

A Legacy of Support for Freedom?

**An Analysis of the
Bush Administration
FY2009 Budget Request for
Democracy and Human Rights**



June 2008

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A Legacy of Support for Freedom? An Analysis of the Bush Administration FY 2009 Budget Request

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In February 2008, the Bush Administration released the FY09 budget request, which calls for \$1.719 billion for programs to support democratic development, an increase of 20 percent from current levels. Freedom House supports this budget request and, with the recommended modifications, urges that the Congress and incoming Administration adopt these funding levels in support of front-line activists working for freedom around the world.

The FY09 request is a marked improvement over the FY08 request, which was the first to utilize the “F process” framework. This year, the Administration has requested a \$100 million increase to support democratic reform in Africa. The Bush Administration also has prioritized support for struggling democrats in repressive environments such as Zimbabwe, Somalia, Burma, and Iran. It has proposed funding increases for the Philippines, Ukraine, Bosnia, Georgia, Lebanon, the West Bank and Gaza, Yemen, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Bolivia and Guatemala, all of which have made progress in some areas, but need to make additional democratic reforms.

While Freedom House applauds this enhanced global commitment, the Administration has unfortunately fallen short in three main areas.

First, the Administration has unwisely requested a cut in funding for mechanisms that play a vital role in the U.S. effort to support democratic activists globally, including the State Department's Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor (DRL) and USAID's Office of Transition Initiatives (OTI). These centers of expertise are flexible, effective and able to take a broader approach to problems that are truly regional or global in scale. The expertise of these offices should be recognized and their capacities increased. “*Governing Justly and Democratically*” (GJ&D) funding, which we presume will go to the Office for Democracy and Governance within USAID's Bureau for Democracy, Conflict, and Humanitarian Assistance (DCHA), receives a \$10 million requested increase, an important step in the right direction that Congress should fully fund.

Second, the FY09 budget submission no longer provides specific detail on the level of support requested for human rights and press freedom. The FY08 submission provided detailed information on funding for human rights defenders assistance and freedom of information programming. In the

current framework, both are subsumed into the “Rule of Law and Human Rights” and “Civil Society” categories respectively. Both areas are traditionally underfunded and Freedom House is concerned that this lack of transparency will make it more difficult for appropriators to effectively allocate funding.

Third, the Administration has requested funding cuts that impact democratic activists in specific countries where the need is growing including Russia, Serbia, Timor-Leste, Kazakhstan, and China.

Freedom in the World, Freedom House’s annual publication, recently found that **freedom has declined around the world for the second year in a row**. Mounting threats to freedom have expanded as evidenced by recent developments in Zimbabwe, Russia, Tibet, Burma, Venezuela, Afghanistan and Iraq. Nonetheless, there is positive evidence over the past year that the development of democracy is beginning to taking root in parts of Eastern Europe where formerly communist countries are joining the EU and NATO, in Pakistan after nearly of decade of military rule, and in Latin America where most political leaders have demonstrated a commitment to the electoral process, freedom of expression and civil liberties.

The global challenges to democracy posed by entrenched authoritarians in Russia, Egypt and China, authoritarian petro-states, and continued conflict in Africa are considerable. Many states that have taken steps towards establishing a democratic system have not made adequate advances in other areas, including in establishing accountability and respect for the rule of law. In spite of these trends, courageous democratic and human rights advocates and activists continue to push for their fundamental freedoms, for justice, for the free flow of information and for governments that are accountable and responsive to their needs.

The inauguration of a new U.S. Administration, whether Republican or Democratic, provides an opportunity to redefine America’s role in the world and to reiterate our values as a people and a government. The International Affairs Budget communicates current U.S. policy priorities to the world. We believe that adequate support for democracy and human rights must continue as a key element of U.S. foreign assistance policy.

This report is the third in a series which examines U.S. support for democracy and human rights. In our last report, we found that while the Bush Administration had increased funding globally for democracy promotion, there were worrying decreases in support for civil society and human rights. While the Congress did not fully fund the Administration’s FY08 request, it did make noteworthy improvements for certain countries in the appropriations bill

that passed and was subsequently signed into law. We hope the Congress will do the same this year.

The FY08 allocations reflected in this report are “estimates” as described in the Administration’s FY09 Congressional Budget Justification. The final allocation of FY08 funds is not expected to shift significantly, if at all, from the FY08 “estimated” levels.

The global challenges to freedom call for the U.S. to make a substantial investment in democracy and human rights in every region. The Administration’s funding priorities by region are summarized below, followed by Freedom House recommendations.

In **Sub-Saharan Africa**, Freedom House found an overall deterioration of freedom in 2007 despite positive developments in Togo, which had its first genuinely democratic election, Mauritania, which became an electoral democracy and Cote d’Ivoire and Sierra Leone, which continue to register improvement after years of conflict. The Administration has called for a 37 percent increase over FY08 estimated GJ&D levels, the highest percentage increase after the Near East. The Administration has recognized the challenges posed in places like Zimbabwe, Angola, Liberia and Nigeria and is working to promote or consolidate democratic change across the continent. We hope that the Congress will recognize the need for flexibility in democracy programming in Africa and allow the Administration reasonable budgetary discretion in adapting to dynamic political developments that arise on the ground. Based on these findings, Freedom House recommends that Congress:

- **Maintain requested GJ&D funding levels generally across Sub-Saharan Africa.**

In **East Asia and the Pacific**, freedom declined throughout the region in 2007 particularly in Burma, North Korea, the Philippines and China, the world’s most populous “Not Free” nation. The major positive development in the region was in Thailand, where the loosening of military rule led to competitive elections and the return of civilian governance. The Administration has requested more in FY09 than was requested or appropriated in FY08, but the region remains last in GJ&D funding worldwide. The most glaring lack of sufficient GJ&D funding is in China. Bipartisan support exists in Congress for increased support to China’s democrats which can and should manifest itself during the appropriations process. North Korea also ranks among the “Worst of the Worst” in Freedom House findings, yet the Administration requested only \$2 million in GJ&D funding. Freedom House recommends that the Congress:

- **Increase funding for China to at least \$20 million to recognize the considerable challenges faced by Chinese democrats.**
- **Restore GJ&D funding in Timor-Leste to the FY08 level of \$7.4 million to address issues of corruption, impunity and deteriorating press freedom.**
- **Match recommended levels in U.S. House authorizing legislation which calls for \$4 million in GJ&D funding for North Korea.**

In **Europe and Eurasia**, Russia continues its slide towards increased autocracy while increasing its negative influence over its former Soviet neighbors. In Central and Eastern Europe, while progress has been made due to an expanding European Union and NATO, challenges remain in the Balkans. Congress expressed a willingness to continue funding democracy and governance programming in FY08, yet the Administration requested another region-wide cut in FY09 funding levels. This is the only region where the Administration has requested a cut in funding. While Freedom House supports the requested funding increases for Bosnia, Georgia, Albania, Kosovo and Ukraine, the Administration has proposed cuts from FY08 levels for GJ&D in Russia and Serbia. These two countries will face considerable hurdles in 2009 as Russian democrats encounter an extension of the Putin era and a continued dismantling of nascent democratic institutions and Serbian civil society works to expand support for pro-European policies in a polarized polity following Kosovo's independence. Freedom House recommends that the Congress:

- **Restore GJ&D funding for Russia and Serbia to at least the FY08 levels of \$40.6 and \$18.7 million respectively.**

The **Near East** remains the most "Not Free" region in the world, and in 2007, Egypt, Lebanon and Syria registered declines in political rights and civil liberties. The requested GJ&D funding level is higher than any other region, and is made even larger with the regular "emergency" supplemental war funding bills. Freedom House supports the robust levels requested for Lebanon, Iran and the West Bank and Gaza, but is concerned about the amount requested for Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria and the lack of country specific funding to support democratic activists in the Gulf. Freedom House recommends that Congress:

- **Fully fund GJ&D for Egypt and consider conditioning a portion of Egypt's military assistance on political reform.**
- **Provide country specific GJ&D funding for democratic activists in the Gulf who now only have access to regional support mechanisms like MEPI.**
- **Restore GJ&D funding to \$1 million for Tunisia, \$800,000 of which should be spent to support civil society.**
- **Increase GJ&D funding to \$1 million in Algeria to support rule of law, human rights and civil society.**

Central and South Asia suffered a number of democratic setbacks in 2007. Bangladesh briefly experienced military rule followed by enduring political upheaval; election-related violence killed hundreds in Pakistan, including Benazir Bhutto; and entrenched regimes in Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and Tajikistan continued to repress democratic activists and human rights defenders. South and Central Asia is the second highest region in terms of GJ&D requested funding, due primarily to Afghanistan, which will likely have elections in 2009 and Pakistan, which seeks to consolidate fragile gains made in early 2008. Despite these increases, Freedom House is concerned about the funding levels for Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. As Kazakhstan prepares to assume the Chair-in-Office of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), civil society activists need international support to monitor the government's progress towards commitments on democracy and human rights. The Administration's request does not adequately acknowledge this challenge, and Kazakh activists deserve better. In Uzbekistan, the Administration has cut funding to support democratic activists though pressure from the Karimov government has grown. Freedom House recommends that the Congress:

- **Restore funding for Kazakhstan's civil society sector to \$4 million in order to enhance their ability to monitor the government's track record on democracy and human rights.**
- **Restore FY08 levels for GJ&D in Uzbekistan to \$4 million, \$2.5 million of which should be dedicated to fund civil society efforts.**

The **Western Hemisphere** has exhibited a strong commitment to democratic institutions despite underperformance in the field of human rights and enduring instability in the Andean region, due to ethnic strife, political polarization and economic inequality. The region receives a \$20 million increase in the Administration's GJ&D request, the largest increase coming within the "Good Governance" category. The challenges to democracy in the region are considerable and growing, as governments adopt increasingly restrictive measures against NGOs, state and non-state actors threaten freedom of expression, and attacks against human rights defenders are on the rise. While Freedom House welcomes the increase in funding, there appear to be significant challenges in Ecuador, Nicaragua, Paraguay and Venezuela that deserve careful review by Congress. Freedom House recommends that Congress:

- **Increase "Rule of Law and Human Rights" and "Civil Society" to \$2.5 million each in Ecuador.**
- **Maintain the FY08 GJ&D funding levels of \$16.4 million in Guatemala; support for human rights and the rule of law should be considered a special priority.**

- **Appropriate at least \$1 million for “Civil Society” and \$1.5 million for “Rule of Law and Human Rights” in Paraguay.**
- **Appropriate at least \$1 million for human rights work in Venezuela.**

Global funding provided through the **State Department’s Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor** declines in the Administration’s FY09 request from an FY08 level of \$166 million to \$60 million. Part of this is a reflection of the National Endowment for Democracy’s \$100 million budget shifting from under DRL in FY08 to State Operations in FY09. Even with this shift, the core DRL budget drops from \$66 million to \$60 million, a nine percent decrease. The FY09 DRL request is also a sharp drop from the FY07 level of \$94 million. Given that DRL’s funding is subject to considerable annual earmarking by the Congress, the Administration should be calling for increases, not decreases, in discretionary DRL funding. USAID’s Office of Transition Initiatives drops from an FY08 level of \$45 million to \$40 million in the FY09 request. DRL and OTI are critical sources of flexible funding for activists working in extremely difficult environments. Freedom House recommends that Congress:

