

PD-ABF-399  
21124

*National Endowment for Democracy*

February 11, 1993

Mr. Gerald F. Hyman  
EUR/DR/DPI  
Agency for International Development  
Room 4440  
Department of State  
Washington, DC 20523-0053

RE: Grant No. EUR-0017-G-00-2044-00

Dear Mr. Hyman:

Please find enclosed the second quarterly report for the above grant covering the period October - December 1992. As you know, the grant provides for the Endowment to make two subawards, one to the Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe (IDEE) (\$495,000) and another to the Center for the Study of Democracy (CSD) (\$39,700) in Bulgaria. Both of these subawards were issued in late September. Attached is a breakdown of expenditures by region as of December 31, 1992.

As you will notice, there has been no reported activity on the CSD portion of this grant. The Center made no expenditures pending budget revisions to their grant which were necessitated by the long time period between the submission of their original budget and the actual signing of the grant. The budget revisions, which simply altered certain line items for computer equipment and did not change the original objectives of the project, were approved in January by the Endowment.

1101 Fifteenth Street, N.W. Suite 700 Washington, D.C. 20005 Phone (202) 293-0000 Fax (202) 223-0042

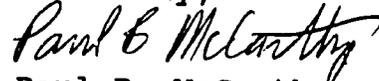
BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Amston Ford	Madelene Wright	James A. Joseph	William E. Brock
Frank E. Throckmold Jr.	Harry Bartel	John F. Laver	Dante B. Lascel
Charles E. Manatt	John Bratton	Thomas D. Bean	John Richardson
Susan Kaufman	Zbigniew Brzezinski	Lane Earl Lind	
	Edward Bremer	Richard C. Long	
		Mark Palmer	
		Stephen J. Scalet	
		John C. Sullivan	

Although no travel under this grant is anticipated during the next quarter (January through March), please note in IDEE's attached quarterly report that they will be traveling to Romania in February using other funding sources.

Please let me know if you have any questions.

Sincerely,



Paul B. McCarthy  
Program Officer for  
Central and Eastern Europe

cc: Barbara Haig  
Nadia Diuk  
Tresa Moulton  
AID/POL/CDIE/DI  
Gerald Zarr, AID/Bulgaria  
Lee Roussel, AID/Czech Republic  
Patricia Lerner, AID/Slovakia  
David Cowles, AID/Hungary  
Richard Hough, AID/Romania  
Adrien de Graffenreid, AID/Estonia  
Baudouin F. de Marcken, AID/Latvia  
John J. Cloutier, AID/Lithuania

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY  
 GRANT NO. EUR-0017-G-00-2044-0  
 EXPENDITURES BY REGION  
 EXPENDITURES BY COUNTRY/REGION  
 AS OF DECEMBER 31, 1992

Program	Budget	Cumulative Exp.
-----		
Subgrant to IDEE		
Regional-Cen. and E. European Publishing Fund	\$ 216,650	\$ 9,500
Romania-Civic Organizations	60,000	0
Regional-National Minorities & Interethnic Relations	140,000	2,000
Subgrant to Cen. for Study of Democracy		
Bulgaria--Cen. for Study of Democracy Bulgaria	39,700	0

- 8 1993

**GRANTED:** INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE  
**GRANT NO:** NED 92-118  
**REPORTING PERIOD:** OCTOBER 1-DECEMBER 31, 1992 (1st quarter)

SUMMARY

IDEE received a \$495,000 grant to carry out a multifaceted program of support for independent groups and publications in East-Central Europe and the Baltic states. The program is divided into three components: a) a fund for the independent media in Eastern Europe and the Baltic states; b) assistance to independent civic organizations in Romania; and c) support to groups and publications actively working for inter-ethnic harmony in the region.

PROJECT OBJECTIVES

- 1) To promote free and independent print media in East-Central Europe and the Baltic states through the strengthening of small and medium-sized publications.
- 2) To promote the continued development of a civil society in Romania by strengthening the role non-governmental civic organizations play in the democratization process.
- 3) To promote inter-ethnic communication and understanding as a means of resolving and alleviating inter-ethnic tensions in East-Central Europe and the Baltic states.

