	102,000
Public Administration	1,000
Public Health	288,000
Women's Programs	59,000
Youth Programs	22,000
Administration	154,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$76,549 funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Information. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Armenia totaling \$541,803, principally in Education and Media; these grants are not included above.

**OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE ASSISTANCE
FOUNDATION-AZERBAIJAN**

2003 Expenditures	\$3,325,000
Arts & Culture	201,000
Civil Society	304,000
Criminal Justice	37,000
East East	172,000
Economic Reform	19,000
Education	736,000
Information	479,000
Law	196,000
Media	184,000
Public Administration	93,000
Public Health	213,000
Women's Programs	201,000
Youth Programs	50,000
Other Programs	1,000
Administration	439,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$33,286 funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Education and Law. This includes \$11,665 in in-kind contributions. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Azerbaijan totaling \$606,784, principally in Education, Public Administration, and Law; these grants are not included above.

**OPEN SOCIETY FUND-BOSNIA AND
HERZEGOVINA**

2003 Expenditures	\$4,573,000
Arts & Culture	55,000
Civil Society	228,000
Criminal Justice	131,000
East East	46,000
Education	738,000
Law	1,061,000
Media	214,000
Public Administration	559,000
Public Health	13,000
Roma	219,000
Women's Programs	150,000
Youth Programs	815,000
Other Programs	9,000
Administration	335,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$180,133 funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Youth Programs. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Bosnia totaling \$705,468, principally in Media, Education, and Public Health; these grants are not included above.

**OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE-SOFIA
(BULGARIA)**

2003 Expenditures	\$5,723,000
Arts & Culture	34,000
Civil Society	1,135,000
Criminal Justice	242,000
East East	67,000
Economic Reform	812,000
Education	689,000
Ethnic Minorities	1,000
Information	172,000
Law	423,000
Media	23,000
Public Administration	825,000
Public Health	319,000
Roma	222,000
Women's Programs	224,000
Youth Programs	20,000
Other Programs	3,000
Administration	512,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$248,657 funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Public Administration and Civil Society. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Bulgaria totaling \$4,798,466, principally in Information, Education, and Roma; these grants are not included above.

OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE-CROATIA

2003 Expenditures	\$1,027,000
Arts & Culture	87,000
East East	51,000
Economic Reform	26,000
Education	410,000
Information	43,000
Law	2,000
Public Health	72,000
Women's Programs	201,000
Youth Programs	224,000
Other Programs	(346,000)
Administration	257,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$55,861 funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Arts & Culture and Information. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Croatia totaling \$1,010,757, principally in Education, Law, and Information; these grants are not included above.

**OPEN SOCIETY FUND–PRAGUE
(CZECH REPUBLIC)**

2003 Expenditures	\$3,350,000
Arts & Culture	74,000
Civil Society	584,000
Criminal Justice	207,000
East East	74,000
Education	224,000
Ethnic Minorities	156,000
Information	72,000
Law	383,000
Public Administration	253,000
Public Health	177,000
Roma	504,000
Women's Programs	222,000
Youth Programs	92,000
Other Programs	149,000
Administration	179,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$372,866 funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Civil Society and Law. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in the Czech Republic totaling \$527,783, principally in Roma, Civil Society, and Public Administration; these grants are not included above.

OPEN ESTONIA FOUNDATION

2003 Expenditures	\$1,492,000
Civil Society	940,000
Criminal Justice	53,000
East East	90,000
Public Administration	33,000
Public Health	68,000
Women's Programs	79,000
Youth Programs	130,000
Administration	99,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$631,948 funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Civil Society. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Estonia totaling \$494,702, principally in Public Administration and Civil Society; these grants are not included above.

OPEN SOCIETY GEORGIA FOUNDATION

2003 Expenditures	\$4,600,000
Arts & Culture	161,000
Civil Society	[2,000]
Criminal Justice	590,000
East East	78,000
Economic Reform	314,000
Education	954,000
Information	494,000
Law	214,000
Media	222,000
Public Administration	187,000
Public Health	331,000
Women's Programs	119,000
Youth Programs	87,000
Other Programs	229,000
Administration	622,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$65,403 funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Law and Education. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Georgia totaling \$1,039,989, principally in Education, Civil Society, and Law; these grants are not included above.

FUNDACIÓN SOROS–GUATEMALA

2003 Expenditures	\$4,329,000
Civil Society	2,599,000
Criminal Justice	24,000
Economic Reform	643,000
Law	199,000
Media	7,000
Public Administration	101,000
Other Programs	239,000
Administration	517,000

Note: Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Guatemala totaling \$158,744, principally in Economic Reform and Media; these grants are not included above.

**FONDATION CONNAISSANCE
ET LIBERTÉ (HAITI)**

2003 Expenditures	\$3,449,000
Arts & Culture	303,000
Civil Society	609,000
Economic Reform	495,000
Education	609,000
Information	715,000
Media	50,000
Public Health	101,000
Women's Programs	112,000
Youth Programs	29,000
Other Programs	60,000
Administration	366,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$39,822 funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Civil Society, Education, and Information. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Haiti totaling \$95,357, principally in Education; these grants are not included above.

SOROS FOUNDATION–HUNGARY

2003 Expenditures	\$3,393,000
Arts & Culture	249,000
Civil Society	1,612,000
Criminal Justice	12,000
East East	88,000
Economic Reform	50,000
Education	3,000
Information	32,000
Law	68,000
Media	3,000
Public Health	213,000
Roma	425,000
Administration	638,000

Note: Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Hungary totaling \$2,301,017, principally in Education, Civil Society, and Roma; these grants are not included above.

SOROS FOUNDATION–KAZAKHSTAN

2003 Expenditures	\$8,596,000
Arts & Culture	180,000
Civil Society	184,000
Conference & Travel	130,000
Criminal Justice	184,000
East East	143,000
Economic Reform	101,000
Education	1,629,000
Information	394,000
Law	201,000
Media	211,000
Public Administration	486,000
Public Health	3,574,000
Women's Programs	176,000
Youth Programs	428,000
Other Programs	7,000
Administration	568,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$3,706,936 funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Education, Public Health, and Youth Programs. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Kazakhstan totaling \$1,461,269, principally in Education, Law, and Public Administration; these grants are not included above.

KOSOVA FOUNDATION FOR OPEN SOCIETY

2003 Expenditures	\$2,855,000
Arts & Culture	172,000
Civil Society	27,000
East East	55,000
Education	414,000
Ethnic Minorities	42,000
Information	230,000
Law	157,000
Public Administration	682,000
Public Health	58,000
Roma	31,000
Women's Programs	99,000
Youth Programs	695,000
Administration	193,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$493,391 funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Arts & Culture, Public Administration, and Youth Programs. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Kosovo totaling \$965,542, principally in Media, Public Administration, and Education; these grants are not included above.

SOROS FOUNDATION-KYRGYZSTAN

2003 Expenditures	\$3,822,000
Arts & Culture	134,000
Civil Society	287,000
Conference & Travel	77,000
Criminal Justice	198,000
East East	70,000
Economic Reform	278,000
Education	532,000
Ethnic Minorities	89,000
Information	223,000
Law	260,000
Media	210,000
Public Administration	460,000
Public Health	284,000
Women's Programs	158,000
Youth Programs	174,000
Other Programs	18,000
Administration	370,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$137,881 funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Education and Youth Programs. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Kyrgyzstan totaling \$2,351,636, principally in Education, and Media; these grants are not included above.

SOROS FOUNDATION-LATVIA

2003 Expenditures	\$3,503,000
Arts & Culture	103,000
Civil Society	576,000
Criminal Justice	291,000
East East	41,000
Economic Reform	1,000
Education	388,000
Ethnic Minorities	29,000
Information	54,000
Law	817,000
Public Administration	630,000
Public Health	181,000
Women's Programs	1,000
Other Programs	64,000
Administration	327,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$709,779 funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Civil Society and Education. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Latvia totaling \$425,298, principally in Education, Public Administration, and Civil Society; these grants are not included above.

OPEN SOCIETY FUND-LITHUANIA

2003 Expenditures	\$3,382,000
Arts & Culture	21,000
Civil Society	653,000
Criminal Justice	267,000
East East	205,000
Economic Reform	20,000
Education	99,000
Information	343,000
Law	325,000
Public Administration	267,000
Public Health	646,000
Women's Programs	2,000
Youth Programs	15,000
Other Programs	5,000
Administration	514,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$550,360 funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Civil Society and Education. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Lithuania totaling \$397,651, principally in Public Health, central administration, and Women's Programs; these grants are not included above.

FOUNDATION OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE-MACEDONIA

2003 Expenditures	\$6,676,000
Arts & Culture	773,000
Civil Society	1,108,000
Criminal Justice	152,000
East East	36,000
Economic Reform	231,000
Education	1,251,000
Information	330,000
Law	256,000
Media	566,000
Public Administration	558,000
Public Health	451,000
Roma	11,000
Women's Programs	236,000
Youth Programs	282,000
Other Programs	2,000
Administration	433,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$1,929,516 funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Civil Society and Education. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Macedonia totaling \$754,442, principally in Education, Public Health, and Roma; these grants are not included above.

SOROS FOUNDATION-MOLDOVA

2003 Expenditures	\$5,741,000
Arts & Culture	290,000
Civil Society	386,000
Criminal Justice	277,000
East East	138,000
Economic Reform	926,000
Education	642,000
Information	529,000
Law	371,000
Media	395,000
Public Administration	386,000
Public Health	735,000
Women's Programs	143,000
Youth Programs	156,000
Other Programs	20,000
Administration	347,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$692,537 funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Economic Reform and Public Health. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Moldova totaling \$918,426, principally in Education, Public Administration, and Media; these grants are not included above.

**MONGOLIAN FOUNDATION FOR
OPEN SOCIETY**

2003 Expenditures	\$2,773,000
Arts & Culture	154,000
Civil Society	11,000
Criminal Justice	150,000
East East	63,000
Education	876,000
Information	167,000
Law	46,000
Media	31,000
Public Administration	635,000
Public Health	231,000
Women's Programs	37,000
Youth Programs	41,000
Other Programs	(7,000)
Administration	338,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$57,207 funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Education. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Mongolia totaling \$1,428,216, principally in Education, Media, and Public Administration; these grants are not included above.

**FOUNDATION OPEN SOCIETY
INSTITUTE–REPRESENTATIVE OFFICE
MONTENEGRO**

2003 Expenditures	\$1,658,000
Arts & Culture	12,000
Civil Society	42,000
Criminal Justice	70,000
East East	29,000
Education	514,000
Law	130,000
Media	25,000
Public Administration	360,000
Public Health	5,000
Roma	83,000
Women's Programs	60,000
Youth Programs	111,000
Other Programs	2,000
Administration	215,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$105,571 funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Education and Youth Programs. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Montenegro totaling \$372,911, principally in Education and Media; these grants are not included above.

STEFAN BATORY FOUNDATION (POLAND)

2003 Expenditures	\$7,458,000
Arts & Culture	321,000
Civil Society	3,914,000
Criminal Justice	262,000
East East	413,000
Education	29,000
Information	1,000
Law	421,000
Public Health	186,000
Roma	79,000
Women's Programs	212,000
Youth Programs	704,000
Other Programs	17,000
Administration	899,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$1,994,227 funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Civil Society. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Poland totaling \$2,629,698, principally in Education, Public Health, and Law; these grants are not included above.

OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATION–ROMANIA

2003 Expenditures	\$5,499,000
Arts & Culture	112,000
Civil Society	840,000
East East	200,000
Economic Reform	741,000
Education	550,000
Ethnic Minorities	239,000
Information	25,000
Law	550,000
Media	48,000
Public Health	597,000
Roma	166,000
Women's Programs	317,000
Youth Programs	357,000
Other Programs	193,000
Administration	564,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$87,884 funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Education. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Romania totaling \$1,947,298, principally in Education, Public Health, and Public Administration; these grants are not included above.

OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE–RUSSIA

2003 Expenditures	\$19,386,000
Arts & Culture	770,000
Civil Society	986,000
Criminal Justice	162,000
East East	274,000
Economic Reform	25,000
Education	4,113,000
Information	2,330,000
Law	943,000
Media	219,000
Public Administration	1,018,000
Public Health	3,044,000
Women's Programs	552,000
Other Programs	2,972,000
Administration	1,978,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$2,840,873 funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Public Health and Education. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Russia totaling \$5,842,810, principally in Education and Civil Society; these grants are not included above.

FUND FOR AN OPEN SOCIETY–SERBIA

2003 Expenditures	\$4,974,000
Arts & Culture	262,000
Civil Society	166,000
Criminal Justice	69,000
East East	92,000
Education	1,108,000
Ethnic Minorities	224,000
Information	78,000
Law	810,000
Media	312,000
Public Administration	599,000
Public Health	255,000
Roma	137,000
Women's Programs	187,000
Youth Programs	170,000
Other Programs	52,000
Administration	453,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$230,827 funded by non-Soros entities, principally Youth Programs and Ethnic Minorities. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Serbia totaling \$1,429,806, principally in Education, Public Administration, and Media; these grants are not included above.

**OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATION–BRATISLAVA
(SLOVAKIA)**

2003 Expenditures	\$2,917,000
Arts & Culture	2,000
Civil Society	487,000
Criminal Justice	93,000
East East	90,000
Education	480,000
Information	50,000
Law	230,000
Media	30,000
Public Administration	200,000
Public Health	234,000
Roma	178,000
Women's Programs	124,000
Youth Programs	34,000
Other Programs	152,000
Administration	533,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$442,093 funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Civil Society. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Slovakia totaling \$971,138, principally in Public Administration, Civil Society, and Economic Reform; these grants are not included above.

**OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATION
FOR SOUTH AFRICA**

2003 Expenditures	\$8,045,000
Civil Society	1,936,000
Criminal Justice	494,000
Education	655,000
Law	2,418,000
Media	1,127,000
Other Programs	22,000
Administration	1,393,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$99,214 funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Administration. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in South Africa totaling \$905,165, principally in Public Health and Economic Reform; these grants are not included above.

**OPEN SOCIETY INITIATIVE FOR
SOUTHERN AFRICA**

2003 Expenditures	\$7,643,000
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**OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE ASSISTANCE
FOUNDATION–TAJIKISTAN**

2003 Expenditures	\$2,844,000
Arts & Culture	97,000
Civil Society	94,000
Conference & Travel	55,000
Criminal Justice	59,000
East East	18,000
Economic Reform	93,000
Education	591,000
Ethnic Minorities	117,000
Information	234,000
Law	241,000
Media	90,000
Public Administration	160,000
Public Health	488,000
Women's Programs	161,000
Youth Programs	56,000
Administration	290,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$453,478 funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Education and Public Health. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Tajikistan totaling \$465,617, principally in Education; these grants are not included above.

**OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE ASSISTANCE
FOUNDATION–TURKEY**

2003 Expenditures	\$1,883,000
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**INTERNATIONAL RENAISSANCE
FOUNDATION (UKRAINE)**

2003 Expenditures	\$6,607,000
Arts & Culture	166,000
Civil Society	940,000
Criminal Justice	335,000
East East	230,000
Economic Reform	1,000
Education	509,000
Ethnic Minorities	155,000
Information	633,000
Law	641,000
Media	963,000
Public Administration	217,000
Public Health	989,000
Roma	59,000
Women's Programs	67,000
Youth Programs	6,000
Other Programs	42,000
Administration	654,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$164,439 funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Public Health. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Ukraine totaling \$1,459,846, principally in Education, Economic Reform, and Civil Society; these grants are not included above.

**OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE ASSISTANCE
FOUNDATION–UZBEKISTAN**

2003 Expenditures	\$4,325,000
Arts & Culture	234,000
Civil Society	102,000
East East	25,000
Economic Reform	410,000
Education	756,000
Information	402,000
Law	278,000
Media	87,000
Public Administration	150,000
Public Health	534,000
Women's Programs	342,000
Youth Programs	542,000
Other Programs	73,000
Administration	390,000

Note: The financial information presented above includes \$633,371 funded by non-Soros entities, principally in Youth Programs and Public Health. Other Soros-supported organizations made grants in Uzbekistan totaling \$742,538, principally in Education and Law; these grants are not included above.

**OPEN SOCIETY INITIATIVE
FOR WEST AFRICA**

2003 Expenditures	\$15,825,000
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Note: The foundations in Southern Africa, Turkey, and West Africa do not report expenditures according to program categories.

2003 FOUNDATION EXPENDITURES

Open Society Foundation for Albania	4,990,000
Open Society Institute Assistance Foundation–Armenia	1,707,000
Open Society Institute Assistance Foundation–Azerbaijan	3,323,000
Open Society Fund–Bosnia and Herzegovina	4,572,000
Open Society Institute–Sofia (Bulgaria)	5,724,000
Open Society Institute–Croatia	1,024,000
Open Society Fund–Prague (Czech Republic)	3,350,000
Open Estonia Foundation	1,492,000
Open Society Georgia Foundation	4,601,000
Fundación Soros–Guatemala	4,328,000
Fondation Connaissance et Liberté (Haiti)	3,448,000
Soros Foundation–Hungary	3,392,000
Soros Foundation–Kazakhstan	8,596,000
Kosova Foundation for Open Society	2,857,000
Soros Foundation–Kyrgyzstan	3,824,000
Soros Foundation–Latvia	3,503,000
Open Society Fund–Lithuania	3,383,000
Foundation Open Society Institute–Macedonia	6,675,000
Soros Foundation–Moldova	5,739,000
Mongolian Foundation for Open Society	2,775,000
Foundation Open Society Institute–Representative Office Montenegro	1,658,000
Stefan Batory Foundation (Poland)	7,459,000
Open Society Foundation–Romania	5,498,000
Open Society Institute–Russia	19,388,000
Fund for an Open Society–Serbia	4,975,000
Open Society Foundation–Bratislava (Slovakia)	2,918,000
Open Society Foundation for South Africa	8,043,000
Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa	7,643,000
Open Society Institute Assistance Foundation–Tajikistan	2,844,000
Open Society Institute Assistance Foundation–Turkey	1,883,000
International Renaissance Foundation (Ukraine)	6,608,000
Open Society Institute Assistance Foundation–Uzbekistan	4,324,000
Open Society Initiative for West Africa	15,825,000
TOTAL FOUNDATION EXPENDITURES	\$ 168,370,000

INITIATIVES



LAW, JUSTICE, AND HUMAN RIGHTS

PUBLIC HEALTH

EDUCATION

INFORMATION AND MEDIA

OTHER INITIATIVES



LAW, JUSTICE, AND HUMAN RIGHTS



The movement to establish an effective system of international justice is at a crucial stage. The new International Criminal Court (ICC) and many special tribunals and courts around the world have raised expectations that the most grievous human rights crimes are now subject to international scrutiny and legal action. The year 2003 saw progress in turning these expectations into reality, but challenges also revealed weaknesses in the emerging international criminal justice system.

The war in Iraq provided the greatest challenges. The war defied the United Nations multilateral security framework and fundamentally tested the doctrine of humanitarian intervention. The arrest of Saddam Hussein in December set the stage for the most important war crimes trial since the end of the Second World War. And then, in the first half of 2004, the mounting evidence of human rights abuses against Iraqi prisoners held by American forces underlined an unresolved issue: How can international law respond when a country does not recognize its legitimacy?

The United States has moved from skeptical participation to active opposition toward the ICC. Despite this significant resistance, the ICC, ratified by more than 85 countries by 2003, formally commenced operation in The Hague with 18 judges chosen in a rigorous process that actively engaged representatives of civil society. In July, Chief Prosecutor Luis Moreno Ocampo announced that his office was investigating violations of international humanitarian law in the Ituri province of the Democratic Republic of Congo.

In Africa, the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda issued a number of significant judgments, including the first conviction of members of the media for inciting acts of genocide. The Special Court for Sierra Leone made substantial headway; its indictment of Liberian President Charles Taylor forced Taylor to step down and flee to Nigeria. By year's end, the Protocol establishing the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights attained trigger ratification, and preparations were underway for the Court's establishment.

In Asia, the United Nations and the Cambodian government reached preliminary agreement on the creation of a mixed tribunal of national and international judges and staff to try surviving leaders of the Khmer Rouge.

Formal approval awaited the formation of a post-election government in Cambodia.

In Europe, as the trial of former Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic continued into its second year, the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia struggled under increasing pressure from Western governments to complete its remaining investigations and trials.

The Open Society Justice Initiative and the Soros foundations network directly supported a number of these initiatives, including the gathering of information of potential interest to the ICC; litigation and public advocacy to secure Charles Taylor's presence for trial before the Special Court; assistance in securing several ratifications of the African Court Protocol; and the convening of a working group of experts to aid, monitor, and complement the tribunal in Cambodia.

OSI and the Soros foundations also provided technical and financial assistance to a broad range of efforts designed to render national and local justice systems more effective, accessible, accountable, and responsive to public needs.

Overincarceration, including excessive reliance on pretrial detention, remained a focus of attention in many countries, including Kazakhstan, Latvia, and Ukraine. Support for university-based legal clinics, well established in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, extended to more than a dozen countries in Africa, as well as to Mexico and southeast Asia. OSI addressed the heightened vulnerability of noncitizens in Russia, parts of Africa and Asia, and elsewhere. Other programs sought to broaden public access to informa-

tion and to enhance local capacity to monitor, highlight, and reduce corrupt practices.