- **Restore DRL funding to \$66 million and restore funding for USAID’s Office of Transition Initiatives (OTI) to the FY08 level of \$45 million.**

Finally, Freedom House supports the request for the **Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC)**, the Administration’s signature assistance program, which is a valuable complement to other assistance programs as it rewards those countries whose governments govern justly and democratically and invest in their own people’s betterment. While we hope that the MCC will evolve to place more consistent emphasis on a high standard of democratic achievement in determining which countries are eligible – and that MCC compacts will find a way to include programs that help consolidate democracy – Freedom House recommends that Congress:

- **Fully fund the Administration’s \$2.2 billion MCC request.**

Freedom House Recommendations for Congressional Appropriators

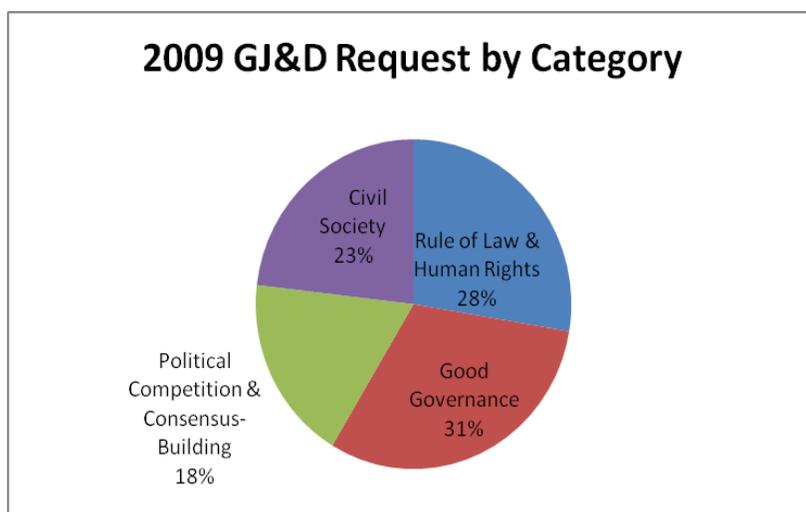
Country/Region	FY08 GJ&D Estimate	FY09 GJ&D Request	FY08 Civil Society Estimate	FY09 Civil Society Request	Freedom House Recommendation
China	5,208	1,325	248	0	GJ&D: \$20 million Civil Society: \$8 million
North Korea	0	2,000	0	1,000	GJ&D: \$3 million Civil Society: \$2 million
Timor-Leste	7,400	2,260	2,800	630	GJ&D: \$7.4 million
North Korea	0	2,000	0	1,000	GJ&D: \$4 million Civil Society: \$2 million
Russia	40,649	30,334	25,139	19,559	GJ&D: \$40.6 million Civil Society: \$25 million
Serbia	18,765	13,786	12,242	7,117	GJ&D: \$18.7 million Civil Society: \$12.2 million
Egypt	45,000	45,000	17,300	20,400	GJ&D: \$50 million Civil Society: \$20.4 million
Tunisia	992	0	742	0	GJ&D: \$1 million Civil Society: \$800,000
Algeria	0	400	0	200	GJ&D: \$1 million Civil Society: \$500,000
Kazakhstan	4,726	4,261	4,092	2,998	Civil Society: \$4 million
Uzbekistan	3,150	3,908	2,372	2,375	GJ&D: \$3.9 million Civil Society: \$2.5 million
Ecuador	2,282	8,145	600	1,645	Rule of Law/Human Rights: 2.5 million Civil Society: \$2.5 million
Paraguay	5,178	10,021	0	0	Civil Society: \$1.5 million Human Rights: \$1.5 million
Venezuela	4,495	5,000	4,495	5,000	Human Rights: \$1 million
DRL	166,000	60,000			\$66 million
OTI	45,000	40,000			\$45 million

GOVERNING JUSTLY AND DEMOCRATICALLY

Within this request, there are five categories of spending: “Peace and Security,” “Governing Justly and Democratically (GJ&D),” “Investing in People,” “Economic Growth,” and “Humanitarian Assistance.” In the relevant category for this report, GJ&D, the Administration has requested \$1.7 billion, an increase of \$343 million or 20 percent over the estimated appropriated amount in FY08. Fifty-two percent of this requested funding is for the Near East and South and Central Asia regions where five of the top six assistance recipient countries are situated.

(in thousands)	FY07 Actual	FY08 Request	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request	Change
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	1,154,493	1,447,965	1,376,768	1,719,780	+343,012 (+20%)
Rule of Law & Human Rights	332,776	399,253	396,138	475,185	+79,047 (+17%)
Good Governance	355,410	507,387	371,272	533,308	+162,036 (+30%)
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	147,132	186,102	173,273	313,254	+139,981 (+45%)
Civil Society	319,175	355,223	436,085	398,033	-38,052 (-9%)

The largest overall request comes in the category of *Good Governance*, while *Political Competition and Consensus Building* receives the highest percentage increase at 45%. While the overall requested funding level is strong, funding to support civil society experienced a 9 percent decrease due primarily to the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) shifting from the International Affairs Budget to the State Operations Budget.



Under the State Department's Office of Foreign Assistance, the Administration established the "F Process" in 2006 with the intention of clarifying programmatic and administrative allocations under the International Affairs Budget or "150 Account". In 2007, the International Affairs Budget request, as presented in the State Department's Congressional Budget Justification (CBJ), clearly indicated funding categories under the banner of "*Governing Justly and Democratically*" including individual line items for human rights, media, rule of law and civic participation. This year, the Office of Foreign Assistance changed the format such that funding allocations only appear under the broad headings of "*Good Governance,*" "*Political Competition and Consensus Building,*" "*Rule of Law and Human Rights,*" and "*Civil Society.*" This new format makes it nearly impossible to discern precisely where the Administration would place priority under those broad headings.

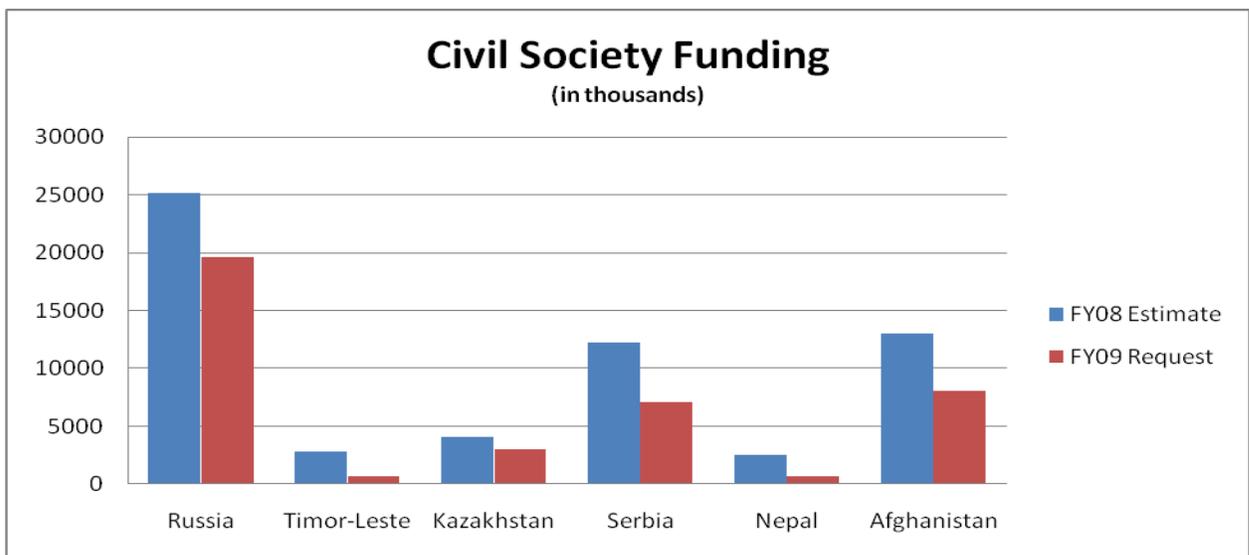
FY09 Top GJ&D Requested Assistance Levels
(in thousands)

	Country	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request	Change
1	Afghanistan	208,449	247,999	+\$39,550
2	Iraq	4,960	198,000	+\$193,040
3	Sudan	73,636	77,406	+\$3,770
4	Iran	21,623	65,000	+\$43,377
5	Pakistan	39,843	55,221	+\$15,378
6	Egypt	45,000	45,000	0
7	Lebanon	10,032	37,000	+\$26,968
8	Liberia	22,700	35,901	+\$13,201
9	Indonesia	31,650	35,239	+\$3,589
10	Russia	40,649	30,334	-\$10,315
11	Kosovo	35,149	30,050	-\$5,099
12	Bolivia	10,092	28,942	+\$18,850
13	Haiti	19,426	27,330	+\$7,904
14	Jordan	25,697	27,030	+\$1,333
15	Mexico	10,653	26,235	+\$15,582
16	Colombia	63,350	24,256	-\$39,094
17	Ukraine	21,549	24,144	+\$2,595
18	West Bank & Gaza	13,897	24,000	+\$10,103
19	Bangladesh	9,000	20,531	+\$11,531
20	Cuba	45,330	20,000	-\$25,330

Civil Society

Freedom House is concerned about the 9 percent overall cut in funding for civil society coming at a time when the threats to civil society activists are growing. While we acknowledge that part of this requested drop in funding is due to the National Endowment for Democracy shift from the International Affairs Budget to the separate State Operations Budget, funding for political parties, a core focus of the NED, actually increases in the International Affairs Budget by 45 percent. Diminishing funding for civil society at this critical time sends the wrong message to activists in key countries as well as autocratic leaders around the world.

The Administration has requested funding cuts in the International Affairs Budget for civil society activists in key countries including Russia, Kazakhstan, Afghanistan, Serbia and Nepal. Civil society groups in each country face unique challenges that require a strengthened U.S. assistance level. In Russia, civil society faces its most substantial threat since the end of the Soviet Union as Putin has consolidated near total control over the entire country. In Kazakhstan, civil society activists will need additional assistance in monitoring government efforts to improve human rights as it assumes the Chair-in-Office of the OSCE. In Serbia and Nepal, civil society will have key watchdog roles to play as both countries contend with challenging and tenuous political futures. In Afghanistan, national elections will require full participation of civil society in voter education and domestic election monitoring. The Congress should reconsider these funding levels to ensure that civil society actors in these countries get the support they need.



