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THE UNITED STATES DEMOCRACY FUND FOR CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

*A project of*

THE GERMAN MARSHALL FUND OF THE UNITED STATES

**Final Report  
to the United States Agency  
for International Development:**

*Small Grants Program to Address Minority Issues  
and Strengthen Democratic Practice and  
Citizen Participation in Central  
and Eastern Europe.*

MAY 31, 1996

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
I. BACKGROUND	1
II. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM OBJECTIVES	1
III. SUMMARY OF GRANTS MADE	2
IV. FINANCIAL OVERVIEW	3
V. ASSESSMENT OF SPECIFIC PROJECTS	4
<i>DEMOCRATIC PRACTICE</i>	5
1) Independent Forum for the Albanian Woman	5
2) Bulgarian Human Rights Project	7
3) Bulgarian Helsinki Committee	11
4) Citizens for Religious Tolerance	14
5) Romanian Helsinki Committee/APADOR-CH	15
6) Hungarian Helsinki Committee	18
7) Polish Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights Press Center	21
8) Konrad Huber	22
9) Human Rights Advocacy Project	23
 <i>CITIZEN PARTICIPATION</i>	 26
1) DIALOG in Poland and Romania	26
2) Emerging Leaders Forum	32
3) The Hungarian Foundation for School Development	33
4) The Support Office for the Movement of Self-Help Initiatives	35
VI. OTHER SUB-GRANTS MADE	38
VII. SUB-GRANTS MADE BY COUNTRY	44
VIII. REJECTED PROPOSALS	69
IX. PUBLIC DOCUMENTS DESCRIBING SUBGRANTING ACTIVITY	69



## THE GERMAN MARSHALL FUND OF THE UNITED STATES

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### I. BACKGROUND

USAID awarded the Fund's Political Development in Central and Eastern Europe Program a grant of \$589,063 on March 31, 1992 with an additional \$360,000 added on March 14, 1994 to implement a small grants program (No. EUR-0021-G-00-2040-00). Sub-grants, generally under \$25,000, were to be made to address minority issues and to strengthen democratic practice and citizen participation in Central and Eastern Europe — two areas of democracy promotion in Central and Eastern Europe in which the Fund had been working since early 1991.

Approximately two-thirds of the USAID grant was to be concentrated in the southern tier countries of Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, with the remaining funds allocated to the northern tier countries of Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia — later the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

### II. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

The Fund has been making grants since 1989 in East Central Europe to promote democracy. At first, we focused on the traditional institutions of democracy — the so-called pillars — a free press, independent judiciary, parliament and political parties. By 1991, we shifted to the processes and practices needed to engage citizens actively with government. We did this because it seemed to us that post-communist electorates were so divorced from their democratically elected governments and institutions, local and national, that they weren't going to become actors in the new democracies unless they had skills and experiences to participate effectively.

The 1991 shift led us to our current program which has three objectives and which guided our use of USAID funds as well. The program:

- 1) supports political (non-partisan) advocacy NGOs, principally human rights groups, many of which focus on minority issues, such as the Bulgarian Human Rights Project;

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- 2) promotes citizen participation strategies which open public policy channels at the local government level. An example is DIALOG, a community mobilization process in Poland and Romania which links citizens with local governments to solve community-wide problems;
- 3) strengthens the news and political reporting of the press, especially in its role as a provider of accurate and substantive information on issues related to our rights advocacy focus, such as the grant to the Polish Helsinki Foundation's Human Rights Press Center.

### III. SUMMARY OF GRANTS MADE

A. *Democratic practice:*

Build up advocacy NGOs	37
Build up journalism skills	2
Technical assistance/training to advocacy NGOs	5

B. *Citizen participation:*

Build up strategies for participation	11
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C. *Other* 1

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*Total* 56

#### IV. FINANCIAL OVERVIEW

We made 56 grants ranging from \$1,000 to \$66,000 and totaling \$962,499. The average grant size was \$17,187. Grants covered the following countries and at the following levels.

Grants made:

Southern tier

Albania	\$120,428
Bulgaria	295,359
Romania	141,942

\$557,729

Northern tier

Czech Republic	54,812
Hungary	84,400
Poland	141,080
Slovakia	113,478

\$393,770

Regional

11,000

\$11,000

Total grants made

\$962,499

ACTUAL GRANTS BUDGET

\$949,063

Less: Amounts unspent by grantees \$ 59,784

Total cash paid out for grants \$902,715

Total program management expenses \$ 13,601

BALANCE

\$916,316

To be returned to USAID

\$ 32,747

You will note that the amount for grants made exceeded the grants budget. This was offset by the fact that some grantees actually spent less than the amount granted and reported above. Unspent funds were committed to new grants. The net total grants amounted to \$902,715.

GMF's principal contribution to the effort was to cover all staff and overhead costs. (Only 1.5% of AID funds were used to administer the grant.) GMF's contribution totaled \$293,201 over the four-year period. In addition, while in the first two years we charged USAID \$9,743 for out-of-pocket expenses (phone/fax/lawyers/auditors/travel), in the final 24 months, we absorbed all of these costs, except for partial FY 1995 A-133 Audit expenses.

GMF also made additional grants to support similar goals totaling \$2,720,400 during the same period.

## **V. ASSESSMENT OF SPECIFIC PROJECTS**

USAID's grant letter asked us to assess the sub-grants in regard to whether an institution had transformed itself or spawned new organizations, programs and projects or had a discernible impact on the development of democracy within a particular country.

The following 13 sub-grantees are examples of institutions or programs that have been established and have had a discernible and measurable impact on the development of democracy within their countries. These organizations have brought attention to many issues which were previously ignored or deemed to be of little importance — women's rights, including domestic abuse prevention and family planning; and minority rights, including access to legal defense and recourse against institutionalized abuse, are just a few of the issues addressed by these exemplary organizations. In addition, sub-grants were made to organizations and individuals to provide much-needed technical assistance to groups in the region, helping them to develop into more mature, effective and democratically run organizations. The 13 institutions and programs are described below, within the two USAID grant areas: democratic practice and citizen participation.

## ***DEMOCRATIC PRACTICE:***

Forty-four of the 56 grants were made in this category. The area covers Political Development Program objectives number 1 and 3 above: NGOs advocating various issues and practices from which basic democratic institutions derive their authority; and strengthening the capacity of media to objectively report about news and political issues.

We highlight nine institutions:

### **1) Independent Forum for the Albanian Woman**

The Independent Forum for the Albanian Woman (IFAW) was created four years ago with no money or experience but possessing a strong commitment to human and women's rights. An institutional support grant in late 1993 of \$18,000, followed by a second one of \$18,860 in February 1995, launched this women's rights NGO that today claims 10,000 members. An additional grant of \$6,900 in December 1994 kicked off a nationwide women's rights campaign following the first national workshop on the issue in the country. IFAW is the only Albanian NGO with chapters all over the country. It has successfully worked to change mentalities and to inform women about their rights.

Major accomplishments of the IFAW:

- Established a national network to promote the legal, social and economic rights of women throughout Albania by establishing a central office, strengthening local affiliates, publishing a newsletter and holding local workshops on rights issues;
- Identified laws already enacted in Albania and advised women of their existence and how to use them to obtain redress; began a broad public education campaign to inform women about their rights under the law;
- Achieved passage of law guaranteeing women's right to abortion by campaigning and collaborating with other women's groups;
- Educated women about their legal rights through mass media and opened the debate on the need for laws protecting women against domestic violence;
- Successfully obtained funding from various other sources for projects on the following:
  - ❖ environmental issues in the Elbasan district (Soros Foundation) and in the Korca district (Regional Environmental Center);
  - ❖ family planning center in city of Berat (Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and an Italian NGO);
  - ❖ "Promoting Democracy through Equality," (PHARE TACIS Democracy Programme): a series of four seminars. IFAW members from 20 districts

throughout Albania attended the workshops on leadership issues and the establishment of democratically run women's groups;

- Raised issues on the role of women in a democratic society with an emphasis on women and politics in the IFAW's journal, *Teuta*, which is distributed in all districts with IFAW members and nationally in the parliament and key government offices;
- Organized an international workshop and campaign on women's rights under Albanian law in May 1995. The workshop brought together 82 members of women's groups, government agencies, lawyers, journalists and foreign experts. Follow-up workshops were held to discuss strategies, and the IFAW published a special issue of the magazine *The Woman and the Time*, which was distributed widely in Albania.
- Effectively promoted the full participation of women in the economic life of the country by setting up enterprises in Vlore and Tirana, and organizing seminars on labor relations and trade unions.
- IFAW leaders participated in international fora on topics such as sexual harassment, social problems of women in post-communist countries and women's rights in the workplace. Ms. Diana Culi, president of IFAW, participated in the U.N. Conference on Women in Beijing; she also recently traveled to the United States to be a visiting fellow at two midwestern colleges.
- As a member of the Interbalkan Women's Association, the IFAW participated in the PHARE TACIS Democracy Program's seminars on "Promoting the Role of Women in Democratic Practices" and "Democratic Issues in Countries in Transition and Gender" with the participation of Greek, Bulgarian and Romanian women.

Because of the size of its membership and its countrywide reach, the IFAW has become something of a magnet for external organizations, foreign funders and programming agencies wanting to work in Albania. A joint IFAW/EU/Italian NGO pilot sewing cooperative project in Vlore was set up. Other joint democracy projects with a French NGO and an Italian one as well as with PHARE/OXFAM support seminars and a publication center. The IFAW has submitted funding proposals to ORT, the Albanian Civil Society Foundation and the Soros Foundation in Albania.

## 2) **Bulgarian Human Rights Project**

The Bulgarian Human Rights Project (HRP) received first- (\$4,520), second- (\$33,824) and third- (\$24,942) year institutional support grants totaling \$63,286. An additional grant (\$8,644) was made to expand staff and outreach and to establish branches in Stara Zagora and Shumen, plus a travel grant of \$4,850 to support participation in the NGO Forum preceding the UN Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in 1993. USAID funds have been supplemented with \$66,586 in GMF funds.

The Bulgarian Human Rights Project started in August 1992. It monitors abuses against Roma (Gypsies) and seeks remedies through the courts if cases cannot be resolved administratively. It is the only human rights group working solely on the legal defense of Roma, who number about one million, making them the second largest minority in the country after the Turks. Today it maintains offices in five cities with significant Roma populations: Shumen, Sliven, Stara Zagora, Varna and Velingrad, and plans to open new offices in Pleven and Plovdiv. It also maintains a nationwide network of volunteers who report information to the headquarters. The project monitors the overall Roma rights picture; selects cases with the greatest potential impact for direct intervention; and trains Roma activists.

We believe the HRP to be the premier human rights monitoring and legal defense NGO in the region. Chaired in the past by Dimitrina Petrova, one of the leading human rights activists in the country, the HRP is now run by a Roma, Dimitar Gheorgiev. The activists on the program staff are all Roma with the exception of one young lawyer.

### **Summary of HRP accomplishments:**

Accomplishments of the HRP can be broken down into five categories: legal advocacy/legislative rights; documentation, publishing and media relations; NGO development; government relations; and other activities in education and international cooperation. Details of accomplishments in each of these categories follow.

#### *Legal advocacy/legislative rights:*

Legal defense in serious cases of human rights abuse is one of the most important areas of the HRP's activities. Numerous cases being pursued include: suspicious deaths of Roma while in police custody, murders, skinhead attacks, arson and police brutality — including beatings with rubber hoses, ax handles and electric clubs.

A historic victory recently was earned in a HRP suit against the police for killing Roma. The police were found guilty, and the Ministry of the Interior paid the families damages for the killings. This is a first in Central and Eastern Europe as far as we know.

Several examples of cases pursued include:

*Police Pogrom in Pazardjik:*

This was the first important rights abuse case undertaken by the HRP in response to allegations of the abuse of Roma citizens by the police. Following a police attack on June 29, 1992, the HRP was able to persuade only one Roma man, Kiril Yordanov, to seek legal recourse for the injuries he and many others suffered in this illegal assault.

Despite the exhaustive documentation provided by the HRP and the publicity on the attack by the U.S. State Department, Helsinki Watch, Amnesty International, the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights and others, the obstacles to final justice have been daunting.

After refusals by the Military Prosecutor's Office and the Chief Prosecutor's Office in Sofia to open an official investigation, the HRP filed a civil claim with the regional court in Pazardjik in January 1994. Court hearings lasted from July 1994 to October 1995 — a decision has not yet been released.

*Torture of Khristo Kristov:*

On March 23, 1993, Mr. Kristov, a Roma man and resident of Stara Zagora, was detained at the local police headquarters on suspicion of theft. He was brutally beaten by the police and detained overnight. Following these beatings, Mr. Khristov required emergency surgery which involved the removal of one kidney and a portion of one of his lungs.

With the assistance of the HRP, Mr. Khristov filed a complaint with the Plovdiv Military Prosecutor's Office. The investigation of his case began in Stara Zagora in September 1993, and is still open.

*Attack on the Mitov Family from Dupnitsa:*

On July 12, 1994, eight ethnic Bulgarians, armed with wooden sticks and guns, attacked the home of two Roma brothers, Lenin and Stalin Mitov. During the attack, Lenin Mitov was shot in the leg. A few days after the incident, Stalin Mitov and his wife, Yordanka, were dismissed from their jobs.

The HRP had reason to believe that the dismissals of Stalin and Yordanka were racially motivated. In September 1994, the HRP appealed the dismissals. In March 1995, the court reversed the dismissal and ordered that Stalin and Yordanka be allowed to return to work.

Other HRP legal advocacy accomplishments:

- Participated in an effort to draft and pass anti-discrimination laws;
- Worked to end discrimination against Roma in the military;
- Attempted to file suit against a firm that openly refuses to hire Roma;
- Monitored application of the constitutional right of Roma children to study their mother language in school;
- Identified cases of serious violations of human rights of Roma and campaigned on their behalf through letters, conversations, publications, memoranda to the government and international organizations.