OPEN SOCIETY JUSTICE INITIATIVE

During its first full year of operation, the Justice Initiative deepened OSI's engagement in law and justice projects in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, and launched a series of new initiatives in Africa, Asia, Europe, and Latin America. The Justice Initiative pursued rights-based law reform and the strengthening of legal capacity in these regions through litigation; advocacy beyond the courtroom; and technical assistance to governments, NGOs, and/or intergovernmental bodies; investigation, documentation, and reporting of particular problems; and capacity building.

As the year progressed, the Justice Initiative quickly focused on Africa. In Nigeria, it helped the Police Service Commission, a new civilian review body, develop, publicize, and apply guidelines for the monitoring of police conduct during parliamentary elections. The guidelines raised the commission's profile and worked to establish the principle of police accountability standards.

The first All-Africa Colloquium on Clinical Legal Education, co-organized by the Justice Initiative, brought together university representatives from more than 20 countries across the continent. By year's end, the Justice Initiative was working with partners in Ethiopia, Mozambique,

Nigeria, Sierra Leone, and Senegal to develop pilot clinical education initiatives.

In November, Justice Initiative staff submitted a formal legal request that the government of Nigeria reverse President Olusegun Obasanjo's purported grant of asylum to Charles Taylor. Reports of this legal action contributed to the emergence of an organized West African advocacy coalition and compelled the Nigerian government to consider returning Taylor to face trial outside Nigeria.

The Justice Initiative pursued the establishment of the African Court on Human and Peoples' Rights in collaboration with leading African and international NGOs. It facilitated regional meetings of senior officials of the governments of East, West, and Southern African states, which helped garner six additional ratifications for the protocol establishing the Court. The protocol was ratified on December 30, 2003, and came into force on January 25, 2004.

Africa was not the Justice Initiative's only focus. In Cambodia, the program coordinated an informal working group of NGOs and independent experts on the Extraordinary Chambers trial process for Khmer Rouge-era crimes. Working group members met with government officials and NGOs to plan the Chambers and devise a monitoring process. The group also developed a "lessons learned" paper of relevant experiences from prior hybrid and international tribunals.

In Lithuania, the Justice Initiative provided technical assistance to an intergovernmental working group, which developed a concept paper and recommendations for comprehensive legal aid reform. Adopted by the government in November, the paper

paved the way for legislative action in 2004.

International expert missions to Mexico, led by the Justice Initiative, conducted trainings and public awareness sessions to prepare government officials and NGOs for implementing federal freedom of information legislation.

Together with the Open Society Institute–Sofia, the Justice Initiative launched a pilot public defender office in Veliko Tarnovo, Bulgaria, consisting of five staff attorneys working full-time on representation of indigent clients.

In Kazakhstan, the Justice Initiative worked with the local Soros foundation to provide juvenile justice training to criminal justice officials, and to create a working group to improve juvenile justice policymaking across different government agencies.

By assisting the Office of the UN Special Representative of the Secretary General in Kosovo, the Justice Initiative helped remove and/or minimize criminal penalties for journalists who defame public officials.

The Justice Initiative promoted legal education and services in Turkey and Cambodia by helping launch university-based legal clinics at Bilgi University in Istanbul and Pannasastra University in Phnom Penh.

NETWORK WOMEN'S PROGRAM

The Network Women's Program (NWP) promotes the advancement of women's human rights and gender equality, and seeks to empower women. NWP

Media Campaign against Gender Violence lasts each year

works to raise public awareness of gender issues, persuade policymakers to develop gender sensitive policies, and eradicate violations of women's rights. It also works to create effective and sustainable women's movements, promoting exchange and cooperation among women's organizations locally, nationally, and globally.

In 2003, the Program linked new OSI regions with other Soros network countries and focused on promoting gender sensitive education, mass media and gender policy, and Romani women's leadership; ending gender-based violence; monitoring equal opportunities in the EU accession process; institutionalizing women's information and documentation centers; and increasing women's access to reproductive health and rights.

Empowering Education, led by the Women's Information and Consultative Center (WICC) in Ukraine, continued to promote awareness about women's human rights and gender equality. The program produced a new edition of the *Empowering Education* manual and held trainings and a summer camp, with participants from Afghanistan, Burma, Indonesia, and countries throughout the former Soviet Union.

With the Institute for Social and Gender Policy (ISGP) and OSIAF-Uzbekistan, the Network Women's Program sponsored an education conference attended by over 100 participants on developing gender education in Central Asia and the Caucasus, Mongolia, Moldova, Russia, and Ukraine. NWP collaborated with the Research Center for Gender Studies in Macedonia and the Belgrade Center for Women's Studies to launch the South

Eastern European Network for Gender Studies.

NWP, ISGP, and women's programs at Soros foundations in 10 countries released a documentary film collection, "Gender Montage: Paradigms in Post-Soviet Space." Featured at film festivals and distributed to NGOs and universities, the films have influenced national legislation, inspired television programs, and informed gender awareness trainings.

The Information and Documentation Centre (INDOC) initiative created a network of centers, called REWINDNET, and published a regional directory of over 500 women's groups in 12 countries. In collaboration with a Croatia-based NGO, Zenska Infoteka, NWP continued to strengthen the capacity of women's INDOC centers. The media monitoring project published an analysis of violence against women at the national and regional levels in transition regions across Europe.

NWP continued the Community Coordinated Response to Violence against Women and the 16 Days Media Campaign against Gender Violence campaigns. In cooperation with the Minnesota Advocates for Human Rights (MAHR), NWP co-launched a Stop Violence against Women Website to coordinate efforts to address violence against women. Using Stop Violence monitors from 29 countries, NWP and MAHR will gather information, organize online discussions, and monitor national policy developments.

In collaboration with ASTRA, the Central and Eastern European Women's Network for Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights, NWP developed advocacy activities such as a workshop in Vilnius on using international human rights instruments to



defend women's reproductive rights and sexual health.

In 2003, a core group of committed Romani women activists, supported by NWP's Romani Women's Initiative (RWI), participated in the joint OSI/World Bank/European Union conference, "Roma in an Expanding Europe," in Budapest. NWP organized a special Roma Women's Forum within the conference that helped Romani women bring attention to issues critical to them and their communities. World Bank President James Wolfensohn praised Romani women's leadership in his address to prime ministers from nine of the 2004 EU accession countries.

The Romani Women's Initiative helped develop the first Roma women's website and the first *Directory of Roma Women Activists* with contact information for over 120 Romani women activists in nine Central and South Eastern European countries. Members of OSI's Roma Information Project E-Rider Initiative trained young Roma to help Romani NGOs use information technology more effectively.

Women's organizations in countries participating in the Equal Opportunities for Women and Men in the EU Accession Process (EOWM) project challenged gender discrimination. NWP established close links with NGOs and members of the European Parliament working on gender equality; collaborated with the European Women's Lobby (EWL) to organize training seminars in Brussels; and supported the participation of 10 accession country observers at EWL's General Assembly. To increase women's political representation in the European Parliament, NWP helped women candidates prepare for 2004 EU elections by sponsoring participants to

an EWL seminar on women in politics. In 2004, the EOWM initiative will become the Bringing the EU Home: Equal Opportunities for Women and Men network.

In order to strengthen the international women's movement and promote innovative women-led philanthropy, NWP partnered with the Global Fund for Women to provide technical assistance and funding to start women's funds to women's program coordinators and other institutional partners.

With OSI's Central Eurasia Project and the Global Fund for Women, NWP identified priorities for women's rights activities in the Middle East and North Africa, resulting in a three-year initiative by the Global Fund to increase regional outreach and grantmaking.

ROMA PROGRAMS

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 remain top priorities for the Open Society Institute and the Soros foundations network.

Many Soros foundations in Central and Eastern Europe and almost all OSI network programs, as well as a number of centrally funded grants programs, support efforts by Romani activists, leaders, and NGOs to address crucial issues for Romani communities. Such issues include political and civic participation, education, discrimination, gender, health, media, cultural identity, and tolerance.

Increasing Political and Civic Participation: the Decade of Roma Inclusion

Together with the World Bank and the European Commission, the Open Society Institute organized a high level international conference, Roma in an Expanding Europe: Challenges for the Future, to promote systemic policy reform. The conference, held in Budapest and hosted by the Hungarian government on June 30 and July 1, 2003, allowed Romani leaders to discuss major issues of concern with prime ministers and other government officials from Central and Eastern Europe as well as with high ranking representatives of the European Commission, the Council of Europe Development Bank, the Council of Europe, the World Bank, the United Nations Development Program, and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

At the closing session, the governments of Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Macedonia, Romania, Serbia and Montenegro, and Slovakia endorsed the Decade of Roma Inclusion, which will span the years 2005 to 2015. The campaign represents the political commitment of the eight governments to address discrimination against the Roma, and report on their achievements in closing the gaps in education, employment, health, housing, and gender between Romani and non-Romani citizens. The conference also prompted the establishment of a \$100 million dollar Roma Education Fund, to be designed by the World Bank.

A Roma Women's Forum, organized by OSI's Network Women's Program and held the day before the conference, provided a space for Romani women

to discuss issues such as improving gender equality and increasing Romani women's influence on policy reform. A report released by OSI's Roma Education Initiative (REI) and the Education Support Program at the conference outlined OSI's Romani education policy objectives.

The Decade of Roma Inclusion has also been bolstered by the Roma Participation Program (RPP), which supported Romani leaders and funded advocacy and alliance building efforts.

Activism, Monitoring, and Advocacy

In Romania, RPP worked with the EU Monitoring and Advocacy Program (EUMAP) and the Resource Center for Roma Communities to train 10 Romani student activists to monitor implementation of the Government Strategy for Roma. The Resource Center also helped connect Romani communities to social services and organize efforts to reduce prejudice against Roma.

In Serbia and Macedonia, RPP helped Romani NGO staff members and Romani medical and law students explore human rights issues and develop policy strategies to improve Romani health.

The Roma Media Program helped independent media inform the public about Romani news and culture and diminish prejudice against the Romani population. The Soros Foundation-Hungary provided courses in Romany and developed Romani websites and radio stations and the Romani press. It also supported efforts by the Roma Rights Advocacy Program to register advocacy organizations that attempt to resolve ethnic conflicts and





Barriers

BY Heidi Levine, Clive Shirley, and
Natalie Behring-Chisholm

LEFT: Israeli security fence in Gaza (Levine).

ABOVE: Migrants at U.S. border, Mexico (Shirley).

PAGE 121: Liberian soldier in internment camp, Sierra Leone (Behring-Chisholm).

provide legal protection to Romani individuals and groups.

E-Riders, technology consultants supported by OSI's Information Program in cooperation with RPP and the Network Women's Program, helped meet the technology needs of over 50 Romani civil society groups in Central and South Eastern Europe.

RPP also supported Manushe, a grassroots Romani women's organization that builds solidarity among Romani women and challenges the multiple forms of discrimination they face.

In 2003, OSI's Public Health Programs funded 10 Romani initiatives in Bulgaria, Macedonia, Romania, and Serbia to increase access to health services and improve Romani health.

Education

RPP promoted integration and general education reform in Bulgaria, Croatia, Hungary, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, Slovakia, and Slovenia. Activities in Slovakia focused on providing Romani children with preschool education, desegregating Romani primary and secondary schools, improving Romani vocational education, and developing integration policy proposals.

In Serbia, RPP funded a desegregation project led by the Roma Education Center (REC) that combined local, regional, and national advocacy with support for Romani children attending integrated schools. REI complemented the RPP efforts by supporting the Center through pedagogical training and Romani teaching assistants to help teachers working in integrated classrooms.

Economic Development

OSI's Economic and Business Development Program (EBDP) worked in Central and South Eastern Europe in 2003 to secure microcredit loans and establish microfinance organizations to provide Roma with opportunities to create their own businesses.

In Hungary, the Autonómia Foundation program provided loans to Romani entrepreneurs and, with financial support from OSI, took steps to create an independent microlending institution. In Bulgaria, EBDP, with cooperation from the Bulgarian government, began planning for the establishment of a Romani business incubator in Sliven. In Macedonia, OSI and the Council of Europe Development Bank expanded the Horizonti microfinance program, which provides microcredit and training to Romani entrepreneurs.

Desegregation and Investment in Roma NGOs

For over three years, RPP has led the way in what has now become a regional school desegregation movement by organizing highly successful desegregation programs in several Bulgarian towns. In 2003, Bulgaria's Ministry of Education established a group of education experts from government and civil society to devise an implementation strategy for the government's desegregation policy. RPP hosted a visit by Bulgarian Education Ministry officials with the Hungarian Minister of Education and the Roma Commissioner for Integration to learn about Hungary's desegregation policies. A new education directive instructed Bulgarian head teachers and directors to prioritize



desegregation and equal access to education policies at their schools. In the spring of 2004, the Bulgarian prime minister announced the creation of a new Romani education fund for desegregation.

In Romania, RPP-sponsored initiatives helped raise awareness of desegregation issues and prompt change. At the start of 2004, the Romanian government issued a desegregation directive to all schools in the country. ✱





PUBLIC HEALTH

The increasing visibility of the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, TB and Malaria and a renewed commitment by UN agencies to the Millennium Development Goals brought significant attention to international health problems in 2003. Issues of health equity, however, remained largely neglected.

Fifteen years after transition, the health situation in Central and Eastern Europe lags far behind Western Europe. The countries of the region have engaged in reform with varying degrees of success. In most countries, health indicators have worsened, tobacco and alcohol use has risen, and infectious diseases have reemerged. Old health system structures have been dismantled without new ones rising up to replace them. The region continues to be marked by increasing disparities between rich and poor and by a growing number of vulnerable populations such as drug users and minorities.

Among the eight Central and Eastern European countries joining the European Union in 2004, the vulnerability of certain groups and equal access to health care remain major issues. Roma especially are excluded from access to services, and prison populations suffer from high rates of multi-drug resistant tuberculosis (MDR-TB) and HIV.

The situation is even more critical in South Eastern Europe (SEE), where the wars of the 1990s exacerbated the collapse of national health systems. Populations in SEE suffer from growing poverty, discrimination, and limited access to health services. In addition to the disruption of war, socioeconomic factors have also contributed to the region's worsening health. In some countries, life expectancy is more than 10 years lower than the rest of Europe due to tobacco use, poor diet, inadequate health care services, and high rates of road accidents, suicide, homicide, and domestic violence.

Some countries of the former Soviet Union have made tremendous strides in reforming their health care services while others still suffer from inefficient systems. Stagnant bureaucracies remain unable to adopt new approaches in public health and health management or the new protocols, standards, and surveillance systems necessary to cope with epidemics of infectious disease. Particularly worrisome is the high percentage of service costs paid by the consumer in the poorest countries of the region.

In 2003, OSI addressed the challenges of improving public health by increasing the skills of health care providers and enhancing the ability of public health care systems to provide services and prevent and manage infectious diseases such as tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS. In partnership with the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, U.K. Department for International Development (DFID), and UNICEF, OSI's Public Health Programs compiled an extensive evidence base on public health in South Eastern Europe for use in advocating for increased investment to address the region's substantial public health challenges. The Public Health Programs also supported numerous harm reduction and HIV/AIDS- and TB-related initiatives, including TB and HIV/AIDS detection and treatment efforts in Russia in cooperation with the International Centre for Prison Studies and the World Health Organization.

NETWORK PUBLIC HEALTH PROGRAMS

OSI's Network Public Health Programs support initiatives that encourage sustainable change in public health policy and practice, with particular emphasis on promoting equity and nondiscrimination. In 2003, the Programs continued initiatives and activities in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union (CEE/fSU), began grantmaking in Africa and Southeast Asia, and started to develop a new focus on global health advocacy.

Public Health Education

Well-informed professionals capable of making decisions based on analysis of evidence are crucial to any public health system. OSI, recognizing the key role of training and information in health care, has focused on improving public health teaching and the quality of the data used by health care providers and policymakers.

WORKFORCE DEVELOPMENT The Public Health Programs completed the third year of a five-year initiative for 21 graduate-level teaching programs in 18 CEE/fSU countries. In Macedonia, Moldova, and Ukraine, the initiative supported teaching programs for multidisciplinary master of public health degrees. Elsewhere in the region, outdated social hygiene-oriented curricula were revised to comply with internationally recognized public health education models.

The Public Health Programs awarded fellowships for master's degrees in public health from the Braun School of Public Health in Jerusalem to over 60 public health faculty. In collaboration with the World Bank Institute, the Programs established flagship courses on sustainable financing and equity in health at the Moscow Medical Academy and Semmelweis University (Budapest). The Programs also helped foster local policy development through a training program run in collaboration with the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's Sustainable Management Development Program, the Andrija Stampar School of Public Health (Zagreb), and the University of Medicine (Skopje).

INFORMATION SYSTEMS To improve the quality, avail-

ability, and comparability of health data in CEE/fSU, the Programs worked with the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention to develop regional training centers in Russia and Hungary to help implement an automated international classification of diseases (ICD-10) coding system. Through the U.S. National Center for Health Statistics, the Programs expanded regional training and technical assistance to Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Slovenia.

SALZBURG MEDICAL SEMINARS INTERNATIONAL

With support from OSI, the Austrian government and leading American and Austrian medical faculty members, the American Austrian Foundation offered medical education to over 600 physicians and health care professionals from 25 CEE/fSU countries. The Public Health Programs also supported Open Medical Clubs, which used networks of medical professionals to provide training in 15 countries.

Community Involvement and Public Participation

Rational, equitable, and effective health policies can only be implemented with the participation of all stakeholders—not only the state, but also community groups, service providers, and the private sector. Coalition and network building, sharing information, and developing advocacy skills are key factors in supporting civil society's ability to develop and monitor health policy.

The Public Health Programs supported networks of organizations working on sexual and reproductive health and rights, mental disability advocacy, tobacco control, and harm reduction. OSI's Public

Health Seminar Series addressed topics including HIV/AIDS, tobacco control, tuberculosis, mental health and disabilities, palliative care, and sexual and reproductive rights and health.

INTERNATIONAL HARM REDUCTION DEVELOPMENT

The International Harm Reduction Development program (IHRD) supports initiatives in CEE/fSU based on the philosophy of harm reduction, which aims to diminish the individual and social harms associated with drug use, especially the risk of HIV infection. Harm reduction encompasses a wide range of drug user services, including needle and syringe exchange, methadone treatment, health education, medical referrals, and social care.

IHRD also works to help define critical policy issues—including HIV/AIDS care and treatment for drug users, substitution treatment, and drug policy—and convenes a wide range of stakeholders to address them. In 2003, IHRD expanded its support for advocacy efforts, particularly in Georgia, Kyrgyzstan, Lithuania, Poland, Russia, Tajikistan, and Ukraine.

In May, the first regional conference of organizations of drug users and people living with HIV was held in Minsk for nearly 90 participants from 17 countries. IHRD and the Tides Foundation jointly awarded a number of grants to projects emanating from the conference. IHRD supported efforts by people living with HIV/AIDS, drug users, and other vulnerable groups to get policymakers to acknowledge those most affected by drug use and repressive drug policies, and to work with them to determine appropriate responses.

IHRD also expanded efforts to link human

rights groups and harm reduction organizations. A meeting cosponsored by IHRD, Human Rights Watch, and the Hungarian Civil Liberties Union offered grants to attendees and featured experts from Georgia, Hungary, Kyrgyzstan, Lithuania, Poland, Russia, Tajikistan, and Ukraine.

Over the years, IHRD has developed a pool of local technical advisers that form an “infrastructure” for the regional harm reduction movement that is not dependent on external technical expertise. In 2003, the program sponsored more than 20 trainings and 15 study tours for a broad range of stakeholders. IHRD continued to work with the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, TB and Malaria and other donors to secure additional resources for harm reduction efforts and to ensure that the needs of drug users and other vulnerable groups are addressed.

MENTAL DISABILITY ADVOCACY PROGRAM The Mental Disability Advocacy Program (MDAP) 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. In 2003, MDAP provided grants, technical support, and training to mental disability NGOs in more than 20 countries of CEE/fSU. Working with OSI’s EU Monitoring and Advocacy Project, MDAP produced reports on access to education and employment for people with intellectual disabilities in 15 European countries. OSI’s Network Media Program and MDAP helped inform journalists and NGOs about mental disability issues and supported public awareness campaigns throughout the region.

MDAP’s grants program aims to provide financial

and technical support to advocacy NGOs and initiatives that provide community-based services, promote the social inclusion of people with mental disabilities, and help stimulate national health and social welfare policy reforms. MDAP grants support residential alternatives to institutionalization, specialized foster care, day services, respite care, inclusive education, early intervention, psychosocial rehabilitation, supported employment, and community education.

PALLIATIVE CARE INITIATIVE Across the region, health care providers lack the knowledge and skills to assess and manage pain. Equally important, many countries lack the necessary drugs for pain management.