SUBRECIPIENTS

- East Central European Institute, Lublin. \$2,000 advance to pay for travel costs of East European participants of a conference on "National and Religious Minorities in Post-Communist East-Central Europe." (10/6/92)
- Liga Pro Europa, Tirgu Mures. \$3,000 advance to pay for publishing costs of the Liga's weekly publication, Gasetă de Mures. (10/26/92)
- Civic Institute, Prague. \$3,500 advance to pay for publications costs of The Democratic Primary, a book that is expected to be reprinted by the Ministry of Education and used in schools. (12/9/92)
- A \$3,000 support grant was made to a publication in Poland before IDEE found out (to our great dismay) that Poland was not included in this grant. We will be reimbursing the NED account with funds from a grant from a private foundation.

4

### PROJECT ACTIVITIES

During the period under review, IDEE contacted publications and civic organizations in the region to discuss their needs and solicit proposals. IDEE staff, both in Warsaw and in New York, also reviewed proposals already received.

Irena Lasota and Astrid Benedek travelled to Sofia and Bucharest in November, primarily on other grant business, but while there also discussed this particular grant with a great many people. They solicited proposals and assessed the situation.

In mid-December, Irena Lasota and Astrid Benedek travelled to Bratislava and Budapest on grant business. We talked to a great many people in Bratislava and Budapest about our funding possibilities and assessed the situation (see December monthly report).

The implementation of this program will be slow for the next few months. IDEE wants to make absolutely sure that all the organizations it funds can comply with grant provisions. It therefore needs to check each potential subgrantee very carefully and spend some time explaining grant regulations to them. Opening a separate bank account and producing satisfactory financial reports are only two of the many difficulties East European organizations encounter when trying to comply with grant provisions.

### PLANNED ACTIVITIES

Many more proposals and inquiries from Eastern Europe and the Baltic states should be reaching IDEE offices in the next quarter. If they are satisfactory program funds will be disbursed.

Irena Lasota, Astrid Benedek, and Monika Agopowicz (IDEE Warsaw office coordinator) will be travelling to Romania in February on other grant business, but will also work on this grant while there.

5



December 30, 1992

**TRAVEL REPORT: DECEMBER 17-20 TRIP BY IRENA LASOVA AND  
ASTRID BENEDEK TO BRATISLAVA, CZECHOSLOVAKIA**

We arrived in Bratislava on the evening of Thursday December 17 from Budapest by train. Our first phone call the next morning was to the AID representative at the US consulate, Patricia Lerner, whom we then met at 11 at the consulate for a briefing. We explained that we had come to Bratislava to see how best to assist the struggling independent press and other democratic initiatives. We had been in Bratislava several times in the past year and a half and were well acquainted with the Slovak situation. After the meeting with Ms. Lerner, we met for 3 hours (12-3) with Viera Langierova and Terezia Grellova of the Milan Simecka Foundation. IDEE has worked with the Foundation in the past to identify independent publications in need of assistance and the Foundation has been instrumental in helping IDEE distribute that assistance to the many recipients located all over Slovakia. IDEE has also supported and will continue to support some of the Foundation's own projects (such as the Oral History project the Foundation has recently undertaken). At this particular meeting, we discussed an expansion of IDEE's program to assist small independent provincial newspapers. The Foundation is to undertake the task of publicizing IDEE's offer of support, gathering applications and making sure they're complete and accurate, and commenting on them. Once IDEE has chosen the publications it will support, the Foundation will continue to be involved in helping IDEE transfer that support (money or equipment) to the chosen recipients. We also discussed a number of workshops the Foundation is sponsoring.

The rest of the day was taken up by one meeting after another. Starting at 4 PM, a large number of democratic activists gathered at Mozart House, the headquarters of the (now defunct) Public Against Violence and its successor the ODU party for a somewhat sad final celebration in that historic building. Mozart House was being rented to the Austrian government to house its embassy, and the many different democratic organizations were spending their last days there. At the meeting we talked to many different people about the situation in Slovakia in general, as well as about their own situation in particular. Among others, we spoke at length with Robert Konrad of the Civic Democratic Youth group with whom we had previously corresponded and made arrangements for the group to submit a proposal to