*Documentation, publishing and media relations:*

- Provided statistics, photos and other documentation on Roma abuse for a BBC Television program on human rights broadcast in December 1995.
- Called a press conference on November 10, 1995 — the International Day Against Racism, Xenophobia and anti-Semitism — expressing concern at the growing number of racist attacks on Roma citizens in Bulgaria;
- Documented the activity of skinheads and other xenophobic groups;
- Lobbied for fair reporting on Roma in the media and encouraged minority-friendly publications in the press;
- Published a handbook entitled, “The Roma and Human Rights,” distributed free throughout Roma communities;
- Organized a round table on ethnic minorities in journalism;
- Contributed articles to the Bulgarian Helsinki Committee’s journal, *Objectiv*.

*NGO development:*

- Facilitated communication among Roma organizations;
- Established a relationship with the Bulgarian Bar Association;
- Helped create a network of human rights NGOs and experts, including “Bulgarian Lawyers for Human Rights,” the “Freedom of Expression Group”, which seeks to improve media coverage on ethnic minorities and human rights issues and “Citizens for Religious Tolerance,” which monitors discrimination against religious minorities;
- Established the HRP annual human rights award to acknowledge Roma contributions in improving the treatment of ethnic minorities.

*Government relations:*

- Helped organize a visit to a Sofia school attended primarily by Roma children at which representatives of the Ministry of Education, the Council of Ministers and local authorities discussed educational issues facing Roma children;
- Met with Mikhail Ivanov, the Bulgarian president's advisor on ethnic issues, and discussed future cooperation between the HRP and the president's office;
- Participated in a discussion of the social status of Roma, at the Bulgarian president's office in January 1995;
- Persuaded police to respond to letters regarding the alleged abuse of Roma;
- Began corresponding with the Directorate of the National Police regarding human rights training for police.

*Other activities:*

- Participated together with the Bulgarian Helsinki Committee in the first human rights march of Roma protesting racially motivated violence in Bulgaria in August 1995. The police issued a permit for the march and there was no violence.
- Were invited by the Hungarian Foundation Autonomia to be a partner in a regional project that will include legal representation for Roma victims of abuse; leadership and management training for Roma activists; and training of radio journalists who work on programs targeted at Roma audiences;
- Attracted funding from the Dutch NGO CEBEMO for the implementation of three projects to increase the graduation rate of Roma from school;
- Organized an international seminar on police brutality;
- Participated in a round table discussion sponsored by the Soros Roma Foundation in June 1995 where they discussed a proposal to create an international legal resource center to monitor Roma human rights, fight against discrimination in the legal system and provide legal defense for Roma people;
- Established two one-year projects under the aegis of the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights: to monitor media freedoms and hate speech; and to study the link between human rights and regional security issues.

Western organizations, including Embassies, the ODIHR of OSCE, Council of Europe, Human Rights Watch and others rely on the HRP to provide accurate, unbiased, up-to-date information on Roma rights issues. It has received international recognition for its work: the American Bar Association recently awarded its International Human Rights Award to Dimitrina Petrova. Early in 1996, CEBEMO, a Dutch NGO supported by the Dutch Foreign Ministry, made a major grant to HRP to purchase an office in central Sofia and funded a project to train police in rights issues in collaboration with the PIOOM Foundation, a Dutch

group. The German Marshall Fund helped link PIOOM with the HRP in late August 1995. The Soros Foundations/Open Society Institute in New York plans to replicate the HRP in other countries.

### **3) Bulgarian Helsinki Committee**

The Bulgarian Helsinki Committee (BHC) was started with a grant of \$5,100 to cover first-year general operating costs and was followed by second- (\$13,163) and third- (\$24,862) year operating support grants for a total of \$43,125. The Fund recently made a grant of \$20,562 to support the human rights legal assistance program in 1996.

Founded in 1992 and a member of the International Helsinki Federation (IHF) since 1993, the BHC is a significant human rights NGO in Bulgaria. It monitors rights issues throughout the country, takes strategic cases (several of which have gone to the European Commission on Human Rights), produces a highly regarded annual report in Bulgarian and English and a monthly newsletter, and actively engages in public advocacy/education on rights issues. The BHC also works closely with other Fund-supported rights groups in Bulgaria on fact-finding missions, monitoring and case work.

The BHC's activities fall into three main areas:

#### *Human rights monitoring*

Current priority issues of the BHC include the rights of minorities, religious freedom, political rights, freedom of information and the rights of prisoners and foreigners of color.

Fact-finding missions are conducted regularly. In the last quarter of 1995, nine missions and seven interviews with government officials were conducted. A task force was set up to monitor censorship of the National Radio and TV following a declaration of 34 radio journalists and the subsequent dismissal of seven of them. Research on conditions at Bulgarian penitentiaries and psychiatric institutions was conducted.

The "Religious Minorities in Bulgaria, Romania and Albania" project began in August 1995, with the support of the EU's PHARE Democracy Program and in conjunction with the Belgian organization "Human Rights without Frontiers" is ongoing. The project has established a network of monitors in the three countries. A special officer was appointed in Sofia and contacts with several human rights and religious rights groups were established in Romania and Albania. The BHC's participation in the network includes publishing the results

of the monitoring project in a bimonthly newsletter in four languages — the first issue of the newsletter entitled *Face to Face* appeared in October 1995.

The BHC operates an ongoing Refugees Legal Defense Program, with funding in 1994 from UNHCR, to work with asylum seekers and refugees. At a September 1995 meeting of Central and East European NGOs that focus on refugee issues, a forum of NGOs under the aegis of ECRE, the largest European refugee-protection network, was formed.

In May 1995 the BHC started a special project on the conditions in the “Labor Education Schools,” which are juvenile detention facilities. After several reports in the press revealed serious problems with the centers, the BHC appointed a special researcher to visit all establishments and to review the legislation in light of European standards. A final report on the project is due to be completed in spring 1996.

In preparation for a visit by the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture (CPT) to Bulgaria in April 1995, researchers from the BHC visited almost all prisons, several police stations and most of the psychiatric hospitals in Bulgaria and prepared an 80-page report for submission to the CPT.

Other recent projects include a three-country initiative with the American Association for the Advancement of Science on the effects of decommunization legislation in Bulgaria; a Roma-local government project; and a human rights documentation center with funding through the Dutch government.

#### *Legal defense*

Examples of human rights cases taken on by the BHC include:

- asylum seekers to obtain refugee status and remain in Bulgaria;
- journalists dismissed from the Bulgarian Public Radio;
- police interference in the private lives of members of religious communities;
- the dismissal of the Chief Mufti and his replacement by a person loyal to the current government, taken before the European Commission for Human Rights.

#### *Public outreach*

The BHC actively seeks to increase public awareness of rights issues. Through its 500-copy monthly newsletter *Obektiv*, which goes to government, parliament, human rights organizations and the press, as well as through special reports, the BHC is well-known in Bulgaria.

The BHC produced a 1995 annual report on the status of human rights in Bulgaria. It was distributed among government officials, NGOs and the media and will become part of the International Helsinki Federation's annual report.

In addition to regular publications, the BHC produces special reports. It published 1,000 copies of a report entitled "The State of Religious Freedom in Bulgaria" on the Religious Tolerance in a Human Rights Perspective conference the BHC organized in January 1995 with the Citizens for Religious Tolerance group.

The BHC has also presented its report on the condition of inmates in state penitentiaries, been interviewed regarding the widely reported murder of Hristo Hristov by the police, published various articles on police violence and produced a series of seven programs entitled "ABC of Human Rights," which was broadcast on Bulgarian National Television after the 8 o'clock news.

A grant of £8000 from the British Foreign Minister's Westminster Fund permits the BHC to produce special shows on critical rights issues for the national Channel 1 TV.

Despite its many successes, the BHC (and other human rights groups) continue to receive negative comments in the Bulgarian media.

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Although the Fund has been the BHC's principal underwriter in the past, it has received project support from UNHCR, USIA and the Westminster Fund. Funding from the U.S. Democracy Network is anticipated.

#### 4) Citizens for Religious Tolerance

Citizens for Religious Tolerance (CRT) seeks to address freedom of religion issues and to counter religious intolerance in Bulgaria targeted at “non-traditional churches.” It works in close collaboration with the Bulgarian Helsinki Committee. CRT monitors and works to protect human rights in the sphere of freedom of conscience and religion. It also provides legal assistance to individuals and religious groups whose rights have been violated. It received a start-up grant of \$17,382 in late 1993.

Non Orthodox groups in Bulgaria have been faced with institutional and public discrimination. A series of decisions by the Bulgarian Council of Ministers banned most religious groups. Churches and mosques have been attacked, religious groups have been prevented from assembling and individuals have been arrested for preaching.

##### Major accomplishments:

- Published a regular report in the Bulgarian Helsinki Committee’s monthly newsletter *Obektiv* (see above), which tracks the status of religious discrimination in Bulgaria and documents specific cases of abuse of religious minorities;
- Monitored restrictive legislation and initiated legal proceedings in the Supreme Court against the Council of Ministers;
- Drafted a petition protesting the violent treatment of members of the Church of God at the hands of skinheads and the lack of government response to the attack — 33,000 people signed the petition and it was sent to the president, the head of the National Assembly and the prime minister.
- Provided rights strategies and assistance to religious groups;
- Held a press conference in November 1994 with the Bulgarian Helsinki Committee on its report, “The State of Religious Freedom in Bulgaria.” The report and press conference both received a great deal of media attention and elicited a negative reaction from the Council of Ministers.
- Published the book *Religious Tolerance in a Human Rights Perspective*, assembling the reports and proceedings of the international conference of the same name held in Sofia, January 14-15, 1995. More than 300 Bulgarians and 15 foreign guests participated in the well-publicized conference funded by the U.S. Democracy Commission.

Now registered as the Tolerance Foundation, it is seeking support from the U.S. Democracy Network.

**5) Romanian Helsinki Committee/APADOR-CH**

The Romanian Helsinki Committee (APADOR-CH) received grants totaling \$31,937 under this USAID grant, of which \$23,863 was for institutional support in 1993; \$5,100 was a travel grant for a delegation to participate in the NGO Forum and beginning sessions of the UN Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in June 1993; and \$2,974 supported the participation of Manuela Stefanescu in the summer rights training program of the International Institute of Human Rights in Strasbourg.

In addition, the German Marshall Fund has provided project and institutional support from 1991 through 1997 totaling \$244,098. They also received \$8,690 from a previous USAID grant administered by the Fund. Since 1991, the Fund has also given Romanian rights NGOs regular access to American human rights lawyers through grants to the International Human Rights Law Group and the Human Rights Advocacy Project. The APADOR-CH has been one of the principal users/beneficiaries of this resource.

As mentioned in our 1995 report to USAID, APADOR-CH is the premier human rights NGO in the country. It is the only Romanian human rights NGO to focus on parliamentary transparency, the public's right to obtain information about government policies, and the promotion of legislation based on human rights principles. APADOR-CH has successfully opened the Parliament to NGO representatives and earned publicly acknowledged respect from Parliament and the media for their expert analyses of draft legislation.

APADOR-CH's work is exemplary, a view shared by a number of U.S. and European sources familiar with the human rights community in Romania. Without any close runner-up, it employs the best rights activists in the country, including Renate Weber, a highly regarded human rights lawyer and executive board member of the International Helsinki Federation; Manuela Stefanescu, one of the most substantive human rights activists in the country; and Gabriel Andreescu, a nationally respected moral leader.

Today, its programs focus on developing legislative analyses, encouraging parliamentary transparency, advocating the public's right to information and for the rights of minorities (principally Hungarians) and refugees, and monitoring the behavior of the police toward individual citizens.

In addition, the APADOR-CH manages a human rights documentation center funded by the Dutch Foreign Ministry through a Dutch NGO, CEBEMO. With CEBEMO'S funds they also publish the *Romanian Human Rights Review*, which focuses on legislation and its compatibility with international human rights standards, presents individual cases and publicizes positions and activities of domestic and international human rights groups.

APADOR-CH provides free legal counsel to individuals with difficult legal problems, not necessarily human rights abuses, and legal representation of victims of human rights violations in court. The purpose of the legal consultations is to educate and empower citizens to fight for their rights. In 1994 consultation was provided to 274 individuals.

In addition, the APADOR-CH organizes seminars and courses for others in the broader rights network and publishes an in-depth annual report, "Human Rights Developments in Romania."

Major accomplishments:

*Legislative Monitoring and Advocacy*

- Maintain observers in both chambers of the Romanian parliament to monitor debate and gain firsthand knowledge of draft laws before they reach the floor for debate and voting. This action facilitated transparency and the monitoring of laws which contain provisions that threaten human rights;
- Monitored modifications in the Romanian penal code on the decriminalization of homosexual activity and acted as an advocate by assisting with legal representation and protesting unfair treatment;
- Advocated against legislation on slander and libel introducing longer prison terms for journalists than for other citizens in a government attempt to intimidate the press. Succeeded in the Senate dropping the term "journalist," although it maintained the clause "offense through press";
- Applied pressure to the government in cooperation with the Council of Europe against a directive by the Ministry of Communication that all organizations wishing to send material abroad had to go to one post office in Bucharest and declare that no state secrets were contained in the material. The government yielded and decided that packages could be sent from one post office per sector (six in Bucharest). In practice all post offices are will send packages abroad, though it is still not officially permitted.
- Continued the Human Rights Lawyers Networking Program, which involves making contact with lawyers from different regions of the country and educating them in the defense of victims of rights abuse. A crucial part of this program involves encouraging lawyers to take on the cases;
- Acted as advocates for Romanian citizens who are victims of political persecution in other countries, at the request of NGOs in other countries and the UNHCR.

### *Police Abuse Program*

- Worked to establish a collaborative relationship with the police while investigating abuse and human rights violation cases involving the police, and following up on the judicial action taken;
- Informed the police about international human rights law;
- Disseminated informational materials. For example, APADOR-CH printed 15,000 posters that illustrate provisions of the Romanian constitution and international law regarding human rights — more than 7,000 of these posters have been distributed to police stations around Romania;
- Produced a factual television program on police abuse, aired nationally on January 11, 1994, which elicited an official government protest from the Ministry of the Interior and a decision to sever relations with APADOR-CH;
- Began relations with the military prosecutor's office to investigate cases of abuse. In one case, APADOR-CH successfully obtained the agreement of the military prosecutor's office that a previous decision was questionable and had a case reopened, and in another beating case, the office reconsidered a case and brought three policemen to trial.