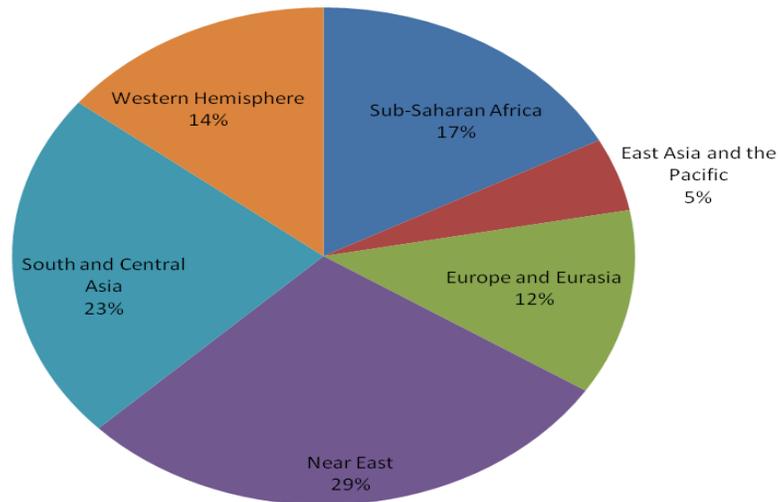
Top Civil Society Funding Recipients

	Country	FY09 Request	Percentage of FY09 Civil Society Funding
1	Iran	47,000	11.81%
2	Iraq	40,000	10.05%
3	Egypt	20,400	5.13%
4	Russia	19,559	4.19%
5	Sudan	15,946	4.00%
6	Cuba	10,000	2.51%
7	Pakistan	9,421	2.37%
8	Ukraine	8,237	2.07%
9	Afghanistan	8,000	2.01%
10	Belarus	7,340	1.84%
11	Serbia	7,117	1.79%
12	Bolivia	6,205	1.56%
13	Jordan	6,000	1.51%
14	Lebanon	5,000	1.26%
15	Venezuela	5,000	1.26%
16	Georgia	4,646	1.17%
17	Burma	4,490	1.13%
18	Kosovo	4,025	1.01%
19	Kyrgyzstan	3,922	.99%
20	West Bank and Gaza	3,750	.95%

Funding Levels by Region
(in thousands)

Region	FY08 Regional Overall GJ&D Request	FY08 Regional Overall GJ&D Estimate	FY09 Regional Overall GJ&D Request	FY08 Rule of Law & Human Rights Estimate	FY09 Rule of Law & Human Rights Request	FY08 Civil Society Funding Estimate	FY09 Civil Society Funding Request	FY08 Good Gov. Estimate	FY09 Good Gov. Request
Sub-Saharan Africa	220,227	171,828	272,684	30,850	41,562	29,727	52,518	49,157	99,635
East Asia and the Pacific	55,074	73,810	74,670	22,352	21,615	11,471	9,279	26,750	29,383
Europe and Eurasia	195,677	223,061	190,007	58,177	53,697	98,635	74,220	43,041	42,912
Near East	407,340	152,966	453,680	35,732	148,250	63,070	146,350	40,464	112,580
South and Central Asia	291,796	293,684	358,362	86,035	61,297	38,267	35,858	148,862	156,676
Western Hemisphere	174,631	207,609	227,254	98,914	97,486	49,931	37,557	39,013	68,827
Regional Total	1,344,745	1,112,958	1,576,657	332,060	423,907	291,101	355,782	347,287	510,013

FY09 Requested Regional Funding for Governing Justly and Democratically



Sub-Saharan Africa

Cumulative Total for Sub-Saharan Africa (11 Free, 23 Partly Free, 14 Not Free)

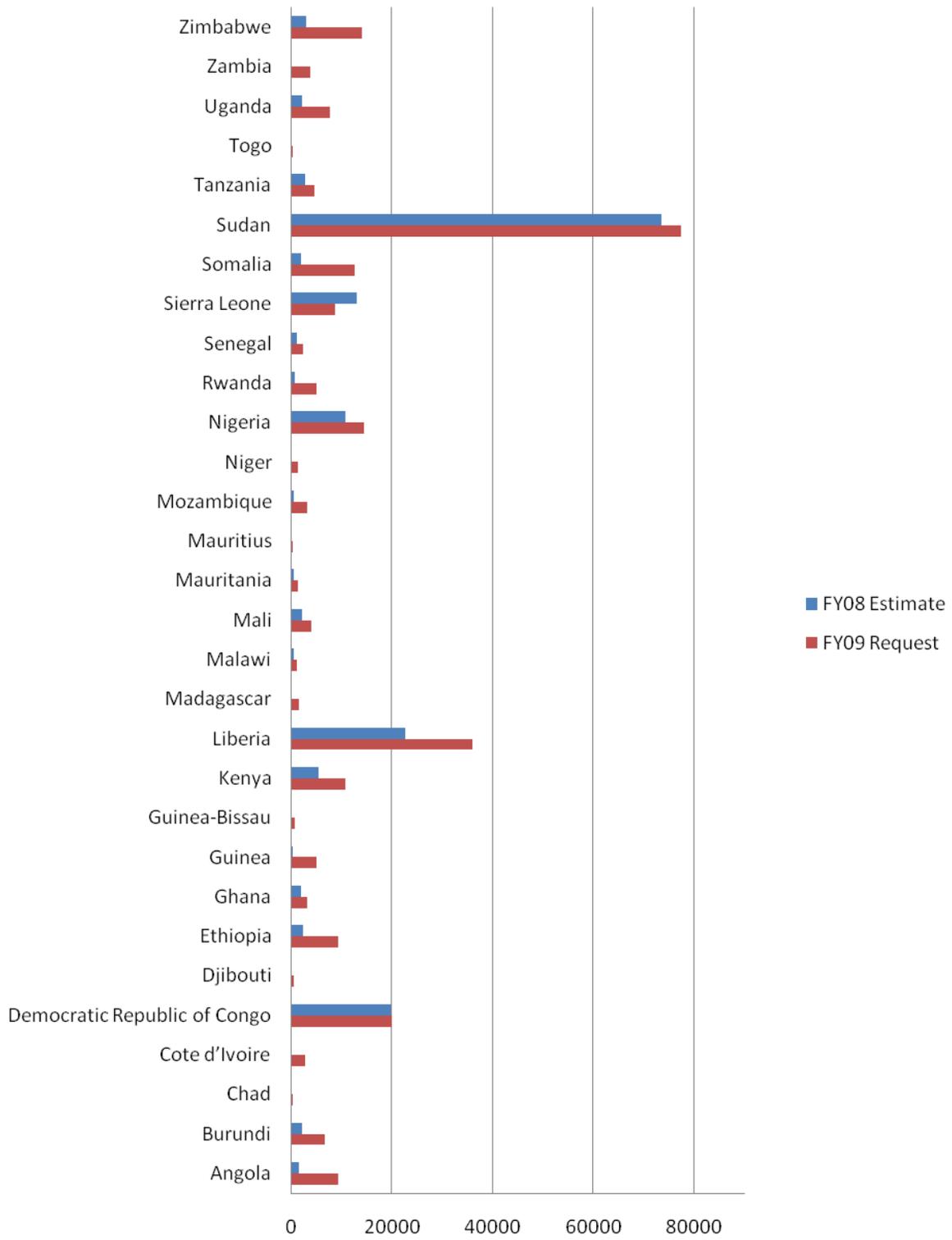
	FY08 Request	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL OVERALL FUNDING	5,490,214	5,194,780	5,297,732
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	220,227	171,828	272,684
Rule of Law & Human Rights	26,538	30,850	41,562
Good Governance	76,439	49,157	99,635
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	69,073	62,094	78,969
Civil Society	48,227	29,727	52,518

For the second year in a row, the Administration has requested a substantial increase in “*Governing Justly and Democratically*” for Sub-Saharan Africa, including in critical countries such as Zimbabwe, Angola, Liberia and Nigeria. This significant commitment to promoting democracy and human rights on the continent was unfortunately not met with commensurate support by the Congress last year which appropriated approximately \$50 million less than the Administration request and \$1 million less than what was spent in FY07. While the Congress did appropriate significant amounts of overall aid to Africa in FY08, especially in regards to health and development programs, we believe that without a sharper focus on democratic institution building, development gains could be lost. The 2008 edition of *Freedom in World* describes a deteriorating state of political rights and civil liberties across the continent, which deserves careful attention by U.S. policy makers.

Of particular note, there are several countries on the continent that do not receive GJ&D funding including **Cameroon, Equatorial Guinea** and **Swaziland**. All are described as “*Not Free*” in *Freedom in the World*, yet receive no GJ&D consideration, an issue that the Congress may want to address during the appropriations process.

GJ&D Funding in Sub-Saharan Africa

(in thousands)



East Asia and the Pacific

Cumulative Total for East Asia and the Pacific (16 Free, 13 Partly Free, 10 Not Free)

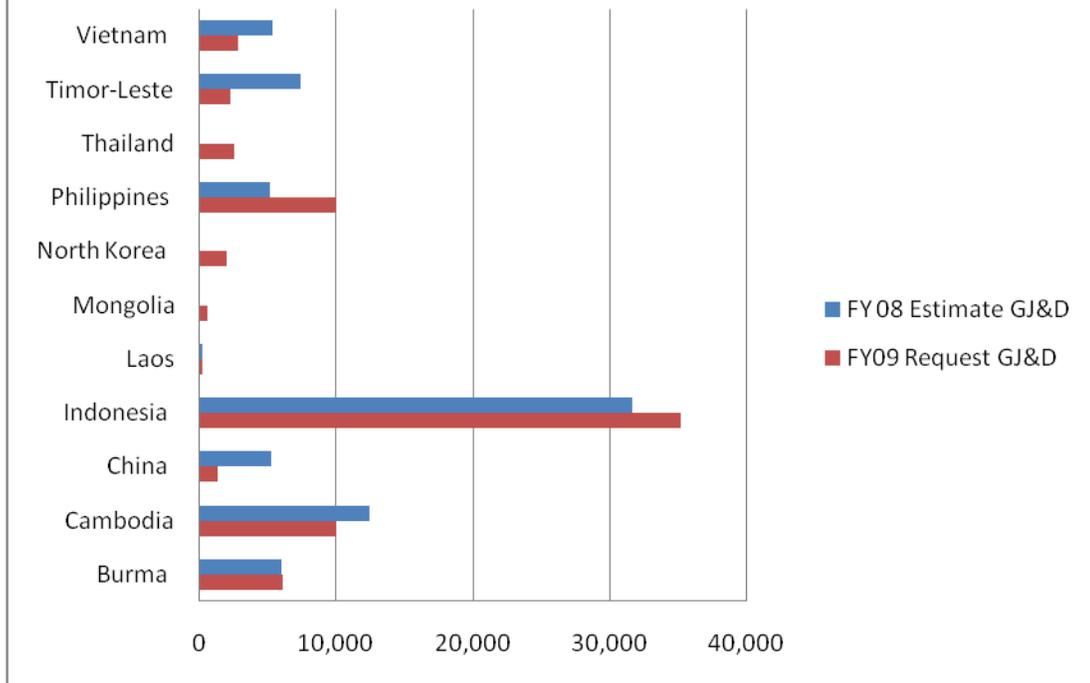
	FY08 Request	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL OVERALL FUNDING	522,400	667,682	544,140
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	55,074	73,810	74,670
Rule of Law & HR	13,785	22,352	21,615
Good Governance	28,111	26,750	29,383
Political Competition & Consensus Building	7,569	13,237	14,393
Civil Society	5,609	11,471	9,279

East Asia and the Pacific receives the least amount of GJ&D funding compared with other regions, despite a sharp decrease in political rights and civil liberties for several countries in the region. Within the region, however, the Administration has increased funding in GJ&D over its FY08 request and the FY08 estimate approved by Congress. In terms of funding, China, Timor-Leste and Vietnam are the most adversely impacted countries in the region in the FY09 request, while the Administration has recognized the serious challenges and requested strong allocations for Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia and the Philippines.