^

IDEE. We spoke to a number of people active in political and educational affairs, including Miroslav Kusy, rector of Comenius University, Peter Tatar, a former parliamentary representative, and Aleksander Slafkovsky, mayor of Liptovsky Mikulas. We also spoke with the editors of a number of publications, including Ivan Strpka of *Kulturny Zivot* and Jana Juranova of *Slovenske Pohľady*. At 7PM we had a longer formal meeting with Daniel Butora and Stefan Hryb, the editors of a new ambitious weekly, *Slovensko Dnes*. The weekly seeks to inform a wider audience about political, economic, and social issues and is looking for substantial investment and support to start publishing. IDEE cannot provide such substantial support but will consider making a grant towards paying for the costs associated with looking for such support and can also provide some small equipment. From 8:30 to 9:30 PM we met with Peter Zajac, a prominent democratic activist and former leader of VPN and discussed the possibility of IDEE funding a nonpartisan "political training" school for young political activists.

On Saturday, December 18, we met with Martin Simecka and his wife Marta, both of whom run the Archa publishing house and are also involved in a number of other democratic initiatives. IDEE had previously made grants to Archa, the most recent one to allow Archa to mail free of charge to every high school in Slovakia a package of books about the teaching of human and civic rights at school. That program has been extremely popular and will probably be repeated with a different package of books.

In the afternoon, we met first with Martin Butora and his wife Zora Butorova, both prominent sociologists and civic activists (Mr. Butora was President Havel's adviser on Slovak affairs for over a year). We discussed the situation of the independent press and of foundations and other initiatives and received many interesting and helpful suggestions. Later on we met with Ivan Strpka of *Kulturny Zivot* who described the difficulties faced by his publication. We discussed ways to increase their revenue and readership (IDEI will offer subsidies for the subscriptions for certain categories of readers, including students, teachers, pensioners, a method that has worked very well in Romania and in the Czech republic) and the possibility of purchasing a desk top publishing system for them. At 5PM we met with Sonia Cechova, editor-in-chief of *Mosty*, a six-month-old weekly that seeks to maintain the cultural links between the Czech and Slovak republics. Again we discussed the best way IDEE could help the publication. *Mosty* badly needs to hire a business manager and to raise more revenue from advertising.

In the evening, we met Sonia Somolonyova and Iveta Radicova, two prominent civic activists. Both of them are sociologists, who have worked on surveys and projects about

a number of important political and social issues. We mainly discussed the problems of national minorities in Slovakia and asked them to look for good projects to fund.

On Sunday, December 20, we met with Ladislav Snopko, a former minister of culture and Zuzanna Bartosova, a museum curator, who are involved in a number of cultural projects, including the European Cultural Club. Later on we also met with Zuzanna Szatmary, head of the Charter 77 Foundation in Bratislava and discussed the various projects the Foundation sponsors and for which it needs to raise money and agreed to work on coordinating our various projects.

We made it clear at each and every one of our meetings that these talks were only preliminary and that a formal proposal from the newspaper or organization seeking funding was the first step towards our considering such a request. We also informed as many people as we could about our funding possibilities and about the kinds of proposals we would like to see. We therefore expect a number of requests to reach us in the near future.

19

**GRANTEE: INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE**  
**GRANT NO: 92-118**

**TRAVEL REPORT: December 15-17 trip to Budapest**

Irena Lasota and Astrid Benedek travelled to Budapest, Hungary on their way to Bratislava, Slovakia. While in Budapest they met with representatives from the Association of Young Democrats (FIDESZ), including Mr. Attila Ledenyi of the International Affairs Department and Mr. Marton Modos who is in charge of press affairs. We discussed a wide-ranging program of support for local independent media and were promised that a proper proposal would be submitted. We also met with Eva Blonesi who heads the Pro Minoritate foundation. We discussed possible funding for some of their programs, including a series of discussion between Hungarians and Romanians in Transylvania on alleviating the growing tensions between their communities. We had several meetings with the Democracy after Communism Foundation which sponsors a variety of educational programs aimed at strengthening democracy both in Hungary and in the neighbouring countries. We also met with Kristof Varga of the Joint Eastern Europe Center for Democratic Education and Governance, which, among others is putting together and editing materials for the new social studies curriculum in Hungarian schools. We were not able to meet with the people from a new organization, the Martin Luther King Foundation, which was organized to promote tolerance and fight discrimination and violence against ethnic and national minorities, but we left information and asked them to contact IDEE.