The Palliative Care Initiative responded to these shortcomings in 2003 by supporting education, policy development, and advocacy for drug availability. In Croatia, the Czech Republic, Georgia, Hungary, Lithuania, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia, the Initiative helped review laws and regulations to integrate palliative care into national health care policies and make opioid analgesics available. The Initiative organized stakeholder meetings in Almaty (Kazakhstan), Dushanbe (Tajikistan), and Tbilisi (Georgia), where palliative care is in the earliest stages of development. The Initiative also offered palliative care medicine and policymaking trainings at the second Salzburg Seminar on Palliative Care and at the OSI Seminar on Palliative Care Policy Development in Budapest.

ROMANI HEALTH With few exceptions, the health status of Roma is worse than that of the majority population throughout the region. Poor health among

>> \$10 per patient: How little money is needed

the Roma is largely created and exacerbated by systematic economic and social exclusion and policies that impede their access to health services. The Public Health Programs funded 10 initiatives in Bulgaria, Macedonia, Romania, and Serbia to pursue advocacy and improve Romani health. Multisectoral teams provided Romani communities with information on health and health insurance, documented discriminatory practices in the health sector, presented findings to national human rights advocates, and helped develop Romani health mediators and other mechanisms to enhance access to health services.

Public Health Policy

The Public Health Programs also focus on improving capacity for health policy analysis and policymaking in both the public and governmental sector, and examining issues that affect vulnerable populations.

HEALTH SECTOR REFORM The health care sector in CEE/fSU has undergone varying degrees of reform during the transition period. To learn from these reforms, the Public Health Programs renewed support for the European Observatory on Health Care Systems, which will continue gathering and analyzing information on health care reform and issues such as social health insurance, primary care, purchasing, pharmaceuticals, and mental health. In 2003, the Observatory published 10 Healthcare in Transition reports on CEE/fSU countries, of which seven were aimed at national policymakers.

TUBERCULOSIS OSI continued its collaboration with Results International to advocate for increased

global resources for TB control. Other efforts to leverage additional funding included partnerships with USAID and the German development organization GTZ to support World Health Organization TB officers for the Balkans and Caucasus. The officers will help prepare and coordinate DOTS (directly observed treatment short-course) programs for tuberculosis and MDR-TB.

The Programs partnered with DFID in the evaluation of the Global TB Drug Facility, which provided treatment to over 2 million people worldwide and used bulk drug purchasing to reduce TB drug costs to under \$10 per patient. The Programs worked with the private sector through the World Economic Forum's Global Health Initiative to fund projects, including the publication and dissemination of ILO/WHO workplace TB control guidelines.

PRISON HEALTH The Public Health Programs' prison health grantmaking came to a close in 2003. Grants to Partners in Health (PIH), the International Centre for Prison Studies, and Penal Reform International have helped organizations and funders focus on how much public health depends on integrating prison and civilian health systems. Bridge funding enabled PIH to secure a grant from the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, TB and Malaria that helped its Russian partners detect and treat TB, MDR-TB, and HIV/AIDS in prisoners and civilians in Tomsk, Russia.

SEXUAL HEALTH AND RIGHTS The Public Health Programs continued to support the strengthening of advocacy skills for women's NGOs, physicians, medical students, and human rights lawyers in

to treat TB effectively

countries where the sexual and reproductive rights movement is weak or under sustained assault. Polish prochoice groups working with Women on Waves and the Lithuanian Family Planning and Sexual Health Association received support for a broad range of advocacy activities. A grant to the Center for Reproductive Rights sustained work where the antichoice movement is strongest and where the reproductive rights of minority women are violated. The ASTRA network of sexual and reproductive rights NGOs used a grant to participate in the International Conference on Population and Development +10 process.

In Latvia and Lithuania, Catholics for a Free Choice developed a training workshop for medical advocates on how to debate religious extremists on sexual health and rights issues. In Central Asia, the Programs assisted physician advocates by supporting the WHO-sponsored course on Gender and Rights in Reproductive Health. Technical assistance to the National Abortion Federation and a grant to IPAS helped institutionalize safer abortion procedures in Albania, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan, Macedonia, Moldova, and Russia.

Clinical protocols for sexually transmitted infections (STI) diagnosis and treatment in the former Soviet Union are in serious need of reform. With matching funding from USAID, the Public Health Programs supported the local adaptation of internationally recognized STI diagnosis and treatment standards in Armenia, Georgia, Moldova, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan. Two partners—the International Union against Sexually Transmitted Infections (IUSTI) and WHO/Europe—provided technical assistance.

GLOBAL HIV/AIDS ADVOCACY The Public Health Programs supported initiatives to promote public participation, ownership, and accountability in responses to the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Grantees included the Panos Institute Global AIDS Programme, the Social Science Research Council Initiative on HIV/AIDS and Social Transformation, the Japan Center for International Exchange, AIDS Foundation East-West, Action for Southern Africa, and AIDSPAN's Global Fund Observer. In cooperation with Soros foundations in Southern Africa, OSI supported projects examining civil society involvement in official HIV/AIDS efforts in South Africa and Botswana. The Programs also funded three NGOs that led efforts to enhance palliative care services in South Africa.

TOBACCO CONTROL POLICY The Tobacco Control Policy Program supported projects in Armenia, Kazakhstan, Moldova, Romania, and Ukraine that devised strategies for monitoring, developing, and influencing national tobacco control policies. The Program organized a regional seminar on tobacco control advocacy and media work, funded seven tobacco control international policy fellowships, and continued to support CEE/fSU tobacco control policy and information networks.

At the international level, the program supported the efforts of Globalink, a tobacco control clearing-house website; the Framework Convention Alliance, to advance the UN's Tobacco Control Convention; and Global Partnerships for Tobacco Control, to increase funding for tobacco control efforts. ✱



9/7/03 KooLea

11/12/03

The Joy of Life

Abwobkur

Awokuma

Abahin

AZAB

ABAN

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EDUCATION

Education reform is critical to a long-term strategy for nurturing and strengthening open society in individual countries, regions, and the world. It may take a generation or more before open, democratic societies take root so solidly that new authoritarian leaders cannot repress or destroy them. Leaders who understand open society principles may emerge earlier, as they have in many transitional countries, but the support and participation of the majority of the population are necessary to put principles into practice. The right education can shape new ways of thinking and behaving.

The practice of democracy starts in kindergarten. Everything you ever need to know about open society you can learn in the play corner. OSI's Step by Step Program for preschools and primary schools creates a classroom that reflects society and fosters democratic habits. It encourages children to make choices and accept responsibility, learn independently as well as cooperatively, and be tolerant and respectful of differences. The active involvement of parents in school planning and decision making reinforces democratic principles.

An important indicator of a vibrant democracy is the extent to which people who are considered "different" by some—ethnic minorities, refugees, people with disabilities, people living in poverty—participate actively in society. Step by Step promotes inclusive education. It believes that children with disabilities should attend their local school and learn in classrooms alongside their peers. It believes that minorities should have equal access to quality education.

Roma are the largest ethnic minority in Europe. Of the approximately 3 million Romani children, about one third are assigned to "special schools" and another third are not enrolled in school at all. In 13 countries with significant Romani populations, Step by Step is proving that Romani children can succeed in supportive educational environments—in regular classrooms.

For more than a decade, Step by Step has trained hundreds of thousands of teachers and taught millions of young children and their parents.

In secondary school and university, other OSI programs take over the task of nurturing open society. The Scholarship Programs open up the

world for students and scholars as they travel abroad to study and experience other democratic cultures. An Education Support Program report, prepared with the Network Women's Program, revealed the gender gap in education and recommended reforms to create gender balance. Central European University strengthened its reputation for academic excellence and commitment to the development of open society.

The Network Debate Program, which operates in secondary schools and universities, promoted the free-ranging discussions that are essential to building open societies. As debaters take turns arguing pros and cons, they go beyond tolerance to a deeper understanding of divergent viewpoints. The ability to put one's self in someone else's shoes is good training for living in a democracy.

In addition to the programs highlighted here, all Soros foundations and many other OSI programs support education efforts as part of their mission.

NETWORK CHILDREN AND YOUTH PROGRAMS

The goal of the Network Children and Youth Programs is to bring innovative approaches to existing social and educational structures that have an impact on the welfare and development of children and adolescents. Projects emphasize humane and democratic principles and promote the development of the individual child to his or her full potential.

Network Debate Program

The Network Debate Program has promoted debate in secondary schools and universities since 1995. The Debate Program offers students and teachers the opportunity to examine issues affecting their lives and communities. Participants learn that free and open discussion is essential to the establishment and preservation of open societies. More than 80,000 secondary students, 15,000 university students, and 16,000 teachers have participated in the Debate Program, which is active in 36 countries.

The Program has created debate resource centers in each country to provide students and teachers with current publications, reference materials, and computer access. It publishes textbooks, source books, training videos, an academic journal, and a quarterly newsletter. Debate tournaments, training workshops, and Internet debates are conducted throughout the year.

In 2003, the Debate Program expanded to China, Africa (Rwanda and Zimbabwe), and South America (Brazil and Argentina). It also continued its work with Burmese refugees in Thailand and conducted leadership seminars for young Romani leaders throughout Central and South Eastern Europe. In 2004, the Debate Program plans to expand in Latin America and Africa, and to begin work in the Middle East.

Each summer, debate students and teachers participate in the International Youth Forum. Youth Forum 2003, held in Slovenia, debated the resolution, "The separation of public and private is detrimental to women's rights." Youth Forum 2004, in Estonia, will focus on whether "it is better to adopt a

harm reduction strategy as opposed to law enforcement policies in response to drug abuse.”

To develop sustainable program activities in each country, the International Debate Education Association (IDEA) helps with fundraising, organizing events, and developing further international contacts. For more information on IDEA, see www.idebate.org.

Step by Step Program

Step by Step is an education reform program that introduces child-centered teaching methods and supports community and family involvement in preschool and primary school. The aim is to engender democratic principles and practices in young children and their families. The Step by Step method encourages children to make choices, develop critical thinking skills, and practice independent thinking. The Program promotes equal access to a quality education for children of minority families, children with disabilities, Roma, refugees, and families living in poverty.

The Step by Step Program, which celebrates its 10th anniversary in 2004, provided training in 2003 to more than 50,000 teachers and specialists in 29 countries or territories, serving more than one million children and their families. Step by Step launched a major initiative in several countries on the inclusion of children with special needs, and continued its involvement in the education of Romani children.

The International Step by Step Association (ISSA), established by the national Step by Step NGOs and programs, links over 200,000 early childhood

professionals into a wider network and advocacy organization, promoting Step by Step’s philosophy, training, and technical assistance internationally. In 2003, ISSA introduced teacher standards to guarantee continuing high quality education for all children as Step by Step expands into new schools and countries. For more about ISSA, see www.issa.nl.

Reading and Writing for Critical Thinking Program

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

Secondary School Scholarships Program

Through open, merit-based competitions, the Secondary School Scholarships Program provides secondary school students from Central and Eastern Europe with the opportunity to study for up to one year in the United Kingdom, the United States, or the Czech Republic. Among the opportunities available are scholarships awarded directly by some of the top private schools in each country. The Program encourages students to take part in volunteer activities during the scholarship period and upon their

return home in order to foster a sense of responsibility to the community.

South East Europe Youth Initiative

The South East Europe Youth Initiative, which completed its work in 2003, leaves a legacy of youth organizations that will continue to organize projects for youth, and community education centers, cofunded by the Mott Foundation, which will also operate programs for youth in the region.

Street Law Program

The Street Law Program supports civic and law-related education projects throughout Central and Eastern Europe and Central Asia to help young people contribute to civil society as well-educated, well-prepared citizens. Active in secondary schools, youth centers, and local government agencies in 18 countries, Street Law offers students practical, participatory education about law, democracy, and human rights through activities such as community-based projects; visits to local courthouses; and mock trials, simulations, and mediations. Street Law also arranges regular classroom visits by police officers, judges, lawyers, and other community resource people.

EDUCATION SUPPORT PROGRAM

The Education Support Program (ESP) in 2003 continued to facilitate education reform and national policy development in line with open society goals throughout the countries of Central and South

Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

Through its offices in Budapest and Ljubljana, ESP provided strategic advice and support to Soros foundations, OSI spin-offs, and ministries of education and related public institutions conducting education reform initiatives. This support included help in developing ministry strategies, providing specialist referrals, and organizing and funding specialist support, technical cooperation, study visits, and other activities. ESP priority countries included Albania, Kazakhstan, Macedonia, Montenegro, Russia, Serbia and Montenegro, and Ukraine. ESP and its partners provided advice to these countries on overall education reform, decentralization, curricula and textbook reform, implementation of policy programs, and the development of new general education strategies.


ESP organized two highly successful Education Coordinators' Conferences for colleagues from Soros foundations, NGOs, and foundation partners to discuss education reform, progress made in policy work, and future directions. In South Eastern Europe, two regional workshops developed a book documenting changes in the region's education policies and practices.

Based on a needs assessment report prepared by ESP, OSI was awarded a \$4 million grant from USAID for the Participation, Education Achievement and Knowledge Strengthening (PEAKS) project. ESP and OSI's Children and Youth Programs advised PEAKS teams in Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan in the areas of teacher education, education financing, and new textbook policies.

With Teachers College of Columbia University

in New York, ESP offered its second online program evaluation course for OSI education staff and NGO and university professionals. A new online course in education policy studies, offered jointly with Columbia and the World Bank, started in September, and a short online course on developing case studies in education reform began in October.

ESP launched multiple online education resource packs that are available, along with other resources, online at www.espblackboard.org. Partners in the development of the resource packs included numerous education NGOs, UNICEF, UNESCO, and the South East Europe Education Cooperation Network (SEE-ECN).



ESP and the Network Women's Program published *Open Minds: Opportunities for Gender Equity in Education—A Report on Central and South Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union*. The report advocates an equal gender balance at policy and school levels.

The Program's Roma Education Initiative (REI) cofunded projects in Bulgaria, Hungary, Serbia, Slovakia, and Slovenia, providing training and strategic and technical support. REI's policy paper on educating Romani children was used for the *Education Policies for Roma: A Way Forward* report distributed at the World Bank/OSI Roma conference in June.

ESP continued to support the SEE-ECN, which grew rapidly with more than 15,000 visitors per month to its website (www.see-educoop.net). The SEE-ECN, with OSI support, organized regional workshops on reforming education inspectorates and communicating education reform. ESP played a lead role in the establishment of a regional Central

Asian Education Cooperation Network, and negotiated a cofunding partnership with the Asian Development Bank, which committed \$200,000 for technical assistance to the Central Asian network.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE PROGRAM

The English Language Program (ELP), which includes the Soros Professional English Language Teaching program (SPELT), aims to help 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. It also builds local teachers' capacity so quality language instruction can be sustained without dependence on international expertise.

The Program focuses on training local English as a Foreign Language (EFL) teachers; preparing students for international English language exams; coordinating English for Specific Purposes teacher training projects; developing EFL textbooks that meet education reform requirements; and supporting EFL teachers' associations.

In 2003, ELP continued its scheduled process of concluding or spinning off its activities as independent organizations. The Program did, however, start an academic writing project in Azerbaijan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan, Mongolia, Serbia, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan for university students intending to study at an English language university. SPELT instructors taught the course, while Central

in pursuing gender equity in education

European University and OSI's Scholarship Programs organized student recruitment.

At the end of the academic year, the Scholarship Programs sponsored an Academic Writing Summer School in Kyrgyzstan to improve scholarship recipients' writing skills before beginning studies at English language universities. Over 60 students attended the school as well as 16 academic writing teachers from universities in the Soros network.

In South Eastern Europe, ELP concluded its last year in Serbia by helping unify regional teachers' groups into one national organization, the English Language Teachers' Association (ELTA). ELTA will continue the Program's work as a strong organization representing the EFL teaching profession. ELTA is accredited by the Ministry of Education, and has attracted support from the U.S. embassy and State Department, the British Council, Longman, Oxford University Press, and donor organizations from the Netherlands, Sweden, and Finland.

In Central Asia, ELP shifted its focus in Azerbaijan from teacher development to providing the local Soros foundation with English language components for legal and human rights initiatives. Lingua, a Soros EFL school and regional training center in Kyrgyzstan, became the headquarters for a new teachers' association. Program activities in Mongolia concluded as the remaining SPELT trainer left a complete university-level course with local teaching assistants. SPELT methodology trainers in Tajikistan established a Teachers' Resource Center with equipment and materials obtained through a U.S. embassy donation. In addition to the U.S. embassy, ELP worked in Tajikistan with the Aga

Khan Foundation, the American Council for Collaboration in Education and Language Study, the British Council, the World Bank, and Tajikistan's Ministry of Education and Institute for Teacher Development. In Uzbekistan, SPELT trainers prepared trainees in remote areas for international donor education programs, reformed the university EFL methodology curriculum, and trained local faculty in its implementation.

In Haiti, ELP and the French education trust, Télé Université, ran a teacher training program with several 2003 graduates qualifying as the first Haitian teachers for an internationally certified Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) training program. With matching funds from the U.S. State Department, ELP organized a six-week TESOL methodology course in Haiti delivered by the School for International Training.

During the year, ELP's network of over 20 self-supporting Soros English/foreign language schools established FocusEd, an international association of quality schools in the third sector. The Soros language school in Belarus became an official UCLES Cambridge exam center and held its first round of examinations in June.

Efforts to help Romani leaders and university students learn English continued in 2003. In Macedonia, 20 beginner Romani students finished a three-year course and received TOEFL scores high enough to be considered by most international graduate programs.

INTERNATIONAL HIGHER EDUCATION SUPPORT PROGRAM

The International Higher Education Support Program (HESP) promotes the advancement of higher education within the humanities and social sciences in Central and Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, and Mongolia. HESP provides technical and financial assistance to the institutions in its network, which range from undergraduate universities to doctoral programs and advanced studies centers.

HESP support for institutions aims to foster and sustain progressive leadership, transparent governance, an innovative educational agenda, and progressive teaching and learning methodologies. These institutions seek to attract diverse, international student bodies and to play a larger role in society. They serve as models for the development of higher education locally and regionally.

HESP attempts to effect systemic change among institutions by supporting a range of faculty and curriculum development initiatives that are not institution specific.

In 2003, HESP worked to make its network institutions sustainable, to engage the network institutions together with Central European University (CEU) as a resource for strengthening state universities in regions of greatest need, and to reaffirm the importance of investing in both institutions and individuals.

HESP launched the Regional Seminar for Excellence in Teaching (ReSET), which built on HESP's extensive experience with the Summer Schools Program for junior faculty. ReSET works to engage academics in rethinking their disciplines

and teaching their subjects so that students also participate in this critical thinking process. HESP also launched the Southeast European Student Initiative to engage students in higher education reform issues and build multicountry networks of student groups working on similar issues.

HESP continued its expansion to the state sector, taking on several master's degree programs in the social sciences at Tbilisi State University. HESP also continued to work on strategic donor partnerships. At the American University–Central Asia, the U.S. government and HESP are providing an endowment. At the South East European University in Macedonia, the Royal Netherlands Embassy and HESP provide a substantial number of means-tested scholarships and scholarships for female students in priority disciplines.

HESP and CEU worked closely together through CEU's outreach programs, the annual meeting of rectors of network institutions, and discipline-based planning sessions for both partner and state-sector institutions.

NETWORK SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAMS

Network Scholarship Programs mobilize international resources to provide support to students and scholars through fellowships, scholarships, and related activities that empower individuals to improve the social, political, and intellectual environments of their home communities. Support for

advanced study in the humanities favors individuals positioned to raise the quality of instruction in the classrooms of higher education institutions in their home country. Professional degree programs in the social sciences emphasize applied expertise, with a focus on policy analysis and systemic reform.

In 2003, the Scholarship Programs continued expanding into the Middle East by launching the Palestinian Rule of Law Program. In cooperation with several top American law schools, and with private Palestinian funding, the Program supports the legal education of Palestinian lawyers and, through those lawyers, legal reform efforts and institutional development in the occupied Palestinian territories. The Program funds up to 10 grantees per year, with seven placed in U.S. law schools, and three at CEU in Budapest, to complete a one-year LL.M. degree.

Nuha Abunada, a Palestinian Rule of Law fellow from Gaza City, described the challenges of studying at the University of Chicago: “I think this is the real purpose of my presence here in the USA, to broaden my thinking about law and to become more familiar with a more developed and stable legal system than the one in my country.” Abunada concluded that her experience will benefit her and ultimately her region.

The Programs also launched a new summer program in academic writing in Issyk-Kul, Kyrgyzstan, to meet the demand for advanced academic language training for scholars preparing to study abroad. The summer program is a collaborative effort with the Soros Professional English Language Teaching program, the Civic Education

Project (CEP), the Higher Education Support Program, and CEU. Over 80 students from the Caucasus, Central Asia, and Mongolia participated in a four-week academic writing program designed by SPELT, with social science courses taught by CEP lecturers.

The Alumni Grants Program was created in 2003 to support small open society–related projects and activities designed by Scholarship Programs alumni. Funded projects included a short course on civil society for government and NGO representatives in Uzbekistan, a student-led model United Nations in Tajikistan, and a training course for school psychologists and guidance counselors in Azerbaijan.

In June, the Undergraduate Exchange Program, in cooperation with Bard College, celebrated its 10th anniversary with an alumni conference in Budapest. The conference attracted 140 alumni from 23 countries to its workshops and lectures on international education, human rights, and civil society building. Speakers included OSI Chairman George Soros and Bard College President Leon Botstein.