### *Minorities Program*

- Provided legal assistance, investigated specific cases, supported some actions of Roma groups, organized training courses in conflict resolution for ethnic and national minorities;
- Pursued cases of arson against and murder of Roma. Often faced with the unwillingness of local authorities to enforce the law or bring suspects to trial;
- Monitored discriminatory actions against Hungarian minorities, especially in Cluj-Napoca;
- Organized a meeting with the Democratic Union of the Hungarians in Romania to discuss Hungarian minority rights and self-rule.

### *Other programs and activities*

- Started operating a Refugees Program, in cooperation with UNHCR, which provides free legal assistance to refugees and asylum seekers in Romania;
- For the first time in Romania, APADOR-CH initiated a border fact-finding mission to identify problems at four major border areas and propose solutions. Initiated dialogue and cooperation with government officials from the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of the Interior;

- APADOR-CH organized seminars and courses on:
  - ❖ National Minorities' Rights
  - ❖ Human Rights and Democracy Advocacy
  - ❖ International Human Rights Protection and Domestic Legislation.

Although the German Marshall Fund has been the principal funder of the general program, other funders include a French NGO that has given a small grant for fact-finding missions. A CD-ROM computer and a large number of rights publications came from the Vrije University Law School in Brussels. UNHCR covers the costs of the Refugee program. A PHARE grant through the International Helsinki Federation pays for two professional staff plus their program management expenses. The diversification of its core funding sources is strengthening APADOR-CH.

#### 6) Hungarian Helsinki Committee

The Hungarian Helsinki Committee (HHC) was started with a general support USAID grant of \$21,000 in December 1994. The German Marshall Fund has recently made two additional grants: \$9,000 for fact-finding and a report on asylum seekers at the Nagyatád Holding Center and for legal experts to meet with the Budapest Bar Association to create a Human Rights Bar; and \$46,540 for staff salaries and the cost of five teams to monitor the treatment of aliens by the Police and Border Guards.

The HHC is a relatively new member of the International Helsinki Federation (IHF) and is fast becoming the most significant human rights legal NGO in Hungary. It monitors alien policy and rights violations by the police throughout the country, provides legal aid to citizens and foreigners, produces well-regarded and effective reports based on fact-finding missions and educates the public through such reports, a bimonthly newsletter and a press information initiative. The HHC also works closely with another Fund-supported rights activist group, the Centre for Defence of Human Rights (MEJOK), on fact-finding missions, monitoring and case work.

The HHC is led by Ferenc Koszeg, a noted journalist, dissident and MP. Its board of directors includes a number of younger leaders such as Peter Hack, chair of the Parliamentary Committee on the Constitution, and Istvan Meszaros, deputy chair of the Parliamentary Committee on Human Rights, Minorities and Nationalities and Marton Ill, the rights activist leader of the Centre for Defense of Human Rights, known by its Hungarian acronym MEJOK.

Current priority issues of the HHC include the rights of foreigners (refugees, asylum seekers, students) and minorities of color, and police abuse against them, especially the Roma, the largest minority group in Hungary.

The Hungarian Parliament was a leader in the region in passing legislation to protect minorities. However, the implementation of the legislation is incomplete. The HHC and MEJOK are monitoring the implementation of the law and attempting to assure compliance.

In the spring of 1995, the HHC published another report addressed to the minister of the Interior on their findings at the "Alien Police" Holding Center in Kistarcsa, a large camp of Bosnian, Rwandan and Liberian war refugees. The minister responded in a letter in which he stated, "I would like to thank all those participating in the profound and correct investigation and request your future cooperation." Furthermore, the minister agreed to several of the major recommendations of the report: that the shelter could not continue to be managed the way it was because the unbearable conditions gravely violated internees' rights; that refugees from war-torn areas cannot be considered illegal migrants and therefore be forced to live in the Center; that police detention procedures for aliens need to be amended; and that individuals held in detention had the right to a court hearing. A press conference following the meeting with the minister was covered by all daily newspapers and three television channels. The Center was closed in July 1995. Responsibility was passed to the Border Guards.

The HHC is also monitoring the treatment (detention and interrogation) of aliens by the Police and Border Guards at nine shelters along the border through 1996. A major report will be published at the end of the 12-month project. The minister of the Interior, the Border Guard leadership and the deputy chief of the National Police have all agreed to the NGO rights monitoring of these police stations and shelters.

The HHC currently is investigating the Nagyatád and Debrecen Centers, which house asylum seekers mainly from Bosnia; there are also Croat, Hungarian, Roma and Serb refugees in these camps. The HHC has conducted fact-finding visits and will publish a report later in 1996 on the situation of these several thousand refugees.

The HHC also maintains the Human Rights Legal Counseling Office. In each of Hungary's 19 counties there is a lawyer in this network who offers free legal services for two hours a week to victims of rights abuses with a special focus on racially motivated abuse. The head of the office Dr. Janos Somogyi, is a well-respected Hungarian lawyer who spends five to six hours daily at the HHC running this office. Fourteen branches of the Human Rights Legal Counseling Network documented 527 cases, of which 122 were handled by the office in Budapest. Twenty-four cases went to trial, of which 15 were handled by the Budapest office.

Most cases dealt with by the Counseling Office involve naturalization, right to asylum, ill-treatment during official procedures, pretrial detention, retroactive application of law and unlawful procedures of the local government.

Other major accomplishments:

- Monitored the print and electronic media for comments by government officials and other public figures and also for events showing signs of intolerance, violent attitudes or actions against minorities and foreigners in Hungary. The results of this study will be published in early 1996;
- Organized a conference on "The Role of Local Authorities and Communities in the Integration of Migrants" in May 1995 in which about 100 people participated, including high officials of the Alien Police, heads of refugees camps, mayors of five towns along the southern borders of Hungary and the UNHCR representative for Hungary;
- Prepared two reports on police brutality and the national security services for the IHF to be presented at the OSCE Human Dimension Implementation Meeting in Warsaw in October 1995;
- Successfully filed a motion and draft language to the Constitutional Court of Hungary and the Ministry of the Interior to amend provisions of the Law on Aliens.
- Established links with other human rights groups:
  - ❖ organized a roundtable discussion of five Hungarian human and minority rights NGOs in November 1995 to further informal cooperation between them;
  - ❖ issued a joint declaration summarizing the human rights situation in Hungary on the occasion of International Human Rights Day;
- Organized a series of human rights lectures in conjunction with the Central European University, featuring well-known human rights lawyers from abroad. The first, "Democracy, the Press and National Security," was held in December 1995. In addition, the Budapest Bar Association offered to host a club for lawyers interested in human rights, which will help reach more lawyers to cooperate with the Human Rights Legal Counseling Office.

Although we were the principal underwriters of core support in the first year, the HHC has diversified its funding base. The Naumann Stiftung gave them a computer. Budapest-Soros Foundation unblocked funds from a grant made in 1988 and has indicated a possible grant in 1996. As local partners of an EU (PHARE) International Helsinki Federation program, some of the operational costs are being picked up currently. This support is likely to be renewed next year. The Canadian Embassy is being asked to support part of both the Border Guard monitoring project and the legal Counseling Office. We have put HHC in touch with USIA and the Democracy Network Initiative.

**7) Polish Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights Press Center**

The Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights Press Center received a second-year institutional support grant of \$24,500. The Press Center was established in 1992 with a sub-grant of \$24,500 from a previous USAID grant made to the German Marshall Fund. In addition to continuing its programs to enhance media analysis and reporting on human and civil rights, government by rule of law and constitutionalism, in its second year the Center expanded its work to include a program that brings judges and media professionals together to improve reporting on legal issues. The program consists of bimonthly informal meetings to hear speakers and strengthen the network of participants.

The Press Center publishes a weekly bulletin entitled "*Do you know that...*" dealing with the problems of human rights and the legal culture, which contain information on human rights laws and their implementation (or non-implementation) in Poland, information on common mistakes made by public officials and the press when referring to various organizations dealing with human rights, and analysis of interesting court cases involving issues of human rights, particularly those that emphasize the growing element of constitutionalism in the attitude of the courts.

The bulletin is distributed free of charge to members of the press, judges and past participants in the Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights' training sessions on human rights. Through the distribution of this weekly publication, the Press Center provides media and legal professionals easy access to new laws and decisions. The bulletin points out "blunders" and misunderstandings in reports that have been in the press, on TV and in statements by politicians.

**Major accomplishments:**

- Held regular training seminars over three years for members of the press and legal professionals on human rights and the rule of law in Poland. Specific topics have included:
  - ❖ human rights and the media
  - ❖ the role of the Constitutional Tribunal
  - ❖ problems with the administration of justice in Poland
- Compiled databases that include press materials concerning human rights and the legal culture. These databases provide an important starting point for the articles in the weekly bulletin, and are important research tools for reports published by the press center;
- Prepared a special report aimed at journalists, judges and parliamentarians regarding various issues raised by the Supreme Court during the 1993 parliamentary elections.

8) A grant of \$10,000 to **Konrad Huber** in 1993 to help establish the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe's (CSCE) new Office of the High Commissioner on National Minorities in The Hague, and to begin investigating the status of ethnic minorities to find means for peaceful resolution of ethnic conflicts.

**Major accomplishments:**

- Assisted the High Commissioner in the consolidation of an effective secretariat, initiating engagement in more than a half-dozen situations in the region, and analyzing and containing ethnic tensions in several trouble spots:
  - ❖ Conducted missions to evaluate inter-ethnic relations in Estonia, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania and Albania, as well as Latvia, Macedonia, the Ukraine and Kazakhstan and made policy recommendations to governments;
  - ❖ Developed a practice of preventive diplomacy in situations of ethnic tensions, a new area for multilateral institutions in general;
  - ❖ Sought ways to promote dialogue, even if informal, between disputants.
- Collaborated with the Foundation on InterEthnic Relations to organize three 25-person international seminars on potential "trouble spots," as well as resources for minority protection, methods and strategies in conflict prevention, and ongoing work on a documentation and research program on minority issues in the CSCE region;
- Drafted a 20-page report on the Roma in the CSCE region, which became a catalyst for further CSCE action, including the 1994 Human Dimension Seminar in Warsaw examining state practices, evaluating their effectiveness, and exploring constructive approaches to Roma issues within countries and throughout the region;
- Formed relationships with CSCE in-country missions, Council of Europe authorities, NGOs, research institutes, and individual experts on minority issues;
- Marshaled the expertise and resources of key outside organizations relevant to the High Commissioner's functioning in the NGO, academic, and philanthropic communities.

After completing his assistantship, Mr. Huber continued as acting director of the Foundation on InterEthnic Relations in The Hague. The Foundation works closely with the High Commissioner, providing specialized research, expert consultations and country seminars for dialogue promotion.

**9) Utica College of Syracuse University Human Rights Advocacy Project**

Two USAID grants, \$24,500 in 1992 and \$24,588 in 1993, were made to Utica College to Ted Zang and Ted Orlin, both American human rights lawyers to provide technical assistance and training to human rights NGOs in Bulgaria and Albania. Two GMF grants totaling \$79,000 supported work in Romania and Slovakia over the same period. These grants were critical to the development of a range of rights NGOs in these countries.

In Albania, where there is not yet a post-communist constitution and no bar, Orlin and Zang spent much of their time working with Albanian Helsinki Committee, the only effective human rights group in the country. They encouraged the AHC to be a more outspoken, objective and professional advocate of human rights, even at the cost of government or public criticism. They met with the local branches of the AHC and recommended that representatives of the Tirana office visit the branches more frequently and seek financial support to enlarge and enhance their national network. In addition to providing advice on strategies for pursuing rights cases, the lawyers (in concert with AHC staffers): visited prison facilities and helped the AHC to assess prison conditions based on international standards; advised the Committee on contacting the government with a view to improving prison facilities, particularly with respect to removing juveniles from adult facilities and placing them in separate institutions; visited mental facilities and recommended that the AHC initiate a long-term project to review the entire mental health system. In 1994, an expert from Utica College conducted a study and presented the data regarding the status of mental health care in Albania to the World Health Organization.

In addition to their extensive work with the AHC, the lawyers:

- met regularly with the Independent Forum for the Albanian Woman (GMF grantee) to help them devise strategies to address key issues — the lack of commitment in Albania to the rule of law, women's lack of awareness of laws or their rights, and the lack of economic opportunities for women. Assisted planning seminars on women's rights, discussed plans to institute a hot line, encouraged the group to have regular contact with the AHC;
- advised Kozara Kati as director of Aid Norway Albania (ANA) and later in her work with the Albanian Center for Torture Victims and Albanian Penal Reform International, and encouraged her to draft a constitutional provision to protect prisoner rights and introduce a human rights program in public schools;
- assisted the newly formed Albanian Human Rights Documentation Centre, founded by Kozara Kati, in program planning;
- met with the president and vice-president of the highest court of Albania to discuss international law standards;

- met with the newly formed League of Law Students to help them prepare a press release opposing legal courses for former political prisoners and to set up a visit for them with the Council of Europe on this matter;
- evaluated Avni Mustafa's (of the Open Society Fund) and Pandeli Koci's (the director of the parliamentary printing office) proposal to publish bills and laws from a new in-house parliamentary printing facility.

During their visits to Bulgaria, Orlin and Zang met with and provided technical support to a number of rights/legal defense groups which also have received AID-funded small grants such as the Bulgarian Helsinki Committee (BHC), the Bulgarian Lawyers for Human Rights (BLHR), Citizens for Religious Tolerance, the Children at Risk Project (CAR), the Freedom of Expression Group, and the Human Rights Project (HRP). They worked with these groups to address violence against Roma, police abuse and challenges to freedom of religion.

They assisted the HRP to professionalize its activities, now a model for other NGOs. They discussed long-term strategic planning, how to influence government policy towards Roma and to improve ties with the police. Assistance was provided in several rights cases investigations, one of which was forwarded to the European Commission.

During their early meetings with the Bulgarian Helsinki Committee, the lawyers helped improve the Committee's operations-related skills by helping them draft a one-year plan for their future work, and by encouraging the Committee to publish a quarterly newsletter to cover violations of human rights provisions and to highlight successes of the BHC's programs.

In addition to technical and administrative assistance, Orlin and Zang advised the BHC on current rights projects. They helped conduct interviews of ethnic minorities in the Pirin Macedonia region; composed a letter to the Military Prosecutor in Pazardzhik urging him to investigate a human rights case against the Roma quarter; met with the number two person at the Interior Ministry to request information on an internal study into the police brutality at Pazardzhik.