China. According to *Freedom in the World*, most of the globe's "Not Free" citizens – 1.3 billion people – reside in China. While Freedom House recognizes the myriad of interests at play in relation to China, we believe that political rights and civil liberties need to be on more equal footing in diplomatic discussions with Chinese leadership and more support must materialize for democratic activists in the country. International support, as evidenced by the worldwide protests against repression in Tibet prior to the 2008 Olympic games, is vibrant. Bipartisan leadership exists in Congress for an increased investment in China's democrats. Nevertheless, GJ&D appropriations to support Chinese dissidents, bloggers and activists remains woefully low. **We encourage Congress to appropriate at least \$20 million to address this shortfall.**

Timor-Leste. The Administration has requested a cut in GJ&D funding for Timor-Leste. With a 50 percent unemployment rate, 40 percent of the population living under the poverty line, and more than 100,000 displaced persons, Timor-Leste remains the poorest country in Southeast Asia whose government is riddled with corruption related to oil revenues. Freedom of the press remains an issue and there remains a culture of impunity. Despite these challenges, the Administration has proposed cuts in funding for "Rule of Law and Human Rights" and "Civil Society". **As it did in FY08, we hope that the Congress will restore this funding for this struggling young state.**

GJ&D Funding in East Asia and the Pacific (in thousands)



Europe and Eurasia

Cumulative Total for Europe and Eurasia (18 Free, 7 Partly Free, 4 Not Free)

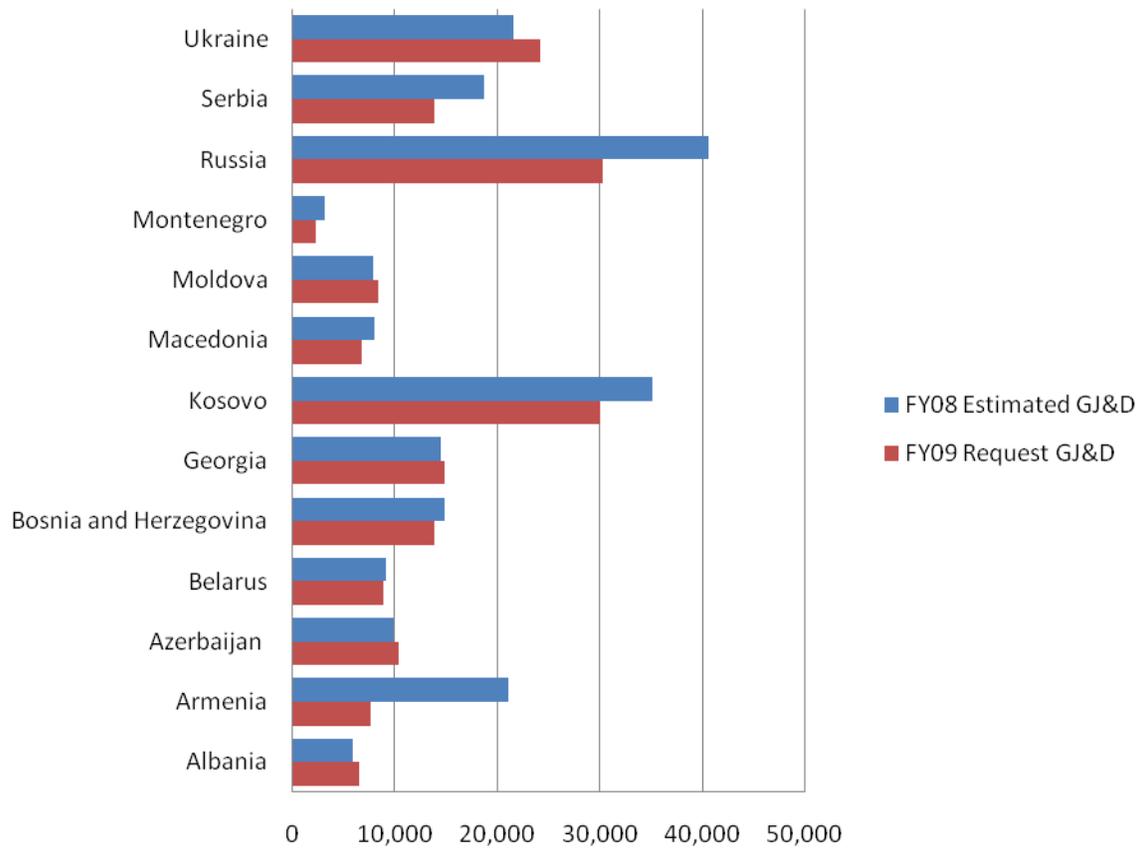
	FY08 Request	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL OVERALL ASSISTANCE	746,405	783,712	734,028
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	195,677	223,061	190,007
Rule of Law & Human Rights	49,707	58,177	53,697
Good Governance	52,594	43,041	42,912
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	32,947	23,208	19,178
Civil Society	60,429	98,635	74,220

Continuing a trend, the Administration has requested an overall cut in funding from the FY08 appropriation for the Europe and Eurasia region, though Congress expressed its willingness to fund such programming during the FY08 appropriations process. Freedom House applauds the significant funding levels requested for Bosnia, Georgia, Albania, Kosovo, and Ukraine. While country levels remained for the most part constant throughout the region, there were significant requested cuts in funding for Russia and Serbia, coming at very difficult times in both countries' democratic transitions.

Russia. In Russia, pro-Putin forces have won presidential and parliamentary elections, further consolidating their control over the country. During the election periods, the democratic opposition and civil society groups were effectively barred from participating in the process and, after the election, became increasingly marginalized. In addition, the current NGO legislation circumscribes the work of civil society by saddling activists with onerous and invasive reporting requirements. As international funding for civil society in Russia shrinks, the Russian government has begun to offer funding to civil society groups that comply with its limited vision of freedom of assembly and expression. **The Congress increased funding for democracy promotion in Russia in FY08 and we hope that its leadership will once again remedy this funding shortfall and match the estimated FY08 level of \$40.6 million.**

Serbia. In Serbia, fallout from Kosovo's declaration of independence continues to impact the country's democratic development. While democratic forces performed well in recent parliamentary elections, strong public sentiment against Serbia's E.U. integration remains. While substantial funding has been provided to civil society over the years, a continued investment is needed to promote a new generation of pro-democracy and human rights activists in the country. **Freedom House encourages the Congress to fund Serbia at the estimated FY08 level of \$18.7 million.**

GJ&D Funding in Europe and Eurasia (in thousands)



Near East

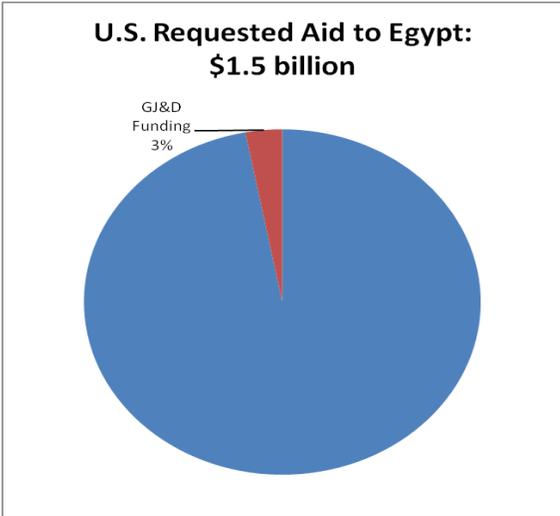
Cumulative Total for the Near East (1 Free, 6 Partly Free, 11 Not Free)

	FY08 Request	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL OVERALL FUNDING	5,400,183	5,257,499	5,524,133
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	407,340	152,966	453,680
Rule of Law & HR	107,570	35,732	148,250
Good Governance	128,450	40,464	112,580
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	37,000	13,700	46,500
Civil Society	140,620	63,070	146,350

The Near East receives more GJ&D funding than any other region in the world, underlining the Administration’s expressed commitment to promote democracy in the region. Support for GJ&D in the Near East also receives additional funding through the annual supplemental funding request, but the marked increase in requested GJ&D funding in Iraq indicates a potential shifting of funding from the supplemental funding package to the regular appropriations bill. In addition to Iraq, there were positive requested increases in Lebanon, Iran and the West Bank and Gaza.

While the overall request for the region realistically addresses the serious challenges to democracy and human rights, there are areas for improvement.

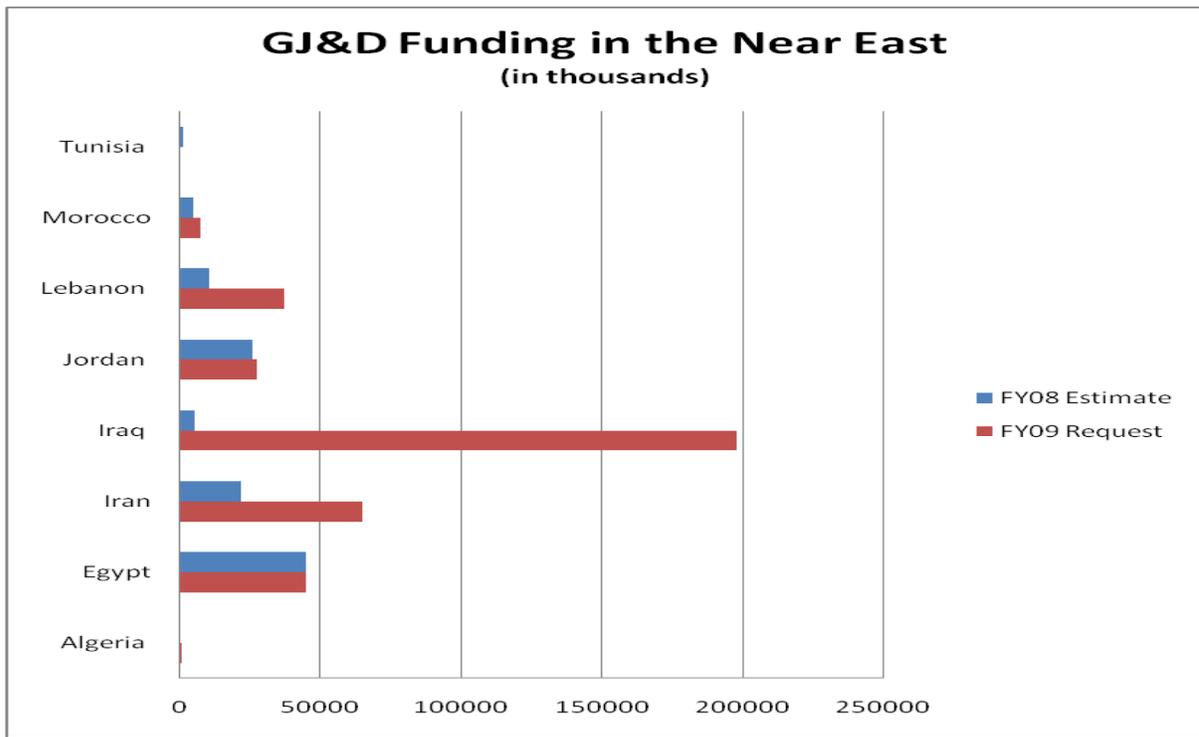
Egypt. Unfortunately, the Administration has requested \$45 million for democratic efforts in Egypt, \$5 million less than what was requested last year and a \$2 million requested decrease specifically in “*Rule of Law and Human Rights*”. While the overall total is relatively high, a cut in support to democratic actors sends the wrong message at a critical time when activism on the streets and in the blogosphere is surging. **We supported conditioning military aid to Egypt in the last appropriation bill, and depending on the terms, would be willing to support similar language this year.** We hope that the Administration will honor the will of the Congress on conditionality which seeks to hold Egypt’s leaders accountable for progress on democracy and human rights.