Scholarship Programs are supported by generous grants from the U.S. Department of State and the U.S. Agency for International Development, matching funds from the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst, and the French government, and substantive contributions from universities around the world. Scholars from over 30 countries compete annually for approximately 1,000 new grants.

CENTRAL EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY

During its 12 years of existence, Central European University (CEU) has energetically pursued its mission of contributing to the development of open societies in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, as well as in other emerging democracies, by promoting academic excellence—including high-level research—and civic commitment.

CEU's traditional constituency—Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union—has undergone tremendous change in recent years. The CEU Strategic Development Plan 2003–2013 addresses these new realities, and also pays special attention to globalization and its local consequences. The plan is available at http://www.ceu.hu/selected_policies.html.

CEU continues to seek accreditation in Hungary to further affirm its European and regional identity. Well-known public figures from Hungary and the United States, including the governor of New York (where CEU is chartered), members of the U.S. Congress, and prominent Hungarian cultural personalities have provided letters of support for CEU's accreditation to the Hungarian authorities. In addition, CEU became a full member of the Hungarian Rectors' Conference in October 2003.

The Department of Sociology, which operated in Warsaw until September 2003, reopened in Budapest as the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology with innovative master's and doctoral programs combining integrative and comparative approaches. The new Ph.D. program offers comparative gender studies, economics, environmental sciences and policy, history, legal studies, mathemat-

ics and its applications, medieval studies, philosophy, and political science.

During the 2003–2004 academic year, CEU enrolled 960 students from more than 50 countries. In 2003, CEU received applications from almost 80 countries, the most diverse set of applications it has ever received. The majority enrolled in M.A. programs, but an increasing number entered doctoral study programs.

The university offers master's degree programs in Central European history, economics, gender studies, human rights, international relations and European studies, medieval studies, nationalism studies, political science, and sociology and social anthropology. CEU also offers Master of Law (LL.M.) degree programs in comparative constitutional law, human rights, and international business law, as well as an M.B.A. program, and Master of Science (M.S.) degree programs in environmental sciences and policy, and in information technology management.

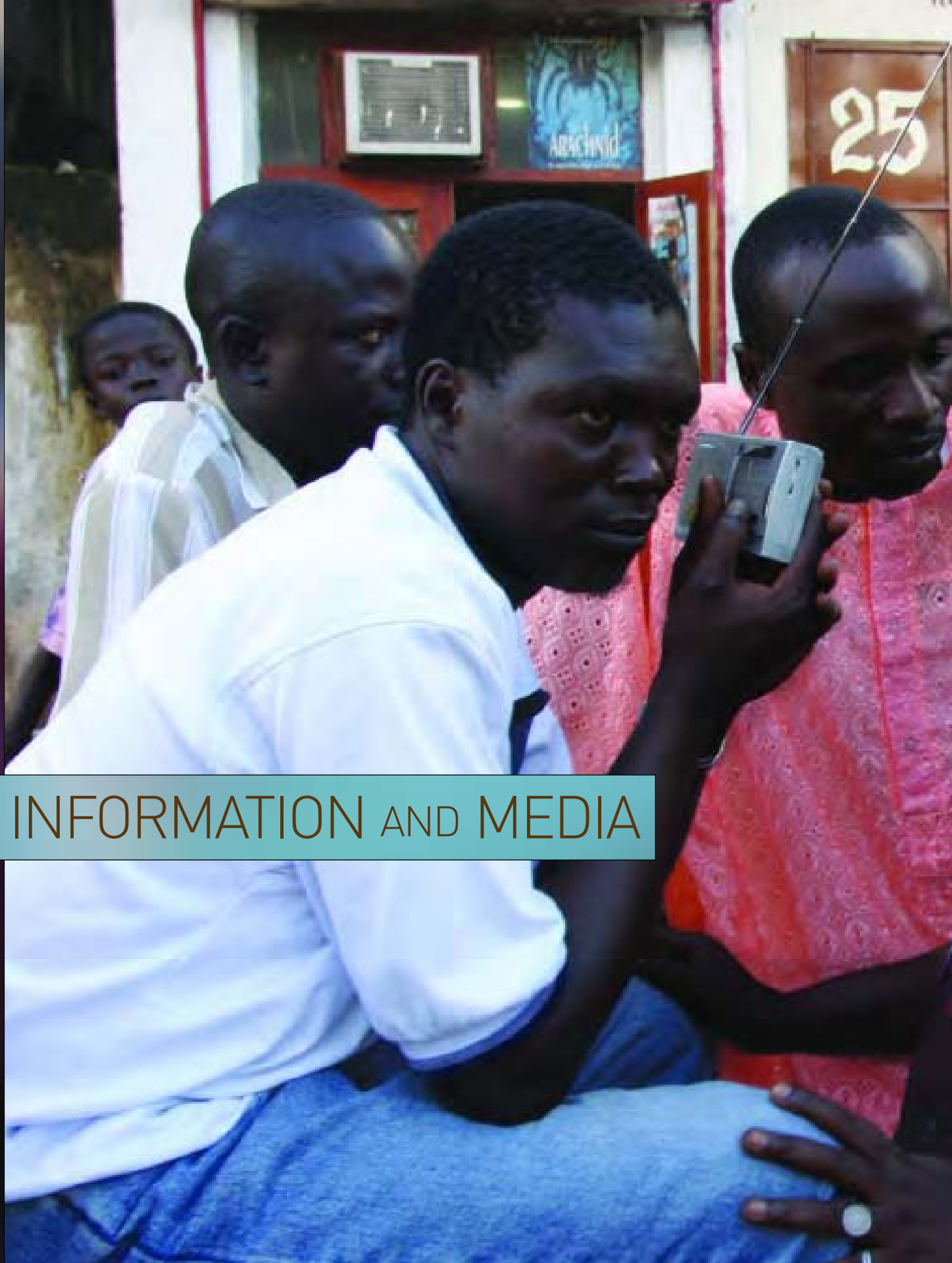
Over 200 professors from more than 30 countries teach at CEU. Visiting professors give students access to respected academics from top-level European and North American institutions.

CEU has 12 research-oriented teaching units, seven research centers, a graduate school of business, and the Open Society Archives at CEU. Existing research centers focus on humanities, policy studies, historical studies, arts and culture, the environment and environmental policy, and law. In 2003, CEU established an Open Society Research Center to undertake research in topics closely related to the mission of the university.



In addition to teaching and research, CEU is also committed to the promotion and support of regional academic cooperation. Each year approximately

1,400 professors from universities throughout the region participate in CEU's faculty and curriculum development programs. ✱



INFORMATION AND MEDIA



Information is the main and often only source of power for civil society. Governments have the power of the purse and police to back up their policies. Civil society must rely on information to influence these policies and guide the conduct of government. The greater the ability of nongovernmental organizations to access, evaluate, and use information for the common good the more likely it is that governments will act responsibly. Transparency and accountability are elusive yet vital goals.

In addition to the programs in this section, many other OSI programs include information as a high priority.

The Open Society Justice Initiative (page 113) promotes access to information as important to strengthening citizen participation in government decision making and increasing government accountability to the public, as well as supporting efforts to combat corruption. The past decade has seen a huge increase in legislation guaranteeing the right of access to government-held information. By December 2003 there were 52 freedom of information laws around the world.

A monitoring program is only as good as the available information (or sometimes the lack of available information). OSI's Revenue Watch projects keep an eye on government revenues and expenditures to assure that the money coming in and going out benefits the majority of people, not just a well-connected few. The Caspian Revenue Watch (page 28) focused on the resource-rich countries of Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan, seeking public attention for the ways in which oil money was spent. The Iraq Revenue Watch (page 18) expanded monitoring to encompass all of the Coalition Provisional Authority's responsibilities for running the country and transferring power.

Good public health also depends on good information. For the past several years, the Network Public Health Programs (page 125) have helped countries in transition to democracy establish public health systems based on accurate data about the prevalence of health problems and scientific evidence on the best prevention and treatment methods.

A priority of the Information Program is to make such "evidence" widely available, especially in the poorer, developing countries by promoting open access to online resources and fair intellectual property arrange-

ments. Through the Electronic Information for Libraries initiative, it supports low-cost access to thousands of journals in 45 countries.

The Network Media Program tries to assure a vibrant professional media with substantial space for independent, alternative outlets while Project Syndicate provides the content, reaching over 22 million readers in 96 countries with information and a range of opinions. The Open Society Archives and CEU Press add to the wealth of information by preserving and interpreting history and current events.

INFORMATION PROGRAM

The Information Program works to enhance access to information resources and tools for key open society constituencies and disadvantaged groups, especially in poorer parts of the world. The Program also seeks to foster systemic change by using information and communications technology (ICT) to bolster civil society networks worldwide and to promote democracy, civic engagement, and government transparency through effective monitoring, analysis, and advocacy on open society issues.

The Program in 2003 supported policies broadening Internet access in the most disadvantaged countries and protected the freedom to communicate in the digital environment. It awarded grants for policy projects ranging from an initiative tracking Internet filtering globally and developing anti-censorship measures, to a project addressing the

high cost of Internet access in Africa, to national Internet policy programs in Bulgaria, Kyrgyzstan, and elsewhere.


The Information Program began efforts to reform inequitable intellectual property rules and support new open frameworks for the production of public goods that are based on information. Grantees included the Consumer Project on Technology to support developing country governments in challenging unfair intellectual property arrangements; the South Centre to support copyright fairness advocacy for poorer countries; and the Foundation for Information Policy Research in London to ensure fair implementation of the European Copyright Directive.

Affordable or free access to online information is a major priority of the Electronic Information for Libraries (EIFL) initiative, which receives Information Program support. EIFL, a multicountry coalition of library consortia, provides low-cost access to thousands of business, social sciences, humanities, and science and technology journals. Libraries in 45 countries had access to these resources in 2003. The Information Program also helped establish new national library consortia in West Africa and Southeast Asia.

The Program continued to support the multi-year Open Access Initiative, a global effort to transform scholarly communication. Program grants helped produce a Directory of Open Access Journals, support work on developing the business side of alternative open publishing models, and promote open access through academies of science in transition countries.

» E-Riders: Who are roving technology

The Program awarded grants for the development of low-cost software toolsets for nonprofit organizations. These grants helped make open source management tools and software available to civil society initiatives with limited resources such as community radio stations and medical practitioners working on HIV/AIDS issues in developing countries.



The Information Program and its affiliate, the Tactical Technology Collective, provided technology support to organizations to increase their effectiveness and encourage the growth of civil society networks. A pioneering effort was the development of e-Riders, small collaborative groups of roving consultants who specialize in the technology needs of NGOs. E-Riders worked with Romani NGOs in South Eastern Europe, social service NGOs in Poland and Georgia, and community organizations in Kazakhstan. The Program also held a technology summer camp in Croatia for nonprofit software developers and implementers from Europe, Africa, and Asia. The creation of a large-scale set of online resources on human rights in Arabic also received funding.

With support from the Information Program, the Next Page Foundation oversaw the translation—into Eastern European languages—of several hundred books that addressed issues such as Islam and politics, globalization, and human rights. The Program also supported a long-term effort to develop publishing in Romanian, and a new project on Arabic-language translations.

NETWORK MEDIA PROGRAM

The Network Media Program works to promote independent and professional journalism and media systems in countries transitioning to democracy and functioning market economies. The Media Program supports initiatives that provide media management and journalism training; conduct media research; build journalists' trade unions and associations of journalists, publishers, and broadcasters; monitor and counter free press violations; improve journalism standards and ethics; and advance media-related legislation relative to internationally accepted democratic norms.

In 2003, the Program extended its global mission into Africa, Southeast Asia, and the Middle East. At a Media Program meeting in Cape Town, South Africa, Soros foundations and partners from over 30 countries met to discuss issues ranging from journalism training to policies about media and elections, ownership, and the public service role of the media.

The South-East European Network for the Professionalization of the Media, a network of 18 media centers from 12 countries in South Eastern and Central Europe, received support to conduct a comprehensive mapping of media ownership in EU accession countries and South Eastern Europe. The research will develop policy recommendations and advocacy plans for addressing the transparency of the ownership, particularly in light of increasing media ownership concentration, and the consequences these ownership trends have on editorial independence. The Program also helped facili-

consultants helping NGOs catch up in the Internet era

tate cooperation among international organizations interested in media ownership issues, such as the OSCE, the International Federation of Journalists, and the Council of Europe.

The transformation of state broadcasters into public broadcasting services was another concern in 2003 for the media and the larger public. In consultation with the Media Program, EUMAP began developing a project to examine the legal issues and other questions raised by the transformation process. Project research in over 20 countries, including old and new EU members and countries in South Eastern Europe, will provide the basis for recommendations on the state-to-public broadcasting service transition.

PROJECT SYNDICATE

In an increasingly complex world, Project Syndicate's mission of assisting newspapers in bringing a diversity of views to sensitive issues remains vital. With an expanding worldwide circulation of over 22 million readers, Project Syndicate gives its large audience better information and a wider range of opinions to help them make choices about important debates that affect their lives.

Project Syndicate's monthly contributors include Jeffrey Sachs, director of the Earth Institute at Columbia University; Joseph Stiglitz, 2001 Nobel Laureate in Economics; and Lord Ralf Dahrendorf, former rector of the London School of Economics. Other contributors in 2003 included Makiko Tanaka,

former Japanese foreign minister; Dianne Feinstein, U.S. Senator and member of the Council on Foreign Relations; Michel Rocard, former French prime minister; Richard N. Haas, now president of the Council on Foreign Relations and former director of policy planning at the U.S. State Department; Bronislaw Geremek, former Polish foreign minister; and Kemal Dervis, former Turkish minister for the economy.

Among the novelists and academics featured were Vladimir Voinovich, Arundhati Roy, Nilufer Gole, Tzvetan Todorov, and Khalil Shikaki. Contributors in the sciences and economics included Nobel Laureate Sydney Brenner, Sanou Mbaye, Luigi Spaventa, Deepak Lal, and Michael Woodford. Project Syndicate also featured activists such as Geoff Nyarota, Zimbabwean press freedom advocate, and Xiao Qiang, director of the China office of Human Rights Watch.

In 2003, Project Syndicate included 180 periodicals in 96 countries. The association is funded primarily through financial contributions from member papers in developed countries as well as supplementary grants from the Open Society Institute, Politiken Foundation, Zeit Foundation, and other funders. Project Syndicate provides free access to its commentary series to 52 papers in the developing world, almost a third of its members.

In its ninth year, Project Syndicate acquired 29 new members, including important Asian newspapers such as Hong Kong's *South China Morning Post*, China's *China Newsweek*, and *Diamond*, Japan's leading business weekly.

Continuing its work with the independent press in the former Soviet sphere, Project Syndicate wel-

Community Radio

BY Les Stone

PAGES 142–143: Men in Sierra Leone listening to reports about war with Liberia broadcast by the only radio station in their region. BELOW: The road to the community radio station in Freetown, Sierra Leone. OPPOSITE PAGE: Radio journalist interviewing a diamond miner, Kono, Sierra Leone.









OPPOSITE PAGE, LEFT: DJ in Freetown, Sierra Leone;
 RIGHT: Mile 91 community radio station, between Kenema
 and Kono, Sierra Leone. ABOVE: Men listening to community
 programming on KISS FM-104, Bo, Sierra Leone.

comed, among others, *24 Saati* in Georgia, *Narodnaya Volia* in Belarus, and *Ziarul Financiar* in Romania. Project Syndicate's strong presence in Europe increased with the addition of *NZZ am Sonntag* in Switzerland, *FT Deutschland* in Germany, *Expansion* in Spain, *Diario Economico* in Portugal, *Hospodarske Noviny* in the Czech Republic, and *L'Unita* in Italy.

Project Syndicate made its biggest gains in Latin America, adding *El Mercurio*, Chile's most prominent daily and one of the region's oldest newspapers; *Clarín*, the most popular quality paper in Argentina; *La Prensa* in Panama; *Expreso* in Ecuador, and *Los Tiempos* in Bolivia.

In Africa, Project Syndicate's network grew through cooperation with *Le Pays* in Burkina Faso, *Le Journal de l'Economie* in Senegal, and *The Independent* in Gambia.

Project Syndicate's geographical expansion was also accompanied by growth in its editorial offerings. Robert Shiller, a leading figure in economics at Yale University, began writing a monthly column on the vagaries of market economics. In early 2004, Project Syndicate launched the Of Might and Right series by Harvard professor Joseph Nye, a leading authority on international affairs.

Project Syndicate began offering its commentaries in Arabic in 2003 in an effort to expand debate and bring a greater diversity of voices to the 24 countries that use standard Arabic as a national language. In addition to Arabic, Project Syndicate is exploring adding Chinese translations to the seven other major world languages it uses.

OPEN SOCIETY ARCHIVES

The Open Society Archives in 2003 spent significant time and resources renovating and rebuilding its new premises, which will provide substantially more space and modern features to accommodate OSA's growing collection and better serve the public.

The bulk of OSA's new acquisitions during the year were for the audiovisual archives. For example, the Hungarian Public Construction Information Office, recently closed, donated photographs of period architecture from the 1970s. Work by Eszter Spat documenting the Yezidis, a religious minority in modern Iraq, was also added to OSA's collection. The Iraqi photographs complement OSA's 600 hours of monitoring of Iraqi and Kurdish television broadcasting during the war.

Major film additions included Soviet educational films and training films from the Budapest Transportation Company. During the year, OSA finished eight years of work and international cooperation by incorporating the Comintern archives' 20-million-entry database and million-image photo collection.

Continuing activities included the International Federation of Human Rights Archives, the Martus Project, and the Parallel History Project. OSA followed up its documentation of email and cell phone text messages during Hungary's 2002 parliamentary elections by mounting the Polgári Körök (Civil Circles) Project, which preserved email messages circulated in 2003 by Hungarian opposition party supporters.

OSA opened four exhibitions, including one

examining Stalin's death. An accompanying concert of compositions by Khatchaturian, Prokofiev, and Shostakovich was canceled by the concert hall's board of directors, who disapproved of an event acknowledging Stalin. The cancellation resulted in more media attention for OSA and the exhibit. The exhibitions helped OSA enhance its visibility and offered staff and supporters opportunities to exchange ideas and collaborate with diplomats, political leaders, and scholars.

CENTRAL EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY PRESS

For the Central European University Press, which has compiled a catalogue of over 150 titles over 11 years, 2003 was marked by a record number of books sold and revenue earned. In addition to publishing CEU Press books, the Press used its distribution channels to bring a growing number of OSI and Soros network publications to a wider readership.

CEU Press titles 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. Notable leading works from the Press include the National Security Archive Cold War Readers books chronicling the 1953 uprising in East Germany and the 1956 Hungarian Revolution.

These books are followed by a collection of essays entitled *A Culture of Corruption?* and the bilingual Latin-English autobiography of Charles IV of Luxembourg.

New, well-received titles in 2003 included *Constitutional Democracy* by János Kis; *Extending the Borders of Russian History*, a rich collection of studies; and *Discussing Hitler*, a monograph about the last U.S. ambassador in Budapest before World War II. *



ARTS AND CULTURE NETWORK PROGRAM

The Arts and Culture Network Program launched new efforts at capacity building by providing grants on cultural policy, arts management, and arts for social change, focusing on regions such as the Caucasus, Central Asia, and the Balkans. These grants worked to promote the grantees as facilitators of artistic and cultural exchange and as knowledge-transmitters in the field of arts and culture. In addition to these grants, the Program awarded a number of smaller regional development capacity building grants for music, theater, and museums.

The new Mobility Fund placed cultural professionals and artists from the Caucasus, Central Asia, and Mongolia in Soros network countries in which arts and culture administration and funding systems are more established. The successful Looking Inside initiative, reversing the process, placed managers from established and prominent cultural institutions into developing and less-established cultural organizations in Central and Eastern Europe, Central Asia, the Caucasus, and Mongolia.

The Arts and Culture Network Program also supported a conference on globalization and culture entitled “Modernity and Multiculturalism: Between Sarajevo, Jerusalem and New York,” organized by

the Borderland Foundation based in Sejny, Poland. Follow-up conferences on globalization and culture, planned for 2004 and 2005, will be organized by the CEU Center for Arts and Culture in Budapest and the Center of Contemporary Culture of Barcelona.

The Program provided substantial support for the establishment of the Central Asian Academy of Arts in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan. The academy will offer education, training, entertainment, seminars, and conferences, and promote the exchange of ideas, people, and art to build understanding and tolerance in the region.

The Arts and Culture Network Program helped organize two significant cultural policy gatherings in 2003: the Salzburg Seminar on “Cultural Institutions in Transition” and the International Network of Cultural Diversity’s annual conference, “Advancing Global Cultural Diversity: The Role of Civil Society Movements,” in Opatija, Croatia. Travel grants allowed individuals from the Program’s regions to participate in both events.

In 2004, the Arts and Culture Network Program will end its activities in Central and Eastern Europe, but it will continue a number of programs in the Caucasus, Central Asia, and Mongolia, and extend its efforts to Turkmenistan and Iran.

EAST EAST PROGRAM: PARTNERSHIP BEYOND BORDERS

The East East Program: Partnership Beyond Borders supports exchanges that bring individuals and

organizations together to share ideas and information and develop advocacy networks for the transnational promotion of open society. In 2003, the Program provided resources to 220 transnational initiatives in Central and Eastern Europe and Central Asia.