Meetings with public officials also formed a centerpiece of their work. They met with:

- the national director of police to press for an internal investigation into the excessive use of force by the police against Roma and urged officials to discipline officers who violate human rights.
- the Bulgarian Education Minister regarding the Ministry's application of the constitutional requirement to offer Roma language classes.
- the chair of the Bulgarian Commission of Journalistic Ethics to discuss the inaccurate coverage of Romanis in the press and agreed to sponsor a joint conference to address this issue with a group of journalists and editors.

Through frequent meetings with Zdravka Kaladjieva, Director of Bulgarian Lawyers for Human Rights (BLHR), Orlin and Zang helped the group initiate its program and plan strategies for the defense of victims of human rights abuse. They also acted as intermediaries between Dimitrina Petrova (of the Human Rights Project, described above) and Ms. Kaladjieva. The two groups have started to work together more frequently and to share resources on occasion.

On the advocacy side, Orlin and Zang assisted the BLHR investigate a case of employment discrimination and police brutality against Roma in Stara Zagora, which helped the BLHR establish an ongoing relationship with the local branch of the United Roma Organization.

Working with the leadership of the Citizens for Religious Tolerance group, Orlin and Zang met with the head of the government office for religious affairs to discuss registration procedures for religious groups, international norms governing freedom of religion and several cases of religious discrimination in the workplace. In addition, they discussed the presentation of human rights cases to the European Commission and a campaign to amend the 1947 Bulgarian religious affairs law.

Orlin and Zang also met with several other rights organizations, where they supplied advice and technical support. They:

- met with the Children at Risk Association to advise them on program development;
- urged the director of the Freedom of Expression Group to publish a handbook for journalists on their rights under Bulgarian law;
- had several meetings with the Minority Studies Society-Studii Romani on their plans to initiate a campaign against segregated Romani schools.

Zang was highly trusted by the Bulgarian Gypsy community and often mediated between clans and individuals. Few others were able to do this with any success. Zang and Orlin received consistent high praise for their efforts, availability and personal style from all of the groups we fund as well as from others in the community. All the local groups insisted that this support be continued.

### ***CITIZEN PARTICIPATION:***

Eleven of the 56 grants were made in this area, which covers Political Development Program objective number 2 above: activities which help citizens interact with each other and with local government to identify and solve community-wide problems.

Four significant institutions or programs are highlighted below:

#### **1) DIALOG in Poland and Romania**

Three high-impact grants were made: \$22,000 in 1993 and \$37,500 in 1994 to **DIALOG/Romania** plus \$66,000 in 1994 to **DIALOG/Poland** to expand the pilot Bialystok DIALOG model to the cities of Opole and Kielce. DIALOG is a community mobilization program that establishes mechanisms and programs which involve citizens with local governments to find solutions to issues identified by the citizens.

In September 1995, USAID's office of Rule of Law and Public Administration in the ENI bureau co-funded a new project with the German Marshall Fund to expand the DIALOG project to a total of six cities in Poland and six in Romania. This award of \$814,625 by USAID was based on the successful efforts up to that time of piloting and testing the model in Bialystok and Brasov.

DIALOG's goal is to demonstrate that concerted action by private citizens and groups can help solve local problems and can influence government action. The DIALOG process involves participants from local government, the media, business, education, NGOs, trade unions and churches. They are trained in consensus-building, problem-solving, strategic thinking, planning, dispute resolution and other leadership skills.

Issues pertinent to an individual city are identified by initial opinion surveys undertaken by the DIALOG office. Issue campaigns are then undertaken at the community and neighborhood/housing estate levels. Campaigns involve radio, television and the press to inform, educate, motivate and mobilize citizens for community action.

For many citizens in both countries, the opportunity openly and publicly to challenge government officials and have a voice in public decisions has been a first-in-a-lifetime experience. At the same time, because of experiences under totalitarianism, and in spite of strong anti-government bias, there is a belief by many that the government, not the individual, should solve problems. This conundrum is at the heart of the challenge DIALOG has faced in encouraging citizens to take the initiative to solve problems and to trust working with others to do so.

### **DIALOG in Poland:**

In 1994, DIALOG was expanded to Opole and Kielce. These two cities were selected out of a total of 14 that requested DIALOG be brought to their city. DIALOG/Bialystok is responsible for overall coordination and direct technical assistance to these and other new cities.

Both have undertaken community-wide issues surveys. In both cities, city-wide campaigns as well as neighborhood-specific campaigns at the *osiedle* (district) level have been undertaken. As a result of DIALOGs on public safety in all three cities, Neighborhood Watch Programs have been established.

### **Major accomplishments of DIALOG/Kielce:**

- Published a survey entitled "The Population of Kielce and Current Social Problems," which detailed the survey results and introduced a plan for a program to solve many of the City's social problems at the grassroots level;
- Sponsored several workshops on crime prevention. Specific topics included: burglary prevention, avoidance of dangerous situations, neighborhood watch programs and self defense. In addition to citizen participation in the workshops, representatives of the police department, City Guards, the Inspector of the State Supervision of Commerce and employees of the district housing administration attended the workshop, fielded questions and offered their assistance to the participants;
- As a result of the crime prevention workshops, DIALOG staffers identified eight community volunteers who were willing to set up neighborhood watch programs in their areas. DIALOG remains in close contact with these group leaders, and DIALOG staffers regularly attend the neighborhood watch meetings to offer assistance with any projects which the group wishes to undertake;
- Organized the "Forum for NGOs of Kielce," the first meeting of its kind in the city to bring together members of local NGOs working in all spheres of public life. Thirty-seven organizations were represented at the forum by 78 participants. The Forum accomplished several significant goals, some of which include:
  - ❖ preparing NGO employees to act in the new democratic conditions of Polish society with lectures on: legal aspects of NGOs in Poland, identifying funding sources and public relations/promotion;
  - ❖ serving as an important promotional tool for DIALOG, inspiring wide local media coverage;
  - ❖ providing a useful networking opportunity for DIALOG and community NGOs, enabling them to forge alliances for future projects — producing a declaration,

- signed by all participants, promising future cooperation with other NGOs and local authorities;
- ❖ creating a board of seven NGO members to coordinate matters of common interest to all area NGOs — which now meets on a regular basis and is self-governing.
  - Cooperated with the police department to produce “Attention: Pickpockets” stickers which were placed around Kielce in places such as city buses, taxis and stores;
  - Cooperated with a housing cooperative to convert a neglected city square into a playground for children --the Municipal Office paid for a portion of it;
  - Organized “Summer Meetings with DIALOG” training workshops to develop effective communication, group leadership and mediation;
  - Held a “Day of DIALOG” event to promote DIALOG and engage local citizens. City Hall paid for the event that attracted about 6,000 residents.
  - In addition to the large amount of press coverage related to the NGO forum, DIALOG staffers built strong partnerships with members of the print, radio and television media; a weekly column about DIALOG appears in *Gazeta Kielecka*;
  - Received pledges of support from virtually all government agencies, including the City Council, the Mayor’s office, the housing authority and the police department;

**Major accomplishments of the DIALOG/Opole:**

- Established a coalition of government officials, business people, academics and the media to assist DIALOG in the implementation of their programs; the Opole City Board declared its support and promised ongoing cooperation with the program;
- Prepared and carried out a survey and press questionnaire on the problems affecting Opole residents. Respondents to the survey cited public safety and leisure activities for youth as their primary concerns. The first series of projects in Opole focused on public safety and crime prevention;
- Helped to organize meetings of local residents to combat the problems of loitering youth and vandalism in the apartment buildings of Opole. These meetings came to be known as “Staircase Meetings,” because one of the favorite gathering places for youths (and primary sites of acts of vandalism and violence) were the long hallways and staircases of area apartment buildings. As a result of these meetings, which brought together adult residents, youths, police and city council members, plans were made to establish a youth club. In addition, a fund was established by area residents to pay for the partitioning of hallways and new intercoms to help keep non-residents from entering the buildings uninvited;
- DIALOG staffers were instrumental in organizing a citizen group interested in paving a sidewalk along a busy stretch of road used by cement trucks and other heavy vehicles. Area residents felt that if a sidewalk was provided that the number of accidents involving pedestrians would be greatly reduced. After some initial resistance

- from the city, and after a great deal of publicity and lobbying by members of the group and DIALOG, the mayor agreed to allocate city funds for the project;
- Published (in cooperation with the Pro Lege Foundation) a brochure on personal safety;
  - Sponsored a program called "Summer in the City," to provide students with safe and fun places to spend their vacation. DIALOG successfully elicited participation from various sports clubs and fields in the area, which provided their facilities and even helped organize games and provide prizes for participants;
  - Organized a "We Feel Safe With DIALOG" festival funded by the Trade-Industrial Bank;
  - Sponsored a "Children's Day" which featured games to teach third graders about safety. A booklet called "Nine — This way is safer" was produced in conjunction with the Children's Day to be distributed in area schools.

**Major accomplishments of the Bialystok technical support program:**

- Sponsored seminars and training workshops for the staff of the Kielce and Opole offices on topics including: recruiting DIALOG leaders, planning, public work at the grass roots level, how to make meetings work, creative thinking to overcome the barriers of routine and innovative problem solving. Many of these seminars and workshops were attended by local government officials, community leaders and members of the press;
- Prepared an implementation schedule for use as a guideline for the first six months of operation of the new offices;
- Several members of the Bialystok office participated in individual seminars sponsored by the branch offices as observers and as consultants to provide suggestions for improving future workshops;
- Assisted the staff in Kielce with volunteer recruitment, community organization, proposal writing, fundraising and research preparation;
- Ellen Elliott (U.S. consultant) participated with local staffers from both Kielce and Opole in workshops regarding the training of community leaders and report writing;
- Allan Kulakow (U.S. consultant) provided information on the DIALOG program in other parts of the region (Romania) and consulted with both offices regarding a five-year implementation plan for their programs.

DIALOG programs have been expanded to three additional Polish cities: Rzeszow, Olecko and Sopot. DIALOG Bialystok acts as coordinator of all DIALOG activities in Poland.

### **DIALOG in Romania:**

DIALOG was introduced in the cities of Brasov and Sibiu in 1993. In Brasov, as a result of the initial issues survey, campaigns have focused on: a clean and safe city, recreational facilities for the young, improved relations with local government and a greater citizen role in solving these and other local problems.

An enormous challenge to DIALOG/Brasov was finding ways to break through the wall of civic mistrust created by the brutality of the former Romanian regime. Therefore, an outreach program to address citizen hesitancy to disagree with government officials and to increase the response of officials to needs expressed by the public has been particularly noteworthy.

#### **Major accomplishments of DIALOG/Brasov:**

- Organized a "Garbage Carnival," sponsored by 12 private companies, which offered some of their products as door prizes. The purpose of the event was to educate the public on the need for recycling programs and common methods used for recycling solid waste. Speeches were made by various local officials who also fielded questions from the audience. Materials were distributed on recycling and a questionnaire to gauge citizen reaction to a possible recycling program in Brasov and to ascertain familiarity with DIALOG. Following the Carnival, DIALOG and PDA staffers cleaned the square to set an example for future gatherings. Local and national media covered the event;
- Started a pilot program for owners' associations (legal associations for land and private property owners) and currently are organizing small discussion groups (leaders have already been selected);
- Mobilized the community to stop an incinerator project near Brasov;
- Held "Face to Face" meeting in the town square with three MPs, nine City Council members and 300 citizens. The officials fielded questions from the citizens, and the results of the "Garbage Carnival" survey were announced. In addition, DIALOG staff members conducted a follow-up survey on the clean-up of the city;
- Sponsored "Recycling Caravan," in which 80 children from local schools collected trash for recycling. The event covered by the local print, TV and radio media;
- Held a Christmas concert to raise money for an international violin competition in Brasov. The concert raised one million lei and the Local Council approved five million lei in government spending to support the competition;
- Expanded the recycling program to 19 schools throughout Brasov;
- Sponsored an Earth Day program, where teenagers planted 160 trees and helped clean up the city.

- Designed a local TV campaign, which included opportunities for viewers to call in and ask questions about DIALOG and make suggestions for programs. As a result of viewer suggestions, one trash company now helps to pay for community clean-up;
- Two local newspapers, *Gazeta de Transilvania* and *Transilvania Express* now run permanent columns that allow citizens to write city officials and other relevant parties regarding the clean-up program and other issues. DIALOG staffers provide follow-up assistance to make sure citizens' questions are answered;
- Members of the Brasov and Sibiu staff traveled to Bialystok, Poland to learn more about DIALOG's progress there;
- Produced, in conjunction with a local radio station, a program about the DIALOG process and subjects such as garbage removal, hazardous waste and recycling. The programs also allowed citizens to ask questions on the air and have them answered immediately.

DIALOG/Brasov now coordinates the training and support of DIALOG programs in Focsani, Miercurea-Ciuc, Alexandria, Sibiu and a new program in Slobozia.

**Major accomplishments of DIALOG/Sibiu:**

- Completed a community survey — top problems included: cleanliness of the city, leisure time for adults and parking. A press conference was organized to present the results of the survey. The first project for DIALOG in Sibiu addressed the problem of cleaning up the city;
- Cooperated with the local radio station to produce programs on DIALOG and design a press campaign;
- Organized a mass tree planting in an effort to beautify the city;
- Assisted neighborhood groups get illegal dumping in an underground passage cleaned up and to shut down businesses that engaged in unsanitary practices;
- Helped get a densely populated area of the city added to the patrol roster for the Public Guard Corps to reduce criminal activity;
- Helped get traffic lights installed at a busy intersection frequented by children;
- Started a program with the Office for Consumer Protection (OCP) to license DIALOG staff to examine consumer products for violations, which they can then forward to the OCP;
- Sponsored a first-ever school Christmas party in one of the poorest districts of the city which brought together parents, students and teachers for a night of fun and community involvement. The event set an especially important example for future community involvement — all services, including police assistance, the P.A. system and Santa Claus himself were donated free of charge;

- Established two school recycling programs, which not only taught students about the importance of recycling, but also helped raise money for the schools. The recycling programs have now become a regular school activity and has inspired other area schools to follow suit;
- Organized 200 volunteers for an Earth Day activity in Sub Arini Park, which included planting 150 trees donated by the city and a park clean-up;
- Established a city recycling program;
- Arranged for a column in the *Tribune Sibiului* newspaper which details DIALOG accomplishments and results of the community survey.