The Gulf. The Administration also does not request any country-specific GJ&D funding in the **Gulf**, despite their dismal performance in political rights and civil liberties and recent openings for change, specifically on issues such as women's rights. These countries are strong U.S. allies in the war on terrorism and the U.S. makes a strong commitment to engage militarily, but a more balanced assistance package would help to improve the U.S. image among citizens throughout the region and ultimately would lead to more reliable allies who have the support of their own people. **We encourage Congress to work with the Administration to enhance aid to democrats in these countries.**

Tunisia. We hope that Congress will consider reversing the Administration's decision to zero out GJ&D funding for Tunisia. **Congress generously appropriated nearly \$1 million in GJ&D funding in FY08 and we hope that it will match this level in FY09. At least \$800,000 should be spent in support of civil society.**

Algeria. The Administration has requested \$400,000 to "strengthen the rule of law, civil society, respect for human rights, capacity among political parties, good governance, and the media to help build a democratic society with strong political and civic institutions." As Algeria recovers from a brutal civil war and continues to encounter political extremism, such a small investment does not begin to address the areas outlined above. **Freedom House recommends that GJ&D funding for Algeria be increased to \$1 million.**



South and Central Asia

Cumulative Total for Central and South Asia (1 Free, 5 Partly Free, 6 Not Free)

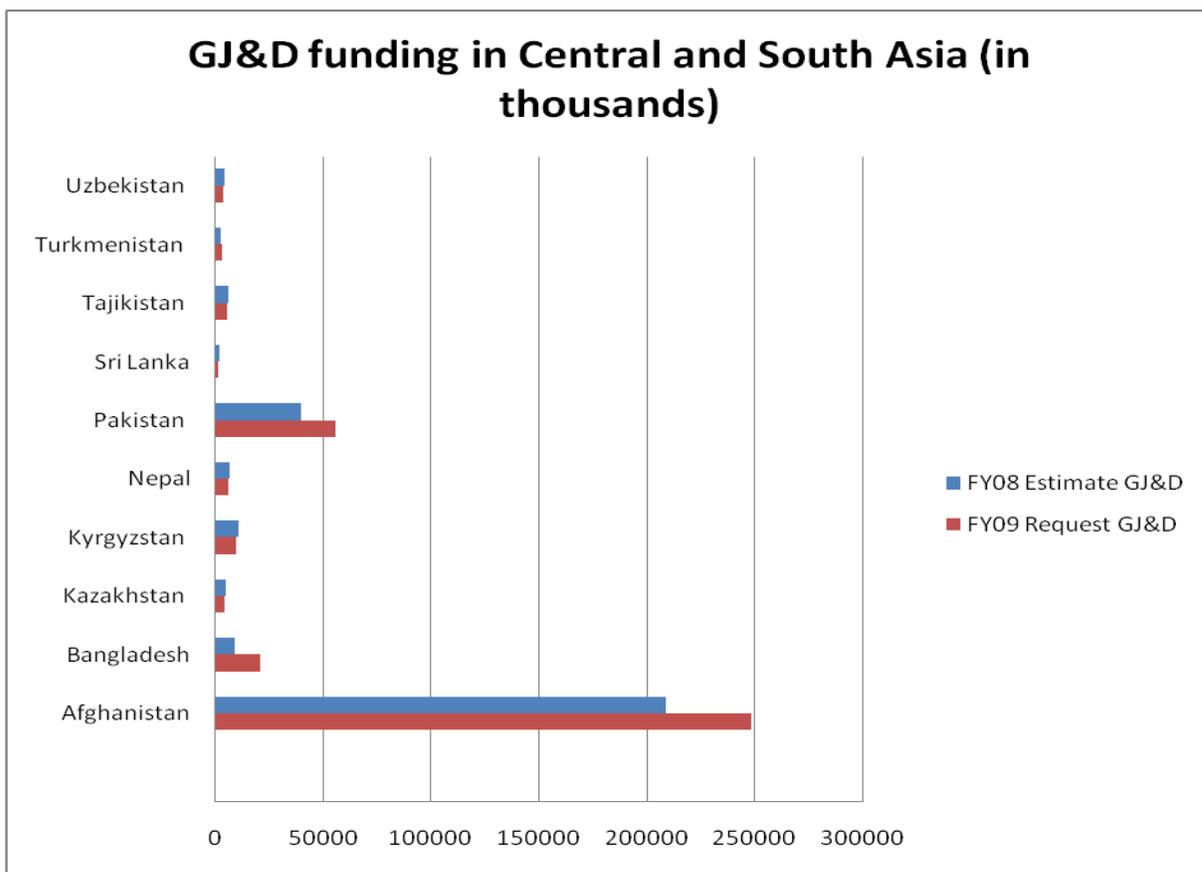
	FY08 Request	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL OVERALL FUNDING	2,192,086	2,144,949	2,216,618
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	291,796	293,684	358,362
Rule of Law & HR	93,382	86,035	61,297
Good Governance	152,529	148,862	156,676
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	21,500	20,520	104,531
Civil Society	24,385	38,267	35,858

South and Central Asia has the second highest funding GJ&D request. This is primarily due to Afghanistan, which will hold national elections in 2009, and Pakistan, where there appears to be a renewed commitment to invest in the country's fragile democracy. The Administration also requested \$20.5 million for Bangladesh, approximately \$10 million more than what was appropriated in 2008. Despite these strong funding levels, GJ&D funding for Uzbekistan, Sri Lanka and Turkmenistan remains quite low despite remarkable challenges to democracy. We also hope that the Congress will pay close attention to the requested appropriation for Kazakhstan.

Kazakhstan. Kazakhstan will assume the Chair-in-Office of the OSCE, an inter-governmental body that grew out of the Helsinki peace process. In addition to cooperation on security issues, the OSCE has historically been a strong promoter of human rights and democracy among the states of the former Soviet Union and Central and Eastern Europe. Given Kazakhstan's low ranking in political rights and civil liberties in *Freedom in the World*, Freedom House opposed Kazakhstan's bid and has since supported efforts to monitor the government's stated commitments to improve its democracy and human rights record. The U.S. government also has expressed support for these efforts, but a proposed \$1 million cut in civil society funding could serve to hamper the efforts of domestic watchdogs to monitor the government's progress on these important issues. **Freedom House calls upon Congress to restore Kazakhstan's \$4 million civil society funding level.**

Uzbekistan. For the second year in a row, the Administration has requested a cut in GJ&D funding in Uzbekistan despite mounting challenges for democratic activists in the country. Three years after the Andijon massacre, the Karimov government continues to repress human rights defenders, arrest journalists and restrict the work of civic and political organizers. **Freedom House recommends that Congress, as it did in FY08, increase the GJ&D funding level to \$4 million, \$2.5 million of which should be dedicated for civil society.**

Pakistan. Freedom House applauds the Administration's robust request in funding for democracy and human rights in Pakistan. This funding, coming after the historic February 2008 elections, seems to indicate that the U.S. intends to take a more pluralistic approach that engages with several levels of Pakistani society, not just individual leaders. Freedom House supports efforts in the Congress to provide enhanced development funding to Pakistan and would encourage sustained support for civil society throughout the country.



Western Hemisphere

Cumulative Total for the Western Hemisphere (25 Free, 9 Partly Free, 1 Not Free)

	FY08 Request	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL OVERALL FUNDING	1,449,793	1,467,388	2,048,612
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	174,631	207,609	227,253
Rule of Law & HR	66,046	98,914	97,486
Good Governance	43,259	39,013	68,827
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	13,613	19,751	23,383
Civil Society	51,713	49,931	37,557

The overall proposed increase in assistance for the Western Hemisphere is welcome news. Within "*Governing Justly and Democratically*", most of the increases are found in "*Good Governance*", an area that certainly needs support. Requested funding in "*Rule of Law and Human Rights*" and "*Civil Society*" has increased for several key countries in the region due to several important developments, including:

- More governments and legislatures in the region are discussing bills to restrict NGO's and limit foreign funding, including Peru, Venezuela, Bolivia, Mexico and Ecuador.
- Freedom of expression, among other civil liberties, is under extreme pressure from both state and non-state actors. Violence against journalists is increasing in Mexico, Colombia and Peru. Most attacks against journalists go unpunished creating an environment of impunity.
- Attacks on human rights defenders are on the rise in the region as a whole. Countries of particular concern are Guatemala, Venezuela, and Bolivia.

While there appears to be an acknowledgement of the democratic challenges in the region, allocations for Ecuador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Paraguay and Venezuela deserve review.