East East facilitated 80 exchanges for civil society groups from non-EU accession countries to meet with their counterparts in EU accession countries to promote communication, exchange of best practices/lessons learned, and civic partnership and advocacy. These exchanges helped participants learn from countries preparing to join the EU about the implications of EU membership. In addition, several initiatives were supported among accession countries to formulate recommendations on EU membership issues.

Working with the Soros Foundation–Moldova, East East developed a long-term initiative to address integration in multicultural societies. The initiative analyzed best practices and lessons learned in managing integration in Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, and Romania. With the Open Society Institute Assistance Foundation–Azerbaijan, the Program arranged several exchanges to examine civil society involvement in Azerbaijan’s elections. The Soros Foundation–Kyrgyzstan worked with East East to establish regional exchanges, distribute antinarcotics activity information, and promote transnational antinarcotics strategies in Central Asia.

In Turkey, the Program supported initiatives to increase international exchange and collaboration for Turkish civil society organizations. The New

Tactics in Human Rights Program, for example, brought together human rights activists in Turkey and the Middle East to increase their effectiveness and expand their strategic thinking. Sowing the Seeds of Participatory Democracy, a community development program pioneered by Turkish university students, provided students in Central Asia with practical know-how and innovative techniques on civic engagement and social responsibility.

The Southeast Asia: Beyond Borders Program, a collaboration between East East and OSI's Southeast Asia Initiative, continued to expand in 2003. The Program gives priority to civil organizations whose work strengthens the role of civil society as a force for advocacy and dialogue in Southeast Asia. During the year, the Southeast Asia: Beyond Borders Program supported initiatives in the Mekong Sub-Region that engaged local communities affected by large-scale development projects. The initiatives used local analysts, opinion makers, scholars, and students to promote public dialogue about the impact of such development projects; respond to challenges of development and rapid change; and develop strategies to protect the rights of vulnerable and marginalized communities.

ECONOMIC AND BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

In an effort to help build a market economy and create new jobs, the Economic and Business Development Program (EBDP) assists Soros founda-

tions in their work to promote the restructuring of transitional economies. EBDP has become an important catalyst for economic development, particularly in microfinance, entrepreneurship, and small business development, and social and economic inclusion. Using local experts and resources, the Program seeks to build and strengthen local institutions offering access to capital, promote legal reform, and provide support services for micro-businesses and small businesses.

Creating a small business sector is a dramatic structural change in transitional economies. New and existing small businesses need training and assistance in business management practices. In 2003, EBDP provided financial and technical assistance to small business development and advisory centers in Bulgaria, Croatia, and Ukraine to improve the teaching of practical skills such as business and investment planning, marketing, and accounting.

EBDP also seeks to create environments that enable small and medium enterprises (SMEs) to prosper and contribute to the development of the societies around them. The Program provided technical and financial support to a national SME policy center in Croatia and an SME legal resource center in Uzbekistan.

Small businesses also lack access to credit due to limited resources and management experience and an overly constrictive banking sector. EBDP helps eliminate these barriers by using innovative lending approaches. It collaborated with Soros foundations and other regional organizations to support small and medium business lending in Bulgaria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Macedonia. It spon-

>> **Brain Drain:** What OSI counters by giving

sored a number of urban and rural micro-business lending programs in Albania, Bulgaria, Haiti, Moldova, Romania, and Uzbekistan and assisted in strengthening the credit union movement in Kyrgyzstan, Lithuania, Russia, and Ukraine.

The Economic and Business Development Program uses the Soros Economic Development Fund (SEDF), an independent nonprofit foundation, as its primary source for funding its micro- and small-business lending programs. SEDF's lending activities seek to fulfil needs that local financial institutions or international donors do not cover. The lending programs often target specific sectors such as not-for-profit organizations in Hungary, small private publishers in Georgia, and young entrepreneurs in Albania. SEDF also provides loans, guarantees, and equity investments to financial institutions with strong social missions in an effort to promote new and innovative approaches to the delivery of business services.

An emerging concern for the Economic and Business Development Program is the employment of groups marginalized by society. In Bulgaria, Latvia, Romania, Russia, and Ukraine, organizations supported by EBDP created forums to share best practices and provide insights for creating employment for ex-offenders and former members of the military who were having difficulty finding work.

EU MONITORING AND ADVOCACY PROGRAM (EUMAP)

The EU Monitoring and Advocacy Program (formerly the EU Accession Monitoring Program) is an OSI policy program dedicated to monitoring the development of human rights and rule of law standards and policies in Europe. Since 2000, EUMAP has encouraged regular and comprehensive independent monitoring by publishing reports on issues of concern to open society. The reports provide clear policy recommendations for governments and international bodies with the aim of improving standards and policies. Past EUMAP monitoring focused on the 10 Central and Eastern European (CEE) accession countries (including Romania and Bulgaria). In 2002, EUMAP also covered selected EU member states, and future EUMAP monitoring will include potential EU candidate countries in South Eastern Europe as well as Turkey.

Throughout 2003, EUMAP promoted the findings of its 2002 reports on minority protection, corruption and anticorruption policies, and judicial capacity in an effort to maximize their impact and bring about real policy change.

As a follow-up to the 2002 UK minority protection report, EUMAP began producing a series of four policy papers on the situation of Muslims in the UK. In Romania, a local monitoring project on the implementation of the national strategy for the Roma applied issues raised in EUMAP's 2002 report. Results of these two projects will be published in 2004. Following up its reports on corruption and anticorruption, EUMAP organized a

in-country fellowships to researchers and activists

conference in Tallinn, Estonia, to compare the approaches and experiences in the Baltics.

Conference conclusions and all EUMAP reports are available at www.eumap.org.

In collaboration with other partners, the Program also initiated two new monitoring projects, Access to Education and Employment for People with Intellectual Disabilities, and TV Across Europe. Both projects should result in published reports by late 2004.

The access to education and employment monitoring project is a collaboration between EUMAP and OSI's Mental Disability Advocacy Program (MDAP) that continues EUMAP's focus on vulnerable minority groups in Europe by addressing the obstacles to education and employment faced by people with intellectual disabilities. The project covers 15 European countries, including the EU accession countries that became members in May 2004, Romania and Bulgaria, four older EU member states, and Croatia.

TV Across Europe builds on conclusions reached in the EUMAP report on corruption and anticorruption policy. The project will focus on the political and economic influences on media. In collaboration with OSI's Network Media Program (NMP), EUMAP research and monitoring will concentrate on electronic media, particularly TV, because they reach the largest audiences in the shortest period of time. In addition to the eight new EU members from CEE, Romania and Bulgaria, and four older EU member states, the project will also encompass South Eastern European countries and Turkey.

INTERNATIONAL POLICY FELLOWSHIPS

The International Policy Fellowships (IPF) program identifies and supports research by open society leaders in countries throughout the Soros foundations network and beyond. IPF helps these leaders write professional policy documents and promote their ideas for policies and organizational program strategies. The program is one of the first, and in many countries the only, open funding competition that counters "brain drain" by providing researchers and activists with the resources and training that allow them to remain in their home countries. Fellows not only conduct original field research to benefit their communities but also establish and maintain affiliations with local policymaking organizations.

IPF, which is affiliated with the Center for Policy Studies at Central European University, funds some 40–50 fellows per year. Since the program's inception in 1998, over 200 IPF fellows have explored alternative ways to jumpstart needed reform and spark public discourse in transition countries.

Fellows receive mentoring from CEU professors, leading policymakers, and experts often connected to governments, universities, influential organizations, and publications. While providing fellows with supervision and feedback, the mentors also benefit from the fellows' research projects, which often challenge mainstream concepts and assumptions about social issues and public policy. As part of the program, all fellows publish their research in their native language and on individual websites (www.soros.org/initiatives/ipf).



In 2003, fellows published hundreds of articles and papers, organized news conferences, and published books of original field research. A number of IPF fellows also helped establish and develop various sustainable local organizations and networks. For example, Janna Nauryzbayeva's fellowship research helped her establish the Kazakhstan Association of Pension Contributors, the only organization in Kazakhstan representing the interests of some 6 million pension contributors. In Croatia, Mirna Karzen's urban policy proposals for public space development and the creation of a local foundation received support from local government agencies and the Urban Institute. Following a detailed evaluation of government decentralization in Pakistan, Saad Paracha's proposals for an improved devolution plan received a six-year commitment from the government.

Gusztav Nemes successfully advocated Hungary's position on rural development policies in the European Parliament, while Unurtsetseg Tsedev's fellowship research on child protection and development led to her appointment as deputy director of the Mongolian Government's Population and Social Welfare Department. A team effort by eight Public Health Program fellows engaged in antismoking policy research and advocacy helped stimulate the first serious public debate about smoking in Central and Eastern Europe.

INTERNATIONAL SOROS SCIENCE EDUCATION PROGRAM

Initiated in 1994, the International Soros Science Education Program (ISSEP) has supported excellence in science education in Belarus, Georgia, Russia, and Ukraine by providing support to educators and students and by supplying educational institutions with equipment and materials necessary for the advancement of science education.

In 2003, the Program was supported by the Moscow and St. Petersburg governments to identify and fund 497 high school teachers, 196 professors, 105 associate professors, as well as 342 undergraduate and 396 graduate students. ISSEP developed a new advanced selection system using computer analysis to assess potential grant recipients and survey more than 70,000 undergraduate students in 53 universities in Moscow and St. Petersburg. The Open Society Institute provided over \$2 million for individual grants for 185 Soros Emeritus Professors and High School Teachers.

Moscow Soros Professors organized the Club of Soros Professors and used the club to provide a framework to extend the Natural Sciences Today Initiative through which club members delivered monthly lectures on recent scientific advances to high school teachers and students. In addition, Moscow professors participated in a weekly colloquium for advanced students to help prepare them for entrance examinations to universities in Moscow. Similar Soros Professors clubs operated in Vladivostok and Rostov-on-Don.

ISSEP continued to publish an electronic version

of the *Soros Educational Journal*, which features review articles written by distinguished Soros Professors. All publications of the *Journal* are available through its website. Website visitors have expressed deep satisfaction with the depth of materials and the cross referencing methods used in the journal and on the website. At the end of 2003, a CD-ROM containing all 72 issues of the *Soros Educational Journal* was produced and made available to high school libraries and individual subscribers. ISSEP also completed preparing a CD-version of the 10-volume encyclopedia, *Contemporary Natural Sciences*, to be produced and distributed in 2004.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC SERVICE REFORM INITIATIVE

The Local Government and Public Service Reform Initiative (LGI) promotes democratic and effective governance in the countries of the Soros foundations network. LGI supports policy analysis, training, technical assistance, regional networks, and Soros foundation efforts on decentralization and public administration.

For over a decade, LGI has worked to establish itself as a highly effective regional think tank and development program. Priority issues include political and fiscal decentralization, public policy formulation, public administration reform, minority rights, inclusive and accountable governance,

local economic development, educational reform, and corruption.

In 2003, LGI and USAID entered into a cooperative agreement on activities pursued within the Fiscal Decentralization Initiative for Central and Eastern Europe (FDI), a joint undertaking that, in addition to LGI and USAID, includes UNDP, OECD, the Council of Europe, and the World Bank Institute. The \$2.3 million initiative, with its secretariat located within LGI, will support regional policy development, policy implementation, and capacity building activities that complement the existing work of local Soros foundations and USAID offices in South Eastern Europe, the Caucasus, and Central Asia.

With LGI support, the Local Government Information Network (LOGIN) added Romania and Macedonia to its network in 2003. LOGIN provides a library database of more than 5,000 downloadable public policy case studies, guidelines, and best-practice reports for local government decision makers in eight CEE countries. LOGIN, which registered 172,000 visits on its web-based service pages in 2003, has provided users with more than 20,000 online library document downloads since it opened two years ago.

In partnership with the World Bank, LGI completed a pilot local economic development program in Kosovo. The program, Developing Enterprises Locally through Action and Alliance (DELTA), provided training and technical planning assistance for medium- and long-term development in seven municipalities. DELTA is set for replication in Kosovo and Albania in 2004.

The three-year, LGI-DFID, Local Government Policy Partnership program came to an end with projects on local economic development, municipal borrowing, and regulating conflicts of interest in local government. During the course of the program, LGI published six books and seven studies on governance, public policy, and public services.

As part of its efforts to advance minority rights, LGI provided professional support, communications, strategic planning, and advocacy skills to newly appointed Romani government officials in Hungary.

LGI collaborated with the Canadian Bureau for International Education (CBIE) to implement the Canadian International Development Agency-funded Public Policy Knowledge Network project in the Caucasus. The project provided Georgia's foreign, health, transportation/telecommunication, finance, and border ministries with at least two policy fellows each to help develop and implement innovative policies.

LGI worked with the World Bank Institute on designing a new training course in urban and finance management, covering issues ranging from local economic development to alternative services provision.

For the past three years, the LGI-funded Public Policy Centers Initiative (PPCI), a network of 28 OSI-related policy centers, focused on the centers' institutional and capacity development. In 2003, PPCI successfully formed these centers into the OSI Related Centers Network (RCN) to increase their influence on policies in the region.

Together with the Council of Europe and the

Swiss Government, LGI continued to promote the Network of Associations of Local Authorities of South Eastern Europe (NALAS) to enhance cooperation and the exchange of experiences between individual country associations in the region. *

2003 PROGRAM EXPENDITURES

NETWORK PROGRAMS

Arts and Culture Network Program	\$1,135,000
Children and Youth Programs	12,376,000
East East Program	3,155,000
Economic and Business Development Program (1)	8,526,000
Education Support Program	2,238,000
English Language Program	1,083,000
EU Monitoring and Advocacy Program	679,000
Information Program	9,809,000
International Policy Fellowships	1,603,000
International Higher Education Support Program	16,560,000
Local Government and Public Service Reform Initiative	9,409,000
Media Program	8,090,000
Open Society Justice Initiative	15,153,000
Public Health Programs	16,769,000
Roma Participation Program (2)	2,112,000
Scholarship Programs	17,556,000
Women's Program	5,975,000

TOTAL NETWORK PROGRAMS \$132,228,000

1. The Economic and Business Development Program received approval for \$2.7 million to develop, in partnership with the Consultative Group to Assist the Poor (CGAP), a multiyear project to support the development of a new body of academic materials and activities in research and teaching, dedicated to microfinance management. This project, in collaboration with top graduate management schools in selected developing countries, will work through a new nonprofit organization called the Microfinance Management Institute.

2. The Roma Memorial Scholarship University Program disbursed grants in the amount of \$50,000 donated by the CS Mott Foundation.

INTERNATIONAL INITIATIVES

OSI-Paris Belarus Support	\$ 760,000
Burma Project/Southeast Asia Initiative	6,167,000
China Grants	1,120,000
Central Eurasia Project/Middle East and North Africa Initiatives	6,084,000
Project Syndicate	1,081,000
South Africa Palliative Care	297,000
Balkan Policy Group	46,000
Other International	6,249,000

TOTAL INTERNATIONAL INITIATIVES \$21,804,000



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STRATEGIC OPPORTUNITIES FUND

OSI-WASHINGTON, D.C.

MEDICINE AS A PROFESSION

PROJECT ON DEATH IN AMERICA

REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH AND RIGHTS

GOVERNANCE AND PUBLIC POLICY

U.S. PROGRAMS



Flexibility in Uncertain Times: Meeting the Challenges of an Open Society

The Open Society Institute began its work in the United States in 1996 with the belief that, although the basic institutions of democracy and justice in the country were sound, particular problems required more attention and debate. The war on drugs, for example, had taken thousands of lives, led to massive incarceration, and was virtually unquestioned in the political process. With little discussion or dissent, Congress had just cut off most of the federal benefits for legal immigrants and had turned over responsibility for the economic safety net for impoverished families to the individual states.

OSI took on these and other pressing public policy issues, helping to build up organizations that could put forth alternatives, demonstrate the cost of current policies, broaden the debate, and ensure that the voices of those affected are heard in the public sphere. OSI was driven by the values and experiences of its founder, George Soros, and of its other leaders, most of whom had previously worked with activist and human rights organizations. OSI's U.S. Programs was also forged out of the assumptions of the time in which it was created. To take on these many diverse problems, OSI began by creating individual programs, each charged with establishing or expanding the base of activists and thinkers working to address the issues.

Today, OSI is still concerned with the same problems, but new challenges have emerged. Some were unforeseeable, such as the assault on civil liberties after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. Others are the product of a long-term, multifaceted, right-wing strategy to discredit public institutions and services (such as health and education), human rights, legal protections against discrimination, and other aspects of an open society. Confronted with these new challenges, OSI's individual, issue-based approach appeared too limited. It did not allow us the flexibility to respond to emerging issues and did not help establish a systematic response sufficient to the challenge of radical right-wing dominance.

As the context in which OSI works has changed, we at OSI have begun to develop a different approach, one that we hope will also appeal to other foundations and policy organizations. At the close of 2003, OSI ended its nine-year commitment to the Project on Death in America and concluded

the programs on Governance and Public Policy, Reproductive Health and Rights, and Law and Society. Our fellowship programs, OSI-Baltimore, and Youth Initiatives will continue through 2005, but as we move forward, OSI will make grants in the United States through two consolidated programs.

The first program will focus on justice. Since OSI launched its broad U.S. activities in 1996, the state of justice has been at the core of its mission. In the eight years since, the organizations and individuals supported by OSI have made great strides, and we need to stay the course. There are real debates underway about the death penalty and harsh drug laws, and they have resulted in significant reforms and advances in several states. There is a growing movement to reduce the incidence of incarceration and to provide meaningful assistance to people returning to society after serving time in prison. There is more effective delivery of legal services to the poor and a strong network of state and national organizations that support access to impartial courts. At the same time, other serious challenges to the U.S. system of justice—the crackdown on immigrants, detention without due process of thousands at Guantánamo Bay, and expansion of the government’s surveillance powers—have emerged.

In early 2004, OSI combined a number of initiatives to form the U.S. Justice Fund, to which we have committed \$50 million over the next three years. OSI’s U.S. Programs will continue working on criminal justice issues, particularly now that we are joined by other funders who share our sense of need and opportunity, and we will continue to respond to the profound challenges to civil liberties posed by a gov-

ernment that views the Bill of Rights as expendable.

The state of justice in America—from mass incarceration to assaults on the independence of judges—is but one part of a political and policy landscape formed by 25 years of steady investments made by right-wing forces in a network of think tanks, scholars, advocates, litigation, and media. Tax cuts that starve the government of revenue, reducing the amount of spending for education, health, and other human needs, are another example of right-wing influence. In recent years, OSI has responded with parallel efforts in discrete fields, from reproductive rights to drug policy, but we realize that a more far-reaching response is necessary and so have created our second major funding program, the Strategic Opportunities Fund.

The Strategic Opportunities Fund will build on many of OSI’s prior investments by providing grants to support key policies and grassroots organizations advancing a progressive agenda. It will increase support for progressive leaders—many of whom have emerged from our fellowship programs—and for new ideas and approaches that deserve a wider audience. The Fund will also strengthen the capacity of key organizations by providing increased technical assistance in organizational management and communication. It will provide more flexible funds for rapid response to emerging open society challenges, with an emphasis on specific concerns that have an impact on a diverse array of issues and interests, such as budget and tax policies and the composition of the judiciary. This work is already underway through a series of special grants to expose and combat right-wing efforts to stack the federal bench and

to educate the public about the impact of federal budget and tax cuts on state and local services. OSI has committed \$30 million to the Strategic Opportunities Fund over the next three years.

OSI is striving to accomplish the goals of the U.S. Justice Fund and the Strategic Opportunities Fund not only through grantmaking, convenings, and other traditional foundation approaches, but also through its policy office in Washington. OSI–Washington, D.C., is advancing civil liberties and criminal justice reforms and working with a broad coalition of nongovernmental organizations to promote more constructive global engagement by the United States.

After eight years of work in the United States, we at OSI feel more strongly than ever that strengthening an open society requires a coordinated response, and the reorganization of our work and programs will now meet this challenge more fully.

Gara LaMarche

OSI Vice President and Director of U.S. Programs

JUSTICE

The state of justice in the United States has been at the core of U.S. Programs since OSI launched the first initiatives in 1996. OSI works to ensure equality under the law to all people by promoting advocacy and policy reform, supporting public education campaigns that highlight social inequities, and sponsoring fellowship programs to develop innova-

tive thinkers and advocates positioned to shape policy debate.

U.S. Programs pursued its work for justice through various initiatives in 2003. The Gideon Project addressed indigent defense and the reform and abolition of the death penalty. The After Prison Initiative focused on the reintegration of people returning home from prison. The Community Advocacy Project supported various organizing efforts to challenge excessively punitive criminal justice policies and promote alternatives. The Constitutional and Legal Policy program supported efforts to protect the fairness and impartiality of the courts. Access to Justice strengthened the work of organizations responding to the civil legal needs of low-income communities and communities of color. Justice activities also included funding for drug policy reform, improved juvenile justice policy and practice, the defense and expansion of civil liberties, immigrants' rights, and the rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people.

In early 2004, OSI merged a number of these initiatives to form the U.S. Justice Fund, an integrated program that will seek procedural and substantive justice for all people by supporting criminal, civil, and constitutional justice reform. The program will focus its grantmaking, educational, and advocacy activities on three areas: building a fair and rational criminal justice system, advancing constitutional democracy, and advancing civil justice.