## 2) Emerging Leaders Forum

Two USAID grants totaling \$43,172 supported the 1995 Emerging Leaders Forum in Kosice, Slovakia, \$24,857 to **Partners for Democratic Change-Slovakia (PDC-Slovakia)** and \$18,315 to the **National Civic League (NCL)**. The program targets young men and women who are expected to be in leadership positions within three to five years and attempts to improve local governance by creating a network of skilled community leaders who can work effectively to meet community-wide challenges. These grants supported a partnership in which PDC-Slovakia was responsible for the day-to-day administration of the program and NCL provided supervision and training in select areas, such as the leadership sessions, critical thinking and community strategic planning .

Partners for Democratic Change-Slovakia is part of a region-wide network of nine negotiation and dispute resolution training centers. Its director, Dusan Ondrusek, is one of the best dispute resolution trainers in the region. The Slovak non-governmental mediation and training organization has been active since 1991.

The community leadership program, begun in 1994 and now in its third year, is for 24-30 emerging leaders from the public, private and NGO sectors in Kosice, the country's second largest city, in eastern Slovakia. The program stresses public participation skills such as analyzing problems, resolving conflict and building coalitions. It is designed to address the near total lack of appropriate role models and community problem-solving skills among local officials, and NGO and other private sector leaders. The program enhances leadership and team-building skills, and helps them, as a group, solve actual problems using democratic processes and tools.

The year-long Forum consists of ten seminars, ranging from one to four days in length, where participants are exposed to the best thinking, training and tools developed over the past 15 years in the United States and elsewhere. PDC-Slovakia staff members and Stephen

McCormick, American resident director of the National Civic League's International Civic Assistance Program, provided the training.

Participants in the Forum each pay the equivalent of \$75 into a program fund; their sponsors or employers pay another \$150 each. All of these funds are used by the participants once they have identified one or more (up to four) projects in which to invest their time and program money.

Final participant evaluations show a high degree of satisfaction with the program. The local advisory board, made up of the mayor and representatives of business and local universities, is strongly supportive of the program and would like to see it continue.

Kosice is the Slovak city most watched for new developments and political tendencies. The new mayor, a former Communist Central Committee member, is willing to work with the Forum, which is an important indicator of how well the Forum is viewed and an important sign to other communities about its value.

Board members of the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation visited the program last year and made a grant of over \$100,000 to the NCL to run an additional Emerging Leaders Forum elsewhere.

A goal of the second year (1995) was to transfer fully all program capabilities to PDC-Slovakia by 1996. This has been accomplished, and the German Marshall Fund recently made a grant of \$23,000 to PDC-Slovakia to support the 1996 Emerging Leaders Forum.

### **3) The Hungarian Foundation for School Development**

A grant of \$23,950 was made to the Foundation for School Development in 1993 to support its democratic school leadership "Training of Trainers" project in Hungary. The program was designed to develop a cadre of skilled trainers for a nationwide democratic school leadership program. The program focused on training administrators and principals in participatory decision-making skills: conflict resolution, understanding different values, involving more people in decision-making, listening to others, group dynamics and time management.

In the United States, trainers visited several different types of schools and learned about educational practices at each level; learned practical ways of incorporating democratic practices into running schools; and experienced firsthand educational practices about which they had previously only read, including the mainstreaming of disabled students in normal classroom settings, team teaching, etc. The high level of parent and community involvement

in U.S. schools provided inspiration to the participants to encourage similar support back in Hungary.

In Hungary, the trainers put their newly acquired knowledge to work by designing their own training workshops and testing their ideas on the rest of the group. This activity proved very successful, with participants sharing ideas and making suggestions to help improve each others' presentations. The group helped to design and publish a workbook for use in future training programs.

Participants returned to their respective schools to begin training other teachers and administrators in the basics of democratic decision-making. More than 200 school leaders were introduced to up-to-date leadership programs thanks to this project, and so far three county districts (of 20 in all of Hungary) have indicated an interest in running workshops using the Foundation for School Development's trainers. The effects of this program should only increase as time goes by, as more and more school officials will receive training and pass their new knowledge on to their colleagues and students.

The German Marshall Fund has since made grants totaling \$53,461 to the Foundation for School Development to support the creation of a dozen model school boards over a two-year period.

#### **4) The Support Office for the Movement of Self-Help Initiatives (BORIS)**

Core support grants were made totaling \$50,580 over a three-year period: \$16,032, \$24,255 and \$10,293. The German Marshall Fund has also contributed \$36,660 over the past two years.

BORIS was created in 1992 to promote cooperation between NGOs and local and national government, and quickly garnered interest and support. It provides technical assistance and training to the growing number of NGOs and other voluntary organizations in Poland. In the past, voluntary organizations were not established by popular will, but rather by government directive. There are now opportunities for citizens to organize independently. BORIS provides assistance to organizations started by citizens who until recently found it difficult to move from the initiation stage to the stable operation of a service organization. It is the first such Polish organization.

In addition to assisting Polish organizations with management issues, program planning, budgeting, proposal writing and the identification of potential funding sources, BORIS also provides legal assistance to organizations, which includes training in writing articles of incorporation, by-laws and complying with the requirements of formal registration. Some of these services are funded by the EC PHARE Programme, with BORIS acting as one of five regional support centers for non-governmental organizations in Poland.

Training is provided for NGO leaders and public sector employees through the Social Activation Center on organizational management, teamwork, fundraising and strategic planning. The Center facilitates community development initiatives. One example is the "Forum for the Physically Challenged," a network of 10 organizations working with the physically disabled and local officials to reduce architectural barriers in the public spaces of Warsaw. Several members of BORIS' Forum for the Physically Challenged have been granted observer status on several City District Council committees to make cities more accessible. They also were invited to meet the Polish president, indicating their importance as an advocacy group for the physically disabled.

BORIS is the regional coordinator of the First Forum of NonGovernmental Initiatives. Its goals include working to integrate the nonprofit sector and creating rules of cooperation between the public, nonprofit and business sectors. A meeting of 250 organizations was held in February 1996.

Since 1992, more than 1,100 organizations and 425 government social welfare offices have received assistance from BORIS. Polish NGOs were able to raise more than 20 billion zlotys through October 1994 for their program activities as a result; people from more than 360

NGOs and 410 social welfare institutions received training; representatives of more than 610 NGOs received technical assistance and information. In late 1995 and early 1996 more than 80 organizations were assisted with proposal writing to the new U.S. Democracy Network.

Other examples of their training activities:

- Organized, in conjunction with several other groups including the Warsaw Voivodship Office of Social Assistance, the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy and the Polish Foundation for Children and Youth, training workshops on the structure and function of the public sector social welfare system, the role and function of NGOs, "Leadership Enhancement" and program planning;
- Taught a course on the dynamics of change on the community level at the University of Warsaw, Institute for Social Policy, fall 1992;
- At the invitation of the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy, provided training workshops for 25 social welfare workers and directors from the Konin region on "Activating the Local Community," "Cooperating with the NGO Sector" and "Program Planning";
- Organized nine classes with 120 students from the Resocialization and Social Prevention Department of Warsaw University to familiarize students with the role and work of the NGO sector in Poland. One of the goals of the classes is to interest students in possible employment opportunities in this sector. As a result of this ongoing collaboration, NGOs will be included as placement sites for students participating in internships;
- Were invited by the Centre for Development and Emergency Planning at Oxford Brooks University, England to conduct training workshops on community participation methods and project delivery and management for their regional workshop, "Technical Assistance to the Non-Profit Sector: Minsk, Belarus," held in Minsk on September 18-25, 1994.

BORIS also operates an **Information/Resource Center** for NGOS. Activities of the Center include:

- Developing a library of volumes on subjects such as developing a civil society in Poland, monographs on NGOs abroad, areas in which NGOs are currently working, organizational development and management, training and funding resources, public relations materials produced by Polish NGOs and periodicals published for and by the NGO community;
- Maintaining the KLON data bank of more than 2,600 service NGOs operating in Poland;
- Distributing books and periodicals to NGOs seeking technical assistance;

- Conducting outreach programs to inform the NGO community about BORIS' services and offerings;
- Conducting presentations for students of Warsaw University and the Post-Secondary Vocational School of Social Work on the roles, functions and impact of NGOs in Poland.

**BORIS** established Poland's first **Volunteer Center**, which focuses on the recruitment and training of volunteers — an activity which many smaller NGOs are unable to carry out.

- conducted training on how to attract volunteers;
- published articles and conducted radio and TV interviews to popularize volunteerism;
- worked to create a volunteer referral office to match volunteers with organizations;
- established contact with more than 10 national and international volunteer organizations.

**Polish-German Cooperation** is another important area of activity. Since September 1995, BORIS has been coordinating with the Polish Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs and the German Federal Ministry of Family, Seniors, Women and Youth.

BORIS' partnership with the German Federal Ministry also has led to the publication of the journal *SOCIUS* in German and Polish. The journal covers sociopolitical and legal issues in Germany and Poland. The second issue will be published in May 1996.

Other activities and accomplishments:

- Published the first issue of the annual magazine *Rocznik — Known and Unknown Sector*. The magazine is distributed to members of parliament, local government officials, universities and journalists. Because of its popularity, funding was obtained to produce additional copies and translate it into English. The second issue will be produced this year.
- Received funds from the PHARE Civic Dialogue Program to publish/edit handbooks for NGOs. The series of 10 books on management issues will cover team-building, leadership, planning, proposal writing, fundraising, cooperation between the public sector and NGOs and working with volunteers. The first is planned for April 1996.
- Participated in joint activities with foreign organizations such as the German Social Party Union; HelpAge International, England; Kinderpostzegels, The Netherlands; The Prince of Wales Business Leaders Forum, England; CIVICUS: World Alliance for Citizen Participation, U.S.; Delphi International, U.S.; and the International Council on Social Welfare;
- Began negotiations to produce a new TV series about the Non-Profit Sector.

Under the able leadership of Pawel Jordan, BORIS has become an example for Polish NGOs, with many new groups basing their organizational structure and activities on BORIS' model. BORIS has become a valuable contact and partner for local and foreign organizations and institutions, serving as an information source on the status of NGOs in Poland and facilitating links between foreign organizations and Polish NGOs for joint efforts on an international scale.

## VI. OTHER SUB-GRANTS MADE

Additional grants, not highlighted in the previous section, include (by country):

### **Albania:**

A grant in 1992 of \$6,855 was made to **Theodore Zang**, a human rights lawyer, to support a trip to Albania to assess the strengths and weakness of the local human rights advocates and NGOs and make recommendations for future grantmaking.

The **Albanian Helsinki Committee (AHC)** was identified by Zang as a promising rights NGO. First- and second-year grants covering core costs were made to the AHC totaling \$9,344 in year one and \$24,800 in year two, plus a travel grant of \$5,000 to field a delegation to the UN conference on Human Rights in Vienna.

The AHC has had a rocky development which is well known. Following its near censure from the International Helsinki Federation, it restructured its board and has taken on more of a watchdog role vis-a-vis the government. After several years of trying to encourage the AHC to bring in younger members such as law students, the AHC is beginning to do so. We strongly recommend U.S. Democracy Network funding for this NGO tied to training in organizational development and advocacy/outreach.

### **Bulgaria:**

In our effort to help establish a cluster of NGOs working on complex rights issues in Bulgaria, we provided full core support grants to five rights NGOs. The **Human Rights Project** defending the Roma was described above, as was **Citizens for Religious Tolerance** and the **Bulgarian Helsinki Committee**. In addition, **Bulgarian Lawyers for Human Rights** (\$15,820) provided much-needed legal expertise for the cases of the groups just mentioned and the **Freedom of Expression Group** (\$24,933) sought to address issues of the role of the

press relating to fanning the flame of ethnic hatred. The grant to Utica College described above provided legal technical assistance to these NGOs.

Since the Roma emerged as the minority group most adversely affected by the transformation and without the political means of securing their rights, we made additional grants to support work related to their needs. One \$38,500 grant to the **International Law Institute** brought a group of rights leaders and Roma activists to the United States for a two-week study tour to look at how U.S. minorities had built movements and organizations to protect their rights. Another grant for \$10,000, brought Drs. **Elena Marushiakova** and **Vesselin Popov** here to look at how American Gypsies have used the law to protect their rights. Since then, they have been active members of the **Bulgarian Helsinki Committee** and other organizations trying to develop policy options for the Roma.

Finally, we made core support grants covering years one (\$15,800) and two (\$14,000) of the **International Centre for Minorities' Studies and Intercultural Relations**. It was originally designed to be a public policy advocacy organization to promote tolerance between ethnic and religious groups in Bulgaria. Some months after it was launched, George Soros made a significant grant (\$250,000 ?), to the organization which turned it into an academic research institution. We had to combat efforts to use our funds for cultural studies instead of the practical activities the grant was designed to handle.

### **Romania:**

The **League for the Defense of Human Rights (LADO)** received a \$10,000 planning grant plus a \$1,200 grant to send two staff activists to the **International Institute of Human Rights** summer training program in Strasbourg. (Within a year, both had left LADO.) As we have noted in earlier reports, LADO's organizational development has been repeatedly hampered by the inability of the leadership to retain staff and to invest in the training and financing of the branches.

The **Romanian Independent Society of Human Rights (SIRDO)** received two grants: \$2,775 for a series of roundtables around the country on minority rights issues; and \$14,140 for salaries at the headquarters in Bucharest and at the Iasi branch. In past months SIRDO seems to have imploded. A number of staff were fired and despite repeated efforts to sort out the situation, we are left with the sense of a floundering NGO. However, President **Corneliu Ormeneanu** recently informed us that they have moved to a new office, past management problems are being sorted out, and they are focusing on new programs on human rights protection and education, refugees and women's rights.

The **International Women Judges Foundation** received a grant of \$7,915 to bring two Romanians, Liliana-Elisabeta Rus, from the court of Bistrata and Antoaneta-Victoria Popescu, a 36-year-old prosecutor-general, Supreme Court of Justice, to participate in a training-the-trainers program on how to use international human rights instruments in judicial decision making. The program was designed to develop a training process for judges from many countries who have not had access to or understanding of international human rights instruments for judicial decision making.