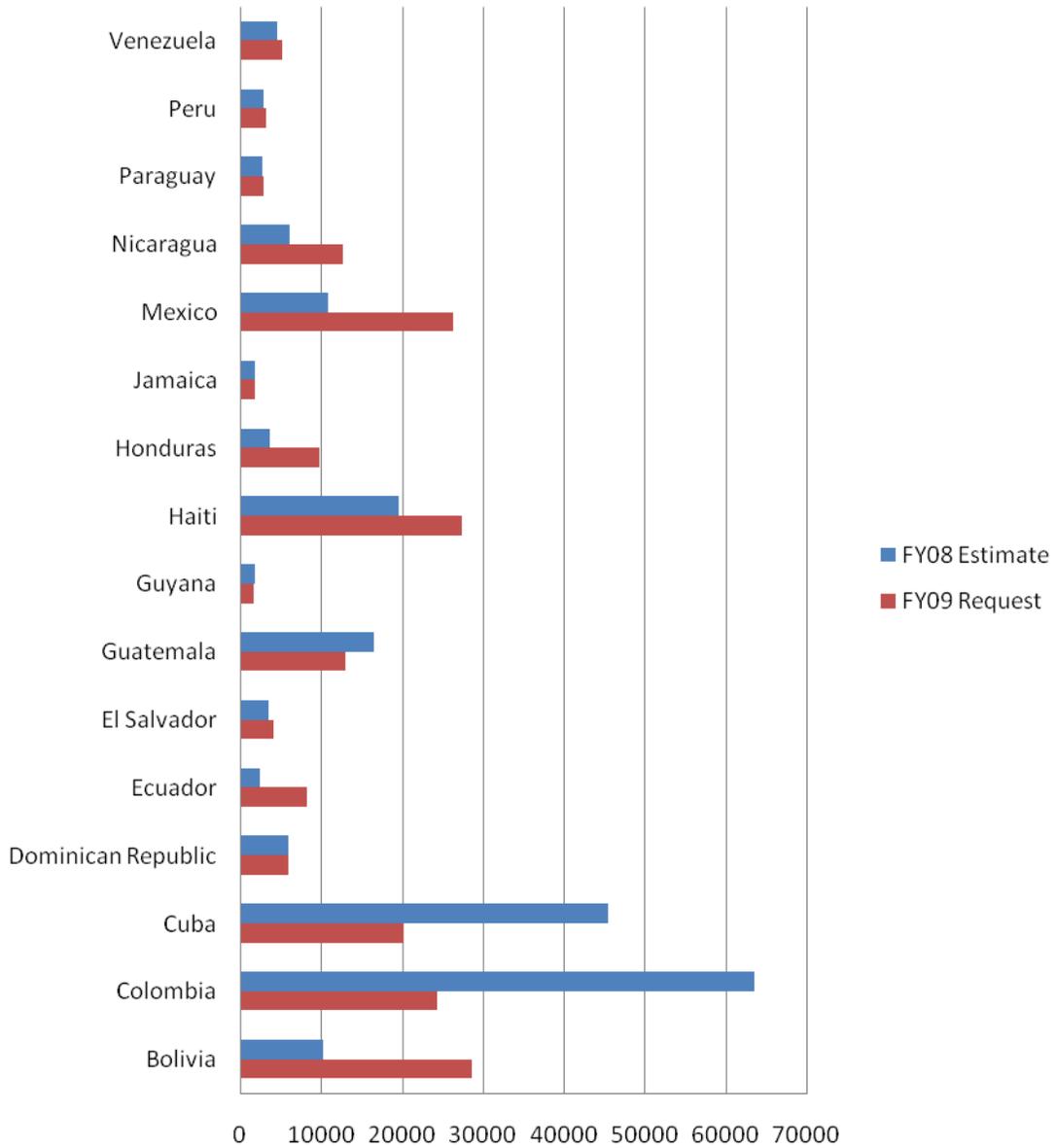
Ecuador. Despite the increases requested for Ecuador, funding levels remain extremely low. Ecuador is one of the more problematic countries in the Western Hemisphere, with an explosive mix of high political polarization, geographic and ethnic divides, extremely weak political parties and civil society, corruption, poverty and economic instability. **Increases requested for "*Human Rights and Rule of Law*" and "*Civil Society*," though an improvement, do not match the difficult realities in the country, and Congress should increase funding levels in both to \$2.5 million.**

Guatemala. The FY09 increase for Guatemala over the FY08 request underscores the Administration's understanding of the pressing need to support Guatemala. The country has the most problematic human rights situation and the weakest governance performance indicators in the region. Pervasive crime and impunity, stemming from organized criminal organizations and other non-state actors have led to the creation of the UN-backed International Commission against Impunity in Guatemala (CICIG). Serious, consistent and organized support to the initiative from civil society organizations can significantly contribute to the Commission's success. **The FY08 congressional appropriation tripled the Administration's request and the Congress should look to maintain that overall funding level for FY09. Support for human rights and the rule of law should be considered a special priority.**

Paraguay. After 61 years of the ruling Colorado party, Paraguay will start a complex political transition. The country's rampant corruption is among the worst on the continent and civil society is extremely weak. Strong, active and independent civil society would be critical for a transition that brings real democracy and stability to the country. The Administration has not requested funding for civil society in Paraguay, and the "*Rule of Law and Human Rights*" request does not adequately address the challenges ahead. **Freedom House recommends providing at least \$1 million for "Civil Society" and \$1.5 million for "Rule of Law and Human Rights" in Paraguay.**

Venezuela. Freedom House appreciates the Administration's requested increase for Venezuela. However, there is no "*Rule of Law and Human Rights*" funding, though the environment for human rights defenders is troubling: unlawful killings, terrible prison conditions, restricted freedom of expression and political discrimination are only some of the concerns, all of which are on the rise. Funding for human rights defenders should reflect the difficulties individuals and groups face on the ground and **Congress should allocate \$1 million exclusively for human rights work in Venezuela.**

GJ&D Funding in the Western Hemisphere (in thousands)



Appendix

The following charts reflect global, country specific and region specific funding allocations as found in the Foreign Operations FY09 Congressional Budget Justification.

The references to “Free,” “Partly Free,” and “Not Free” and numerical designations for countries in the charts below are drawn from the most recent edition of *Freedom in World*. A **Free** country is one where there is broad scope for open political competition, a climate of respect for civil liberties, significant independent civic life, and independent media. A **Partly Free** country is one in which there is limited respect for political rights and civil liberties. Partly Free states frequently suffer from an environment of corruption, weak rule of law, ethnic and religious strife, and often a setting in which a single political party enjoys dominance despite the façade of limited pluralism. A **Not Free** country is one where basic political rights are absent, and basic civil liberties are widely and systematically denied. For more information, see www.freedomhouse.org.

Global Democracy Funding Mechanisms

Democracy, Human Rights and Labor

	FY07 Actual	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
Governing Justly and Democratically	94,050	166,640	60,000
Rule of Law and Human Rights	34,058	31,968	18,800
Good Governance	4,747	3,000	6,400
Political Competition and Consensus-Building	8,544	6,000	10,200
Civil Society	46,701	125,672	24,600

Office of Transition Initiatives

	FY07 Actual	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
Transition Initiatives	39,600	44,636	40,000

Democracy, Conflict and Humanitarian Assistance (DCHA)

	FY07 Actual	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
Governing Justly and Democratically	47,822	34,447	44,850
Rule of Law and Human Rights	2,720	2,840	3,250
Good Governance	15,789	8,570	8,500
Political Competition and Consensus-Building	10,440	9,625	16,100
Civil Society	18,873	13,412	17,000

International Organizations

	FY07 Actual	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
UN Democracy Fund	0	0	14,000
UN Voluntary Fund for Victims of Torture	6,517	6,943	5,006
UN Voluntary Funds for Technical Cooperation in the Field of Human Rights	1,485	1,414	1,400
UN High commissioner for Human Rights	0	6,943	0
OAS Fund for Strengthening Democracy	2,475	3,472	2,500
Total	10,477	18,772	22,906

Funding Levels by Region
(in thousands)¹

Region	FY08 Regional Overall GJ&D Request	FY08 Regional Overall GJ&D Estimate	FY09 Regional Overall GJ&D Request	FY08 Rule of Law & Human Rights Estimate	FY09 Rule of Law & Human Rights Request	FY08 Civil Society Funding Estimate	FY09 Civil Society Funding Request	FY08 Good Gov. Estimate	FY09 Good Gov. Request
Sub-Saharan Africa	220,227	171,828	272,684	30,850	41,562	29,727	52,518	49,157	99,635
East Asia and the Pacific	55,074	73,810	74,670	22,352	21,615	11,471	9,279	26,750	29,383
Europe and Eurasia	195,677	223,061	190,007	58,177	53,697	98,635	74,220	43,041	42,912
Near East	407,340	152,966	453,680	35,732	148,250	63,070	146,350	40,464	112,580
South and Central Asia	291,796	293,684	358,362	86,035	61,297	38,267	35,858	148,862	156,676
Western Hemisphere	174,631	207,609	227,254	98,914	97,486	49,931	37,557	39,013	68,827
Regional Total	1,344,745	1,112,958	1,576,657	332,060	423,907	291,101	355,782	347,287	510,013

¹ This chart reflects country specific and region specific funding allocations as found in the State Department's FY09 Budget Justification. It does not incorporate global allocations, the National Endowment for democracy (NED), the State Department's Bureaus of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor (DRL) and International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs (INL), and USAID's Bureaus of Economic Growth, Agriculture and Trade (EGAT) and Democracy, Conflict and Humanitarian Assistance (DCHA).

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

Cumulative Total for Sub-Saharan Africa (11 Free, 23 Partly Free, 14 Not Free)

	FY08 Request	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL OVERALL FUNDING	5,490,214	5,194,780	5,297,732
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	220,227	171,828	272,684
Rule of Law & Human Rights	26,538	30,850	41,562
Good Governance	76,439	49,157	99,635
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	69,073	62,094	78,969
Civil Society	48,227	29,727	52,518

Country (2008 FIW ranking)	FY08 Request GJ&D	FY08 Estimate GJ&D	FY09 Request GJ&D	FY08 Rule of Law & Human Rights Estimate	FY09 Rule of Law & Human Rights Request	FY08 Civil Society Estimate	FY09 Civil Society Request
Angola NF (6, 5)	10,172	1,500	9,315	0	250	0	1,100
Burundi PF (4, 5)	5,700	2,107	6,547	0	983	743	1,636
Chad NF (7,6)	0	0	200	0	0	0	0
Cote d'Ivoire NF (7, 5)	0	0	2,700	0	500	0	500
Democratic Republic of Congo NF (5, 6)	20,850	19,671	19,850	8,226	4,900	917	3,200
Djibouti PF (5, 5)	500	0	500	0	0	0	375
Ethiopia PF (5, 5)	5,400	2,267	9,300	1,525	5,400	450	1,000
Ghana F (1, 2)	2,000	1,912	3,066	0	0	0	0
Guinea NF (6, 5)	5,443	2,054	4,950	0	700	687	2,000
Guinea-Bissau PF (4, 4)	600	0	600	0	0	0	150
Kenya PF (4, 3)	4,300	5,400	10,740	650	500	1,950	3,000
Liberia PF (3, 4)	26,901	22,700	35,901	6,200	8,200	1,500	3,000
Madagascar PF (4, 3)	1,500	0	1,500	0	0	0	500
Malawi PF (4, 4)	1,250	500	1,000	0	0	0	0
Mali F (2, 3)	2,350	2,100	4,000	0	0	500	1,000