The Gideon Project

The Gideon Project strives to ensure that all people have equal access to justice. Named for the 1963 U.S.

Supreme Court case *Gideon v. Wainwright*, which gave indigent defendants the right to legal counsel, the Gideon Project has concerned itself with achieving death penalty reform and abolition, improving public defense services, combating racial profiling, and increasing prosecutorial accountability.

Throughout 2003, the Gideon Project devoted much of its energy to raising national awareness about the legal problems and hurdles that indigent defendants face on a daily basis. In March, OSI hosted a forum, “40 Years Later: Assessing the Promise of Gideon,” to mark the 40th anniversary of the Court’s landmark decision. The forum’s discussion sparked a year of public education activities, including outreach to the media and the entertainment industry. The *New York Times* ran an editorial on the stories told by forum participants, stating, “It is time, at last, to make the promise of Gideon a reality.”

To sustain this momentum, the Gideon Project also provided seed money to the National Legal Aid & Defender Association and the Constitution Project to set up a blue-ribbon commission to investigate the state of indigent defense in America.

The Gideon Project continued to fund organizations that work toward the reform and abolition of the death penalty, including Murder Victims Families for Reconciliation, which supports abolition of the death penalty; the Quixote Center’s Moratorium Now! campaign, which mobilizes and builds networks among organizations seeking a moratorium in their state; and the Death Penalty Mobilization Fund at the Tides Foundation, which provides support to grassroots organizations that seek abolition or moratoriums in their states.

The After Prison Initiative

The After Prison Initiative promotes programs that protect public safety by addressing the needs of the formerly incarcerated and the communities to which they return. In recent decades, the increase in expenditures for incarceration and construction of prisons, together with an underinvestment in social infrastructure, has created a crisis for many communities. As a result, more and more people spend their lives alternating endlessly between prison and the streets.

OSI has given grants to The Institute, a criminal justice research and policy organization, to provide specialized technical assistance to states seeking to reduce their prison populations and limit the number of people returning to prison on parole violations.

The After Prison Initiative also provides grants to initiatives that support the reallocation of existing criminal justice funds to communities facing an influx of people returning from prison. It funds systemic reforms to remove the barriers faced by these people as they seek housing, legitimate employment, and adequate health care.

Grant recipient Todd Clear, a professor at New York’s John Jay College of Criminal Justice, is coordinating studies of 10 neighborhoods with high incarceration rates. He is examining how concentrated levels of imprisonment and release trigger a “tipping point,” at which time a community loses so much of its adult population to incarceration that social networks break down and the crime rate increases.

In Pennsylvania, Community Legal Services has used its grant to report on the restrictions that people returning from prison face when they seek housing, substance abuse treatment, and temporary unem-

>> Whistleblower Center: What OSI funds

ployment benefits. OSI also funded a Human Rights Watch report on the increasing number of mentally ill individuals being incarcerated. The report included recommendations for effective alternatives to imprisoning the mentally ill.

Community Advocacy Project

Within the field of criminal justice reform, the promotion of alternatives to incarceration has long been a crucial issue. The Community Advocacy Project seeks to reduce the United States' use of excessively punitive criminal justice policies to respond to social, economic, and public health conditions. It supports advocacy efforts to oppose prison expansion and advance sentencing reform.

OSI's 2003 grantees, such as the California-based groups Critical Resistance and the Ella Baker Center, work to oppose prison expansion at the state and national levels. Others, notably Grassroots Leadership, with its Not With Our Money! campaign, put the spotlight on prison privatization. Others work with the families of incarcerated people to challenge the overreliance on imprisonment as a panacea for social ills.

The Community Advocacy Project provided support to the DataCenter to conduct research and analysis for a range of criminal justice advocacy groups. Other OSI-funded groups, such as the Justice Policy Institute, publish reports revealing the imbalance between costs and benefits in current incarceration policies. OSI and the JEHT Foundation cohosted a meeting to study the methods by which states issue bonds to build prisons without prior voter approval.

Constitutional and Legal Policy

The new Constitutional and Legal Policy program continued a multiyear grantmaking initiative begun by the Program on Law and Society to protect the fairness and impartiality of the nation's courts. It also expanded support for organizations working to articulate a progressive, humane vision of the law and build a movement to challenge the strategic efforts of right-wing legal groups and think tanks.

The program's Justice at Stake Campaign, made up of 42 national and state partner organizations, seeks to educate Americans about threats to judicial independence, particularly the growing influence of money and partisan political pressures in state judicial elections. In 2002, North Carolina enacted the nation's first public financing system for judicial races. In 2003, partner organizations built on that success by promoting judicial reform in Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, and other states.

The American Constitution Society for Law and Policy (ACS) is a national organization of law students, law professors, practicing lawyers, and others seeking to foster an understanding of the fundamental principles of American law. Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton and Supreme Court Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg spoke at the organization's convention in Washington, D.C., in 2003. The event signified a milestone for ACS, marking its emergence as the progressive counterpart to the nationally ascendant Federalist Society.

ACS, supported by OSI since its founding in 2001, has nearly 100 law school chapters and an increasing number of lawyers' associations. In 2003, ACS chapter members at the Georgetown

to preserve civil liberties

University Law Center prepared an amicus curiae (“friend of the court”) brief in support of the University of Michigan Law School’s affirmative action policy. Working through the ACS network, the Georgetown students persuaded 13,922 Michigan students to cosign the brief. The Supreme Court issued a sweeping ruling upholding the Michigan policy.

Access to Justice

Access to Justice began as a response to the growing crisis in the legal aid field after Congress in 1996 cut approximately one-third of all federal funding for legal aid and placed restrictions on the type of work that legal aid attorneys were allowed to perform.

Through the years, the program has funded a host of initiatives designed to expand the scope of legal services and increase impoverished people’s access to lawyers. It supported a public education and advertising campaign that explained the kind of assistance that legal aid provides, such as ensuring child support, medical services, or heat in a family’s apartment. OSI has also funded groups such as the Project for the Future of Equal Justice, a joint project of the National Legal Aid and Defender Association and the Center for Law and Social Policy, to raise the visibility of the legal aid field.

Defending Civil Liberties and Immigrants’ Rights

More than two years later, the world continues to be convulsed by the aftereffects of September 11. Internationally, America has dramatically shifted its foreign policy and military priorities in response to

the rising power of international terrorist organizations. Domestically, the U.S. government has enacted a series of measures that proponents argue are necessary to track terrorists and prevent attacks. The new policies, however, diminish civil liberties and undermine the rights of immigrants.

In the wake of the 9/11 terrorist attacks and the resulting federal policies, OSI supported many immigrants’ rights advocacy groups that had received funding from OSI’s Emma Lazarus Fund, which operated from 1996 to 2000. These grants place particular emphasis on understanding the ways in which immigrants have borne the brunt of antiterrorist clampdowns and the ways in which immigrants’ rights and civil rights overlap in today’s world. They also supported grassroots and legal challenges to recent legislation diminishing individual freedoms in America.

OSI has funded groups challenging the constitutionality of the USA PATRIOT Act and organizations that focus on preserving civil liberties. Grantees include the National Immigration Forum, the National Whistleblower Center, the National Asian Pacific American Legal Consortium, the Center for Democracy and Technology (a group that is exploring electronic privacy issues and governmental monitoring of individuals’ library records), and the American Civil Liberties Union Foundation (which is working to protect privacy rights regarding sensitive data such as medical and financial information).

Drug Policy Reform

OSI in 2003 awarded two major grants in the field of drug policy reform—one to the Drug Policy Alliance



and the other to the Fund for Drug Policy Reform at the Tides Foundation.

The Drug Policy Alliance, the leading drug policy reform and advocacy organization in the country, promotes a more rational approach to dealing with the problems stemming from drug use and the war on drugs. It supports a shift away from relying on the state's criminal justice system as the first tier of intervention and toward viewing drug addiction as a public health issue.

The Alliance has played a leading role in promoting medical marijuana programs in several states, in developing needle exchange programs to minimize the risk that intravenous drug users will contract and spread infections such as HIV and hepatitis, and in advocating for broader access to methadone treatment for people who are dependent on heroin.

The Fund for Drug Policy Reform, a funders' collaborative, awards grants to groups promoting new approaches to the nation's ongoing drug problem. One grantee, the Harm Reduction Coalition, worked with the Drug Policy Alliance to promote greater access to needle exchange programs. The Fund for Drug Policy Reform also gave grants to groups working overseas, in particular to organizations in Latin America that are examining how the U.S.-led war on drugs is affecting countries in Central and South America.

Juvenile Justice

OSI supports policy advocacy groups trying to reform juvenile justice policy and practice in the United States. These organizations strive to improve legal representation for young people caught up in the criminal justice system and to develop viable

alternatives to prison. They include the Youth Law Center, which directs the Building Blocks for Youth initiative; the W. Haywood Burns Institute, which brings together key players to reduce racial disparities in the juvenile justice system; the Juvenile Law Center of Philadelphia, which works to reverse zero tolerance policies in the city's public schools; and the Criminal Justice Reform Education Fund, which seeks to abolish the death penalty for juveniles.

A campaign coordinated by the Juvenile Justice Project of Louisiana, an OSI grantee, in 2003 resulted in the state legislature's closure of the controversial Tallulah Juvenile State Prison in June 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 *Lawrence v. Texas*, a landmark ruling handed down in June 2003, the U.S. Supreme Court overturned state sodomy laws and affirmed the right of gay people to choose their own private relationships. The case was brought by the Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund, an OSI grantee.

The Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts ruled that denying marriage licenses to same-sex couples violates the Massachusetts Constitution's guarantee that all people be treated equally under the law. OSI provided support to Freedom to Marry, a new national advocacy group working to secure marriage equality nationwide, and collaborated with foundation partners on the launch of a national marriage funders' affinity group.

FELLOWSHIPS

Community Fellowships Program

The Community Fellowships Program supports individuals who work to provide an array of services to traditionally underresourced neighborhoods and communities in Baltimore, Maryland, and New York City. Typically, each year, 10 fellows are chosen in Baltimore and 10 in New York, but in 2003 New York awarded 11 fellowships.

The Program in Baltimore funded Terry Hickey in the late 1990s to establish a community law curriculum at Northwestern High School, offering young people practical experience in addressing community issues. Hickey's work led to the creation of the Freedom Academy, a new high school. Fellow Tony Shore converted an old library building into an arts center for the Washington Village Pigtown neighborhood. With her fellowship, Lauren Abramson established the Community Conferencing Center, which emphasizes accountability, healing, and learning in response to harmful behavior. The program brings together youth, their families, and victims to determine how to repair harm and to prevent future offenses without relying on the juvenile justice system. The work of fellows like these has received widespread attention in Baltimore, and as a result, the Fellowships Program there is flourishing.

Many of the fellows in New York City are working on immigration issues. Subhash Kateel established Families for Freedom to organize people whose relatives were detained after 9/11. Others have campaigned for the rights of domestic workers, many of whom are recently arrived immigrants.

Dean Spade, who is active in promoting gay and transgender rights, set up the city's first transgender law project. Mark Winston-Griffith created a television talk-show series called "Talking Democracy" to stimulate public debate and civic participation within low-income communities.

New York City Community Fellow Ai-Jen Poo assisted Domestic Workers United with its Dignity for Domestic Workers campaign to educate local lawmakers about the need to protect the rights of domestic workers. The New York City Council enacted a law requiring employment agencies to provide workers with written statements informing them of their legal rights.

Soros Justice Fellowships

The Soros Justice Fellowships support lawyers, community activists, academics, and journalists who are seeking to draw attention to and redress the effects of overly punitive incarceration policies in the United States. In 2003, OSI funded a total of 22 senior fellows, advocacy fellows, and media fellows.

The importance of the work done by Soros Justice Fellows was illustrated by the legal victory achieved in Tulia, Texas. A 1999 drug bust orchestrated by Tom Coleman, a white undercover officer, rounded up 46 men and women, 40 of whom were African Americans. Despite a lack of physical evidence, 38 people were convicted and 25 sent to prison solely on Coleman's word.

Soros Justice Fellow Vanita Gupta worked tirelessly with the NAACP's Legal Defense Fund to challenge these convictions. Journalist Nate Blakeslee, writing for the *Texas Observer*, investigated the

arrests and convictions in Tulia and was the first to break the story. Now a Soros Justice Fellow, Blakeslee is writing a book about the case.

The Tulia convictions were overturned in 2003. In August, Texas Governor Rick Perry pardoned 35 people convicted of drug charges. “Tulia has become a symbol for racial disparities and racism in the criminal justice system,” said Gupta. “But Tulia is the tip of the iceberg. Everything that allowed Tulia to develop, all those symptoms are present in the death penalty, drug policy, and the criminal justice system across the board. This isn’t just an isolated case in the panhandle of Texas.”

Soros Advocacy Fellowship for Physicians

The Soros Advocacy Fellowship for Physicians is an initiative of OSI’s Medicine as a Profession (MAP) program (see page 182). It supports doctors working in partnership with organizations to advocate for system- or policy-level change on behalf of communities and individuals whose needs are often overlooked.

MAP Fellow Gene Bishop, M.D., worked with the Philadelphia-based Pennsylvania Health Law Project to document how Medicaid’s managed-care organizations violated both federal law and their state contracts by imposing limits on medications available to Medicaid participants. In 2003, as a result of Bishop’s work, the Medicaid system in Pennsylvania began to offer nonformulary drugs to its clients. Patricia Flanagan, M.D., and Rhode Island’s KIDS COUNT seek to improve that state’s services for disadvantaged infants and toddlers, especially those with teenage parents. Megan Sandel, M.D., has worked with the

Boston Housing Authority to accommodate the health concerns of residents—to ensure, for example, that people with asthma are promptly removed from an apartment if cockroaches, which can trigger asthma attacks, are found on the premises.

Soros Reproductive Health and Rights Fellowship

The Soros Reproductive Health and Rights Fellowship at Columbia University’s Center for Population and Family Health was designed to support the work of key intellectuals and disseminate their ideas to a broader public audience through the publication of an edited volume of essays. The goal of the first group of eight fellows was to identify the steps needed to realize the agendas of the 1994 UN International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo and the 1995 UN Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing.

In 2003, the fellows convened under the auspices of the Mailman School of Public Health at Columbia University and the Open Society Institute’s Program on Reproductive Health and Rights. Their discussion of women’s reproductive and sexual rights as human rights will be published in early 2005. The essays will address a range of global topics, such as female genital cutting in Egypt, strategies to protect women from a fundamentalist religious backlash through the reassertion of Sharia law in Nigeria, and complicity between church and state in restricting access to legal abortion in Mexico.

One of the fellows, Martha Davis, associate professor at the Northeastern School of Law in

Boston, Massachusetts, and former general counsel of the NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund, is studying the problems that impoverished women in Philadelphia face when seeking reproductive health care. Her essay lays the groundwork for a broad, long-term strategy to refocus the debate about low-income women's reproductive rights as a discussion of human rights in the United States.

OSI-BALTIMORE

OSI-Baltimore works at the grassroots and policy levels to provide solutions to the entrenched problems—such as the high rates of drug addiction and unemployment—that affect the city. The Baltimore office funds the fields of criminal justice, drug addiction treatment and drug policy, workforce and economic development, education and youth development, high school urban debate, and community justice. It also supports a Community Fellowships Program (see page 173), which enables social entrepreneurs to address challenging issues affecting traditionally underresourced neighborhoods.

OSI-Baltimore in 2003 devoted much of its energy to two major initiatives: the establishment of the Baltimore Fund, a venture capital fund designed to create high-quality, skilled jobs; and the development of a transitional jobs program for people returning home from prison.

As part of a program-related investment, OSI committed \$5 million in 2002 to establish a capital fund that would help create new jobs in Baltimore,

and recruited 14 other investors to help create a \$15 million fund, which in turn became part of a \$50-million multistate fund managed by the Reinvestment Fund. OSI and the other corporate, university, and foundation investors anticipate that this fund will invest in 8 to 10 Baltimore-based companies to provide skilled jobs and family-supporting wages and benefits to city residents. Ultimately, this fund could help create as many as 1,000 jobs for low-income Baltimore residents. The fund's first investment in the Baltimore region went to a dredging company named Baltimore Dredges, which will hire 40 welders, mechanics, painters, and machinists at \$11 to \$14 per hour.

To help people returning home from prison, OSI-Baltimore collaborated with the Mayor's Office on Employment Development to submit a proposal to the National League of Cities. As a result, Baltimore was chosen as one of 10 cities nationwide to receive technical assistance in establishing a transitional jobs program.

By the end of 2004, the program hopes to move 100 formerly incarcerated people into the transitional jobs program. Participants are paid a full week's wage, at a rate slightly above the minimum wage, but they only work part-time. When they are not working, they are engaged in other activities critical to their transition—receiving drug addiction treatment, reporting to parole officers, or getting additional job training.

OSI-Baltimore has continued to lead the way in expanding access to drug addiction treatment in the city. Buprenorphine, approved for the treatment of heroin addiction by the Food and Drug Administra-





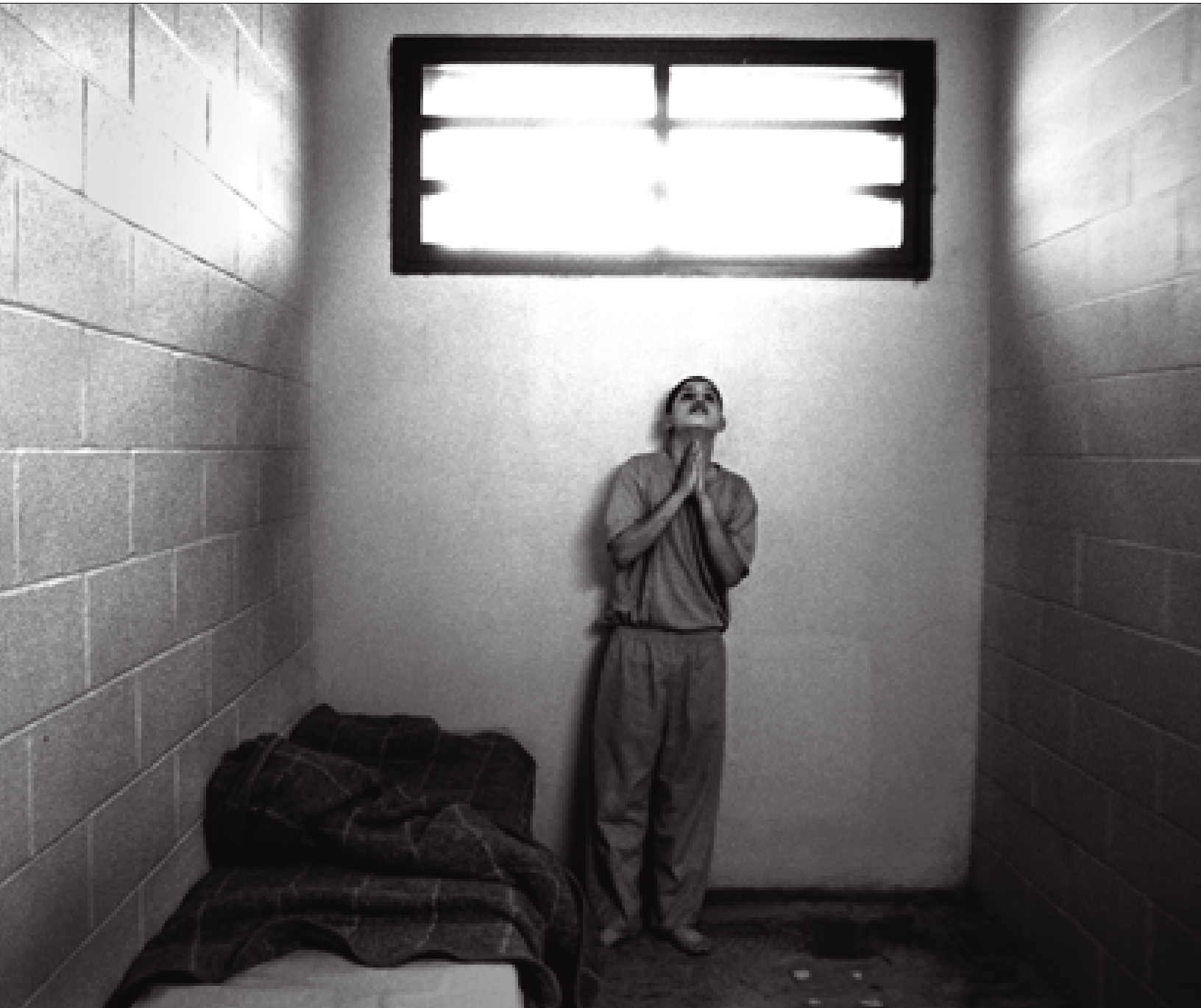
Youth in Prison

BY Steve Liss

Juvenile Detention Facility, Laredo, Texas

LEFT: Fingerprinting a 10-year-old boy. MIDDLE: Eleven-year-old first-time detainee. ABOVE: Guards restraining boy.