The Romanian participants are planning to hold a seminar in Romania for other women judges using the same case study method used in the American training-the-trainers pilot program. It will be supported by a grant of \$23,000 from the German Marshall Fund and is now tentatively scheduled to take place in September because of a recent change in the Romanian election calendar.

### **Czech and Slovak Republic:**

Two grants were made in 1993 to the **National Civic League** for \$24,528 and \$15,000 for its International Civic Assistance Program. The grants supported two years of residential expertise in Usti nad Labem and western Slovakia to help local officials and Roma leaders develop skills to negotiate responses to the Roma crisis there. This was an extremely difficult assignment and one which succeeded far better in Usti than in Slovakia. The Roma in Northern Bohemia represent a serious and growing problem for themselves and for the communities in which they live legally and illegally.

Through months of formal and informal meetings and training, the program focused on: (a) improving the ability of the Roma representatives to analyze their situation more comprehensively and represent their concerns more effectively; and (b) strengthening democratic governance where discriminatory statutes have been promulgated, questionable law enforcement tactics have been used and where intolerance is growing and even sanctioned.

The main results of the first grant are:

- civic officials have come to understand that the situation of the Roma is critical and that it cannot be addressed without the active participation of the Roma;
- the Roma have begun to understand that their fragmentation is hurting their cause greatly, and have begun to develop better skills for analyzing their problems, presenting their cases more persuasively to city officials, and for exploring the aspects of possible solutions which lie within their control.

The Northern Bohemia Association of Municipalities (SESO) has organized a series of meetings for local and national officials concerned with minorities to examine crime, jobs, housing and social service delivery issues. The county government of Usti nad Labem sponsors the program locally and provides office space and access to office equipment at low cost.

In Slovakia, the grant supported projects in three cities on democratic governance with an emphasis in two of those cities on the rights of minorities. Six seminars were completed with a total of 128 participants, and numerous meetings were held on exploring two interlinked concepts: the responsibilities of municipal officials to respond to the valid concerns of "unpopular" citizens effectively, and the responsibility of citizens to learn how to work effectively within the framework of democratic governance.

Other accomplishments included:

*Northern Bohemia/Czech Republic:*

- Carried out problem-solving sessions with Roma and local civic leaders, bringing national Czech leaders into the Roma civic dialogue;
- Helped to revive a moribund Roma studies program at the J. E. Purkyne University in Northern Bohemia, which led to the creation of a civic association uniting Roma and non-Roma concerned with improving prospects and relations;
- Established a City-Roma partnership in gathering information on the number and needs of the poorest Roma, doubling the number of Roma on the police force, and employing Roma "ombudsmen" in some of the mayoral offices;
- Created an association of Roma and non-Roma citizens (Voluntary Association for the Solution of Roma Problems in Usti nad Labem) concerned with improving relations between the two groups;
- Softened pronouncements and condemnations by city officials with respect to the Roma;
- Achieved a Roma effort to build a stronger coalition to win more seats on city councils throughout Northern Bohemia in elections and an agreement to participate in training programs which improve management and leadership skills.

*Slovakia:*

- Worked with the mayor of Liptovsky Mikulas, the largest city in the Liptov region, to institute an ongoing City-Roma task force to act as a pilot program for other communities;
- Helped to insure that Roma are included in economic development schemes and in the privatization of housing.

## **Czech Republic:**

One grant of \$24,400 was made to support the start-up of **FISOG, the Foundation for the Improvement of the Status of Gypsies**. FISOG started off very well and was doing important work, but we closed the grant down when it became clear that the fractious Roma community was not willing to work with a Gadge married to a Rom from another clan.

From our 4/15/94 Quarterly Report:

As reported orally to AID/Washington and AID/Prague, the grant (\$24,400) to the Foundation for Improvement of the Status of Gypsies (FISOG) was closed four months early and the remaining funds (\$5,191) remitted to us. From our internal evaluation and thoughtful comments of others in the Czech Republic, FISOG achieved some successes during its short existence despite the fact that it was doing too many things at once: (1) it raised attention to Roma issues in the Czech Republic and internationally; (2) it provided legal representation in, principally, civil cases to about 80 Roma charging discrimination; (3) it acted as an ombudsman for Roma on many issues; (4) it advocated positions on different legislation before Parliament; (5) it tracked the treatment of Roma in the press and attempted to influence press intolerance. Unfortunately, FISOG ceased to function effectively when tensions arose between different Roma families represented on the staff and board and a Roma/non-Roma cleavage arose between members of the board of directors. This was further exacerbated by efforts to pretend that the cleavage and tensions did not exist.

## **Slovakia:**

Five grants were made in Slovakia. Two to the **National Civic League and Partners for Democratic Change-Slovakia** were described above in the earlier section.

A grant of \$39,342 was made to the **Center for Foreign Journalists** to bring Hungarian-Slovak journalists to the United States to look at the minority press and attendant issues. A grant of \$10,233 was made to the **21st Century Foundation** for a set of activities with the Club of Mayors around the issue of decentralization. Since Prime Minister Meciar's election the decentralization issue has been tabled and the grant was restructured. Several policy oriented brochures were published.

A small grant of \$5,000 was made to support *IQ*, a student magazine which was stopped midstream.

From our 7/15/94 Quarterly Report:

In the last report we reported a grant of \$5,500 to the Center for Independent Journalism in Bratislava to support the printing and related costs of *IQ*, a student bimonthly magazine which covers social, political and cultural issues. The editorial board of this magazine has decided to make it into a literary magazine and has returned unspent funds totaling \$4,303 to the Fund.

### **Hungary:**

Other than the two grants described above to **Hungarian Helsinki Committee** for \$21,000 and to the **Foundation for School Development** for \$23,950, we supported a conference in Romania through a Hungarian foundation, **Pro-Minoritate Foundation**. Its purpose was to look for political means to resolve the ethnic conflict by bringing liberal politicians together to discuss the issue.

A grant to the Centre for Defense of Human Rights - **MEJOK** for \$32,000 was made to support the start-up of a three-country network of NGOs working to address racially motivated attacks on foreigners of color. In addition to the first two branches in Romania and Bulgaria, there are now branches in Slovakia and the Ukraine.

## VII. SUB-GRANTS MADE BY COUNTRY

The following is a complete list of grants by country in the order that they were made. An asterisk (\*) after a grant amount indicates that the figure has been split to display the amount allocated by country.

### ALBANIA

**\$6,855**      **Theodore Zang**  
New York, NY  
10/19/92

To support a 12-day trip to Albania to assess the strengths and weaknesses of local human rights advocates, attorneys and NGOs and to develop an individual rights protection program. This trip also was used to determine whether to include Albania in the Utica college project described above and below. Following Zang's trip, we decided to include Albania in the Utica college project.

**\$12,250 \***      **Utica College of Syracuse University**  
Office of College Relations  
Utica, NY  
Contact: Michael Simpson  
12/10/92

To provide human rights counsel and technical support, principally on the ground, to emerging human and minority rights NGOs in Romania, Bulgaria, Slovakia and Albania. The German Marshall Fund made a grant of \$69,500 to Utica College to underwrite the costs of Theodore Orlin and Theodore Zang, two human rights lawyers with considerable hands-on experience in Central and Eastern Europe: (1) to provide ongoing methodological support to human rights NGOs in developing appropriate responses that challenge authoritarian decrees; and (2) to help such NGOs grow to the next level of development through technical assistance and training.

\*(One-half of the grant. See also Bulgaria and Assessment above.)

**\$5,344**      **Albanian Helsinki Committee**  
Tirana, Albania  
Contact: Kujtim Cashku  
12/22/92

To support the general operating costs of the Albanian Helsinki Committee whose purpose is to monitor human rights issues and violations countrywide. As part of this project, the Committee trained two law students in human rights activism; issued a monthly newsletter on human rights violations; and investigated cases.

The German Marshall Fund, together with the Norwegian Helsinki Committee, granted additional funds to allow the Albanian Helsinki Committee to purchase a secondhand car for its case work.

**\$6,125 \***      **Salzburg Seminar**  
3/24/93

\*(One-quarter of the grant described below under "Region.")

**\$5,000**      **Albanian Helsinki Committee**  
Tirana, Albania  
Contact: Kujtim Cashku  
5/21/93

To support the travel and per diem costs of three Albanian human rights activists at the NGO Forum of the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna, in June 1993. The three participants were Professor Arben Puto and Professor Kristo Frasheri, members of the Albanian Helsinki Committee, and Ms. Diana Culi, chair of the Independent Forum for Albanian Women. The group's focus is on problems concerning: Albanians in Kosovo; the Greek minority in southern Albania; Balkan trends of ethnic violence and religious intolerance; the protection of women's rights; and to meet, interact with and learn from the many experienced human rights activists in Vienna who have dealt with many of the issues facing Albanians today.

NB: The International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights met every evening with the East Central European local Helsinki Committees to brief and debrief them on the Conference's daily issues and strategies. An East Central European regional group was formed to share strategies and programs and to promote the work of NGOs in implementing human rights

standards, and when necessary, challenge international and governmental institutions to uphold them.

**\$4,000**      **Albanian Helsinki Committee**  
Tirana, Albania  
Contact: Kujtim Cashku  
8/12/93

A supplemental grant to adjust first-year start-up and general operating costs for inflation.

**\$18,000**      **Independent Forum for the Albanian Woman**  
Tirana, Albania  
Contact: Diana Culi  
12/20/93

To support the Independent Forum for the Albanian Woman's first-year start-up and general operating costs to set up a national network to promote women's civil and economic rights by establishing a central office, publishing a newsletter and strengthening local affiliates.  
(See Assessment.)

**\$12,294 \***      **Utica College Foundation of Syracuse University**  
Utica, New York  
Contact: Michael K. Simpson  
12/22/93

To support the second-year costs of the Human Rights Advocacy Project (HRAP) through which two human rights lawyers, Theodore Orlin and Theodore Zang provided ongoing human rights counsel and technical assistance to emerging human rights and minority rights NGOs in Bulgaria and Albania.

NB: The annual HRAP budget was \$58,588. The GMF funded up to \$34,000 for work principally in Romania, with AID monies of \$24,588 limited to work in Bulgaria and Albania.

\*(One-half of the total grant. See also Bulgaria and Assessment.)

**\$24,800**      **Albanian Helsinki Committee**  
Tirana, Albania  
Contact: Arben Puto  
8/12/94

To support the second-year general operating costs of the Albanian Helsinki Committee. The AHC had many internal personnel and policy problems, not the least of which was the unwillingness of some board members to hold the government accountable when some person or organization claims rights or takes positions that are counter to those of the government. We renewed the sub-grant despite the troubles of the organization because (a) it is not a surprise that this NGO, operating in a country without a constitution, and with no organizational experience, was taking a bit of time to become an effective human rights NGO; (b) replacing Kujtim Cashku with Arben Puto would possibly make a positive difference; (c) Albania needs to have a human rights organization; (d) very few indigenous political advocacy NGOs exist in this fragile new democracy.

**\$6,900**      **Independent Forum for the Albanian Woman**  
Tirana, Albania  
Contact: Diana Culi  
12/16/94

To support the domestic costs of a workshop and public information campaign on Albanian women's rights held in Tirana in May 1995. The goal of this first women's rights workshop in Albania was to produce an action plan for public education which was disseminated to local groups through local workshops, printed material and local events. Workshop invitees included local and national IFAW leaders, leaders of other women's and youth groups, journalists and government and elected officials.

(See Assessment above.)

**\$18,860**      **Independent Forum for the Albanian Woman**  
Tirana, Albania  
Contact: Diana Culi  
2/16/95

To support the second-year general operating costs of the Independent Forum for the Albanian Woman (IFAW). Despite the many problems faced by Albanian NGOs with respect to organizational and strategic development, the IFAW has grown and attracted a great deal of attention. With countrywide chapters and a membership claimed to be about 2,000 at the time, the potential for it to develop into a meaningful advocacy NGO was significant.

(See Assessment above.)

## **BULGARIA**

**\$4,520**      **Human Rights Project (formerly Institute for Social and Environmental Research)**  
Sofia, Bulgaria  
Contact: Dimitrina Petrova  
8/25/92

To support in part the first-year general operating costs of the Human Rights Project to monitor human rights violations, principally in the Bulgarian Roma community, and to seek redress for such violations through the courts when appropriate.

(See Assessment above.)

**\$12,250 \***      **Utica College of Syracuse University**  
Office of College Relations  
Utica, NY  
Contact: Michael Simpson  
12/10/92

\*(One-half of the grant described above under "Albania". See Assessment above.)

**\$5,100**      **Bulgarian Helsinki Committee**  
Sofia, Bulgaria  
Contact: Pravda Spassova  
12/17/92

To support the general operating costs of the Bulgarian Helsinki Committee. (NB: There are two Helsinki Committees in Bulgaria. This one is not linked to Mr. Rumen Vodenicharov, alleged to have Communist ties). The Committee's purpose is to monitor human rights issues and violations with a special emphasis on ethnic communities; to collect and disseminate information on rights, and to receive and direct complaints from individuals.

(See Assessment above.)

**\$29,800**      **International Centre for Minorities' Studies and Intercultural Relations**  
Sofia, Bulgaria  
Contact: Antonina Zheliazkova  
12/17/92

To support first- and second-year costs of this public policy advocacy organization aimed at promoting tolerance between ethnic and religious groups in Bulgaria. The program supported by these funds focused on a set of practical activities which included: (a) opening public opinion toward minorities as equal partners in the life of the country by making available objective and unbiased analyses of issues to policy makers and the press; (b) training of local government officials in key sectors to enable them to relate to their local communities; and (c) encouraging the training of members of ethnic communities as advisors on ethnic and community relations in national and local government and in voluntary organizations as well as researchers and teachers.