Mauritania PF (4, 4)	1,320	500	1,320	0	0	0	250
Mauritius F (1, 2)	190	0	190	0	190	0	0
Mozambique PF (3,3)	2,045	499	3,116	0	0	0	1,523
Niger PF (3, 4)	1,300	0	1,300	0	0	0	150
Nigeria PF (4, 4)	13,200	10,647	14,300	0	3,000	3,647	3,500
Rwanda NF (6, 5)	2,300	665	5,000	0	950	0	2,724
Senegal F (2, 3)	1,400	1,100	2,200	0	0	0	700
Sierra Leone PF (3, 3)	1,000	12,919	8,540	12,399	7,000	0	0
Somalia NF (7, 7)	5,700	1,914	12,500	0	0	0	2,000
South Africa F (2, 2)	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sudan NF (7, 7)	84,562	73,636	77,406	1,850	1,850	15,946	15,946
Tanzania PF (4, 3)	1,074	2,750	4,600	0	350	0	1,750
Togo PF (5, 5)	0	0	120	0	120	0	0
Uganda PF (5, 4)	4,100	2,100	7,500	0	0	600	2,000
Zambia PF (3, 4)	500	0	3,614	0	2,255	0	0
Zimbabwe NF (7, 6)	3,000	2,929	14,000	0	4,000	1,929	4,000

Angola Not Free (6, 5)

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	38,022	42,107
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	1,500	9,315
Rule of Law & Human Rights	0	250
Good Governance	0	5,365
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	1,500	2,600
Civil Society	0	1,100

Chad Not Free (7, 6)

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	5,050	7,475
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	0	200
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	0	200

Guinea-Bissau Partly Free (4, 4)

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	96	800
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	0	600
Good Governance	0	300
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	0	150
Civil Society	0	150

Liberia Partly Free (3, 4)

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	161,572	179,076
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	22,700	35,901
Rule of Law & Human Rights	6,200	8,200
Good Governance	13,500	20,500
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	1,500	4,201
Civil Society	1,500	3,000

Nigeria Partly Free (4, 4)

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	490,628	486,722
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	10,647	14,300
Rule of Law & Human Rights	0	3,000
Good Governance	5,000	5,400
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	2,000	2,400
Civil Society	3,647	3,500

Zimbabwe Not Free (7, 6)

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	22,890	45,433
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	2,929	14,000
Rule of Law & Human Rights	0	4,000
Good Governance	400	4,000
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	600	2,000
Civil Society	1,929	4,000

Africa Regional

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	16,196	43,125
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	0	300
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	0	200
Civil Society	0	100

Africa Regional USAID

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	120,274	151,805
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	1,958	2,025
Good Governance	1,100	2,025
Civil Society	858	0

East Africa Regional

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	21,648	32,985
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	0	2,484
Good Governance	0	1,242
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	0	414
Rule of Law & Human Rights	0	414
Civil Society	0	414

Southern Africa Regional

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	11,812	19,600
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	0	2,000
Good Governance	0	450
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	0	1,550

EAST ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

Cumulative Total for East Asia and the Pacific (16 Free, 13 Partly Free, 10 Not Free)

	FY08 Request	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL OVERALL FUNDING	522,400	667,682	544,140
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	55,074	73,810	74,670
Rule of Law & Human Rights	13,785	22,352	21,615
Good Governance	28,111	26,750	29,383
Political Competition & Consensus Building	7,569	13,237	14,393
Civil Society	5,609	11,471	9,279

Country	FY08 Request GJ&D	FY 08 Estimate GJ&D	FY09 Request GJ&D	FY08 Rule of Law & Human Rights Estimate	FY09 Rule of Law & Human Rights Request	FY08 Civil Society Estimate	FY09 Civil Society Request
Burma NF (7, 7)	550	5,962	6,100	1,472	1,610	4,490	4,490
Cambodia NF (6, 5)	7,725	12,384	10,025	5,150	3,975	1,234	1,250
China NF (7, 6)	1,325	5,208	1,325	4,960	1,325	248	0
Indonesia F (2, 3)	29,414	31,650	35,239	4,450	6,275	1,724	1,724
Laos NF (7, 6)	220	220	200	120	100	0	0
Mongolia F (2, 2)	0	0	600	0	300	0	0
North Korea NF (7, 7)	2,000	0	2,000	0	1,000	0	1,000
Philippines PF (4, 3)	8,100	5,178	10,021	2,117	3,000	0	0
Thailand PF (6, 4)	0	0	2,500	0	500	0	0
Timor-Leste PF (3, 4)	2,845	7,400	2,260	2,000	1,630	2,800	630
Vietnam NF (7, 5)	800	5,373	2,800	1,983	1,300	840	0

Burma Not Free (7, 7)

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	15,695	15,850
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	5,962	6,100
Rule of Law & Human Rights	1,472	1,610
Civil Society	4,490	4,490

Cambodia Not Free (6, 5)

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	54,994	45,371
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	12,384	10,025
Rule of Law & Human Rights	5,150	3,975
Good Governance	3,800	3,800
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	2,200	1,000
Civil Society	1,234	1,250

China Not Free (7, 6)

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	19,839	7,000
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	5,208	1,325
Rule of Law & Human Rights	4,960	1,325
Civil Society	248	0

Indonesia Free (2, 3)

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	189,674	186,304
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	31,650	35,239
Rule of Law & Human Rights	4,450	6,275
Good Governance	16,971	18,971
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	8,505	8,269
Civil Society	1,724	1,724

Philippines Partly Free (4, 3)

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	116,618	99,221
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	5,178	10,021
Rule of Law & Human Rights	2,117	3,000
Good Governance	1,529	2,997
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	1,532	4,024

Timor-Leste Partly Free (3, 4)

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	23,263	9,450
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	7,400	2,260
Rule of Law & Human Rights	2,00	1,630
Good Governance	1,600	0
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	1,000	0
Civil Society	2,800	630

Vietnam Not Free (7, 5)

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	102,294	99,515
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	5,373	2,800
Rule of Law & Human Rights	1,983	1,300
Good Governance	2,550	1,500
Civil Society	840	0

East Asia and the Pacific Regional

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	26,405	11,821
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	435	1,600
Good Governance	200	715
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	0	100
Rule of Law & Human Rights	100	600
Civil Society	135	185

EUROPE AND EURASIA

Cumulative Total for Europe and Eurasia (18 Free, 7 Partly Free, 4 Not Free)

	FY08 Request	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL OVERALL ASSISTANCE	746,405	783,712	734,028
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	195,677	223,061	190,007
Rule of Law & Human Rights	49,707	58,177	53,697
Good Governance	52,594	43,041	42,912
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	32,947	23,208	19,178
Civil Society	60,429	98,635	74,220

Country	FY08 Request GJ&D	FY08 Estimated GJ&D	FY09 Request GJ&D	FY08 Rule of Law & Human Rights Estimate	FY09 Rule of Law & Human Rights Request	FY08 Civil Society Estimate	FY09 Civil Society Request
Albania PF (3, 3)	5,800	5,801	6,450	2,502	2,600	960	1,050
Armenia PF (5, 4)	12,200	21,098	7,650	2,786	1,500	11,902	2,950
Azerbaijan NF (6, 5)	9,700	9,843	10,300	1,922	1,700	4,249	3,700
Belarus NF (7, 6)	9,100	9,162	8,840	0	0	7,162	7,340
Bosnia & Herzegovina PF (4, 3)	12,050	14,804	13,865	9,131	7,970	2,547	2,750
Georgia PF (4, 4)	14,400	14,516	14,846	4,152	3,400	3,365	4,646
Kosovo NF (6, 5)	43,746	35,149	30,050	14,829	12,875	5,060	4,025
Macedonia PF (3, 3)	6,850	7,996	6,755	2,720	2,820	2,390	1,242
Moldova PF (3, 4)	8,800	7,801	8,415	1,445	2,145	4,822	3,663
Montenegro PF (3, 3)	1,572	3,150	2,275	1,395	1,275	935	200
Russia NF (6, 5)	26,200	40,649	30,334	8,735	6,550	25,139	19,559
Serbia F (3, 2)	16,200	18,765	13,786	4,080	4,378	12,242	7,117
Ukraine F (3, 2)	20,400	21,549	24,144	4,138	5,972	9,078	8,237

Albania Partly Free (3, 3)

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	21,825	25,035
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	5,801	6,450
Rule of Law & Human Rights	2,502	2,600
Good Governance	2,239	2,800
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	100	0
Civil Society	960	1,050

Bosnia and Herzegovina Partly Free (4, 3)

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	33,260	37,845
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	14,804	13,865
Rule of Law & Human Rights	9,131	7,970
Good Governance	3,126	3,145
Civil Society	2,547	2,750

Georgia Partly Free (4, 4)

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	64,308	67,050
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	14,516	14,846
Rule of Law & Human Rights	4,152	3,400
Good Governance	4,300	4,600
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	2,699	2,200
Civil Society	3,365	4,646

Kosovo Not Free (6, 5)

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	147,182	127,670
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	35,149	30,050
Rule of Law & Human Rights	14,829	12,875
Good Governance	12,760	10,900
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	2,500	2,250
Civil Society	5,060	4,025

Russia Not Free (6, 5)

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	78,042	56,300
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	40,649	30,334
Rule of Law & Human Rights	8,735	6,550
Good Governance	4,085	2,650
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	2,690	1,575
Civil Society	25,139	19,559

Serbia Free (3, 2)

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	55,954	50,524
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	18,765	13,786
Rule of Law & Human Rights	4,080	4,378
Good Governance	639	787
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	1,804	1,504
Civil Society	12,242	7,117

Ukraine Free (3, 2)

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	82,908	86,475
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	21,549	24,144
Rule of Law & Human Rights	4,138	5,972
Good Governance	7,073	8,082
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	1,260	1,853
Civil Society	9,078	8,237

Eurasia Regional

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	21,684	26,643
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	4,450	6,150
Good Governance	60	225
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	2,000	2,744
Rule of Law & Human Rights	128	163
Civil Society	2,262	3,018

Europe Regional (mostly exchange programs)

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	22,169	29,953
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	8,328	6,147
Good Governance	889	578
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	703	497
Rule of Law & Human Rights	214	349
Civil Society	6,522	4,723

NEAR EAST

Cumulative Total for the Near East (1 Free, 6 Partly Free, 11 Not Free)

	FY08 Request	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL OVERALL FUNDING	5,400,183	5,257,499	5,524,133
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	407,340	152,966	453,680
Rule of Law & Human Rights	107,570	35,732	148,250
Good Governance	128,450	40,464	112,580
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	37,000	13,700	46,500
Civil Society	140,620	63,070	146,350