PAGE 178: Praying 15-year-old, under 24-hour confinement for not making his bed.



tion in 2002, can be prescribed by physicians who complete a training course. A grant to the MedChi Foundation, Maryland's medical society, supported physicians working to expand access to buprenorphine. OSI-Baltimore also provided funds to the Mid-Atlantic Association of Community Health Centers to help federally qualified health centers plan for the new treatment so that individuals without private health insurance can also receive it. Two health centers—Health Care for the Homeless and Family Health Centers of Baltimore—received OSI grants to start buprenorphine treatment.

Another major achievement for OSI-Baltimore in 2003 was progress in its five-year efforts to support reform of the city's troubled high school system. OSI grants allow the Fund for Educational Excellence to create new schools, called Innovation High Schools, and to divide large schools into smaller and more personalized and rigorous learning communities. The aim is to raise educational achievement—in particular, the poor reading levels of many high school students—and to reduce truancy, suspension, expulsion, and dropout rates.

YOUTH INITIATIVES

Youth have often borne the brunt of excessively punitive policies framed as measures to protect and safeguard individuals and communities. Young people are particularly at risk of being stopped and searched, arrested and subsequently incarcerated,

and generally harassed, even inside their own schools, by overeager police.

Because of this climate, the work of Youth Initiatives is particularly important. The program helps young people, especially those from low-income and minority communities, find legitimate means for expressing their concerns and perspectives. It seeks to bring young people into the democratic process by giving them a role in framing issues that affect their lives. It also seeks to inform the public about young people's lives and challenges to counter the many negative images of youth in the media.

One of the ways in which Youth Initiatives supports young people is through the funding of organizations and youth-generated media projects that promote positive images by and about young people in print and on video, radio, and the Internet. Through the years, groups like the Berkeley, California-based Youth Radio have received George Foster Peabody Awards, Dupont Awards, and other prestigious journalism awards in recognition of the quality of their reports and commentaries, which are featured on National Public Radio, local radio stations, and websites like CNN.com.

Global Action Project, another OSI grantee, coordinates the well-attended Urban Visionaries Festival, held annually at New York's Museum of Television & Radio. The festival showcases selected films and documentaries from New York City's vibrant youth media organizations. The 2003 event, which attracted 1,300 people, included films on the sexual harassment of young women, refugee and immigrant youth, and racial profiling, particularly during the period following 9/11.

>> U.S. Preemption: Why cooperative global

To further advance opportunities for youth, OSI funds school reform initiatives and after-school programs. In partnership with the Carnegie Corporation and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, it funds the New Century High School Initiative to create a large number of small high schools in New York City. To date, 28 schools have been created as a part of this program, which is entering its fourth year.

The goal of The After-School Corporation (TASC), another OSI grantee, is free after-school programs to all families. This private-public partnership supports 150 after-school sites throughout New York City. OSI also provides funding for technical assistance to link these facilities with other state and private funding sources, and to connect with groups that work to promote after-school activities.

Formal debate training is one of OSI's strategies for developing the critical thinking and analytical skills so vital to the democratic participation of young people. In 2003, OSI funded leagues in Washington, D.C.; Kansas City, Missouri; Baltimore; Los Angeles and the Bay Area; Providence; and Seattle. OSI also funded the creation of the Chicago-based National Association of Urban Debate Leagues (NAUDL) as an umbrella organization to provide technical assistance and networking opportunities for urban debate. The student debaters in OSI-funded leagues won state championships in New Jersey and New York. At the National Forensic League Championships, a debater from Central High, a school in the Kansas City Debate League, placed 10th out of 840 competitors.

The urban debate leagues sponsored by Youth

Initiatives have played a critical role in encouraging young people from low-income and minority communities to develop their academic and civic potential. In 2003, the leagues attracted 4,000 new urban debaters, exposing many of these youth to new ideas and new opportunities, including the possibility of higher education.

STRATEGIC OPPORTUNITIES FUND

The new Strategic Opportunities Fund provides U.S. Programs with a rapid-response mechanism to address policy crises and opportunities as they arise. The Fund also will undertake short-term initiatives, provide continuing support for the infrastructure of grassroots advocacy and policy, promote new voices, and augment its investments in individual fellows.

In 2003, the Strategic Opportunities Fund awarded grants to address pressing open society challenges in the following areas: federal judicial nominations, the impact of tax and budget cuts on states and localities, health care reform, immigrant civic participation, media policy reform, science policy, women's civic participation, voter engagement and mobilization, and journalism.

The Columbia School of Journalism, for example, received funding for its nonpartisan website, The Campaign Desk (www.campaigndesk.org), which is monitoring coverage of the 2004 presidential election. Grants were also awarded to the magazines *Washington Monthly* and the *American Prospect*.

engagement is more difficult and more vital

To assist organizations in monitoring the federal judicial nominations process and analyzing trends resulting from the current administration's practices, OSI awarded grants to the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, the National Senior Citizens Law Center, the Brennan Center for Justice, the Center for Investigative Reporting, and the Alliance for Justice.

The Strategic Opportunities Fund also awarded grants to research groups looking at how federal tax cuts impact state and local budgets and the ability of local governments to provide needed services. Grantees in this area include the Economic Analysis and Research Network, the Institute for America's Future, and the Fair Taxes For All Coalition.

OSI-WASHINGTON, D.C.

The policy and advocacy activities of OSI-Washington, D.C., (see also page 189) complement the work done by U.S. Programs and the international work of OSI and the Soros foundations network.

Through public education, nonpartisan analysis and research, and comparable advocacy efforts, the Washington office addresses violations of civil liberties and issues relating to public health, including HIV/AIDS policy and funding. It also promotes criminal and civil justice reform and cooperative global engagement in U.S. foreign policy, human rights, women's rights, and democracy.

With the events of 2003, including the war in Iraq and a new national security strategy that

emphasizes preemption and unilateral action, the defense of multilateral institutions and the mechanisms of cooperative global engagement have become increasingly vital. OSI-Washington has worked on many fronts to encourage a public debate about these issues and to educate both policymakers and the public about the need for global cooperation.

In partnership with the United Nations Foundation and Rockefeller Brothers Fund, the Washington office organized more than 1,000 nationwide town hall debates entitled "The People Speak: America Debates Its Role in the World." OSI-Washington's Cooperative Global Engagement Project also sponsored a student summit on America's role in the world, gathering youth leaders from 14 national grassroots organizations and 4 international organizations to discuss HIV/AIDS, economic justice, global trade, and multilateralism. It sponsored a World Affairs Council speakers' tour that sent four prominent public figures around the country to discuss topics such as global trade, human rights, and the International Criminal Court. The project also helped form a group of donors interested in promoting cooperative global engagement.

In response to the growing challenges faced by civil liberties advocates in the aftermath of 9/11, OSI-Washington worked closely with numerous OSI grantees to defend constitutional freedoms. OSI-Washington organized the Justice Roundtable to bring together leading groups working on these issues to develop common strategies and helped initiate a dialogue with the Department of Homeland Security. It launched a new website called "Watching Justice" to help coordinate the work of many groups



monitoring the impact of Justice Department policies on civil liberties.

OSI–Washington’s criminal justice activities in 2003 focused on bringing attention to the lack of oversight of a federally funded narcotics task-force in Tulia, Texas, which resulted in civil rights abuses, and on the crisis of prisoners seeking to reenter society upon release. The office helped organize a State Strategies for Criminal Justice Reform conference and also presented testimony on mandatory minimum sentencing reform before the ABA Justice Kennedy Commission.

MEDICINE AS A PROFESSION

The Medicine as a Profession (MAP) program strives to foster a sense of professionalism within the medical profession and supports efforts by physicians to improve the quality, distribution, and accessibility of health care in the United States. MAP also operates the Soros Advocacy Fellowship for Physicians (see page 174). Although MAP will close at the end of 2004, fellowships will be awarded through at least 2005.

From 2000 to 2003, MAP also operated the Soros Service Program for Community Health, which supported medical students working with community-based health care organizations. In 2003, community-based organizations in New York and Baltimore hosted 23 medical students and formed two new organizations, Baltimore REACH in Maryland and Doctors for Healthy Communities in New York, to assume responsibility for the program after OSI support ends.

MAP also supports the newly created, independent Institute on Medicine as a Profession (IMAP) at Columbia University. IMAP aims to set forth a vision for professionalism in the 21st century and to promote that vision through research and policy initiatives. IMAP’s *Annual Report on Medicine as a Profession* will include a quantitative survey of physicians and essays on issues crucial to professionalism. IMAP is also working with the American Board of Internal Medicine to explore physicians’ conflicts of interest and with the American Legacy Foundation to analyze past and present relationships between the tobacco industry and the medical profession. Another project will examine the potential role of physicians as agents of social change, looking first at South Africa and Brazil.

PROJECT ON DEATH IN AMERICA

At the end of 2003, the Project on Death in America (PDIA) closed as an OSI program, but during its nine years of grantmaking, it helped lay a strong foundation for the field of palliative care. PDIA distributed \$45 million in grants to organizations and individuals working to improve care for dying patients and their families. PDIA and its grantees have helped build and shape this important and growing field, placing improved care for the dying on the public agenda.

From the start, PDIA understood that it was essential to change the culture of medicine in

hospitals and nursing homes, where almost 80 percent of Americans die. PDIA created the Faculty Scholars Program, the Social Work Leadership Initiative, and the Nursing Leadership Academy, to identify and support outstanding clinical and academic leaders who could serve as champions of palliative care in their institutions. More than half of PDIA's funds were used to support professional education initiatives.

PDIA made final grant awards to enhance the organizational capacity and sustainability of the following organizations: the American Academy of Hospice and Palliative Medicine, the National Hospice and Palliative Care Organization, the American Board of Hospice and Palliative Medicine, the Hospice Palliative Care Nurses Association, the Social Work Summit, Harvard Medical School's Program in Palliative Care Education and Practice, and Grantmakers Concerned with Care at the End of Life.

PDIA also recognized the importance of encouraging other funders to include palliative care on their funding agendas. As PDIA Director Kathleen Foley said, "We now need to take this issue to an even broader community of funders, with the hope that the work we supported will eventually be fully integrated into the American health care system and culture."

PROGRAM ON REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH AND RIGHTS

The Program on Reproductive Health and Rights, which closed in 2003 after six years of operation,

worked to build public awareness, improve policy advocacy, and support necessary litigation concerning reproductive rights issues. It also funded model service innovations that promise long-term benefits to public health and offer the possibility of reconciling political extremes on these issues.

In 2003, Congress succeeded in passing legislation to ban a much-talked-about but rarely practiced abortion procedure provocatively labeled by its opponents as "partial birth abortion." Lawyers for the Planned Parenthood Federation, the Center for Reproductive Rights, and the American Civil Liberties Union—all OSI grantees—enjoined the legislation on the grounds that its loose provisions threaten all constitutionally protected abortions and fail to provide a required medical exception to bans on late procedures.

Political and public attention also focused on disputes over efforts to expand access to emergency contraception, commonly referred to as the morning-after pill. OSI's economic development investment pool provided \$1.5 million to the Women's Capital Corporation, distributor of the Plan B morning-after pill. In a setback, an application to the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) for over-the-counter access for Plan B was rejected by the head of the FDA in May 2004 after two advisory committees voted overwhelmingly in favor.

OSI provided grants to local Planned Parenthood groups and other organizations seeking to make emergency contraception more widely available. It also supported public education initiatives in connection with state legislation to mandate pharmacy access, despite the outcome of the FDA ruling. In

California, for example, a grant to the state's Pharmacy Access Partnership has supported the education and training of more than 1,000 pharmacists.

With funding from OSI, the Institute for Reproductive Health Access, a project of NARAL Pro-Choice New York in partnership with the Association of Reproductive Health Professionals, launched a Rural Provider Project to facilitate access to emergency contraception in rural counties in Texas, Michigan, and New York. So far, they have identified more than 60 emergency contraception providers in 25 counties and are working to ensure that pharmacies in these counties stock and fill prescriptions for the products.

GOVERNANCE AND PUBLIC POLICY

One of the priorities of the Governance and Public Policy program, which closed in 2003, was to help various organizations protect the McCain-Feingold campaign finance reforms against legal challenge. To this end, the program sought to emphasize the importance of reform by spotlighting specific examples of how money buys political access. OSI gave a grant to the Brennan Center for Justice to develop a factual record about money in politics—for the court and for the public—to demonstrate that soft money is used to promote candidates.

In addition to supporting limits on the role of money in politics, the program also tried to open up the political process by providing more resources

to candidates through public financing at the state level. Through the Piper Fund and other grantees, OSI supported advocates for public financing in states where the idea of public financing has already taken hold, such as Arizona, and in others that are beginning to consider it, such as Connecticut.

As part of its political reform efforts, the program assisted state groups promoting public engagement and policies, such as fair tax systems, that support working families. In 2003, the groups organized under the State Fiscal Analysis Initiative helped states deal with fiscal crises and avoid the most drastic cuts in services to needy families.

Governance and Public Policy's efforts to open up elections through public financing have produced significant results. In the past two elections, more than half the candidates for state legislature in Arizona and Maine, which passed public financing bills in 1998, have accepted public funds and spending limits. In Maine, the law has proven noncontroversial.

In Arizona, however, the public financing law has had to be defended against conservative attempts to undermine it. After Janet Napolitano, who ran with public funding and spending limits, was elected governor in 2002, opponents of the public financing law attempted to put a repeal initiative on the ballot. Community activists, working with Senator John McCain, blocked this move. In 2003, organizations funded by the Piper Fund, such as the Clean Elections Institute, launched a public education drive to prevent a similar initiative from getting on the ballot in 2004. *

2003 U.S. PROGRAMS EXPENDITURES

U.S. Justice Fund (1)	\$ 17,729,000
NYC Community Fellowships	1,095,000
OSI-Baltimore	6,027,000
Youth Initiatives	5,697,000
After-School Program	22,629,000
OSI-Washington, D.C.	2,654,000
Medicine as a Profession (2)	9,771,000
Project on Death in America	4,643,000
Program on Reproductive Health and Rights	2,330,000
Governance and Public Policy	993,000
Other U.S. Initiatives (3)	15,741,000
TOTAL U.S. PROGRAMS EXPENDITURES	\$ 89,309,000

1. The Criminal Justice Initiative and the Program on Law and Society have been merged into the U.S. Justice Fund. Their combined spending is shown here.

2. The Medicine as a Profession program's spending increased in 2003 to cover a grant establishing the Institute on Medicine as a Profession at Columbia University.

3. Other U.S. Initiatives include Drug Policy Reform, Civil Liberties, Immigrants' Rights, Strategic Opportunities Fund, U.S. Programs Director's Office, and Communications.

An aerial photograph of a dry, cracked landscape. The ground is parched and fissured, with sparse, low-lying vegetation scattered across the terrain. The overall tone is desaturated, emphasizing the arid conditions.

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, and human 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 minority 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 operate in more than 60 countries and OSI programs and initiatives work 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 2003 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 Programs, 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 (see page 164).

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 Higher Education Support Program, the Human Rights and Governance Grants Program, the Information 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 draw upon CEU's resources.

OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE–BRUSSELS

OSI–Brussels assists the various initiatives and offices of the Soros foundations network in cooperating and collaborating with Western European partners and organizations, including the European Union, the Council of Europe, and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. In addition, OSI–Brussels works to influence EU policies and raise awareness in European intergovernmental organizations, governments, and opinion-making circles about issues of concern to the network.

In 2003, the office's activities included advocating for EU funding for civil society organizations in the new EU member states, for strong EU support of the Decade of Roma Inclusion, and for increased European contributions to the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, TB and Malaria. The office also worked to increase EU political and financial commitments to the Western Balkans. OSI–Brussels helped organize a presentation of OSI's Caspian Revenue Watch report and facilitated a number of other significant policy discussions.

OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATION–LONDON

The Open Society Foundation–London opened in 2003 to help facilitate collaboration between the Soros foundations network and OSI partners in the United Kingdom, including the British government and London-based NGOs. The East East Program, the Network Media Program, and the coordinator of the Publish What You Pay coalition are based at the London office.

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 Soros foundations 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.

OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE–WASHINGTON, D.C.

OSI–Washington, D.C., works to promote coopera-

tive global engagement in U.S. foreign policy and to protect civil liberties, addressing a wide range of issues of interest to OSI, including human rights and democracy promotion, justice reform, and public health, including HIV/AIDS policy. The war in Iraq and homeland security measures made defending cooperative global engagement and protecting civil liberties increasingly vital in 2003 (see page 181).

OSI–Washington supported the efforts of the Public Health Programs and its grantees on HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis, harm reduction, and palliative care. The Washington office also supported work on women’s issues, including gender issues in Afghanistan and Pakistan, and assisted Soros foundations and programs on a variety of international issues and initiatives such as the Decade of Roma Inclusion.

The Open Society Policy Center, a 501(c)(4) social welfare organization funded by after-tax dollars, engages in policy advocacy on U.S. and international issues. In 2003, it worked for a strong Office of Civil Rights and Inspector General in the Department of Homeland Security, supported congressional efforts to address the crisis of prisoners reentering society, and helped civil liberties and immigration organizations address the due process rights of immigrants detained after the 9/11 attacks.

CHAIRMAN’S AND PRESIDENTIAL GRANTS

In addition to supporting the network’s foundations and initiatives, OSI makes funds available to a

variety of documentation and advocacy projects, especially in the fields of human rights and anticorruption.

Chairman's and Presidential Grants totaled more than \$8 million in 2003. Funding went to, among others, Global Witness, for exposing the link between exploitation of natural resources and human rights abuses, conflict, and corruption; 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 the William J. Clinton Presidential Foundation, for an initiative on HIV/AIDS in South Africa.

TIRI received support for improving governance, access to information, and learning for effective corruption control in both public and private institutions, as did the Vera Institute of Justice for establishing the Altus Global Alliance to improve public safety and justice through research, reform, and NGO activism. Large institutional grants were also given to longtime OSI partners Human Rights Watch and the International Crisis Group.

OSI OMBUDSMAN

The OSI ombudsman addresses complaints from within and without 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, 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 currently 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
2001 Vilnius Lithuania
Tel: 3702 685511
Fax: 3702 685512
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, at 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 starting on page 196.

2003 EXPENDITURES

The Soros foundations network’s expenditures totaled \$429 million in 2003. Some of these funds were contributed by George Soros out of current income while other funds were derived from charitable entities established overseas 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 below.

SOROS FOUNDATIONS. The 2003 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 on this page. In addition, other Soros-sponsored 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.

SOROS FOUNDATIONS NETWORK EXPENDITURES

Soros Foundations	\$168,370,000
Network Programs	132,228,000
International Initiatives	21,804,000
U.S. Programs	89,309,000
All Other Organizations, Programs, and Costs	63,022,000
Interorganizational Elimination	(45,512,000)
TOTAL EXPENDITURES	\$429,221,000



PARTNERSHIPS

Donor Partners

As OSI and the Soros foundations network evolve and expand a 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 OSI builds upon another donor's initiative. In some cases, other donors contribute directly to one of the Soros foundations in support of a particular project.

OSI 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, TB 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 Bureau of Education and

Cultural Affairs, the Centers for Disease Control (U.S.), Britain's Department for International Development (DFID), the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), the Dutch MATRA program, the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, the Royal Danish Foreign Ministry's FRESTA program, 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 and 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, 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 American institutions* that administer assistance funds obtained from their governments, such as the Swedish Helsinki Committee, 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 International 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.

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 funding partners and thank them for their role in building open societies and for the trust in the Soros foundations as reflected by their support.