**\$38,500**      **International Law Institute**  
Washington, D.C.  
Contact: Stuart Kerr  
3/02/93

To support a 14-day U.S. study tour for seven Bulgarian ethnic and human rights leaders to look at (1) federal institutional safeguards that protect minorities; (2) the ways minority groups of color and religion have used the law to protect themselves; and (3) how minority groups have built effective organizations and movements. Participants included:

Ms. Kalina Bozeva, chairwoman, Minority Rights Group; journalist for a weekly newspaper. (Sofia)

Mr. Vassil Chaprazov, chairman, Unified Roma Union. Its mission is to unite all Gypsy organizations. (Sliven)

Mr. Kasim Dal, Turkish minority rights activist, working principally at the local level. (Varna)

Mr. Dimitar Georgiev, staff member of the Gypsy Protection Project, a rights monitoring and protection program of the Helsinki Citizens Assembly. (Sofia)

Dr. Krassimir Kanev, presidential advisor on inter-ethnic and religious affairs; leading human rights activist; secretary of Bulgarian Helsinki Committee. (Sofia)

Dr. Assen Kolev, founder of "Roma," a Gypsy foundation centered in Plovdiv, Bulgaria's second largest city, whose mission is to provide humanitarian and social services to Gypsies. (Asenovgrad)

Mr. Mohamed Redjeb, Turkish minority rights activist, working principally at the local level. (Haskovo district)

NB: This grant was in response to a proposal submitted by Dr. Krassimir Kanev, listed above, who also identified the participants, and ILI's response to an attendant "request for proposal" issued by the Fund.

**\$6,125 \***      **Salzburg Seminar**  
3/24/93

\*(One-quarter of the grant described below under "Region.")

**\$15,820**      **Bulgarian Lawyers for Human Rights Group**  
Sofia, Bulgaria  
Contact: Zdravka Kalaydjieva  
3/30/93

To improve the effectiveness of Bulgarian human rights NGOs by drawing on a network of trained human rights lawyers for legal advice, hiring legal counsel to pursue strategic cases and by disseminating information on cases, and court decisions to the media, bar associations, and among governmental institutions and NGOs.

**\$4,850**      **Human Rights Project**  
Sofia, Bulgaria  
Contact: Dimitrina Petrova  
4/21/93

To support the travel and per diem costs of six Bulgarian human rights activists at the NGO Forum preceding the Vienna World Conference on Human Rights in June 1993. The six participants were Pravda Spassova, Yonko Grozev and Emil Cohen of the Bulgarian Helsinki Committee, Zdravka Kalaydjieva of the Bulgarian Lawyers for Human Rights Group, Savelina Danova of the Human Rights Project, and Stefan Grozdev, a judge in the Sofia regional court. The group's focus was to participate in the general debate on improving NGO access to the U.N.'s human rights mechanisms and bodies and in the adoption of the final document of the NGO Forum and in establishing contacts with other NGOs from East Central Europe for future cooperation. More specifically and in different working groups, Emil Cohen presented a report on the protection of minorities in Bulgaria and identified the obstacles in implementation of minority rights; Zdravka Kalaydjieva and Stefan Grozdev worked on the relationship between U.N. human rights policy and the role of NGOs from the East Central European perspective; Savelina Danova presented the work of the Human Rights Project which monitors human rights abuses in the Roma community and provides legal defense to Roma victims; Pravda Spassova and Yonko Grozev reviewed and assessed human rights progress in Bulgaria, identified obstacles and ways in which they could be overcome, prepared a statement of the Bulgarian Helsinki Committee evaluating the overall effectiveness of U.N. human rights standards and mechanisms and made recommendations.

NB: The International Helsinki Federation For Human Rights met every evening with the Central and East European local Helsinki Committees to brief and debrief them on the Conference's daily issues and strategies. An East Central European regional group was formed to share strategies and programs and to promote the work of NGOs in implementing

human rights standards, and when necessary, challenge international and governmental institutions to uphold them.

**\$8,644**      **Human Rights Project**  
Sofia, Bulgaria  
Contact: Dimitrina Petrova  
5/18/93

To support the costs of expanding the staff and outreach of the Human Rights Project, a Roma protection and legal defense program, including establishing branches in Stara Zagora and Shumen and to adjust project costs for inflation. The expansion grew out of the escalation of violence against Roma and the subsequent increase in case workload and monitoring activities.

(See Assessment above.)

**\$10,000**      **Elena Marushiakova and Vesselin Popov**  
Sofia, Bulgaria  
6/18/93

To support a study tour to the United States for Dr. Elena Marushiakova and Dr. Vesselin Popov, Bulgaria's leading ethnographers and public policy analysts on the Roma, to look at how American Gypsies are organized, how they (and other minorities) have used the law, given the strong tradition of non-interaction with non-Gypsies, to preserve their rights, and how they resolve conflict among themselves.

**\$33,824**      **Human Rights Project**  
Sofia, Bulgaria  
Contact: Dimitrina Petrova  
12/20/93

To provide second-year support for the Human Rights Project, headquartered in Sofia with branches in Shumen and Stara Zagora, in its continuing effort to monitor abuses against Gypsies in Bulgaria and to seek remedies through the courts and other institutions.

(See Assessment above.)

**\$24,933**      **Freedom of Expression Group**  
Sofia, Bulgaria  
Contact: Gueorgui Avramov  
12/20/93

To support the first-year general operating costs of the Freedom of Expression Group (FEG), which seeks to improve the way rights issues are covered and interpreted by the Bulgarian media by improving accuracy of information and the right of media access for a wider segment of the population than currently exists.

FEG was the first Bulgarian NGO to work on freedom of speech/press freedom issues. Most Bulgarian journalists are not familiar with western norms in this area.

**\$13,163**      **Bulgarian Helsinki Committee**  
Sofia, Bulgaria  
Contact: Krassimir Kanev  
12/22/93

To support second-year operating costs of the Bulgarian Helsinki Committee, which monitors and reports on human rights issues and violations in Bulgaria. Plans in the second year included the publishing of a quarterly newsletter and the hiring of a full-time rights activist, which permitted the BHC substantially to increase its fact-finding and case activity.

(See Assessment above.)

**\$17,382**      **Citizens for Religious Tolerance**  
Sofia, Bulgaria  
Contact: Emil Cohen  
12/22/93

To support first-year start-up and general operating costs of Citizens for Religious Tolerance (CRT), which seeks to address freedom of religion issues and to counter growing religious intolerance targeted principally at "non-traditional churches."

(See Assessment above.)

**\$12,294 \***      **Utica College Foundation of Syracuse University**  
Utica, New York  
Contact: Michael K. Simpson  
12/22/93

\*(One-half of the grant. See above description under "Albania" and Assessment above.)

**\$8,350 \***      **Centre for Defence of Human Rights**  
Budapest, Hungary  
Contact: Martin Ill  
7/6/94

\*(A portion of the grant described below under "Hungary.")

**\$24,862**      **Bulgarian Helsinki Committee**  
Sofia, Bulgaria  
Contact: Krassimir Kanev  
12/26/94

To support third-year rights activities of the Bulgarian Helsinki Committee (BHC) which monitors rights issues throughout the country, takes strategic cases, produces a well-regarded annual report in Bulgarian and English and a monthly newsletter, and actively engages in public advocacy/education on rights issues. The BHC also works closely with other Fund/AID-supported rights groups on fact-finding missions, monitoring and casework.

(See Assessment above.)

**\$24,942**      **Human Rights Project**  
Sofia, Bulgaria  
Contact: Dimitrina Petrova  
12/28/94

To support third-year operating costs of the Human Rights Project, a Roma legal defense NGO. This is the only human rights group in the region working solely on the legal defense of Roma. Today it maintains branch offices in four cities with significant Roma populations: Shumen, Sliven, Stara Zagora and Velingrad. It also has a nationwide network of volunteers who report information to the headquarters. (See Assessment above.)

## **CZECH REPUBLIC**

**\$16,968 \***      **National Civic League**  
Denver, CO  
Contact: John Parr, President  
3/09/93

To partially support the costs of the National Civic League's International Civic Assistance Program in northern Bohemia, a citizen-government interactive process aimed at building participatory democracy, with a special emphasis on minority rights and relations. Also, to identify pilot program sites in Slovakia where a similar effort might be useful.

\*( $\$7,560$  of the total grant was allocated for Slovakia. See below.)

**\$24,400**      **Foundation for Improvement of Status of Gypsies (FISOG)**  
Prague, Czech Republic  
Contact: Klara Samkova  
3/24/93

To support FISOG's watchdog and rights projects which seek to improve the status of Gypsies in the Czech Republic. These projects monitored the press and legislation affecting Gypsies, mobilized public support against anti-Gypsy laws and decrees and provided legal defense to Gypsies who were victims of abuse.

NB: Mr. Ted Zang, an American human rights lawyer, funded by the German Marshall Fund to provide technical assistance to rights NGOs in Romania, Slovakia and the Czech Republic worked with FISOG.

(See Other Grants.)

**\$7,319 \***      **National Civic League**  
Denver, Colorado  
Contact: John Parr  
9/14/93

To support the continuation of Stephen McCormick's program in northern Bohemia with a series of problem-solving sessions between Roma and civic leaders. Because public participation skills were so rare in this region, the first grant focused on developing leadership skills (managerial, collaborative problem-solving, negotiation, conflict management) and community problem-solving processes among and between elected and appointed officials and Roma leaders. (See Other Grants)

\*(The total grant is \$15,000, of which \$7,681 was allocated for Slovakia. See Slovakia below.)

## **HUNGARY**

**\$23,950**      **Foundation for School Development**  
Budapest, Hungary  
Contact: Attila Horvath  
2/26/93

To support the Foundation for School Development's training-the-trainers program, held partially in Hungary and partially in the United States, to develop a cadre of seven skilled Hungarian trainers for a nationwide democratic school leadership development program.

(See Assessment above.)

**\$24,150**      **Pro Minoritate Foundation**  
Budapest, Hungary  
Contact: Miklos Meszoly  
5/07/93

To support a three-day meeting, "The Making of Liberal Societies" in Romania for 80 regional senior centrist/liberal political leaders and other influential actors, to search for common ground across party lines on three issues: the national and ethnic question and how it endangers political and economic stability; sub-regional, regional and European integration of East Central European countries; and the lack of democratic tradition in the region. It was

co-sponsored by Liga Pro Europa, the Pro Minoritate Foundation, and the Civitas Foundation.

**\$15,300 \*      Centre For Defence of Human Rights**  
Budapest, Hungary  
Contact: Martin Ill  
7/6/94

To build a regional rights network of CDR affiliates in Romania and Bulgaria modeled on the Hungarian NGO, known locally as MEJOK, which deals with racially motivated attacks on nonwhite foreigners. MEJOK's work addresses the small but aggressive skinhead community's attacks on foreigners of color, an intolerance among Hungarians for nonwhite cultures and peoples, and abuse of the immigration and police systems toward non-whites.

This is part of a total grant of \$43,700, of which \$11,700 came from the GMF for a laptop computer and an annual meeting of activists from the regional affiliates.

\*(The total AID grant was for \$32,000, of which \$15,300 covered the Hungarian costs of building the network of affiliates, \$8,350 covered the costs of building a Romanian affiliate and another \$8,350 covers the costs of building a Bulgarian one.)

**\$21,000      Hungarian Helsinki Committee**  
Budapest, Hungary  
Contact: Ferenc Koszeg  
12/6/94

To support start-up and operating costs of the Hungarian Helsinki Committee (HHC), a new affiliate of the International Helsinki Federation (IHF). The HHC focuses on three activities: monitoring and fact-finding; legal aid; and public education. The biggest challenge they identified was dealing with police abuse against racial minorities. Legal aid is given free of charge or at cost by a small group of lawyers in Budapest and other cities throughout Hungary. This legal aid program was launched with a \$1,200 grant from the IHF/PHARE program.

(See Assessment above.)

## **POLAND**

**\$16,032**      **BORIS**  
Warsaw, Poland  
Contact: Pawel Lukasiak  
12/07/92

To provide funding for two full-time paid staff — the director of BORIS and an information/network specialist. BORIS, the Polish acronym for the “Support Office for the Movement of Self-Help Initiatives,” is a public/private partnership which provides technical assistance to Polish community-based NGOs in organizational development and institution-building, emphasizing strategies and processes which promote cooperation between NGOs and government institutions.

(See Assessment above.)

**\$24,255**      **BORIS**  
Warsaw, Poland  
Contact: Pawel Jordan  
12/20/93

To provide second-year support for four staff salaries to BORIS, the Support Office for the Movement of Self-Help Initiatives in Poland. BORIS was set up a year before to improve the capacity of community-based social service NGOs to deliver services, and help them link with local government institutions to work for common goals.

NB: The GMF provided an additional \$9,415 to cover the rent for the second year.

(See Assessment above.)

**\$24,500**      **Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights**  
Warsaw, Poland  
Contact: Marek Nowicki  
12/20/93

To support the second-year costs of the Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights Press Center. The Center is run by Ewa Letowska, Poland’s highly respected former Civil Rights

Ombudsman, legal scholar and media commentator. It grew out of journalists' lack of knowledge on constitutionalism, human rights and rule of law issues and their consequent inability to write competent analyses. A new dimension of the second year program was to address the deep mistrust between the media and judges by bringing the two groups together regularly to exchange views and to discuss their perspectives.

NB: The Fund provided \$37,300 of the \$61,800 annual budget of the Center.

(See also Assessment above.)

**\$66,000**      **Foundation in Support of Local Democracy**  
Bialystok, Poland  
Contact: Bogdan Jankowski  
8/18/94

To support the start-up of DIALOG in two Polish cities, Kielce and Opole. DIALOG/Bialystok coordinated and provided technical support. Budgeted for each city for the first year was \$26,392, including some outside technical assistance plus \$13,217 for DIALOG/Bialystok for coordination, training support and training material development. In addition to this grant, the GMF added \$4,000 for each of the two new cities to purchase office equipment.

(See Assessment above.)

**\$10,293**      **BORIS**  
Warsaw, Poland  
Contact: Pawel Jordan  
12/23/94

To support partial third-year operating costs of BORIS, the Support Office for the Movement of Self-Help Initiatives in Poland. Program goals included providing organizational and management assistance to local NGOs; delivering management training to community-based NGOs; setting up the Volunteer Center Project, a new initiative to stimulate and formalize opportunities for voluntary involvement in NGOs and public institutions, which has received support from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund; managing a new national initiative of the Ministry of Labor to encourage government to use NGOs to deliver social welfare services; and sharing information/resources.

This grant totaled \$37,293 to BORIS, of which \$27,000 came from the Fund and \$10,293 from USAID.

(See Assessment above.)