Country	FY08 Request GJ&D	FY08 Estimated GJ&D	FY09 Request GJ&D	FY08 Rule of Law & Human Rights Estimate	FY09 Rule of Law & Human Rights Request	FY08 Civil Society Estimate	FY09 Civil Society Request
Algeria <i>NF (6, 5)</i>	400	0	400	0	200	0	200
Egypt <i>NF (6, 5)</i>	50,000	45,000	45,000	19,700	17,800	17,300	20,400
Iran <i>NF (6, 6)</i>	75,000	21,623	65,000	1,500	10,500	15,123	47,000
Iraq <i>NF (6, 6)</i>	171,820	4,960	198,000	0	78,000	4,960	40,000
Jordan <i>PF (5, 4)</i>	27,030	25,697	27,030	5,000	4,500	5,500	6,000
Lebanon <i>PF (5, 4)</i>	10,000	10,032	37,000	3,032	18,000	1,000	5,000
Morocco <i>PF (5, 4)</i>	5,500	4,596	7,000	0	0	950	2,000
Tunisia <i>NF (7, 5)</i>	200	992	0	0	0	742	0
West Bank & Gaza <i>NF (6, 6)</i>	18,000	13,897	24,000	3,500	11,250	5,500	3,750
Yemen <i>PF (5, 5)</i>	6,450	913	7,000	0	0	0	2,500

Egypt Not Free (6, 5)

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	1,705,891	1,505,400
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	45,000	45,000
Rule of Law & Human Rights	19,700	17,800
Good Governance	8,000	6,800
Civil Society	17,300	20,400

Iran Not Free (6, 6)

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	21,623	65,000
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	21,623	65,000
Rule of Law & Human Rights	1,500	10,500
Good Governance	5,000	7,500
Civil Society	15,123	47,000

Iraq Not Free (6, 6)

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	21,177	397,000
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	4,960	198,000
Rule of Law & Human Rights	0	78,000
Good Governance	0	65,000
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	0	15,000
Civil Society	4,960	40,000

Lebanon Partly Free (5, 4)

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	58,248	142,430
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	10,032	37,000
Rule of Law & Human Rights	3,032	18,000
Good Governance	5,800	8,000
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	200	6,000
Civil Society	1,000	5,000

Tunisia Not Free (7, 5)

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	11,745	4,387
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	992	0
Good Governance	250	0
Civil Society	742	0

West Bank and Gaza Not Free (6, 6)

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	217,986	100,000
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	13,897	24,000
Rule of Law & Human Rights	3,500	11,250
Good Governance	3,897	6,000
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	1,000	3,000
Civil Society	5,500	3,750

Middle East Regional

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	11,841	5,500
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	2,756	1,250
Good Governance	1,761	1,250
Civil Society	995	0

Near East Regional

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	49,595	87,000
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	22,500	42,000
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	8,500	14,500
Rule of Law & Human Rights	3,000	8,000
Civil Society	11,000	19,500

CENTRAL AND SOUTH ASIA

Cumulative Total for Central and South Asia (1 Free, 5 Partly Free, 6 Not Free)

	FY08 Request	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL OVERALL FUNDING	2,192,086	2,144,949	2,216,618
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	291,796	293,684	358,362
Rule of Law & Human Rights	93,382	86,035	61,297
Good Governance	152,529	148,862	156,676
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	21,500	20,520	104,531
Civil Society	24,385	38,267	35,858

Country	FY08 Request GJ&D	FY08 Estimate GJ&D	FY09 Request GJ&D	FY08 Rule of Law & Human Rights Estimate	FY09 Rule of Law & Human Rights Request	FY08 Civil Society Estimate	FY09 Civil Society Request
Afghanistan <i>PF (5, 5)</i>	202,000	208,449	247,999	71,449	41,999	13,000	8,000
Bangladesh <i>PF (5, 4)</i>	21,479	9,000	20,531	0	2,500	2,000	2,000
Kazakhstan <i>NF (6, 5)</i>	4,500	4,762	4,261	670	263	4,092	2,998
Kyrgyzstan <i>PF (5, 4)</i>	8,000	10,820	9,443	1,999	1,450	4,744	3,922
Nepal <i>PF (5, 4)</i>	2,500	6,500	6,000	0	1,000	2,500	625
Pakistan <i>NF (6, 5)</i>	41,600	39,843	55,221	7,843	10,600	4,050	9,421
Sri Lanka <i>PF (4, 4)</i>	1,367	1,988	1,350	638	400	665	300
Tajikistan <i>NF (6, 5)</i>	4,600	5,969	5,295	1,700	1,600	2,599	2,200
Turkmenistan <i>NF (7, 7)</i>	2,200	2,245	2,945	300	350	1,945	2,210
Uzbekistan <i>NF (7, 7)</i>	3,150	3,908	3,510	1,436	1,135	2,472	2,375

Afghanistan Partly Free (5, 5)

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	1,057,918	1,053,950
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	208,449	247,999
Rule of Law & Human Rights	71,449	41,999
Good Governance	114,000	105,000
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	10,000	93,000
Civil Society	13,000	8,000

Bangladesh Partly Free (5, 4)

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	105,009	106,835
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	9,000	20,531
Rule of Law & Human Rights	0	2,500
Good Governance	4,500	11,531
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	2,500	4,500
Civil Society	2,000	2,000

Kazakhstan Not Free (6, 5)

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	22,251	18,950
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	4,762	4,261
Rule of Law & Human Rights	670	263
Good Governance	0	500
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	0	500
Civil Society	4,092	2,998

Pakistan Not Free (6, 5)

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	738,096	826,255
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	39,843	55,221
Rule of Law & Human Rights	7,843	10,600
Good Governance	25,400	33,200
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	2,550	2,000
Civil Society	4,050	9,421

Sri Lanka Partly Free (4, 4)

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	7,397	6,500
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	1,988	1,350
Rule of Law & Human Rights	638	400
Good Governance	685	650
Civil Society	665	300

Turkmenistan Not Free (7, 7)

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	7,188	9,475
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	2,245	2,945
Rule of Law & Human Rights	300	350
Good Governance	0	350
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	0	35
Civil Society	1,945	2,210

Uzbekistan Not Free (7, 7)

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	10,190	7,940
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	3,908	3,510
Rule of Law & Human Rights	1,436	1,135
Civil Society	2,472	2,375

South and Central Asia Regional

	FY08 Actual	FY09 Request
TOTAL	6,996	14,807
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	200	1,807
Civil Society	200	1,807

WESTERN HEMISPHERE
Cumulative Total for the Western Hemisphere
(25 Free, 9 Partly Free, 1 Not Free)

	FY08 Request	FY 06 Actual	FY 08 Request
TOTAL OVERALL FUNDING	1,449,793	1,467,388	2,048,612
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	174,631	207,609	227,253
Rule of Law & Human Rights	66,046	98,914	97,486
Good Governance	43,259	39,013	68,827
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	13,613	19,751	23,383
Civil Society	51,713	49,931	37,557

Country	FY08 Request GJ&D	FY08 Estimate GJ&D	FY09 Request GJ&D	FY08 Rule of Law & Human Rights Estimate	FY08 Rule of Law & Human Rights Request	FY08 Civil Society Estimate	FY09 Civil Society Request
Bolivia PF (3, 3)	24,300	10,092	28,492	2,222	6,450	2,285	6,205
Colombia PF (3, 3)	24,250	63,350	24,256	57,760	20,606	0	0
Cuba NF (7, 7)	45,700	45,330	20,000	4,947	5,000	33,542	10,000
Dominican Rep. F (2, 2)	5,750	5,750	5,750	2,580	2,580	0	0
Ecuador PF (3, 3)	3,072	2,282	8,145	170	2,000	600	1,645
El Salvador F (2, 3)	3,318	3,318	4,000	810	2,000	0	0
Guatemala PF (3, 4)	5,300	16,424	12,925	12,076	8,650	0	0
Guyana F (2, 3)	2,105	1,750	1,570	300	200	600	400
Haiti PF (4, 5)	23,173	19,426	27,330	6,166	5,470	2,000	2,900
Honduras PF (3, 3)	5,850	3,479	9,664	0	950	600	1,000
Jamaica F (2, 3)	2,437	1,750	1,650	50	50	700	650
Mexico F (2, 3)	9,495	10,653	26,235	10,253	24,760	0	0
Nicaragua PF (3, 3)	4,000	6,000	12,500	808	2,770	700	2,907
Paraguay PF (3, 3)	2,800	2,672	2,789	772	1,000	0	0
Peru F (2, 3)	3,050	2,800	3,000	0	0	0	0
Venezuela PF (4, 4)	3,000	4,495	5,000	0	0	4,495	5,000

Bolivia Partly Free (3, 3)

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	99,456	100,399
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	10,092	28,492
Rule of Law & Human Rights	2,222	6,450
Good Governance	4,425	13,767
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	1,160	2,070
Civil Society	2,285	6,205

Colombia Partly Free (3, 3)

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	541,130	542,863
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	63,350	24,256
Rule of Law & Human Rights	57,760	20,606
Good Governance	4,771	2,900
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	819	750

Cuba Not Free (7, 7)

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	45,330	20,000
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	45,330	20,000
Rule of Law & Human Rights	4,947	5,000
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	6,841	5,000
Civil Society	33,542	10,000

Ecuador Partly Free (3, 3)

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	25,200	32,536
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	2,282	8,145
Rule of Law & Human Rights	170	2,000
Good Governance	1,412	3,500
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	100	1,000
Civil Society	600	1,645

Guatemala Partly Free (3, 4)

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	62,939	62,260
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	16,424	12,925
Rule of Law & Human Rights	12,076	8,650
Good Governance	4,348	4,275
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	0	0
Civil Society	0	0

Haiti Partly Free (4, 5)

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	234,239	245,876
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	19,426	27,330
Rule of Law & Human Rights	6,166	5,470
Good Governance	9,935	14,360
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	1,325	4,600
Civil Society	2,000	2,900

Mexico Free (2, 3)

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	50,637	500,995
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	10,653	26,235
Rule of Law & Human Rights	10,253	24,760
Good Governance	0	1,075
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	400	400

Nicaragua Partly Free (3, 3)

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	28,620	38,071
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	6,000	12,500
Rule of Law & Human Rights	808	2,770
Good Governance	715	3,277
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	3,777	3,546
Civil Society	700	2,907

Paraguay Partly Free (3, 3)

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	8,308	8,406
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	2,672	2,789
Rule of Law & Human Rights	772	1,000
Good Governance	1,900	1,589
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	0	200
Civil Society	0	0

Venezuela Partly Free (4, 4)

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	4,542	5,000
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	4,495	5,000
Rule of Law & Human Rights	0	0
Good Governance	0	0
Political Competition & Consensus-Building	0	0
Civil Society	4,495	5,000

Central America Regional

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	11,939	16,696
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	0	6,000
Good Governance	0	3,000
Civil Society	0	3,000

Latin America and the Caribbean Regional

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	67,798	34,098
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	7,788	2,197
Political Competition and Consensus-Building	3,629	1,347
Civil Society	4,159	850

Western Hemisphere Regional

	FY08 Estimate	FY09 Request
TOTAL	16,007	142,786
GOVERNING JUSTLY & DEMOCRATICALLY	250	25,750
Rule of Law and Human Rights	3,713	15,000
Good Governance	0	4,750
Political Competition and Consensus-Building	0	3,000
Civil Society	250	3,000