NGO Partners

Another form of partnership is also of enormous importance to the Soros foundations: 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 of various crises swamping Africa, such as insurmountable debt and the spread of HIV/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 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 to 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 atrocities 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*, the *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 in addressing issues of civil liberties and democracy in the United States;
- *Mental Disability Rights International*, the *Hamlet*

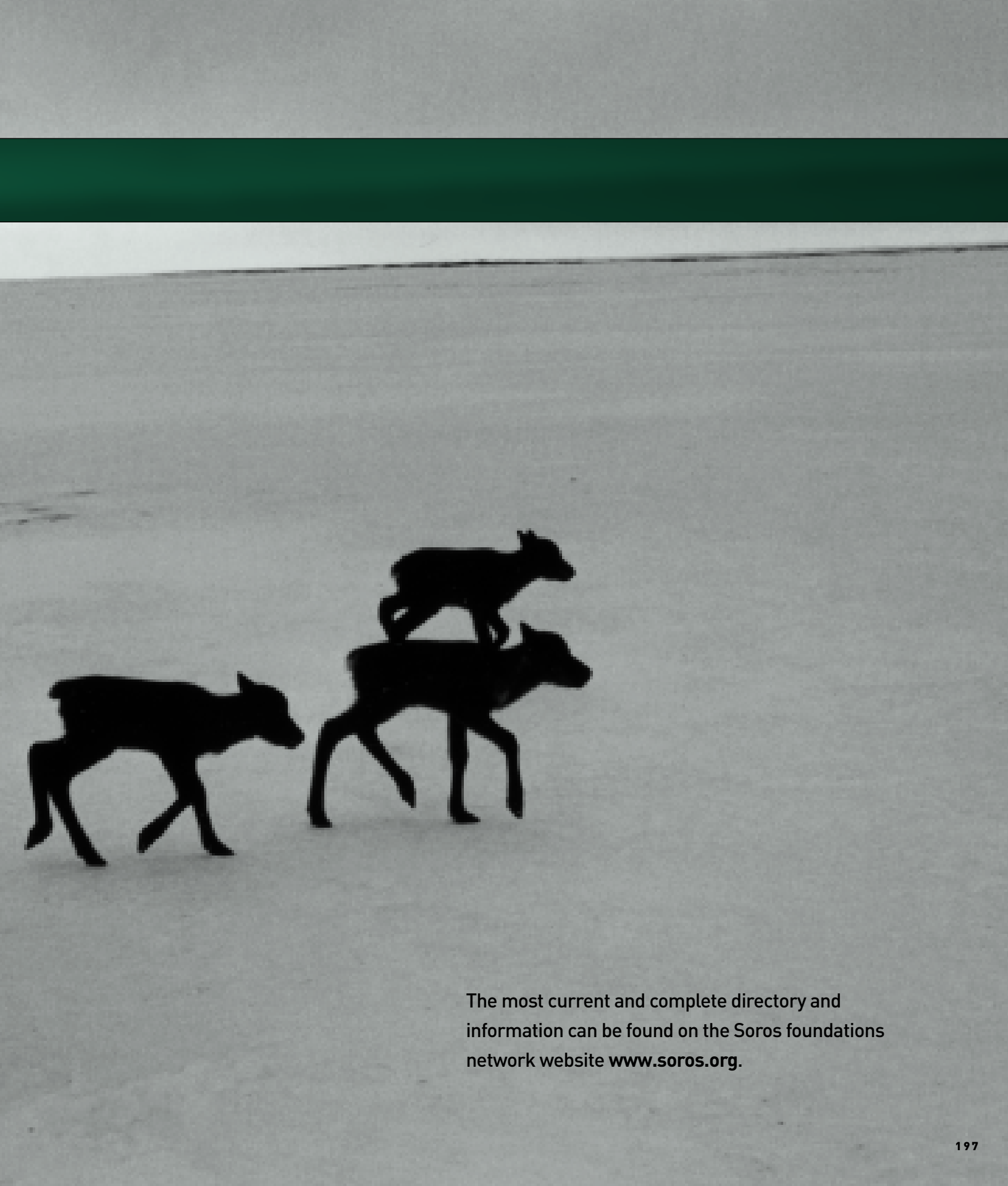
Trust, and the *Mental Disability Advocacy Center* for their protection of the rights of the mentally disabled;

- *Penal Reform International* for its worldwide efforts to reduce incarceration and protect the rights of prison inmates;
 - *The 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;
 - *Nurcha*, for building over 150,000 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. ✱

DIRECTORY





The most current and complete directory and information can be found on the Soros foundations network 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 or 35 856

FAX: (355 42) 35 855

EMAIL: soros-al@osfa.soros.al

WEBSITE: www.osfa.soros.al

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Capajev Gjokutaj

BOARD: Edmond Leka (*Chair*), Albert Brojka, Diana Culi, Ariana Fullani, Artan Hajdari, Remzi Lani, Bardhyl Minxhozi, Genc Ruli

Open Society Institute Assistance Foundation–Armenia

1 Pushkin St., Apt. 2

Yerevan 375010, Armenia

TEL: (374 1) 541 719, 542 119 or 543 901

FAX: (374 1) 542 119, 543 901 or 541 719

EMAIL: office@osi.am or mlarisa@osi.am

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Larisa Minasyan

BOARD: Boris Navasardyan (*Chair*), Lucig Danielian, Marina Janoyan, Lana Karlova, Vigen Sargsyan, Samvel Shoukurian

Open Society Institute Assistance Foundation–Azerbaijan

117a, Hasan Aliyev Str,
Baku 370110, Azerbaijan

TEL: (99412) 986 933, 986 910, 412 722, 411 966, 411

967, 412 801 or 412 861

FAX: (99412) 98 69 34

EMAIL: office@osi-az.org

WEBSITE: www.osi-az.org

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Farda Asadov

BOARD: Irada Bagirova (*Chair*), Ingilab Akhmedov, Mehman Aliyev, Farhad Badalbeyli, Sabit Bagirov, Nigar Mammadova, Gulshan Pashayeva

Open Society Fund–Bosnia and Herzegovina

Marsala Tita 19/III

71 000 Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina

TEL/FAX: (387 33) 444 488

EMAIL: osf@soros.org.ba

WEBSITE: www.soros.org.ba

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Dobrila Govedarica

BOARD: Senka Nozica (*Chair*), Ivan Lovrenovic, Edin Muftic, Zarko Pagic, Sevima Sali-Terzic, Miodrag Zivanovic, Edin Zubcevic

Open Society Foundation–Sofia (Bulgaria)

56, Solunska Street

Sofia 1000, Bulgaria

TEL: (359 2) 930 66 21

FAX: (359 2) 951 65 18

EMAIL: info@osf.bg

WEBSITE: www.osf.bg

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Rayna Gavrilova

BOARD: Stefan Popov (*Chair*), Haralan Alexandrov, Rumyana Chervenкова, Marin Delchev, Petya Kabakchieva, Georgi Kuritarov, Vesselin Metodiev, Svetlana Vassileva

Open Society Institute–Croatia

Illica 73

10000 Zagreb, Croatia

TEL: (385 1) 4855 578, 4855 579 or 4855 576

FAX: (385 1) 4856 459

EMAIL: office@soros.hr

WEBSITE: www.soros.hr

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Andrea Feldman

BOARD: Slavica Singer (*Chair*), Tin Gazivoda

Drazen Lalic, Aleksandar Stulhofer, Vesna Terselic

Open Society Fund–Prague (Czech Republic)

Seifertova 47

130 00 Praha 3 Czech Republic

TEL: (420 2) 225 40 979

FAX: (420 2) 225 40 978

EMAIL: osf@osf.cz

WEBSITE: www.osf.cz

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Marie Kopecka

BOARD: Simon Panek (*Chair*), Helena Ackermanova, Josef Jarab,

Marie Nemcova, Ivo Sanc, Ivan Vesely

Open Estonia Foundation

Estonia Avenue 3/5

EE10143 Tallinn, Estonia

TEL: (372) 6 313 791

FAX: (372) 6 313 796

EMAIL: postmaster@oef.org.ee

WEBSITE: www.oef.org.ee

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Mall Hellam

BOARD: Linnar Viik (*Chair*), Ivi Masso, Mikko Lagerspetz, Aap

Neljas, Toomas Kiho, Mart Valjataga

Open Society Georgia Foundation

10 Chovelidze Street

0108 Tbilisi, Georgia

TEL: (995 32) 93 89 99 or 25 04 63

FAX: (995 32) 29 10 52

WEBSITE: www.osgf.ge

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: David Darchiashvili

BOARD: Mikhail Chachkunashvili (*Chair*), George Gvakharia,

Archil Osidze, Alex Rondeli, Revaz Sakevarishvili, Inga Todria

Fundación Soros–Guatemala

Avenida La Reforma 7-62 zona 9

Edificio Aristos Reforma, Local 109

Guatemala City 010009, Guatemala

TEL: (502) 360 2010 (PBX)

FAX: (502) 360 1999 and (502) 360 2777

EMAIL: fsg@soros.org.gt

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Ricardo Stein Heinemann

BOARD: Mariano Ventura Zamora (*President*), Gonzalo de Villa

(*Vice President*), Enma Chirix Garcia (*Treasurer*), Maria Caba

Mateo (*Secretary*), Helen Mack Chang, Rene Poitevin Dardon,

Rosario Pu Gomez, Benjamin Son Turnil

Fondation Connaissance et Liberté (Haiti)

143, Avenue Christophe

B.P. 2720

Port-au-Prince, Haiti

TEL/FAX: (509) 510 9814, 224 1507, 224 1509 or 224 5421

EMAIL: mplfokal@hainet.net

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Michele D. Pierre-Louis

BOARD: Inette Durandis (*Chair*), Daniel Henrys (*Vice Chair*), Abner Septembre (*Secretary*), Daniele Magloire, Nicole Magloire, Vertus Saint-Louis, Patrick Vilairé**Soros Foundation–Hungary**

Bolyai u. 14

Budapest, Hungary H-1023

TEL: (36 1) 315 0303

FAX: (36 1) 315 0201

EMAIL: office@soros.huWEBSITE: www.soros.hu

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Anna Belia

BOARD: Gabor Halmi (*Chair*), Gabor Bojar, Anna Csongor, Laszlo Halpern, Gabor Klaniczay, Boldizsar Nagy, Laszlo Jakab Orsos**Soros Foundation–Kazakhstan**

ul. Furmanova, 117-20

Almaty, Kazakhstan 480091

TEL: (7 3272) 503 811

FAX: (7 3272) 503 814

EMAIL: dariusz_zietek@soros.kzWEBSITE: www.soros.kz

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Dariusz Zietek

BOARD: Oleg Katsiev (*Chair*), Tolegen Askarov, Bolat Atabayev, Gulnar Nokina, Alexandr Polyakov, Goulsara Tlenchieva, Sabit Zhussupov**Kosova Foundation for Open Society**

Aktash II, No.38

Pristina, Kosovo

TEL/FAX: (381 0)38 249 116, 249 117, 249 118 or 249 119

EMAIL: info@kfos.org

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Luan Shllaku

BOARD: Argjentina Graxhdani (*Chair*), Afrim Blyta, Akan Ismajli, Enver Hoxhaj, Ekrem Beqiri, Snezana Karadzic, Veton Surroi**Soros Foundation–Kyrgyzstan**

55A Logvinenko St.

Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan 720040

TEL: (996 312) 66 34 75, 66 34 95, 66 42 49, 66 43 06 or 66 43 46

FAX: (996 312) 66 34 48

EMAIL: office@soros.kg

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Medet Tiulegenov

BOARD: Mirgul Smanalieva (*Chair*), Atyrkul Alisheva, Aktan Arym Kubat, Svetlana Bashtovenko, Irina Kemple, Shamara Maichiev, Tolondu Toichubaev**Soros Foundation–Latvia**

Alberta 13

Riga, Latvia LV 1010

TEL: (371) 703 9241

FAX: (371) 703 9242

EMAIL: sfl@sfl.lvWEBSITE: www.sfl.lv

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Andris Aukmanis

BOARD: Sarmite Elerte (*Chair*), Guntars Catlaks, Edvards Kusners, Janis Loze, Ilmars Mezs, Inita Paulovica, Irina Pigozne, Irina Vinnika**Open Society Fund–Lithuania**

Didzioji Street 5

01128 Vilnius, Lithuania

TEL: (370 5) 2685 511

FAX: (370 5) 2685 512

EMAIL: fondas@osf.ltWEBSITE: www.osf.lt

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Diana Vilyte

BOARD: Gintautas Bartkus (*Chair*), Giedrius Dusevicius, Dalia Micheleviciute, Arunas Poviliunas, Dainius Puras, Sergejus Temcinas, Ramunas Vilpisauskas**Foundation Open Society Institute–Macedonia**

Bul. Jane Sandanski III, POB 378

1000 Skopje, Macedonia

TEL: (389 2) 244 4488

FAX: (389 2) 244 4499

EMAIL: osi@soros.org.mkWEBSITE: www.soros.org.mk

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Vladimir Milcin

BOARD: Emilija Simovska (*President*), Nikola Gelevski, Djordji Ivanov, Saso Klekovski, Slobodanka Markovska, Natalija Nikolovska, Hasan Jashari**Soros Foundation–Moldova**

Bulgara Street 32

Chisinau, Moldova 2001

TEL: (373) 22 270031, 270232

FAX: (373) 22 270507

EMAIL: vursu@soros.md

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Victor Ursu

BOARD: Arcadie Barbarosie (*Chair*), Vasile Botnaru, Vitalie Ciobanu, Lurie Leanca, Ludmila Malcoci, Alexandru Muravschii, Andrei Popa**Mongolian Foundation for Open Society**

Jamiyan gun Street 5/1

Ulaanataar-48, Mongolia

TEL: (976 11) 313 207

FAX: (976 11) 324 857

EMAIL: Altanzagas@soros.org.mn

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Stephen Vance

WEBSITE: www.soros.org.mnBOARD: Galbaatar Tuvdendorj (*Chair*), Jargalsaikhan Dambadarjaa, Narantuya Jambalsuren, Saha Meyanathan, Ariunaa Tserenpil

Foundation Open Society Institute–Representative Office Montenegro

Njegoseva 26
81 000 Podgorica, Montenegro
TEL: (381 81) 225 066
FAX: (381 81) 225 088
EMAIL: selezovic@osim.cg.yu
DIRECTOR: Sanja Elezovic
BOARD: Kazimir Zivko Pregl (*Chair*), Vjera Begovic Radovic,
Boro Kontic, Snezana Nikcevic, Branimir Pajkovic, Miodrag
Vlahovic, Milan Vukcevic

Stefan Batory Foundation (Poland)

10a Sapiezynska Street
00-215 Warsaw, Poland
TEL: (48 22) 536 02 00
FAX: (48 22) 536 02 20
EMAIL: batory@batory.org.pl
WEBSITE: www.batory.org.pl
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Anna Rozicka
BOARD: Aleksander Smolar (*Chair*), Nathalie Bolgert, Mirosława
Grabowska, Jacek Kochanowicz, Jarosław Kurski, Grzegorz
Lindenberg, Andrzej Ziabicki

Open Society Foundation–Romania

Str. Caderea Bastiliei nr. 33
Bucharest 711391, Romania
TEL: (401) 212 1101, 212 1102, 212 1103, 212 1104 or 212 1105
FAX: (401) 212 1032
EMAIL: info@buc.osf.ro
WEBSITE: www.osf.ro
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Gabriel Petrescu
BOARD: Renate Weber (*Chair*), Smaranda Enache, Virginia Gheorghiu,
Maria Ionescu, Andrei Oisteanu, Marius Oprea, Cristian Pirvulescu,
Levente Salat, Elisabeta Stanculescu

Fund for an Open Society–Serbia

Zmaj Jovina 34
11000 Belgrade, Serbia and Montenegro
TEL: (381 11) 3025 800
FAX: (381 11) 3283 602
EMAIL: office@fosyu.org
WEBSITE: www.fosyu.org
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Jadranka Jelencic
BOARD: Srdjan Bogosavljevic (*Chair*), Milorad Bjeletic, Marko
Blagojevic, Sanja Lekic, Ljubica Markovic, Ana Miljanic, Milorad
Tadic, Aleksandar Molnar, Laszlo Vegel

Open Society Foundation–Bratislava (Slovakia)

Bastova 5
811 03 Bratislava, Slovak Republic
TEL: (421 2) 5441 6913, 5441 4730 or 5441 8870
FAX: (421 2) 5441 8867
EMAIL: osf@osf.sk
WEBSITE: www.osf.sk
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Alena Panikova
BOARD: Iveta Radicova (*Chair*), Jan Hrubala, Grigorij Meseznikov,
Tomas Sabol, Katarina Vajdova, Maria Zelenakova

Open Society Foundation for South Africa

1st floor, Colinton House
Fedsure Oval, 1 Oakdale Road
Newlands 7700, South Africa
TEL: (27 21) 683 3489
FAX: (27 21) 683 3550
EMAIL: admin@ct.osf.org.za
WEBSITE: www.osf.org.za
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Zohra Dawood
BOARD: Azhar Cachalia (*Chair*), Zyda Rylands (*Deputy Chair*), Fikile
Bam, G.T. Ferreira, Nhlanhla Mjoli-Ncube, Murphy Morobe, Michael
Savage, Ann Skelton

Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa

12th Floor, Braamfontein Centre
23 Jorissen Street
Braamfontein, Johannesburg
Mailing Address:
P.O. Box 678
Wits 2050, South Africa
TEL: (27 11) 403 3414, 403 3415
FAX: (27 11) 403 2708
EMAIL: osisainfo@osiafrica.org
WEBSITE: www.osisa.org
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Tawanda Mutasah
BOARD: Reginald Matchaba-Hove (*Chair*), Jose Belo Chipenda,
Clement Daniels, Mawinnie Kanetsi, Chipso Kanjo, Sanji Monageng,
Lucy Muyoyeta, Joshua Mzizi, Jose Negrao, Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert

Open Society Institute Assistance Foundation–Tajikistan

59 Tolstoy Street
734003 Dushanbe, Tajikistan
TEL/FAX: (992 372) 21 19 58, 51 01 42, 24 22 41 or 21 32 60
EMAIL: zuhra.halimova@osi.tajik.net
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Zuhra Halimova
BOARD: Oinhol Bobonazarova (*Chair*), Evgeniya Narzullaeva, Nur
Tabarov, Sanavbar Sharipova

Open Society Institute Assistance Foundation–Turkey

Cevdet Pasa Caddesi, Mercan Apt., No. 85, D.11
Bebek, Istanbul 80811, Turkey
TEL: (90 212) 287 9986, 287 9975
FAX: (90 212) 287 9967
EMAIL: haltinay@osiaf.org.tr
WEBSITE: www.osiaf.org.tr
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International Renaissance Foundation (Ukraine)

Artema Street, 46

Kyiv, 04053 Ukraine

TEL: (380 44) 461 97 09, 216 24 74

FAX: (380 44) 216 76 29

EMAIL: irf@irf.kiev.uaWEBSITE: www.irf.kiev.ua

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Immeuble EPI, Boulevard du Sud X

Rue des Ecrivains

Pointe E, Dakar

Senegal

TEL: (221) 869 1024

FAX: (221) 824 0942

EMAIL: ntanko@osiwa.org

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 Kasia Malinowska-Sempruch, *Program Director, International Harm Reduction Development* (New York)
 Emma Basker, *Deputy Director, International Harm Reduction Development* (New York)
 Judith Klein, *Program Director, Mental Disability Advocacy Program* (Budapest)

*Served as Program Director from November 2000 to May 2004.
 OSI Senior Fellow in International Health as of June 2004.

Scholarship Programs

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Women's Program

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Balkans Policy Group

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Burma Project/Southeast Asia Initiative

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Central Eurasia Project/Middle East and North Africa Initiatives

Anthony Richter, *Director* (New York)

Central European University Press

Martin Greenwald, *Publishing Manager* (New York)

Roma Participation Program

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Project Syndicate

Roman Frydman, *Editor and Co-Director*
 Kenneth Murphy, *Editor and Co-Director*
 Andrzej Rapaczynski, *Editor and Co-Director*
 EMAIL: andrap@law.columbia.edu

U.S. Programs

(The Open Society Institute's U.S. Programs are headquartered in New York—except for OSI–Baltimore.)

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Medicine as a Profession

Claudia Calhoon, *Program Manager*

Open Society Institute–Baltimore

Diana Morris, *Director*
 201 North Charles Street, Suite 1300
 Baltimore, MD 21201
 TEL: (410) 234 1091
 FAX: (410) 234 2816
 EMAIL: dmmorris@sorosny.org

Project on Death in America

Kathleen Foley, M.D., *Director*

U.S. Justice Fund

Jacqueline Baillargeon, *Director, Gideon Project*
 John Kowal, *Director, Constitutional and Legal Policy*
 Raquiba LaBrie, *Director, Community Advocacy Project*
 Susan Tucker, *Director, The After Prison Initiative*

Youth Initiatives

Erlin Ibreck, *Director*

OSI Offices

Open Society Institute

400 West 59th Street
New York, NY 10019 USA
TEL: 212 548 0600
FAX: 212 548 4600
EMAIL: info@sorosny.org
WEBSITE: www.soros.org

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Open Society Institute–Brussels

Rue des Minimes 26
1000 Brussels, Belgium
TEL: (32 2) 505 4646
TEL/FAX: (32 2) 502 4646
EMAIL: osi-brussels@osi-eu.org
DIRECTOR: Andre Wilkens

Open Society Institute–Budapest

Oktober 6. u. 12
H-1051 Budapest, Hungary
TEL: (36 1) 327 3100
FAX: (36 1) 327 3101
EMAIL: info@osi.hu
WEBSITE: www.soros.org
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Katalin E. Koncz
ADVISORY BOARD: George Soros, Aryeh Neier, Yehuda Elkana, Annette Laborey, William Newton-Smith, Wiktor Osiatynski, Istvan Rev, Cornelio Sommaruga
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Open Society Foundation–London

Cambridge House, 5th floor
100 Cambridge Grove
Hammersmith
London W6 0LE
United Kingdom
TEL: 44 207 031 0200
FAX: 44 207 031 0201
EMAIL: OSF-London@osf-eu.org
DIRECTOR-EU AFFAIRS: Mabel van Oranje
MANAGING DIRECTOR (ADMINISTRATION): Alan Johnson

Open Society Institute–Paris

38 Boulevard Beaumarchais
75011 Paris, France
TEL: (33 1) 48 05 24 74
FAX: (33 1) 40 21 65 41
EMAIL: osi-paris@osi-eu.org
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR: Annette Laborey

Open Society Institute–Washington, D.C.

1120 19th Street, N.W., 8th Floor
Washington, D.C. 20036
USA
TEL: (202) 721 5600
FAX: (202) 530 0128
ACTING DIRECTOR: Stephen Rickard

Central European University

Nador u. 9
H-1051 Budapest, Hungary
TEL: (36 1) 327 3000
FAX: (36 1) 327 3001
EMAIL: main@ceu.hu
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For information regarding photographers, please contact Sarah Miller-Davenport at (212) 548 0668.

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