## ROMANIA

**\$2,775**      **Romanian Society for Human Rights (SIRDO)**  
Bucharest, Romania  
Contact: Vladimir Ormeneanu  
2/25/93

To support the costs of five two-day roundtables on human rights, minority rights, and violations thereof, held in five Romanian cities throughout the year. Each roundtable brought together 50-100 leaders of ethnic groups, political, community and official organizations in the cities of Tirgoviste, Iasi, Bistrita, Cluj, and Craiova, to discuss rights issues.

**\$6,125 \***      **Salzburg Seminar**  
3/24/93

\*(One-quarter of the grant described below under "Region.")

**\$5,100**      **Romanian Helsinki Committee (APADOR-CH)**  
Bucharest, Romania  
Contact: Renate Gavrilas-Weber  
5/07/93

To support travel and per diem costs of four Romanian human rights activists, Gabriel Andreescu, co-president of APADOR-CH; Renate Gavrilas-Weber, vice president of APADOR-CH; Eugen Vasiliu, director in the Ministry of Culture (former state secretary in Ministry of Culture) and a lawyer and member of the executive committee of the Civic Alliance Party; and Remus Opris, member of Parliament, the National Peasant Party, to participate in the NGO Forum and beginning sessions of the Vienna World Conference on Human Rights from June 9 - 17, 1993.

The participants presented the overall human rights situation of Romania with a special emphasis on problems of nationalism; met with other NGOs from Eastern Europe to analyze

the situation of minorities in southeastern Europe and plan for future activities; to compare the issues and level of Central and East European countries on legislation affecting rights; and to set up an information exchange mechanism/network for Balkan countries on these issues.

Upon their return from the conference, the delegates were invited to participate in a roundtable discussion sponsored by the Group for Social Dialogue. The minutes of the meeting were published in the magazine 22, and it received wide public approval, as it clarified the purposes and content of the Vienna conference.

(See Assessment above.)

**\$1,200            The League for the Defence of Human Rights (LADO)**  
Bucharest, Romania  
Contact: Nicolae Stefanescu-Draganesti  
5/27/93

To support train and related travel costs for Mr. Dan Radu Stanescu and Mrs. Lucia Humeniuc, LADO program officers, to participate in the annual beginning course on human rights at the International Institute of Human Rights' summer program in Strasbourg on July 2-30, 1993.

**\$2,974            Romanian Helsinki Committee (APADOR-CH)**  
Bucharest, Romania  
Contact: Renate Gavrilas-Weber  
5/28/93

To support travel, per diem and course costs of Ms. Manuela Stefanescu's participation in the annual advanced certification course on human rights at the International Institute of Human Rights' summer program in Strasbourg on July 2-30, 1993. Ms. Stefanescu is a vice president of the Romanian Helsinki Committee and a senior human rights activist. For non-lawyers doing rights work in Romania, participation in these Strasbourg courses provides an imprimatur of "expertise" to home-country authorities.

(See Assessment above.)

**\$23,863**      **Romanian Helsinki Committee (APADOR-CH)**  
Bucharest, Romania  
Contact: Renate Gavrilas-Weber  
6/15/93

To provide partial general support for one year, July 1993 through June 1994, for APADOR-CH to consolidate and institutionalize its diverse human rights projects and to pay the full-time salaries for a core group of human rights activists. The German Marshall Fund covered the rest of the general support costs for two years, totaling \$82,929.

(See Assessment above.)

**\$10,000**      **The League for the Defence of Human Rights (LADO)**  
Bucharest, Romania  
Contact: Nicolae Stefanescu-Draganesti  
7/13/93

A planning grant for LADO to develop a two-year program plan for both the national office and its chapters with an appropriate budget and staff. LADO needed to develop an effective active program that builds on its comparative advantage, namely its chapters. Ted Orlin and Ted Zang, under a grant from the GMF to provide technical assistance to human rights groups in Romania, worked with LADO to develop such a plan. [It should be noted that LADO had been suffering for some time from the leadership of an angry and autocratic president who drove away most of the program staff which the Fund and others had been supporting since 1991. Many human rights groups in Romania and internationally believe that LADO is important to Romania because it is the only human rights organization there with chapters around the country and because LADO enjoys a good name as a result of its positive role in the election.]

**\$22,000**      **Pro Democracy Association**  
Bucharest, Romania  
Contact: Alina Inayeh  
8/12/93

To establish DIALOG programs, modeled on the successful experience in Poland, in Brasov and Sibiu. The aim is to build broad-based community coalitions in each city to identify and begin to solve community-wide problems. Pro Democracy's chapters in Brasov and Sibiu act as the local sponsors including managing the DIALOG process and staffing the planning

group, the policy-setting arm of the coalitions. Pro Democracy's national organization managed the funding and helped coordinate activities between Brasov and Sibiu in order to be cost-effective and program-efficient. The national organization's role allow it to spread the process to other cities as the Romanian model is shaped. The German Marshall Fund made a separate grant of \$23,569 to Dr. Allen Kulakow to cover the costs of providing technical assistance over the first year.

(See Assessment above.)

**\$8,350 \***      **Centre for Defence of Human Rights**  
Budapest, Hungary  
Contact: Martin Ill  
7/6/94

\*(A portion of the grant described above under "Hungary").

**\$14,140**      **SIRDO - Romanian Independent Society of Human Rights**  
Bucharest, Romania  
Contact: Corneliu Ormeneanu  
8/16/94

To support three staff salaries at headquarters and two staff salaries and rent at the Iasi branch. In addition, the GMF made a grant of \$10,700 for office equipment for the headquarters.

(See Other Grants.)

**\$37,500**      **Pro-Democracy Association**  
Bucharest, Romania  
Contact: Alina Inayeh and Marian Tata  
10/24/94

To support second-year costs of DIALOG, the community-wide mobilization process, in Brasov and Sibiu. The second-year funding allowed Brasov/DIALOG to add new staff and to continue to engage citizens and local government in finding solutions to community problems identified as priorities to and by the community.

The development of the process in Sibiu was slower due principally to the staff director, a man with too many personal problems to fully attend to managing the process. At our insistence, an agreement was reached with the President of Pro-Democracy to replace him; we withheld funding until this change had taken place. Once the change had taken place, we made a separate Fund grant to Ellen Elliot, the highly effective former Peace Corps volunteer who spent two years assigned to DIALOG in Poland, to spend up to six weeks in Sibiu working with DIALOG.

Of a total grant of \$57,900 for second-year costs, \$12,040 came from the Fund and \$45,860 from AID funds, of which \$36,900 went to support Brasov and up to \$21,000 to Sibiu.

(See Assessment above.)

**\$7,915**      **International Women Judges Foundation**  
Washington, D.C.  
Contact: Judge Arline Pacht  
2/28/95

To support the travel costs of two Romanian judges to participate in the three-week training-the-trainers pilot program "Towards a Jurisprudence of Equality: Women, Judges, and Transnational Human Rights Law," held in July 1995 in Washington, D.C. (See discussion above under "Other Grants.")

## **SLOVAKIA**

**\$7,560 \***      **National Civic League**  
Denver, CO  
Contact: John Parr  
3/09/93

To partially support the costs of the National Civic League's International Civic Assistance Program in northern Bohemia, a citizen-government interactive process aimed at building participatory democracy, with a special emphasis on minority rights and relations. Also to identify pilot program sites in Slovakia where a similar effort might be useful.

\*(The total grant is \$24,528 of which \$16,968 was allocated to Czech Republic. See above description.)

**\$6,125 \***      **Salzburg Seminar**  
3/24/93

\*(One-quarter of the grant described below under "Region.")

**\$7,681 \***      **National Civic League**  
Denver, Colorado  
Contact: John Parr  
9/14/93

To support, in Slovakia, democratic governance and community leadership training in three cities with an emphasis in two of those cities on the rights of minorities. The Union of Towns and Municipalities of the Slovak Republic (ZMOS) hosted these activities.

Bardejov, Dunajska Streda, Liptovsky Muikulas and the Poprad region were considered as sites for the project. As in the project in Northern Bohemia described above in the Czech section, local officials tend to readily recognize they need to develop new "professional skills" and relations in order to meet the new realities they face.

\*( $\$7,319$  of the total grant of  $\$15,000$  was allocated for the Czech Republic. See Czech Republic and Other Grants above.)

**\$5,500**              **Center for Independent Journalism**  
Bratislava, Slovakia  
Contact: Katarina Vajdova  
2/1/94

To support the printing and related costs of *IQ*, a student bimonthly magazine which covers social, political and cultural issues, for a period of one year. *IQ* is published and edited by students affiliated with the CIJ and is politically independent and committed to fact-based writing.

(See Other Grants.)

**\$10,223**      **21st Century Foundation/Slovak office**  
Bratislava, Slovakia  
Contact: Andrej Bartosiewicz  
3/29/94

To support the work of the Club of Mayors in its efforts to shape the debate on local government reform by distributing a white paper called the "Rights of Towns and Their Protection"; by convening key leaders to discuss the proposed reform; and by engaging citizens in the debate through educational material and follow-up meetings.

(See Other Grants.)

**\$39,342**      **Center for Foreign Journalists**  
Reston, VA  
Contact: George Krimsky  
7/27/94

To support a two-week study tour for 11 Hungarian-Slovak journalists to the Washington, D.C. area. The tour focused on how minority groups have used the press to support their issues; how the press has evolved in its reporting of minority issues; and the why and how of investigative reporting. The study tour was proposed to us by the Sandor Marai Foundation, a Hungarian-Slovak NGO, which managed the selection process.

Participants were:

Ms. Agnes Bardos, editor, Slovak Radio and correspondent, Slovak  
Television/Hungarian Section  
Mr. Gyorgy Batta, freelance journalist; formerly news correspondent of the  
CSFR Press Agency  
Mr. Gyula Bodnar, head of cultural section, Uj Szo  
Ms. Judit Brogyanyi, editor, Uj Szo  
Ms. Ildiko Haraszti, writer, Szabad Ujsag  
Mr. Laszlo Juhasz, writer, Heti Ifi  
Ms. Marta Kamoncza, editor, A Het  
Ms. Eva Nagyvendegi, writer, Uj No  
Mr. Peter Sido, technical editor, Nap  
Ms. Maria Szabo, freelance journalist and correspondent,  
Slovak Radio/Hungarian section  
Ms. Gabriella Szitas, freelance journalist

**\$18,315**      **National Civic League**  
Denver, Colorado  
Contact: John Parr  
2/16/95

To support the 1995 Emerging Leaders Forum, a year-long community leadership program in Kosice, Slovakia started in 1994 by Stephen McCormick with GMF funds totaling \$72,910. The Forum brought together 30 emerging leaders from the public, private and NGO sectors in Kosice. The program was designed to address the near-total lack of appropriate role models and community problem-solving skills among locally elected and appointed officials, business, NGO and other private sector leaders. It was designed to enhance their leadership and team-building skills, and help them, as a group, to solve some actual problems using democratic processes and tools.

(See Assesment above.)

**\$24,857**      **Partners For Democratic Change**  
Bratislava, Slovakia  
Contact: Dusan Ondrusek  
2/16/95

To support the 1995 Emerging Leaders Forum, a year-long community leadership program in Kosice, Slovakia. It is further described above. Partners for Democratic Change-Slovakia was responsible for the day-to-day administration of the program, including recruitment, training, program delivery and evaluation.

(See Assessment above.)

## **REGION**

**\$10,000**      **Konrad Huber**  
Adviser to the CSCE  
High Commissioner on National Minorities  
The Hague, The Netherlands  
1/12/93

To support one-third of the salary and expenses of an American adviser to the new CSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities, Mr. Konrad Huber, for one year. Mr. Huber was asked by the High Commissioner and former Dutch Foreign Minister, Max van der Stoel, to assist him directly on programmatic issues of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe's (CSCE) new Office of the High Commissioner on National Minorities. Since the start-up budget of the office only provided for the salary of the high commissioner, Mr. Huber was asked to support his own expenses.

Mr. Huber, a 1989 Phi Beta Kappa and magna cum laude graduate of Brown University in International Political Economy, directed the Congressional Relations Office of the Congressional Human Rights Foundation prior to moving to The Hague. He is bilingual in German and English and speaks fluent Spanish and French.

(See Assessment above.)

**\$1,000**      **Ian Hancock**  
U.S. Presidium, International Romani Union  
Manchaca, TX  
2/23/93

To support travel and per diem costs for sending Dr. Hancock, the International Romani Union's U.S. representative, to New York to meet with European leaders of the International Romani Union at a March 1993 hearing to seek elevated status within the U.N. Economic and Social Council from consultative status to Category II NGO observer status for the Union.

**NB:** Representatives came from Western and Eastern Europe. Category II observer status was granted to the Union. The new status will allow the Union access to U.N. funding, participation in a wider circle of discussions, and recognition by and input into a number of U.N. agencies dealing with legal and human rights, and humanitarian, educational and cultural issues.

**\$24,500\***      **Salzburg Seminar**  
Middlebury, VT  
Contact: Olin Robison, President  
3/24/93

To support the travel, tuition, and room and board costs of five participants in one of the Salzburg Seminar's 1993 sessions, "The Non-Profit, Non-Governmental Sector: Individuals,

Organizations, and Democratic Societies,” or “Ethnicities, Culture and the Making of Nations.” Participants came from Romania, Bulgaria, Albania or Slovakia and represented minority interests as NGO leaders or advocates.

The NGO seminar focused on principles and practices of NGOs, management, funding and accountability.

The Ethnicity seminar examined the roles of geography, religion, language, culture and the law in establishing national identity. How is national identity sustained in a multicultural society? How are ethnic and cultural identities acknowledged, celebrated, and protected in a nation of diverse groups?

\* (We allocated \$6,125 of the \$24,500 to each of the four countries.)

## **VIII. REJECTED PROPOSALS**

In 1995, we provided all of the proposals rejected March 31, 1992 to March 31, 1995 in connection with grant EUR-0017-G-00-2041-00. We provide, separately, all of the proposals rejected April 1, 1995 to March 31, 1996.

## **IX. PUBLIC DOCUMENTS DESCRIBING SUBGRANTING ACTIVITY**

We attach hereto copies of regularly updated grants lists and other documents such as *Transatlantic Perspectives*, German Marshall Fund Annual Report and the GMF's information brochure *Who We Are and How We Work*, broadly disseminated in the United States and Europe.